

2009

A window of opportunity? Australian foreign policy change towards East Timor 1998-99 and Solomon Islands 2003

Joakim Eidenfalk
University of Wollongong

Recommended Citation

Eidenfalk, Joakim, A window of opportunity? Australian foreign policy change towards East Timor 1998-99 and Solomon Islands 2003, Doctor of Philosophy thesis, School of History and Politics, Faculty of Arts, University of Wollongong, 2009.
<http://ro.uow.edu.au/theses/3444>

NOTE

This online version of the thesis may have different page formatting and pagination from the paper copy held in the University of Wollongong Library.

UNIVERSITY OF WOLLONGONG

COPYRIGHT WARNING

You may print or download ONE copy of this document for the purpose of your own research or study. The University does not authorise you to copy, communicate or otherwise make available electronically to any other person any copyright material contained on this site. You are reminded of the following:

Copyright owners are entitled to take legal action against persons who infringe their copyright. A reproduction of material that is protected by copyright may be a copyright infringement. A court may impose penalties and award damages in relation to offences and infringements relating to copyright material. Higher penalties may apply, and higher damages may be awarded, for offences and infringements involving the conversion of material into digital or electronic form.

A Window of Opportunity?

**Australian foreign policy change towards
East Timor 1998-99 and Solomon Islands 2003**

A thesis submitted in fulfilment of the
requirements for the award of the degree

Doctor of Philosophy

from

University of Wollongong

by

**Joakim Eidenfalk
MA (Politics), MA (International Relations)
School of History and Politics
Faculty of Arts
2009**

Thesis Certification

I, Joakim Thomas Eidenfalk, declare that this thesis, submitted in fulfilment of the requirements for the award of Doctor of Philosophy, in the Faculty of Arts, School of History and Politics, University of Wollongong, is wholly my own work unless otherwise referenced or acknowledged. The document has not been submitted for qualifications at any other academic institution.

Joakim Eidenfalk

30 March 2009.

Abstract

This thesis examines Australian foreign policy change towards East Timor in 1998-99 and towards Solomon Islands in 2003. The thesis demonstrates the complexity of foreign policy decision-making through an analysis of these two cases. A new theoretical model of foreign policy change is presented and applied. It argues for the importance of investigating both domestic and international factors that influence foreign policy decision-making, as well as for the interaction between these producing a combined influence or pressure on decision makers. Of equal importance is the key decision-makers themselves in as much as they must perceive that a “window of opportunity” exists for foreign policy change to actually occur.

This thesis argues that domestic factors played a key role in the Australian foreign policy change towards Indonesia regarding East Timor in 1999. Together with events in Indonesia, these caused the Howard government to change its policy in September 1999, after having been most reluctant to do so. The Australian government’s decision-making process was mainly reactive rather than proactive in this case. International factors played a larger role in the case of Australian foreign policy change towards Solomon Islands in 2003. Their interaction created a window of opportunity that the Howard-government perceived and acted upon. The Australian government was more proactive in this case, although it reacted late to a situation that had unfolded for the past three years. The model illustrates how in both cases pressure was brought to bear on key decision makers and how domestic and international sources of change affected foreign policy.

Acknowledgements

Writing a PhD is in many ways a solitary process but what characterises it just as much is the support needed from friends, colleagues, housemates, and family. I have been extraordinarily lucky to have had that throughout my candidature. There are simply too many to thank by name here but a few deserve a special mention.

I have walked countless miles through the corridors of the Faculty of Arts these past few years, taking a break from writing, reading, or mental blocs, and there have always been academic and general staff there willing to spare a minute or two for a chat. I have developed many friendships during my strolls and I cherish them deeply. Thank you to you all for your support and all those hours of just talking and socialising! I'll miss you all! Thank you to the postgraduates that I have shared this experience with. I will especially look back at the camaraderie, always knowing that there was someone to talk to when needed, to share tough as well as joyous times. It wouldn't have been the same without you, that's for sure!

A special mention to my fellow members of the "Monday morning society" – Andrew Humphreys and Ross Tapsell. We have spent a lot of time together the last few years and I dare say that for most of that time we spoke about other things than our theses. It certainly helped me keep my sanity and often provided a good laugh that made it all easier to bear. Thanks for the stories...!

Petar Spaseski, my Sunday lunch companion, has taken my mind of my thesis more often than I can count due to his extremely positive personality and undying friendship. Always there when I need you – be it to chat, help me move, or simply going to buy meatballs...Thanks mate!

And to my housemates throughout the years - Rob, Stuart, Hiroki, Adriano, Sabine, and Julie. It's not easy to put up with a grumpy PhD-student but you all did it in wonderful fashion. Even though you are now spread out across the world, you still manage to provide me with support and friendship. I am proud to call you my friends!

A thank you also to Dr. Jakob Gustavsson and Dr. Fredrik Doeser for valuable comments and criticisms on the theoretical aspects of my work.

My supervisors have provided me with great support this past 5 years. I have been very lucky to have Dr. Charles Hawksley and Dr. Anthony Ashbolt to guide me through the jungle that is the PhD-candidature. A big thank you to you both! A special thanks to Charles for going way beyond the call of duty towards the end of the process. I will be forever grateful for the academic and personal support you have given me and I truly mean it when I say I couldn't have done it without you!

This thesis is dedicated to my greatest support group – my family! My sisters Anna and Victoria, my grandparents Sonja and Bengt, and my amazing parents Claes and Inga-Lill. Words cannot express the gratitude I feel for everything you have done for me! You always believed in me, even when I didn't, and I have lost count of how many times you have come through for me! Like my mum always says – "it will always work out one way or the other". Well, you were right!

List of Acronyms

ABC	Australian Broadcasting Corporation
ABRI	<i>Angkatan Bersenjata Republik Indonesia</i> /Armed Forces of Indonesia
ACP	African, Caribbean and Pacific countries
ACTU	Australian Council of Trade Unions
ADB	Asian Development Bank
ADF	Australian Defence Force
AFM	Armed Forced Movement
AI	Amnesty International
ALP	Australian Labor Party
ANU	Australian National University
ANZ	Australia and New Zealand Banking Group Limited
ANZUS	Australia, New Zealand, United States Security Treaty
APEC	Asia Pacific Economic Cooperation
Apodeti	<i>Associação Popular Democrática Timorese</i> /Timorese Popular Democratic Association
ARF	ASEAN Regional Forum
ASEAN	Association of Southeast Asian Nations
ASPI	Australian Strategic Policy Institute
BBC	British Broadcasting Corporation
BHP	Broken Hill Proprietary Company
CIS	Centre of Independent Studies
CNN	Cable News Network
CNRT	<i>Conselho Nacional da Resistência Timorese</i> /National Council for Timorese Resistance

DFAT	Department of Foreign Affairs and Trade
DIO	Australian Defence Intelligence Organisation
DOD	Department of Defence
EC	European Community
ECP	Enhanced Cooperation Program
EU	European Union
FALINTIL	<i>Forças Armadas da Libertação Nacional de Timor-Leste</i> /Armed Forces for the National Liberation of Timor Leste
FRETILIN	<i>Frente Revolucionária de Timor-Leste</i> <i>Independente</i> /Revolutionary Front for an Independent East Timor
GDP	Gross Domestic Product
GOI	Government of Indonesia
GRA	Guadalcanal Revolutionary Army
ICISS	International Commission on Intervention and State Sovereignty
ICRC	International Committee of the Red Cross
IDMC	International Displacement Monitoring Centre
IFF	Isatabu Freedom Fighters
IFM	Isatabu Freedom Movement
IMF	International Monetary Fund
INTERFET	International Force for East Timor
IPMT	International Peace Monitoring Team
MEF	Malaita Eagle Force
MP	Member of Parliament
MPPMG	Multinational Police Peace Monitoring Group
NATO	North Atlantic Treaty Organization
NGO	Non-Governmental Organisation

NSC	National Security Committee
NZ	New Zealand
PIF	Pacific Islands Forum
PM	Prime Minister
PNG	Papua New Guinea
R2P	Responsibility to Protect
RAMSI	Regional Assistance Mission to Solomon Islands
RSIP	Royal Solomon Islands Police
SAS	Special Air Service Regiment
SEATO	Southeast Asia Treaty Organization
SIPL	Solomon Islands Plantation Limited
SPF	South Pacific Forum
TNI	<i>Tentara Nasional Indonesia</i>
TPA	Townsville Peace Agreement
UDT	<i>União Democrática Timorese</i> /Timorese Democratic Union
UN	United Nations
UNAMET	United Nations Mission in East Timor
UNSCOM	United Nations Special Commission
US	United States
WMD	Weapons of Mass Destruction
WW II	World War Two

A note on Language

The official name of the state is “Solomon Islands” however in English this sometimes is joined by the definite article to make it easier on the ear. In this thesis “Solomon Islands” is most commonly used, however on occasion “The Solomon Islands” and “the Solomons” are also used, depending on context.

In certain places the gender-specific “he” is used. The author of course recognises that it could just as well be “she”, and the male pronoun is adopted only to improve the flow of the text and avoid the rather cumbersome “he/she”.

Previously published work

A previous version of Chapter 2 on foreign policy change appeared as a referred conference paper from the Australasian Political Studies Association Conference Refereed papers in 2006.

Selected parts of Chapter 6 and 7 will appear as a chapter on sovereignty and intervention in Solomon Islands in an edited book *Occupying the Other*, forthcoming mid-2009 with Cambridge Scholars Publishing.

List of Maps

Map 1	Timor-Leste	89
Map 2	Solomon Islands	183

List of Tables

Table 5.1	Opinion polls on the situation in East Timor	145
Table 5.2	Coverage on East Timor in selected newspapers 1997-1999	148
Table 6.1	Solomon Islands major economic indicators 1993-2003	200
Table 7.1	Newspoll, 1-3 August 2003 on Solomon Islands Intervention	229
Table 7.2	Coverage on Solomon Islands in selected newspapers 2002-2003	232

List of Figures

Figure 2.1	The new model of foreign policy change	53
Figure 6.1	Solomon Islands GDP/capita 1996-2003	199
Figure 6.2	Solomon Islands external debt 1995-2003	202
Figure 8.1	Theoretical and empirical relevant domestic factors in the policy change towards Indonesia regarding East Timor in 1999	280
Figure 8.2	Theoretical and empirical relevant domestic factors in the policy change towards the Solomon Islands in 2003	281
Figure 8.3	Mapping relevant theoretical and empirical international factors involved in the policy change towards Indonesia regarding East Timor in 1999	283
Figure 8.4	Theoretical and empirical international factors involved in the policy change towards Solomon Islands in 2003	285
Figure 8.5	Combined interaction of Australia's foreign policy change towards Indonesia regarding East Timor in 1999	290
Figure 8.6	Combined interaction of Australia's foreign policy change towards Solomon Islands in 2003	291

Table of Contents

Thesis certification	ii
Abstract	iii
Acknowledgements	iv
Acronyms	v
 A note on language	 viii
Previously published work	
List of Maps	ix
List of Tables	
List of Figures	
 Chapter 1: Introduction	 1
Explaining Foreign Policy Change	3
The Post-Cold War Era	5
Australia in the Post-Cold War World	8
Methodology	12
Aim and Chapter Structure of Thesis	15
Conclusion	19
 Chapter 2: Foreign Policy Change	 20
Definitions	23
The Study of Foreign Policy Change	24
Earlier Theoretical Models	27
Empirical Studies on Foreign Policy Change	34
An Outline of a (New) Improved Model of Foreign Policy Change	36
Sources of Change	37
Domestic Factors of Change	37
The Bureaucracy	38
Public Opinion	39
The Media	40
Interest Groups	40
Political Parties	41
International Factors of Change	42
Global Factors	44
Regional Factors	44
Bilateral Relations	45
Non-state Actors	45
 The Window Of Opportunity and Key Decision-Makers	 46
The Decision-Making Process	50
Typology of Change	52
Feedback	53
The Consequences of Change	53
Conclusion	55

Chapter 3: Australian Foreign Policy	56
Background	56
Labor/Non-Labor Ideology	60
Making Australian Foreign Policy	64
Beliefs	70
Motives	72
Decision Style	73
Interpersonal Style	74
Training in Foreign Affairs	75
Interest in Foreign Affairs	77
Australia in the Immediate Neighbourhood	78
Indonesia and East Timor	79
The South Pacific	81
Australian Foreign Policy Change	83
Conclusion	85
 Chapter 4: Australian Foreign Policy Change towards East Timor	 87
Introduction	87
Background	88
From the coup in Portugal to the Indonesia take-over of East Timor	90
The Indonesian occupation of East Timor 1975-1999	92
Australian Foreign Policy Change Towards Indonesia Regarding East Timor up to 1996	95
1974-75	97
The Howard-government and Australian Foreign Policy towards Indonesia regarding East Timor 1996-1999	105
The road towards Australian Foreign Policy Change	107
Conclusion	140
 Chapter 5: Analysis of the East Timor Case Study	 142
Introduction	142
Domestic Factors	142
The Bureaucracy	142
Public Opinion	144
The Media	147
Interest-Groups	154
Political Parties	159
International Factors	161
Global Factors	161
Regional Factors	166
Bilateral Relations	169
Non-State Actors	172
Key Decision-Makers	174
Window of Opportunity	176
Typology of Change	177
Consequences of Change	177
Conclusion	178

Chapter 6: Australian Foreign Policy Change towards Solomon Islands	180
Introduction	180
Background: A Nationless State	181
The Solomon Islands economy up to 1998	187
1998-2002 – Tension, violence and lawlessness	188
Solomon Islands economy 1998-2003	196
Australian Foreign Policy towards the Solomon Islands up to 1998	204
Australian Foreign Policy towards Solomon Islands 1998-2002	206
2002-2003 – The road towards a change in policy	210
Conclusion	224
 Chapter 7: Solomon Islands Analysis	 226
Introduction	226
Sources of Change	226
Domestic Factors	227
The Bureaucracy	227
Public Opinion	228
The Media	231
Interest-Groups	240
Political Parties	244
International Factors	247
Global Factors	247
Regional Factors	254
Bilateral Relations	258
Non-State Actors	263
Key Decision-Makers	265
Window of Opportunity	266
Typology of Change	269
Consequences of Change	270
Conclusion	274
 Chapter 8: Conclusions	 275
Empirical findings	276
Sources of Change and Key Decision-Makers	277
Domestic Factors	278
International Factors	281
The role of Howard and Downer and the Window of Opportunity	286
The Consequences of the Foreign Policy Changes towards East Timor in 1999 and Solomon Islands in 2003	292
The findings in the overall Australian Foreign Policy context	293
Theoretical findings	294
Domestic and International Factors in Foreign Policy-making	295
The role of Key Decision-Makers	296
Typology of Change and Consequences of Change	298
Conclusion	299
 Bibliography	 302

Chapter 1: Introduction

Changes in foreign policy can have huge repercussions on a state's future relations with the world or with particular actors.¹ Consider for example the United States decision to open diplomatic relations with China in 1972, or Egypt's approach to Israel which changed their relationship from one of war to a lasting peace agreement through the Camp David Accord in 1978, or the Soviet Union's decision in the late 1980s to leave the communist Eastern European states to their own devices, leading to them becoming democracies in a short period of time, and ultimately resulting in the demise of the Soviet Union itself. Through foreign policy change, wars can begin or end, states can be created or cease to exist, relationships can be strengthened or torn apart, and new directions can be embarked upon with long-term consequences. Although not all foreign policy changes result in global effects, they may be just as important for the state in question on a regional or state-to-actor level. Clearly, understanding foreign policy change – why it occurs, how it occurs, when it occurs – is of vital importance.

Foreign policy change as a specific area of research only came about in the early 1980s. Foreign policy analysis overall only traces its roots back to the 1950s when focus began to be put on the decision-making process and the key decision-makers, as opposed to states as unitary actors reacting to external events. In 1954 Snyder, Bruck and Sapin, argued for a deeper focus on the decision-making process itself. They showed the importance of understanding the decision-maker's perceptions, values etc. in making decisions, as opposed to seeing the state as a single unit. The environment in which the decision-makers make decisions, and how they perceive it, thereby explain a state's behaviour.² As Snyder et al. wrote: "State action is the action taken by those acting in the name of the state".³

¹ I chose "actors" because even though states often act towards other states it is not necessarily always the case. It can also be towards international institutions such as the United Nations or the International Monetary Fund, or towards non-state actors such as Amnesty International or Al-Qaeda

² Richard C. Snyder, H. W. Bruck, & Burton Sapin, 'Decision-Making as an Approach to the Study of International Politics', in *Foreign Policy Decision-Making: An Approach to the Study of International Politics*, The Free Press of Glencoe, New York, 1962 - Original article first published in 1954

³ R. C. Snyder, H. W. Bruck, & B. Sapin, 'Decision-Making as an Approach to the Study of International Politics', p. 65

Snyder, Bruck and Sapin's work thus made scholars focus more on the decision-making process to explain why states behaved as they did. As Huxsoll has shown in relation to the development of the field of Comparative Foreign Policy, this fresh focus challenged the realist school of thought, which argued that states were unitary actors, thereby disregarding domestic factors and individual decision-makers. In the view of realists, states pursue basic goals such as the survival of the state, their primary goal being the security of the state, which is pursued in a constant fight for power with other states in the international arena. In contrast to realists, foreign policy change proponents argue that the personal characteristics of leaders, influence and pressure from domestic sources on decision-makers and the goals of decision makers may be as important as security and power.⁴

James Rosenau continued in this vein and launched a "pre-theory", wherein he aimed to theorise foreign policy further, hoping that in the future it would lead to a general theory of foreign policy. Rosenau's work was an important step in the development of foreign policy analysis, out of which the sub-field of foreign policy change would eventually grow by identifying the underlying factors contributing to and affecting foreign policy decision-making.⁵ However, failure to achieve a general theory led to scholars focusing on specific aspects of foreign policy and influential works in that regard were published in the 1970s. Groundbreaking studies were conducted on organisational and bureaucratic explanations for foreign policy behaviour by Allison and Halperin respectively.⁶ Also in the 1970s, Irving Janis investigated Groupthink in decision-making⁷ and Robert Jervis looked at perceptions and misperceptions,⁸ both contributing to further understanding of what factors shape foreign policy decisions.

Even though the study of foreign policy was making some progress at this time, *foreign policy change* was still neglected. Kalevi Holsti's 1982 study *Why Nations*

⁴ David B. Huxsoll, *Regimes, Institutions and Foreign Policy Change*, Louisiana State University, Unpublished doctoral dissertation, 2003, pp. 5-6

⁵ James N. Rosenau, 'Pre-Theories and Theories of Foreign Policy', in ed. R. B. Farell, *Approaches to Comparative and International Politics*, Northwestern University Press, Evanston, 1966

⁶ Graham T. Allison, *Essence of Decision: Explaining the Cuban Missile Crisis*, Little, Brown, Boston, 1971 and Morton H. Halperin, *Bureaucratic politics and foreign policy*, The Brookings Institution, Washington D.C. 1974

⁷ Irving L. Janis, *Victims of Groupthink*, Houghton Mifflin, Boston, 1972

⁸ Robert Jervis, *Perception and Misperception in International Politics*, Princeton University Press, Princeton, 1976

Realign: Foreign Policy Restructuring in the Postwar World was the first prominent work attempting to construct a theoretical model of foreign policy change. Together with a number of contributions to the field that were published in the early 1980s the first steps had been taken to tackle the concept.⁹ However, what really brought the study of foreign policy change to the fore in the late 1980s and early 1990s was the end of the Cold War, or rather the fact the main theories had failed to predict it. As a result, the foreign policy change field received a boost and the number of scholarly works aimed at explaining this concept multiplied.¹⁰ Since the early 1990s there has been a steady stream of studies on foreign policy change produced and the field is today an established, albeit narrow, area of research. These specific contributions will be discussed in more detail in Chapter 2.

Explaining Foreign Policy Change

The last few decades has seen an increased focus on domestic factors as an important influence in foreign policy decision-making has developed. It has become a more and more common argument that the realist viewpoint of the state as a unitary rational actor does not tell the whole story and many important contributions discussed below show the importance of including domestic factors in any discussion on foreign policy. When attempting to explain foreign policy change it is important to take into account all the relevant actors and factors involved; domestic and international factors; key decision-makers and their perceptions. All play a vital part in the decision-making process.

Neo-realists and neo-liberals differ in their view on the importance of international vs. domestic factors in the foreign policy decision-making process. Neo-realists see the state as a rational unitary actor.¹¹ Indeed, Kenneth Waltz describes states as “units” and argues that the differences between how they act are due to the distribution of

⁹ Kalevi J. Holsti (Ed) *Why Nations Realign: Foreign Policy Restructuring in the Postwar World*, Allen & Unwin, London, 1982, Robert Gilpin, *War and Change in World Politics*, Cambridge University Press, Cambridge, 1981, Barry Buzan & R. J. Barry Jones, *Change and the Study of International Relations*, Pinter, London, 1981, Kjell Goldmann, ‘Change and Stability in Foreign Policy: Détente as a Problem of Stabilization’, *World Politics*, 34-2, 1982, Jan Hallenberg, *Foreign Policy Change: United States Foreign Policy Toward the Soviet Union and The People’s Republic of China 1961-1980*, University of Stockholm, Stockholm, Doctoral Dissertation, 1984

¹⁰ For a detailed discussion on these studies, see chapter 2

¹¹ Martin Griffiths & Terry O’Callaghan, ‘Realism’, in *An Introduction to International Relations: Australian Perspectives*, Cambridge University Press, Melbourne, 2007, p. 57

capabilities.¹² It is their place in the international system and their capabilities that will determine their behaviour, more so than the composition of the state, according to Waltz.¹³ Neo-liberal theorists challenge their stance, arguing that non-state actors and domestic actors affect the decision-making process and point to the influence of international organisations, transnational and transgovernmental actors. Keohane and Nye in their “Complex Interdependence” theory refer to “the multiple channels of contact”, and how decision-makers now have to take them into account. The main goal of the state is no longer just military security, rather there are a multitude of goals that will have to be pursued and dealt with, including human security, economic stability, the environment and health issues.¹⁴

The literature on the importance of looking at domestic factors in understanding foreign policy-making has grown and further undermines the neo-realist argument. Several now classic works on decision-making processes discussed above show the importance of investigating decision-makers and the internal and external influences they are facing.¹⁵ Robert Putnam’s influential article on what he refers to as the “two-level game” describes the influences a government faces when negotiating on an international level. In his own words:

The politics of many international negotiations can usefully be conceived as a two-level game. At the national level, domestic groups pursue their interests by pressuring the government to adopt favourable policies, and politicians seek power by constructing coalitions among these groups. At the international level, national governments seek to maximise their own ability to satisfy domestic pressures, while minimising the adverse consequences of foreign developments. Neither of the two games can be ignored by central decision-makers, so long as their countries remain interdependent, yet sovereign.¹⁶

¹² Kenneth N. Waltz, *Theory of International Politics*, McGraw-Hill, New York, 1979, pp. 88-99

¹³ Kenneth N. Waltz, ‘Realist Thought and Neorealist Theory’, in *Controversies in International Relations Theory: Realism and the Neoliberal Challenge*, ed. C. W. Kegley Jr. St:Martin’s Press, New York, 1995

¹⁴ Robert O. Keohane & Joseph S. Nye, *Power and Interdependence*, Longman, New York, third edition, 2001, pp. 20-32 For a further discussion on Liberal Institutionalism, see Edward A. Kolodziej, *Security and International Relations*, Cambridge University Press, Cambridge, 2005, pp. 150-60

¹⁵ Important work on foreign policy making include R. C. Snyder, H. W. Bruck, and B. Sapin, ‘Decision-Making as an Approach to the Study of International Politics’, and Graham Allison & Philip Zelikow, *Essence of Decision: Explaining the Cuban Missile Crisis*, Addison-Wesley Educational Publishers Inc., New York, 1999, and Robert Jervis, *Perceptions and Misperceptions in International Politics*, and Morton Halperin, *Bureaucratic Politics and Foreign Policy*, The Brookings Institution, Washington D.C., 1974,

¹⁶ Robert D. Putnam, ‘Diplomacy and Domestic Politics: The Logic of Two-Level Games’, *International Organization*, Vol. 42, No. 3, Summer 1988, p. 434. Putnam’s concept was further elaborated on and discussed in Ed. Peter B. Evans & Harold K. Jacobson & Robert D. Putnam, *Double-*

Putnam here clearly shows the importance of looking at both international and domestic influences in foreign policy decision-making. Joe D. Hagan has similarly illustrated the links between domestic factors and foreign policy, particularly on the constraints on government stemming from domestic factors such as coalition building and the political opposition.¹⁷ The critical role of key decision-makers, or leaders, has also been highlighted by Margaret Hermann in particular, who has illustrated the important role a leader plays in the decision-making process.¹⁸ This has also been developed and included in theoretical models by prominent scholars of foreign policy change, such as Charles F. Hermann and Jakob Gustavsson.¹⁹ As shown above, in order to explain foreign policy change, a number of factors and aspects have to be taken into account. One such aspect is the context within which the decisions are taken. The Post Cold War environment provides the context to the two case studies studied in this thesis and its characteristics therefore need to be addressed.

The Post-Cold War Era

The Post Cold War-environment meant that the stability that had characterised the Cold War era came to an end. The rigid structure that dominated the world for over 40 years ended with the demise of the Soviet Union and as the confines of bipolarity disappeared, states had more freedom to conduct foreign policy, thus increasing the likelihood of foreign policy change which further spurred on new research in the area.

Edged Diplomacy: International Bargaining and Domestic Politics, University of California Press, Berkeley and Los Angeles, 1993

¹⁷ See for example, Joe D. Hagan, 'Domestic Political Explanations in the Analysis of Foreign Policy', in *Foreign Policy Analysis: Continuity and Change in Its Second Generation*, eds. Laura Neack & Jeanne A. K. Hey & Patrick J. Haney, Prentice-Hall, Inc. Englewood Cliffs, New Jersey, 1995 and Joe D. Hagan, *Political Opposition and Foreign Policy in Comparative Perspective*, Lynne Rienner, Boulder, 1993, and Joe D. Hagan, 'Domestic Political Systems and War Proneness', *Mershon International Studies Review*, Volume 38, 1994, and Joe D. Hagan & Philip P. Everts & Haruhiro Fukui & John D. Stempel, 'Foreign Policy by Coalition: Deadlock, Compromise, and Anarchy', *International Studies Review*, Volume 3, Issue 2, Summer 2001

¹⁸ See for example, Margaret G. Hermann & Joe D. Hagan, 'International decision making: Leadership matters', *Foreign Policy*, Issue 110, Spring 1998 and Margaret G. Hermann & Thomas Preston & Baghat Korany & Timothy M. Shaw, 'Who Leads Matters: The Effects of Powerful Individuals', *International Studies Review*, Volume 3, Issue 2, 2001 and Margaret G. Hermann & Charles F. Hermann, 'Who Makes Foreign Policy Decisions and How: An Empirical Inquiry', *International Studies Quarterly*, Volume 33, 1989

¹⁹ Charles F. Hermann, 'Changing Course: When Governments Choose to Redirect Foreign Policy', *International Studies Quarterly*, 34, pp.3-21, 1990 and Jakob Gustavsson, *The Politics of Foreign Policy Change: Explaining the Swedish Reorientation on EC Membership*, Lund University Press, Lund, Doctoral Dissertation, 1998 and Jakob Gustavsson, *How Should We Study Foreign Policy Change? Cooperation and Conflict*, 34-1, pp. 73-95, 1999

The more fluid post-Cold War world likewise meant that states increasingly had to respond to the challenges or opportunities that presented when states realised their growing freedom of action in the international political arena.²⁰ The increasingly fluid political environment resulted in states having to change their foreign policy faster, and to be prepared to do so in the less stable world. The immediate post Cold War time period can serve as an example of this, with states like Sweden, Denmark, Finland and many others having to adjust to the new reality, resulting in foreign policy changes.²¹ On the other hand, failure to act quickly can have serious consequences, as was the case with Rwanda in 1994 where more than 800 000 people died in genocide.

A dominant feature of the post Cold War world has been a shift towards conflict within states, as opposed to between states. Wheeler shows how a norm of humanitarian intervention emerged in the 1990s,²² and it is now increasingly possible for the international community to act jointly in dealing with these types of conflicts when Cold War alliances and loyalties no longer have to be taken into account.²³ This is illustrated by the fact that the number of UN peacekeeping missions dramatically increased from 18 missions 1948-1991; to 36 new peacekeeping missions between 1991 and 2000.²⁴

²⁰ International Commission on Intervention and State Sovereignty, 'The Responsibility to Protect', International Development Research Centre, Ottawa, 2001, p. 4

²¹ For studies on foreign policy change in this time period, see for example, Fredrik Doerer, *In Search of Security After the Collapse of the Soviet Union: Foreign Policy Change in Denmark, Finland and Sweden, 1988-1993*, Doctoral Thesis in Political Science at Stockholm University, Sweden, Universitetsservice, Stockholm, 2008, and Jakob Gustavsson, *The Politics of Foreign Policy Change: Explaining the Swedish Reorientation on EC Membership*, Lund University Press, Lund, Doctoral Dissertation, 1998, and Bengt Sundelius, 'Changing Course: When Neutral Sweden Chose to Join the European Community', in eds. W. Carlsnaes & S. Smith. *European Foreign Policy: The EC and Changing Perspectives in Europe*, Sage Publications, London, 1994

²² Nicholas J. Wheeler, 'The Humanitarian Responsibilities of Sovereignty: Explaining the Development of a New Norm of Military Intervention for Humanitarian Purposes in International Society', in *Humanitarian Intervention and International Relations*, ed. Jennifer M. Welsh, Oxford University Press, New York, 2004, p. 48, For a deeper discussion by Wheeler on humanitarian intervention, see Nicholas J. Wheeler, *Saving Strangers: Humanitarian Intervention in International Society*, Oxford University Press, New York, 2000

²³ International Commission on Intervention and State Sovereignty, 'The Responsibility to Protect', p. 3

²⁴ United Nations, 'United Nations Peacekeeping from 1991 to 2000: Statistical Data and Charts', <http://www.un.org/Depts/dpko/dpko/pub/pko.htm> [Accessed 2 March 2009]

Internal conflict in turn can be connected to weak, failing or failed states²⁵ and the possible risks they can constitute to other countries. The September-11 attacks highlighted this potential threat, with Al-Qaeda using Afghanistan as a base for training and planning the attacks, and brought with it an increased perception of failed states as potential threats.²⁶ The United States and others argued that pre-emptive actions may now be justified to prevent attacks from occurring.²⁷ The International Commission on Intervention and State Sovereignty (ICISS) also emphasised the risk failed states could constitute:

In an interdependent world, in which security depends on a framework of stable sovereign entities, the existence of fragile states, failing states, states who through weakness or ill-will harbour those dangerous to others, or states that can only maintain internal order by means of gross human rights violations, can constitute a risk to people everywhere.²⁸

Debate over “*The Responsibility to Protect*” (R2P) leading to an overturning of the norm of non-intervention, took off after the end of the Cold War, leading to calls for the need to put aside the total theoretical respect for state sovereignty on the grounds of human rights. UN Secretary-General Kofi Annan stated in 2000:

National sovereignty offers vital protection to small and weak states, but it should not be a shield for crimes against humanity. In extreme cases the clash of these two principles confronts us with a real dilemma, and the Security Council may have a moral duty to act on behalf of the international community.²⁹

²⁵ The terms “weak”, “failing”, and “failed states” carry with them problems of definition and how to determine if a state falls into any of these categories used interchangeably, depending on the interests of the particular writer.

²⁶ Chester A. Crocker, ‘Engaging Failing States’, *Foreign Affairs*, Vol. 82, Issue 5, September-October 2003, p. 35, for further discussions on the danger of failing, or failed states other than Crocker, see for example, and Stephen D. Krasner & Carlos Pascual, ‘Addressing State Failure’, *Foreign Affairs*, Vol. 84, Issue 4, July-August 2005, and Robert I. Rotberg, ‘Failed States in a World of Terror’, *Foreign Affairs*, Vol. 81, Issue 4, July-August 2002

²⁷ See for example, White House, ‘The National Security Strategy of the United States of America’, September 2002, p. 15 <http://www.whitehouse.gov/nsc/nss/2002/nss.pdf> [Date accessed 2 January 2009] and G. W. Bush, ‘President Delivers Graduation Speech at West Point, United States Military Academy, West Point, New York’, 1 June 2002; for comments made by Australian Prime Minister John Howard around the same time, see J. Howard, ‘Transcript of the Prime Minister the Hon John Howard MP Press Conference, Parliament House, Canberra’, 20 June 2002 and John Howard, ‘Transcript of the Prime Minister the Hon John Howard MP Interview with Tony Jones, Lateline’, ABC, 29 November 2002

²⁸ International Commission on Intervention and State Sovereignty, ‘The Responsibility to Protect’, International Development Research Centre, Ottawa, 2001, p. 5

²⁹ Kofi Annan, ‘We the Peoples: Secretary-General’s Statement’, *The United Nations*, 3 April 2000, <http://www.un.org/millennium/sg/report/state.htm> [Date Accessed 2 January 2009]

The British Prime Minister Tony Blair had a year earlier echoed these words, in light of the NATO-intervention into Kosovo, but had taken it a step further compared to Annan, outlining five considerations for future legitimate interventions, including “are we sure of our case?”, “have we exhausted all diplomatic options?” and “are we prepared for the long-term?”.³⁰ These high-level comments indicate a growing sense of a shift to military interventions as a possible solution when states fail to protect the human rights of their citizens or are even perpetrating crimes themselves. Blair’s comment came in relation to NATO’s intervention into Kosovo, which had bypassed the UN Security Council and as such brought attention to whether military interventions for humanitarian purposes can be justified or not in the name of human rights.

Decision-makers and academics debated the issue resulting in several important contributions, such as the report from the ICISS, which, as the title indicates, argue that if a state fails in its duty “to protect its people from killing and other grave harm”, “then coercive intervention for human protection purposes, including ultimately military intervention, by others in the international community may be warranted in extreme cases”. The report emphasised that any such action should go through the UN Security Council.³¹

The different post Cold War-environment increased the need to be able to respond to sudden crises quickly. In the increasingly interdependent world events far away can have an affect on you and situations closer to home may need a faster response, as the Australian-led interventions in to East Timor and Solomon Islands illustrate. The breakdown of states, the outbreak of violence, terrorist-attacks and so on, all heighten the need to have the capacity to consider changing foreign policy fast.

Australia in the Post-Cold War World

The new post Cold War environment naturally had consequences for Australian foreign policy as well. Australian policy-makers now more than ever had to be able to respond quickly to events happening far away, as well as in their immediate

³⁰ Online NewsHour, ‘The Blair Doctrine’, http://www.pbs.org/newshour/bb/international/jan-june99/blair_doctrine4-23.html [Date Accessed 2 January 2009]

³¹ International Commission on Intervention and State Sovereignty, ‘The Responsibility to Protect’, International Development Research Centre, Ottawa, 2001, p. 69

neighbourhood. At the same time, the overall focus remained the same – the economy and security.

Adapting to globalisation began under the Hawke-government (1983-91) in the 1980s. A free trade approach within limits was adopted and the protectionist elements of the Australian economy began to be dismantled.³² Both the Hawke and Keating (1991-96)-governments pursued multilateral venues and the Australian-led initiatives to create the Cairns Group³³ and, together with Japan³⁴, the Asia Pacific Economic Cooperation (APEC) stand as testament to this.³⁵ The Howard-government came to power in March 1996, and they argued for a more bilateral approach, and pursued free trade agreements with the United States, Thailand and Singapore.³⁶ However, despite focus on bilateral arrangements, multilateral fora were still used in different circumstances, such as with the UN in the East Timor-intervention, the yearly APEC-meetings, and the Pacific Islands Forum (PIF) in relation to the Regional Assistance Mission to Solomon Islands (RAMSI)-intervention.

Asia was a strong focus of the Australian Labor Party (ALP) in government due to its strong economic growth from the 1970s onwards. The Howard-government continued the emphasis on Asia, and the Australian trade relationships with states such as China, Japan, Indonesia and India are still just as strong, if not stronger today.³⁷ Their importance can be illustrated with the example of when Chinese Premier Hu Jintao was invited to speak to the Australian Parliament around the same time as the US President George W. Bush in 2003. The fact that he was bestowed the same honour as the traditional ally the US, shows the importance Australia places on its relationship with China.³⁸

³² Stewart Firth, *Australia in International Politics: An introduction to Australian foreign policy*, Allen & Unwin, Crows Nest, second edition, 2005, pp. 114-15

³³ S. Firth, *Australia in International Politics: An introduction to Australian foreign policy*, p. 70

³⁴ Takashi Terada, 'The Genesis of APEC: Australia-Japan Political Initiatives', *Pacific Economic Papers*, No. 298, December 1999

³⁵ S. Firth, *Australia in International Politics: An introduction to Australian foreign policy*, p. 70

³⁶ Department of Foreign Affairs and Trade (Australia), *In the National Interest: Australia's Foreign and Trade Policy, White Paper*, Commonwealth of Australia, Canberra, 1997, pp. iii-iv, see also S. Firth, *Australia in International Politics: An introduction to Australian foreign policy*, p. 140

³⁷ Allan Gyngell & Michael Wesley, *Making Australian Foreign Policy*, Cambridge University Press, Melbourne, Second edition, 2007, pp. 220-221

³⁸ Paul Kelly, 'Alliance politics to deliver the goods', *The Australian*, 22 October 2003

The US-alliance enjoys bipartisan support in the Australian federal parliament. It is fundamental in terms of both economics and security. The Howard-government emphasised a stronger relationship with the US once they came into power, although it must be said that the Labor-governments held the US-alliance as just as vital to Australia's defence. Prime Minister Hawke's quick decision to deploy Australian forces in support of the US-led, with UN authorisation, liberation of Kuwait in the first Gulf War indicates that the alliance was just as important under Labor. Forward Defence, as opposed to a more regional focus, was stressed.³⁹ The new approach could be seen through the Howard-government's invocation of the ANZUS-Treaty immediately after the terrorist attacks in the US on 11 September 2001, as well as through Australia's participation in the US-led invasions of Afghanistan in 2001 and Iraq in 2003.⁴⁰ The approaches, thus, may have been different between the Labor and Coalition-governments but the overall objectives were the same in relation to the economy, security, relations with Asia, and the US-alliance.

With the terrorist attacks in the US in September 2001 and in Bali in October 2002, foreign policy focused on the new threats from terrorist networks and the role played by 'failed states' in facilitating bases for such networks. This was particularly important to Australia, as several states in its immediate neighbourhood were 'unstable', possibly even being on the path towards becoming failed states in the future, in what some labelled as the "Arc of Instability".⁴¹

The relationship with Indonesia was actually strengthened partly due to the cooperation on combating terrorism after the Bali bombing in 2002 and subsequent attacks. It had previously gone from a strong focus on Indonesia in the 1990s under Keating, as well as initially when the Howard-government took over, but plummeted after the East Timor-intervention with Australia's decision to change policy and lead the operation. Indonesians have since then become concerned that Australia was out to take advantage of a weakened Indonesia and thus suspicious of Australian actions.

³⁹ S. Firth, *Australia in International Politics: An introduction to Australian foreign policy*, pp. 160-61

⁴⁰ S. Firth, *Australia in International Politics: An introduction to Australian foreign policy*, pp. 164-65

⁴¹ The expression was used, among others, by Kevin Rudd, Geoffrey Barker and Kim Beazley. See Kevin Rudd, 'Arc of Instability - Arc of Insecurity', *Sydney Papers*, Spring 2002, and Geoffrey Barker, 'The arc of instability', *Financial Review*, 1 August 2002, and Kim Beazley, 'Arc of Instability', *National Observer*, No. 57, Winter 2003, pp. 17-23, see also A. Gyngell & M. Wesley, *Making Australian Foreign Policy*, p. 194

Police and intelligence cooperation against terrorism and Australia's help after the tsunami hit Indonesia in December 2004 has however helped to strengthen the ties between Australia and Indonesia once again. The election of Susilo Bambang Yudhoyono further contributed to an improvement between the two countries, although tensions due to Australia in 2006 allowing 42 West Papuan refugees to stay once again strained relations, briefly prompting Indonesia to recall its ambassador to Australia.⁴²

Despite the Howard-government's approach to widen the focus on security and defence, events close to home forced it to pay much closer attention to its immediate neighbourhood and tested its ability to respond to crises quickly. For a long time, the approach by both sides of Australian politics to the Pacific Islands was a "hands-off" approach, respecting the island state's sovereignty and being careful not to look like a "neo-colonial" power in the region. In the Pacific Prime Minister Howard was seen to neglect the region, one example of which is that Howard only attended four out of the first seven PIF-meetings after his election.⁴³

Interest however grew as the situations in Solomon Islands and Papua New Guinea (PNG) came to be seen in the prism of 'failed state' status and the Howard-government moved to a policy of a more "hands on"- approach, starting with the RAMSI-intervention into the Solomon Islands in 2003. The official rhetoric emphasised that Australia could not afford to have a failed state in its midst, due to the risks it carried with it in terms of the potential of criminal and terrorist networks setting up camp there, while at the same time it was seen that Australia had a responsibility as the strongest state in the region to ensure that these states did not become failed states.⁴⁴

⁴² Jamie Mackie, 'Reflections on the Bilateral Relationship – and Beyond', in *Different Societies, Shared Futures: Australia, Indonesia and the Region*, ed. J. Monfries, ISEAS Publications, Singapore, 2006, p. 182, and Jamie Mackie, 'Australia & Indonesia: Current problems, future prospects', *Lowy Institute Paper 19*, Longueville, Double Bay, 2007, pp. 29 & 63, and Damien Kingsbury, 'Neighbours have differences from time to time', in *Good Neighbour, Bad Neighbour: Australia's relations with Indonesia*, Papers from the Uniya Seminar Series 2006, Uniya Jesuit Social Justice Centre, Kings Cross, 2006, p. 3, and Anonymous, 'Indonesia recalls Australia envoy', *BBC News*, 24 March 2006

⁴³ Geoffrey Barker, 'Security threat in Pacific unrest', *Financial Review*, 12 August 2002

⁴⁴ See John Howard, 'Transcript of the Prime Minister the Hon John Howard MP Interview with Charles Wooley, 60 Minutes', 20 July 2003 and John Howard, 'Transcript of the Prime Minister the Hon John Howard MP Address to the Sydney Institute, Intercontinental Hotel, Sydney', 1 July 2003

Australia in the Post Cold War illustrates the old saying “the more things change the more they remain the same”. It is certainly true that the new environment meant that Australia had to adopt new policies, new approaches and learn to be able to respond to new challenges faster than before. However, as shown above, the overall objectives of national and regional security and relationships remain the same to a large extent. Still, it also shows an environment where Australian foreign policy change has become more inventive and adaptable now that the static Cold War stability is well and truly gone.

Methodology

This thesis adopts a case study-approach which has several advantages over other methods, among them occasions when the researcher has to measure indicators such as power, influence and perception, an important part of this study, and which can prove to be especially difficult. Case studies also give the researcher the advantage of examining in detail the factors and actors in their social and political context, and thus to appreciate how and why an event has occurred.⁴⁵ Further, it permits the reader to view the effect of foreign policy change in specific situations, not only as abstract theory. As Yin argues:

In general, case studies are the preferred strategy when “how” or “why” questions are being posed, when the investigator has little control over events, and when the focus is on contemporary phenomenon within some real-life context.⁴⁶

More in-depth case studies can also identify and produce previously unknown, or not considered, variables, leading to further theory-development.⁴⁷ Moreover, case studies have the advantage of delving deep into each case, exploring how casual mechanisms operate, thus identifying the variables involved in each particular case. Furthermore, George and Bennett argue that case studies are generally preferred in investigating complex casual interactions between factors and actors, and the effects of these. It is often found that events display what George and Bennett call “equifinality”:

⁴⁵ Alexander L. George & Andrew Bennett, *Case Studies and Theory Development in the Social Sciences*, MIT Press, Cambridge, Massachusetts, 2005, p. 19

⁴⁶ Robert K. Yin, *Case Study Research: Design and methods*, Sage, Thousand Oaks, Second edition, 1994, p. 1

⁴⁷ George & Bennett, *Case Studies and Theory Development in the Social Sciences*, pp. 20-21

... that is, they involve several explanatory paths, combinations, or sequences leading to the same outcome, and these paths may or may not have one or more variables in common.⁴⁸

Based on the above discussion, it is clear that this thesis examining Australian foreign policy change is enhanced through using case studies. Decision-making processes are often complex and involve numerous actors and factors, as well as estimation of indicators such as power, influences and perception. Case studies aim to develop and test a proposed theory, allow reflection on what fits the model and what does not, and how to explain both instances.

This study will test a theoretical model of foreign policy change, and as such it fits well into the *theory-testing* category of case studies. Among the aims of a *theory-testing* case study may be to, naturally, “strengthen or reduce support for a theory”⁴⁹ which is exactly what is intended here. By investigating two case studies rather than just one, the theoretical model will be further strengthened and validated if it is able to adequately explain the how and why, as well as the timing of, the two instances of foreign policy change chosen.

When conducting a comparative study of two case studies of Australian foreign policy change, it is important to use a wide selection of primary and secondary sources and to use similar sources in both cases to ensure comparability.⁵⁰ For this study primary sources used include official documents, parliamentary Commonwealth debates (Hansard), transcripts of speeches, press conferences and interviews with key decision-makers, articles from a range of newspapers and other media outlets, opinion polls from several poll institutes, and biographies on and by key actors.

A number of official documents were used including White Papers from the Department of Foreign Affairs and Trade (DFAT) and from the Department of Defence (DOD), as well as annual and specific reports from DFAT. Furthermore, reports have been used from the parliament’s Joint Standing Committee on Foreign

⁴⁸ George & Bennett, *Case Studies and Theory Development in the Social Sciences*, p. 20

⁴⁹ George & Bennett, *Case Studies and Theory Development in the Social Sciences*, p. 109

⁵⁰ Robert K. Yin, *Case Study Research: Design and Methods*, Sage Publications, Thousand Oaks, second edition, 1994, pp. 78-98 and Alexander L. George and Andrew Bennett, *Case Studies and Theory Development in the Social Sciences*, MIT Press, Cambridge, 2005, p. 86

Affairs, Defence and Trade. All the above documents were important in establishing the government's official policy positions at different times. They were in turn compared with official statements made by key decision-makers, such as the Prime Minister, the Foreign Minister and the Defence Minister.

Transcripts of speeches, media interviews, press conferences and press statements of the key decision-makers were used to further gain an understanding of the government's public statements on the policies investigated. They provided important details and insights to the government's policy decisions and changes.

Parliamentary records (Hansard) were useful, in particular, in distinguishing the opposition parties' stance on the East Timor-policy and the policy towards the Solomon Islands.

Important research sources were articles from newspapers and other media outlets. Three newspapers were selected - *The Age*, *The Australian* and the *Financial Review* - for a focused study for the media-section of the analysis. These three newspapers were selected because they are all key opinion-makers and they target a middle-class and upper class type audience, which tend to influence government foreign policy more than the general public. There is also a difference in ownership, as *The Australian* is owned by News Corporation, while *The Age* and the *Financial Review* are owned by Fairfax Media Limited. They approach news from different angles, with *The Age* being more independent than *The Australian*, while the *Financial Review* has a more economic focus. These three newspapers generally report more often and in more detail than for example the more tabloid *The Daily Telegraph*. A large number of articles were used to establish the course of events in the two case studies. They provided a wide range of details that were valuable for the different sources of change. More than 4 000 newspaper-articles were collected for this purpose, 3 422 for the East Timor case study and 629 for the Solomon Islands case study.⁵¹

⁵¹ The key words "East" and "Timor" were used for the first case study and ""Solomon" and "Islands" for the second case study. The search engine used changed its selective process during the research process, which altered the amount of articles that came up in searches.

Transcripts from interviews conducted in television documentaries with key players in the decision-making processes were also used although to a smaller degree, particularly the ABC series “The Howard Years”, which negated the need for oral history or interviews. It is highly unlikely that the key government members, such as John Howard and Alexander Downer would have agreed to hours of interviews with a lowly PhD student given their positions, so this documentary series was used to confirm other findings. A few biographies written by key players were also used, although one must be careful of bias when using them, as with any sources used.

Finally, opinion polls from Newspoll, A.C. Nielsen and Roy Morgan Research were used on specific events but also to establish trends in public opinion over time in relation to the case studies.

As can be seen above, a wide range of primary sources have been used in order to investigate the case studies. Together with secondary sources such as articles from scholarly journals and academic books, the aim has been to collect a broad selection of representative views and various interpretations of their importance.

Aim and Chapter Structure of Thesis

In terms of its theoretical aim, this thesis explores the phenomenon of foreign policy change through an application of a new model to two instances of actual Australian foreign policy change: East Timor during 1999 and Solomon Islands during 2003. The model itself adapts the work of previous scholars and identifies new factors that influence change in foreign policy, specifically the role of the media and its interaction with public opinion and interest groups. Each part of the model includes new aspects compared to previous foreign policy change-models.⁵²

By examining specific instances of foreign policy change the thesis and the model proposed contribute to an overall improved understanding of foreign policy analysis. The case studies combine international and domestic factors and plot the evolution of the decision-making processes that occurred. Change factors are separated into domestic and international categories with the emphasis of the thesis argument being

⁵² The model and its features will be discussed in detail in Chapter 2

that these have the potential to influence each other. In addition the thesis argues that within each category there are a range of factors that individually and cumulatively create momentum for foreign policy change to occur. A key innovation of the thesis is the “Window of Opportunity”, wherein structural conditions change, but this opportunity needs to be perceived as such by the key decision-makers. If they do so, a situation may indeed result in change, but if they do not then no change will occur. Their perception will determine whether they see a change as beneficial enough to carry out or whether they believe the cost is too high. A foreign policy change will only occur when benefits are believed to be greater than the costs of altering a current policy. The process of change can also begin with key decision makers who can attempt to create a “window of opportunity” by trying to change structural conditions. Finally, the proposed model develops a typology of change that recognises and classifies the degree of change, and examines the consequences of foreign policy change.

The studies themselves were essentially self-selected as I was studying in Australia at the time of the 2003 Solomon Islands intervention and became fascinated as to how such a radical departure of policy had happened so quickly. Previous studies in Sweden had introduced me to the key concepts and scholarship surrounding foreign policy change, and when pursuing a PhD in Australia this made Australian foreign policy change an obvious choice for this thesis due to the availability of source materials. The 1999 East Timor INTERFET intervention was also a comparatively recent event, occurring during the second term of the Howard-government, and marked the only other significant departure from previous foreign policy.

The empirical aim of the thesis is therefore to investigate two cases of Australian foreign policy change under the Howard-government. The first case study is the decision to lead an intervention into East Timor in September 1999 which put an end to Australia’s recognition of East Timor as part of Indonesia. The second case study looks at Australia’s policy change towards Solomon Islands in 2003, agreeing to intervene militarily after having declined requests from three previous Solomon-governments. The decision in both cases overturned long-standing policies and had large consequences for Australia’s role in the region and with the parties concerned.

The two cases are similar in nature, in that they both involve a decision to intervene militarily in Australia's immediate neighbourhood; they both took place under the same government and with the same key players behind the policy change.⁵³ However, there are also important differences. While the East Timor-intervention was embarked upon reluctantly under mainly domestic pressure, the Solomon-intervention was more of an initiative by the Howard-government partly due to the international context. The differences in the decision-making process together with the similarities makes these two cases good choices to illustrate the complexities and nature of foreign policy decision-making.

This thesis is divided into seven chapters, including two case studies. Chapter 2 will introduce a model of foreign policy change that identifies the relevant independent variables, i.e. the sources of change. These are Domestic and International factors and actors that may influence and/or pressure the government on foreign policy. The model includes the Key decision-makers and the Window of opportunity as intervening variables in the decision-making process, which are vital for foreign policy change to occur. Finally, as dependent variables, a Typology of change and a Consequences of change-category are introduced. It is argued that the new aspects and development of parts from previous theoretical models are needed to fully understand the decision-making process that leads to foreign policy change. The interplay between and within the domestic and international sources of change, and in turn their interaction with the key decision-makers, help show the complexity that is foreign policy decision-making.

Chapter 3 discusses the background, as well as general features and patterns of Australian foreign policy over the years. The actors and factors relevant in Australian foreign policy are discussed as is the important role that the leader of the government has and plays in making Australian foreign policy.

Chapter 4 and 5 deals with the first case study – Australia's foreign policy change towards Indonesia regarding East Timor in 1998-99. Chapter 4 investigates the

⁵³ This thesis is interested in changes that occur during the same government, not changes that take place because of new government coming to power, such as the immediate ratification of the Kyoto-protocol by the Rudd-government when it took office in December 2007.

background and the decision-making process leading up to the change, arguing that the Howard-government for most parts reacted to events and policy changes in Indonesia, rather than leading the process themselves. This was also identified as an important international factor in the analysis in Chapter 5. In this chapter, the theoretical model is applied to the decision-making process, identifying the influential actors and factors in producing the change, the role of the key decision-makers, and ultimately how the change came about. Domestic factors are found to be interacting to put pressure on the government to finally change its policy, fuelled by the developments in Indonesia and East Timor.

Chapter 6 and 7 focuses on the second case study – Australian foreign policy change towards Solomon Islands in 2003. Chapter 6 illustrates how the Howard-government over a long period of time declined requests from three successive Solomon-governments of direct military and police assistance, citing respect for sovereignty and Australia not being a “neo-colonial power” as reasons. The analysis in Chapter 7 reveals international factors to be prominent in altering the government’s view of its Solomon Islands policy. In combination with one particular domestic factor, the Australian Strategic Policy Institute (ASPI) whose efforts to influence the government proved influential, the Howard-government saw the opportunity to act and change policy.

Finally, chapter 8 provides a discussion wherein the empirical and theoretical findings are compared. Similarities and differences between the two case studies are discussed and the model’s empirical and theoretical implications are then outlined. Domestic factors interacted to put a combined pressure on the government in the East Timor case study, and together with events unfolding in Indonesia throughout the process led to a policy change in September 1999. It is also noted that the Howard government reacted to external events rather than initiating the change itself.

The Howard government was more proactive in the Solomon Islands case study, although it also reacted to the rapid decline of Solomon Islands. The policy change was framed in terms of the risk a failed state in the neighbourhood could pose to Australia. In this case study, it was the interaction between international factors that

were prominent, together with an interest group that influenced the government domestically.

The two case studies show the importance of the key decision-makers and their perception of whether there is a window of opportunity for a policy change to occur. It also illustrates how domestic and international factors interact to pressure or influence the decision-makers. This occurs between domestic factors, between international factors, but also between domestic and international factors.

Conclusion

This chapter has outlined the development of the foreign policy change area of research from its origins in the early 1980s until today, as well as the contributions to the new focus on the decision-making process, the perceptions of key decision-makers and the importance of looking at both domestic and international factors when investigating foreign policy change. It has argued that the Post Cold War-environment brought with it increased opportunities for states to change foreign policy, as well as having to react to events more often due to the less restricted political environment once the bipolar structure was gone. Australia was no exception and it became necessary to adapt to the new circumstances, particularly in its own neighbourhood. The next chapter discusses the Foreign Policy Change area of research and previous theoretical and empirical contributions. It then goes on to introduce a new model of foreign policy change to be applied in the case studies that will follow in chapters 4-7.

Chapter 2: Foreign Policy Change

“Surprise remains one of the few things one can count on.”

John Lewis Gaddis¹

When a state changes its foreign policy it can affect both the state and the international political system profoundly. It can be disruptive and even lead to warfare. The underlying causes of foreign policy change are therefore important to understand and this study attempts to further that understanding. This chapter explains why foreign policy change is an important area of study. It will examine the research already conducted on foreign policy change, and what has been lacking in the research done so far. It will argue that although much progress has been made, there are still flaws in the theoretical models constructed up until now, leading to the presentation of a new theoretical model on foreign policy change.

Several theoretical models have been constructed by other scholars, however, each model is inadequate, as will be shown below, which makes them unable to explain fully all factors contributing to a foreign policy change. The model of foreign policy change presented in this study attempts to include the relevant factors that affect a government's decision to change its foreign policy, and to incorporate them into a theoretical model that can be used to explain foreign policy change. This model includes factors such as the media, which has not earlier been specifically categorised, takes into account the leader's ability to seize the initiative and create a “Window of Opportunity”. It advances also a modified typology of change and further it is the first model so far researching the consequences of change. One important aspect of this is that, unlike earlier models, this model has a balanced focus on each feature.

The theoretical aim in this thesis is to devise a model to use as an analytical tool for the empirical part of the thesis. The model identifies factors that influence change in foreign policy, divided up in domestic and international factors. It also recognises a “Window of Opportunity”, wherein structural conditions change, which need to be

¹ John Lewis Gaddis, ‘International Relations Theory and the End of the Cold War’, *International Security*, Vol. 17, No. 3, Winter 1992-93, p. 5

perceived as such by the key decision-makers, thus creating a situation that may, or may not, induce change. The process can also begin in this category, if the key decision-maker attempts to create a “window of opportunity” by changing structural conditions. The next step in the model deals with the decision-making process, wherein key decision-makers act upon the created window of opportunity and embark upon a policy process that results in a foreign policy change. The model recognises what has changed, how it has changed, and the degree of change. This part is defined as a typology of change. Finally, the consequences of the policy change are examined.

The model presented below is mainly designed for the study of foreign policy change in functioning parliamentary and presidential democracies. However, it is not ruled out that the model may be applicable to other regime types as well. Although several of the domestic variables might seem unimportant in an authoritarian regime at first, they can be quite relevant there as well, for example, the military as an interest group, or public opinion putting pressure on the government/dictator with demonstrations or other activities.

The purpose of this model is to explain past events rather than predict future foreign policy change. Earlier models have had a similar focus, with one notable exception; David A. Welch’s study on foreign policy change. Welch attempts to find the conditions that may produce a foreign policy change, using prospect theory, organizational theory, and cognitive and motivational psychology. Welch shows how the decision-maker’s perception is important in whether there will be a policy change or not. How the decision-maker(s) view his environment and the relevant factors involved is of vital importance, particularly in his perception of whether the current policy is flawed, is not working, may fail in the immediate future, or that a new policy would produce gains that would produce higher benefits than the current policy; a cost/benefit calculation on the part of the decision-maker(s) thus.²

However, in his study Welch completely ignores the rest of the Foreign Policy Change scholarship. There is not a single reference in the book or in the bibliography

² David A. Welch, *Painful Choices: A theory of foreign policy change*, Princeton University Press, New Jersey, 2005

to any of the major works on foreign policy change.³ This begs the question as to whether David A. Welch should be considered to be part of the foreign policy change theoretical field, however, he deserves a mention here, even though it is a serious error to write a book on foreign policy change without consulting any of the scholarly work already done.

This model cannot predict future foreign policy change. The end of the Cold War showed just how difficult it is for the existing theories of International Relations to predict the future.⁴ Gaddis' study on the major theories and whether they had predicted the end of the Cold War concluded that very few of the existing theories came even close to do so. Gaddis states:

One might as well have relied upon stargazers, readers of entrails, and other 'pre-scientific' methods for all the good our 'scientific' methods did, clearly our theories were not up to the task of anticipating the most significant event in world politics since the end of World War II.⁵

The words of Robert Conquest uttered in 1991: "If you are a student, switch from political science to history"⁶, again express the difficulties of predicting the future of world politics.⁷

³ Such as Kalevi J. Holsti, (Ed) *Why Nations Realign: Foreign Policy Restructuring in the Postwar World*, Allen & Unwin, London, 1982, or Charles F. Hermann, 'Changing Course: When Governments Choose to Redirect Foreign Policy', *International Studies Quarterly*, Vol. 34, No. 4, 1990, or Jerel A. Rosati, & Joe D. Hagan, & Martin W. Sampson, (eds) *Foreign Policy Restructuring: How Governments Respond to Global Change*, University of South Carolina Press, Columbia, 1994, or Jakob Gustavsson, *The Politics of Foreign Policy Change: Explaining the Swedish Reorientation on EC Membership*, Lund University Press, Lund, Doctoral Dissertation, 1998, or Jakob Gustavsson, 'How Should We Study Foreign Policy Change?' *Cooperation and Conflict*, Vol. 34, Issue 1, 1999, or Yvonne Kleistra & Igor Mayer, 'Stability and Flux in Foreign Affairs: Modelling Policy and Organisational Change', *Cooperation and Conflict*, Vol. 36, Issue 4, 2001

⁴ J. L. Gaddis, 'International Relations Theory and the End of the Cold War', p. 6

⁵ J. L. Gaddis, 'International Relations Theory and the End of the Cold War', p. 18

⁶ Robert Conquest, cited in J. L. Gaddis, 'International Relations Theory and the End of the Cold War', p. 53

⁷ For a further discussion of the difficulties of predicting future politics, see Robert Jervis, 'The Future of World Politics: Will It Resemble the Past?', *International Security*, Vol. 16, Issue 3, Winter 1991-92

Definitions

Cohen and Harris define the scope of foreign policy in the following manner:

... a set of goals, directives or intentions, formulated by persons in official or authoritative positions, directed at some actor or condition in the environment beyond the sovereign nation state, for the purpose of affecting the target in the manner desired by the policy-makers.⁸

This thesis will adopt this definition, since it defines foreign policy in a broad enough manner and explains the basic meaning of the term, clearly stating that it refers to actions taken towards actors or events outside of the state in question, thereby separating it from domestic politics. As Gustavsson argues, it states clearly that foreign policy is the intentional behaviour of governments of states, thereby clearly showing who the actor is and that the actions are intentional in nature.⁹

Jerel A. Rosati defines change, in the context of foreign policy, as a 'foreign policy phenomena that experience broad alteration, ranging from more modest shifts to major foreign policy restructuring'.¹⁰ This study focuses on foreign policy change as defined by Rosati, that is, it does not focus only on foreign policy redirection, where a state changes its foreign policy in a major way. Rather, it leaves open the range of change from modest to major change. It also distinguishes between foreign policy changes that occur when a state changes governments and when a change occurs under the same government.¹¹ This study focuses on change that occurs while the same government is in office. Opposition parties argue from outside power for change, so changes can be expected when they assume office. Foreign policy change within the same government is less common, and therefore worth investigating.

⁸ Bernard. C. Cohen & Scott. A. Harris, 'Foreign Policy', in *Handbook of Political Science*, eds. F. I. Greenstein & N. Polsby, Addison Wesley, Reading, 1975, p. 383

⁹ J. Gustavsson, *The Politics of Foreign Policy Change: Explaining the Swedish Reorientation on EC Membership*, p. 22

¹⁰ Jerel A. Rosati, 'Cycles in Foreign Policy Restructuring: The Politics of Continuity and Change in U.S. Foreign Policy', in *Foreign Policy Restructuring: How Governments Respond to Global Change* eds. J. A. Rosati, & J. D. Hagan, & M. W. III. Sampson, University of South Carolina, Columbia, 1994, p. 225

¹¹ For another example of this approach, see C. F. Hermann, 'Changing Course: When Governments Choose to Redirect Foreign Policy', pp. 4-5

The Study of Foreign Policy Change

As discussed in Chapter 1, foreign policy analysis emerged as an area of focus for International Relations in the 1960s and 1970s. Important studies were conducted, such as Bruck, Sapin and Snyder's study wherein they investigate the decision-making process in relation to foreign policy¹², James Rosenau's effort to outline a 'pre-theory' on foreign policy¹³, Graham T. Allison's study on the bureaucratic and organisational role in the Cuban Missile crisis¹⁴, and Robert Jervis work on perceptions and misperceptions.¹⁵

Foreign policy *change* however was still largely ignored and has been a neglected area of research. Several reasons have been given for this. Robert Gilpin lists a number of reasons for this neglect, among them the fact that International Relations research has not been a specific area of research for very long; attention has been given to what Gilpin calls "middle-range theory", which has diverted attention from bigger, more general problems such as change. Furthermore, there has been a Western focus in the study of International Relations, particularly the static nature of the Cold War, while the preferred state of academics has tended to be stability, since change upset accepted norms. Finally, change itself has been viewed as complex, specific to particular events, and therefore difficult to explain. Thus it was easier to shy away from it and focus on other areas of research.¹⁶

Kalevi J. Holsti has also pointed to the fact that foreign policy change had been overlooked because of the perception of the Cold War structure as stable. While neglecting the forces of nationalism, scholars instead saw the new trends of interdependence as a further stabilizer in international politics.¹⁷

¹² Richard C. Snyder, H. W. Bruck, and Burton Sapin, 'Decision-Making as an Approach to the Study of International Politics', in *Foreign Policy Decision-Making: An Approach to the Study of International Politics*, eds. R. C. Snyder & H. W. Bruck & B. Sapin, The Free Press of Glencoe, New York, 1962 - Original article first published in 1954

¹³ James N. Rosenau, 'Pre-Theories and Theories of Foreign Policy', in ed. R. B. Farrell, *Approaches to Comparative and International Politics*, Northwestern University Press, Evanston, 1966

¹⁴ Graham T. Allison, *Essence of Decision: Explaining the Cuban Missile Crisis*, Little, Brown, Boston, 1971

¹⁵ Robert Jervis, *Perceptions and Misperceptions in International Politics*, Princeton University Press, Princeton, 1976

¹⁶ Robert Gilpin, *War and Change in World Politics*, Cambridge University Press, Cambridge, 1981, pp. 4-6

¹⁷ Kalevi J. Holsti, 'Restructuring Foreign Policy: A Neglected Phenomenon in Foreign Policy Theory', in *Why Nations Realign: Foreign Policy Restructuring in the Postwar World*, ed. K. J. Holsti,

Foreign policy change as a research area slowly emerged in the 1980s from work by a number of scholars, although they were still very much a minority.¹⁸ It then took off, albeit still on a minor scale, especially in the early 1990s and the end of the 1990s. Foreign policy change as a field of study developed, through both theoretical development of new models on foreign policy change¹⁹ and through empirical applications and studies.²⁰ It now seems that foreign policy change has become an

Allen & Unwin, London, 1982, p. 8 Also noted by J. Gustavsson, *The Politics of Foreign Policy Change: Explaining the Swedish Reorientation on EC Membership*, p. 3

¹⁸ Barry Buzan & R. J. Barry Jones, *Change and the Study of International Relations*, Pinter, London, 1981, and R. Gilpin, *War and Change in World Politics*, and Kjell Goldmann, 'Change and Stability in Foreign Policy: Détente as a Problem of Stabilization', *World Politics*, Vol. 34, Issue 2, 1982, and K. J. Holsti, *Why Nations Realign: Foreign Policy Restructuring in the Postwar World*, and Jan Hallenberg, *Foreign Policy Change: United States Foreign Policy Toward the Soviet Union and The People's Republic of China 1961-1980*, University of Stockholm, Stockholm, Doctoral Dissertation, 1984

¹⁹ C. F. Hermann, 'Changing Course: When Governments Choose to Redirect Foreign Policy', and Walter Carlsnaes, 'The Agency-Structure Problem in Foreign Policy Analysis', *International Studies Quarterly*, Vol. 36, 1992, and Walter Carlsnaes, 'On Analysing the Dynamics of Foreign Policy Change: A Critique and Reconceptualization', *Cooperation and Conflict*, Vol. 28, Issue 1, 1993, and J. A. Rosati, 'Cycles in Foreign Policy Restructuring: The Politics of Continuity and Change in U.S. Foreign Policy', and David Skidmore, 'Explaining State Responses to International Change: The Structural Sources of Foreign Policy Rigidity and Change', in *Foreign Policy Restructuring: How Governments Respond to Global Change*, University of South Carolina, Columbia, 1994, and Sanqiang Jian, *Foreign Policy Restructuring as Adaptive Behavior: China's Independent Foreign Policy 1982-1989*, University Press of America, Lanham, 1996, and David D. Oldfield, *The Restructuring of Thailand's Foreign Policy Towards Laos, 1988-1991*, Northern Illinois University, Doctoral Dissertation, 1998, and Muhittin Ataman, *An Integrated Approach to Foreign Policy Change: Explaining Changes in Turkish Foreign Policy in the 1980s*, University Microfilms, Ann Arbor, 1999, and J. Gustavsson, 'How Should We Study Foreign Policy Change?', and Charles F. Hermann, & Robert S. Billings, & Robert Litchfield, 'Escalation and Modification: Responding to Negative Feedback in Sequential Decision Making', Paper presented at the *Fifth National Conference on Public Management Research*, December 3-4 1999, Texas A&M University, and Y. Kleistra & I. Mayer, 'Stability and Flux in Foreign Affairs: Modelling Policy and Organisational Change', and Tomas Niklasson, *Regime Stability and Foreign Policy Change: Interaction between Domestic and Foreign Policy in Hungary 1956-1994*, Lund University Press, Lund, Doctoral Dissertation, 2006, and Fredrik Doerer, *In Search of Security After the Collapse of the Soviet Union: Foreign Policy Change in Denmark, Finland and Sweden, 1988-1993*, Universitetservice US-AB, Stockholm, 2008

²⁰ Raimo Vayrynen, 'Adaption of a Small Power to International Tensions: The Case of Finland', in ed. B. Sundelius, *The Neutral Democracies and the New Cold War*, Westview Press, Boulder, 1987, Magnus Jerneck, 'Sweden – the Reluctant European?', in *The Nordic Countries and the EC*, eds. T. Tiilikainen & I. D. Pedersen, Copenhagen Political Studies Press, Copenhagen, 1993, and Bengt Sundelius, 'Changing Course: When Neutral Sweden Chose to Join the European Community', in eds. W. Carlsnaes, & S. Smith, *European Foreign Policy: The EC and Changing Perspectives in Europe*, Sage Publications, London, 1994, and Thomas Pedersen, 'Denmark and the European Union', in ed. L. Miles, *The European Union and the Nordic Countries*, Routledge, London, 1996, and J. Gustavsson, *The Politics of Foreign Policy Change: Explaining the Swedish Reorientation on EC Membership*, Mark. C. Gentry, *From Containment to Inclusion: United States foreign economic policy and the former Soviet Union*, University Microfilms, Ann Arbor, 1999, and Hans Branner, 'Options and Goals in Danish Foreign Policy European Policy Since 1945: Explaining Small State Behavior and Foreign Policy Change', in eds. H. Branner, & M. Kelstrup, *Denmark's Foreign Policy Towards Europe After 1945*, Odense University Press, Odense, 2000, and Kevin J. Cooney, *Japan's Foreign Policy Maturation: A Quest for Normalcy*, Arizona State University, Doctoral Dissertation, 2000, and Michael Karlsson & Olav F. Knudsen, 'Sweden and the Baltic States', in *Finnish and Swedish Security:*

area of study on which attention has increased and that it is likely to expand further. States change their foreign policy all the time, on a small or a large scale, and the underlying reasons are important to understand, in order to fully comprehend the actions taken by states in today's international political system.

The end of the Cold War took most scholars by surprise and it also made painfully clear the lack of research on foreign policy change. Furthermore, the more fluent international political system that emerged in the 1990s, as many of the Cold War - restrictions for states disappeared, made foreign policy change more possible and therefore became an area of research to focus further on. The foreign policy change area of research aims to understand how and when it happens, as well as the underlying factors behind it.²¹

David Huxsoll points to several reasons to why the study of foreign policy change is an important area of research. First, he argues that "foreign policy changes are often not only surprising, but disruptive". It can therefore have a big impact on state relations, internationally as well as regionally. This disruptive effect can have a multitude of consequences, such as shifts in alliances, tension building between states, or it can even lead to warfare in extreme cases. Second, investigating foreign policy change inevitably leads to an enhanced understanding of the overall field of international relations, particularly through the theoretical contributions it brings with it. Third, foreign policy change-research can contribute with important empirical work on international relations on several levels of analysis. Fourth, it "offers the opportunity to incorporate multiple perspectives",²² which further the research on domestic and international factors combined affect on decision-makers in the foreign policy process. Finally, Huxsoll argues that the study of foreign policy change can

Comparing National Policies, eds. B. Huld & T. Tiilikainen & T. Vaahtoranta & A. Helkama-Ragard, Swedish National Defense College, Stockholm, 2001, and Hans Loden, "For sakerhets skull": *Ideologi och sakerhet i svensk aktiv utrikespolitik 1950-1975*, Santerus, Stockholm, 2001, and Mark A. Schuler, *Explaining Foreign Policy Change: The Case of United States International Population Policy*, University of Missouri, St.Louis, 2001, and Kjell Engelbrekt, *Security Policy Reorientation in Peripheral Europe: A Comparative-Perspectivist Approach*, Ashgate, Aldershot, 2002, and Joshua Dapaah-Agyemang, *Transformation of ECOWAS as a Security Apparatus and Its Implications in Ghana's Political Orientation, 1990-2000*, in *African and Asian Studies*, Vol. 2, Issue 1, 2003, and David B. Huxsoll, *Regimes, Institutions and Foreign Policy Change*, Louisiana State University, Doctoral Dissertation, 2003, and Jonathan Rhynold, 'Cultural Shift and Foreign Policy Change', *Cooperation and Conflict*, Vol. 42, Issue 4, 2007

²¹ D. B. Huxsoll, *Regimes, Institutions and Foreign Policy Change*, p. 4

²² D. B. Huxsoll, *Regimes, Institutions and Foreign Policy Change*, p. 17

contribute with important insights into core issues in International Relations and foreign policy analysis. He specifically names neo-realism (particularly Waltz) and its external approach to changes in foreign policy, thereby neglecting domestic factors in the process. The focus on domestic and international factors as sources of change is an area where foreign policy change scholars can contribute with important research.²³ The importance of understanding even the basis of continuity and change in international politics makes foreign policy change research important to undertake.²⁴

Earlier Theoretical Models

Despite the apparent neglect of research on foreign policy change important work has been conducted. Several scholars have developed their own models that are intended to explain foreign policy change. Below, models relevant to this study are discussed using Jakob Gustavsson's typology of the six models that were in existence at that time, which he then divided into three categories: checklist models, structural constraints models, and cyclical models.²⁵

Checklist models are built on three basic analytical steps – background factors (for example domestic and international) that could trigger a foreign policy change, intervening variables (cognitive and decision-making related factors), and the outcome, i.e. the policy change in a typology of change. Charles F. Hermann's²⁶ model follows these three analytical steps. The background factors consist of four agents of change - Leader driven, Bureaucratic advocacy, Domestic support, and External shocks.²⁷ His intermediate step focuses on the decision-making process, wherein seven steps of the process are investigated in order to understand the road towards the change in policy.²⁸ Once the change is a reality, Hermann proposes a typology of change consisting of four levels that determines the amount of change -

²³ D. B. Huxsoll, *Regimes, Institutions and Foreign Policy Change*, pp. 16-18 and B. Sundelius, 'Changing Course: When Neutral Sweden Chose to Join the European Community', pp. 183-84

²⁴ J. A. Rosati, & J. D. Hagan, & M. W. Sampson, eds. *Foreign Policy Restructuring: How Governments Respond to Global Change*, p. ix

²⁵ J. Gustavsson, 'How Should We Study Foreign Policy Change?', p. 77

²⁶ C. F. Hermann, 'Changing Course: When Governments Choose to Redirect Foreign Policy'

²⁷ C. F. Hermann, 'Changing Course: When Governments Choose to Redirect Foreign Policy', pp. 11-12

²⁸ C. F. Hermann, 'Changing Course: When Governments Choose to Redirect Foreign Policy', p. 14

Adjustment changes, Program changes, Problem/Goal changes, and International Orientation changes.²⁹

Kalevi J. Holsti also constructed a checklist model, designed to investigate major changes in foreign policy – foreign policy ‘restructuring’ –, which focused on “the dramatic, wholesale alteration of a nation’s pattern of external relations”.³⁰ He thereby ignores lesser changes that are covered by Hermann’s typology. He identified a number of background factors: external, domestic, historical, and cultural. The intermediate step is more detailed than in Hermann’s work, containing not only the policy-making process but also taking into account three other variables - perceptions, personality, and elite attitudes. The background factors pass through the intervening variables, which then result into one of three types of reorientation: disengagement policies, restructuring actions in external environment, or actions toward external penetration.³¹ In his study, Holsti and seven other authors applied his model in eight case studies from the First and Third worlds.

Checklist models have been criticised for having poor theoretical underpinnings, admitted even by Hermann, which affects their explanatory value. However, they are a useful tool to explain and interpret foreign policy-decisions as they identify the relevant factors and the steps needed to be taken in the decision-making process.³² Hermann’s model is also criticised by Walter Carlsnaes for putting leaders as agents of change while it would be assumed that they would also play an important part in the decision-making process, creating what Gustavsson refer to as an “analytical overlap”.³³

Holsti’s model contains three independent variables but with its subdivisions, it climbs to eight variables in total. Adding the four intervening variables to the

²⁹ C. F. Hermann, ‘Changing Course: When Governments Choose to Redirect Foreign Policy’, pp. 5-6

³⁰ Kalevi J. Holsti, ‘Introduction’, in *Why Nations Realign: Foreign Policy Restructuring in the Postwar World*, ed. K. J. Holsti, Allen & Unwin, London, 1982, p. ix

³¹ K. J. Holsti, ‘Restructuring Foreign Policy: A Neglected Phenomenon in Foreign Policy Theory’, p. 14

³² B. Sundelius, ‘Changing Course: When Neutral Sweden Chose to Join the European Community’, pp. 196-97

³³ W. Carlsnaes, ‘On Analysing the Dynamics of Foreign Policy Change: A Critique and Reconceptualization’, pp. 10-12 and J. Gustavsson, ‘How Should We Study Foreign Policy Change?’, pp. 80 & 82

independent variables and the number of explanatory factors are up to twelve. This fact has been criticised as too detailed and difficult to apply to empirical cases.³⁴ However, a model with a number of explanatory variables somewhere between Gustavsson and Holsti can still be useful in empirical studies, if used as a “checklist”, making the structuring of one’s findings easier to categorise. It also makes it easier to detect the interaction between the factors in influencing or pressuring the government, which increases the explanatory value of a model. Moreover, Walter Carlsnaes criticises the checklist model’s lack of consideration to the agency-structure problem, which is concerned with building explanations, looking both at the intentions of actors and structural conditions, as well as the interplay between them.³⁵

The structural constraints models pay attention to factors that constrain or stabilise current policies and how, or if, these can be pressured enough and make the decision-makers undertake a foreign policy change.³⁶ A common assumption is that a change of policy brings with it a cost (e.g. financial, political etc), which often can be too much for policy-makers, thereby making the current policy the least costly alternative and no foreign policy change will take place.³⁷ Kjell Goldmann constructed a model which focussed on “stabilizers” and their effect on the degree of constancy in a particular policy. Goldmann is interested in “what factors determine whether, when, and to what extent pressure for change in a policy will in fact produce change?”.³⁸ He identifies four types of stabilizers: international, cognitive, political, or administrative. In order to cause a change in foreign policy, sources of change need to pass through a filter wherein stabilizers determine both if there is sufficient pressure for change and if so, the level of change the process will result in.³⁹

³⁴ J. Gustavsson, *The Politics of Foreign Policy Change: Explaining the Swedish Reorientation on EC Membership*, p. 19

³⁵ W. Carlsnaes, ‘On Analysing the Dynamics of Foreign Policy Change: A Critique and Reconceptualization’, pp. 12-15

³⁶ J. Gustavsson, ‘How Should We Study Foreign Policy Change?’, p. 78

³⁷ See for example, Thomas J. Volgy & John E. Schwarz, ‘Foreign Policy Restructuring and the Myriads Webs of Restraint’, in *Foreign Policy Restructuring: How Governments Respond to Global Change*, eds. J. D. Hagan & J. A. Rosati, & M. W. Sampson, University of South Carolina, Columbia, 1994, and D. Skidmore, ‘Explaining State Responses to International Change: The Structural Sources of Foreign Policy Rigidity and Change’, p. 47

³⁸ Kjell Goldmann, *Change and Stability in Foreign Policy: The Problems and Possibilities of Détente*, Harvester Wheatsheaf, London, 1988, p. 3

³⁹ K. Goldmann, ‘Change and Stability in Foreign Policy: Détente as a Problem of Stabilization’, p. 231ff

David Skidmore combines influences from both realist and institutional theory in his model. He looks at how a state handles changes in the global arena and adapts its foreign policy accordingly. Acknowledging that there are not just international but also domestic pressures that need to be taken account, Skidmore argues in his model that focus is put on a country's ability to adjust its foreign policy to changes in the global environment. Skidmore argues that it is subject to both domestic and international constraints, and concludes that according to his model, a state that is strong domestically and weak internationally is more likely to change its policy than a state that is weak domestically and strong (hegemonic) internationally.⁴⁰

As Gustavsson has observed, the structural constraints models suffer from a number of problems. In the case of Goldmann's model, its focus is on stability, through the focus on stabilizers, rather than change, and is therefore better suited to use when studying stability and continuity of a policy. A common problem with these models is the lack of attention given to the factors that play a vital part in influencing and pressuring the government towards a change. The focus is on the intermediate step, especially in Skidmore's model, which completely ignore the individuals in the process - i.e. the key decision-makers - as well as the decision-making process.⁴¹

The cyclical models take a long-term perspective compared to the two previous types. By taking this approach, the focus shifts to find patterns over time that can explain foreign policy changes, thereby the name "cyclical" models.⁴² As mentioned above, Walter Carlsnaes is concerned with the agency-structure problem and the lack of consideration to this problem in earlier foreign policy change-models. He therefore devised his own model, which takes this aspect into account. The model consists of three "dimensions of explanation"; an intentional dimension, a dispositional dimension, and a structural dimension.⁴³ These three dimensions when applied together in one model incorporate both agents and structural conditions in order to explain foreign policy change and would therefore do what the checklist models do not, that is, address the agency-structure problem.

⁴⁰ D. Skidmore, 'Explaining State Responses to International Change: The Structural Sources of Foreign Policy Rigidity and Change', p. 43

⁴¹ J. Gustavsson, 'How Should We Study Foreign Policy Change?', p. 82

⁴² J. Gustavsson, 'How Should We Study Foreign Policy Change?', p. 82

⁴³ W. Carlsnaes, 'The Agency-Structure Problem in Foreign Policy Analysis', p. 254

Jerel A. Rosati's model also focuses on longer periods and patterns over time. In developing his model, Rosati examines US foreign policy from 1945 up to the 1980s, arguing for the cyclical approach to understand foreign policy change. He argues that changes are more likely to occur in times of transition, which are preceded and followed by times of stability. He emphasises the interaction between the state, the society, and the environment, in understanding both stability and change. Foreign policy can therefore be understood to be relatively continuous over time, with periods when change occurs.⁴⁴

The cyclical models contain an aspect that differs from the other models, namely a focus on long periods of time. However, a few problems remain. Carlsnaes model is quite detailed and Gustavsson has argued that a good model should be measured against the results that empirical studies produce. Applying Carlsnaes model on a case study would require a vast amount of research that might not justify its application.⁴⁵ Rosati's model has been criticised for being too general, by simplifying historical data and saying little about specific processes and sources of change that might trigger foreign policy change.⁴⁶ Rosati himself admits "the model's fit with reality in explaining the U.S. foreign policy is not as clean as suggested – the politics of U.S. foreign policy are complex and messier than portrayed above".⁴⁷ So, while Carlsnaes model could be considered too complex, Rosati's model might be seen as too general.

Jakob Gustavsson constructed his own model of foreign policy change in his doctoral thesis on the Swedish reorientation on EC membership. It is similar to the checklist models but it has developed it a step further than the other checklist models examined earlier. He divides the sources of change into International and Domestic factors. Within each category he introduces two subcategories: political and economic factors. The intermediate step consists of cognitive factors in regards to an individual decision-maker. He/she perceives and acts on the sources of change, which result in a

⁴⁴ J. A. Rosati, 'Cycles in Foreign Policy Restructuring: The Politics of Continuity and Change in U.S. Foreign Policy'

⁴⁵ J. Gustavsson, 'How Should We Study Foreign Policy Change?', p. 82

⁴⁶ J. Gustavsson, 'How Should We Study Foreign Policy Change?', p. 82

⁴⁷ J. A. Rosati, 'Cycles in Foreign Policy Restructuring: The Politics of Continuity and Change in U.S. Foreign Policy', p. 257

foreign policy change. Finally, Hermann's typology of change is introduced as the final step.⁴⁸

Gustavsson's model is a step in the right direction. Particularly important is cognitive aspects that he introduces and the focus on individual decision-maker's perception in making decisions. He also discusses "policy windows" and timing, as an important aspect in making a policy change. However, further emphasis can be put on this window of opportunity and how decision-makers perceive it.⁴⁹ Also, the sources of change could benefit from being more specific, that is, categorised into subcategories, which would enhance the explanatory value, presentation of one's findings, and make easier the gathering of data for the researcher. It would specifically make it easier to detect the interaction between domestic factors, between international factors, and between domestic and international factors, enhancing its explanatory value. Furthermore, the international political subcategory is focused on "power relations and the traditional military aspects of national security".⁵⁰ In general, Gustavsson's model seems to be specifically designed for his case study, although it would most likely be applicable for other case studies as well but it would benefit from covering a broader area of international political issues. Moreover, the typology of change step could be developed further, to address questions such as "what exactly changed", "how exactly did it change", and not just the level of change in general terms.

Yvonne Kleistra and Igor Mayer constructed a model that is relevant to this study. It contains 11 carriers and barriers for change, divided up on four levels of analysis (International system, National political system, Organizational system, Individual policymakers/Leaders). The decision-making process follows them, which then amount to a change in foreign policy. Their typology of change focuses on three types of change: Political/Normative foundations, Strategy & Goals, and Instruments. Finally, these three types of foreign policy change are then viewed in regards to

⁴⁸ J. Gustavsson, *The Politics of Foreign Policy Change: Explaining the Swedish Reorientation on EC Membership*, pp. 22-27

⁴⁹ J. Gustavsson, *The Politics of Foreign Policy Change: Explaining the Swedish Reorientation on EC Membership*, pp. 25-27

⁵⁰ J. Gustavsson, *The Politics of Foreign Policy Change: Explaining the Swedish Reorientation on EC Membership*, p. 23

organisational change.⁵¹ Kleistra and Mayer's model focuses on both change and stability, while this thesis focuses purely on change. Their model also contains a significant focus on organizational change, while this thesis has a more general focus on foreign policy change.

There has been further theoretical development in recent years, particularly on the interaction between domestic and international factors in foreign policy change, although without developing new models as such. Tomas Nicklasson's study on Hungarian foreign policy between 1956 and 1994 focused on both what promotes foreign policy change as well as what hinders it. In this he acknowledges the vital role of the key decision-makers in the process.⁵² Nicklasson outlines a new framework to estimate three dimensions of foreign policy change – Degree of foreign policy change, Time-frame for change, and the scope of change. Furthermore, he introduced domestic, international and cognitive Promoters and Stabilisers of change.⁵³ Put together, Nicklasson's theoretical framework provides a valuable contribution to the field of foreign policy change, particularly in showing the domestic and international factors interaction in producing a change.

Fredrik Doeser's research on the security policies of Sweden, Denmark and Finland 1988-1993 analyses how these small states coped with the number of changes during this time period, such as the end of the Cold War, the demise of the Soviet Union and the First Gulf War, as well as the deepening integration in Europe and the breakdown of Yugoslavia. His most important theoretical contribution lies in how he displays that domestic factors are just as important to decision-makers in small states as international factors.⁵⁴

⁵¹ Y. Kleistra & I. Mayer, 'Stability and Flux in Foreign Affairs: Modelling Policy and Organisational Change', p. 390

⁵² T. Niklasson, *Regime Stability and Foreign Policy Change: Interaction between Domestic and Foreign Policy in Hungary 1956-1994*

⁵³ T. Niklasson, *Regime Stability and Foreign Policy Change: Interaction between Domestic and Foreign Policy in Hungary 1956-1994*, pp. 41-54

⁵⁴ F. Doeser, *In Search of Security After the Collapse of the Soviet Union: Foreign Policy Change in Denmark, Finland and Sweden, 1988-1993*

Empirical Studies on Foreign Policy Change

Several empirical studies, using a theoretical model, have been done on foreign policy change; however, none has so far had its focus on Australian foreign policy change. Applications of the abovementioned models will be examined in this section, which will then lead to the presentation of my own model in the next section.

Gustavsson investigated the Swedish reorientation towards EC membership in his doctoral thesis. In applying his model, he reached the conclusion that the end of the Cold War caused a fundamental change in the international system, which played a big part in the Swedish reorientation. However, this change wasn't sufficient in itself. Sweden's balance of payments crisis, which occurred around the same time, also contributed, as did the Swedish Prime Minister Ingvar Carlsson's changing beliefs and strategic behaviour. These factors, in combination, led to the change in Sweden's foreign policy towards EC membership. Gustavsson, using Hermann's typology of change, classified it as a "problem/goal change".⁵⁵

A number of studies adopt Hermann's model. Bengt Sundelius applied it on the same topic as Gustavsson, the Swedish reorientation towards EC membership. In contrast to Gustavsson, Sundelius found that the change was a "programme change". He identified the "domestic restructuring" and "External shocks" agents of change as the primary sources for the change in policy. The dramatically altered security situation in Europe after the Cold War plus an anticipated change in preference against the government, worked together as sources of change, resulting in a foreign policy change, according to Sundelius.⁵⁶

Thomas Pedersen has also applied Hermann's framework on empirical studies. Pedersen investigated Denmark's EC/EU policy at the end of the Cold War. According to Pedersen, Denmark's policy changed in economic and political sectors but it remained more or less constant in the security area. He classifies this as a "program change".⁵⁷

⁵⁵ J. Gustavsson, *The Politics of Foreign Policy Change: Explaining the Swedish Reorientation on EC Membership*

⁵⁶ B. Sundelius, 'Changing Course: When Neutral Sweden Chose to Join the European Community'

⁵⁷ T. Pedersen, 'Denmark and the European Union'

Hans Branner also applied Hermann's model in his study of Danish foreign policy towards security cooperation in Europe. He concludes that Danish foreign policy has changed in some regards, since the Cold War, particularly towards security cooperation in NATO, however, not so much towards the EC/EU, which is explained by a reluctant Danish public opinion and from seeing NATO as the only provider of security in Europe.⁵⁸ Similarly, Raimo Vayrynen used Goldmann's theoretical model to investigate Finnish foreign policy from the late 1970s to the early 1980s. He argued that its policy could be categorised as 'passive instrumentality', and that the continued stability in Finnish foreign policy was determined by both domestic and international stabilizers.⁵⁹

Jan Hallenberg utilised parts of Goldmann's model in his study on US foreign policy towards China and the Soviet Union, 1961-1980.⁶⁰ His thesis studied both change and stability and his main findings show the importance of looking at domestic and cognitive factors, in order to fully understand change and stability in foreign policy over time. Apart from its theoretical contributions, this study also comprises a major contribution to early foreign policy change scholarship.

Hermann's and Goldmann's models are the only theoretical models on foreign policy change that have been tested by other researchers. Several researchers have, however, tested their own model on single case studies. Kalevi J. Holsti applied his own model on eight case studies regarding foreign policy change in several states, including Canada, China and Burma. Several conclusions were drawn. Foreign policy change was often a response to a threat of some sort, but not necessarily a military threat. Nationalism was often identified as an important factor in explaining why a state chooses to change its foreign policy.⁶¹ Yvonne Kleistra and Igor Mayer's framework on foreign policy change, specifically organizational change, was applied on the Dutch foreign policy towards its former colony Surinam. They concluded that the Dutch foreign policy towards Surinam had "been largely unintentional and

⁵⁸ H. Branner, 'Options and Goals in Danish Foreign Policy European Policy Since 1945: Explaining Small State Behavior and Foreign Policy Change', pp. 371-74

⁵⁹ R. Vayrynen, 'Adaption of a Small Power to International Tensions: The Case of Finland'

⁶⁰ J. Hallenberg, *Foreign Policy Change: United States Foreign Policy Toward the Soviet Union and The People's Republic of China 1961-1980*

⁶¹ K. J. Holsti, 'Introduction', pp. ix-x

unmanaged”.⁶² Finally, Jerel A. Rosati investigated U.S. foreign policy between the two world wars. Generalising, he concludes that two generally stable foreign policy periods could be detected. The first stable period began with the U.S. involvement in the Second World War and ended with the Vietnam War, and the second stable period began after the Vietnam War and was still in effect at the time of writing (1994).⁶³

There are a few other empirical studies on foreign policy change that have been conducted but they have not used a theoretical model on foreign policy change to apply on the case in question, or the model used have been their own but has not received widespread attention in the foreign policy change area of research.⁶⁴ The most influential models are the ones discussed here. This leads us to this study’s proposed model.

An Outline of a (New) Improved Model of Foreign Policy Change

Despite the number of contributions to the theoretical field of foreign policy change, as shown above, there is still room for improvement. Below, an alternative model is outlined. It draws inspiration from the Hermann, Gustavsson and Kleistra & Mayer models.⁶⁵ The first step identifies a number of *sources of change*, which need to pass through a *Window of Opportunity*, to the *decision-making process*, in order to cause a foreign policy change. The course of action can also take an opposite course, that is, it can begin with a key decision-maker in the decision-making process, perceiving a window of opportunity in order to carry out an agenda of his own. If he succeeds, it then carries back to the decision-making process again. The exact nature and extent of

⁶² Y. Kleistra & I. Mayer, ‘Stability and Flux in Foreign Affairs: Modelling Policy and Organisational Change’, p. 410

⁶³ J. A. Rosati, ‘Cycles in Foreign Policy Restructuring: The Politics of Continuity and Change in U.S. Foreign Policy’

⁶⁴ See for example, D. D. Oldfield, *The Restructuring of Thailand’s Foreign Policy Towards Laos, 1988-1991*, and M. C. Gentry, *From Containment to Inclusion: United States foreign economic policy and the former Soviet Union*, and K. J. Cooney, *Japan’s Foreign Policy Maturation: A Quest for Normalcy*, and H. Loden, “*For sakerhets skull*”: *Ideologi och säkerhet i svensk aktiv utrikespolitik 1950-1975*, and M. A. Schuler, *Explaining Foreign Policy Change: The Case of United States International Population Policy*, and K. Engelbrekt, *Security Policy Reorientation in Peripheral Europe: A Comparative-Perspectivist Approach*, and D. B. Huxsoll, *Regimes, Institutions and Foreign Policy Change*

⁶⁵ C. F. Hermann, *Changing Course: When Governments Choose to Redirect Foreign Policy* and J. Gustavsson, *The Politics of Foreign Policy Change: Explaining the Swedish Reorientation on EC Membership*, and J. Gustavsson, ‘How Should We Study Foreign Policy Change?’, and Y. Kleistra & I. Mayer, ‘Stability and Flux in Foreign Affairs: Modelling Policy and Organisational Change’

change is then determined in a *typology of change*. Finally, the *Consequences of change* are examined.

Sources Of Change

Domestic Factors of Change:

The sources of change are divided into domestic and international factors. Focus is divided equally on each set of factors, although, depending on the case study, either factor could be more influential than the other.

Robert D. Putnam has argued that domestic and international politics often affects each other. The “two-level game”, as he labelled it, refers to how domestic politics sometimes affect international politics and vice-versa.⁶⁶ Joe D. Hagan also argues that government leaders have to deal with pressures and constraints from domestic political sources, as well as the international political system.⁶⁷ Political leaders will aim to satisfy their domestic audience as much as possible with an eye to the next election.⁶⁸ Domestic factors must therefore be taken into consideration when foreign policy change is studied, so any study on foreign policy is not complete without a comprehensive examination of the domestic factors, as well as international factors.⁶⁹

Domestic factors play an important part in influencing and pressuring governments into a possible foreign policy change. Key decision-makers need to take domestic factors into account when deciding on foreign policies, since they count on public support in order to stay in power. Public opinion and media can have a considerable impact on government policies if dissent or approval is powerful enough; other political parties, interest-groups and such actors need also be taken into account for the government to carry out its foreign policies.⁷⁰

⁶⁶ Robert D. Putnam, ‘Diplomacy and Domestic Politics: The Logic of Two-Level Games’, *International Organization*, Vol.42, No.3, Summer 1988, p. 427

⁶⁷ Joe D. Hagan, ‘Domestic Political Explanations in the Analysis of Foreign Policy’, in *Foreign Policy Analysis: Continuity and Change in Its Second Generation*, eds. L. Neack & J. A. K. Hey & P. J. Haney, Prentice Hall, New Jersey, 1995, p. 117

⁶⁸ Joe D. Hagan, *Political Opposition and Foreign Policy in Comparative Perspective*, Lynne Rienner, Boulder, 1993, p. 4

⁶⁹ For further studies arguing the importance of taking both domestic and international factors into account, see for example, Gerry C. Alons, ‘Predicting a State’s Foreign Policy: State Preferences between Domestic and International Constraints’, *Foreign Policy Analysis*, Vol. 3, 2007

⁷⁰ J. Gustavsson, *The Politics of Foreign Policy Change: Explaining the Swedish Reorientation on EC Membership*, p. 23

Five domestic sources of change are identified below; The Bureaucracy, Public Opinion, The Media, Interest Groups, and Political Parties. By categorising these in this way, it helps a researcher measure the influence of these different sources of change, as well as making it easier on the reader in understanding the different domestic sources of change.

The Bureaucracy: The bureaucracy is traditionally viewed as a source of stability rather than as a source of change. Bureaucratic inertia and standard operating procedures has been identified as obstacles needed to be overcome in order to produce a foreign policy change.⁷¹ Morton Halperin first argues that “One of the truisms of bureaucracy is that it resists change”.⁷² He goes on to claim:

The bureaucratic system is basically inert; it moves only when pushed hard and persistently. The majority of bureaucrats prefer to maintain the status quo, and only a small group is, at any one time, advocating change. Time and resources of any one person in the bureaucracy are limited, and when a participant does desire change, he must choose carefully the issues on which to do battle.⁷³

However, as Hermann states in his model, if a particular group within the bureaucracy is situated in a position wherein they have the ear of the minister, or other high-ranking officials, they can be effective in arguing for a change in policy. Kalevi J. Holsti’s study on foreign policy change investigated eight case studies and showed that in only one case did the bureaucracy play an important role in advocating a change in policy. This, however, proves that the bureaucracy *can* have an important role in foreign policy change. For the purposes of this study, my model draws

⁷¹ See for example, T. J. Volgy & J. E. Schwarz, ‘Foreign Policy Restructuring and the Myriads Webs of Restraint’, pp. 27-28, and C. F. Hermann, *Changing Course: When Governments Choose to Redirect Foreign Policy*, pp. 7-8, and K. Goldmann, *Change and Stability in Foreign Policy: The Problems and Possibilities of Détente*, pp. 54-55, and D. Skidmore, ‘Explaining State Responses to International Change: The Structural Sources of Foreign Policy Rigidity and Change’, p. 47, and J. A. Rosati, ‘Cycles in Foreign Policy Restructuring: The Politics of Continuity and Change in U.S. Foreign Policy’, p. 229, and Graham Allison and Philip Zelikow, *Essence of the Decision: Explaining the Cuban Missile Crisis*, Longman, New York; Harlow, Second edition, 1999

⁷² Morton Halperin, *Bureaucratic politics and foreign policy*, The Brookings Institution, Washington D.C. 1974, p. 308

⁷³ Morton Halperin, *Bureaucratic politics and foreign policy*, The Brookings Institution, Washington D.C. 1974, p. 99

inspiration from Hermann and Holsti and has therefore included “the bureaucracy” as a source of change.⁷⁴

Public Opinion: This category is an important source of change since governments require support from enough voters in order to pursue their policies and to ensure re-election. As Anthonsen has shown, the public does consider foreign policy when making up its mind of which party to vote for.⁷⁵ If the public becomes dissatisfied enough with a certain policy conducted by the government, for example expressed through demonstrations, pressure is put on the decision-makers. A government needs to take public opinion into account when framing its foreign policy, and to ensure that opposition is limited as much as possible. Indeed, several studies have shown that governments certainly act on the opinion of the public in foreign policy, showing the influence of public opinion.⁷⁶

Foreign policy-issues generally suffer from low visibility in media, which contributes to inactivity in terms of public opinion. The complexity of foreign policy also tends to keep foreign policy out of public interest, unless it is an event of crisis proportions, such as the September-11 terrorist attacks, the Bali-bombing, or the Iraq-war. In such events, public opinion can quickly shift and respond to information provided by the government or by the media.⁷⁷

Public opinion is also important in providing support for interest groups and other civil society actors in society in their efforts to influence government decisions. Public opinion is therefore not only a source for the government to draw support for its policies from; it is also a source of change in itself and for other actors trying to

⁷⁴ C. F. Hermann, *Changing Course: When Governments Choose to Redirect Foreign Policy*, pp. 11-12 and Kalevi J. Holsti, ‘Restructuring Foreign Policy: A Comparative Analysis’, in *Why Nations Realign: Foreign Policy Restructuring in the Postwar World*, ed. K. J. Holsti, Allen & Unwin, London, 1982, p. 207

⁷⁵ Mette Anthonsen, *Decisions on Participating in UN Operations: Do Media Matter? Danish and Swedish Response to Intra State Conflicts in the 1990s*, University of Gothenburg, Department of Political Science, Gothenburg, Doctoral dissertation, 2003, pp. 14ff

⁷⁶ See for example, Robert Y. Shapiro, ‘Foreign Policy and Public Opinion’, in *The New Politics of American Foreign Policy*, ed. D. A. Deese, St Martin’s Press, New York, 1994, pp. 231-33, and Thomas W. Graham, ‘Public Opinion and U.S. Foreign Policy Decision Making’, in *The New Politics of American Foreign Policy*, ed. D. A. Deese, St Martin’s Press, New York, 1994, p. 208

⁷⁷ Robert Y. Shapiro & Lawrence W. Jacobs, ‘Who Leads and Who Follows? U.S. Presidents, Public Opinion, and Foreign Policy’, in *Decisionmaking in a glasshouse: Mass media, public opinion, and American and European foreign policy in the 21st century*, eds. R. Y. Shapiro & P. Isernia & B. L. Nacos, Rowman & Littlefield Publishers, Lanham, Md. 2000, pp. 223-24

achieve a foreign policy change.⁷⁸ It has therefore been included in this theoretical model.

The Media: Arguments have been made of the media as being controlled and/or steered by the government and thus becoming a promoter of government policy. It is said that through this control of information they help the government to keep the public opinion on its side and in support of its foreign policies.⁷⁹ However, as Abbas Malek and Krista E. Wiegand point out, several studies have been done showing the influence that media can have on foreign policy. Media is the link between the public and the government, which means that the policy-makers need to take media into consideration if they want to successfully implement its policies.⁸⁰

Media serves several purposes in regards to influencing foreign policy change. It can be an important factor in setting the agenda; in forming public opinion and it provides information from the government to the public.⁸¹ Yet media can also be an investigator, providing new information for the government and/or the public, which can cause a change in foreign policy. It can also act as a forum for different actors to legitimise or pressurise a certain policy. Thus media can play an important influence in policy issues by endorsing or condemning a certain policy, thereby putting additional pressure on a government in its decision-making and influencing public opinion, which in turn can put pressure on the government. Media has therefore been included as a separate source of change in this model.

Interest Groups: An interest group is defined here, by following Robert H. Salisbury, as quoted in John W. Dietrich, as: “an organised association which engages in activity relative to government decisions”. Dietrich continues: “it includes groups formed by

⁷⁸ Thomas Risse-Kappen, ‘Public Opinion, Domestic Structure, and Foreign Policy in Liberal Democracies’, *World Politics*, Vol. 43, No. 4, July 1991, pp. 510-11

⁷⁹ See for example, Edward S. Herman & Noam Chomsky, *Manufacturing Consent: The political economy of the mass media*, Pantheon Books, New York, 2002, and W. Lance Bennett, ‘The media and the foreign policy process’, in *The New Politics of American Foreign Policy*, ed. D. A. Deese, St Martin’s Press, New York, 1994, pp. 168-69

⁸⁰ Abbas Malek & Krista E. Wiegand, ‘News Media and Foreign Policy: an integrated review’, in *News Media and Foreign Relations: a multifaceted perspective*, ed. A. Malek, Ablex Publishing Corporation, Norwood N.J. Second edition, 1998, pp. 13-14, and W. L. Bennett, ‘The media and the foreign policy process’, p. 185

⁸¹ John W. Kingdon, *Agendas, Alternatives, and Public Policies*, HarperCollins College Publishers, New York, 1995, pp. 60-61 and , W. L. Bennett, ‘The media and the foreign policy process’, p. 181

citizens, organised around a particular issue, as well as professional lobbies, businesses, and public interest law firms”.⁸²

The influence of interest groups has increased in recent decades. By generally focusing on single issues that attract attention from voters, which in turn causes political decision-makers to take them seriously since the alternative could possibly mean a loss of voters, they are in a position to influence policy-makers.⁸³

Access and activity are important for interest groups in order to influence policies, although access and activity are not a guarantee in itself for successful influence. Moreover, increasing globalisation further enhances the leverage and influence of interest groups with single issues being linked through activists around the world, often highlighted, and sometimes supported, by the media.⁸⁴ For these reasons, interest groups have been included as a source of change.

Political Parties: Finally, this category refers to political parties in parliament, mainly political parties whose support the government needs in order to govern, or in order to continue/change a specific policy. If the government encounters resistance on a certain foreign policy, it is likely that it will have to negotiate a compromise or make adjustments to the policy, in order to get it through parliament, or to have enough backing to go through with it if parliamentary approval is not needed.⁸⁵ Opposition parties are also included in this category as an influential factor in shaping policy, in terms of mobilising public opinion on particularly charged issues. If the opposition has enough clout and/or is vocal enough, it may add significant pressure on the government to change policy.⁸⁶ Furthermore, pressure from the electorate, overall

⁸² John W. Dietrich, ‘Interest Groups and Foreign Policy: Clinton and the China MFN Debates’, *Presidential Studies Quarterly*, Vol. 29, Issue 2, June 1999, p. 281

⁸³ John Warhurst, ‘Patterns and Directions in Australian Politics over the Past Fifty Years’, *Australian Journal of Politics and History*, Volume 50, Number 2, 2004, pp. 167-69

⁸⁴ J. W. Dietrich, ‘Interest Groups and Foreign Policy: Clinton and the China MFN Debates’, pp. 281ff

⁸⁵ Juliet Kaarbo, ‘Power and Influence in Foreign Policy Decision-Making: The Role of Junior Coalition Partners in German and Israeli Foreign Policy’, *International Studies Quarterly*, Vol. 40, No. 4, 1996, and J. D. Hagan, *Political Opposition and Foreign Policy in Comparative Perspective*, p. 4

⁸⁶ On the influence of opposition parties on foreign policy, see for example, J. D. Hagan, *Political Opposition and Foreign Policy in Comparative Perspective*, and Dag Arne Christensen, ‘Foreign Policy Objectives: Left Socialist Opposition in Denmark, Norway and Sweden’, *Scandinavian Political Studies*, Vol. 21, Issue 1, 1998, and Michael Karlsson, *Partistategi och utrikespolitik: Interna motiveringar och dagspressens agerande i Catalina-affären 1952 och EEC-frågan 1961/62*, University of Stockholm, Department of Political Science, Stockholm, Doctoral dissertation, 1995, and D. B.

public opinion, or the media can generate pressure on members of Parliament that may lead them to put pressure on the government on a policy issue. Interaction between political parties and one, or more, of the domestic actors, such as public opinion, the media and interest-groups may build pressure for a policy change.

International Factors of Change

Today's international politics is a complex system consisting of states, institutions and non-state actors, all interacting with each other on different levels. Important factors to consider when studying the affects of the international factors on foreign policy decision-making, apart from the actors, are power, norms, and institutions.

According to realists, the international political system essentially consists of a struggle for the distribution of power. Military power is seen as the main and most important asset in attaining an edge over other states. Suspicion of other states' and your own survival are the main features of states mindsets. There are no authorities above states that can dictate how states should behave and states are the main actors in the international arena.⁸⁷ Realist theory can explain many situations and events in today's politics, usually after the event, however, it still fails to take into account the increased role played by international institutions and non-state actors.

Robert O. Keohane and Joseph S. Nye made the argument that realist theory fails to recognise the importance of other factors that need to be considered in order to understand all aspects of today's politics. Keohane and Nye constructed their own counter-theory, labelled Complex Interdependence, which they argue accounts for many aspects of international politics that realist theory cannot explain sufficiently. In their view, international politics is sometimes best explained using realist theory and at other times better explained by applying complex interdependence.⁸⁸

Huxsoll, *Regimes, Institutions and Foreign Policy Change*, pp. 16-18 and B. Sundelius, 'Changing Course: When Neutral Sweden Chose to Join the European Community'

⁸⁷ John J. Mearsheimer, 'The False Promise of International Institutions', in *The Perils of Anarchy: Contemporary Realism and International Security*, eds. M. E. Brown & S. M. Lynn-Jones & S. E. Miller, The MIT Press, Cambridge, Massachusetts, 1995, pp. 336-37

⁸⁸ Robert O. Keohane & Joseph S. Nye, *Power and Interdependence*, Longman, New York, Third edition, 2001, pp. 20-22

Keohane and Nye argue that although states are often the main actors, other actors are also important nowadays. Institutions and non-state actors play a major role, exerting influence on states, and provide multiple channels for the different actors to use to achieve their aims. Transnational corporations and other non-state actors, such as terrorist networks and non-governmental organisations can also influence international affairs. Security issues are not always on the top of the agenda, as realists argue, and military force is not always chosen as the best way of achieving a state's aims.⁸⁹ Therefore, Complex Interdependence can often be used as an explanatory tool, rather than realism.

In this study, realism and Complex Interdependence will be used in order to explain the international factors influencing foreign policy decision-making. It will enhance the explanatory capability of the influences of the international political system on a government's decision-making, regarding foreign policy, and specifically on how it contributes to foreign policy *change*. The international factors have been divided into four sources of change; Global factors, Regional factors, Bilateral relations, and Non-state actors.

The norms accepted by the major actors in the international political system will also be taken into account. Accepted goals of many or most international actors such as the expansion of democracy, human rights, non-intervention into sovereign states (with the occasional exception of humanitarian intervention), and self-determination can impact on the state's foreign policy, particularly if pursued by the government in question, or by actors aiming to influence the government's foreign policy direction. Norms will therefore be taken into account when examining the international factors in this study. Similarly, global and regional policies pursued by great powers will also have an effect on a state's ability and willingness to act, such as "the war on terror", which had has a profound effect on choices for a majority of states in the international political system today.⁹⁰ Finally, international institutions will be divided up into two categories. International institutions where states are members will be included in the

⁸⁹ R. O. Keohane & Joseph S. Nye, *Power and Interdependence*, pp. 20-22

⁹⁰ David Wright-Neville, 'East Asia and the "War on Terror": Why Human Rights Matter', in *Searching for Peace in Asia Pacific*, eds. A. Heijmans, & N. Simmonds & H. van de Veen, Lynne Rienner Publishers, London, 2004, p. 53

Global and Regional categories, while international institutions comprised by non-governmental actors will be included in the Non-state category.

Global Factors: This category focuses on changes in the international political system that has a global impact and that has an effect on a state's foreign policy-making. The end of the Cold War would provide an example of a change that fits into this category. An event or actor in this category could affect the state in question's policy-making, and may or may not lead to a change in foreign policy, for example, the September 11 attacks led to the US-led "War on Terror", which now influences the behaviour of many states in a variety of ways in today's world politics.⁹¹ International institutions and accepted norms may also have a large impact on a state's foreign policy. The influence of an event, a shift in the balance of the international political system, a shift in international norms (official or merely accepted), or international institutions (consisting of states), can all have an impact on a state's foreign policy. *Global factors* have therefore been included as a category in the International factors.

Regional Factors: An event or actors may also have a regional rather than global impact. An example of this could be the Bali-bombing in October 2002, which arguably had a profound effect for the area including Southeast Asia, Australia and the South Pacific. An event in this particular category would affect the regional political system, rather than the whole international political system. A state's policy-maker within this region would be affected, and it may or may not lead to a foreign policy change.

Regional actors, such as regional institutions (consisting of states), may have a substantial impact on a state's foreign policy-formation. Also, accepted norms within a particular region may also have to be taken into consideration when a government outlines its foreign policy. Different regions can have different standards of norms, stemming from cultural, historical and traditional values. The regional balance of power must also be considered when conducting a study like this. The power and capabilities of regional actors will affect regional politics, particularly when a state is considering its foreign policy actions. It is clear that a global factor-category alone

⁹¹ See for example M. T. Berger ed. Special Issue of *Third World Quarterly* on "The Long War", Vol 28, Issue 2, 2007

will not suffice. For all the above mentioned reasons, a *Regional factor*-category has been included in this theoretical model.

Bilateral Relations: This category will take into account the government's bilateral relations to other actors. These will mainly be states but can also include global or regional institutions or organisations. This category will only be affected when contacts or influence is conducted between the state investigated and *one* other actor. Actors, such as states and international institutions, can influence another state by using leverage, such as an alliance, trade, or through military and economic threats, to pressure them into adopting an adjusted or different foreign policy. Different levels of incentives and/or threats will have different effects on the policy-makers, but it will have an effect nonetheless. Bilateral relations are therefore important as a source of change in this model.

Non-state Actors: Finally, the growing influence of transnational actors in international politics has been recognised. Transnational actors, such as criminal networks, terrorist networks, corporations, human rights organisations etc, all play a role which can shape and influence a state's foreign policy. Although states are recognised as the primary actors in the international political system, non-state actors cannot be ignored in a study of foreign policy change, since they can carry with them significant influence and power on certain issues. A decision-maker may have to take the influence of non-state actors into account when deciding on a foreign policy. It has therefore been included as a category in this model.

Finally, it should be noted that each factor in the domestic or international category may influence or pressure the government towards a foreign policy change. However, it is often the interaction and interplay between domestic factors, between domestic and international factors, or between international factors, that together can sum up enough pressure or influence to convince the decision-makers to change policy. Decision-makers can ignore one factor, or even several, but if they interact the pressure can be too great on the decision-makers and a change is perceived necessary. The next section deals with the importance of the perceptions of decision-makers on the sources of change and on the window of opportunity.

The Window Of Opportunity and Key Decision-Makers

The next step in the model is labelled “Window of Opportunity” and is inspired by Gustavsson’s second step in his foreign policy change-model and by John Kingdon’s discussion on “policy windows”, which Gustavsson discusses in his thesis as well.⁹² Sources of change need to pass through this step in order to have an impact on the decision-making process, and ultimately, to cause a foreign policy change. The main actors in this step are the key decision-makers and their perceptions.

In this category the key decision-makers perceive a policy window, either through pressure or influence from the sources of change, or realise that there is an opportunity to push a policy agenda through. The policy process can in other words begin either with the sources of change or with the key decision-maker himself. Perception is therefore a key term in this category and needs to be defined, and this study will adhere to Richard Herrmann’s definition of perception “as a concept that describes the construction of reality in which an individual makes foreign-policy decisions”.⁹³ A key decision-maker’s perception can be affected by a number of personal characteristics. Margaret G. Hermann has listed six different types of personal characteristics of a political leader,⁹⁴ which are of interest for this study and model:

- *Beliefs* refer to a leader’s basic view of the world and how it works. This in turn will contribute heavily to how the leader sees his or her environment and the strategies used in achieving his goals.
- *Motives* refer to the underlying reasons for a leader’s actions. Need for power, need for affiliation, and need for approval are the most common motives.

⁹² J. Gustavsson, *The Politics of Foreign Policy Change: Explaining the Swedish Reorientation on EC Membership*, and J. Gustavsson, ‘How Should We Study Foreign Policy Change?’, and J. W. Kingdon, *Agendas, Alternatives, and Public Policies*

⁹³ Richard K. Herrmann, ‘The Power of Perceptions in Foreign Policy Decision Making: Do Views of the Soviet Union Determine the Policy Choices of American Leaders?’ *American Journal of Political Science*, Vol. 30, No. 4, November 1986, p. 843

⁹⁴ Margaret G. Hermann, ‘Explaining Foreign Policy Behavior Using the Personal Characteristics of Political Leaders’, *International Studies Quarterly*, Vol. 24, No.1, March 1980, pp. 8-14, and Margaret G. Hermann, ‘Introduction: A Statement of Issues’, in *A Psychological Examination of Political Leaders*, ed. M. G. Hermann with T. W. Milburn, The Free Press, New York, 1977, pp. 21-23

- *Decision style* looks at how a leader is making his decisions. What is this particular leader's preferred style in reaching a decision? Examples of this could be his preference for certain levels of risk, and how open he is to new information.
- *Interpersonal style* refers to how a leader interacts with other policy makers. What type of behaviour does he display in these interactions? Hermann points out two characteristics that stand out, that is, paranoia and Machiavellianism. Paranoia is defined as "excessive suspiciousness" and Machiavellianism as "unscrupulous, manipulative behavior".⁹⁵
- *Training in foreign affairs* refers to the amount of experience the leader has in regards to foreign policy. This will affect how the political leader will act and the strategies he will undertake. The more experience, the more likely a leader is to be actively involved in the decision-making process.
- *Interest in foreign affairs* refers to how much the leader will take part in the foreign policy making process, which is based on how interested he is in it in the first place. A leader, who is more interested in domestic policies, is likely to delegate foreign policy matters to other officials, such as the foreign minister. If, on the other hand, a leader has a lot of interest in foreign affairs, it is likely that the leader will be much more on top of issues, with a more direct role in the process, demanding to be consulted and kept up to date with developments in foreign policy matters. The leader will then take charge of the foreign policy making and lead out of his office rather than letting others deal with the foreign policy issues.⁹⁶ This may, in turn, affect the way a leader perceives structural conditions.

In order to achieve/cause a foreign policy change, structural conditions need to be acted on by the key decision-makers. Structural conditions cannot in themselves change a foreign policy, rather, it needs to be perceived and acted upon by key decision-makers. As Harold and Margaret Sprout argued in an early study from 1961, "what matters is how the policy-maker imagines the milieu to be, not actually how it

⁹⁵ Summarised from M. G. Hermann, 'Explaining Foreign Policy Behavior Using the Personal Characteristics of Political Leaders', p. 10

⁹⁶ M. G. Hermann, 'Explaining Foreign Policy Behavior Using the Personal Characteristics of Political Leaders', pp. 8-14

is”. However, they also acknowledged that when it comes to the actual implementation and success of the policy, “what matters is how things are, not how the policy-maker imagines them to be”.⁹⁷ Here we are concerned with the first statement; that is how the decision to change policy is taken in the first place.

In order to constrain or enable a policy change, it needs to be part of the decision-maker’s thought process. The way matters are interpreted and acted upon then depends on the perceptions and intentions of the decision-maker.⁹⁸ Crucial to this thought-process is how the decision-maker perceives the costs and benefits of the current policies in relation to changes in the structural conditions. If the current policy is perceived as too costly, it may lead the decision-maker to work towards changing policy. The same is true if the decision-maker sees large enough benefits in changing the current policy.⁹⁹

An integral part of this step in the model is the “policy window”. This is when an opportunity presents itself and a key decision-maker can push an agenda through. John Kingdon compares a policy window to a space launch:

The target planets are in proper alignment, but will not stay that way for long. Thus the launch must take place when the window is open, lest the opportunity slip away. Once lost, the opportunity may recur, but in the interim, astronauts and space engineers must wait until the window reopens.¹⁰⁰

This analogy can be compared to the political processes. Timing is of the essence here. Kingdon point to several reasons to why a policy window may close; 1, the relevant members may deem that they have acted or decided on the issue and it is taken off the agenda. 2, the issue may have been acted upon but has failed to produce results and the attention is turned to other issues on the political agenda. 3, The event that caused the window to open, such as a particular crisis or event, may be short lived. Failure to act on it fast enough may lead to a missed opportunity when people’s excitement fades away. 4, a change may have been caused by a particular person, or

⁹⁷ Harold Sprout & Margaret Sprout, ‘Environmental Factors in the Study of International Politics’, in *International Politics and Foreign Policy*, ed. J. N. Rosenau, The Free Press of Glencoe, Inc., New York, 1961, p. 118

⁹⁸ Anthony Giddens, *The Constitution of Society: Outline of the Theory of Structuration*, University of California Press, Berkeley, 1984, p. 26

⁹⁹ D. A. Welch, *Painful Choices*, pp. 51-60

¹⁰⁰ J. W. Kingdon, *Agendas, Alternatives, and Public Policies*, p. 166

person, and this person's departure may cause the window to close again, as the replacement may have a different view on the matter. 5, there may not be another viable option and so the window closes.¹⁰¹

It is vital to this study that the key decision-makers perceive the change: the window of opportunity *must* be seized and acted upon. If decision makers do not perceive the possible benefits of policy change, and do not act on it, there will be no decision-making process, and subsequently no foreign policy change. Gustavsson touches on this in his study when he identifies the importance of the timing of a decision.¹⁰² In this study however, more emphasis is put on this key aspect of the decision-making process and whether the decision-makers perceive it as window of opportunity or not.

In earlier theoretical models¹⁰³ it is assumed that a change in structural conditions is necessary to cause a foreign policy change. A decision-maker reacts to the sources of change, which leads to a decision-making process, which in turn leads to a foreign policy change. However, a key decision-maker can have a political agenda, which he wants to push through. He may have tried to have done this already but failed, and is now biding his time. He patiently works toward achieving his agenda, by trying to change structural conditions himself, building support among the sources of change by creating an image of a problem in the policy, thereby justifying a policy change. Basically, he is doing the groundwork, so that when the "Window of Opportunity" presents itself, he seizes it and acts on it. The decision-making process begins, which could lead to his desired policy change.

John Kingdon discusses how windows open and close constantly and how interested parties need to seize the opportunity in order to push their agenda through. Timing is essential, as is the ability to get in on the government's agenda, in order to achieve success. However, Kingdon portrays policy entrepreneurs who constantly wait for their opportunity to push their agenda on to the government, but he does not mention

¹⁰¹ J. W. Kingdon, *Agendas, Alternatives, and Public Policies*, pp. 169-70

¹⁰² J. Gustavsson, *The Politics of Foreign Policy Change: Explaining the Swedish Reorientation on EC Membership*, pp. 25-27 and 194

¹⁰³ For example J. Gustavsson, *The Politics of Foreign Policy Change: Explaining the Swedish Reorientation on EC Membership*

the government or the head of government specifically, in his discussion.¹⁰⁴ A President, Prime Minister, or any kind of head of government, would be in a much better position to push his own agenda, particularly in getting it on the government's agenda, constructing consensus within the government and realising his goal. Therefore, a leader of a country may well be able to, to an extent, create his own "Window of Opportunity", using his position and the resources available to him.

The process can therefore begin in the "Window of Opportunity"-step and go in the opposite direction, towards the sources of change. There are, in other words, two different scenarios that can lead to a foreign policy change presented in this model. Scenario 1 begins with a change in structural conditions, which leads to influence or pressure coming from the sources of change. This, in turn, is perceived by a key decision-maker which starts the decision-making process, which can ultimately lead to a foreign policy change. Scenario 2 differs in that it begins with a key decision-maker having an own agenda, patiently waiting for the right opportunity which can present itself through changes in structural conditions. This window of opportunity is then perceived and acted upon by the decision-maker, using it to push through his agenda, ultimately leading to a foreign policy change.

The Decision-Making Process

This next step in the model is "the decision-making process". Key decision-makers work within established institutional structures to bring about a change in foreign policy.¹⁰⁵ The sources of change interact with the key decision-makers within the decision-making process, in order to bring about a foreign policy change.

There are several important parts in this process. Charles F. Hermann has identified seven stages that, according to Hermann, need to be addressed for a policy change to occur. They are:

1. Initial policy expectations;
2. External actor/environmental stimuli;
3. Recognition of discrepant information;

¹⁰⁴ J. W. Kingdon, *Agendas, Alternatives, and Public Policies*, pp. 165-195

¹⁰⁵ J. Gustavsson, 'How Should We Study Foreign Policy Change?', p. 84

4. Postulation of a connection between problem and policy;
5. Development of alternatives;
6. Building authoritative consensus for choice; and
7. Implementation of new policy.¹⁰⁶

In this thesis, Hermann's seven stages in the decision-making process will be kept in mind but they will not be followed strictly. There are several important aspects in his seven proposed stages that need to be taken into account but to follow his stages strictly, and 'tick the boxes', will only constrain the study. Certain flexibility will benefit this research. His conception of the decision-making process also seems to focus on a collective factor rather than on key decision-makers. This study will look at the decision-making process as a whole but at the same time with a particular focus on the key individual decision-makers.

Charles F. Hermann, Robert Billings and Robert Litchfield produced a paper on sequential decision-making, that is, when decision-makers engage in a sequence of decisions regarding the same policy-issue for a longer period of time. The focus of their study is when leaders will continue the previous policy - despite information which shows that the policy is not working - and when they decide to change the policy.¹⁰⁷ Their paper is limited in its focus as in regards to this thesis, since its focus is only on the decision-making process, and is not concerned with other external factors. However, it is still relevant to the decision-making part of this model.

Finally, the decision-making process may lead to a foreign policy change. The next step in the model is therefore a typology of change, that is, the amount of change that has occurred.

¹⁰⁶ C. F. Hermann, *Changing Course: When Governments Choose to Redirect Foreign Policy*, pp. 14-20

¹⁰⁷ C. F. Hermann, & R. S. Billings, & R. Litchfield, 'Escalation and Modification: Responding to Negative Feedback in Sequential Decision Making'

Typology Of Change

The Typology of Change presented here is inspired by Hermann and Kleistra & Mayer's typologies¹⁰⁸, in that it basically agrees with Hermann's idea of level of change but it increases the number of levels of change to seven. It is sharpening the definitions of how much has changed, compared to Hermann's model, by adding goals and instruments to further pinpoint the amount of change.

Stability: No change in policy.

Intensification/Reduction: A quantitative change in instruments used. For example, to increase or decrease aid.

Refinement: A qualitative change in instruments used with a mixed pattern. Both old and new instruments used. For example, technical assistance is now incorporated but aid continues.

Reform: A qualitative change in instruments, where all, or a large majority of, old instruments are replaced by new instruments.

Redirection: The goal(s) change but with a mixed pattern. New goals are pursued but some of the old goals remain.

Reorientation: All or almost all old goals are replaced or disappear altogether.

Restructuring: A change in many issue areas, which involve and affect many actors. For example, for a state to go from neutrality to joining a military alliance.

These seven levels of change allow the researcher to more accurately define the amount of change and what exactly has changed by looking at goals set and instruments used.

¹⁰⁸ C. F. Hermann, *Changing Course: When Governments Choose to Redirect Foreign Policy* and Y. Kleistra & I. Mayer, 'Stability and Flux in Foreign Affairs: Modelling Policy and Organisational Change'

Feedback

The Consequences of Change

It is important to investigate the consequences of the policy change, as the impact of the change can have important long-term implications. Furthermore, the feedback resulting from the effects of a policy change may lead to a new round of policy change, depending on the consequences of the previous change. The main aim here is to investigate what the immediate consequences were for the actors affected by the policy change. Which actors were affected and did the relationship improve or deteriorate as a result of the policy change, or did it have no impact at all? Did the policy have its intended effect?

Naturally, it is reasonable to set a time limit on how long after the policy change the consequences will be investigated. As a rough yardstick six months is often enough time for diplomatic tension to have eased but the period of investigation is up to the discretion of the researcher. The introduced Foreign Policy Change model can be seen below in Figure 1.

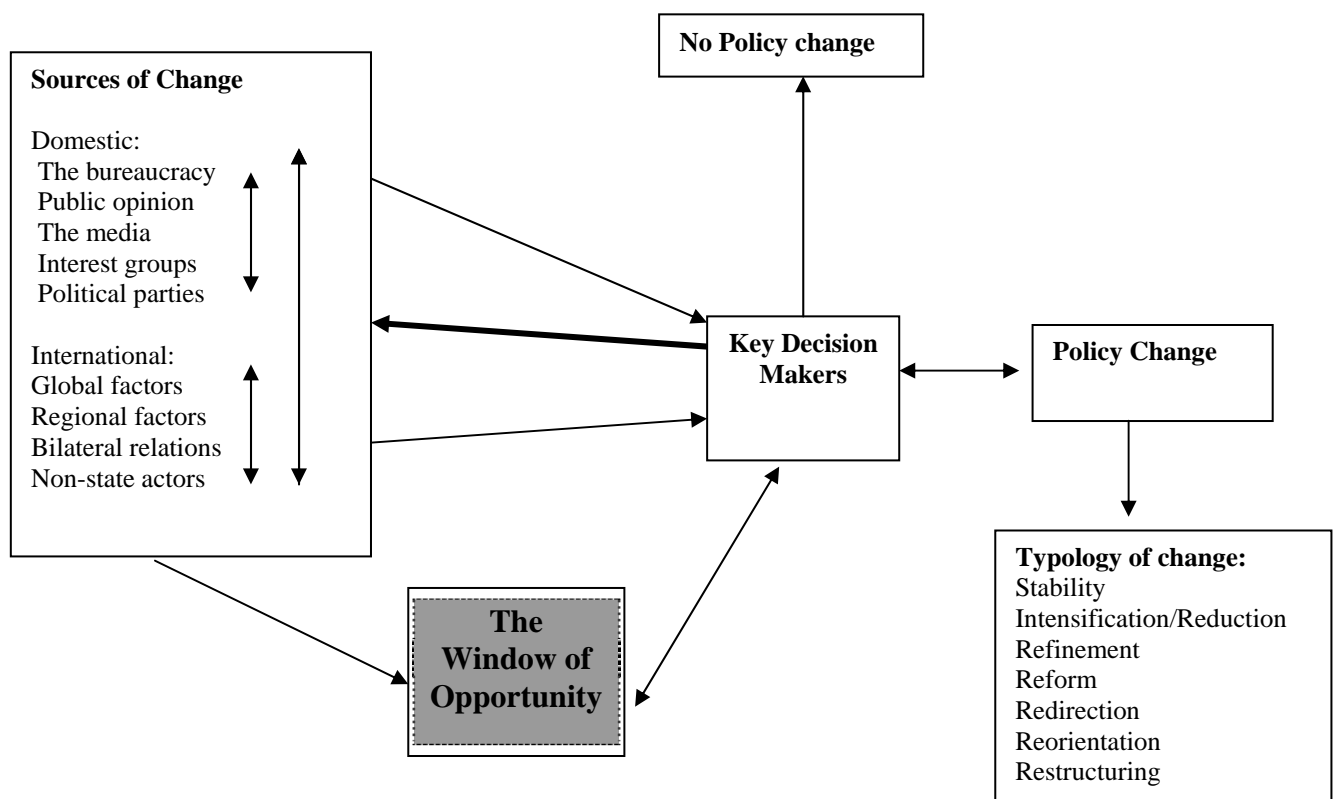


Figure 2.1: The new model of foreign policy change

The arrows within the Sources of Change box indicates that interactions between various domestic factors affect each other, as do interactions between international factors. Further, the domestic and international factors also have the capacity to influence and interact on each other, for example, global events such as September 11 changed the way regional security was perceived and this induced changes within national states in terms of debates about terrorism and security. These arrows are thus not *causal* as there is no definite reaction by policy makers to domestic or international events. They are rather *probabilistic* in nature because ultimately foreign policy change relies on the key decision-makers *perceiving* and acting on a window of opportunity, i.e. they must believe that change will be beneficial before change occurs.

The thick arrow from the key decision-makers back to the Sources of Change box indicates the importance placed on their perception of changes occurring among the different factors in the sources of change. If there is sufficient recognition this can then translate into a window of opportunity as perceived by foreign policy makers, although this is not inevitable, merely indicative. The thick arrow also indicates that through manipulation of information key decision makers can attempt to construct a rationale for foreign policy change, i.e. they actively seek to bring change through creating a sense of crisis that demands action. In this case, the heightened perception of a need for change then forces open a window of opportunity, which the key decision-makers then act upon.

The arrows from the key decision makers to the boxes of no policy change and policy change are again *probabilistic* and depend upon the key decision makers believing that change is either too costly, in which no change will occur, or that it is beneficial, which enables change to occur. Once change occurs the typology of change classifies the relative importance of the decisions taken with respect to previous policy (i.e. a significant departure, a complete *volta face*, or simply minor modification to existing policy).

Conclusion

This chapter has discussed the foreign policy change area of research, the research conducted up to today, and the relevant factors involved. It has proposed a new model of foreign policy change which will be applied in two case studies. The next chapter provides a background to Australian foreign policy for the case studies in chapters 4-7. It will investigate patterns in Australian foreign policy and discuss the main actors in Australian foreign policy decision-making.

Chapter 3: Australian Foreign Policy

Introduction

This chapter will give a brief overview of Australian foreign policy to provide a base to understand the policy decision-making process and its outcomes. The actors and factors in the process will be discussed in order to delve deeper into what it is that defines, shapes and determines Australian foreign policy. It argues that there are certain constants in Australian foreign policy, especially the perceived need of a powerful ally or protector. Furthermore, Australian governments consciously adopt a combination of neo-realist and neo-liberal approaches in their attempts to achieve their aims. Also, when examining Australian foreign policy, it is clear that domestic factors are often as important, if not more important, than pressures from the international realm. This chapter argues that commentators on foreign policy have understated the role of domestic factors in affecting foreign policy change, and especially neglected the interaction between these factors. Domestic factors are thus particularly important to investigate in order to understand Australian foreign policy *change*, which has to date been rare, but all the more important as it tends to have a long-term and powerful impact on Australia's international relations, and, given current security and economic challenges, may be less rare in the future.

Background

For the first 40 years of the Commonwealth Australian foreign policy was mostly conducted by Britain. It was only in 1942 that Australia finally ratified the Statute of Westminster, which meant that it began to have a truly independent foreign policy.¹ The reason the shift took place at this time is obvious, considering the circumstances. Britain was the protector of Australia and in a way seen as "part of the empire" but with the fall of Singapore in February 1942 it became painfully clear that it would not be able to defend Australia from the Japanese threat. It was time for Australia to take charge of its foreign policy and seek a new protector.²

¹ Stewart Firth, *Australia in International Politics, An introduction to Australian foreign policy*, Second edition, Allen & Unwin, Crows Nest, 2005, p. 26

² David Lee, *Australia and the World in the Twentieth Century*, Circa, Beaconsfield, 2006, pp. 70-71

The choice of protector was made clear immediately. The US led the defence against Japanese aggression, and indirectly Australia's defence as well.³ After WWII it was natural for Australia to look to the US as its powerful ally and the alliance was cemented with the Australia, New Zealand, United States Security Treaty (ANZUS) of 1951 and with the Southeast Asia Treaty Organization (SEATO) in 1954. However, it should be noted that the shift did not take place over night; rather Britain remained a close ally until the late 1960s when Britain began to withdraw from its global position. Australia supported the British stance in the Suez-crisis in 1956 and sent troops in support of the British to put down a communist uprising in Malaya in 1955, and again in 1965 in the *Konfrontasi* ("confrontation") between Indonesia and Malaysia.⁴

The need for a protector was grounded in Australia's place in the world. It had a huge continent to defend, with only a small population. Australia would therefore not be able to defend itself and needed a strong ally to help it in times of crises. During the Cold War the perceived threat against Australia was communism, as according to the "Domino-theory" one state after the other was in danger of falling to communism which could then eventually threaten Australia.⁵ This helps to explain the "Forward Defence"-thinking at the time. According to this doctrine, Australia would send troops to conflicts in other countries to help its ally, i.e. the US, as "insurance" that Australia would receive assistance when or if the need arose.⁶ It sent troops to Korea in the early 1950s and to Vietnam in the 1960s and early 1970s, in line with this thinking.⁷ Furthermore, the Australian government actively pushed for American and Australian involvement even before a request from the South Vietnamese had been issued, which further indicates how deeply they viewed the importance of forward defence.⁸ The Forward Defence-thinking began to recede when President Nixon announced the Guam-doctrine in 1969, essentially declaring that US allies in the

³ D. Lee, *Australia and the World in the Twentieth Century*, p. 71

⁴ Gary Smith & David Cox & Scott Burchill, *Australia in the World: An Introduction to Australian Foreign Policy*, Oxford University Press, Melbourne, 1996, pp. 54-57 and D. Lee, *Australia and the World in the Twentieth Century*, Circa, pp. 107 and 158

⁵ G. Smith & D. Cox & S. Burchill, *Australia in the World: An Introduction to Australian Foreign Policy*, 1996, pp. 61-62

⁶ Peter Edwards, 'History and foreign policy', in *Australian Foreign Policy: Into the new millennium*, ed. F. A. Mediansky, Macmillan Education Australia Pty Ltd. Melbourne, 1997, p. 7

⁷ G. Smith & D. Cox & S. Burchill, *Australia in the World: An Introduction to Australian Foreign Policy*, ed. F. A. Mediansky, Oxford University Press, Melbourne, 1996, p. 57

⁸ D. Lee, *Australia and the World in the Twentieth Century*, p. 168

Asia-Pacific from now on had to depend less on US help and take a greater responsibility themselves.⁹

This required a re-think for Australian policy-makers. Prime Minister Gough Whitlam began the transition by establishing diplomatic relations with communist China and East Germany,¹⁰ arguing that there were not any direct threats to Australia at this time apart from the nuclear threat, in which case the US would come to its aid anyway.¹¹ However, it was not until 1976 that the first official report was released stating a new focus on continental defence rather than forward defence.¹² Indeed, it was another 10 years later, in 1986, that the Dobb-report again emphasised the need for a shift to continental defence. Paul Dobb similarly argued that there were no immediate threats to Australia and attention should be directed to the defence of Australia rather than sending troops to foreign lands.¹³ Still, despite the shift in thinking, Australia still sent troops in support of the American led UN-operation to expel Iraq from Kuwait in 1990-91.¹⁴ This can be seen as on one hand part of its commitment to the US-alliance but also in accordance to the Labor-government's platform to work closely with multilateral institutions such as the UN.

The 1980s and 1990s was otherwise characterised for the Hawke and Keating-governments by how to respond to the forces of globalisation. The Hawke-government began the task of reshaping the Australian economy in order to keep up with and benefit from the new situation. Protectionist policies were altered and the economy shifted towards a more open economy and free trade. The Howard-government continued this trend of liberalising the Australian economy.¹⁵ As Gyngell and Wesley have stated, globalisation has meant that the international arena and domestic politics are now closer than ever and they are now affecting each other in

⁹ David Horner, 'The Security Dimension of Australian Foreign Policy', in *Australia in a Changing World: New Foreign Policy Directions*, ed. F. A. Mediansky, Maxwell Macmillan Publishing Australia, Botany, 1992, p. 92, For an in-depth discussion on the Guam-doctrine (or Nixon-doctrine), see Jeffrey Kimball, 'The Nixon Doctrine: A Saga of Misunderstanding', *Presidential Studies Quarterly*, Vol. 36, No. 1, 2006

¹⁰ S. Firth, *Australia in International Politics, An introduction to Australian foreign policy*, p. 38

¹¹ G. Smith & D. Cox & S. Burchill, *Australia in the World: An Introduction to Australian Foreign Policy*, p. 140

¹² D. Horner, 'The Security Dimension of Australian Foreign Policy', p. 93

¹³ Paul Dobb, *Review of Australia's defence capabilities: Report to the Minister for Defence by Mr Paul Dobb*, Australian Government Publishing Service, Canberra, 1986

¹⁴ D. Lee, *Australia and the World in the Twentieth Century*, p. 248

¹⁵ S. Firth, *Australia in International Politics, An introduction to Australian foreign policy*, p. 10-15

more ways than was previously the case.¹⁶ Australian governments therefore have to be increasingly ready to adjust and change foreign policies, since events globally now may have stronger effects on Australia itself.

Foreign policy under the Howard-government shifted back to a Forward Defence approach. As the Defence White Paper in 2000 mentions, the third priority for the ADF “is supporting Australia’s wider interests and objectives by being able to contribute effectively to international coalitions of forces to meet crises beyond our immediate neighbourhood.”¹⁷ This can be seen as an example of the new attitude which was further underlined in the 2003 Defence Update, addressing the new focus on the threats from WMD’s, rogue states and terrorism, stating:

The Australian Government may need to consider future requests to support coalition military operations to prevent the proliferation of WMD, including to rogue states or terrorists, where peaceful efforts have failed.¹⁸

Arguing for a strengthening of ties with the US meant that Australia sent troops to Afghanistan and Iraq in support of the US-led operations there. A more interventionist attitude was taken from 2003 to its immediate neighbourhood with the intervention in the Solomon Islands as the prime example. Before that, though, Australia had led the intervention under the UN flag in to East Timor in 1999. Military intervention had become a useful tool for the Howard-government.¹⁹ Generally, a more bilateral approach was pursued under Howard and an overall stated pragmatic manner in which to conduct foreign policy.²⁰

¹⁶ Allan Gyngell & Michael Wesley, *Making Australian Foreign Policy*, Cambridge University Press, Melbourne, Second edition, 2007, p. 296

¹⁷ Department of Defence, *Defence 2000: Our Future Defence Force*, White Paper, Commonwealth of Australia, 2000, p. xi

¹⁸ Department of Defence, *Australia’s National Security: A Defence Update 2003*, Commonwealth of Australia, 2003, p. 16

¹⁹ S. Firth, *Australia in International Politics, An introduction to Australian foreign policy*, pp. 162-65

²⁰ Greg Sheridan, ‘All the World’s a Stage’, in *The Howard Factor: A Decade that Changed the Nation*, ed. N. Cater, Melbourne University Press, Carlton, 2006, p. 150

Labor/Non-Labor Ideology

Australian foreign policy can be understood as a mix of neo-liberal and neo-realist approaches throughout its history.²¹ Successive governments have pursued national interests using a blend of the two theories.

Neo-realists emphasise the state's need for security in an anarchic world and its constant struggle for power in order to ensure its survival in this hostile international arena. "Trust no one" is the catchphrase for a neo-realist, as states cannot be trusted not to cheat to obtain their own interests; self-help is therefore the required means by which to achieve security and survival.²² They acknowledge the possibilities for cooperation but only when it is in the self-interest of the state. Institutions for example, are set up to further the goal(s) of a state and by participating in regimes states look towards relative rather than absolute gains.²³ Alliances likewise exist for the mutual benefit of the participating states. For the great powers it serves to increase the balance of power to their favour and for smaller (and middle power) states it ensures protection against stronger, threatening states.²⁴

Neo-liberal institutionalists on the other hand emphasises the importance of international institutions and multilateral approaches, arguing that they increase cooperation, which in turn leads to increased peace and stability. Neo-liberal institutionalists accept that the international arena is anarchic but see greater

²¹ Here it should be acknowledged that there are theorists that put neo-liberalism under the neo-realist banner, claiming it stems from neo-realist theory. See for example, Jim George, 'Australia's global perspectives in the 1990s: a case of old Realist wine in new (neo-liberal) bottles', *Middling, Meddling, Muddling: Issues in Australian foreign policy*, eds. R. Leaver & D. Cox, Allen & Unwin, St:Leonards, 1997

²² Kenneth N. Waltz, *Theory of International Politics*, McGraw-Hill, New York, 1979 and John J. Mearsheimer, *The Tragedy of Great Power Politics*, W. W. Norton & Company, New York, 2001, see also John J. Mearsheimer, 'Back to the Future: Instability in Europe after the Cold War', *International Security*, Vol. 15, No. 1, Summer 1990, pp. 12-13

²³ See Robert Jervis, 'Realism, Neoliberalism, and Cooperation', *International Security*, vol. 24, issue 1, Summer 1999 and John J. Mearsheimer, 'The false promise of international institutions', *International Security*, vol. 19, Issue 3, Winter 1994-1995 and John J. Mearsheimer, 'A Realist Reply', *International Security*, Vol. 20, No. 1, Summer 1995 and Joseph M. Grieco, 'Anarchy and the Limits of Cooperation: A Realist Critique of the Newest Liberal Institutionalism', *Neorealism and Neoliberalism: The Contemporary Debate*, ed. D. Baldwin, Columbia University Press, New York, 1993 and Joseph M. Grieco, *Cooperation among Nations: Europe, America, and Non-Tariff Barriers to Trade*, Cornell University Press, Ithaca, 1990

²⁴ See for example, Stephen M. Walt, *The Origins of Alliances*, Cornell University Press, Ithaca, 1987

possibilities for states to cooperate in a friendly and positive atmosphere.²⁵ Contrary to neo-realists, neo-liberal institutionalists “assume that states focus primarily on their individual absolute gains and are indifferent to the gains of others”.²⁶ The different strategies adopted by Labor-governments and Coalition-governments will now be investigated and then discussed in relation to the two theoretical strands. Australia’s Middle power status serves as a good example to show the different approaches taken by Australian governments. The Foreign Minister in the Hawke and Keating-governments (1988-96) Gareth Evans described Australia in the following manner: “Australia is a middle power. We are manifestly not a great or even major power; nor, however, are we small or insignificant.”²⁷ Traditionally the “middle power”-concept has been linked most closely with the ALP but it has featured under Coalition-governments as well. Gareth Evans points to “coalition-building with ‘like-minded’ countries” as the main feature of middle power diplomacy.²⁸ This multilateral approach fits in well with Labor’s three pillar foreign policy platform of priorities:²⁹

1. The US-alliance
2. Australia’s UN-membership
3. The relationship with Asia

All post World War II Labor-governments have actively pursued the first two of these three pillars, and since the 1970s all three. H.V. Evatt, the Minister for External Affairs was an important player in establishing the United Nations.³⁰ The Whitlam-government moved closer to Asia by establishing diplomatic relations with China³¹

²⁵ See for example, Robert O. Keohane & Lisa L. Martin, ‘The Promise of Institutional Theory’, *International Security*, Vol. 20, No. 1, Summer 1995 and Robert Axelrod & Robert O. Keohane, ‘Achieving Cooperation under Anarchy: Strategies and Institutions’, in *Neorealism and Neoliberalism: The Contemporary Debate*, ed. D. Baldwin, Columbia University Press, New York, 1993

²⁶ Robert Powell, ‘Absolute and Relative Gains in International Relations Theory’, *Neorealism and Neoliberalism: The Contemporary Debate*, ed. D. Baldwin, Columbia University Press, New York, 1993

²⁷ Gareth Evans & Bruce Grant, *Australia’s Foreign Relations: In the World of the 1990s*, Melbourne University Press, Carlton, 1991, p. 322

²⁸ G. Evans & B. Grant, *Australia’s Foreign Relations: In the World of the 1990s*, p. 323

²⁹ See, Kevin Rudd, ‘Leading, Not Following: The Renewal of Australian Middle Power Diplomacy’, *The Sydney Papers*, Volume 19, Issue 1, Summer 2007, p. 1

³⁰ S. Firth, *Australia in International Politics, An introduction to Australian foreign policy*, p. 212 and Carl Ungerer, ‘The “Middle Power” Concept in Australian Foreign Policy’, *Australian Journal of Politics and History*, Volume 53, Number 4, 2007, pp. 540-41

³¹ Gough Whitlam, *The Whitlam Government – 1972-1975*, Penguin Books Australia Ltd, Ringwood, 1985, p. 58

and indirectly by formally abolishing the White Australia policy.³² The Hawke- and Keating-governments likewise took a multilateral line and sought closer relationship with Asia. The Cairns Group was established to put pressure on the US and the European Union (EU) to lower their trade subsidies; Australia played a pivotal role in setting up APEC together with Japan as a multilateral trade organisation pursuing free trade arrangements in the Asia-Pacific; and its significant role in promoting and participating in the Cambodian peace talks and process serve as illustrative examples of this. Gareth Evans played an important role here as the Foreign Affairs Minister pursuing Middle power strategies, such as building coalitions, focusing on specific issues where Australia could have an influence, and ensuring an activist Australian stance in international politics.³³ Laurie Brereton as Shadow Foreign Affairs Minister continued this tradition³⁴ and Kevin Rudd is now advocating a foreign policy based on the same three pillars, with the signing of the Kyoto Protocol as part of this policy platform on combating climate change³⁵ and the proposal of an Asia-Pacific Community going along these lines.³⁶

However, as Carl Ungerer argues, the Middle Power approach is not exclusively owned by the Labor party. Rather, Ungerer show how both sides of politics have acted according to the Middle power principles, more or less, under different governments but it is a question of emphasis.³⁷ Still, it is clear that post-war Labor government emphasise multilateral approaches and a closer focus on Asia than Coalition governments. When the Howard-government took power in 1996, it moved away from the previous Labor-governments focus on multilateralism and instead put

³² G. Smith & D. Cox & S. Burchill, *Australia in the World: An Introduction to Australian Foreign Policy*, p. 85 and David Reynolds, 'Empire, Region, World: the International Context of Australian Foreign Policy since 1939', *Australian Journal of Politics and History*, Volume 51, Number 3, 2005, p. 357

³³ See G. Evans & B. Grant, *Australia's Foreign Relations: In the World of the 1990s*, pp. 322-26 and also on activism being perhaps the most important aspect see C. Ungerer, 'The "Middle Power" Concept in Australian Foreign Policy', pp. 542-43, On establishing APEC see also Paul Keating, *Engagement: Australia faces the Asia-Pacific*, Macmillan, Sydney, 2000, pp. 76-97

³⁴ Laurie Brereton, 'The outlook for Australian foreign policy: a Labor perspective', *Australian Journal of International Affairs*, Vol. 55, No. 3, 2001, pp. 343-44

³⁵ Kevin Rudd, 'Smart Power: From Baghdad to Honiara – new directions in Australian foreign policy', *The Diplomat*, Vol. 5, No. 6, February/March 2007, pp. 21-25 and K. Rudd, 'Leading, Not Following: The Renewal of Australian Middle Power Diplomacy'

³⁶ Kevin Rudd, 'Address to the Asia Society AustralAsia Centre, Sydney: It's time to build an Asia-Pacific Community', 4 June 2008, see also Binoy Kampmark, 'Dreaming of an Asian EU', *The Diplomat*, Web feature, August 2008, <http://www.the-diplomat.com/article.aspx?aeid=8445> [Accessed 8 November 2008]

³⁷ C. Ungerer, 'The "Middle Power" Concept in Australian Foreign Policy'

focus on bilateral relationships, particularly with the United States.³⁸ This became clear with the release of the 1997 White Paper on Foreign and Trade policy, which outlined that foreign policy would now be conducted according to Australia's national interests and the best way to do this was through an emphasis on bilateral relationship, albeit alongside "a selective approach to the multilateral agenda" and stating that "Australia must be realistic about what multilateral institutions such as the United Nations system can deliver."³⁹ This approach was acted upon through a number of bilateral economic and security agreements, such as the free trade agreements with Thailand and Singapore in 2003 and with the United States in 2004.⁴⁰

In a further move away from the Middle Power concept, Foreign Minister Downer declared Australia to be a 'Pivotal power', rather than a Middle power, although as Ungerer points out, the Howard-government also responded to foreign policy challenges through coalition-building with like-minded states.⁴¹ Consider, for example, the East Timor-intervention in 1999 (under UN flag) and the RAMSI-intervention in 2003 (under the PIF), both conducted by gathering like-minded states in coalitions rather than by going it alone, just as Evans has described the middle power approach. This is further evidence of Ungerer's argument that both sides of politics use Middle power methods when needed.

The US-alliance in turn illustrates that both sides in Australian politics fundamentally believe in the need for a protector against potential external threats, which essentially is a neo-realist concept. The Howard government may have emphasised the alliance more than Labor⁴² but on a fundamental level, they both use a neo-realist approach here. On the other hand, both sides employ multilateral approaches to achieve their

³⁸ Jones and Benvenuti argues that the Howard-government not only pursued bilateral arrangements but in general a realist approach to foreign policy. See David Martin Jones & Andrea Benvenuti, 'Tradition, myth and the dilemma of Australian foreign policy', *Australian Journal of International Affairs*, Vol. 60, No. 1, March 2006

³⁹ Department of Foreign Affairs and Trade, *In the National Interest: Australia's Foreign and Trade Policy*, White Paper, Commonwealth of Australia, Barton ACT, 1997, p. 6

⁴⁰ D. M. Jones & A. Benvenuti, 'Tradition, myth and the dilemma of Australian foreign policy', pp. 114-15, and S. Firth, *Australia in International Politics, An introduction to Australian foreign policy*, pp. 140-41

⁴¹ C. Ungerer, 'The "Middle Power" Concept in Australian Foreign Policy', pp. 548-550

⁴² S. Firth, *Australia in International Politics, An introduction to Australian foreign policy*, pp. 160-61

aims.⁴³ The Labor Party may emphasise multilateralism more, and use it more than the Howard-government, particularly in regards to the UN⁴⁴, but as shown above, both sides use neo-liberal approaches as well. The Howard-government pointed out in the two DFAT White Papers that they supported the UN but reserved the right to act without UN support if it was in Australia's national interest, as stated in the 2003 Foreign and Trade White Paper:

But when the United Nations has not been able to respond, as in the case of Kosovo, it has fallen to states with the capacity and the willingness to take action to preserve peace and security. In deciding whether to participate in such coalitions, the Government will be guided by whether an Australian role will advance Australia's national security and our global interests.⁴⁵

The clearest example of this approach is of course the invasion of Iraq in March 2003, in which Australia took part, without UN backing.

Ultimately, Australian foreign policy is conducted through a mix of neo-realist and neo-liberal underpinnings. In doing so, both sides exemplify a pragmatic approach in their search for the best outcome for Australia – for the national interest.

Making Australian Foreign Policy

Australia has obvious limits in what it can do on the international arena and the makers of foreign policy in Australia have to take in to account both international and domestic factors. International restraints, international and domestic pressure, internal and external events and influential domestic actors all play in to the decision-making process and need to be analysed in order to understand why decisions are made. Australia's territorial, military, and economic size, as well as geographical position all impact on what it can and cannot do. As Firth states, "Australia, for example, can do little to enhance global security, while it may do much to enhance regional security".⁴⁶ This sums up Australia's position in international politics. On the one

⁴³ Gary Smith and David Lowe has shown how the Liberals have traditionally emphasised a realist approach to foreign policy but that the Howard-government at first strayed from it and then employed a more realist approach again from 2002. See Gary Smith & David Lowe, 'Howard, Downer and the Liberals' Realist Tradition', *Australian Journal of Politics and History*, Volume 51, Number 3, 2005

⁴⁴ See for example, S. Firth, *Australia in International Politics, An introduction to Australian foreign policy*, p. 212

⁴⁵ Department of Foreign Affairs and Trade (Australia), *Advancing the National Interest: Australia's Foreign and Trade Policy White Paper*, Commonwealth of Australia, 2003, p. 46

⁴⁶ S. Firth, *Australia in International Politics, An introduction to Australian foreign policy*, p. 8

hand, it is a state with little say in world politics but when it comes to its own neighbourhood it is something of a superpower. Events with global implications will therefore have a great impact on Australia's capacity to act (or lack thereof), while it can be extremely influential in regional affairs and act without as much constraint. In contrast, Allan Gyngell and Michael Wesley point to Australia being quite active in specific areas, rather like the middle power-definition offered earlier by Evans. According to them, there has been a sense that Australia "needs to shape or be shaped".⁴⁷

Stewart Firth provides a good overview of the aspects relevant to Australian foreign policy. His approach in a theoretical sense is closer to a neo-liberal view than neo-realism, or as he writes; "The theoretical assumptions...are closest to those of scholars working in the field of international political economy from a liberal, though critical, perspective".⁴⁸ Keohane and Nye's "Complex Interdependence" approach⁴⁹ share similarities with Firth's view on international politics and foreign policy.

Gyngell and Wesley "Making Australian Foreign Policy" also covers the relevant areas affecting Australian foreign policy but they focus more on the bureaucratic machinery than Firth. This focus provide a valuable insight to how important it is in the day to day operation of foreign policy but leaves the reader with an impression of the bureaucracy as perhaps more influential in foreign policy outcomes than is really the case.⁵⁰ Tony Kevin refers to it as "complacent", which accurately describes their account of Australian foreign policy.⁵¹ Both Firth and Gyngell & Wesley acknowledges the importance of taking into account domestic factors in foreign policy making in Australia. However, Gyngell and Wesley argue that domestic influences are mostly "dormant, significant only in terms of their potential to be aroused and to set parameters of foreign policy makers' freedom of action" and further stating that "for the most part, however, there is no significant change in the relationship of foreign policy making to the domestic environment. This allows the great bulk of foreign policy to be formulated and carried out beyond the attention of

⁴⁷ A. Gyngell & M. Wesley, *Making Australian Foreign Policy*, p. 10

⁴⁸ S. Firth, *Australia in International Politics, An introduction to Australian foreign policy*, p. 19

⁴⁹ See Chapter 2

⁵⁰ A. Gyngell & M. Wesley, *Making Australian Foreign Policy*

⁵¹ Tony Kevin, 'Foreign Policy', in *The Howard Years*, ed. R. Manne, Black Inc. Agenda, Melbourne, 2004, p. 311

all but its practitioners”.⁵² Firth agrees, stating that “the making of foreign policy is far from being a democratic process if by ‘democratic’ we mean ‘determined by the people’”, indicating that most of the foreign policy decisions are taken without influence from the domestic environment.⁵³

While these authors suggest some that domestic influences are limited in the construction of foreign policy this thesis argues that domestic factors do in fact play a more important role in foreign policy at times. This may be seen through an analysis of the decision-making process in regards to the East Timor-intervention, where public opinion, interest-groups and the media played an important part in forcing the government to adopt a change that it had been resisting for many years. Similarly without understanding the role of the Australian Strategic Policy Institute (ASPI) in its analysis of the problems in Solomon Islands, and its suggested approach to ‘fix’ the problem, one would not comprehend how DFAT was able to present such a radical solution to government so quickly. Once again this suggests that domestic factors — the bureaucracy, political parties, interest groups, the media and public opinion — can be vital in understanding how foreign policy is created. A more detailed description of the importance and interplay between different domestic factors follows below.

Political parties in opposition have limited influence in directly influencing the government’s foreign policy, however, they can play a role through the parliament and statements and questions asked there. By highlighting a particular issue, opposition parties can put pressure on the government by mobilising the media, public opinion and interest groups. The Labor Party’s changed stance on East Timor in 1998 is an example of such pressure being brought on a sitting government.

Generally though, the parliament itself, and in extension the opposition parties, has little influence on foreign policy. The government can go to war without the parliament’s support and the parliamentary committee’s scrutiny does not have to

⁵² A. Gyngell & M. Wesley, *Making Australian Foreign Policy*, p. 170

⁵³ S. Firth, *Australia in International Politics, An introduction to Australian foreign policy*, p. 94

bear consequences for government decisions.⁵⁴ Furthermore, as Firth states; “Tight party discipline ensures that the Cabinet rather than parliament has power over decisions”.⁵⁵ Its main power lies in its potential to rouse public and media attention to specific issues.

The bureaucracy plays an important part in the Australian foreign policy process in the daily management and implementation of the decisions made by the decision-makers.⁵⁶ Gyngell and Wesley call it “the essential core of the foreign policy making process in Australia”.⁵⁷ DFAT⁵⁸ is currently the most influential department within the bureaucracy in relation to foreign policy.⁵⁹ The bureaucracy may influence decision-makers by deciding which information to give the minister and to an extent set the agenda.⁶⁰ However, a “strong” foreign minister may exercise strong control over these potential influential areas. Despite the importance of the bureaucracy in the daily life of foreign policy, both Firth and Gyngell & Wesley states that the real power lies with the ministers.⁶¹ The key decision-maker’s power has increased further due to high-ranking officials now being appointed directly by the government itself, and not necessarily coming from the bureaucracy, which has led to an increased expectancy for them to adhere to the government line. This discourages bureaucratic officials from offering imaginative policy proposals, in fear of upsetting their

⁵⁴ The limited influence of parliamentary committee’s in Australia is highlighted in Capling and Nossal’s study on Joint Standing Committee on Treaties. See Ann Capling & Kim Richard Nossal, ‘Parliament and the Democratization of Foreign Policy: The Case of Australia’s Joint Standing Committee on Treaties’, *Canadian Journal of Political Science*, Vol. 36, Issue 4, September 2003, p. 851

⁵⁵ S. Firth, *Australia in International Politics, An introduction to Australian foreign policy*, p. 81, see also A. Gyngell & M. Wesley, *Making Australian Foreign Policy*, pp. 145-49

⁵⁶ See for example, Russell Trood, ‘Bureaucratic politics and foreign policy’, in *Australian Foreign Policy: Into the new millennium*, ed. F. A. Mediansky, Macmillan Education Australia Pty Ltd. Melbourne, 1997

⁵⁷ A. Gyngell & M. Wesley, *Making Australian Foreign Policy*, p. 58

⁵⁸ What is today the Department of Foreign Affairs and Trade originated in 1901 as Department of External Affairs, which changed to External Affairs managed by Prime Minister’s Department in 1916, and changed back to Department of External Affairs in 1921. It then changed name in 1970 to Department of Foreign Affairs, and it was finally given its current name Department of Foreign Affairs and Trade in 1987. See Department of Foreign Affairs and Trade, ‘History of the Department’, <http://www.dfat.gov.au/dept/history.html> [Accessed 23 March 2009]

⁵⁹ R. Trood, ‘Bureaucratic politics and foreign policy’, p. 33

⁶⁰ S. Firth, *Australia in International Politics, An introduction to Australian foreign policy*, p. 77

⁶¹ A. Gyngell & M. Wesley, *Making Australian Foreign Policy*, p. 58 and S. Firth, *Australia in International Politics, An introduction to Australian foreign policy*, p. 76

superiors.⁶² It is clear that the bureaucracy have limited opportunity to significantly affect big foreign policy making decisions. However, the bureaucracy, as the implementers of policy can still influence the process by pointing out aspects of proposed policy that does not work. It can also exercise influence when asked by a Minister to look into a particular issue and deliver policy proposals which can change policy in a minor or even major way.

Interest groups can have an influence on the foreign policy process, although the extents of influence vary. Gyngell and Wesley point to business as having “significant input into Australian foreign policy” in the areas in which foreign policy could affect trade and Australian business.⁶³ It is difficult to measure the extent of their influence though. They may also serve to keep an issue of their interest alive and raise awareness of it. In combination with public opinion and the media, it can have a significant impact on the decision-makers. Furthermore, think tanks are another source of influence in this category. The Australian Strategic Policy Institute (ASPI) is a good example of a think tank having a direct impact on the government’s thinking when they proposed a framework for the RAMSI-intervention in 2003.⁶⁴

The media and public opinion can be a powerful force if combined. Policy makers keep a close eye on what is reported in the media and are aware of its potential impact. A “good story” can engage the public and lead to pressure being put on the government to “do something about it”.⁶⁵ It needs to be acknowledged that for the most part, the media and public opinion arguably remain uninterested in foreign policy, unless it concerns warfare and external threats.⁶⁶ Smith estimates that only 5-10 % of the population keep close attention on foreign policy on as regular basis.⁶⁷

⁶² Tony Kevin, ‘Australian foreign policy at the crossroads’, *Australian Journal of International Affairs*, Vol. 56, No. 1, 2002, p. 36 and S. Firth, *Australia in International Politics, An introduction to Australian foreign policy*, p. 77 and A. Gyngell & M. Wesley, *Making Australian Foreign Policy*, p. 42

⁶³ A. Gyngell & M. Wesley, *Making Australian Foreign Policy*, p. 196

⁶⁴ S. Firth, *Australia in International Politics, An introduction to Australian foreign policy*, p. 80 and A. Gyngell & M. Wesley, *Making Australian Foreign Policy*, pp. 165-70 – The Lowy Institute is another example of a think-tank aiming to influence the government in policy issues

⁶⁵ A. Gyngell & M. Wesley, *Making Australian Foreign Policy*, pp. 159-60

⁶⁶ S. Firth, *Australia in International Politics, An introduction to Australian foreign policy*, pp. 88-89 and Hugo Smith, ‘Internal Politics and Foreign Policy’, in *Australia in a Changing World: New Foreign Policy Directions*, ed. F. A. Mediansky, Maxwell Macmillan Publishing Australia, Botany, 1992, p. 17

⁶⁷ H. Smith, ‘Politics in foreign policy’, p. 23

Each of the above discussed domestic factors can have a limited influence on foreign policy decision making. However, they are more powerful if they interact and combine forces. The media and public opinion often influence each other. Interest groups in turn can bring a particular issue to the media's attention, which in turn can invigorate the public. The bureaucracy is certainly aware of its potential influence and so are the political parties in opposition. True, domestic factors may be silent on most foreign policy issues, however, for major international issues the decision makers will have to consider these factors views and may experience considerable pressure from them.

Finally, the role of the key decision-makers, especially the prime minister and the foreign minister, must be discussed. A considerable amount of academic literature has shown the importance of individuals in leadership positions on decision-making.⁶⁸ From this research it is clear that a powerful individual can play a crucial role in setting the direction of foreign policy and in convincing others to follow. In an Australian context, Alison McPhail has shown the critical role John Howard played as a leader in the East Timor-intervention and the decision to go to war in Iraq.⁶⁹ Australian prime ministers have involved themselves deeply into foreign policy and have through their involvement exercised considerable influence over the decision-making process. Prominent prime ministers such as Robert Menzies and Gough Whitlam come to mind – both for a period of time assuming both the prime ministership and the foreign affairs ministership at the same time.⁷⁰

⁶⁸ Particularly through work by Margaret and Charles Hermann. See for example, Margaret G. Hermann & Charles F. Hermann, 'Who Makes Foreign Policy Decisions and How: An Empirical Inquiry', *International Studies Quarterly*, Volume 33, 1989, and Margaret G. Hermann & Joe D. Hagan, 'International decision making: Leadership matters', *Foreign Policy*, Issue 110, Spring 1998 and Margaret G. Hermann & Thomas Preston & Baghat Korany & Timothy M. Shaw, 'Who Leads Matters: The Effects of Powerful Individuals', *International Studies Review*, Volume 3, Issue 2, 2001. See also work on personality of leaders and its impact on foreign policy, for example Stephen B. Dyson, 'Personality and Foreign Policy: Tony Blair's Iraq Decisions', *Foreign Policy Analysis*, Volume 2, 2006

⁶⁹ Alison May McPhail, *John Howard's Leadership of Australian Foreign Policy 1996 to 2004: East Timor and the war against Iraq: The national leader at the nexus of domestic and foreign affairs*, Doctoral thesis, Department of Politics and Public Policy, Griffith University, 2007, The ABC-series "The Howard Years" confirms this view, particularly in the interviews with Howard and Downer in Episode 3 regarding the East Timor-policy and subsequent intervention. See Australian Broadcasting Corporation, *The Howard Years*, Television programme, Episode 3, <http://www.abc.net.au/news/howardyears/> [Date accessed 19 January 2009]

⁷⁰ A. M. McPhail, *John Howard's Leadership of Australian Foreign Policy 1996 to 2004: East Timor and the war against Iraq: The national leader at the nexus of domestic and foreign affairs*, pp. 74-76

By applying Margaret Hermann's six personal characteristics – beliefs, motives, decision style, interpersonal style, training in foreign affairs, and interest in foreign affairs - discussed in the previous chapter, to Prime Minister John Howard and Foreign Minister Alexander Downer, a picture can be sketched of their personalities, which can provide a foundation to understand their part in the two case studies.

Beliefs

John Howard has been ascribed a number of core beliefs that can be seen throughout his prime ministership (March 1996-November 2007). He believes the US-alliance is the most important relationship for Australia, that the previous Prime Minister Paul Keating focussed too much on Asia, and that foreign policy should be conducted as much as possible in agreement with public opinion, as well as in accordance with the national character, values and identity.⁷¹ Far from an idealist, he is also commonly referred to as a pragmatic leader, someone who is more concerned about results rather than big ideas and rhetoric.⁷² He has continuously argued the advantages of bilateralism over multilateralism to achieve results, for example on human rights in Indonesia, reflecting his pragmatism.⁷³ This was clearly outlined early on in the DFAT White Paper of 1997 as government policy as well.⁷⁴ The pragmatic belief held by both Howard and Downer is further displayed in their willingness to build “coalitions of the willing” when they believe action is necessary, as they did when they argued that the UN had “completely failed to meet the world’s need over Iraq”.⁷⁵

⁷¹ G. Sheridan, ‘All the World’s a Stage’, p. 150, see also Paul Kelly, ‘How Howard Governs’, in (Ed.) N. Cater, *The Howard Factor: A Decade that Changed the Nation*, Melbourne University Press, Carlton, 2006, p. 4

⁷² Paul Kelly, ‘Re-thinking Australian Governance – The Howard Legacy’, Cunningham Lecture 2005, Occasional Paper Series 4/2005, Academy of the Social Sciences in Australia, Canberra, 2005, p. 2, G. Sheridan, *All the World’s a Stage*, p. 150, see also Wayne Errington & Peter van Onselen, *John Winston Howard*, Melbourne University Press, Carlton, 2007, p. 402, and Mike Steketee, ‘The Carrot and the Stick’, in *The Howard Factor: A Decade that Changed the Nation*, ed. N. Cater, Melbourne University Press, Carlton, 2006, p. 77, and Kim Murray, ‘John Howard’s policies: formed over a lifetime, so why were we surprised?’ Paper given at The Howard Decade Conference, Canberra, 3 March 2006, p. 4

⁷³ G. Sheridan, *All the World’s a Stage*, p. 150 and for Howard’s views on bilateralism and human rights see John Howard, ‘Transcript of the Prime Minister The Hon John Howard MP The 1997 Sir Robert Menzies Memorial Lecture ‘Australia and Britain; The Contemporary Partnership in a new International Environment’’, 23 June 1997

⁷⁴ Department of Foreign Affairs and Trade, *In the National Interest*, p. 53

⁷⁵ John Howard, ‘Transcript of the Prime Minister the Hon John Howard MP, Address to the Sydney Institute, Intercontinental Hotel, Sydney’, 1 July 2003.

Downer claimed that “Iraq was a clear example of how outcomes are more important than blind faith in principles of non-intervention, sovereignty and multilateralism”.⁷⁶

An important part of a leader’s beliefs is his “interpretation of his environment” which will affect the choice of strategy. Margaret Hermann mentions nationalism and the perceived “ability to control events” as examples in relation to this.⁷⁷ Nationalism has been used by Howard as a divisive strategy. Paul Kelly argues he has made “our governance more nationalistic”.⁷⁸ Judith Brett states that “Howard has re-positioned the Liberal Party as a party of popular nationalism”, showing how he used symbols and values tied to Australian nationalism and culture to help him remain in power.⁷⁹ Carol Johnson in turn has shown how Howard has linked Australian identity and values to its Anglo-celtic roots and how it had an impact on foreign policy decisions. She claims that this perceived special connection to the US and Britain helps explain Australia’s willingness to cooperate closely in the “War-on-Terror” and the invasions of Afghanistan and Iraq.⁸⁰

Nationalism easily links to the threat of the “other”. Howard successfully linked these two in regards to illegal immigration and the September-11 attacks. He then becomes the “rescuer” in the words of Leonora Ritter, creating a “climate of fear”. Portraying himself as the “protector” of the people allowed Howard to assume more control, and to become a “true leader” of his people.⁸¹

These actions fit in to James Walter’s “strong leader”-model. Walter argues that events occurred at the perfect time for Howard, beginning with the Tampa-affair⁸²

⁷⁶ Alexander Downer, ‘Security in an Unstable World, Speech given at the National Press Club’, 26 June 2003, see also Andrew Clark, ‘No Arguments In This Relationship’, *Financial Review*, 9 August 2003

⁷⁷ Margaret Hermann, ‘Explaining Foreign Policy Behavior Using the Personal Characteristics of Political Leaders’, *International Studies Quarterly*, Vol. 24, No. 1, March 1980, p. 9

⁷⁸ P. Kelly, ‘Re-thinking Australian Governance – The Howard Legacy’, p. 2

⁷⁹ Judith Brett, ‘John Howard’s Legacy’, Paper given at the John Howard’s Decade conference, Public forum, Canberra, 4 March 2006, p. 1

⁸⁰ Carol Johnson, ‘Howard’s ‘values’ and Australian identity’, Paper given at the John Howard’s Decade Conference, National Museum of Australia, 3-4 March 2006, pp. 15-16

⁸¹ Leonora Ritter, ‘Creation of a Frightened Nation’, Paper given at the John Howard’s Decade conference, 3-4 March 2006, p. 6

⁸² The Tampa-affair refers to the incident in August 2001 when the Australian government turned away from its territorial waters the Norwegian ship *M/V Tampa*, carrying 438 refugees who had been rescued from their sinking vessel. The event caused widespread criticism of the Howard-government and its

and September-11, allowing him to create this climate of fear by pointing to the threat to Australia's sovereignty and values.⁸³ As Walter has shown, the Tampa-affair was painted as an assault on Australian sovereignty and the terrorist attacks on September 11 2001 further emphasised the threat from the "other". In this climate Howard stepped forward as "a crisis-leader who began to identify threats, articulate the need to fight, institute divisions between 'them' and 'us' and rally 'the troops' well before international events accentuated the negatives".⁸⁴

Becoming the "strong leader" in the times of crisis allowed Howard to increase his personal power in order to fight the challenges he thought faced Australia. Walter shows how it fits in to Howard's personal characteristic and belief of the need for him to be the "strong leader". His world-view acknowledges hostile actors that could threaten Australia which need to be fought through strength, and which require resolute action. The Tampa-affair and September-11 attacks fitted right in to Howard's world-view, as did the following October 2002 and 2005 Bali bombings and perceived threat from Iraq.⁸⁵ It is no surprise given this that Howard turned bad polls to victory in the election in October 2001. The world had finally arguably come to fit Howard's world-view.

Motives

The most common reasons for why a leader is doing what he is doing is the need for power, affiliation, or approval, according to Margaret Hermann.⁸⁶ It would appear that in Howard's case the need for power was his main motive for his actions.

He immediately set out to take control over the bureaucracy by getting rid of six of the departmental heads in 1996, instead installing his own preferred candidates.⁸⁷ Ever since then, Howard has politicised the bureaucracy and the focal point for power

policy on refugees. See S. Firth, *Australia in International Politics, An introduction to Australian foreign policy*, pp. 257-59

⁸³ James Walter, 'John Howard and the 'strong leader' thesis', Paper presented at the John Howard's Decade Conference, National Museum of Australia, Canberra, 3-4 March 2006, p. 8

⁸⁴ J. Walter, 'John Howard and the 'strong leader' thesis', pp. 3-4

⁸⁵ J. Walter, 'John Howard and the 'strong leader' thesis', pp. 3-4

⁸⁶ M. Hermann, 'Explaining Foreign Policy Behavior Using the Personal Characteristics of Political Leaders', p. 9

⁸⁷ Louise Dodson, 'At the centre of attention', *The Sydney Morning Herald*, 23 February 2006

has instead become the government, specifically the Cabinet.⁸⁸ Since Howard is chairing the Cabinet, it grants him a certain level of power, allowing him to “set the direction and tone of policy”.⁸⁹ This is particularly true in matters of national security which is handled in the National Security Committee of Cabinet which was set up by Howard himself.

The National Security Committee of Cabinet consists of six people that always attend meetings - the Prime Minister, Foreign Minister, Attorney-General, Defence Minister, Treasurer, and the Deputy Prime Minister⁹⁰ – so a selected part of the wider regular Cabinet. Its smaller form gives Howard even further control over defence and security policy and allows him to dominate decision-making to a greater extent. No wonder it has sometimes been described as “Howard’s pride and joy”.⁹¹

The need for affiliation and the need for approval seems less of motivational factors for Howard. The need for approval can be seen to an extent in his belief that foreign policy should be conducted as much as possible in lieu with public opinion.⁹² However, he clearly was not afraid of making decisions that went against public opinion either, as with the Iraq-invasion in 2003, so the need for power arguably appears to be a stronger motivational factor than the need for approval.⁹³

Decision Style

This section refers to the key decision-maker’s preferred methods of making decisions. Howard preferred to make decisions at the Cabinet, or the National Security Committee of Cabinet, through which he could exercise a higher degree of control and influence over decision-making.⁹⁴ Weller argued that Cabinet was “controlled” by Howard. Cabinet rarely displayed division and not much leaked from

⁸⁸ J. Brett, ‘John Howard’s Legacy’, p. 2

⁸⁹ Patrick Weller, *Cabinet Government in Australia, 1901-2006: Practice, Principles, Performance*, Sydney, UNSW Press, 2007, p. 189

⁹⁰ A. Gynell & M. Wesley, *Making Australian Foreign Policy*, p. 94

⁹¹ P. Weller, *Cabinet Government in Australia, 1901-2006: Practice, Principles, Performance*, p. 183, see also P. Walters, ‘At war with terror’, p. 165

⁹² G. Sheridan, ‘All the World’s a Stage’, p. 150

⁹³ P. Weller, *Cabinet Government in Australia, 1901-2006: Practice, Principles, Performance*, p. 177

⁹⁴ P. Weller, *Cabinet Government in Australia, 1901-2006: Practice, Principles, Performance*, p. 183, see also P. Walters, ‘At war with terror’, p. 165

the Cabinet proceedings.⁹⁵ Paul Kelly describes it as “tight, secret and collective”.⁹⁶ This clearly was been Howard’s preferred process in terms of making decisions. Although Howard has been described as “an unusually dominant leader”⁹⁷, he nevertheless consulted often with other ministers, sought advice and listened to what they had to say.⁹⁸ He let his ministers “have their say” and they “may run their own empires”.⁹⁹ He displayed openness to new information in this way; however, control ultimately laid with the Prime Minister stemming from his influence over the Cabinet.

Part of a leader’s decision style is to what level he is willing to take a risk. Howard was a pragmatic politician, willing to take a risk when he felt the need to do so. Errington and van Onselen give the examples of the East Timor-intervention, the Tampa-affair and the decision to go to war against Iraq in 2003.¹⁰⁰ So, Howard could definitely take a risk if he considered the occasion worth it and when it fitted in to his belief system. However, he was not a politician that constantly took risks. Instead he bided his time, waiting for the right window of opportunity or was forced to act by events.¹⁰¹

Interpersonal Style

John Howard’s interpersonal style has been interpreted in different ways by different sources. Several sources describe him as a leader who approached policy making with a professional attitude, polite and he did not make decisions personal. He listened to the different views before bringing it to a decision.¹⁰² He was also attentive to his MPs, spending time in contact with them, seeking views and opinions from his ministers and offering guidance to less experienced MP’s,¹⁰³ which also served to create a formidable power bloc. The above description points to a leader who

⁹⁵ P. Weller, *Cabinet Government in Australia, 1901-2006: Practice, Principles, Performance*, p. 177

⁹⁶ P. Kelly, ‘Re-thinking Australian Governance – The Howard Legacy’, p. 3

⁹⁷ J. Walter, ‘John Howard and the ‘strong leader’ thesis’

⁹⁸ Damien Murphy & David Humphries, ‘The key figures that have the ear of the PM’, *The Sydney Morning Herald*, 23 February 2006

⁹⁹ P. Weller, *Cabinet Government in Australia, 1901-2006: Practice, Principles, Performance*, p. 189

¹⁰⁰ W. Errington & P. van Onselen, *John Winston Howard*, p. 273

¹⁰¹ K. Murray, ‘John Howard’s policies: formed over a lifetime, so why were we surprised?’, p. 4

¹⁰² P. Kelly, ‘Re-thinking Australian Governance – The Howard Legacy’, p. 4, and Wayne Errington & Peter van Onselen, ‘“You lucky, lucky bastard!” The extent of John Howard’s political genius’, Paper presented at the John Howard’s Decade Conference, Australian National University, 2-3 March 2006, p. 12

¹⁰³ D. Murphy & D. Humphries, ‘The key figures that have the ear of the PM’, *The Sydney Morning Herald*, 23 February 2006

engineered a good relationship with his colleagues. The fact that he had the same Treasurer and Foreign Minister throughout his government suggests a good working relationship with his closest colleagues. However, the description also suggests a politician that wanted to be in control by sounding out the said colleagues. Howard has been described as a man with attention to detail and a man that wanted control of his government's actions.¹⁰⁴ This allowed him to steer policy-making to his preferred direction, helping him to push his agenda through. This behaviour has also been described as manipulative. Clive Moore argues that Howard is a “manipulative politician” and Mungo MacCallum agrees with that assessment.¹⁰⁵

Training in Foreign Affairs

Howard and Downer's background in foreign policy are very different. Howard did not have a lot of experience in foreign policy, although Greg Sheridan argued that Howard as a member of Malcolm Fraser's cabinet as treasurer had participated in foreign policy decision-making at the time.¹⁰⁶ How much Howard himself was actually involved is unclear, though, but it is likely to have been limited. Errington and van Onselen describe Howard's first two terms as “inept in the extreme”, referring to his governing in general, not just foreign policy.¹⁰⁷ Howard did not have much experience in foreign policy and was criticised for performing poorly in this area by many up until at least the Tampa-affair and the September-11 terrorist attacks in Washington and New York in 2001.¹⁰⁸

These two events appear to have put Howard more as a driver in the centre of foreign policy-making. Howard's ability to learn as he went along can be seen as one reason why Howard was now ready to take a more decisive role.¹⁰⁹ Foreign policy was

¹⁰⁴ P. Weller, *Cabinet Government in Australia, 1901-2006: Practice, Principles, Performance*, p. 189

¹⁰⁵ Clive Moore, *Happy Isles in Crisis: The historical causes for a failing state in Solomon Islands, 1998-2004*, Asia Pacific Press, Canberra, 2004, p. 208 and Mungo MacCallum, ‘Howard's politics’, in *The Howard Years*, ed. R. Manne, Black Inc. Agenda, Melbourne, 2004, p.71

¹⁰⁶ G. Sheridan, ‘All the World's a Stage’, p. 151

¹⁰⁷ W. Errington & P. van Onselen, ‘“You lucky, lucky bastard!” The extent of John Howard's political genius’, p. 12

¹⁰⁸ W. Errington & P. van Onselen, ‘“You lucky, lucky bastard!” The extent of John Howard's political genius’, p. 5

¹⁰⁹ W. Errington & P. van Onselen, ‘“You lucky, lucky bastard!” The extent of John Howard's political genius’, pp. 13-14, Errington and van Onselen describes his political learning ability together with his pragmatism as his greatest strengths, W. Errington & P. van Onselen, *John Winston Howard*, p. 402

initially mainly managed by Foreign Minister Downer,¹¹⁰ but Howard gained experience by learning from his mistakes made in regards to the East Timor-issue, the “deputy-sheriff”-debate that followed, and his failure to move quickly to counter the emergence of the overtly racist One Nation party and its founder Pauline Hanson. The fact that Howard was in Washington on the day of the September-11 terrorist attacks would have had a profound effect on him and with the “War-on-Terror” context emerging, Howard took more control over foreign policy, mainly through the National Security Committee of Cabinet, which has moved focus of from DFAT to the government and in turn – Prime Minister Howard.¹¹¹ By 2003 Howard had taken control over national security. Walter has argued that Howard gained from the “securitisation agenda” that emerged with the Tampa-affair and the terrorist attacks on Washington and New York, and further emphasised by the Bali bombing in October 2002. He was now, in Walter’s words, “a crisis leader”, and identifying threats within the “War-on-Terror”-framework.¹¹²

Alexander Downer’s background is quite different from John Howard in regards to foreign policy training. Downer spent years as a diplomat gaining first hand experience of foreign policy in action. He worked for DFAT in different positions in Europe 1976-1982 and he was also the Shadow Minister for Foreign Affairs from 1995 until he became Foreign Affairs Minister in 1996.¹¹³

According to Ricklefs, Downer mostly took care of foreign policy-issues himself in the first years of the Howard-government.¹¹⁴ As Howard became more experienced in the area and national security took over the agenda more and more after 2001, Howard and Downer developed a close relationship over foreign policy. Pearson

¹¹⁰ M. C. Ricklefs, ‘Australia and Indonesia’, in *The Howard Years*, ed. R. Manne, Black Inc. Agenda, Melbourne, 2004, p. 268

¹¹¹ P. Walters, ‘At war with terror’, p. 165

¹¹² J. Walter, ‘John Howard and the ‘strong leader’ thesis’, pp. 3-4

¹¹³ Alexander Downer, *About Alexander Downer MP*, homepage <http://www.alexanderdowner.com.au/Pages/AboutAlexander/Default.aspx> [Accessed 10 December 2007]

¹¹⁴ M. C. Ricklefs, *Australia and Indonesia*, p. 268

described it as having “an unusual level of co-ordination between their offices”.¹¹⁵

Downer himself agreed:

I have a very close relationship with John Howard, as I think people know. We are in constant contact with one another and I suppose we have always been close and I suppose the last three or four years have drawn us extremely close as we have wrestled with these enormous issues...we instinctively approach these issues in much the same way.¹¹⁶

Therefore, while Downer had foreign policy experience, Howard acquired his knowledge of the workings of the international political environment mostly through “on the job training” and only later came to play a larger role in creation of Australian foreign policy.

Interest in Foreign Affairs

Clearly John Howard’s interest in foreign affairs seems to have increased over time. Sheridan has pointed out that Howard has a genuine interest for military history and defence policy. Nevertheless, Sheridan agrees that he began poorly in the foreign policy area as Prime Minister, even describing him as clumsy.¹¹⁷ The interest may have been there on some level but Downer was very much the main foreign policy person in the early Howard-government. Howard’s interest may have increased with the September-11 attacks, perhaps due to him being in Washington at the time of the attacks, and perhaps due to his personality - as the “crisis leader”(see above) – and him being ready to become the international statesman after five and half years in government. The times also suited him better with the external threat of terrorism suddenly topping the agenda. By his third term as Prime Minister (2001-2004), Howard seemed to have finally found his place in the foreign policy arena.¹¹⁸ He became the actual leader of national security, having earlier taking control over the decision-making process mainly through the National Security Committee of Cabinet which gave him “a much stronger grip on the details of defence and security policy”. This increasing participation in every day foreign policy-making began probably with

¹¹⁵ Christopher Pearson, ‘Hail the serious nation’, *The Australian*, 19 July 2003, see also further comments on the close relationship in Rowan Callick, ‘The Changing Globe’, *Financial Review*, 26 September 2003

¹¹⁶ Jennifer Hewett, ‘Alexander Downer’s Radical Conversion’, *Financial Review*, 23 August 2003

¹¹⁷ G. Sheridan, ‘All the World’s a Stage’, p. 151

¹¹⁸ R. Callick, ‘The Changing Globe’, *Financial Review*, 26 September 2003 and Leigh Sales, *Detainee 002: The case of David Hicks*, Melbourne University Press, Carlton, 2007, pp. 2-4

the East Timor-crisis in 1999, when the NSC of Cabinet at times met on a daily basis and some days even more than that.¹¹⁹ By 2003, Barker says that Howard “seems to exercise more assiduous and sustained day-to-day control over defence and foreign policy decision-making than any of his peacetime predecessors”.¹²⁰ With crises Howard’s interest increased and the “War-on-Terror” would have appealed to his personality. It is quite a change however, going from being clumsy and leaving most of the work to Downer, to taking an interest in the daily decision-making process.

It would appear that Alexander Downer had a great interest in foreign policy from early on owing to his university studies in Britain and later his work as a diplomat in Europe, both of which enabled him to acquire his knowledge of international politics.¹²¹ Due to his background, he reportedly considered himself being somewhat of an expert in the area.¹²² It was only natural then that Downer took the reins of foreign policy early on in the Howard-government.

Australia in the Immediate Neighbourhood

Based on the above discussion it is clear that in the Australian foreign policy making several actors and factors need to be investigated in order to fully appreciate and understand how decisions are made. International restraints and domestic actors and factors both play a role, as well as the key decision-makers, in shaping Australian foreign policy.

Australia’s policies towards its immediate neighbourhood focus on two main areas – Indonesia/East Timor and the South Pacific. These two strategic foci have been dealt with in different ways. Relations with Indonesia have for the most part looked to maintain a good and close bond with its giant neighbour to the North, while relations with the island states in the South Pacific went from a “hands-off” approach after their independence to a more direct interventionist policy, starting with the RAMSI-intervention in 2003.

¹¹⁹ P. Weller, *Cabinet Government in Australia, 1901-2006: Practice, Principles, Performance*, p. 183

¹²⁰ Geoffrey Barker, ‘Defence’, *Financial Review*, 26 September 2003

¹²¹ A. Downer, *About Alexander Downer MP*, homepage
<http://www.alexanderdowner.com.au/Pages/AboutAlexander/Default.aspx> [Accessed 10 December 2007]

¹²² J. Hewett, ‘Alexander Downer’s Radical Conversion’, *Financial Review*, 23 August 2003

Indonesia and East Timor

As James Cotton has stated, a peaceful and stable Indonesia is crucial for Australian security from a realist point of view.¹²³ This line of thinking has dominated Australian governments for decades and has had a crucial effect on Australia's foreign policy in its immediate neighbourhood.

Australia was the main supporter of Indonesia when it moved towards independence after WW II and the relationship was initially cordial.¹²⁴ However, the relationship grew tense in the 1950s as the Communist Party of Indonesia grew stronger, which in the Cold War context worried the Australian government. Disagreements over the future status of West Papua also added to the now strained relationship.¹²⁵ Still, the overall objective was to have as friendly relations with Indonesia as possible and when the Malayo-Indonesian *Konfrontasi* over Borneo 1962-66 risked deteriorating it even further, Australia took a low-key stance. Despite sending troops in support of Britain to Malaya, against Indonesia, they managed to avoid direct clashes with Indonesian military.¹²⁶ Partly due to this stance and to the fact that a new leader had emerged in Indonesia – Suharto, who became President in 1967 and whose policies was closer to that of Australia - the overall relationship improved.¹²⁷

However, the Indonesian invasion, and subsequent occupation, of East Timor in December 1975 was to become a constant thorn in the side of Australian-Indonesian relationship for the next 25 years. As the main objective was to have the best relationship possible with Indonesia, it became bipartisan policy to grant Indonesia *de jure* recognition over East Timor, Australia being the only state to do so internationally. Despite continuous reports of human rights violations in East Timor

¹²³ James Cotton, *Crossing Borders in the Asia-Pacific: Essays on the Domestic-Foreign Policy Divide*, Nova Science Publishers, 2002, p. 199

¹²⁴ Margaret George, *Australia and the Indonesian Revolution*, Melbourne University Press, Carlton, Vic, 1980, p 167

¹²⁵ Alan Renouf, *The Frightened Country*, Macmillan, Melbourne, 1979, p.431, and RAND Corporation, *Australian Foreign and Defense Policy in the Wake of the 1999/2000 East Timor Intervention*, www.rand.org/publications/MR/MR1409/2001, 2001, [Date accessed 27 July 2005] p. 22

¹²⁶ Hilman Adil, 'Australia's Policy Towards Indonesia During Confrontation, 1962-66', *Research Notes and Discussions Series No. 4*, Institute of Southeast Asian Studies, August 1977, p.73 and Derek McDougall, *Australian Foreign Relations: Contemporary perspectives*, Longman, South Melbourne, 1998, p. 204

¹²⁷ D. McDougall, *Australian Foreign Relations: Contemporary perspectives*, pp. 204-05

during the Indonesian occupation,¹²⁸ successive Australian governments pursued a bipartisan policy of putting East Timor second behind the overall objective of maintaining good relations with its northern neighbour, which in turn, it was believed, would help Australia influence Indonesia towards improving human rights in East Timor.¹²⁹

It was not until the Labor Party changed its long-standing position on East Timor in January 1998 and demanded self-determination for the East Timorese that the bipartisan policy was broken.¹³⁰ When President Suharto stepped down in May 1998, events opened up for a possible solution to the East Timor-issue. The Howard-government held on to its policy though, with the exception of a slight change in December 1998 when Howard sent a letter to the Indonesia President Habibie, suggesting an act of self-determination after a process of 10-15 years.¹³¹ Events escalated fast and in UN talks Indonesia and Portugal agreed in May 1999 to hold a ballot on East Timor's future in August 1999 under UN supervision. The Howard-government continued to try and again maintain as positive relationship with Indonesia but with escalating violence in the lead-up to the ballot, and particularly after the ballot, Australia-Indonesian relations plummeted. Australia then led the UN-intervention INTERFET into East Timor in September 1999.

Despite bipartisan efforts to keep up good relations with Indonesia for 25 years, it was now at its worst.¹³² However, over time it improved slowly, and after the Bali

¹²⁸ See for example, Senate Standing Committee on Foreign Affairs and Defence, *The Human Rights and Conditions of the People of East Timor*, Australian Government Publishing Service, Canberra, 1983 and Joint Standing Committee on Foreign Affairs, Defence and Trade, *Australia's Relations with Indonesia*, The Parliament of the Commonwealth of Australia, Australian government publishing service, Canberra, 1993

¹²⁹ See Michael E. Salla, 'Australian foreign policy and East Timor', in *East Timor and Australia: AIIA Contributions to the Policy Debate*, ed. J. Cotton, Australian Defence Studies Centre, Canberra, 1999, p. 170 and 172, David Goldsworthy, 'East Timor', in *Facing North: a century of Australian engagement with Asia, Volume 2, 1970s to 2000*, eds. P. Edwards and D. Goldsworthy, Melbourne University Press, Carlton, 2003, p. 222, and Paul Keating, *Engagement: Australia faces the Asia-Pacific*, Macmillan, Sydney, 2000, p. 130

¹³⁰ Clinton Fernandes, *Reluctant Saviour: Australia, Indonesia and the independence of East Timor*, Scribe Publications, Carlton North, 2004, p. 31

¹³¹ John Howard, 'Text of the Prime Minister Howard's letter to President Habibie', Letter from John Howard to President Habibie, Canberra, 19 December 1998', in Department of Foreign Affairs and Trade, *East Timor in Transition 1998-2000. An Australian Policy Challenge*, Commonwealth of Australia, Canberra, 2001, p. 181

¹³² Henry S. Albinski, 'Issues in Australian Foreign Policy: July to December 1999', *Australian Journal of Politics and History*, Volume 46, Issue 2, 2000, pp. 196, 198-99, and 201

bombing in October 2002, the cooperation in combating terrorism and the goodwill shown by Australia in the humanitarian assistance in the aftermath of tsunami in December 2004, has helped improve the relationship again.¹³³ Although, the West Papuan asylum seekers arriving in Australia in 2006 caused another diplomatic tiff and strained relations between Australia and Indonesia, this shows the sensitive nature of the relationship.¹³⁴ The main objective in relation to Indonesia remains: A stable and friendly Indonesia is seen as vital to Australian security. Indonesia will therefore always take a large part of Australian foreign policy maker's focus.

The South Pacific

The South Pacific is likewise an important strategic area. As O'Keefe has stated; "It is in Australia's self-interest to ensure that order is maintained" in the South Pacific.¹³⁵ Australia is by far the most dominant and powerful state in the South Pacific. As such, it plays a significant role in the region, overseeing it as its strategic area, providing help and assistance in different ways because of its superior size in economic power, and intervening to promote stability in the region when necessary.¹³⁶ Australia did not intervene militarily in the region until the newly independent island states began to show sign of unrest in the late 1980s. Australia intervened by using its navy in Fiji in 1987 and Vanuatu in 1988 and foreign minister Evans indicated that Australia might intervene if a situation became serious enough. However, they did not actually land troops on the ground.¹³⁷

A crisis in Bougainville also called for Australian attention in the early 1990s. A rebel group aimed at breaking Bougainville away from PNG and Australia supported the government with military hardware and policy aid but did not, once again, provide troops on the ground. Australia sent unarmed monitors to Bougainville in 1997 to oversee a peace agreement concluded after negotiations in New Zealand after the "Sandline-affair", which involved mercenaries being hired by the PNG government

¹³³ G. Sheridan, 'All the World's a Stage', pp. 155-56

¹³⁴ David Palmer, 'Between a Rock and a Hard Place: the Case of Papuan Asylum-Seekers', in *Australian Journal of Politics and History*, Volume 52, Number 4, 2006, pp. 576-77

¹³⁵ M. O'Keefe, 'Australian Intervention in its Neighbourhood: Sheriff and Humanitarian?', p. 97

¹³⁶ Michael O'Keefe, 'Australian Intervention in its Neighbourhood: Sheriff and Humanitarian?', in *Righteous Violence: The Ethics and Politics of Military Intervention*, Melbourne University Press, Carlton, 2005, pp. 82-83

¹³⁷ S. Firth, *Australia in International Politics, An introduction to Australian foreign policy*, pp. 168-69 and M. O'Keefe, 'Australian Intervention in its Neighbourhood: Sheriff and Humanitarian?', pp. 86-87

and which prompted the Australian government to act. After Australia threatened to cut its aid to PNG, the whole affair resulted in a peace agreement.¹³⁸

Australia's policy towards the South Pacific to 2003 has been referred to as a "hands-off" approach, wherein it provided financial aid and technical assistance to the island states but did not intervene directly with military troops, despite repeated calls from several Solomon Islands governments after 2000.¹³⁹ Australia was accused of not paying enough attention to the South Pacific at this time, highlighted by Prime Minister Howard having only attended four out of seven of the Pacific Islands Forum-meetings between 1996-2002.¹⁴⁰ Foreign Minister Downer kept repeating that "Australia was not a neo-colonial power" and would not intervene into the Solomon Islands.¹⁴¹ A valid argument but it was also a convenient excuse not to intervene and risk getting bogged down in Solomon Islands.

Australian policy towards the South Pacific changed with its decision to lead the RAMSI-intervention into the Solomon Islands in July 2003. The region had increasingly become referred to as the "Arc of Instability", as several island states were experiencing internal strife¹⁴² A new interventionist approach was launched and the intervention into the Solomon Islands was followed by the Enhanced Cooperation Program agreement with PNG, which included a more direct approach in the aid program with Australian police officers being sent over to PNG and Australian advisors taking part in the PNG administration.¹⁴³ Through the continuing RAMSI-

¹³⁸ S. Firth, *Australia in International Politics, An introduction to Australian foreign policy*, pp. 192-95

¹³⁹ Tarciscius. T. Kabutaulaka, 'A Weak State and the Solomon Islands Peace Process', *Working Paper for Pacific Islands Development Series*, East-West Center, No. 14, April 2002, p. 17 and Jon Fraenkel, *The Manipulation of Custom: From Uprising to Intervention in the Solomon Islands*, Pandanus books, Canberra, 2004, p. 83, see also Graeme Dobell, 'The South Pacific: Policy Taboos, Popular Amnesia and Political Failure', *The Menzies Research Centre Lecture Series: Australian Security in the 21st Century*, Canberra, February 2003, p. 17

¹⁴⁰ Geoffrey Barker, 'Security Threat in Pacific Unrest', *Financial Review*, 12 August 2002, see also Meg Gurry, 'Perspectives on Australian Foreign Policy 2000', *Australian Journal of International Affairs*, Vol. 55, No. 1, 2001, pp. 15-16

¹⁴¹ Alexander Downer, 'Speech by the Hon Alexander Downer, MP, Minister for Foreign Affairs, at the RIAP's Pacific Economic Outlook seminar', Sydney, 2 November 2000, and Alexander Downer, 'Neighbours cannot be recolonised', *The Australian*, 8 January 2003

¹⁴² On the "Arc of Instability" see for example, Michael O'Connor, 'Australia and the Arc of Instability', *Quadrant*, November 2006

¹⁴³ Greg Fry & Tarciscius. T. Kabutaulaka, 'Political legitimacy and state-building intervention in the Pacific' in *Intervention and State-building in the Pacific: The Legitimacy of Co-operative intervention*, eds. G. Fry & T. T. Kabutaulaka, Manchester University Press, p. 8, see also Charles Hawksley, 'The

operation in the Solomon Islands, Australia had taken a more interventionist stance in the South Pacific – more of a “hands-on” approach.

Australian Foreign Policy Change

Major Australian foreign policy change is rare but there are a few notable exceptions. The first, and the one with perhaps the most long-term impact on Australia, was the shift of major ally from Britain to the United States. This shift occurred gradually over time but there is a clear beginning that can be pinpointed to the fall of Singapore to the Japanese in 1942 and the realisation that Britain could not provide Australia with the security and defence guarantees it sought.¹⁴⁴

The new great ally was a logical choice, as the US led the war against Japan in the Asia-Pacific, thereby indirectly defending Australia as well. What began during WW II was soon established as a permanent alliance under the 1951 ANZUS-treaty and both sides of politics today hold it as fundamental to Australian foreign policy. The change in alliance was a pragmatic decision, as it was widely believed that Australia needed a “protector” against the Japanese threat at the time, against communist countries possibly threatening Australia during the Cold War, and now against external threats such as terrorism.

Another important foreign policy change was the Whitlam-governments decision to establish diplomatic relations with China and East Germany in 1972.¹⁴⁵ Recognition of China had been ALP policy since 1955, which Whitlam supported, and implemented once in government, which at the same time was a pragmatic decision, based on the shift in US policy through the Guam-doctrine in 1969.¹⁴⁶ With the US now essentially declaring that its allies had to do without direct American military assistance, it was sensible to establish friendlier relations with the major communist state in the region. Furthermore, The US was following the same policy at the time, with President Nixon having gone to China in February 1972 making it even more

Intervention you have when you're not having an intervention: Australia, PNG, and the Enhanced Cooperation Program', *Social Alternatives*, Vol. 24, No. 3, third quarter, 2005

¹⁴⁴ D. Lee, *Australia and the World in the Twentieth Century*, pp. 70-71, see also David Day, *John Curtin: a life*, HarperCollins, Pymble, 2000

¹⁴⁵ S. Firth, *Australia in International Politics, An introduction to Australian foreign policy*, p. 38

¹⁴⁶ D. Horner, 'The Security Dimension of Australian Foreign Policy', p. 92

sensible for Australia to do so.¹⁴⁷ Australia, however, opened up full diplomatic relations with China in December 1972, while it took the US until January 1979 to do so.¹⁴⁸ It was an important change for political, security and economic reasons, as it opened up relations between Australia and China and allowed the two countries to deepen their relationship over time. It reduced tensions in the region at the time and China is now Australia's biggest trading partner when combining total import and exports.¹⁴⁹

The East Timor-intervention will be dealt with thoroughly in this thesis; however, a brief mention is needed here, as it is an important example of Australian foreign policy change. It broke a 23 year policy, bipartisan for most of that period, and it did so despite the obvious risk of damaging relations with Indonesia. However, it was a pragmatic decision, in the sense that there was not much else the Howard-government could do in light of the human rights atrocities taking place in East Timor in September 1999, the strong domestic pressure to "do something", the international condemnation of the violence, and Australia being the logical and obvious country to lead an intervention into East Timor.

The RAMSI-intervention in to the Solomon Islands will likewise be dealt with in this thesis. It was an important change in that it signalled a new more direct Australian approach in how to deal with "weak" states in the South Pacific. The long standing policy of not intervening directly in the internal affairs of the island states was altered, and it continued with a stronger stand toward PNG as well. RAMSI was not so much humanitarian decision as it was pragmatic. Failed or failing states, in its immediate neighbourhood could threaten Australia's security, especially as perceived in the new War-on-Terror context. It was also important to stop other states to step in and interfere in what Australian policy makers perceive as their strategic area.

¹⁴⁷ G. Smith & D. Cox & S. Burchill, *Australia in the World: An Introduction to Australian Foreign Policy*, p. 86

¹⁴⁸ G. Whitlam, *The Whitlam Government – 1972-1975*, p. 58 and John Spanier, *American Foreign Policy Since World War II*, Holt, Reinhart, and Winston, New York, third edition, 1985, p. 303

¹⁴⁹ Regarding Australia-China trade, see A. Gyngell & M. Wesley, *Making Australian Foreign Policy*, p. 185, see also Department of Foreign Affairs and Trade, 'Australia's top 10 two-way trading partners', http://www.dfat.gov.au/trade/focus/081211_exports.html [Accessed 23 March 2009]

Finally, Alison McPhail has argued that the decision to join the “Coalition-of-the-Willing” in the invasion of Iraq in 2003 was another major foreign policy change. In the words of McPhail; “For the first time, an Australian Government embraced the concept of pre-emptive strike on a sovereign nation without the support of the Opposition or a majority of the Australian people and without the sanction of the United Nations”.¹⁵⁰ The main underlying reason for this change was, as McPhail states, to show the US that Australia was a committed ally in the War-on-Terror context and which would bring the two countries even closer together.¹⁵¹ This would then be beneficial for Australia in the long run, based again on the notion that Australia commit troops now and get “paid back” at a later time when Australia need the US help. McPhail argues this is major foreign policy change in that it sought to attack a sovereign state without explicit UN backing, but this rather is a refinement of existing policy as there was a qualitatively different method of achieving the same goals, specifically strengthening the US alliance while guaranteeing Australian security, through the doctrine of pre-emption. However, it does not appear to be a *major* foreign policy change, as it follows the pattern of supporting the US. Rather, a bigger change would be if they had decided to go *against* the US policy and not participate in the invasion of Iraq.

The running theme in these foreign policy changes is the pragmatic basis on which they have been made. Therefore, for Australian foreign policy change to occur, it seems that strong pragmatic reasons need to be at the heart of discussion and perceived as such by the key decision-makers.

Conclusion

Australian foreign policy has been characterised by its perceived need of a powerful ally, based on its geographical position and its small population. Being a middle power leaves Australia too weak to defend itself from a strong aggressor but allows it to conduct “middle power-diplomacy” and have an effect on decisions within specific areas. Australia can, and has, played an important role on the international arena.

¹⁵⁰ A. M. McPhail, *John Howard's Leadership of Australian Foreign Policy 1996 to 2004: East Timor and the war against Iraq: The national leader at the nexus of domestic and foreign affairs*, p. 238

¹⁵¹ A. M. McPhail, *John Howard's Leadership of Australian Foreign Policy 1996 to 2004: East Timor and the war against Iraq: The national leader at the nexus of domestic and foreign affairs*, p. 238

Foreign policy makers, regardless of their party affiliation, base their decisions on pragmatism, i.e. what they perceive as best for Australia – the national interest. They use a combination of neo-realist and neo-liberal approaches in doing so, depending on what is seen as the suitable and practical option at the time.

The making of Australian foreign policy is therefore interesting and important to investigate, in order to understand the policy decisions. Yet to fully grasp the decision-making process it is vital to take into account not only the international factors that shape Australia's responses to imminent threats crises and, but the very strong and often powerful role of domestic factors. Relevant domestic factors can exercise strong pressure and influence, especially when in combination, for example media focus on an event and is supported and reinforced through public meetings and demonstrations, organised by interest groups. Political leaders however remain key actors, especially in terms of how they perceive these international and domestic factors and in how much influence these factors carry in the decision-making process. The interaction between all these actors and factors determines Australian foreign policy. Major changes in Australian foreign policy may be rare but because of this they are even more important, as they often have long-term and fundamental impacts on how Australia behaves in the international arena. To understand the process leading to change is therefore vital to understand Australia's actions and place in the world today. Chapter 4 examines Australian foreign policy towards Indonesia over East Timor up until 1999, before applying the proposed model of foreign policy change in Chapter 5.

Chapter 4: Australian Foreign Policy Change towards East Timor

Introduction

This chapter will investigate the background to the Australian foreign policy change towards Indonesia regarding East Timor in September 1999. It discusses the invasion and incorporation of East Timor into Indonesia, the Australian responses to these events and the major political developments on East Timor and the Australian governments' policies during the 25 years leading up to the policy change. It argues that Australian governments from 1974 to 1999 continuously adopted a policy that prioritised a strong and stable relationship with Indonesia over issues concerning the invasion and occupation of East Timor. Moves towards a change in policy did not begin until 1997 when Labor altered its East Timor-policy and when the Asian Financial Crisis began affecting the leadership of Indonesia, resulting in the resignation of President Suharto. Beginning with Habibie taking over as President of Indonesia in May 1998, Australian policy-makers most often *reacted* to, rather than pre-empted, events in the lead-up to the final policy change in September 1999. The one exception to this argument was when Prime Minister Howard sent a letter to Habibie in December 1998, however, it led to unexpected consequences, and the Howard-government yet again had to *react* to Indonesian initiatives.

Australian governments abandoned morality in favour of the lure of good relations with Indonesia, which were seen as more important than the lives and futures of the people of East Timor. The bipartisan Australian governmental obsession with appeasement stretched as far as its formal recognition of Indonesia's de facto control of East Timor. Other states recognised the reality of the situation and the unlikelihood of any alteration in Indonesia's position, however Australia alone among all the nations the world took the unprecedented and controversial step of recognising the legal incorporation of East Timor into the Indonesian state. Under the governments of Fraser, Hawke, Keating and Howard this commitment remained solid. Despite continued reports of human rights abuses Australia insisted the best way to handle the problem was to practise "quiet diplomacy", and it maintained this position until it became quite clear that whatever influence the Australian state believed it had with

Indonesia was now gone. Only then was the government pressured by the Australian public and the media into a position where it reinvented itself as a champion of the human rights of the oppressed, led the INTERFET force, and quietly disavowed its previous policy.

Background

East Timor¹ finally became an independent state on 20 May 2002, almost three years after Indonesia handed it over to a UN-administration. East Timor is located about 480 kms Northwest of Australia and has an estimated population of about 1 100 000. Total land area amounts to almost 15 000 km² and East Timor's main industries and exports are coffee, natural gas and oil. The main religion is Roman-Catholic (96.5 %) and there are two recognised languages – Tetum and Portuguese, with several dialects.²

East Timor was colonised by Portugal in the early 16th century,³ but it took another two centuries for a proper colonial administration to be set up. What attracted the Portuguese initially was sandalwood for trade and to spread the Christian faith to Timor.⁴ The Portuguese held control over East Timor until the Indonesian invasion in December 1975, with the exception of 1942-45 during WW II when Japanese forces occupied the island. East Timor went back to Portuguese control once more when Japan surrendered in 1945, but by then around 60 000 East Timorese had already lost their lives as a result of the war and occupation.⁵ Decolonisation swept the world after the Second World War; however, East Timor was denied any moves towards self-determination by Portugal. Going against the wishes of the UN, Portugal declared

¹ East Timor's official name today is Timor-Leste, however, 'East Timor' will be used throughout this chapter, as it was the name used at the time period this thesis investigates.

² Stephen McCloskey, 'Introduction: East Timor – From European to Third World Colonialism', in *The East Timor Question: The Struggle for Independence from Indonesia*, eds. P. Hainsworth & S. McCloskey, I. B. Tauris, London, 2000, p. 1 and James Cotton, *East Timor, Australia and Regional Order: Intervention and its aftermath in Southeast Asia*, RoutledgeCurzon, London, 2004, p. 4 and U.S. Department of State, 'Timor-Leste', <http://www.state.gov/r/pa/ei/bgn/35878.htm> [Date Accessed 1 February 2009]

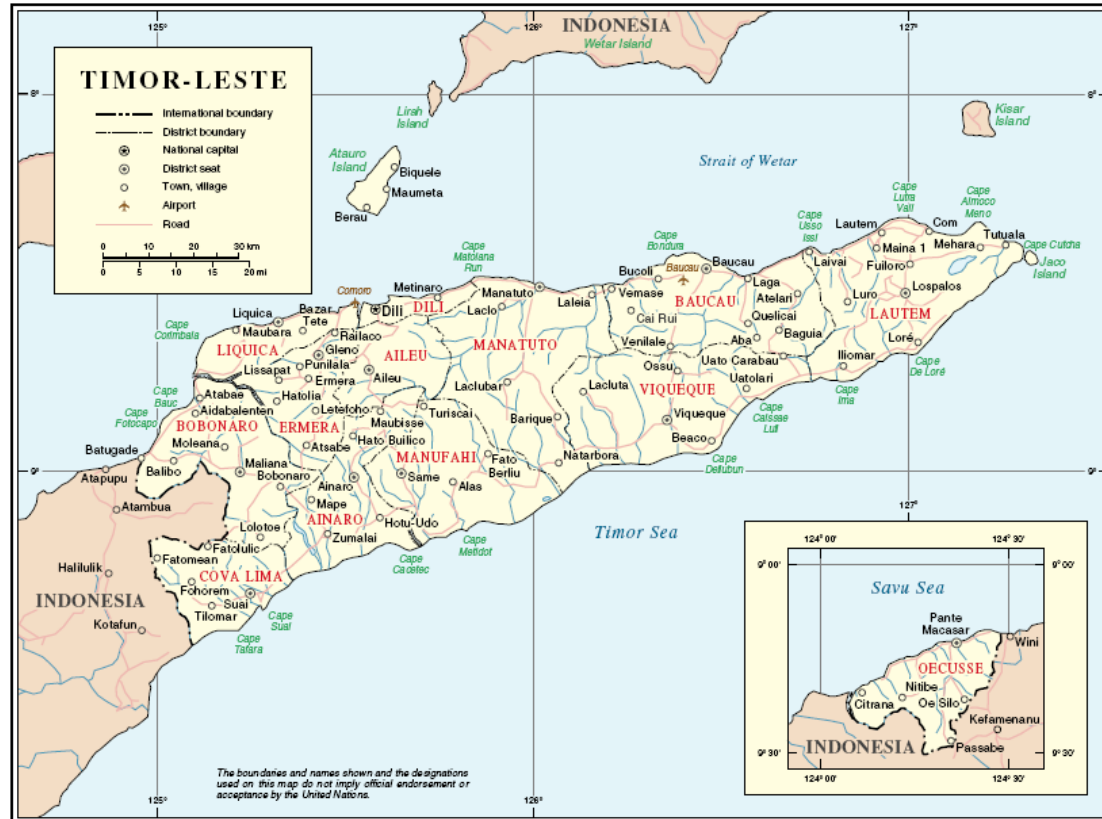
³ Geoffrey C. Gunn, 'The Five-Hundred-Year Timorese Funu', in *Bitter Flowers, Sweet Flowers: East Timor, Indonesia, and the World Community*, eds. R. Tanter, M. Selden, and S. R. Shalom, Pluto Press Australia Pty Ltd, Sydney, 2001, p. 8

⁴ James Dunn, *East Timor: A rough passage to independence*, Longueville Books, Double Bay NSW, 1983, pp. 13-14

⁵ G. C. Gunn, 'The Five-Hundred-Year Timorese Funu', p. 9

East Timor an “overseas province” and made no attempts to begin a decolonisation process.

Map 1. Timor-Leste.⁶



The Portuguese administration over East Timor had left much to be desired in terms of development. Dalrymple describes East Timor at this time “as one of the most backward and neglected colonial backwaters in the world”.⁷ The Portuguese government was more interested in its more resource-rich African colonies than in East Timor. Portugal was also one of the poorest states in Europe at this time which further contributed to the neglect of the distant East Timor.⁸ Lack of development was evident in health and education, very few could read and write, infrastructure left

⁶ United Nations, ‘Timor-Leste’, <http://www.un.org/Depts/Cartographic/map/profile/timor.pdf> [Accessed 9 March 2009]

⁷ Rawdon Dalrymple, *Continental Drift: Australia’s Search for a Regional Identity*, Ashgate Publishing Limited, Aldershot, p. 195

⁸ J. Dunn, ‘East Timor: A rough passage to independence’, p. 31

much to be desired, and the economy overall needed much improvement to allow for a decent standard of living for the East Timorese.⁹

From the coup in Portugal to the Indonesian take-over of East Timor

Such was the situation in East Timor at the time of the coup in Portugal in April 1974 through which the authoritarian Portuguese government was deposed by the so-called Armed Forces Movement (AFM). Once in power it immediately set out to introduce democracy in Portugal and to cut off Portugal's colonies. They were simply not worth holding on to in light of the wars that were raging in Mozambique and Angola, as it was draining Portugal's finances and resources. East Timor was also swept up in the de-colonisation process that had now begun.¹⁰

Political parties formed in East Timor and the process began towards self-determination for the East Timorese. Two parties emerged as the main contenders once the decolonisation-process had begun – *Uniao Democratica Timorense* (UDT), the Timorese Democratic Union, and *Frente Revolucionaria de Timor-Leste Independente* (FRETILIN), or the Revolutionary Front of Independent East Timor.¹¹ Still under Portuguese authority, preparations for decolonisation continued with elections for a Constitutional Assembly planned to come together in October 1976. The UDT and FRETILIN formed a coalition to work towards independence for East Timor but the UDT eventually left the coalition in May 1975 after falling out with FRETILIN. Relations deteriorated even further between the two parties, leading to the UDT attempting a coup in 11 August 1975, which in turn led to conflict between the two factions with up to 3 000 people killed. FRETILIN came out the winner after three weeks of conflict and took control over East Timor. It later declared independence for East Timor on 28 November 1975.¹²

⁹ R. Dalrymple, *Continental Drift: Australia's Search for a Regional Identity*, p. 195

¹⁰ Senate Standing Committee on Foreign Affairs and Defence, *The Human Rights and Conditions of the People of East Timor*, Australian Government Publishing Service, Canberra, 1983, p. 4

¹¹ FRETILIN was originally known as the Social Democratic Association of East Timor (ASDT) but was renamed to FRETILIN in September 1974. See Senate Standing Committee on Foreign Affairs and Defence, *The Human Rights and Conditions of the People of East Timor*, p. 5

¹² Sarah Niner, 'A Long Journey of Resistance: The Origins and Struggle of CNRT', in *Bitter Flowers, Sweet Flowers: East Timor, Indonesia, and the World Community*, eds. R. Tanter, M. Selden, and S. R. Shalom, Pluto Press Australia Pty Ltd, Sydney, 2001, pp. 16-18

The political developments in East Timor meanwhile led to considerable concern within the Indonesian government. It was feared that FRETILIN's left-wing stance may result in a communist government in East Timor, making East Timor a communist enclave in the region, which could potentially become an allied state of one or both the two major communist states at the time, the Soviet Union and China. In the Cold War context, such a source of instability was not an acceptable outcome for the anti-communist Indonesia.¹³

Indonesia meanwhile had already begun operating to prevent such an outcome early in 1974. According to Dalrymple, the Indonesian government did not have any plans of incorporating East Timor before the coup in Portugal; rather, it was the developments in East Timor from 1974 that led them to reconsider its strategy.¹⁴ The Australian government received indications already in July 1974 of Indonesian plans for covert operations, which would lay the foundations for an eventual take-over of East Timor.¹⁵ Australian Prime Minister Gough Whitlam meanwhile indicated his preference for East Timor to be incorporated into Indonesia in a meeting with President Suharto on 6 September 1974, thereby removing an important obstacle for Indonesia's plans, although "this should happen in accordance with the properly expressed wishes of the people of Portuguese Timor."¹⁶

Indonesia used the smaller pro-integrationist political party *Associacao Popular Democratica Timorese* (Apodeti), the Timorese Popular Democratic Association, to promote Indonesian interests in East Timor. The party itself had limited success but kept being a voice for the Indonesian agenda.¹⁷ The attempted subversion was launched by the Indonesian government in October 1974 and was named *Operation Komodo*. Indonesia was now firmly set on course to make East Timor a province.¹⁸

¹³ Don Greenlees & Robert Garran, *Deliverance: The inside story of East Timor's fight for freedom*, Allen & Unwin, Crows Nest, 2002, pp. 5, 8-9

¹⁴ R. Dalrymple, *Continental Drift: Australia's Search for a Regional Identity*, p. 195

¹⁵ James Cotton, *East Timor, Australia and Regional Order: Intervention and its aftermath in Southeast Asia*, RoutledgeCurzon, London, 2004, p. 27, see also R. Dalrymple, *Continental Drift: Australia's Search for a Regional Identity*, pp. 195-96

¹⁶ Department of Foreign Affairs and Trade, *Australia and the Indonesian Incorporation of Portuguese Timor, 1974-1976*, Documents on Australian foreign policy, Melbourne University Press, Carlton, 2000, p. 95

¹⁷ J. Dunn, 'East Timor: A rough passage to independence', pp. 59-60

¹⁸ Don Greenlees & Robert Garran, *Deliverance: The inside story of East Timor's fight for freedom*, Allen & Unwin, Crows Nest, 2002, p. 7

Initially it aimed at strengthening Apodeti but by February 1975 increasing spread of propaganda and misinformation was fed through *Operation Komodo* to the East Timorese people, as preparation for an eventual Indonesian take-over.¹⁹ In October 1975 Indonesian military troops began to make covert attacks into East Timor. Batugade and Balibo were among the villages attacked in an attempt to create the illusion of a continuing civil war in East Timor.²⁰ Finally a full-scale invasion was launched by Indonesia on 7 December 1975 and Dili fell the same day.²¹ East Timor was now under occupation.

The Indonesian occupation of East Timor 1975-1999

The Indonesian military quickly ensured the Indonesian take-over of East Timor; however, FRETILIN continued to resist. The Indonesian military (TNI) kept meeting serious resistance for years, even having to launch a substantial campaign against FRETILIN six years after the occupation had begun.²² Until at least 1977, the Indonesian military did not control large parts of East Timor.²³ The resistance against the Indonesian forces continued throughout the occupation and was led from 1981 by Xanana Gusmao.²⁴

East Timor was formally incorporated as Indonesia's 27th province on 17 July 1976, after a People's Assembly in East Timor had voted for integration with Indonesia and President Suharto had signed it in to law.²⁵ The People's Assembly's vote was widely seen as a poor attempt to legitimise the incorporation and not representing the wishes of the East Timorese population.²⁶ As they had done in West Papua with the Act of

¹⁹ Matthew Jardine, *East Timor: Genocide in paradise*, Odonian Press, Monroe, 1999, pp. 28-29

²⁰ J. Dunn, 'East Timor: A rough passage to independence', pp. 195-97, see also M. Jardine, *East Timor: Genocide in paradise*, p. 30

²¹ Nancy Viviani, 'Australians and the East Timor issue – the policy of the Whitlam government', in *East Timor and Australia: AIIA Contributions to the Policy Debate*, ed. J. Cotton, Australian Defence Studies Centre, Canberra, 1999, p. 100

²² Senate Standing Committee on Foreign Affairs and Defence, *The Human Rights and Conditions of the People of East Timor*, pp. 8-9

²³ Joseph Nevins, *A Not-so Distant Horror: Mass violence in East Timor*, Cornell University Press, Ithaca, 2005, pp. 28-29

²⁴ J. Dunn, 'East Timor: A rough passage to independence', pp. 195-97, see also M. Jardine, *East Timor: Genocide in paradise*, p. 274

²⁵ Department of Foreign Affairs and Trade, *East Timor in Transition 1998-2000. An Australian Policy Challenge*, p. 3

²⁶ See for example, Bruce Haigh, *The Great Australian Blight: Losing the plot in Australian Foreign Policy*, Otford Press, Otford, 2001, p. 32, and Senate Standing Committee on Foreign Affairs and Defence, *The Human Rights and Conditions of the People of East Timor*, pp. 16-17

Free Choice (see below) Indonesia selected the 28 members of the Assembly, making sure they did not have any connections to FRETILIN or the UDT, and ensuring by any means that the vote would be for integration to Indonesian wishes.²⁷

The United Nations (UN) organisation was the main actor that did not recognise the legality of Indonesia's incorporation of East Timor. In a series of resolutions 1975-82 the General Assembly "deplored" the Indonesian invasion and urged Indonesia to allow an act of self-determination for the people of East Timor²⁸ but the votes became less and less in favour of supporting the resolution up to 1982 when only 49 supported it, 44 abstained and 41 voted against it.²⁹ The UN Security Council likewise echoed the General Assembly with two resolutions in 1975, soon after the invasion, and in 1976.³⁰ There was an attempt to resolve the issue after the last resolution in 1982 but even though talks went on for the next 15 years it did not make any headway, as both Portugal and Indonesia were in entrenched positions.³¹

Meanwhile, during Indonesia's occupation of East Timor, many horrific accounts of human rights violations were reported. John Taylor describes several massacres, among them one in Lacluta in September 1981 with 400 killed, in Kraras where 200 people died (date unknown), around Bibileu with 500 killed (date unknown), and another 20 people dead in Bere-Coli in April 1989 to mention just a few of the cases he relates.³² The human rights violations in East Timor received moderate attention internationally; however, it was not until the so-called Santa Cruz massacre on 12 November 1991 that the human rights abuses in East Timor received more widespread recognition from the international community.³³ The massacre began when a large

²⁷ J. Nevins, *A Not-so Distant Horror: Mass violence in East Timor*, p. 54

²⁸ UNGA Resolution 3485 of 12 December 1975, *Question of Timor*, and UNGA Resolution 31/53 of 1 December 1976, *Question of Timor*, and UNGA Resolution 32/34 of 28 November 1977, *Question of Timor*, and UNGA Resolution 33/39 of 13 December 1978, *Question of Timor*, and UNGA Resolution 34/40 of 21 November 1979, *Question of Timor*, and UNGA Resolution 35/27 of 11 November 1980, *Question of Timor*, and UNGA Resolution 36/50 of 24 November 1981, *Question of Timor*, and UNGA Resolution 37/30 of 23 November 1982, *Question of Timor*

²⁹ Maria de Fatima Vieira, 'Justice for the Victims: An inquiry into the Special Panels for Serious Crimes in East Timor', unpublished Honours Thesis, University of Wollongong, 2004, p. 9

³⁰ UNSC Resolution 384 of 22 December 1975, and UNSC Resolution 389 of 22 April 1976

³¹ Department of Foreign Affairs and Trade *East Timor in Transition 1998-2000. An Australian Policy Challenge*, pp. 3-4

³² John G. Taylor. *Indonesia's Forgotten War: The hidden story of East Timor*, Pluto Press Australia, Leichhardt, 1991, pp. 101-103

³³ Department of Foreign Affairs and Trade, *East Timor in Transition 1998-2000. An Australian Policy Challenge*, pp. 7-8

crowd walked in a procession in memory of a pro-independence supporter and some began making calls for independence. The Indonesian military responded by firing shots at the crowd, killing a large number of people. The number of dead is disputed but estimates range between 50 and up to 400.³⁴

Max Stahl captured the massacre on film and managed to have it smuggled out of East Timor. When it reached the international media it caused outrage around the world and put East Timor and Indonesian atrocities committed there, back on the international political agenda.³⁵ The response to the Santa Cruz massacre showed itself in the U.S. Congress and the European Parliament, both officially condemning the massacre, while Congress also put a halt to the cooperation that had been conducted with Angkatan Bersenjata Republik Indonesia (ABRI), the Armed Forces of Indonesia, up to that point. As a further response, development aid was stopped to Indonesia by a number of countries.³⁶

Even with the East Timor-situation back on the international agenda, nothing substantial occurred that led to change, apart from the suspension of aid and military aid mentioned above. However, the East Timorese struggle was once again highlighted in 1996 when Bishop Belo and Jose Ramos-Horta were jointly awarded the Nobel Peace Prize. As pointed out by Adrian Guelke, this award was an important symbolic gesture which ensured that the question of Indonesia's occupation of East Timor would not go away.³⁷ Through all this Indonesia could really count on the support of one state – Australia.

³⁴ Jardine estimate the number of killed to over 250, DFAT between 150 to 270, although indicating that there might have been as many as up to 400, and Nevins, like Jardine, states that there were more than 250 people killed. See, M. Jardine, *East Timor: Genocide in paradise*, pp. 15-18, and Department of Foreign Affairs and Trade, *East Timor in Transition 1998-2000. An Australian Policy Challenge*, pp. 7-8, and J. Nevins, *A Not-so Distant Horror: Mass violence in East Timor*, pp. 32-33

³⁵ J. Nevins, *A Not-so Distant Horror: Mass violence in East Timor*, p. 33, and Matthew Jardine, *East Timor: Genocide in paradise*, Odonian Press, Monroe, 1999, p. 16, and Constancio Pinto, 'The Student Movement and the Independence Struggle in East Timor', in *Bitter Flowers, Sweet Flowers: East Timor, Indonesia, and the World Community*, eds. R. Tanter, M. Selden, and S. R. Shalom, Pluto Press Australia Pty Ltd, Sydney, 2001, p. 35, and Rodney Tiffen, *Diplomatic Deceits: Government, Media and East Timor*, University of New South Wales Press Ltd, Sydney, 2001, pp. 43-46

³⁶ M. Jardine, *East Timor: Genocide in paradise*, p. 17, and B. Haigh, *The Great Australian Blight: Losing the plot in Australian Foreign Policy*, p. 68, and J. Cotton, *East Timor, Australia and Regional Order: Intervention and its aftermath in Southeast Asia*, p. 53

³⁷ Adrian Guelke, 'South Africa's Transition: Lessons for East Timor?', in *The East Timor Question: The Struggle for Independence from Indonesia*, eds. P. Hainsworth & S. McCloskey, I. B. Tauris & Co Ltd, London, 2000, p. 191

Australian Foreign Policy Towards Indonesia Regarding East Timor up to 1996

Australia and Indonesia have had a difficult relationship from the formation of the Indonesian state. From the beginning the focus was on having a strong and stable relationship with its northern neighbour which, at times, proved a challenge. This section of this chapter will investigate Australia's foreign policy towards Indonesia up until 1997.

Australia supported the independence movement in Indonesia in its struggle against the Netherlands after the end of WWII. Indeed, Australia emerged as the main supporter for an independent Indonesia, mainly by arguing their case in the UN and by putting pressure on the Netherlands to give up its colony.³⁸ Margaret George refers to the Australian government's record of support as "indisputable" and Australia "the most prominent diplomatic protagonist of the Indonesian Republic during 1947-49".³⁹

The relationship became tense from 1950 onwards. The communist party in Indonesia grew stronger and President Sukarno indicated support for communist China, worrying Australian decision-makers in the Cold War-context. Adding to the tensions was the future status of what was left of the Netherlands East Indies - West Papua - which had remained under Dutch control. Australia under Menzies was against Indonesia gaining sovereignty over West Papua, which further strained the Australia-Indonesia relationship. In the end, Indonesia gained sovereignty over West Papua in 1963 and aimed at legitimising that sovereignty through an often criticised "Act of Free Choice" in 1969, but the relationship had been damaged. Australia's stand on West Papua had extinguished the initial good relationship stemming from its support of Indonesian independence in the 1940s. Relations between Indonesia and Australia in the early to mid-1960s were strained indeed.⁴⁰ The Konfrontasi 1962-1966 had the potential to seriously deteriorate relations even further, possibly escalate to warfare

³⁸ RAND, *Australian Foreign and Defense Policy in the Wake of the 1999/2000 East Timor Intervention*, www.rand.org/publications/MR/MR1409/2001, 2001, [Date accessed 27 July 2005] p. 20 and J. Cotton, *East Timor, Australia and Regional Order: Intervention and its aftermath in Southeast Asia*, p.8

³⁹ M. George, *Australia and the Indonesian Revolution*, p. 167

⁴⁰ A. Renouf, *The Frightened Country*, p.431, and RAND, *Australian Foreign and Defense Policy in the Wake of the 1999/2000 East Timor Intervention*, pp. 21-22, on The Act of Free Choice, see Damien Kingsbury, *The Politics of Indonesia*, Oxford University Press, South Melbourne, Third edition, 2005, p. 152

between the two countries.⁴¹ The formation of ASEAN in 1967 helped ease this tension and increase cooperation between the former antagonists Indonesia and Malaysia.⁴²

However, as it was important to the Australian government to maintain as good a relationship as possible with Indonesia, a low key-stance was taken. While sticking to principle, Australia nevertheless did its utmost to avoid military clashes between Australian and Indonesian troops.⁴³ At the end of the confrontation, Australia had managed to uphold cordial relations with Indonesia, partly due to its low-key position towards Indonesia during the conflict but also because the leadership in Indonesia had changed in 1965 after a failed coup attempt. In the aftermath, General Suharto emerged as the new leader by 1966 and brought with him policies much closer to Australia than the former leader Sukarno. Having been leaning towards the communist side of the Cold War under Sukarno, Indonesia was now much more pro-West under Suharto. As a consequence, relations between Australia and Indonesia improved⁴⁴ and Indonesia became second only to Papua New Guinea in terms of aid received from Australia.⁴⁵

Australian policy towards Indonesia in the years after Suharto came to power disregarded the large-scale killings in Indonesia of anyone believed to be a communist. As many as between 200 000 and 250 000 people are estimated to have died at the hands of the new Indonesia regime, according to McDougall, however, Kingsbury suggests up to 400 000 people killed in the immediate aftermath, and with a total of 1.5 million dead between 1965 and 1970.⁴⁶ For Australia however, it was more important that Indonesia now was much more Western friendly and to have gotten involved in Indonesia's internal politics would risk damaging the relationship with its Northern neighbour. This stance was later echoed in relation to East Timor.

⁴¹ A. Renouf, *The Frightened Country*, pp. 435-38

⁴² Derek McDougall, *Australian Foreign Relations: Contemporary perspectives*, Longman, South Melbourne, 1998, p. 205

⁴³ H. Adil, 'Australia's Policy Towards Indonesia During Confrontation, 1962-66', p.73 and, D. McDougall, *Australian Foreign Relations: Contemporary perspectives*, p. 204

⁴⁴ D. McDougall, *Australian Foreign Relations: Contemporary perspectives*, pp. 204-05

⁴⁵ A. Renouf, *The Frightened Country*, p. 449

⁴⁶ D. McDougall, *Australian Foreign Relations: Contemporary perspectives*, pp. 204-05 and D. Kingsbury, *The Politics of Indonesia*, p. 54

From 1967 when Suharto established his rule in Indonesia, until the 1975 invasion, there were few disagreements between Australia and Indonesia. The Vietnam War caused some disputes but apart from that relations were cordial.⁴⁷ The Australian government provided aid to Indonesia and began to negotiate a seabed border in 1972. This was important as there were oil and gas deposits in the area and it was necessary to determine who could extract them.⁴⁸ The underlying policy that would dominate Australia's relationship with Indonesia in the next few decades was already there: to maintain a good relationship with Indonesia at almost any cost. The next major issue to confront Australia and Indonesia was to be over East Timor.

1974-75

The Australian government's immediate response to the coup in Portugal in 1974 was to send a fact-finding mission to East Timor as the regime change in Portugal might have an impact on East Timor as well. Three possible solutions for East Timor soon emerged – to remain under Portuguese rule, to become independent, or to become part of Indonesia.⁴⁹ The Whitlam-government came to the conclusion that the overriding priority for Australia would be a good relationship with Indonesia.⁵⁰ Whitlam therefore devoted extra effort to the relationship with Indonesia so as to achieve this end.⁵¹ This involved in part Whitlam establishing a close personal relationship with President Suharto.⁵²

The policy focus was therefore based on maintaining good relations with Indonesia, more so than on supporting the wishes of the East Timorese people for self-determination. In 1974, Whitlam's position on East Timor was as follows:

⁴⁷ Joint Standing Committee on Foreign Affairs, Defence and Trade, *Australia's Relations with Indonesia*, The Parliament of the Commonwealth of Australia, Australian government publishing service, Canberra, 1993, p. 4 and Sharif Shuja, 'Australian-Indonesian relations: The East Timor factor', *American Asian Review*, Volume 18, Issue 2, Summer 2000, p. 38

⁴⁸ J. Cotton, *East Timor, Australia and Regional Order: Intervention and its aftermath in Southeast Asia*, pp. 24-25

⁴⁹ J. Dunn, 'East Timor: A rough passage to independence', p. 47

⁵⁰ Sharif Shuja, 'New Directions in Australia's East Timor Policy', *National Observer*, No. 45, Winter 2000, p. 46

⁵¹ R. Dalrymple, *Continental Drift: Australia's Search for a Regional Identity*, p. 194

⁵² Patrick Walters, 'Australia and Indonesia', in *Australia and Asia*, eds. M. McGillivray & G. Smith, Oxford University Press, Melbourne, 1997, p. 164, see also for example, R. Dalrymple, *Continental Drift: Australia's Search for a Regional Identity*, p. 194, and J. Cotton, *East Timor, Australia and Regional Order: Intervention and its aftermath in Southeast Asia*, p. 25

Mr. Gough Whitlam is understood to have indicated that Australia felt an independent Timor would be an unviable state, and a potential threat to the stability in the area. But he is also thought to have made clear that the people of the colony should have the ultimate decision on their own future.⁵³

Whitlam indeed made this stance clear when meeting with President Suharto in September 1974, stating that “he believed that Portuguese Timor should become part of Indonesia” and that “this should happen in accordance with the properly expressed wishes of the people of Portuguese Timor”.⁵⁴ So, the aim for Whitlam was thus for East Timor to become part of Indonesia, which would occur with the agreement of the East Timorese. Although perhaps a contradictory position, it appears that the Australia-Indonesia relationship was the priority in the end.

Michael Salla shows how Whitlam was against East Timorese independence for a number of reasons. Whitlam did not believe in the viability of small states and the creation of an independent East Timor would establish just that close to Australian shores. Moreover, a small state such as East Timor could easily be influenced by other great powers, thereby destabilising the region. Whitlam did not believe this to be in Australia’s interest. Finally, Whitlam looked at a divided Timor as a remnant of colonialism, to which he was personally opposed, and which he committed to ending in PNG. To him, it made more sense for the whole of Timor to be under one rule. That rule, logically to Whitlam, would be Indonesian.⁵⁵

Whitlam’s view on the East Timor matter is all the more important for two reasons. First, Whitlam conducted and construed most of the policy-making himself in regards to East Timor.⁵⁶ He shaped the policy according to his own world view, against

⁵³ Malcolm Booker, *The Last Domino: Aspects of Australia’s Foreign Relations*, Collins, Sydney, 1976, p. 213, cited in Dr. Sharif Shuja, ‘New Directions in Australia’s East Timor Policy’, p. 47, see also Nancy Viviani, ‘Australians and the East Timor issue – the policy of the Whitlam government’, pp. 82-83

⁵⁴ Department of Foreign Affairs and Trade, *Australia and the Indonesian Incorporation of Portuguese Timor, 1974-1976*, p. 95

⁵⁵ Michael E. Salla, ‘Australian foreign policy and East Timor’, in *East Timor and Australia: AIIA Contributions to the Policy Debate*, ed. J. Cotton, Australian Defence Studies Centre, Canberra, 1999, p. 162, On Whitlam’s stance on PNG, see Gough Whitlam, *The Whitlam Government, 1972-1975*, Penguin Books, , Ringwood, 1985, p. 93

⁵⁶ McDougall refers to Whitlam as “the dominating influence on Australian policy” at the time. See D. McDougall, *Australian Foreign Relations: Contemporary perspectives*, p. 213, see also M. E. Salla, ‘Australian foreign policy and East Timor’, p. 164, see also J. Dunn, ‘East Timor: A rough passage to independence’, p. 125

advice given by the Department of Defence,⁵⁷ and it was to have a great impact on Australian foreign policy towards Indonesia and East Timor. Second, Indonesia took Whitlam's comments to Suharto at their meeting in September 1974 as a sign that Australia would accept an Indonesian incorporation of East Timor.⁵⁸

A letter sent by Whitlam to Suharto in February 1975 stressed the Australian government's view that a possible incorporation of East Timor had to be supported by the East Timorese people. According to James Cotton, the letter has been interpreted as Whitlam wishing it to appear that their wishes had been taken into account, but not necessarily to be so in reality.⁵⁹ Furthermore, it has been suggested that Whitlam privately had downplayed the demand for East Timorese self-determination in discussions with Suharto.⁶⁰

Throughout 1975 it became clear that good relations with Indonesia were deemed as more important than the wishes of the East Timorese people. Dalrymple defends the Australian government's view at the time. He argues that it fitted in with Australia's attempt to fit in to the region; an independent East Timor was believed to be a source of instability internally as well as under influence from external great powers; and they held the belief that East Timor soon would integrate smoothly into Indonesia. Dalrymple argues that the Australian government, however, could have taken a position in between the East Timorese and Indonesia by not taking sides and acting as a kind of mediator instead, and still not damage the relationship with Indonesia.⁶¹ However, such a balancing act would have been difficult to achieve, considering the probable pressure Indonesia would put on Australia, and also considering the prevailing mentality of keeping a good relationship with Indonesia at almost any cost. Instead, a pragmatic and realist position was taken.

⁵⁷ M. E. Salla, 'Australian foreign policy and East Timor', p. 164

⁵⁸ Don Greenlees & Robert Garran, *Deliverance: The inside story of East Timor's fight for freedom*, Allen & Unwin, Crows Nest, 2002, pp. 6-7, and M. E. Salla, 'Australian foreign policy and East Timor', p. 163

⁵⁹ J. Cotton, *East Timor, Australia and Regional Order: Intervention and its aftermath in Southeast Asia*, p. 7

⁶⁰ J. Cotton, *East Timor, Australia and Regional Order: Intervention and its aftermath in Southeast Asia*, p. 31

⁶¹ R. Dalrymple, *Continental Drift: Australia's Search for a Regional Identity*, pp. 194-201

The pragmatic position was enhanced further over principle during 1975. An important person in this development was Richard Woolcott – who after Whitlam was possibly the most influential person on the East Timor-issue at the time. Woolcott argued, first as a senior official with the Department of Foreign Affairs and then as the Australian ambassador to Indonesia from March 1975, that it would be in Australia's interest that East Timor be incorporated into Indonesia. Any action against such a move would only hurt the relationship with Indonesia and would not result in a different outcome anyway. An independent East Timor would be unviable and unstable, which would not be in Australia's interest. It was thus better to support an Indonesian take-over and take a pragmatic and 'realist' position on the matter.⁶² Woolcott also argued on 17 August 1975 that a benefit of Indonesia taking over East Timor was that it would be easier to negotiate the sea border between Timor and Australia with Indonesia, stating: "I know I am recommending a pragmatic rather than a principled stand but this is what national interest and foreign policy is all about".⁶³ This policy had been expressed by Whitlam in his meeting with President Suharto in Townsville in April 1975, adding that an incorporation of East Timor into Indonesia should be conducted in a way that "would not upset the Australian people".⁶⁴

The Whitlam-government aimed on one hand to balance its interest in maintaining a good relationship with Indonesia and supporting an Indonesia take-over of East Timor and, on the other hand, not to alienate the Australian public against Indonesia at the same time, which were mostly against such a move.⁶⁵ This balancing act can be seen in the events unfolding in the latter part of 1975. The Australian government was aware of Indonesia's plan to invade East Timor already in August 1975, according to James Cotton.⁶⁶ When Indonesia began with the intrusions into East Timor in October 1975, the Australian government had previous knowledge of Indonesia's covert

⁶² J. Cotton, *East Timor, Australia and Regional Order: Intervention and its aftermath in Southeast Asia*, pp. 34-36

⁶³ Department of Foreign Affairs and Trade, *Australia and the Indonesian Incorporation of Portuguese Timor, 1974-1976*, p. 314

⁶⁴ Department of Foreign Affairs and Trade, *Australia and the Indonesian Incorporation of Portuguese Timor, 1974-1976*, p. 245

⁶⁵ R. Dalrymple, *Continental Drift: Australia's Search for a Regional Identity*, p. 197, and Clinton Fernandes, *Reluctant Saviour: Australia, Indonesia and the independence of East Timor*, Scribe Publications, Carlton North, 2004, p. 12

⁶⁶ J. Cotton, *East Timor, Australia and Regional Order: Intervention and its aftermath in Southeast Asia*, p. 9

Operation Komodo and planned Indonesian troop deployments into East Timor.⁶⁷ The Australian government was also informed about the attack against Maliana/Atsabe and Balibo three days before it was carried out on 16 October.⁶⁸ Despite the information received, the warning did not reach five foreign journalists that were in Balibo at the time of the attack. All five Australian-based journalists were killed by Indonesian covert troops during the attack, despite at least one of them indicating that he was an Australian.⁶⁹

The killing of the “Balibo 5” as they came to be known generated a debate that is still ongoing today as to whether the Australian government failed in its duty to notify the journalists of the Indonesian attack, as they had prior knowledge of it.⁷⁰ Gough Whitlam claims he met one of the journalists not long before the killings and had told him that “he was going to a highly dangerous situation and that the Australian Government had no way of protecting him or his colleagues”.⁷¹ The accounts differ but the fact remains that the “Balibo 5” affair continued to be an irritant for the Australian and Indonesian governments and affected their relationship.

The Coalition was appointed as a caretaker government after the controversial sacking of Gough Whitlam’s Labor government on 11 November 1975.⁷² Fraser’s coalition went on to win the election of 13 December 1975 and essentially continued Whitlam’s East Timor-policy. The incoming government laid some of the blame on the Whitlam-government but continued the balancing act of trying to please the

⁶⁷ Department of Foreign Affairs and Trade, *Australia and the Indonesian Incorporation of Portuguese Timor, 1974-1976*, pp. 439-441

⁶⁸ Department of Foreign Affairs and Trade, *Australia and the Indonesian Incorporation of Portuguese Timor, 1974-1976*, pp. 462-63, see also, *ibid*, p.468-70

⁶⁹ J. Dunn, *East Timor: A rough passage to independence*, pp. 202-205

⁷⁰ See for example, J. Cotton, *East Timor, Australia and Regional Order: Intervention and its aftermath in Southeast Asia*, p. 36, and Jill Jolliffe, ‘Tightening The Noose’, *Sydney Morning Herald*, 5 February 2001, and J. Dunn, *East Timor: A rough passage to independence*, pp. 202-205

⁷¹ G. Whitlam, *The Whitlam Government, 1972-1975*, pp. 111-12

⁷² Governor-General Sir John Kerr dismissed the Whitlam-government on 11 November 1975. The Coalition-dominated Senate was blocking the government’s supply bill, which endangered the government’s ability to meet its financial obligations. Leader of the Opposition Malcolm Fraser was then appointed caretaker Prime Minister by the Governor-General. This event is often referred to as Australia’s greatest constitutional crisis. See for example, Paul Kelly, *November 1975: The inside story of Australia’s greatest political crisis*, Allen & Unwin, St. Leonards, 1995

Australian public as well as not opposing Indonesia too much.⁷³ This policy very much continued after the Indonesian invasion of East Timor on 7 December 1975.

Australia supported the UN-resolutions in the Security Council and in the General Assembly that criticised the Indonesian invasion. Moreover, the Fraser-government continued the Whitlam-government's calls for an act of self-determination. However, it also responded to the invasion with a carefully worded statement which expressed understanding of Indonesia's position, while criticising the use of force rather than using diplomatic means.⁷⁴

Indonesia officially proclaimed East Timor a part of Indonesia on 17 July 1976. An "official" vote had been undertaken on 31 May 1976 by the 'People's Assembly' in East Timor, but as discussed previously, its legitimacy was very much in doubt. Even Australia refused to recognise it as such with Foreign Minister Andrew Peacock stating: "Australia cannot regard the broad requirements for a satisfactory process of decolonisation as having been met".⁷⁵ The Fraser-government realised however that the situation would not be reversed and so went on to grant *de facto* recognition to Indonesia, as the authority over East Timor, in January 1978. This was soon followed by *de jure* recognition in December 1978. Peacock argued that it was to acknowledge the reality of the situation. The *de jure* recognition was, in Peacock's view, for the purpose of beginning negotiations of the seabed border between Timor and Australia and in order to accommodate international law a *de jure* recognition was required. He emphasised that it did not mean that Australia accepted the manner in which Indonesia took over East Timor.⁷⁶ Australia however was the only state that went the extra mile to appease Indonesian expansionism.

The sea bed negotiations began in February 1979 and continued during the Hawke-government (1983-1991) until it resulted in the Timor Gap Zone of Cooperation-

⁷³ Nancy Viviani, 'Australians and the East Timor issue – the policy of the Fraser government', in *East Timor and Australia: AIIA Contributions to the Policy Debate*, ed. J. Cotton, Australian Defence Studies Centre, Canberra, 1999, pp. 111-12

⁷⁴ Department of Foreign Affairs and Trade, *Australia and the Indonesian Incorporation of Portuguese Timor, 1974-1976*, pp. 604 and 609-10, see also N. Viviani, 'Australians and the East Timor issue – the policy of the Fraser government', pp. 111-12

⁷⁵ M. E. Salla, 'Australian foreign policy and East Timor', p. 165

⁷⁶ Department of Foreign Affairs and Trade, *East Timor in Transition 1998-2000. An Australian Policy Challenge*, pp. 11-12

treaty, signed in December 1989, over ten years after the start of talks.⁷⁷ The treaty - officially entering into force on 9 February 1991 - detailed “the allocation and sharing of resources in the Timor Gap Zone”, rather than just dividing the area between Australia and Indonesia.⁷⁸

The Labor Party had criticised the Fraser-government while in opposition on its East Timor-policy, criticising Indonesia’s human rights-record in East Timor, stating that they did not acknowledge the Fraser-government’s *de facto* and *de jure* recognition of Indonesia’s takeover of East Timor, and demanding a “genuine act of self-determination.”⁷⁹ However, once in government in 1983, the Hawke-government changed its view on East Timor, instead more concerned with having a stable and positive relationship with Indonesia and therefore not letting East Timor become an obstacle to that goal.⁸⁰ Again, the overall relationship with Indonesia trumped any violations of international law and human rights abuses.

In the decade after the Indonesian invasion stories emerged of serious human rights violations in East Timor committed by Indonesian forces. An Australian Senate Standing Committee on Foreign Affairs and Defence conducting an investigation in to the matter in 1983 concluded that:

It is clear that the people of East Timor have been denied the exercise of the most fundamental of human rights under Indonesian rule. They have not been permitted a genuine act of self-determination nor can they exercise the freedoms of speech and assembly which are the foundations of a free political community. The protections of the law and an independent judicial system are absent and the people of East Timor have been subject to arbitrary arrest, detention, torture and summary execution.

Freedom of movement within the territory, within Indonesia and internationally are severely curtailed. The cultural life of the community is also threatened by the imposition of the Bahasa Indonesia language and apparent attempts to suppress traditional forms of religion in favour of monotheistic religions.⁸¹

⁷⁷ Clinton Fernandes, *Reluctant Saviour: Australia, Indonesia and the independence of East Timor*, Scribe Publications, Carlton North, 2004, p. 15 and 18

⁷⁸ Joint Standing Committee on Foreign Affairs, Defence and Trade, *Australia’s Relations with Indonesia*, p. 185

⁷⁹ M. E. Salla, ‘Australian foreign policy and East Timor’, p. 167

⁸⁰ B. Haigh, *The Great Australian Blight: Losing the plot in Australian Foreign Policy*, p. 59, and M. E. Salla, ‘Australian foreign policy and East Timor’, p. 168, see also C. Fernandes, *Reluctant Saviour: Australia, Indonesia and the independence of East Timor*, p. 17

⁸¹ Senate Standing Committee on Foreign Affairs and Defence, *The Human Rights and Conditions of the People of East Timor*, p. 84

The Australian government's policy towards the human rights issues in East Timor under Hawke was that the best way to influence Indonesia on human rights was to have a strong and stable relationship with them. Through that, Australia could work with Indonesia to improve its human rights record.⁸² The Keating-government held the same basic view but put more emphasis on "self-determination issues", or in the words of the then Foreign Minister Gareth Evans "some greater degree of political autonomy"⁸³, as a way of improving the human rights situation of the East Timorese. They also aimed at showing Indonesia how its human rights record in East Timor hurt its reputation internationally.⁸⁴ This view was supported by a report by the Joint Standing Committee on Foreign Affairs, Defence and Trade in November 1993, which stated that despite clear and horrific violations of the human rights of the East Timorese, with up to 200 000 East Timorese dead "from causes directly or indirectly attributable to integration with Indonesia", the report states that calls for Australia to be more active by for example bringing the matter forward to the UN or "suspending diplomatic relations with Indonesia" would not have a positive effect on the people of East Timor.⁸⁵

During Paul Keating's prime ministership East Timor was pushed even further back in the government's focus. Keating and his Foreign Minister Gareth Evans made it clear that he wouldn't allow the East Timor-issue to become a strain on the Australia-Indonesia relationship.⁸⁶ Both the ALP and the Coalition favoured the Timor Gap Treaty in 1989, subsequently ratified by parliament. Again, the overall importance of a good relationship with Indonesia overshadowed the human rights violations in East Timor. Continuous Australian governments, both Coalition and Labor-governments, had come to this view.⁸⁷ The bipartisan view on the East Timor-issue remained unchanged with the Howard-government coming to power in March 1996.⁸⁸

⁸² M. E. Salla, 'Australian foreign policy and East Timor', p. 170

⁸³ Evans quoted in M. E. Salla, 'Australian foreign policy and East Timor', p. 172

⁸⁴ M. E. Salla, 'Australian foreign policy and East Timor', p. 172

⁸⁵ Joint Standing Committee on Foreign Affairs, Defence and Trade, *Australia's Relations with Indonesia*, pp. 96 and 106-07

⁸⁶ Paul Keating, *Engagement: Australia faces the Asia-Pacific*, Macmillan, Sydney, 2000, p. 130

⁸⁷ C. Fernandes, *Reluctant Saviour: Australia, Indonesia and the independence of East Timor*, p. 18

⁸⁸ David Goldsworthy, 'East Timor', in *Facing North: a century of Australian engagement with Asia, Volume 2, 1970s to 2000*, eds. P. Edwards and D. Goldsworthy, Melbourne University Press, Carlton, 2003, p. 222

The Howard-government and Australian Foreign Policy towards Indonesia Regarding East Timor 1996-1999

The Howard-government came to power in March 1996 and to a great extent continued the previous government's East Timor-policy. The Foreign Affairs and Trade's White Paper of 1997 – "In the National Interest" – acknowledged the importance of East Timor in Australia's relationship with Indonesia. Human rights in East Timor were a prime focus as a way to reach "an overall resolution of the issue" and to improve "Indonesia's international relationships". The Australian position is then made clear, stating that "the overall administration of the Province is primarily a matter for the Indonesian Government to determine".⁸⁹

Howard and Downer argued that it would be more beneficial to discuss human rights issues, and by implication East Timor, bilaterally with Indonesia rather than taking the multilateral approach. Howard stated that East Timor had to be considered "in the context of a broad-based relationship", and emphasised "understanding and a sense of perspective".⁹⁰ Howard further declared that, although "concerned about the human rights situation in East Timor", he did not think that "a confrontational approach" would benefit the East Timorese and that there was a need for them "to accept its place as an integral part of Indonesia".⁹¹ The overall approach to issues concerning human rights was further confirmed in the government's approach towards China in the matter, with Howard stating his preference "to have our own dialogue" instead of lecturing them.⁹² Downer finally confirmed this policy approach by stating the government's two major elements in foreign policy: "Public diplomacy and constructive initiatives".⁹³

⁸⁹ Department of Foreign Affairs and Trade, *In the National Interest*, Australia's Foreign and Trade Policy, White Paper, Commonwealth of Australia, 1997, p. 62

⁹⁰ John Howard, 'Transcript of the Prime Minister The Hon John Howard MP The 1997 Sir Robert Menzies Memorial Lecture 'Australia and Britain: The Contemporary Partnership in a new International Environment'', 23 June 1997

⁹¹ John Howard, 'Transcript of address by the Prime Minister The Hon John Howard MP Dinner hosted by the Foreign Policy Association New York', 30 June 1997, see also Laura Tingle, 'PM Quizzed On Rights', *The Age*, 28 June 1997, and Lenore Taylor, 'Weakened US-Asian Links Would Be 'Historic Error'', *Financial Review*, 2 July 1997

⁹² John. Howard, 'Transcript of the Prime Minister The Hon John Howard MP Interview with Neil Mitchell – Radio 3AW', 30 June 1997

⁹³ Alexander. Downer, 'Australia's Foreign Policy, Address by the Hon Alexander Downer MP, Minister for Foreign Affairs, to the Joint Services Staff College', Canberra, 26 March 1997

The policy towards East Timor more specifically included Howard bringing up the issue with Suharto and Downer discussing it with Foreign Minister Alatas on several occasions.⁹⁴ There appears to have been no immediate effect from this “quiet diplomacy”, as the overall situation in East Timor remained the same.⁹⁵ Downer defended Australia’s East Timor-policy, stating that Australia had done a number of things to improve the situation in East Timor: This included 1, “a contribution of \$300 000 for the International Committee of the Red Cross (ICRC) to continue their human rights monitoring work in East Timor”; “a continuing development assistance program for East Timor”; and by sponsoring and supporting talks under UN supervision.⁹⁶

It was no wonder Downer felt the need to outline and defend Australia’s position on East Timor as there was the added pressure that the awarding of the Nobel Prize for Peace in 1996 to Jose Ramos-Horta and Bishop Carlos Belo brought with it. The award put the spotlight on East Timor again and added renewed international pressure on Indonesia but also on Australia as the one country that had extended *de jure* recognition to Indonesia’s incorporation of East Timor, despite the UN opposing the legality of this incorporated status.⁹⁷

The Howard-government’s response to the Nobel Peace Prize awards to Ramos-Horta and Belo was muted. The Prime Minister did not even meet with Ramos-Horta, despite the fact that Ramos-Horta resided in Australia at this time. Foreign Minister Downer had a brief meeting with Ramos-Horta for half an hour in his Adelaide office.⁹⁸ Howard and Downer’s actions towards Ramos-Horta fitted their overall stance on the East Timor-issue. It also indicated to Indonesia that Australia’s position on East Timor remained unchanged. Further critique against the government’s human rights policies was apparent a year after they came to power, particularly in regards to

⁹⁴ Downer reportedly discussed it with Alatas on five occasions in 1996, see ‘A Trade-off Too Near’, *The Age*, 31 January 1997, see also regarding Howard meeting with Soeharto Cameron Forbes, ‘Howard rejects human rights on talks agenda’, *The Australian*, 26 November 1997

⁹⁵ Anonymous, ‘A Trade-off Too Near’, *The Age*, 31 January 1997

⁹⁶ Alexander. Downer, ‘Australia, Europe and Asia: Approaching the 21st Century, Address by the Hon Alexander Downer, MP, Minister for Foreign Affairs, to the Royal Institute of International Affairs (RIIA), Chatham House, London’, 5 February 1997, Downer also repeated the contribution to the ICRC in Alexander. Downer, ‘Australia’s Foreign Policy, Address by the Hon Alexander Downer MP, Minister for Foreign Affairs, to the Joint Services Staff College’, Canberra, 26 March 1997

⁹⁷ Wilson Da Silva, ‘The Politics Of The Prize’, *Financial Review*, 27 March 1997

⁹⁸ W. Da Silva, ‘The Politics Of The Prize’, *Financial Review*, 27 March 1997

East Timor and Burma.⁹⁹ Thus it was a case of “Business as usual” in terms of the Australian government’s stance on East Timor.

The road towards Australian Foreign Policy Change

The first steps towards a change in policy towards East Timor began in late 1997 but it was not initiated by the Howard-government. The ALP under the direction of Shadow Foreign Minister Laurie Brereton drafted a policy-proposal for the upcoming ALP national conference in 1998. The process began in late August 1997 and by October 1997 the policy change had reached the media. According to the proposal the ALP would, if in government, call for a negotiated process leading to an act of self-determination for the East Timorese people.¹⁰⁰ This proposal represented a change in policy position for the ALP and added extra pressure on the Howard-government in light of the Nobel Peace Prize awards a year earlier. It was also the most radical change in position of either of the major parties since the 1975-invasion.

The proposal was adopted at the ALP’s national conference in January 1998, stating “that no lasting solution to the conflict in East Timor is likely in the absence of a process of negotiation through which the people of East Timor can exercise their right to an act of self-determination”.¹⁰¹ Fernandes referred to the change in ALP policy as the end of the government’s “comfort zone” and that “henceforth, there would be no rest for the Howard government”. From now on, pressure would come not only from East Timorese advocates but from the Opposition as well.¹⁰²

Meanwhile, the financial crisis hit Indonesia in mid-July 1997. Australia was not very affected by the crisis and could therefore respond with contributions to the IMF rescue packages to three of the most affected countries – Indonesia, South Korea, and Thailand. Australia also provided further assistance to Indonesia by arguing for less stringent conditions on the IMF’s rescue package.¹⁰³ Downer referred to Australia’s

⁹⁹ Lindsay Murdoch, ‘Times Past, And Future’, *The Age*, 1 March 1997

¹⁰⁰ Don Greenlees, ‘Labor policy ups ante for autonomy in East Timor’, *The Australian*, 18 October 1997, see also, Don Greenlees, ‘It’s easier to be forthright in Opposition’, *The Australian*, 27 October 1997, and Paul Chamberlin, ‘ALP Flags East Timor Rethink’, *The Age*, 25 October 1997

¹⁰¹ C. Fernandes, *Reluctant Saviour: Australia, Indonesia and the independence of East Timor*, p. 31

¹⁰² C. Fernandes, *Reluctant Saviour: Australia, Indonesia and the independence of East Timor*, p. 31

¹⁰³ Gary Smith, ‘Perspectives on Australian Foreign Policy 1998’, *Australian Journal of International Affairs*, Vol. 53, No. 2, 1999, p.195, and D. McDougall, *Australian Foreign Relations: Contemporary*

assistance as “responding to the region’s ‘SOS call’ by demonstrating what I have called ‘regional mateship’” and describing Australia as an “all-weather-friend”. He outlined how Australia was contributing to the IMF package to Indonesia, as well as 50 million AUD in “humanitarian response”, having an “on-going aid program”, and giving “up to 900 million AUD in trade insurance cover”.¹⁰⁴ The Howard-government’s response to the Asian Financial Crisis, and Indonesia in particular, was indeed strong but reactive, and shows its overall desire for a politically and economically stable Indonesia.

The 1997 Asian financial crisis triggered events that ultimately led to Suharto stepping down as President of Indonesia which in turn opened up the possibility for a solution to the East Timor-issue. As Elson argues, the crisis itself did not cause his downfall but served as catalyst for a number of factors that together garnered enough force and momentum to leave Suharto no other alternative in the end but to resign as President.¹⁰⁵ Elson points more specifically at corruption as an important factor, with the wealth that the Suharto-family had built up through its corruption-practices, angered many Indonesians particularly at a time when they felt the strain from the deteriorating economy. Furthermore, the economic and social progress made in Indonesia under Suharto’s rule contributed to the undoing of the military regime. Elson quotes Derek Davies who stated in 1970 that “Prosperity is the greatest liberalising force. A modern industrialised Indonesia would not long tolerate a military oligarchy”.¹⁰⁶

Geoffrey Forrester points to a combination of reasons for Suharto’s fall. First, the weakening economy that began with Thailand’s currency collapse, which then spread to Indonesia. Combined with Suharto experiencing health issues in December 1997 which forced him to be absent from active politics for two weeks it increased concern on the already unstable financial market. Forrester also cites what he refers to as

perspectives, pp. 208-09, and J. Cotton, *East Timor, Australia and Regional Order: Intervention and its aftermath in Southeast Asia*, p. 47

¹⁰⁴ Alexander Downer, ‘Australia’s Future in the Asia Pacific: Cooperation, Economic Reform and Liberalisation’, Speech by the Hon Alexander Downer, MP, Minister for Foreign Affairs, to the Melbourne Institute Conference – “The Asian Crisis – Economic Analysis and Market Intelligence”, the University of Melbourne, 8 May 1998

¹⁰⁵ Robert. E. Elson, *Suharto: A Political Biography*, Cambridge University Press, Cambridge, 2001, p. 293

¹⁰⁶ R.. E. Elson, *Suharto: A Political Biography*, pp. 293-94

“Suharto’s increasingly erratic behaviour” as another factor, causing doubts within the Indonesian civilian and military elite of his continuing ability to be Indonesia’s leader, while pointing to decisions seen as him preparing for his family to take over. Finally, student opposition grew steadily.¹⁰⁷ It was reported in December 1997 that according to a survey conducted at the University of Yogyakarta; 80 % were against Suharto being elected for another term as president.¹⁰⁸ The student protests increased during 1998, particularly after Suharto’s re-election in March 1998 for another term as President.¹⁰⁹

What seems clear is that it was a combination of political and economic factors that led to the downfall of Suharto. The Asian Financial Crisis and the drought that hit Indonesia at the same time meant that the economy was suffering badly, leading to increasing protests, which in turn put further pressure on Suharto. Loss of faith with Suharto among important elites further destabilised his grip on power. When the Suharto-government announced that they would remove the subsidies on fuel, electricity and transport costs¹¹⁰, protests grew bigger and fiercer. Four students were shot in demonstrations on 12 May 1998. Continued protests and rioting followed the shooting and in the next three days led to more than 1 000 people being killed.¹¹¹ Demonstrations continued unabated despite the rising death toll and with the pressure building, Suharto finally resigned as President on 21 May 1998, in face of continuing demonstrations and weakened support of the military. Vice-President B. J. Habibie was sworn in as the new President of Indonesia the same day.¹¹²

This extraordinary change of leadership also opened up for a solution to the question of East Timor. Habibie began early to consider a change in the Indonesian government’s position on East Timor. In a sign that President Suharto had indeed been an obstacle to an Indonesian change in policy on East Timor, the Cabinet

¹⁰⁷ Geoffrey Forrester, ‘Introduction’ in *The Fall of Soeharto*, eds. G. Forrester & R. J. May, Crawford House in association with Regime Change and Regime Maintenance in Asia and the Pacific Project and North Australia Research Unit, Research School of Pacific and Asian Studies, Australian National University, 1998, pp. 17-18

¹⁰⁸ Anonymous, ‘Stability Needed In Indonesian Crisis’, *Canberra Times*, 31 December 1997

¹⁰⁹ D. Kingsbury, *The Politics of Indonesia*, p. 271

¹¹⁰ Christopher Torchia, ‘Indonesia To Raise Utility Costs’, *AP Online*, 4 May 1998

¹¹¹ Department of Foreign Affairs and Trade, *East Timor in Transition 1998-2000. An Australian Policy Challenge*, p. 15, see also, D. Kingsbury, *The Politics of Indonesia*, p. 271

¹¹² D. Kingsbury, *The Politics of Indonesia*, pp. 271-72

discussed a possible change of policy in late May, soon after taking over government.¹¹³ Officially though, the policy remained the same. Habibie had strongly supported it in the past and initially there were no hints of a change.¹¹⁴ The model proposed in this thesis could be applied to this Indonesian change also, even as it was emerging from Suharto's strong centralised government.

However, in an interview with the BBC on 9 June 1998 Habibie suddenly made an attempt to solve the East Timor-problem. A "Special Status" could be considered if the international community, including Portugal and the UN, would recognise Indonesia as the sovereign over East Timor.¹¹⁵ The idea had been discussed in the cabinet's political and security committee a few days earlier and presented to Habibie shortly afterwards.¹¹⁶ It was not clear exactly what this "Special Status" would entail; however, it did represent a break with the long-standing policy under Suharto, although referendum and/or independence were rejected as an option. Furthermore, Habibie declared that he would release 15 East Timorese prisoners¹¹⁷, which in this context can be seen as another gesture aimed at the East Timorese population. The release of Xanana Gusmao, the East Timorese resistance leader jailed in Indonesia, was rejected, for the time being, by Habibie, and Foreign Minister Ali Alatas, but it was not ruled out in a future "overall, comprehensive solution".¹¹⁸ In a further sign of a change in attitude, President Habibie met with Bishop Carlos Belo in late June 1998, discussing the situation in East Timor.¹¹⁹ Furthermore, Habibie announced the withdrawal of 1 000 troops, out of an estimated 10-15 000 in total, from East Timor as a first step to limit the military presence there. Around 400 combat troops pulled out

¹¹³ Department of Foreign Affairs and Trade, *East Timor in Transition 1998-2000. An Australian Policy Challenge*, p. 17

¹¹⁴ Andrew Parrin, 'All change, except on the streets of Dili', *The Australian*, 23 May 1998, and Anonymous, 'First reckoning for fallen regime', *The Australian*, 2 June 1998

¹¹⁵ Don Greenlees, 'Amnesty not enough for Dili', *The Australian*, 11 June 1998, see also for example, Ian MacKenzie, 'Interview – Jakarta weighs special status for Timor', *Reuters News*, 9 June 1998, and Seth Mydans, 'Indonesian Leader Softens Stand on the Status of East Timor', *The New York Times*, 11 June 1998, and Department of Foreign Affairs and Trade, *East Timor in Transition 1998-2000. An Australian Policy Challenge*, p. 17

¹¹⁶ Don Greenlees & Robert Garran, *Deliverance: The inside story of East Timor's fight for freedom*, Allen & Unwin, Crows Nest, 2002, p. 38

¹¹⁷ Anonymous, 'Indonesia frees East Timorese political detainees', *Reuters News*, 11 June 1998

¹¹⁸ Anonymous, 'Indonesia could consider freeing Xanana Gusmao: foreign minister', *Agence France-Presse*, 9 June 1998, and Ian MacKenzie, 'Interview – Jakarta weighs special status for Timor', *Reuters News*, 9 June 1998

¹¹⁹ Don Greenlees, 'Belo, Habibie speak their peace', *The Australian*, 25 June 1998

during the week following the announcement.¹²⁰ Overall, the change in leadership had proven that there now was a possibility to address and perhaps solve the East Timor-situation.

The reaction from the East Timorese themselves was simply “it’s not enough”. Jose Ramos-Horta, the East Timorese leader in exile, referred to it as “not a serious proposal” and rejected it.¹²¹ In East Timor, a student demonstration in Dili on 10 June called for “a referendum, the right to self-determination and a withdrawal of the troops”.¹²² Portugal likewise rejected the proposal, stating that it would not make much difference in the negotiations between Indonesia and Portugal regarding East Timor.¹²³ These negotiations had commenced in 1983 under the supervision of the UN although not much progress had been made until Kofi Annan became UN Secretary-General in 1997. Upon taking over the post, Annan set forward to revive the talks between Indonesia and Portugal, with the hope that it would eventuate in a lasting solution to the East Timor-issue. Annan met with Ramos-Horta and shortly after the meeting the Pakistani diplomat Jamsheed Marker became his Personal Representative in regards to East Timor.¹²⁴

The negotiations did not really take off until after the change of leadership in Indonesia. The previous state of the negotiations can be illustrated with the meeting chaired by Annan between the foreign ministers of Indonesia and Portugal in June 1997 being referred to as “talks about talks”.¹²⁵ Marker reported in January 1998 a “substantial progress” in the intensified talks but also said that there at this stage was a *possibility* that a solution could be found.¹²⁶ Despite Marker’s positive view on the negotiations, nothing substantial came out of it until after Suharto stepped down as

¹²⁰ Anonymous, ‘East Timor’s Slow March To Peace’, *The Age*, 31 July 1998, and Anonymous, ‘Briefs’, *The Age*, 25 July 1998

¹²¹ Seth Mydans, ‘Indonesian Leader Softens Stand on the Status of East Timor’, *The New York Times*, 11 June 1998

¹²² Steve Crawshaw, ‘East Timor rejects ‘sham’ reforms offer’, *The Independent – London*, 11 June 1998, and S. Mydans, ‘Indonesian Leader Softens Stand on the Status of East Timor’, *The New York Times*, 11 June 1998

¹²³ S. Crawshaw, ‘East Timor rejects ‘sham’ reforms offer’, *The Independent – London*, 11 June 1998

¹²⁴ Anonymous, ‘Ramos Horta attacks UN over E Timor’, *The Australian*, 13 March 1997, and Ian Martin, *Self-determination in East Timor*, Lynne Rienne Publishers, Boulder, 2001, p. 18, regarding the lack of progress in previous talks see also Patrick Walters, ‘Portugal renews E Timor attack’, *The Australian*, 21 June 1997

¹²⁵ P. Walters, ‘Portugal renews E Timor attack’, *The Australian*, 21 June 1997

¹²⁶ Anonymous, ‘E Timor talks breed optimism’, *The Australian*, 21 January 1998

President. A new sense of optimism regarding East Timor followed the change of leadership and Habibie's proposal of "Special Status" for East Timor in June 1998. Even though Portugal rejected the "Special status"-proposal, it still gave the UN an opportunity to increase its effort to produce a solution through the negotiations between Indonesia and Portugal. Jamsheed Marker visited Jakarta and East Timor in July 1998 to prepare for talks by meeting with key players of the process.¹²⁷

The outcome of Marker's visit was a meeting in New York on 4-5 August between the Portuguese and Indonesian foreign ministers on Annan's invitation. It also meant a revitalisation of the negotiations with the possibility of linking the talks with Habibie's earlier proposal, despite scepticism still being felt.¹²⁸ The talks in August were presented as a "breakthrough", as it produced an agreement wherein Indonesia and Portugal was "to concentrate on the details of an autonomy package rather than basic differences over the disputed province's sovereignty".¹²⁹ Despite the initial optimism, the talks eventually stranded in November 1998 without an agreement on autonomy for East Timor being reached.¹³⁰ Lack of commitment and flexibility on Indonesia's part has been cited as a major reason for the failure to reach a solution before the end of 1998. Key East Timorese actors, such as *Conselho Nacional da Resistencia Timorese* or National Council for Timorese Resistance (CNRT), were also not consulted in the process, undermining the possible support for a plan by the East Timorese themselves.¹³¹ Furthermore, reports that the announced withdrawal of Indonesian military troops from East Timor had not been carried out, but rather increased instead, further fuelling suspicions that Indonesia was not fully committed to the process.¹³²

¹²⁷ Anonymous, 'Envoy heads for E Timor hot spot', *The Australian*, 20 July 1998, and Department of Foreign Affairs and Trade, *East Timor in Transition 1998-2000. An Australian Policy Challenge*, p. 18, see also, Don Greenlees, 'Peace offer to 'whole family of Timor'', *The Australian*, 22 June 1998, regarding Portugals rejection of Habibie's proposal

¹²⁸ Department of Foreign Affairs and Trade, *East Timor in Transition 1998-2000. An Australian Policy Challenge*, pp. 17-18 and Maryanne Kelton & Richard Leaver, 'Issues in Australian Foreign Policy', in *The Australian Journal of Politics and History*, V45, i4, Dec 1999, pp. 530-31

¹²⁹ Greg Earl, 'Aceh Death Toll Takes Spotlight', *Financial Review*, 7 August 1998

¹³⁰ Greg Earl & Geoffrey Barker, 'Indonesia Refuses Lawyer's Visit On East Timor Deaths', *Financial Review*, 30 November 1998

¹³¹ Department of Foreign Affairs and Trade, *East Timor in Transition 1998-2000. An Australian Policy Challenge*, pp. 18-19

¹³² Geoffrey Barker, 'East Timor Leak May Be Aimed At Habibie', *Financial Review*, 31 October 1998 and Gervase Greene, 'Downer Concern At Timor Moves', *The Age*, 19 October 1998, and Don Greenlees, 'Leak shows no E Timor troops cuts', *The Australian*, 30 October 1998

The issue of a potential release of the East Timorese leader Xanana Gusmao from Indonesian jail was also in the background of the talks. If released, it was considered to be an important gesture made by the Indonesian government - a show of goodwill. However, Indonesia consistently argued that Gusmao was a criminal and had no place in talks about East Timor's future.¹³³ Only after an agreement had been reached could he be freed.¹³⁴ Calls for his release came from a wide range of international sources, such as South Africa's President Nelson Mandela, the United States, UN's Secretary-General Kofi Annan, and a number of European countries.¹³⁵ Mandela met with Gusmao in prison in July 1997 and Mark in December 1998, which demonstrates Gusmao's perceived importance to the process.¹³⁶

A week before Suharto's resignation in May 1998, there were signs that the Howard-government realised what would happen and began preparing itself for a leadership-change. Howard stated that "our relationship is important beyond the tenure in office of any particular individual"¹³⁷, which was interpreted as Australia distancing itself from Suharto.¹³⁸ In regards to East Timor, Howard noted on 25 May 1998 that moves towards self-determination for East Timor would be "well received" but he did not outline in more detail what those might be.¹³⁹ Downer urged Indonesia now cut down its military presence in East Timor and let them have "a much greater say in the management of their own affairs".¹⁴⁰ From these comments it can be deduced that the Howard-government slightly altered its policy and now sensed a possible opportunity to resolve a 25 year old problem between Australia and Indonesia. Although, it should be noted that this alteration in policy was very minor considering that the overall policy essentially remained the same – East Timor should remain within Indonesia.

¹³³ Mark Baker, 'Jailed Timorese Guerrilla Caught In Presidential Crossfire', *The Age*, 15 August 1998

¹³⁴ D. Greenlees, 'Peace offer to 'whole family of Timor'', *The Australian*, 22 June 1998 and I. Martin, *Self-determination in East Timor*, p.19

¹³⁵ M. Baker, 'Jailed Timorese Guerrilla Caught In Presidential Crossfire', *The Age*, 15 August 1998 and Anonymous, 'Eu call to free Gusmao', *The Australian*, 14 August 1998

¹³⁶ Patrick Walters, 'Mandela met jailed East Timor activist', *The Australian*, 23 July 1997 and Mark Dodd, 'Envoy flees E Timor protest', *The Australian*, 21 December 1998

¹³⁷ John Howard, 'Transcript of the Prime Minister the Hon John Howard MP, Press conference – Parliament House', 14 May 1998

¹³⁸ Anonymous, 'The Soeharto Era Is Over', *Financial Review*, 15 May 1998, see also Anonymous, 'Changing Tack On Indonesia', *The Age*, 19 May 1998

¹³⁹ John Howard, 'Transcript of the Prime Minister the Hon John Howard MP, AM Programme, ABC Radio', 25 May 1998

¹⁴⁰ Tim Colebatch, 'We Trust Habibie: Downer', *The Age*, 25 May 1998, see also Anonymous, 'Downer overlooks Timorese prisoners', *The Australian*, 25 May 1998 on Downers call for political reforms in regards to East Timor

Habibie did indeed suggest some sort of greater autonomy for East Timor in an interview with the BBC on 9 June 1998. He stated that “I am ready to consider giving East Timor special status”, some sort of semi-autonomy if Indonesia was finally recognised as the sovereign over East Timor internationally and by Portugal in particular,¹⁴¹ thereby linking it to the negotiations under UN-supervision between Indonesia and Portugal over East Timor. The Australian government cautiously welcomed Habibie’s suggestion of ‘special status’ for East Timor. Ambassador to Indonesia John McCarthy went to East Timor for a first-hand look at the situation there. He also visited Gusmao twice in the Indonesian prison in which he was held, which was a dramatic move by the Australian government, as the previous policy had been not to talk to FRETILIN/FALINTIL - the East Timorese guerrilla movement. Downer visited Indonesia in July 1998 and East Timor was naturally high on the agenda for discussion. He pointed out the Australian government’s view that a solution to the East Timor-problem would enhance Indonesia’s international standing and it was therefore in its interest to reach an agreement on East Timor.¹⁴² He also stated that his government wished in regards to East Timor “to see an early reduction in the military presence, a dramatic improvement in human rights, and a situation in which the East Timorese people manage their own internal affairs”.¹⁴³

There were no changes in position regarding East Timor having a referendum on self-determination, though. Downer’s view was that such a move could instigate a civil war in East Timor between the opposing sides, and that “the losers will just take to the hills”. He emphasised his point that “It wouldn’t solve the problem”.¹⁴⁴ At Habibie’s announcement of troop reductions in East Timor, Downer said “it’s a step in the right direction” and welcomed further withdrawals.¹⁴⁵

¹⁴¹ D. Greenlees & R. Garraan, *Deliverance: The inside story of East Timor’s fight for freedom*, p. 25

¹⁴² Department of Foreign Affairs and Trade *East Timor in Transition 1998-2000. An Australian Policy Challenge*, p. 25, see also Anonymous, ‘East Timor’s Slow March To Peace’, *The Age*, 31 July 1998 in regards to Australia’s break in policy of talking to East Timorese guerrilla representatives

¹⁴³ Alexander Downer, ‘A Long Term Commitment: Australia and East Asia’, Speech by the Hon Alexander Downer MP, Minister for Foreign Affairs, to the Indonesian Council on World Affairs and the Indonesia-Australia Business Council, Borobodur Hotel, Jakarta, 9 July 1998

¹⁴⁴ Lindsey Murdoch, ‘Australia In Secret E Timor Peace Role’, *The Age*, 18 July 1998

¹⁴⁵ Ian Stewart, ‘Downer hails Timor troop withdrawal’, *The Australian*, 28 July 1998

The next few months saw little progress in the negotiations over East Timor. In an effort to break the dead-lock, the Australian government began to consider a minor but important policy change regarding East Timor.¹⁴⁶ Downer had already in February 1998 asked DFAT for “an options paper on Australian diplomatic objectives for East Timor.”¹⁴⁷ After Habibie made his announcement in June, on possible autonomy for East Timor, indications to that end could be seen through Ambassador McCarthy’s visits to Gusmao in prison and the “consultation exercise” conducted by the Australian government involving discussions with East Timorese on their views of the autonomy-proposal.¹⁴⁸

Slowly, it became clear to the Australian officials that the East Timorese leaders, particularly Xanana Gusmao, had to be included in any process toward an agreement that was to be accepted by the East Timorese themselves.¹⁴⁹ Officially, the Australian government did not back the *unconditional* release of Gusmao yet,¹⁵⁰ but the result of the “consultation exercise” was notable in a speech delivered by Downer on 19 August, wherein he stated that the government “firmly believe that the East Timorese people themselves must be involved in the issue’s resolution”. He went on to refute the claim in *The Age* that they did not support Gusmao’s release, saying that “we would favour the release of Xanana Gusmao in the context of a process of reconciliation and settlement in East Timor” and that “Australia recognises that Xanana Gusmao has a central role in the resolution of the East Timor issue”.¹⁵¹ However, still no call for his *unconditional* release, which many other countries such as the United States and Britain, had urged.¹⁵² It was not until mid-October 1998 that Downer called for Gusmao’s release without adding any conditions.¹⁵³

¹⁴⁶ Department of Foreign Affairs and Trade, *East Timor in Transition 1998-2000. An Australian Policy Challenge*, p. 27

¹⁴⁷ Greg Hunt, ‘Timor peace plan more palatable after dinner/Dinner put E Timor peace plan on table’, *The Australian*, 14 January 1999

¹⁴⁸ Department of Foreign Affairs and Trade, *East Timor in Transition 1998-2000. An Australian Policy Challenge*, p. 27

¹⁴⁹ J. Cotton, *East Timor, Australia and Regional Order: Intervention and its aftermath in Southeast Asia*, p. 90 and Department of Foreign Affairs and Trade, *East Timor in Transition 1998-2000. An Australian Policy Challenge*, pp. 27-29

¹⁵⁰ See for example, M. Baker, ‘Jailed Timorese Guerilla Caught In Presidential Crossfire’, *The Age*, 15 August 1998 and Gervase Greene, ‘Downer Rejects Timor Criticism’, *The Age*, 20 August 1998

¹⁵¹ Alexander Downer, ‘Human Rights – A Record of Achievement, Speech by the Hon Alexander Downer, MP, Minister for Foreign Affairs, to the Department of Foreign Affairs and Trade Consultations with Human Rights Non-Governmental Organisations’, Canberra, 19 August 1998

¹⁵² G. Greene, ‘Downer Rejects Timor Criticism’, *The Age*, 20 August 1998

¹⁵³ G. Greene, ‘Downer Concern At Timor Moves’, *The Age*, 19 October 1998

After the Coalition had won the Federal election in October 1998 Alexander Downer began reviewing the Australian policy regarding East Timor. The reports suggesting that the official staged withdrawal of Indonesian troops from East Timor was in fact not happening may have contributed to the overall sense that no major progress was forthcoming from Indonesia on the East Timor-issue and that something had to be done.¹⁵⁴ In fact, the Australian Defence Signals Directorate overheard Indonesian ships reporting how they took troops on board on one end of the island and in secret put them back on land again in a different part of East Timor.¹⁵⁵ The Defence Minister John Moore's announcement that Australia had suspended military exercises between Australian SAS-troops and Indonesian Kopassus Special Forces was seen as a step to distance itself from Indonesia's human rights violations in East Timor and Aceh, although it was officially denied as such by Moore.¹⁵⁶

The talks had stranded between the autonomy-proposal suggested by Habibie and the fact that the East Timorese did not seem satisfied with anything less than a genuine act of self-determination. The conclusion reached by Downer was therefore that it would not lead to a long-term solution for East Timor. This led to a suggestion which had been floated informally already in late August by Australian officials that a letter be sent to Habibie from the Prime Minister.¹⁵⁷ Headed by Dr. Ashton Calvert, DFAT in November 1998 came up with a proposal which was discussed on 1 December in the National Security Committee. The idea shared many features with the Matignon Accords in New Caledonia and included an act of self-determination of the East Timorese, but only after a lengthy period of time of autonomy.¹⁵⁸ The idea was to

¹⁵⁴ Paul Daley, 'Fear Over Troops Switch On Timor', *The Age*, 31 October 1998 and Anonymous, 'Habibie caught out over E Timor troops', *The Australian*, 30 October 1998

¹⁵⁵ Desmond Ball, 'Silent witness: Australian intelligence and East Timor', *The Pacific Review*, Vol. 14, No. 1, 2001, p. 41

¹⁵⁶ John Moore, 'Defence Relationship with Indonesia Unchanged', Media Release by The Hon. John Moore, MP, Minister for Defence, 29 October 1998, and Don Greenlees, 'Tread carefully to explore new avenues for military co-operation', *The Australian*, 4 November 1998, and Richard Leaver and Maryanne Kelton, 'Issues in Australian Foreign Policy July to December 1998', *The Australian Journal of Politics and History*, v45, i2, June 1999, p. 251

¹⁵⁷ Hugh White, 'The Road to INTERFET: Reflections on Australian Strategic Decisions Concerning East Timor, December 1998-September 1999', *Security Challenges*, Vol. 4, no.1, Autumn 2008, p. 71

¹⁵⁸ D. Greenlees & R. Garran, *Deliverance: The inside story of East Timor's fight for freedom*, pp. 84-85

give the East Timorese time to get used to, and hopefully agree to, the autonomy-proposal.¹⁵⁹

On 19 December a letter containing this idea was sent from Howard to Habibie. The letter stressed that the Australian government still wanted East Timor to be part of Indonesia and that it recognised Indonesia's sovereignty over East Timor. However, it did point out that the process was not proceeding as they would have liked and therefore it proposed a plan along the lines of the Matignon Accord, which "would allow time to convince the East Timorese of the benefits of autonomy within the Indonesian Republic".¹⁶⁰ The fact that a plan was proposed is interesting, as Downer was quoted to have said in July that "we're not leaping in there with a blueprint that we are trying to impose on people from the outside".¹⁶¹

Habibie reacted immediately in a talk with Australian ambassador McCarthy. The Matignon-Accord suggestion was rejected outright since Habibie saw it was comparing Indonesia to a colonial power. He also explained that the lengthy period suggested was not an option for him – he wanted the matter dealt with within a year, once and for all. Besides, Habibie could not see the benefits of having to fund East Timor for another 10-15 years, just to have them choose independence in a later referendum. Habibie stated that "he would not be dictated to on East Timor" but appreciated Australia's interest on the matter. He told McCarthy that he would begin talks with two East Timorese bishops but not with Gusmao.¹⁶²

The news of Australia's new approach on East Timor reached the media on 12 January 1999.¹⁶³ As a response, Downer announced what he called the "historic

¹⁵⁹ J. Dunn, 'East Timor: A rough passage to independence', Longueville Books, Double Bay NSW, 1983, p. 347

¹⁶⁰ John Howard, 'Text of the Prime Minister Howard's letter to President Habibie', Letter from John Howard to President Habibie, Canberra, 19 December 1998, in Department of Foreign Affairs and Trade, *East Timor in Transition 1998-2000. An Australian Policy Challenge*, p. 181

¹⁶¹ Don Greenlees, 'Downer offers a hand on E Timor', *The Australian*, 10 July 1998

¹⁶² Department of Foreign Affairs and Trade, *East Timor in Transition 1998-2000. An Australian Policy Challenge*, , Commonwealth of Australia, Canberra, 2001, pp. 32-33, see also D. Greenlees & R. Garran, *Deliverance: The inside story of East Timor's fight for freedom*, p. 92, see also Greg Earl, 'Timor Policy Shift Raises Hackles', *Financial Review*, 14 January 1999

¹⁶³ Don Greenlees, 'Downer shores up Timor position', *The Australian*, 12 January 1999

policy shift on East Timor”, outlining the position stated in Howard’s letter.¹⁶⁴ Downer later described it as a “major shift” in policy towards East Timor.¹⁶⁵ This was ambiguous, if not deceitful, as the basic foundations of the policy remained the same – continued Australian support for *Indonesian sovereignty over East Timor* and a stated preference for East Timor to *remain* within Indonesia.

The Indonesian government declared “we are certainly concerned and deeply regret that the Australian Government has changed its policy on East Timor, which we think constitutes a substantial change on its earlier position”.¹⁶⁶ Xanana Gusmao commented: “We will not be throwing a party to celebrate” and he continued: “The change was good and could erase the political sins of past Australian governments, but Australia is following, not leading, international opinion on East Timor”, while reminding everyone of the East Timorese sacrifice during World War II saying: “Many, many of our people died helping the Allied forces”.¹⁶⁷ Meanwhile, the Indonesian government decided to move Gusmao from Cipinang jail, in which he served his sentence, to house arrest.¹⁶⁸ Alatas announced the decision on 27 January 1999.¹⁶⁹ In a media release, Downer stated “I welcome the Indonesian Government’s decision to move Xanana Gusmao from the prison where he is currently incarcerated”.¹⁷⁰ It was another step in Indonesia’s new stance on dealing with the East Timorese directly in the process.

Despite the official Indonesian reaction to Australia’s change in position, Indonesia announced a major shift in its stance on East Timor on 27 January 1999. Foreign minister Ali Alatas stated that if autonomy within Indonesia was rejected by the East Timorese, independence was for the first time an option instead. The announcement was positively and cautiously met by most, for example the UN Secretary-General

¹⁶⁴ Alexander Downer, ‘Australian Government Historic Policy Shift On East Timor’, Media Release, Minister for Foreign Affairs Alexander Downer, 12 January 1999

¹⁶⁵ Alexander Downer, ‘Australia – Responding To Indonesia’s Transformation, Address by the Hon Alexander Downer, MP, Minister for Foreign Affairs, in the Australia-Asia Institute’s 1999 Australia in Asia Lecture Series’, State Library of NSW, Sydney, 1 March 1999

¹⁶⁶ Louise Williams & Penelope DeBelle, ‘Jakarta Hits Timor Shift’, *The Age*, 13 January 1999

¹⁶⁷ Louise Williams, ‘Timor Leader Scorns Shift’, *The Age*, 14 January 1999

¹⁶⁸ Don Greenlees, ‘Jakarta to free rebel from jail’, *The Australian*, 19 January 1999, see also Robert Garran, ‘Gusmao move welcome’, *The Australian*, 20 January 1999

¹⁶⁹ Department of Foreign Affairs and Trade, *East Timor in Transition 1998-2000. An Australian Policy Challenge*, p. 38

¹⁷⁰ Alexander Downer, ‘Indonesia – New Flexibility On East Timor’, Media Release, Minister for Foreign Affairs, Alexander Downer, 28 January 1999

Annan, the East Timorese bishop Belo, and the Portuguese government.¹⁷¹ Howard responded by saying that “we are pleased with the change of heart in Jakarta”. He also praised what he saw as his own government’s contribution to the Indonesian shift, saying “We played a no small part in that. As you know I wrote to President Habibie before Christmas indicating that we thought the time had come for a change in Indonesian policy”.¹⁷² The Australian government did however show caution, waiting to see exactly what this proposal meant. For example, would it be decided through a referendum or by any other means?¹⁷³

So why the sudden change in Indonesia’s East Timor policy? It appears that Howard’s letter to Habibie had some effect in speeding up Habibie’s decision at least but there are indications that Habibie were already moving in this direction. He was reported to have said “Why should we remain a captive of East Timor? Why don’t we just let them go if they no longer want to stay with us?”¹⁷⁴ Throughout the years, East Timor had proven costly to Indonesia – politically, militarily, and economically – which also would explain why Habibie wanted a quick solution rather than a lengthy process that Howard had proposed.¹⁷⁵ Alatas told the press at the announcement of the shift how Indonesia would have to fund 93 % of East Timor’s budget if the autonomy-proposal had been accepted,¹⁷⁶ an unnecessary cost if East Timor would become independent at the end of it anyway. Indonesia struggling to get back on its feet after the Asian financial crisis could do without that.¹⁷⁷ The DFAT-report on East Timor’s road to independence also notes how Habibie’s personality played a role and how he was “determined to make his mark in history”.¹⁷⁸

¹⁷¹ Richard McGregor, ‘UN waits for full Timor story’, *The Australian*, 29 January 1999

¹⁷² John Howard, ‘Transcript of the Prime Minister the Hon John Howard MP, Radio Interview with Neil Mitchell, Radio 3AW’, 29 January 1999

¹⁷³ Anonymous, ‘The Price Of Independence’, *Financial Review*, 30 January 1999

¹⁷⁴ D. Greenlees & R. Garran, *Deliverance: The inside story of East Timor’s fight for freedom*, pp. 93-94

¹⁷⁵ Anonymous, ‘The Price Of Independence’, *Financial Review*, 30 January 1999, see also

Anonymous, ‘Jakarta aims to cut E Timor losses’, *The Australian*, 1 February 1999

¹⁷⁶ Department of Foreign Affairs and Trade, *East Timor in Transition 1998-2000. An Australian Policy Challenge*, p.38

¹⁷⁷ Peter Hartcher, ‘Why We Can, And Should, Believe Jakarta This Time’, *Financial Review*, 30 January 1999, see also Anonymous, ‘The Price Of Independence’, *Financial Review*, 30 January 1999

¹⁷⁸ Department of Foreign Affairs and Trade, *East Timor in Transition 1998-2000. An Australian Policy Challenge*, p. 40

The East Timorese leaders Gusmao and bishop Belo also both expressed a desire for a period of autonomy before eventual independence, as East Timor was not ready for rapid independence.¹⁷⁹ However, they would accept independence quickly if that was what the Indonesia government wanted.¹⁸⁰ Jose Ramos-Horta was rather more optimistic in regards to rapid independence, saying that “it’s said we should be worried about Indonesia dumping us, but we will be very pleased if they dump us”.¹⁸¹ Almost a week later came details on the autonomy-package offered by Indonesia to East Timor. Indonesia would still be in charge of defence, finance, and foreign affairs, however, East Timor would be allowed to sign certain agreements with other countries. East Timor would have its own police, judicial system and parliament, as well as a flag and an anthem. Some Indonesian military would remain in East Timor but would only be allowed into public areas on orders by the new East Timorese authority.¹⁸²

The Howard-government had expressed its support for East Timor remaining under Indonesian sovereignty and kept repeating that stance in the following months. Howard and Downer did however state that the Australian government would accept and help an independent East Timor but it was clear to them what was the preferred option.¹⁸³ Throughout March and April the tone changed slightly from Howard. He kept repeating the government’s preferred option but taking care to say that he was not opposed to East Timor becoming independent, just that he preferred autonomy within Indonesia, and for a longer period of time before possible independence. Some of the Australian media appeared to consider independence as almost inevitable, or at least likely, which may have influenced Howard’s choice of words.¹⁸⁴ The meeting in

¹⁷⁹ Robert Garran, ‘E Timor needs 15-year transition, says Belo’, *The Australian*, 17 February 1999

¹⁸⁰ Greg Earl, ‘E Timor Plan Gains Support’, *Financial Review*, 15 February 1999, and Anonymous, ‘The Military Must Leave East Timor’, *The Age*, 2 February 1999, Louise Williams, ‘Dili Bishop Accuses The Militias’ *The Age*, 5 February 1999

¹⁸¹ Jill Jolliffe & Paul Daley, ‘Howard Attacked Over Timor’, *The Age*, 13 February 1999

¹⁸² D. Greenlees & R. Garran, *Deliverance: The inside story of East Timor’s fight for freedom*, p. 104, see also Louise Williams, ‘Indonesia Unveils East Timor Plan’, *The Age*, 5 February 1999

¹⁸³ See for example, John Howard, ‘Transcript of the Prime Minister the Hon John Howard, MP, Television interview with Kerry O’Brien, 7.30-report, ABC TV’, 9 February 1999, and John Howard, ‘Transcript of the Prime Minister the Hon John Howard, MP, Television interview with Paul Lynneham Nightline, Channel Nine’, 9 February 1999

¹⁸⁴ See for example, John Howard, ‘Transcript of the Prime Minister the Hon John Howard MP, Joint Press Conference with His Excellency B J Habibie, President of the republic of Indonesia, Bali Hilton International’, 27 April 1999, and Tim Dodd, ‘Krakatoa Stirring, But Not Yet Ready To Explode’, *Financial Review*, 24 March 1999, and Robert Garran, ‘Envoy assesses Dili dilemma’, *The Australian*, 5 March 1999

March of 60 East Timorese resistance leaders who rejected the autonomy-proposal may have further indicated that East Timor was headed towards independence and may have had an effect on Howard subtle change.¹⁸⁵

At this stage it became clear that Australia's position regarding East Timor had to be clarified and decided upon in more detail. To that end, meetings were held with ministers and senior officials throughout February and March 1999. The outcome was four key objectives for Australia regarding East Timor:

- East Timor should remain part of Indonesia.
- The Relationship with Indonesia was more important to Australia than the future of East Timor, so that we should avoid outcomes which damaged or jeopardised that relationship.
- The relationship with TNI was especially important, because of its expected role in Indonesia's political future, so special care should be taken to protect that relationship.
- We should avoid having to deploy a large Australian Defence Force (ADF) contingent to East Timor if at all possible.¹⁸⁶

Furthermore, through the discussions came the realisation that it was quite likely that a peacekeeping force may be necessary at some point in East Timor. If that became the case, it was in Australia's interest to take charge of that force.¹⁸⁷ As a result of this realisation, it was decided to ready an extra brigade (in addition to the one already on notice for deployment within 30 days) for the possibility it may be needed in a future peacekeeping force.¹⁸⁸ This was announced to Parliament by Defence Minister John Moore who aimed for it to be ready by 30 June 1999. Moore stated that this was not done directly in relation to recent events in regards to East Timor but as part of the Defence Reform Program and to be prepared, as "further contingencies could arise in our region, including in East Timor".¹⁸⁹

¹⁸⁵ Lindsey Murdoch, 'Timor Rejects Autonomy', *The Age*, 8 March 1999

¹⁸⁶ H. White, 'The Road to INTERFET: Reflections on Australian Strategic Decisions Concerning East Timor, December 1998-September 1999', pp. 74-75

¹⁸⁷ H. White, 'The Road to INTERFET: Reflections on Australian Strategic Decisions Concerning East Timor, December 1998-September 1999', p. 75

¹⁸⁸ H. White, 'The Road to INTERFET: Reflections on Australian Strategic Decisions Concerning East Timor, December 1998-September 1999', p. 75, see also, Geoffrey Barker, 'East Timor Fears Trigger Troops Build-Up', *Financial Review*, 12 March 1999 and Robert Garran, 'Readiness born of necessity', *The Australian*, 13 March 1999

¹⁸⁹ Australian House of Representative, *Parliamentary debates, House of Representatives*, Thursday, 11 March 1999, pp. 3805-3807, see also Department of Foreign Affairs and Trade, *East Timor in Transition 1998-2000. An Australian Policy Challenge*, pp. 52-53, and H. White, 'The Road to INTERFET: Reflections on Australian Strategic Decisions Concerning East Timor, December 1998-September 1999', p. 75

The UN-led negotiations between Indonesia and Portugal now focussed on defining and detailing the autonomy-package proposed by Indonesia. Indonesia was still firmly against a referendum at this stage and intended to consult the East Timorese through other means, arguing that such an act could cause a civil war in East Timor.¹⁹⁰ Throughout March and April, the negotiating parties came to an agreement - the so-called 5 May-Agreement. The agreement between Indonesia and Portugal established the process leading up to the ballot in East Timor initially set for 8 August 1999. The East Timorese people would be asked to choose between two questions: “Do you *accept* the proposed special autonomy for East Timor within the Unitary State of the Republic of Indonesia?” or “Do you *reject* the proposed special autonomy for East Timor, leading to East Timor’s separation from Indonesia?”¹⁹¹

If the East Timorese voted for autonomy it would mean that Indonesia would control external policies, such as foreign, defense, currency, finance, monetary and fiscal policies, while the new East Timorese Regional Council would have legislative rights in other areas, police and judiciary would be under East Timorese control, leaving East Timor with some measure of autonomy within Indonesia.¹⁹²

However, one particular aspect of the agreement – security – became the main discussion point when the details were made official. During the final negotiations of the Tripartite Talks, events made it clear that security in East Timor would be an important aspect of the coming months. According to the 5 May Agreement, Indonesia was to provide security and to ensure that the ballot, and the lead-up to it, would be peaceful and without intimidation.¹⁹³

The situation in East Timor deteriorated notably in April with two massacres taking place. The first, in Liquica, took place on 6 April at a church where roughly 2 000

¹⁹⁰ Cameron Stewart, ‘Tough task confronts Timor talks, says UN’, *The Australian*, 8 February 1999, and Cameron Stewart & Don Greenlees, ‘Jakarta accepts E Timor ballot’, *The Australian*, 9 February 1999, and Cameron Stewart, ‘Future role’ for Australia in Timor’, *The Australian*, 10 February 1999

¹⁹¹ I. Martin, *Self-Determination in East Timor: The United Nations, the Ballot, and International Intervention*, p. 28, and Department of Foreign Affairs and Trade, *East Timor in Transition 1998-2000. An Australian Policy Challenge*, p. 82

¹⁹² I. Martin, *Self-Determination in East Timor: The United Nations, the Ballot, and International Intervention*, pp. 26-27

¹⁹³ William Maley, ‘The UN and East Timor’, *Pacifica Review*, Volume 12, Issue 1, February 2000, pp. 70-71, and Nicholas J. Wheeler and Tim Dunne, ‘East Timor and the new humanitarian interventionism’, *International Affairs*, Vol. 77, Issue 4, 2001, p. 812

people taken refuge after having been terrorised by pro-integrationist militia in surrounding areas. Police and local militia forced them out of the church, using teargas, and began to kill them as they exited. The estimates of number of killed at this attack ranges between 25 up to 57.¹⁹⁴ The second massacre took place 11 days later in Dili. About 12 to 14 people were killed in the attack by pro-integrationist militia on the home of Manuel Carrascalao, a noted advocate of separatism, whose son was one of the killed, to where people had fled from the militia.¹⁹⁵ Even after the 5 May-Agreement had been signed the violence continued unabated. In an attack on the Atara village by militia and Indonesian soldiers on 16 May, 16 people were killed and 21 were reported missing and possibly killed.¹⁹⁶ Considering the last month's events, there would have been concerns regarding Indonesia providing the security in the lead-up to the ballot.

In addition to the later worries, Australian intelligence had known for a while that pro-integration militia had been armed by the Indonesian military. Already at the end of 1998, it was clear to them that this was the case. They continued to report more instances of ABRI personnel supporting or actively working with pro-integrationist militia in March/April and the connection between the Indonesian army and the militia seem clear.¹⁹⁷

Officially, however, the Australian government did not let on that they knew about this connection, although some of this information had already leaked to Australian media.¹⁹⁸ Australian officials denied such links, instead suggesting it came about

¹⁹⁴ KPP HAM, 'Full report of the Investigative Commission into Human Rights Violations in East Timor', in *Masters of Terror: Indonesia's Military and Violence in East Timor*, eds. R. Tanter & G. van Klinken & D. Ball, Rowman & Littlefield, Lanham, 2006, pp. 42-44 and J. Nevins, *A Not-so Distant Horror: Mass violence in East Timor*, p. 84, and D. Greenlees & R. Garran, *Deliverance: The inside story of East Timor's fight for freedom*, pp. 121 and 124-25

¹⁹⁵ J. Dunn, 'East Timor: A rough passage to independence', p. 355 and Charles Scheiner, 'Grassroots in the Field – Observing the East Timor Consultation', in *Bitter Flowers, Sweet Flowers: East Timor, Indonesia, and the World Community*, eds. R. Tanter, M. Selden, and S. R. Shalom, Pluto Press Australia Pty Ltd, Sydney, 2001, p. 112

¹⁹⁶ J. Nevins, *A Not-so Distant Horror: Mass violence in East Timor*, p. 87

¹⁹⁷ D. Ball, 'Silent witness: Australian intelligence and East Timor', pp. 43-47 and H. White, 'The Road to INTERFET: Reflections on Australian Strategic Decisions Concerning East Timor, December 1998-September 1999', p. 77

¹⁹⁸ Don Greenlees, 'E Timor retreat a recipe for civil war', *The Australian*, 2 February 1999, and Paul Daley, 'Soldiers Flooding East Timor: Report', *The Age*, 17 March 1999, and Huw Watkin, 'In the peace of Dili's siesta, war clouds gather', *The Australian*, 6 March 1999, and Don Greenlees, 'Violence a risk to E Timor autonomy – US', *The Australian*, 6 February 1999, see also Geoffrey Barker, 'Timor Deaths: Downer Says Labor Is Lying', *Financial Review*, 24 April 1999

through individual soldiers providing them with weapons rather than as an actual Indonesian policy. Ambassador McCarthy in turn said there was no evidence of ABRI having such a policy.¹⁹⁹ Downer conceded that “rogue elements” in the Indonesian military might be involved but would not state that the Indonesian army ordered the arming of militia, as he had been specifically told this was not the case by the Indonesian Foreign Minister Alatas.²⁰⁰ General Wiranto, commander of the Armed Forces in Indonesia stated “I reject any suggestions that [the military] was siding with a particular group in the conflict”. Alatas in turn said “We don’t buy this observation that the Indonesian army and police just stand by”.²⁰¹ The Australian media continued to report on the connection, though, telling how Indonesian soldiers had reportedly not taken any action and simply let the massacres happen.²⁰² Presumably, the Australian government did not want to let on that it had this information, due to concerns of the effect it would have on the relationship with Indonesia in these tense times.

Meanwhile, several commentators made the point that security needed to be provided by a UN peacekeeping force or much more pressure needed to be exerted on the Indonesian government and military in order avoid further bloodshed in East Timor in the lead up to the ballot.²⁰³ Threats had been made by pro-integration militia in East Timor of violence if East Timor was looking like becoming independent.²⁰⁴ The threat of violence unless a peacekeeping force or a neutral security force was present was certainly there. The events on the ground in East Timor suggested that the Indonesian authorities were unable, or unwilling, to stem the violence and as tension

¹⁹⁹ Paul Daley, ‘Militia Groups Have 5000 Guns: Claim’, *The Age*, 11 March 1999

²⁰⁰ Robert Garran, ‘Civilians for UN in Timor’, *The Australian*, 1 April 1999, and Tom Hyland, ‘Our Whispering Leaders’, *The Age*, 20 April 1999, and Brian Toohey, ‘Velcro Diplomacy May Stick’, *Financial Review*, 10 April 1999

²⁰¹ Peter Hartcher, ‘Indon Army Retains Upper Hand’, *Financial Review*, 5 May 1999 and Tim Dodd, ‘Alatas Rejects Australia As Talks Venue’, *Financial Review*, 25 May 1999

²⁰² Tim Dodd, ‘Army ‘stood By As Activists Slain’’, *Financial Review*, 19 April 1999, and Lindsay Murdoch, ‘Timor Massacre Imperils Peace’, *The Age*, 8 April 1999, and Don Greenlees, ‘Jakarta turns a not-so-blind eye’, *The Australian*, 8 April 1999, and Tim Dodd, ‘Indonesia’s Wounded Pride Over East Timor’, *Financial Review*, 21 April 1999

²⁰³ See for example, Tom Story & Jeremy Hobbs & Bruce Haigh, ‘Strategies for securing peace in E Timor’, *The Australian*, 23 April 1999 and Alan Dupont & Anthony Bergin, ‘UN Force Critical To Peace In Timor’, *Financial Review*, 29 March 1999 and Tom Uren, ‘PM should show moral leadership’, *The Australian*, 23 April 1999

²⁰⁴ W. Maley, ‘The UN and East Timor’, p. 72, see also Robert Garran, ‘Pressure mounts on Jakarta over violence/Troops offered for Timor’, *The Australian*, 26 April 1999

was likely to increase once East Timor headed towards the ballot, so the risk of more violence would also increase.

The Government's policy was that Howard would not intervene on East Timor directly unless as a last resort.²⁰⁵ However, after the two April-massacres, it was deemed necessary to do so. Howard spoke to Habibie directly and expressed how "I and the Australian Government were very deeply concerned about recent developments in East Timor, particularly the recent killings". Furthermore, he told him "that ABRI had primary responsibility for maintaining security in Indonesia and that quite plainly that responsibility in East Timor had not been properly discharged". Acknowledging the reports of ABRI (*Angkatan Bersenjata Republik Indonesia* — Armed Forces of the Republic of Indonesia) arming militia, he stated "that there was an unmistakable impression in Australia that ABRI was turning a blind eye".²⁰⁶

It was agreed that Howard and Habibie would meet at Bali on 27 April to discuss security in East Timor. This can be seen as part of the government's policy to try to use its influence over Indonesia, through what Howard claimed was "a very strong and durable relationship", rather than using aggressive language and actions. Howard stated "The only feasible thing for Australia to do, the only sensible thing, the only appropriate thing...at this stage is to try and use whatever influence it has to persuade the Indonesian Government to exercise greater constraint over the armed forces, to ensure that as far as it can the bloodshed is stopped".²⁰⁷ Downer had earlier said "all we have is diplomatic persuasion and that is what we are using".²⁰⁸ The day before the Bali summit he added "I can't think of anything more counterproductive to what is to take place tomorrow than for me to start talking about bargaining chips and putting this or that aspect of the relationship on the table".²⁰⁹

²⁰⁵ Geoffrey Barker, 'Response Just What The Doctor Ordered', *Financial Review*, 21 April 1999, and Geoffrey Barker, 'Timor: Australia Acts...At Last!', *Financial Review*, 24 April 1999

²⁰⁶ John Howard, 'Transcript of the Prime Minister the Hon John Howard MP, Press Conference Parliament House, Canberra', 19 April 1999

²⁰⁷ Brendan Nicholson, 'Land Divided Emerges As A Kosovo On Our Doorstep, Says Hawke', *The Age*, 21 April 1999

²⁰⁸ Geoff Hiscock, 'E Timor in shape – Downer', *The Australian*, 17 April 1999

²⁰⁹ John Howard, 'Transcript of the Prime Minister the Hon John Howard MP, Doorstop Interview On Departure to Bali, Indonesia', 26 April 1999

However, in the week leading up to the Bali summit the security issue under the 5 May Agreement had been decided by Indonesia and Portugal in New York, which limited Howard's prospects to influence Habibie regarding letting foreign personnel in to East Timor to help provide security. Instead, under the agreement, Indonesia was to provide security in the lead-up to and during the ballot. When Howard asked Habibie to accept an international peacekeeping force, it was immediately rejected with Habibie referring to the 5 May agreement. Habibie did however agree to an increase in international police being present before and during the ballot.²¹⁰ As Paulo Gorjao states, "Australia grossly over-estimated the amount of political and military influence it could exert on Jakarta".²¹¹ It appears that Habibie would not have budged on the peacekeeping issue; Downer certainly argued later that that was the case.²¹² Howard repeatedly stated that it was not possible to send peacekeeping troops to East Timor unless Indonesia invited them.²¹³ The foreign affairs spokesman for the Opposition Laurie Brereton argued that Howard could use the Australia-Indonesia security treaty as leverage to get Indonesia to accept peacekeeping troops in the lead up to the ballot. Defence Minister Moore did declare, however, that Australia was open to provide peacekeeping troops for a post-ballot UN mission, if that was to occur.²¹⁴

Howard declared that Australia would contribute AUD\$20 million to the UN consultation package and regarding Australia sending police as part of the package that Australia would "of course consider sympathetically a request from the United Nations".²¹⁵ However, Howard failed to get Habibie to officially agree to disarm the

²¹⁰ H. White, 'The Road to INTERFET: Reflections on Australian Strategic Decisions Concerning East Timor, December 1998-September 1999', pp. 79-80, and D. Greenlees & R. Garran, *Deliverance: The inside story of East Timor's fight for freedom*, pp. 144-46

²¹¹ Paulo Gorjao, 'The End of a Cycle: Australian and Portuguese Foreign Policies and the Fate of East Timor', *Contemporary Southeast Asia*, Vol. 23, Issue 1, April 2001, p. 114

²¹² Alexander Downer, 'East Timor – Looking Back on 1999', *Australian Journal of International Affairs*, Vol. 54, Issue 1, 2000, p. 6, see also I. Martin, *Self-Determination in East Timor: The United Nations, the Ballot, and International Intervention*, p. 33

²¹³ See for example John Howard, 'Transcript of the Prime Minister the Hon John Howard MP, Radio Interview with Neil Mitchell – 3AW', 23 April 1999 and John Howard 'Transcript of the Prime Minister the Hon John Howard MP, Doorstop Interview – NHK Tokyo, Japan', 7 July 1999

²¹⁴ R. Garran, 'Pressure mounts on Jakarta over violence/Troops offered for Timor', *The Australian*, 26 April 1999

²¹⁵ J. Howard, 'Transcript of the Prime Minister the Hon John Howard MP, Joint Press Conference with His Excellency B J Habibie, President of the Republic of Indonesia, Bali Hilton International', 27 April 1999

militia in East Timor which brought about fears of violence in the upcoming period to the ballot.²¹⁶

After the 5 May-agreement entered in to force, Australia's main concern was with security. Australia was unofficially asked in early May by the UN to plan and lead an evacuation-plan if Indonesia failed to uphold security and the Howard-government agreed to do so. An attempt to influence the TNI to downgrade its support for the pro-integrationist militia was also done in June/July but with not much concrete result on the ground in East Timor.²¹⁷

The United Nations Mission in East Timor (UNAMET) was established through UN Security Council Resolution 1246 on 11 June 1999. It was at first intended to end on 31 August 1999 but was later extended twice to 30 November 1999.²¹⁸ UNAMET's role was:

... to organize and conduct a popular consultation, scheduled for 8 August 1999, on the basis of a direct, secret and universal ballot, in order to ascertain whether the East Timorese people accept the proposed constitutional framework providing for a special autonomy for East Timor within the unitary Republic of Indonesia.²¹⁹

In effect this meant register voters, instruct them of their two choices, conduct the actual ballot and announce the result. Ultimate power lay with the UN Secretary-General Kofi Annan in terms of moving the dates for the ballot or suspending it all together if necessary.²²⁰ The UN volunteers consisted of 500 personnel - 275 police,

²¹⁶ Anonymous, 'Promises Made On East Timor', *The Age*, 29 April 1999, and Geoffrey Barker, 'PM Returns On Wing And A Promise', *Financial Review*, 28 April 1999

²¹⁷ White claims this meeting took place in July and Greenlees/Garran that it occurred in June. See H. White, 'The Road to INTERFET: Reflections on Australian Strategic Decisions Concerning East Timor, December 1998-September 1999', p.77 and 80-81 and D. Greenlees & R. Garran, *Deliverance: The inside story of East Timor's fight for freedom*, pp. 167-68

²¹⁸ W. Maley, 'The UN and East Timor', p. 72, see also United Nations Security Council, 'Resolution 1246 of 11 June 1999', United National Security Council, 'Resolution 1257 of 3 August 1999', and United Nations Security Council, 'Resolution 1262 of 27 August 1999'

²¹⁹ United Nations Security Council, 'Resolution 1246 of 11 June 1999', p. 2

²²⁰ James Cotton, 'Peacekeeping' in East Timor: An Australian Policy Departure', *Australian Journal of International Affairs*, Vol. 53, Issue 3, 1999, p. 240

out of which 38 were Australian²²¹, and 271 administrative and support staff. Another 4000 local people were to help with the registration and the ballot.²²²

Violence by pro-integrationist militia continued despite UNAMET being present in East Timor. When pressed on whether the Indonesian army had ceased its support for the pro-integrationist militia, Habibie responded “I don’t know. I have asked them, please stop fighting. Ok?”²²³. Meanwhile, General Wiranto, had said, according to Alatas, “that he didn’t believe the stories and would check with his own people”.²²⁴ A number of attacks against East Timorese independence supporters occurred throughout May to August, all the way up to the ballot on 30 August 1999. For example, on 16 May 1999 at Atara about 16 people were killed²²⁵, a UNAMET office in Maliana was attacked with rocks and stones by militia on 29 June²²⁶, an attack on an UN convoy in Liquica on 4 July,²²⁷ a militia attack on 11 August in Viqueque resulting in one dead,²²⁸ a militia attack in Dili on 26 August resulting in 3 dead,²²⁹ a militia attack on 27 August in Memo resulting in two killed,²³⁰ and a militia attack killing two local UNAMET staff in Baboe Leten on 30 August.²³¹

²²¹ J. Cotton, *East Timor, Australia and Regional Order: Intervention and its aftermath in Southeast Asia*, p. 93

²²² Ian Martin, *Self-Determination in East Timor: The United Nations, the Ballot, and International Intervention*, Lynne Rienner Publishers, Boulder, 2001, p. 38

²²³ Lindsay Murdoch, ‘Habibie Pledges Gusmao Release’, *The Age*, 24 May 1999

²²⁴ Lindsay Murdoch, ‘Militia Aid Reports Dismissed’, *The Age*, 25 May 1999

²²⁵ J. Nevins, *A Not-so Distant Horror: Mass violence in East Timor*, p. 87 and Dodd stated at the time that between 12 and 32 had been killed. See Mark Dodd with Lindsay Murdoch & Paul Daley, ‘Military Caught In The Act’, *The Age*, 21 May 1999

²²⁶ Craig Skehan & Brendan Nicholson, ‘Federal Police In Timor Ambush’, *The Age*, 30 June 1999, and Joseph Nevins, *A Not-so Distant Horror: Mass violence in East Timor*, Cornell University Press, Ithaca, 2005, pp. 87-88, and Don Greenlees, ‘More security muscle after attack on UN’, *The Australian*, 1 July 1999

²²⁷ Don Greenlees, ‘UN fury at police no-show of force’ *The Australian*, 6 July 1999; Department of Foreign Affairs and Trade, *East Timor in Transition 1998-2000. An Australian Policy Challenge*, p. 103

²²⁸ Amnesty International, ‘East Timor: Demand for Justice’, Report, 28 October 1999 <http://www.amnesty.org/en/library/asset/ASA21/191/1999/en/dom-ASA211911999en.html> [Accessed 18 June 2008]

²²⁹ Tim Dodd, ‘Three Die In Dili As Militia Clashes With Separatists’, *Financial Review*, 27 August 1999 and Lindsay Murdoch, ‘Militias Spread Terror In Streets Of Dili’, *The Age*, 27 August 1999

²³⁰ Amnesty International, ‘East Timor: Demand for Justice’, Report, 28 October 1999 <http://www.amnesty.org/en/library/asset/ASA21/191/1999/en/dom-ASA211911999en.html> [Accessed 18 June 2008 and Lindsay Murdoch, ‘Militiamen Run Amok In Village’, *The Age*, 28 August 1999

²³¹ Amnesty International, ‘East Timor: Demand for Justice’, Report, 28 October 1999 <http://www.amnesty.org/en/library/asset/ASA21/191/1999/en/dom-ASA211911999en.html> [Accessed 18 June 2008]

There were also many reports of intimidation of pro-independence supporters by the pro-integrationist militia in the lead-up to the ballot, despite the UN presence.²³² Allegations of kidnappings and rapes by the militia and the Indonesian military also came to light.²³³ It was estimated that between 45 000 to 60 000 East Timorese were displaced as a result of intimidation and violence.²³⁴ Accusations of the Indonesian military's support of the militia continued to surface all the way up to the ballot.²³⁵ Even though the security situation had improved compared to April, Annan decided to postpone the ballot from 8 August to a few weeks later, citing logistical difficulties and the security issues.²³⁶ It was clear that part of the postponement was due to the security situation in East Timor as well.²³⁷

Downer expressed his view that elements within the Indonesian army were clearly in favour of the autonomy-side to win the ballot and that "...they have a variety of different strategies for trying to achieve that outcome".²³⁸ As intimidations against UNAMET personnel continued with the attack on the UN office in Maliana on 29 June, Downer urged Indonesia to increase efforts to ensure the safety of the UN staff from now on and said that they now "realise the consequences for Indonesia's international reputation if incidents of this kind are going to be repeated".²³⁹ The Head of UNAMET Ian Martin on 5 July pointed to a "pattern of incidents and threats from the militias to UN personnel. It's a major concern for us". There was furthermore "an inexcusable lack of action" on behalf of the Indonesian police,

²³² Craig Skehan, 'Security Is Improving: UN Tells Fearful Timorese', *The Age*, 26 June 1999

²³³ Craig Skehan, 'Delegation Alleges Military Sex Abuse', *The Age*, 30 June 1999, see also KPP HAM, 'Full report of the Investigative Commission into Human Rights Violations in East Timor', pp. 52-54

²³⁴ Department of Foreign Affairs and Trade, *East Timor in Transition 1998-2000. An Australian Policy Challenge*, p. 101 and Peter Alford, 'UN poised to put off E Timor referendum', *The Australian*, 23 June 1999 and Tim Dodd, 'Top Brass Fly To E Timor', *Financial Review*, 13 July 1999

²³⁵ Peter Hartcher & Tim Dodd, 'E Timor Sabotage Coming From Top', *Financial Review*, 8 July 1999 and Lindsay Murdoch, 'Police 'stood By' During Attack', *The Age*, 7 August 1999 and Tim Dodd, 'Critical Mass Matters In East Timor Conflict', *Financial Review*, 10 July 1999 and Lindsay Murdoch, 'Timor War Threat', *The Age*, 23 August 1999 and Lindsay Murdoch, 'UN Accused Of Inaction On Violence', *The Age*, 25 August 1999

²³⁶ Don Greenlees & Peter Alford, 'Jakarta defiant as UN postpones Timor vote/Jakarta defiant as poll put off', *The Australian*, 24 June 1999 and Moira O'Brien-Malone, '10 events that shaped the week', *The Age*, 26 June 1999

²³⁷ Tim Dodd, 'Timor Factions In Last-gasp Peace Talks', *Financial Review*, 1 July 1999

²³⁸ Paul Daley, 'Fear On Timor Vote Rig', *The Age*, 25 May 1999

²³⁹ T. Dodd, 'Timor Factions In Last-gasp Peace Talks', *Financial Review*, 1 July 1999 and Craig Skehan & Gervase Greene, 'Fury At Militia Violence', *The Age*, 6 July 1999

according to Martin.²⁴⁰ The Carter Centre backed up these claims in a report in August, stating “The Carter Center notes no significant improvement in the security situation in East Timor or fulfilment by the Government of Indonesia (GOI) of its security obligations under the May 5 agreements”.²⁴¹ Even UN Secretary-General Kofi Annan stated in his report to the Security Council that Indonesian military helped and supported the militia.²⁴²

In Australia, John Howard declared that “Indonesia’s security forces so far have failed to provide the level of security needed for a fair ballot”. He continued “Our message to the Indonesia government is very clear. The world expects that its armed forces will keep faith with Indonesia’s commitment to allow a vote free of violence. The intimidatory behaviour of the militias in particular must be stopped.”²⁴³ In mid-August reports reached *The Age* that an Australian official let it be known that Australia had “raised issues at all levels from the President down in Indonesia 120 times” regarding East Timor.²⁴⁴

Foreign Minister Downer travelled to Jakarta on 28-29 July and then on to Dili to assess the situation on 30-31 July 1999. He outlined Australia’s position at this time that Australia remained neutral in the East Timor referendum, that security needed to be improved further in East Timor, the TNI had to be neutral in the process and the militia had to be “brought under real control”, and that Indonesia’s reputation would suffer if they failed to take measures towards these aims.²⁴⁵ The Australian government had now stepped up its criticism of the Indonesian government and its handling of security in East Timor. This provoked an angry response from Dewi Fortuna Anwar, foreign policy adviser to Habibie, who said “Australia cannot act as a godfather...it is just part of UNAMET, which should remain neutral”. Australia-

²⁴⁰ Tim Dodd, ‘Briefs’, *Financial Review*, 6 July 1999 and C. Skehan & G. Greene, ‘Fury At Militia Violence’, *The Age*, 6 July 1999

²⁴¹ Carter Center, ‘Pre-Election Statement on East Timor Elections, Aug. 16, 1999’, 17 August 1999 <http://www.cartercenter.org/news/documents/doc268.html> [Accessed 17 June 2008]

²⁴² Mark Riley, ‘New Doubt Over Date For Ballot’, *The Age*, 12 July 1999

²⁴³ John Howard, ‘Address by the Hon John Howard MP, at lunch hosted by Georgetown University, Washington DC.’, 13 July 1999

²⁴⁴ Jennifer Hewett & Brendan Nicholson, ‘US Takes Jakarta To Task’, *The Age*, 14 August 1999

²⁴⁵ Department of Foreign Affairs and Trade, *East Timor in Transition 1998-2000. An Australian Policy Challenge*, p. 109

Indonesian relations were worsening, despite the cautious approach taken by Howard and Downer up until now.²⁴⁶

After a few weeks of relative calm, violence and intimidation increased again in mid-August.²⁴⁷ Five people were killed in attacks that aimed to intimidate pro-independence voters. The head of UNAMET Ian Martin could at this stage name specific soldiers that had been involved in helping the militia in carrying out attacks.²⁴⁸

The Australian government was mildly optimistic in mid-August for calm and violence-free ballot, as well as for the time immediately after.²⁴⁹ DFAT's own account of the Australian government's handling of the East Timor issue - "East Timor in Transition 1998-2000" – states that there was "tension" when it was time for the ballot and that UNAMET expected "a good deal of turbulence".²⁵⁰ Downer said in a speech on 19 August that "we can surely be proud of our commitment to a peaceful and orderly decision on East Timor's future" but acknowledged that the time directly after the ballot will be "extremely delicate".²⁵¹ A few days later, on 23 August, he said that conditions in East Timor were "significantly better" and "that all the signs are that we will get a reasonably free and fair vote" but that the period after the ballot would be "difficult and tense".²⁵²

Howard sounded slightly more cautious, saying "It is still our hope that there will be a relatively peaceful ballot, that the result of that ballot will be accepted". He referred to

²⁴⁶ Lindsay Murdoch, 'Ties Strained, Indons Warn', *The Age*, 22 July 1999, and Anonymous, 'Indonesia Snubs A Loyal Friend', *The Age*, 23 July 1999

²⁴⁷ Department of Foreign Affairs and Trade, *East Timor in Transition 1998-2000. An Australian Policy Challenge*, p. 113 and Tim Dodd, 'Militias Step Up The Pressure', *Financial Review*, 24 August 1999 and Lindsay Murdoch, 'Strife Rises As Timor Vote Nears', *The Age*, 21 August 1999

²⁴⁸ T. Dodd, 'Militias Step Up The Pressure', *Financial Review*, 24 August 1999

²⁴⁹ Robert Garran, 'Views conflict on ballot security', *The Australian*, 19 August 1999

²⁵⁰ Department of Foreign Affairs and Trade, *East Timor in Transition 1998-2000. An Australian Policy Challenge*, p. 117

²⁵¹ Alexander Downer, 'Australia and Asia – Traders and Partners, Speech by the Hon Alexander Downer MP, Minister for Foreign Affairs, to the Asia Society AustralAsia Centre, Parmelia Hilton, Perth', 19 August 1999

²⁵² Robert Garran, 'Fears spur swift exit plan for Timor ballot observers', *The Australian*, 24 August 1999

the situation as “volatile” and “tense and difficult”.²⁵³ In an earlier question of what Australia would do if the UN pulled out of East Timor Howard said

Well I don't accept that that is going to happen. Australia wants a free and open vote and then we want everybody to respect and support the outcome of that vote and that means that if the people of East Timor vote for independence then that should be respected and supported in an orderly way by the Indonesian government.²⁵⁴

However, Defence Minister Moore came out and warned that “there is a real risk that the violence could become more widespread in the lead-up to [Monday's] ballot and thereafter”.²⁵⁵ Howard called Habibie on 29 August to “ensure that Indonesia's military and police forces act to control violent pro-integrationist militias in the province”, indicating that despite his official rhetoric, he was still worried about post-ballot violence.²⁵⁶

However, with the escalation in violence on 26, 27 and 30 August, the signs were there that the aftermath of the ballot could be violent as well. Warnings had been issued earlier that this might be the case. Reports of a leaked Indonesian government plan saying that “the evacuation routes must be planned and secured, possibly destroying facilities and other essential objects”, indicated organised destruction after the ballot.²⁵⁷ Pro-independence leaders had also warned of the possibility of a “bloodbath” and “massacre” if security was not maintained after the ballot, fearing a violent response from the militia if the pro-independence side won the ballot.²⁵⁸ The leader of the pro-integrationist militia Enrico Guterres openly said “that East Timor would be turned into a ‘sea of fire’ if the people voted for independence from Indonesia”.²⁵⁹ In the days just before the ballot The Australian Defence Intelligence Organization (DIO) overheard discussions wherein Indonesian officers and militia

²⁵³ John Howard, ‘Transcript of the Prime Minister the Hon John Howard MP, Radio interview with Howard Sattler (6PR)’, 25 August 1999

²⁵⁴ John Howard, ‘Transcript of the Prime Minister the Hon John Howard MP, Doorstop interview Oxford Falls, Sydney, NSW’, 8 August 1999

²⁵⁵ Brian Toohey, ‘The Trouble With Too Much Trust’, *Financial Review*, 28 August 1999

²⁵⁶ Geoffrey Barker, ‘PM Presses Jakarta On Timor’, *Financial Review*, 30 August 1999, see also Paul Daley, ‘Canberra Considers Timor Options’, *The Age*, 30 August 1999

²⁵⁷ Sian Powell, ‘Jakarta plans retreat from E Timor’, *The Australian*, 20 July 1999

²⁵⁸ Lindsay Murdoch, ‘Downer Warns Of East Timor Poll Dangers’, *The Age*, 31 July 1999 and Tim Dodd, ‘Downer Told Of Timor Bloodbath Fears’, *Financial Review*, 31 July 1999

²⁵⁹ Tim Dodd, ‘‘Sea Of Fire’ Churns Beneath An Uneasy Calm’, *Financial Review*, 30 August 1999 and see Lindsay Murdoch, ‘Timor On The Brink’, *The Age*, 28 August 1999 for a more extensive portrait of Eurico Guterres and his threats of post-ballot violence

leaders planned attacks and which the people to kill or apprehend after the result of the ballot would be announced.²⁶⁰

Meanwhile, both Howard and Downer made the point that theirs and the international community's hands were somewhat tied as to their options if violence did break out, arguing that sending troops in to East Timor without Indonesian invitation would be "an invasion of Indonesian territory". The only reasonable way to send peacekeeping troops in to East Timor would therefore have to be through Indonesian consent.²⁶¹

The ballot regarding East Timor's future took place on 30 August 1999. Some 438 517 East Timorese had registered to vote and a further 13 296 registered outside of East Timor.²⁶² In this first democratic experiment 98.6 % of those registered, cast their votes despite the intimidations.²⁶³ The vote proceeded relatively calmly considering the violence leading up to the ballot, however there were some incidences of intimidation at polling stations and three local UN staff members were killed in Gleno by militia.²⁶⁴

Alexander Downer complimented the Indonesian police for how they upheld security during the voting. He also defended the government's position not to demand peacekeeping troops for the ballot, saying "If we had gone out and hysterically started demanding a peacekeeping force be inserted, then I doubt we would have ended up with a ballot at all", although he did warn about "a continuing rather difficult security environment".²⁶⁵

²⁶⁰ D. Ball, 'Silent witness: Australian intelligence and East Timor', pp. 53-55

²⁶¹ A. Downer, 'Australia and Asia –Traders and Partners, Speech by the Hon Alexander Downer MP, Minister for Foreign Affairs, to the Asia Society AustralAsia Centre, Parmelia Hilton, Perth', 19 August 1999 and J. Howard, 'Transcript of the Prime Minister the Hon John Howard MP, Radio interview with Howard Sattler (6PR)', 25 August 1999, and Henry Albinski, 'Issues in Australian Foreign Policy. (East Timor)', *The Australian Journal of Politics and History*, Vol. 46, Issue 2, June 2000, p. 194

²⁶² D. Greenlees & R. Garran, *Deliverance: The inside story of East Timor's fight for freedom*, p. 177

²⁶³ Department of Foreign Affairs and Trade, *East Timor in Transition 1998-2000. An Australian Policy Challenge*, p. 121

²⁶⁴ I. Martin, *Self-Determination in East Timor: The United Nations, the Ballot, and International Intervention*, p. 90 and Joseph Nevins, *A Not-so Distant Horror: Mass violence in East Timor*, Cornell University Press, Ithaca, 2005, pp. 97-98

²⁶⁵ Paul Daley, 'Downer 'right' Not To Call For Peace Force', *The Age*, 1 September 1999 and Geoffrey Barker, 'Downer Rejects Any Partition', *Financial Review*, 1 September 1999

However, on 31 August the militia began to set up roadblocks in several places in East Timor. To get through, people needed either written permission by the militia or police escort.²⁶⁶ Violence broke out on 1 September in Dili where militia attacked people and burned buildings, resulting in 3 dead.²⁶⁷ On 2 September fighting continued with at least another five dead in Dili and another two dead in other areas around East Timor as the violence spread.²⁶⁸ Later however, it would get much worse.

The emerging violence led to calls by Portugal to the UN Security Council to prepare for a peacekeeping force in case Indonesia failed to uphold security.²⁶⁹ Human Rights Watch in turn called for Australia to stop all military links with Indonesia and all aid money from around the world should be withheld until the militia-led violence had ended in East Timor.²⁷⁰ Howard expressed his “great alarm” in a phone conversation to Habibie over the increased violence, emphasising “that it was the responsibility of Indonesia and the Indonesian armed forces and police to restore order and maintain it”.²⁷¹

Downer stated in Parliament on 2 September in response to a question whether “it is now time to send in a United Nations peacekeeping force?” that Australia “obviously are prepared to participate in that security operation (a UN security presence) at whatever level is felt appropriate” and that the timing of that “depends on discussions with and the agreement by the key players”.²⁷² He thereby indicated for the first time

²⁶⁶ J. Nevins, *A Not-so Distant Horror: Mass violence in East Timor*, p. 99 and Lindsay Murdoch, ‘Militias On The Prowl Day After Timor Vote’, *The Age*, 1 September 1999

²⁶⁷ Department of Foreign Affairs and Trade, *East Timor in Transition 1998-2000. An Australian Policy Challenge*, p. 123 and J. Nevins, *A Not-so Distant Horror: Mass violence in East Timor*, p. 99 and Lindsay Murdoch, ‘Dili Residents Attacked By Militia’, *The Age*, 2 September 1999

²⁶⁸ D. Greenlees & R. Garran, *Deliverance: The inside story of East Timor’s fight for freedom*, pp. 193-94 and Department of Foreign Affairs and Trade, *East Timor in Transition 1998-2000. An Australian Policy Challenge*, p. 123 and Tim Dodd, ‘UN Flees New Militia Terror As Count Begins’, *Financial Review*, 4 September 1999

²⁶⁹ Mark Riley, ‘Jakarta Faces UN’s Wrath’, *The Age*, 3 September 1999

²⁷⁰ Gay Alcorn, ‘Rights Group Urges Canberra To Halt Military Links With Jakarta’, *The Age*, 3 September 1999 and Joanne Gray, ‘US Censure Of Jakarta Falls Far Short Of Intervention’, *Financial Review*, 3 September 1999

²⁷¹ John Howard, ‘Transcript of the Prime Minister the Hon John Howard MP, Radio interview with Matt Peacock PM Programme, ABC Radio’, 3 September 1999

²⁷² Australian House of Representatives, *Parliamentary debates*, Thursday, 2 September 1999, pp. 9802-9803

that this might take place before the Indonesian parliament endorsed independence for East Timor and that Australia could take part in it.²⁷³

The result of the ballot was announced officially by Ian Martin and Kofi Annan simultaneously in Dili and New York on 4 September Dili-time. The autonomy proposal received 21.5 % or 94 388 votes for the proposal, but 78.5 %, or 344 580 votes against, and it was thus rejected. Essentially this meant that almost four-fifths of East Timorese voters wanted independence from Indonesia.²⁷⁴

In response to the announcement, violence broke out in Dili in the afternoon of 4 September and continued on 5 September. UNAMET compounds were attacked and looting, burning and gunfire were widespread in Dili and several other towns. Thousands of civilians fled and UNAMET had to evacuate in many places.²⁷⁵ The level of violence was increased on 6 September through an attack on Bishop Belo's residence where many refugees had fled to and an unknown number was killed.²⁷⁶ Another attack occurred on the same day in Suai with at least three priests being killed and an unknown number of refugees killed or abducted. Later, 27 bodies were found in a mass grave dug up by the Investigative Commission in November.²⁷⁷ In light of the increased violence, the international media left East Timor. On 5 September CNN, Reuters, APTV, and the Australian networks all left, as reporters were at risk of becoming targets by the militia and the situation was getting too dangerous.²⁷⁸

²⁷³ Anonymous, 'Stepping Into A Deadly Void', *Financial Review*, 3 September 1999 and Geoffrey Barker, 'Troops Ready: Downer', *Financial Review*, 3 September 1999 and Craig Skehan & Paul Daley, 'Growing Push To Send Peace Troops To Timor', *The Age*, 3 September 1999

²⁷⁴ Department of Foreign Affairs and Trade, *East Timor in Transition 1998-2000. An Australian Policy Challenge*, p. 124 and D. Greenlees & R. Garran, *Deliverance: The inside story of East Timor's fight for freedom*, p. 196

²⁷⁵ KPP HAM, 'Full report of the Investigative Commission into Human Rights Violations in East Timor', pp. 46-49, and Department of Foreign Affairs and Trade, *East Timor in Transition 1998-2000. An Australian Policy Challenge*, p. 127

²⁷⁶ KPP HAM, 'Full report of the Investigative Commission into Human Rights Violations in East Timor', p. 47

²⁷⁶ I. Martin, *Self-Determination in East Timor: The United Nations, the Ballot, and International Intervention*, p. 96

²⁷⁷ I. Martin, *Self-Determination in East Timor: The United Nations, the Ballot, and International Intervention*, p. 96 and KPP HAM, 'Full report of the Investigative Commission into Human Rights Violations in East Timor', pp. 48-50

²⁷⁸ Tim Dodd, 'World Media Flees Militia Bloodshed', *Financial Review*, 6 September 1999

The Australian government was obviously concerned about the upsurge of violence. The idea of Australia leading a peacekeeping force slowly emerged. Downer proposed on 5 September that Australia could lead a “coalition of the willing”, if asked, and if it had a UN Security Council resolution authorising them to do so, and if they had Indonesia’s consent.²⁷⁹ As late as the day before, Howard had stated that Australia could “play a positive and significant part” in a peacekeeping force but only if it was asked by the UN and if Indonesia allowed it. He pointed out though, that “the Indonesian Government’s position as of now is that it does not want foreign peacekeepers in East Timor until a formal vote on separation has been taken by the Indonesian legislature”.²⁸⁰ The UN Secretary-General Kofi Annan formally asked Howard the next day if Australia would be willing to lead a multinational peacekeeping force into East Timor.²⁸¹ Howard affirmed Australia’s willingness to do so and offered up to 2 000 troops to such a force that could be deployed in 2-3 days when needed.²⁸²

Howard expressed deep concern over the violence and stated that they were trying to “persuade the Indonesians of the seriousness of the situation and how badly they will be condemned around the world if they don’t get control of the situation”. However, Howard now spoke of using “other methods of pressure” if they were unsuccessful in getting Indonesia to take control over the deteriorating security situation in East Timor.²⁸³ He further stated regarding a peacekeeping force that “we are putting maximum pressure, the international community is. Our simple message now is to Indonesia, you must put your house in order by stopping the violence and if you can’t or won’t then you must let in an international force that will do that”.²⁸⁴ Downer used phrases as “absolutely outraged” regarding shots being fired on Ambassador

²⁷⁹ Joanne Gray, ‘US Not Keen On Australian Peace-keeping Coalition Plan’, *Financial Review*, 6 September 1999

²⁸⁰ John Howard, ‘Transcript of the Prime Minister the Hon John Howard MP, Press conference, Treasury Place Melbourne, Victoria’, 5 September 1999

²⁸¹ Hugh White, ‘The Road to INTERFET: Reflections on Australian Strategic Decisions Concerning East Timor, December 1998-September 1999’, p. 82

²⁸² John Howard, ‘Transcript of the Prime Minister the Hon John Howard MP, Television interview with Kerry O’Brien 7.30-report, ABC TV’, 7 September 1999, and John Howard, ‘Transcript of the Prime Minister the Hon John Howard MP, Interview with Matt Peacock AM Programme, ABC Radio’, 7 September 1999

²⁸³ John Howard, ‘Transcript of the Prime Minister the Hon John Howard MP, Interview with Alan Jones – Radio 2UE’, 6 September 1999

²⁸⁴ John Howard, ‘Transcript of the Prime Minister the Hon John Howard MP, Television interview with Paul Lyneham *Nightline*, Channel Nine’, 7 September 1999

McCarthy in Dili and “completely unacceptable” on the situation in East Timor and the lack of Indonesian control over security.²⁸⁵

So within a matter of days the Australian government had abandoned its long standing policy of insisting that Indonesia being solely responsible for security in East Timor and had openly begun to discuss leading a peacekeeping force. Only three days earlier, on the day of the ballot, Downer had made the point that peacekeeping forces had not been necessary and indicated that he felt vindicated. However, with the violence breaking out after the result of the ballot was announced, the Australian government changed its position dramatically and with publicly harsher words towards Indonesia.

In a meeting of the National Security Committee of Cabinet on 7 September it was decided on four conditions that had to be met for Australia leading a multinational force:

1. Indonesian agreement;
2. Clear UN Security Council mandate providing Chapter 7 authority to use ‘all necessary means’;
3. Substantial active support from regional countries, especially major ASEAN members; and
4. Support from the United States.²⁸⁶

Meanwhile, the mass killings continued on 8 September with “the massacre at the Maliana police station” where 70 or more refugees were murdered by militia using mainly meat cleavers.²⁸⁷ Over 3 days mass murder was carried out in the area of Oecussi with reportedly roughly 14 killed on the 8th, about 70 executed on the 9th, and an unknown number killed on the 10th.²⁸⁸

²⁸⁵ Geoffrey Barker, ‘Howard Calls For UN Pressure’, *Financial Review*, 7 September 1999

²⁸⁶ Hugh White, ‘The Road to INTERFET: Reflections on Australian Strategic Decisions Concerning East Timor, December 1998-September 1999’, pp. 82-83

²⁸⁷ J. Dunn, ‘East Timor: A rough passage to independence’, p. 357 and KPP HAM, ‘Full report of the Investigative Commission into Human Rights Violations in East Timor’, pp. 50-51

²⁸⁸ J. Dunn, ‘East Timor: A rough passage to independence’, p. 356

The Howard government continued to apply pressure on Indonesia, as did the UN, the US, the IMF and many other actors in the international community.²⁸⁹ Annan condemned Indonesia's failure to uphold security on 8 September and declared on 10 September that "the time has clearly come for Indonesia to seek help from the international community in fulfilling its responsibility to bring order and security to the people of East Timor".²⁹⁰

Australia gained limited US support for a peacekeeping-mission, however, the US ruled out committing any ground troops, instead providing only logistical support.²⁹¹ It caused slight tension between Australia and the US with Downer saying "We've given very strong support to the US over and over again in many different conflicts....Australians would have a sense of comfort if the US were to be involved".²⁹² Defence Minister Moore said "You'd always like to see them come up and put their hand up first and say 'sure, we're there'".²⁹³ The lack of commitment from the US led to questions of the strength over the Australia-US alliance.²⁹⁴ It was now clear that Australia had to be the one taking full charge of the upcoming peacekeeping operation.

Work continued to set up a multinational force and pledges of troop contribution came from Canada, New Zealand, Malaysia and Thailand. Non-troop support was also forthcoming from Britain and the US.²⁹⁵ Howard in turn more than doubled Australia's contribution to a possible upcoming peacekeeping force from 2 000 to 4

²⁸⁹ J. Cotton, *East Timor, Australia and Regional Order: Intervention and its aftermath in Southeast Asia*, p. 96 and Joanne Gray, 'Internal Conflict In The US Ship Of State Slows Decision On Troops', *Financial Review*, 8 September 1999 and Joanne Gray, 'Review Of Global Lending To Jakarta Waits Two Weeks', *Financial Review*, 7 September 1999 and Joanne Gray, 'Indonesia Warned Funds At Risk', *Financial Review*, 9 September 1999

²⁹⁰ Department of Foreign Affairs and Trade, *East Timor in Transition 1998-2000. An Australian Policy Challenge*, p. 134

²⁹¹ Joanne Gray, 'US Rejects Australia's Call For Troops', *Financial Review*, 9 September 1999

²⁹² Geoffrey Barker, 'Australia Pushes US Over Timor', *Financial Review*, 8 September 1999

²⁹³ John Moore, 'Transcript of the Prime Minister the Hon John Howard MP, Joint press conference with Mr John Moore, Defence Minister Parliament House', 8 September 1999; Geoffrey Barker, 'Howard Ups The Ante On East Timor', *Financial Review*, 9 September 1999

²⁹⁴ Geoffrey Barker, 'Real Value Of US Alliance Under Question', *Financial Review*, 9 September 1999

²⁹⁵ John Howard, 'Transcript of the Prime Minister the Hon John Howard MP, Television interview with Steve Liebmann *The Today Show*', 8 September 1999

500 troops.²⁹⁶ Indonesia meanwhile continued to refuse peacekeepers. Alatas said “Don’t give us ultimatums, don’t talk to us about peacekeepers”.²⁹⁷

APEC’s annual leader’s summit was scheduled for 11-12 September in Auckland, New Zealand, providing a forum where additional pressure could be applied on Indonesia and attended by many important actors, but unfortunately not Habibie. President Clinton announced that the US would end military aid to Indonesia and threatened economic sanctions unless the violence stopped and Indonesia accepted peacekeeping troops.²⁹⁸ It appears that this was the final straw. US sanctions against Indonesia could have serious effects on its fragile economy and could possibly jeopardise any chance of recovery following the Asian Financial Crisis. Quite simply East Timor was not worth the risk.

Finally in the evening of 12 September, President Habibie announced that Indonesia would allow for an international peacekeeping force to enter East Timor. Howard expressed his joy that Indonesia finally had bowed to international pressure, calling it “a tremendous step forward”. He also said “Dr Habibie deserves credit, great credit” for taking this decision but “now there’s a lot of work to be done”.²⁹⁹

After this crucial decision had been met, the next step was the UN Security Council resolution 1264 on 15 September which authorised “the establishment of a multinational force...with the following tasks: to restore peace and security in East Timor, to protect and support UNAMET in carrying out its tasks and, within force capabilities, to facilitate humanitarian assistance operations, and authorizes the States participating in the multinational force to take all necessary means to fulfil this mandate”.³⁰⁰ The mission was named International Force East Timor (INTERFET) and consisted of a coalition of 22 countries. Australia provided the largest troop numbers – 5 000 out of a total of roughly 11 000 troops, while Thailand contributed

²⁹⁶ John Howard, ‘Transcript of the Prime Minister the Hon John Howard MP, Press conference Phillip Street, Sydney’, 9 September 1999

²⁹⁷ Tim Dodd, ‘Jakarta Defies World Pressure’, *Financial Review*, 9 September 1999

²⁹⁸ J. Dunn, ‘East Timor: A rough passage to independence’, p. 359 and John Howard, ‘Transcript of the Prime Minister the Hon John Howard MP, Television interview with Paul Bongiorno *Meet The Press*’, 12 September 1999

²⁹⁹ John Howard, ‘Transcript of the Prime Minister the Hon John Howard MP, Press conference – Hyatt Regency Hotel Auckland, New Zealand’, 13 September 1999

³⁰⁰ United Nations Security Council, ‘resolution 1264 of 15 September 1999’

with 1 603, New Zealand with 770, Jordan with 707, the Philippines with 597, Italy with 518, Canada with 470 and South Korea with 436. A number of other coalition nations contributed with smaller numbers of troops to INTERFET.³⁰¹

On 20 September, the first 1 100 troops landed in Dili and a day later the number was up to 2 300 troops. They commenced securing key buildings, began to disarm and detained militia members. Some three weeks later about 5 650 troops had entered East Timor and most of the country had been secured.³⁰² Even after INTERFET had arrived in East Timor, large scale killings by the militia occurred. For example, 12 were killed in Maununu on 23 September, 9 in Los Palos on 25 September and 7 in Hata Hudo on 3 October.³⁰³ In total, according to one estimate, up to 2 000 East Timorese may have been murdered in 1999 by the militia.³⁰⁴

Besides the killings there were hundreds of cases of torture, rapes and abductions. One source reported 182 “gender-based human rights violations”³⁰⁵ and there were many examples of rapes, enforced prostitution and sexual slavery.³⁰⁶ Furthermore, three quarters of the total population of 800 000 had abandoned their homes by 14 September. Around 250 000 of these had been forcibly moved to West Timor by pro-integration militia, with the assistance of Indonesian military.³⁰⁷ The humanitarian cost for East Timor’s independence was indeed terrible and would take years to recover from, if it ever can.

Conclusion

Australian foreign policy towards Indonesia regarding East Timor up until the INTERFET-intervention was characterised by *reacting* to events rather than acting in

³⁰¹ Department of Foreign Affairs and Trade, *East Timor in Transition 1998-2000. An Australian Policy Challenge*, p. 142; J. Dunn, ‘East Timor: A rough passage to independence’, p. 361

³⁰² Department of Foreign Affairs and Trade, *East Timor in Transition 1998-2000. An Australian Policy Challenge*, pp. 145-47

³⁰³ J. Nevins, *A Not-so Distant Horror: Mass violence in East Timor*, pp. 108-09 and KPP HAM, ‘Full report of the Investigative Commission into Human Rights Violations in East Timor’, p. 52 and J. Dunn, ‘East Timor: A rough passage to independence’, p. 357-58

³⁰⁴ Hamish McDonald & Richard Tanter, ‘Introduction’, in *Masters of Terror: Indonesia’s Military and Violence in East Timor*, eds. R. Tanter & G. van Klinken & D. Ball, Rowman & Littlefield, Lanham, 2006, p. 11

³⁰⁵ J. Dunn, ‘East Timor: A rough passage to independence’, p. 358

³⁰⁶ KPP HAM, ‘Full report of the Investigative Commission into Human Rights Violations in East Timor’, pp. 37, 52-53

³⁰⁷ Hamish McDonald, ‘Masters of Terror: The Indonesian Findings’, p. 17 and Department of Foreign Affairs and Trade, *East Timor in Transition 1998-2000. An Australian Policy Challenge*, p. 129

advance. A strong and stable relationship was always the foremost objective, all the way up to the post-ballot violence. Aiming to influence Indonesia through using its supposedly strong and stable relationship can be seen time and time again – with Howard’s letter to Habibie in December 1998, with the Bali summit in April 1999, and throughout the lead-up to the ballot on 30 August 1999 – but it rarely produced the intended result. Finally, the policy of not being too aggressive and not pressuring Indonesia too much was abandoned when violence broke out after the ballot in early September. It was now clear that Australia had been overestimated its own importance and capacity to influence the Indonesian government. It was now deemed necessary to put extra pressure on Indonesia to accept an international peacekeeping force, and again Australia found its efforts in vain until much stronger allies, particularly the United States, weighed in to force Indonesia to accept INTERFET. The policy change that removed the underlying rationale for all those years of quiet diplomacy came about rapidly in the span of a few days, roughly 3-7 September 1999. It was the final example though, of how the Australian government *reacted* to events rather than trying to prevent them through forceful action. The next chapter will apply the theoretical model of foreign policy change on to the case study in order to identify the main actors and factors behind the policy change.

Chapter 5: Analysis of the East Timor Case Study

Introduction

This chapter will analyse the actors and factors behind Australia's foreign policy change towards Indonesia regarding East Timor in 1999. It will investigate Domestic Factors (The bureaucracy, public opinion, the media, interest groups, political parties), International Factors (Global factors, regional factors, bilateral relations, non-state actors), as well as the key decision-makers, the window of opportunity and the consequences of change. It argues that domestic factors put direct strong pressure on the Howard government, often in combination with each other. Indirect international pressure also added to the pressure felt by the government but the window of opportunity, which was wide open, was not perceived as such and thus not acted upon, which meant that no major change occurred until the government was essentially left with no other choice.

Domestic Factors

The Bureaucracy

The bureaucracy served as an obstacle to change of policy rather than as a source of change. The main actor in this category was DFAT, normally the department with the most potential influence on foreign policy making. DFAT often reinforced Government policy rather than acted for change. The first Howard government in 1996 took the DFAT advice to carry on the previous government's East Timor-policy.¹ If DFAT had any inkling to alter the policy, this would have been a good time to do so, but that did not occur at that time. DFAT was involved in the first real move towards change in Australia's East Timor policy in the second half of 1998. However, its involvement came only after foreign minister Alexander Downer had instructed DFAT to look into what could be done to further the process on East Timor.² The initiative thus did not come from DFAT but from Downer.

¹ David Goldsworthy, 'East Timor', in *Facing North: a century of Australian engagement with Asia, Volume 2, 1970s to 2000*, eds. P. Edwards and D. Goldsworthy, Melbourne University Press, Carlton, 2003, p. 222

² Don Greenlees, 'Downer offers a hand on E Timor', *The Australian* 10 July 1998

Senior officials informally concluded in August 1998 that a new, more direct approach was needed, one which would involve the East Timorese themselves in the process towards autonomy for East Timor.³ The head of DFAT, Ashton Calvert, suggested sending a letter directly from Howard to Habibie, wherein it was proposed that the East Timorese would be granted an act of self-determination but after a substantial period of time, similar to the Matignon Accords in New Caledonia.⁴ Although the suggestion came from DFAT, it came after Downer specifically asked for options to further the process, and the basis of the East Timor-policy remained – it was still the Howard government's preference that East Timor remained within Indonesia. As Downer himself stated: "It wasn't a 180 degree change of course, it was a 30 degree change".⁵ Still, DFAT came up with the idea of a letter, which would include a new approach to the issue, so some influence can be detected here if only as to the method.

After Indonesia announced in January 1999 that it would resolve the issue once and for all and grant East Timor quick independence if they rejected the autonomy-proposal, DFAT did not push for a further change of policy. Rather the opposite occurred, fearing instead that Australia would be heavily involved financially for a long time, as the main aid donor to a future independent East Timor, and also possibly militarily since it saw the chance of a civil war breaking out in East Timor as quite high. Australia would then have to assume a large responsibility in terms of peacekeeping.⁶ Autonomy within Indonesia for East Timor was definitely still the preferred option for DFAT.⁷ There is nothing to suggest that DFAT tried to push the government into a change in policy as events unfolded during 1999. Instead, it appears that changes in policy were initiated by politicians, rather than bureaucrats.⁸

³ Hugh White, 'The Road to INTERFET: Reflections on Australian Strategic Decisions Concerning East Timor, December 1998-September 1999', *Security Challenges*, Vol. 4, no.1, Autumn 2008, p. 71

⁴ Don Greenlees & Robert Garran, *Deliverance: The inside story of East Timor's fight for freedom*, Allen & Unwin, Crows Nest, 2002, p. 85

⁵ D. Greenlees & R. Garran, *Deliverance: The inside story of East Timor's fight for freedom*, p. 86, also in David Goldsworthy, 'East Timor', p. 228

⁶ Paul Daley, 'East Timor Offered Deal On Troops', *The Age*, 1 February 1999 and Paul Daley, 'East Timor Freedom To Cost, Senate Told', *The Age*, 12 February 1999

⁷ Clinton Fernandes, *Reluctant Saviour: Australia, Indonesia and the independence of East Timor*, Scribe Publications, Carlton North, 2004, p. 38

⁸ See for example when Downer stated on 5 September 1999 that Australia may lead a peacekeeping operation, which had not been discussed in any detail with the Department of Defence. See Hugh White, 'The Road to INTERFET: Reflections on Australian Strategic Decisions Concerning East Timor, December 1998-September 1999', p. 82

Their largest contribution came with the proposal for a more direct approach in sending the letter from Howard to Habibie in December 1998. DFAT suffered criticism for its part in the East Timor policy-making process.⁹ As it turned out, DFAT was more of an obstacle to change throughout the decision-making process on East Timor than a proponent for change.

Public Opinion

In the first two weeks of September 1999 people reacted to the images and reports of violence coming out of East Timor. Previous to that, public opinion showed itself mainly through letters to newspapers but did not in itself consist of enough pressure on the government to have an effect on its East Timor-policy.

Letters to the editor were published regularly throughout 1997-99 in *The Australian*. However, upon investigation, a large portion of them appears to have been written by people from human rights organisations and other organisations in support of East Timor, as well as academics. They will therefore be discussed in the Interest Group section instead.

Opinion polls from A.C. Nielsen, Newspoll, and Roy Morgan at the times of key events relating to East Timor prior to September 1999 do not indicate any major change in support of the government. Even when the Howard-letter to Habibie became public knowledge in January 1999, or when the government's reaction to the massacres in April 1999 resulted in the Bali summit, or during voter registration in East Timor during June-August 1999. Opinion poll figures for the government appear largely steady for the time periods investigated and do not show a swing in support for the government that can be directly linked to events in East Timor. There is a slight change in September when Labor narrows the gap in federal voting intentions from being 10% behind to only 4 %, However, the Coalition only lost 2 % in support during those two turbulent weeks.¹⁰ Public opinion was not expressed so much

⁹ See for example William Maley, 'Australia and the East Timor Crisis: Some Critical Comments', *Australian Journal of International Affairs*, Vol. 54, No. 2, 2000, pp. 158-160

¹⁰ See for Newspoll, 'Polls for Federal Voting Intentions January/February 1999' and 'June-September 1999' http://www.newspoll.com.au/cgi-bin/polling/display_poll_data.pl [Accessed 10 August 2008]; Roy Morgan Research, 'Little Change In Support For Major Parties ALP Remains In Front In Late January 1999', 16 February 1999, <http://www.roymorgan.com/news/polls/1999/3165/> [Accessed 10 August 2008] ; Roy Morgan Research, 'Coalition In Front On Primary Vote And Would Have Won If

through voting preference in opinion polls as it was in more direct actions, such as demonstrations, writing letters, emails and making phone calls to politicians.

A large majority of the Australian public supported the Australian-led intervention into East Timor, as can be seen in the two opinion polls from 10-12 September 1999 below with a sample size of 1200.¹¹

Table 5.1: Opinion Polls on the situation in East Timor

THINKING NOW ABOUT THE CURRENT SITUATION IN EAST TIMOR. DO YOU PERSONALLY THINK THE AUSTRALIAN GOVERNMENT IS CURRENTLY DOING TOO MUCH, DOING ENOUGH OR SHOULD THEY DO MORE TO HELP THE SITUATION IN EAST TIMOR? IF DO MORE - DO YOU THINK THE AUSTRALIAN GOVERNMENT SHOULD DO A LOT MORE OR ONLY A LITTLE MORE?

	TOTAL ADULTS %	-----GENDER-----		-----SUPPORTERS-----	
		MALE %	FEMALE %	COALITION %	ALP %
LOT MORE	31	33	28	21	40
LITTLE MORE	10	9	13	10	12
TOTAL DO MORE	41	42	41	31	52
DOING ENOUGH	45	44	45	56	35
DOING TOO MUCH	6	7	5	6	6
UNCOMMITTED	8	7	9	7	7

ARE YOU PERSONALLY IN FAVOUR OR AGAINST AUSTRALIA SENDING TROOPS TO EAST TIMOR AS PART OF AN INTERNATIONAL PEACE-KEEPING FORCE? IF IN FAVOUR - IS THAT STRONGLY IN FAVOUR OR PARTLY IN FAVOUR? IF AGAINST - IS THAT STRONGLY AGAINST OR PARTLY AGAINST?

	TOTAL ADULTS %	-----GENDER-----		-----SUPPORTERS-----	
		MALE %	FEMALE %	COALITION %	ALP %
STRONGLY IN FAVOUR	54	61	47	54	59
PARTLY IN FAVOUR	23	19	27	24	21
TOTAL IN FAVOUR	77	80	74	78	80
PARTLY AGAINST	7	6	9	9	6
STRONGLY AGAINST	8	8	8	7	8
TOTAL AGAINST	15	14	17	16	14
UNCOMMITTED	8	6	9	6	6

Some 77 % of those surveyed were in favour of the intervention and only 15 % were against. In addition, 41 % felt that the Australian government could do more, while 45 % said they were doing enough. This survey was conducted only days before Habibie succumbed to pressure and allowed for a peacekeeping force to enter East Timor.

Election In August', 31 August 1999, <http://www.roymorgan.com/news/polls/1999/3220/> [Accessed 10 August 2008] ; 'Labor Stretches Two-Party Preferred Lead As Troops Go Into East Timor', 12 October 1999, <http://www.roymorgan.com/news/polls/1999/3240/> [Accessed 10 August 2008], for A.C. Nielsen, see A. C. Nielsen, 'Estimates of Federal Voting Intention & Leadership Approval', 1999 <http://au.acnielsen.com/reports/documents/ACNielsenPoll1999.pdf> [Accessed 10 August 2008]

¹¹ Newspan 'East Timor', opinion poll conducted 10-12 September 1999, http://www.newspan.com.au/image_uploads/cgi-lib.25638.1.0902timor.pdf [Accessed 7 August 2008]

Interestingly 31 % stated that they wanted the government to do a “lot more”, thereby putting pressure on the government.

Demonstrations in Melbourne and Sydney added to the pressure on the government. Between 600 and 1 000 people demonstrated in Melbourne on 6 September,¹² 1 000 in Sydney on 7 September,¹³ 1 000 people in Melbourne on 8 September with further protests around Australia, such as people bursting into a DFAT building in Brisbane and protests occurring outside Indonesian consulates in Darwin and Perth, to name a few,¹⁴ and about 4 000 people demonstrating in Sydney on the same day.¹⁵ By 10 September it had escalated to between 20 000-25 000 in Melbourne¹⁶ and somewhere between 20 000 and 30 000 in Sydney.¹⁷ The public also made its voice heard by calling in to talkback radio, writing letters to newspapers and calling and emailing members of parliament. Politicians reported hundreds of people contacting them, demanding that they do more to pressure Indonesia.¹⁸

The degree of protests did not go unnoticed by the government. Downer commented that “the Australian public were screaming out, everybody was – I mean it wasn’t a party thing, Left-Right thing – screaming out to do something to stop it. People were ringing up, crying over the phone, we had more calls on that issue than I’ve ever had in my life on anything”.¹⁹ Surprise was expressed by many parliamentarians on the sheer scale of public outcry.²⁰ Prime Minister Howard several times acknowledged the public’s concern of the situation in East Timor, saying “I know how distressed

¹² 600 according to Andrea Carson & Paul Robinson, ‘Indonesia Target For Union Action’, *The Age*, 7 September 1999 and 1 000 according to Steve Waldon, ‘Do Something Now, That’s The Message’, *The Age*, 7 September 1999

¹³ Anonymous, ‘Protesters take anger to the streets – EAST TIMOR BETRAYED’, *The Australian*, 8 September 1999

¹⁴ John Mangan with Sally Finlay, ‘Backpage’, *The Age*, 9 September 1999 and Anonymous, ‘Australia’s anger’, *The Australian*, 9 September 1999

¹⁵ C. Fernandes, *Reluctant Saviour: Australia, Indonesia and the independence of East Timor*, p. 90

¹⁶ 20 000 according to Paul Cleary, ‘Australia Reviews Defence Ties, Scraps Joint Exercise’, *Financial Review*, 11 September 1999 and Nina Field, ‘Qantas Calls For Calm As Bans Bite’, *Financial Review*, 11 September 1999, and more than 25 000 according to Anonymous, ‘The tide of protest swells – EAST TIMOR BETRAYED – THE DIPLOMATIC NIGHTMARE’, *The Australian*, 11 September 1999

¹⁷ C. Fernandes, *Reluctant Saviour: Australia, Indonesia and the independence of East Timor*, p. 94

¹⁸ Julie McCrossin, ‘Putting A Leash On Talkback’s Dogs Of War’, *Financial Review*, 10 September 1999 and Janine Macdonald, ‘Timor Outrage And Sadness Floods Politicians’ Offices’, *The Age*, 8 September 1999

¹⁹ D. Greenlees & R. Garran, *Deliverance: The inside story of East Timor’s fight for freedom*, p. 245

²⁰ J. Macdonald, ‘Timor Outrage And Sadness Floods Politicians’ Offices’, *The Age*, 8 September 1999

people are in Australia. I know how gruesome the TV images are”²¹ and “I share the sense of frustration that the Australian people feel. I share the sense of anger that the Australian people feel about what has happened”.²² However, while acknowledging the public concern, he repeatedly defended his government’s method of trying to reach a solution. He urged a sensible approach wherein Australian lives were not endangered and for two pre-conditions to be fulfilled – “You need United Nations sanction and you need Indonesian permission otherwise it is war”.²³ No doubt he felt the pressure from the public to “do something” but from his responses it seems that he, in a way, was between a rock and a hard place.

Public opinion by itself may not have caused the change in policy but it certainly added to the pressure on the government to act in response to the atrocities committed in East Timor in the first two weeks of September. Fernandes writes that “panic had begun to take hold” in the federal cabinet when the protests increased,²⁴ so it is clear that the demonstrations, letters, emails and so on had a strong effect on the government.

The Media

The media in Australia is both a vehicle reflecting foreign policy outcomes and a source of input to that process. In its reflective – or reporting – role, the media certainly places great demands on government.²⁵

Gareth Evans and Bruce Grant’s words above indicate the impact that the media can have on foreign policy in Australia, and it is certainly evident in the case of the East Timor in 1999. The East Timor crisis in September 1999 produced a large number of articles in the three investigated newspapers (*The Australian*, *The Age* and *Financial Review*). The massive coverage in the media certainly put pressure on the government to “do something”.

²¹ John Howard, ‘Transcript of the Prime Minister the Hon John Howard MP, Interview with Matt Peacock AM Programme, ABC Radio’, 7 September 1999

²² John Howard, ‘Transcript of the Prime Minister the Hon John Howard MP, Joint press conference with Mr John Moore, Defence Minister Parliament House’, 8 September 1999

²³ John Howard, ‘Transcript of the Prime Minister The Hon John Howard MP Interview with Alan Jones – Radio 2UE’, 9 September 1999

²⁴ C. Fernandes, *Reluctant Saviour: Australia, Indonesia and the independence of East Timor*, p. 95

²⁵ Gareth Evans & Bruce Grant, *Australia’s Foreign Relations: In the world of the 1990s*, Melbourne University Press, Carlton, Victoria, 1991, p. 50

Table 5. 2 Coverage on East Timor in selected newspapers 1997-1999

Newspaper	Jan-Feb 1997	Mar- Apr 1997	May-June 1997	Jul-Aug 1997	Sep-Oct 1997	Nov-Dec 1997
<i>The Financial Review</i>	3	6	9	3	6	3
<i>The Age</i>	16	11	13	6	16	13
<i>The Australian</i>	25	40	23	32	27	19

Newspaper	Jan-Feb 1998	Mar- Apr 1998	May-June 1998	Jul-Aug 1998	Sep-Oct 1998	Nov-Dec 1998
<i>The Financial Review</i>	5	6	15	8	9	6
<i>The Age</i>	5	10	39	35	25	43
<i>The Australian</i>	14	16	65	41	40	34

Newspaper	Jan-Feb 1999	Mar- Apr 1999	May-June 1999	Jul-Aug 1999	Sep-Oct 1999	Nov-Dec 1999
<i>The Financial Review</i>	49	80	55	78	350	114
<i>The Age</i>	75	124	106	118	370	155
<i>The Australian</i>	94	170	107*	143*	531*	126*

* The number of articles for *The Australian* May-December 1999 are most likely lower than they should be, compared to the other newspapers investigated and in relation to previous *The Australian* articles, due to a change in the search engine used during the course of the research process. I discovered this as I initially printed out the articles (with the exception of May-December 1999) and when I did a subsequent search a few years into the research-process, I discovered that the amount of articles were lower than before. I cannot account to why this happened, as I do not know how search engines work, I can only state the fact.

As can be seen in the table above, East Timor received attention in the three investigated newspapers, although it is not until May/June 1998 that the number of articles increases, due to the resignation of Suharto and the possible implications for East Timor. The numbers are also higher throughout 1999, reflecting the events taking place during the year, such as Australia's minor policy change in January, the Bali summit in April, the registration of voters in East Timor during June-August, and the outbreak of violence in September and its aftermath. The number of articles increases steadily throughout the year with the exception of a low in May/June for all three newspapers. The big spike naturally occurs in September/October 1999 with a minimum of 350 articles in any one newspaper and a total of at least 1251 articles

between the three newspapers. *The Australian* consistently produces most articles on East Timor, while *Financial Review* has the lowest number of articles. However, looking at the number of articles it is clear that starting with the fall of Suharto in May 1998 East Timor received constant attention which indirectly would influence the decision-makers in the government.

A closer look at the editorial opinions of the different newspapers 1997-1999, as well as individual journalists, displays some differences between them. Generally, *The Age* is more critical of the government's East Timor-policy, while *The Australian* is more in line with the government's actions, and the *Financial Review* also tends to lean towards the government's view. First, editorials of the three newspapers will be examined to discern their overall stance on the government's East Timor-policy. Second, specific journalists who wrote on East Timor and expressed opinions will be investigated.

The Australian's editorials generally supported the government's policy on East Timor and rarely directly criticised it. When Suharto resigned in May 1998, it stated "Australian policy has been well-informed and sensible throughout this crisis, as it has been towards Indonesia for the past 10 years".²⁶ When East Timorese independence became a possible scenario in late 1998 it argued against it, warning of the possible break-up of Indonesia that might follow and for an outbreak of violence between groups in East Timor.²⁷ It went on to support Howard and Downer's actions in the Bali summit in April 1999 and in the lead-up to the ballot. It criticised Brereton several times, calling him "badly advised" and argued against his calls of April and August for peacekeepers to be sent to East Timor.²⁸ In further evidence of its support for the government, it referred to response to the two massacres in Liquica and Dili that occurred in April 1999 as "hysterical reaction".²⁹ Even in September 1999, when the widespread violence broke out in East Timor after the announcement of the result of the ballot, it did not directly criticise the government, only concluded that relations

²⁶ Anonymous, 'Shunning our neighbours no easy solution', *The Australian*, 23 May 1998

²⁷ Anonymous, 'Talks project cautious hope for East Timor', *The Australian*, 7 August 1998, and Anonymous, 'Caution will secure East Timor's future', *The Australian*, 25 February 1999

²⁸ Anonymous, 'Bali summit a difficult initiative', *The Australian*, 26 April 1999, and Anonymous, 'PM propels Timor on to world stage', *The Australian*, 29 April 1999, and Anonymous, 'Timor poll a tough test for Jakarta', *The Australian*, 28 August 1999

²⁹ Anonymous, 'PM propels Timor on to world stage', *The Australian*, 29 April 1999

with Indonesia had to be re-evaluated and acknowledged Australia's lack of influence with the Indonesian government.³⁰ There is no doubt that *The Australian* editorials mirrored government action when it came to its East Timor-policy 1998-1999.

The *Financial Review*'s editorials are not as obvious in its support for the government's policy as *The Australian* but do still lean in favour of it. It outlines supportive arguments for the government's policy in January 1999, on the same grounds as the previous government's policy, reasons such as to avoid the financial commitment East Timor would require from Australia, having a tiny state just north of Australia³¹, and it also points in March 1999 towards the problems East Timor itself would face as an independent state.³² It argues against sending peacekeepers at all in April 1999, as Brereton has called for³³, and insists, both in April and August, against sending any in without Indonesia agreement.³⁴ However, they call for increased pressure on Indonesia to allow peacekeepers in after the ballot if it is clear that security cannot be upheld.³⁵ Furthermore, they insist on the big picture – to concentrate on Indonesia and the risk of Balkanization, rather than East Timor.³⁶ By September 1999, it claims the Howard government failed to realise how its policies would lead to Indonesian anger with Australia.³⁷ There was, thus, some criticism of the Australian government on this issue, however overall it is in favour of the government and does not offer any heavy criticism of it.

The Age differs from both the *Financial Review* and *The Australian* in that it is much more critical of the Australian government's East Timor-policy, and consistently so. It is criticising the government from 1997, all the way up to September 1999. Already in 1997, *The Age*'s editorials argues for a change from the previous policy and says

³⁰ Anonymous, 'Timor tragedy shows where we stand', *The Australian*, 11 September 1999, see also for example Anonymous, 'Martial lawlessness in East Timor', *The Australian*, 8 September 1999

³¹ Anonymous, 'The Price Of Independence', *Financial Review*, 30 January 1999

³² Anonymous, 'Fine-Tuning East Timor', *Financial Review*, 1 March 1999

³³ Anonymous, 'Tread Warily In East Timor', *Financial Review*, 10 April 1999 and Anonymous, 'Howard's Bali Gamble', *Financial Review*, 21 April 1999

³⁴ Anonymous, 'Howard's Bali Gamble', *Financial Review*, 21 April 1999 and Anonymous, 'A Clarification From Downer', *Financial Review*, 11 August 1999

³⁵ Anonymous, 'Judgement Day In East Timor', *Financial Review*, 27 August 1999 and Anonymous, 'Stepping Into A Deadly Void', *Financial Review*, 3 September 1999

³⁶ Anonymous, 'Indonesia's Other Flashpoint', *Financial Review*, 8 May 1999

³⁷ Anonymous, 'Frontline Role For Australia', *Financial Review*, 7 September 1999

more pressure on Indonesia is required, rather than bowing to its will.³⁸ Furthermore, the government should be more vocal on human rights, according to a November 1997 editorial, which indirectly concerns East Timor.³⁹ When Habibie in June 1998 announces the possibility for a 'special status' for East Timor and promises to begin withdrawing troops from East Timor, *The Age* acknowledges a slight change in the Howard government's actions but criticises its overall policy, which in many ways remained the same. It also states that "Australia has a lot of ground to make up", urges further moves towards East Timor autonomy, including the release of Gusmao, and wants Australia to play a role in this process.⁴⁰ In a clear stance against the government, *The Age* states in September 1998 that Labor policy on human rights should be bipartisan, making it clear on which side *The Age* stood. It also indirectly indicates that it is for self-determination for the East Timorese, stating in a discussion on Indonesia and East Timor "that harmony remains elusive when people have no say in their own future. Democracy and self-determination, far from being preoccupations of naïve idealists, now look like goals for realists too". It also seems less concerned about Indonesia falling apart than the other two newspapers, comparing it to the peaceful demise of the Soviet Union.⁴¹ A later editorial reinforced *The Age*'s position that human rights must have a prominent place in Australia's foreign policy.⁴²

Australia's slight policy change that was officially announced in January 1999 was received favourably by *The Age* "but further shifts likely to be needed", according to the editorial. The editorial left no doubt that it believed that the change was made from practical calculations rather than purely humanitarian reasons.⁴³ Contrary to *The Australian* and the *Financial Review*, *The Age* did not describe a potential independent East Timor as a major cause of concern to Australia but rather expected Australia to provide aid and support. They argued that there was now a chance for Australia to make up for some of its past actions. *The Age* also early on argued for the

³⁸ Anonymous, 'Mandela And Gusmao', *The Age*, 16 September 1997

³⁹ Anonymous, 'Upgrading Human Rights', *The Age*, 28 November 1997

⁴⁰ Anonymous, 'East Timor's Slow March To Peace', *The Age*, 31 July 1998 and Anonymous, 'Indonesia Must Free Gusmao', *The Age*, 19 August 1998 and Anonymous, 'Free Gusmao', *The Age*, 13 June 1998

⁴¹ Anonymous, 'Labor's U-turn On Human Rights', *The Age*, 17 September 1998

⁴² Anonymous, 'Timor Denial Only Poses New Question', *The Age*, 20 November 1998

⁴³ Anonymous, 'Australia Plays A New Tune On East Timor', *The Age*, 16 January 1999

need to have a peacekeeping force ready if required.⁴⁴ *The Age* again raised the issue when it urged Howard to push for a UN peacekeeping force in the Bali summit, although they were not optimistic there would be such an outcome. It is clear in its criticism of the government and how it is not doing enough.⁴⁵ Shortly before the vote, *The Age* argued – again - for a peacekeeping force to be sent to East Timor after the ballot, warning of the risk of civil war immediately afterwards.⁴⁶ When the violence did break out, *The Age* kept pushing for more pressure on Indonesia to allow for a UN peacekeeping force to be sent to East Timor.⁴⁷ *The Age* concluded, not surprisingly considering its continuous criticism of the government, that Australia's approach towards Indonesia had been a "disappointment and failure". It states that "after years of miscalculation and wishful thinking by diplomats and political leaders, it is time for a reality check."⁴⁸

There were definitely differences between the three investigated newspapers. *The Australian* kept defending the government or at least putting forward the same line of argument as the government. The *Financial Review* was not as direct in its support for the government but was clearly leaning in favour of it, while *The Age* was continuously critical of the government's policy throughout the period 1997-1999. In terms of influence, *The Age* would have put most of the pressure on the government but the fact that *The Australian* continued to be supportive would have lessened that pressure, as compared to a united media exerting pressure on the government.

The media was however influential in other indirect ways. Individual journalists reporting from East Timor in 1998-99 about the atrocities and the situation on the ground kept writing articles containing personal stories of East Timorese and of terrible, frightening events, thereby painting a picture to the reading public of the

⁴⁴ Anonymous, 'The Military Must Leave East Timor', *The Age*, 2 February 1999 and Anonymous, 'Making Amends In East Timor', *The Age*, 25 February 1999

⁴⁵ Anonymous, 'A New Threat To Peace In Timor', *The Age*, 9 April 1999 and Anonymous, 'Intervening In East Timor', *The Age*, 20 April 1999

⁴⁶ Anonymous, 'East Timor's Threatened Peace', *The Age*, 19 August 1999 and Anonymous, 'Voting For A Future In East Timor', *The Age*, 28 August 1999 and Anonymous, 'A Peaceful Vote In East Timor', *The Age*, 1 September 1999

⁴⁷ Anonymous, 'Terror Can't Cancel Timor's Choice', *The Age*, 4 September 1999 and Anonymous, 'East Timor Needs The World's Help', *The Age*, 7 September 1999 and Anonymous, 'Australia Faces Its Biggest Test', *The Age*, 9 September 1999

⁴⁸ Anonymous, 'A Rude Awakening: We're On Our Own', *The Age*, 11 September 1999

misery of the people in East Timor. *The Age*'s Lindsay Murdoch⁴⁹ and *The Australian*'s Don Greenlees⁵⁰ and Sian Powell⁵¹ were particularly prominent in writing articles that told stories from East Timor. Other journalists also wrote similar type articles, albeit to a lesser extent, such as *The Age*'s Louise Williams,⁵² Craig Skehan,⁵³ and Farah Farouque,⁵⁴ *Financial Review*'s Tim Dodd,⁵⁵ and *The Australian*'s Brian Woodley.⁵⁶ These stories are told either by them being there in person or from interviews conducted with East Timorese that had suffered attacks, lost family members, or been injured by Indonesian military or authorities, or pro-integration militia. The authors are not necessarily directly critical to the Indonesian occupation or Australian policy towards East Timor but the stories themselves are often quite graphic and more often paint a picture of the miserable situation in East Timor, caused by Indonesian oppression. The reader is left with a clear image of how "bad" the situation was and the articles therefore served as an indirect influence on the public reading them. Murdoch deserves a special mention, since he reported directly from Dili in those first 10 days of September 1999 when the mayhem broke out. His eye-witness reporting was particularly graphic and left no doubt about the terrible scenes that took place in Dili at this time.⁵⁷ It would certainly have served as an indirect influence on the public, if not also the government. Overall, it is interesting to note that *The Age* and *The Australian* have the most productive journalists in this

⁴⁹ See for example, Lindsay Murdoch, 'Another Night Of Terror, Another Fallen Son', *The Age*, 12 May 1999, and Lindsay Murdoch, 'Guerrillas Emerge From The Mist...To Make Their Mark', *The Age*, 5 August 1999

⁵⁰ See for example, Don Greenlees, 'Light of reform yet to cut through fear', *The Australian*, 16 June 1998, and Don Greenlees, 'Timor vote up against a wall', *The Australian*, 13 July 1999, and Don Greenlees, 'A sudden rush of bloodshed', *The Australian*, 3 September 1999

⁵¹ See for example, Sian Powell, '9000 East Timor refugees 'disappear'', *The Australian*, 22 July 1999, and Sian Powell, 'Thugs left to murder and maim in peace', *The Australian*, 7 September 1999

⁵² See for example, Louise Williams, 'Dancing With The Future', *The Age*, 18 June 1998, and Louise Williams, 'Land Of Fear And Hope', *The Age*, 20 June 1998

⁵³ See for example, Craig Skehan, 'Security Is Improving: UN Envoy Tells Fearful Timorese', *The Age*, 26 June 1999, and Craig Skehan, 'UN Push For More Timor Security', *The Age*, 2 July 1999

⁵⁴ See for example, Farah Farouque, 'Grief For A Boy Who Gave All For His Land', *The Age*, 20 April 1999, and Farah Farouque, 'Australians Decide To Take Their Chances', *The Age*, 22 April 1999

⁵⁵ See for example, Tim Dodd, 'East Timor Bloodies Its Date With Destiny', *Financial Review*, 28 August 1999, and Tim Dodd, 'Town Set Ablaze In Revenge Attack', *Financial Review*, 2 September 1999

⁵⁶ See for example, Brian Woodley, 'Walking fine line between haven and hell', *The Australian*, 3 May 1999, and Brian Woodley, 'Students flee militia terror/Panic swept through the crowd', *The Australian*, 6 May 1999

⁵⁷ See for example, Lindsay Murdoch, 'UN Forced To Flee Terror', *The Age*, 7 September 1999, and Lindsay Murdoch, 'Trapped Inside A Circle Of Madmen', *The Age*, 7 September 1999, and Lindsay Murdoch, 'Inside Dili, A Capital Under Siege', *The Age*, 9 September 1999, and Lindsay Murdoch, 'Tears Of Decision For Life Or Death', *The Age*, 10 September 1999, and Lindsay Murdoch, 'The Flight From Fear', *The Age*, 11 September 1999

indirect influence, despite these two newspapers difference in opinion on the issue overall.

This would most likely have contributed to the public's outrage and the expression of anger that showed itself in September 1999 through demonstrations, letters and phone calls to politicians, and the union movement's, such as the ACTU, boycotts of Indonesian companies and products.⁵⁸ The interaction between the media, the public, and interest-groups all combined to put a lot of pressure on the government to "do something".

Interest-Groups

Interest Groups played their part in pressuring the Howard Government to change its policy on East Timor. Indeed, the many East Timor support groups and organisations kept the issue alive during Indonesia's occupation of East Timor, as described by James Button.⁵⁹ The most important figure here is of course the 1996 Nobel Peace Prize winners Jose Ramos-Horta, based in Australia, and Bishop Carlos Belo, in East Timor. However, academics, ex-politicians, former diplomats, the Catholic Church in Australia, Union movements, all had an interest in influencing the government one way or the other and did so, through direct actions or through letters to newspapers.

The East Timor support groups⁶⁰ kept the East Timor-issue alive by sending letters and making statements to the newspapers, thereby ensuring that attention remained on the government's policy and the situation in East Timor. They kept pointing to specific events that occurred,⁶¹ or criticised the government's East Timor-policy.⁶²

⁵⁸ See for example, C. Fernandes, *Reluctant Saviour: Australia, Indonesia and the independence of East Timor*, p. 94, and Julie McCrossin, 'Putting A Leash On Talkback's Dogs Of War', *Financial Review*, 10 September 1999 and Janine Macdonald, 'Timor Outrage And Sadness Floods Politicians' Offices', *The Age*, 8 September 1999, and Anonymous, 'Violence met with embargo', *The Australian*, 7 September 1999 and Anonymous, 'Boycott call as hunger strike starts', *The Australian*, 10 September 1999 and Anonymous, 'The tide of protest swell', *The Australian*, 11 September 1999

⁵⁹ James Button, 'Braving The Long Walk To Justice', *The Age*, 10 February 1999

⁶⁰ A multitude of groups were active and figured in the newspapers in one way or the other. The most visible was the Australian East Timor Association, the East Timor Human Rights Centre, University Students For East Timor, Friends of East Timor, Australians for a Free East Timor, the East Timor International Support Center, the Asia Pacific Coalition for East Timor, Action in Solidarity with Indonesia and East Timor, etc. but this list is by no means exhaustive.

⁶¹ See for example, Lindsay Murdoch, 'PM Agrees To Send Police To East Timor', *The Age*, 28 April 1999 and Stefanie Balogh and David Nason, 'Timorese leader too soft on Jakarta, Canberra – activist', *The Australian*, 22 December 1997

Furthermore, they organised demonstrations⁶³ and commemorated the anniversary of the 1991 Dili-massacre⁶⁴, to name a few examples. Important direct actions taken were obviously their part in organising demonstrations in September 1999 against the bloodbath then occurring in East Timor.⁶⁵ In doing so, they helped the public express its frustration and anger over what had happened in East Timor and helped to add further pressure on the government.

Jose Ramos-Horta and Bishop Carlos Belo played an important role in holding up the pressure on the government. Belo will be discussed in the Regional Factor-section, as he was based in East Timor for most of the time period. Ramos-Horta, as he was based in Australia and acted as the main unofficial ambassador of the East Timorese resistance internationally, was a constant feature during the 1997-1999 period. He spoke to audiences around the world about the plight of the East Timorese, for example to the US Congress human rights caucus⁶⁶, the European Parliament⁶⁷, met with dignitaries such as the British foreign minister⁶⁸, giving him the opportunity to speak to key actors in world politics and raise the issue of the East Timorese. The Australian government was not as open to visits by Ramos-Horta. As Fernandes relates, when Ramos-Horta was awarded the Nobel Prize in 1996, Australia did not send its ambassador to the ceremony, and Downer could only find time for a 30-minute meeting with him, which - considering the Australian policy on East Timor at the time - symbolically took place in Adelaide instead of in Canberra.⁶⁹ Throughout 1997 to 1999, Ramos-Horta commented on and criticised the Australian government's East Timor-policy. He spoke often at rallies and seminars in Australia. And he wrote letters and opinion pieces to newspapers⁷⁰, to the UN Secretary-General Annan⁷¹ and

⁶² See for example, Letter by Stephen Langford, 'Disarm the Timor militias', *The Australian*, 29 March 1999 and Letter by David Scott, *The Australian*, 18 January 1999, both from Australia East Timor Association

⁶³ See for example, Jill Rowbotham, 'Treaty sets Indonesian maritime boundaries', *The Australian*, 15 March 1997 and Adam Turner, 'Protester Who Lives In Fear', *The Age*, 16 May 1998 and Anonymous, 'Briefs', *The Age*, 9 May 1998

⁶⁴ Anonymous, 'Briefs', *The Age*, 13 November 1998

⁶⁵ Anonymous, 'Boycott calls as hunger strike starts', *The Australian*, 10 September 1999 and C. Fernandes, *Reluctant Saviour: Australia, Indonesia and the independence of East Timor*, pp. 88-93

⁶⁶ Peter Wilson, 'US urged to block Indonesia F-16 sale', *The Australian*, 27 February 1997

⁶⁷ Anonymous, 'Transitions', *The Age*, 18 March 1998

⁶⁸ Anonymous, 'Timorese demand better effort', *The Australian*, 2 April 1998

⁶⁹ C. Fernandes, *Reluctant Saviour: Australia, Indonesia and the independence of East Timor*, pp. 29-30

⁷⁰ Jose Ramos-Horta, Letter to *The Australian*, 'Downer's Timor policy commendable', *The Australian*, 19 January 1999 and Jose Ramos-Horta, 'No-one Need Fear E Timor', *Financial Review*,

so on. His voice was constantly there, ensuring that the East Timor-issue was never really forgotten. More specifically, he criticised Australia's military ties with the Indonesia army and urged the Howard government to alter its East Timor-policy in general.⁷² When the first slight shift came in January 1999, he praised the government's altered policy, saying that "he was thoroughly pleased",⁷³ with it and even applauded the "courage and statesmanship" of Howard and Downer.⁷⁴ However, not soon after, he was back criticising the government, this time over its scepticism over a viable independent East Timor, although he agrees the independence-process should not be too quick.⁷⁵

Unlike other activists Ramos-Horta did not initially call for a UN peacekeeping force in the lead-up to the ballot but he expressed concerns over the threat of the armed pro-Indonesia militia.⁷⁶ However, after the April-massacres he changed tone and urged the UN to take over security in East Timor, warning of more bloodshed. He urged Australia to take a stronger stand against Indonesia, calling for them "to expel Indonesia's military attaché in Canberra and suspend all financial assistance to Indonesia".⁷⁷ Although critical of the Australian government overall, he is quick to praise it when they find common ground. After meeting Downer in June 1999, he stated: "I am very pleased with this public denunciation of the role of the Indonesian army", referring to Downer's comments on indications that the military supported the

30 January 1999 and regarding speeches by Ramos-Horta in Australia see for example, Lindsay Murdoch, 'Suharto The Main Barrier To Timor Peace: Laureate', *The Age*, 6 February 1999 and Andrea Carson, 'Horta Launches 'betrayal' Attack Over East Timor', *The Age*, 2 December 1998 and Anonymous, 'Today's Diary', *Financial Review*, 9 March 1999

⁷¹ Megan Saunders, 'Timor police squad fears 'armed is dangerous'', *The Australian*, 5 May 1999

⁷² Gervase Greene, 'Howard In Freedom Call On East Timor', *The Age*, 26 May 1998 and Greg Earl and Geoffrey Barker, 'Indonesia Refuses Lawyer's Visit On East Timor Deaths', *Financial Review*, 30 November 1998 and Anonymous, 'Briefs', *Financial Review*, 2 December 1998 and A. Carson, 'Horta Launches 'betrayal' Attack Over East Timor', *The Age*, 2 December 1998

⁷³ Ian Davis, 'Timor Autonomy Support', *Financial Review*, 13 January 1999 and Gervase Greene, 'Freedom Hopes Mount', *The Age*, 13 January 1999

⁷⁴ J. Ramos-Horta, 'No-one Need Fear E Timor', *Financial Review*, 30 January 1999

⁷⁵ J. Ramos-Horta, Letter to The Australian, 'Downer's Timor policy commendable', *The Australian*, 19 January 1999 and Jill Jolliffe & Paul Daley, 'Howard Attacked Over Timor', *The Age*, 13 February 1999 and Paul Daley, 'Timor Policy Change Reconciles Old Allies', *The Age*, 27 January 1999 and G. Greene, 'Freedom Hopes Mount', *The Age*, 13 January 1999

⁷⁶ Brendan Nicholson, 'No Need For Troops, Say Timorese', *The Age*, 9 March 1999 and Rowan Callick, 'Disarm Militias Or 'There Will Be Bloodshed'', *Financial Review*, 19 March 1999 and Paul Daley, 'Soldiers Flooding East Timor: Report', *The Age*, 17 March 1999

⁷⁷ Robert Garran, 'PM told to cut Jakarta security ties', *The Australian*, 20 April 1999 and M. Saunders, 'Timor police squad fears 'armed is dangerous'', *The Australian*, 5 May 1999

pro-integration militia.⁷⁸ As it got closer to the vote, Ramos-Horta became much more critical of the Indonesian failure to provide security and now urged for more pressure, including economic sanctions, until Indonesia allowed a peacekeeping force to enter.⁷⁹ As mass violence broke out in East Timor in September 1999, Ramos-Horta kept pushing for a UN peacekeeping force to be sent in immediately.⁸⁰ By being so vocal, he added to the pressure the Australian government were under.

A few other interest groups deserve mentioning here. The Catholic Church helped keeping up the pressure, mainly through sister Susan Connelly and the Christian Sanctuary Network. Connelly had seven letters to *The Australian* published during 1999, constantly calling on the government to do more. One of her more memorable lines was: "For pity's sake, Australia, stop being a wimp!"⁸¹ The Christian Sanctuary Network declared that they had 7 000 Australians willing to hide East Timorese refugees if the government refused to allow them to stay in Australia.⁸²

Former diplomats, academics and former politicians also made their voice heard through opinion pieces and letters to newspapers. Former diplomats such as Richard Woolcott,⁸³ Bruce Haigh (ex-DFAT),⁸⁴ Duncan Campbell,⁸⁵ Bruce Grant,⁸⁶ and Rawdon Dalrymple,⁸⁷ all wrote in, or to, newspapers and offered their opinion on the East Timor-issue, as did former politicians such as Gareth Evans,⁸⁸ Bill Hayden,⁸⁹ Tom Uren,⁹⁰ Paul Keating,⁹¹ and John Hewson.⁹²

⁷⁸ Robert Garran, 'Timor will get to have its say – Ramos Horta', *The Australian*, 11 June 1999

⁷⁹ Anonymous, 'Time to get tough – Ramos Horta', *The Australian*, 28 August 1999 and Gay Alcorn, 'US Calls For Quick Action On Militias', *The Age*, 28 August 1999

⁸⁰ Brian Woodley, 'Call for force to back people's will', *The Australian*, 6 September 1999

⁸¹ Susan Connelly, 'Timor needs our troops, not lectures', Letter to *The Australian*, 9 April 1999

⁸² Thom Cookes, 'Thousands Offer To Hide East Timorese', *The Age*, 21 April 1997 and Mike Steketee, '10,000 offer refuge to E Timorese', *The Australian*, 24 September 1997

⁸³ See for example, Richard Woolcott, 'Volatile Indonesia Threat To Asian Accord', Opinion, *Financial Review*, 10 December 1998 and Richard Woolcott, 'It's Time To Recall A Treaty', Opinion, *Financial Review*, 19 January 1999 and Richard Woolcott, 'Asia Fatigue' And Dangerous Isolationism', Opinion, *Financial Review*, 6 May 1999

⁸⁴ See for example, Bruce Haigh, 'Foul play in two arenas', Letter to *The Australian*, 14 December 1998 and Bruce Haigh, Letter to *The Australian*, 23 April 1999

⁸⁵ Duncan Campbell, 'Time to get tough on Timor/The Bali summit ducked the big issue', *The Australian*, 29 April 1999

⁸⁶ Bruce Grant, 'A Free Timor May Be Too Much, Too Soon For Indonesia', Opinion, *Financial Review*, 31 August 1999

⁸⁷ Rawdon Dalrymple, 'Jakarta needs goading', *The Australian*, 12 June 1998

⁸⁸ Gareth Evans, 'Time For Diplomacy, Not Troops', *The Australian*, 21 April 1999

⁸⁹ Bill Hayden, 'An imposed order would fill body bags', *The Australian*, 9 April 1999

⁹⁰ Tom Uren, 'PM should show moral leadership', *The Australian*, 23 April 1999

Prominent academics and experts in the area also attempted to influence opinion and the government. Examples here include the executive director of the Australian Defence Association Michael O'Connor,⁹³ the director of the Asia-Pacific Security Program at the Australian National University's Strategic and Defence Studies Centre Alan Dupont,⁹⁴ Lecturer in International Relations at Deakin University Scott Burchill,⁹⁵ and the executive officer at the Monash Asia Institute Damien Kingsbury.⁹⁶

The influence of the Union movements also needs to be recognised. This came to pass in September 1999, when mass violence broke out in East Timor. The ACTU had considered boycotts and obstruction against Indonesian companies due to the violence in East Timor in late April/early May 1999,⁹⁷ however, it was the mass action taken by union movements in September 1999 that added to the pressure on Indonesia at the time, and thereby indirectly on the Australian government. Numerous boycotts were initiated against Indonesia targets, such as the Garuda-airline, "money transfers to Indonesia", "postal and telecommunications at all Indonesian businesses in Australia",⁹⁸ Indonesian ships left unloaded, no import of Indonesia crude oil, certain exports to Indonesia were stopped and many other similar actions.⁹⁹ The Unions also helped organise the protests taking place around Australia against the violence in East Timor.

⁹¹ Paul Keating, 'Strategic links offer a pivotal role in rebuilding our region', *The Australian*, 26 March 1999

⁹² John Hewson, 'Timor Makes Us Look Small', *Financial Review*, 10 September 1999

⁹³ Michael O'Connor, 'Our Forces Must Keep The Peace In East Timor', *The Australian*, 11 March 1999 and Michael O'Connor, 'We should supervise East Timor's transition', *The Australian*, 8 April 1999 and Michael O'Connor, 'Infant State will require sustenance', *The Australian*, 8 July 1999

⁹⁴ Alan Dupont, 'Who'll keep the peace in Timor?', *The Australian*, 6 July 1999 and Alan Dupont & Anthony Bergin, 'UN Force Critical To Peace In Timor', *Financial Review*, 29 March 1999

⁹⁵ Scott Burchill, Letter to *The Australian*, 22 May 1998 and Scott Burchill, Letter to *The Australian*, 26 July 1999 and Damien Kingsbury & Scott Burchill, Opinion, 'Stop Appeasing The Jakarta Lobby', *Financial Review*, 15 September 1999

⁹⁶ D. Kingsbury & S. Burchill, 'Stop Appeasing The Jakarta Lobby', Opinion, *Financial Review*, 15 September 1999

⁹⁷ Natalie O'Brien, 'Unions plan to take on Jakarta', *The Australian*, 27 April 1999 and Paul Robinson, 'Unions Plan Action On Timor Violence', *The Age*, 3 May 1999

⁹⁸ Anonymous, 'Violence met with embargo', *The Australian*, 7 September 1999 and Anonymous, 'Boycott call as hunger strike starts', *The Australian*, 10 September 1999 and Anonymous, 'The tide of protest swell', *The Australian*, 11 September 1999

⁹⁹ Nina Field, 'Unions Say Protests 'not Industrial'', *Financial Review*, 9 September 1999 and Nina Field, 'Union Ban On Crude Oil Imports', *Financial Review*, 10 September 1999 and Nina Field, 'Qantas Calls For Calm As Bans Bite', *Financial Review*, 11 September 1999

An interested party in the events of East Timor was BHP, which had begun working the oil-fields in the Timor Gap area in July 1998 and therefore had a stake in what would happen with East Timor.¹⁰⁰ An independent East Timor may have renegotiated the Timor Gap Treaty and as BHP stood to benefit hugely from future oil production in the area under the 1989 Timor Gap Treaty, it would have a large interest in developments in the East Timor's independence. Evidence of this can be seen from the visit by a BHP representative to Gusmao while he was still imprisoned in August 1998.¹⁰¹ However, it is difficult to estimate the possible influence and pressure BHP placed on the government but it would certainly have been very aware of the company's economic and resource interests.

Political Parties

The major significant influence on the government in this category is without a doubt Labor's change to its own longstanding policy on East Timor. By changing policy, it broke the 23 year-old bipartisan stand on East Timor and instead began putting pressure on the government to do the same. This change was mainly engineered by Shadow Foreign Minister Laurie Brereton. It became official in October 1997 that Labor had decided to change its longstanding policy on East Timor. The policy position stated: "It is Labor's considered view that no lasting solution to the conflict in East Timor is likely in the absence of a process of negotiation through which the people of East Timor can exercise their right of self-determination".¹⁰² The new policy was formally adopted in January 1998.¹⁰³ The change increased the pressure on the government regarding East Timor. James Cotton points to Labor's policy change as quite influential, as it led to a Senate inquiry on East Timor.¹⁰⁴ Clinton Fernandes argues that "The ALP's change of policy – and the resulting pressure on the

¹⁰⁰ Ian Davis, 'Political Debate Focuses On Oil Revenues Split', *Financial Review*, 14 January 1999

¹⁰¹ Gervase Greene & John Rouw, 'Timor Oil Deals Will Stay Despite Rights Bid', *The Age*, 21 August 1998 and Robert Garran & Don Greenlees, 'Secret Gusmao talks leave BHP red-faced', *The Australian*, 21 August 1998

¹⁰² Don Greenlees, 'Labor policy ups ante for autonomy in East Timor', *The Australian*, 18 October 1997 and Paul Chamberlain, 'ALP Flags East Timor Rethink', *The Age*, 25 October 1997 and Geoffrey Barker, 'Human Rights Issues To Take Centre Stage', *Financial Review*, 20 November 1997

¹⁰³ Louise Dodson, 'Brereton Promises Improved Relations With European Union', *Financial Review*, 23 January 1998 and C. Fernandes, *Reluctant Saviour: Australia, Indonesia and the independence of East Timor*, p. 31

¹⁰⁴ James Cotton, *East Timor, Australia and Regional Order: Intervention and its aftermath in Southeast Asia*, RoutledgeCurzon, London, 2004, p. 17

government – was a critical factor in the independence of East Timor”.¹⁰⁵ Whether it was a direct factor for East Timor’s eventual independence may be overstating it but he is certainly correct in “that the government had no comfort zone” after the bipartisan stance ceased to exist.¹⁰⁶

Laurie Brereton appears to be the man behind the shift. Bruce Haigh points to the critical role Brereton played in Labor’s policy change and the risk he was taking in attacking his own party’s past policies on East Timor.¹⁰⁷ He was the man leading the charge on the government’s East Timor-policy, after becoming more and more uncomfortable with his party’s position on East Timor vis-à-vis human rights, and deciding to work to alter the ALP’s stance on East Timor.¹⁰⁸ He was less vocal in 1998, although he demanded the government call for the release of Gusmao.¹⁰⁹ The Labor party saw the chance to add pressure on East Timor when Suharto stepped down and repeated its new position for an act of self-determination for East Timor.¹¹⁰ However, it is in 1999 that Labor, mainly through Brereton, steps up the pressure on the government. The government’s slight policy change in January 1999 “was cautiously welcomed” and Brereton referred to it as a possible “tentative step towards the position articulated by Labor over the past 15 months”.¹¹¹ But Labor and Brereton continued to clash with the government and kept up the pressure. Soon after these comments Labor began pushing for a UN peacekeeping force to be sent to East Timor, contrary to the view of the government, and continued to make this demand.¹¹² Brereton went on to criticise the outcome of the Bali summit that left Indonesia in charge of security in the lead-up to the ballot, stating: “Tragically, many more East Timorese may pay the price for Mr Howard’s failure”.¹¹³

¹⁰⁵ C. Fernandes, *Reluctant Saviour: Australia, Indonesia and the independence of East Timor*, p. 31

¹⁰⁶ C. Fernandes, *Reluctant Saviour: Australia, Indonesia and the independence of East Timor*, p. 31

¹⁰⁷ Bruce Haigh, *The Great Australian Blight: Losing the plot in Australian Foreign Policy*, Otford Press, Otford, 2001, p. 75

¹⁰⁸ Deborah Snow, ‘Laurie’s Last Stand’, *Sydney Morning Herald*, 17 July 1999

¹⁰⁹ Geoffrey Barker, ‘Downer Rules Out Further Aid For Indonesia At The Present’, *Financial Review*, 26 May 1998 and Robert Garran, ‘Downer overlooks Timorese prisoners’, *The Australian*, 25 May 1998

¹¹⁰ Robert Garran, ‘Timor about-face’, *The Australian*, 27 May 1998

¹¹¹ Robert Garran & Cameron Stewart, ‘Wary backing for Howard’s Timor reverse’, *The Australian*, 13 January 1999 and I. Davis, ‘Timor Autonomy Support’, *Financial Review*, 13 January 1999

¹¹² Geoffrey Barker, ‘Labor Party Row: Sparks Fly Over Former East Timor Policy’, *Financial Review*, 5 February 1999 and Robert Garran, ‘Rift over E Timor widens’, *The Australian*, 11 February 1999 and Robert Garran, ‘Portugal to play part in E Timor transition’, *The Australian*, 1 March 1999 and Lindsay Murdoch, ‘UN Gears Up For East Timor Vote’, *The Age*, 16 April 1999

¹¹³ Lindsay Murdoch, ‘PM Agrees To Send Police To East Timor’, *The Age*, 28 April 1999

As the ballot came closer, Brereton continued his calls for a peacekeeping force and for the government to keep using its influence with Indonesia to secure its permission for such a force.¹¹⁴ As violence increased in East Timor in September 1999, Brereton criticised the government for not doing enough and demanded “stronger action”, which should include, according to Labor, “immediate economic sanctions, the suspension of the defence relationship, withdrawal of *de jure* recognition of Indonesia’s incorporation of East Timor and a demand that Australia be involved in the Security Council discussion”.¹¹⁵ Labor thus consistently called for the government to do more thereby putting them under pressure. It was the initial policy change in 1997, led by Brereton to move Labor towards a more idealistic position on East Timor away from the previous pragmatic policy,¹¹⁶ that allowed for them to do so and that added to the mounting pressure facing the government during 1998 and 1999, particularly in September 1999.

The other, smaller political parties did not have any significant influence over the government’s policy making. The Greens urged stronger actions by the government and among other things told them in May 1998 after the fall of Suharto that they should end the military cooperation with Indonesia altogether, something which not even Labor supported at the time.¹¹⁷

International Factors

Global Factors

This section does not provide a direct influence on Australian decision-making on East Timor; rather, there are indirect influences in the actions taken on and against Indonesia by global actors such as the UN, the US, the EU, the IMF, the World Bank, Portugal and Nelson Mandela. These actions - or lack of action as the case may be - would have had an influence one way or the other on Australia’s decision-makers.

¹¹⁴ Ian Henderson, ‘Downer warns – don’t hurt Aussies’, *The Australian*, 2 August 1999 and Lindsay Murdoch, ‘Timor War Threat’, *The Age*, 23 August 1999

¹¹⁵ Michael Gordon, ‘Did We Do Enough?’, *The Age*, 11 September 1999

¹¹⁶ D. Snow, ‘Laurie’s Last Stand’, *Sydney Morning Herald*, 17 July 1999

¹¹⁷ R. Garran, ‘Timor about-face’, *The Australian*, 27 May 1998

The UN had been involved in the East Timor-issue since the Indonesian invasion in 1975. The General Assembly made annual resolutions from 1975 until 1982¹¹⁸ and the Security Council likewise condemned the invasion in 1975 and 1976.¹¹⁹ Attempts were made to reach a solution between Indonesia and Portugal on East Timor, beginning with negotiation in 1983, but this did not lead to much. However, the new Secretary-General Kofi Annan (1997-2007) took a special interest in the East Timor-issue and through his personal representative Jamsheed Marker the negotiations took off again after Suharto's resignation in 1998.¹²⁰ During 1998 and the first half of 1999 negotiations continued and despite a few bumps in the road it eventually led to the 5 May Agreement wherein a ballot would be held under UN supervision, although Indonesia would be in charge of security.¹²¹ The UN Mission in East Timor (UNAMET) would supervise the registration of voters and the ballot.¹²²

During 1997 to 1999, the UN criticised the Indonesian government for its human rights violations in East Timor and for not upholding security in the lead-up to the ballot and, of course, after the announcement of the ballot-result. The United Nations Human Rights Commission 1997 criticised Indonesia for a range of human rights violations in East Timor.¹²³ Violence remained a concern in 1999 when negotiations on the 5 May Agreement were under way. The April-massacres highlighted this concern and Marker and Annan both urged an end to the violence and urged Indonesia to ensure the safety and security of the East Timorese people.¹²⁴ Kofi Annan especially was vocal in condemning the militia violence in East Timor in the lead-up

¹¹⁸ United Nations General Assembly, 'Resolution 3485 of 12 December 1975', *Question of Timor*, and

¹¹⁸ United Nations General Assembly 'Resolution 31/53 of 1 December 1976', *Question of Timor*, and United Nations General Assembly 'Resolution 32/34 of 28 November 1977', *Question of Timor*, and United Nations General Assembly 'Resolution 33/39 of 13 December 1978', *Question of Timor*, and United Nations General Assembly 'Resolution 34/40 of 21 November 1979', *Question of Timor*, and United Nations General Assembly 'Resolution 35/27 of 11 November 1980', *Question of Timor*, and United Nations General Assembly 'Resolution 36/50 of 24 November 1981', *Question of Timor*, and United Nations General Assembly 'Resolution 37/30 of 23 November 1982', *Question of Timor*

¹¹⁹ United Nations Security Council, 'Resolution 384 of 22 December 1975', and United Nations Security Council, 'Resolution 389 of 22 April 1976'

¹²⁰ Ian Martin, *Self-Determination in East Timor: The United Nations, the Ballot, and International Intervention*, Lynne Rienner Publishers, Boulder, 2001, p. 19

¹²¹ I. Martin, *Self-Determination in East Timor: The United Nations, the Ballot, and International Intervention*, pp. 32-33

¹²² I. Martin, *Self-Determination in East Timor: The United Nations, the Ballot, and International Intervention*, pp. 37-39

¹²³ Patrick Walters, 'Jakarta mum on Timor rebuke', *The Australian*, 19 April 1997

¹²⁴ Tim Dodd, 'Peace Talks Are Postponed Due To East Timor Violence', *Financial Review*, 12 April 1999 and Tim Dodd, 'Army 'stood By As Activists Slain'', *Financial Review*, 19 April 1999 and Cameron Stewart, 'UN warns Indonesia over role in Timor', *The Australian*, 26 April 1999

to the ballot between May and August. Time and time again he called on the militia to stop the violence and on the Indonesian government to hold to its part of the agreement on security.¹²⁵ The Security Council issued statements in which they expressed “deep concern” on the violence in May 1999, and again in August when stating “strong concern at the continuing campaign of intimidation and violence in East Timor”.¹²⁶ Annan played a very important, visible and personal role in the East Timor-process and it was even more evident in September 1999. He stepped up the pressure on Indonesia as the violence escalated, issuing deadlines to Indonesia to stem the violence¹²⁷, while repeatedly phoning Habibie to urge him to accept a peacekeeping force.¹²⁸ His hands were tied, though, as his spokesperson Fred Eckhardt explained; the UN is not a world government and China would surely have vetoed any Security Council-resolutions on an intervention without Indonesian consent.¹²⁹ Still, Annan put constant pressure on the Indonesia government and thereby also indirectly on the Australian government.

The US House of Representatives criticised Indonesia for its human rights record in East Timor in 1997¹³⁰ and that was indicative of US actions against Indonesia during the 1997-1999 period. There were often calls for tougher action by the Indonesians to stop the violence in East Timor but just as often no concrete action. Stanley Roth, the Assistant Secretary of State for East Asia and Pacific Affairs, was the main person involved in relation to East Timor until September 1999 when Clinton and Albright become more actively involved. Roth and Albright both expressed the US’s worry over the increased violence in East Timor in February and March 1999 and both saw

¹²⁵ Mark Riley, ‘Don’t Squander This Chance: Annan’, *The Age*, 7 May 1999 and Mark Riley, ‘UN Push For Military Advisers’, *The Age*, 26 May 1999 and Tim Dodd, ‘Timor Factions In Last-gasp Peace Talks’, *Financial Review*, 1 July 1999 and Don Greenlees & Dennis Shanahan, ‘Bloodshed on eve of poll’, *The Australian*, 28 August 1999 and Paul Daley, ‘Thousands In Timor Rescue Plan’, *The Age*, 28 August 1999

¹²⁶ Mark Riley, ‘Security Council Warns On East Timor Violence’, *The Age*, 28 May 1999 and Lindsay Murdoch, ‘Jakarta Officials Set To Reject Poll’, *The Age*, 26 August 1999 and Robert Garran, ‘Timor fallback – stagger the vote’, *The Australian*, 26 August 1999

¹²⁷ Don Greenlees & Robert Garran, ‘Marching into tragedy’, *The Australian*, 8 September 1999 and Mark Riley, ‘UN Likely To Approve Emergency Mission’, *The Age*, 9 September 1999 and Mark Riley, ‘Security Council Fails To Act, Again’, *The Age*, 11 September 1999

¹²⁸ Mark Riley, ‘UN Gives Jakarta Toughest Warning’, *The Age*, 8 September 1999 and Mark Riley, ‘A Plea To Stay On From The UN’s Top Man’, *The Age*, 10 September 1999

¹²⁹ Mark Riley, ‘Folly Of United Nations That Are Not United’, *The Age*, 11 September 1999

¹³⁰ Colleen Ryan, ‘US-Indonesia Rift Widens Over East Timor Call’, *Financial Review*, 12 June 1997 and Colleen Ryan, ‘US-Indonesia Tiff’, *Financial Review*, 16 June 1997

the need for an “international presence” in East Timor.¹³¹ No concrete actions were taken, though, and neither were they after the April-massacres, apart from again supporting an “international presence” in East Timor, and urging Indonesia to take control over security in East Timor and stop the militia violence.¹³² However, as Joanne Gray stated, the US was already heavily involved in Kosovo, as well as in Iraq with UNSCOM and in enforcing its own initiated no-fly zones, at the time, which partly explains why they criticised Indonesia but did not take concrete action, as well as the lack of action up until the APEC-summit in September.¹³³ When violence continued in the lead-up to the ballot, the US State Department and Stanley Roth issued strong warnings over and over again to the Indonesia government to halt its support for the pro-integration militia and to stop the violence.¹³⁴ President Clinton also got involved by writing a letter to Habibie in August to try to emphasise how seriously the US looked at the situation.¹³⁵ However, the US did not impose any economic sanctions on Indonesia and neither did it plan to take part in any possible peacekeeping force, which eroded the strength of its repeated warnings.¹³⁶ It is not until President Clinton was about to leave for the APEC-summit on 9 September that word was put into action by cutting US military links with Indonesia and possibly stopping financial aid as well. It seems to have been effective as Indonesia capitulated only days later and allowed a force to enter East Timor. The US did not press Indonesia with concrete actions but rather with strong statements, which would have reinforced Australia’s stance rather than influenced them to change.

¹³¹ Don Greenlees, ‘Violence a risk to E Timor autonomy – US’, *The Australian*, 6 February 1999 and Lindsay Murdoch, ‘Timor Rejects Autonomy’, *The Age*, 8 March 1999 and Don Greenlees, ‘Habibie wins Albright okay’, *The Australian*, 6 March 1999

¹³² Brian Toohey, ‘Velcro Diplomacy May Stick’, *Financial Review*, 10 April 1999 and T. Dodd, ‘Army ‘stood By As Activists Slain’’, *Financial Review*, 19 April 1999

¹³³ Joanne Gray, ‘Why The US Is So Hands Off’, *Financial Review*, 1 May 1999, regarding UNSCOM and the no-fly zones, see Dilip Hiro, *Iraq: A Report from the Inside*, Granta Publications, London, 2003, pp. 146-49

¹³⁴ John Zubrzycki, ‘Timor vote delay a threat to Jakarta’, *The Australian*, 18 June 1999 and Tim Dodd, ‘Aid Donors Warn Indonesia’, *Financial Review*, 29 July 1999 and Tim Dodd, ‘UN Gives The Go-ahead For Timor Ballot’, *Financial Review*, 16 July 1999 and Paul Daley, ‘US Warns Indonesia Over Violence’, *The Age*, 27 August 1999

¹³⁵ Joanne Gray, ‘A Fair Referendum Or Else, US Warns Indonesia’, *Financial Review*, 30 August 1999

¹³⁶ Joanne Gray, ‘Funds The Strongest Lever Over Habibie’, *Financial Review*, 27 August 1999 and J. Gray, ‘A Fair Referendum Or Else, US Warns Indonesia’, *Financial Review*, 30 August 1999 and Gay Alcorn, ‘US Calls For Quick Action On Militias’, *The Age*, 28 August 1999 and Joanne Gray, ‘US Rejects Australia’s Call For Troops’, *Financial Review*, 9 September 1999

The IMF and the World Bank only play a part at the end of the process in September 1999 but it is a crucial part, as it led to Indonesia giving in on the peacekeeping demands. As major lenders to Indonesia they had the leverage to press them when violence escalated in the beginning of September and the international community tried to figure out how to get Indonesia to accept peacekeeping troops. By refusing or delaying further payments to Indonesia, the IMF and the World Bank asserted tough pressure, which would certainly have played a part in Indonesia finally giving in. The IMF warned Indonesia on 8 September that future payments of up to \$US6 billion were at risk unless they curbed the violence in East Timor and a few days later called off a delegation to Jakarta that was to discuss the next set of payments.¹³⁷ However, its threats came after the Howard government had already changed its policy, so IMF and World Bank pressure on Australian decision-making would have been minimal.

Briefly worth mentioning in this section is Portugal and Nelson Mandela. Because of its role as the former colonial ruler in East Timor, Portugal was therefore a party to UN negotiations over the future of the territory. Portugal would have had only a minor influence, if any, on the Australian government but made its voice heard anyway. Portugal took Australia to the International Court of Justice, challenging the legality of the Timor Gap Treaty, but the court concluded in June 1995 that the treaty was indeed legal. However, the case managed to put some light on the situation regarding East Timor.¹³⁸ Portugal called for a peacekeeping force in April after the massacres and again when violence broke out in early September.¹³⁹ It added to the international storm of protest against Indonesia. This was further assisted when Nelson Mandela turned world attention on East Timor in July 1997 when he visited Gusmao in jail and urged his release. Mandela's stature as a statesman and global reputation helped in putting international focus on the East Timor-issue.¹⁴⁰ According

¹³⁷ Joanne Gray, 'Review Of Global Lending To Jakarta Waits Two Weeks', *Financial Review*, 7 September 1999 and Joanne Gray, 'Indonesia Warned Funds At Risk', *Financial Review*, 9 September 1999 and Tim Dodd, 'Jakarta Defies World Pressure', *Financial Review*, 9 September 1999 and Tim Dodd, 'Indonesia Paints Itself Into Tight Economic Corner', *Financial Review*, 13 September 1999

¹³⁸ Pedro Pinto Leite, 'East Timor and Western Sahara: A Comparative Perspective', in *The East Timor Question: The Struggle for Independence from Indonesia*, eds. P. Hainsworth & S. McCloskey, I. B. Tauris, London, 2000, p. 175

¹³⁹ T. Dodd, 'Army 'stood By As Activists Slain'', *Financial Review*, 19 April 1999 and Mark Riley, 'Progress In UN Timor Talks, But No Accord', *The Age*, 24 April 1999 and M. Riley, 'Jakarta Faces UN's Wrath', *The Age*, 3 September 1999

¹⁴⁰ Patrick Walters, 'Mandela met jailed East Timor activist', *The Australian*, 23 July 1997 and Patrick Walters, 'Mandela presses Jakarta to release E Timorese leader', *The Australian*, 1 August 1997

to Ramos-Horta Mandela “ ... had never met anyone as impressive as Xanana”.¹⁴¹ Gusmao also met with other prominent statesmen.¹⁴²

Regional Factors

The strongest actor in this category is not ASEAN, APEC or New Zealand but Xanana Gusmao and Bishop Belo.¹⁴³ These two leaders repeatedly urged the Australian government to take action against Indonesia regarding East Timor, Gusmao from his prison cell or house arrest and Belo from East Timor. Particularly Gusmao frequently appeared in Australian newspapers as a symbol for the East Timorese resistance and struggle towards independence.

Despite being in jail, Gusmao's voice was often heard and his criticism of Australia's policy on East Timor, together with Ramos-Horta, certainly added to the continuous pressure on the Howard government. He also met with the UN representative for East Timor Jamsheed Marker¹⁴⁴, US Secretary of State Madeleine Albright¹⁴⁵ and even Alexander Downer¹⁴⁶ himself, indicating Australia's perceived importance in the process. His comments therefore weighed heavily and caught the attention of the Australian government. In similar style to Ramos-Horta, Gusmao often criticised the Australian government but also praised them when they moved closer to his own position. Gusmao argued for a longer period of autonomy within Indonesia for East Timor in December 1998, and in that particular aspect he shared the view of the Australian government's policy shift that became public a month later.¹⁴⁷ However, his comments to the policy shift reflected some bitterness towards past Australian policy, saying that it was “long-overdue” and “we will not be throwing a party to celebrate”.¹⁴⁸ Gusmao was disappointed with Australia's integrationist position for East Timor within Indonesia.¹⁴⁹ Furthermore, he first called for a UN peacekeeping

¹⁴¹ Don Greenlees, ‘East Timor's reluctant hero’, *The Australian*, 13 February 1999

¹⁴² P. Walters, ‘Mandela met jailed East Timor activist’, *The Australian*, 23 July 1997

¹⁴³ Indonesia will be discussed in the Bilateral Relations section

¹⁴⁴ Anonymous, ‘Briefs’, *The Age*, 18 December 1998

¹⁴⁵ Lindsay Murdoch & Louise Williams, ‘Timor Militia Withdraws Threat To Kill’, *The Age*, 6 March 1999

¹⁴⁶ Tim Dodd & Greg Earl, ‘Aid Workers Flee E Timor’, *Financial Review*, 27 February 1999 and Geoffrey Barker, ‘The Troubled Birth Of East Timor’, *Financial Review*, 27 February 1999

¹⁴⁷ Lindsay Murdoch, ‘Jailed Timor Leader May Be New Governor’, *The Age*, 17 December 1998 and Anonymous, ‘Gusmao's call’, *The Australian*, 17 December 1998

¹⁴⁸ Louise Williams, ‘Timor Leader Scorns Shift’, *The Age*, 14 January 1999

¹⁴⁹ Robert Garran, ‘Hesitant Howard a regret’, *The Australian*, 13 February 1999

force to be sent into East Timor in March 1999 and repeated that call in April and May as violence flared up in East Timor, counter to the Australian view.¹⁵⁰ He continued to add pressure to the Australian government for them to “urgently pressure the Indonesian President, the Government and, in particular, the Minister for Defence” stating this in a letter to Ambassador McCarthy¹⁵¹, and by making statements like “My people are disappointed. We expected some strong, public condemnation (from Australia).”¹⁵²

Gusmao kept making statements in the lead-up to the vote, again urging the need for a UN peacekeeping force to stem the violence.¹⁵³ He was finally freed from his house arrest in September 1999 after the vote¹⁵⁴ and spoke at a rally in Melbourne when the protests were at its height, where he pleaded “I thank our friends, the people of Australia, my brothers and sisters, Australian workers and Australian students. Please help us, please help me to save my people”, pointedly leaving out the Australian government in his thanks.¹⁵⁵ This only days after his father allegedly had been killed in the violence in East Timor.¹⁵⁶ He continued throughout to be a direct and indirect voice of criticism of the Australian government’s East Timor policy.

Catholic Bishop Carlos Belo was another strong East Timorese voice, like Ramos-Horta and Gusmao. Belo shared the Nobel Peace Prize with Ramos-Horta in 1996 and was based in East Timor from where he fought for East Timor’s cause. He met with US President Clinton¹⁵⁷ as well as President Habibie¹⁵⁸ to outline his arguments. He also made several comments and statements that kept the East Timor-issue on the agenda and thereby served as yet another – direct or indirect – critic of Australia’s

¹⁵⁰ Tim Dodd, ‘Habibie For Talks In Aceh’, *Financial Review*, 26 March 1999 and Tim Dodd, ‘Xanana: Struggle Time Leader’, *Financial Review*, 27 April 1999 and Tim Dodd, ‘Aceh Death Toll Expected To Double’, *Financial Review*, 6 May 1999

¹⁵¹ Paul Daley, ‘Downer Sets Out Timor Troops Plan’, *The Age*, 1 April 1999

¹⁵² Mark Riley, ‘US Tells Jakarta To Curb Violence’, *The Age*, 1 May 1999

¹⁵³ Craig Skehan, ‘Mind Your Own Business, Says Jakarta’, *The Age*, 28 August 1999

¹⁵⁴ Tim Dodd, ‘Freed Gusmao Takes Refuge In UK Embassy In Jakarta’, *Financial Review*, 8 September 1999

¹⁵⁵ Anonymous, ‘The tide of protest swells’, *The Australian*, 11 September 1999

¹⁵⁶ Peter Alford, ‘Gusmao’s father killed by militia, says priest’, *The Australian*, 10 September 1999 and Anonymous, ‘Briefs’, *The Age*, 10 September 1999

¹⁵⁷ Anonymous, ‘Clinton backs Belo’, *The Australian*, 19 June 1997

¹⁵⁸ Don Greenlees, ‘Belo, Habibie speak their peace’, *The Australian*, 25 June 1998

policy. Belo brought severe criticism on Indonesia and its behaviour in East Timor.¹⁵⁹ When the Indonesian offer of either autonomy or independence for East Timor was presented, Belo stated the need for a longer period of transition before independence but it was clear that independence was always the end goal.¹⁶⁰ He appealed for Australian assistance in the process¹⁶¹, and as violence escalated in the lead-up to the ballot he urgently called for peacekeepers to be sent in to East Timor.¹⁶² He finally had to flee East Timor on 7 September as the violence flared.¹⁶³

ASEAN did not serve as an influence for change in regards to Australia's East Timor policy, essentially because of its non-interventionist stand, worrying "that East Timor could set a precedent for Western interference in the internal affairs of other member states using the norm of humanitarian intervention as justification".¹⁶⁴ The ASEAN countries were therefore cautious to support an interventionist line of action in the case of East Timor.¹⁶⁵ Thus, the other ASEAN countries had little interest in calling for the Australian government to be tougher on Indonesia, rather the opposite is true. It is possible, though, that a statement by the Philippines for Indonesia to stop the violence and the offer of assistance to a possible peacekeeping force by Malaysia and Thailand on 7 September 1999 helped influence Indonesia to accept it a few days later.¹⁶⁶

APEC did not in itself play a role in Australia's position on East Timor; however, the fortunate timing of the APEC-summit in mid-September 1999 meant that it was used to place pressure on Indonesia, as it gathered the regional leaders at the same place, allowing them to make a concerted effort.¹⁶⁷ President Habibie choose not to attend,

¹⁵⁹ See for example, Louise Williams, 'Bishop Deplores Rape Of East Timor Women', *The Age*, 17 July 1998

¹⁶⁰ Louise Williams, 'Dili Bishop Accuses The Militias', *The Age*, 5 February 1999

¹⁶¹ Tom Hyland, 'Belo Calls For Australia's Help', *The Age*, 17 February 1999

¹⁶² Lindsay Murdoch, 'Bishop Lashes Jakarta Rule', *The Age*, 25 August 1999

¹⁶³ Anonymous, 'Gusmao freed as Bishop flees', *The Australian*, 8 September 1999

¹⁶⁴ Alan Dupont, 'ASEAN's Response to the East Timor Crisis', *Australian Journal of International Affairs*, Vol. 54, No. 2, 2000, p. 164

¹⁶⁵ A. Dupont, 'ASEAN's Response to the East Timor Crisis', pp. 163-70 See also, Lindsay Murdoch, 'ASEAN Rejects Pressure For More Activist Policy', *The Age*, 24 July 1998 and Geoffrey Barker, 'The Troubled Birth Of East Timor', *Financial Review*, 27 February 1999

¹⁶⁶ Greg Earl, 'Crisis Talks In Auckland As APEC Gathers', *Financial Review*, 8 September 1999

¹⁶⁷ Brendan Pearson, 'Leaders Back New Round Of Negotiations', *Financial Review*, 14 September 1999

however APEC lobbying and discussion appeared to work, as Habibie declared on 12 September that peacekeepers would be allowed, just as APEC held its meetings.¹⁶⁸

NZ probably did not have any major influence over Australia's East Timor-policy; however, it was a symbolic move when a large majority of New Zealand parliamentarians in May 1999 officially protested against the militia-led violence in East Timor by handing over a petition to the Indonesian ambassador to disarm the militia and to provide for a peacekeeping force.¹⁶⁹ Apart from that, New Zealand played a minor, if any, part in influencing the Australian government.

Bilateral Relations

The two most important bilateral relationships for Australia in relation to the East Timor-issue were Australia-Indonesia and Australia-US. These two will be looked at in this section and how either of them may have influenced Australia's decision-making process. Neither directly influenced Australia to change its policy, instead they served to reinforce Australia's position.

The Australian relationship with Indonesia over East Timor had been characterised by successive Australian governments giving support to Indonesia's claim of sovereignty over East Timor. "Quiet diplomacy" was the preferred method as Howard did not believe that "a confrontational approach" would lead anywhere and furthermore, he believed the East Timorese simply had "to accept its place as an integral part of Indonesia".¹⁷⁰ The overall relationship took precedence over the issue of East Timor. This is very much the situation in the investigated period as well, all the way up to the policy shift in September, when the relationship finally breaks down. Downer saw the potential for a final settlement of the East Timor-issue when Suharto stepped down and Habibie announced the possibility of 'Special status' for East Timor.¹⁷¹ The Australian government worked towards that goal but a sense that there was not

¹⁶⁸ Anonymous, 'The Perils Of Peacekeeping', *Financial Review*, 14 September 1999

¹⁶⁹ Anonymous, 'Jakarta Asked To Act On Guns', *The Age*, 12 May 1999

¹⁷⁰ John Howard, 'Transcript of address by the Prime Minister The Hon John Howard MP Dinner hosted by the Foreign Policy Association New York', 30 June 1997

¹⁷¹ Department of Foreign Affairs and Trade, *East Timor in Transition 1998-2000. An Australian Policy Challenge*, pp. 24-25

sufficient progress led to the Howard letter sent to Habibie in December 1998.¹⁷² The Indonesian reaction to the letter and the slight Australian policy shift was overall negative. Habibie said that “he would not be dictated to on East Timor” and the official comment stated that “we are certainly concerned and deeply regret that the Australian Government has changed its policy on East Timor”.¹⁷³ The relationship had taken its first blow since Habibie took over as President. The increased violence in East Timor in February-April 1999 tested the relationship further. The two April-massacres caused Howard to ask for a meeting with Habibie in an attempt to use whatever influence Australia might have to get Indonesia to stop the cycle of violence in East Timor. Although careful not to sound aggressive, Howard still stated “that there was an unmistakeable impression in Australia that ABRI was turning a blind eye”.¹⁷⁴ However, any notion that Australia would be able to persuade Indonesia to accept international peacekeepers amounted to nothing, as Habibie refused to allow any in.¹⁷⁵

The relationship deteriorated further in the lead-up to the ballot as the violence continued. The Indonesian government questioned Australia’s objectivity and stated “Australia cannot act as a godfather”.¹⁷⁶ The “quiet diplomacy” approach continued with DFAT saying Australia had complained a total of 120 times to Indonesia about the situation in East Timor.¹⁷⁷ Howard repeatedly phoned Habibie on the security situation both before and after the ballot.¹⁷⁸ However, his calls had no effect on the situation on the ground and after the result of the ballot was announced large scale violence broke out. The relationship reached meltdown at this point and the “quiet

¹⁷² D. Greenlees & R. Garran, *Deliverance: The inside story of East Timor’s fight for freedom*, pp. 84-85 and Department of Foreign Affairs and Trade, *East Timor in Transition 1998-2000. An Australian Policy Challenge*, p. 29

¹⁷³ Department of Foreign Affairs and Trade, *East Timor in Transition 1998-2000. An Australian Policy Challenge*, p. 32 and Louise Williams & Penelope Debelle, ‘Jakarta Hits Timor Shift’, *The Age*, 13 January 1999

¹⁷⁴ John Howard, ‘Transcript of the Prime Minister the Hon John Howard MP, Press Conference Parliament House, Canberra’, 19 April 1999

¹⁷⁵ H. White, ‘The Road to INTERFET: Reflections on Australian Strategic Decisions Concerning East Timor, December 1998-September 1999’, p. 79

¹⁷⁶ Lindsay Murdoch, ‘Ties Strained, Indons Warn’, *The Age*, 22 July 1999

¹⁷⁷ Sian Powell, ‘Timor brass shuffle tipped as peace hope’, *The Australian*, 14 August 1999, However, Bruce Haigh questions that number, see B. Haigh, *The Great Australian Blight: Losing the plot in Australian Foreign Policy*, p. 74

¹⁷⁸ Geoffrey Barker, ‘PM Presses Jakarta On Timor’, *Financial Review*, 30 August 1999 and Paul Daley, ‘Canberra Considers Timor Options’, *The Age*, 30 August 1999 and Geoffrey Barker, ‘Anatomy Of A Crisis’, *Financial Review*, 11 September 1999

diplomacy” approach was thrown aside. Different actions were contemplated, such as cutting military links and stopping financial aid. Australia appealed to Indonesia to stop the violence, warning it may be internationally isolated if nothing was done.¹⁷⁹ The “quiet diplomacy” had led to nothing and animosity instead became a feature of the relationship. Australia’s relations with Indonesia served as an obstacle to change rather than as an influence to change. The overall approach to maintain good relations with Indonesia meant that the Australian government was careful not to look too aggressive on the East Timor-issue, which of course meant not making any drastic changes and this reinforced the status quo.

The Australia-US relationship over East Timor did not serve as an influence for change. Rather, the US reluctance to contribute to a peacekeeping force was a source of irritation for the Australian government when they had decided to finally change policy. Stanley Roth and Ashley Calvert met in February 1999, after the slight Australian policy shift, to discuss the new situation and how to prevent violence on the ground in East Timor to get out of hand. At that stage, Roth floated the idea of a peacekeeping force but the notion was rejected by Calvert, as Australia at that time was against a peacekeeping force in East Timor, instead focussing on a diplomatic approach.¹⁸⁰ That would soon change but the irony was the American reluctance to commit to a peacekeeping force in September 1999 when Australia began pushing for one. The US had indicated that it wanted a large Australian part in a potential peacekeeping force after the ballot but in meetings between Roth and Calvert in July, Australia was still hesitant to declare any such commitment for fear of upsetting its Indonesia-relations.¹⁸¹ Any policy difference between Australia and the US was denied¹⁸² but tension increased in September when Australia wanted an American commitment to a peacekeeping force. The Americans for their part left it to Australia

¹⁷⁹ Tony Wright, ‘Indon Military Ties Loosened’, *The Age*, 11 September 1999 and Tim Colebatch, ‘Sanctions World’s Last Resort’, *The Age*, 11 September 1999 and Robert Garran, ‘Outrage as ambassador is shot at’, *The Australian*, 7 September 1999 and Robert Garran & Richard McGregor & Don Greenlees, ‘Tears for the slaughtered’, *The Australian*, 11 September 1999

¹⁸⁰ H. White, ‘The Road to INTERFET: Reflections on Australian Strategic Decisions Concerning East Timor, December 1998-September 1999’, p. 76 and D. Greenlees & R. Garran, *Deliverance: The inside story of East Timor’s fight for freedom*, pp. 151-52

¹⁸¹ Brian Toohey, ‘Govt Fails To Keep Peace With US’, *Financial Review*, 31 July 1999

¹⁸² Sean Aylmer, ‘Timor: Downer Says There’s No Rift With US’, *Financial Review*, 2 August 1999 and Anonymous, ‘Rift Denied With US Over Timor’, *The Age*, 3 August 1999

to call for such a force and to take charge.¹⁸³ The Australia-US alliance was somewhat shaken when Howard and Downer in an unusual direct manner asked for US assistance on East Timor in September 1999. Howard referred to previous Australian commitments to American-led operations when he spoke to Clinton, and it was understood that Australia now expected something back.¹⁸⁴ Howard's comment on 10 September indicates Australia's disappointment on the American position: "I understand the Americans have broken their military ties (with Indonesia),"..."I understand those military ties are worth \$700,000 a year. I'd rather they publicly offer some troops and keep their military ties, quite frankly". He continued: "I don't think the Americans have yet put as much pressure on as we would like".¹⁸⁵ Howard's disappointment with the US can certainly be detected in these remarks and shows the limited interest of the US in East Timor.

Non-State Actors

There were two types of actors in this category that may have had an influence on the Australian government, if only indirect. One is human rights organisations, such as Amnesty International, Human Rights Watch and the Carter Center. The other is East Timor activists such as the East Timor Action Network and the International Federation for East Timor.

Amnesty International continuously reported on human rights violations in East Timor.¹⁸⁶ It also criticised the Australian government in 1997 on its human rights record on East Timor refugees "and its reluctance to condemn human rights violations in Indonesia and East Timor".¹⁸⁷ Downer responded that the criticism was "disgraceful, gratuitous and based on ignorance of Australia's policies in relation to

¹⁸³ Joanne Gray; 'Australia Responsible For E Timor, Says US', *Financial Review*, 4 September 1999

¹⁸⁴ Robert Garran & Dennis Shanahan, 'PM doubles peacekeepers numbers', *The Australian*, 10 September 1999

¹⁸⁵ M. Gordon, 'Did We Do Enough', *The Age*, 11 September 1999

¹⁸⁶ See for example, Amnesty International, 'Indonesia: East Timor spiralling into violence', 15 April 1999 <http://www.amnesty.org/en/library/asset/ASA21/027/1999/en/dom-ASA210271999en.html> [Accessed 16 September 2008] and Amnesty International, 'Indonesia/East Timor: Fear for safety/Arbitrary arrests/ Unlawful killings', 20 November 1998 <http://www.amnesty.org/en/library/asset/ASA21/102/1998/en/dom-ASA211021998en.html> [Accessed 16 September 2008] or Louise Williams, 'Suharto Alerts Reserves To Civil Unrest', *The Age*, 8 March 1997

¹⁸⁷ Jennifer Hewitt, 'Downer Strikes Out At Amnesty', *The Age*, 2 October 1997

East Timor”.¹⁸⁸ His angry response shows that Amnesty touched a raw nerve with the government and that there was some basis to the claims. Amnesty International helped keep up the pressure on the government with its numerous reports on the on-the ground situation in East Timor. For example, Amnesty International released a report in June 1999 which showed the “distinct pattern of human rights violations in East Timor, which began before the 5 May Agreement were signed and has continued since the, creating an atmosphere of insecurity and intimidation”. Amnesty International showed the direct link between the Indonesian military and the pro-integrationist militia.¹⁸⁹ Amnesty International kept up its criticism of the violence in East Timor in the lead-up to the ballot, warning of the danger facing voters and during the violence that broke out afterwards.¹⁹⁰ Throughout the crisis, Amnesty International served to keep the spotlight on the atrocities committed in East Timor, which would have indirectly added to the pressure on the government.

Human Rights Watch and the Carter Center similarly reported on the human rights violations in East Timor and thereby kept highlighting the East Timor-issue to the Australian public and government. Human Rights Watch produced reports, such as the “Indonesia/East Timor: Deteriorating human rights in East Timor”-report of 1997¹⁹¹ and commented on specific events. By doing that, it ensured that violations were taken up by newspapers and brought to public attention, adding to the pressure.¹⁹² The Carter Center issued reports in July and August 1999 on pre- and post-ballot violence in East Timor, stating “no significant improvements in the security situation in East Timor or fulfilment by the Government of Indonesia (GOI) of its security obligations under the 5 May New York agreements”, and also showing the link between Indonesian military and the pro-integrationist militia. They also

¹⁸⁸ Cameron Stewart, ‘Downer takes aim at ‘ignorant’ Amnesty’, *The Australian*, 2 October 1997

¹⁸⁹ Amnesty International, ‘East Timor: Seize the moment’, 21 June 1999, <http://www.amnesty.org/en/library/asset/ASA21/049/1999/en/dom-ASA210491999en.html> [Accessed 13 February 2009]

¹⁹⁰ Amnesty International, ‘Indonesia (East Timor): Failure to curb continuing violence threatens long-term stability’, 18 August 1999 <http://www.amnesty.org/en/library/asset/ASA21/094/1999/en/dom-ASA210941999en.html> [Accessed 13 February 2009] and Amnesty International, ‘Indonesia/East Timor: Attacks on nuns, priests and church workers’, 8 September 1999, <http://www.amnesty.org/en/library/asset/ASA21/137/1999/en/dom-ASA211371999en.html> [Accessed 13 February 2009]

¹⁹¹ Human Rights Watch, ‘Indonesia/East Timor: Deteriorating Human Rights in East Timor’, 1 September 1997 <http://www.hrw.org/reports/1997/indtimor/> [Accessed 16 September 2008]

¹⁹² See for example, Patrick Walters, ‘Military holds 68 in Timor unrest’, *The Australian*, 3 July 1997 and Anonymous, ‘Call for World Bank to pressure Jakarta’, *The Australian*, 22 April 1999 and Joanne Gray, ‘US Censure Of Jakarta Falls Short Of Intervention’, *Financial Review*, 3 September 1999

reported on being forced to leave East Timor under threat from the militia.¹⁹³ Together with Amnesty International and Human Rights Watch, they all painted a gruesome picture of the state of affairs there. Overall, these organisations had an indirect influence but on a minor scale in terms of influencing the Australian government.

Key Decision-Makers

Howard and Downer were the two main decision-makers in relation to the East Timor-issue. Downer took care of the day-to-day affairs, at least during 1997 and 1998. He still did so in 1999 but Howard took on a larger role beginning with the letter he sent to Habibie in December 1998. Once it gets to April and the Bali summit, and definitely by September 1999, Howard had taken control of the decision-making process.

Greg Hunt argues that Downer first thought of a possible way to solve the East Timor-issue in February 1998. According to Hunt, he instructed DFAT to look at policy alternatives.¹⁹⁴ The situation then changed with the fall of Suharto and Downer began exploring new ways to perhaps solve the East Timor-issue. Downer himself stated: “We thought it would be good to resolve the East Timor issue once and for all”.¹⁹⁵ Downer believed that the East Timorese had to take part in the process or any agreement would never gain support on the ground in East Timor.¹⁹⁶ Downer again asked DFAT in the second half of 1998 to look at ways to help the process along towards East Timorese autonomy. The thinking that the East Timorese had to be involved led to the idea of some sort of autonomy for East Timor within Indonesia as

¹⁹³ See Carter Center, ‘Pre-Election Statement on East Timor Elections, Aug. 16, 1999’, 17 August 1999 <http://www.cartercenter.org/news/documents/doc268.html> [Accessed 16 September 2008] and Carter Center, ‘Postelection Statement on East Timor elections, Sept. 6, 1999’, 6 September 1999, <http://www.cartercenter.org/news/documents/doc270.html> [Accessed 16 September 2008] See also, Tim Dodd, ‘Downer To Assess Timor Ballot’, *Financial Review*, 21 July 1999

¹⁹⁴ Greg Hunt, ‘Timor peace plan more palatable after dinner/Dinner put E Timor peace plan on table’, *The Australian*, 14 January 1999

¹⁹⁵ D. Greenlees & R. Garran, *Deliverance: The inside story of East Timor’s fight for freedom*, pp. 80-81

¹⁹⁶ Department of Foreign Affairs and Trade, *East Timor in Transition 1998-2000. An Australian Policy Challenge*, p. 28 and 30

a way for resolving the issue.¹⁹⁷ Downer was clearly the driving actor of the two at this stage of the process.¹⁹⁸

As Alison McPhail argues, it appears that Howard become more involved as the slight policy shift became public in early 1999.¹⁹⁹ Downer still was the main face outward on the issue, however Howard increased his visibility. The concerns over the increasing violence in East Timor in February and March, culminating with the two massacres in April, led Howard to himself take the initiative for a meeting with Habibie in Bali at the end of April.²⁰⁰ By now, it seems that Howard had taken a leading role in the decision-making process. By late August and early September Howard was clearly acting the statesman and led the decision-making. He is constantly on the phone with Habibie, Clinton and Annan, trying to, at first, ensure security for the ballot and its aftermath, and then when that fails to occur, he works towards getting Indonesia to accept a peacekeeping force. He is also very visible in terms of press conferences and interviews to get his government's view out to the public. McPhail argues that Howard responds to domestic pressures and it is evident that as a pragmatic politician, he aims to respond to the public outcry to "do something",²⁰¹. The Bali summit is partly a response to domestic pressure and the more aggressive stance in September is certainly also at least partly due to domestic pressure.²⁰²

Howard and Downer's pragmatic and realist approach to foreign policy explains the long standing view of theirs that overall relations with Indonesia superseded the issue of East Timor. Downer's initial approaches seem to focus on solving the issue rather than concern for human rights. As the process continues throughout 1999, the

¹⁹⁷ See for example, D. Greenlees & R. Garran, *Deliverance: The inside story of East Timor's fight for freedom*, pp. 84-87 and Department of Foreign Affairs and Trade, *East Timor in Transition 1998-2000. An Australian Policy Challenge*, pp. 28-32 and H. White, 'The Road to INTERFET: Reflections on Australian Strategic Decisions Concerning East Timor, December 1998-September 1999', pp. 71-73

¹⁹⁸ Indications of that in H. White, 'The Road to INTERFET: Reflections on Australian Strategic Decisions Concerning East Timor, December 1998-September 1999', p. 73

¹⁹⁹ Alison McPhail, *John Howard's Leadership of Australian Foreign Policy 1996 to 2004: East Timor and the war against Iraq*, Doctoral thesis, Department of Politics and Public Policy, Griffith University, 2007, pp. 123 & 125

²⁰⁰ D. Greenlees & R. Garran, *Deliverance: The inside story of East Timor's fight for freedom*, p. 144

²⁰¹ A. McPhail, *John Howard's Leadership of Australian Foreign Policy 1996 to 2004: East Timor and the war against Iraq*, pp. 170-71 and H. White, 'The Road to INTERFET: Reflections on Australian Strategic Decisions Concerning East Timor, December 1998-September 1999', p.81

²⁰² H. White, 'The Road to INTERFET: Reflections on Australian Strategic Decisions Concerning East Timor, December 1998-September 1999', p. 81

approach still appears to be to minimise damage to their relationship with Indonesia and it is not until it becomes clear in early September that things had gone too far that they give up on it. Downer is initially the main driving force but after the Howard-letter, Howard is taking over more and more.

Window of Opportunity

The Window of Opportunity in changing Australian policy towards Indonesia regarding East Timor opened with the resignation of President Suharto of Indonesia in May 1998. It was unlikely that East Timor's situation would have changed substantially while Suharto was still in power but with Habibie taking office as President, there was a sense that a solution could be reached.

The ALP had already changed its policy 1997/1998 but the government did not seize the moment to do the same. Neither did they do so once the window was open; instead reaffirming its position that East Timor should remain a part of Indonesia. Even with the Howard-letter, which was referred to as a 30 degree-change, the essential aspects of the old policy remained. At the same time, there was a feeling that the window to do anything at all on East Timor was closing fast. Habibie was generally seen as an interim president and it was therefore perceived important to push the process forward to avoid a changed attitude from a future president, while at the same time avoiding to actually making the change in policy.

The Howard government remained steadfast to hold on to the old policy in 1999, sticking to a policy that would minimise the damage to the overall Australia-Indonesia relationship, trying not to let the East Timor-issue affect it too much. There were no initiatives to act on the Window of Opportunity and change its policy until they were essentially presented with a *fait accompli* in September 1999. As it turned out, the Window of Opportunity was there from the fall of Suharto to September 1999 but was not acted upon. As it was not perceived as an opportunity, the window was not acted upon and instead the government played catch-up politics throughout the process and was more or less forced by domestic pressures and international events to reluctantly change policy in September from factors outside of its control.

Typology of change

There are two changes to consider in Australia's foreign policy regarding East Timor. First, the smaller change that was introduced in December 1998 when Howard sent the letter to Habibie, proposing a lengthy period of autonomy for East Timor within Indonesia (10-15 years), followed by an act of self-determination. The change only amount to *Refinement* on the typology scale, despite the rhetoric at the time, as the basic goals were the same. The Howard-government still wanted East Timor to remain part of Indonesia and the overall objective of maintaining a good relationship with Indonesia was still a priority over the issue of East Timor. There was also a mix of old and new instruments used in this policy change. Quiet diplomacy and emphasis on the relationship with Indonesia remained, while a new instrument – the letter - was used as a new, more direct approach to influence Indonesia's East Timor policy.

The second change was the major foreign policy change in September 1999, which ultimately led to Australia leading the INTERFET-mission into East Timor. It is here classified as a *Redirection*, as several previous goals were abandoned and some remained. The Howard-government was forced to give up its (and previous governments) policy of having a good relationship with Indonesia at any cost over any issues regarding East Timor, instead adopting a more aggressive tone towards Indonesia. Still, the overall goal of a good relationship with Indonesia was obviously still there, so the general sense of the goal was remained. It decided to lead a peacekeeping force into East Timor, something they had earlier been, if not completely against, at least apprehensive to do. Australia now had to accept an independent East Timor and the old goal of an end to the violence in East Timor remained; however, the instrument in reaching that goal changed from quiet diplomacy to a more direct approach.

Consequences of change

The Howard government's change in policy had large consequences. The relationship with Indonesia that they had aimed for so long to protect was in tatters and would take a long time to repair. The political impact was the greatest consequence of the policy change. Relations with Indonesia plummeted and there were already anti-Australian feelings in Indonesia in September, albeit only expressed on a lesser level through demonstrations outside the Australian embassy. In the presidential election in

Indonesia in October, anti-Australian sentiments played a part as well. However, despite those feelings, actual political and economic effects were slight.²⁰³

It did not help however, that Howard was seen as “too triumphant in Indonesia’s humiliation, depicting his government as repudiating decades of failed appeasement of Indonesia”.²⁰⁴ The “deputy-sheriff”-debate that came out of an interview with *The Bulletin*, gave the picture of a new arrogant Australia that would be much more active in the region. The angry reaction from Indonesia and several Asian states did not help matter either. Howard refuted the “deputy sheriff”-implications but the damage was done.²⁰⁵ However, perhaps it was the logical consequence of the US’s reluctance to commit peacekeeping troops to the East Timor-intervention and Australia’s realisation that it may have to stand on its own two feet much more from now on.

Howard himself stated, in regards to Indonesia, that “it was going to take a while to rebuild the relationship”.²⁰⁶ Indonesia had as a result of the intervention dissolved the Australia-Indonesia security agreement and Indonesia did not replace its ambassador immediately when his term was up but there was no disruption in actual diplomatic relations.²⁰⁷ So Australia-Indonesian relations, although shaken, did not deteriorate to the extent of full hostility and only began to ‘normalise’ with Susilo Bambang Yudhoyono becoming president of Indonesia in October 2004.

Conclusion

Australian foreign policy change towards Indonesia in regards to East Timor came about in September 1999 after strong domestic pressure from public opinion, the media and interest groups that interacted to put pressure on the government. The ALP added pressure with its policy shift and the combined pressure from these domestic factors made it essentially impossible for the government not to change its policy. These factors interacted with events in Indonesia and East Timor to eventually add enough pressure on the government to change policy. Other international factors had an indirect role in that the pressure put on the Indonesian government would not have

²⁰³ Henry S. Albinski, ‘Issues in Australian Foreign Policy: July to December 1999’, *Australian Journal of Politics and History*, Volume 46, Issue 2, 2000, pp. 196 and 198

²⁰⁴ P. Kelly, *Howard’s decade: An Australian foreign policy reappraisal*, p. 45

²⁰⁵ R. Leaver, ‘The meanings, origins and implications of ‘the Howard Doctrine’’, pp. 16-18

²⁰⁶ M. Gurry, ‘Perspectives on Australian foreign policy 2000’, p. 8

²⁰⁷ H. S. Albinski, ‘Issues in Australian Foreign Policy: July to December 1999’, pp. 199 and 201

gone unnoticed by Australia. In light of that external pressure, it was difficult for the Howard government to act against most of the international community, whether they would have wanted to or not. However, it was not until September 1999 that the change occurred, due to the key decision-makers perception up to that time that the overall Australia-Indonesia relationship took precedence over the East Timor-issue. In September 1999 however, it was perceived by Howard and Downer that the cost of holding on to the old policy was simply too great and it led to the policy change. In the end it led to a strong deterioration of relations between Australia and Indonesia, something they aimed at avoiding all along, with Australia's leadership of INTERFET.

The next chapter introduces the second case study in this thesis on Australia's foreign policy change towards Solomon Islands in 2003. It will first provide a background to the breakdown of Solomon Islands law and order and of its economy. It then investigates Australian foreign policy towards Solomon Islands from its independence until the change in policy in 2003.

Chapter 6: Australian Foreign Policy Change towards Solomon Islands

Introduction

Australian foreign policy towards Solomon Islands from its independence in 1978 up until the RAMSI-intervention in 2003 was characterised by a “hands-off”-approach. A fear of being seen as a “neo-colonial” caused Australian governments to provide aid, technical assistance and diplomats to help negotiate between competing groups, but requests for more direct assistance in the form of police and military were consistently declined. Meanwhile, the situation in Solomon Islands was steadily deteriorating economically, socially, and politically with increasing levels of violence and a breakdown of the rule of law.

This chapter will discuss the background to the 1998-2000 conflict and subsequent problems of the Solomon Islands state. It will investigate Solomon Islands economy and the social effects caused by the conflict, as well as the failure of Australian foreign policy towards Solomon Islands up to the policy change in May 2003. It demonstrates that the Australian government held on to its “hands-off”-approach despite the deterioration of the Solomon Islands economy and its law and order situation. The change finally occurred when Foreign Minister Alexander Downer began to understand that the current policy was not working. It coincided with a letter being sent by Solomon Islands Prime Minister Allen Kemakeza asking for assistance, with rumours of Indonesia being approached for help by Solomons officials, the end of major combat operations in Iraq, and increased pressure from think-tanks to change policy towards a more “hands-on”-approach.

After years of avoiding the prospect of becoming more involved in the direct affairs of Solomon Islands, and the risk of being seen as a neo-colonial power or having a long term-commitment with no clear exit strategy, Australia moved very rapidly during the April-July of 2003 toward full-scale intervention. This carried the responsibility of long-term involvement for security, economy and the provision of governmental services through RAMSI. In contrast to the case of East Timor, with Solomon Islands there was very limited media interest in events prior to intervention

and no significant swell of public opinion to drive government thinking. Instead the foreign policy change emerged from a new paradigm of security at an international level that flowed through to impress upon key decision makers their regional responsibilities. Within this context the role of ASPI was significant as it provided a clear framework for action and suggested how the situation could be resolved to enhance Australian security.

Background: a Nationless State

Solomon Islands is located in the South Pacific east of Papua New Guinea and consists of six main islands – Guadalcanal, Malaita, Santa Isabel, San Cristobal, New Georgia, and Choiseul - and hundreds of smaller islands and atolls. The total land area is 28 369 sq km with an additional 1.34 million km² of water. The population stood at 460 000 as of 2004 and consists mainly of Melanesians (94.5 %). There are also Polynesians (3%), Micronesians, European, Chinese and “others” (2.5 %).¹ The main exports are timber, fish, copra, palm oil, and cocoa.² Solomon Islands is diverse in terms of language, ethnicity, and custom. The large majority are Christians (90 %), while the remaining 10 % follow other local religions.³

Britain established a protectorate over what is today the southern part of Solomon Islands in 1893. The British then took over the northern islands (New Georgia, Shortland Islands, Santa Isabel, Choiseul, Vella Lavella) from Germany six years later.⁴ Solomon Islands was from then on a British colony up until it was given self-government in 1976 and finally full independence in 1978.⁵

¹ Jon Fraenkel, *The Manipulation of Custom: From Uprising to Intervention in the Solomon Islands*, Pandanus books, Canberra, 2004, p. 20 and Jon Fraenkel, *Minority Rights in Fiji and the Solomon Islands: Reinforcing Constitutional Protections, Establishing Land Rights and Overcoming Poverty*, Commission on Human Rights, Sub-Commission on Promotion and Protection of Human Rights, Working Group on Minorities, Ninth Session, 12-16 May 2003, [http://www.unhchr.ch/Huridocda/Huridoca.nsf/e06a5300f90fa0238025668700518ca4/c7f47ea7613b6645c1256d250039e80c/\\$FILE/G0314147.pdf](http://www.unhchr.ch/Huridocda/Huridoca.nsf/e06a5300f90fa0238025668700518ca4/c7f47ea7613b6645c1256d250039e80c/$FILE/G0314147.pdf) [Accessed 17 February 2009]

² J. Fraenkel, *The Manipulation of Custom: From Uprising to Intervention in the Solomon Islands*, p. 33

³ J. Fraenkel, *Minority Rights in Fiji and the Solomon Islands*, 12-16 May 2003

⁴ Sam Alasia, ‘Party Politics and Government in Solomon Islands’, *State Society and Governance in Melanesia*, Research School of Pacific and Asian Studies, The Australian National University, Canberra, Discussion Paper 97/7, 1997, p. 3

⁵ S. Alasia, ‘Party Politics and Government in Solomon Islands’, p. 7

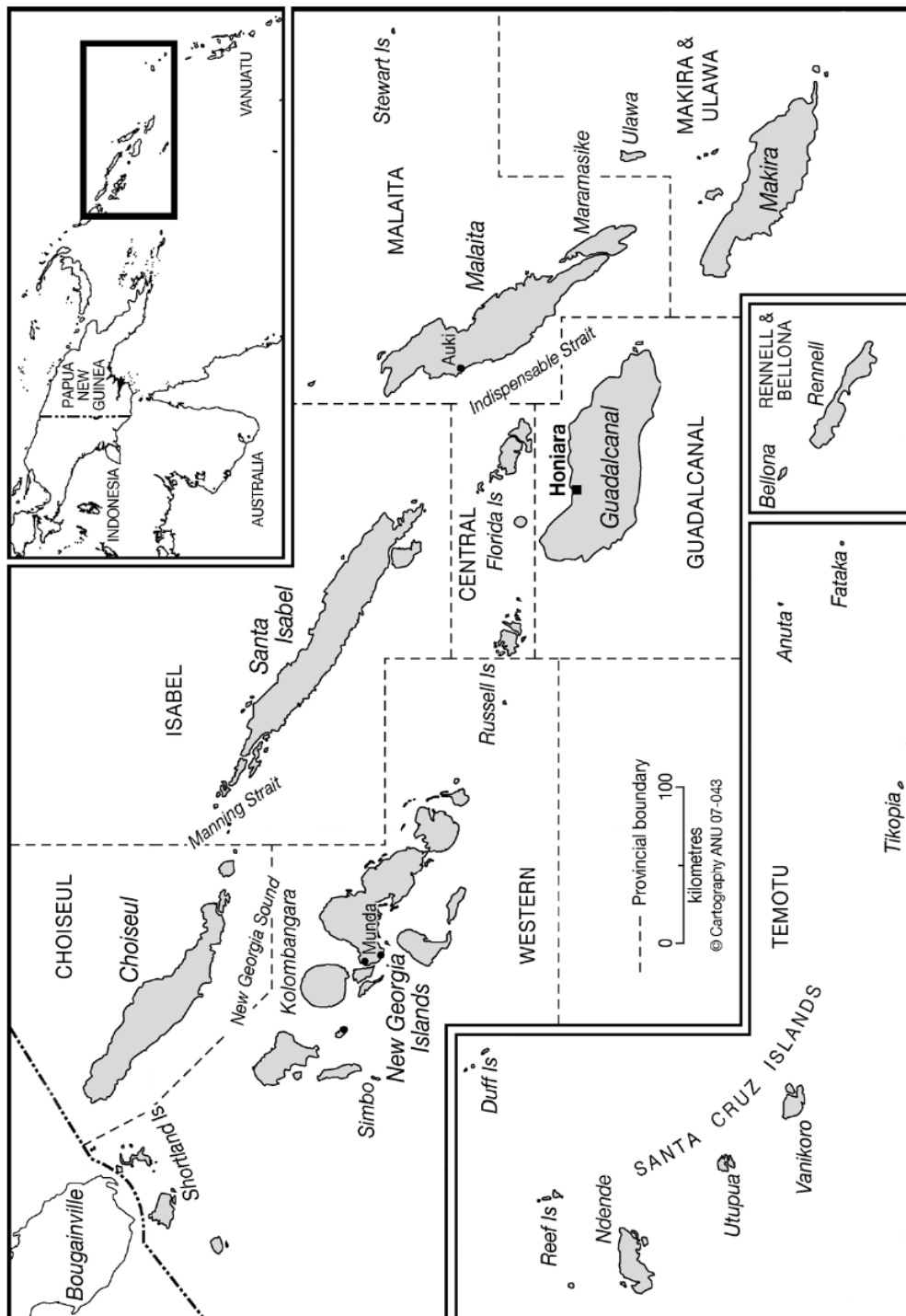
National identity is a new phenomenon in the Solomon Islands. People instead traditionally identify with their particular island or their village, clan, or even language. Government after government had proven unable or unwilling to provide adequate assistance to the provinces. Secessionist demands to different extents followed from this lack of trust in the government from several areas in the Solomon Islands.⁶ Perceived differences in the distribution of wealth between urban and rural people and between different regions in Solomon Islands fuelled the tensions and were some of the main reasons behind the outbreak of violence in 1998.⁷ Since there is no strong common Solomon identity and tensions between different groups began to build, the issue of a weak trust in the government came to a head. Demonstrations occurred in Honiara in 1988 and riots in 1989, relating to these problems, and served as a prelude to the tension that would come to a boil 10 years later.⁸

The literature surrounding Solomon Islands and its recent problems is now quite extensive and in general very well written and researched. Of particular note has been the work of Jon Fraenkel, Clive Moore, Sinclair Dinnen and Tarcisius Kabutaulaka, all of whom have been used extensively in this chapter. Their knowledge of the people and politics of Solomon Islands have been invaluable for this thesis as they explain complex situations clearly and move beyond simplistic arguments of ethnicity as being primarily responsible for the outbreak of the troubles.

⁶ Christopher Chevalier, 'Threats and opportunities in Solomon Islands: Sinking or swimming in uncharted waters', *Development Bulletin*, No. 53, 2000, p. 87

⁷ J. Bennett, 'Roots of conflict in Solomon Islands though much is taken, much abides: Legacies of tradition and colonialism', p. 12

⁸ T. T. Kabutaulaka, 'A Weak State and the Solomon Islands Peace Process', p.10



There are between 60-87 different languages spoken on the Solomon Islands, depending on the source, with Melanesian pidgin being the lingua franca of

communication among the population.⁹ The numbers vary, however, it is clear that the large number of languages spoken within a population of only about 500 000 people, has important implications, and increases the difficulties in building a nation. The capital was moved from Tulagi on the island of Florida to Honiara in Guadalcanal during 1953. Japanese and American troops had left behind vital infrastructure, such as buildings, roads and an airport, making Honiara the logical choice as the Solomon capital.¹⁰

People from other islands began migrating to Honiara in search of work, most of whom came from Malaita.¹¹ The migration had begun already during the Second World War when many Malaitans moved to Honiara to work for the allies against the Japanese.¹² Honiara's population increased quickly and reached 5 000 in the 1960s.¹³ The development in Guadalcanal naturally attracted people from Malaita, who had nothing of the sort. Many of the people that left Malaita moved to Guadalcanal which upset the traditional order as traditional land went into the hands of the new settlers from Malaita.¹⁴ In fact, between 1978 and 1986 more people moved out of Malaita than in, while the opposite took place in Guadalcanal, which illustrates the migration tendencies.¹⁵ There were some restrictions on migration before independence but they

⁹ Fraenkel estimate it to 64, different languages, Dinnen to 80, and Kabutaulaka to 87, see J. Fraenkel, *The Manipulation of Custom: From Uprising to Intervention in the Solomon Islands*, p. 21, also, S. Dinnen, 'Political Chronicles: Winners and Losers – Politics and Disorder in the Solomon Islands 2000-2002', *The Journal of Pacific History*, Vol. 37, No. 3, 2002, p. 285, also T. T. Kabutaulaka, 'A Weak State and the Solomon Islands Peace Process', p. 4

¹⁰ Joses Tuhonuku, 'Solomon Islands – on the cross-road and in need of the wisdom of King Solomon', Paper presented at the Pacific Updates on Solomon Islands, Fiji and Vanuatu in June 2000, *Asia Pacific School of Economics and Management*, Update Papers, Australian National University, June 2000, p. iii. See also John H. Naitoro, 'Solomon Islands conflict – demands for historical rectification and restorative justice', Paper presented at the Pacific Updates on Solomon Islands, Fiji and Vanuatu in June 2000, *Asia Pacific School of Economics and Management*, Update Papers, Australian National University, June 2000, p. 7 for the specific date

¹¹ J. Tuhonuku, 'Solomon Islands – on the cross-road and in need of the wisdom of King Solomon', p. iii.

¹² Martin Sharp, 'Australian policy on the 'Ethnic Tension' in Solomon Islands 1999-2001', Background paper for the Solomon Islands Workshop: Building Peace and Stability, 24-26 October 2001, *State, Society and Governance in Melanesia Project*, Research School of Pacific and Asian Studies, Australian National University, Canberra, 2001, p. 2

¹³ Judith Bennett, 'Roots of conflict in Solomon Islands though much is taken, much abides: Legacies of tradition and colonialism', *State Society and Governance in Melanesia*, Research School of Pacific and Asian Studies, The Australian National University, Canberra, Discussion Paper 2002/5, 2002, p. 6

¹⁴ C. Moore, *Happy Isles in Crisis: The historical causes for a failing state in Solomon Islands, 1998-2004*, p. 35

¹⁵ Tarcisius T. Kabutaulaka, 'A Weak State and the Solomon Islands Peace Process', Working Paper for Pacific Islands Development Series, *East-West Center*, No. 14, April 2002, p. 6

were removed when Solomon Islands gained independence in 1978.¹⁶ The rapidly increasing population caused tensions between locals and settlers, as Honiara became the centre for development in Solomon Islands. The urbanisation and migration upset traditional cultures and customs, which was particularly apparent between people from Guadalcanal and Malaita.¹⁷ The migration to Honiara and Guadalcanal caused resentment among the existing indigenous population, which later was one of the root causes for the outbreak of violence in 1998. The Guadalcanal youth that took to arms felt that the Malaitan settlers had moved in on their traditional land, without appropriate compensation being issued.¹⁸ It is part of, and a normal occurrence, in Solomon-tradition to offer compensation for any wrongdoing in order to preserve relationships and to reduce tension.¹⁹

There are three ways that new migrants could get land on Guadalcanal: They could buy “alienated land from the government”; they could buy tribal land or customary land from traditional land owners”, or they could be given land as payment for work.²⁰ According to Melanesian tradition, the spirits of one’s ancestors are part of the land, which is why the current land holders have a responsibility to look after it, which makes selling the land like selling the spirits as well. The other consequence of selling the land is of course that future generations that would have had inherited the land lose any chance of taking over from their ancestors.²¹ Morgan Wairiu has pointed out the clash between the modern Western society’s view on land with the traditional Solomon view;

The outside world sees land as a resource base, a commodity, something that is bought and sold. Land is something that can be used to make a profit. Solomon Islanders, on the

¹⁶ J. Fraenkel, *Minority Rights in Fiji and the Solomon Islands: Reinforcing Constitutional Protections, Establishing Land Rights and Overcoming Poverty*

¹⁷ Ruth Liloqula & Alice A. Pollard, ‘Understanding Conflict in Solomon Islands: A practical means to peacemaking’, Discussion Paper 00/7, *State, Society and Governance in Melanesia*, Research School of Pacific and Asian Studies, the Australian National University, Canberra, 2000, pp. 2-6

¹⁸ David Hegarty, ‘Monitoring Peace in Solomon Islands’, Working Paper for *State, Society and Governance in Melanesia Project*, 01/4, 2001, p.1

¹⁹ Clive Moore, *Happy Isles in Crisis: The historical causes for a failing state in Solomon Islands, 1998-2004*, Asia Pacific Press, Canberra, 2004, p. 29

²⁰ J. Tuhanuku, ‘Solomon Islands – on the cross-road and in need of the wisdom of King Solomon’, p. iii

²¹ J. Tuhanuku, ‘Solomon Islands – on the cross-road and in need of the wisdom of King Solomon’, p. ii

other hand, understand it as part of their life and not as a commodity, not something that can be bought and sold.²²

These different views on land were a further underlying reason to the tension and subsequent fighting. Guadalcanal adheres to a tradition wherein women are considered in charge of the land. The matrilineal societal order was upset when land was sold to people from other islands and provinces, often by males, often bypassing their clans, which inevitably led to arguments between different land owners. Anger and bitterness on this issue among the young and the women was one of the main causes for the outbreak of violence in 1998.²³ Increasingly, resentment spread as more and more Malaitans came to Guadalcanal and the land issue became more apparent. Blame was cast on the settlers rather than on the people that had sold the land in the first place.²⁴ Yet another reason for the fighting is pointed out by Chevalier. He states that 63 % of the population in the Solomon Islands were under the age of 25.²⁵ Liloqula and Pollard estimated in 2000 that 48 % of the population is under 14 years of age and 75 % of the population is under the age of 30 years.²⁶ Few get enough schooling; many are unemployed, which makes 'security' an attractive profession. Easy money could be made through criminal acts like robbery, while at the same time giving young men a sense of status and power, much preferable to being unemployed and poor.²⁷ Rapid population growth put a strain on education and health services and to ensure enough land for everyone to live from.²⁸ Consequently there were many young, unemployed, resentful people who felt that the government did not provide jobs for them, while people from other islands came in and took those jobs, while also taking their traditional land. These feelings came to a head in late 1998 when a group of Guale people (those indigenous to the island of Guadalcanal) took up arms and began attacking Malaitan settlers, since in their mind the government had not dealt

²² Morgan Wairiu, 'Governance and Livelihood Realities in Solomon Islands', in *Globalisation and Governance in the Pacific Islands*, ed. S. Firth, ANU E Press, Canberra, 2006, p. 414

²³ T. T. Kabutaulaka, 'A Weak State and the Solomon Islands Peace Process', p. 7

²⁴ J. Bennett, 'Roots of conflict in Solomon Islands though much is taken, much abides: Legacies of tradition and colonialism', p. 8

²⁵ Christopher Chevalier, 'From chimera to chimaera: Changing the realities for youth in Solomon Islands', *Development Bulletin*, No. 56, October 2001, p. 38

²⁶ R. Liloqula & A. A. Pollard, 'Understanding Conflict in Solomon Islands: A practical means to peacemaking', p. 15

²⁷ C. Chevalier, 'Threats and opportunities in Solomon Islands: Sinking or swimming in uncharted waters', p. 84, and C. Chevalier, 'From chimera to chimaera: Changing the realities for youth in Solomon Islands', p. 39

²⁸ J. Bennett, 'Roots of conflict in Solomon Islands though much is taken, much abides: Legacies of tradition and colonialism', p. 13

with the problem. The tensions had been brewing for many years and it finally exploded into violence in December 1998.²⁹

The Solomon Islands economy up to 1998

The British initially focused on plantations as the main feature in the Solomon economy.³⁰ The Second World War disrupted these plans, although it took until the 1960s before attention was fully given to other areas.³¹ After independence, the main activities for the formal Solomon Islands economy have been forestry and fishing with logging particularly prominent leading to the exploitation of forests on many islands. Government officials found that there was money to be made by forging alliances with logging companies. Timber exports rose sharply in the early 1990s to average 45 % of overall exports between 1990 and 1998.³² The Asian financial crisis had a negative impact on the logging industry and thereby on the Solomon economy in general in 1997-98.³³ However, due to mismanagement by the government, including corruption, most of the revenue generated from the logging industry went to foreign logging companies instead of the Solomon Government, causing further resentment among the people on many of the islands. The anger was further fuelled in Guadalcanal when settlers from other islands were perceived to take part in the exploitation.³⁴ Meanwhile the economy was deteriorating rapidly. At the end of 1997 state debt stood at S\$ 1.2 billion, more than twice the government's annual budget. Kabutaulaka lists several reasons for this situation, such as bad management of the economy, "uncontrolled spending and non-collection of revenue", "substantial fraud and theft by government servants", and "large amount of money given to parliamentary members" all contributing to the declining Solomons economy.³⁵ Dinnen and Kabutaulaka both argue that the 1997 election showed the public's

²⁹ J. Fraenkel, *The Manipulation of Custom: From Uprising to Intervention in the Solomon Islands*, pp. 44-45

³⁰ C. Moore, *Happy Isles in Crisis: The historical causes for a failing state in Solomon Islands, 1998-2004*, p. 35

³¹ John Connell, 'Saving the Solomons': a New Geopolitics in the 'Arc of Instability'?, *Geographical Research*, Vol. 44, Issue 2, June 2006, p. 113 and J. H. Naitoro, 'Solomon Islands conflict – demands for historical rectification and restorative justice', p. 5

³² The fishery industry amounting to 26.5 % at the same time. See J. Fraenkel, *The Manipulation of Custom: From Uprising to Intervention in the Solomon Islands*, p. 39

³³ Tarcisius T. Kabutaulaka, 'Global Capital and Local Ownership in Solomon Islands' Forestry Industry', in *Globalisation and Governance in the Pacific Islands*, ed. S. Firth, ANU E Press, Canberra, 2006, pp. 247-48

³⁴ R. Liloqula & A. A. Pollard, 'Understanding Conflict in Solomon Islands: A practical means to peacemaking', p. 4

³⁵ T. T. Kabutaulaka, 'A Weak State and the Solomon Islands Peace Process', pp. 8-9

mistrust of the government, as about half of the Members of Parliament were voted out, the biggest change in parliament yet.³⁶

Corruption has been a common feature in the Solomons economy. Peter Larmour presents two examples of high-level corruption in the Solomon government. In the 1980s a World Bank-funded project to provide textbooks and other essential material to schools highlighted the problem when an Australian consultant was found by an inquiry to have given payments to the permanent secretary in the Ministry of Education in the Solomon Islands, possibly to look the other way, as it emerged that there were indications of too close of a relationship between the provider and the receiver, with the Australian consultant having close ties both to the project and to the company selling textbooks to schools involved in the project. Both denied any wrongdoing. An even worse case took place in 1995 when a Malaysian logging company paid off government members, among them the current Minister for Commerce Employment and Trade, and the Minister for Finance and Home Affairs, presumably to receive favourable contracts.³⁷ Knowledge of corruption fed a public mistrust of the government, which already was perceived to be creating increased disparity in wealth. Solomon national identity was weak due to the diversity of the Solomon population as peoples' associations were primarily local, either village or clan, and in combination with a rapidly growing population, tensions due to migration to Guadalcanal, the clash of cultures and traditions, and many unemployed youths, by 1998 the Solomon Islands was on the brink of civil war.

1998-2002 – Tension, violence and lawlessness

Violence broke out in December 1998 in Guadalcanal when a group calling itself the Isatabu Freedom Movement (IFM), previously known as both the Guadalcanal Revolutionary Army (GRA) and the Isatabu Freedom Fighters (IFF),³⁸ took to arms and began to harassing and even killing settlers from other islands, mainly Malaitans.

³⁶ T. T. Kabutaulaka, 'A Weak State and the Solomon Islands Peace Process' p.10 and S. Dinnen, 'Political Chronicles: Winners and Losers – Politics and Disorder in the Solomon Islands 2000-2002', p. 287

³⁷ Peter Larmour, 'Corruption and Governance in the South Pacific', Discussion Paper 97/5, *State, Society and Governance in Melanesia*, Research School of Pacific and Asian Studies, The Australian National University, Canberra, 1997, pp. 5 and 7

³⁸ Tarcisius. T. Kabutaulaka, 'Australian Foreign Policy and the RAMSI Intervention in Solomon Islands', *The Contemporary Pacific*, Vol. 17, Issue 2, 2005, p. 284

Reports told of about 80 people being killed or missing, and numerous incidents of rape and torture have been documented as well. Between 20 000 and 35 000 people were forced from their homes by July 1999 as a result of the violence.³⁹

The root causes to the outbreak of violence was the resentment felt by (mostly young) Guadalcanalese men, stemming from a feeling that settlers from other islands were taking jobs away from them, had taken land from them, and had not shown proper respect to their local culture.⁴⁰ A badly managed economy also contributed to the situation and the resentment which led to the uprising. The perception that government members were getting rich from exploiting minerals and that the people from Guadalcanal had received little from the developments made in Honiara were also part of the reasons for the outbreak of violence.⁴¹

In May 1998 Prime Minister Bartholomew Ulufa'alu paid compensation moneys to the families of two Malaitan girls who had been raped. This money however came from Guadalcanalese grants, causing resentment among the people of Guadalcanal. They accused him of favouritism, as the Prime Minister himself was Malaitan. They demanded compensation for 25 Guadalcanalese people murdered over the last 20 years and at this point harassment of Malaitan settlers began in earnest.⁴² The anger and resentment built up throughout the years, the differences in customs, unemployment, and the sense of being cheated by the government was unleashed, as Guadalcanalese began to acquire weapons by raiding ammunition storages, started to

³⁹ Kabutaulaka states 20 000 people had been displaced, while Fraenkel argues it was up to 35 000 people. See T. T. Kabutaulaka, 'Australian Foreign Policy and the RAMSI Intervention in Solomon Islands', pp. 283-85, and J. Fraenkel, *Minority Rights in Fiji and the Solomon Islands: Reinforcing Constitutional Protections, Establishing Land Rights and Overcoming Poverty*, See also United States Department of State, 'Country Reports on Human Rights Practices – 2002', *Released by the Bureau of Democracy, Human Rights, and Labor*, March 31, 2003 www.state.gov/g/drl/rls/hrrpt/2002/18264.htm [Accessed 3 March 2007] for details on the human rights abuses in the Solomon Islands up to 2003

⁴⁰ David Hegarty, 'Peace Interventions in the South Pacific: Lessons from Bougainville and Solomon Islands', *State, Society and Governance in Melanesia Project*, Research School of Pacific & Asian Studies, Working Paper presented at the "Oceania at the crossroads" in Honolulu, Hawaii, 15-17 July 2003, p.4 and S. Dinnen, 'Political Chronicles: Winners and Losers – Politics and Disorder in the Solomon Islands 2000-2002', p. 286

⁴¹ Ron Duncan & Satish Chand, 'The Economics of the 'Arc of Instability'', *Asian-Pacific Economic Literature*, Vol. 16, Issue 1, 2002, pp. 4-6

⁴² J. Bennett, 'Roots of conflict in Solomon Islands though much is taken, much abides: Legacies of tradition and colonialism' pp. 10-11 and J. Fraenkel, *The Manipulation of Custom: From Uprising to Intervention in the Solomon Islands*, pp. 47-48

harass and make further demands for compensation from Malaitan settlers.⁴³ Amnesty International reported widespread violence, abductions, torture, rape, murders, forced displacements, looting and burning down of homes, particularly during the conflict 1998-2000, but also after the mid-2000 coup by members of both sides of the conflict. These abuses were conducted not only by gangs, but also by police, which shows the breakdown of the law and order in society.⁴⁴

Government responses to the conflict failed due to its inability to exert power. Government officials were more interested in profits for them selves or for the group they belonged to. In mid-1999⁴⁵ a group of Honiara Malaitans formed the Malaita Eagle Force (MEF) to counter the IFM. The MEF launched a campaign against the IFM and its supporters, thereby intensifying the conflict further.⁴⁶ Its main aim was to seek compensation for the forced evictions of thousands of Malaitans.⁴⁷ To make the matters worse The Royal Solomon Islands Police (RSIP) consisted mainly of Malaitans and many of them supported the MEF.⁴⁸

Popular feeling that the government of Prime Minister Ulufa'alu had not acted fast enough on the issue of compensation led first to the formation of the MEF in early 2000, then to a coup. On 5 June 2000 the MEF together with parts of the police force seized the police armoury and essentially forced the Ulufa'alu-government to step down. Manasseh Sogavare became the new Prime Minister, in a parliamentary session clearly under duress.⁴⁹ The new government began to issue compensations to the amount of S\$10 million dollars.⁵⁰ However, hostilities between the MEF and the IFM

⁴³ C. Moore, *Happy Isles in Crisis: The historical causes for a failing state in Solomon Islands*, pp. 106-08

⁴⁴ Amnesty International, 'Solomon Islands: A Forgotten Conflict', 2000, <http://web.amnesty.org/library/print/ENGASA430052000> [Accessed 2 March 2007]

⁴⁵ Kabutaulaka argues that they formed in mid-1999, while Fraenkel says late 1999 and Dinnen says they emerged in the beginning of 2000. See T. T. Kabutaulaka, 'A Weak State and the Solomon Islands Peace Process', p.12, and J. Fraenkel, *The Manipulation of Custom: From Uprising to Intervention in the Solomon Islands*, p. 7, and S. Dinnen, 'Political Chronicles: Winners and Losers – Politics and Disorder in the Solomon Islands 2000-2002', p. 287

⁴⁶ T. T. Kabutaulaka, 'Australian Foreign Policy and the RAMSI Intervention in Solomon Islands', pp. 285-86, see also. T. T. Kabutaulaka, 'A Weak State and the Solomon Islands Peace Process', p.12

⁴⁷ J. Tuhanuku, 'Solomon Islands – on the cross-road and in need of the wisdom of King Solomon', pp. iii-iv

⁴⁸ Tarcisius T. Kabutaulaka, "'Failed State" and the War on Terror: Intervention in Solomon Islands', Analysis from the *East-West Center*, No. 72, March 2004, p. 2

⁴⁹ T. T. Kabutaulaka, 'A Weak State and the Solomon Islands Peace Process', pp. 2-3, 12

⁵⁰ J. Fraenkel, *The Manipulation of Custom: From Uprising to Intervention in the Solomon Islands*, Pandanus books, Canberra, 2004, p. 95

continued and even increased. More than 200 people died during the conflict.⁵¹ The positions became clearer with the MEF holding Honiara, with the rest of Guadalcanal being controlled by the IFM. Negotiations continued but were unsuccessful until a peace agreement was brokered and facilitated by the Australian and New Zealand governments and reached in Townsville, Australia on 15 October 2000.⁵² Under the Townsville Peace Agreement (TPA) the two main actors in the conflict, agreed to end hostilities and to return weapons.⁵³

The TPA did not however deliver what it promised. Flaws in the agreement were pointed out by several scholars and it became quickly apparent that it would not last long. The return of weapons clause was far from perfect: 1 131 weapons were returned between November 2000 – July 2001 overseen by the International Peace Monitoring Team (IPMT), but many also went missing only to turn up with the militants again, mainly because the loyalties of some of the police officers in charge lay with the militants.⁵⁴ Kabutaulaka points out further weaknesses with the agreement. Its first mistake was the assumption that the IFM and MEF had clear hierarchies and membership, allowing them to carry out the agreement. The two groupings were in reality much more loosely held together, to wit the leaders did not have the actual control over ‘members’. Furthermore, amnesty was given to earlier violations and criminal acts made by the combatants, so no one was held accountable for what had transpired during the conflict. Moreover, the only parties attached to the agreement were the government and the MEF and IMF. Other groups and parts of the country were not represented, leaving the future open for further tension and conflict. Allegiance to an ethnic group or clan preceded any loyalty to the government, leaving a weak government, unable to enforce the TPA.⁵⁵

The conflict displaced an estimated 35 000 people, or 58.6 % of the Guadalcanal population, by mid-1999, according to Jon Fraenkel. Many Malaitans fled back to

⁵¹ Department of Foreign Affairs and Trade, *Solomon Islands: Rebuilding an Island Economy*, , Economic Analytical Unit, Figure 1.1 *GDP and per capita income contracted sharply*, 2004, p. 4

⁵² T. T. Kabutaulaka, ‘A Weak State and the Solomon Islands Peace Process’, pp. 2-3

⁵³ J. Fraenkel, *The Manipulation of Custom: From Uprising to Intervention in the Solomon Islands*, Pandanus books, Canberra, 2004, pp. 98-100

⁵⁴ J. Fraenkel, *The Manipulation of Custom: From Uprising to Intervention in the Solomon Islands*, Pandanus books, Canberra, 2004, pp. 100-102

⁵⁵ T. T. Kabutaulaka, ‘A Weak State and the Solomon Islands Peace Process’, pp. 5, 13-14

their home island or to the capital Honiara which even though located on Guadalcanal became a stronghold for Malaitans during this time.⁵⁶ Despite the fact that the situation had improved in the Solomon Islands after the TPA, it was far from perfect. The IMF and the MEF had reduced tension but many areas were still unstable. No side trusted the other enough to give up all its weapons. Some militants had broken free from the main groups and continued fighting so the conflict moved from being between the IMF and the MEF to become harder to define. Gangs and subgroups continued to use the breakdown of law and order to further their own interests, the most notorious of which was Harold Keke on the Weathercoast.⁵⁷

The mismanagement of the economy continued as evidenced by two cases: In July 2001, the then deputy Prime Minister and minister for National Unity, Reconciliation and Peace, Allen Kemakeza, gave himself a check for S\$ 800 000 for “compensation” and another S\$ 750 000 to his permanent secretary. Both were fired when it was exposed but it goes to show how the “compensation”-culture was misused, contributing to the deteriorating economy and a lack of public confidence in the state’s political institutions.⁵⁸

In an effort to curb the general lawlessness a program of “Special Constables” was created shortly after the coup to get militias from the two movements to receive training in combat and to retrain them in practical jobs, such as electricians, in order “to bring these young people who are now used to holding guns back to normal life”. Special Constables soon outnumbered the regular police.⁵⁹ But this was not a solution as some Special Constables were suspected of extorting villagers, which increased tensions further. A Special Constable was murdered in early February in Honiara and two more on 22 February near the sea border to Bougainville⁶⁰, further highlighting the deteriorating law and order situation. Another attempt to rid the criminal elements and militants of weapons began 1 May 2002, when another 31-day gun amnesty was

⁵⁶ J. Fraenkel, *Minority Rights in Fiji and the Solomon Islands: Reinforcing Constitutional Protections, Establishing Land Rights and Overcoming Poverty*

⁵⁷ C. Moore, *Happy Isles in Crisis: The historical causes for a failing state in Solomon Islands, 1998-2004*, pp. 149-151

⁵⁸ T. T. Kabutaulaka, ‘A Weak State and the Solomon Islands Peace Process’, p.18

⁵⁹ J. Fraenkel, *The Manipulation of Custom: From Uprising to Intervention in the Solomon Islands*, p. 126

⁶⁰ Mary-Louise O’Callaghan, ‘Solomons on alert after police death’, *The Australian*, 4 February 2002, and Mary-Louise O’Callaghan, ‘Murders hamper recovery strategy’, *The Australian*, 25 February 2002

issued by the government and overseen by the IPMT team, who collected the surrendered weapons, in order to try to halt the violence.⁶¹ Over 800 weapons were handed in, however, it was suggested that about 500 “military-style weapons” were still unaccounted for. The gun-amnesty was undermined by none other than the Prime Minister Kemakeza himself, admitting later that he suggested to militants on both sides to hold on to their weapons while he was negotiating Keke’s surrender. The negotiations came to nothing and weapons remained with the militants.⁶²

In September 2002 five people were killed and another 11 injured in violence on Guadalcanal on three separate occasions. Among the atrocities committed was the decapitation of a Solomon church deacon on the Weather Coast of Guadalcanal, South of Honiara. Only his head was recovered.⁶³ There were further killings in November when two people were shot on the Weathercoast, one of them a policeman.⁶⁴

Jon Fraenkel illustrates the lawlessness of the Solomon society at the time with the resignation of Finance Minister Laurie Chan in December 2002. Chan was forced to write a cheque for S\$ 3.6 million made out to armed police officers for what was claimed to be “unpaid salaries”. Furthermore, Special constables fired shots at the Prime Minister’s house in retaliation for not being given compensation they felt they were entitled to, such as the above mentioned “unpaid salaries”.⁶⁵ With a government being extorted by its own police and public servants, there was even less hope to revive the ailing Solomon Islands economy.

A well-known Solomon peace activist, Sir Fredrick Soaki, was assassinated on 10 February 2003. Soaki had worked to persuade “special constables” to disarm, and was having dinner with them when a masked man showed up and shot him in cold blood.

⁶¹ Mary-Louise O’Callaghan, ‘Solomons gun amnesty brings out the dread’, *The Australian*, 1 May 2002 and J. Fraenkel, *The Manipulation of Custom: From Uprising to Intervention in the Solomon Islands*, p. 142

⁶² J. Fraenkel, *The Manipulation of Custom: From Uprising to Intervention in the Solomon Islands*, pp.141-42 and C. Moore, *Happy Isles in Crisis: The historical causes for a failing state in Solomon Islands, 1998-2004*, p. 21

⁶³ Mary-Louise O’Callaghan, ‘Churchman decapitated’, *The Australian*, 6 September 2002

⁶⁴ Mary-Louise O’Callaghan, ‘Solomons adviser hit as shootings leave two dead’, *The Australian*, 25 November 2002

⁶⁵ J. Fraenkel, *The Manipulation of Custom: From Uprising to Intervention in the Solomon Islands*, p. 152

Soaki's murder further illustrates the breakdown of law and order.⁶⁶ A police officer was arrested for Soaki's murder but managed to flee from prison, possibly assisted by top-level officials.⁶⁷

The violence in Solomon Islands caught the attention of the Australian media when it was reported that an Australian missionary was beheaded over a land dispute on 18 May 2003.⁶⁸ This occurred only days after several banks in the Solomons had to close and staff had to leave after a failed pyramid scheme had resulted in threats towards the banks.⁶⁹ On 12 May Westpac, ANZ and other banks closed for the protection of their staff but opened again a day later.⁷⁰ By May 2003 Solomon Islands was viewed by others as a state in turmoil.

In this "failed state" the most infamous figure during 2002-03 was rebel leader Harold Keke, who had his base on the Weathercoast on Guadalcanal. Keke had been involved on the Guale side of the fighting 1998-2001 but had cut his ties with that group and had organised an independent force, terrorising the villages of the Weather Coast.⁷¹ In August 2002 he claimed responsibility for killing his former ally the Minister for Sport, Youth and Women's Affairs Father Augustine Geve,⁷² of to whom Keke's group had lent its support in the elections only 8 months earlier.⁷³ When the police tried to capture Keke in October 2002, seven men were killed in the fighting.⁷⁴

RSIP's hunt for Keke was unsuccessful; instead he continued his campaign of intimidation. It was reported in November 2002 that up to 3000 people were forced to stop working on Mondays and Fridays, since Keke had forbidden them to do so –

⁶⁶ Mark Forbes, 'Solomons' peace champion slain', *The Age*, 12 February 2003 and Mary-Louise O'Callaghan, 'Ex-Solomons police chief shot dead', *The Australian*, 12 February 2003

⁶⁷ J. Fraenkel, *The Manipulation of Custom: From Uprising to Intervention in the Solomon Islands*, p. 154

⁶⁸ Mary-Louise O'Callaghan, 'Australian missionary beheaded in Solomons', *The Australian*, 19 May 2003

⁶⁹ Rowan Callick, 'Scam threat chases banks away', *Financial Review*, 13 May 2003

⁷⁰ Mark Forbes, 'Solomons bankers flee death threats', *The Age*, 13 May 2003 and Anonymous, 'Briefs: Solomon banks reopen after threats', *The Australian*, 14 May 2003

⁷¹ C. Moore, *Happy Isles in Crisis: The historical causes for a failing state in Solomon Islands, 1998-2004*, p.191

⁷² Anonymous, 'Mystery of dead minister', *The Australian*, 24 August 2002

⁷³ J. Fraenkel, *The Manipulation of Custom: From Uprising to Intervention in the Solomon Islands*, p. 133

⁷⁴ Mary-Louise O'Callaghan, 'Seven die in fighting on Solomons', *The Australian*, 16 October 2002

“Instead they were told they were only allowed to pray”.⁷⁵ In the continued search for Keke and his supporters another nine people lost their lives by them in April 2003. Reports further suggested that the Keke gang could be responsible for another 12 deaths as well.⁷⁶ He went on to take missionaries hostage on the Weathercoast,⁷⁷ which were later released, four Anglican brothers in early July, and three more Anglican brothers were given their freedom on 23 July, only days before the RAMSI-intervention after spending over two months in captivity.⁷⁸ Just before the release of the missionaries, Keke’s gang ambushed police on the weekend 14-15 June, killing six officers.⁷⁹

By June 2003 it was clear that Solomon Islands was in dire straits. Murders, harassments, extortion, corruption and fear were rife. The law and order situation was disastrous and there was not much improvement in sight. When Cyclone Zoe had hit Solomon Islands in January 2003, it had highlighted the poor conditions and the lack of basic services the government could provide. For example, police refused to man rescue boats with relief aid until they received money.⁸⁰ The degradation of society cannot be illustrated any better, with people refusing to help their fellow men unless money was exchanged. Corruption and a lack of trust in the government’s ability to provide had finally led to an “every man to him self” situation.

Allen Kemakeza, himself sacked for corruption in 2002, was now the Prime Minister but did not go to his office to work anymore and was employing what Mary-Louise O’Callaghan described as “some of Honiara’s better-known thugs to handle his ‘personal security’”.⁸¹ When the highest ranking official in the land did not dare to work outside of his home the security situation was dire indeed. The government did not have control over its territory with Harold Keke terrorising the Weather Coast and the streets of Honiara were not deemed safe, even by the Prime Minister. The words

⁷⁵ Mary-Louise O’Callaghan, ‘Solomons rebel drives thousands from homes’, *The Australian*, 1 November 2002

⁷⁶ M-L O’Callaghan, ‘Claims of Solomons rebel on kill spree’, *The Australian*, 26 April 2003

⁷⁷ Anonymous, ‘Briefs: Missionaries hostage’, *The Australian*, 17 May 2003

⁷⁸ Craig Skehan & Phillip Hudson, ‘Hostages Go Free As Force Closes In’, *The Age*, 24 July 2003 and Mary-Louise O’Callaghan, ‘Rebel declares ceasefire’, *The Australian*, 7 July 2003

⁷⁹ Anonymous, ‘Six killed in Solomons militia ambush – police’, *Reuters News*, 16 June 2003

⁸⁰ Anonymous, ‘A real pacific solution for the Solomons’, *The Australian*, 6 January 2003

⁸¹ Mary-Louise O’Callaghan, ‘Dark times as Solomons PM neglects power bill’, *The Australian*, 10 May 2003

of the Governor of Solomon Islands Central Bank emphasised the situation: “We are in a situation where breaking laws and not complying with government regulations is now the norm”.⁸² Such was the situation in the Solomon Islands in May/June 2003.

Solomon Islands economy 1998-2003

The size of the economy had already steadily declined due to the Asian Financial Crisis and the negative effects that had on the Solomon economy, particularly in the logging sector.⁸³ Now the economy suffered severely from the conflict. Between 1998 and 2002 GDP fell by 24 % and formal government debt increased by over 40 %. Poor economic management and overspending by the government and its ministers was part of the problem but militants and even parts of the police used extortion to collect “compensation” from the Treasury, which caused the economy to deteriorate further.⁸⁴ The Gold Ridge mine on Guadalcanal and the Solomon Taiyo fish cannery at Noro in the Western Province both had to shut down which increased the rapid decline of the Solomon economy.⁸⁵ Connell has even argued that the closure of the Gold Ridge mine was what finally caused the economy to crumble.⁸⁶

Even worse off, according to Satish Chand, was the financial sector. Many companies had closed down operations in the Solomons and other foreign investors had left. Investment confidence declined sharply putting an increased strain on the already deteriorating economy.⁸⁷ During the conflict 1998-2000, Chand noted the palm oil industry went from producing 30 000 ton a year to nothing when the Solomon Islands Plantation Limited (SIPL) closed. Also, fish production decreased by more than half its production.⁸⁸ In some states economic contraction of this magnitude would be catastrophic however, it should be noted that roughly 75 % of the Solomon islanders were not involved in the formal side of the economy and practical subsistence fishing

⁸² Mary-Louise O’Callaghan, ‘Bank boss warns ailing Solomons’, *The Australian*, 3 June 2003

⁸³ J. Fraenkel, *Minority Rights in Fiji and the Solomon Islands: Reinforcing Constitutional Protections, Establishing Land Rights and Overcoming Poverty*

⁸⁴ Department of Foreign Affairs and Trade, ‘Solomon Islands: Rebuilding an Island Economy’, Economic Analytical Unit, 2004, http://www.dfat.gov.au/publications/rebuilding_solomon/si_rebuilding_an_island_economy.pdf [Accessed 20 February 2009] p. xi-xii

⁸⁵ T. T. Kabutaulaka, ‘A Weak State and the Solomon Islands Peace Process’, p. 19

⁸⁶ J. Connell, ‘Saving the Solomons’: a New Geopolitics in the ‘Arc of Instability’?, p. 115

⁸⁷ Satish Chand, ‘Conflict to crisis in Solomon Islands’, *Pacific Economic Bulletin*, Volume 17, Number 1, May 2002, p.155

⁸⁸ S. Chand, ‘Conflict to crisis in Solomon Islands’, p. 155

and agriculture. In the villages people remained mostly unaffected but urban centres were hard hit.⁸⁹

The government of Taiwan issued grants and loans to the Solomon government after the TPA of October 2000 in exchange for speeches of support by Solomon Islands for Taiwanese membership of the United Nations (UN).⁹⁰ Among them was a \$US25 million loan in June 2001.⁹¹ However, most of the money went to pay compensation-claims of various kinds, such as for lost property, and did little to get the economy back on its feet.⁹²

So, despite the peace agreement being in place, the situation remained tense and outbreaks of violence continued. The economy was in a downward spiral and the Solomon Islands faced bankruptcy. The country was well on the way to become what policy makers termed a “failed state”, as described in ASPI’s report later released in 2003.⁹³ The government no longer had control over spending and had no solution to stop the downward spiral. The Kemakeza-government attempted to regain control of the economy when in February 2002 it presented a recovery-plan, which included cutting down public service staff levels and reining in government spending. At the same time, though, Prime Minister Allen Kemakeza admitted that “the desperate economic situation was now a fact of life” for Solomon Islands.⁹⁴ The continued unrest did nothing to help these recovery-plans. Another attempt to save the economy was initiated in March 2002 when Finance Minister Michael Maina announced a 25

⁸⁹ Department of Foreign Affairs and Trade, ‘Solomon Islands: Rebuilding an Island Economy’, Economic Analytical Unit, p. 8, see also in the same publication Figure 1.1 *GDP and per capita income contracted sharply*, 2004, p. 9

⁹⁰ T. T. Kabutaulaka, ‘A Weak State and the Solomon Islands Peace Process’, p. 22, for Solomon support of Taiwan, see for example Laurie Chan, ‘Solomon Islands - Statement by the Honourable Laurie Chan Minister of Foreign Affairs at the Fifty-Eighth Session of the United Nations General Assembly’, *United Nations*, 1 October 2003, <http://www.un.org/webcast/ga/58/statements/soloeng031001.htm> [Date accessed 30 January 2009] and Allan Kemakeza, ‘Solomon Islands – Statement by the Honourable Sir Allan Kemakeza Prime Minister of Solomon Islands, Fifty-Seventh Session of the United Nations General Assembly’, *United Nations*, 17 September 2002, <http://www.un.org/webcast/ga/57/statements/020917solomonE.htm> [Date Accessed 30 January 2009]

⁹¹ Graeme Dobell, ‘China and Taiwan in the South Pacific: Diplomatic Chess versus Pacific Political Rugby’, *Lowy Institute for International Policy*, Policy Brief, January 2007, p. 10

⁹² J. Fraenkel, *The Manipulation of Custom: From Uprising to Intervention in the Solomon Islands*, pp. 124-25

⁹³ See Australian Strategic Policy Institute, ‘Our Failing Neighbour: Australia and the Future of Solomon Islands’, June 2003

⁹⁴ M-L O’Callaghan, ‘Murders hamper recovery strategy’, *The Australian*, 25 February 2002

% devaluation of the Solomon dollar, however, the devaluation only lasted for four days due to the outcry by parliamentarians, which led to Maina getting fired and the devaluation being revoked.⁹⁵ The outcome was that the economy continued to decline. Health and education suffered hard with public servants remaining unpaid for months.⁹⁶

In October 2002 further signs of the failing economy were seen; 1 300 public servants were about to be laid off and the government had severe difficulties paying employees; Unpaid teachers went on strike and other calls for wider strikes came, threatening to shut down international flights to the Solomon Islands, due again to unpaid wages, this time to airport workers.⁹⁷ Figure 1.1 below illustrates the Solomon economy's steep decline between 1996 and 2003. The effect of the ethnic tension between 1998-2000 is clear and the continued decline, albeit not as sharp, after that shows the poor performance of the Solomon economy during the years 1996-2003.⁹⁸

⁹⁵ Mary-Louise O'Callaghan, 'Solomons 'facing collapse'', *The Australian*, 1 April 2002 and Mary-Louise O'Callaghan, 'Dollar crisis shocks MPs in Solomons', *The Australian*, 27 March 2002

⁹⁶ Rowan Callick, 'Solomon collapse a stark warning for PNG leader', *Financial Review*, 7 August 2002

⁹⁷ Mary-Louise O'Callaghan, 'Canberra to shake up police coup unit', *The Australian*, 11 October 2002

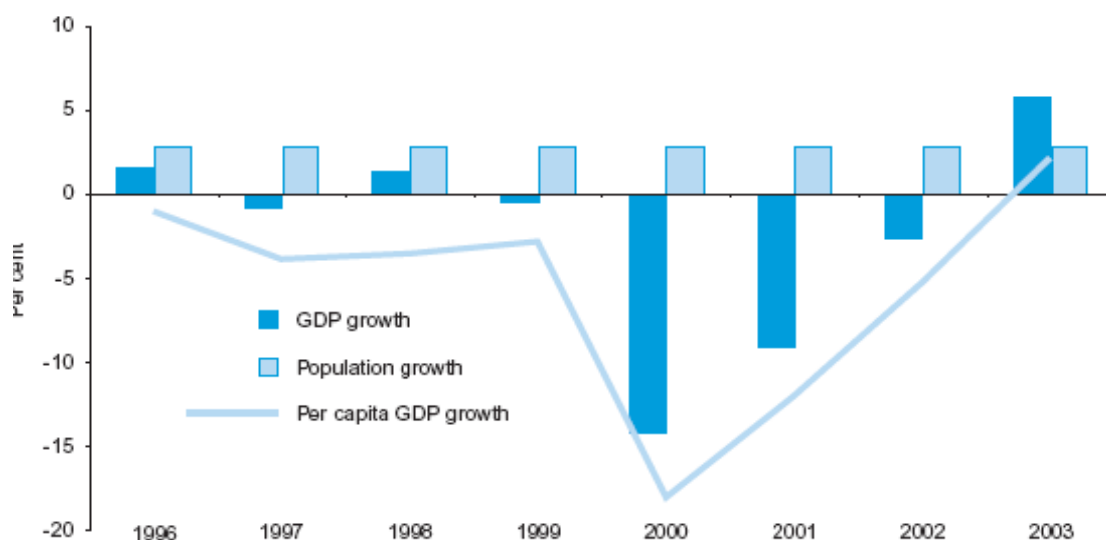
⁹⁸ Department of Foreign Affairs and Trade, 'Solomon Islands: Rebuilding an Island Economy', Economic Analytical Unit, Figure 1.1 *GDP and per capita income contracted sharply*, 2004, p. 5

Figure 6.1: Solomon Islands GDP/capita 1996-2003

Figure 1.1

GDP and per capita Income contracted sharply

Solomon Islands' real GDP, population and real per capita GDP growth, 1996–2003, per cent



Note: Population estimates based on population growth from 1986 to 1999.

Source: Central Bank of Solomon Islands, 2000, 2002, 2003a; Houenipwela, 2004; International Monetary Fund, 2004; Solomon Islands Census Office, 1999.

As can be seen in Figure 6.1 the sharpest falls occurred in 2000 and 2001. Table 6.1 below further describes the economy's decline.

Table 6.1: Solomon Islands major economic indicators 1993-2003

Table 1.1

Major economic indicators decline

Summary of key economic indicators, 1993–2003

	1993	1995	1997	1999	2000	2001	2002	2003
GDP (US\$ millions, current prices) ^a	283	357	390	336	319	303	322 ^b	365
GDP (SBD millions, current prices)	901.0	1217.0	1452.0	1605.0	1529.0	1447.0	1532.0	1739.0
GDP per capita (US\$, current prices)	798.2	928.9	962.6	773.1	701.1	644.0	660.8	724.0
Inflation (average per cent change in Honiara Retail Price Index) ^c	9.2	9.6	8.1	8.0	6.8	6.8	7.3	10.1
Demand structure of GDP (per cent)^d								
Government consumption	37.8	28.8	29.6	29.8	27.6	32.3	43.9	39.3
Exports: goods and services	-	-	58.1	62.1	39.6	36.0	32.4	42.9
Imports: goods and services	-	-	70.1	64.7	55.1	52.0	39.4	52.5
Sectoral structure of GDP (per cent)								
Agriculture	19.7	18.3	20.0	15.1	14.7	14.2	16.1	-
Forestry and fisheries	18.9	24.2	19.7	18.3	14.8	15.7	17.0	-
Mining	0.2	0.1	-0.7	6.8	4.0	-0.3	-0.3	-
Manufacturing	4.4	4.5	6.0	6.2	6.0	5.5	5.4	-
Services and other	56.7	53.0	54.9	53.7	60.5	64.9	61.8	-
External account								
Exports: goods and services (SBD million)	-	-	843.9	997.4	603.6	521.1	497.8	746.7
Imports: goods and services (SBD million)	-	-	1018.2	1037.7	839.8	752.1	604.6	913.4
Current account balance (SBD million)	-24.4	28.4	-54.3	120.0	-223.8	-172.3	-41.0	204.0
External debt (SBD million)	639.6	519.3	756.0	833.8	851.7	957.3	1307.4	1379.9
External debt (per cent of GDP)	71.0	42.7	52.1	52.0	55.9	67.8	84.1	79.4
Foreign direct investment flows (US\$ million)	23	2	9	-19	1	-12	-7	-

Table 1.1 (cont.)

	1993	1995	1997	1999	2000	2001	2002	2003
Exchange rate (SBD to US\$, year average)	3.18	3.41	3.73	4.93	5.11	5.3	6.78	7.51
Growth rates (per cent)								
Real GDP	1.3	10.1	-0.9	-0.5	-14.2	-9.2	-2.6	5.8
Merchandise exports	36.6	22.5	0.8	6.1	-51.4	-29.5	56.9	42.8
Population ^a	2.8	2.8	2.8	2.8	2.8	2.8	2.8	2.8

Notes: Data represented indicates best available statistics primarily based on Central Bank of Solomon Islands data. However, table should only be read as indicative as comprehensive statistics are not available. All data shown in per cent GDP terms has been calculated using the International Monetary Fund (2004) estimates of GDP in SBD.

- a. GDP in US\$ based upon GDP in national currency and the exchange rate projections provided by country economists within the International Monetary Fund for the group of other emerging market and developing countries as reported in the World Economic Outlook (International Monetary Fund, 2004). As a result, GDP in \$US presented in this table is not convertible with GDP in SBD using the year average exchange rates as shown in the table.
- b. The World Bank (2003) estimate a significantly lower figure of \$239.6 million for 2002.
- c. Inflation in years not shown is variable. For example, inflation in 1994 was 13.1 per cent; in 1998 it was 12.4 per cent.
- d. Indicative composition only. Statistics derived using Central Bank of Solomon Islands data for government expenditure, exports and imports, as a proportion of GDP in SBD as reported by the International Monetary Fund (2004).
- e. Estimates only: Population growth estimates based on Solomon Islands 1999 census data indicating annual average growth of 2.8 per cent from the last census in 1986. Some other sources, such as the Asian Development Bank (2003b) indicate growth rates of well over three per cent.

Sources: GDP, current prices (US\$ and SBD) and per capita statistics, International Monetary Fund, 2004.

Inflation and real GDP growth statistics: for 1990–95, Solomon Islands Government, 2002; for 1997–2002, Central Bank of Solomon Islands, 2000, 2001, 2002, 2003a, 2004d; for 2003, Hcuenipwela, 2004.

Government Consumption Data: for 1990–95, Asian Development Bank, 2003; for 1997 onwards, Economic Analytical Unit calculations based on government expenditure data from Central Bank of Solomon Islands, 2000, 2001, 2002, 2003a, 2004d, as a proportion of GDP in SBD reported by the International Monetary Fund, 2004.

Sectoral Structure of GDP: for 1993 and 1995, International Monetary Fund, 1998; for 1997 onwards, based on data from Central Bank of Solomon Islands, 2000, 2001, 2002, 2003a, 2003b.

External account statistics: Foreign Direct Investment, United Nations Conference on Trade and Development, 1999, 2003; current account, external debt and exchange rate statistics from 1990–95, Solomon Islands Government, 2002; all statistics, excluding Foreign Direct Investment, from 1997 onwards based on data from Central Bank of Solomon Islands 2000, 2001, 2002, 2003a, 2004d.

Merchandise export growth rates; for 1990–95, Asian Development Bank, 2003; for 1997 onwards, Central Bank of Solomon Islands, 2000, 2001, 2002, 2003a, 2004d.

Population data, based on Solomon Islands Census Office, 1999.

Source: DFAT 2004.⁹⁹

The table reveals in more detail the sharp economic decline particularly with the Real GDP falling by 14.2 % in 2000 and 9.2 % in 2001. Merchandise exports also fell sharply in 2000 by 51.4 % and 29.5 % in 2001, but recovered in 2002 up 56.9 % and a further 42.8 % in 2003. The external debt rose from S\$ 833 million in 1999 to S\$ 1307 in 2002. The current account balance improved from negative S\$ 223.8 million in 2000 to negative S\$ 172.3 million in 2001. With increased government consumption this caused the rise of national external debt, which can be seen even more clearly in Figure 6.2 below.

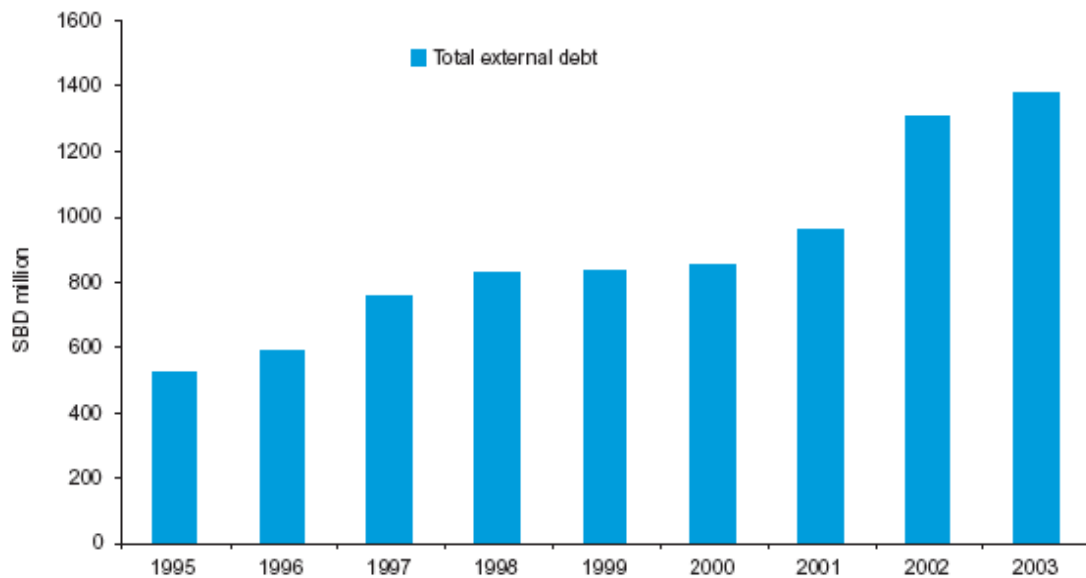
⁹⁹ Department of Foreign Affairs and Trade, 'Solomon Islands: Rebuilding an Island Economy', Economic Analytical Unit, Table 1.1 *Major economic indicators decline: Summary of key economic indicators, 1993-2003*, 2004, pp. 6-7

Figure 6.2: Solomon Islands external debt 1995-2003

Figure 1.9

Foreign debt rising sharply

Level of Solomon Islands' external debt, 1995–2003, SBD million



Sources: Central Bank of Solomon Islands 2000, 2001, 2002, 2004d.

Source DFAT 2004.¹⁰⁰

What these numbers together indicate is an economy declining rapidly during the years of ethnic tension and continued unrest 1998-2002. The conflict caused the government to lose control over its finances and it could not resist demands for compensation; corruption and civil society broke down around them. Law and order was out of control, the government had great difficulties providing and paying for basic services, and the country was moving towards bankruptcy.¹⁰¹

Whether Solomon Islands had become a failed state or not is debatable, depending on how functional it once was according to specific criteria. Borrowing from Robert Rotberg, DFAT's report *Solomon Island: Rebuilding an Island Economy*, Solomon

¹⁰⁰ Department of Foreign Affairs and Trade, 'Solomon Islands: Rebuilding an Island Economy', Economic Analytical Unit, Figure 1.9, *Foreign debt rising sharply: Level of Solomon Islands' external debt, 1995-2003, SBD million*, 2004, p. 14

¹⁰¹ Graeme Dobell, 'Australia's intervention policy: a Melanesian learning curve?', in *Intervention and state-building in the Pacific: The legitimacy of 'cooperative intervention'*, eds. G. Fry and T. T. Kabutaulaka, Manchester University Press, Manchester, 2008, pp. 56-57

Islands was quickly becoming one by early 2003, when measured against the following characteristics:

WHAT IS A FAILED OR FAILING STATE?

Failed or failing states have certain characteristics including:

- a lack of governance, particularly a significant failure of law and order and an inability to provide nationwide security or assert any kind of power beyond a capital city
- deteriorating economic performance, contracting year-on-year GDP and per capita income, increasing income inequality, declining investment or disinvestment, low or negative savings, often an excessive public sector, a shrunken and declining private sector, rising inflation, falling exports, unsustainably high and increasing government debt, a continually depreciating currency and capital flight
- decaying or destroyed infrastructure
- educational and health systems that largely cease to function, falling literacy, rising infant mortality, falling life expectancy and AIDS or other public health epidemics overwhelming health infrastructure
- weak and flawed institutions where only the executive institution functions; the legislature, if it exists at all, is a rubber-stamp or is totally ineffective in providing leadership; the judiciary may not be independent; and the bureaucracy has lost its sense of professional responsibility
- corruption flourishing on an unusually destructive scale
- a state that has lost its basic legitimacy within its nominal borders, become irrelevant and has one or more groups seek autonomous control within the national territory or across borders.

A collapsed state is an extreme version of a failed state. It has a total vacuum of authority.

Source: Rotberg, 2002.

Source DFAT 2004.¹⁰²

It can first be noted that some of these criteria, such as weak and flawed institutions and deteriorating economic performance, can be detected in many states today. Still, it can be argued that Solomon Islands already showed, or were fast approaching, several of these signs of becoming a failed state, such as the deteriorating law and order-situation, GDP detracting years in a row, the education and health system in severe difficulty, corruption, and a government that had lost its control over its territory, including the ability to control the violence and to collect taxes functionally. Alfred Sasako, a Solomon Islands MP, wrote how the situation in July 2003 was desperate and how the government had no control over law and order in Honiara, where a “gun

¹⁰² Department of Foreign Affairs and Trade, *Solomon Islands: Rebuilding an Island Economy*, p. 24

culture” had emerged. Health-facilities were generally closed and schools were only sporadically open. The money meant for these services and for wages had instead gone to the “Special constables”, who according to Sasako, each received roughly AUD\$5 000 every two weeks as “allowance”. Several other schemes extracted money from the government, including renting out stolen cars by police to the police, and providing security.¹⁰³ *The Economist* had already in February 2003 discussed these problems and concluded that Solomon Islands was certainly on the path towards becoming a failed state.¹⁰⁴ The government could no longer provide basic services and was constantly subject to extortion from elements in the society, particularly the police. With the situation volatile Solomon Islands larger neighbours began to express concern, and Australia moved to overturn its previous policies and went on to fund and lead an intervention.

Australian Foreign Policy towards Solomon Islands up to 1998

The Australian government’s attitude towards Solomon Islands from independence to the first outbreak of violence in 1998 was characterised by a “hands-off”-approach. Concerns of being seen as “neo-colonialist” led the Australian government to follow a policy of aid rather than intervention, letting the island states of the Pacific decide on their political and economic futures themselves.¹⁰⁵ This policy was directed not just towards Solomon Islands but the South Pacific as a whole. Australia provided aid for food and education, as well as technical assistance and police training. In money terms, Australia provided A\$1.35 million dollars to Solomon Islands between 1971-76, then A\$6.9 million dollars to 1979. Later it amounted to A\$7.5 million of aid money per year between 1984 and 1989.¹⁰⁶

Despite its “hands-off” approach to the South Pacific, Australia still did intervene in the South Pacific pre-1998. However, the intervention in Bougainville 1997-2003 was more of support for a peace-monitoring mission than the more direct intervention in East Timor in 1999 and Solomon Islands in 2003. When the government was

¹⁰³ Alfred Sasako, ‘The Day and Forces that Changed Solomon Islands’, *Islands Business*, July 2003, pp. 38-39

¹⁰⁴ Anonymous, ‘The Pacific’s first failed state?’ *The Economist*, 15 February 2003

¹⁰⁵ Paul Monk, ‘Judgement and the Solomons’, *The Diplomat*, Vol. 2, Issue 3, August – September 2003, pp. 23

¹⁰⁶ Clive Moore, *Happy Isles in Crisis: The historical causes for a failing state in Solomon Islands, 1998-2004*, pp. 196-98

overthrown in Fiji in 1987 Australia sent naval ships, but they never landed, again a much smaller response than the subsequent interventions in East Timor and Solomon Islands.¹⁰⁷ The approach was still to refuse sending military and police to troubled islands, except as monitors and brokers of peace, letting the islands solve their own problems instead.¹⁰⁸ Australia's respect for the Pacific islands (including Solomon Islands) newly won sovereignty from the 1970s meant it tried hard to not to be seen as an interfering big brother.¹⁰⁹

The 1997 Foreign and Trade Policy White Paper did not mention Solomon Islands specifically. Instead it discussed the South Pacific as a whole, with the exception of Papua New Guinea which received special attention. The White Paper stressed working bilaterally and multilaterally with the island states through the South Pacific Forum (SPF). It also pointed out how Australia's actions (or inaction) in the region will affect how the rest of the world viewed Australia. Finally, support for what is termed "improved economic management" and "good governance" by the states in the South Pacific is a specific concern for Australia, which, if mismanaged, could lead to "negative consequences for Australian interests, including possible calls to intervene, and heightened calls for increased migration". The general impression is that it grouped all Pacific island states (except PNG) together in general statements. There was an awareness of the economic difficulties in some of the South Pacific countries, with fears of what was to come (calls for intervention).¹¹⁰

The Department of Foreign Affairs and Trade's (DFAT) Annual Report 1997-98 also highlighted regional economic reform. It noted how Australia had assisted with economic reform programs after receiving a request from the Solomon Islands government, as well as with law and order-issues, but it is not entirely clear exactly what that assistance consisted of. The opening of the Gold Ridge mine by the Australian company Ross Mining was highlighted as an outcome of the Australia-

¹⁰⁷ Stewart Firth, *Australia in International Politics: An introduction to Australian foreign policy*, Allen & Unwin, Crows Nest, Second Edition, 2005, p. 169

¹⁰⁸ David Hegarty & Anna Powles, 'South Pacific security', in *Strategy and Security in the Asia-Pacific*, eds. R. Ayson & D. Ball, Allen & Unwin, Crows Nest, 2006, p. 265

¹⁰⁹ S. Firth, *Australia in International Politics: An introduction to Australian foreign policy*, p.197

¹¹⁰ Department of Foreign Affairs and Trade, *In the National Interest, Australia's Foreign and Trade Policy White Paper 1997*, , Commonwealth of Australia, Barton ACT, 1997, pp. 68-70

Solomon Islands negotiations.¹¹¹ Up until 1998, focus is on providing aid and technical assistance but otherwise letting Solomon Islands decide for themselves what course of action to take. There was an awareness of not being seen as interfering too much in Solomon Islands' affairs and to respect its sovereignty. The "hands off"-approach was very much in place.

Australian Foreign Policy towards Solomon Islands 1998-2002

Australian foreign policy towards Solomon Islands after the outbreak of violence in late 1998 focussed on assisting the Solomon Islands government with the breakdown in law and order. After the coup of June 2000 the Australian and New Zealand governments contributed to the International Peace Monitoring Team (IPMT) that was set up to monitor the implementation of the TPA. The initial team was unarmed and consisted of 35 Australian observers and another 14 observers from New Zealand, with personnel participating from the Pacific Islands states of Cook Islands, Vanuatu and Tonga, along with the Commonwealth's Botswana in the second rotation.¹¹² Meanwhile, the situation steadily deteriorated in Solomon Islands up until the RAMSI-intervention in July 2003.

The DFAT annual reports for 1998-99 and 1999-2000 stress how the Australian government helped the Solomon government to manage 'ethnic tensions' after violence broke out in late 1998. It does not, however, go into any detail on what that 'help' consisted of.¹¹³ The Parliamentary Secretary for Foreign Affairs Kathy Sullivan visited Solomon Islands in mid-1999.¹¹⁴ Other senior departmental staff also made frequent visits to the islands to encourage the peace effort as part of Australia's

¹¹¹ Department of Foreign Affairs and Trade, *Annual Report 1997-98*, http://www.dfat.gov.au/dept/annual_reports/97_98/subprog14.html, [Date of visit 19 March 2007]

¹¹² C. Moore, *Happy Isles in Crisis: The historical causes for a failing state in Solomon Islands, 1998-2004*, p. 149, However, Fraenkel says there were 47, not 49, members of the team. See J. Fraenkel, *The Manipulation of Custom: From Uprising to Intervention in the Solomon Islands*, p. 102

¹¹³ Department of Foreign Affairs and Trade, *Annual Report 1998-99*, www.dfat.gov.au/dept/annual_reports/98_99/html/programs/subprogram14.htm [Date of visit 19 March 2007] and Department of Foreign Affairs and Trade, *Annual Report 1999-2000*, www.dfat.gov.au/dept/annual_reports/99_00/2/1/1.1.4.html [Date of visit 19 March 2007]

¹¹⁴ Department of Foreign Affairs and Trade, *Annual Report 1999-2000*, www.dfat.gov.au/dept/annual_reports/99_00/2/1/1.1.4.html [Date of visit 19 March 2007]

response to the crisis. Focus was on an internal solution, in line with earlier Australian policy on the South Pacific.¹¹⁵

Part of Australian policy was providing aid money to support the Solomon Islands government during these difficult times. In fact, in the lead up to the crisis in 1998 Australia had given A\$11 million dollars in aid in 1997-98, then 13.3A\$ million dollars 1998-1999, and A\$18.7 million dollars 1999-2000.¹¹⁶ The increasing amount of aid to Solomon Islands was part of the support given by the Australian government to the crisis. Australia was also the main financier of the Multinational Police Peace Monitoring Group (MPPMG) in October 1999 but did not send any personnel themselves.¹¹⁷ Peace talks in May and June 2000 were sponsored by the Australian government together with New Zealand but the Australian government again, however, emphasised that the problems in Solomon Islands was for them to solve and not by any foreign power.¹¹⁸ The Head of the Pacific Division of DFAT Greg Urwin visited Solomon Islands in April 2000 and met with the Prime Minister and other officials, as well as leaders of the different ethnic groups, in an effort to put a stop to the fighting.¹¹⁹

The Australian government's response to the 5 June 2000 coup in the Solomon's was to help broker a peace agreement between the warring sides by facilitating and promote the negotiations.¹²⁰ Australian Foreign minister Alexander Downer personally visited the Solomon Islands three times in 2000.¹²¹ These efforts resulted in the Townsville Peace Agreement, negotiated between the Solomon Islands government, the IMF and the MEF on Australian soil.¹²² Australia also contributed to the International Peace Monitoring Team set up through the TPA by sending 35 of the

¹¹⁵ Department of Foreign Affairs and Trade, *Annual Report 1999-2000*, Australian government, Canberra, www.dfat.gov.au/dept/annual_reports/99_00/2/1/1.1.4.html [Date of visit 19 March 2007]

¹¹⁶ C. Moore, *Happy Isles in Crisis: The historical causes for a failing state in Solomon Islands, 1998-2004*, Asia Pacific Press, Canberra, 2004, p.198

¹¹⁷ M. Sharp, 'Australian policy on the 'Ethnic Tension' in Solomon Islands 1999-2001', p. 3

¹¹⁸ M. Sharp, 'Australian policy on the 'Ethnic Tension' in Solomon Islands 1999-2001', pp. 3-4

¹¹⁹ C. Moore, *Happy Isles in Crisis: The historical causes for a failing state in Solomon Islands, 1998-2004*, pp. 129-30

¹²⁰ Department of Foreign Affairs and Trade, *Annual Report 1999-2000*, www.dfat.gov.au/dept/annual_reports/99_00/2/1/1.1.4.html [Date of visit 19 March 2007]

¹²¹ M. Sharp, 'Australian policy on the 'Ethnic Tension' in Solomon Islands 1999-2001', pp. 4-5

¹²² Department of Foreign Affairs and Trade, *Annual Report 2000-2001*, www.dfat.gov.au/dept/annual_reports/00_01/s02/02_1-1-4.html [Date of visit 19 March 2007]

49 observers.¹²³ According to Dinnen, the aim of Australia was to get a signed peace agreement between the IFM and the MEF, hoping that this would settle the hostilities once and for all.¹²⁴

Prime Minister Howard had failed attend the South Pacific Forum meetings in 1998 and 1999, but he did go to the October 2000-meeting. As Gurry has pointed out, depending on the response, Australia's problem was that it would either be seen as a bully or as neglecting the region.¹²⁵ However, the Australian government declined requests from the Solomon Islands government in early 2000 to send 50 armed police to help with the deteriorating law and order-situation.¹²⁶ Howard again stated two days after the coup in June 2000 that he had decided not to send police to Honiara. He was adamant that Australia would not be "the policemen of this part of the world". The Solomon Islands crisis needed "to be resolved domestically" and he was not willing to put "Australian police to an unacceptable risk". The absence of an exit strategy also played an important part in the decision not to send police to Solomon Islands, according to Howard.¹²⁷ Instead of sending in police and/or military troops the HMAS Manoora evacuated those Australians still in Solomon Islands.¹²⁸

The point was further driven home by Dr. Ashton Calvert, the Secretary of the Department of Foreign Affairs and Trade, in a speech on 3 August 2000. He stated "we cannot determine the course of the region, nor should we seek to". He went on: "It is not our role, however, nor is it in our interest to try to step in and run South Pacific countries in times of trouble. We will continue, as occasion demands, to advise and encourage – and, as in the recent case of Fiji, to warn – and to provide

¹²³ The remaining observers came from New Zealand. See C. Moore, *Happy Isles in Crisis: The historical causes for a failing state in Solomon Islands, 1998-2004*, p.149

¹²⁴ S. Dinnen, 'Political Chronicles: Winners and Losers – Politics and Disorder in the Solomon Islands 2000-2002', p. 291

¹²⁵ M. Gurry, 'Perspectives on Australian Foreign Policy 2000', pp. 15-16

¹²⁶ J. Fraenkel, *The Manipulation of Custom: From Uprising to Intervention in the Solomon Islands*, p. 83, see also G. Dobell, 'The South Pacific: Policy Taboos, Popular Amnesia and Political Failure', p. 17

¹²⁷ John Howard, 'Transcript of the Prime Minister The Hon John Howard MP Interview with Jeremy Cordeaux, Radio 5DN', , 7 June 2000

¹²⁸ C. Moore, *Happy Isles in Crisis: The historical causes for a failing state in Solomon Islands, 1998-2004*, p. 11

substantial, constructive support to them”. He concludes: “the island countries’ futures must be for them, not us, to determine”.¹²⁹

Foreign Minister Alexander Downer removed any doubt in a speech on 2 November 2000 to what the Australian policy was in the matter: “Australia is not a neo-colonial power. We are not going to take over countries in the Pacific and run their affairs for them. We believe that to do so would be unacceptable”. And to clarify: “Australia is not prepared to take an overbearing interventionist approach. It has been proven not to work in the past and, worse still, to leave a terrible legacy behind”. In this Downer compared any intervention to the actions of past colonial powers, but would later come to consider it necessary.¹³⁰

Finally, as the crisis and violence took the grip of Solomon Islands, Australia more than doubled its aid, providing A\$35.1 million in 2000-2001, A\$40.6 million 2001-2002, A\$36.2 million 2002-03, and A\$37.4 million 2003-04.¹³¹ However, Helen Hughes argued that just giving aid could have the opposite effect than intended. In her report released just a month before the announcement of the RAMSI-intervention, she showed how economic aid had actually made the situation worse, rather than helping.¹³² The fact that the Solomon Islands economy continued to deteriorate in 2002 indicate that Hughes may have been correct. GDP hit its lowest point in late 2002. Even though the economy began to slowly pick up again in 2003 the situation was still serious and the government’s financial position desperate.¹³³

The Solomon Islands government again asked in December 2001 for Australian police officers to help monitor the election. Again the request was denied; instead the

¹²⁹ Ashton Calvert, ‘Secretary’s Speech: Australia’s Foreign and Trade Policy Agenda, Speech by Dr Ashton Calvert, Secretary of the Department of Foreign Affairs and Trade, to the National Press Club’, 3 August 2000

¹³⁰ Alexander Downer, ‘Speech by the Hon Alexander Downer, MP, Minister for Foreign Affairs, at the RIAP’s Pacific Economic Outlook seminar’, Sydney, 2 November 2000, See also Alexander Downer, ‘Australian Foreign Policy – a Liberal Perspective’, *Australian Journal of International Affairs*, Vol. 55, No. 3, 2001, p. 340 for further emphasis on this policy

¹³¹ C. Moore, *Happy Isles in Crisis: The historical causes for a failing state in Solomon Islands, 1998-2004*, pp. 196-98

¹³² Helen Hughes, ‘Aid Has Failed the Pacific’, *The Centre for Independent Studies*, Issue Analysis No. 33, 7 May 2003

¹³³ J. Fraenkel, *The Manipulation of Custom: From Uprising to Intervention in the Solomon Islands*, p. 152

Australian government gave \$3 million dollars to assist with the election.¹³⁴ The conflict also had an effect on Australian trade. For example, merchandise exports from Australia to Solomon Islands fell from \$99 million dollars in 1999, before the conflict began, to \$55 million dollars in 2002.¹³⁵

The Australian government's position towards the escalating violence during 1998-2002 was to increase aid and support to the Solomon Islands government, which was too weak to establish law and order. Australia had also twice denied requests from the Solomon Islands government to send armed police to assist them but instead acted as the peace-broker, supporting the peace negotiations between the government and the warring parties. The policy was stable: Solomon Islanders had to solve their problem themselves without direct intervention by Australia, which was adamant it would not be seen to be a neo-colonial power in the South Pacific.

2002-2003 - The road towards a change in policy

In 2002-03 there were further signs of deterioration in the Solomon Islands' society and economy. The Australian rhetoric remained constant right up to the change in policy, however, there were signs in the lead-up that a shift was possible. Foreign minister Downer visited Solomon Islands in January 2002 together with New Zealand's Foreign Minister Phil Goff to get a first-hand look at the situation and to meet the newly elected Prime Minister Allen Kemakeza. Downer repeated the Australian policy that the situation in Solomon Islands could only be sorted out by Solomon Islands government itself. The bad situation was illustrated by the fact that some of the meetings between Kemakeza, Downer and Goff were held in darkness, since the electricity did not work properly. Despite that, Downer rejected further aid-support, instead offering more help training Solomon Islands police.¹³⁶ Downer appointed diplomat Perry Head as a "special adviser to the Solomon government", to help getting the law and order-situation under control.¹³⁷ Although Downer said that he was told "that there are some real signs of improvements taking place", the

¹³⁴ T. T. Kabutaulaka, 'A Weak State and the Solomon Islands Peace Process', p. 17

¹³⁵ Department of Foreign Affairs and Trade, *Advancing the national interest*, Commonwealth of Australia, 2003, p. 93

¹³⁶ Tim Colebatch, 'Downer Rejects Aid Plea From Solomons', *The Age*, 10 January 2002

¹³⁷ Mary-Louise O'Callaghan, 'Downer appoints Solomons Mr Fix-it', *The Australian*, 9 January 2002

experiences on the ground combined with reports that 1200 ‘Special constables’, essentially armed militias, received wages without actually doing any police work probably indicated to him that things were not going all that well. Downer did, however, call for their disarmament and for them to join the regular police force.¹³⁸

As a result of the ‘Special constables’ not being disarmed, Australia withdrew the police monitoring the TPA-agreement in mid-February 2002. It was on one hand done in protest at the lack of progress by the Solomon Islands government, although not stated as such, but it can also be seen as a sign of admission that the process was not working. Downer’s comment that the team had done “about all it can do” reflects the latter.¹³⁹ The monitoring team was finally pulled out in June 2002. Despite the appearance of failure, Downer attempted to put a positive spin on the withdrawal, pointing out that “it has ended ethnic conflict and overseen the destruction of over 2000 weapons”. It was clear, though, that the situation was not under control since reports came in at the same time about a possible massacre conducted by Keke’s gang and also the fact that DFAT issued a travel warning for Solomon Islands, stating that “considerable work remains to be done to reconcile former combatants, who still hold large numbers of weapons”.¹⁴⁰

The policy of providing a large amount of aid to Solomon Islands (A\$36 million dollars) instead continued but no other special efforts were initiated.¹⁴¹ Prime Minister Howard went to Fiji for the Pacific Island Forum meeting in August with a message that future aid could be reviewed through measures of “good governance” and improved law and order. Howard was also proposing to the PIF-meeting to elect Greg Urwin, a former Australian diplomat, as the new Secretary-General for the PIF, a position traditionally held by a Pacific islander.¹⁴² Barker noted Prime Minister Howard’s decision to attend the 2002 PIF-meeting, having only attended 4 out of 7 as Prime Minister, combined with the tougher approach on aid and the push for Urwin as PIF Secretary-General, signalled a harsher line towards the Pacific Islands states, and

¹³⁸ T. Colebatch, ‘Downer Rejects Aid Plea From Solomons’, *The Age*, 10 January 2002

¹³⁹ M-L O’Callaghan, ‘Solomons observers out’, *The Australian*, 16 February 2002

¹⁴⁰ Mark Forbes, ‘Australian withdrawal from Solomons sparks violence fears’, *The Age*, 26 June 2002

¹⁴¹ Aaron Patrick, ‘Supplement – The Pacific gets a funding lift’, *Financial Review*, 15 May 2002

¹⁴² Geoffrey Barker, ‘Security threat in Pacific unrest’, *Financial Review*, 12 August 2002 and Geoffrey Barker, ‘PM signals tougher line on Pacific aid’, *Financial Review*, 16 August 2002

particularly the Solomon Islands.¹⁴³ In two articles Barker argued that the so-called “Arc of Instability” needed much more attention by the Australian government. The risk of having failed, or failing, states in the immediate neighbourhood required urgent action and Barker saw few signs of new ideas on how to approach the issue.¹⁴⁴ Howard came out of the 2002 PIF-meeting in Fiji displaying confidence in the decision to have the PIF continue to monitor Solomon Islands and with the hope that it would be a more stable Solomon Islands at the time of the next PIF-meeting a year from then. However, the “step forward” as Howard called it, had not resulted in anything concrete being done. The discussion instead focussed on the terrorism-threat, in line with global agenda since the September-11 attacks. The Forum issued a declaration on regional security, stressing the need for the members to combat terrorism and transnational crime.¹⁴⁵

As the year continued there were no obvious improvements in Solomon Islands. Concerns over the continuing deterioration of the economic and security situation in Solomon Islands caused Foreign Minister Downer to send a High Level Mission to Solomon Islands between 1-4 October 2002, consisting of Australian and New Zealand officials.¹⁴⁶ Briefings by Australian senior officials indicated that the situation would continue to be dire for a long time and would take decades to resolve properly. Several requests had been made by the Solomon Islands government but were refused by Australia holding on to the policy that only Solomon Islands could resolve the problems themselves. According to a senior official “if we intervened with a military force we would be running the joint for the next 20 to 50 years”.¹⁴⁷ At this stage it was becoming clear that the policies did not work but at the same time the Australian government refused to consider the military intervention-option. Doing what they were doing was clearly not enough but Australia was convinced that

¹⁴³ G. Barker, ‘Security threat in Pacific unrest’, *Financial Review*, 12 August 2002 and G. Barker, ‘PM signals tougher line on Pacific aid’, *Financial Review*, 16 August 2002

¹⁴⁴ See for example, G. Barker, ‘The arc of instability’, *Financial Review*, 1 August 2002, G. Barker, ‘Security threat in Pacific unrest’, *Financial Review*, 12 August 2002

¹⁴⁵ Mary-Louise O’Callaghan, ‘Pacific anti-terror plan born’, *The Australian*, 17 August 2002 and Department of Foreign Affairs and Trade, ‘Thirty-Third Pacific Islands Forum, Suva, Fiji, 15-17 August 2002, Forum Communique’, http://www.dfat.gov.au/GEO/spacific/regional_orgs/pif33_communique.html [Date Accessed 30 January 2009]

¹⁴⁶ Alexander Downer, ‘High Level Mission to Solomon Islands and Vanuatu’, Media Release, 1 October 2002

¹⁴⁷ Mark Forbes, ‘Grim outlook on security for Pacific states’, *The Age*, 3 October 2002

stronger measures would bring accusations of acting like a “colonial” power. The mission to Solomon Islands and which included a stop in Vanuatu, can be seen as an indication that the Australian government was at a loss of what to do, hoping answers would come out of the visit.

Australia began assisting the Solomon Islands government in October 2002 to integrate the so-called Police Field Force into the regular police force. The Police Field Force had a close connection to the MEF and the 2000-coup, and was a para-military part of the RSIP, separate from the Special Constables. Its integration into the regular police force was set as a condition for further Australian aid.¹⁴⁸

Just over one week later the Bali bombing on 12 October 2002 killed 202 people, including 88 Australian citizens. The Australian government adopted the view that the terrorism-threat to Australia was real and that its neighbours warranted close watch. Since Australia and Australians were clearly now confirmed targets the region became even more important, particularly in the context of the “war-on-terror”.¹⁴⁹ The region, and with it Solomon Islands, would from now on figure more and more often in the terrorism-discussions.

Growing concerns over the Solomon Islands-situation were apparent by December 2002. Several reports indicate a shift in thinking around this time. Geoffrey Barker raised the question whether the withdrawal of SAS-troops from Afghanistan had anything to do with these growing concerns of the immediate neighbourhood and the need for the troops closer to home? Several areas were of concern – Indonesia, East Timor, The Solomons, Papua New Guinea and Vanuatu for example.¹⁵⁰ Rowan Callick suggested that riots in Dili, East Timor had got the attention of the Australian government and the multitude of issues in the area had brought a new focus on the “Arc of instability” again.¹⁵¹ Callick reports on how a change in thinking was developing in the Australian government. An acceptance that the “hands-off”-approach has not worked was emerging and that a new tactic was needed. A more

¹⁴⁸ M-L O’Callaghan, ‘Canberra to shake up police coup unit’, *The Australian*, 11 October 2002 and J. Fraenkel, *The Manipulation of Custom: From Uprising to Intervention in the Solomon Islands*, p. 126

¹⁴⁹ T. T. Kabutaulaka, “Failed State” and the War on Terror: Intervention in Solomon Islands’, p. 4

¹⁵⁰ Geoffrey Barker, ‘Behind the troops’ recall’, *Financial Review*, 25 November 2002

¹⁵¹ Rowan Callick, “Arc of instability’ back on foreign policy agenda’, *Financial Review*, 6 December 2002

“hands-on”-approach with a long-term focus rather than short-term was being considered seriously now.¹⁵²

The ASPI-report¹⁵³ “Beyond Bali” released in November 2002 also argued that the “hands-off”-approach did not work and that Australia needed to engage more directly with its Pacific neighbours, particularly Papua New Guinea, Vanuatu, and Solomon Islands. The report states that this will be “nothing less than a change of policy paradigm”.¹⁵⁴ The ASPI report argues a number of reasons to why this policy change should take place: humanitarian concerns, the risk that criminal networks will take advantage of Pacific weak states, being used as a base for a conventional or terrorist attack on Australia. In order to avoid these security risks to Australia, a more direct, “hands-on”-approach was needed.¹⁵⁵ The release of the report in November with its policy suggestions and newspaper reports of a new thinking in the Australian government is probably linked. Up until November the Australian government seemed to struggle for solutions to the deterioration of the Solomon Islands economy and society and to accept the failure of the “hands-off”-policy. The ASPI-report brought fresh thinking on the overall Pacific issue, however, possibly not detailed enough for policy-makers to change approach towards Solomon Islands just yet. The first step to a change in policy is often to accept that the old policy is a failed policy.

Alexander Downer’s concern was further displayed with his trip to Solomon Islands of 17-18 December 2002. He expressed “deep concern” about the situation and conveyed to PM Kemakeza that Australia would continue to assist his government. He did however criticise the lack of commitment shown by the Solomon Islands government to solve the critical situation¹⁵⁶ and dismissed concerns expressed in the ASPI-report that terrorists might set up base in Solomon Islands as “exaggerated”

¹⁵² Rowan Callick, “Hands-off” approach not working in troubled region’, *Financial Review*, 7 December 2002

¹⁵³ ASPI is funded from the Department of Defence budget but is intended to be non-partisan and “to promote contestability in policy advice”. See Australian Strategic Policy Institute, ‘About ASPI’, <http://www.aspi.org.au/aboutaspi/aboutaspi.aspx> [Date Accessed 31 January 2009]

¹⁵⁴ Australian Strategic Policy Institute, ‘Beyond Bali: ASPI’s Strategic Assessment 2002’, November 2002, p. 29 <http://www.aspi.org.au/publications/publicationlist.aspx?pubtype=1> [Accessed 22 February 2009]

¹⁵⁵ Australian Strategic Policy Institute, ‘Beyond Bali: ASPI’s Strategic Assessment 2002’, November 2002, pp. 28-29 <http://www.aspi.org.au/publications/publicationlist.aspx?pubtype=1> [Accessed 22 February 2009]

¹⁵⁶ Alexander Downer, ‘Visit to Solomon Islands’, Media Release, 19 December 2002

while admitting that the weak financial system could be used by terrorist groups for money laundering.¹⁵⁷ He also re-emphasised the Australian policy that it could help with aid and broad economic management but that “there are things we can’t do, things that the Solomon Islanders have to do themselves”.¹⁵⁸ Thus, there was no indication as of yet of a change in policy. Later on in June 2003 after the policy had changed, Downer admitted that it was the visit in December 2002 to Solomon Islands was the point where he “became uncertain that just by continuing the policy we were pursuing we were going to achieve the breakthrough that I wanted.”¹⁵⁹

At the time, though, Downer continued to insist publicly on the “hands-off”-approach and to speak against an Australian intervention. The strongest affirmation of that policy came in an article written by Alexander Downer in *The Australian* on 8 January 2003. In it he stated:

Sending in Australian troops to occupy Solomon Islands would be folly in the extreme. It would be widely resented in the Pacific region. It would be very difficult to justify to Australian taxpayers. And for how many years would such an occupation have to continue? And what would be the exit strategy? The real show-stopper, however, is that it would not work – no matter how it was dressed up, whether as an Australian or a Commonwealth or a Pacific Islands Forum initiative. The fundamental problem is that foreigners do not have answers for the deep-seated problems afflicting Solomon Islands.¹⁶⁰

Downer acknowledged the many problems in Solomon Islands but pointed towards the aid given and other help provided by Australia. He finished the article by saying that:

We are doing as much as we reasonably can, recognising that there are limits to what outsiders can do. But the challenges are large and there are no quick fixes; change is going to take time. It will be a process of evolution, not a revolution. It will be a long, hard road, but it is the only way forward.¹⁶¹

Australian policy could not have been stated any more clearly. The “hands-off” policy in place would continue, and for a long time. It is interesting to note the later admission that Downer already in December, about 2 weeks before the article was

¹⁵⁷ Alexander Downer, ‘Doorstop interview’, Sydney, 17 December 2002

¹⁵⁸ Alexander Downer, ‘Interview with ABC’s Sean Dorney, Solomon Islands’, 18 December 2002

¹⁵⁹ Alexander Downer, ‘Question and Answer Session following Address to National Press Club’, 26 June 2003

¹⁶⁰ Alexander Downer, ‘Neighbours cannot be recolonised’ *The Australian*, 8 January 2003

¹⁶¹ A. Downer ‘Neighbours cannot be recolonised’ *The Australian*, 8 January 2003

published, had doubts about the policy but still reaffirmed the “hands-off” view so strongly in the article.

The 2003 DFAT White Paper which was released in February 2003 acknowledges that “Australia has a particular responsibility to help the countries of the South Pacific deal with their deep-seated problems” but also states that “we are prepared to help those countries which are prepared to help themselves”¹⁶², a clear indicator that the “hands-off”-policy was still very much in place. The White Paper also declares that small, weak states in the South Pacific are vulnerable to criminal networks and terrorist supporters, and that it “directly affects Australia’s security interests”.¹⁶³ However, despite this threat, the White Paper stresses that “Australia cannot presume to fix the problems of the South Pacific countries. Australia is not a neo-colonial power”. The paper goes on emphasising the need for the island states to help themselves, with assistance from Australia in the form of aid and technical advice.¹⁶⁴ Again it is clear that the “hands-off”-approach stands and the official line remained the same. Foreign Minister Downer once again affirmed this long-standing policy at the launch of the White Paper on 12 February 2003, saying in regards to a intervention in Solomon Islands would be “bitterly resented in the Solomon Islands itself” and stated indirectly that the Solomon Islanders had to solve the problems themselves.¹⁶⁵ So despite signs elsewhere of a possible change, the government policy stayed the same. Shortly after the White Paper was released the Defence Department in March 2003 issued a “Defence Update” on Australia’s national security. This document echoes the Foreign Affairs and Trade Policy White Paper in saying that

... the Australian Government should not be expected to solve the problems of the Solomon Islands, and anyway cannot do so. It is only the people and their leaders who can end the violence and give Solomon Islands the stability necessary to address its economic and political problems.¹⁶⁶

¹⁶² Department of Foreign Affairs and Trade, *Advancing the national interest*, Commonwealth of Australia, 2003, p. xvii

¹⁶³ Department of Foreign Affairs and Trade, *Advancing the national interest*, Commonwealth of Australia, 2003, p.23

¹⁶⁴ Department of Foreign Affairs and Trade, *Advancing the national interest*, Commonwealth of Australia, 2003, p. 93

¹⁶⁵ Alexander Downer, ‘Q & A at the launch of the foreign and trade policy White Paper “Advancing the National Interest” at the National Press Club, Canberra’, 12 February 2003

¹⁶⁶ Department of Defence, *Australia’s National Security: A Defence Update 2003*, Commonwealth of Australia, p. 21

The Update at the same time leaves open the possibility that the Australian Defence Forces (ADF) may be involved in future crises down the track, by “providing assistance” to island states, thus at least recognising the possibility of some sort of Australian intervention into one or more of the Pacific states. However, given the tone of the Defence Update-paper it is more of a last resort option.¹⁶⁷

Meanwhile, more and more calls for a change in policy towards the South Pacific countries were heard, particularly in relation to Papua New Guinea, Solomon Islands and Vanuatu. Graeme Dobell gave a public lecture in Canberra on 12 February 2003; the same day the Foreign and Trade Policy White Paper was released. Dobell attacked the failed Australian policy in the South Pacific, saying much of it “has been reduced to aid policy”.¹⁶⁸ He argued for a change in policy, a new policy where Australia would allow workers from the Pacific islands to Australia, propose further economic cooperation, introducing the Australian dollar as a regional currency, in order to help the failing states back on their feet.¹⁶⁹

Mike Manning and Susan Windybank of the Centre of Independent Studies warned in March 2003 that Papua New Guinea was heading towards collapse like Solomon Islands if nothing was done soon. They simply stated that Australia’s aid policy towards PNG did not work and that a change in policy was needed if the Australian government didn’t want to see PNG collapsing. This change would require Australia to go from passive to a more active role.¹⁷⁰ Their paper concerns PNG but it highlighted the failure of the “hands-off”-approach towards Melanesia as a whole.

Another report from the right-wing think-tank Centre for Independent Studies in May 2003 criticised Australian aid-policy in the South Pacific. Helen Hughes put forward a neo-liberal argument that aid was detrimental to the Pacific state’s economy rather than helping them. She suggests a change in the Australian aid-policy where “conditionality under the principle of mutual obligation” would be implemented. To stop aid completely would be the best option, according to Hughes, but would be seen

¹⁶⁷ Department of Defence, *Australia’s National Security: A Defence Update 2003*, Commonwealth of Australia, pp. 20-21

¹⁶⁸ G. Dobell, ‘The South Pacific: Policy Taboos, Popular Amnesia and Political Failure’, p. 4

¹⁶⁹ G. Dobell, ‘The South Pacific: Policy Taboos, Popular Amnesia and Political Failure’, pp. 4-5

¹⁷⁰ Susan Windybank & Mike Manning, ‘Papua New Guinea On the Brink’, Issue Analysis, No. 30, *The Centre for Independent Studies*, 12 March 2003, p. 12

as a too radical approach.¹⁷¹ In a later paper she states the similar point that as long as unconditional aid is provided the Pacific states will not change their economic management.¹⁷² Chris Gallus, the Parliamentary Secretary for Foreign Affairs, argued in response to Hughes's first article that the Australian government was already doing what Hughes want them to do. All aid-programs were working according to how Hughes wanted them to work. She added that the situation was "not quite as desperate as Helen would make us seem".¹⁷³

Meanwhile, The Australian Strategic Policy Institute had been working on a follow-up paper to its "Beyond-Bali" report, this time focused on Solomon Islands. The report, named "Our Failing Neighbour", proposed a significant policy change towards Solomon Islands. The report stated that the approach currently taken did not work, nor could the aid be suspended. Letting Solomon Islands continue its decline was not an option either. More importantly, it recognised that Solomon Islands could not solve the crisis by itself.¹⁷⁴

The report proposed a new more direct approach, breaking with the long-standing policy towards the Pacific as a whole. It would entail deploying roughly 150 policemen in Solomon Islands for up to a year. A smaller military force would be standing by to be deployed to Solomon Islands, if needed, to back up the police. "Judicial and correctional personnel" would also be brought in this first phase of the intervention to ensure a functioning legal and prison system. The operation would be put under a multinational agency and the whole operation would be multinational in composition. The main aim at first would be to get the law and order situation under control.¹⁷⁵ The second phase would be aimed at ensuring for the future that Solomon Islands would have an effective government. This phase would target the underlying issues to the problem by building up the political and economic institutions, thereby

¹⁷¹ H. Hughes, 'Aid Has Failed the Pacific', p. 26

¹⁷² H. Hughes, 'Helping the Islands to help Themselves', *Quadrant*, July-August 2003, p. 49

¹⁷³ Chris Gallus, 'Interview with ABC 666 Canberra', 8 May 2003

¹⁷⁴ Australian Strategic Policy Institute, 'Our Failing Neighbour: Australia and the Future of Solomon Islands', June 2003, p. 3

¹⁷⁵ Australian Strategic Policy Institute, 'Our Failing Neighbour: Australia and the Future of Solomon Islands', pp. 4, 41-43

improving health, education and other areas that had been suffering from poor governance. ASPI estimated the two-phase operation to last to up to 10 years.¹⁷⁶

The Director of ASPI Hugh White had been distributing drafts of the report among the bureaucracy long before it was released publicly on 10 June 2003. He also began to have “consultative sessions with all the relevant ministries, departments, and agencies, including the intelligence establishments as well as foreign missions and organisations to workshop some new ideas on the Solomon’s” by the end of 2002.¹⁷⁷ That would have been shortly after the “Beyond-Bali”-report which had pointed out the problems, so he then actively set out to try to convince the bureaucracy to change direction in the case of Solomon Islands. As Mary-Louise O’Callaghan put it, “White understands the beast that is government; the complex combinations that go to make up policy decisions but, most important, how the juggernaut of political thinking is capable of suddenly sending the bureaucrats scuttling in a direction they’ve been studiously avoiding for years”.¹⁷⁸ A deliberate attempt by White and ASPI to influence the government to change its policy had been set in motion.

Elsina Wainwright, who prepared the ASPI-report “Our Failing Neighbour”, wrote in *Financial Review* already in October 2002 arguing for a change in policy towards the Pacific, a more direct approach to address states heading towards “failed-state”-status, pointing out Solomon Islands as the state furthest along that process. Wainwright had put the risk of failed states in the context of terrorism in relation to the Bali-bombings only 11 days earlier and warned that “they can also become havens for terrorist organisations”. This threat would warrant a more “hands-on”-approach to stop Solomon Islands, Papua New Guinea, and Vanuatu becoming failed states.¹⁷⁹ Wainwright later gave further detailed examples of the risk that failed states can pose to other countries, for example, Somalia and Afghanistan.¹⁸⁰

¹⁷⁶ Australian Strategic Policy Institute, ‘Our Failing Neighbour: Australia and the Future of Solomon Islands’, pp. 44-46

¹⁷⁷ Mary-Louise O’Callaghan, ‘Pacific policemen’, *The Australian*, 14 June 2003

¹⁷⁸ M-L O’Callaghan, ‘Pacific policemen’, *The Australian*, 14 June 2003

¹⁷⁹ Elsina Wainwright, ‘Pacific states are likely havens for terror’, *Financial Review*, 23 October 2002

¹⁸⁰ Elsina Wainwright, ‘Responding to state failure – the case of Australia and Solomon Islands’, *Australian Journal of International Affairs*, Vol. 57, No. 3, November 2003, pp. 485-87

Meanwhile, Solomon Prime Minister Kemakeza sent a letter to PM Howard on 22 April, again asking for assistance and to meet with Howard to discuss the desperate situation in Solomon Islands. Howard called Downer who said: “Look, the situation is just dire, I think we should take this very seriously and have a look at what we can do”.¹⁸¹ The first step in the process had been taken. Downer and Howard were now seriously contemplating a more drastic change in policy towards Solomon Islands.

Howard’s reply was the first positive response received from such a request to a Solomon Islands government. The message included an invitation to Australia for further talk about what to do with the situation in Solomon Islands.¹⁸² Foreign Minister Downer met with PM Kemakeza in Japan on 18 May, delivering said message. Downer and PM Kemakeza discussed the situation and new options available for Australia helping the Solomon Islands government with its law and order-crisis.¹⁸³ At the same time Downer began exploring the different options through DFAT on how to help solve the problems in Solomon Islands.¹⁸⁴ A Solomon Islands Task Force was set up, led by DFAT’s Graham Fletcher, to coordinate planning between DFAT, Australian Defence Department and the Australian Federal Police.¹⁸⁵

Further light on the deteriorating situation in Solomon Islands hit Australia and the government when news came of the Australian missionary that had been beheaded in Solomon Islands on 18 May, the same day Downer met with Kemakeza in Tokyo.¹⁸⁶ The murder received wide attention in Australian media and would have alerted many of the unaware public of the situation in Solomon Islands. Downer commented on it as “absolutely horrific” and again expressed his concern of the law and order situation.¹⁸⁷

¹⁸¹ M-L O’Callaghan, ‘Pacific policemen’, *The Australian*, 14 June 2003, for date of letter see Australian House of Representatives, ‘Ministerial statement to parliament on the Regional Assistance Mission to the Solomon Islands’, Official Hansard, No. 11, 12 August 2003, p. 18197

¹⁸² M-L O’Callaghan, ‘Pacific policemen’, *The Australian*, 14 June 2003

¹⁸³ Alexander Downer, ‘ABC Radio – Interview with Matt Peacock’, 20 May 2003 and M-L O’Callaghan, ‘Pacific policemen’, *The Australian*, 14 June 2003

¹⁸⁴ M-L O’Callaghan, ‘Pacific policemen’, *The Australian*, 14 June 2003

¹⁸⁵ Mark Plunkett, ‘Stress-Testing Solomon Islands Peace Operation Scenarios’, *Key Centre for Ethics, Law, Justice and Governance*, Griffith University, 31 July 2003, p. 11

¹⁸⁶ M-L O’Callaghan, ‘Australian missionary beheaded in Solomons’, *The Australian*, 19 May 2003

¹⁸⁷ A. Downer, ‘ABC Radio – Interview with Matt Peacock’, 20 May 2003

Cabinet's National Security Committee met on 28 May, deciding that all options were open, including armed intervention. The Solomon Islands PM Kemakeza flew to Canberra on 5 June.¹⁸⁸ He met with Prime Minister Howard, Foreign Minister Downer, and Defence Minister Robert Hill, who informed him that Australia might be willing to send police and possibly military forces to Solomon Islands to address the dire situation there, provided the Solomon Islands government agreed to certain economic conditions and reforms to get the country back on its feet.¹⁸⁹

On 10 June 2003 Alexander Downer launched the ASPI-report "Our Failing Neighbour" saying it was a "very timely report" considering the development lately. He refers to the report as a "key contribution" and it and its recommendations "will be a reference point in our policy development process".¹⁹⁰ The fact that Downer himself launches the report indicates its importance in the government's rethink on Solomon Islands and what action to pursue. Downer would most likely have been aware of the report's contents several weeks before the launch. He later expressed his admiration for the paper, saying: "I think the ASPI paper is a very good paper by the way, very impressed by it".¹⁹¹

A high level scoping mission team of Australian and New Zealand officials, the Australian Joint Departmental Focus Group consisting of personnel from DFAT, AFP, and the ADF, went to Solomon Islands in 10 June to assess the situation and to what could be done by a possible intervention.¹⁹² Downer was waiting for their report before making further decisions.¹⁹³ Their impressions and advice was taken to the National Security Committee of Cabinet by Alexander Downer on 25 June.¹⁹⁴ The Scoping Missions report was also referred to by Downer and New Zealand's Foreign

¹⁸⁸ M-L O'Callaghan, 'Pacific policemen', *The Australian*, 14 June 2003

¹⁸⁹ Mary-Louise O'Callaghan, 'PM offers Solomons force', *The Australian*, 6 June 2003

¹⁹⁰ Alexander Downer, 'Our Failing Neighbour: Australia and the future of the Solomon Islands, Speech at the launch of the Australian Strategic Policy Institute report', Sydney, 10 June 2003

¹⁹¹ Alexander Downer, 'Doorstop- Parliament House', 25 June 2003

¹⁹² Alexander Downer, 'Talks On Solomon Islands', Media Release, 25 June 2003 and A. Downer, 'Our Failing Neighbour: Australia and the future of the Solomon Islands, Speech at the launch of the Australian Strategic Policy Institute report', Sydney, 10 June 2003, and M. Plunkett, 'Stress-Testing Solomon Islands Peace Operation Scenarios', p. 11

¹⁹³ Alexander Downer, 'Doorstop – Parliament House', 10 June 2003

¹⁹⁴ A. Downer, 'Doorstop- Parliament House', 25 June 2003

Minister Phil Goff at the Pacific Islands Forum's Foreign Ministers meeting in Sydney on 30 June.¹⁹⁵

On 25 June 2003 the Australian government, through discussions in the National Security Committee of Cabinet, took the in-principle decision to send a regional assistance mission to Solomon Islands. Certain conditions had to be met first, though:

1. A formal request from the Solomon Islands Government was required;
2. Legislation needed to be enacted by the Solomon Islands parliament that allowed external personnel to be in Solomon Islands and to perform their duty under the mission;
3. The initiative had to be endorsed by the Pacific Islands Forum (PIF).¹⁹⁶

The reasons given by Howard and Downer for the Solomon Islands-intervention, dubbed "Co-operative intervention" by Downer¹⁹⁷, were that Australia could not have a failed state so close to its shores. It could possibly become a safe haven for criminal networks and even terrorists operating from Solomon Islands and threatening Australian security. It was therefore also in Australian national interest to prevent that from happening.¹⁹⁸ Downer admitted that there were no evidence of terrorist activity in the South Pacific, only money laundering on a small scale, but he emphasised the possibility of it happening if Solomon Islands became a failed state and too weak to stop criminal and/or terrorist elements using the islands as a base for operations against Australia.¹⁹⁹ References were also made to the responsibility Australia has for its part of the world, "our patch", that the rest of the world expected Australia to ensure stability in this region.²⁰⁰

¹⁹⁵ Alexander Downer, 'Joint Press Conference following Pacific Islands Forum Foreign Ministers Meeting, Sydney', 30 June 2003

¹⁹⁶ Australian House of Representatives, 'Ministerial statement to parliament on the Regional Assistance Mission to the Solomon Islands' 12 August 2003, p. 18199 and A. Downer, 'Security in an Unstable World, Speech at the National Press Club', 26 June 2003

¹⁹⁷ A. Downer, 'Our Failing Neighbour: Australia and the future of the Solomon Islands, Speech at the launch of the Australian Strategic Policy Institute report', Sydney, 10 June 2003

¹⁹⁸ John Howard, 'Transcript of the Prime Minister the Hon John Howard MP Interview with Charles Wooley, 60 Minutes', 20 July 2003

¹⁹⁹ A. Downer, 'Doorstop- Parliament House', 25 June 2003

²⁰⁰ John Howard, 'Transcript of the Prime Minister the Hon John Howard MP interview with Kerry O'Brien, the 7.30-report, ABC', 25 June 2003 and John Howard, 'Transcript of the Prime Minister the Hon John Howard MP press conference Canberra', 22 July 2003

The first condition was met on 4 July when the Governor-General of Solomon Islands Sir John Lapli formally requested assistance, so advised by the cabinet of Prime Minister Kemakeza. The Solomon Islands parliament passed a motion supporting the assistance-mission on 11 July and then passed legislation on 17 July granting immunity and certain powers to all the police and military that would take part in the intervention.²⁰¹

Meanwhile, the Pacific Islands Forum endorsed the intervention. The PIF had at its meeting in August 2002 issued a statement expressing its concern over the poor situation in Solomon Islands but the only action taken back then was to monitor the situation and wait to hear from an ‘eminent person’s group’. Geoffrey Barker describes it as “their inability to consider anything beyond continuation of the eminent person’s group reflected the forums impotence”.²⁰² However, with the intervention looming the Foreign Ministers of the PIF’s member states met in Sydney on 30 June.²⁰³ Australian officials had already talked to the different member states before the meeting, so they were aware of what the agenda would be.²⁰⁴ The meeting was held under the provisions of the Biketawa declaration, which allows for emergency meetings between the member states in case of a member state being under threat, be it domestic or external.²⁰⁵ With all 16 member states represented a unanimous decision was taken to support the proposal for an intervention into the Solomon Islands.²⁰⁶ The Australian government now had what they required for an intervention; A formal request from the Solomon Islands, unanimous support by the other island states in the South Pacific through the Pacific Islands Forum, legal protection for the intervention-forces while operating in the Solomon Islands. The intervention was multinational in nature with contributions from several countries in the region, particularly New Zealand.

²⁰¹ Australian House of Representatives, ‘Ministerial statement to parliament on the Regional Assistance Mission to the Solomon Islands’ 12 August 2003, p. 18199

²⁰² Geoffrey Barker, ‘Forum sidesteps Solomons issue’, *Financial Review*, 17 August 2002

²⁰³ A. Downer, ‘Joint Press Conference following Pacific Islands Forum Foreign Ministers Meeting, Sydney’, 30 June 2003

²⁰⁴ A. Downer, ‘Doorstop- Parliament House’, 25 June 2003

²⁰⁵ Pacific Islands Forum Secretariat, “Biketawa” Declaration’, 2000, http://forumsec.org/_resources/article/files/Biketawa%20Declaration.pdf [Date accessed 1 July 2007] and A. Downer, ‘Talks On Solomon Islands’, Media Release, 25 June 2003

²⁰⁶ A. Downer, ‘Joint Press Conference following Pacific Islands Forum Foreign Ministers Meeting, Sydney’, 30 June 2003

The final decision to deploy the Regional Assistance Mission to the Solomon Islands (RAMSI) was taken by the National Security Committee of Cabinet on 22 July. The Australian part of the mission would consist approximately 1 500 Australian Defence Force personnel, 155 Australian Federal Police and 90 personnel from Australia's Protective Services. Combined with the contributions from other countries to RAMSI, the total force would be around 2 225 personnel.²⁰⁷ All in all, eight countries contributed with personnel to the initial RAMSI-operation: including 240 military personnel and 33 police personnel from New Zealand, 121/15 from Fiji, 35/10 from Tonga, 83/- from Papua New Guinea, -/15 from Samoa, -/5 from Kiribati, and -/2 from Cook Islands).²⁰⁸

Conclusion

This chapter has described how Solomon Islands steadily deteriorated during the years up to the RAMSI-intervention in July 2003. The economy was declining, the society breaking down under the weight of corruption, lawlessness, murder, violence and harassment. The underlying reasons for Solomon Islands' fall towards "failed state" status were many, including distrust of the government due to corruption and mismanagement of the economy. Rapid population growth resulting in high unemployment among youths contributed to the resentment felt by both sides of the conflict. The clash of cultures and traditions, mainly between the Guadalcanalese and the Malaitans, played its part in the dangerous mix that finally resulted in the conflict beginning in December 1998. The Townsville Peace Agreement stopped the worst fighting but Solomon Islands society continued to deteriorate until it was on the brink of failed state status in 2003.

Meanwhile, the Australian government stuck to its "hands-off"-approach of assisting Solomon Islands with increasing aid, technical assistance and diplomats negotiating between the warring factions. By 2002 the Australian government seemed at a loss to know what to do. Pressure on the government became stronger after the 12 October Bali bombing when the possibility arose that terrorist networks might use the failing

²⁰⁷ J. Howard, 'Transcript of the Prime Minister the Hon John Howard MP Press Conference, Canberra', 22 July 2003

²⁰⁸ J. Fraenkel, *The Manipulation of Custom: From Uprising to Intervention in the Solomon Islands*, p. 167, see also Nick Warner, 'Operation Helpem Fren: Rebuilding the nation of Solomon Islands, Speech to National Security Conference', 23 March 2004

state of Solomon Islands as a base for operations against Australia. All these factors contributed to the discussion and helped reinforce a view that the current policy was not working. Realisation that the “hands-off”-approach had failed finally began to sink in at the end of 2002 but it took until April 2003 before a change in policy was seriously contemplated. While it was clear that problems had existed in Solomon Islands for some time the government had until that point no clear framework for addressing such concerns. ASPI provided the framework through early drafts of its report being circulated amongst Departmental officials, DFAT adopted the ready-made solution with minor modifications, and the intervention later proceeded. The letter from Kemakeza to Howard on 22 April 2003 set off a policy process that culminated in the RAMSI-intervention in July 2003. The “hands-off”-approach was scrapped, to be replaced by a “hands-on”-approach. The next chapter will utilise the theoretical model to explain the Australian foreign policy change towards Solomon Islands in 2003.

Chapter 7: Solomon Islands Analysis

Introduction

This chapter will apply the theoretical framework of the thesis on foreign policy change to the Australian foreign policy change towards Solomon Islands in 2003. It investigates the variables identified in the model and estimates their importance and influence in the Australian government's decision to change its long standing policy towards Solomon Islands.

The sources of change – domestic and international – are investigated first. Then the key decision-makers are discussed, as well as the Window of Opportunity. Finally, the Extent of Change and the Consequences of Change is examined. The chapter concludes with a discussion identifying the most important factors and actors in the decision-making process resulting in a policy change. It is argued that a combination of international factors contributed to the change, at the same time as an ASPI-report was arguing for a change. Several international factors, such as the US-alliance, the Bali bombings and the perceived “War-on-Terror” context, with its threat perception of “failed states”, all had an influence on the government's thinking. Australia's role in the region, being bigger and more powerful than its neighbours in the South Pacific, also played an important part. The intervention can be seen as a way for Australia to consolidate its position as the regional hegemon.

Sources of Change

The sources of change are divided into domestic and international categories. The domestic category's sources of change are The Bureaucracy, Public Opinion, The Media, Interest-groups, and Political Parties. The international sources of change contain Global factors, Regional factors, Bilateral relations, and Non-state actors. Each source of change will be discussed separately below.

Domestic Factors

The Bureaucracy

Although it became clear in 2002 (if not before) among DFAT-officials that the current “hands-off”-approach did not work, the bureaucracy did not have the will or ability to influence the government to drastically change policy. There is thus little evidence to suggest that there were calls for a change from within the bureaucracy. The White Papers produced by the Defence Department and the Department of Foreign Affairs and Trade adhered to the Government’s view at the time. Geoffrey Barker reports that when DFAT prepared the White Paper released in February 2003, John Howard and Alexander Downer made sure their views were represented in the document, and not necessarily those of the Department. He writes that “Mr Downer wrestled control of the White Paper overview from the Department of Foreign Affairs and Trade in order to ensure that it reflected the political and economic values of the federal government”.¹ Rather than the Department influencing the government it was the other way around – the government, Howard and Downer, imposed its will on the Department.

Howard and Downer’s control over the bureaucracy stems back to when John Howard became Prime Minister in 1996. Six departmental heads were replaced soon after Howard took government, which ensured that the bureaucracy became, in Patrick Weller’s words, “very controlled”. The bureaucracy now “does what the government require of it”, in the words of Peter Shergold, head of the Department of Prime Minister and Cabinet, which discourages “creative thinking” by the bureaucracy.² This aspect naturally had an affect on the bureaucracy’s possible influence in the case of Solomon Islands in 2002-03.

The bureaucracy provided important information to the foreign minister through its visits to Solomon Islands in October 2002 and June 2003. The first mission was led by DFAT deputy secretary David Ritchie and included officials from New Zealand as

¹ Geoffrey Barker, ‘Downer takes reins on foreign policy’, *Financial Review*, 24 December 2002

² Louise Dodson, ‘At the centre of attention’, *Sydney Morning Herald*, 23 February 2006, Patrick Weller quoted in same article. See also James Walter, ‘John Howard and the ‘strong leader’ thesis’, Paper presented at John Howard’s Decade Conference, National Museum of Australia, 3-4 March 2006, pp. 6-7

well. The reason for the mission was the growing concern over Solomon Islands decline. The Australian government had earlier withdrawn its IPMT-team in June 2002 and was now looking to find new ways to stop the deteriorating economy and law and order-situation. Their findings didn't contribute to a change in policy at the time and in fact Ritchie claimed to be "pleasantly surprised" by improvements in the economy and security compared to a year earlier.³ However, considering that Downer later in 2003 admitted to be more and more concerned about the deteriorating situation in the Solomon's towards the end of 2002, the comments made by Ritchie appears at best naively optimistic, if not made for public consumption. Upon the visit to the Solomon Islands in October 2002, foreign affairs officials appeared alarmed but without a workable solution to the critical situation. On one hand they described Solomon Islands as in "utter lawlessness" but if Australia were to intervene "we will be running the show for the next 50 to 100 years", as one official put it. Since Prime Minister Howard had ruled out an intervention⁴, the DFAT officials seemed at a loss at to what to do.

There is no indication of the bureaucracy being behind the policy change. They did however play an important role in the process, but not by its own doing. ASPI Director and former deputy secretary at the Defence department Hugh White began courting "all relevant ministries, departments, and agencies including the intelligence establishment as well as foreign missions and organisations to workshop some new Solomons' ideas". He then distributed the ASPI draft-report throughout the bureaucracy, which meant that when Downer came asking for ideas, they had one ready for him.⁵ However, as stated above, it was not the bureaucracy that came up with the idea. They were not a source for change themselves.

Public Opinion

A clear majority in Australia supported the Australian-led intervention into the Solomon Islands. As can be seen in the table below, according to an opinion poll conducted 1-3 August 2003 with 1200 people surveyed from around Australia, after

³ Mary-Louise O'Callaghan, 'Rebels advertise refusal to disarm', *The Australian*, 4 October 2002

⁴ Megan Saunders, 'In the midst of Pacific grim', *The Australian*, 3 October 2002

⁵ Mary-Louise O'Callaghan, 'Pacific policeman', *The Australian*, 14 June 2003

the intervention was already under way, 75 % of the interviewed were in favour of the intervention and only 12 % were against it.⁶

Table 7.1: Newspoll, 1-3 August 2003 on Solomon Islands Intervention

THINKING NOW ABOUT AUSTRALIA'S INVOLVEMENT IN HELPING TO RESTORE LAW AND ORDER IN THE SOLOMON ISLANDS. ARE YOU PERSONALLY IN FAVOUR OR AGAINST AUSTRALIAN TROOPS AND POLICE BEING INVOLVED IN HELPING TO RESTORE LAW AND ORDER IN THE SOLOMON ISLANDS?

	TOTAL %	SEX		AGE			POLITICAL SUPPORT	
		MALES %	FEMALES %	18-34 %	35-49 %	50+ %	COALITION %	ALP %
STRONGLY IN FAVOUR	34	41	28	26	34	41	46	26
SOMEWHAT IN FAVOUR	41	40	42	48	40	36	42	45
TOTAL IN FAVOUR	75	81	70	74	74	77	88	71
SOMEWHAT AGAINST	7	6	7	8	7	7	3	11
STRONGLY AGAINST	5	5	6	3	5	7	2	8
TOTAL AGAINST	12	11	13	11	12	14	5	19
UNCOMMITTED	13	8	17	15	14	9	7	10

The support was strongest with the Coalition supporters (88%) but a clear majority of the ALP-supporters were in favour of the intervention as well, so a broad majority of the people polled was in favour.

There were not any major fluctuations in voter intentions in the two party preferred opinion polls made by Newspoll, A.C. Nielsen, or Roy Morgan Research conducted between May – August 2003 that would suggest the public being against the intervention. The Coalition remained steadily between 43-47 % in the Newpoll polls, between 40-46.5 % in the Roy Morgan polls, and roughly 45-48 % in A.C. Nielsen's polls for May-August 2003.⁷ The Coalition experienced a dip in voter's preference at the end of May noted by all three opinion institutes (43 % Newpoll, 40 % Roy Morgan, 45 % A.C. Nielsen) which is just before the government's announcement of the possible intervention in to Solomon Islands a few weeks later and was mainly

⁶ Newpoll, 'Solomon Islands', opinion poll conducted 1-3 August 2003, published on 5 August 2003, http://www.newspoll.com.au/image_uploads/cgi-lib.12617.1.0801_Solomon_Islands.pdf [accessed 24 July 2007]

⁷ Newpoll, 'Federal voting intention May-September 2003', http://www.newspoll.com.au/cgi-bin/polling/display_poll_data.pl [accessed 24 July 2007]

attributed to the resignation of Governor-General Peter Hollingsworth.⁸ Immediately after this the Coalition experienced a rise in support which remained steady until mid-August when they experienced another dip noted in Roy Morgan and Newspoll's opinion polls. This dip (Coalition down 6 % in Roy Morgan's opinion poll 24 August 2003) was explained by Roy Morgan with the jailing of Pauline Hanson and the misconduct of Wilson Tuckey; using his position as a Minister for Regional Services, Territories and Local Government to attempt to abolish his son's traffic charges.⁹

Neither of these changes in voter preference seems to link to the Solomon Islands-intervention, either in time or as a direct factor. Rather, throughout the period May-August 2003 which covers the period of before the announcement of a possible Solomon Islands-intervention, the announcement, and the actual intervention, there are stable numbers in the opinion polls for the Coalition and nothing that suggests that the Solomon Islands-intervention had a major impact on public opinion. The Newspoll data of 5 August 2003 supports this as well.

An opinion poll in December 2002 indicated that the public were increasingly concerned about security-issues after the September-11 attacks and the Bali bombing in October 2002.¹⁰ The Australian government's linking of the crisis in Solomon Islands to the failed state-debate in the war-on-terror context as a possible threat to Australia can help explain public support for the intervention, as they had already shown a growing concern on security and would react positively to the government acting in that context.

The investigation of three newspapers – *The Age*, *The Australian*, and *Financial Review* – reveals the almost total lack of interest from the public of the situation in the Solomon Islands. From 1 January 2002 to the announcement of a possible intervention in June 2003, there are no letters from the public and only a few opinion

⁸ Roy Morgan Research, 'ALP Takes Lead in Wake of Governor-General's Resignation, However Electors Want Howard to Stay as PM', 6 June 2003, <http://www.roymorgan.com/news/polls/2003/3637/> [accessed 24 July 2007]

⁹ Roy Morgan Research, 'ALP Takes Lead After Hanson Sentenced to Jail and Wilson Tuckey's "Foolishness"', 30 August 2003, <http://www.roymorgan.com/news/polls/2003/3664/> [Accessed 24 July 2003]

¹⁰ Roy Morgan Research, 'Defence a Growing Concern For Australians', December 16, 2002, <http://www.roymorgan.com/news/polls/2002/3579/> [accessed 24 July 2007]

pieces. However, these were written not so much by the “public” as academics and people with a more direct connection with politics. The expert commentators will be further analysed in the Media section.

Apart from these expert commentator’s articles, there is no evidence of the public writing letters to newspapers about Solomon Islands. Likewise there is no evidence of the public aiming to influence government policy; rather there was no reaction and no real interest. Whether it was because of public apathy or that the public did not have any knowledge of the situation cannot be proven, however, the media’s coverage (or, with two notable exceptions, the lack of coverage) of the Solomon Islands-situation investigated below may help explain it.

The Media

Media coverage of the situation in Solomon Islands in 2002 and 2003 was scarce with a few exceptions. Focussing on three newspapers – *The Age*, *the Australian*, and the *Financial Review* - and their reporting of Solomon Islands reveals a lack of attention by the media of the unfolding crisis there.

The exceptions to this were *The Australian*’s Mary-Louise O’Callaghan, Paul Kelly and Greg Sheridan, *The Financial Review*’s Geoffrey Barker and Rowan Callick, and *The Age*’s Tony Parkinson. They wrote specifically of Solomon Islands for their respective newspapers on more than one occasion, particularly so O’Callaghan, being the only Australian journalist at the time permanently stationed in Solomon Islands.

During 2002 there were fewer than 150 articles in the three newspapers that related to the Australian policy towards Solomon Islands. Below follows a table listing the number of articles in each newspaper investigated. The search was done by using Solomon + Islands as keywords and the table below shows the result. Not all of the articles listed below were directly related to Australian foreign policy towards the Solomon Islands or to events taking place in Australia or the Solomon’s that could have an impact on the Australian decision-making. However, the tables are still good indicators of the infrequent reporting on Solomon Islands in these three newspapers.

Table 7.2: Coverage on Solomon Islands in selected newspapers 2002-2003

Newspaper	Jan-Feb 2002	Mar- Apr 2002	May-June 2002	Jul-Aug 2002	Sep-Oct 2002	Nov-Dec 2002
<i>The Financial Review</i>	3	3	7	13	7	7
<i>The Age</i>	3	3	7	5	4	4
<i>The Australian</i>	10	17	18	15	18	12

Newspaper	Jan-Feb 2003	Mar- Apr 2003	May-June 2003	Jul-Aug 2003	Sep-Oct 2003	Nov-Dec 2003
<i>The Financial Review</i>	3	8	19	56	28	
<i>The Age</i>	11	2	15	63	18	
<i>The Australian</i>	24	11	64	114	37	

The tables show clearly that *the Australian* consistently reported more on the Solomon Islands than the *Financial Review* and *The Age*. The *Financial Review* follows second and *The Age* performs poorly with the exception of July/August 2003. The large number of articles in *The Australian* can partly be explained by the numerous articles from Mary-Louise O’Callaghan.¹¹

There are peaks in the number of articles in July/August 2002 for the *Financial Review* which coincides with the Pacific Islands Forum annual meeting. *The Australian* and *The Age* increased the number of articles in January/February 2003, reporting on cyclone Zoe that hit the islands in Solomon Islands in early January and also exposing the state’s inability to deal with the situation. It also coincided with Foreign Minister Alexander Downer’s article in *The Australian* on 8 January reaffirming Australia’s “hands-off”-approach to Solomon Islands¹², which produced comments from journalists and other commentators, thereby increasing the number of articles for that time-period. The announcement of a possible intervention in to

¹¹ Clive Moore, *Happy Isles in Crisis: The historical causes for a failing in Solomon Islands, 1998-2004*, Asia Pacific Press, Canberra, 2004, p.131, and Jon Fraenkel, *The Manipulation of Custom: From Uprising to Intervention in the Solomon Islands*, Pandanus books, Canberra, 2004, p.14

¹² Alexander Downer, ‘Neighbours cannot be recolonised’, *The Australian*, 8 January 2003

Solomon Islands in June 2003 and the following actual intervention produced a spike in the number of articles for May/June and July/August 2003.

Overall, the reporting on Solomon Islands has to be considered low, at least for the *Financial Review* and *The Age*. Considering the deteriorating law and order-situation, the proximity to Australia, the failing economy, and the socio-economic plight in Solomon Islands in 2002 and 2003, it is interesting to note the low number of articles, particularly from the *Financial Review* and *The Age*. It shows the lack of interest from the general media in Solomon Islands. As O'Callaghan noted, when Foreign Minister Downer held a speech at the National Press Club in Canberra on Australia's role in the region in May 2002 not one journalist asked a question on Solomon Islands.¹³ This at a time when Australia withdrew the IPMT and the law and order situation was still not under control.

The Australian fares better overall in its reporting on Solomon Islands and the main reason was the presence of Mary-Louise O'Callaghan in Honiara. She is by far the most prominent writer of articles written for *The Australian*. By living there, she could produce detailed reports on the situation from an insider's perspective, while the other newspapers relied on externally placed journalists and commentators.

The level of reporting activity has been investigated above. In order to further estimate any possible influence by the media sources used here, a more detailed examination of the articles written by the journalists in question will be conducted.

The Australian's O'Callaghan wrote articles describing the situation in the Solomon Islands throughout the investigated period 2002-03. Most articles only reported on events in Solomon Islands, such as visits by Australian officials, violence, political and economic developments (or rather lack there of), and described Solomon Islands from an insider's perspective. Her reports highlighted the volatile and desperate situation in Solomon Islands and kept the readers informed of what was happening there. If not for her, little information would have reached Australian readers.

¹³ Mary-Louise O'Callaghan, 'Solomons still beset by guns, graft and violence', *The Australian*, 14 October 2002

In the majority of her articles she merely reports the situation but she does express her opinion on what Australia ought to do as well. On 14 October 2002 she notes the lack of attention from Australian media and the failure of the aid-policy. She expressed concerns whether the Australian government actually understands what is happening in Solomon Islands. Its support for Prime Minister Kemakeza underlines that, according to O'Callaghan, since he appeared unable to deal with the situation, or was possibly part of the problem himself.¹⁴ Without outlining an alternate policy-proposal, it is clear that she believed the current policy not to work. However, although only a few of the articles contains direct comments by O'Callaghan, the constant articles describing the lawless situation were in themselves an indirect message Australian policy. Through the articles a picture emerges of a society without a functioning state able to control law and order, or the economy, or even rescue efforts in the wake of a natural disaster (cyclone Zoe). That picture indirectly displays the ineffectiveness of Australian aid and effort.

Also in *The Australian*, Greg Sheridan wrote an editorial in August 2002 warning about the crisis facing Melanesia. He particularly pointed to PNG but discussed Solomon Islands and labelled it "effectively a failed state". He argued that Australia "need to re-engage with Melanesia" and that aid alone is not sufficient to stop the downward spiral. He did not, however, argue for an intervention.¹⁵ The article may have been prompted by the upcoming PIF-meeting a week later. He then wrote an article on 31 May 2003 regarding the terrorist threat against Australia and briefly point towards PNG and Solomon Islands as potential bases for terrorist groups in case they became failed states.¹⁶ Still, Solomon Islands were mentioned only in passing.

O'Callaghan and Sheridan's articles were the only two in *The Australian* in 2002 and up until June 2003 that specifically argued for a change in Australia's policy towards Solomon Islands. It does not indicate much pressure on the government. There is only one article written in favour of a policy change before the announcement of a possible intervention in June 2003; the unnamed author highlights the dangers and risks of a more active Australian assistance but argues that while Australia risks being seen as a

¹⁴ M-L O'Callaghan, 'Solomons still beset by guns, graft and violence', *The Australian*, 14 October 2002

¹⁵ Greg Sheridan, 'Pacific neighbours are friends in need', *The Australian*, 8 August 2002

¹⁶ Greg Sheridan, 'Big threats faced by tiny army', *The Australian*, 31 May 2003

colonial power the alternative would have huge effects on Australia. The proposed action is to send personnel there, possibly even police, to help ensuring that the aid money is spent sufficiently, and to do so through the Commonwealth or the PIF.¹⁷ An opinion piece stated in 20 May 2003 that a reengagement with Melanesia was necessary with tighter control on how Australian aid was spent.¹⁸ Three articles in 18 months explicitly arguing for a policy change in the Australian cannot be seen as it putting the government under pressure to any great extent. More useful was perhaps O'Callaghan's constant reports from Solomon Islands describing the situation.

When Downer announced in June 2003 that an intervention might be taking place, the response from *The Australian* was positive. Sheridan wrote on 7 June when the policy-process had begun in earnest in support of an Australian-led intervention, arguing that Australia's values, reputation, and national interest were all on the line. If Australia wasn't doing anything about it now, it'll pay for it later – economically as well as politically.¹⁹ O'Callaghan also supported the new policy initiative, although she couldn't help but add “it took them only three years to work it out, but the federal government has finally recognised that the failing state of Solomon Islands isn't going to magically fix itself”.²⁰

Further editorials and articles in *The Australian* in June/July endorsed the decision with caveats such as just so long as the government understood that it was a long-term commitment²¹ and with comments such as, “better late than never”.²² The *Financial Review* was slightly more active in promoting a policy change in 2002. Geoffrey Barker wrote five articles arguing directly or indirectly the need for a change in policy. Three of those articles appeared in the weeks before the PIF-meeting in August 2002. Barker argued against sending Australian troops to Iraq when the need

¹⁷ Anonymous, ‘A real Pacific solution for the Solomons’, *The Australian*, 6 January 2003

¹⁸ Anonymous, ‘Solomons tragedy is all too typical’, *The Australian*, 20 May 2003

¹⁹ Greg Sheridan, ‘Solomons crisis shows we have to get involved’, *The Australian*, 7 June 2003

²⁰ Mary-Louise O'Callaghan, ‘Canberra's U-turn on helping a neighbour’, *The Australian*, 21 June 2003

²¹ Patrick Walters, ‘The only course to steer in the South Pacific’, *The Australian*, 26 June 2003 and other articles that directly or indirectly offers support, see for example, Greg Sheridan, ‘Actions parallels Bush approach – The Solomon Intervention’, *The Australian*, 28 June 2003, Greg Sheridan, ‘Solomons plan a coup – now let's lead the way’, *The Australian*, 1 July 2003

²² Michael O'Connor, ‘Forget that neo-colonial antipathy’, *The Australian*, 30 June 2003

was greater in its own neighbourhood.²³ He underlines his belief that “the real threat to our security lies not in places such as Iraq but in disaster-prone nations to the near north”.²⁴ He further argued that Howard “should consider appointing a full-time Minister for Pacific Island Affairs”, to shift focus back on the region and in realisation that the security threat came from there, not Iraq.²⁵ Barker continues to push the issue in two subsequent articles in September and November 2002.²⁶ Rowan Callick also wrote an article in October 2002 arguing that it was time for Australia “to consider cauterising the wounds in failed states” referring to the troubled nations in Melanesia without explicitly stating how.²⁷

Interestingly enough, after Barker had consistently argued his position between July-November 2002, there then were no more such articles arguing a new approach towards the region that specifically mentioned the policy towards Solomon Islands between November 2002 and May 2003. Callick wrote that the White Paper released in February 2003 needed a “rethink” in the overall policy towards the “Arc of instability” but he did not propose an intervention.²⁸ In the few articles the focus was more on PNG than Solomon Islands, almost accepting Solomon Islands’ failed state-status.²⁹

After it became clear that an intervention was likely to happen, Geoffrey Barker and Rowan Callick both endorsed the decision. Barker called it an “historic but necessary shift” and supported Downer’s statement that “Australia could not risk leaving failed states festering off its coast in an age of international terrorism, and drug, people and money trafficking”. He also carefully stated that “perhaps Australia should have acted more vigorously sooner to address the Solomon Islands crisis; perhaps it should have been less sensitive to charges of neo-colonialism in its traditional hands-off policy”.³⁰ Callick too acknowledged the “remarkably swift policy turnaround”. He points out the

²³ Geoffrey Barker, ‘When allies should say no’, *Financial Review*, 22 July 2002

²⁴ Geoffrey Barker, ‘The arc of instability’, *Financial Review*, 1 August 2002

²⁵ Geoffrey Barker, ‘Security threat in Pacific unrest’, *Financial Review*, 12 August 2002

²⁶ Geoffrey Barker, ‘Defence needs balance’, *Financial Review*, 30 September 2002 and Geoffrey Barker, ‘Behind the troops’ recall, *Financial Review*, 25 November 2002

²⁷ Rowan Callick, ‘Getting to know our neighbours is a start’, *Financial Review*, 26 October 2002

²⁸ Rowan Callick, ‘Too much grey in foreign affairs white paper’, *Financial Review*, 15 February 2003

²⁹ See for example Rowan Callick, ‘PNG risks terrorism, financial ruin’, *Financial Review*, 12 March 2003 or Alan Mitchell, ‘PNG needs monitoring’, *Financial Review*, 26 March 2003

³⁰ Geoffrey Barker, ‘Ignoring failed states no longer an option’, *Financial Review*, 26 June 2003

timing of the decision, coming after the invasion of Iraq and the visit to the United States by Howard and the increasing concern over failed states being used by terrorists groups.³¹ An editorial in the *Financial Review* stated: “The new Downer doctrine of ‘cooperative intervention’ in Australia’s troubled neighbourhood is to be applauded” and goes even further, proposing “a federation for the smaller Pacific states; dollarisation and liberalisation of migration”.³² The Australian-led intervention had the full support of the *Financial Review*.

Between 2002 and June 2003 *The Age* did not provide one article arguing directly for a change in policy towards Solomon Islands. Criticism of Australian policy towards the Pacific in general occurs, such as in an interview with Dr. James Chin who criticises the Australian government as partly responsible for the militarisation of Solomon Islands by leaving it to its fate in 2000.³³ Mark Forbes points indirectly to the failing Pacific policy by writing about the deteriorating situations in PNG and Solomon Islands but there are no demands of changing policy towards Solomon Islands specifically.³⁴ While *The Australian* and the *Financial Review* contained a handful of articles proposing a change in Australian policy towards Solomon Islands, *The Age* did not even have that.

The Age was however supportive of the change in policy when it was announced. An editorial states “Australia’s full acceptance of its South Pacific leadership role is overdue but welcome”. It criticises the government for not acting sooner.³⁵ Tony Parkinson agrees with the government, stating that Australia “has direct strategic interests at stake”, describing Australia’s “unique and unavoidable role in the power equation of the South-West Pacific” and the threat that may come from a failed Solomon Islands state.³⁶ Michael Gordon in turn sees it as Australia “being a good neighbour”.³⁷ Full support, thus, from *The Age*.

³¹ Rowan Callick, ‘Trying another Pacific solution’, *Financial Review*, 26 June 2003

³² Anonymous, ‘Australia shouldn’t stop with Solomons’, *Financial Review*, 2 July 2003

³³ Mark Forbes, ‘Falling off the map’, *The Age*, 17 August 2002

³⁴ See Mark Forbes, ‘Grim outlook on security for Pacific states’, *The Age*, 3 October 2002 and Mark Forbes, ‘Solomons’ peace champion slain’, *The Age*, 12 February 2003

³⁵ Anonymous, ‘Wising up at last to the Solomons’ plight’, *The Age*, 16 June 2003

³⁶ Tony Parkinson, ‘Badlands of the Pacific’, *The Age*, 28 June 2003

³⁷ Michael Gordon, ‘Local heroes’, *The Age*, 5 July 2003

Expert commentators used the three newspapers to further their agenda and to argue for a change in policy. While the newspapers investigated abstained from stronger opinions, with the few exceptions mentioned above, these expert commentators expressed clearer and stronger views. The most notable commentator writing in *The Australian* had to be foreign minister Alexander Downer who on 8 January 2003 strongly defended the current government policy towards Solomon Islands.³⁸ Former Liberal leader John Hewson also voiced his opinion in the *Financial Review* in September 2002 when the debate over a possible invasion of Iraq raged, arguing that Australia's first responsibility was towards its region and not in Iraq. Solomon Islands is mentioned but by no means outlined as priority one.³⁹ In July 2003, after the decision had been made, Hewson seemed to agree with it but referred to it as "catch-up politics".⁴⁰

An important contributor behind the later decision to intervene in Solomon Islands, ASPI's Elsin Wainwright, used the *Financial Review* to further her opinion. In October 2002, in light of the Bali bombing, she argued that the smaller Pacific islands could be used as safe havens by terrorists and therefore posed a risk to Australian security. Her main example is the failing state of Solomon Islands. She proposes a "rethink of our approach and look at becoming more fully engaged and committing resources in a different fashion".⁴¹ Wainwright was later the main author behind the ASPI-report on Solomon Islands. She confirmed her views after the release of that report in an opinion-piece in *The Australian*.⁴²

To accompany their CIS-report Susan Windybank and Mike Manning wrote an article in March 2003 warning that the PNG may become a failed state unless the Australian government helped. Although not concerned with Solomon Islands, the article highlighted the possibly serious consequences for Australian security if nothing was done and may have contributed to the government's later change of policy.⁴³ It also gave more ammunition to the notion of an "Arc of Instability". These were the only

³⁸ A. Downer, 'Neighbours cannot be recolonised', *The Australian*, 8 January 2003

³⁹ John Hewson, 'Our neighbourhood watch', *Financial Review*, 20 September 2002

⁴⁰ John Hewson, 'Perils of reckless pursuits', *Financial Review*, 4 July 2003

⁴¹ Elsin Wainwright, 'Pacific states are likely havens for terror', *Financial Review*, 23 October 2002

⁴² Elsin Wainwright, 'Rescuing Solomons makes sense', *The Australian*, 12 June 2003

⁴³ Susan Windybank & Mike Manning, 'Expect fallout here as our neighbour falls apart', *The Australian*, 12 March 2003

contributions by expert commentators up until it became apparent that the Australian government were considering an intervention. After the launch of the ASPI-report several commentators supported the plans, albeit with different concerns.

Academic Jon Fraenkel voiced concerns that Australia may become a colonial power in Solomon Islands again, criticising the lack of details in the proposed ASPI-plan for an intervention.⁴⁴ Dr. Colin Hunt likewise expresses concerns of how the plan will deal with the deep-rooted causes and economic growth.⁴⁵ The former Executive Director of the Australia Defence Association, Michael O'Connor calls it "a challenge, but also an opportunity"⁴⁶, Labor's Foreign Affairs spokesman, Kevin Rudd said it should have happened earlier⁴⁷ as does Satish Chand, Director at the Pacific Policy Project at the Australian National University.⁴⁸ Helen Hughes, Senior Fellow at the Centre for Independent Studies stated that the aid-policy had to be re-thought; otherwise the intervention would not be a long-lasting success.⁴⁹ Director of studies for the ANU's graduate program in strategy and defence, Robert Ayson⁵⁰ and former New Zealand Prime Minister Mike Moore gave their support and emphasised that it had to be multinational in nature.⁵¹ Overall, though, the intervention had the support, more or less, by these expert commentators.

In conclusion, the media cannot be seen as a major influence on the Australian government's change in policy towards Solomon Islands. Rather, the lack of attention is striking. The exception was the constant stream of articles by Mary-Louise O'Callaghan, stationed in Honiara. These articles painted a picture of Solomon Islands as a failed, or failing state, and may have contributed to the growing concerns that Downer expressed during the period. However, despite a few articles arguing for a change in policy in the three newspapers combined, only a few argued for an intervention. It was only after the launch of the ASPI-report on 10 June 2003 that a

⁴⁴ Jon Fraenkel & Robert Ayson, 'Is intervention a mistake, or a moral obligation', *Financial Review*, 14 June 2003

⁴⁵ Colin Hunt, 'Failing the Solomons', Letter to *The Australian*, 14 June 2003

⁴⁶ M. O'Connor, 'Forget that neo-colonial antipathy', *The Australian*, 30 June 2003

⁴⁷ Kevin Rudd, 'High time to bite the Solomons bullet', *Financial Review*, 13 June 2003

⁴⁸ Satish Chand, 'Solomons Initiative Well Worth The Effort', *Financial Review*, 24 July 2003

⁴⁹ Helen Hughes, 'Game of Pacific cop and dodgers', *The Australian*, 1 July 2003

⁵⁰ J. Fraenkel & R. Ayson, 'Is intervention a mistake, or a moral obligation', *Financial Review*, 14 June 2003

⁵¹ Mike Moore, 'Peace harder to win than war', *Financial Review*, 2 July 2003

greater number of articles were written and then mainly in support of the policy change the government had already adopted. Many authors claimed it should have been done earlier but generally they had failed to argue that before the fact. Throughout the investigated time period of 2002 up to June 2003, *The Australian*, the *Financial Review*, and *The Age*, were not a major influence on government policy towards Solomon Islands.

Interest-Groups

The main interest-group that had an influence on Australian foreign policy towards Solomon Islands was the Australian Strategic Policy Institute (ASPI). It was set up by the government in 2001 but claims to be “an independent, non-partisan policy institute” although it received funding from the Department of Defence budget.⁵² In a series of publications in 2002 and 2003 ASPI highlighted the potential threats that could come from failed states in the region.

The threat of terrorist groups using failed states close to Australia as a base for attacks on Australia was highlighted in the ASPI-report “Beyond Bali”, released shortly after the first Bali bombing in October 2002. In light of the recent terrorist attack in Bali, the report warned especially of Solomon Islands, but also of the risk that PNG, Vanuatu, and possibly East Timor, becoming failed states. If that were to happen, terrorist networks might use them as bases for possible attacks on Australia.⁵³ Elsina Wainwright, who was the strategy and international program director at ASPI, also wrote an article in the *Financial Review* repeating the main argument of the “Beyond Bali”-report.⁵⁴

The report received publicity in the media, being reported by *The Australian*, *The Age*, and the *Financial Review*, further highlighting ASPI’s warning of the consequences of letting Solomon Islands deteriorate further. The newspapers also

⁵² Australian Strategic Policy Institute, <http://www.aspi.org.au/aboutaspi/aboutaspi.aspx> [Accessed 6 August 2007]

⁵³ Australian Strategic Policy Institute, ‘Beyond Bali, ASPI’s Strategic Assessment 2002’, November 2002, p. 28, <http://www.aspi.org.au/publications/publicationlist.aspx?pubtype=1> [Accessed 22 February 2009]

⁵⁴ E. Wainwright, ‘Pacific states are likely havens for terror’, *Financial Review*, 23 October 2002

wrote of ASPI's proposal of a more active role in its immediate neighbourhood.⁵⁵ Hugh White stated that "it's an idea whose time has come", advocating that the hands-off approach towards Melanesia had not worked and a shift in thinking and policy was now necessary. The awareness of the possible threat failed states can pose contributed to the idea now being more acceptable than a couple of years ago.⁵⁶

ASPI continued to work towards an Australian policy change in 2002 and 2003 preparing another report – "Our Failing Neighbour" - that targeted Solomon Islands specifically. Elsin Wainwright led the work on the new report which recommended a new approach towards Solomon Islands. ASPI director Hugh White had previously worked as deputy secretary of the Defence department and had a good understanding of how the bureaucratic process worked and now used his experience to push for a policy change. He ensured that drafts of the report were distributed to relevant departments in the Australian bureaucracy and by late 2002 began organising "consultative sessions with all relevant ministries, departments, and agencies including the intelligence establishment as well as foreign missions and organisations to workshop some new Solomon ideas".⁵⁷ Later on when Downer asked his department for new ideas on Solomon Islands, the idea for an intervention had already been planted by White and made it easy for the bureaucrats to present it as an option.

Additionally, when the National Security Committee of Cabinet met in May 2003 to discuss Solomon Islands, copies of the report that was about to be launched were distributed to the ministers present.⁵⁸ The ASPI-report was very much a part of the policy-making process and in the mindset of the bureaucrats from late 2002 to the government ministers when they met to discuss possible options to deal with Solomon Islands situation in May 2003.

⁵⁵ Geoffrey Barker, 'Attacks 'more likely than not'', *Financial Review*, 29 November 2002, and Mark Forbes, 'Defence unfit to lead fight – think tank', *The Age*, 29 November 2002, and John Kerin, 'High security risk 'until at least 2006' – War on terror', *The Australian*, 29 November 2002

⁵⁶ Rowan Callick, "'Hands-off' approach not working in troubled region", *Financial Review*, 7 December 2002

⁵⁷ M-L O'Callaghan, 'Pacific policemen', *The Australian*, 14 June 2003

⁵⁸ J. Fraenkel, *The Manipulation of Custom: From Uprising to Intervention in the Solomon Islands*, p. 162

The ASPI report “Our Failing Neighbour” was launched on 10 June 2003 by Foreign Minister Alexander Downer, which in itself indicates how much he had taken in the policy options proposed in the report in his rethink on Solomon Islands policy. Downer said in his speech that no decisions had been made as of yet but referred to the report as a “reference point” in the policy process. He particularly pointed to the idea of a multinational intervention, which he labelled “Cooperative intervention”. He agreed that Solomon Islands government “appears powerless to stop the downward spiral”, thereby essentially giving up the old policy of Solomon Islands helping themselves.⁵⁹ Furthermore, Downer referred to the ASPI-report as “very timely” and valuable to the discussions on “how to deal with the situation in the Solomon Islands”.⁶⁰ It is clear that the report had an important impact on the policy change. When it became clear that the current hands-off approach did not work, the ASPI-report appeared to represent a well thought through and viable alternative. A much more active role by Australia was proposed, involving a multinational intervention into Solomon Islands. The operation would have to be approved by Solomon government and would be carried out in two phases: Phase one would aim at law and order; Phase two at institution building.⁶¹

The Centre for Independent Studies (CIS) was somewhat influential and produced two reports that also played in to the policy change debate. Windybank and Manning’s PNG assessment argued that the “hands-off”-policy had failed Melanesia as a whole and stated that “there is no ‘exit strategy’ as far as the neighbourhood is concerned”.⁶² Helen Hughes continued the CIS critique, arguing in May 2003 that aid was actually hurting the Pacific Island states rather than helping. Australia needed to add stricter conditions on aid to the Pacific to make it work.⁶³ These reports provided further opinions that something different had to be done to stop the downward spiral of some Pacific states.

⁵⁹ Alexander Downer, ‘Our Failing Neighbour: Australia and the future of the Solomon Islands, Speech at the launch of the Australian Strategic Policy Institute report’, Sydney, 10 June 2003

⁶⁰ A. Downer, ‘Our Failing Neighbour: Australia and the future of the Solomon Islands, Speech at the launch of the Australian Strategic Policy Institute report’, Sydney, 10 June 2003

⁶¹ Australian Strategic Policy Institute, ‘Our Failing Neighbour: Australia and the Future of Solomon Islands’, June 2003, pp. 4, 28-29

⁶² S. Windybank & M. Manning, ‘Papua New Guinea On the Brink’, pp. 1, 12-13

⁶³ H. Hughes, ‘Aid Has Failed the Pacific’, p. 1, 25-26

The ASPI-report especially but also the CIS were often referred to in the press and by academics as an important part in the policy change. Several articles in the *Financial Review*,⁶⁴ *The Age*,⁶⁵ and *The Australian*⁶⁶ all pointed to the important role ASPI, and to a lesser extent, the CIS had played in the government's policy change towards Solomon Islands. Leading academics in the area also acknowledged their role in changing the government's thinking.⁶⁷

Other interest-groups that may have aimed at influencing the Australian government are Australian businesses. The Australian Pacific Islands Business Council strongly welcomed the intervention when it was announced⁶⁸ however; there is no evidence of Australian companies and corporations being a major influence in the Australian government's decision to alter its policy. The opportunities for Australian businesses to conduct business in Solomon Islands were strongly diminished 1998-2003 due to the civil unrest there. Around a 100 Australian companies traded with Solomon Islands before the coup in 2000, with about 30 of them actually being in Solomon Islands. Due to the unrest that number declined to just a few being able to maintain their business in Solomon Islands.⁶⁹

Trade between Australia and Solomon Islands has been fairly modest. According to the ASPI-report, bilateral merchandise trade reached \$106 million in 1997-98, before declining to \$56 million in 2000-2001. The report states that future trade "although not huge, are potentially valuable".⁷⁰ Furthermore, Australian exports to Solomon Islands in 2001 amounted to AUD\$61 million and imports only AUD\$2.5 million⁷¹, so the balance of trade was strongly in Australia's favour. Certainly, it would benefit

⁶⁴ See for example R. Callick, 'Trying another Pacific solution', *Financial Review*, 26 June 2003 and Anonymous, 'Australia shouldn't stop with Solomons', *Financial Review*, 2 July 2003

⁶⁵ T. Parkinson, 'Badlands of the Pacific', *The Age*, 28 June 2003

⁶⁶ Paul Kelly, 'Neighbourhood saviour', *The Australian*, 14 June 2003 and M-L O'Callaghan, 'Pacific policeman', *The Australian*, 14 June 2003

⁶⁷ See for example Robert Ayson, 'Australasian security', in *Strategy and Security in the Asia-Pacific*, eds. R. Ayson & D. Ball, Allen & Unwin, Crows Nest, 2006, p. 253, and C. Moore, *Happy Isles in Crisis: The historical causes for a failing state in Solomon Islands, 1998-2004*, pp. 203-04, and J. Fraenkel, *The Manipulation of Custom: From Uprising to Intervention in the Solomon Islands*, p. 162

⁶⁸ R. Callick, 'Trying another Pacific solution', *Financial Review*, 26 June 2003

⁶⁹ Australian Strategic Policy Institute, 'Our Failing Neighbour', June 2003, p. 14

⁷⁰ Australian Strategic Policy Institute, 'Our Failing Neighbour', June 2003, p. 14

⁷¹ Australian Senate Foreign Affairs, Defence and Trade Committee, *A Pacific engaged: Australia's relations with Papua New Guinea and the island states of the southwest Pacific*, Commonwealth of Australia, 12 August 2003, p. 39

Australian business if the intervention was successful but trade being at a modest level, there are no indications that this was a major reason for the policy change.

The ASPI- and CSI-think tanks were two interest-groups that had most influence over the Australian foreign policy change towards Solomon Islands. Hugh White's knowledge of how the bureaucracy functioned enabled him to put forward his and ASPI's agenda to the bureaucracy through information sessions and by distributing drafts to them and even to the government ministers. This provided the bureaucracy with a clear alternative when Downer asked for policy options. It also presented the government ministers with a viable plan for a policy change when they met to discuss Solomon Islands in May 2003. Taking this into account it is clear that ASPI had a strong influence in the decision to change policy.

Political Parties

There was a general consensus among the parliamentary parties over the intervention into Solomon Islands. Labor, the Greens, and the Australian Democrats all supported the action taken by the government, although with some disagreements over details in the operation.

The government had received criticism over its Pacific policy from the other parties before the intervention. Comments made by Labor and the Australian Democrats said that it should have been done earlier and in a slightly different way. The Australian Labor Party criticized the Government already in June 2000 for declining several requests made in April and May 2000 by Solomon Islands Prime Minister Ulufa'alu for Australian police to be sent there.⁷² Already in May Labor MP Duncan Kerr urged the government to participate in a multinational security force.⁷³ Once the coup had taken place on 5 June and Prime Minister Ulufa'alu had been forced to resign, Labor again criticized the government's lack of action and argued that Australia should send peacekeepers to Solomon Islands to stabilize the situation.⁷⁴

⁷² Mary-Louise O'Callaghan & Robert Garran, 'Howard refused PM's plea for police – Pacific in crisis – Solomons' copycat coup', *The Australian*, 6 June 2000

⁷³ M-L O'Callaghan & R. Garran, 'Howard refused PM's plea for police – Pacific in crisis – Solomons' copycat coup', *The Australian*, 6 June 2000 and Rebecca Rose, 'Labor Attacks Police Ruling', *The West Australian*, 6 June 2000

⁷⁴ Anonymous, 'Govt Should Send Troops', *Illawarra Mercury*, 13 June 2000

The Australian Democrats similarly argued that the government should have sent police to Solomon Islands when requested in 2000. Its spokesperson for Foreign Affairs Senator Vicki Bourne claimed that if the government had acted on the request, the coup could have been averted. Bourne expressed “great concern” over Howard’s “lack of foresight” on Solomon Islands.⁷⁵ The criticism continued in 2002 with the Foreign Affairs spokesperson for Labor Kevin Rudd stating in August that the government had to act tougher towards the Solomon Islands government. Rudd argued that there were still a lot of guns in the Solomon Islands society and in order to assure disarmament of the lawless elements a “more activist, interventionist diplomacy in the Solomon Islands through the South Pacific Forum” was needed. Rudd cited threatening to stop aid as one example of how the government could act in a tougher manner.⁷⁶ Rudd’s comments came at the same time as the Solomon Islands economy continued to deteriorate, despite the Australian government’s increased aid-program from 1998, and the withdrawal of the IPMT in June 2002. The current policy clearly did not work and Labor seized the opportunity to put pressure on the Howard-government. Rudd once again voiced Labor’s disapproval of the current policy in October 2002, claiming, the government’s aid-program “had been comprehensively ineffective in restoring political stability and even modest levels of economic development”.⁷⁷

When the Foreign Affairs and Trade Policy White Paper was released in February 2003 Kevin Rudd noted the lack of “a coherent, forward strategy on the implosion of law and order across the south-west Pacific”.⁷⁸ The White Paper confirmed the long-standing policy that the Pacific Island states had to help themselves while Australia could assist with aid and technical advice, which the Labor party had criticized for years.⁷⁹

⁷⁵ Vicki Bourne, ‘Howard refuses to call the police when neighbours call for help’, *Australian Democrats Press Release*, 7 June 2000, http://www.democrats.org.au/news/index.htm?press_id=593&display=1 [Accessed 24 February 2009]

⁷⁶ Anonymous, ‘Opposition says Australian govt has failed in Pacific’, *PACNEWS*, 22 August 2002

⁷⁷ M. Forbes, ‘Grim outlook on security for Pacific states’, *The Age*, 3 October 2002

⁷⁸ R. Callick, ‘Too much grey in foreign affairs white paper’, *Financial Review*, 15 February 2003

⁷⁹ Department of Foreign Affairs and Trade, *Advancing the National Interest: Australia’s Foreign and Trade Policy White Paper*, p. xvii

The beheading of an Australian missionary in Solomon Islands in May 2003 provided Rudd with an opportunity to again point out what would happen if Solomon Islands were allowed to continue to deteriorate. He again called for “a much tougher approach by the Australian government” not just towards Solomon Islands but towards several countries in the South Pacific.⁸⁰

The policy change was under way but whether Rudd and the Labor Party were aware of that is uncertain. However, the Labor party had kept up the pressure on the government though continued criticism since the year 2000 and again during 2002-2003, particularly when it became apparent in 2002 that the current policy did not work and it kept the issue alive. When the Howard-government announced the change in policy and possible intervention into Solomon Islands, the Labor party supported it. Rudd couldn't help commenting that it should have come much earlier but was still in favour of it.⁸¹ However, when plans of the intervention surfaced Rudd stated that they wanted less military and more focus on the policing part of the operation.⁸² Rudd argued that police should be the main component of the intervention-force and any military force should be kept to a minimum.⁸³

Neither the Greens nor the Australian Democrats spoke against the Howard-government's decision.⁸⁴ There was no debate in parliament at the time of the decision since parliament was on winter recess⁸⁵ but when the issue was raised in the Senate on 12 August 2003, almost three weeks after the intervention; Greens Senator Bob Brown endorsed the motion on Solomon Islands. He warned, though, to be careful not to appear imperialistic and to ensure that the operation contributed to give power back to the people of Solomon Islands and not “in some way or other, empower outside entities and make the mistake of giving the appearance that Australia has long-term power ambitions as far as this little country is concerned”.⁸⁶ Greens Senator Kerry Nettle later made the remark that a lot of taxpayer's money

⁸⁰ Nikki Todd, 'Solomons murder tragic for region, says Rudd', *Australian Associated Press*, 20 May 2003

⁸¹ K. Rudd, 'High time to bite the Solomons bullet', *Financial Review*, 13 June 2003

⁸² Farah Farouque, 'Hundreds of troops for Solomons', *The Age*, 26 June 2003

⁸³ Anonymous, 'Australian opposition urges “minimal” military role in Solomons', *BBC*, 25 June 2003

⁸⁴ Louise Dodson, 'A move into the unknown', *The Age*, 27 June 2003

⁸⁵ Mark Plunkett 'Stress-Testing Solomon Islands Peace Operation Scenarios', *Key Centre for Ethics, Law, Justice and Governance*, Griffith University, 31 July 2003, p.23

⁸⁶ Australian Senate, *Parliamentary debates*, No. 8, 12 August 2003, pp. 13336-13337

could have been saved if the Australian government had acted already in 2000 and not waited until 2003.⁸⁷ The Australian Democrats supported the intervention as well. Senator Natasha Stott Despoja as the spokesperson for the Australian Democrats issued support on behalf of the party but also wanted more information on how the assistance would actually help rebuilding the Solomon Islands economy and other issues outside the specific law and order-problem.⁸⁸ Despoja also stated the Democrat's support in the Senate on 12 August 2003.⁸⁹

The political parties in federal parliament supported the intervention into Solomon Islands. However, a small party outside parliament, the Socialist Alliance, opposed the intervention. The operation was described by the Socialist Alliance as “an imperialist act” and the undertaking was “brought on by corporate globalisation agenda”.⁹⁰ However, given its position as a radical party without a seat in federal parliament, and despite arranging a small demonstration in Melbourne against the Solomon-intervention, which only attracted about 10 people⁹¹, its impact and influence on the government and public opinion was limited at best.

International Factors

Global Factors

There are a number of global factors that may have influenced the Howard-government in its decision to alter its policy towards Solomon Islands. The 11 September 2001 attacks in the US had an impact worldwide and the ensuing discussion over terrorism, failed states, and how to prevent further attacks affected the Australian government's foreign policy as well. Global actors had an interest in Solomon Islands and may have had an effect on Australian decision-making, as did international norms of sovereignty and humanitarian intervention.

⁸⁷ Australian Senate, *Parliamentary debates*, No. 15, 26 November 2003, p. 18104

⁸⁸ Natasha Stott Despoja, ‘Democrats wish Australian force well, but some questions remain’, *Australian Democrats Press Releases*, 22 July 2003, http://www.democrats.org.au/news/index.htm?press_id=2840 [Accessed 25 February 2009]

⁸⁹ Australian Senate, *Parliamentary debates*, No. 8, 12 August 2003, p. 13333

⁹⁰ Socialist Alliance, *No troops to Solomon Islands!*, June/July 2003, <http://www.socialist-alliance.org/page.php?page=32> [Accessed 25 February 2009]

⁹¹ Steve Waldon, ‘The Last Word’, *The Age*, 10 July 2003

The September-11 terrorist attacks in the United States brought with it a shift in security focus towards non-state actors such as terrorist networks. Focus had earlier been directed towards threats from other states or within states. This shift was driven by the United States which was displayed in the National Security Strategy assessment in September 2002. It stated that:

Enemies in the past needed great armies and great industrial capabilities to endanger America. Now, shadowy networks of individuals can bring great chaos and suffering to our shores for less than it costs to purchase a single tank. Terrorists are organized to penetrate open societies and to turn the power of modern technologies against us.

Today, the world's great powers find ourselves on the same side – united by common dangers of terrorist violence and chaos.⁹²

Australia's close relationship with the United States meant that its outlook on the world was influenced by this shift in thinking by its ally. Prime Minister John Howard enacted the ANZUS Treaty for the first time just days after the terrorist attacks on September 11, 2001, vowing Australia's support for the United States.⁹³

The Australian rhetoric emulated that of the US as well. Shortly after the US began pushing its pre-emptive strategy (if necessary), as outlined by President George W. Bush in an address at West Point,⁹⁴ and in the National Security Strategy 2002,⁹⁵ Prime Minister Howard and Foreign Minister Downer echoed those sentiments. Howard stated that:

I mean let me make it very clear if I were presented with evidence that Australia was about to be attacked and I was told by our military people that by launching a pre-emptive hit we could prevent that attack occurring I would authorise that pre-emptive hit and expect the opposition to support me in the process. So in a situation like this Robert [Hill] was expressing a self-evidently valid proposition and particularly against the background of the events of the 11th of September.⁹⁶

Downer also defended this position, saying:

⁹² White House, *The National Security Strategy of the United States of America*, September 2002

⁹³ Roy Eccleston, 'Team America', in *The Howard factor: A decade that changed a nation*, ed. N. Cater, Melbourne University Publishing Ltd, Carlton, 2006, p.173

⁹⁴ G. W. Bush, *President Bush Delivers Graduation Speech at West Point*, United States Military Academy, West Point, New York, the United States, 1 June 2002, http://www.nti.org/e_research/official_docs/pres/bush_wp_prestrike.pdf [Accessed 25 February 2009]

⁹⁵ White House, *The National Security Strategy of the United States of America*, September 2002

⁹⁶ John Howard, 'Transcript of the Prime Minister the Hon John Howard MP press conference, Parliament House', *Canberra*, 20 June 2002

If you're sitting in Canberra and you know that somebody is about to launch an attack against say, Sydney, or an Australian city of one kind or another, you have information that this attack is about to take place, you would obviously work with other countries in order to try to stop the attack taking place. But in the end, if there is to be an attack on an Australian city, of one kind or another, in those circumstances we have to do everything we can to try to avert it.⁹⁷

Although it is clear that such a scenario represents an extreme case, it caused uproar from a number of Asian countries, including Indonesia, Singapore and Malaysia.⁹⁸ Despite the criticism Downer defended the position, saying that it would only happen in the extreme case when all other avenues had failed.⁹⁹ It is clear, though, that the Australian government had taken the American view of a new security paradigm after the September 11 attacks – that threats had to be stopped pre-emptively before they had a chance to occur. A new focus emerged on terrorist networks potentially using failed states for money laundering, for planning attacks, or as a base from which to launch attacks.¹⁰⁰

Prime Minister Howard and Foreign Minister Downer both acknowledged this new threat. Howard pointed to the potential of terrorists using the Pacific Islands states for their purposes.¹⁰¹ Downer saw it as “an exaggeration” when in December 2002 he commented on the possibility of Solomon Islands being used as a terrorist base but he raised concerns that terrorists financing could go through the Pacific Islands states. He said there had not been a concern regarding Solomon Islands; mainly because he believed an Islamic terrorist organisation would not be welcome by the indigenous population, but that they had worried about a few other states.¹⁰² He repeated these concerns in March 2003 but maintained that the threat came from money laundering

⁹⁷ Alexander Downer, ‘ABC Radio, “The World Today”, preventing terrorist attacks’, 2 December 2002

⁹⁸ See for example, Anonymous, ‘Indonesia says Howard's pre-emptive strike threat is "unacceptable", *Agence France-Presse*, 11 December 2002 and Anonymous, ‘International laws must be respected in anti-terror war - Singapore's DPM Tan’, *Channelnewsasia*, 11 December 2002 and Anonymous, ‘Mahathir up in arms over white `sheriff’, *Courier-Mail*, 5 December 2002

⁹⁹ Alexander Downer, ‘Interview with Stan Grant, CNN International “News Biz Today”, 3 December 2002

¹⁰⁰ See White House, *The National Security Strategy of the United States of America*, September 2002 and Australian Strategic Policy Institute, ‘Our Failing Neighbour: Australia and the Future of Solomon Islands’, p. 28

¹⁰¹ John Howard, ‘Transcript of the Prime Minister the Hon John Howard MP Doorstop Interview, Forum Secretariat, Suva’, 17 August 2002

¹⁰² Alexander Downer, ‘Doorstop Interview – Minister for Foreign Affairs Hon Alexander Downer’, MP, Sydney, 17 December 2002

that could finance terrorist networks and again he did not specify a certain country of concern.¹⁰³

When the decision had been made to change the policy towards Solomon Islands, Howard and Downer now emphasised the threat of having a failed state in the region and it being exploited by terrorists. Howard referred in a speech on 1 July 2003 to the “age of terrorism” since 11 September 2001. He further stated: “too often we have seen rogue and failed states become the base from which terrorist and transnational criminals organise their operations, train their recruits and manage their finances”. He continued: “we know that a failed state in our region, on our doorstep, will jeopardise our own security. The best thing we can do is to take remedial action and take it now”.¹⁰⁴

Howard admitted that there was no evidence of terrorist activities in Solomon Islands. Instead, he stressed the *possibility* and *potential* of a failed Solomon Islands being used by terrorist organisations. On 20 July 2003 he said: “I’m sure the Australian people will understand if the Solomon’s become a failed state it is a haven potentially for terrorists, drug-runners and money launderers”.¹⁰⁵ Downer also emphasised the perception that “since September the 11th last year, and for us especially, since October the 12th this year, the world is a very different place”.¹⁰⁶ Like Howard, he admitted that there was no evidence “certainly not in relation to terrorism. Money laundering, well only at a petty level. Our point is, and ASPI’s point too – I think the ASPI paper is a very good paper by the way, very impressed with it – but I think the potential is the problem.”¹⁰⁷ With both Howard and Downer stressing the potential of terrorists using Solomon Islands for their operations, the intervention has to be seen as a pre-emptive action, ensuring that the possibility will not arise. Although they mentioned it in 2002 and early 2003, it wasn’t until the decision to alter policy had been made that full emphasis was put on the threat of failed states in the region.

¹⁰³ Alexander Downer, ‘Press Conference with Fiji Foreign Minister Tavola: Salopian Inn, McLaran Vale, South Australia’, 7 March 2003

¹⁰⁴ John Howard, ‘Transcript of the Prime Minister the Hon John Howard MP Address to the Sydney Institute, Intercontinental Hotel, Sydney’, 1 July 2003

¹⁰⁵ John Howard, ‘Transcript of the Prime Minister the Hon John Howard MP Interview with Charles Wooley, 60 Minutes’, 20 July 2003

¹⁰⁶ Alexander Downer, ‘ABC Radio “AM”, Strait Times article, Prime Minister’s Comments’, 4 December 2002

¹⁰⁷ Alexander Downer, ‘Doorstop – Parliament House’, 25 June 2003

Whether Solomon Islands was a “failing” or “failed” state was unclear. Howard and Downer seemed to stress the possibility of Solomon Islands becoming a failed state, rather than declaring it a failed state.¹⁰⁸ Academics and journalists used the terms failing or failed state to describe Solomon Islands in 2002 and 2003 but there was no consensus. The Economist wrote in February 2003 that “The Solomon Islands faces the prospect of becoming the Pacific’s first failed state”.¹⁰⁹ Geoffrey Barker (Financial Review) referred to Solomon Islands in November 2002 as “now a failed state, in the hands of extortion gangs”¹¹⁰, Graeme Dobell stated “a good case can be mounted that Solomon Islands was indeed becoming a failed state”¹¹¹, while Elsinia Wainwright in October 2002 describes Solomon Islands as “virtually a failed state”¹¹², and Jon Fraenkel notes in regards to Solomon Islands “whether or not this was a ‘failed state’ was debatable”¹¹³. No consensus, but most seemed to at least think Solomon Islands was not working well.

The international norm (or principle) of sovereignty also played a role in the discussions in the Australian government’s decision to change its policy towards Solomon Islands. The policy up to the intervention emphasised the sovereignty of the Pacific Island states and that Australia was “not a neo-colonial power”.¹¹⁴ Downer re-emphasised this policy repeatedly.¹¹⁵ Sovereignty was stated as one of the reasons as to why Australia would not intervene in Solomon Islands prior to the intervention in 2003. One of the key conditions for an intervention was that it would be based on an

¹⁰⁸ See for example, Downer stating: “If we just allow Solomon Islands to become a failed state” on 25 June 2003, indicating it wasn’t a failed state at this time. A. Downer, ‘Doorstop – Parliament House’, 25 June 2003, Howard likewise referred to the Solomon leaders looking for support because “they know that if their state fails...”, again indicating that the view of Howard and Downer was that the Solomons had not failed yet. J. Howard, ‘Transcript of the Prime Minister the Hon John Howard MP Address to the Sydney Institute, Intercontinental Hotel, Sydney’, 1 July 2003

¹⁰⁹ Anonymous, ‘The Pacific’s first failed state? – The Solomons and their problems’, *The Economist*, 15 February 2003

¹¹⁰ G. Barker, ‘Behind the troops’ recall’, *Financial Review*, 25 November 2002

¹¹¹ Graeme Dobell, ‘Australia’s intervention policy: A Melanesian learning curve?’ in *Intervention and state-building in the Pacific: The legitimacy of ‘cooperative intervention’*, eds. G. Fry & T. T. Kabutaulaka, Manchester University Press, Manchester, 2008, p.95

¹¹² E. Wainwright, ‘Pacific states are likely havens for terror’, *Financial Review*, 23 October 2002

¹¹³ J. Fraenkel, *The Manipulation of Custom: From Uprising to Intervention in the Solomon Islands*, p. 158

¹¹⁴ See for example Department of Foreign Affairs and Trade, *Advancing the national interest*, Commonwealth of Australia, 2003, p. 93

¹¹⁵ See for example Alexander Downer, ‘Speech by the Hon Alexander Downer, MP, Minister for Foreign Affairs, at the RIAP’s Pacific Economic Outlook seminar’, Sydney, 2 November 2000, and A. Downer, ‘Neighbours cannot be recolonised’, *The Australian*, 8 January 2003

invitation from the Solomon Islands government. This condition was declared time and time again by both Howard and Downer.¹¹⁶ A reason for this condition would be the recognition of Solomon Islands as a sovereign state and that intervention would be by invitation only. If Australia led an intervention based on an official request from Solomon Islands government it would not violate the principle of sovereignty and would therefore be perceived as legitimate in the eyes of the international community.

The intervention into Solomon Islands was described by some journalists as a Humanitarian Intervention. The ASPI-report attempts to show the similarities between the situation in the Solomon Islands and earlier examples of humanitarian intervention in Kosovo, Somalia and East Timor. It concedes that the Solomon Islands case doesn't completely fit these examples but argues that it shares "key similarities. In particular, they all represent attempts to reconcile the need to help states and peoples in trouble with the need to avoid the dangers of neo-colonialism."¹¹⁷ Rowan Callick refers to the principle, as well as to the report, repeating the arguments from the ASPI-report.¹¹⁸ However, the overwhelming impression of how the Australian government justified the intervention is not in terms of humanitarian intervention but in terms of security, in light of the September-11 attacks and the Bali-bombing. The humanitarian dimension of the crisis in Solomon Islands is often mentioned but the operation itself is most of the time justified by the need to stop Solomon Islands from collapsing, from becoming a failed state, with the potential security implications that this would have for Australia.

Several international institutions had reasons to be in favour of an intervention however, there are no indications that any of them exerted decisive pressure on the Australian government. The United Nations was not directly involved due to the fact that China would most likely veto any Security Council-resolution, since Solomon

¹¹⁶ See Alexander Downer, 'Joint Press Conference with New Zealand Foreign Minister Phil Goff – Adelaide Airport', 29 June 2003 and A. Downer, 'Our Failing Neighbour: Australia and the future of Solomon Islands, Speech at the launch of the Australian Strategic Policy Institute report', Sydney, 10 June 2003, as well as J. Howard, 'Transcript of the Prime Minister the Hon John Howard MP Address to the Sydney Institute, Intercontinental Hotel,' Sydney, 1 July 2003 and John Howard, 'Transcript of the Prime Minister the Hon John Howard MP Radio Interview with Jon Faine, Radio 3LO', 27 June 2003

¹¹⁷ Australian Strategic Policy Institute, 'Our Failing Neighbour: Australia and the Future of Solomon Islands', June 2003 p. 10

¹¹⁸ Rowan Callick, 'Return of the colonists', *Financial Review*, 11 June 2003

Islands recognised Taiwan. The Australian government therefore did not seek support of a UN resolution, however, it did receive support after the event. The UN Secretary-General Kofi Annan praised the Australian-led intervention in a statement on 5 August 2003.¹¹⁹ The President of the Security Council also endorsed the intervention on behalf of the Security Council-members on 26 August 2003.¹²⁰ The unlikelihood of securing a UN-resolution also indicate that the UN would not have been able to exert great influence on the Australian government in changing its policy, despite the UN being supportive once the intervention had taken place. The China/Taiwan issue prevented an UN-resolution but did not stop them from expressing support after the intervention was already a fact, as there are provisions under Chapter VIII of the UN Charter for regional associations to maintain peace and security.¹²¹

The International Monetary Fund (IMF) and the World Bank would have an interest in Solomon Islands stabilising again, however, as Graeme Dobell stated: “The World Bank and the IMF virtually refuse to deal with it”.¹²² A failing Solomon Islands state would have served as a deterrent to lend money, as the chances of it paying the loan back would have been low. The IMF sent a team to Solomon Islands in August 2002 and according to the then Solomon Islands Finance Minister Laurie Chan, part of the deal would have been for Solomon Islands to give up its currency and instead adopt the Australian dollar.¹²³ What, if anything, came out of this visit by the IMF is unclear. However, Solomon Islands did not give up its currency and there are no signs of the IMF lending money in the following period, which backs the earlier claim by Dobell that the IMF choose not to deal with Solomon Islands. If Solomon Islands did stabilise again, as part of an external intervention, it would give the IMF a role again, which indicates that it would be supportive of such an action. However, there is no

¹¹⁹ United Nations, ‘Secretary-General commends regional response to Solomon Islands crisis’, Press Release, SG/SM/8811, 5 August 2003, <http://www.un.org/News/Press/docs/2003/sgsm8811.doc.htm> [Accessed 14 August 2007]

¹²⁰ United Nations, ‘Press Statement on Solomon Islands by Security Council President’, Press Release, SC/7853, 26 August 2003, <http://www.un.org/News/Press/docs/2003/sc7853.doc.htm> [Accessed 14 August 2007]

¹²¹ United Nations, ‘Charter of the United Nations, Chapter VIII: Regional Arrangements’, <http://www.un.org/aboutun/charter/chapter8.shtml> [Accessed 21 March 2009]

¹²² Graeme Dobell, ‘The South Pacific: Policy Taboos, Popular Amnesia and Political Failure’, *The Menzies Research Centre Lecture Series: Australian Security in the 21st Century*, Canberra, February 2003, p. 9

¹²³ Rowan Callick, ‘Solomon collapse a stark warning for PNG leader’, *Financial Review*, 7 August 2002

evidence of the IMF or the World Bank exerting pressure on the Australian government to take such action.

The European Union was the largest aid donor to Solomon Islands when it in November 2000 introduced US\$200 million in aid, obviously with an interest in solving the crisis there.¹²⁴ Being the largest donor it naturally had an interest in a stable Solomon Islands however, there are no indications that the EU put pressure on the Howard-government to conduct an intervention for that purpose.

The global factor that seems to have had the greatest effect on the Australian government in its policy change is the new global debate of the potential threat that failed states could pose to countries like the United States and Australia. The Australian-led intervention was certainly framed around this discourse, much more so than on the humanitarian aspect of Solomon Islands' decline. Certainly, the humanitarian dimensions were highlighted both before and after the decision had been made, however the justification for the intervention was mainly focussed on what a threat a failed Solomon Islands could be to Australian security. A number of other global actors were in favour of an intervention but do not seem to have influenced the Australian government to any large degree. The UN, the IMF, the World Bank and the EU all approved of and supported the intervention but there are no indications that any of them played a decisive role in the Australian decision-making process.

Regional Factors

Regional factors had an impact on the Australian government's decision to alter its policy and then lead an intervention into Solomon Islands. A number of events and actors influenced the Howard-government's decision-making process. The events and actors deemed most influential are investigated below.

The Bali-bombing on 12 October 2002 certainly had an impact on the government's approach towards Solomon Islands. It followed a shift in traditional security thinking towards focusing on terrorism, which had commenced after the September 11 attacks, and which dramatically highlighted the threat of regional terrorism for the Howard-

¹²⁴ C. Moore, *Happy Isles in Crisis: The historical causes for a failing in Solomon Islands, 1998-2004*, p. 163

government.¹²⁵ Even though the bombing was “just around the corner” in Indonesia, the high number of Australian casualties had a large impact on government thinking as well as public opinion. Terrorism now became a very real threat in the Australian government’s thought-process.¹²⁶ Comments and statements made by Howard and Downer confirm this new focus. Downer noted “we have a significant problem with terrorism in the region and obviously Bali is the most dramatic illustration of that”.¹²⁷ After the Bali bombing it became even more apparent to the Australian government that terrorist threats could come from the region as well, reinforcing the impact of the Bali-bombing on the security focus. This would have an effect on how the government justified the Solomon Islands-intervention. In a clear reference to the failing Solomon Islands, Howard said: “We know that a failed state in our region, on our doorstep, will jeopardise our own security”.¹²⁸ The “failing state”-rhetoric of the “War against Terrorism” thus became a regional factor contributing to Solomon Islands intervention.

Balance of power in the region and the fear of external influence growing in the South Pacific are also possible contributors to policy change. John Howard repeatedly stated in the lead up to the intervention that Solomon Islands was in “Our patch”.¹²⁹ By

¹²⁵ See for example, Sinclair Dinnen, ‘Australia’s new interventionism in the Southwest Pacific’, Paper presented at the German Pacific Network’s *Australia’s New Foreign Policy in the Pacific Area*-conference, University of Hamburg, 26-27 November 2004 <http://www2.pazifik-netzwerk.de/uploads/Dossier70.pdf> [Accessed 20 August 2007], Daniel Lambach also emphasise September-11 as a definitive change in global security discourse towards terrorism and failed states. See Daniel Lambach, ‘The Threat of Failed States. Australia and the global security discourse’, Paper presented at the German Pacific Network’s *Australia’s New Foreign Policy in the Pacific Area*-conference, University of Hamburg, 26-27 November 2004 <http://www2.pazifik-netzwerk.de/uploads/Dossier70.pdf> [Accessed 20 August 2007]. See also, for example, Greg Fry, “‘Our patch’: the war on terror and the new interventionism”, in (Ed) G. Fry & T. T. Kabataulaka, *Intervention and State-building in the Pacific: legitimacy of ‘cooperative intervention’*, Manchester University Press, p. 125

¹²⁶ Tarcisius T. Kabataulaka, ‘Australian Foreign Policy and the RAMSI Intervention in Solomon Islands’, ‘The Contemporary Pacific’, Vol. 17, Issue 2, 2005, pp. 287-91, see also Elsin Wainwright, ‘Responding to state failure – the case of Australia and Solomon Islands’, *Australian Journal of International Affairs*, vol. 57, Issue 3, November 2003, pp. 486 and 489

¹²⁷ A. Downer, ‘ABC Radio “AM”’, Strait Times article, Prime Minister’s Comments’, 4 December 2002

¹²⁸ J. Howard, ‘Transcript of the Prime Minister the Hon John Howard MP Address to the Sydney Institute, Intercontinental Hotel, Sydney’, 1 July 2003

¹²⁹ See for example, John Howard, ‘Transcript of the Prime Minister the Hon John Howard MP Interview with Kerry O’Brien, the 7.30-report, ABC’, 25 June 2003, and J. Howard, ‘Transcript of the Prime Minister the Hon John Howard MP Interview with Charles Wooley, 60 Minutes’, 20 July 2003, and John Howard, ‘Transcript of the Prime Minister the Hon John Howard MP Press Conference, Canberra’, 22 July 2003, and John Howard, ‘Transcript of the Prime Minister the Hon John Howard MP Address to Australian Personnel, Honiara, Solomon Islands’, 22 December 2003

doing this, Howard emphasised the role he regarded Australia as playing in the region and, it can be argued, indirectly telling other external states that this was within Australia's sphere-of-influence.

Henderson and Reilly have argued that China "is incorporating the Pacific islands into its broader quest to become a major Asia-Pacific power". They further claim that "China's long-term goal is to ultimately replace the United States as the pre-eminent power in the Pacific Ocean".¹³⁰ Although Solomon Islands recognised Taiwan and not China it could be argued that a failing Solomon Islands in 2003 could have switched allegiance to China, provided that they were offered a large enough aid-package, thereby increasing its influence further in the Pacific. Particularly since according to Henderson and Reilly, the US interest in the South Pacific will lessen even further.¹³¹ It would therefore be in Australia's interest to intervene in Solomon Islands to avert any Chinese attempt to increase its influence.

A possibly more "real threat" to Australian influence in the Pacific was Indonesia. There were reports that the Solomon Islands government approached Indonesia at roughly the same time as they sent a letter to John Howard in April 2003.¹³² The alleged negotiations concerned possible Indonesian troops and were conducted between Indonesian and Solomon authorities in May 2003, which according to Alfred Sasako, shadow foreign minister in Solomon Islands, was discovered by Australia.¹³³ No official request was ever made, though, but Milter Tozaka, Solomon Islands High Commissioner in Canberra, admitted to informal discussions between Indonesia and Solomon Islands.¹³⁴

The suggestion that Australia would have based its decision to intervene in Solomon Islands to avoid Indonesia doing so was flatly rejected by Nick Warner, the Head of

¹³⁰ John Henderson & Benjamin Reilly, 'Dragon in Paradise: China's Rising Star in Oceania', *The National Interest*, Issue 72, Summer 2003, pp. 94-95, For more on China's increased assertiveness in the Asia-Pacific, see Milton Osborne, 'The Paramount Power: China and countries of Southeast Asia', Lowy Institute paper 11, 2006

¹³¹ J. Henderson & B. Reilly, 'Dragon in Paradise: China's Rising Star in Oceania', p. 101

¹³² Anonymous, 'Solomon Islands reportedly considered asking for Indonesian military help', *Radio New Zealand*, 9 June 2003

¹³³ Anonymous, 'Indonesia invited to Solomons before Australia', *Australian Associated Press*, 28 August 2003

¹³⁴ Dateline, 'Solomons Riddle', *Special Broadcasting Service*, 27 August 2003, http://news.sbs.com.au/dateline/solomons_riddle_130273 [Accessed 26 February 2009]

the Regional Assistance Mission to the Solomon Islands – “possible involvement by Indonesia had absolutely no impact on the decision of the Australian government, let alone the decision of other regional countries to get involved here”.¹³⁵ The Solomon Islands government also denied that any offer had been made.¹³⁶ If talks had been conducted between Indonesia and Solomon Islands it could have affected the Australian government’s decision, in order to maintain its sphere of influence and position as regional hegemon however, these claims cannot be substantiated.

Regional organisations such as the Association of Southeast Asian Nations (ASEAN), The ASEAN Regional Forum (ARF), and the Pacific Islands Forum (PIF) were all in favour of an intervention, however, none can be said to have influenced the Australian government beforehand. New Zealand foreign minister Phil Goff asked ASEAN Regional Forum for help in June 2003 in a possible intervention but they did not provide any direct help with troops and the like.¹³⁷ Alexander Downer also informed the ARF of a possible intervention in June 2003 but there is no indication of the ARF being an influence on Australian decision-making.¹³⁸ The Pacific Islands Forum did not push for an intervention before the decision was taken. Once it was a possibility, the PIF’s member states unanimously endorsed an intervention through the foreign ministers in a meeting in Sydney on 30 June 2003. Several member states even offered to provide troops and police.¹³⁹ The RAMSI-intervention was subsequently conducted under a Pacific Islands Forum mandate. The PIF-mandate ensured some level of legitimacy to the intervention. According to Finnemore, for a humanitarian intervention to be considered legitimate it needs to be multilateral, preferably with a few “disinterested states” involved as well.¹⁴⁰ The RAMSI-intervention can be argued to be at least partly a humanitarian intervention and PIF support helped to legitimise

¹³⁵ Anonymous, ‘Mission chief dismisses reports questioning Australia’s intervention in Solomons’, *BBC Monitoring Asia Pacific*, 28 August 2003

¹³⁶ Anonymous, ‘Solomons Foreign Ministry denies contacts with Indonesia’, *BBC Monitoring Asia Pacific*, 1 September 2003

¹³⁷ Anonymous, ‘ASEAN asked to help NZ with Solomon Islands security’, *ABC News*, 19 June 2003, <http://www.abc.net.au/news/stories/2003/06/19/883871.htm> [Accessed 26 February 2009]

¹³⁸ A. Downer, ‘Doorstep – Parliament House’, 25 June 2003

¹³⁹ Tony Parkinson, ‘Neighbours offer to help Solomons’, *The Age*, 1 July 2003

¹⁴⁰ Martha Finnemore, ‘Constructing Norms of Humanitarian Intervention’, *The Culture of National Security: Norms and Identity in World Politics*, ed. P. Katzenstein Columbia University Press, New York, 1996, p. 180

it. The contribution of troops and police from several of the PIF-members, no matter how small, added to the legitimacy of the operation.¹⁴¹

The Asian Development Bank had funded projects in Solomon Islands but the deteriorating economic situation in 2002 threatened these projects. The ADB warned that its projects it paid for in Solomon Islands could be cancelled unless the situation was stabilised.¹⁴² Again, there is no evidence that the ADB was a major influence on the Australian foreign policy change towards Solomon Islands, despite a vested interest in stabilising its economy.

Bilateral Relations

Two different bilateral relations are relevant in this case study. Naturally the Australia-Solomon Islands relationship is crucial but the Australia-United States relationship also had an impact on Australia's decision to intervene.

There is no doubt that Australia has the upper hand in the Australia – Solomon Islands relationship. As a “middle power” Australia is far stronger in terms of its economy, stability, military capability and international standing. This uneven power-relationship is evident when examining the lead-up to the intervention. It was Australia that decided if and when to intervene. The Solomon Islands government did not have much influence over Australian decision-making in this regard. The Howard-government had said no to requests from three different Solomon Islands-governments for increased assistance from the year 2000 up until the intervention in June 2003.¹⁴³ There are no indications that the Solomon Islands government was able to persuade the Australian government to overturn its policy. Rather, the overall situation would be a stronger factor in this regard, such as the new security-focus on

¹⁴¹ Those numbers were in September 2003: 1379 military personnel from Australia, 240 from New Zealand, 121 from Fiji, 83 from PNG, and 35 from Tonga. See, Charles Hawksley, ‘The Regional Assistance Mission to Solomon Islands’, in *The Globalization of World Politics: Case studies from Australia, New Zealand and the Asia Pacific*, ed. A. Cullen & S. Murray, Oxford University Press, South Melbourne, 2007, p. 127

¹⁴² C. Moore, *Happy Isles in Crisis: The historical causes for a failing state in Solomon Islands, 1998-2004*, p. 180

¹⁴³ J. Fraenkel, *The Manipulation of Custom: From Uprising to Intervention in the Solomon Islands*, p. 153, see also for example M. Forbes, ‘Grim outlook on security for Pacific states’, *The Age*, 3 October 2002 regarding requests made August-October 2002, and Rowan Callick, ‘A lack of wisdom in Solomons’, *Financial Review*, 11 June 2003 regarding requests made in 2000

failed states and terrorism, and the deteriorating humanitarian situation in the Solomon Islands.

Foreign Minister Alexander Downer visited Solomon Islands on five different occasions between 2000 and 2003.¹⁴⁴ He could observe firsthand the deteriorating situation in Solomon Islands. He later admitted that his visit in December 2002 confirmed his fears that the current policy did not work and that Solomon Islands was not improving.¹⁴⁵ The fact that Downer could visit Solomon Islands on a regular basis and meet with Solomon Islands officials may have influenced his personal view by seeing for himself the situation in Solomon Islands, and it may have contributed to an extent to him changing his mind on the “hands-off”-approach. It seems unlikely, though, that pressure from the Solomon Islands government influenced the Australian government to any great extent to change its policy. The letter from Prime Minister Kemakeza in April 2003 asking for assistance served to highlight the situation again and provided the opening for a policy change. However, there is no reason to believe that this request were any different in terms of influence than earlier requests by Solomon Islands-governments. Rather, circumstances, context and other external factors caused the policy change, not pressure or influence from the Solomon Islands-government.

The Australia-United States bilateral relationship seems to have had more of an impact than the Australia-Solomon Islands relationship in influencing the Howard-government to intervene in Solomon Islands. The relationship’s impact on the decision to intervene has been highlighted by several scholars and journalists.¹⁴⁶ There is no proof that the United States asked Australia to lead an intervention but several indicators point to Australia acting on Solomon Islands at least influenced by the direction taken by the United States after the September 11 terrorist attacks.¹⁴⁷

¹⁴⁴ A. Downer, ‘Neighbours cannot be recolonised’, *The Australian*, 8 January 2003

¹⁴⁵ Alexander Downer, ‘Question and Answer Session following Address to National Press Club’, 26 June 2003

¹⁴⁶ T. T. Kabutaulaka, ‘Australian Foreign Policy and the RAMSI Intervention in Solomon Islands’, pp. 288-89, see also C. Moore, *Happy Isles in Crisis: The historical causes for a failing in Solomon Islands, 1998-2004*, p. 209

¹⁴⁷ T. T. Kabutaulaka, ‘Failed State’ and the War on Terror: Intervention in Solomon Islands’, Analysis from the East-West Center, No. 72, March 2004, Asia-Pacific Issues, pp. 3-4

The Australia-US alliance has been of great importance to Australian governments since World War II. When the Howard-government came in to power in 1996 it put further emphasis on the alliance. This could be seen particularly after the September 11 attacks in Washington and New York. Australia invoked the ANZUS-treaty for the first time in history and sent troops to support the US-led military campaigns in Afghanistan. It was also involved militarily in Iraq, although not under the ANZUS-treaty.¹⁴⁸

In the aftermath of the terrorist attacks in the United States failed states became noted and perceived as a threat not just to the population in the particular state itself but to other states too, regionally as well as globally.¹⁴⁹ Daniel Lambach has shown how the United Kingdom, Germany and the EU all adopted the discourse of failed states being a potential security risk to their own territories post-September-11.¹⁵⁰ The United States likewise identified “weak” and “failed” states as a potential threat to its security in 2002.¹⁵¹ Australia followed suit in the beginning of 2003¹⁵² adopting the same language as the United States on failed states, further proof of the close cooperation between the two countries after September-11. After President George W. Bush outlined the argument for pre-emptive strikes in a speech in June 2002¹⁵³ and more officially later in the National Security Strategy in September 2002¹⁵⁴, Prime Minister Howard was quick to support his ally and the notion of a pre-emptive strike.¹⁵⁵

¹⁴⁸ Greg Sheridan, ‘All the World’s a Stage’, in *The Howard Factor: A Decade that Changed the Nation*, ed. N. Cater, Melbourne University Press, Carlton, 2006, p. 156

¹⁴⁹ Several authors have highlighted this change in perception. See for example Daniel Lambach, ‘Security, Development and the Australian Security Discourse about Failed States’, *Australian Journal of Political Science*, Vol. 41, No. 3, September 2006, p. 410, see also, Robert I. Rotberg, ‘Failed States in a World of Terror’, *Foreign Affairs*, Vol. 8, Issue 4, July-August 2002, p.127

¹⁵⁰ D. Lambach, *The Perils of Weakness: Failed States and perceptions of threat in Europe and Australia*, Paper for presentation at the conference “New Security Agendas: European and Australian Perspectives”, London 1-3 July 2004, p.3

¹⁵¹ White House, *The National Security Strategy of the United States of America*, September 2002

¹⁵² D. Lambach, ‘The Perils of Weakness: Failed States and perceptions of threat in Europe and Australia’, p.13

¹⁵³ G. W. Bush, ‘President Delivers Graduation Speech at West Point, United States Military Academy, West Point, New York’, 1 June 2002, http://www.nti.org/e_research/official_docs/pres/bush_wp_prestrike.pdf [Accessed 25 February 2009]

¹⁵⁴ White House, *The National Security Strategy of the United States of America*, September 2002

¹⁵⁵ Howard stated several times that if he learned that Australia was about to be attacked and he could prevent this from happening with a pre-emptive strike, he would do so after all other options had been explored. See, J. Howard, ‘Transcript of the Prime Minister the Hon John Howard MP Press Conference, Parliament House, Canberra, 20 June 2002’ and J. Howard, ‘Transcript of the Prime Minister the Hon John Howard MP Interview with Tony Jones, Lateline, ABC’, 29 November 2002

It is impossible to determine how much the US influenced Howard and Downer in their thinking but it can be argued that there is a connection. Kabutaulaka agrees, stating that “it would be fair to say those policies were influenced by the Bush administration’s agenda”, making the connection between the US agenda in the “War-on-Terror” and Australia as a close ally.¹⁵⁶ Moore states that part of the reason for the intervention was to “please the United States”.¹⁵⁷ Fraenkel notes that “the US had long encouraged greater Australian strategic engagement in the Southwest Pacific”.¹⁵⁸ A final connection can be made with the fact that Howard went to Texas to meet with the US president on 3 May 2003, not long before a possible change in policy towards Solomon Islands began in earnest.¹⁵⁹ It has been argued that Howard came back to Australia with a new view of what to do in the South Pacific and Solomon Islands.¹⁶⁰ It could simply be that the Australian government felt a need to show its support to the United States but it fits in well with Australia’s past behaviour. However, there is no evidence that the US directly pressured Australia in taking any of the measures mentioned below, although there is an expectation from the US that Australia would handle law and order in the Western Pacific.¹⁶¹ The Howard government showed its support to the United States and the alliance in both a military and political sense.

The influence of the United States in this case is closely related to the “deputy sheriff” debate that centred on whether Australia saw itself as the “deputy” to the US in the region, especially in “peacekeeping operations”. It originated in 1999 just days after the East Timor-intervention when Howard was interviewed by Fred Brenchley. Even though Howard never used the words “deputy sheriff” it stuck to him due to the wording used by the interviewer.¹⁶² This notion did not go down well with many Asian countries. Protests came streaming in immediately from, among others,

¹⁵⁶ T. T. Kabutaulaka, ‘Australian Foreign Policy and the RAMSI Intervention in Solomon Islands’, pp. 288-89

¹⁵⁷ C. Moore, *Happy Isles in Crisis: The historical causes for a failing in Solomon Islands, 1998-2004*, p. 209

¹⁵⁸ J. Fraenkel, *The Manipulation of Custom: From Uprising to Intervention in the Solomon Islands*, p. 161

¹⁵⁹ John Howard, ‘Transcript of the Prime Minister the Hon John Howard MP Joint Press Conference with President George W. Bush, Crawford, Texas’, 3 May 2003

¹⁶⁰ J. Fraenkel, *The Manipulation of Custom: From Uprising to Intervention in the Solomon Islands*, p. 161

¹⁶¹ Charles Hawksley, ‘Sovereignty and Intervention in the Western Pacific’, Referred Paper at the APSA Conference, University of Otago, Dunedin, New Zealand, 2005, p. 14

¹⁶² Fred Brenchley, ‘The Howard Defence Doctrine’, *The Bulletin*, 21 September 1999

Malaysia and Thailand.¹⁶³ In the days following the interview Howard denied that Australia was a “deputy sheriff” to the US however, as Robert Ayson points out, the Howard government’s policies echoed those of the US and not just in the above mentioned examples but in other areas as well, for example, by not ratifying the Kyoto protocol and the preference for bilateral agreements over wider multilateral treaties.¹⁶⁴

The “deputy sheriff” debate was logically reinvigorated with the Solomon Islands-intervention in 2003 due to the peacekeeping-aspects of RAMSI. Howard repeatedly referred to the region as “our patch” and he argued for Australia’s “special responsibilities” to its neighbours.¹⁶⁵ Howard did not necessarily refer directly to the US as having these expectations of Australia but he often stated that the rest of the world expected Australia to take responsibility in its region.¹⁶⁶ He did deny any “deputy sheriff”-labels and referred to the US as a friend, not a sheriff. It did not help matters, though, when President Bush referred to Australia as a “sheriff” in the region.¹⁶⁷ The “deputy sheriff”-label refused to go away.

It does appear that the US’s statements on security had an influence in the thinking of the Australian government’s decision-making process. The “War-on-Terror” agenda and rhetoric coming out of the US after the September-11 terrorist attacks was adopted by the Howard government and with that a recognition of the danger of having a failed state nearby. This gives the US an indirect influence on Australia’s decision to lead the RAMSI-intervention.

¹⁶³ Anonymous, ‘PM’s ‘doctrine’ angers Asia’, *Daily Telegraph*, 25 September 1999

¹⁶⁴ R. Ayson, ‘Australasian security’, p. 252

¹⁶⁵ See for example, J. Howard, ‘Transcript of the Prime Minister the Hon John Howard MP interview with Kerry O’Brien, the 7.30-report, ABC’, 25 June 2003, and J. Howard, ‘Transcript of the Prime Minister the Hon John Howard MP address to the Sydney Institute, Intercontinental hotel, Sydney’, 1 July 2003, and John Howard, ‘Transcript of the Hon John Howard MP address at informal farewell reception for troops & police heading to the Solomon Islands, RAAF base, Townsville’, 23 July 2003, and J. Howard, ‘Transcript of the Prime Minister the Hon John Howard MP address to Australian personnel, Honiara, Solomon Islands’, 22 December 2003, and T. T. Kabutaulaka, ‘Australian Foreign Policy and the RAMSI Intervention in Solomon Islands’, p. 290. On the ‘deputy sheriff’-discussion, see Michael O’Keefe, ‘Australian Intervention in its Neighbourhood: Sheriff and Humanitarian?’ in *Righteous Violence: The Ethics and Politics of Military Intervention*, Melbourne University Press, Carlton, 2005

¹⁶⁶ See for example, J. Howard, ‘Transcript of the Prime Minister the Hon John Howard MP interview with Kerry O’Brien, the 7.30-report, ABC’, 25 June 2003 and John Howard, ‘Transcript of the Prime Minister the Hon John Howard MP interview with Alan Jones, Radio 2GB’, 25 July 2003

¹⁶⁷ Steve Lewis and Dennis Shanahan, ‘PM rejects sheriff and puppet tags – APEC’, *The Australian*, 18 October 2003

Non-state actors

Non-states actors are involved in Solomon Islands mainly through aid and humanitarian organisations. There is also the possibility of criminal and terrorist networks setting up base in a failing Solomon Islands. Despite reports from, for example, Amnesty International (AI) and the Internal Displacement Monitoring Centre (IDMC), legal NGO's do not appear to have had an immediate impact on the Australian government's decision to intervene in Solomon Islands. AI and IDMC were chosen in this investigation for their possible influence on the Australian government in regards to Solomon Islands as they were the most vocal on the human rights situation.

AI sent representatives to Solomon Islands during the 1998-99 conflict to investigate human rights-violations.¹⁶⁸ In a series of reports 2000-2002 AI highlighted abuses, rapes, murder and other human rights-violations in Solomon Islands. AI called for increased assistance from the international community, especially from the PIF, the ACP-EU group, the Commonwealth, the United Nations and donor countries (such as Australia), to end the violations.¹⁶⁹ Considering the period of time covered it would not appear as if AI would have had a major impact on the Australian government's decision-making, particularly as nothing indicates that it did anything different around the time of the policy change in Canberra.

Other non-governmental organisations have reported on the conflict and human rights violations in Solomon Islands, including as Oxfam¹⁷⁰ and the IDMC.¹⁷¹ However,

¹⁶⁸ Amnesty International, 'Amnesty International delegation visits Solomon Islands', Media Advisory, Solomon Islands, , 8 September 1999, <http://web.amnesty.org/library/print/ENGASA430011999> [Date of access 8 August 2007]

¹⁶⁹ Amnesty International, 'Solomon Islands: A forgotten conflict', 7 September 2000, <http://web.amnesty.org/library/print/ENGASA430052000> [Date of access 2 March 2007] and Amnesty International, 'Amnesty International report 2001 – Solomon Islands', annual report 2001, covering events January-December 2000, <http://web.amnesty.org/web/ar2001.nsf/webasacountries/SOLOMON+ISLANDS?OpenDocument> [Date of access 8 August 2007] and Amnesty International, 'Amnesty International report 2003 – Solomon Islands', annual report 2003 covering events January-December 2002, <http://web.amnesty.org/report2003/slb-summary-eng> [Date of access 8 August 2007]

¹⁷⁰ See for example, Oxfam, 'Australian Intervention in the Solomons: Beyond Operation Helpem Fren, An Agenda for Development in the Solomon Islands', Community Abroad Aid, August 2003

¹⁷¹ Internal Displacement Monitoring Centre, 'Profile of Internal Displacement: Solomon Islands, compilation of the information available in the Global IDP Database of the Norwegian Refugee Council', as of 16 May 2002, [http://www.internal-displacement.org/8025708F004BE3B1/\(httpInfoFiles\)/479DDDB07862AAD8802570B50049BF0D/\\$file/Solomon_Islands_May02.pdf](http://www.internal-displacement.org/8025708F004BE3B1/(httpInfoFiles)/479DDDB07862AAD8802570B50049BF0D/$file/Solomon_Islands_May02.pdf) [Date accessed 12 October 2007]

there are no direct signs that they directly pressured the Australian government to change its policy towards Solomon Islands in 2003. They may, however, have had a minor indirect influence simply by reporting on events in Solomon Islands during the years of crisis 1998-2003. Such reports helped in keeping the issue alive and may have alerted Australian government officials to the extent of problems. Still, that is a minor influence and does not amount to any direct influence connected to the Australian policy change in 2003.

Transnational organised crime and terrorist networks however can be argued to have had an indirect influence on the government's decision to alter its policy. The potential risk of such networks setting up base in a failing or failed Solomon Island state, thereby posing a threat to Australia, was the main line of argument by the Australian government in explaining its policy change. Both Howard and Downer used that line of argument repeatedly in the lead up to the intervention.¹⁷² However, as they admitted themselves, there was no evidence of terrorist networks in Solomon Islands and not much evidence of criminal networks either, at least not criminal networks that posed a threat to Australia.¹⁷³ Greg Fry argues that the rhetoric highlighting of terrorist and criminal networks as potential threats in a failed state were aimed squarely as a justification for intervention, at domestic politics and towards the US as part of the overall "War-on-Terror" context.¹⁷⁴

There were no specific terrorist or criminal networks named by either Howard or Downer. Therefore there was no specific threat either; rather it was the *idea* or *potential* of a terrorist or criminal network that was highlighted. It can therefore be stated that the influence of a particular group on the Australian government to change policy was minimal. However, this could then be seen as a "pre-emptive" strike against anyone wanting to use Solomon Islands as a base for operations aimed at Australia. The *idea* or *potential* was important but as to real influence from Non-state

¹⁷² See for example, J. Howard, 'Transcript of the Prime Minister the Hon John Howard MP address to the Sydney Institute, Intercontinental Hotel, Sydney', 1 July 2003 and J. Howard, 'Transcript of the Prime Minister the Hon John Howard MP interview with Charles Wooley, 60 Minutes', 20 July 2003, and A. Downer, 'Doorstop – Parliament House', 25 June 2003, and Alexander Downer, 'Solomon Islands – 2SM – Interview with Trisha Duffield', 1 July 2003

¹⁷³ See A. Downer, 'Doorstop – Parliament House', 25 June 2003 and A. Downer, 'Solomon Islands – 2SM – Interview with Trisha Duffield', 1 July 2003

¹⁷⁴ G. Fry, 'Our patch': the war on terror and the new interventionism', p. 73

actors, little direct pressure was put on the Australian government to intervene in the case of Solomon Islands.

Key Decision-Makers

Two people stand out throughout the decision-making process – Prime Minister John Howard and Foreign Minister Alexander Downer. They have therefore been identified as the key decision-makers to be investigated in this section. In order to assess Howard's and Downer's impact as key decision-makers, this section will discuss their personal characteristics through Margaret Hermann's six different categories – *Beliefs, Motives, Decision style, Interpersonal style, Training in foreign affairs, and Interest in foreign affairs*. By investigating these aspects of the key decision-makers the aim is to gain a further understanding of their roles in the decision-making process that led to the change in policy towards Solomon Islands.

The decision to intervene in Solomon Islands can be used as evidence of several of Howard's personal characteristics. The "crisis-leader" steps forward again, articulating the intervention in terms of Australian security, to prevent a future possible threat against Australia. Not, as one might have thought, in terms of humanitarian needs in Solomon Islands. Considering his personal characteristic of being a "strong leader", there is no surprise that he framed the intervention in terms of national security. It also fits into his belief in the importance of the US-alliance. The "deputy sheriff"-role that Howard disputed nevertheless fit here too, particularly so since he just came back from meeting President Bush before making the decision, and his several comments that others expect Australia to take responsibility for its neighbourhood.

Howard's need for power can be connected to the intervention too, as can his preference for decisive action. By changing policy, he set a course to where Australia would take a more "hands-on"-approach to the countries in the South Pacific, not just Solomon Islands, thereby increasing influence and power for Australia in the area.

His preference to conduct foreign policy in accord to the public opinion can also be discerned here. The approval rate of the RAMSI-intervention from the opinion polls stood at 75 %. This may have been particularly important in light of the Iraq-invasion

2-3 months earlier, which was given the go ahead despite public opinion being divided on the matter. A domestically popular decision, such as the Solomon Islands-intervention, served him well if seen in this perspective.¹⁷⁵ He displayed openness for new information when Downer told him that it was perhaps time to consider changing policy towards Solomon Islands, and also a willingness to take a risk by changing the long-standing “hands-off”-approach.

Downer handled Solomon Islands almost on his own up until the policy change. Downer went on several visits to Solomon Islands and handled the media and defended the “hands-off”-approach. Finally, when he began having doubts of whether the policy was working or not, and when the letter arrived from Kemakeza in April 2003, Downer told Howard that maybe it was time to re-appraise the Solomon Islands-policy. In many ways, Downer is the key decision-maker in regards to Solomon Islands up until the policy reversal. Then, and only then, Howard steps forward as the key decision-maker.

This could reflect the difference in interest and training in foreign affairs between Howard and Downer. Howard was less interested and had less experience up until 2001-2002, which made it natural for Downer, the Minister, to handle Solomon Islands. When the time for a policy change arrived, Howard was ready to take over after discovering his niche as the “strong leader”. Solomon Islands became another part that fitted in with Howard’s personal characteristics.

Window of Opportunity

In order for a change in policy to occur there has to be a “window of opportunity”, which needs to be perceived as such and acted upon by the key decision-makers. In the case of Solomon Islands these aspects came together in April 2003 when Kemakeza sent a letter to Howard requesting assistance from Australia.

The window had opened earlier than that but the key decision-makers, Howard and Downer, did not act on it until April 2003. During 2002 it became clear the “hands-

¹⁷⁵ C. Moore, *Happy Isles in Crisis: The historical causes for a failing state in Solomon Islands, 1998-2004*, p. 208

off'-approach had not achieved its aims. The Solomon Islands economy was still struggling and the IPMT was withdrawn in June 2002, its task mostly incomplete. Officially Downer emphasised the positive outcomes of the IPMT team and how it had "ended ethnic conflict and overseen the destruction of over 2 000 weapons".¹⁷⁶ However, DFAT still warned about travelling to Solomon Islands due to the large amount of weapons still in the hands of criminal elements and Downer's comment that the IPMT had done "about all it can do". Both these matters point to the "hands-off" approach not working.¹⁷⁷ Increased aid to Solomon Islands did not to serve to alter the decline either.

The window of opportunity was there but it was not until December 2002 that one of the two key decision-makers – Foreign Minister Downer – began to see that the current policy would not make a significant difference. The period between the IPMT-withdrawal and the December visit by Downer to Solomon Islands had not resulted in any substantial progress. The later admission that this was when he came to change his mind in December 2002 is important in that he finally *perceived* the need for a new approach – a new policy. However, this perception was not acted upon until April 2003.

The main reason for the gap between perceiving the need for change and acting upon it was due to the Australian participation in the Iraq-invasion in March 2003. The Howard-government's focus in the months between December 2002 and April 2003 was on the Iraq-invasion and it was not until major combat operations were over that Australia would consider a major change in policy.

The 22 April letter from Prime Minister Kemakeza to Prime Minister Howard was the final piece of the puzzle. It allowed the Australian government to act on Downer's perception that a new approach was needed. Without the request from Kemakeza options would have been limited. Instead different types of more active and direct approaches became available. After asking for advice from relevant departments, a multinational intervention was finally decided upon.

¹⁷⁶ Mark Forbes, 'Australian withdrawal from Solomons sparks violence fears', *The Age*, 26 June 2002

¹⁷⁷ M. Forbes, 'Australian withdrawal from Solomons sparks violence fears', *The Age*, 26 June 2002, and Mary-Louise O'Callaghan, 'Solomons observers out', *The Australian*, 16 February 2002

The Window of Opportunity was finally perceived and acted upon. The War-on-Terror context provided the rationale that the possibility of Solomon Islands becoming a failed state could become a security threat to Australia in that terrorist and criminal networks could use it as a base for operations against Australia. The Bali bombing in October 2002 was still fresh in people's mind and the policy change was framed in that context. The beheading of an Australian missionary in May 2003 added to the perception that Solomon Islands was indeed in need of help and helped justify the intervention. Once acted upon, the policy shift led to the RAMSI-intervention in July 2003.

Was this "Window of Opportunity" created by changes in the structural conditions, that is, by changes in domestic and international factors? The international context had certainly changed with security issues now placed in a "War-on-Terror"-context after September 11, and even more so for Australia after the Bali bombing of 12 October 2002. There was also more pressure from Australian journalists and think-tanks such as ASPI and the CIS to alter the government's policy towards Solomon Islands and the South Pacific in general. The continued decline of Solomon Islands economy and law-and-order situation also prompted a new response from the Australian government. Looking at all these factors, the argument can be made that it was indeed changes in the structural conditions that "opened" the window of opportunity that the Australian government then clambered through. A more interventionist Australia could be justified through the "War-on-Terror" framework.

On the other hand, James Walter and Kim Murray have both argued that Howard was a pragmatist, prepared to wait for an opportunity to reengage to implement a policy. Walter argues that Howard "is prepared to defer, to await a better climate, but he will never give up".¹⁷⁸ Murray states that Howard has always been pragmatic and that some of his "policies may be modified, subject to strategic retreat, or postponed until more propitious times".¹⁷⁹ Howard's waiting for situations to change to his advantage reflects Errington & van Onselen's assessment that "He's Machiavelli with a dog

¹⁷⁸ J. Walter, 'John Howard and the 'strong leader' thesis', p. 8

¹⁷⁹ Kim Murray, 'John Howard's policies: formed over a lifetime, so why are we surprised?' Paper Presented at the John Howard's Decade Conference, National Museum of Australia, Canberra, 3-4 March 2006, p. 4

whistle”.¹⁸⁰ This personality trait fits well in to the above argument. Howard’s comments in *The Bulletin* article in 1999 indicated a more interventionist role by Australia after the East Timor-intervention but the strong backlash from a number of Asian countries forced him to backtrack from that desire. Patiently waiting, the opportunity arose again in April-May 2003, when the climate was better suited for such an approach.

However, there are no indications that Howard actively tried to manipulate the sources of change to further his interests in this matter. Rather, he waited for the right time and opportunity to pursue his old agenda. By April-May 2003 the Window of Opportunity was perceived.

In conclusion, the Window of Opportunity opened in the second half of 2002 but was not perceived as such by one of the key decision-makers until December 2002. Due to other policy priorities, however, it was not acted upon until April-May 2003. The letter from Kemakeza requesting direct Australian assistance finally provided the Australian government with the opportunity to change its policy from the “hands-off”-approach towards the Solomon Islands to a much more interventionist stance and to lead the RAMSI-intervention, but only when more important international issues had been resolved.

Typology of Change

The Australian foreign policy change towards Solomon Islands in 2003 is here classified as a *Reform* on the typology of change scale. The Howard-government’s goals remained the same – a stable Solomon Islands, with a functioning government and effective institutions, law and order upheld, and an improved economic situation. What changed was the way to go about achieving those goals. From applying a “hands-off”-approach involving aid and technical assistance, it now changed the instruments used dramatically to a “hands-on”- approach. The new instruments included a considerable force of military troops and police to create and entrench law

¹⁸⁰ Wayne Errington, & Peter van Onselen, ““You lucky, lucky bastard!” The extent of John Howard’s political genius’, *Paper presented at the John Howard’s Decade Conference*, Australian National University, 2-3 March 2006, p. 8

and order in Solomon Islands, as well as a much more direct involvement in the everyday running of the Solomon Islands government machinery by sending bureaucrats and advisers to work alongside Solomon Islands officials in key ministries.

From having been very careful not to interfere in the internal affairs of Solomon Islands, it was now extensively involved in many aspects of the Solomon Islands government through the RAMSI-intervention. The instruments used had changed dramatically but the overall goals remained the same, thus it is a *Reform* and not anything more radical.

Consequences of Change

To see whether the policy change met the expectations of the Australian government, we can look at the first six months after the RAMSI intervention and its short term results. It will discuss what actually took place after the intervention and how the policy change encompassed Papua New Guinea as well as Solomon Islands.

The policy change towards Solomon Islands resulted in the Australian-led RAMSI-intervention which began on 24 July 2003. The force consisted of 2 225 military and police personnel with contributions from not just Australia but also New Zealand, Tonga, Fiji, Samoa, and Papua New Guinea, making it a multinational deployment.¹⁸¹ Australia provided the bulk of the force with about 1 500 soldiers from the defence force, another 150 from the federal police and finally 90 personnel from the Protective Services.¹⁸²

The initial reaction to the intervention was overwhelmingly positive. The citizens in Honiara also showed their appreciation to the intervention. Minor results were displayed almost immediately, such as the return of vehicles stolen in the 2000 coup. Illegal stalls selling betel-nuts also disappeared from the streets of Honiara and, even more importantly, 100 guns were handed in early in the intervention.¹⁸³

¹⁸¹ J. Fraenkel, *The Manipulation of Custom: From Uprising to Intervention in the Solomon Islands*, p. 159

¹⁸² J. Howard, 'Transcript of the Prime Minister the Hon John Howard MP Press Conference, Canberra', 22 July 2003

¹⁸³ Mary-Louise O'Callaghan, 'We have drop on locals', *The Australian*, 2 August 2003

The first priority was to stabilise the law and order situation. The aim was to get hold of as many weapons held by non-state forces in Solomon Islands as possible. The operation must be deemed a success with roughly 3 800 guns apprehended by the intervention force by January 2004.¹⁸⁴ The intervention forces also set out to rid the RSIP from corrupt and criminal elements which resulted in a quarter of the police force having to leave the force and 50 of them being charged with a total of 285 offences.¹⁸⁵ It was also important to apprehend key crime figures such as Harold Keke, who had spread terror in parts of Solomon Islands. As the intervention came closer, Keke already showed signs of bowing to the force. He released three hostages the day before the intervention force was due.¹⁸⁶ Just before making that move he also announced that he would be ready to give up his weapons to RAMSI.¹⁸⁷ These were important moves by Keke as RAMSI naturally wanted to avoid violent clashes and disarm key rebel leaders. After negotiations with RAMSI, Keke finally surrendered and was arrested by RAMSI on 13 August 2003. His arrest was symbolic but also important from a strategic point of view, as it took away one of the major combatants in Solomon Islands.¹⁸⁸ Jimmy Rasta, another key crime figure, and his Malaita Eagle Force men gave up about 100 guns to RAMSI two days later at a ceremony in Honiara.¹⁸⁹

These two events were very important symbolically and strategically for RAMSI. With two major combatants handing over their weapons, and with Keke arrested, the very reason to go on fighting was diminished substantially.¹⁹⁰ It also meant that RAMSI had just the successful start of the intervention that they had sought. The Australian foreign policy change had met its first aim. Law and order was much improved which meant that the second phase of the intervention – to improve the Solomon Islands departments and get the economy growing again could begin.

¹⁸⁴ Sinclair Dinnen, 'Lending a Fist? Australia's New Interventionism in the Pacific', Discussion Paper 2004/5, *State, Society and Governance in Melanesia*, Research School of Pacific and Asian Studies, Australian National University, 2004, p. 6

¹⁸⁵ S. Dinnen, 'Lending a Fist? Australia's New Interventionism in the Pacific', p. 6

¹⁸⁶ Craig Skehan & Phillip Hudson, 'Hostages Go Free As Force Closes In', *The Age*, 24 July 2003

¹⁸⁷ Mary-Louise O'Callaghan, 'Solomons rebels told not to resist', *The Australian*, 23 July 2003

¹⁸⁸ Mary-Louise O'Callaghan, 'Solomons rebel chief surrenders', *The Australian*, 14 August 2003 and Mary-Louise O'Callaghan, 'Armed rebels' final warning', *The Australian*, 16 August 2003

¹⁸⁹ Mary-Louise O'Callaghan, 'Island militants condemn Australia', *The Australian*, 16 August 2003

¹⁹⁰ M-L O'Callaghan, 'Armed rebels' final warning', *The Australian*, 16 August 2003

However, the overall success of RAMSI is beyond the scope of this case study and some six years on it is still unclear if it has ‘worked’.

The second significant consequence of the new policy was Papua New Guinea. In December 2003 the two states agreed on a new program named the Enhanced Cooperation Package. It had the characteristics of the new “hands-on”-approach that had begun with the policy change towards Solomon Islands. A more direct involvement was added to the former aid-policy, including about 230 Australian police being sent to PNG to help with law and order, and 64 administrators in several sectors of the PNG government. An extra AUD\$1.1 billion over several years was added on top of the annual aid given to PNG by Australia.¹⁹¹ This emphasised the notion that it was not just a policy change towards Solomon Islands but the South Pacific as a whole. Indicative of this is the fact that discussions on the new PNG-approach began in May 2003, around the same time as the policy change towards Solomon Islands.¹⁹²

The new approach towards the South Pacific was initially received with caution by PNG, although the government did support the intervention as such. Comments from Foreign Minister Namaliu warned of being “heavy-handed” and argued for fewer soldiers and more police for RAMSI.¹⁹³ PNG, as well as Fiji, also responded negatively against comments made by Howard that aid in the future could be more tied to the receiving countries attempts to combat corruption.¹⁹⁴ Put together, the above mentioned reactions by the PNG show scepticism and suspicion to the new Australian policy towards the South Pacific. However, in the end PNG agreed to Australia’s proposal in the December 2003 and finally signed it in July 2004.¹⁹⁵ After initially displaying its displeasure with the new tough Australian stance by postponing a visit by Foreign Minister Downer to PNG and denying that PNG needed any Australian help with its bureaucracy, the PNG government eventually agreed to the

¹⁹¹ G. Fry & T. T. Kabutaulaka, *Political legitimacy and state-building intervention in the Pacific* in (Ed) G. Fry & T. T. Kabataulaka, *Intervention and State-building in the Pacific: legitimacy of ‘cooperative intervention’*, Manchester University Press, 2008, p. 7, and Charles Hawksley, ‘The Intervention you have when you’re not having an intervention: Australia, PNG, and the Enhanced Cooperation Program’, *Social Alternatives*, Vol. 24, No. 3, third quarter, 2005, pp. 35-36

¹⁹² Greg Sheridan, ‘A dirty, risky job but someone’s got to do it’, *The Australian*, 20 September 2003

¹⁹³ Rowan Callick, ‘PNG warns on Solomons move’, *Financial Review*, 7 July 2003

¹⁹⁴ Anonymous, ‘The Neighbourhood’, *The Australian*, 16 August 2003

¹⁹⁵ G. Fry & T. T. Kabutaulaka, ‘Political legitimacy and state-building intervention in the Pacific’, p. 7

new arrangement.¹⁹⁶ However, it should be noted that the agreement had a setback in May 2005, when the PNG Supreme Court ruled against granting full immunity to Australian police involved in the ECP and they were subsequently withdrawn.¹⁹⁷

The Australian government had succeeded in implementing the new tougher policy, First towards Solomon Islands and then with the new agreement with PNG. From the Australian government's point of view the first 6-9 months of the policy change could be judged a success. Further aims tied to the new policy stance were put forward, such as suggesting the possibility of pooling resources in some regional services, such as airlines and police training, while Australian Greg Urwin became the new Secretary-General for the Pacific Islands Forum.¹⁹⁸ More radical proposals made by the Senate Foreign Affairs, Defence and Trade Committee review, such as a common currency for the Pacific and a "Pacific Economic and Political Community"¹⁹⁹ were rejected by Howard.²⁰⁰

The responses from the targeted actors were mixed. The Solomon Islands government and public welcomed the intervention and the law and order situation was much improved. PNG, on the other hand, accepted the changes grudgingly. The short-term consequences appear positive, although the long-term relationship with PNG was affected until the Rudd-government. That, however, is outside the scope of this study. From the Australian government's point of view, the first six months after the policy change had been successful. The immediate aim with the intervention was to take control of the law and order situation in Honiara and to arrest the criminal elements in the Solomon Islands. With almost 4 000 weapons seized by January 2004, the arrest of Harold Keke, and ridding the police force from corrupt and criminal personnel, it had met the Australian government's expectations up to this point.

¹⁹⁶ Mary-Louise O'Callaghan, 'Snub for Downer PNG trip', *The Australian*, 3 September 2003

¹⁹⁷ C. Hawksley, 'The Intervention you have when you're not having an intervention: Australia, PNG, and the Enhanced Cooperation Program', pp. 36-37

¹⁹⁸ Rowan Callick, 'A New Brand Of Pacific Solutions', *Financial Review*, 16 August 2003, and C. Moore, *Happy Isles in Crisis: The historical causes for a failing state in Solomon Islands, 1998-2004*, p. 209

¹⁹⁹ Australian Senate Foreign Affairs, Defence and Trade Committee, *A Pacific engaged: Australia's relations with Papua New Guinea and the island states of the southwest Pacific*, Commonwealth of Australia, 12 August 2003, p. 10

²⁰⁰ Anonymous, 'The Neighbourhood', *The Australian*, 16 August 2003

Conclusion

The Australian government's foreign policy change towards the Solomon Islands in 2003 represented a significant regional policy change. It affected the Solomon Islands directly but had an overall component that defined a new approach to the South Pacific as a whole. A more direct and more interventionist stance were now taken to deal with problems facing the South Pacific island states.

The reasons for the policy change were several. Domestic, as well as international factors played a part in influencing and pressuring the Australian government to make this decision. On the domestic arena, the think-tank ASPI played an important role in drafting a report with the suggestion to change the policy in this manner. Hugh White's active lobbying of the bureaucracy was very important, as it provided them with an alternative when Downer asked for new policy options. The international context had changed in 2001 and 2002 with the emerging so-called "War-on-Terror". It was within this context that the intervention was framed and which provided Howard and Downer with reasoning for the policy change. The Bali bombing played an important role in this context as well, albeit on a regional level. The main factor that allowed for the intervention was the key decision-makers perceiving and acting upon the Window of Opportunity that was there. Without Downer sensing that the policy was failing and saying so to Howard in April 2003, the intervention would not have taken place, at least not at that time. Downer therefore also played a key role in initiating change.

The intervention supported Howard's personal characteristics, such as being the "strong leader", taking decisive action, and fits in with his need for power, in that it was construed in a security-framework, allowing him to increase Australia's power and influence in the area, while securing public support at the same time. Still, the intervention was initially a success. It stabilised the Solomon Islands and restored law and order. The initial aims were met and support for the intervention was given from most actors, such as the Solomon Islands itself, the Pacific Islands Forum, The United Nations and the United States. The RAMSI-intervention represented a fundamental shift in Australia's relationship with the Solomon Islands and the Pacific Island states. For the first time since their independence, Australia had now taken on a much more interventionist role in Pacific Islands states.

Chapter 8: Conclusion

This study has been both empirical and theoretical in nature. The empirical objective has been to investigate Australian foreign policy decision-making under the Howard-government and specifically Australian foreign policy *change* through looking at the decisions to overturn two long-standing policies; firstly, the decision to change policy on East Timor in 1998-99; secondly, the decision to abandon the hands-off approach towards the South Pacific in general and Solomon Islands in particular and adopt a more interventionist approach through the RAMSI-intervention in 2003.

The theoretical aim has been to introduce a new and improved model of foreign policy change to enhance the understanding of why and how foreign policy change occurs. The study has shown the interaction of domestic and international factors both within and between the categories, often putting a combined pressure on the key decision-makers to change foreign policy. Furthermore, it has emphasised the role of the key decision-makers and their perceptions of the structural conditions and possible window of opportunities. The results show that the model used takes into account and illustrates the complexities of the decision-making process that leads to foreign policy change.

It must be noted that in Chapter 2 the proposed theoretical model suggested that the arrows were *probabilistic* rather than *causal*. This however was dealing with an abstract theory where it was possible for any one or more factor to be of great, limited or absolutely no influence. As a result, and until the theory is applied, no arrow could indicate a *casual* relationship between any two factors. The results of the empirical chapters however have applied evidence to test the theory against the two case studies. It is now possible to show direct *causal* links between factors, policy makers, key decision-makers and their perception of a window of opportunity. As a result all arrows in this chapter become *causal*, as once the theory is tested against available evidence it becomes clear which of the domestic or international factors were important in fostering a change in decision making and which led directly to eventual foreign policy change.

Empirical findings

The empirical aim with this study has been to investigate Australia's foreign policy changes towards Indonesia regarding East Timor, and towards Solomon Islands. In this chapter it will first be shown how the two policies changed, then the different actors and factors involved in the decision-making process are discussed, as well as the consequences of these changes. Finally, there is a discussion on how the results found here fit in to the study of Australian foreign policy.

In the case of East Timor, Australia had from 1975 pursued a policy of "quiet diplomacy", which involved little criticism of Indonesia on its human rights record in East Timor. The policy also gave *de jure* recognition to Indonesia over East Timor from 1978, while the importance of the relationship with Indonesia dwarfed any concerns over East Timor regardless of what took place there. The position was that East Timor was not considered viable on its own and should therefore remain within Indonesia.

The change can be said to have taken place in two steps. The first "30 degree" change took place with the Howard letter of December 1998, in which Australia for the first time supported an act of self-determination for East Timor, albeit in 10-15 years time. However, since the basic tenets of the policy remained – East Timor should preferably remain within Indonesia, at least for the foreseeable future, and Indonesia was still recognised as the sovereign power over East Timor – this was only a minor change of policy. On the typology of change scale it amounts to a Refinement, that is, a change in the instruments of the policy, a mix of old (quiet diplomacy and emphasis of the relationship with Indonesia) and new instruments (the letter). The goals of East Timor remaining within Indonesia and upholding a good relationship with Indonesia remained the same.

The major change occurred in September 1999 when the old policy was abandoned. The ballot result caused the government to accept East Timor as a future independent state, despite its previous concerns. Importantly, the tone towards Indonesia changed in light of its failure to uphold security in East Timor and became more aggressive, thereby giving up the idea of maintaining a good relationship with Indonesia at any

cost. Finally, the Australian government took the lead in organising a peacekeeping force into East Timor under an UN flag before the Indonesian parliament had officially granted East Timor independence, which Australia had previously been unwilling to do. In terms of its policy towards Indonesia, this would be a Redirection; that is, old goals were given up (East Timor within Indonesia, not independent), while others remained (a good as possible relationship with Indonesia and an end to the violence in East Timor).

The foreign policy change towards Solomon Islands differs in the sense that it happened in one go. The Australian government went from a “hands-off” approach, involving assisting Solomon Islands with aid and technical assistance but to a much more ‘muscular’ approach with military and police forces directly intervening in Solomon Islands and bureaucrats becoming directly involved in Solomon Islands Government departments. This was a “hands-on” approach, essentially at “state-building”, which Mark Berger has defined as “... an externally driven, or facilitated, attempt to form or consolidate a stable, and sometimes democratic, government over an internationally recognised national territory”.¹ RAMSI concentrated on law and order, administration, and the economy. The change can be defined as Reform, wherein old goals remained (a stable Solomon Islands) but the approach and instruments changed dramatically. Some instruments remained (aid and technical assistance) but I would argue that it can be defined as Reform due to the complete change in approach and its implementation compared to the earlier policy.

Neither case study constitutes a change at the highest end of the scale (restructuring) but it should be noted that such change happens very rarely in Australian foreign policy. Even the two greatest changes so far in Australia’s history – the shift from Britain to the US (Redirection) and the recognition of China (Reorientation) – does not quite make the highest form of change either.

Sources of Change and Key Decision-Makers

This section will discuss the actors and factors involved in the decision-making process and assess their importance in bringing about the changes. The two cases

¹ Mark. T. Berger, ‘From Nation-building to State-building: the geopolitics of development, the nation-state system and the changing global order’, *Third World Quarterly* 2006, Volume 27, Issue 1, p. 6

show the complexity of decision-making and how different factors have an influence at different times. What is notable is the interaction between domestic and international factors, as well as within each of those categories, in putting pressure on Howard and Downer and as an influence on their decision-making. Howard and Downer also play a key role in the process, as the two main actors in the decision-making process, with their perception of the factors involved and whether they perceived a window of opportunity or not.

Domestic Factors

The domestic factors were involved to quite different extents in the two case studies investigated. They played a significant part in the case of East Timor but a much smaller role in the case of Solomon Islands. Four out of five domestic factors can clearly be seen in putting pressure on the Howard-government. Firstly, the ALP's shift in policy in January 1998 broke the bipartisan stand on East Timor. Interest-groups kept the issue alive throughout the investigated period and increased the pressure in September 1999 through several unions initiating bans against Indonesian companies. Several East Timor interest groups organised demonstrations in September which culminated in up to 30 000 people marching in Sydney on 10 September 1999. Protests were spread around Australia and public opinion was thus important in its strong showing in the demonstrations but also in contacting the media and the politicians, thereby exerting strong pressure on the government. The media itself provided extensive coverage of the atrocities committed in East Timor and thus exerted pressure on the decision-makers. *The Age* in particular was critical of the Howard governments policy before the change and particularly so during those crucial days in September 1999.

The interaction between the separate domestic factors provided formidable pressure on the Howard-government. The ALP's policy shift invigorated the interest-groups and by September 1999 they interacted with each other. Interest-groups channelled public concern and the media covered the atrocities and the public outcry. Several interest groups (unions, Ramos-Horta, the Catholic Church, East Timor support groups and academics) figured in and used the media to further expose the situation; public opinion was informed by the media and interest groups of what was occurring in East Timor which further spurred them on. The ALP pointed to the public outcry as

a basis for its criticism of the government's inaction. It is clear that the interaction between the relevant factors was of vital importance in exerting pressure on the government. The combined force had more influence than individual factors alone would have had.

The domestic category played a very different role in the case of the Solomon Islands policy change. Only one factor can be said to have had an important role in the government's policy change. The ASPI had early on argued for a change in policy and drafts of the ASPI-report on the Solomon Islands was carefully distributed to important parts of the bureaucracy, so when Downer asked for proposals for a policy change the framework was already there, ready for them to give to Downer. The fact that the actual intervention had large similarities with the ASPI-report's suggestion and that Downer himself launched the report in June 2003, shows the influence of ASPI.

However, the other four domestic factors had a minor part in influencing or pressuring the government to change its Solomon policy. Public opinion was non-existent, the media provided little coverage of the situation in the Solomon Islands with the exception of Mary-Louise O'Callaghan and the political parties had little to say before it was announced that Australia was to lead the RAMSI-intervention. The bureaucracy did not serve as a source of change in itself but was an important tool for ASPI in accessing the ears of the government, Downer in particular.

Between the two case studies, all five domestic factors had a role to play. Interest-groups were active in each, public opinion, the media, and political parties in the East Timor-case, while the bureaucracy was not involved directly in either case but deserves its place in the domestic factors category as it is an important channel for access to the key decision-makers. The domestic factors relevant in each case can be mapped in the figure below.

Figure 8.1: Theoretical and empirical relevant domestic factors in the policy change towards Indonesia regarding East Timor in 1999

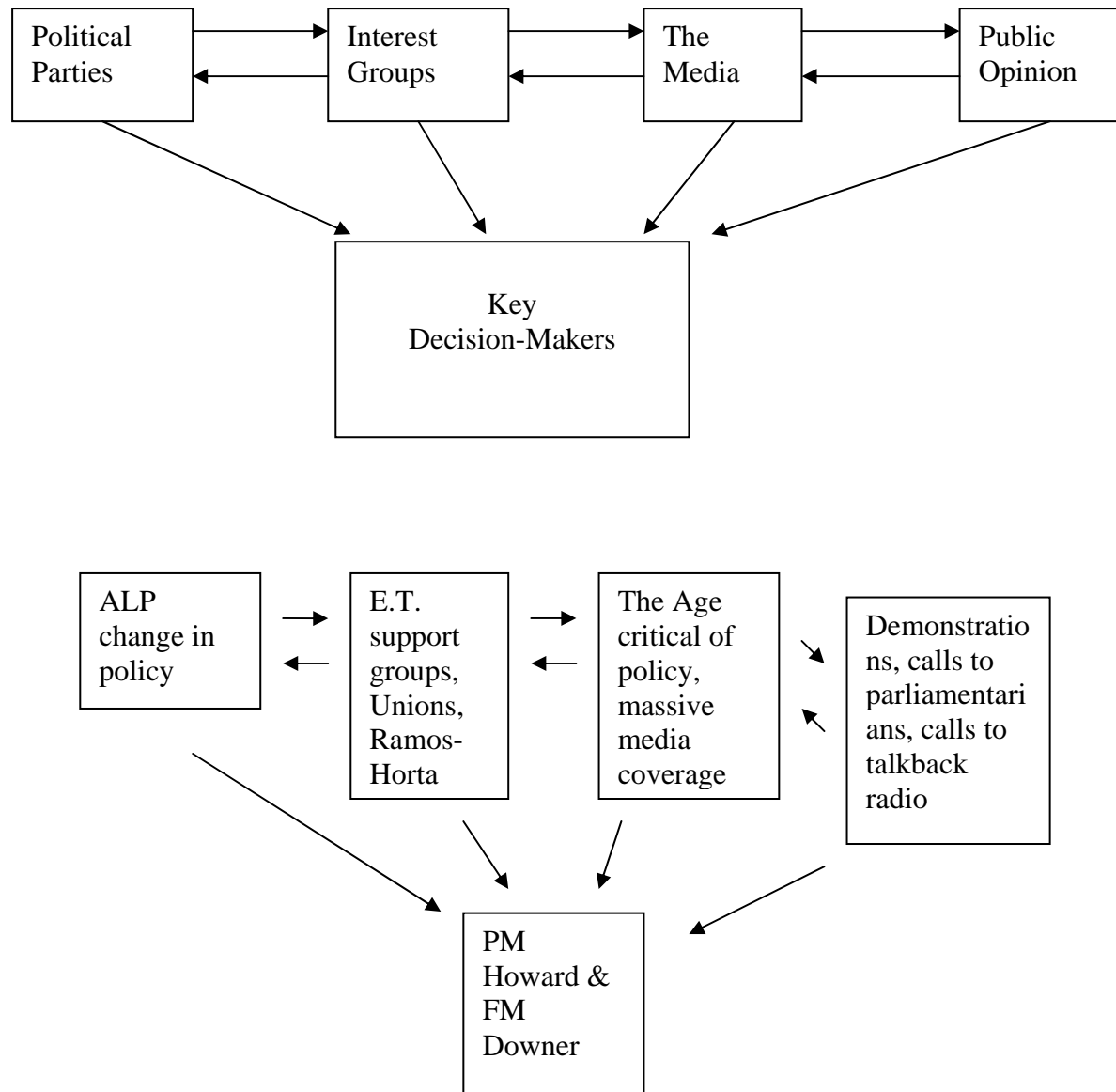
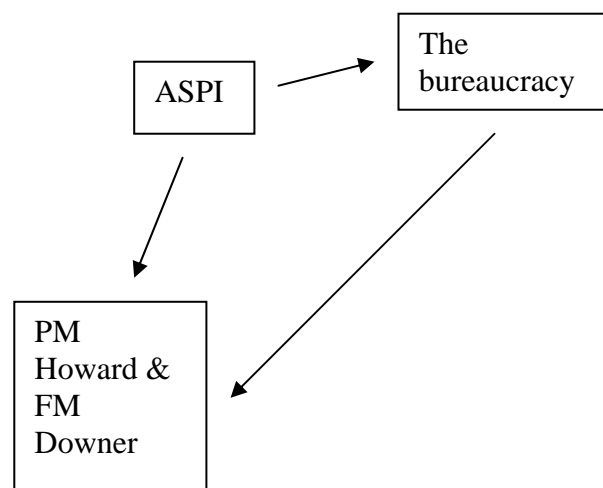
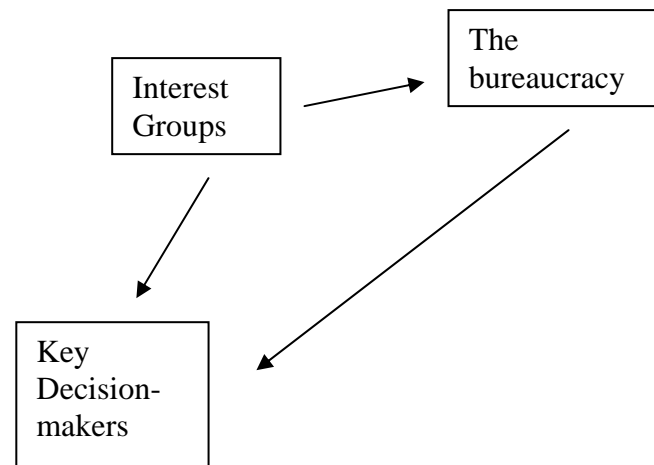


Figure 8.2: Theoretical and empirical relevant domestic factors in the policy change towards the Solomon Islands in 2003



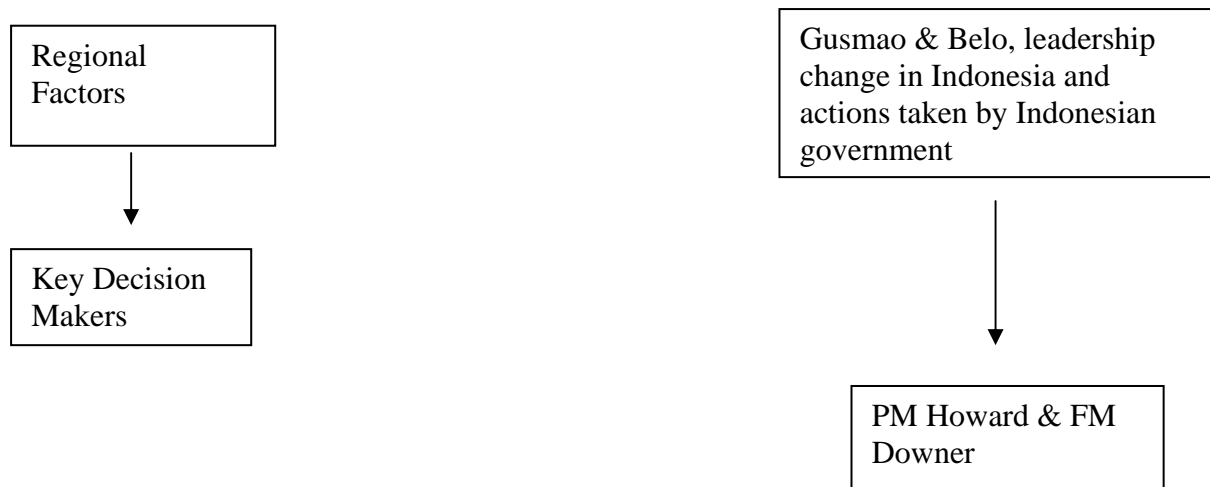
International Factors

This category show similarities with the domestic factors category in that several factors combine to put pressure on the government in one case study but much less so in the second case. However, the roles are reversed here. All four international factors play an important part in the Solomon-case but only one does so in the case of East Timor.

In both cases Regional factors were important in setting the context in which the Howard-government viewed its policy. Events in Indonesia affected Australia's East Timor-policy and had to be taken into account by the Howard-government. The process started when the Asian financial crisis hit Indonesia in 1997, eventually leading to Suharto stepping down as president in May 1998. Habibie's proposal after only weeks in office, to offer East Timor a 'Special Status' within Indonesia, further suggested that a solution was possible to the East Timor-problem. The Australian initiative to send a letter to Habibie was met with an unexpected reaction by the Indonesia government – to resolve the East Timor-issue within a year, rather than 10-15 years as suggested by Howard. This meant that the Howard government yet again had to react to events happening in Indonesia.

The constant violence in East Timor further provided the context for Australian policy making. The two massacres in April 1999 prompted Howard to call for a meeting with Habibie which took place at the end of the same month. However, the most prominent example of how Indonesian actions in East Timor shaped Australia's policy response came in September 1999, when the maelstrom of violence finally forced a major policy change by the Howard-government. Throughout the investigated period, it is clear that the Howard government had to react to events in Indonesia and actions taken by the Indonesian government. The regional factors category thus served as the main international factor to influence Australia's East Timor-policy, and Xanana Gusmao and Bishop Belo deserve a mention here. Both served as a voice for the East Timorese. Gusmao, as the imprisoned symbol of the resistance against the Indonesian occupation and Belo as the Nobel Peace prize winner, offered a voice of resistance out of East Timor itself. They both helped keep the East Timor-issue alive and in this way cooperated with interest-groups in Australia (particularly with Ramos-Horta) and Australian media often reported their comments and statements to the public.

Figure 8.3: Mapping relevant theoretical and empirical international factors involved in the policy change towards Indonesia regarding East Timor in 1999

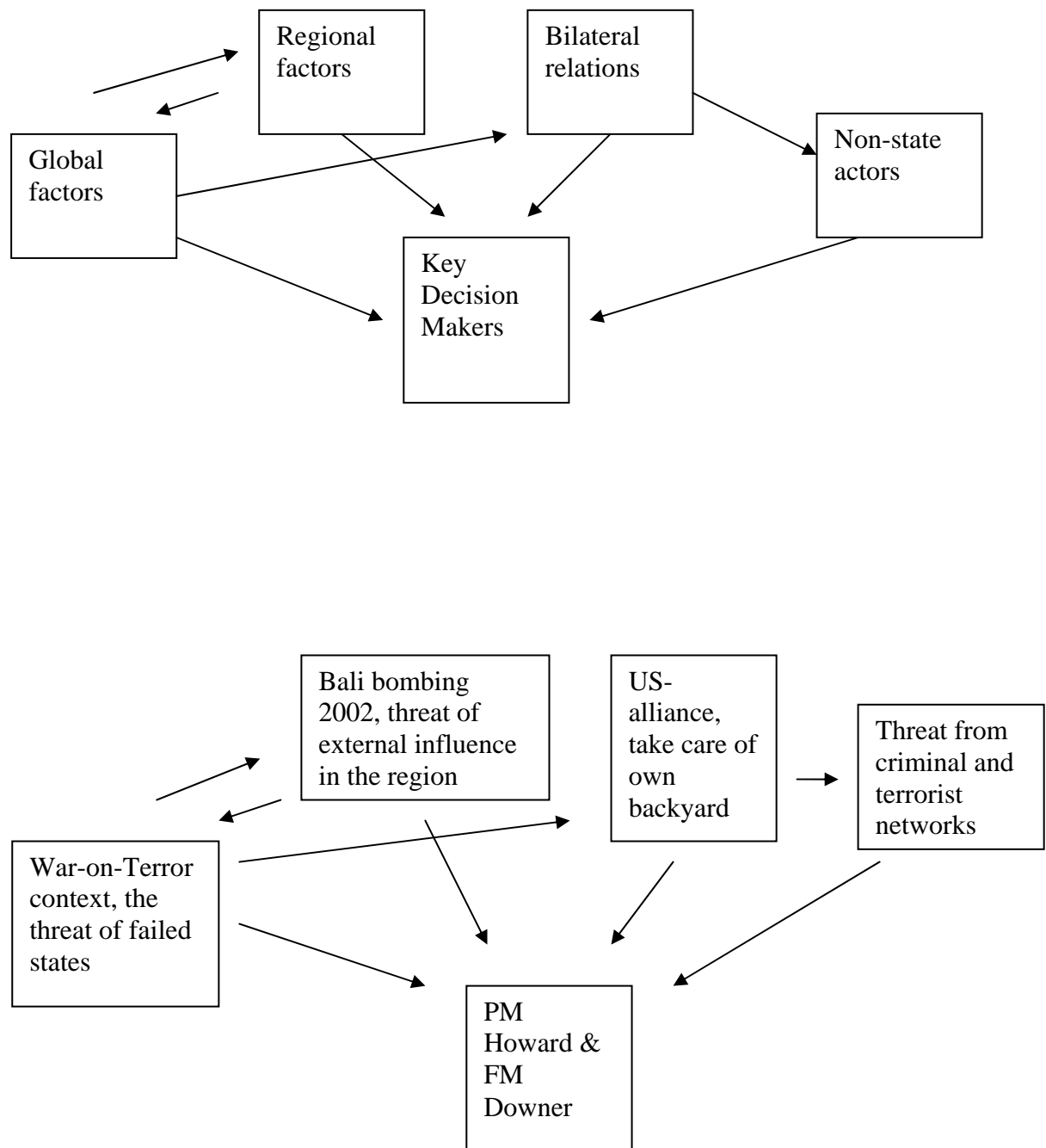


The other international factors did not offer much influence or pressure on the Australian government. Amnesty International and Human Rights Watch criticised Australia for not acting tougher on Indonesia, but it is difficult to ascertain any direct influence from them onto the government. Australia's two main bilateral relations in this case, Australia-US and Australia-Indonesia served as obstacles to change rather than as influence towards change. Neither did global factors directly pressure Australia to change in any great measure. Kofi Annan's criticisms of Indonesia would have reflected badly on Australia's support of Indonesia, but there is no forceful, direct, attempt to target Australian foreign policy change on the issue.

The Solomon case offers a different picture on the influence of international factors. All four categories are involved and interact to influence the Australian policy change. The interplay between the global War-on-Terror context and the new focus on the potential threat from failed states was used in justifying the intervention. The Bali bombing in October 2002 made it even more important to the Howard government to prevent any neighbouring states to become potential bases for criminal and terrorist networks, possibly using them to threaten Australia and Australian interests. Australia also had strategic interests in the region and rumours that Indonesia might send troops to the Solomon Islands may also have played in here.

Howard kept referring to the Solomon Islands as “Our Patch”, as of a special responsibility and to the expectation that Australia would look after the region. Who these expectations came from were not defined but the US would most likely have been a key player in this regard, particularly in its War-on-Terror campaign. That Howard met Bush in Texas shortly before deciding to lead the intervention-force into the Solomon Islands may have been a coincidence but it could also indicate that the Australia-US relationship – with Australia having been accused of being the ‘deputy sheriff’ to the US – has relevance in the overall picture to why Australia suddenly decided to change its policy. Major combat operations in Iraq were at this point over and Australia could now look towards its own backyard. These international factors thereby influenced each other and interacted to form the context for the Howard government to conduct this change in policy. The new focus on terrorist networks as a real threat to Australia after the September 11 attacks, and particularly after the 2002 Bali bombing, highlighted Solomon Islands rapid descent towards failed state status and provided the government the framework and justification for its foreign policy change towards Solomon Islands.

Figure 8.4 Theoretical and empirical international factors involved in the policy change towards Solomon Islands in 2003



The role of Howard and Downer and the Window of Opportunity

Throughout the two investigated case studies, it is clear that the dominant roles in Australian foreign policy making under the Howard-government belonged to Prime Minister Howard and Foreign Minister Downer. Indeed, in late 2008 Downer admitted he and Howard basically conducted foreign policy without necessarily taking it to Cabinet.² This is also the picture that emerges from the two case studies investigated and backs Firth's view of policy making, as opposed to the mechanical depiction of Gyngell and Wesley.

Whether a policy change will be pursued or not depends on the key decision-makers – in this case Howard and Downer – and whether they perceive the policy as either too costly now, or as soon to be too costly, to maintain. If a change will bring greater national benefit than the current policy in the eyes of the key decision-makers, then they will work towards a change.

The difference between two situations can clearly be seen in the East Timor and Solomon case studies. In regards to the East Timor-policy, the government held on to it as long as possible, since the price to pay for a change was perceived by Howard and Downer as too costly. The “30 degree” change in December 1998 did not achieve what they were hoping for and only accelerated the process towards an independent East Timor, which was contrary to their stated aim of a good relationship with Indonesia. This belief was held all the way up to September 1999 when it suddenly became obvious that the policy was no longer acceptable to the domestic audience. Pressure simply became too great and it became unattainable to hold on to a policy which supported an Indonesia that did little to control the destruction and violence in East Timor. Howard and Downer ended up in a situation where they essentially had no other choice than to abandon the old policy. Essentially, the political cost of the old policy had become too great and they were essentially forced to change Australia's policy on East Timor.

It can be argued that the Window of Opportunity had been there ever since Suharto stepped down in May 1998 and Habibie announced his ‘Special Status’ proposal a

² Australian Broadcasting Corporation, *The Howard Years*, television program, broadcast 24 November 2008, <http://www.abc.net.au/news/howardyears/> [Date accessed 19 January 2009]

few weeks later. However, as it was not perceived as such by Howard and Downer, no direct action was taken. It was not until November/December 1998 after consultation with the East Timorese themselves, that they saw the Howard letter as an opportunity to help solve the situation. Yet the main features of the old policy remained. Throughout the months of 1999 until September, Howard and Downer still perceived the old policy as the most beneficial, despite changes in Indonesian policy and events in East Timor. From this it can be deduced that a window of opportunity may be there in the eyes of external observers, but it will amount to nothing if the key decision-makers do not perceive it as such.

The Solomon Islands case on the other hand represents an opportunity to change a failing policy into a policy with several potential benefits as a result. Apart from ASPI, there was no domestic pressure to change policy on the Solomon Islands and, apart from the Solomon government themselves, virtually no direct pressure from any external sources of change to deal with Solomon Islands any differently. Downer later stated that he began to see in December 2002 that the policy was not producing the desired results; however, he did not act on it until April 2003. Although the window of opportunity can be argued to have been there since the year 2000, when the first request came from the then Solomon government, the Australian government did not perceive this as an opportunity. Constant references to Australia not wanting to act as a “neo-colonial” power and Australia respecting Solomon sovereignty underlined the policy. This stand can be traced back to the “deputy sheriff” debate that followed the East Timor intervention in 1999. Another intervention in a neighbouring state would not go down well in Asia and would have deterred the Howard government, seeing it as too costly compared to any potential benefits from intervening. However, as the international context changed with the new focus on terrorism and with the (at the time) recent Bali bombing in October 2002, there was now an opportunity to be more directly involved in helping Solomon Islands. The fact that it was not acted upon in December 2002-January 2003 can be attributed to the large focus on, and subsequent invasion of Iraq. This becomes apparent when one looks at the timeline of the process. Solomon PM Kemakeza sends a letter requesting assistance on 22 April, Downer tells Howard it may be time to consider a change in policy, major combat operations in Iraq finishes at the end of April, Howard meet with Bush on 3 May, and at the end of May an intervention is seriously considered, influenced by the framework provided by

the ASPI-report, negotiations with the Solomon government in June, followed by the deployment in July.

Due to the context, the window of opportunity is perceived as such by Howard and Downer in late April/May for a change policy towards Solomon Islands. The current policy did clearly not work and here was an opportunity to:

- help stabilise the situation in Solomon Islands;
- to take firm strategic control in the South Pacific;
- to show the US that Australia takes care of its own backyard;
- to prevent a failed state from emerging with possible criminal and terrorist threats accompanying it;
- to launch an intervention that would most likely be received favourably by a public that had been deeply divided by the Iraq-invasion; and
- to implement a similar policy to the region in general.

There were clearly many benefits to be had by a new policy.

The similarities and differences in the two cases are interesting. Howard and Downer perceived the old policies quite differently. In the case of East Timor they stuck with the old policy until pressure and common sense brought about the policy change. In the Solomon Islands case however, there was no strong pressure for a policy change, apart from ASPI which on its own would have been unlikely to exert enough pressure on the government. Instead, it is more a case of Downer at first perceiving the failure of the old policy and initiating the process towards change when the timing suddenly was right in late April/May. In the East Timor case Howard and Downer conducted an adaptive, or reactive, approach to the events, while in the Solomon case they adopted an innovative, or proactive, approach.

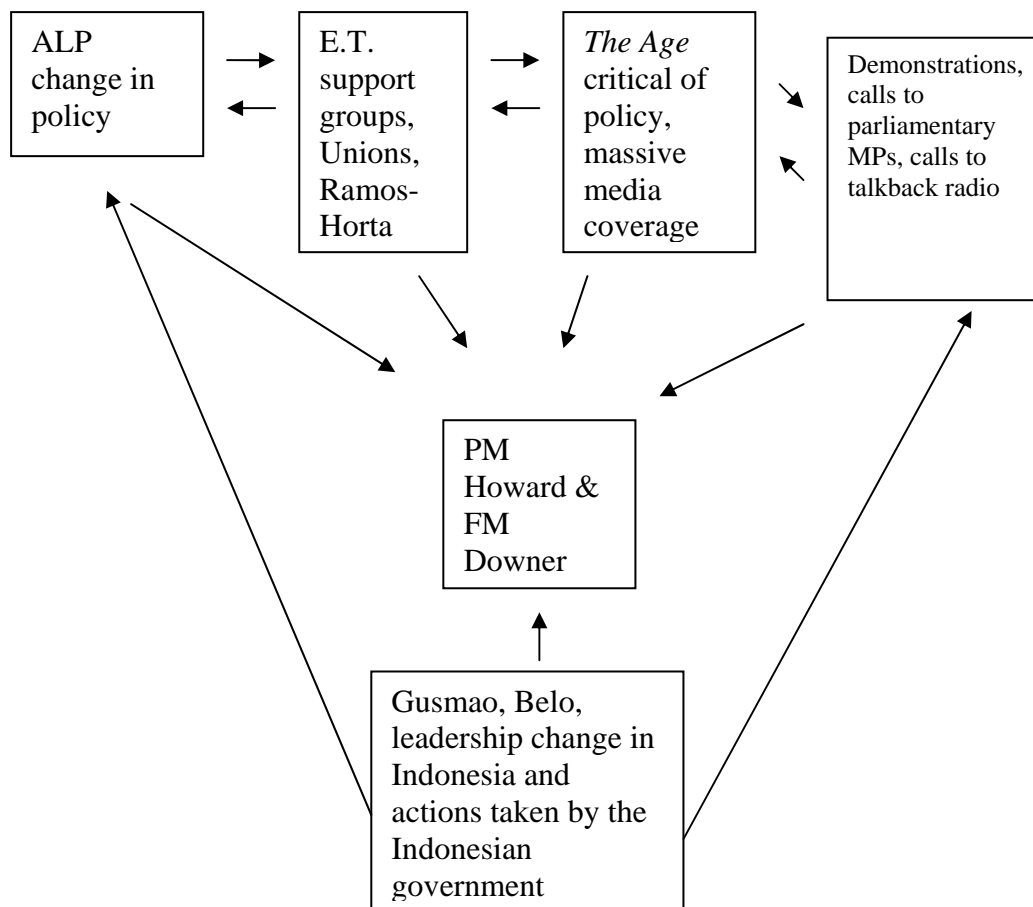
What is also notable in both case studies is not only the dominant role Howard and Downer play in the foreign policy making but also how and when they act. Downer was the day-to-day manager of foreign policy which is only logical considering he was the foreign minister. He was also the one who took the initiative to the policy

changes in all three cases (I here include the “30 degree” change as well) and it is only then that Howard steps in as a key player in the process. Once Howard takes over, he is the one most visible in the media and driving the decision-making process. The NSC and the Cabinet is sparingly used during the process and it appears that the real drivers of the process are Howard and Downer.

Mapping the interaction of actors and factors in the two cases of East Timor and Solomon Islands

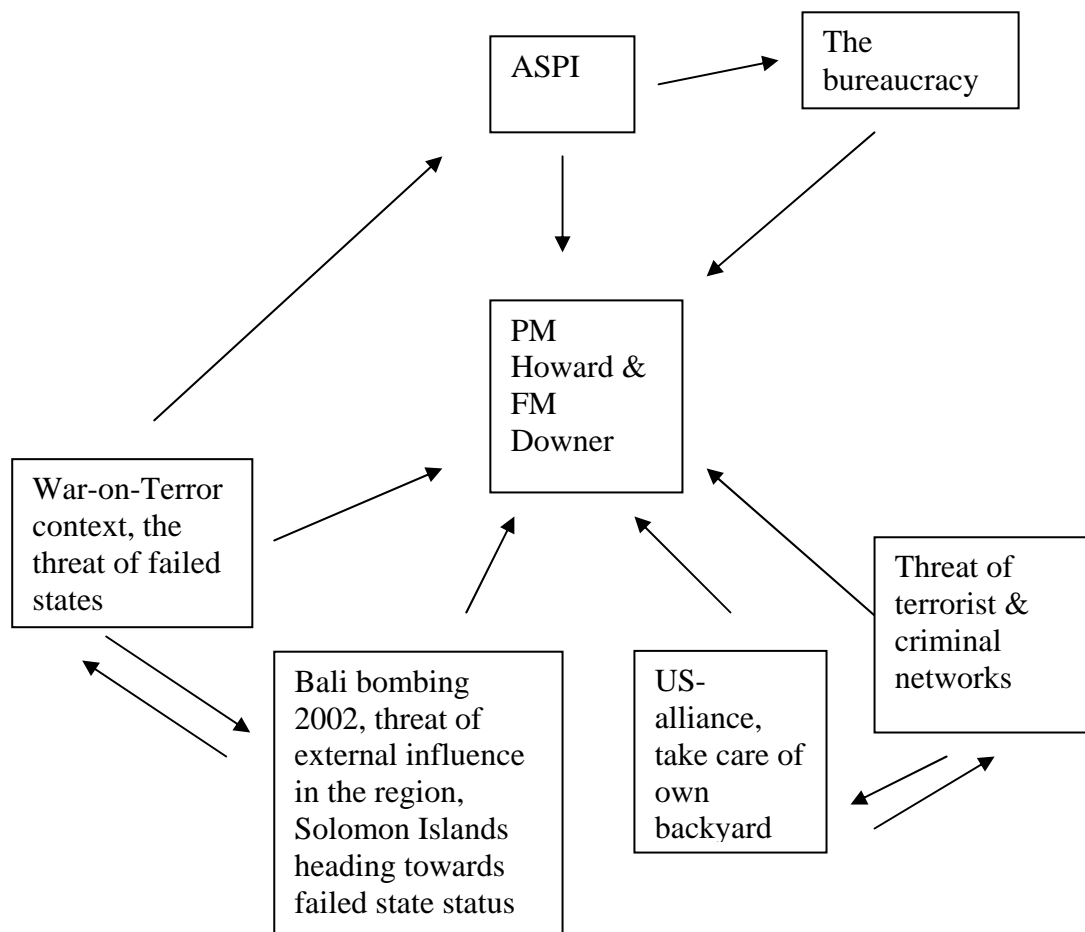
It is evident in the above discussion that a number of variables have to be taken into account when explaining the decision-making processes that led to changes in foreign policies towards Indonesia regarding East Timor in 1999 and towards the Solomon Islands in 2003. Domestic and international factors influence and/or pressured the Howard government to change its policies, while at the same time interacting between each other. The interaction combines the amount of pressure that the government came under, which led to the changes. The below models illustrate how this occurred in the two case studies:

Figure 8.5: Combined interaction of Australia's foreign policy change towards Indonesia regarding East Timor in 1999



It is evident in this case that there were more domestic factors that exerted the greatest pressure on the government; however, without the changes in Indonesia and the subsequent actions taken by them, the domestic factors would not have had a reason to react so strongly. It is therefore not simply domestic or international factors acting on their own, rather the interaction between domestic and international factors produces the eventual force of pressure put on the government. It is the same story in the Solomon case, only in reverse regarding which factors provided the influence:

Figure 8.6: Combined interaction of Australia's foreign policy change towards Solomon Islands in 2003



International factors appear to have had the greatest influence in the policy change towards the Solomon Islands. However, as in the East Timor case, it is the *interaction* of domestic and international factors that provides a *combined* influence and pressure for a policy change. It is also interesting to note the *interaction* between the actors and factors within the domestic category, as well as in the international category. Once again it is clear that the interaction between factors is of vital importance. Furthermore, as in the East Timor case, there is important interaction between the domestic and international categories. ASPI reacted to the increased suggestion of a threat of terrorism and failed states with the specific example of Solomon Islands. Meanwhile, the government realises that the current policy on Solomon Islands is not achieving its goals and found themselves in a new international context. Once a policy

change was seriously considered, ASPI was there with a framework and justification for an intervention.

The Consequences of the Foreign Policy Changes towards East Timor in 1999 and Solomon Islands in 2003

This section will evaluate the policy changes made. Did the policy change succeed in meeting the stated goals? What exactly changed and what were the implications? The East Timor policy change did succeed in its objective but it came at a price. The change in policy towards the Solomon Islands was very successful in the initial stage. The long-term consequences are outside this study's reach, so focus will be on the short-term consequences (six months to a year after the change).

The new East Timor policy was a mixed success. On the one hand it succeeded in the stated goal of ending the violence in East Timor through the INTERFET-intervention led by Australia and it led eventually to an independent East Timor. However, on the other hand it damaged the relationship with Indonesia, which the new policy aimed to limit as much as possible. The relationship remained strained for some time and it was not until the cooperation after the Bali bombing in 2002 and the aftermath of the tsunami in December 2004 that it became cordial again. The consequences of the East Timor change links to the Solomon intervention as well. The “deputy sheriff” debate that came out of the Howard interview with *The Bulletin* shortly after the INTERFET-intervention caused a strong reaction from several Asian states and made the Howard government very wary of any further interventions in its neighbourhood. It is not until after the Bali bombing those suggestions of pre-emptive Australian strikes in the region may be conducted in an extreme case and that interventions became politically accepted again within the War-on-Terror context that now had emerged. During the interval, Australia repeatedly referred to the sovereignty of the states and of not being a “neo-colonial” power.

The Solomon Islands case is much more of a success story, at least initially. Law and order was quickly established, the rival gangs handed in their weapons and many wanted criminals were arrested and charged. Reform of the Solomon Islands economy began immediately, although the results of this go outside the scope of this study. Solomon Islands was thus stabilised. Australia had also established itself as the main

power in the South Pacific and began to expand the policy to the region immediately, most visibly with the attempted introduction of the Enhanced Cooperation Program with PNG in December 2003. In the short term perspective, the Solomon Islands policy change certainly was a success. However, six years on the long-term consequences are unclear and not as easily judged a success.

The findings in the overall Australian foreign policy context

The two case studies highlight several features of Australian foreign policy that has been observed previously. Foreign policy change in Australia is quite rare but has shown to have lasting implications when it happens. The same is true for the two cases investigated here. It also supports the notion of the power of the Australian leaders, the idea of Australia as a middle power, and specific features such as the US-alliance and Australia's role in the region.

Major Australian foreign policy change brings lasting consequences when it occurs. The shift from Britain to the US as the protector of Australia has proven long-lasting and is very much in place today. The recognition of communist China grew into an important and lasting relationship, politically and economically. The two cases studied here bear similar features in terms of lasting consequences. Australia is now closely working with the East Timorese government and provided \$AUS 43.6 million in aid in 2006-07, as well as in helping the East Timor government with security after riots in April/May 2006 and the assassination attempts on President Ramos-Horta and Prime Minister Gusmao in 2008.³ Australia's close cooperation with East Timor is a direct consequence of leading the intervention in 1999 and taking responsibility for the aftermath of it. The RAMSI-intervention into the Solomon Islands began a new more interventionist approach towards the South Pacific, which is still in place under the Rudd-government.

The case studies also support the argument that Prime Minister Howard had a lot of power in conducting foreign policy.⁴ Howard emerges in both cases as the main

³ Department of Foreign Affairs and Trade, 'East Timor – Country brief', http://www.dfat.gov.au/geo/east_timor/east_timor_brief.html [Accessed 26 March 2009]

⁴ See for example, Patrick Weller, *Cabinet Government in Australia, 1901-2006: Practice, Principles, Performance*, Sydney, UNSW Press, 2007, p. 177 and 189, and James Walter, 'John Howard and the

decision-maker, together with his foreign minister Alexander Downer. Howard and Downer's pragmatic approach is visible in both cases by changing the policy towards East Timor when domestic pressure becomes too great and in framing the justification of intervening in Solomon Islands around the current War-on-Terror context. The framing of Solomon Islands as a possible threat to Australia if it was to become a failed state fits in with Howard as the "crisis-leader" and allows him to take on the role of a "strong leader".

The case studies also reveal and increase the view of Australia as a middle power. The East Timor case showed the limitations of Australian power, having to wait for Indonesia's consent to allow peacekeepers in to East Timor and by the snub by the US when asking them for assistance on the ground. The Solomon Islands case on the other hand show the relative power Australia has in the South Pacific when dealing with much smaller states. The US-alliance plays a role in each case, albeit not directly perhaps, and the aim to conduct the interventions through multilateral institutions (the UN and the PIF) also fits the middle power description and provides legitimacy.

Finally, an important result of the investigation of these two case studies is the importance of looking at all the different actors and factors involved in the decision-making process when conducting foreign policy in Australia. It is clear that the key decision-makers, domestic factors and international factors are all involved and their interaction shows the complexity of the process. It is therefore important for further studies of Australian foreign policy and foreign policy change to take these actors and their interactions into account, and not, like Gyngell and Wesley, assume a central role for DFAT.

Theoretical findings

This study has produced important results with implications for the study of foreign policy change. The introduced model takes the previous work by foreign policy change scholars a step further in the search for a model that can explain better the complexities of foreign policy making and the actors and factors behind foreign policy change. A discussion below outlines the theoretical findings according to the

'strong leader' thesis', Paper presented at the John Howard's Decade Conference, National Museum of Australia, Canberra, 3-4 March 2006

structure of the model and compares them to previous contributions in the field of foreign policy change.

Domestic and international factors in foreign policy making

The investigated case studies clearly show the interaction between domestic and international factors. As Putnam has shown, the leader has to take into account both the domestic and international arena in making decisions.⁵ The two studies display the intricate relationship between two arenas often treated separately in traditional IR analysis. It also shows the importance of the interaction between domestic factors, and between international factors, how they can reinforce each other for greater effect on the decision making process.

Many previous studies on foreign policy change have acknowledged the importance of looking at both domestic and international factors,⁶ yet there has previously been a tendency to fit all possible domestic and international factors into one or a few categories, to simplify the model. However, as this study has shown, doing so risks missing out on the complex interactions between the actors and factors involved. By listing what I believe are the relevant domestic and international factors, the interaction between them is now easier to pinpoint, which in turn enables the model to be a greater explanatory tool to explain foreign policy change.

All listed sources of change in the model have proven relevant in at least one of the two case studies. If the researcher feels the need, one or two of them can be replaced with a particular relevant factor. However, looking at examples of such factors in previous models indicate that they can be incorporated in the existing factors in this model. For example, Holsti's "military threats" can be classed as "international

⁵ Robert D. Putnam, 'Diplomacy and Domestic Politics: The Logic of Two-Level Games', *International Organization*, Vol. 42, No. 3, Summer 1988, p. 434

⁶ See for example, Jakob Gustavsson, *The Politics of Foreign Policy Change: Explaining the Swedish Reorientation on EC Membership*, Lund University Press, Lund, Doctoral Dissertation, 1998, and Charles, F. Hermann, 'Changing Course: When Governments Choose to Redirect Foreign Policy', *International Studies Quarterly*, Vol. 34, pp. 3-21, 1990, and Kalevi J. Holsti, (Ed) *Why Nations Realign: Foreign Policy Restructuring in the Postwar World*, Allen & Unwin, London, 1982, and Sanqiang Jian, *Foreign Policy Restructuring as Adaptive Behavior, China's Independent Foreign Policy 1982-1989*, University Press of America, Inc. Lanham, 1996, Fredrik Doerer, *In Search of Security After the Collapse of the Soviet Union: Foreign Policy Change in Denmark, Finland and Sweden, 1988-1993*, Doctoral Thesis in Political Science at Stockholm University, Sweden, Universitetservice, Stockholm, 2008 to name a few

factors”, depending on where the threat is coming from. The military as a domestic factor can be put into the category of interest-groups; Ataman’s ethnic movements can be put in to interest-groups or non-state actors, perhaps even political parties, again depending on the context; Holsti’s historical and cultural factors would probably be projected through either political parties, interest-groups, public opinion, or even the media and can thus be put in either of these categories depending on the particular case.⁷

The structure of the model proposed by this thesis and the actors and factors listed make the explanatory tool more comprehensive and allows the researcher to explore the interaction between and within them. The two case studies also show the importance of looking at all the listed factors, as the relevant factors will not necessarily be the same in each case. All nine factors are therefore needed in order to understand the interaction between them and the complexity of foreign policy making.

The role of Key Decision-Makers

As previously shown by Gustavsson and Holsti among others, it is important to study the role of the key decision-maker(s) in explaining foreign policy change.⁸ The two case studies certainly underline this notion and highlight the roles of the Prime Minister *and* the Foreign Minister. This goes to show that more than one person can have a decisive effect on the decision-making process and a focus on just the leader may not be enough to fully understand the process.

This study also supports Carlsnaes’s idea of an innovative leader. He rightly asserts that a leader does not always simply adapt to the structural conditions but can on occasion construct a situation suitable for his agenda.⁹ The Solomon case study is a good example of this, where there was no strong direct pressure to change the policy but a threat was pointed out, in the bigger context, which needed to be pre-emptively

⁷ See K. J. Holsti, (Ed) *Why Nations Realign: Foreign Policy Restructuring in the Postwar World*, p. 14 and Muhittin Ataman, *An Integrated Approach to Foreign Policy Change: Explaining Changes in Turkish Foreign Policy in the 1980s*, University of Kentucky, Doctoral Dissertation, 1999, pp. 56-58

⁸ J. Gustavsson, *The Politics of Foreign Policy Change: Explaining the Swedish Reorientation on EC Membership*, p. 24 and K. J. Holsti, (Ed) *Why Nations Realign: Foreign Policy Restructuring in the Postwar World*, p. 208

⁹ Walter Carlsnaes, ‘On Analysing the Dynamics of Foreign Policy Change: A Critique and Reconceptualization’, *Cooperation and Conflict*, Vol. 28, Issue 1, 1993, p. 22

dealt with. Key decision-makers can thus be adaptive as well as innovative in their decision-making.

This in turn relates to a concept introduced by Gustavsson in the foreign policy change context. He argues that for change to occur there needs to be a “presence of a crisis of some kind”.¹⁰ The case studies support this claim; however, in the Solomon case it was a threat that was not acute, and arguably even constructed by the key decision-makers. The point here is that the crisis in question does not have to be obvious to the general public or even to be real in order to be presented as such.

The perception of the key decision-makers is of vital importance in understanding foreign policy change. In the end it is their perception that decides whether a change is necessary or more specifically if holding on to the current policy is, or will be, too costly. Welch argues that “foreign policy change will be most likely when policy fails either repeatedly or catastrophically, or when leaders become convinced that it will imminently do so”.¹¹ This is certainly true to an extent. As the Solomon case shows it is crucial how the decision-makers see a range of benefits from a policy change and act on it. Still, the current policy was perceived as not achieving the required goals and was therefore a failure, but whether there was an imminent policy collapse is debatable. Regardless, it can be argued that decision-makers can pursue a policy change for reasons of cost, as well as for benefits.

The decision-maker’s perceptions are therefore connected to whether they perceive a window of opportunity or not. Gustavsson provides an important contribution in his discussion of policy windows and the need for decision-makers to perceive it as such in order for a policy change to occur. Although Gustavsson did not include it in his actual model, even though he acknowledges its importance, it has been included in this model to emphasise its importance in the decision-making process. Furthermore, this study has shown that even though the window of opportunity may arguably be in place, it has to be perceived as such, through a cost/benefit calculation, by the decision-makers in order for foreign policy change to occur. It is thus vital that key

¹⁰ J. Gustavsson, *The Politics of Foreign Policy Change: Explaining the Swedish Reorientation on EC Membership*

¹¹ See David A. Welch, *Painful Choices: A theory of foreign policy change*, Princeton University Press, New Jersey, 2005, p. 221 for a discussion on cost/benefits in changing policy

decision-makers perceive the window of opportunity for a foreign policy change to occur and its importance warrants more emphasis and a more prominent place in a model of foreign policy change, as in the model presented in this study.

The model thus acknowledges the constant interaction between the key decision-makers and the sources of change. This interaction pushes the process forward and can ultimately lead to a policy change, as the context changes through events or actions taken by actors within the sources of change, but it is all a matter of timing and perception.

Typology of Change and Consequences of Change

The new typology of change presented in this thesis builds on that of both Hermann, and that of Kleistra and Mayer.¹² It aims to illustrate changes in instruments, goals and a complete restructuring of a state's foreign policies. It aims to specify the change by introducing seven levels of change, as compared to Hermann's four, while at the same time take into account the Kleistra and Mayer's focus on changes in goals and instruments. It thus represents a more detailed guide or test to the level of a state's foreign policy change.

Stability: No change in policy.

Intensification/Reduction: A quantitative change in instruments used. For example, to increase or decrease aid.

Refinement: A qualitative change in instruments used with a mixed pattern. Both old and new instruments used. For example, technical assistance is now incorporated but aid continues.

Reform: A qualitative change in instruments, where all, or a large majority of, old instruments are replaced by new instruments.

Redirection: The goal(s) change but with a mixed pattern. New goals are pursued but some of the old goals remain.

¹² C. F. Hermann, 'Changing Course: When Governments Choose to Redirect Foreign Policy', pp. 5-6 and Yvonne Kleistra, & Igor Mayer, 'Stability and Flux in Foreign Affairs: Modelling Policy and Organisational Change', *Cooperation and Conflict*, Vol. 36, Issue 4, 2001, pp. 393-94

Reorientation: All or almost all old goals are replaced or disappear altogether.

Restructuring: A change in many issue areas, which involve and affect many actors.

For example, for a state to go from neutrality to joining a military alliance.

Finally, the consequence of change variable is added to the model for two reasons. Firstly, although the primary aim is to understand why and how the policy change occurred in the first place, it is also important to assess the actual consequences of the change. Did it meet the objectives of the key decision-makers? Why or why not? Due to research or time constraints of analysis, a short-term focus may be appropriate, to investigate the immediate impacts of the policy change. Secondly, a policy change may in itself lead to a new round of foreign policy change and may therefore be important to investigate. This was shown in the link between the two case studies. One of the consequences of the first case study (the “deputy sheriff”-debate) led the government to, directly or indirectly; pursue a policy that had consequences for the second case study (to not intervene directly in the Solomon Islands). In order to overcome the previous consequences, the second policy change was framed in such a way to overcome the constraints that came out of the first case study.

Conclusion

The case study-method chosen for this study has proven effective in understanding the change in Australia’s foreign policy towards both Indonesia regarding East Timor in 1999 and towards Solomon Islands in 2003. The proposed theoretical model of foreign policy change has proven its worth as a “checklist”-model, in that applying the model to two different case studies resulted in the identification of different sets of variables that influenced the key decision-makers. It is thus capable of discovering relevant factors and actors involved in the process of foreign policy change within its methodological framework, and of detecting and assessing their relative importance in the shift towards foreign policy change.

The two case studies have shown important aspects of Australian foreign policy making, and particularly Australian foreign policy *change*. A theoretical model of foreign policy change was applied and showed the interaction between domestic and

international factors in the decision-making process and in turn their interaction with the key decision-makers. The two cases showed how the perception of said key decision-makers was vital in whether a foreign policy change was to occur, and in whether they perceived it as a window of opportunity.

The policy changes had long term effects. The relationship with Indonesia was damaged, while Australia rather unwillingly took on a certain responsibility for welfare of the new independent state East Timor. In the case of Solomon Islands, it arguably led to a new approach towards not just the Solomon Islands but to the South Pacific as a whole.

The theoretical model improves upon previous efforts as it introduces new factors (the media and bilateral relations) and a new typology of change. More importantly, it looks at the *interaction* between and within the domestic and international factors, as well as their interaction with the key decision-makers. The role of the key decision-makers is given an important standing in the model, together with their perceptions in relation to the cost/benefit of a policy and whether they *perceive* a window of opportunity, which will determine whether a foreign policy change will take place. This furthers Gustavsson's concept of policy windows by placing greater importance on the window of opportunity. It also shows how decision-makers do not just adapt to structural conditions but can also, if the context is right, be innovative and construct a suitable context for policy change. The detailed model thus increases our ability to understand the complexity of the foreign policy change decision-making process and is broadly applicable to most situations. It can assist scholars and students of foreign policy change in determining the chain of events that affect decision-making in an increasingly fluid post-Cold War international environment.

It is clear that the proposed model can be applied to foreign policy change occurring in liberal democracies, as it contains the most likely important variables found in such states. As to the wider applicability of the model it needs to be acknowledged that this exact model as described in this thesis may not fit neatly for totalitarian states where the influence of public opinion is rather less of a concern for policy makers, and where the media is often controlled by the state. However, the model can easily be modified to suit the particular case in question, based on the preference of the

researcher. For example, when investigating Poland's dramatic restructuring of its foreign policies in the late 1980s/early 1990s, the Solidarity movement could be classified as either an Interest Group or a Political Party. Similarly the role of the military in an authoritarian state, for example, Indonesia under Suharto, could also be seen as filling the role of an Interest Group, in particular its connection with the country's economy. In China the media is normally state controlled although the influence of the internet is now providing some space for public comment, so here too the categories are fluid and capable of exploring a variety of foreign policy change. Historical religious and/or cultural factors that play an important part in the change process could be investigated under the heading of Political Parties, for example if a political wing develops to a resistance movement (Sinn Fein emerging from the IRA in Northern Ireland), or possibly under Interest-Groups (Buddhist monks in Myanmar advocating for change). Thus, the researcher can modify the theoretical model proposed to suit his or her needs.

Notwithstanding the above claims there are limitations. The level of political spin placed on government action has a tendency to reinforce present policy and not engage in self-criticism as the protection of a government's legacy and the decisions taken by it is a key factor in a party's continued public support. One area that would certainly heighten our understanding of causal relationships between sources of change and key decision makers would be extended interviews with direct participants in events, as this may reveal complications of causality, for example, what key decision makers say publicly about their reasons for foreign policy change may be expressed to maximise public support for that change, but may not however reflect entirely the reasons why action was taken, e.g. concern over failed states and terrorism in Solomon Islands formed a large part of the public discourse surrounding the RAMSI intervention but it is highly likely these reasons were overstated in order to foster public support. Similarly such reasons as may be advanced in interviews may change over time as hindsight may reinforce or change perceptions of specific actions as individuals tend to advance a version of events that reflects positively upon themselves and others. Sensitive documents on foreign policy are classified, often for several decades, and a full picture of actual reasons for why governments change their foreign policies is therefore difficult to arrive at until all such information is publicly revealed.

BIBLIOGRAPHY

- A. C. Nielsen, 'Estimates of Federal Voting Intention & Leadership Approval', 1999 <http://au.acnielsen.com/reports/documents/ACNielsenPoll1999.pdf> [Accessed 10 August 2008]
- Adil, H. 'Australia's Policy Towards Indonesia During Confrontation, 1962-66', *Research Notes and Discussions Series No. 4*, Institute of Southeast Asian Studies, August 1977
- Alasia, S. 'Party Politics and Government in Solomon Islands', *State Society and Governance in Melanesia*, Research School of Pacific and Asian Studies, The Australian National University, Canberra, Discussion Paper 97/7, 1997
- Albinski, H. 'Issues in Australian Foreign Policy: July to December 1999', *Australian Journal of Politics and History*, Volume 46, Issue 2, 2000, pp. 194-213
- Alcorn, G. 'US Calls For Quick Action On Militias', *The Age*, 28 August 1999
- 'Rights Group Urges Canberra To Halt Military Links With Jakarta', *The Age*, 3 September 1999
- Alford, P. 'UN poised to put off E Timor referendum', *The Australian*, 23 June 1999
- 'Gusmao's father killed by militia, says priest', *The Australian*, 10 September 1999
- Allison, G. T. *Essence of Decision: Explaining the Cuban Missile Crisis*, Little, Brown, Boston, 1971
- Allison, G. and Zelikow, P. *Essence of the Decision: Explaining the Cuban Missile Crisis*, Longman, New York; Harlow, Second edition, 1999
- Alons, G. C. 'Predicting a State's Foreign Policy: State Preferences between Domestic and International Constraints', *Foreign Policy Analysis*, Vol. 3, 2007, pp. 211-32
- Amnesty International, 'Indonesia/East Timor: Fear for safety/Arbitrary arrests/Unlawful killings', 20 November 1998 <http://www.amnesty.org/en/library/asset/ASA21/102/1998/en/dom-ASA211021998en.html> [Accessed 16 September 2008]
- 'Indonesia: East Timor spiralling into violence', 15 April 1999 <http://www.amnesty.org/en/library/asset/ASA21/027/1999/en/dom-ASA210271999en.html> [Accessed 16 September 2008]
 - 'East Timor: Seize the moment', 21 June 1999, <http://www.amnesty.org/en/library/asset/ASA21/049/1999/en/dom-ASA210491999en.html> [Accessed 13 February 2009]

- 'Indonesia (East Timor): Failure to curb continuing violence threatens long-term stability', 18 August 1999
<http://www.amnesty.org/en/library/asset/ASA21/094/1999/en/dom-ASA210941999en.html> [Accessed 13 February 2009]
- 'Indonesia/East Timor: Attacks on nuns, priests and church workers', 8 September 1999,
<http://www.amnesty.org/en/library/asset/ASA21/137/1999/en/dom-ASA211371999en.html> [Accessed 13 February 2009]
- 'Amnesty International delegation visits Solomon Islands', Media Advisory, Solomon Islands, , 8 September 1999,
<http://web.amnesty.org/library/print/ENGASA430011999> [Date of access 8 August 2007]
- 'East Timor: Demand for Justice', Report, 28 October 1999
<http://www.amnesty.org/en/library/asset/ASA21/191/1999/en/dom-ASA211911999en.html> [Accessed 18 June 2008]
- Solomon Islands: A Forgotten Conflict', 2000,
<http://web.amnesty.org/library/print/ENGASA430052000> [Accessed 2 March 2007]
- 'Solomon Islands: A forgotten conflict', 7 September 2000,
<http://web.amnesty.org/library/print/ENGASA430052000> [Date of access 2 March 2007]
- 'Amnesty International report 2001 – Solomon Islands', annual report 2001, covering events January-December 2000,
<http://web.amnesty.org/web/ar2001.nsf/webasacountries/SOLOMON+ISLANDS?OpenDocument> [Date of access 8 August 2007]
- 'Amnesty International report 2003 – Solomon Islands', annual report 2003 covering events January-December 2002,
<http://web.amnesty.org/report2003/slb-summary-eng> [Date of access 8 August 2007]

Annan, K. 'We the Peoples: Secretary-General's Statement', *The United Nations*, 3 April 2000, <http://www.un.org/millennium/sg/report/state.htm> [Date Accessed 2 January 2009]

Anonymous, 'A Trade-off Too Near', *The Age*, 31 January 1997

- 'Ramos Horta attacks UN over E Timor', *The Australian*, 13 March 1997
- 'Clinton backs Belo', *The Australian*, 19 June 1997
- 'Mandela And Gusmao', *The Age*, 16 September 1997
- 'Upgrading Human Rights', *The Age*, 28 November 1997

- 'Stability Needed In Indonesian Crisis', *Canberra Times*, 31 December 1997
- 'E Timor talks breed optimism', *The Australian*, 21 January 1998
- 'Transitions', *The Age*, 18 March 1998
- 'Timorese demand better effort', *The Australian*, 2 April 1998
- 'Briefs', *The Age*, 9 May 1998
- 'The Soeharto Era Is Over', *Financial Review*, 15 May 1998
- 'Changing Tack On Indonesia', *The Age*, 19 May 1998
- 'Shunning our neighbours no easy solution', *The Australian*, 23 May 1998
- 'Downer overlooks Timorese prisoners', *The Australian*, 25 May 1998
- 'First reckoning for fallen regime', *The Australian*, 2 June 1998
- 'Indonesia could consider freeing Xanana Gusmao: foreign minister', *Agence France-Presse*, 9 June 1998
- 'Indonesia frees East Timorese political detainees', *Reuters News*, 11 June 1998
- 'Free Gusmao', *The Age*, 13 June 1998
- 'Peace offer to 'whole family of Timor'', *The Australian*, 22 June 1998
- 'Envoy heads for E Timor hot spot', *The Australian*, 20 July 1998
- 'Briefs', *The Age*, 25 July 1998
- 'East Timor's Slow March To Peace', *The Age*, 31 July 1998
- 'Talks project cautious hope for East Timor', *The Australian*, 7 August 1998
- 'Eu call to free Gusmao', *The Australian*, 14 August 1998
- 'Indonesia Must Free Gusmao', *The Age*, 19 August 1998
- 'Labor's U-turn On Human Rights', *The Age*, 17 September 1998
- 'Habibie caught out over E Timor troops', *The Australian*, 30 October 1998
- 'Briefs', *The Age*, 13 November 1998
- 'Timor Denial Only Poses New Question', *The Age*, 20 November 1998

- 'Briefs', *Financial Review*, 2 December 1998
- 'Jailed Timor Leader May Be New Governor', *The Age*, 17 December 1998
- 'Briefs', *The Age*, 18 December 1998
- 'Australia Plays A New Tune On East Timor', *The Age*, 16 January 1999
- 'The Price Of Independence', *Financial Review*, 30 January 1999
- 'Jakarta aims to cut E Timor losses', *The Australian*, 1 February 1999
- 'The Military Must Leave East Timor', *The Age*, 2 February 1999
- 'Caution will secure East Timor's future', *The Australian*, 25 February 1999
- 'Making Amends In East Timor', *The Age*, 25 February 1999
- 'Fine-Tuning East Timor', *Financial Review*, 1 March 1999
- 'Today's Diary', *Financial Review*, 9 March 1999
- 'A New Threat To Peace In Timor', *The Age*, 9 April 1999
- 'Tread Warily In East Timor', *Financial Review*, 10 April 1999
- 'Intervening In East Timor', *The Age*, 20 April 1999
- 'Howard's Bali Gamble', *Financial Review*, 21 April 1999
- 'Call for World Bank to pressure Jakarta', *The Australian*, 22 April 1999
- 'Bali summit a difficult initiative', *The Australian*, 26 April 1999
- 'Promises Made On East Timor', *The Age*, 29 April 1999
- 'PM propels Timor on to world stage', *The Australian*, 29 April 1999
- 'Indonesia's Other Flashpoint'. *Financial Review*, 8 May 1999
- 'Jakarta Asked To Act On Guns', *The Age*, 12 May 1999
- 'Indonesia Snubs A Loyal Friend', *The Age*, 23 July 1999
- 'Rift Denied With US Over Timor', *The Age*, 3 August 1999
- 'A Clarification From Downer', *Financial Review*, 11 August 1999
- 'East Timor's Threatened Peace', *The Age*, 19 August 1999

- 'Judgement Day In East Timor', *Financial Review*, 27 August 1999
- 'Timor poll a tough test for Jakarta', *The Australian*, 28 August 1999
- 'Time to get tough – Ramos Horta', *The Australian*, 28 August 1999
- 'Voting For A Future In East Timor', *The Age*, 28 August 1999
- 'A Peaceful Vote In East Timor', *The Age*, 1 September 1999
- 'Stepping Into A Deadly Void', *Financial Review*, 3 September 1999
- 'Terror Can't Cancel Timor's Choice', *The Age*, 4 September 1999
- 'Frontline Role For Australia', *Financial Review*, 7 September 1999
- 'East Timor Needs The World's Help', *The Age*, 7 September 1999
- 'Violence met with embargo', *The Australian*, 7 September 1999
- 'Gusmao freed as Bishop flees', *The Australian*, 8 September 1999
- 'Protesters take anger to the streets – EAST TIMOR BETRAYED', *The Australian*, 8 September 1999
- 'Martial lawlessness in East Timor', *The Australian*, 8 September 1999
- 'Australia's anger', *The Australian*, 9 September 1999
- 'Australia Faces Its Biggest Test', *The Age*, 9 September 1999
- 'Boycott calls as hunger strike starts', *The Australian*, 10 September 1999
- 'Briefs', *The Age*, 10 September 1999
- 'The tide of protest swells – EAST TIMOR BETRAYED – THE DIPLOMATIC NIGHTMARE', *The Australian*, 11 September 1999
- 'Timor tragedy shows where we stand', *The Australian*, 11 September 1999
- 'A Rude Awakening: We're On Our Own', *The Age*, 11 September 1999
- 'The Perils Of Peacekeeping', *Financial Review*, 14 September 1999
- 'Govt Should Send Troops', *Illawarra Mercury*, 13 June 2000
- 'Opposition says Australian govt has failed in Pacific', *PACNEWS*, 22 August 2002

- 'Mystery of dead minister', *The Australian*, 24 August 2002
- 'PM's 'doctrine' angers Asia', *Daily Telegraph*, 25 September 1999
- 'Mahathir up in arms over white `sheriff'', *Courier-Mail*, 5 December 2002
- 'Indonesia says Howard's pre-emptive strike threat is "unacceptable", *Agence France-Presse*, 11 December 2002
- 'International laws must be respected in anti-terror war - Singapore's DPM Tan', *Channelnewsasia*, 11 December 2002
- 'A real Pacific solution for the Solomons', *The Australian*, 6 January 2003
- 'The Pacific's first failed state?' *The Economist*, 15 February 2003
- 'Briefs: Solomon banks reopen after threats', *The Australian*, 14 May 2003
- 'Solomons tragedy is all too typical', *The Australian*, 20 May 2003
- 'Solomon Islands reportedly considered asking for Indonesian military help', *Radio New Zealand*, 9 June 2003
- 'ASEAN asked to help NZ with Solomon Islands security', *ABC News*, 19 June 2003, <http://www.abc.net.au/news/stories/2003/06/19/883871.htm> [Accessed 26 February 2009]
- 'Australian opposition urges "minimal" military role in Solomons', *BBC*, 25 June 2003
- 'Australia shouldn't stop with Solomons', *Financial Review*, 2 July 2003
- 'The Neighbourhood', *The Australian*, 16 August 2003
- 'Indonesia invited to Solomons before Australia', *Australian Associated Press*, 28 August 2003
- 'Mission chief dismisses reports questioning Australia's intervention in Solomons', *BBC Monitoring Asia Pacific*, 28 August 2003
- 'Solomons Foreign Ministry denies contacts with Indonesia', *BBC Monitoring Asia Pacific*, 1 September 2003
- 'Indonesia recalls Australia envoy', *BBC News*, 24 March 2006

Anthonsen, M. *Decisions on Participating in UN Operations: Do Media Matter? Danish and Swedish Response to Intra State Conflicts in the 1990s*, University of Gothenburg, Department of Political Science, Gothenburg, Doctoral dissertation, 2003

- Ataman, M. *An Integrated Approach to Foreign Policy Change: Explaining Changes in Turkish Foreign Policy in the 1980s*, University Microfilms, Ann Arbor, 1999
- Australian Broadcasting Corporation, *The Howard Years*, Television programme, Episode 3, <http://www.abc.net.au/news/howardyears/> [Date accessed 19 January 2009]
- Australian House of Representative, *Parliamentary debates*, Thursday, 11 March 1999, pp. 3805-3807
- *Parliamentary debates*, Thursday, 2 September 1999, pp. 9802-9803
 - 'Ministerial statement to parliament on the Regional Assistance Mission to the Solomon Islands', Official Hansard, No. 11, 12 August 2003
- Australian Senate, *Parliamentary debates*, No. 8, 12 August 2003
- *Parliamentary debates*, No. 15, 26 November 2003
- Australian Senate Foreign Affairs, Defence and Trade Committee, *A Pacific engaged: Australia's relations with Papua New Guinea and the island states of the southwest Pacific*, Commonwealth of Australia, 12 August 2003
- Australian Strategic Policy Institute, 'Beyond Bali: ASPI's Strategic Assessment 2002', November 2002, <http://www.aspi.org.au/publications/publicationlist.aspx?pubtype=1> [Accessed 22 February 2009]
- 'Our Failing Neighbour: Australia and the Future of Solomon Islands', June 2003
 - 'About ASPI', <http://www.aspi.org.au/aboutaspi/aboutaspi.aspx> [Date Accessed 31 January 2009]
- Axelrod, R. & Keohane, R. O. 'Achieving Cooperation under Anarchy: Strategies and Institutions', in *Neorealism and Neoliberalism: The Contemporary Debate*, ed. D. Baldwin, Columbia University Press, New York, 1993
- Aylmer, S. 'Timor: Downer Says There's No Rift With US', *Financial Review*, 2 August 1999
- Ayson, R. 'Australasian security', in *Strategy and Security in the Asia-Pacific*, eds. R. Ayson & D. Ball, Allen & Unwin, Crows Nest, 2006
- Baker, M. 'Jailed Timorese Guerrilla Caught In Presidential Crossfire', *The Age*, 15 August 1998
- Ball, D. 'Silent witness: Australian intelligence and East Timor', *The Pacific Review*, Vol. 14, Issue 1, 2001, pp. 35-62

Balogh, S. & Nason, D. 'Timorese leader too soft on Jakarta, Canberra – activist', *The Australian*, 22 December 1997

Barker, G. 'Human Rights Issues To Take Centre Stage', *Financial Review*, 20 November 1997

- 'Downer Rules Out Further Aid For Indonesia At The Present', *Financial Review*, 26 May 1998
- 'East Timor Leak May Be Aimed At Habibie', *Financial Review*, 31 October 1998
- 'Labor Party Row: Sparks Fly Over Former East Timor Policy', *Financial Review*, 5 February 1999
- 'The Troubled Birth Of East Timor', *Financial Review*, 27 February 1999
- 'East Timor Fears Trigger Troops Build-Up', *Financial Review*, 12 March 1999
- 'Response Just What The Doctor Ordered', *Financial Review*, 21 April 1999
- 'Timor Deaths: Downer Says Labor Is Lying', *Financial Review*, 24 April 1999
- 'Timor:Australia Acts...At Last!', *Financial Review*, 24 April 1999
- 'PM Returns On Wing And A Promise', *Financial Review*, 28 April 1999
- 'PM Presses Jakarta On Timor', *Financial Review*, 30 August 1999
- 'Downer Rejects Any Partition', *Financial Review*, 1 September 1999
- 'Troops Ready: Downer', *Financial Review*, 3 September 1999
- 'Howard Calls For UN Pressure', *Financial Review*, 7 September 1999
- 'Australia Pushes US Over Timor', *Financial Review*, 8 September 1999
- 'Howard Ups The Ante On East Timor', *Financial Review*, 9 September 1999
- 'Real Value Of US Alliance Under Question', *Financial Review*, 9 September 1999
- 'Anatomy Of A Crisis', *Financial Review*, 11 September 1999
- 'When allies should say no', *Financial Review*, 22 July 2002
- 'The arc of instability', *Financial Review*, 1 August 2002

- 'Security Threat in Pacific Unrest', *Financial Review*, 12 August 2002
- 'PM signals tougher line on Pacific aid', *Financial Review*, 16 August 2002
- 'Forum sidesteps Solomons issue', *Financial Review*, 17 August 2002
- 'Defence needs balance', *Financial Review*, 30 September 2002
- 'Getting to know our neighbours is a start', *Financial Review*, 26 October 2002
- 'Behind the troops' recall', *Financial Review*, 25 November 2002
- 'Attacks 'more likely than not'', *Financial Review*, 29 November 2002
- 'Downer takes reins on foreign policy', *Financial Review*, 24 December 2002
- 'A real pacific solution for the Solomons', *The Australian*, 6 January 2003
- 'Wising up at last to the Solomons' plight', *The Age*, 16 June 2003
- 'Ignoring failed states no longer an option', *Financial Review*, 26 June 2003
- 'Defence', *Financial Review*, 26 September 2003

Beazley, K. 'Arc of Instability', *National Observer*, No. 57, Winter 2003, pp. 17-23

Bennett, J. 'Roots of conflict in Solomon Islands though much is taken, much abides: Legacies of tradition and colonialism', *State Society and Governance in Melanesia*, Research School of Pacific and Asian Studies, The Australian National University, Canberra, Discussion Paper 2002/5, 2002

Bennett, W. L. 'The media and the foreign policy process', in *The New Politics of American Foreign Policy*, ed. D. A. Deese, St Martin's Press, New York, 1994

Berger, M. T. 'From Nation-building to State-building: the geopolitics of development, the nation-state system and the changing global order', *Third World Quarterly* 2006, Volume 27, Issue 1, p. 5-25.

- ed. *The Long War: Counter Insurgency and Collapsing States*, *Third World Quarterly*, Special Edition, Volume 28, Issue 2, 2007.

Bourne, V. 'Howard refuses to call the police when neighbours call for help', *Australian Democrats Press Release*, 7 June 2000, http://www.democrats.org.au/news/index.htm?press_id=593&display=1 [Accessed 24 February 2009]

Branner, H. 'Options and Goals in Danish Foreign Policy European Policy Since 1945: Explaining Small State Behavior and Foreign Policy Change', in eds. H.

- Branner, & M. Kelstrup, *Denmark's Foreign Policy Towards Europe After 1945*, Odense University Press, Odense, 2000
- Brenchley, F. 'The Howard Defence Doctrine', *The Bulletin*, 21 September 1999
- Brereton, L. 'The outlook for Australian foreign policy: a Labor perspective', *Australian Journal of International Affairs*, Vol. 55, No. 3, 2001, pp. 343-49
- Brett, J. 'John Howard's Legacy', Paper given at the John Howard's Decade conference, Public forum, Canberra, 4 March 2006
- Burchill, S. Letter to *The Australian*, 22 May 1998
- Letter to *The Australian*, 26 July 1999
- Bush, G. W. 'President Delivers Graduation Speech at West Point, United States Military Academy, West Point, New York', 1 June 2002, http://www.nti.org/e_research/official_docs/pres/bush_wp_prestrike.pdf [Accessed 25 February 2009]
- Button, J. 'Braving The Long Walk To Justice', *The Age*, 10 February 1999
- Buzan, B. & Jones, R. J. B. *Change and the Study of International Relations*, Pinter, London, 1981
- Callick, R. 'Disarm Militias Or 'There Will Be Bloodshed'', *Financial Review*, 19 March 1999
- 'Solomon collapse a stark warning for PNG leader', *Financial Review*, 7 August 2002
 - "'Arc of instability' back on foreign policy agenda', *Financial Review*, 6 December 2002
 - "'Hands-off" approach not working in troubled region', *Financial Review*, 7 December 2002
 - 'Too much grey in foreign affairs white paper', *Financial Review*, 15 February 2003
 - 'PNG risks terrorism, financial ruin', *Financial Review*, 12 March 2003
 - 'Scam threat chases banks away', *Financial Review*, 13 May 2003
 - 'Return of the colonists', *Financial Review*, 11 June 2003
 - 'A lack of wisdom in Solomons', *Financial Review*, 11 June 2003
 - 'Trying another Pacific solution', *Financial Review*, 26 June 2003

- 'PNG warns on Solomons move', *Financial Review*, 7 July 2003
 - 'A New Brand Of Pacific Solutions', *Financial Review*, 16 August 2003
 - 'The Changing Globe', *Financial Review*, 26 September 2003
- Calvert, A. 'Secretary's Speech: Australia's Foreign and Trade Policy Agenda, Speech by Dr Ashton Calvert, Secretary of the Department of Foreign Affairs and Trade, to the National Press Club', 3 August 2000
- Campbell, D. 'Time to get tough on Timor/The Bali summit ducked the big issue', *The Australian*, 29 April 1999
- Capling, A. & Nossal, K. R. 'Parliament and the Democratization of Foreign Policy: The Case of Australia's Joint Standing Committee on Treaties', *Canadian Journal of Political Science*, Vol. 36, Issue 4, September 2003, pp. 835-55
- Carlsnaes, W. 'The Agency-Structure Problem in Foreign Policy Analysis', *International Studies Quarterly*, Vol. 36, 1992, pp. 245-70
- 'On Analysing the Dynamics of Foreign Policy Change: A Critique and Reconceptualization', *Cooperation and Conflict*, Vol. 28, Issue 1, 1993, pp. 5-30
- Carson, A. 'Horta Launches 'betrayal' Attack Over East Timor', *The Age*, 2 December 1998
- Carson, A. & Robinson, P. 'Indonesia Target For Union Action', *The Age*, 7 September 1999
- Carter Center, 'Pre-Election Statement on East Timor Elections, Aug. 16, 1999', 17 August 1999 <http://www.cartercenter.org/news/documents/doc268.html> [Accessed 17 June 2008]
- 'Postelection Statement on East Timor elections, Sept. 6, 1999', 6 September 1999, <http://www.cartercenter.org/news/documents/doc270.html> [Accessed 16 September 2008]
- Chamberlin, P. 'ALP Flags East Timor Rethink', *The Age*, 25 October 1997
- Chan, L. 'Solomon Islands - Statement by the Honourable Laurie Chan Minister of Foreign Affairs at the Fifty-Eighth Session of the United Nations General Assembly', *United Nations*, 1 October 2003
- Chand, S. 'Conflict to crisis in Solomon Islands', *Pacific Economic Bulletin*, Volume 17, Number 1, May 2002, pp. 154-59
- 'Solomons Initiative Well Worth The Effort', *Financial Review*, 24 July 2003

- Chevalier, C. 'Threats and opportunities in Solomon Islands: Sinking or swimming in uncharted waters', *Development Bulletin*, No. 53, 2000, pp. 84-88
- 'From chimera to chimaera: Changing the realities for youth in Solomon Islands', *Development Bulletin*, No. 56, October 2001, pp. 38-41
- Christensen, D. A. 'Foreign Policy Objectives: Left Socialist Opposition in Denmark, Norway and Sweden', *Scandinavian Political Studies*, Vol. 21, Issue 1, 1998, pp. 51-70
- Clark, A. 'No Arguments In This Relationship', *Financial Review*, 9 August 2003
- Cleary, P. 'Australia Reviews Defence Ties, Scraps Joint Exercise', *Financial Review*, 11 September 1999
- Cohen, B. C. & Harris, S. A. 'Foreign Policy', in *Handbook of Political Science*, eds. F. I. Greenstein & N. Polsby, Addison Wesley, Reading, 1975
- Colebatch, T. 'We Trust Habibie: Downer', *The Age*, 25 May 1998
- 'Sanctions World's Last Resort', *The Age*, 11 September 1999
 - Downer Rejects Aid Plea From Solomons', *The Age*, 10 January 2002
- Connell, J. 'Saving the Solomons': a New Geopolitics in the 'Arc of Instability'?', *Geographical Research*, Vol. 44, Issue 2, June 2006, pp. 111-22
- Connelly, S. 'Timor needs our troops, not lectures', Letter to *The Australian*, 9 April 1999
- Cookes, T. 'Thousands Offer To Hide East Timorese', *The Age*, 21 April 1997
- Cooney, K.J. *Japan's Foreign Policy Maturation: A Quest for Normalcy*, Arizona State University, Doctoral Dissertation, 2000
- Cotton, J. 'Peacekeeping' in East Timor: An Australian Policy Departure', *Australian Journal of International Affairs*, Vol. 53, Issue 3, 1999, pp. 237-46
- *Crossing Borders in the Asia-Pacific: Essays on the Domestic-Foreign Policy Divide*, Nova Science Publishers, 2002
 - *East Timor, Australia and Regional Order: Intervention and its aftermath in Southeast Asia*, RoutledgeCurzon, London, 2004
- Crawshaw, S. 'East Timor rejects 'sham' reforms offer', *The Independent – London*, 11 June 1998
- Crocker, C. A. 'Engaging Failing States', *Foreign Affairs*, Vol. 82, Issue 5, September-October 2003, pp. 32-44

Da Silva, W. 'The Politics Of The Prize', *Financial Review*, 27 March 1997

Daley, P. 'Fear Over Troops Switch On Timor', *The Age*, 31 October 1998

- 'Timor Policy Change Reconciles Old Allies', *The Age*, 27 January 1999
- 'East Timor Offered Deal On Troops', *The Age*, 1 February 1999
- 'East Timor Freedom To Cost, Senate Told', *The Age*, 12 February 1999
- 'Militia Groups Have 5000 Guns: Claim', *The Age*, 11 March 1999
- 'Soldiers Flooding East Timor: Report', *The Age*, 17 March 1999
- 'Downer Sets Out Timor Troops Plan', *The Age*, 1 April 1999
- 'Fear On Timor Vote Rig', *The Age*, 25 May 1999
- 'US Warns Indonesia Over Violence', *The Age*, 27 August 1999
- 'Thousands In Timor Rescue Plan', *The Age*, 28 August 1999
- 'Canberra Considers Timor Options', *The Age*, 30 August 1999
- 'Downer 'right' Not To Call For Peace Force', *The Age*, 1 September 1999

Dalrymple, R. 'Jakarta needs goading', *The Australian*, 12 June 1998

- *Continental Drift: Australia's Search for a Regional Identity*, Ashgate Publishing Limited, Aldershot, 2003

Dapaah-Agyemang, J. 'Transformation of ECOWAS as a Security Apparatus and Its Implications in Ghana's Political Orientation, 1990-2000', in *African and Asian Studies*, Vol. 2, Issue 1, 2003, pp. 3-36

Dateline, 'Solomons Riddle', *Special Broadcasting Service*, 27 August 2003, http://news.sbs.com.au/dateline/solomons_riddle_130273 [Accessed 26 February 2009]

Davis, I. 'Timor Autonomy Support', *Financial Review*, 13 January 1999

- 'Political Debate Focuses On Oil Revenues Split', *Financial Review*, 14 January 1999

Day, D. *John Curtin: a life*, HarperCollins, Pymble, 2000

Department of Defence, *Defence 2000: Our Future Defence Force*, White Paper, Commonwealth of Australia, 2000

Department of Defence, *Australia's National Security: A Defence Update 2003*, Commonwealth of Australia, 2003

Department of Foreign Affairs and Trade, *In the National Interest: Australia's Foreign and Trade Policy*, White Paper, Commonwealth of Australia, Barton ACT, 1997

- *Annual Report 1997-98*,
http://www.dfat.gov.au/dept/annual_reports/97_98/subprog14.html , [Date of visit 19 March 2007]
- *Annual Report 1998-99*,
www.dfat.gov.au/dept/annual_reports/98_99/html/programs/subprogram14.htm [Date of visit 19 March 2007]
- *Annual Report 1999-2000*,
www.dfat.gov.au/dept/annual_reports/99_00/2/1/1.1.4.html [Date of visit 19 March 2007]
- *Annual Report 2000-2001*,
www.dfat.gov.au/dept/annual_reports/00_01/s02/02_1-1-4.html [Date of visit 19 March 2007]
- *Australia and the Indonesian Incorporation of Portuguese Timor, 1974-1976*, Documents on Australian foreign policy, Melbourne University Press, Carlton, 2000
- *East Timor in Transition 1998-2000. An Australian Policy Challenge*, Commonwealth of Australia, Canberra, 2001
- 'Thirty-Third Pacific Islands Forum, Suva, Fiji, 15-17 August 2002, Forum Communique',
http://www.dfat.gov.au/GEO/spacific/regional_orgs/pif33_communique.html [Date Accessed 30 January 2009]
- *Advancing the National Interest: Australia's Foreign and Trade Policy White Paper*, Commonwealth of Australia, 2003
- 'Solomon Islands: Rebuilding an Island Economy', Economic Analytical Unit, 2004,
http://www.dfat.gov.au/publications/rebuilding_solomon/si_rebuilding_an_isl_and_economy.pdf [Accessed 20 February 2009]
- 'History of the Department', <http://www.dfat.gov.au/dept/history.html> [Accessed 23 March 2009]
- 'Australia's top 10 two-way trading partners',
http://www.dfat.gov.au/trade/focus/081211_exports.html [Accessed 23 March 2009]

- Department of Foreign Affairs and Trade, 'East Timor – Country brief', http://www.dfat.gov.au/geo/east_timor/east_timor_brief.html [Accessed 26 March 2009]

- Dibb, P. *Review of Australia's defence capabilities: Report to the Minister for Defence by Mr Paul Dibb*, Australian Government Publishing Service, Canberra, 1986

- Dietrich, J. W. 'Interest Groups and Foreign Policy: Clinton and the China MFN Debates', *Presidential Studies Quarterly*, Vol. 29, Issue 2, June 1999, pp.280-96

- Dinnen, S. 'Political Chronicles: Winners and Losers – Politics and Disorder in the Solomon Islands 2000-2002', *The Journal of Pacific History*, Vol. 37, No. 3, 2002

- 'Australia's new interventionism in the Southwest Pacific', Paper presented at the German Pacific Network's *Australia's New Foreign Policy in the Pacific Area*-conference, University of Hamburg, 26-27 November 2004 <http://www2.pazifik-netzwerk.de/uploads/Dossier70.pdf> [Accessed 20 August 2007]

- 'Lending a Fist? Australia's New Interventionism in the Pacific', Discussion Paper 2004/5, *State, Society and Governance in Melanesia*, Research School of Pacific and Asian Studies, Australian National University, 2004

- Dinnen, S. & Firth, S. *Politics and State-Building in Solomon Islands*, Asia-Pacific Press and ANU E Press, The Australian National University, 2008

- Dobell, G. 'The South Pacific: Policy Taboos, Popular Amnesia and Political Failure', *The Menzies Research Centre Lecture Series: Australian Security in the 21st Century*, Canberra, February 2003

- 'China and Taiwan in the South Pacific: Diplomatic Chess versus Pacific Political Rugby', *Lowy Institute for International Policy*, Policy Brief, January 2007

- 'Australia's intervention policy: a Melanesian learning curve?', in *Intervention and state-building in the Pacific: The legitimacy of 'cooperative intervention'*, eds. G. Fry and T. T. Kabutaulaka, Manchester University Press, Manchester, 2008

- Dodd, M. 'Envoy flees E Timor protest', *The Australian*, 21 December 1998

- Dodd, M. with Murdoch, L. & Daley, P. 'Military Caught In The Act', *The Age*, 21 May 1999

- Dodd, T. 'Krakatoa Stirring, But Not Yet Ready To Explode', *Financial Review*, 24 March 1999

- 'Habibie For Talks In Aceh', *Financial Review*, 26 March 1999
- 'Peace Talks Are Postponed Due To East Timor Violence', *Financial Review*, 12 April 1999
- 'Army 'stood By As Activists Slain'', *Financial Review*, 19 April 1999
- 'Indonesia's Wounded Pride Over East Timor', *Financial Review*, 21 April 1999
- 'Xanana: Struggle Time Leader', *Financial Review*, 27 April 1999
- 'Aceh Death Toll Expected To Double', *Financial Review*, 6 May 1999
- 'Alatas Rejects Australia As Talks Venue', *Financial Review*, 25 May 1999
- 'Timor Factions In Last-gasp Peace Talks', *Financial Review*, 1 July 1999
- 'Briefs', *Financial Review*, 6 July 1999
- 'Critical Mass Matters In East Timor Conflict', *Financial Review*, 10 July 1999
- 'Top Brass Fly To E Timor', *Financial Review*, 13 July 1999
- 'UN Gives The Go-ahead For Timor Ballot', *Financial Review*, 16 July 1999
- 'Downer To Assess Timor Ballot', *Financial Review*, 21 July 1999
- 'Aid Donors Warn Indonesia', *Financial Review*, 29 July 1999
- 'Downer Told Of Timor Bloodbath Fears', *Financial Review*, 31 July 1999
- 'Militias Step Up The Pressure', *Financial Review*, 24 August 1999
- 'Three Die In Dili As Militia Clashes With Separatists', *Financial Review*, 27 August 1999
- 'East Timor Bloodies Its Date With Destiny', *Financial Review*, 28 August 1999
- '"Sea Of Fire' Churns Beneath An Uneasy Calm', *Financial Review*, 30 August 1999
- 'Town Set Ablaze In Revenge Attack', *Financial Review*, 2 September 1999
- 'UN Flees New Militia Terror As Count Begins', *Financial Review*, 4 September 1999
- 'World Media Flees Militia Bloodshed', *Financial Review*, 6 September 1999

- 'Freed Gusmao Takes Refuge In UK Embassy In Jakarta', *Financial Review*, 8 September 1999
 - 'Jakarta Defies World Pressure', *Financial Review*, 9 September 1999
 - 'Indonesia Paints Itself Into Tight Economic Corner', *Financial Review*, 13 September 1999
- Dodd, T. & Earl, G. 'Aid Workers Flee E Timor', *Financial Review*, 27 February 1999
- Dodson, L. 'Brereton Promises Improved Relations With European Union', *Financial Review*, 23 January 1998
- 'A move into the unknown', *The Age*, 27 June 2003
 - 'At the centre of attention', *The Sydney Morning Herald*, 23 February 2006
- Doeser, F. *In Search of Security After the Collapse of the Soviet Union: Foreign Policy Change in Denmark, Finland and Sweden, 1988-1993*, Universitetservice US-AB, Stockholm, 2008
- Downer, A. 'Australia, Europe and Asia: Approaching the 21st Century, Address by the Hon Alexander Downer, MP, Minister for Foreign Affairs, to the Royal Institute of International Affairs (RIIA), Chatham House, London', 5 February 1997
- 'Australia's Foreign Policy, Address by the Hon Alexander Downer MP, Minister for Foreign Affairs, to the Joint Services Staff College', Canberra, 26 March 1997
 - 'Australia's Future in the Asia Pacific: Cooperation, Economic Reform and Liberalisation', Speech by the Hon Alexander Downer, MP, Minister for Foreign Affairs, to the Melbourne Institute Conference – "The Asian Crisis – Economic Analysis and Market Intelligence", the University of Melbourne, 8 May 1998
 - 'A Long Term Commitment: Australia and East Asia', Speech by the Hon Alexander Downer MP, Minister for Foreign Affairs, to the Indonesian Council on World Affairs and the Indonesia-Australia Business Council, Borobodur Hotel, Jakarta, 9 July 1998
 - 'Human Rights – A Record of Achievement, Speech by the Hon Alexander Downer, MP, Minister for Foreign Affairs, to the Department of Foreign Affairs and Trade Consultations with Human Rights Non-Governmental Organisations", Canberra, 19 August 1998
 - 'Australian Government Historic Policy Shift On East Timor', Media Release, Minister for Foreign Affairs Alexander Downer, 12 January 1999

- 'Indonesia – New Flexibility On East Timor', Media Release, Minister for Foreign Affairs, Alexander Downer, 28 January 1999
- 'Australia – Responding To Indonesia's Transformation, Address by the Hon Alexander Downer, MP, Minister for Foreign Affairs, in the Australia-Asia Institute's 1999 Australia in Asia Lecture Series', State Library of NSW, Sydney, 1 March 1999
- 'Australia and Asia –Traders and Partners, Speech by the Hon Alexander Downer MP, Minister for Foreign Affairs, to the Asia Society AustralAsia Centre, Parmelia Hilton, Perth', 19 August 1999
- 'East Timor – Looking Back on 1999', *Australian Journal of International Affairs*, Vol. 54, Issue 1, 2000, pp. 5-10
- 'Speech by the Hon Alexander Downer, MP, Minister for Foreign Affairs, at the RIAP's Pacific Economic Outlook seminar', Sydney, 2 November 2000
- 'Australian Foreign Policy – a Liberal Perspective', *Australian Journal of International Affairs*, Vol. 55, No. 3, 2001, pp. 337-41
- 'High Level Mission to Solomon Islands and Vanuatu', Media Release, 1 October 2002
- 'ABC Radio, "The World Today", preventing terrorist attacks', 2 December 2002
- 'Interview with Stan Grant, CNN International "News Biz Today", 3 December 2002
- 'ABC Radio "AM", Strait Times article, Prime Minister's Comments', 4 December 2002
- 'Doorstop interview', Sydney, 17 December 2002
- 'Interview with ABC's Sean Dorney, Solomon Islands', 18 December 2002
- 'Visit to Solomon Islands', Media Release, 19 December 2002
- 'Neighbours cannot be recolonised', *The Australian*, 8 January 2003
- 'Q & A at the launch of the foreign and trade policy White Paper "Advancing the National Interest" at the National Press Club, Canberra', 12 February 2003
- 'Press Conference with Fiji Foreign Minister Tavola: Salopian Inn, McLaran Vale, South Australia', 7 March 2003
- 'ABC Radio – Interview with Matt Peacock', 20 May 2003

- 'Our Failing Neighbour: Australia and the future of the Solomon Islands, Speech at the launch of the Australian Strategic Policy Institute report', Sydney, 10 June 2003
- 'Doorstop – Parliament House', 10 June 2003
- 'Doorstop- Parliament House', 25 June 2003
- 'Talks On Solomon Islands', Media Release, 25 June 2003
- 'Security in an Unstable World, Speech given at the National Press Club', 26 June 2003
- 'Question and Answer Session following Address to National Press Club', 26 June 2003
- 'Joint Press Conference with New Zealand Foreign Minister Phil Goff – Adelaide Airport', 29 June 2003
- 'Joint Press Conference following Pacific Islands Forum Foreign Ministers Meeting, Sydney', 30 June 2003
- 'Solomon Islands – 2SM – Interview with Trisha Duffield', 1 July 2003
- *About Alexander Downer MP*, homepage
<http://www.alexanderdowner.com.au/Pages/AboutAlexander/Default.aspx>
 [Accessed 10 December 2007]

Duncan, R. & Chand, S. 'The Economics of the 'Arc of Instability'', *Asian-Pacific Economic Literature*, Vol. 16, Issue 1, 2002, pp. 1-9

Dunn, J. *East Timor: A rough passage to independence*, Longueville Books, Double Bay NSW, 1983

Dupont, A. 'Who'll keep the peace in Timor?', *The Australian*, 6 July 1999

- 'ASEAN's Response to the East Timor Crisis', *Australian Journal of International Affairs*, Vol. 54, No. 2, 2000, pp. 163-70

Dupont, A. & Bergin, A. 'UN Force Critical To Peace In Timor', *Financial Review*, 29 March 1999

Dyson, S. B. 'Personality and Foreign Policy: Tony Blair's Iraq Decisions', *Foreign Policy Analysis*, Volume 2, 2006, pp. 289-306

Earl, G. 'Aceh Death Toll Takes Spotlight', *Financial Review*, 7 August 1998

- 'Timor Policy Shift Raises Hackles', *Financial Review*, 14 January 1999
- 'E Timor Plan Gains Support', *Financial Review*, 15 February 1999

- 'Crisis Talks In Auckland As APEC Gathers', *Financial Review*, 8 September 1999

- Earl, G. & Barker, G. 'Indonesia Refuses Lawyer's Visit On East Timor Deaths', *Financial Review*, 30 November 1998

- Eccleston, R. 'Team America', in *The Howard factor: A decade that changed a nation*, ed. N. Cater, Melbourne University Publishing Ltd, Carlton, 2006

- Edwards, P. 'History and foreign policy', in *Australian Foreign Policy: Into the new millennium*, ed. F. A. Mediansky, Macmillan Education Australia Pty Ltd. Melbourne, 1997

- Elson, R. E. *Suharto: A Political Biography*, Cambridge University Press, Cambridge, 2001

- Engelbrekt, K. *Security Policy Reorientation in Peripheral Europe: A Comparative-Perspectivist Approach*, Ashgate, Aldershot, 2002

- Evans, G. 'Time For Diplomacy, Not Troops', *The Australian*, 21 April 1999

- Errington, W. & van Onselen, P. "'You lucky, lucky bastard!' The extent of John Howard's political genius', Paper presented at the John Howard's Decade Conference, Australian National University, 2-3 March 2006

- *John Winston Howard*, Melbourne University Press, Carlton, 2007

- Evans, G. & Grant, B. *Australia's Foreign Relations: In the World of the 1990s*, Melbourne University Press, Carlton, 1991

- Evans, P. B. & Jacobson, H. K. & Putnam, R. D. *Double-Edged Diplomacy: International Bargaining and Domestic Politics*, University of California Press, Berkeley and Los Angeles, 1993

- Farouque, F. 'Grief For A Boy Who Gave All For His Land', *The Age*, 20 April 1999

- 'Australians Decide To Take Their Chances', *The Age*, 22 April 1999

- 'Hundreds of troops for Solomons', *The Age*, 26 June 2003

- Fernandes, C. *Reluctant Saviour: Australia, Indonesia and the independence of East Timor*, Scribe Publications, Carlton North, 2004

- Field, N. 'Unions Say Protests 'not Industrial'', *Financial Review*, 9 September 1999

- 'Union Ban On Crude Oil Imports', *Financial Review*, 10 September 1999

- 'Qantas Calls For Calm As Bans Bite', *Financial Review*, 11 September 1999

- Finnemore, M. 'Constructing Norms of Humanitarian Intervention', *The Culture of National Security: Norms and Identity in World Politics*, ed. P. Katzenstein Columbia University Press, New York, 1996
- Firth, S. *Australia in International Politics, An introduction to Australian foreign policy*, Second edition, Allen & Unwin, Crows Nest, 2005
- Forbes, C. 'Howard rejects human rights on talks agenda', *The Australian*, 26 November 1997
- Forbes, M. 'Australian withdrawal from Solomons sparks violence fears', *The Age*, 26 June 2002
- 'Falling off the map', *The Age*, 17 August 2002
 - 'Grim outlook on security for Pacific states', *The Age*, 3 October 2002
 - 'Defence unfit to lead fight – think tank', *The Age*, 29 November 2002
 - 'Solomons' peace champion slain', *The Age*, 12 February 2003
 - Solomons bankers flee death threats', *The Age*, 13 May 2003
 - '\$15m For Pacific Police College', *The Age*, 14 August 2003
- Forrester, G. 'Introduction' in *The Fall of Soeharto*, eds. G. Forrester & R. J. May, Crawford House in association with Regime Change and Regime Maintenance in Asia and the Pacific Project and North Australia Research Unit, Research School of Pacific and Asian Studies, Australian National University, 1998,
- Fraenkel, J. *Minority Rights in Fiji and the Solomon Islands: Reinforcing Constitutional Protections, Establishing Land Rights and Overcoming Poverty*, Commission on Human Rights, Sub-Commission on Promotion and Protection of Human Rights, Working Group on Minorities, Ninth Session, 12-16 May 2003, [http://www.unhchr.ch/Huridocda/Huridoca.nsf/e06a5300f90fa0238025668700518ca4/c7f47ea7613b6645c1256d250039e80c/\\$FILE/G0314147.pdf](http://www.unhchr.ch/Huridocda/Huridoca.nsf/e06a5300f90fa0238025668700518ca4/c7f47ea7613b6645c1256d250039e80c/$FILE/G0314147.pdf) [Accessed 17 February 2009]
- *The Manipulation of Custom: From Uprising to Intervention in the Solomon Islands*, Pandanus books, Canberra, 2004
- Fraenkel, J. & Ayson, R. 'Is intervention a mistake, or a moral obligation', *Financial Review*, 14 June 2003
- Fry, G. '“Our patch”: the war on terror and the new interventionism', in ed. G. Fry & T. T. Kabataulaka, *Intervention and State-building in the Pacific: legitimacy of 'cooperative intervention'*, Manchester University Press, Manchester, 2008

Fry, G. & Kabutaulaka, T. T. 'Political legitimacy and state-building intervention in the Pacific' in *Intervention and State-building in the Pacific: The Legitimacy of Co-operative intervention*, eds. G. Fry & T. T. Kabataulaka, Manchester University Press, Manchester, 2008

Gaddis, J. L. 'International Relations Theory and the End of the Cold War', *International Security*, Vol. 17, No. 3, Winter 1992-93, pp. 5-58

Gallus, C. 'Interview with ABC 666 Canberra', 8 May 2003

Garran, R. 'Downer overlooks Timorese prisoners', *The Australian*, 25 May 1998

- 'Timor about-face', *The Australian*, 27 May 1998
- 'Gusmao move welcome', *The Australian*, 20 January 1999
- 'Rift over E Timor widens', *The Australian*, 11 February 1999
- 'Hesitant Howard a regret', *The Australian*, 13 February 1999
- 'E Timor needs 15-year transition, says Belo', *The Australian*, 17 February 1999
- 'Portugal to play part in E Timor transition', *The Australian*, 1 March 1999
- 'Envoy assesses Dili dilemma', *The Australian*, 5 March 1999
- 'Readiness born of necessity', *The Australian*, 13 March 1999
- 'Civilians for UN in Timor', *The Australian*, 1 April 1999
- 'PM told to cut Jakarta security ties', *The Australian*, 20 April 1999
- 'Pressure mounts on Jakarta over violence/Troops offered for Timor', *The Australian*, 26 April 1999
- 'Timor will get to have its say – Ramos Horta', *The Australian*, 11 June 1999
- 'Views conflict on ballot security', *The Australian*, 19 August 1999
- 'Fears spur swift exit plan for Timor ballot observers', *The Australian*, 24 August 1999
- 'Timor fallback – stagger the vote', *The Australian*, 26 August 1999
- 'Outrage as ambassador is shot at', *The Australian*, 7 September 1999

Garran, R. & Greenlees, D. 'Secret Gusmao talks leave BHP red-faced', *The Australian*, 21 August 1998

- Garran, R. & McGregor, R. & Greenlees, D. 'Tears for the slaughtered', *The Australian*, 11 September 1999
- Garran, R. & Shanahan, D. 'PM doubles peacekeepers numbers', *The Australian*, 10 September 1999
- Garran, R. & Stewart, C. 'Wary backing for Howard's Timor reverse', *The Australian*, 13 January 1999
- Gentry, M. C. *From Containment to Inclusion: United States foreign economic policy and the former Soviet Union*, University Microfilms, Ann Arbor, 1999
- George, A. & Bennett, A. *Case Studies and Theory Development in the Social Sciences*, MIT Press, Cambridge, 2005
- George, J. 'Australia's global perspectives in the 1990s: a case of old Realist wine in new (neo-liberal) bottles', *Middling, Meddling, Muddling: Issues in Australian foreign policy*, eds. R. Leaver & D. Cox, Allen & Unwin, St:Leonards, 1997
- George, M. *Australia and the Indonesian Revolution*, Melbourne University Press, Carlton, Vic, 1980,
- Giddens, A. *The Constitution of Society: Outline of the Theory of Structuration*, University of California Press, Berkeley, 1984
- Gilpin, R. *War and Change in World Politics*, Cambridge University Press, Cambridge, 1981
- Goldmann, K. 'Change and Stability in Foreign Policy: Détente as a Problem of Stabilization', *World Politics*, Vol. 34, Issue 2, 1982, pp. 230-66
- *Change and Stability in Foreign Policy: The Problems and Possibilities of Détente*, Harvester Wheatsheaf, London, 1988
- Goldsworthy, D. 'East Timor', in *Facing North: a century of Australian engagement with Asia, Volume 2, 1970s to 2000*, eds. P. Edwards and D. Goldsworthy, Melbourne University Press, Carlton, 2003
- Gordon, M. 'Did We Do Enough?', *The Age*, 11 September 1999
- 'Local heroes', *The Age*, 5 July 2003
- Gorjao, P. 'The End of a Cycle: Australian and Portuguese Foreign Policies and the Fate of East Timor', *Contemporary Southeast Asia*, Vol. 23, Issue 1, April 2001, pp. 101-21
- Graham, T. W. 'Public Opinion and U.S. Foreign Policy Decision Making', in *The New Politics of American Foreign Policy*, ed. D. A. Deese, St Martin's Press, New York, 1994

Grant, B. 'A Free Timor May Be Too Much, Too Soon For Indonesia', Opinion, *Financial Review*, 31 August 1999

Gray, J. 'Why The US Is So Hands Off', *Financial Review*, 1 May 1999

- 'Funds The Strongest Lever Over Habibie', *Financial Review*, 27 August 1999
- 'A Fair Referendum Or Else, US Warns Indonesia', *Financial Review*, 30 August 1999
- 'US Censure Of Jakarta Falls Far Short Of Intervention', *Financial Review*, 3 September 1999
- 'Australia Responsible For E Timor, Says US', *Financial Review*, 4 September 1999
- 'US Not Keen On Australian Peace-keeping Coalition Plan', *Financial Review*, 6 September 1999
- 'Review Of Global Lending To Jakarta Waits Two Weeks', *Financial Review*, 7 September 1999
- 'Internal Conflict In The US Ship Of State Slows Decision On Troops', *Financial Review*, 8 September 1999
- 'Indonesia Warned Funds At Risk', *Financial Review*, 9 September 1999
- 'US Rejects Australia's Call For Troops', *Financial Review*, 9 September 1999

Greene, G. 'Howard In Freedom Call On East Timor', *The Age*, 26 May 1998

- 'Downer Rejects Timor Criticism', *The Age*, 20 August 1998
- 'Downer Concern At Timor Moves', *The Age*, 19 October 1998
- 'Freedom Hopes Mount', *The Age*, 13 January 1999

Greene, G. & Rouw, J. 'Timor Oil Deals Will Stay Despite Rights Bid', *The Age*, 21 August 1998

Greenlees, D. 'Labor policy ups ante for autonomy in East Timor', *The Australian*, 18 October 1997

- 'It's easier to be forthright in Opposition', *The Australian*, 27 October 1997
- 'Amnesty not enough for Dili', *The Australian*, 11 June 1998
- 'Light of reform yet to cut through fear', *The Australian*, 16 June 1998

- 'Belo, Habibie speak their peace', *The Australian*, 25 June 1998
- 'Downer offers a hand on E Timor', *The Australian*, 10 July 1998
- 'Leak shows no E Timor troops cuts', *The Australian*, 30 October 1998
- 'Tread carefully to explore new avenues for military co-operation', *The Australian*, 4 November 1998
- 'Downer shores up Timor position', *The Australian*, 12 January 1999
- 'Jakarta to free rebel from jail', *The Australian*, 19 January 1999
- 'E Timor retreat a recipe for civil war', *The Australian*, 2 February 1999
- 'Violence a risk to E Timor autonomy – US', *The Australian*, 6 February 1999
- 'East Timor's reluctant hero', *The Australian*, 13 February 1999
- 'Habibie wins Albright okay', *The Australian*, 6 March 1999
- 'Jakarta turns a not-so-blind eye', *The Australian*, 8 April 1999
- 'More security muscle after attack on UN', *The Australian*, 1 July 1999
- 'UN fury at police no-show of force', *The Australian*, 6 July 1999
- 'Timor vote up against a wall', *The Australian*, 13 July 1999
- 'A sudden rush of bloodshed', *The Australian*, 3 September 1999

Greenlees, D. & Alford, P. 'Jakarta defiant as UN postpones Timor vote/Jakarta defiant as poll put off, *The Australian*, 24 June 1999

Greenlees, D. & Shanahan, D. 'Bloodshed on eve of poll', *The Australian*, 28 August 1999

Greenlees, D. & Garran, R. 'Marching into tragedy', *The Australian*, 8 September 1999

- *Deliverance: The inside story of East Timor's fight for freedom*, Allen & Unwin, Crows Nest, 2002

Grieco, J. M. *Cooperation among Nations: Europe, America, and Non-Tariff Barriers to Trade*, Cornell University Press, Ithaca, 1990

- 'Anarchy and the Limits of Cooperation: A Realist Critique of the Newest Liberal Institutionalism', in *Neorealism and Neoliberalism: The Contemporary Debate*, ed. D. Baldwin, Columbia University Press, New York, 1993

- Griffiths, M. & O'Callaghan, T. 'Realism', in *An Introduction to International Relations: Australian Perspectives*, Cambridge University Press, Melbourne, 2007
- Guelke, A. 'South Africa's Transition: Lessons for East Timor?', in *The East Timor Question: The Struggle for Independence from Indonesia*, eds. P. Hainsworth & S. McCloskey, I. B. Tauris & Co Ltd, London, 2000
- Gunn, G. C. 'The Five-Hundred-Year Timorese Funu', in *Bitter Flowers, Sweet Flowers: East Timor, Indonesia, and the World Community*, eds. R. Tanter, M. Selden, and S. R. Shalom, Pluto Press Australia Pty Ltd, Sydney, 2001
- Gurry, M. 'Perspectives on Australian Foreign Policy 2000', *Australian Journal of International Affairs*, Vol. 55, No. 1, 2001, pp. 7-20
- Gustavsson, J. *The Politics of Foreign Policy Change: Explaining the Swedish Reorientation on EC Membership*, Lund University Press, Lund, Doctoral Dissertation, 1998
- Gustavsson, J. 'How Should We Study Foreign Policy Change?' *Cooperation and Conflict*, Vol. 34, Issue 1, 1999, pp. 73-95
- Gyngell, A. & Wesley, M. *Making Australian Foreign Policy*, Cambridge University Press, Melbourne, Second edition, 2007
- Hagan, J. D. *Political Opposition and Foreign Policy in Comparative Perspective*, Lynne Rienner, Boulder, 1993
- 'Domestic Political Explanations in the Analysis of Foreign Policy', in *Foreign Policy Analysis: Continuity and Change in Its Second Generation*, eds. L. Neack & J. A. K. Hey & P. J. Haney, Prentice Hall, New Jersey, 1995
- Hagan, J. D. & Everts, P. P. & Fukui, H. & Stempel, J. D. 'Foreign Policy by Coalition: Deadlock, Compromise, and Anarchy', *International Studies Review*, Volume 3, Issue 2, Summer 2001
- Haigh, B. 'Foul play in two arenas', Letter to *The Australian*, 14 December 1998
- Letter to *The Australian*, 23 April 1999
 - *The Great Australian Blight: Losing the plot in Australian Foreign Policy*, Otford Press, Otford, 2001
- Hallenberg, J. *Foreign Policy Change: United States Foreign Policy Toward the Soviet Union and The People's Republic of China 1961-1980*, University of Stockholm, Stockholm, Doctoral Dissertation, 1984
- Halperin, M. *Bureaucratic Politics and Foreign Policy*, The Brookings Institution, Washington D.C., 1974

- Hartcher, P. 'Why We Can, And Should, Believe Jakarta This Time', *Financial Review*, 30 January 1999
- 'Indon Army Retains Upper Hand', *Financial Review*, 5 May 1999
- Hartcher, P. & Dodd, T. 'E Timor Sabotage Coming From Top', *Financial Review*, 8 July 1999
- Hawksley, C. 'Sovereignty and Intervention in the Western Pacific', *Referred Paper at the APSA Conference*, University of Otago, Dunedin, New Zealand, 2005
- 'The Intervention you have when you're not having an intervention: Australia, PNG, and the Enhanced Cooperation Program', *Social Alternatives*, Vol. 24, No. 3, third quarter, 2005, pp. 34-39
 - 'The Regional Assistance Mission to Solomon Islands', in *The Globalization of World Politics: Case studies from Australia, New Zealand and the Asia Pacific*, ed. A. Cullen & S. Murray, Oxford University Press, South Melbourne, 2007
- Hayden, B. 'An imposed order would fill body bags', *The Australian*, 9 April 1999
- Held, D. and Grew, A. *Globalization/Anti-Globalization*, Polity, Cambridge 2002.
- Hegarty, D. 'Monitoring Peace in Solomon Islands', Working Paper for *State, Society and Governance in Melanesia Project*, 01/4, 2001
- 'Peace Interventions in the South Pacific: Lessons from Bougainville and Solomon Islands', *State, Society and Governance in Melanesia Project*, Research School of Pacific & Asian Studies, Working Paper presented at the "Oceania at the crossroads" in Honolulu, Hawaii, 15-17 July 2003
- Hegarty, D. & Powles, A. 'South Pacific security', in *Strategy and Security in the Asia-Pacific*, eds. R. Ayson & D. Ball, Allen & Unwin, Crows Nest, 2006
- Henderson, I. 'Downer warns – don't hurt Aussies', *The Australian*, 2 August 1999
- Herman, E. S. & Chomsky, N. *Manufacturing Consent: The political economy of the mass media*, Pantheon Books, New York, 2002
- Hermann, C. F. 'Changing Course: When Governments Choose to Redirect Foreign Policy', *International Studies Quarterly*, Vol. 34, No. 4, 1990, pp. 3-21.
- Hermann, C. F. & Billings, R. S. & Litchfield R. 'Escalation and Modification: Responding to Negative Feedback in Sequential Decision Making', Paper presented at *the Fifth National Conference on Public Management Research*, December 3-4 1999, Texas A&M University

- Hermann, M. G. 'Introduction: A Statement of Issues', in *A Psychological Examination of Political Leaders*, ed. M. G. Hermann with T. W. Milburn, The Free Press, New York, 1977
- Hermann, M. G. 'Explaining Foreign Policy Behavior Using the Personal Characteristics of Political Leaders', *International Studies Quarterly*, Vol.24, No.1, March 1980, pp. 7-46
- Hermann, M. G. & Hermann, C. F. 'Who Makes Foreign Policy Decisions and How: An Empirical Inquiry', *International Studies Quarterly*, Volume 33, No. 4, 1989, pp. 361-87
- Hermann, M. G. & Hagan, J. D. 'International decision making: Leadership matters', *Foreign Policy*, Issue 110, Spring 1998, pp. 124-37
- Hermann, M. G. & Preston, T. & Korany, B. & Shaw, T. M. 'Who Leads Matters: The Effects of Powerful Individuals', *International Studies Review*, Volume 3, Issue 2, 2001, pp. 83-131
- Herrmann, R. K. 'The Power of Perceptions in Foreign Policy Decision Making: Do Views of the Soviet Union Determine the Policy Choices of American Leaders?' *American Journal of Political Science*, Vol.30, No.4, November 1986, pp. 841-75
- Hewett, J. 'Alexander Downer's Radical Conversion', *Financial Review*, 23 August 2003
- Hewett, J. & Nicholson, B. 'US Takes Jakarta To Task', *The Age*, 14 August 1999
- Hewitt, J. 'Downer Strikes Out At Amnesty', *The Age*, 2 October 1997
- Hewson, J. 'Timor Makes Us Look Small', *Financial Review*, 10 September 1999
- 'Our neighbourhood watch', *Financial Review*, 20 September 2002
 - 'Perils of reckless pursuits', *Financial Review*, 4 July 2003
- Hiro, D. *Iraq: A Report from the Inside*, Granta Publications, London, 2003
- Hiscock, G. 'E Timor in shape – Downer', *The Australian*, 17 April 1999
- Holsti, K. J. (ed.) *Why Nations Realign: Foreign Policy Restructuring in the Postwar World*, Allen & Unwin, London, 1982
- 'Introduction', in *Why Nations Realign: Foreign Policy Restructuring in the Postwar World*, ed. K. J. Holsti, Allen & Unwin, London, 1982
 - 'Restructuring Foreign Policy: A Neglected Phenomenon in Foreign Policy Theory', in *Why Nations Realign: Foreign Policy Restructuring in the Postwar World*, ed. K. J. Holsti, Allen & Unwin, London, 1982

- 'Restructuring Foreign Policy: A Comparative Analysis', in *Why Nations Realign: Foreign Policy Restructuring in the Postwar World*, ed. K. J. Holsti, Allen & Unwin, London, 1982
- Horner, D. 'The Security Dimension of Australian Foreign Policy', in *Australia in a Changing World: New Foreign Policy Directions*, ed. F. A. Mediansky, Maxwell Macmillan Publishing Australia, Botany, 1992
- Howard, J. 'Transcript of the Prime Minister The Hon John Howard MP The 1997 Sir Robert Menzies Memorial Lecture 'Australia and Britain; The Contemporary Partnership in a new International Environment'', 23 June 1997
- 'Transcript of address by the Prime Minister The Hon John Howard MP Dinner hosted by the Foreign Policy Association New York', 30 June 1997
 - 'Transcript of the Prime Minister The Hon John Howard MP Interview with Neil Mitchell – Radio 3AW', 30 June 1997
 - 'Transcript of the Prime Minister the Hon John Howard MP, Press conference – Parliament House', 14 May 1998
 - 'Transcript of the Prime Minister the Hon John Howard MP, AM Programme, ABC Radio', 25 May 1998
 - 'Transcript of the Prime Minister the Hon John Howard MP, Radio Interview with Neil Mitchell, Radio 3AW', 29 January 1999
 - 'Transcript of the Prime Minister the Hon John Howard, MP, Television interview with Kerry O'Brien, 7.30-report, ABC TV', 9 February 1999
 - 'Transcript of the Prime Minister the Hon John Howard, MP, Television interview with Paul Lyneham Nightline, Channel Nine', 9 February 1999
 - 'Transcript of the Prime Minister the Hon John Howard MP, Press Conference Parliament House, Canberra', 19 April 1999
 - 'Transcript of the Prime Minister the Hon John Howard MP, Radio Interview with Neil Mitchell – 3AW', 23 April 1999
 - 'Transcript of the Prime Minister the Hon John Howard MP, Doorstop Interview On Departure to Bali, Indonesia', 26 April 1999
 - 'Transcript of the Prime Minister the Hon John Howard MP, Joint Press Conference with His Excellency B J Habibie, President of the republic of Indonesia, Bali Hilton International', 27 April 1999
 - 'Transcript of the Prime Minister the Hon John Howard MP, Doorstop Interview – NHK Tokyo, Japan', 7 July 1999

- 'Address by the Hon John Howard MP, at lunch hosted by Georgetown University, Washington DC.', 13 July 1999
- 'Transcript of the Prime Minister the Hon John Howard MP, Doorstop interview Oxford Falls, Sydney, NSW', 8 August 1999
- 'Transcript of the Prime Minister the Hon John Howard MP, Radio interview with Howard Sattler (6PR)', 25 August 1999
- 'Transcript of the Prime Minister the Hon John Howard MP, Radio interview with Matt Peacock PM Programme, ABC Radio', 3 September 1999
- 'Transcript of the Prime Minister the Hon John Howard MP, Press conference, Treasury Place Melbourne, Victoria', 5 September 1999
- 'Transcript of the Prime Minister the Hon John Howard MP, Interview with Alan Jones – Radio 2UE', 6 September 1999
- 'Transcript of the Prime Minister the Hon John Howard MP, Television interview with Paul Lyneham *Nightline*, Channel Nine', 7 September 1999
- 'Transcript of the Prime Minister the Hon John Howard MP, Television interview with Kerry O'Brien 7.30-report, ABC TV', 7 September 1999
- 'Transcript of the Prime Minister the Hon John Howard MP, Interview with Matt Peacock AM Programme, ABC Radio', 7 September 1999
- 'Transcript of the Prime Minister the Hon John Howard MP, Television interview with Steve Liebmann *The Today Show*', 8 September 1999
- 'Transcript of the Prime Minister the Hon John Howard MP, Joint press conference with Mr John Moore, Defence Minister Parliament House', 8 September 1999
- 'Transcript of the Prime Minister the Hon John Howard MP, Press conference Phillip Street, Sydney', 9 September 1999
- 'Transcript of the Prime Minister The Hon John Howard MP Interview with Alan Jones – Radio 2UE', 9 September 1999
- 'Transcript of the Prime Minister the Hon John Howard MP, Television interview with Paul Bongiorno *Meet The Press*', 12 September 1999
- 'Transcript of the Prime Minister the Hon John Howard MP, Press conference – Hyatt Regency Hotel Auckland, New Zealand', 13 September 1999
- 'Transcript of the Prime Minister The Hon John Howard MP Interview with Jeremy Cordeaux, Radio 5DN', 7 June 2000

- 'Text of the Prime Minister Howard's letter to President Habibie', Letter from John Howard to President Habibie, Canberra, 19 December 1998', in Department of Foreign Affairs and Trade, *East Timor in Transition 1998-2000. An Australian Policy Challenge*, Commonwealth of Australia, Canberra, 2001
- 'Transcript of the Prime Minister the Hon John Howard MP Press Conference, Parliament House, Canberra', 20 June 2002
- 'Transcript of the Prime Minister the Hon John Howard MP Doorstop Interview, Forum Secretariat, Suva', 17 August 2002
- 'Transcript of the Prime Minister the Hon John Howard MP Interview with Tony Jones, Lateline', ABC, 29 November 2002
- 'Transcript of the Prime Minister the Hon John Howard MP Joint Press Conference with President George W. Bush, Crawford, Texas', 3 May 2003
- 'Transcript of the Prime Minister the Hon John Howard MP interview with Kerry O'Brien, the 7.30-report, ABC', 25 June 2003
- 'Transcript of the Prime Minister the Hon John Howard MP Radio Interview with Jon Faine, Radio 3LO', 27 June 2003
- 'Transcript of the Prime Minister the Hon John Howard MP Address to the Sydney Institute, Intercontinental Hotel, Sydney', 1 July 2003
- 'Transcript of the Prime Minister the Hon John Howard MP Interview with Charles Wooley, 60 Minutes', 20 July 2003
- 'Transcript of the Prime Minister the Hon John Howard MP press conference Canberra', 22 July 2003
- 'Transcript of the Hon John Howard MP address at informal farewell reception for troops & police heading to the Solomon Islands, RAAF base, Townsville', 23 July 2003
- 'Transcript of the Prime Minister the Hon John Howard MP interview with Alan Jones, Radio 2GB', 25 July 2003
- 'Transcript of the Prime Minister the Hon John Howard MP Address to Australian Personnel, Honiara, Solomon Islands', 22 December 2003

Hughes, H. 'Aid Has Failed the Pacific', *The Centre for Independent Studies*, Issue Analysis No. 33, 7 May 2003

- 'Game of Pacific cop and dodgers', *The Australian*, 1 July 2003
- 'Helping the Islands to help Themselves', *Quadrant*, July-August 2003, pp. 47-49

- Human Rights Watch , 'Indonesia/East Timor: Deteriorating Human Rights in East Timor', 1 September 1997 <http://www.hrw.org/reports/1997/indtimor/> [Accessed 16 September 2008]
- Hunt, C. 'Failing the Solomons', Letter to *The Australian*, 14 June 2003
- Hunt, G. 'Timor peace plan more palatable after dinner/Dinner put E Timor peace plan on table', *The Australian*, 14 January 1999
- Huxsoll, D.B. *Regimes, Institutions and Foreign Policy Change*, Louisiana State University, Doctoral Dissertation, 2003
- Hyland, T. 'Belo Calls For Australia's Help', *The Age*, 17 February 1999
- 'Our Whispering Leaders', *The Age*, 20 April 1999
- Internal Displacement Monitoring Centre, 'Profile of Internal Displacement: Solomon Islands, compilation of the information available in the Global IDP Database of the Norwegian Refugee Council', as of 16 May 2002, [http://www.internal-displacement.org/8025708F004BE3B1/\(httpInfoFiles\)/479DDDB07862AAD8802570B50049BF0D/\\$file/Solomon_Islands_May02.pdf](http://www.internal-displacement.org/8025708F004BE3B1/(httpInfoFiles)/479DDDB07862AAD8802570B50049BF0D/$file/Solomon_Islands_May02.pdf) [Date accessed 12 October 2007]
- International Commission on Intervention and State Sovereignty, 'The Responsibility to Protect', International Development Research Centre, Ottawa, 2001
- Janis, I. L. *Victims of Groupthink*, Houghton Mifflin, Boston, 1972
- Jardine, M. *East Timor: Genocide in paradise*, Odonian Press, Monroe, 1999
- Jerneck, M. 'Sweden – the Reluctant European?' in *The Nordic Countries and the EC*, eds. T. Tiilikainen & I. D. Pedersen, Copenhagen Political Studies Press, Copenhagen, 1993
- Jervis, R. *Perceptions and Misperceptions in International Politics*, Princeton University Press, Princeton, 1976
- 'The Future of World Politics: Will It Resemble the Past?' *International Security*, Vol. 16, Issue 3, Winter 1991-92, pp. 39-73
 - 'Realism, Neoliberalism, and Cooperation', *International Security*, vol. 24, issue 1, Summer 1999, pp. 42-63
- Jian, S. *Foreign Policy Restructuring as Adaptive Behavior: China's Independent Foreign Policy 1982-1989*, University Press of America, Lanham, 1996
- Johnson, C. 'Howard's 'values' and Australian identity', Paper given at the John Howard's Decade Conference, National Museum of Australia, 3-4 March 2006

- Joint Standing Committee on Foreign Affairs, Defence and Trade, *Australia's Relations with Indonesia*, The Parliament of the Commonwealth of Australia, Australian government publishing service, Canberra, 1993
- Jolliffe, J. 'Tightening The Noose', *Sydney Morning Herald*, 5 February 2001
- Jolliffe, J. & Daley, P. 'Howard Attacked Over Timor', *The Age*, 13 February 1999
- Jones, D. M. & Benvenuti, A. 'Tradition, myth and the dilemma of Australian foreign policy', *Australian Journal of International Affairs*, Vol. 60, No. 1, March 2006, pp. 103-24
- Kaarbo, J. 'Power and Influence in Foreign Policy Decision-Making: The Role of Junior Coalition Partners in German and Israeli Foreign Policy', *International Studies Quarterly*, Vol. 40, No. 4, 1996, pp. 501-30
- Kabutaulaka, T. T. 'A Weak State and the Solomon Islands Peace Process', Working Paper for Pacific Islands Development Series, *East-West Center*, No. 14, April 2002
- "Failed State" and the War on Terror: Intervention in Solomon Islands', Analysis from the *East-West Center*, No. 72, March 2004
 - 'Australian Foreign Policy and the RAMSI Intervention in Solomon Islands', *The Contemporary Pacific*, Vol. 17, Issue 2, 2005, pp. 283-308
- Kampmark, B. 'Dreaming of an Asian EU', *The Diplomat*, Web feature, August 2008, <http://www.the-diplomat.com/article.aspx?aeid=8445> [Accessed 8 November 2008]
- Karlsson, M. *Partistategi och utrikespolitik: Interna motiveringar och dagspressens agerande I Catalina-affaren 1952 och EEC-fragan 1961/62*, University of Stockholm, Department of Political Science, Stockholm, Doctoral dissertation, 1995
- Keating, P. 'Strategic links offer a pivotal role in rebuilding our region', *The Australian*, 26 March 1999
- *Engagement: Australia faces the Asia-Pacific*, Macmillan, Sydney, 2000
- Kelly, P. *November 1975: The inside story of Australia's greatest political crisis*, Allen & Unwin, St. Leonards, 1995
- 'Neighbourhood saviour', *The Australian*, 14 June 2003
 - 'Alliance politics to deliver the goods', *The Australian*, 22 October 2003

- 'Re-thinking Australian Governance – The Howard Legacy', Cunningham Lecture 2005, Occasional Paper Series 4/2005, Academy of the Social Sciences in Australia, Canberra, 2005
 - *Howard's decade: An Australian foreign policy reappraisal*, Lowy Institute Paper 15, 2006
 - 'How Howard Governs', in *The Howard Factor: A Decade that Changed the Nation*, ed. N. Cater, Melbourne University Press, Carlton, 2006
- Kelton, M. & Leaver, R. 'Issues in Australian Foreign Policy', in *The Australian Journal of Politics and History*, V45, i4, Dec 1999, pp. 526-43
- Kemakeza, A. 'Solomon Islands – Statement by the Honourable Sir Allan Kemakeza Prime Minister of Solomon Islands, Fifty-Seventh Session of the United Nations General Assembly', *United Nations*, 17 September 2002, <http://www.un.org/webcast/ga/57/statements/020917solomonE.htm> [Date Accessed 30 January 2009]
- Keohane, R. & Martin, L. L. 'The Promise of Institutionalist Theory', *International Security*, Vol. 20, No. 1, Summer 1995, pp. 39-51
- Keohane, R. O. & Nye, J. S. *Power and Interdependence*, Longman, New York, Third edition, 2001
- Kerin, J. 'High security risk 'until at least 2006' – War on terror', *The Australian*, 29 November 2002
- Kevin, T. 'Australian foreign policy at the crossroads', *Australian Journal of International Affairs*, Vol. 56, No. 1, 2002, pp. 31-37
- 'Foreign Policy', in *The Howard Years*, ed. R. Manne, Black Inc. Agenda, Melbourne, 2004
- Kimball, J. 'The Nixon Doctrine: A Saga of Misunderstanding', *Presidential Studies Quarterly*, Vol. 36, No. 1, 2006, pp. 59-74
- Kingdon, J. W. *Agendas, Alternatives, and Public Policies*, HarperCollins College Publishers, New York, 1995
- Kingsbury, D. *The Politics of Indonesia*, Oxford University Press, South Melbourne, Third edition, 2005
- 'Neighbours have differences from time to time', in *Good Neighbour, Bad Neighbour: Australia's relations with Indonesia*, Papers from the Uniya Seminar Series 2006, Uniya Jesuit Social Justice Centre, Kings Cross, 2006
- Kingsbury, D. & Scott Burchill, 'Stop Appeasing The Jakarta Lobby', *Opinion, Financial Review*, 15 September 1999

- Kleistra, Y. & Mayer, I. 'Stability and Flux in Foreign Affairs: Modelling Policy and Organisational Change', *Cooperation and Conflict*, Vol. 36, Issue 4, 2001, pp. 381-414
- Kolodziej, E. A. *Security and International Relations*, Cambridge University Press, Cambridge, 2005
- KPP HAM, 'Full report of the Investigative Commission into Human Rights Violations in East Timor', in *Masters of Terror: Indonesia's Military and Violence in East Timor*, eds. R. Tanter & G. van Klinken & D. Ball, Rowman & Littlefield, Lanham, 2006
- Krasner, S. D. & Pascual, C. 'Addressing State Failure', *Foreign Affairs*, Vol. 84, Issue 4, July-August 2005, pp. 153-63
- Lambach, D. 'The Threat of Failed States. Australia and the global security discourse', Paper presented at the German Pacific Network's *Australia's New Foreign Policy in the Pacific Area*-conference, University of Hamburg, 26-27 November 2004 <http://www2.pazifik-netzwerk.de/uploads/Dossier70.pdf> [Accessed 20 August 2007]
- 'Security, Development and the Australian Security Discourse about Failed States', *Australian Journal of Political Science*, Vol. 41, No. 3, September 2006, pp. 407-18
- Langford, S. 'Disarm the Timor militias', Letter in *The Australian*, 29 March 1999
- Larmour, P. 'Corruption and Governance in the South Pacific', Discussion Paper 97/5, *State, Society and Governance in Melanesia*, Research School of Pacific and Asian Studies, The Australian National University, Canberra, 1997
- Leaver, R. 'The meanings, origins and implications of 'the Howard Doctrine'', *Pacifica review*, Vol. 14, No. 1, 2001, pp. 15-34
- Leaver, R. & Kelton, M. 'Issues in Australian Foreign Policy July to December 1998', *The Australian Journal of Politics and History*, v45, i2, June 1999, pp. 239-53
- Lee, D. *Australia and the World in the Twentieth Century*, Circa, Beaconsfield, 2006
- Leite, P. P. 'East Timor and Western Sahara: A Comparative Perspective', in *The East Timor Question: The Struggle for Independence from Indonesia*, eds. P. Hainsworth & S. McCloskey, I. B. Tauris, London, 2000
- Lewis, S. & Shanahan, D. 'PM rejects sheriff and puppet tags – APEC', *The Australian*, 18 October 2003
- Liloqula, R. & Pollard, A. A. 'Understanding Conflict in Solomon Islands: A practical means to peacemaking', Discussion Paper 00/7, *State, Society and*

- Governance in Melanesia*, Research School of Pacific and Asian Studies, the Australian National University, Canberra, 2000
- Loden, H. “*For sakerhets skull*”: *Ideologi och sakerhet i svensk aktiv utrikespolitik 1950-1975*, Santerus, Stockholm, 2001
- MacCallum, M. ‘Howard’s politics’, in ed. R. Manne, *The Howard Years*, Black Inc. Agenda, Melbourne, 2004
- Macdonald, J. ‘Timor Outrage And Sadness Floods Politicians’ Offices’, *The Age*, 8 September 1999
- MacKenzie, I. ‘Interview – Jakarta weighs special status for Timor’, *Reuters News*, 9 June 1998
- Mackie, J. ‘Reflections on the Bilateral Relationship – and Beyond’, in *Different Societies, Shared Futures: Australia, Indonesia and the Region*, ed. J. Monfries, ISEAS Publications, Singapore, 2006
- ‘Australia & Indonesia: Current problems, future prospects’, *Lowy Institute Paper 19*, Longueville, Double Bay, 2007
- Malek, A. & Wiegand, K. E. ‘News Media and Foreign Policy: an integrated review’, in *News Media and Foreign Relations: a multifaceted perspective*, ed. A. Malek, Ablex Publishing Corporation, Norwood N.J. Second edition, 1998
- Maley, W. ‘The UN and East Timor’, *Pacifica Review*, Volume 12, Issue 1, February 2000, pp. 63-76
- ‘Australia and the East Timor Crisis: Some Critical Comments’, *Australian Journal of International Affairs*, Vol. 54, No. 2, 2000, pp. 151-61
- Mangan, J. with Finlay, S. ‘Backpage’, *The Age*, 9 September 1999
- Martin, I. *Self-Determination in East Timor: The United Nations, the Ballot, and International Intervention*, Lynne Rienner Publishers, Boulder, 2001
- Mccrossin, J. ‘Putting A Leash On Talkback’s Dogs Of War’, *Financial Review*, 10 September 1999
- McDonald, H. & Tanter, R. ‘Introduction’, in *Masters of Terror: Indonesia’s Military and Violence in East Timor*, eds. R. Tanter & G. van Klinken & D. Ball, Rowman & Littlefield, Lanham, 2006
- McDougall, D. *Australian Foreign Relations: Contemporary perspectives*, Longman, South Melbourne, 1998
- McGregor, R. ‘UN waits for full Timor story’, *The Australian*, 29 January 1999

- McPhail, A. M. *John Howard's Leadership of Australian Foreign Policy 1996 to 2004: East Timor and the war against Iraq: The national leader at the nexus of domestic and foreign affairs*, Doctoral thesis, Department of Politics and Public Policy, Griffith University, 2007
- Mearsheimer, J. J. 'Back to the Future: Instability in Europe after the Cold War', *International Security*, Vol. 15, No. 1, Summer 1990, pp. 5-56
- 'The false promise of international institutions', *International Security*, vol. 19, Issue 3, Winter 1994-95, pp. 5-49
 - 'The False Promise of International Institutions', in *The Perils of Anarchy: Contemporary Realism and International Security*, eds. M. E. Brown & S. M. Lynn-Jones & S. E. Miller, The MIT Press, Cambridge, Massachusetts, 1995
 - 'A Realist Reply', *International Security*, Vol. 20, No. 1, Summer 1995, pp. 82-93
 - *The Tragedy of Great Power Politics*, W. W. Norton & Company, New York, 2001
- Mitchell, A. 'PNG needs monitoring', *Financial Review*, 26 March 2003
- Monk, P. 'Judgement and the Solomons', *The Diplomat*, Vol. 2, Issue 3, August – September 2003
- Moore, C. *Happy Isles in Crisis: The historical causes for a failing state in Solomon Islands, 1998-2004*, Asia Pacific Press, Canberra, 2004
- Moore, J. 'Defence Relationship with Indonesia Unchanged', Media Release by The Hon. John Moore, MP, Minister for Defence, 29 October 1998
- 'Transcript of the Prime Minister the Hon John Howard MP, Joint press conference with Mr John Moore, Defence Minister Parliament House', 8 September 1999
- Moore, M. 'Peace harder to win than war', *Financial Review*, 2 July 2003
- Murdoch, L. 'Times Past, And Future', *The Age*, 1 March 1997
- 'Australia In Secret E Timor Peace Role', *The Age*, 18 July 1998
 - 'ASEAN Rejects Pressure For More Activist Policy', *The Age*, 24 July 1998
 - 'Jailed Timor Leader May Be New Governor', *The Age*, 17 December 1998
 - 'Suharto The Main Barrier To Timor Peace: Laureate', *The Age*, 6 February 1999
 - 'Timor Rejects Autonomy', *The Age*, 8 March 1999

- 'Timor Massacre Imperils Peace', *The Age*, 8 April 1999
- 'UN Gears Up For East Timor Vote', *The Age*, 16 April 1999
- 'PM Agrees To Send Police To East Timor', *The Age*, 28 April 1999
- 'Another Night Of Terror, Another Fallen Son', *The Age*, 12 May 1999
- 'Habibie Pledges Gusmao Release', *The Age*, 24 May 1999
- 'Militia Aid Reports Dismissed', *The Age*, 25 May 1999
- 'Ties Strained, Indons Warn', *The Age*, 22 July 1999
- 'Downer Warns Of East Timor Poll Dangers', *The Age*, 31 July 1999
- 'Guerrillas Emerge From The Mist...To Make Their Mark', *The Age*, 5 August 1999
- 'Police 'stood By' During Attack', *The Age*, 7 August 1999
- 'Strife Rises As Timor Vote Nears', *The Age*, 21 August 1999
- 'Timor War Threat', *The Age*, 23 August 1999
- 'Bishop Lashes Jakarta Rule', *The Age*, 25 August 1999
- 'UN Accused Of Inaction On Violence', *The Age*, 25 August 1999
- 'Jakarta Officials Set To Reject Poll', *The Age*, 26 August 1999
- 'Militias Spread Terror In Streets Of Dili', *The Age*, 27 August 1999
- 'Militiamen Run Amok In Village', *The Age*, 28 August 1999
- 'Timor On The Brink', *The Age*, 28 August 1999
- 'Militias On The Prowl Day After Timor Vote', *The Age*, 1 September 1999
- 'Dili Residents Attacked By Militia', *The Age*, 2 September 1999
- 'UN Forced To Flee Terror', *The Age*, 7 September 1999
- 'Trapped Inside A Circle Of Madmen', *The Age*, 7 September 1999
- 'Inside Dili, A Capital Under Siege', *The Age*, 9 September 1999
- 'Tears Of Decision For Life Or Death' *The Age*, 10 September 1999

- 'The Flight From Fear', *The Age*, 11 September 1999
- Murdoch, L. & Williams, L. 'Timor Militia Withdraws Threat To Kill', *The Age*, 6 March 1999
- Murphy, D & Humphries, D. 'The key figures that have the ear of the PM', *The Sydney Morning Herald*, 23 February 2006
- Murray, K. 'John Howard's policies: formed over a lifetime, so why were we surprised?' Paper given at The Howard Decade Conference, Canberra, 3-4 March 2006
- Mydans, S. 'Indonesian Leader Softens Stand on the Status of East Timor', *The New York Times*, 11 June 1998
- Naitoro, J. H. 'Solomon Islands conflict – demands for historical rectification and restorative justice', Paper presented at the Pacific Updates on Solomon Islands, Fiji and Vanuatu in June 2000, *Asia Pacific School of Economics and Management*, Update Papers, Australian National University, June 2000
- Nevins, J. *A Not-so Distant Horror: Mass violence in East Timor*, Cornell University Press, Ithaca, 2005
- Newspoll, 'Polls for Federal Voting Intentions January/February 1999' http://www.newspoll.com.au/cgi-bin/polling/display_poll_data.pl [Accessed 10 August 2008]
- 'Polls for Federal Voting Intentions June-September 1999' http://www.newspoll.com.au/cgi-bin/polling/display_poll_data.pl [Accessed 10 August 2008]
- 'East Timor', opinion poll conducted 10-12 September 1999, http://www.newspoll.com.au/image_uploads/cgi-lib.25638.1.0902timor.pdf [Accessed 7 August 2008]
- 'Solomon Islands', opinion poll conducted 1-3 August 2003, published on 5 August 2003, http://www.newspoll.com.au/image_uploads/cgi-lib.12617.1.0801_Solomon_Islands.pdf [accessed 24 July 2007]
- 'Federal voting intention May-September 2003', http://www.newspoll.com.au/cgi-bin/polling/display_poll_data.pl [accessed 24 July 2007]
- Nicholson, B. 'No Need For Troops, Say Timorese', *The Age*, 9 March 1999
- 'Land Divided Emerges As A Kosovo On Our Doorstep, Says Hawke', *The Age*, 21 April 1999

- Niklasson, T. *Regime Stability and Foreign Policy Change: Interaction between Domestic and Foreign Policy in Hungary 1956-1994*, Lund University Press, Lund, Doctoral Dissertation, 2006
- Niner, S. 'A Long Journey of Resistance: The Origins and Struggle of CNRT', in *Bitter Flowers, Sweet Flowers: East Timor, Indonesia, and the World Community*, eds. R. Tanter, M. Selden, and S. R. Shalom, Pluto Press Australia Pty Ltd, Sydney, 2001
- O'Brien, N. 'Unions plan to take on Jakarta', *The Australian*, 27 April 1999
- O'Brien-Malone, M. '10 events that shaped the week', *The Age*, 26 June 1999
- O'Callaghan, M-L. 'Downer appoints Solomons Mr Fix-it', *The Australian*, 9 January 2002
- 'Solomons on alert after police death', *The Australian*, 4 February 2002
 - 'Solomons observers out', *The Australian*, 16 February 2002
 - 'Murders hamper recovery strategy', *The Australian*, 25 February 2002
 - 'Dollar crisis shocks MPs in Solomons', *The Australian*, 27 March 2002
 - 'Solomons 'facing collapse'', *The Australian*, 1 April 2002
 - 'Solomons gun amnesty brings out the dread', *The Australian*, 1 May 2002
 - 'Pacific anti-terror plan born', *The Australian*, 17 August 2002
 - 'Churchman decapitated', *The Australian*, 6 September 2002
 - 'Rebels advertise refusal to disarm', *The Australian*, 4 October 2002
 - 'Canberra to shake up police coup unit', *The Australian*, 11 October 2002
 - 'Solomons still beset by guns, graft and violence', *The Australian*, 14 October 2002
 - 'Seven die in fighting on Solomons', *The Australian*, 16 October 2002
 - 'Solomons rebel drives thousands from homes', *The Australian*, 1 November 2002
 - 'Solomons adviser hit as shootings leave two dead', *The Australian*, 25 November 2002
 - 'Ex-Solomons police chief shot dead', *The Australian*, 12 February 2003
 - 'Claims of Solomons rebel on kill spree', *The Australian*, 26 April 2003

- 'Dark times as Solomons PM neglects power bill', *The Australian*, 10 May 2003
 - 'Briefs: Missionaries hostage', *The Australian*, 17 May 2003
 - 'Australian missionary beheaded in Solomons', *The Australian*, 19 May 2003
 - 'Bank boss warns ailing Solomons', *The Australian*, 3 June 2003
 - 'PM offers Solomons force', *The Australian*, 6 June 2003
 - 'Pacific policemen', *The Australian*, 14 June 2003
 - 'Canberra's U-turn on helping a neighbour', *The Australian*, 21 June 2003
 - 'Rebel declares ceasefire', *The Australian*, 7 July 2003
 - 'Solomons rebels told not to resist', *The Australian*, 23 July 2003
 - 'We have drop on locals', *The Australian*, 2 August 2003
 - 'Solomons rebel chief surrenders', *The Australian*, 14 August 2003
 - 'Armed rebels' final warning', *The Australian*, 16 August 2003
 - 'Island militants condemn Australia', *The Australian*, 16 August 2003
 - 'Snub for Downer PNG trip', *The Australian*, 3 September 2003
- O'Callaghan, M-L & Garran, R. 'Howard refused PM's plea for police – Pacific in crisis – Solomons' copycat coup', *The Australian*, 6 June 2000
- O'Connor, M. 'Our Forces Must Keep The Peace In East Timor', *The Australian*, 11 March 1999
- 'We should supervise East Timor's transition', *The Australian*, 8 April 1999
 - 'Infant State will require sustenance', *The Australian*, 8 July 1999
 - 'Forget that neo-colonial antipathy', *The Australian*, 30 June 2003
 - 'Australia and the Arc of Instability', *Quadrant*, November 2006, pp. 8-15
- O'Keefe, M. 'Australian Intervention in its Neighbourhood: Sheriff and Humanitarian?' in *Righteous Violence: The Ethics and Politics of Military Intervention*, Melbourne University Press, Carlton, 2005
- Oldfield, D. D. *The Restructuring of Thailand's Foreign Policy Towards Laos, 1988-1991*, Northern Illinois University, Doctoral Dissertation, 1998

- Online NewsHour, 'The Blair Doctrine', http://www.pbs.org/newshour/bb/international/jan-june99/blair_doctrine4-23.html [Date Accessed 2 January 2009]
- Osborne, M. 'The Paramount Power: China and countries of Southeast Asia', Lowy Institute paper 11, 2006
- Oxfam, 'Australian Intervention in the Solomons: Beyond Operation Helpem Fren, An Agenda for Development in the Solomon Islands', Community Abroad Aid, August 2003
- Pacific Islands Forum Secretariat, 'Biketawa' Declaration', 2000, <http://forumsec.org/resources/article/files/Biketawa%20Declaration.pdf> [Date accessed 1 July 2007]
- Palmer, D. 'Between a Rock and a Hard Place: the Case of Papuan Asylum-Seekers', in *Australian Journal of Politics and History*, Volume 52, Number 4, 2006, pp.
- Parkinson, T. 'Badlands of the Pacific', *The Age*, 28 June 2003
- 'Neighbours offer to help Solomons', *The Age*, 1 July 2003
- Parrin, A. 'All change, except on the streets of Dili', *The Australian*, 23 May 1998
- Patrick, A. 'Supplement – The Pacific gets a funding lift', *Financial Review*, 15 May 2002
- Pearson, B. 'Leaders Back New Round Of Negotiations', *Financial Review*, 14 September 1999
- Pearson, C. 'Hail the serious nation', *The Australian*, 19 July 2003
- Pedersen, T. 'Denmark and the European Union', in ed. L. Miles, L. *The European Union and the Nordic Countries*, Routledge, London, 1996
- Pinto, C. 'The Student Movement and the Independence Struggle in East Timor', in *Bitter Flowers, Sweet Flowers: East Timor, Indonesia, and the World Community*, eds. R. Tanter, M. Selden, and S. R. Shalom, Pluto Press Australia Pty Ltd, Sydney, 2001
- Plunkett, M. 'Stress-Testing Solomon Islands Peace Operation Scenarios', *Key Centre for Ethics, Law, Justice and Governance*, Griffith University, 31 July 2003
- Powell, R. 'Absolute and Relative Gains in International Relations Theory', in *Neorealism and Neoliberalism: The Contemporary Debate*, ed. D. Baldwin, Columbia University Press, New York, 1993
- Powell, S. 'Jakarta plans retreat from E Timor', *The Australian*, 20 July 1999

- '9000 East Timor refugees 'disappear'', *The Australian*, 22 July 1999
 - 'Timor brass shuffle tipped as peace hope', *The Australian*, 14 August 1999
 - 'Thugs left to murder and maim in peace', *The Australian*, 7 September 1999
- Putnam, R.D. 'Diplomacy and Domestic Politics: The Logic of Two-Level Games', *International Organization*, Vol.42, No.3, Summer 1988, pp.427-60
- Ramos-Horta, J. 'Downer's Timor policy commendable', Letter to *The Australian*, 19 January 1999
- 'No-one Need Fear E Timor', *Financial Review*, 30 January 1999
- RAND Corporation, *Australian Foreign and Defense Policy in the Wake of the 1999/2000 East Timor Intervention*, www.rand.org/publications/MR/MR1409/2001 , 2001, [Date accessed 27 July 2005]
- Renouf, A. *The Frightened Country*, Macmillan, Melbourne, 1979
- Reynolds, D. 'Empire, Region, World: the International Context of Australian Foreign Policy since 1939', *Australian Journal of Politics and History*, Volume 51, Number 3, 2005, pp. 346-58
- Rhynold, J. 'Cultural Shift and Foreign Policy Change', *Cooperation and Conflict*, Vol. 42, Issue 4, 2007, pp. 419-40
- Ricklefs, M. C. 'Australia and Indonesia', in *The Howard Years*, ed. R. Manne, Black Inc. Agenda, Melbourne, 2004
- Riley, M. 'Progress In UN Timor Talks, But No Accord', *The Age*, 24 April 1999
- 'US Tells Jakarta To Curb Violence', *The Age*, 1 May 1999
 - 'Don't Squander This Chance: Annan', *The Age*, 7 May 1999
 - 'UN Push For Military Advisers', *The Age*, 26 May 1999
 - 'Security Council Warns On East Timor Violence', *The Age*, 28 May 1999
 - 'New Doubt Over Date For Ballot', *The Age*, 12 July 1999
 - 'Jakarta Faces UN's Wrath', *The Age*, 3 September 1999
 - 'UN Gives Jakarta Toughest Warning', *The Age*, 8 September 1999
 - 'UN Likely To Approve Emergency Mission', *The Age*, 9 September 1999

- 'A Plea To Stay On From The UN's Top Man', *The Age*, 10 September 1999
 - 'Security Council Fails To Act, Again', *The Age*, 11 September 1999
 - 'Folly Of United Nations That Are Not United', *The Age*, 11 September 1999
- Risse-Kappen, T. 'Public Opinion, Domestic Structure, and Foreign Policy in Liberal Democracies', *World Politics*, Vol. 43, No. 4, July 1991, pp. 479-512
- Ritter, L. 'Creation of a Frightened Nation', Paper given at the John Howard's Decade conference, 3-4 March 2006
- Robinson, P. 'Unions Plan Action On Timor Violence', *The Age*, 3 May 1999
- Rosati, J.A. & Hagan, J.D & Sampson, M.W. (eds) *Foreign Policy Restructuring: How Governments Respond to Global Change*, University of South Carolina Press, Columbia, 1994
- Rosati, J.A. 'Cycles in Foreign Policy Restructuring: The Politics of Continuity and Change in U.S. Foreign Policy', in *Foreign Policy Restructuring: How Governments Respond to Global Change* eds. J. A. Rosati, & J. D. Hagan, & M. W. III. Sampson, University of South Carolina, Columbia, 1994
- Rose, R. 'Labor Attacks Police Ruling', *The West Australian*, 6 June 2000
- Rosenau, J. N. 'Pre-Theories and Theories of Foreign Policy', in ed. R. B. Farell, *Approaches to Comparative and International Politics*, Northwestern University Press, Evanston, 1966
- Rotberg, R. I. 'Failed States in a World of Terror', *Foreign Affairs*, Vol. 81, Issue 4, July-August 2002, pp. 127-40
- 'The New Nature of Nation-State Failure', *The Washington Quarterly*, Vol. 25, No. 3, 2002, pp. 85-96
 - 'The Failure and Collapse of Nation-States: Breakdown, Prevention, and Repair', in *When States Fail: Causes and Consequences*, ed. R. I. Rotberg, Princeton University Press, Princeton, N.J, 2003
- Rowbotham, J. 'Treaty sets Indonesian maritime boundaries', *The Australian*, 15 March 1997
- Roy Morgan Research, 'Little Change In Support For Major Parties ALP Remains In Front In Late January 1999', 16 February 1999, <http://www.roymorgan.com/news/polls/1999/3165/> [Accessed 10 August 2008]
- 'Coalition In Front On Primary Vote And Would Have Won If Election In August', 31 August 1999, <http://www.roymorgan.com/news/polls/1999/3220/> [Accessed 10 August 2008]

- 'Labor Stretches Two-Party Preferred Lead As Troops Go Into East Timor', 12 October 1999, <http://www.roymorgan.com/news/polls/1999/3240/> [Accessed 10 August 2008]
- 'Defence a Growing Concern For Australians', December 16, 2002, <http://www.roymorgan.com/news/polls/2002/3579/> [accessed 24 July 2007]
- 'ALP Takes Lead in Wake of Governor-General's Resignation, However Electors Want Howard to Stay as PM', 6 June 2003, <http://www.roymorgan.com/news/polls/2003/3637/> [accessed 24 July 2007]
- 'ALP Takes Lead After Hanson Sentenced to Jail and Wilson Tuckey's "Foolishness"', 30 August 2003, <http://www.roymorgan.com/news/polls/2003/3664/> [Accessed 24 July 2003]

Rudd, K. 'Arc of Instability - Arc of Insecurity', *Sydney Papers*, Spring 2002

- 'High time to bite the Solomons bullet', *Financial Review*, 13 June 2003
- 'Smart Power: From Baghdad to Honiara – new directions in Australian foreign policy', *The Diplomat*, Vol. 5, No. 6, February/March 2007, pp. 21-25
- 'Leading, Not Following: The Renewal of Australian Middle Power Diplomacy', *The Sydney Papers*, Volume 19, Issue 1, Summer 2007, pp. i-13
- 'Address to the Asia Society AustralAsia Centre, Sydney: It's time to build an Asia-Pacific Community', 4 June 2008

Ryan, C. 'US-Indonesia Rift Widens Over East Timor Call', *Financial Review*, 12 June 1997

- 'US-Indonesia Tiff', *Financial Review*, 16 June 1997

Sales, L. *Detainee 002: The case of David Hicks*, Melbourne University Press, Carlton, 2007

Salla, M. E. 'Australian foreign policy and East Timor', in *East Timor and Australia: AIIA Contributions to the Policy Debate*, ed. J. Cotton, Australian Defence Studies Centre, Canberra, 1999

Sasako, A. 'The Day and Forces that Changed Solomon Islands', *Islands Business*, July 2003, pp. 38-41

Saunders, M. 'Timor police squad fears 'armed is dangerous'', *The Australian*, 5 May 1999

- 'In the midst of Pacific grim', *The Australian*, 3 October 2002

- Scheiner, C. 'Grassroots in the Field – Observing the East Timor Consultation', in *Bitter Flowers, Sweet Flowers: East Timor, Indonesia, and the World Community*, eds. R. Tanter, M. Selden, and S. R. Shalom, Pluto Press Australia Pty Ltd, Sydney, 2001
- Scott, D. Letter in *The Australian*, 18 January 1999
- Schuler, M.A. *Explaining Foreign Policy Change: The Case of United States International Population Policy*, University of Missouri, St:Louis, 2001
- Senate Standing Committee on Foreign Affairs and Defence, *The Human Rights and Conditions of the People of East Timor*, Australian Government Publishing Service, Canberra, 1983
- Shapiro, R. Y. and Page, B. I. 'Foreign Policy and Public Opinion', in *The New Politics of American Foreign Policy*, ed. D. A. Deese, St Martin's Press, New York, 1994
- Shapiro, R. Y. & Jacobs, L. W. 'Who Leads and Who Follows? U.S. Presidents, Public Opinion, and Foreign Policy', in *Decisionmaking in a glasshouse: Mass media, public opinion, and American and European foreign policy in the 21st century*, eds. R. Y. Shapiro & P. Isernia & B/ L. Nacos, Rowman & Littlefield Publishers, Lanham, Md. 2000
- Sharp, M. 'Australian policy on the 'Ethnic Tension' in Solomon Islands 1999-2001', Background paper for the Solomon Islands Workshop: Building Peace and Stability, 24-26 October 2001, *State, Society and Governance in Melanesia Project*, Research School of Pacific and Asian Studies, Australian National University, Canberra, 2001
- Sheridan, G. 'Pacific neighbours are friends in need', *The Australian*, 8 August 2002
- 'Big threats faced by tiny army', *The Australian*, 31 May 2003
 - 'Solomons crisis shows we have to get involved', *The Australian*, 7 June 2003
 - 'Actions parallels Bush approach – The Solomon Intervention', *The Australian*, 28 June 2003
 - 'Solomons plan a coup – now let's lead the way', *The Australian*, 1 July 2003
 - 'A dirty, risky job but someone's got to do it', *The Australian*, 20 September 2003
 - 'All the World's a Stage', in *The Howard Factor: A Decade that Changed the Nation*, ed. Nick Cater, Melbourne University Press, Carlton, 2006
- Shuja, S. 'Australian-Indonesian relations: The East Timor factor', *American Asian Review*, Volume 18, Issue 2, Summer 2000, pp. 37-51

- Shuja, S. 'New Directions in Australia's East Timor Policy', *National Observer*, No. 45, Winter 2000, pp. 44-52
- Skehan, C. 'Security Is Improving: UN Tells Fearful Timorese', *The Age*, 26 June 1999
- 'Delegation Alleges Military Sex Abuse', *The Age*, 30 June 1999
 - 'UN Push For More Timor Security', *The Age*, 2 July 1999
 - 'Mind Your Own Business, Says Jakarta', *The Age*, 28 August 1999
- Skehan, C. & Daley, P. 'Growing Push To Send Peace Troops To Timor', *The Age*, 3 September 1999
- Skehan, C. & Greene, G. 'Fury At Militia Violence', *The Age*, 6 July 1999
- Skehan, C. & Hudson, P. 'Hostages Go Free As Force Closes In', *The Age*, 24 July 2003
- Skehan, C. & Nicholson, B. 'Federal Police In Timor Ambush', *The Age*, 30 June 1999
- Skidmore, D. 'Explaining State Responses to International Change: The Structural Sources of Foreign Policy Rigidity and Change', in *Foreign Policy Restructuring: How Governments Respond to Global Change*, University of South Carolina, Columbia, 1994
- Smith, G. 'Perspectives on Australian Foreign Policy 1998', *Australian Journal of International Affairs*, Vol. 53, No. 2, 1999, pp. 193-207
- Smith, G. & Cox, D. & Burchill, S. *Australia in the World: An Introduction to Australian Foreign Policy*, Oxford University Press, Melbourne, 1996
- Smith, G. & Lowe, D. 'Howard, Downer and the Liberals' Realist Tradition', *Australian Journal of Politics and History*, Volume 51, Number 3, 2005, pp. 459-72
- Smith, H. 'Internal Politics and Foreign Policy', in *Australia in a Changing World: New Foreign Policy Directions*, ed. F. A. Mediansky, Maxwell Macmillan Publishing Australia, Botany, 1992
- Snow, D. 'Laurie's Last Stand', *Sydney Morning Herald*, 17 July 1999
- Snyder, R. C. & H. W. Bruck, & Burton Sapin, 'Decision-Making as an Approach to the Study of International Politics', in *Foreign Policy Decision-Making: An Approach to the Study of International Politics*, eds. R. C. Snyder & H. W. Bruck & B. Sapin, The Free Press of Glencoe, New York, 1962

- Socialist Alliance, *No troops to Solomon Islands!*, June/July 2003, <http://www.socialist-alliance.org/page.php?page=32> [Accessed 25 February 2009]
- Spanier, J. *American Foreign Policy Since World War II*, Holt, Reinhart, and Winston, New York, third edition, 1985
- Sprout, H. & Sprout, M. 'Environmental Factors in the Study of International Politics', in *International Politics and Foreign Policy*, ed. J. N. Rosenau, The Free Press of Glencoe, Inc., New York, 1961
- Steketee, M. '10,000 offer refuge to E Timorese', *The Australian*, 24 September 1997
- 'The Carrot and the Stick', in (Ed.) N. Cater, *The Howard Factor: A Decade that Changed the Nation*, Melbourne University Press, Carlton, 2006
- Stewart, C. 'Downer takes aim at 'ignorant' Amnesty', *The Australian*, 2 October 1997
- 'Tough task confronts Timor talks, says UN', *The Australian*, 8 February 1999
 - 'Future role' for Australia in Timor', *The Australian*, 10 February 1999
 - 'UN warns Indonesia over role in Timor', *The Australian*, 26 April 1999
- Stewart, C. & Don Greenlees, 'Jakarta accepts E Timor ballot', *The Australian*, 9 February 1999
- Stewart, I. 'Downer hails Timor troop withdrawal', *The Australian*, 28 July 1998
- Story, T. & Hobbs, J. & Haigh, B. 'Strategies for securing peace in E Timor', *The Australian*, 23 April 1999
- Stott Despoja, N. 'Democrats wish Australian force well, but some questions remain', *Australian Democrats Press Releases*, 22 July 2003, http://www.democrats.org.au/news/index.htm?press_id=2840 [Accessed 25 February 2009]
- Sundelius, B. 'Changing Course: When Neutral Sweden Chose to Join the European Community', in eds. W. Carlsnaes, & S. Smith, *European Foreign Policy: The EC and Changing Perspectives in Europe*, Sage Publications, London, 1994
- Taylor, J. G. *Indonesia's Forgotten War: The hidden story of East Timor*, Pluto Press Australia, Leichhardt, 1991
- Taylor, L. 'Weakened US-Asian Links Would Be 'Historic Error'', *Financial Review*, 2 July 1997
- Terada, T. 'The Genesis of APEC: Australia-Japan Political Initiatives', *Pacific Economic Papers*, No. 298, December 1999

- Tingle, L. 'PM Quizzed On Rights', *The Age*, 28 June 1997
- Tiffen, R. *Diplomatic Deceits: Government, Media and East Timor*, University of New South Wales Press Ltd, Sydney, 2001
- Todd, N. 'Solomons murder tragic for region, says Rudd', *Australian Associated Press*, 20 May 2003
- Toohey, B. 'Velcro Diplomacy May Stick', *Financial Review*, 10 April 1999
- 'Govt Fails To Keep Peace With US', *Financial Review*, 31 July 1999
 - 'The Trouble With Too Much Trust', *Financial Review*, 28 August 1999
- Torchia, C. 'Indonesia To Raise Utility Costs', *AP Online*, 4 May 1998
- Trood, R. 'Bureaucratic politics and foreign policy', in *Australian Foreign Policy: Into the new millennium*, ed. F. A. Mediansky, Macmillan Education Australia Pty Ltd. Melbourne, 1997
- Tuhanuku, J. 'Solomon Islands – on the cross-road and in need of the wisdom of King Solomon', Paper presented at the Pacific Updates on Solomon Islands, Fiji and Vanuatu in June 2000, *Asia Pacific School of Economics and Management, Update Papers*, Australian National University, June 2000
- Turner, A. 'Protester Who Lives In Fear', *The Age*, 16 May 1998 and 'Briefs', *The Age*, 9 May 1998
- Ungerer, C. 'The "Middle Power" Concept in Australian Foreign Policy', *Australian Journal of Politics and History*, Volume 53, Number 4, 2007, pp. 538-51
- United Nations, 'Charter of the United Nations, Chapter VIII: Regional Arrangements', <http://www.un.org/aboutun/charter/chapter8.shtml> [Accessed 21 March 2009]
- 'United Nations Peacekeeping from 1991 to 2000: Statistical Data and Charts', <http://www.un.org/Depts/dpko/dpko/pub/pko.htm> [Accessed 2 March 2009]
 - 'Secretary-General commends regional response to Solomon Islands crisis', Press Release, SG/SM/8811, 5 August 2003, <http://www.un.org/News/Press/docs/2003/sgsm8811.doc.htm> [Accessed 14 August 2007]
 - 'Press Statement on Solomon Islands by Security Council President', Press Release, SC/7853, 26 August 2003, <http://www.un.org/News/Press/docs/2003/sc7853.doc.htm> [Accessed 14 August 2007]

- 'Timor-Leste' <http://www.un.org/Depts/Cartographic/map/profile/timor.pdf>
[Accessed 9 March 2009]

United Nations General Assembly, 'Resolution 3485 of 12 December 1975', *Question of Timor*

United Nations General Assembly, 'Resolution 31/53 of 1 December 1976', *Question of Timor*

United Nations General Assembly, 'Resolution 32/34 of 28 November 1977', *Question of Timor*

United Nations General Assembly, 'Resolution 33/39 of 13 December 1978', *Question of Timor*

United Nations General Assembly, 'Resolution 34/40 of 21 November 1979', *Question of Timor*

United Nations General Assembly, 'Resolution 35/27 of 11 November 1980', *Question of Timor*

United Nations General Assembly, 'Resolution 36/50 of 24 November 1981', *Question of Timor*

United Nations General Assembly, 'Resolution 37/30 of 23 November 1982', *Question of Timor*

United Nations Security Council, 'Resolution 384 of 22 December 1975'

- 'Resolution 389 of 22 April 1976'
- 'Resolution 1246 of 11 June 1999'
- 'Resolution 1257 of 3 August 1999'
- 'Resolution 1262 of 27 August 1999'
- 'resolution 1264 of 15 September 1999'

United States Department of State, 'Country Reports on Human Rights Practices – 2002', *Released by the Bureau of Democracy, Human Rights, and Labor*, March 31, 2003 www.state.gov/g/drl/rls/hrrpt/2002/18264.htm [Accessed 3 March 2007]

Uren, T. 'PM should show moral leadership', *The Australian*, 23 April 1999

Vayrynen, R. 'Adaption of a Small Power to International Tensions: The Case of Finland', in ed. B. Sundelius, *The Neutral Democracies and the New Cold War*, Westview Press, Boulder, 1987

- Vieira, M. 'Justice for the Victims: An inquiry into the Special Panels for Serious Crimes in East Timor', unpublished Honours Thesis, University of Wollongong, 2004
- Viviani, N. 'Australians and the East Timor issue – the policy of the Whitlam government', in *East Timor and Australia: AIIA Contributions to the Policy Debate*, ed. J. Cotton, Australian Defence Studies Centre, Canberra, 1999
- Viviani, N. 'Australians and the East Timor issue – the policy of the Fraser government', in *East Timor and Australia: AIIA Contributions to the Policy Debate*, ed. J. Cotton, Australian Defence Studies Centre, Canberra, 1999
- Volgy, T. J. & Schwarz, J. E. 'Foreign Policy Restructuring and the Myriads Webs of Restraint', in *Foreign Policy Restructuring: How Governments Respond to Global Change*, eds. J. D. Hagan & J. A. Rosati, & M. W. Sampson, University of South Carolina, Columbia, 1994
- Wainwright, E. 'Pacific states are likely havens for terror', *Financial Review*, 23 October 2002
- 'Rescuing Solomons makes sense', *The Australian*, 12 June 2003
 - 'Responding to state failure – the case of Australia and Solomon Islands', *Australian Journal of International Affairs*, Vol. 57, Issue 3, November 2003, pp. 485-98
- Wairiu, M. 'Governance and Livelihood Realities in Solomon Islands', in *Globalisation and Governance in the Pacific Islands*, ed. S. Firth, ANU E Press, Canberra, 2006
- Waldon, S. 'Do Something Now, That's The Message', *The Age*, 7 September 1999
- 'The Last Word', *The Age*, 10 July 2003
- Walt, S. M. *The Origins of Alliances*, Cornell University Press, Ithaca, 1987
- Walter, J. 'John Howard and the 'strong leader' thesis', Paper presented at John Howard's Decade Conference, National Museum of Australia, 3-4 March 2006
- Walters, P. 'Australia and Indonesia', in *Australia and Asia*, eds. M. McGillivray & G. Smith, Oxford University Press, Melbourne, 1997
- 'Jakarta mum on Timor rebuke', *The Australian*, 19 April 1997
 - 'Portugal renews E Timor attack', *The Australian*, 21 June 1997
 - 'Military holds 68 in Timor unrest', *The Australian*, 3 July 1997
 - 'Mandela met jailed East Timor activist', *The Australian*, 23 July 1997

- 'Mandela presses Jakarta to release E Timorese leader', *The Australian*, 1 August 1997
- 'The only course to steer in the South Pacific', *The Australian*, 26 June 2003
- 'At war with terror', in (Ed.) N. Cater, *The Howard Factor: A Decade that Changed the Nation*, Melbourne University Press, Carlton, 2006

Waltz, K. N. *Theory of International Politics*, Addison Wesley, Reading, 1979

Waltz, K. N. 'Realist Thought and Neorealist Theory', in *Controversies in International Relations Theory: Realism and the Neoliberal Challenge*, ed. C. W. Kegley Jr. St:Martin's Press, New York, 1995

Warhurst, J. 'Patterns and Directions in Australian Politics over the Past Fifty Years', *Australian Journal of Politics and History*, Volume 50, Number 2, 2004, pp. 163-77

Warner, N. 'Operation Helpem Fren: Rebuilding the nation of Solomon Islands, Speech to National Security Conference', 23 March 2004

Watkin, H. 'In the peace of Dili's siesta, war clouds gather', *The Australian*, 6 March 1999

Welch, D. A. *Painful Choices: A theory of foreign policy change*, Princeton University Press, New Jersey, 2005

Weller, P. *Cabinet Government in Australia, 1901-2006: Practice, Principles, Performance*, Sydney, UNSW Press, 2007

Wheeler, N. J. *Saving Strangers: Humanitarian Intervention in International Society*, Oxford University Press, New York, 2000

- 'The Humanitarian Responsibilities of Sovereignty: Explaining the Development of a New Norm of Military Intervention for Humanitarian Purposes in International Society', in *Humanitarian Intervention and International Relations*, ed. Jennifer M. Welsh, Oxford University Press, New York, 2004

Wheeler, N. J. & Dunne, T. 'East Timor and the new humanitarian interventionism', *International Affairs*, Vol. 77, Issue 4, 2001, pp. 805-27

White, H. 'The Road to INTERFET: Reflections on Australian Strategic Decisions Concerning East Timor, December 1998-September 1999', *Security Challenges*, Vol. 4, no.1, Autumn 2008, pp. 69-87

White House, *The National Security Strategy of the United States of America*, September 2002

- Whitlam, G. *The Whitlam Government – 1972-1975*, Penguin Books Australia Ltd, Ringwood, 1985
- Williams, L. 'Suharto Alerts Reserves To Civil Unrest', *The Age*, 8 March 1997
- 'Dancing With The Future', *The Age*, 18 June 1998
 - 'Land Of Fear And Hope', *The Age*, 20 June 1998
 - 'Bishop Deplores Rape Of East Timor Women', *The Age*, 17 July 1998
 - 'Timor Leader Scorns Shift', *The Age*, 14 January 1999
 - 'Dili Bishop Accuses The Militias' *The Age*, 5 February 1999
 - 'Indonesia Unveils East Timor Plan', *The Age*, 5 February 1999
- Williams, L. & DeBelle, P. 'Jakarta Hits Timor Shift', *The Age*, 13 January 1999
- Wilson, P. 'US urged to block Indonesia F-16 sale', *The Australian*, 27 February 1997
- Windybank, S. & Manning, M. 'Papua New Guinea On the Brink', Issue Analysis, No. 30, *The Centre for Independent Studies*, 12 March 2003, pp. 1-16
- 'Expect fallout here as our neighbour falls apart', *The Australian*, 12 March 2003
- Woodley, B. 'Walking fine line between haven and hell', *The Australian*, 3 May 1999
- 'Students flee militia terror/Panic swept through the crowd', *The Australian*, 6 May 1999
 - 'Call for force to back people's will', *The Australian*, 6 September 1999
- Woolcott, R. 'Volatile Indonesia Threat To Asian Accord', Opinion, *Financial Review*, 10 December 1998
- 'It's Time To Recall A Treaty', Opinion, *Financial Review*, 19 January 1999
 - "'Asia Fatigue' And Dangerous Isolationism', *Financial Review*, 6 May 1999
- Wright, T. 'Indon Military Ties Loosened', *The Age*, 11 September 1999
- Wright-Neville, D. 'East Asia and the "War on Terror": Why Human Rights Matter', in *Searching for Peace in Asia Pacific*, eds. A. Heijmans, & N. Simmonds & H. van de Veen, Lynne Rienner Publishers, London, 2004
- Yin, R. K. *Case Study Research: Design and Methods*, Sage Publications, Thousand Oaks, second edition, 1994

Zubrzycki, J. 'Timor vote delay a threat to Jakarta', *The Australian*, 18 June 1999