

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

BY

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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

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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 pengenالannya 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.

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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

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