Dedicated to

My

Grand Parents

THE POLITICS OF ETHNICITY IN AUSTRALIA

Dissertation submitted to the Jawaharlal Nehru University
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MASTER OF PHILOSOPHY

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CERTIFICATE

This is to certify that the dissertation entitled **"THE POLITICS OF ETHNICITY IN AUSTRALIA"**, submitted by **MS. LOPA SENAPATI** in partial fulfillment of the award of the Degree of **MASTER OF PHILOSOPHY** of Jawaharlal Nehru University has not been previously submitted for any other degree of this or any other university. We recommend that this dissertation be placed before the examiners for evaluation.

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Preface

The phenomenon of ethnicity is an intrinsic component of the socio-political realities of multi-ethnic states in most of the countries of the world. Ethnic issues have begun to feature prominently in the politics of most of the Third World countries. Ethnicity is given importance in the present day world.

The objective of the dissertation is to give an insight to the problem of ethnicity in Australia and critically examine its multicultural policy. The First Chapter is the introductory chapter which deals with the meaning of Ethnicity. It also discusses the social setting in Australia and the various ethnic groups in Australia. The Second Chapter deals with the Australian society and politics. The Third Chapter gives the reasons to Australia's Asian outlook. The Fourth Chapter is an analyses of the conflict in East Timor, Bougainville and the Maoris in New Zealand. The Fifth and the final chapter has some concluding observations that there is consensus for multiculturalism in Australian society.

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CHAPTER I

INTRODUCTION

Ethnicity is derived from the Greek word "Ethnos", the term ethnic referred to a group, the component of which were race, descent and culture. In the modern usage, while the earlier attributes of this term have survived, there has been an increasing emphasis on its cultural components as they have evolved over time.

Ethnicity is a salient feature of numerous societies throughout the World. The existence of distinct ethnic and cultural groups within societies is widespread and ancient and occurs at most levels of culture ranging from the Bushmen of the Kalahari to the modern Europe and America. Although scholars have often noted the existence of multisocial and multicultural societies, systematic examination of the sociological consequences did not begin before the 18th century. Most investigations have been made in connection with the study of race relations and stratified societies such as found in Africa, Central and South America, Southern states of United States of America and the former colonial areas of Asia.

There is not complete agreement on how ethnicity should be defined. In the past it was common to highlight cultural difference as an essential feature of ethnic distinctiveness. Recently it has been de-emphasised on the grounds that cultural differences may vary from one setting

to another and from one historical period to another.[1] The most useful definition is the classic one of Max Weber (1922) - "An ethnic group is one whose members entertain a subjective belief in their common descent because of similarities of physical type or of customs or both, or because of memories of colonisation and migration." Weber adds, "it does not matter whether or not an objective blood relationship exists."[2] Despite definitional differences, a number of characteristics are generally recognised as hallmarks of ethnicity; not all of them will be present in every case, but many will be. They include features shared by group members such as the same on geographic origin, language, religion, foods, traditions, folklore, music and residential patterns. Also typical are : special political concerns, particularly with regard to a homeland, civilisations to serve the group, a consciousness of kind or a sense of distinctiveness from others.

The anthropological definition of ethnicity[3] - 'Ethnicity is the inherent capacity of any human society to create symbolic, linguistic and social codes to bind its

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1. Encyclopedia of Sociology, Volume 2, Macmillan Publishing Co., New York, 1992, p.575.

2. Ibid, p.575.

3. Lourdes Anizpe, "Ethnicity, Nations and Culture", Development (4) : 1992, p.6.

members together. It is a system of codes that give meaning, identity and a sense of belonging, creating boundaries that distinguish one group from another.

Ethnic identity formation is marked by the processes of fission as well as fusion.[4] The assimilation of several tribes with the immigrant in the early period of modern Indian history explains the process of incorporation. Examples can be of the Anglo-Indian in India, Nepalese in India, Indians in Fiji, Chinese in Malaysia and the like.

Three Approaches dominate the sociological study of ethnicity[5]:-

1. Assimilation perspective - It focuses on social processes and outcomes that tend to dissolve ethnic distinctions, leading to the assimilation of one ethnic group by another or by the larger society.

2. Stratification Approach - It is concerned with the origins and consequences of inequalities of various kinds among ethnic groups.

3. Ethnic Group Resources - Its domain encompasses such mobilisation and solidarity by which the members of the

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4. Urmila Phadnis, Ethnicity and Nation-Building in South Asia, Sage Publishers, New Delhi, 1989, pg.15.

5. Encyclopedia of Sociology, n.1, p.576.

ethnic groups attempt to use them to compete successfully with others.

Nations may be created by the trans foundation of an ethnic group in a multi-ethnic state into a self-conscious political entity or by the amalgamation of diverse groups and the foundation of an inter-ethnic, composite or homogeneous national culture through the agency of the modern state. More often ethnic demands centre around a single central symbol such as language, religion, colour or territory.

Australia's Cultural Diversity

The aim of the dissertation is to analyse the ethnic composition in Australia and examine its multicultural policy. Thus it would be necessary at the outset to know a little about Australia as a country and then move towards its ethnic distribution.

Australia is a relatively young nation established in an ancient land. European colonisation of Australia began by 1788 when a British settlement was established at Port Jackson (now Sydney). It was founded as a penal colony and it became a land of convicts. At the time of settlement, there were about 1530 British settlers and an estimated

300,000 aborigines in Australia.[6] Six British colonies were eventually established on the continent. In 1901, these colonies joined as a federation and became independent.

Australian society has the existence of a number of outside population who have settled there in the past few decades. In the early colonial years, with the discovery of goldmines, the Chinese had immigrated to Australia in large numbers. There has been immigration from Asia particularly Vietnam, China and India. However the majority of Australia's population is still of European origin. Over the country as a whole, settlement is closely related to the areas of moderate rainfall and less extreme temperatures. There has been rapid growth of settlement around major ports.

Australia has the unique distinction of being a continent as well as a nation. The country is large, its size being almost twice that of India, Pakistan and Bangladesh combined. Australia's location is down south in the western arc of the Pacific Ocean. A renowned political geographer has underlined the importance of its nodal position at the gateway of the Indian and Pacific Oceans, the fact remains that Australia is situated in a *cul-de-sac,*

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6. Far East and Australian Year Book 1998, 29th edu, Europa Publication Ltd., London, p.54.

at the terminus of routes from" the power centres of the Western World."[7] It remains far to the down South, "down under" and remote - as much the *Terra Australis Incognita* in the recent past, as it was in the days of old. The geographical isolation of Australia is fundamental, its nearest continental neighbour and by far the nearest to the developed core in the South-east is Antarctica. The continent is separated by 1200 miles of ocean from its nearest "white" neighbour New Zealand and by 4,500 miles of ocean from South Africa.

This physical isolation has greatly influenced the development of Australia as a nation and as an independent entity in the Family of Nations. It is this position of Australia on the map that kept her off from the stream of history and left her to react passively and often belatedly to the events precipitated by distant powers.

Today, Australia is an independent Western Democracy with a population of 17.08 million. It covers an area of 7,682,300 sq. km extending from Cape York in the North some 3,680 km to Tasmania and from Cape Byron the East some 4000 km West to Western Australia. Its economy is diverse with

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7.   Patricia Ross McBride, Some Aspects of the Influences of Geography on Australian History, in Nicholas Spykman, <u>The Geography of the Peace</u>, University of Melbourne, 1979, p.41.

large scale resource development, highly productive primary

industries and an expanding base of new technology. It is

one of the World's most urbanised cities.

Australia has a rich cultural diversity. At the 1991

Census 3.8 million people had been born overseas in of over

200 countries. A further 3.3 million had one or both

parents born overseas. There were 2.5 million people who

spoke a language other than English at home.[8] The 1996

Census will classify 282 major languages, including 170

Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander languages and 92

religious denominations.[9]

There are no accurate estimates of the population of

Australia before European settlement. Many estimates were

based on post 1788 observations of a population already

reduced by introduced diseases and other factors. In 1930s,

anthropologist Radcliffe Brown postulated a minimum figure

of 300,000. In 1980, L.R. Smith estimated the absolute

minimum pre 1788 population at 315,000. Other estimates have

put the figure at over 1 million, while recent

archaeological finds suggest that a population of 750,000

could have been sustained. Whatever the size of indigenous

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8.   Year Book Australia 1997, No.79 Australian Bureau of
      Statistics, Canberra, p.88.

9.   Ibid, p.88.

population before European settlement, it declined dramatically under the impact of various factors and it continued well into the 20th century. The 1997 Indigenous population will probably be about 327,000.

While most of the Australian population is concentrated along the east and south-west coasts, the Indigenous population is much widely spread. About 90% of the total population are contained within the most densely settled 2.8% of the continent. About 90% of the Indigenous population live in areas covering 28% of the continent.[10]

Ethnic Groups in Australia

Australia has always suffered a bit of an identity problem : it is located in the South but has always been seen as a part of the North.[11] It is in the Eastern hemisphere, but is regarded as "Western" country. Today, as this vast nation-continent seeks to make the transition from its British settler heritage to be a part of an East Asian neighbourhood, there are signs of ethnic fissures and xenophobia. Australia's northern coast is only 400 kilometers across a narrow strait from Indonesia, and even if white Australians may not admit it openly, many are

10. Ibid, p.90.

11. The Pioneer, New Delhi, 16 January 1997.

concerned, they may one day become a minority if citizens of the popular Asian countries to the north are allowed to emigrate freely.

The concept of ethnicity has been developed over the past 30 years, mainly by American sociologists. UNESCO, moving away from the older and discredited term 'race', approved the description 'ethnic group' for any identifiable community with linguistic, religious or other cultural attributes.

The boundaries of ethnic groups in immigrant situations are often fluid. In popular Australian usage the term 'ethnic' is reserved for those recently immigrated from a non-English-speaking country and their locally born children. Official sources have recently adopted the terminology 'non-English-speaking background' (NESB) to identify this category.[12] Aborigines, Australians of British and Irish origins, and many of long-established German, Scandinavian or other European descent, are not normally described as belonging to an ethnic group. Very few of Australia's 880,000 English immigrants regard themselves as members of an 'English ethnic group.' In the

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12. Australian Encyclopedia, 1990, Penguin Books Australia Ltd., Victoria, p.170.

19th century, however, there were major cultural differences among people from Britain and they could reasonably be regarded as forming distinct ethnic groups. Irish descended Catholics are still seen as an ethnic group by many Protestant Australians, although this is much less common than in recent past.

The 1986 Census indicates the strength of ethnic groups in Australia by providing members for those using a language other than English, for birth place, for religion and for ancestry. This was the first census to give such a range of indicators of ethnicity; it does not however, give definitive numbers for the membership of each ethnic group, which is theoretically impossible on any of the currently used definition except for Aborigines and Torres Strait Islanders. Infact, three-quarterly of Australians do not think of themselves as belonging to an ethnic group. In 1986, many census respondents declined to give any ancestry (8%), or said they were Australians (20%), or of English origin (40%). Another 4 million Australians identify in some way with an ethnic group, even if they do not take part in organised activities, speak another language, or associate with any way with an ethnic minority. Two millions were born in of non-English speaking country and speak its language.

Confining discussion to NESB Australians, there are more than 100 identifiable ethnic groups in Australia and atleast 4000 organisations, clubs and religious centres with a distinct ethnic character.[13] Although the numbers cannot be given with any certainty, the 1986 census suggests that the largest ethnic groups in Australia (in order of size) are Italians, Germans, Greeks, Dutch, Chinese, Croatians, Poles, Jews, Lebanese, Maltese and Vietnamese.[14] Other communities with a variety of origins or sub-cultures include Spanish-speakers, French-speakers, Turks, Macedonians, Filipinos and many small but highly organised groups from eastern Europe such as Hungarians and Ukrainians. These groups are at different stages of assimilation and have varied characters and histories; most Chinese do not directly originate in China; most Germans are long established and very assimilated; Jews came from many countries and do not have a common language; Italians speak a variety of dialects.

The persistence of distinct ethnic groups in Australia has caused critics to talk of 'warring tribes' and to favour a return to assimilationist public policy. The settlement experience of Australia has, however, been quite benign

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13. Ibid, p.171.

14. Ibid, p.171.

compared to that of most other countries.[15] Many ethnic

groups will undoubtedly exist as many social entities well

into the next century, while others will gradually

assimilate and disappear. There is little evidence that the

great ethnic diversity of Australia since the 1950s has

caused any important social problems; similarly, there is no

evidence for the popular view that Asians assimilate less

readily than Europeans. The major threat to harmony in the

future does however, lie in racist attitudes towards ethnic

groups and individuals originating in Asia.[16]

Italians : Italian is spoken by more than 400,000

Australians and Italians have been established as a

recognisable community since the gold rush of the 1850s. In

the 19th century most Italians came from northern Italy or

Switzerland. The peak of Italian immigration was in the

1950s-60s, as a result of an agreement with the Italian

government in 1951.

Germans : Germans became established in Southern

Australia almost from its beginning, with the arrival of

Silesian Lutheran farmers in November 1838. In the same

year, German missionaries became the first free settlers in

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15. Ibid, p.171.

16. Year Book Australia 1995, No.77, Australian Bureau of
     Statistics, Canberra, pg.131.

Queensland. They were numerous during the gold rushes. German immigration was most in the 1950s under an agreement with the West German government from 1952.

Greeks - Greek is the third most commonly spoken language in Australia, being used by 277,000 in 1986. Greek immigration increased in the 1920s but peaked in the 1960s under an agreement signed in 1952. The Greeks have a vigorous press and school system and are among the most successful in maintaining their culture, religion and language.[17] Many Greeks have entered the business and professional classes.

Dutch : The Dutch connection with Australia goes back to the explorations of the 17th century but there were little Dutch settlement until the 1950s. They have maintained a low profile until recently and have largely adopted English language even at home.

Chinese : The Chinese have been the most controversial immigrants in Australian history and were excluded from settlement altogether after the introduction of the Immigration Restriction Act 1901.[18] The 19th century Chinese communities died away by the 1950s. Their members

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17. Australian Encyclopedia, no.12, p.172.

18. Ibid, p.172.

grew rapidly again in the 1970s and by 1986 there were 139000 Chinese-speakers in Australia, mainly from South East Asia.

Vietnamese : The Vietnamese differ from other ethnic groups in Australia, in having no history of settlement before 1975.[19] They are an entirely refugee population, numbering about 70000 with a further 40000 or so also desired from Vietnam but of Chinese origin. They have also been the target of much of the racial prejudice directed against Asians in the 1980s.

Ethnic Organisations and Services : The federal government provides general and welfare services for immigrants and other ethnic communities through the Department of Immigration, Local Government and Ethnic Affairs (DILGEA), the Advisory Council on Multicultural Affairs and Office of Multicultural Affairs. The Special Broadcasting Service was set up by the Federal Government in 1977 to provide multilingual broadcasting services. More than 200 ethnic organisations receive support from the federal government to deliver welfare services; many more receive State grants for cultural activity, the production of newsletters or the organisation of festivals.

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19. Ibid, p.173.

Government support for ethnic organisations is modest and conforms to principles already established for aiding welfare, cultural and educational services by other voluntary organisations.

Multiculturalism

The term multiculturalism, coined in Canada in the late 1960s, was in the official use in Australia in 1973. It has been developed since in the government publication 'Multiculturalism for All Australians' (1982) and by the Office of Multicultural Affairs, set up within the Prime Ministers' department in 1987. Multiculturalism as a public policy recognises that Australians are drawn from many backgrounds, that special approaches and services are needed for those of differing language or religion and that social cohesion is attained by tolerating differences within an agreed legal and constitutional framework.[20]

White Australia Policy

This is the unofficial term for an early government policy, legalized in the 1901 Restrictive Immigration Act, for restricting immigration to Australia by those of non-

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20. Gordon Briscoe, "Aboriginal Australian Identity : The historeography of relations between indigenous ethnic groups and other Australians, 1788-1988," History Workshop, Autumn 1993, pg.146.

European descent. It was based partly on racial discrimination but was generally defended on economic as well as social ones. The 1901 Act avoided overt exclusion of Asians but effectively prohibited all but a very few from entry but a dictation test in a 'prescribed' language. The policy was long supported by all parties and defended by politicians. The policy was not officially abandoned until 1973.

It can be said that the growth of Australia's population to its present total of more than 16 million is the direct result of immigration over the past two centuries. The majority of Australians cannot trace their local ancestry further back than 1880s and today one in five residents was born overseas and a further one in five is the child of one or two immigrant parents.

Immigrants since 1788 have fallen into four major categories - convicts, assisted immigrants, unassisted immigrants and refugees, smaller numbers came as in destined labourers or entered illegally. Immigration policy has always aimed at attracting settlers who would remain in Australia to build up its population and develop its resources and immigration programmes have encouraged family migration ever since the wives and children of convicts were allowed to join them in the 1830s. Today, there is no

restriction on immigrants on the basis of race or nationality, but selection takes employability and skills into account; no immigrants except refugees are existed by the government. Australia remains one of the most sparsely populated states in the world and arguments for 'zero population growth' and reduced immigration will undoubtedly continue to meet with strong resistance from government, business and the source countries of potential immigrants.

The first important group of refugees to come to Australia were Jews escaping Hitler, who were admitted under the Evian agreement of 1938, most came between 1947 and 1952 as 'displaced persons' from Eastern Europe.[21] Between 1945-1985 more than 430000 refugees entered Australia : the largest numbers came from Vietnam, Poland, Hungary, Yugoslavia, Latvia, Czechoslavakia, Lebanon, Ukraine and Cambodia, but more than 14000 Russians came from China after the civil war there in 1949, and 6000 refugees were admitted from East Timor in the 1970s. The great majority of refugees have been from Communist states, but small numbers have also come from Latin America; very few have come from the two largest refugee concentration in the world, in Eastern Africa and around Afghanistan. Refugee settlement

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21. Australian Encyclopedia n.12, pg.265.

has been controversial since the 1930s, especially with the admission of large numbers of Asians after 1975.

There have been non-British immigrants since 1788, but until the 1950s they were restricted by official policy which aimed at creating a British society in Australia. Preference for British immigrants was gradually abandoned from the 1960s particularly when Britain began imposing restrictions on the Australian immigrants in 1968. The requirement for all British immigrants to obtain resident visas on the same basis as other applicants, which was introduced in the early 1970s, was the most fundamental departure from Australian immigration policy since 1788. The second major change was the official ending in 1973 of the White Australia policy and since then the proportion of Asians in the immigrant intake has risen to more than 35%. In 1986 there were 536000 Asians resident in Australia, the largest numbers coming from Vietnam, China and Hong Kong, Lebanon, Malaysia, India, Phillipines and Sri Lanka.[22] The New Zealanders are the only nationality allowed unrestricted entry.

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22. Ibid, p.271.

CHAPTER II

AUSTRALIAN SOCIETY AND POLITICS

Australia - perhaps the least inhabited continent on earth has been the home to human beings for at least 40,000 years.[1] The first set*t*lers were the Australian Aborigines, who came by sea, probably on bamboo rafts. The arrival of the first fleet of convict ships from England in 1788, marked the end of the Aborigines' sole occupation of the continent and the beginning of great challenges and hardships for all its inhabitants. Since then millions of immigrants have come from all over the world, and each new wave of settlers has had a unique impact on Australian society and culture.

On 1 January 1901, by an Act of the British parliament, Australia became a Federal Commonwealth, 'a nation for a continent and a continent for a nation' in the words of Edmund Barton, the first Prime Minister. The new nation had come about through a long process of consultation and wary compromise between the existing colonies of New South Wales, Victoria, Queensland, South Australia, Western Australia and Tasmania, with the encouragement of the imperial government. The relationship between the federal government, the *states* and the mother country was still ambiguous.

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1.   The Commonwealth Yearbook 1996, Hanson Cooke Ltd for The Commonwealth Secretariat, London, 1996, p.163

Between the landing of the First Fleet in 1788 and Federation in 1901, Australia drew its population predominantly from Britain. The society from which these Australians came was changing very rapidly - from an agricultural to an industrial system, from rural to urban life and from strongly defined regionalism towards a more anglicised and uniform culture. It was more 'English', more centred on London, more oriented towards a world-wide empire, more racially conscious.[2] Australia drew on distinctive British cultures. The largest number of immigrants were English.

ENGLISH INFLUENCE ON AUSTRALIA

The Britishers were the first to land in Australia as English convicts. The number of transportees increased and they slowly settled there. Later Australia came under the colonial rule of Britain. The English settlers attempted to make everything on English lines. As majority of people in Australia were English, it had tremendous impact on its society, politics and culture.[3]

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2. The Australian People : An Encyclopedia of the Nation, its People and their Choices, Australia 1788-1988, Angus and Robertson Publishers, 1988, p.72.

3. Ibid, p.446.

In its formative period, Australian culture was seen as a variant of British culture. As the English were always the largest element among the British settlers, their cultural influence was naturally greater than that of Irish, Scots or Welsh. It is impossible to disentangle from British influences.

There were some difference between the Australian and English societies which must be taken into account when trying to analyse the transportation of English culture. The state was stronger in Australia because of its convict origins and because of the tendency, found throughout the British Empire, for the colonial administration to plan, allocate resources and determine social and employment conditions more vigorously than laissez faire liberalism allowed in Britain. Much of the social control exercised in the English countryside - by the aristocracy, the squires and the justices of the peace - was absent in Australia, where the police filled the gap.[4] Thus all the policies determined this aspect.

There were certain aspects of Australian society that were distinctly English and were often referred to as such

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4.   Ibid, p.460.
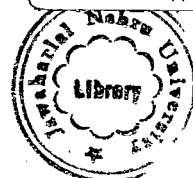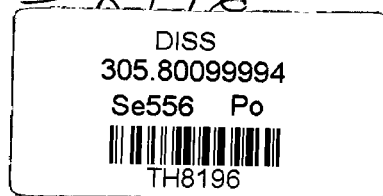
by contemporaries.[5] Australia was not a particularly unruly society as compared to the United States of America. Violence was mainly directed against the Aborigines and less consistently, the Chinese. Australian gold, coal and copper-miners were largely of English or Cornish origin and were as law-abiding as those they had left behind. Crime and civil disorder declined in Australia as in England, until both societies had become peaceful and well ordered in comparison with their American or European counterparts.

Two distinctively attitudes underlie the consolidation of Australian society. One was the accepted higher authority, provided that authority was seen as 'fair and reasonable.'[6] The Australian ruling classes were not sanctified by the magic of aristocracy and monarchy, but were answerable to elected assemblies which were much more representative than those in England from the 1850s onwards. Authority in Australia was democratically legitimised, whereas in England it remained based to some extent on hereditary principles, atleast until the successful challenge to the House of Lords in 1911. The Australian middle classes were certainly at one with their English

5.   J. Issac, <u>British Post War Migration</u>, Cambridge University Press, London, 1954, p.31.

6.   The Australian People, n.2, p.455.

counterparts in accepting the aristocratic atmosphere surrounding Government House. But an equally ancient English notion, that government should be obeyed if it acted fairly, was widespread and led eventually to the State become a neutral 'umpire.'

The second attitude, which became increasingly important from the 1880s with its culmination at Gallipoli in 1915, was the sense of pride in the British Empire and its dominant English rulers.[7]

Queen Victoria was very much the Queen of Australia, although she never visited the country and did not hold that official title. The wild enthusiasm that greeted the Duke of Edinburgh turned to mass patriotic fervour when an attempt was made to assassinate him by an Irishman. Imperial patriotism was a vital social cement in both countries.[8] It was seen as natural that English ideas, the English language, English institutions and the English 'race' should be pre-dominant. The Queen of England, the flag of England, the language and religion of England, the laws and institutions of England, all cemented Australian society as surely as they did of the mother country.

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7.   Ibid, 461.

8.   J.D.B. Miller (ed.), Australian and British : Social and Political Connections, Methuen Publication, Sydney, 1987, p.21.

Australian resentment of English attitudes grew with
the 'Bodyline' bowling controversy of 1932, when cricket
became a means of the British economy and the even greater
depression in Australia that resulted from this collapse, a
depression that many saw as deliberately created by English
financial capital.[9] Thus, between the wars an ambivalence
developed, where hostility to the English was not always
incompatible with pride in the English Empire. The point of
reference remained England, however, and the so-called
'cultural cringe' was towards England and English opinion of
Australia.

With such a large and continuing immigration from
England, it is hardly surprising that Australian popular
culture shows many English influences. English was already
an urban society by 1851 and much of her influence has come
through commercial rather than folk culture, where the
Scottish and Irish influences are more apparent. Popular
culture came increasingly to be transmitted through the
media and educational systems, rather than through songs and
stories.[10] Australia shares with England one of the highest
levels of newspaper readership in the world and there has

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9.   Ibid, p.98.

10.   Australian people, n.2, p.459.

been a close relationship between the Australian press and London for over a century. English influence permeates Australian popular culture to such an extent that it is often artificial to try to determine what is of English origin and what is authentically Australian.[11] In Twentieth century Australia there has been an inevitable closeness of association between culture and English language.

ENGLISH INFLUENCE OF AUSTRALIAN POLITICS

Australia took its political institutions from the West-Minister model, as modified by practice throughout the British empire.[12] Australia also took many of its political and organisational ideas directly from Britain, as its predominantly British population of the 19th century knew of no other models. There were influences from other English-speaking societies, particularly the United States of America, but Australians were generally resistant to practices and ideas that did not originate in Britain. In many respects, Australia was ahead of Britain in applying ideas that had British origins - for example, in the adoption of the secret ballot and women's suffrage and in

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11. Ibid, p.459.

12. Ibid, p.447.

the creation of viable parliamentary labour parties.[13]
Political ideas though expressed in the English language,
were not exclusively 'English'; there has been an American
influence from the 1850s to the present day.[14]

By 1788 English politics had already been divided into
two major tendencies, the Whigs and the Tories. While there
was no clear-cut ideological distinctions, the Whigs came to
be seen as the precursors of modern liberalism (with an
emphasis on the rights of the people) and the Tories were
associated with conservatism (with an emphasis on duty).
While these were not used in Australia, the later division
between Liberals and Conservatives remained important.

Apart from the Parliamentary parties, English
immigrants were important in the spread of socialist ideas
in the early days of the labour parties.[15] Australian trade
unions were formed on the model of British unionism.

The years between 1918 and 1945 saw a marked decline in
direct English influence and after 1928, in migration from

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13.   F.K. Crowley, <u>British Migration to Australia 1860-1914</u>,
      D. Phil thesis, Oxford University Press, 1961, p.246.

14.   Diane Ravitch, "Multiculturalism E Pluribus Plures,"
      <u>American Scholar</u>, Summer 90, 59(3); p.338.

15.   The Australian people, n.2, p.450.

England.[16] While some English migrants of the 1920s became influential, most politicians in this period were Australian-born. British and Australian politics ceased following parallel lines during the 1960s. By the early 1980s it had shifted from the imperialist conservatism to the 'free market' ideas shared by American Republicans. By the 1980s it was meaningless to talk of 'English' ideological influence in Australia.

English Political influence was so all-pervading between 1788 and the 1960s that in can be found in all areas and in support of all ideologies. By the 1960s English influence in Australia has become less obvious and traceable. Nevertheless, many conservatives were still arguing in the mid-1980s that 'English' institutions and traditions were the basis of the Australian political inheritance.

MULTICULTURAL AUSTRALIA

Australia has been recognised as one of the most successful nations in building a tolerant, inclusive and culturally diverse society.[17] These principles are now

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16. S.G. Foster, "English People in Australia", in The Australian Encyclopedia, 1993, Sydney, p.34.

17. Foreign Affairs and Trade, Multicultural Australia, Fact Sheet no.2, February 1988, p.1.

deeply entrenched as core Australian values. Multiculturalism is being emphasised in Australia. It can be called a multicultural society. Australia's multicultural society includes its indigenous peoples and settlers from countries all around the world.

The term 'multicultural' describes the cultural and ethnic diversity of contemporary Australia.[18] According to the population census data collected in 1996, 23 percent of the population were born in the United Kingdom and Ireland, 6.4 percent were born in Europe, 5 percent were born in Asia, 2.1 percent were born in Oceania, 1.2 percent were born in the Middle East and North Africa, and less than 2 percent were born in other regions. Out of the total population of 18.3 million, 3.5 million, or around 18 percent, are second-generation Australians.[19]

Australia's cultural and ethnic diversity is a valuable national asset which successive Australian governments have supported and encouraged. Government policies seek to ensure that this diversity is a positive force in our society so that Australians continue to be united by common values, goals and aspirations.

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18. Ibid, p.1.
19. Ibid, p.1.

Australia has an enviable international reputation for being a racially tolerant and culturally diverse nation.[20] Australia's multicultural policies evolved from the need to deal with issues raised by the arrival in Australia of large numbers of migrants. Many did not have English as their first language. This evolution has undergone three main phases.[21]

- Assimilation, from 1901 to the mid-1960s

This policy drew its rationale from the so-called 'White Australia' policy. While the preference at this time was for British migrants, others were accepted on the understanding that they should shed their cultures and languages and be assimilated into the host population so that they would rapidly become indistinguishable from it. The policy largely excluded non-European immigration. It could not, however, withstand the attitudinal changes after the Second World War, and the growing recognition in Australia that, in relation to Asian countries, it was not just a matter a matter of 'our view of them' but also 'their view of us' that was important.

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20. Foreign Affairs and Trade, Australia : An Introduction, Fact Sheet no.4, July 1997, p.1.

21. Multicultural Australia, n.17, p.2.

- Integration, from the mid-1960s to 1972.

The Liberal-Country Party Coalition led by E.G. Whitlam effectively ended the 'White Australia' policy in 1972 by allowing the migration of 'distinguished' non-Europeans. The appointment of Al Grassby as minister for immigration by Prime Minister Whitlam in 1972 was one of the catalyst in this area.[22] He positively asserted the virtues of a multicultural society, choosing to describe it as a mosaic of cultures making up a single rich picture. Among other things, the new integration policy recognised that large number of migrants, especially those whose first language was not English, were experiencing hardships as they settled into life in Australia, and required more direct assistance.

It also recognised the importance of ethnic organisations in assisting the process of re-settlement. Expenditure on migrant assistance and welfare rose sharply in the early 1970s in response to these needs.

- Multiculturalism, from 1972

By 1973, the term 'multiculturalism' had been introduced and minority groups were forming state-based and

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22. Gareth Evans and Bruce Grant, Australia's Foreign Relations in the World of 1990s, Melbourne University Press, 1995, p.27.

national associations to promote their language and heritage within mainstream institutions. This brought about a radical new view of the place of migrants in Australian society and offering many substantive changes in government provisions for migrant and ethnic minorities. Critics dismissed the approach as poorly conceived and deliberately unwilling to address the fundamental issues of access and equality in Australian society. Nevertheless the contrast between the post-1975 and the pre-1972 government was dramatic.

During the 1970s the multicultural idea won many friends from various quarters. The path of multiculturalism has several notable features. Firstly, in one sense multiculturalism has had significant success. Although it was a totally new addition to the agenda of government action and was closely associated with a Labour government but is was incorporated into the programs of the conservative governments that came after 1975.[23] As a result, Australia had ethnic radio, multicultural television, Migrant Resources Centres, a Telephone Interpreter Service, an Australian Institute of

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23. Ibid, p.28.

Multicultural Affairs and Ethnic Affairs Commissions in four States.

Secondly, Multiculturalism is only a little closer in the 1980s than it was in 1972 to having a coherent theoretical and practical content, or a meaning that is genuinely understood and agreed upon by either its advocates on its opponents.

Thirdly, and partially as a result of the second point whereas in its early days the sources of support for and opposition to multiculturalism were fairly clear and predictable, in the 1980s the field is more confused. It is often said that multiculturalism is often at crossroads - it will either entirely dissolve or emerge.

The federal government has endorsed the principles of the 1989 National Agenda for a Multicultural Australia, including three dimensions of multicultural policy:[24]

1. Cultural identity - the right of all Australians, within certain limits, to express and share their individual heritage, including their language and religion;

2. Social justice - the right of all Australians to equality of treatment and opportunity, and the removal

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24. Multicultural Australia, n.17, p.1.

of barriers of race, ethnicity, culture, religion, language gender or place of birth, and

3.   Economic efficiency - the need to maintain develop and utilise effectively the skills and talents of all Australians, regardless of background.

These principles apply equally to all Australians, whether Aboriginal, Anglo-Celtic or from a non-English speaking background, and whether they were born in Australia or overseas. Multicultural policies are also based on the premise that all Australians are committed to their country's interests and future, accept the structures and principles of its society, and accept the rights of others to express their views and values.

IMMIGRATION

The first immigrants to Australia were criminals transported from Europe. From 1788, some 160000 convicts were shipped here with officials of the penal system. Then from the early 1790s they were joined by free immigrants.

The 1820s saw a marked increase in the migration of free persons from Britain. Early migration peaked between 1851 and 1860, when arrivals were around 50000 people a

year.   During this gold rush era, Chinese immigrants were the largest non-British group.[25]

The two world wars also influenced Australia's migration program - a resettling of refugees and young people were significant chapters in Australian immigration history.[26]   In the past 50 years, approximately 5-6 million immigrants from 150 countries have made Australia their home.

Socially, migration has contributed to the emergence of Australia as one of the most vibrant and dynamic societies in the world.   It has meant the introduction of more than 100 languages into Australian life, while English remains the common language.   It also has resulted in the growth of community language schools, ethnic media, businesses, diverse religious and cultural activities and variety in foods, restaurants, fashion art and architecture.   People who have migrated to Australia in the last 50 years now rank among the nations' most successful leaders in business, industry, research and the professions.

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25.   Humphrey McQueen, A New Britannia, Revised edition, Penguin Books Australia Limited, 1986, p.126.

26.   The Australian People, n.2, p.917.

Immigration Policy

Australia has a non-discriminatory immigration policy, which means that anyone from any country can apply to migrate, regardless of their ethnic origin, sex, colour or religion.[27]

Australia, a huge continent with a small population and no foreign borders, being rich in resources almost untouched by terrorism and close to South-East Asia is seen as environmentally unpolluted and capable of sustaining a much larger population.[28] This capability will make it impossible for Australia to ignore international population pressure and refugee movements.

The nexus between immigration policy and multiculturalism takes several closely related forms.[29] The continuation of medium to high immigration levels, on a non-discriminatory basis and with high priority attached to family migration, would be likely to provide the demographic basis for a cosmopolitan community and to meet the needs of migrant groups already in Australia. Such a policy would be more supportive of the intent and social needs of a

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27. Multicultural Australia, no.17, p.3.

28. The Australian People, n.2, p.917.

29. Ibid.

multicultural community than a more restrictive policy. However, it is not only the outcome of multicultural policy but the way that policy is debated that will affect the climate of multiculturalism in future.

Multiculturalism refers to and supports the value of diversity in society. Its expressions are ethnic festivals and arts, ethnic radio and television, the proliferation of ethnic organisations throughout the community, multicultural education and community language teaching. This strand of multiculturalism has been very vigorous and positive and has found the most willing support from government. The present interest is clearly deeply felt and real but is not shared by all ethnic people. The form that ethnic identity will take over the coming years is unknown.

The other key strand of multiculturalism, sometimes related to the interest in identity, sometimes deliberately distanced from it, is concerned with ethnicity as a factor affecting equality in society.[30] The basis for this concern is clear - ethnic origin should not be allowed to disadvantage people in terms of access to their rights, opportunities and rewards in society. The evidence that is

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30. Loong Wong, "Ethnicity, The State and the Public Agenda" in Michael Muetzelfeldt (ed.), Society, State and Politics in Australia, Photo Press Australia Ltd., NSW, p.315.

often do no is abundant in employment and income statistics, patterns of representation, access to health and welfare services and educational institutions.[31] The causes of such disadvantage are readily observable - language barriers, cultural differences, the Anglo-Australian dominance of power centres and institutional process, the vulnerability to exploitation of newcomers to Australia.

Nevertheless the meaning and place of multiculturalism in Australian society will remain an urgent question and one that governments and the community will continue to address. Multiculturalism is only partially a technical issue that can be left in the hands of the bureaucrats and researchers. It is also an emotional issue, capable of giving rise to strong feelings among large numbers of people at all levels of society. It is a loose, partially symbolic concept which draws on a range of issues and beliefs. Constant community involvement in the evolution of multiculturalism is fundamental to its success. The projection is that without the understanding and acceptance of multiculturalism, the political system of Australia would be disfunctional.

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31. Ibid, p.312.

CHAPTER III

TOWARDS ASIAN OUTLOOK

neighbourly nations, refugee problems, intermingling of cultures etc.

The emerging 'one world' vision among nations around the globe is based on an appreciation of environmental interdependence, combined with a recognition of the inexorable logic of science and technology, and financial markets. Globalisation now is unquestionably a primary factor for change in international affairs, generating its own new issues on the international agenda as well as a greater capacity to solve them.[3] The challenge for the international community, and for foreign policy makers, is to develop and implement co-operative strategies to tackle systematically the big problems, the problem of peace and security for those millions who are threatened by continuing conflict, and the problems of over-population, hunger, debt and environmental degradation that threaten hundreds of millions of people.

ASIA-PACIFIC DYNAMISM

The emergence of the Asia Pacific region as the most economically dynamic in the world is a development of great international significance. Since the end of the Vietnam War in 1975, its growth has been phenomenal.

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3. Gareth Evans and Bruce Grant, n.1, p.12.

The centre of gravity of the world has shifted from the

Atlantic to the Pacific in the 1980s.[4] The Asia Pacific

region as a whole generates over two-fifths of world's

trade, and produces well over half the world's economic

output.   The per capita incomes of some countries like Hong

Kong and Singapore have surpassed the lower income European

countries.   The region's economic importance to Australia is

obvious.   Nine of Australia's ten largest markets can be

found there.   Nearly half of the total foreign investment in

Australia has come from the Asia Pacific region, and a

similar proportion of Australia's total investment overseas

is located here.[5]

The region is politically, culturally and militarily

diverse.[6] It can itself be sub-divided into regions such as

North-East Asia, South-East Asia, the South Pacific and

North America, the latter being included by virtue of strong

trans-Pacific economic linkages.   Its only common focus is

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4.   David Wurfel and Bruce Burton (ed), <u>South-east Asia in
      the New World Order : The Political economy of a
      Dynamic Region</u>, Macmillan Press Ltd., London, 1996,
      pg.8.

5.   Don Grant and Graham Seal (ed), <u>Australia in the World,
      Perceptions and Possibilites</u>, Black Swan Press, Certain
      University of Tech, Perth, 1994, p.224.

6.   Claire Clarke (ed), <u>Australian Foreign Policy : Towards
      a Reassessment</u>, Cassell Australia Ltd., Victoria, 1993,
      p.97.

the Pacific O¢cean.   The region has its share of military conflict, territorial disputes and political disagreements in relation to Korea, Cambodia, the Spratly Islands (contested by seven nations).   Unlike Europe, it is not made up of military blocs, although there have been a number of significant bilateral links between the United States and some countries of the region.

Generally the elements of economic dynamism, openness and diversity lend a strong pragmatic flavour to the region. The establishment of the Asia Pacific Economic Cooperation (APEC), the Association of South East Asian Nations (ASEAN) and the ASEAN Regional Fourm (ARF) address the regional economic and security issues.   Australia's interests manifestly lie in encouraging the emergence of a strong sense of Asia Pacific Community, and building the institutions to advance it.[7]

Australian Foreign Policy Dynamics

In todays world of globalisation, no nation can live in isolation.   All the nations are inter-dependent on one another for development.   The desire for growth and prosperity is the most compelling and significant force in almost every individual country, and economic aspirations

7.   Gareth Evans and Bruce Grant, n.1, p.14.

constitute the primary dynamics of both internal and external policies. The starting point in making decisions about foreign policy is necessarily the concept of national interest. It is a truism that all foreign policy is, or should be, directed at the protection and advancement of the national interest. It is the same with regard to the Commonwealth of Australia.

Given the fluid international environment and the particular evolution of Australian foreign policy, we can identify four major priorities of Australian foreign policy in this order : maintaining a positive security and strategic environment in our own region; contributing to the best of our capacity to global security; pursuing trade, investment, and economic cooperation, and making a realistic contribution to the cause of good international citizenship.[8] Apart from these, there are innumerable issues that arises which require Australia to take positions of one kind or the other.

Much of the international thinking of the Australian people, in recent years, has centred around the quest for a new basis of security in a world different from that in

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8.   Ibid, p.38.

which they have grown into nationhood.[9] There has been a conscious effort in Australia, to come to terms with its geo-political setting. There has been a considerable re-reading of political geography in Australia.[10] Australia is situated in the South Pacific and is contiguous to South-East Asia. Its security is linked with the security of South-East Asia and the economic interaction with Asian countries is intimate. Geographically it is a part of Asia Pacific and therefore it is in quest for Asian identity.

Australia's Identity in Asia

Australia has felt secure only as part of a larger entity. It was aligned first with Britain and then later with the United States. In the pre-war era if the British empire felt threatened, Australia felt threatened too; it took part in nearly all the British wars including the World Wars. The end of the Second World War saw the sunset of the British empire. It saw the emergence of the United States and the Soviet Union as World Powers. Australians realised that Britain was no longer in a position to provide security. This gave way for the gradual disassembling of Australia's independent post-war foreign policy. Over the

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9. Ravindra Varma, <u>Australia and Southeast Asia</u>, Abhinav Publications, New Delhi, 1974, p.3.

10. Ibid, p.3.

course of the 1950s, there was a gradual shift towards the US umbrella.[11] It slowly drew Australia into the US alliance.

In the 1960s, particularly with South-East Asia going through turbulent times, Australia felt that only a close security relationship with the United States could prevent threats to its security in the future. The threat of communism was looming large in its neighbourhood and it felt secure under Uncle Sam's security umbrella.

A watershed in Australian foreign policy came about in 1972 when Edward Gough Whitlam came to power under the labour party.[12] Certain perceptible changes did take place in Australia's foreign policy in the 1970s. Australia was put on the path of independent thinking in pursuit of certain foreign objective. Whitlam tried to create a regional for Australia within the Australia - US relations. The Whitlam government declared that Australia had its own interests and could make its own assessment of what they

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11. F.A. Mediansky, 'Australia' and Southeast Asia,' in F.a. Mediansky and A.C. Palfreeman, In Pursuit of National Interests : Australians' Foreign Policy is the 1990s, Pergamon Press, NSW, 1988, p.231.

12. Russel Ward, The History of Australia : The Twentieth Century 1901-1975, Heinemann Educational Books, London, 1978, p.226.

were. Being an ally of the US need not mean being subservient to the US.[13]

The most important political decision taken by him was to put an end to the only white immigration policy.[14] For the first time Asians were welcomed. It recognised China, North Korea, North Vietnam. It withdrew its forces from Vietnam and the United States was openly criticised for bombing North Vietnam. Australia followed a new form of engagement in Asia.[15] Particular stress was placed on Australian policy of development in the Asia-Pacific region. It started giving importance to the region. The late 1970s was the beginning of the 'Look-East' policy.[16] Significant steps were taken to establish a regional role for Australia. Since then Australia is realising itself as a nation in the Asian continent though it cannot totally do away with its Western system. In recent times, it is been seen that the coming of Asians to Australia is creating a debate in the Australian society. There are now many voices seeking to give a single national identity rather than a policy of

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13. Gareth Evans and Bruce Grant, n.1, pg.76.

14. Russel Ward, 1978, n.12, p.228.

15. Pioneer (New Delhi), 21 April, 1996.

16. Gareth Evans and Bruce Grant, n.1, p.94.

multiculturalism which would destroy the Australian society based on Western model.[17]

Australia's identity in Asia and the way Australia is perceived in the region can be seen from a number of features.[18] Australia is a large and rich country with a small but mixed immigrant population, but there are not many people of Asian descent. It has a strong British heritage and is the fourth English - language state after Britain, United States and Canada. It is a middle size power of much usefulness to the region. It is for the moment seen as in relative economic decline but still businessmen invest.

The first is the migrant state. This is significantly different from the way Australians see themselves as colonists and settlers, pioneers who made great sacrifices to open up a wild and inhospitable continent. The Australia state was found initially by convict labour and their gaolers, followed by colonial officials, farmer - settlers, sojourning merchants and immigrant workers.[19] Later, after the federation was established, there were more elaborate policies to people the land, including for over half a century the policy which excluded Asian immigration. The

17. Tribune, Chandigarh, 9 Sept. 1997.

18. Don Grant and Graham Seal (ed), n.5, p.239.

19. Ibid, p.240.

Australians looked to settlers who were racially and culturally compatible while the Asians, notably the Chinese were mainly sojourners in search of gold and livelihood. The experiences shared by the millions of migrants, refugees and sojourners have brought out striking difference between native states in Europe and Asia where indigenous peoples are pre dominant in every way and migrant states in the Americas and Australia where most people have come from outside during the past two or three hundred years.[20] It reflects an increasingly pluralist society, formed by people who come from all corners of the globe.[21]

The Britishness in Australia, its British heritage and that it is the fourth English language state is what Asians admire. The extension of that world into the Asia-Pacific region has made Australia increasingly important to Asians. For Asian, it is this very close link that Australia has with the other three English-language states, particularly with the British Empire until the 1950s and with the United States since the 1960s that has enhanced its position in their eyes.

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20. <u>Year Book Australia</u>, 1997, No.79, Australian Bureau of Statistics, Canberra, pg.136.

21. Ibid, pg.137.

The third feature of Australia's identity to Asia is as a useful medium sized power. Its importance has been all the greater because of its location as a continent south-east of Asia. The involvement of Australia in sensitive and complex events like the Vietnam and Cambodian crisis has earned Australia considerable respect as a new player in Asia. Australia's handling of its special but relatively low-profile relationship with America made a great difference to its ability to gain the confidence of its Asian neighbours. There is no country more stable than Australia in the Southern hemisphere. There is no other English - language state closer to, and more locked into, the rapidly growing economic region of East and South-East Asia. Added to this is the fact that Australia is unlikely to be any more than a relatively medium-sized power in terms of population and wealth and therefore not a threat to any of its neighbours.

The fourth feature of Australia's identity to Asia is as a country in relative economic decline. This is seen as reassuring the Asian neighbours that it will remain amiable and never a threat. Australia is a rich country, only a little behind the developed nations of Western Europe and North America. In Asia, only Japan, Hong Kong and Singapore has raced ahead but Australia remains well ahead of all its

Asian neighbours.[22] The Asian observers view that Australia

is economically a long way ahead of them.[23] They also

acknowledge that they had received valuable help either

directly or indirectly from Australia, directly through

trade, investment and aid, and indirectly through tertiary

education and training. Asians have been impressed by the

number of enterprising Australians operating in their

countries.

The final feature and key point of Australia's identity

in Asia is the image of great potential in Australia's

economic relationships with its Asian neighbours. Japan has

become the big player in Australia's recent development, and

that relationship has kept economic growth reasonably

healthy. Many commercial and industrial organisation in

Asia are investing in Australia and the vice-versa.[24] If

they reciprocate as partners in this dynamic region of Asia-

Pacific, they can face the whole world.

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22. Hindu, Madras, 18 Sept. 1996.

23. Ibid.

24. Mark Turner, "Public Administration and Australia
    engagement with Asia", Australian Journal of Public
    Administration, June 1994, pg.254.

AUSTRALIA AND SOUTH-EAST ASIA

Australia has had difficulty in coming fully to terms with its South-East Asia neighbourhood, both because of Australian perception of South-East Asia and their perception of Australia.[25] Australia's European racial base and Western cultural traditions and style of life set them apart in both experience and out look. No part of Australia's geographic environment has been more complex and demanding than South East Asia. It has long been an area of major importance in Australian foreign policy, an importance reflected in Australian interest and involvement in the region. The states of Southeast Asia are located astride Australia's lines of sea and air communications with most of the outside world. Geographically, the region can be said to encompass the archipelagic states to the north of Australia as well as the Asian mainland states between the Indian sub-continent and China.

Post-War Southeast Asia has been one of the more turbulent regions in the world.[26] Instability has been caused by various intra-mural rivalries as well as by great power competition which have tried to shape the regional order to serve their wider strategic interests. Armed

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25. Gareth Evans and Bruce Grant, n.1, p.194.

26. F.A. Mediansky and A.C. Palfreeman, n.11, p.230.

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insurrection has been a persistent feature of the region and a major source of instability.[27] Great power competition has also destabilised the region.[28] The regional interests of the superpowers are strategic in character. By virtue of its geographic proximity and its historic links, China is most intimately associated with Southeast Asia. While relations between Australia and Southeast Asia has not been smooth, dramatic changes in Southeast Asia cannot be ignored if Australian foreign policy in that region is to be effective.

For much of its post-war history, Australian foreign policy was pre-occupied with strategic developments in Southeast Asia. The collapse of th British power in Singapore during World War II, demonstrated the threat posed by a hostile power which controlled archipelagic states to Australia's north. The rapid decolonisation of the region after the war meant that Australia could no longer look to the reassuring presence of Western states in South East Asia.[29] During the early post-war years the prospects for

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27. Ibid, p.236.

28. Ibid, p.236.

29. P.J. Boyce and J.R. Angel (ed), Independence and Alliance : Australia in World Affairs 1976-80, George Allen and Unwin Pvt. Ltd., Sydney, 1983, p.225.

regional security looked bleak. China emerged along with Soviet Union as a major Communist nation. They were expansionist powers bent on promoting their interests in the region. Australia sought to encourage a countervailing collective security system in which the US and Britain would play the major part.

An early expression of Australia's commitment to regional collective security was its contribution to the Malayan emergency in 1948. Australia and New Zealand undertook to assist Britain through ANZAM (Australian, New Zealand and Malayan) arrangements. This was the beginning of the military commitments in Southeast Asia.[30]

NATO (North Atlantic Treaty Organisation) had been signed by the Capitalist countries in the West. The powers in the South East Asian region wanted a similar arrangement in this region. They wanted a Pacific counterpart of NATO against the fear of communism in the region.[31] It was found that a three - concerned treaty between Australia, New Zealand and the United States was the natural arrangement. Thus was born an alliance, which both Australia and New Zealand had longed since the end of World War II (debacle of

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30. P.A. Mediansky and A.C. Palfreeman, n.11, p.234.

31. Ravindra Varma, Australia and Southeast Asia,, n.9, p.127.

Singapore). Thus the security ANZUS Pact was signed in September 1951 between Australia, New Zealand and the United States. It is the cornerstone of Australian foreign and defence policy.[32] The ANZUS treaty was the fruitation of Australia's age-old desire to have a regional arrangement in the area of its geographical location.

The French defeat in Indo-China in 1954 convinced the Australian government and other nations of the region that a defence pact which was much wider in scope than ANZUS and ANZAM was needed to contain communism. This defeat heightened US concern with the security of South East Asia. Largely on American instigation, eight nations signed the South East Asia Treaty Organisation (SEATO), a collective defence treaty in Manila in September 1954.[33] The Treaty linked world powers like Britain, France and the US with Australia and New Zealand. It attracted two regional states, the Phillipines and Thailand. The only Asian State to sign was Pakistan. The SEATO was Australia's first defensive treaty with Asian countries.

A Five Power Defence Arrangement (FPDA) was established in 1971 between Malaysia, Singapore, Australia, New Zealand

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32. Gordon Greenwood (ed), <u>Australia : A social and political History</u>, Angus and Robertson, Sydney, 1971, p.112.

33. F.A. Mediansky and A.C. Palfreeman, n.11, p.231.

and Britain. Thus Australia adopted a policy of forward

defence in the region.[34]

In 1967, the most successful organisation for regional

cooperation, the Association of Southeast Asian Nations

emerged. Australia is a dialogue partner of ASEAN and a

member of the ASEAN Regional Forum (ARF). As part of its

regional policy, it is a member of South Pacific Forum, it

was the initiator of the Asia-Pacific Economic Cooperation

(APEC) in 1989 and is also the initiator of the regional

cooperation in the Indian Ocean region.

An important shift in perception has occurred in both

South-East Asia and in Australia as economic considerations

have become dominant in the Asia Pacific region.

Australia's interests clearly demand their relationship with

South-East Asia be as broad-based as possible. Gareth

Evans, the Foreign Minister in his Statement on Australia's

Regional Security in 1989 has highlighted the following[35]:

1.   The region of primary importance/strategic interest are

     South-East Asia, South Pacific and the Eastern reaches

     of the Indian Ocean.

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34. The Pioneer, New Delhi, 7 Jan 1998.

35. The Pioneer, New Delhi, 21 July 1995.

2. It recognises the geographical imperatives and limited power which constrain Australia's ability of influence global and regional security.

3. The instrument of Australia's security policy have been defined as :

    a. Military capability.

    b. Politico-military capability.

    c. Diplomacy.

    d. Economic links.

    e. Development assistance.

    f. Non-military threat assistance.

    g. Exchanges of people and ideas.

4. The key to Australia's regional security policy is identified as a policy of **"comprehensive engagement with South-East Asia"** as well as **"Comprehensive commitment"** in the South Pacific.[36] The message highlights Australia's desire to be a full-fledged partner with South-East Asian Countries and its commitment to a purposeful change in the South Pacific. Australia's relations with the Republic of Indonesia were off to a flying start at the birth of the nation in 1945 but over the year became quite brittle. Relations got

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36. Ibid.

strained when Indonesia occupied the Portuguese East Timor
in 1975. The border dispute between Irian Jaya and Papua
New Guinea (PNG) further strained the relations. The
development assistance to Indonesia makes a significant
contribution to bilateral relations. Australia's relations
with Malaysia, Singapore and Brunei are based on mutual
respect and shared interests. Malaysia and Singapore are
members of the Five Power Defence Arrangement and APEC along
with Australia. The comprehensive engagement is seen in
defence, and immigration, trade and investment.[37] Thailand
and Phillipines have not had much trouble with Australia.
It was against the SLORC regime in Myanmar and was in
support of trade and economic sanctions and arms embargo.
Over the last few years, ASEAN countries have begun to
pursue greater economic and political engagement with the
SLORC.[38]

The story of Australia's relations with Indo-China
since the end of World War II, is in many ways the story of
Australian foreign policy. The mid-1950s was the peak of
Cold War. It brought Indo-China closer to the centre of
Australian security thinking. The 1952 Strategic Basis
paper noted that Indo-China was the 'key to defence of South

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37. B.J. Boyce and J.R. Angel, n.29, p.222.

38. The Hindu, (New Delhi), 22 July 1996.

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- East Asia'. Australia's involvement in Vietnam was due to

its following of the United States. Later Australia

contributed to the peace settlement process.

Australia's regional outlook was dominated by the

strategic objective of containing the influence of communist

powers mainly China and North Vietnam in the region. This

led to the forward deployment of forces to support Britain

in Malaya and the United States in Indo-China. Australia is

a middle power in the region though its influence in South-

East Asia has diminished with the growing authority of

ASEAN.[39] The regional policy in the 1990s has been the

'Look East' policy is towards Asia and is particular South-

East Asia.

AUSTRALIA AND SOUTH WEST PACIFIC

The interest focussed on the South Pacific is

relatively recent. For most of the Post-war years, the

attention of Australian foreign policy managers was directed

the strategic uncertainties in Southeast Asia and later, in

the Indian Ocean basin. Being a region which is distantly

located from the focal points of great power competition and

having been almost entirely free of intra-regional

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39. T.B. Millar (ed), Australia in Peace and War,
    Australian National University, Press, 1991, pg.187.

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conflicts, the South Pacific was largely ignored until the mid-1970s.[40] The region encompasses New Zealand, Papua New Guinea and the arc of island states and territories. Australia has had long-standing and comfortable diplomatic ·elationships with these island states.

Regional decolonisation in the 1970s was followed by :he first signs of Soviet interest in the South Pacific. ʌustralia along with its regional allies, the US and New Zealand increased its aid program to counter Soviet influence. Australia had made it clear that this area is of primary strategic interest to them in promoting peace and stability, including keeping the region free from destabilising activity by any external power.[41] It has been regarded as a guardian of Western alliance interests, to deny access to the Soviets or anyone potentially hostile to their interests.

Australia has termed its regional policy in the 1990s in South Pacific as 'Constructive Commitment.'[42] It entails maintaining and developing a partnership with Pacific Island countries which promotes regional stability through economic

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40. F.A. Mediansky and A.C. Palfreeman, n.1, p.209.

41. Ibid, p.210.

42. Gareth Evans and Bruce Grant, n.1, p.174.

development and the encouragement of shared perceptions of strategic and security interests. It is based on bilateral relations with all Pacific island countries and promotion of effective regional cooperation especially through South Pacific Forum and Asia Pacific Economic Cooperation. Australia is in a position to be a helpful neighbour. It is entirely consistent with the concept of constructive commitment to seek to encourage. Pacific island countries to recognise and address their growing social and economic problems. A major regional achievement has been the Treaty of Rarotonga in 1986 which established the South Pacific nuclear Free Zone.

Australians and New Zealanders have more in common with each other than with any other people in the world. They signed the ANZUS Pact along with the United States. In 1985 the US suspended its treaty obligations to New Zealand when it stopped visits by nuclear armed ships in its waters. The most important official ties they both have is through Australian and New Zealand closer Economic Relationship Trade Agreement (ANZCERTA or CER for short). New Zealand also signed the Five Power Defence Agreement (FPDA) along with Australia, Britain, Malaysia and Singapore.

Its geographic proximity and strategic significance guarantees Papua New Guinea's importance to Australia. It

is also a significant trading partner. The Joint Declaration of Principles has been signed with PNG. in 1987. The Agreed Statement on Security Cooperation between Australia and PNG was signed by Prime Ministers Bob Hawke and Rabbie Namaliu in September 1991.

Many of the small pacific island states are struggling to survive. They depend heavily on external financial assistance. This has brought Japan and Taiwan presence in the region. Australia has signed number of treaties with most of the island states including Vanuatu, the Marshall Islands, Tonga etc. It is the Big Brother in the region along the presence of big powers like the United States, France, China and Japan.[43]

Though the South West Pacific enjoys a high degree of stability, two conflicts can destabilise the regional order - the border situation between Indonesia and PNG and the French policy in New Caledonia. Another biggest problem has been the secessionist movement in Bougainville (PNG). The French resumption of nuclear tests in South Pacific received criticism from the world. Thus this region has become area of priority in the last few years. The whole world is looking towards this region.

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43.   Alan Renouf, Malcolm Frazer and Australian Foreign Policy, Australian Professional Publications, Sydney, 1986, p.242.

AUSTRALIA AND SOUTH ASIA

Until the 1990s the main thrust of diplomatic relations between Australia and the nations of South Asia was through the Australian Department of Foreign Affairs and its counterparts in South Asia. Since the years 1947-48 - in which India, Pakistan and Sri Lanka gained their independence from British rule, official relations between Australia and South Asia have been characterised by "benign neglect" on the part of Australia, and a degree of indifference on the other side where the players were more concerned to maintain a balance between the great powers for pursuing their goals.[44] There was much greater activity at the unofficial level.

In the 1970s Australian awareness of Asia exalted. Essentially the Australian government focussed its attention on the emerging economies of South-East Asia and East Asia as they were of more immediate relevance than the sluggish economies of South Asia. The establishment of the Australia - India Council (AIC) marked a watershed in relations between Australia and South Asia.[45] The end of Cold War and the worldwide re-alignment of political and security

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44. Marika Vieziany and Kenneth McPherson, <u>Australia and South Asia : A blueprint for 2001</u>, A Project of the National Centre for South Asian Studies, 1994, p.266.

45. Ibid, p.268.

interests also influenced this. The first tentative steps to foster "second-track diplomacy" with Pakistan, Sri Lanka and Bangladesh through the establishment of the National Centre for South Asian studies.[46] During the 1990s there will be an important role for organisation which can promote "second-track diplomacy" between Australia and South Asia. Currently India is at the centre of Australia's growing interest in South Asia.[47] To understand the prospects and faceted relationships with Pakistan, Sri Lanka and Bangladesh, a variety of agencies can facilitate the development of various dialogues with South Asian States.

Thus in conclusion we can say that Australia is suffering from an identity crisis. On one side it cannot do away with the presence of the big powers in the region while on the other it sees itself incomplete without aligning itself with the region of Asia. It feels that it can become a regional power, provided, it parts with its 'white's obsession' and identifies itself with the region around itself. It is slowly changing its foreign policy outlook to adjust to the changing environment. Unlike many countries which have been static in their responses to changed circumstances, Australia has shown remarkable dynamism.

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46. Ibid, p.268.

47. Gareth Evans and Bruce Grant, n.1, p.272.

CHAPTER IV

DYNAMICS OF AUSTRALIAN ETHNICITY

As already stated the existence of ethnic and cultural groups is widespread and occurs at most levels throughout the world, especially the Third World. These can be found in stratified societies such as found in Africa, Central and southern states of the United states of America and the former colonial areas of Asia.

Situated in South Pacific which between the Tropic of Cancer and Tropic of Capricorn, and cover 25 million square miles of the southern part of the Pacific Australia is the largest nation. Almost all the islands are thinly populated and indigenous people are marginalised in some areas. European immigrants are in the majority in Australia and New Zealand, and are settled in almost all the islands in significant numbers. The Christian population is in a dominating position in most of the countries. Besides European immigrants, the South Pacific has three other indigenous cultural groups - Melanesians, Polynesians and Micronesians. Out of these three, the Melanesians are in numerical majority and comprise 84 percent of the total population of the region. The Polynesians are next with 10 percent and micronesians with only 6 percent of the indigenous population.[1] Polynesians and Micronesians are

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1. International Encyclopedia of population, Vol.2, 1982, p.500.

mostly Christians but Melanesians are somewhat distinct in their religious belief and practices. Though most of them have adopted Christianity, it has not changed their original life style and traditions.

Australia is closer to the Melanesian group of countries as they are mostly located around Australia. Melanesians are spread into the South West Pacific, mainly in Papua New Guinea, Solomon Islands, New Caledonia, Fiji and Vanuatu. Australia is the largest, the oldest, and the strongest nation of the region with a highly modernised and developed economy. All major cultural group of the south Pacific are willing to retain their indigenous cultural traditions and life style but under a democratic framework.

The Melanesians are facing opposition in fighting for their rights of self determination and political rights. These countries are multi-racial societies where there are two dominant cultural groups.[2] These clashes affect the life and economy of these societies and also on the region.

AUSTRALIAN ETHNICITY

In 1788 when Britain "discovered" Australia, 250,000 aborigines lived there. Today they number 150,000 form only

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2. Ganganath Jha, "Politics and Society in the South Pacific", <u>Foreign Affairs Reports</u>, Nov.-Dec. 1987, p.244.

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1 percent of the total population and claims 10 percent of land[3]. Nobody is certain when the ancestors of Australian's indigenous peoples, the Aborigines and Torres Strait Islanders, first arrived.

Until recently Western historians focussed on early European contact with the Australian continent during the 16th and 17th centuries, when Portugal, Spain and Holland expanded their trade with Asia. In recent years this approach has been balanced by the recognition that Asia and Oceanic explorers and traders had contact with indigenous Australian people long before the European expansion into the eastern hemisphere.

Before the arrival of the European settlers, Aboriginal group inhabited most areas of the Australian continent, each speaking one or more of hundreds of separate languages, and developing district lifestyles and religions and cultural traditions in different regions.

The Aboriginal Affairs Minister in the state of South Australia has offered local Aboriginal groups land titles to historic heritage areas of Adelaide, preventing protracted and expensive Aboriginal land rights claims for other areas

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3.   New Strait Times (Kuala Lampur) 29 Jan. 1993.

in this state capital[4]. These claims are among the first of
a rush of land rights applications following a historic
Australian High court decision in 1992. The "Mabo decision"
overturned the concept of *terra nullis,* the legal fiction
that British settlers arrived to occupy uninhabited lands
and therefore no treaty was required between the British and
the Aboriginal[5]. The judgement allows Australia's 150,000
Aboriginal to claim "native title" to land where there is
proven kingship. Native title provides freehold ownership to
the whole tribe. The 1992 High Court judgment had great
political and symbolic importance because it gave the
Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander people a measure of
dignity and justice[6].

The Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander Commission
(ATSIC) was set up to bring to a common platform the
Aboriginal and Torres Islander people and the non-
Aboriginals. The ATSIC and global mining company Rio Tinto
are to explore jointly new opportunities for the economic
development of the Indigenous people. A memorandum of
understanding (MOU) has been signed which commits both the
organizations to cooperate at national, state and regional

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4.   Ibid.

5.   Ibid.

6.   The Statesman 6 July 1997.

level to increase the training, employment and business development opportunities of Aboriginal and Torres Islander people[7]. This has been considered as an important instrument of reconciliation.

The Indigenous people have been urged to involve themselves in constitutional reform at grassroots level as a matter of urgency. This was discussed at the Indigenous National Constitutional Commission (INCC) which said that the Indigenous Australians will need to find the resource to educate and involve their own communities in pushing for Constitutional change if they hope to have an equitable state in the nation's future political development[8]. The majority of delegates gave support to some form of recognition to Indigenous Australians in the Preamble to a new Constitution.[9] The ATSIC should represent the Indigenous interests in the drafting of the Bill of referendum on the Republic.

The above changes are a recent phenomena until recently, the Aborigines was denied all rights. Australia's fire-brand politician, Pauline Hanson is against the

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7.   ATSIC News, May 1998, Vol 7, No.3, P 5.

8.   Ibid, p.6.

9.   Ibid., p.19.

aborigines as she feels that they have traitorous intentions in demanding for their claims.[10] But the society has slowly started opening out to the indigenous people and it believes in assimilation of all.

Thus the ethnicity in Australia is discussed in detail to get to a comparative view of the ethnic situation in the region of Asia Pacific. This makes it easy to understand the dynamics of ethnic identities in a comparative framework.

Australian government has been trying to protect the interest of the indigenous aborigines and they at present are considered far better in that endeavour than some of their immediate neighbours, such as Indonesia and Papua New Guinea. However New Zealand is considered better in the realm of protecting the right of indigenous population. In order to understand this, reference is made here to analyse the situation in East Timor (Indonesia) Bougainville (PNG) and Maoris (NZ).

EAST TIMOR IN INDONESIA

Despite Indonesians ethnic diversity it has experienced few separatist movements. They present a serious security challenge. The most difficult and complicated example of

10. <u>The Pioneer</u> (New Delhi) 28 May 1997.

ethnic assertion and dispute in entire South East Asia can be traced in East Timor, formerly a Portuguese colony and now the 27th province of Indonesia. This dispute is more or less like Kashmir and equally internationalised[11]. There is presence of external powers involved in this dispute.

The indigenous population is Christians of Melanesian descent[12]. They seek autonomy on the ground that they are different from the Malay Muslims and also because they were subjected to a different colonial master than other parts of Indonesian archipelago. The Timorese do enjoy the traditional support of Portugal in particular and have posed problems to the Indonesian problems to integrate Indonesia claims East Timor because it was a part of Indonesia even before the advent of the European colonial master. When it got independence from the Dutch rule, East Timor remained the only area outside its control.

When East Timor was merged with Indonesia, political problem arose internationally because Portugal, its colonial master had formally submitted the issue of its decolonisation to the United Nations who had taken up this

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11. Ganganath Jha, Ethnic Politics in South East Asia and Quest for Identity, National Book Organisation, 1997, p.38.

12. Ibid. p.42.

issue[13]. During 1974 several parties emerged with aims ranging from full independence to integration with Indonesia or Australia. Initially Indonesia showed little interest. when a leftist pro-independence movement called the Frente Revolutionaria do Timor Leste Independente (Fretilin Revolutionary Front for an Independent East Timor) emerged as the best organised and probably the most popular of the parties, the Indonesians authorities began to fear the establishment of a communist state in East Timor. To avert this, Indonesia launched a clandestine cross-broder invasion of the colony[14]. After Fretilin had declared independence in November 1975, an open armed attack was done on the capital, Dili, on 1 December 1975[15]. Indonesian forces soon seized the main centres and arranged for East Timor's formal annexation as Indonesia's 27th province.

There was strong resistance to this Indonesia ignored widespread international condemnation of the invasion including several UN resolutions. In December 1988, Indonesia opened the province to foreign tourists. Throughout this period, repression continued. European

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13. Ibid p. 42.

14. Far East and Australia Year Book, 1998, Europa Publications Ltd. London, p. 378.

15. Ibid. p. 378.

Community (now European Union) and Amnesty International found compelling evidence of widespread killing and systematic torture. Indonesian officials have sometimes indulged in excessive use of force. This brutality created deep resentment amongst people. Resistance to this re-emerged in the mid-1980s under the Fretilin leader, Jose Alexander 'Xanama' Gusmao. Renewed resistance revived international support for East Timorese independence.

On 12 November 1991, Indonesian security forces fired at a funeral ceremony killing more than 150 people.[16] In November 1992, the resistance suffered a major set back when Xanama Gusmao was arrested and was sentenced to life imprisonment for a period of 20 years. Indonesia failed to win the support of the East Timorese. This dispute has been replaced by the growing religious dimension of the conflict.[17] The predominantly Catholic East Timorese have been offended by general anti-Catholic remarks by Muslim Indonesian officials and by the growing members of Muslim Indonesian residents of the province.

There is necessity of Indonesian-Portuguese cooperation and understanding to bring about peace in East Timor.

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16. Ibid, pg.378.

17. Jose Ramos Horta, "Self-determination for East Timor : Implications for the region", AJIA, Vol.51, No.1, 1997, p.98.

Indonesia is very sensitive about any developments having adverse affects on their national integration.[18] Indonesia has agreed on the five principles of Pancasila as the guiding pillars of its national and foreign policy.[19] Indonesian argue that they had no territorial or expansionist ambitions, but it was out of respect for the opinion of the people of that island that they accepted their will to integrate. President Suharto in his state address in 1976 had said that the East Timor problem was not a question of self-determination. It was a matter of abolishing colonialism.[20]

Indonesia is evolving confidence - building measures. It understands that it needs the cooperation of the international community. The insurgents in East Timor should resolve their differences with the government amicably. In June 1995 and March 1996, two all-inclusive intra-East Timorese dialogues, held in Austria under UN, raised some hopes of progress on the issue.[21] The atmosphere of continuing unrest was strengthened in late

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18. Ganganath Jha, n.11, p.61.

19. Ibid, p.62.

20. East Timor : Building for the future, Dept of Foreign Affairs, Republic of Indonesia, July 1992, p.11.

21. Far East and Australia Year Book, n.14, p.378.

1995 and early 1996, when young East Timorese entered the

grounds of several foreign embassies in Jakarta to request

political asylum. International awareness of East Timor was

heightened in 1996 when the Bishop of Dili, Carlos Belo and

the resistance leader, Jose Ramos Horta were jointly awarded

the Nobel Peace Prize.[22]

BOUGAINVILLE CRISIS IN PNG

The conflict on Bougainville in Papua New Guinea had

persisted for almost eight years and appears no closer to

resolution. Successive attempts by the Papua New Guinea

security forces to defeat the Bougainville Revolutionary

Army (BRA) since the conflict broke out in 1988 have failed.

What began as a protest by a disgrunted landowner faction

against the operations of the majority owned Bougainville

Copper mine at Panguna has become a violent confrontation

between Bougainvilleans and the national government, and

amongst Bougainvilleans themselves.[23]

The present Bougainville conflict has its immediate

origins in an 1988 dispute between a breakaway faction of

the Panguna Landowners Association which represented

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22. Ibid, pg.379.

23. Parliamentary Research Service Publication, The
     Situation in Bougainville : Implications for PNG,
     Australia and the Region, No.9, 1997-97, p.1.

landowners in the area of the Bougainville Copper mine and the mining company over compensation payments and the environmental impact of the mine. Escalation of the dispute, with a series of attacks on mine installations, together with an outbreak of fighting between Bougainvilleans and non-Bougainvillean plantation workers brought intervention by the police and subsequently by the Papua New Guinea Defence Force (PNGDF), which was called in to assist the civil authority.[24] By early 1989 the militant landowner group had joined with local cargo cultists and had attracted criminal elements. Its leader Francis Ona announced the independence of the 'Republic of Bougainville' in April. In May the mine was forced to close and, though it opened again briefly, by the end of 1989, it had to be closed again.

Peace initiatives continued to be pursued. The province which was once the most prosperous in Papua New Guinea has become impoverished, with half of its population living in government care centres, unable to tend traditional village food gardens and inadequately feed and cared for by an over-stretched government relief operation.

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24. Ibid, p.2.

The people of Bougainville are becoming more determined
that a solution be found. The last attempt at a negotiated
settlement, the peace conference at Arawa in October 1994
failed to attract the participation of the major leaders of
the Bougainville independence movement but did entice a
number of its prominent supporters to abandon violence in
favour of political reconciliation.[25] A Bougainville
Transitional Government was established in April 1995. It
was charged with pursuing reconciliation with BRA
commanders, restoring the island's economy and considering
the future structure of government in the province.

The conflict is becoming a serious international
problem for Papua New Guinea. The development of the
conflict over the last year has seen the PNGDF again
infringing the sovereignty of the Solomon Islands and
attacking Solomon Island's citizens and security forces.
Indiscipline amongst the PNGDF and police has been a feature
of the conflict.[26]

What began as a squabble over money quickly escalated
into a full-scale independence movement partly because the

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25. Ibid, p.3.

26. Manmohini Kaul, <u>Pearls in the Ocean : Security
     Perspectives in SW Pacific</u>, UBSPD Ltd, New Delhi, 1993,
     p.72.

rebels thought that an independent Bougainville could cut a better deal on royalties from the mine.[27] One reason for the mess is that both the Bougainville Revolutionary Army and the government militias that confront it contain large numbers of thugs : deracinated, confused, violent young men who are just in it for the excitement and the loot.

MAORIS IN NEW ZEALAND

New Zealand in one of the world's major island groups, stretching 1700 km across the South Pacific Ocean, midway between the Equator and the South Pole. Its nearest neighbours include Australia, Fiji and New Caledonia.

The native indigenous people of New Zealand are known as 'Maoris'. The marae-the meeting house and land around it is the focus of Maori community life.[28] The whole marae operates according to democratic principles which have evolved from the strict codes of behavior that governed every aspect of traditional life.

Today majority of Maori people live away from the marae. Many live and work in cities and must make special efforts to maintain social and cultural links with their Maori heritage. It is especially difficult for younger

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27. Ibid, p.74.

28. <u>About New Zealand</u>, Ministry of External Relations and Trade, Wellington, New Zealand, p.15.

people who are two or three generations removed from tribal lands and lifestyle. The decline of Maori language especially since the Second World War, is an indicator of the stress affecting the Maori community.

It is in the cities that Maoris face their main problems of adjustment. During the last 20 years there has been a dramatic shift of population from the rural areas to the towns. In 1945 only 15 percent of the Maori population lived in the main urban areas, but now well over half the population can be found there. Many of the young urban dwellers have lost touch with their tribal roots and with their Kaumatua - the elders who are a stabilising force in society. There is much inter marriage between the Maoris and the Whites.

Nevertheless, Maori have succeeded in maintaining their distinctive identity, their Maoritanga (Maori culture) and there traditional values and institutions are the springboard for the current resurgence of Maori culture.

The Maoris have adopted many aspects of Western culture as their own, and more and more New Zealanders now share in the riches of Maori heritage. Modern New Zealand was founded with the signing of the Treaty of Waitangi in

1840.[29]   The Treaty was an agreement between the Maori

Chiefs and the British Crown.   Under the Treaty's first

article, Maori people ceded to the Queen of England the

right to make laws, in exchange for the promise of the

second article that Maori signatories retain the "tino

rangati-ratanga" (full, exclusive and undisturbed

possession, or 'home rule') over their lands, forests,

fisheries and other treasured possessions.   Should Maori

owners wish to sell their holdings only the Crown had the

right to buy.   Under the third article, Maori were

guaranteed all the rights and privileges of British

subjects.   The Treaty of Waitangi was an instrument to bring

law and order to the anarchic trading settlements and to

protect Maori rights in dealing with settlers.

The Maoris are the only ethnic group the region and in

the world who are the most advanced in comparison to the

ethnic groups in the world.   They are educated and have been

absorbed into the mainstream of the New Zealand society.

Today Maoris represent 15 percent of the 3.5 million

New Zealander.   At present, only 110,000 Maoris are on the

Maori roll, which is used to vote for Maori MPs.   Another

138,000 are on the general roll and 38,000 are on no role.[30]

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29.   Ibid, p.15.

30.   New Strait Times (Kuala Lampur) 8 Jan 1994.

The New Zealand First Party in Northern Maori seat was set up by former National MP, Winston Peters who won 2 seats. He himself is a Maori. The Deputy Prime Minister is a Maori.

The New Zealand government offered its Maori people a package worth New Zealand $ 1 billion (US $ 633 million) in a controversial bid to settle historical grievances stretching back 150 years.[31] It was an attempt to settle hundreds of Maori claims to land and resources under the 1840 Treaty of Waitangi. Some prominent Maoris are unhappy about the package. According to a leader, "the proposals bring to the mind the government tossing a few coins into a pool for Maori to dive for."[32]

But, still then the Maoris are well represented in the electoral system. They participate in the election process and have the right to vote which is absent in other ethnic or indigenous group. The Maoris represent 15 in the 120 - seat Parliament. Though the public awareness of Maori culture has greatly increased, the Maoris themselves feel that they are still being discriminated - Tmariki John Delamere, one of the three Maori ministers in the government

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31. Bangkok Post (Bangkok) 9 Dec., 1994.
32. Ibid.

said : "All the educational attainment in the world will not change the fact that when a Maori attends a job interview, as things now stands, he or she will most likely be judged by a person from the majority culture who will see them first as a Maori-with all the negative connotations that may include."[33] Keri Nielson, a teacher and member of the Nya Puhi tribe said - "I don't know whether we're ever going to find an equitable balance with the Pakeha (Whites)."[34]

A Maori language Commission has been established to foster and preserve the use of Maori and broadcasting in Maori, both on radio and television. It has become more significant with government recognition of Maori as an official language.[35] This an given the Maori people new hope for the future of their language and culture.

Implications for Australia

Australia has tried to understand the ethnic setting in the region and pursue good neighbourly relations. It has signed defence treaties with Indonesia and Papua New Guinea. By virtue of their long historical association, geographical proximity, and substantial common interests, Papua New

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33. International Herald Tribune (Paris) 21 May, 1997.

34. Ibid.

35. About New Zealand, n.28, p.

Guinea and Australia shared a close relationship.[36] Recent developments in Bougainville have placed strains on the relationship. There is a growing call within Australia to cut Australian military assistance to Papua New Guinea. It is largely dependent on Australian aid.

The Howard government has committed itself to giving a significantly higher priority to assisting Papua New Guinea in resolution of internal difficulties that are occurring in Bougainville. Australia has been offering peace initiatives in dealing with the crisis. PNG calls it as 'farcical' and suggested that the Bougainville problem is largely an Australian - created problem.[37]

It is essential that PNG and Australia address the difficulties in its present relations. Australia has a potential roll to play:

- in facilitating dialogue between the various parties to the Bougainville conflict;

- in assisting in the establishment of a viable administrative structure in Bougainville; and

- in providing humanitarian and infrastructural assistance.[38]

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36. Parliament Research Service Publication, n.23, p.14.

37. Ibid, p.16.

38. Ibid, p.20.

In the area of defence cooperation, Australia must balance its policy objectives of avoiding direct involvement in the Bougainville conflict on the one hand and, on the other, supporting the constitutional order. It has been pointed out by PNG that the Bougainville independence issue be treated as an internal one. The solution is yet to come.

The Maoris have been granted certain rights like participating in elections, representation in the Parliament, ministerial seats etc. These are absent amongst other indigenous group. Australia always had a Big Brother attitude towards the pacific region and specially towards New Zealand. Any changes in either of the two countries affects the other. The Maoris are a developed lot while the Aborigines are not. Both are claiming land rights. The Aborigines are affected by the advanced Maoris and are asking the same rights from the Australian government which have been granted to the Maoris.

Australia is a major regional power. The island states are vulnerable to it.[39] Efforts are being made to understand each island state. They do not tolerate the interference by Australia or New Zealand in the internal affairs. But the real threats in these states are

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39. Man Mohini Kaul, n.26, p.73.

internally generated.   The Bougainville crisis is causing

great economic hardship to the economy of PNG which is the

largest South Pacific island state.   Besides these, the

ethnic, linguistic and racial divisions are causing new

challenges.

Taking the experience of ethnic developments in the

region, Australia is increasing becoming more and more

sensitive to attend to the rights and privileges of all the

communities and pays special attention to the interests of

the indigenous population.   At the same time it has been

welcoming Asian immigrants to project its multi-ethnic

profile.

CHAPTER V

CONCLUSION

the heart of major political conflicts - the civil war between Croats, Serbs, Muslims and Bosnians, the guerrilla warfare in Peru, in the call for autonomy in Ireland or in Sri Lanka and partly in India. It has posed varied challenges to many developed and developing countries.

The 1986 census suggests that the largest ethnic groups in Australia are Italians, German, Greeks, Dutch, Chinese, Croatians, Poles, Jews and Vietnamese. In the recent few years there has been more immigration from Asia and India in particular. Australia has experienced an increasingly visible ethnic resurgence in the past two decades. Australia is often referred to as a multi-cultural society because its population is derived from all parts of the world. Australia has not been a monocultural society since colonisation since 1788. From 1788 until the mass migration program which started in 1947, it was essentially a homogeneous society of British extraction. During the last four and half decades, the native of Australia's population has altered dramatically. The post World War II years in Australia has witnessed a massive immigration program. Since then there has been a 'demographic revolution'; demographically Australia is now one of the most culturally diverse nations in the world.

Initially the state policy towards immigrants was that of assimilation. Consequently immigration cultures were devalued and ignored and immigrant were dispersed. But as ethnic groups became stronger, more numerous and more groups became stronger, more numerous and more articulate, they began to make demands. There was explicit and official opposition to ethnic and racial diversification. The Immigration Restriction Act of 1901 or White Australia policy which was in operation from 1901 till the early 1970s discriminated on the grounds of race. Until the mid 1970s, the political impact of ethnicity was weak. These non-Anglo Celtic groups have been under-represented at all levels of government and in political parties and for many years appeared almost unnoticed in election campaigns. There is increasing evidence of ethnic political activism. The Greeks are the most politically active ethnic group. They have been successful in securing elective representation as well as appointment to various boards and organisations.

Thus one can say that the Australian political system has come to terms with the ethnic and racial composition of the country. The multiculturalism of Australia and its ethnic and cultural diversity has evolved largely without any major problems as encountered in some other countries.

The race debate in Australia is becoming dangerous day by day. Pauline Hanson, the independent firebrand M.P., in the Howard government is openly against the Asians immigrating to Australia. In her parliamentary speech she had raised her fear that Australia was in danger of being swamped by Asians. She is full of racial diatribes against the Asians and the Aborigines. She openly wants Christians as preferred migrants into Australia. She wants to re-inforce the racist message that Australia is for white Christians. In other words, Asians should be kept out. She fears a civil war. Prime Minister, John Howard is not willing to totally repudiate Pauline Hanson's views as he as the opposition leader in the 80's was similarly uncomfortable about Asian immigration. This might harm Australia's trade and political ties with Asia as it is Australia's biggest export market. This racist agenda might complicate Australia's relations with its Asia-Pacific neighbours.

According to statistics in 1992, Asians are the fastest growing immigrant group. The arrivals from Britain and other European countries declined. This reflects the demise of the 'White Australia Policy' that prevailed in the 1960s and the government's increasing emphasis was on integrating the country with Asia. According to Paul Keating whose

labour party had gained power in the 1994 elections had said

that immigrations has "changed Australia for the better.

It's made it a more interesting country". There are some

who disagree that "Australia cannot environmentally,

economically or culturally afford to continue with mass

immigration and its Trojan Horse, multiculturalism.

Australians risks being culturally swamped if heavy

immigration particularly from Asia continues. According

Denis Mc Lormack, a spokesman for the group cited a widely

publicized poll showing that 70% of Australians do not feel

they are part of Asia and do not wish to be further

integrated with Asia.

The momentum for change has been building for sometime.

Australia will hold the Olympic games in 2000. It will

celebrate the centenary of its federation the following

year. Both events are stiring a debate about national

identity. Over the past 40 years, the predominantly Anglo-

Celtic population has become a multicultural society with

immigrants from more than 200 countries. Nowadays,

Australias' biggest trading partners are in Asia. This has

increased the sense that a constitution that places the

British monarch at its centre no longer reflects the

realities of modern Australia. As a symbolic Head of State,

being the monarch of another country, the Queen is basically

irrelevant. Opinion polls show that 50-60% people want a Republic. It ill-fits a modern democracy to have a non-resident Head of State.

The late 1980s and early 1990s were watershed years for Australia. It has been engaged in the reshaping of its national identity. Australia's foreign policy is building a new Australian identity, one which is more internationalist and regionally focussed. It is a middle power. It has realised that to become a regional power, it has to have a foreign policy related to the region of South-East Asia and the Pacific region. It is only when it identifies itself with the Asian region that it will emerge as an effective power in the region.

Australia's agonising search for an appropriate identity of its own is set to continue. The Australian government announced normalization of relations with an old adversary, Indonesia who was regarded as a security threat. The trend continued when Australia took an active interest in the formation of Indian Ocean Rim association to boost trade and commerce among the Afro-Asian littoral states. It is a member of APEC, ARF and a dialogue partner to ASEAN. These indicated a culmination of a search for Asian identity. If history draws them closer to Britain and the United States, geography demands greater allegiance to Asia.

There can be no return to the exclusivist white Australia policy of the past which spelt isolation. In this global village, no nation can remain as island. If economy drives its foreign policy, then Australia has but one choice to seek its Asian identity early.

Australia as single power is very insecure about its position in the region. It needs the presence of a big power (U.S.) to balance the French and the fear of China's regional designs. It cannot do away with its attachments with the USA. One can say that the Australian Foreign Policy is the extension of the U.S. foreign policy. But Australia believes that its future lies inevitably in the Asia-Pacific region. To develop fully as a nation and develop their full potential, it has to enrich multiculturalism and adjust with the realities of the region.

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