

SECRET

RECORD OF CONVERSATION

BETWEEN: Dr. Subandrio, Indonesian Foreign Minister,

AND: Sir Garfield Barwick, Australian Minister  
for External Affairs

ALSO PRESENT:

Dr. Suwito, First Deputy of the Indonesian  
Foreign Minister  
Mrs. Supeni, Third Deputy of the Indonesian  
Foreign Minister  
Colonel Imam Sukarto, Head of the Directorate  
for North-East Asia and the Pacific  
Mr. Patrick Shaw, Australian Ambassador  
Mr. H. D. Anderson, Department of External  
Affairs

ON: 3rd July 1962

SUBJECT: Various

WEST NEW GUINEA

Dr. Subandrio said he thought Sir Garfield's visit was an historic moment in relations between Indonesia and Australia. Sir Garfield Barwick replied that this might well turn out to be so if Indonesia was prompt in taking the opportunity now offering. He said that he would like to emphasise again to Dr. Subandrio that if the Indonesian Government intended to support and maintain the forces already in West New Guinea after negotiations were resumed, it should announce that intention publicly, and well in advance, at the same time making it clear that no major acts of force would be undertaken. Unless Indonesian intentions were thus made clear, there was a real danger that their subsequent actions would be misconstrued. Misconstruction could all too easily become fact, with harmful effects on Australian public opinion and Australian attitudes to Indonesia. Australian Ministers or officials might understand the circumstances which led Indonesia to take steps to support men in West New Guinea, but the Australian public now see such actions as a breach of past assurances that force would not be used. In the particular circumstances of Australia, public opinion was of great importance: for example, a hostile public opinion could get a government which would be obliged to take attitudes opposed to Indonesia. Sir Garfield stressed the importance of not alienating the Australian people on this issue. At a later point in the conversation he also referred to strong sentiment among Australians who had fought in West New Guinea during the Pacific War.

Dr. Subandrio said that Indonesia did not want hostilities for their own sake. The Indonesian forces could, for example, take Biak with the loss of a thousand men or so. They did not want to do this, and would prefer a peaceful settlement.

SECRET

SECRET

Page 2

Sir Garfield then referred to his remarks to President Sockarno the previous day about self-determination. As he saw it Indonesia would not be giving anything away in furnishing guarantees of a free choice under a settlement. Some development of nationalism in West New Guinea seemed likely now that the inhabitants had been given a taste of self-government. Dr. Subandrio said that Indonesia was ready to give opportunities for a free choice. He also expected favourable developments from forthcoming visits to Djakarta by some Papuan students now in Holland, and possibly also by some members of the West New Guinea Council. Sir Garfield mentioned Australia's commitment to bring the inhabitants of East New Guinea to self-determination as another factor which Indonesia should take into account and which might generate some pressure for the eventual unity of the island. Dr. Subandrio referred to Indonesian experience of a common border in Kalimantan (Borneo). Sir Garfield recalled his statement in an earlier conversation that Australia was moving faster in East New Guinea than was the case in British North Borneo. Dr. Subandrio acknowledged this. Sir Garfield also said that in respect of problems arising from a common frontier, Australia would no doubt be ready to extend to an Indonesian administration similar co-operation to that now existing with the Dutch.

#### PAPUA/NEW GUINEA

Sir Garfield recalled previous Indonesian assurances that Indonesia had no aspirations in respect of East New Guinea and said that it would be useful to mention this again in some public statement. Dr. Subandrio disclaimed any Indonesian aspiration with regard to the eastern part of the island and said that such aspiration would not be consistent with the principles underlying Indonesia's claim to West New Guinea. There would be no proper limit to her actions if Indonesia abandoned these principles. He said that this action in relation to West New Guinea was in support of a principle - this could not apply to East New Guinea.

#### POSSIBLE VISIT BY DR. SUBANDRIO

Sir Garfield expressed the hope that Indonesia's return to the negotiating table would lead to an early peaceful settlement of the dispute, which would then open the way for closer co-operation between Australia and Indonesia. It might also be useful if, after a settlement was achieved, Dr. Subandrio could pay another visit to Australia, perhaps with a sizeable party. Sir Garfield suggested that Dr. Subandrio might like to think this over.

#### JAPAN

Dr. Subandrio asked about feeling in Australia about Japan. Sir Garfield said that, although the wartime animosity had not completely disappeared, there had been a striking improvement in Australian attitudes to Japan in recent years. Trade increases had contributed to this.

SECRET

SECRET

Page 3

COMMUNIST CHINA AND NEUTRALITY

Turning to Communist China Sir Garfield referred to the unremitting pressure which was being exerted against independent nations in South-East Asia from China. Australia was doing what it could to help stem this pressure in Vietnam and Thailand. We also hoped that the formation of the new coalition government in Laos, supported by international recognition of Laotian independence and neutrality, would hold the line there. Sir Garfield said that he recognised and understood Indonesia's policy of neutrality, but would suggest to Dr. Subandrio that he should always bear in mind that the Chinese were single-minded in pursuing their own interests and that, unlike Australians, they did not wish Indonesia well. The Indonesians should not imagine they could ever be friends with the Chinese. The Chinese would always seek to contain them. If one supped with the devil one should take a long spoon. He had been very struck by the mentality behind Mao Tse-tung's statement that China could afford to lose half her population or more in a nuclear war and still emerge as the dominant world power.

Dr. Subandrio said that Indonesia was in a somewhat different position from Australia. It did not wish to take up attitudes of hostility or opposition as such and preferred to avoid giving cause or pretext for offence. At the same time Indonesia had acted firmly in the matter of Chinese nationals in Indonesia and had indeed been unyielding. He made a wry reference to his own experience in Peking. Dr. Subandrio agreed with a suggestion by Sir Garfield that Indonesia would not like to see the Chinese in Australia. As in foreign relations, Indonesia also avoided attitudes of negative opposition in internal affairs. If completely free elections were held throughout Indonesia tomorrow, the P.K.I. would undoubtedly win a majority. Rather than being simply "anti-something", the Indonesian leaders sought to build up attractive positive alternatives. They considered that the best way of dealing with the threat from Communism was to create something which could take its place, draw away its support and cut away its appeal. Sir Garfield expressed agreement with this approach in general and pointed out that our own actions in Thailand and Vietnam were designed essentially to hold a line against infiltration and subversion behind which the independent countries could build up their economies and standards of living. In the final analysis the counter to communism lay in achievements in the economic and social field and in educational advances. Trade, too, was important in building up sound economies. Trade was also important as a means of spreading understanding between nations: in this connection Sir Garfield cited the example of the Japanese trade ship which recently visited Australia and which had done something to break down the pre-war picture among Australians of Japan as a manufacturer of cheap and shoddy goods.

SECRET

SECRET

Page 4

AUSTRALIAN ATTITUDES AND AID

Dr. Subandrio observed that Australians were now becoming more conscious of Asia and things Asian. Sir Garfield agreed and pointed out that there had been no criticism whatever of his decision to undertake a tour of Asian countries. Some years ago the press and public might have taken a much more critical attitude. Dr. Subandrio referred with appreciation to the efforts of Australian experts in Indonesia. Sir Garfield said that our aid, unlike that of others, was given without strings. We were a small nation but had had to work hard in a difficult country to build up the high living standards and technical skills we now enjoyed. Australia was a developing country with much still to be done, but we had produced some good people in a number of fields, and were ready to help where we could.

Sir Garfield mentioned our negotiations with Indonesia for the conclusion of a Civil Aviation Agreement, and said that he thought only the Customs Article remained outstanding. Dr. Subandrio said that this was the case and that the Customs Article was under study. He indicated that an early agreement should be possible.

Sir Garfield also referred to the War Graves Agreement and said that he hoped an opportunity would be found to sign it during his visit. Dr. Subandrio indicated he would look into this.

Taking up a reference by Mr. Shaw to the project for building an Australian Chancery in Djakarta, Dr. Subandrio said he hoped Australia would build an impressive Embassy in Djakarta which would be something of a show-place. Sir Garfield said that he might raise the question of the Chancery with Dr. Subandrio on a later occasion after he had visited the site.

RECORD PREPARED BY: H. D. Anderson

DJAKARTA  
4th July 1962

SECRET