

INDONESIA'S ENGAGEMENT STRATEGY TOWARDS AUSTRALIA:
THE STRENGTHENING OF INTERDEPENDENCE, 1983-1996

BY

TEUKU REZASYAH

Thesis Submitted to the Ghazali Shafie Graduate School of Government,
College of Law, Government and International Studies (UUM Colgis)
in fulfillment of the requirement for the degree of Doctor of Philosophy

KEBENARAN MENGGUNA (PERMISSION TO USE)

Dalam membentangkan tesis ini, bagi memenuhi syarat sepenuhnya untuk ijazah lanjutan Universiti Utara Malaysia, saya bersetuju penyelia saya atau, jika ketiadaan beliau Dekan Ghazali Shafie Graduate School of Government, College of Law, Government and International Studies (UUM Colgis) diberi kebenaran untuk membuat salinan tesis dalam sebarang bentuk, sama ada secara keseluruhan atau sebahagiannya, bagi tujuan kesarjanaan. Adalah dimaklumkan bahawa sebarang penyalinan atau penerbitan atau kegunaan tesis ini sama ada sepenuhnya atau sebahagian daripadanya bagi tujuan keuntungan kewangan, tidak dibenarkan kecuali setelah mendapat kebenaran secara bertulis. Juga dimaklumkan bahawa pengiktifaran harus diberi kepada saya dan Universiti Utara Malaysia dalam sebarang kegunaan sarjana terhadap sebarang petikan daripada tesis saya.

Sebarang permohonan untuk salinan atau mengguna mana-mana bahan dalam tesis ini, sama ada sepenuhnya atau sebahagiannya, hendaklah dialamatkan kepada

Dekan,
Ghazali Shafie Graduate School of Government
College of Law, Government and International Studies
(UUM Colgis)
Universiti Utara Malaysia, 06010 UUM Sintok
Kedah Darul Aman

In presenting this thesis in full fulfillment of the requirements for a postgraduate degree from Universiti Utara Malaysia, I agree that permission for copying of this thesis in any manner, in whole or in part, for scholarly purpose maybe granted by my supervisor or, in his absence, by Ghazali Shafie Graduate School of Government, College of Law, Government and International Studies (UUM Colgis). It is understood that any copying or publication or use of this thesis or parts thereof for financial gain shall not allowed without my written permission. It is also understood that due recognition shall be given to me and to Universiti Utara Malaysia for any scholarly use which may be made of any material from my thesis request for permission to copy or to make other use of materials in this thesis, in whole or in part, should be addressed as above

ABSTRAK

Hubungan dua hala antara Indonesia dengan Australia sebelum 1983 tidak begitu baik disebabkan oleh beberapa faktor. Presiden Indonesia pada waktu itu, Soeharto, beranggapan bahawa hubungan dua hala ini harus diperbaiki demi memelihara kepentingan Negara Indonesia dan negara serantau. Dalam konteks ini, beliau telah melancarkan satu bentuk inisiatif yang dikenali sebagai Strategi Hubungan dengan Australia antara tahun 1983 hingga 1996. Usaha ini bukan sahaja mewujudkan satu era hubungan dengan baik, malah telah mengukuhkan hubungan dua hala di antara kedua-dua buah negara tersebut khususnya sekitar tahun 1992 hingga 1996. Persoalan pokok dalam kajian ini ialah apakah sebab utama Presiden Soeharto melancarkan inisiatif ini, bagaimana inisiatif ini berkembang, serta kejayaan yang dicapai. Objektif kajian ini adalah untuk mengkaji elemen kedinamikan yang mendasari inisiatif Strategi Hubungan dan kejayaannya. Kajian ini menggunakan kaedah penyelidikan kualitatif dan pendekatan sejarah yang bergantung secara keseluruhannya kepada dokumen-dokumen yang dikeluarkan oleh kerajaan Indonesia dan Australia. Data-data juga dikumpulkan melalui sesi temubual secara mendalam dengan pakar-pakar dalam bidang ini. Kajian mendapati dasar Strategi Hubungan ini tidak begitu berjaya pada zaman awal pengenalannya iaitu antara tahun 1983 hingga 1987. Namun, Soeharto masih mengekalkan inisiatif ini dan melancarkannya semula pada tahun 1988. Inisiatif baru ini sangat produktif dan membawa kepada satu era baru dari 1992-1996 apabila hubungan di antara kedua-dua buah negara ini meningkat kepada satu tahap yang baik dalam bidang politik, ekonomi dan ketenteraan. Antara beberapa contoh penting dalam inisiatif ini ialah seperti Perjanjian Timor Gap, Kerjasama Ekonomi Asia Pasific (APEC), dan Perjanjian Keselamatan Bersama. Signifikan kajian ini ialah, menerangkan dengan lebih terperinci hubungan antara Indonesia dan Australia yang telah menjadi begitu rapat pada masa ini dan cara hubungan Dinamika Kerjasama Serantau berkembang.

Kata Kunci: Strategi Hubungan, Hubungan Indonesia-Australia, Insiden Dili, Perjanjian Keselamatan Bersama, Perjanjian Timor Gap, Kerjasama Ekonomi Asia Pasifik (APEC), dan Dinamika Kerjasama Serantau.

ABSTRACT

Relations between Indonesia and Australia before 1983 were not very cordial due to a number of factors. Soeharto, who was the President of Indonesia at that time, however felt that for Indonesia's own national interests and for regional considerations, a healthier climate of relations between the two neighbours was vital and should be developed. President Soeharto therefore initiated a policy of Engagement Strategy with Australia from 1983 to 1996 which eventually ushered in a period of highly strengthened relations between the two countries between 1992-1996. The problem statement of the thesis is what were the considerations that prompted President Soeharto to launch the policy of Engagement Strategy with Australia, what were its underlying elements and why was it highly successful. The main objective of this study therefore is to examine the key elements and the underlying dynamics of the Engagement Strategy initiated by Indonesia's President Soeharto with the Australian government from 1983-1996 and its achievements which led to heightened cooperation between the two countries. This research employs the qualitative method using the historical approach relying strongly on documents issued by the governments of Indonesia and Australia, as well as supported by in-depth interviews with experts on the subject. Findings show that the Engagement Strategy was not so successful in the initial period from 1983 to 1987 but Soeharto persisted in his initiative and launched re-engagement in 1988. This new initiative was very productive and brought in its wake a period of greatly enhanced and strengthened relations between the two countries in the political, economic and military fields. Some of the high points of this increased cooperation were the Timor Gap Treaty of 1991, the APEC Summit of 1994, and the Agreement of Mutual Security of 1995. The period of 1992-1996 can therefore be described as an exceptionally high point in the history of Indonesia-Australia relations. The significance of the study is that it hopes to shed more light on Indonesia's relations with Australia which were rather strained most of the time, but significantly improved during a short period, 1992-1996. It also hopes to reveal some of the Dynamics of Regional Cooperation.

Key Words: Engagement Strategy, Indonesia-Australia Relations, Dili Incident, Agreement of Mutual Security (AMS), Timor Gap Treaty (TGT), Asia Pacific Economic Cooperation (APEC), Dynamics of Regional Cooperation.

ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

I would like to express my heartfelt appreciation to my supervisor, Professor Ranjit Singh, for his constant supervision, constructive comments, guidance and patience throughout the five years period of my doctorate study.

My gratitude is also due to Prof. Dato' Dr. Mohamed Mustafa Ishak, Vice Chancellor of Universiti Utara Malaysia, and Prof. Dr. Gandjar Kurnia, the Rector of Universitas Padjadjaran, for engaging the two universities into this academic program, which helped me to come to Malaysia to pursue this study.

My special thanks are also dedicated to Professor Ermaya Suradinata and Professor Rusadi Kantaprawira from the President University, and Professor Asep Kartiwa from Universitas Padjadjaran, for understanding the urgency of this study for my professional career, and permitting me to leave my teaching assignments on occasional basis.

I am also indebted to the late Dr. Hadi Soesastro, the former Executive Director of the Centre for Strategic and International Studies (CSIS) in Jakarta, for encouraging me to attend and participate in various Indonesia-Australia conferences and workshops. These conferences helped to link me to various research centres, and experts coming from Indonesia and Australia.

I am very indebted to receive comments of my thesis from my colleagues at the President University, namely Professor Anak Agung Banyu Perwita, Mr. Bantarto Bandoro, Mr. Begi Hersutanto, Ambassador Makmur Widodo, Ambassador Sulaiman Abdulmanan, Dr. Talib Puspokusumo, and Rear Admiral (Ret) Mahfud, who sincerely shared their academic and professional experiences .

My gratitude goes to my brother Dr. Teuku Faizasyah, who helped me to observe documents related to the Indonesia-Australia relations, and explained specific issues in greater detail. My appreciation and love also goes to my sisters Tjut Rita Hannisa and Tjut Melliza, and my dear wife Kandi Sofia, for their constant and kind warnings for me to finalize this study.

Last but not least, my deepest gratitude and love goes to Teuku Hasan Basri (1930-2011) and Tjut Nyak Nuraini (1938-2009), my parents who continued to pray, support and encourage me to finalize this doctorate study, who deep in their hearts expected to witness their first son holding a doctoral degree during their life time.

TABLE OF CONTENTS

Permission to Use	i
Abstrak	ii
Abstract	iii
Acknowledgements	iv
Table of Contents	v
Appendixes	viii
List of Abbreviations	ix
	Page
CHAPTER 1: INTRODUCTION	
1.1. Background	1
1.2. Problem Statement	7
1.3. Research Questions	7
1.4. Objectives of the Study.....	8
1.5. Significance of the Study.....	8
1.6. Scope of the Study	9
1.7. Literature Review.....	11
1.8. The Research Gap	35
1.9. Theoretical Framework	35
1.10. Research Methodology	38
1.11. Chapterization	43
CHAPTER 2: ENGAGEMENT STRATEGY: AN OVERVIEW	
2.1. Background	48
2.2. Diplomacy	48
2.3. Engagement Strategy	50
2.4. Political Engagement	53
2.5. Economic Engagement.....	55
2.6. Military Engagement.....	59
2.7. Constructive Engagement	64
2.8. Diplomatic Engagement	68
2.9. Decision Making in Indonesia	72
2.10. Decision Making in Australia	74
2.11. Elements of Indonesian Engagement Strategy	78
2.12. The Application of Indonesian Engagement Strategy	79

CHAPTER 3: INDONESIA-AUSTRALIA HISTORICAL RELATIONS, 1945-1982

3.1.	Background	82
3.2.	Bilateral Relations under President Soekarno	82
3.3.	Indonesia-Australia Relations under President Soeharto	95
3.4.	Chapter Summary	117

CHAPTER 4: THE PERIOD OF LOW KEY ENGAGEMENT, 1983-1985

4.1.	Background	120
4.2.	Contrasting Backgrounds of Indonesia and Australia	120
4.3.	Bilateral Relations in 1983-1984: Years of Confusion	124
4.4.	Bilateral Relations in 1985: Year of Optimism	133
4.5.	Chapter Summary	149

CHAPTER 5: THE PERIOD OF DETERIORATING RELATIONS, 1986-1987

5.1.	Introduction	150
5.2.	The Political Crisis: The Jenkins Publication, 1986	151
5.3.	The Security Crisis: The Publication of the Dobb Report, 1986	168
5.4.	A Reappraisal of Relations by Both Sides	175
5.5.	Chapter Summary	182

CHAPTER 6 : INDONESIA'S RE-ENGAGEMENT STRATEGY AND ITS PROGRESS, 1988-1991

6.1.	Background	183
6.2.	Factors Supporting Re-engagement	183
6.3.	Pre-requisites for Re-engagement	190
6.4.	Re-Engagement Results: Closer Political Relations	192
6.5.	Re-Engagement Results: Closer Economic Relations	208
6.6.	Re-Engagement Results: Closer Security Relations	214
6.7.	Chapter Summary	218

CHAPTER 7: THE PERIOD OF ENHANCED RELATIONS BETWEEN
INDONESIA-AUSTRALIA, 1992-1996

7.1.	Background	219
7.2.	Closer Political Cooperation	220
7.3.	Closer Economic Relations	236
7.4.	Closer Security Relations, 1991-1995	250
7.5.	Chapter Summary	267

CHAPTER 8: CONCLUSION

8.1.	Background	268
8.2.	President Soeharto's Decision to Engage Australia	268
8.3.	The Main Elements of Indonesia's Engagement Strategy ...	270
8.4.	Reasons Behind Indonesia's Failed Engagement	271
8.5.	The Foundation Behind Indonesia's Successful Engagement	273
8.6.	Results and Implications of the Indonesian Engagement Strategy Pertaining to Bilateral Relations and the Broader Region	275
	Bibliography	283

APPENDIXES

Appendix 1, a newspaper Article by David Jenkins, entitled 'After Marcos, Now for the Soeharto Billions', reproduced by the Australian Senate Hansard, 1986, p. 126.

Appendix 2, entitled 'Australia's Regional Strategic Interests', taken from *Review of Australia's Defence Capabilities: Report to the Minister for Defence by Mr. Paul Dibb*, 1986, Canberra: Australian Government Publishing Service, p. 176.

Appendix 3, entitled 'Consolidated Depiction of all Australian-Indonesian Maritime Boundaries after Entry into Force of the Treaty', taken from Maritime Zones Produced by AUSLIG (Australian Surveying and Land Information Group), <http://www/auslig.gov.au/marbound/ambisbig.htm>.

Appendix 4, entitled 'Bogor Declaration-APEC Economic Leaders' Declaration of Common Resolve, taken from [www:apec.org/meeting/leaders-declarations/1994](http://www.apec.org/meeting/leaders-declarations/1994).

Appendix 5, entitled 'Agreement Between the government of Australia and the Government of the Republic of Indonesia on Maintaining Security (AMS), taken from Gary Brown, Frank Frost and Stephen Sherlock, 'The Australian-Indonesian Security Agreement-Issues and Implications', *Research Paper 25, 1995-1996, Foreign Affairs, Defence and Trade Group*, 1996, Canberra: The Parliament of Australia.

LIST OF ABBREVIATIONS

ABRI	Angkatan Bersenjata Republik Indonesia
ACDSS	Australian College of Defence and Strategic Studies
ACFOA	Australian Council for Overseas Aid
AFTA	ASEAN Free Trade Agreement
AIDCC	Australia Indonesia Defence Cooperation Committee
AIDPC	Australia Indonesia Defence Policy Committee
ALP	Australian Labour Party
AMS	Agreement of Mutual Security
ANZUS	Australia, New Zealand and United States
APEC	Asia Pacific Economic Cooperation
ARF	ASEAN Regional Forum
ASEAN	Association of Southeast Asian Nations
CBM	Confidence Building Measures
CSCAP	Council for Security and Cooperation in Asia-Pacific
CSCE	Conference on Security and Cooperation in Europe
DIFF	Development Import Finance Facility
EAEG	East Asian Economic Grouping
EEZ	Exclusive Economic Zone
EFIC	Export Finance and Insurance Cooperation
FAO	Food and Agriculture Organization
FDI	Foreign Direct Investment
FOCAC	Forum on China-Africa Cooperation
FPDA	Five Power Defence Agreement
IGGI	Inter-Governmental Group on Indonesia
MNLF	Moro National Liberation Front
ODA	Overseas Development Assistance
OIC	Organization of Islamic Conference
OPTAD	Organization for Pacific Trade and Development
PBEC	Pacific Basin Economic Cooperation
PECC	Pacific Economic Cooperation Conference
PLO	Palestinian Liberation Organization
PNG	Papua New Guinea
SEATO	South East Asia Treaty Organization
SPF	South Pacific Forum
TGT	Timor Gap Treaty
TNI	Tentara Nasional Indonesia
UN	United Nations

CHAPTER 1

INTRODUCTION

1.1. Background.

This research will examine the bilateral relations between Indonesia and Australia from 1983 to 1996, viewed from the Indonesian perspective. Throughout this period, Indonesia was led by President Soeharto who ruled the country from 1967 to 1998 and systematically brought greater political stability and economic progress. At the same time, Australia was ruled by a Labour government under the leadership of Prime Minister Robert Hawke (1983-1991), later on replaced by Prime Minister Paul Keating who led the country from December 1991 to February 1996.

Bilateral relations were not very cordial before 1983, because Australia continued to perceive Indonesia as an aggressive country with a strong desire for territorial expansion and regional hegemony, and desiring to transpose its domestic socioeconomic difficulties into international ventures in order to improve its international image and to stabilize the nation at the same time. Fear of Indonesia's possible aggression remained high, proved with the continuing operation of the Five Power Defence Agreement (FPDA) that was made up of Australia, New Zealand, the United Kingdom, Malaysia and Singapore.

Australia's continued criticisms did not only challenge Indonesia's national unity and national integrity, it also strengthened the position of Fiji, Solomon Island, and Papua New Guinea (PNG) in defending

The contents of
the thesis is for
internal user
only

BIBLIOGRAPHY

PRIMARY SOURCES

LIST OF INTERVIEWS

1. Ambassador Ahlan Bahari Razif (Formerly the Indonesian Ambassador to Laos), Jakarta, 18 May 2010.
2. Ambassador Alphonse F. La Porta (Formerly the US Ambassador to Republic Indonesia), Jakarta, 23 June 2010.
3. Ambassador Ashok Kumar Mirpuri (Currently Singaporean Ambassador to Republic Indonesia), Jakarta, 29 June 2010.
4. Ambassador Hasyim Djalal (Formerly the Indonesian Ambassador to the Federal Republic of Germany, the Foreign Policy Advisor to President Suharto), Jakarta, 16 February 2009.
5. Ambassador Makmur Widodo (Formerly the Director General for Politics of the Indonesian Ministry of Foreign Affairs), Jababeka, 29 April 2010.
6. Ambassador Sabam Siagian (Formerly the Ambassador of Republic Indonesia to Australia), Jakarta, 30 June 2010.
7. Ambassador Stapleton Roy (Formerly the US Ambassador to Republic of Indonesia), Jakarta, 16 February 2009.
8. Ambassador Sulaiman Abdulmanan (Formerly the Director for Information of the Indonesian Ministry of Foreign Affairs, then Indonesian Ambassador to the Kingdom of Belgium), Jababeka, 19 April 2010.
9. Ambassador Wiryono Sastrohandoyo (Formerly the Ambassador of Republic Indonesia to Australia), Jakarta, 4 August 2010.
10. Bantarto Bandoro (Currently the Executive Director for the Indonesian Institute for Strategic Studies), Jababeka, 5 Mei 2010.
11. Collonel (Ret) Robert Lowry (Formerly the Deputy Defence Attache of the Australian Embassy in Jakarta), Jakarta, 13 May 2006.
12. Collonel Victor Tobing (Currently the Assistant for Territorial Affairs of the Indonesian Military Command in Papua Province), Jakarta, 14 August 2008.
13. Dewi Fortuna Anwar (Formerly the Foreign Policy Advisor to President Habibie, and currently the Research Professor at the Indonesian Assembly of Sciences), 5 March 2009.
14. Hadi Soesastro (Formerly the Executive Director of the Centre for Strategic and International Studies, CSIS), Jakarta, 28 January 2008.

15. Hal Hill (Currently teaches at the Australian National University, Jakarta, 28 January 2008.
16. Harold Crouch (Formerly the Head of the Indonesian Crisis Group), Jakarta, 28 January 2008.
17. Ikrar Nusa Bhakti (Currently Head of Regional Studies of the Indonesian Assembly of Sciences), Jakarta, 8 February 2008.
18. J. Kristiadi (Currently the Director at the Centre for Strategic and International Studies, CSIS), Jakarta, 5 March 2009.
19. James Mackie (Emeritus Professor at the Australian National University), Jakarta, 28 January 2008.
20. Jusuf Wanandi (Director at the Centre for Strategic and International Studies, CSIS), Jakarta, 4 August 2010.
21. Kusnanto Anggoro, Bandung, 30 September 2009.
22. Mayor General (Ret) Zaini Azhar Maulani (Formerly the Head of the Indonesian Intelligence Agency, BIN), Jakarta, 17 August 2006.
23. Paul Ruggero (Currently works at the Australian Ministry of Foreign Affairs and Trade, Canberra), Jakarta, 28 January 2008.
24. Rear Admiral (Ret) Mahfud (Formerly the senior staff at the Indonesian Navy), Jababeka, 21 June 2010.
25. Rear Admiral (Ret) Yost Mengko (Formerly the Head of the Defence Intelligence of the Indonesian Armed Forces), Jakarta, 17 April 2007.
26. Talib Puspo Kusumo (Formerly, the Indonesian Consul General in Houston, USA) , Jakarta, 4 June 2010.
27. Teuku Faizasyah (Currently the Special Advisor for International Relations for the President of Republic of Indonesia) 20 June 2010.

INDONESIAN GOVERNMENT'S PUBLICATIONS

Government of Indonesia, *Indonesia and the United Nations: Working Together for Peace and Development*, 2005, New York: Permanent Mission of the Republic of Indonesia to the United Nations, P. 313.

KBRI Canberra, *Memorandum Akhir Tugas Kepala Perwakilan Republik Indonesia di Canberra Juli 1991-Juni 1995*, 1995, Canberra: Kedutaan Besar Republik Indonesia.

KBRI Canberra, *Memorandum Akhir Tugas Kepala Perwakilan Republik Indonesia di Canberra Maret 1996-September 1999*, 1999, Canberra: Kedutaan Besar Republik Indonesia.

Keputusan Presiden Republik Indonesia Nomor 53 Tahun 1991 Tentang Pembentukan Komisi Penyelidik Nasional Peristiwa/Insiden 12 November 1991 di Timor Timur.

Pidato Pertanggungjawaban Presiden/Mandataris Majelis Permusyawaratan Rakyat Republik Indonesia, di depan Sidang Umum Majelis Permusyawaratan Rakyat Republik Indonesia, 1 Maret 1988, Jakarta: Departemen Penerangan RI.

Sudjadnan Parnohadiningrat, *Visi dan Misi Calon Duta Besar Luar Biasa dan Berkuasa Penuh Republik Indonesia untuk Australia dan Republik Vanuatu Periode 2001-2004*. 2001, Jakarta: Departemen Luar Negeri.

Undang-Undang Republik Indonesia Nomor 2 tahun 1987 Tentang Pengesahan 'Treaty of Mutual Respect, Friendship and Cooperation between the Republic of Indonesia and the Independent State of Papua New Guinea.

AUSTRALIAN GOVERNMENT'S PUBLICATIONS

AIDAB, *Aid and Human Rights*, 1993, Canberra: AIDAB.

AIDAB, *Cooperation: A Review of the Australian International Aid Program 1987-1988*, Canberra: Australian Government Publishing Service, 1988.

AUSAID, 'Commercial Benefits from the Development Cooperation Program with Indonesia', Canberra: Australian Agency for International Development, in *Focus*, (March) 1995.

Commonwealth of Australia, Joint Committee on Foreign Affairs, Defence and Trade, (Reference: Australia's Relations with Indonesia), Canberra: 11 March 1992.

Commonwealth of Australia, Joint Committee on Foreign Affairs, Defence and Trade (Reference: Australia's Relations with Indonesia), Canberra: 1 December 1992.

David Jenkins, 'After Marcos, Now for the Soeharto Billions', in *Senate Hansard*, 17 April 1986.

East Asia Analytical Unit, *Australia's Business Challenge: South-East Asia in the 1990s*, 1992, Canberra: Department of Foreign Affairs and Trade.

'Newspaper Article: Indonesia', *Parliament of Australia*, 17 April 1986, p. 1926.

Paul Dibb, *Review of Australia's Defence Capabilities: Report to the Minister for Defence by Mr. Paul Dibb*, 1986, Canberra: Australian Government Publishing Service.

'Questions without Notice: Indonesian Minister Visit to Australia', *Parliament of Australia*, 14 April 1986, p. 2179.

Government of Australia, 1993, *Strategic Review 1993*, Canberra: Department of Defence

The Defence of Australia, 1987, Canberra: Department of Defence.

Year Book Australia, 1988, Canberra: Australian Bureau of Statistics.

Year Book Australia, 1992, Canberra: Australian Bureau of Statistics.

NEWSPAPERS PUBLISHED IN AUSTRALIA

'ACFOA Attacks Keating', *Sydney Morning Herald*, 20 April 1992.

Bernard Lagan, 'PM Says Jakarta Aid Won't be Tied to Human Rights', *Sydney Morning Herald*, 31 March 1992.

Bernard Lagan, 'PM Says Jakarta Aid Won't be Tied to Human Rights', *Sydney Morning Herald*, 31 March 1992.

David Jenkins, 'Our Man from Jakarta', *The Sydney Morning Herald*, 2 March 1996.

Florence Chong, 'Private Sectors Hinders Bilateral Trading'. Special Survey-Part VI, *The Australian*, 24 September 1993.

Fred C. Bergsten, 'Time for leaders to lead'. *The Australian Financial Review*, 12 November 1996,

Greg Sheridan, 'The Leap Free Trade', *The Australian*, 14 November 1994.

'Indonesia: Our Distorted Picture', *Sydney Morning Herald*, 27 May 1992.

Innes Willox, 'Hayden cautions against reliance on Indonesia', *The Age*, 11 April 1996.

Hans van Leeuwen, 'When Aid Turns to Trade', *Financial Review*, 22 June 1995.

John Lyons, 'Envoy Urged US to Reassess Indonesia', *The Australian*, 7 March 1994.

Jose Ramos Horta, 'Hope Remains in East Timor', *The Sydney Morning Herald*, 7 January 1998.

Julian Cribb, 'High-tech Habibie shares his vision', *Australian Financial Review*, 29 May 1995.

Lindsay Murdoch, 'Jakarta's envoy warns on lecturing', *The Age*, 11 April 1996.

Maggie Ford, 'Personal Bonds are the Key', 1994, *The Australian Business Asia*, (June 22-July 5).

Mark Baker, 'No Way Back For Timor: Evans', *The Age*, 27 June 1994.

Michael Richardson, 'Putting a 'Building Block' of Asian Security in Place', *Herald Tribune*, 18 December 1995.

Michael Richardson, 'Indonesian-US row puts Keating on the spot', *The Australian Business Asia*, 22 September 1993.

Patrick Walters, 'Academic warns on preferential free trade', *The Australian*, 15 November 1994.

Patrick Walters, 'Wiryono's appointment can't really be faulted', *The Australian*, 7 December 1995.

'The Australia-Indonesia Security Agreement', Statement by the Secretariat of the Socialist Party of Australia'. *The Guardian*, 17 December 1995.

NEWSPAPERS PUBLISHED IN INDONESIA

'Arti Penting Kunjungan PM Keating', *Suara Karya*, 25 October 1993.

'Australia invites RI to improve Relationship', *The Jakarta Post*, 30 June 1994.

'Aussie-RI ties beyond just good neighbours', *The Jakarta Post*, 26 January 1995.

'Australia Ingin Membangun Industri Pertahanan Dengan Indonesia', *Suara Karya*, 14 March 1995.

Editorial, 'RI-Australia Infrastructure ties Boosted', *The Jakarta Post*, 25 August 1994.

'Habibie's Visit to Australia Postponed', *The Jakarta Post*, 14 April 1986.

Hubungan Baik Indonesia-Australia Memasuki Titik Tertinggi', *Kompas*, 15 November 1992.

'Hubungan Indonesia-Australia', *Angkatan Bersenjata*, 13 July 1995.

Ikrar Nusa Bhakti, 'Perjanjian Keamanan Indonesia-Australia', *Suara Karya*, 21 December 1995.

'Juwono: Sundaru Rahmat Pantas Dinominasikan', *Merdeka*, 19 September 1995.

Kalinga Seneviratne, 'For Australia, aid is like give one take two', *The Jakarta Post*, 7 June 1995.

'Keating to meet Soeharto in Bali over APEC, ties', *The Jakarta Post*, 16 September 1995.

'Ketika Halaman Press Hitam', *Harian Tempo*, in *Tempo Online*, 25 April 1992. Downloaded at 17 May 2011, at 22:00.

Liberty Pandiangan, 'Masa Depan Hubungan Indonesia-Australia', *Media Indonesia*, 22 July 1995.

Ratih Hardjono, 'Musuh Indonesia Juga Musuh Australia', *Kompas*, 21 December 1995.

'Sidang Tingkat Menteri RI-Australia 16-17 November', *Suara Pembaruan*, 14 November 1992.

Terry Friel, 'Australia, RI ties in new phase', *Jakarta Post*, 18 December 1995.

'The Mantiri Argument', *The Jakarta Post*, 3 July 1995.

WORKSHOPS AND CONFERENCES

Alan Dupont, 'Indonesia and Regional Security Implications', In *Australian Delegation Papers, The First Indonesia-Australia Strategic Forum (IASFOR)*, Jakarta, 7-9 June 2000.

Bob Lowry, 'The Evolution and Prospects for Australia-Indonesia Defence Cooperation', in *Australian Delegation Papers, The First Indonesia-Australia Strategic Forum (IASFOR)*, Jakarta, 7-9 June 2000.

Damien Kingsbury, 'Culture, Politics and Public Information: Australian Reporting of Indonesia', in *Looking North: Reassessing the Framework and Unraveling the Myths*, Workshop organized by Asia Research Centre, Murdoch University, Western Australia, 18-19 November 1994.

Daniel Novotny, 'Indonesia's Foreign Policy: In Quest for the Balance of Threats', paper presented to the 15th Biennial Conference of the Asian Studies Association of Australia in Canberra 29 June – 2 July 2004, p. 1-17.

Stewart Woodman, 'Future Direction for Australian Defence Policy', In *Australian Delegation Papers*, The First Indonesia-Australia Strategic Forum (IASFOR), Jakarta, 7-9 June 2000.

SPEECHES

H.E. Mr S. Wiryono, Indonesian Ambassador to Australia, *Address at Course 35/96 of the RAN Staff College*, Sydney, 10 October 1996.

H.E. Mr. S. Wiryono Sastrohandoyo. 'Opening Address of the Ambassador for Indonesia to Australia: Indonesia Update', Australian National University, 23 August 1996.

'Australia's Relations with Indonesia', *Address by Senator Gareth Evans QC, Minister for Foreign Affairs & Trade, to the Australia Indonesia Business Cooperation Committee*, Bali, 24 October 1988.

'Australia and Indonesia: Developing Relationship', *Address by Senator Gareth Evans, Minister for Foreign Affairs and Trade, to the Conference on Indonesia's New Order: Past, Present and Future*, Canberra, 4 December 1989.

Suhadi Mangkusuwondo, 'Pacific Economic Cooperation and Indonesia', *Speech Delivered at a Public Lecture organized by the International Development Centre of Japan (IDCJ)*, Tokyo, 23 March 1990.

Try Sutrisno, 'Strategic Dynamics and Security in the Asia Pacific Region'. Paper presented at the Seminar on *Regional Security in the Asia Pacific Toward 2001*, Canberra, 22 September 1994, Jakarta: State Secretariat.

Yuwono Sudarsono, 'The Political Economy of Indonesia's Foreign Policy', *Paper presented at the Conference on Contemporary Indonesia in Ottawa*, 25 February 1997.

SECONDARY SOURCES

JOURNALS PUBLISHED IN AUSTRALIA

Alan DuPont, 'The Australia-Indonesia Security Agreement', 1996, *The Australian Quarterly*, Vol. 68. No. (2).

Andrew MacIntyre and Nancy Viviani, 'APEC Revisited', *Australian Journal of International Relations*, Vol. 46, No (2), 1992, p. iv.

Australia-Indonesia Relations', *Australian Foreign Affairs Review (AFAR)*, Vol. 57, No. 9 (September), 1986, p. 791.

Edmund S. K. Fung, 'Australia's Relations with China in the 1980s', in *The Australian Journal of Politics and History*, Vo. 32, No. 2, 1986, p. 186.

Erroll Hodge, 'The Impact of the ABC on Australian-Indonesian Relations Since Timor', *The Australian Journal of International Affairs*, Vol. 45, No. 1 (May), 1991, p. 113-114.

Harold Crouch, 'Back to Square One: Australia-Indonesia Relations', *Island Magazine*, No. 30 (Autumn), 1987, p. 20-22.

H.C. McMichael, 'Australia-Indonesia Relations', *Australian Outlook*, Vol. 40. No. 3 (November) 1986.

Henry S. Albinski, 'Responding to Asia-Pacific Human Rights Issues: Implications for Australian-American Relations', *Australian Journal of International Affairs*, Vol. 50 (1), 1996.

'Indonesia in the 1980s', *Australian Foreign Affairs Review (AFAR)*, Vol. 54, No. 6 (June) 1983.

Jiro Okamoto, *ASEAN's New Role in the Asia Pacific Region: Can it be a Driving Force of Wider Regional Economic Cooperation?*, Pacific Economic Papers, No. 245 (July), 1995.

John Ravenhill, 'Trade Policy Options Beyond APEC', 1996, *The Australian Quarterly*, Vol. 68, No (2).

Keith Suter, 'East Timor: a War with no Winners', *Current Affairs Bulletin* (December), 1992.

Maggie Ford. 'Personal Bonds are the Key', *The Australian Business Asia*, (June 22-July 5) 1994.

Michael E. Salla, 'Australian Foreign Policy and East Timor', *Australian Journal of International Affairs*, Vol. 49, No. 2 (November) 1995.

Richard Robison, 'Explaining Indonesia's Response to the Jenkins' Article: Implications for Australian-Indonesian Relations', *Australian Outlook*, Vol. 40, No. 3 (November) 1986.

Richard Scott, 'APEC and the Political Economy of Recalcitrance', *Current Affairs Bulletin*, (June/July) 1995.

Sam Lipski, 'Indonesia's Doubts About Australia', *The Bulletin*, 28 May 1985, p. 38.

Savitry Scherer, 'The Tyranny of Cohabitation: Australian-Indonesian Relations', *Australian Outlook*, Vol. 40, No. 3 (December) 1986.

Simon Hay, 'Australia and APEC: The First Five Years', *Current Affairs Bulletin*, April 1994.

Stuart Harris, 'Regional Economic Cooperation, Trading Blocs and Australian Interests', *Australian Outlook*, Vol. 43, No. 2 (August), 1989.

'What Do Asians Want From Us?', *Australian Business Monthly*, January 1994.

JOURNALS PUBLISHED IN INDONESIA

A. Hasnan Habib, 'Japan's Role in the Asia-Pacific Region: An ASEAN Perception', *The Indonesian Quarterly*, Vol. XVIII, No. 1 (January), 1990.

Ali Wardhana, 'Overview: Indonesia's Economy--The Next Five Years', *The Indonesian Quarterly*, Vol. XI, No. 4 (July) 1983.

Bantarto Bandoro, 'Treaty of Friendship between Indonesia and Papua New Guinea', *The Indonesian Quarterly*, Vol. 15, No. 4 (September) 1987.

CPF Luhulima, 'ASEAN-Australia Relations: Status of the Art', in *The Indonesian Quarterly*, Vol. XIII, No. 1, January 1985.

David O. Dapice, 'Dealing with the 1980s: Indonesia and the World Economy', *The Indonesian Quarterly*, Vol. XI, No. 4 (July) 1983.

Desmond Ball, 'The Political-Security Dimension of Australia and the Asia-Pacific Region', *The Indonesian Quarterly*, Vol. XXII, No. 3 (July) 1994.

Djisman Simandjuntak, 'The 1986/1987 Draft Budget: Opportunity for Real Adjustment', *The Indonesian Quarterly*, Vol. XIV, No. 1 (January) 1986.

Ikrar Nusa Bhakti, 'Facing the 21st Century: Trends in Australia's Relations with Indonesia', 1992, *The Indonesian Quarterly*, Vol. XX. No. 2 (April).

J. Panglaykim, 'The Indonesian Business: Present Conditions and Future Prospects', *The Indonesian Quarterly*. Vol. XIV. No.2 (April) 1986.

Jusuf Wanandi, 'ASEAN and Pacific Basin Economic Cooperation', *The Indonesian Quarterly*, Vol. XIII, No. 1 (January), 1985.

Yusuf Wanandi, 'Australia-Indonesia Security Relationship', *The Indonesian Quarterly*, Vol. XX, No. 2 (April), 1992.

Mochtar Kusumaatmadja, Mochtar, 'ASEAN and the Pacific in the 1990s'. *The Indonesian Quarterly*, Vol. XIX. No 2 (April) 1991, p. 131.

Peter McCawley, 'Bilateral Relations between Australia and Indonesia: Economic Aspects', *The Indonesian Quarterly*, Vol. XIV. No.3(July) 1986.

Prijono Tjiptoherijanto, 'Indonesia's Domestic Oil Price Policy', *The Indonesian Quarterly*, Vol. IX, No 3 (October), 1981.

Soedjati Djiwandono, 'Indonesia and the South Pacific', *The Indonesian Quarterly*, Vol. 16, No. 1 (January) 1988.

Subroto, 'Indonesia's Energy Policies in National and Global Perspectives', *The Indonesian Quarterly*, Vol. XIV. No. 2 (April) 1986.

Suhadi Mangkusuwondo, 'Pacific Economic Cooperation and Indonesia', *The Indonesian Quarterly*, Vol. XIX. No. (1) 1991.

JOURNALS PUBLISHED OUTSIDE INDONESIA AND AUSTRALIA

Ben Perkasa Drajat, 'The Sources of Indonesian President Soeharto's Contradicting Attitude in the APEC and NAM in the Mid 1990s', *Journal of International Development and Cooperation*, Vol. 6, No. 1, 2000, p. 317-334.

CPT Benedict Ang Kheng Leong, 'Continuity Amidst a Changing Environment', in *Journal of Singapore Armed Forces*, Vol. 24, No. 2 (April-June) 1998.

Dieter Heribert, 'APEC and WTO: Collision or Co-operation?', 1997, *The Pacific Review*, Vol. 10. No (1).

Donald Crone, 'The Politics of Emerging Pacific Cooperation', *Pacific Affairs*, Vol. 65. No. 1 (Spring), 1992.

Donald E. Weatherbee, 'Indonesia in 1985: Chills and Thaws', *Asian Survey*, Vol. XXVI, No. 2 (February), 1986.

Donald K. Emmerson. 'Understanding the New Order: Bureaucratic Pluralism in Indonesia', *Asian Survey*, Vol. XXIII. No. 11 (November) 1983.

Evan Resnick, 'Defining Engagement', *Journal of International Relations*, No. 54, Vol. 2 (2001): 551-567.

Hadi Soesastro, 'ASEAN and the Political Economy of Pacific Cooperation', *Asian Survey*, Vol. XXIII, No. 12 (December), 1983.

Hadi Soesastro, 'ASEAN and APEC: Do Concentric Circle Work?', *The Pacific Review*, Vol. 8. No.(3), 1985.

Han Sung-Joo, 'The Politics of Pacific Cooperation', *Asian Survey*, Vol. XXIII. No. 12 (December) 1983.

Harold Crouch, 'Patrimonialism and Military Rule in Indonesia', *World Politics*, Vol. 31 (4) 1970.

Leo Suryadinata, 'Islam and Suharto's Foreign Policy: Indonesia, the Middle East, and Bosnia', *Asian Survey*, Vol. XXXV, No. 3 (March) 1995, p. 291-303.

Michael R.J. Vatikiotis, 'Indonesia's Foreign Policy in the 1990s', *Contemporary Southeast Asia*, Vol. 14, No. 4 (1993).

Paige Johnson Tan, 'Navigating a Turbulent Ocean: Indonesia's World View and Foreign Policy', *Asian Perspective*, Vol. 3, No. 3, 2007, p. 147-181.

William Liddle, 'Indonesia in 1987: The New Order at the Height of its Power', *Asian Survey*, Vol. XXVIII, No. 2 (February) 1988.

BOOKS

A.G. Kenwood and A.L. Lougheed (eds), *The Growth of the International Economy 1820-2000: An Introductory Text*, London: Routledge, 1999.

A.M. Babkina, *Trade in the Asia Pacific Region*, 1996, New York: Nova Science Publishers.

Amnesty International Australia, *Human Rights and Australia's Security: Response to the Defence Review 2000*, 2000, Canberra: Amnesty International Australia.

Anak Agung Banyu Perwita, *Indonesia and the Muslim World: Islam and Secularism in the Foreign Policy of Soeharto and Beyond*, Copenhagen: NIAS Press, 2007.

Asian Development Bank, *Asian Development Outlook 1995 and 1996*, 1995, New York: Oxford University Press.

Bill Hayden, *Bill Hayden: An Autobiography*, 1996, Sydney: Angus & Robertson.

Bilveer Singh, *ABRI and the Security of Southeast Asia: The Role and Thinking of General L. Benny Moerdani*, 1994, Singapore: Singapore Institute of International Affairs.

Centre for Strategic and International Studies, *Indonesia and Australia: Bilateral Relations Into the 21st Century*, 2001, Jakarta: Center for Strategic and International Studies.

Coral Bell, *Dependent Ally: A Study in Australian Foreign Policy*, 1988, Canberra: Allen & Unwin in Association with RSPAS, ANU, p. 114.

David Jenkins, *Soeharto and his Generals: Indonesian Military Politics 1979-1983*, Ithaca-NY: Cornell University, 1984.

Desmond Ball and Pauline Kerr, *Presumptive Engagement: Australia's Asia-Pacific Security Policy in the 1990s*, Canberra: Allen & Unwin, 1996.

Dewi Fortuna Anwar, *Indonesia in ASEAN: Foreign Policy and Regionalism*, Singapore: Institute of Southeast Asian Studies, 1994.

Doug McEachern, *Business Mates: The Power and Politics of the Hawke Era*, Sydney: Prentice Hall, 1991.

Franklin B. Weinstein, *Indonesian Foreign Policy and the Dilemma of Dependence: From Sukarno to Soeharto*, Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 1976.

Gareth Evans and Bruce Grant, *Australia's Foreign Relations: In the World of the 1990s*, Carlton, Victoria: Melbourne University Press, 1993.

Greg Sheridan, *Living With Dragons: Australia Confronts Its Asian Identity*, 1995, St. Leonard, NSW: Allen & Unwin in association with Mobil Oil Australia.

Hal Hill, *Indonesia's New Order: The Dynamics of Socio-economic Transformation*, St. Leonard, 1994, NSW: Allen & Unwin.

Jim Rohwer, *Asia Rising: Why America Will Prosper as Asia's Economies Boom*, 1996, New York: Touchstone.

Joao Mariano De Sousa Saldanha, *The Political Economy of East Timor Development*, 1994, Jakarta: Pustaka Sinar Harapan.

Leo Suryadinata, *Indonesia's Foreign Policy under Suharto: Aspiring to the Leadership*, Singapore: Time Academic Press, 1996.

Michael Leifer, *Indonesian Foreign Policy*, Singapore: Institute for Strategic and International Studies, 1983.

Noam Chomsky, *A New Generation Draws the Line*, London: Verso, 2001.

Paul Keating, *Engagement: Australia Faces the Asia-Pacific*, 2000, Sydney: MacMillan, Sydney, P. 30.

Priyambudi Sulistiyanto, *Thailand, Indonesia and Burma in Comparative Perspective*, 2002, Singapore: Ashgate.

Research Institute for Peace and Security, *Asian Security 1995-96*, Brasseys: London-Washington, 1996.

Rizal Sukma, *Islam in Indonesian Foreign Policy: Domestic Weakness and the Dilemma of Dual Identity*, Singapore: Routledge, 2003.

Robinson Pangaribuan, *The Indonesian State Secretariat: 1945-1993*, Translated by Vedi Hadiz, Perth: Asia Research Center, Murdoch University, 1995.

Russell Trood and Deborah McNamara, *The Asia-Australia Survey 1994*, 1994, Melbourne: MacMillan.

Stuart MacIntyre, *A Concise History of Australia*, 1999, Melbourne: Cambridge University Press. 1999.

Sukewarsini Djelantik, *Diplomasi: Antara Teori dan Praktik*, 2008, Yogyakarta: Graha Ilmu.

Timothy Doyle and Aynsley Kellow, *Environmental Politics and Policy Making in Australia*, 1995, South Melbourne: Macmillan.

The Economist, *Country Report-Indonesia (1995-1996)*, 1996, London: The Economist Intelligence Unit.

Tomi Lebang, *Sahabat Lama: Era Baru*, 2010, Jakarta: Grasindo.

CHAPTERS IN BOOKS

Alan Beaumont, 'Australia-Indonesia Defence Cooperation: An Australian Perspective', in Brown, Colin (ed), *Indonesia: Dealing With a Neighbour*, 1996, St. Leonard-NSW: Allen & Unwin.

Alan Smart, 'The Timor Gap Zone of Co-operation Treaty', in David Anderson (ed), *Australia and Indonesia: A Partnership in the Making*, Canberra: Pacific Security Research Institute, 1991.

Alejandro Melchor, Jr, 'Assessing ASEAN's Viability in a Changing World'. In Vasey, Lloyd. R (ed), *Pacific Asia and U.S. Policies: A Political-Economic-Strategic Assessment*, 1978, Hawaii: Pacific Forum.

Ali Wardhana, 'The Pacific Rim Challenge', in Hadi Soesastro (ed). *Indonesian Perspectives on APEC and Regional Cooperation in Asia Pacific*. 1995, Jakarta: Centre for Strategic and International Studies.

Andrew Elek, 'Asia Pacific Economic Co-Operation (APEC)', in Institute of Southeast Asian Studies, *Southeast Asian Affairs 1991*, 1991, Singapore: ISEAS.

Anthony Leysens and Lisa Thompson, 'The Evolution of the Global Political Economy', in Philip Nel and Patrick J. McGowan, Patrick J. (ed, *Power, Wealth and Global Order: An International Relations Textbook for Africa*, 1999, Cape Town: University of Cape Town Press.

David Anderson, 'Introduction', in David Anderson (ed) *Australia and Indonesia: A Partnership in the Making*, Canberra: Pacific Security Research Institute, 1991.

David Horner, 'Security Objectives', in FA Mediansky (ed), *Australian Foreign Policy: The New Millennium*, South Melbourne: McMillan, 1997.

Dewi Fortuna Anwar, 'Indonesia's Foreign and Defence Policies', in Colin Brown (ed), *Indonesia: Dealing With a Neighbour*, St. Leonard-NSW: Allen&Unwin, 1996.

Dick K. Nanto, 'US Trade and Market Access problems with Asia: An Overview', in A.M. Babkina, *Trade in the Asia Pacific Region*, 1996, New York: Nova Science Publishers.

Gareth Evans, 'Australia and Indonesia', in David Anderson (ed), *Australia and Indonesia: A Partnership in the Making*, 1991, Canberra: Pacific Security Research Institute.

Gareth Evans, 'Neighbours for Half a Century', in Colin Brown (ed), *Indonesia: Dealing With a Neighbour*, 1996, St. Leonard-NSW: Allen&Unwin.

Hadi Soesastro, 'Pacific Economic Cooperation: A Historical Exploration', in Hadi Soesastro (ed), *Indonesian Perspectives on APEC and Regional Cooperation in Asia Pacific*, Jakarta: Centre for Strategic and International Studies, 1995.

Hasnan Habib, 'Regional Security: Trends and Prospects', in Jusuf Wanandi (ed), *Regional Security Arrangements: Indonesian and Canadian Views*. 1996, Jakarta: Centre for Strategic and International Studies.

Hasnan Habib, 'Australia-Indonesia Relations: The Politico-Defence Dimension', in Ball, Desmond and Wilson, Helen (eds), *Strange Neighbours: The Australia-Indonesia Relationship*, 1991, North Sydney: Allen&Unwin Pty Ltd.

H.D. Anderson, 'Australia-Indonesia Relations', in CSIS (ed), *Regional Dimensions of Indonesia-Australia Relations*, Jakarta: CSIS. 1982.

Heinz Arndt and Thee Kian Wie, 'Great Differences, Surprising Similarities: Australia, Indonesia and their Economic Relationship', in *Expanding Horizons: Australia and Indonesia into the 21st Century*, Canberra: East Asia Analytical Unit, Department of Foreign Affairs and Trade, 1994.

Hugh Smith, 'Internal Politics and Foreign Policy', in F.A. Mediansky (ed). *Australia in a Changing World: New Foreign Policy Directions*, 1992, Botany, NSW: Maxwell Macmillan Publishing Australia.

John Ravenhill, 'Business and Politics', in Rodney Smith and Lex Watson, *Politics in Australia*, 1989, Sydney: Allen&Unwin.

Jusuf Wanandi, 'Australia-Indonesia Relations in the Context of Developments in Asia-Pacific', in CSIS, *Regional Dimensions of Indonesia-Australia Relations*, 1984, Jakarta: Yayasan Proklamasi, CSIS.

Michael J. Vatikiotis, 'A Giant Treads Carefully: Indonesia's Foreign Policy in the 1990s', in Robert S. Ross (ed), *East Asia in Transition: Toward a New Regional Order*, Singapore, Institute of Southeast Asian Studies, 1995, p. 216-233.

Martin Tsamenyi and Sam Bateman, 'Good Neighbours at Sea?', in Colin Brown, (ed), *Indonesia: Dealing With a Neighbour*, 1996, St. Leonard-NSW: Allen&Unwin.

Michael Byrnes, 'Indonesia and the Australian Press', in Michael Byrnes, *Australia and the Asia Game*, 1994, St. Leonards: Allen&Unwin.

Mohammad Sadli, 'Regionalism in Asia', in Soesastro, Hadi (ed), *Indonesian Perspectives on APEC and Regional Cooperation in Asia Pacific*, 1995, Jakarta: Centre for Strategic and International Studies.

Nancy Viviani, 'The Official Formulation of Foreign Policy or a Student's Guide to the Bureaucratic Galaxy', in F.A Mediansky and A.C. Palfreeman, in *Pursuit of National Interests: Australian Foreign Policy in the 1990s*, 1988, Sydney: Pergamon.

Partha Gangopadhyay, 'Patterns of Trade, Investment and Migration in the Asia-Pacific Region', in Grahame Thompson (Ed), *Economic Dynamism in the Asia-Pacific: The Growth of Integration and Competitiveness*, 1988, London: Routledge.

Peter King, 'Foreign Policy: A Paranoid Posture?', in Henry Mayer (ed), *Australian Politics: a Second Reader*, 1971, Melbourne: Cheshire.

Peter Reith, 'Indonesia's Foreign and Defence Policies: A Coalition Perspective', in Colin Brown (ed), *Indonesia: Dealing With a Neighbour*, St. Leonard-NSW: Allen&Unwin.

Richard N. Haas and Meghan L. O'Sullivan, 'Terms of Engagement Alternatives to Punitive Policies', in *Survival*, Vol. 42, No. 2, Summer 2000, p. 2.

Richard Higgott, 'Australia and the Pacific Region: The Political Economy of Relocation', in Stubbs, R and Underhill, G (eds), *Political Economy and the Changing Global Order*, 1994, London: Macmillan, 1994.

Richard Higgott, 'Australia in a changing World', in Medianski, FA. (ed). *Australia in a Changing World*, Botany: Maxwell Macmillan, 1992.

R.M. Sunardi, RM. 1996. 'Australia-Indonesia Defence Cooperation: An Indonesian Perspective', In Brown, Colin (ed), 1996, *Indonesia: Dealing With a Neighbour*, St. Leonard-NSW: Allen&Unwin.

Robert Ray, 'The Australia-Indonesia Defence Relationship', in David Anderson (ed), *Australia and Indonesia: A Partnership in the Making*, 1991, Canberra: Pacific Security Research Institute.

Stephen Bell and John Wanna, 'Power, Interaction and Restructuring: Concluding Comments', in Stephen Bell and John Wanna (eds), *Business-Governments Relations in Australia*, 1992, Sydney: Harcourt Brace Jovanovich Publishers, 1992.

Stephen Henningham, 'Australia and the South Pacific', in Mediansky, FA (ed), *Australia in a Changing World*, 1992, Botany, NSW: Maxwell Macmillan.

Suhadi Mangkusuwondo, Djisman Simandjuntak, and Sumarno Surono, 'Trade Policy Options for Indonesia', in Mohamad Ariff and Tan Loong-Hoe, *The Uruguay Round: Asean Trade Policy Options*, Singapore: Institute of Southeast Asian Studies, 1988.

MAGAZINES PUBLISHED IN AUSTRALIA

James Balowski, 'Treaty Formalises Backing for Jakarta Generals', *Green Left Weekly*, 22 January 1996.

Lincoln Wright, 'The Role of APEC', *Arena*, (April-May) 1995.

Maggie Macrae, 'Indonesian rendezvous for APEC leaders', *Asia Business Review*, November 1994.

Nick Fredman, 'Behind Australia's Push into Asia and the Pacific', *Green Left Review*, Vol. 166, November.

Reihana Mohideen and Sonny Malencio, 'Why APEC Should be Opposed', *Green Left*, 1 September 1996.

PRINTED AND ELECTRONIC MEDIA

PUBLISHED OUTSIDE INDONESIA AND AUSTRALIA

'Jakarta Bars Times Reporter from Reagan's Visit to Bali', *The New York Times*, 24 April 1986.

'Quick Keating Cave-in', *Reuter*, 9 January 1992.

'World Leaders Praise Stability Suharto Gave to Indonesia', *Reuters*, 27 January 2008.

LECTURE SERIES

B. Effendi, 'Indonesia-Australia Economic Relations', in H. Da Costa, Australian Aid To Indonesia, *Annual Indonesian Lectures Series Nr. 16*, 1991, Monash University.

Carlyle Thayer, 'Introduction: The Tyranny of Geography'. *A Lecture to the New Zealand Institute of International Affairs*, The University of Dunedin, Otago, 12 May 1988.

WORKING PAPERS

Andrew Tan, 'Force Modernisation Trends in Southeast Asia', *Working Paper No. 59*, Singapore: Institute of Defence and Strategic Studies, January 2004.

James L. Richardson, *The Foreign Policy of the Hawke-Keating Governments: An Interim Review*, Working Paper No. 1997/4, 1997,

Canberra: Research School of Pacific and Asian Studies, Australian National University.

Michael Leifer, *The ASEAN Regional Forum: Extending ASEAN's Model of Regional Security*, Adelphi Paper No. 302, 1997, New York: Oxford University Press.

Terence Lee Chek Liang, *Explaining Indonesia's Relations with Singapore During the New Order Period: The Case of Regime Maintenance and Foreign Policy*, Working Paper No. 10, Singapore: Institute of Defence and Strategic Studies, 2010, p. 1-30.

Viberto Selochan, 'New Directions and New Thinking in Australia-Southeast Asia Relations', Australia-Asia Papers No. 62, Nathan: Centre for the Study of Australia-Asia Relations, 1992, p. 11.

PH.D THESIS

Ben Perkasa Drajat, *The Role of Indonesian President Suharto in APEC (1994): An International Political Economy Analysis*, 2000, Hiroshima: Hiroshima University, p. 44.

MAPS

Maritime Zones Produced by AUSLIG (Australian Surveying and Land Information Group), <http://www.auslig.gov.au/marbound/ambisbig.htm>