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Note:	This is one of a series of self-study guides for a country or area, prepared for the use of USAID staff assigned to temporary duty in those countries. The guides are designed to allow individuals to familiarize themselves with the country or area in which they will be posted.

United States Department of State

Washington, D.C. 20520

Case No.: 200701753

MAR 25 2010

I refer to your letter dated March 11, 2007 regarding the release of certain Department of State material under the Freedom of Information Act (Title 5 USC Section 552).

We searched for and reviewed the self study guides that you requested and have determined that all except one of them may be released. They are on the enclosed disc. One of the guides is being released with excisions.

An enclosure provides information on Freedom of Information Act exemptions and other grounds for withholding material. Where we have made excisions, the applicable exemptions are marked on each document. With respect to material withheld by the Department of State, you have the right to appeal our determination within 60 days. A copy of the appeals procedures is enclosed.

We have now completed the processing of your case. If you have any questions, you may write to the Office of Information Programs and Services, SA-2, Department of State, Washington, DC 20522-8100, or telephone us at (202) 261-8484. Please be sure to refer to the case number shown above in all correspondence about this case.

We hope that the Department has been of service to you in this matter.

Sincerely,

for Margaret P. Grafeld, Director
Office of Information Programs and Services

Enclosures:
As stated.

63934 Federal Register/Vol. 69, No. 212
Rules and Regulations

Subpart F – Appeal Procedures

§171.52 Appeal of denial of access to, declassification of, amendment of, accounting of disclosures of, or challenge to classification of records.

(a) *Right of administrative appeal.* Except for records that have been reviewed and withheld within the past two years or are the subject of litigation, any requester whose request for access to records, declassification of records, amendment of records, accounting of disclosure of records, or any authorized holder of classified information whose classification challenge has been denied, has a right to appeal the denial to the Department's Appeals Review Panel. This appeal right includes the right to appeal the determination by the Department that no records responsive to an access request exist in Department files. Privacy Act appeals may be made only by the individual to whom the records pertain.

(b) *Form of appeal.* There is no required form for an appeal. However, it is essential that the appeal contain a clear statement of the decision or determination by the Department being appealed. When possible, the appeal should include argumentation and documentation to support the appeal and to contest the bases for denial cited by the Department. The appeal should be sent to: Chairman, Appeals Review Panel, c/o Appeals Officer, A/GIS/IPS/PP/LC, U.S. Department of State, SA-2, Room 8100, Washington, DC 20522-8100.

(c) *Time limits.* The appeal should be received within 60 days of the date of receipt by the requester of the Department's denial. The time limit for response to an appeal begins to run on the day that the appeal is received. The time limit (excluding Saturdays, Sundays, and legal public holidays) for agency decision on an administrative appeal is 20 days under the FOIA (which may be extended for up to an additional 10 days in unusual circumstances) and 30 days under the Privacy Act (which the Panel may extend an additional 30 days for good cause shown). The Panel shall decide mandatory declassification review appeals as promptly as possible.

(d) *Notification to appellant.* The Chairman of the Appeals Review Panel shall notify the appellant in writing of the Panel's decision on the appeal. When the decision is to uphold the denial, the Chairman shall include in his notification the reasons therefore. The appellant shall be advised that the decision of the Panel represents the final decision of the Department and of the right to seek judicial review of the Panel's decision, when applicable. In mandatory declassification review appeals, the Panel shall advise the requester of the right to appeal the decision to the Interagency Security Classification Appeals Panel under §3.5(d) of E.O. 12958.

The Freedom of Information Act (5 USC 552)

FOIA Exemptions

(b)(1) Withholding specifically authorized under an Executive Order in the interest of national defense or foreign policy, and properly classified. E.O. 12958, as amended, includes the following classification categories:

- 1.4(a) Military plans, systems, or operations
- 1.4(b) Foreign government information
- 1.4(c) Intelligence activities, sources or methods, or cryptology
- 1.4(d) Foreign relations or foreign activities of the US, including confidential sources
- 1.4(e) Scientific, technological, or economic matters relating to national security, including defense against transnational terrorism
- 1.4(f) U.S. Government programs for safeguarding nuclear materials or facilities
- 1.4(g) Vulnerabilities or capabilities of systems, installations, infrastructures, projects, plans, or protection services relating to US national security, including defense against transnational terrorism
- 1.4(h) Information on weapons of mass destruction

(b)(2) Related solely to the internal personnel rules and practices of an agency

(b)(3) Specifically exempted from disclosure by statute (other than 5 USC 552), for example:

ARMEX	Arms Export Control Act, 22 USC 2778(e)
CIA	Central Intelligence Agency Act of 1949, 50 USC 403(g)
EXPORT	Export Administration Act of 1979, 50 App. USC 2411(c)(1)
FSA	Foreign Service Act of 1980, 22 USC 4003 & 4004
INA	Immigration and Nationality Act, 8 USC 1202(f)
IRAN	Iran Claims Settlement Act, Sec 505, 50 USC 1701, note

(b)(4) Privileged/confidential trade secrets, commercial or financial information from a person

(b)(5) Interagency or intra-agency communications forming part of the deliberative process, attorney-client privilege, or attorney work product

(b)(6) Information that would constitute a clearly unwarranted invasion of personal privacy

(b)(7) Information compiled for law enforcement purposes that would:

- (A) interfere with enforcement proceedings
- (B) deprive a person of a fair trial
- (C) constitute an unwarranted invasion of personal privacy
- (D) disclose confidential sources
- (E) disclose investigation techniques
- (F) endanger life or physical safety of an individual

(b)(8) Prepared by or for a government agency regulating or supervising financial institutions

(b)(9) Geological and geophysical information and data, including maps, concerning wells

Other Grounds for Withholding

NR Material not responsive to a FOIA request, excised with the agreement of the requester

Australia
A Self-Study Guide

The Sydney Opera House, Sydney, Australia

GEORGE P. SHULTZ NATIONAL FOREIGN AFFAIRS TRAINING CENTER
School of Professional and Area Studies
Foreign Service Institute
U.S. Department of State

The ***Self-Study Guide: Australia*** is intended to provide U.S. Government personnel in the foreign affairs community with an overview of important Australian issues related to history, geography, culture, economics, government and politics, international relations, and defense. This guide should serve as an introduction and a self-study resource. Australia is far too complex and diverse a society to be covered in any depth using only the text in this guide. The reader is encouraged to explore the questions and issued raised in the guide by referring to the books, articles, periodicals and web sites listed in the bibliography. Most of the bibliographic material can be found on the Internet or in the National Foreign Affairs Training Center Library, the Main State Library, or major public libraries.

The first edition of the *Self-Study Guide* to Australia was prepared by Ambassador Richard W. Teare, Director of the Center for Australian and New Zealand Studies in the Edmund A. Walsh School of Foreign Service at Georgetown University and former Deputy Chief of Mission of the United States

Embassy in Canberra. The views expressed in this guide are those of the author or of attributed sources and do not necessarily reflect official policy or the position of the Department of State or the National Foreign Affairs Training Center.

First edition
January 2002

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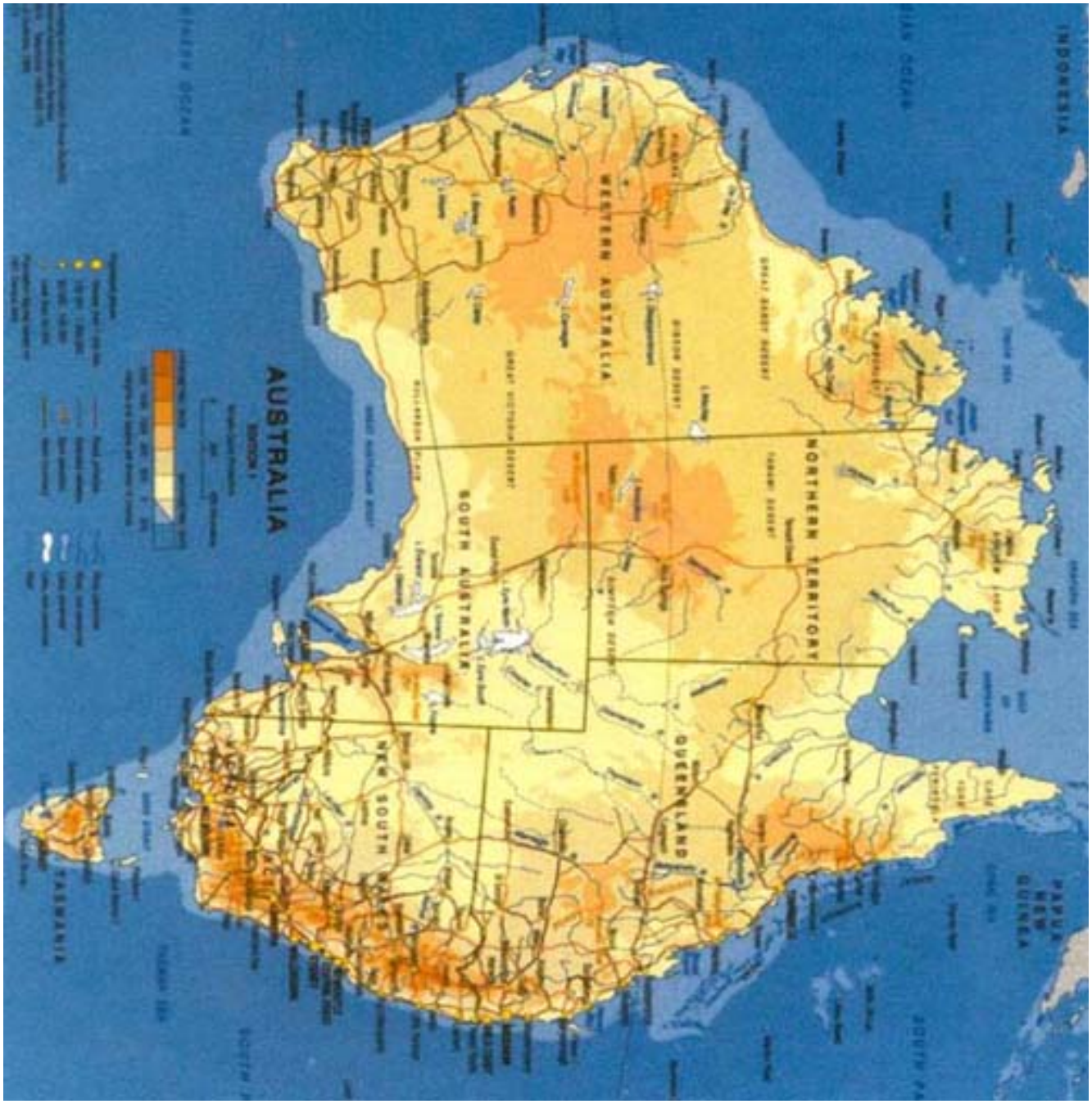

THE LAND

Australia is the largest island and the smallest continent on earth. It is also one of the world's largest nations, with an area of 7,686,850 square kilometers (2,967,910 square miles), ranking sixth in size, after Russia, Canada, China, the United States and Brazil. Its size closely approximates that of 'the Lower 48' states of the United States.

Australia is located southeast of Asia, close to insular Southeast Asia. The Pacific Ocean lies to the east and the Indian Ocean to the west; the two meet north of Australia in the Timor and Arafura seas. Because of Australia's relative isolation from Europe, mainland Asia and the Americas over millennia, the country has animal and plants species that exist nowhere else in the world. Among the animal species are the kangaroo and the emu, which appear on Australia's coat of arms, and the koala and the duck-billed platypus. That same isolation has protected the country from a number of contagious diseases. But isolation has also made travel and transportation difficult, time-consuming and expensive and has contributed to a sense of remoteness, factors that have combined to create, for Australians, what has been called 'the tyranny of distance.'

Australia is the lowest of the continents and, after Antarctica, the driest. The average elevation is 330 meters (1,082 feet). The tallest peak, Mt. Kosciusko, measures 2,228 meters (7,310 feet). The Great Dividing Range in the eastern part of the country sets off the populated coastal plain from the vast interior. The Western Plateau rises to 600 meters (2,000 feet). The Great Sandy Desert and Great Victoria Desert are largely arid, and northern portions of Western Australia and the Northern Territory are extremely hot. The northeastern part of the country, by contrast, receives heavy rainfall, and the Cape York Peninsula has jungles.

Water supply is a chronic problem for Australia. The exceptions are those areas in the northeast with heavy rainfall and those parts of the southeast served by the Murray-Darling and other river systems. Elsewhere, droughts may last for months and even years. Brush fires and forest fires are common and indeed necessary to the regeneration of some types of vegetation. The droughts sometimes are broken by brief but heavy rains, which cause temporary flooding and bring out species of amphibians that have lain dormant in the ground for long periods.

THE PEOPLE

Australia's population in mid-2001 was estimated to be 19,358,000, with a growth rate of 0.99 per cent per year. Australia conducts a census every five years; results of the census conducted on the night of August 7, 2001, will be available in 2002. Despite the country's image as a frontier nation with a vast outback, it is in fact one of the world's most urbanized nations, with more than 85 per cent of the population living in cities, and most of those in a narrow swath of the southeastern part of the country.

Life expectancy for children born in 2001 was estimated at 79.87 years: 77.02 years for males, and 82.87 for females.

Ethnically, the population is estimated to be 91 per cent Caucasian, 7 per cent Asian, and 2 per cent Aboriginal and other.

In terms of national origin, the population is extremely diverse: 23 per cent were born in another country, and an additional 25 per cent have at least one parent who was born in another country. Immigrants from more than 140 countries have been naturalized to Australian citizenship. Government statistics show that

Australians speak more than 100 world languages and nearly 200 indigenous languages. About 15 per cent of Australians speak a language other than English at home. The top five are Italian, Chinese, Greek, Arabic and Vietnamese.

Literacy among those over 15 is estimated to be 100 per cent.

The nominal religious affiliation of the population is: Anglican, 26.1 per cent; Roman Catholic, 26 per cent; other Christian, 24.3 per cent; and non-Christian, 11 per cent.

The labor force numbers approximately 9.5 million persons, divided approximately as follows:

Finance and services, 32 per cent;
Public and community services, 20 per cent;
Wholesale and retail trade, 21 per cent;
Manufacturing and industry, 22 per cent; and
Agriculture, 5 per cent.

Most new jobs created in the last 15 years are in the services sector. An estimated 35 per cent of employed Australians now work in professional, managerial, technical or administrative jobs.

Questions and Issues:

Australia's population is projected to stabilize at around 23 million by the year 2025, with 25 per cent of that number aged 65 and above. Some authorities say that population is much too small to provide economic or military security and that the country should aim for a population of 50 million by the year 2050. Others say the country's limited water supply and existing environmental problems argue against any such dramatic growth. Who's right?

National Geographic magazine in July 2000 described Australia as a nation "under siege" in environmental terms. Prosperity has come "at a cost: As housing and pastures expand, forests fall, woodlands thin out, and fragile ecosystems become unstable." Among the problems are overgrazing, deforestation, salinization, infestation by feral animals, fire, pollution of surface water and groundwater by mining operations, and atmospheric pollution. Can Australia cope with these problems without sacrificing economic prosperity?

HISTORY

Aboriginal peoples have lived in Australia for at least 60,000 years. Some scholars believe it may have been even longer. The ancestors of the Aborigines probably came from Southeast Asia. At the time of European settlement they inhabited most areas of the continent, each speaking one or more of hundreds of separate languages. Religious and cultural traditions varied from one region to another but reflected

strong connection with the land. Tribes had complex social structures, simple but efficient technology, and highly developed decorative arts (see CULTURE, below). It is now well established that peoples of Asia and Oceania traded and had other contacts with the Aborigines of Australia for hundreds and probably thousands of years before the arrival of the Europeans.

European explorers of the 15th and 16th centuries reached the East Indies and many islands of the Pacific but managed to miss Australia. In 1606 a Spaniard, Luis Báez de Torres, sailed through the strait between Australia and New Guinea that now bears his name; he may or may not have sighted Australia. In the same year the Dutch sea captain Willem Jansz landed some of his men on the continent, where they found a hostile reception.

Abel Tasman, another Dutch navigator, sailed along the western and southern coasts in 1642 and discovered an island, which he named Van Diemen's Land, in honor of the governor of the Dutch East Indies. The continent became known generally as New Holland, although the Dutch established no settlements. The name Van Diemen's Land was changed to Tasmania in 1855.

The first English explorer to set foot on Australian soil was William Dampier, who landed on the northwest coast in 1688. Only in 1770, however, when Captain James Cook charted the east coast in the *Endeavour*, was Australia claimed for the British crown, under the name of New South Wales.

The British at this period had severe criminal laws and not enough space in their prisons. They had customarily sent some convicts to the North American colonies but had to end that practice with the outbreak of the American Revolution. The writer Robert Hughes in his book *The Fatal Shore* has observed that American rhetoric about refusing to accept convicts was hypocritical cant, for "the trade in black slaves had turned white convict labor into an economic irrelevance." Hughes adds that on the eve of the Revolution the American colonies were receiving more slaves in one year, 47,000, than England had sent convicts in the previous fifty years.

In the face of the new situation in North America, the British quartered some convicts on old, deteriorating ships known as "hulks" anchored in the Thames, but the numbers of prisoners continued to grow, and a longer-term solution was clearly needed. Sir Joseph Banks, the prominent naturalist who had sailed with Cook and had since become President of the Royal Society, suggested Australia as a destination for convicts.

Thus an initial group of convicts, guards and administrators, aboard eleven ships, the First Fleet, left Portsmouth, England on May 13, 1787, and arrived at Botany Bay on January 20, 1788. Captain Arthur Philip, Commodore of the First Fleet, preferred nearby Port Jackson – Sydney harbor – and landed there on January 26, the date now observed as Australia's national day.

Over the next eighty years, about 160,000 convicts were sent to Australia, more than 15 per cent of them women. Transportation to Van Diemen's Land ended in 1853, and to Western Australia in 1868. However, free settlers had greatly outnumbered convicts from the early years of settlement, and the Australian colonies flourished during most of the 19th century, thanks to the wool industry and to mid-

century gold rushes. The “bush” was vast, labor was scarce, and farming, mining and trade all contributed to general prosperity.

This is not to say that Australia was peaceful; on the contrary, life on the frontier and in the goldfields was rough, excessive drinking was common, and firearms were prevalent. In 1854 miners in Ballarat, Victoria, who complained about police repression and corruption in the courts formed a mass movement to demand justice. Some of them built a stockade near the Eureka Hotel and began to drill for battle. Troops and police cracked down, and in the ensuing fight 25 miners were killed and 30 wounded; an officer and three privates were killed, and eleven other privates were wounded. The colonial government redressed some of the miners’ grievances, but the Eureka Stockade became a powerful symbol for labor and political activists for decades thereafter.

The ‘bushranger’ or frontier outlaw became a prominent figure. The most famous and controversial of them was Ned Kelly, son of poverty-stricken Irish exiles who in 1878 killed three police constables who were hunting him. Kelly and his gang then took to robbing banks and distributing at least some of the proceeds to the poor. Kelly became a hero, a Robin Hood, to many and a dangerous enemy to the colonial government, the police and the army, and to the economic establishment. In 1880 he was betrayed, wounded, captured and hanged. He remains a compelling figure in Australian national life, most recently portrayed in Peter Carey’s brilliant novel *True History of the Kelly Gang* (2000), which purports to be Kelly’s own memoir.

At the same time, Australia was becoming more egalitarian and more democratic. The colony of Victoria introduced the secret ballot in 1855, and the term ‘Australian ballot’ carried over into American political life. The colony of South Australia granted women the right to vote in 1892, the first substantial political entity to do so. (New Zealand became the first nation to do so, one year later.)

Colonial politicians also began to see merit in the idea of unity. A series of conferences during the 1890s led ultimately the establishment of a federal government on January 1, 1901. Australia remained within the British Empire. Of the 3.8 million Europeans at that time, three-fourths had been born in Australia. The vast majority were of English, Irish or Scottish descent, and generally speaking had a higher standard of living than did people in the British Isles.

In the years from Federation through 1914, Australia made substantial progress in agriculture and manufacturing. Institutions of government and social service were established. World War I, however, was devastating for Australia. Almost 400,000 men, of a male population of less than three million, volunteered for military service. About 60,000 died, and tens of thousands more were wounded or gassed.

Men of the Australian and New Zealand Army Corps (ANZAC) landed on the Gallipoli peninsula on April 25, 1915, in an attempt to capture a Turkish stronghold and, ultimately, to control the Dardanelles. The operation bogged down. The ANZACs fought heroically and took severe casualties before they were finally withdrawn late in the year. But the experience of the campaign, and combat on the Western Front later in World War I, contributed to the formation of national spirit in both Australia and New Zealand and to the extremely close bond that endures between the two.

At the same time, many Australians of Irish descent did not wish to fight for the British crown. The government of Prime Minister Billy Hughes twice sought authority, through referendums, to conscript young men for military service, and lost both times.

The inter-war period was difficult for Australia. Servicemen returning from the battlefronts of Europe tried to reconstruct their lives. Political parties fractured. The Depression hit hard. Banks failed. Income disparity increased.

World War II, however, brought a revival of national pride and self-confidence as Australia contributed significantly to the Allied victory. At the outset, in late 1939 and 1940, Australian troops were sent to support the British in North Africa, the Middle East, Greece and Crete. With the rapid Japanese conquest of Southeast Asia in late 1941, however, and after the attack on Pearl Harbor and with the fall of Singapore imminent, Prime Minister John Curtin stated:

“Without any inhibitions of any kind, I make it quite clear that Australia looks to America, free of any pangs as to our traditional links of kinship with the United Kingdom.”

For Australia, this departure from the concept and practice of Imperial Defence was revolutionary. By February 1942, Australian troops aboard ship were steaming back toward the Pacific, at British behest, for use in Sumatra and Java to reinforce the Singapore-Malaya region. They were too late to be of help there, and British Prime Minister Winston Churchill wanted them diverted to Burma. The Australian War Cabinet disagreed. Churchill and President Franklin Roosevelt urged Curtin to reconsider, but he refused, saying:

“Australia’s outer defences were now quickly vanishing, and our vulnerability is completely exposed.”

The British acquiesced, and the troops returned to Australia. Within days of Curtin’s decision, Japanese troops landed on the north coast of New Guinea and started through the mountains, over the Kokoda Trail, toward Port Moresby. Had they reached their objectives, they could have established air bases within easy range of targets in Australia. As it was, Japanese aircraft bombed and strafed Darwin 64 times, killing 243 people on the ground.

However, the Japanese were stopped on the Kokoda Trail in bitter fighting. The tide of war began to turn with the American-Australian victory in the Battle of the Coral Sea in May 1942. With Australian assistance, American forces prevented the establishment of a Japanese air base on Guadalcanal later that year.

General Douglas MacArthur made his headquarters in Australia from March 1942 through October 1944 and from there directed the Allied campaign that gradually rolled back Japanese occupation of the islands and the Southeast Asian mainland.

Australia boomed after World War II. Many women who had gone to work in factories during the war continued to work in peacetime. Manufacturing grew. The production of wool and wheat increased. In the 1950s, mineral resources were exploited and the government undertook major public works projects, including the giant Snowy Mountain hydroelectric scheme. Many Displaced Persons from Europe immigrated to Australia, joining migrants from the traditional sources in the British Isles. Nevertheless, the 'White Australia' policy, adopted early in the century to protect domestic labor by excluding Asian immigrants, remained in force.

Australia sent troops to Malaya in 1955 to combat the communist insurgency there and in 1965 sent troops to Viet-Nam, at American request (see FOREIGN AFFAIRS AND DEFENSE).

A coalition government of the Liberal and Country (now National) parties dominated Australian political life from 1949 to 1972, aided by a schism in the Australian Labor Party. The leader of the coalition from 1949 to 1966 was the powerful Sir Robert Gordon Menzies.

The election of a Labor government under Prime Minister Gough Whitlam in 1972 brought dramatic changes in social and economic policy and in foreign affairs, including an end to the 'White Australia' policy on immigration and to Australian involvement in Viet-Nam. Whitlam, however, was dismissed on November 11, 1975, by the Governor-General he had appointed (see GOVERNMENT AND POLITICS).

Australia accepted many 'boat people' and other refugees from Indochina in the years after 1975 as country became more and more diverse, and more and more prosperous. Today, in terms of purchasing-power parity, Australia's per capita Gross Domestic Product is at the level of the dominant economies of Western Europe: Germany, France, the United Kingdom and Italy.

In 2001, Australia faces a number of issues, examined more fully in following sections:

Whether to become a republic (which would remain within the Commonwealth of Nations), and if so, how to choose its Chief of State

How to come to terms with its Aboriginal population

How to relate to its Asian neighbors, and, in particular, to Indonesia

Questions and Issues

Has Australia at last overcome the embarrassment of its convict origins?

Has 'geography' won out over 'history' and made Australia an Asian country? Do Asians agree?

CULTURE

Australian culture is probably not sufficiently appreciated, either at home or overseas. Australian intellectuals often criticize their countrymen for adopting a "cultural cringe" – an automatic assumption that works of art, literature, film or the like that are created in Australia cannot match those imported from overseas, particularly the United Kingdom or the United States.

But in fact Australia has developed a distinctive culture and has produced world-class works and performers in a number of fields.

Australian literature is considered to have begun with the novel *For the Term of His Natural Life* by Marcus Clarke, published in 1874, a story of life in an Australian penal colony. Another landmark of early literature is *Robbery Under Arms* (1888), the story of an outlaw gang by Thomas Alexander Browne under the pseudonym Rolf Boldrewood.

In the late 19th century, "bush ballads" – poems describing the colorful and adventurous life of the countryside – achieved widespread popularity. The leading bush-ballad poet was A.B. ("Banjo") Patterson, whose most famous work is "Waltzing Matilda." The poem was set to music and is regarded as the unofficial national anthem. Henry Lawson, who produced many short stories and poems about life in the bush, was the finest writer of this early period.

Notable Australian writers of the 20th century include:

-- Henry Handel Richardson (pen name of Ethel Florence Richardson Robertson), author of *The Fortunes of Richard Mahony* (a three-volume work: *Australia Felix*, *The Way Home*, and *Ultima Thule*), based on her father's life and times, part of which he spent in the gold fields of Ballarat, Victoria;

-- Patrick White, novelist who won the Nobel Prize in Literature in 1973, best known for *The Tree of Man*, *Voss*, and *Riders in the Chariot*.

-- Thomas Keneally, author of *The Chant of Jimmie Blacksmith*; *Schindler's Ark*, upon which the Spielberg film *Schindler's List* is based; and many other works.

-- Peter Carey, who has written *Oscar & Lucinda*, *Jack Maggs* and *True History of the Kelly Gang*.

Others are Morris West, Colleen McCullough, Bryce Courtenay, A.D. Hope, Christina Stead, Kate Grenville and David Malouf.

The first Australian musical performer to achieve international stardom was the opera singer Dame Nellie Melba (1861-1931); the next was Dame Joan Sutherland (b. 1926). The works of composers such as Percy Grainger, Malcolm Williamson and John Antill are performed internationally, and Sir Charles Mackerras is one of the leading conductors of his generation.

In popular music, Australian performers from Helen Reddy and Olivia Newton-John to Midnight Oil and INXS have become known internationally.

The Aboriginal people had their own artistic tradition long before European settlement. The Aborigines painted on rock – many such paintings survive – and on tree bark. The years since 1970 have seen a revival of Aboriginal art in new media: traditional sand paintings have been transferred to canvas, often in acrylic paint. Many Aboriginal works are, in effect, maps of sacred ancestral lands and journeys through those lands; others show animals, often in "x-ray" style with stylized skeletal structure; and still others are designs from the prehistoric and mythic period known as The Dreaming.

White Australian painters of the late 19th century, some of whom had trained in Europe, painted landscapes and scenes of frontier life. Among the best known are Frederic McCubbin, Tom Roberts and Arthur Streeton. Prominent 20th-century painters include Russell Drysdale, Sidney Nolan, Fred Williams and Arthur Boyd.

The Australian film industry is almost as old as our own but suffered from American competition in the 1930s and nearly disappeared. Since the 1960s it has experienced a notable revival, led by directors such as Peter Weir (*Picnic at Hanging Rock, Gallipoli)*, Bruce Beresford (*'Breaker' Morant, The Fringe Dwellers*) and Baz Luhrman (*Strictly Ballroom, Moulin Rouge*). Stars of stage and screen of an earlier era who were born or raised in Australia include Dame Judith Anderson, Cyril Ritchard, Errol Flynn and Peter Finch; among contemporary stars with similar links are Bryan Brown, Rachel Ward, Geoffrey Rush, Nicole Kidman, Mel Gibson, Judy Davis and Cate Blanchett.

Australia may be the most sports-minded nation in the world, with millions of active participants and even more millions of passionate fans. The oldest established sport is cricket, which gave Australia its greatest sporting – many would say 'national' – hero, Sir Donald Bradman, who died in 2001 and whose image was immediately placed on Australia's 20-cent coin. Australia is known also for its four codes of football – Australian Rules, soccer, Rugby union, and Rugby league; and for swimming, surfing, and competition among life-saving clubs. Australians have also adopted North American sports such as basketball, baseball and softball, and have played in the National Basketball Association and in American baseball's minor leagues.

Australian tennis-players, in particular, have compiled impressive records in international competition, from Rod Laver, Roy Emerson, Ken Rosewall, Margaret Court and Yvonne Goolagong-Cawley to Pat Cash, Patrick Rafter and Lleyton Hewitt.

Questions and Issues

Can Australia conserve and promote indigenous culture? Can Australia define and preserve its own national traditions against the onslaught of American culture? Does it want to do so?

Paul Hogan as "Crocodile Dundee" did much to promote Australia but also presented an anachronistic

and unrepresentative image of the country. How should Australia present itself in the 21st century?

SOCIAL ISSUES

The Aboriginal Question

The primary social issue facing Australia today is the status of its Aboriginal peoples in relation to the rest of the population. The issue is often summed up under the term “Reconciliation,” which implies an obligation upon the part of the European-descended population to make amends to the Aboriginal people and to extend to them the social, education, occupation and other benefits that other Australians have long enjoyed.

The situation of the Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander peoples resembles in many ways that of Native Americans in the United States. So does their proportion of the total Australian population: 1 to 2%. However, in the United States, New Zealand and Canada tribal land rights were recognized, to some degree, in the form of treaties. In Australia, this was not the case.

When it sent settlers to Australia at the end of the 18th century, the British government adopted the theory of *terra nullius*, meaning that, in law, Australia was “land belonging to no one.” It was, in effect, as if the Aboriginal peoples were not there, and certainly that they had no right of ownership to the continent on which they had lived for tens of thousands of years.

Indeed, the Aboriginal population – estimated at 300,000 in 1788 – declined precipitously during the 19th century as the result of disease, sporadic battles with settlers, loss of traditional lands, and other causes. Aborigines on the island of Tasmania were exterminated. Thereafter, Aborigines remained on tribal lands or have lived on the fringes of white society.

In the 20th century, the Aboriginal population stabilized and is estimated today at 350,000, or about 2 per cent of the national total, many of whom are of mixed Aboriginal and white blood.

For many years in the 20th century agencies of the Australian government sought to assimilate Aboriginal children by taking them from their own families and placing them in white homes. In many cases, however, the children – girls, in particular – were used as domestic servants, and in all cases the emotional trauma for the children and their own families was ignored. The children thus removed have become known as “the Stolen Generation.”

In the last 40 years, Australian governments and the general public have to some degree modified their attitudes toward the Aboriginal population, and over the same period the political consciousness of that population has risen, thanks in part to a militant black-power movement that began in the early 1970s.

In a 1967 referendum, an overwhelming majority of the electorate voted to remove a constitutional

prohibition of direct federal aid to Aborigines and to include them in future censuses.

In recent years Aborigines have increasingly pursued the issue of land rights through the legal system. The results have included two important court decisions, significant legislation, and continuing negotiations. Monash University Law Lecturer Pamela O'Connor summarizes major developments of the 1990s in these terms: In the *Mabo* decision of 1992, the High Court of Australia "declared that Australian common law recognizes a form of native title to land. The court held that native title exists where the indigenous people have maintained their connection to the land and title has not been extinguished by legislation or government action." Federal legislation in 1993, the Native Title Act, "complemented the *Mabo* decision¼[by establishing] a claims process and regulat[ing] future government acts affecting native-title land." Then, in the case of *The Wik Peoples v. Queensland*, 1996, the High Court held that "the grant by the Queensland Government of pastoral leases over native title did not give the lease-holders a right of possession and did not extinguish native title," because the Queensland leases were not exclusive ones. (Pastoral leases cover some 40 per cent of Australia's land area, and in some states as much as 80 to 90 per cent. Pastoral lease-holdings include large tracts of land in remote areas – areas in which Aboriginal peoples are most likely to have maintained their traditional connection with the land.)

The process of adjustment to these landmark decisions is still going on. The Howard Government's Native Title Amendment Act of 1998 devolved considerable authority in this realm to the state governments, and it requires claimants to prove actual connections to the land they claim. State governments continue to wrestle with the issue; there have been instances of successful negotiation and renegotiation of leases, and no consistent pattern of implementation has yet emerged.

The overarching issue of "Reconciliation" remains open in 2001. The Howard Government has declined to issue an apology to the Aboriginal peoples, apparently in part out of fear that to do so would open the federal government to monetary claims and massive litigation. The Australian Labor Party, for its part, has yet to define precisely what it means by "Reconciliation."

It is clear that future governments of Australia will have to grapple with issues of justice for the nation's original inhabitants.

Immigration

The issue of immigration has also had a vexed history in Australia. The wish to preserve a predominantly European society in Australia dates back as far as the 1840s, when squatters – persons who settled without permission on Government land – sought to bring in laborers from China to replace convicts, and others opposed the idea. Chinese came to Australia in considerable numbers during the gold rushes of the 1850s, and there were anti-Chinese riots in the 1860s, although the population was only 3 per cent Asian. Later in the century, indentured laborers were imported from Melanesia to work in the sugar-cane fields of Queensland.

The historian Manning Clark has written: "Experiences between 1860 and 1900 strengthened the demand

for exclusion and discrimination. The American Civil War seemed to prove the folly and evils of using slave or semi-slave coloured labour. Political equality and the career open to talent were incompatible with a plantation economy in which the base of the social pyramid always consisted of one class. European domination of Asia was taken to illustrate the teaching of Darwin on the survival of the fittest. The workers were convinced that the use of coloured labour threatened their standard of living and their privileges. The middle classes were afraid of the threat to European civilization and to British political institutions, as well as of the evils of miscegenation."

It was in this climate that the first Federal Parliament, in 1901, passed an Immigration Restriction Act. It enjoyed the support of all three political parties and of all but a couple of members, and it established what became known as the 'White Australia' policy, which was to prevail for the first two-thirds of the 20th century. Naturally, the policy tended to heighten Australia's isolation and alienation from Asia, and it created much ill will, particularly in the years after World War II as several nations of Southeast Asia achieved independence.

Asians observed that Australia took many immigrants from Europe in the years 1945, not only from the British Isles but also Displaced Persons from Central Europe and the Baltic States and, for the first time in significant numbers, from nations of Southern Europe such as Italy, Greece and Malta.

Eventually, in the words of journalist Paul Kelly, "White Australia fell victim to decolonisation, the demise of Empire and the transformation of Australian national interests." He notes that the Australian Labor Party abandoned its commitment to the policy in 1965 and that in 1966 the policy was abolished by the government of Prime Minister Harold Holt. But, Kelly continues, "Its interment was accompanied by funeral obsequies which revealed that the principle of a homogeneous Australia remained alive. The nation had merely decided that racially based discrimination was officially unacceptable. There was no alternative vision to replace White Australia nor any intention to permit significant non-white immigration."

The aftermath of the Vietnam War demonstrated that the policy had indeed changed. After a slow start in 1975 and 1976, Australia by the end of 1982 had taken in about 70,000 refugees from Vietnam, Laos and Cambodia – more, in proportion to its population, than the United States or any other nation of the world.

Yet this influx generated a backlash by 1984, when the eminent historian Geoffrey Blainey ignited a national debate with his complaint that the Labor government of Prime Minister Bob Hawke was pursuing immigration policies that would result in "an Asian Australia." The controversy re-emerged in 1988 after the issuance of a report on immigration commissioned by the Hawke government; John Howard, Leader of the Opposition when the report appeared, implied that he favored a reduction in the rate of Asian immigration, and his handling of the issue contributed to his replacement as Leader the following year.

The issue of immigration continues to cause political turbulence. Resentment of immigration, and particularly Asian immigration, was a major element in the rise of Pauline Hanson and her One Nation Party (discussed below, under GOVERNMENT AND POLITICS) in the late 1990s. Beginning in about 1999, Australia began to experience the arrival of substantial numbers of asylum-seekers, primarily from

Afghanistan. These movements appeared to reflect a belief that Australia was among the most liberal countries in granting asylum.

Many of these people traveled to Malaysia or Singapore by air, then to Indonesia, and embarked from the south coast of Java for Australia, often in unsafe vessels. By mid-2001 Australia had more than 8,000 such persons in custody and had had to house some of them on disused military bases. Some asylum-seekers rioted to protest the conditions of their confinement, and there was at least one suicide.

In August 2001, an Indonesian boat carrying more than 400 asylum-speakers began to sink. A Norwegian freighter, the *Tampa*, rescued its passengers and crew and proposed to deliver them to Christmas Island, an Australian possession in the Indian Ocean south of Java. Prime Minister Howard refused to allow the *Tampa* to enter Australian territorial waters; eventually dispatched Special Air Services troops to commandeer the ship; and had the asylum-seekers placed aboard Australian Navy vessels and taken to New Zealand and Nauru, which had agreed to accept them for processing of their claims. The tough line Howard abruptly adopted, although criticized aboard, was popular with much of the Australian population and is considered to have sealed his and his coalition's comeback, from far behind in the opinion-polling early in 2001 to a third consecutive victory in November.

Immigration will be an issue for the new Australian Federal Parliament that convenes early in 2002, just as it was for the first Parliament in 1901.

Other Social Issues

Most other social issues in Australia are familiar ones to Americans. They include the status of women generally and the issue of equal pay for equal work; discrimination against Asians, in particular, and against other racial and ethnic minorities; the adequacy of pensions for retirees and of medical care, housing, and education for disadvantaged elements of society. Generally speaking, however, Australian society is more egalitarian than American society and lacks the extreme disparities of income-distribution found in the United States.

Questions

Can Australia achieve reconciliation with its Aboriginal peoples without provoking serious backlash by its much larger 'redneck' minority?

How *should* Australia deal with asylum-seekers, given its location and its inability to control

departures from Indonesia, and in light of its international obligations and its tradition as a nation of immigrants?

ECONOMICS

Australia through most of its history has depended heavily on the export of primary commodities: agricultural products and minerals. That statement applies today, even as the country develops its technological prowess and benefits increasingly from 'invisible exports' such as tourism and education.

In the 19th century, Australia's mainstays were livestock (beef and sheep, the latter raised for wool as well as for meat), wheat-growing and mining. The discovery of gold in Victoria in 1851 prompted a gold rush that accelerated immigration. Many miners who had failed in California came to Australia to try their luck.

About two-thirds of Australia is farmland, but most of this area is dry land suitable only for grazing. Only about five per cent of the farmland is devoted to crops, and only a small percentage of the cropland is irrigated. Nevertheless, thanks of mechanization and the use of sophisticated techniques, Australian farmers – only 5% of the population -- produce virtually all the food the nation needs and vast quantities of wheat, in particular, for export. Temperate-climate fruit such as apples and pears are grown throughout the country. The vineyards of South Australia and New South Wales produce excellent grapes, and Australian wines now have a substantial market share in the United States. The wet tropical climate of coastal Queensland allows the production of sugar cane, pineapples and bananas.

By 1900, Australia exported large amounts of copper, gold, silver, lead, tin and zinc, and they remained the mining industry's chief products through the first half of the 20th century. During the 1950s geologists discovered large deposits of bauxite, coal and iron ore and, during the 1960s, manganese, uranium, nickel and petroleum. Many of these mineral deposits lie in remote areas and were very expensive to develop. Much foreign capital was involved, and much of the product is exported – e.g., coal to Japan.

Today, Australia is the world's leading producer of bauxite and is a ranking producer of all the other minerals mentioned above. Australia is also the source of most of the world's high-quality opals.

Historically, Australia has imported more manufactured goods than it has exported, an unusual situation for a developed country. Australia produces most of its own consumer goods, although some of its manufacturing industries relied heavily on foreign capital – in the case of automobiles, for example, Ford and General Motors (as Holden) were among the leading original producers, although Japanese makes now dominate the market. Australia still relies on imports for capital goods and passenger aircraft. The two largest categories of imports in 1998-99 were cars, 7%, and computers, 5%.

While merchandise, including primary commodities, continues to dominate Australia's exports, the composition has changed considerably since the mid-1980s. By 1998-99, exports of manufactures (28%) and services (25%) exceeded exports of agricultural products (24%) and minerals (23%).

Japan is Australia's largest single export market, taking 20% of merchandise exports. The United States is usually second, with about 9%, followed by South Korea, New Zealand, the United Kingdom, Taiwan, China, Singapore, Hong Kong and Indonesia. (Collectively, the nations of the European Union account for 14%, and ASEAN, as a group, for 12%)

The United States is Australia's largest supplier, with 22% of the import market in 1999. Japan is second, with 14%. Germany and China each account for about 5%. (The European Union collectively accounted for 24% in 1999 and the ASEAN nations for 13%.)

Australia is thus one of the few nations in the Asia-Pacific region with which the United States regularly runs a trade surplus.

Tourism is one of Australia's fastest-growing industries. The country offers a wide range of attractions, from the sophistication of Sydney and the beauty of its harbor to the stark grandeur of Uluru (Ayers Rock) in 'the Red Center,' and from the Great Barrier Reef to Kakadu National Park. More than four millions tourists arrived in 1999 and spent more than $5 billion. All told, tourism contributed three per cent of the Gross Domestic Product. The Government claims that its Electronic Travel Authority (ETA) system is the most advanced such system in the world. It allows visitors from the United States and 30 other countries to obtain authority to enter Australia when they book their travel, and within a matter of seconds, thus meeting the visa requirement.

Australia has 38 universities, almost all of them publicly funded. Higher education has become a significant earner of foreign exchange. In 1999, about 130,000 international students were enrolled in Australian institutions – more than in any other country except the United States and the United Kingdom – and another 27,000 were studying in Australian university branches offshore. The top eleven source-countries for students are in East Asia and South Asia, with the largest numbers coming from Indonesia, Singapore, Hong Kong and Malaysia. International education earned Australia more than $2 billion in 1999.

Australia has long campaigned for the liberalization of international trade. In 1986 it convened "the Cairns group" of non-subsidizing agricultural producers, named for the town in Queensland where its first meeting was held, whose aim is to eliminate barriers to world trade in agriculture. In 1989, then-Prime Minister Bob Hawke proposed the establishment of the Asia-Pacific Economic Cooperation (APEC) forum, a grouping originally of 12 economies, including the United States and Canada, intended to devise and implement concrete measures for the promotion of trade throughout the region. Over the years APEC has instituted ministerial meetings in numerous fields and, beginning in 1993 at the invitation of then-President Bill Clinton, annual meetings of heads of government. Meanwhile, the forum has grown to include 21 member-economies.

Australia is also a member of virtually all the international financial institutions established since World War II, of the specialized agencies of the United Nations, and of the World Trade Organization.

Over all, the Australian economy performed well in the 1990s, with growth in productivity, reduction in unemployment, low levels of inflation, relatively low rates of interest, and modest budget surpluses. Australia managed to avoid most effects of the Asian economic crisis of 1997-98.

The Howard government introduced a Goods and Services Tax of ten per cent, on July 1, 2000, and at the same time eliminated or reduced a number of other business-related taxes. The GST is a broad-based value-added tax originally announced as applicable to almost all goods and services. However, inconsistencies in the application and implementation of the GST made it an issue in the 2001 election campaign.

Questions and Issues:

Can Australia increase its exports of manufactured goods so as to escape dependence on the fluctuating prices of primary commodities – which still account for 55% of exports?

Can Australia go on indefinitely importing more than it exports?

Comparative Economic Statistics

(dollar-figures are United States dollars)

	Australia	United States
Population (July 2001 estimates)	19,358,000	278,058,000
Gross Domestic Product (2000 estimates)	$445.8 billion	$9.963 trillion
GDP real growth rate (2000 estimates)	4.7%	5%
GDP per capita (2000 estimates)	$23,200	$36,200
GDP composition by sector (1999 estimates)		
Agriculture	3%	2%
Industry	26%	18%
Services	71%	80%
Population below poverty line (1999 estimate)	Not available	12.7%
Household income or consumption by percentage share (Australia 1994; U.S. 1997)		
Lowest 10%	2%	1.8%
Highest 10%	25.4%	30.5%
Inflation rate (consumer prices)(2000 estimates)	1.4%	3.4%
Labor force (Aust, Dec ’99; US, 2000)	9.5 million	140.9 million
Unemployment rate (2000)	6.4%	4%
Budget Revenues	$94 billion	$1.828 trillion
Expenditures (1999 estimates)	$103 billion	$1.703 trillion
Exports (f.o.b., 2000 estimates)	$69 billion	$776 billion

Imports (f.o.b., 2000 estimates)	$77 billion	$1.223 trillion
External debt (2000)	$220.6 billion	$862 billion

GOVERNMENT AND POLITICS

Structure of Government

Australia is a parliamentary democracy. The system of government is a federal one, and an outgrowth of the colonial era. The six colonies established in the late 18th and 19th centuries – New South Wales, Victoria, Tasmania, Queensland, South Australia and Western Australia – were each linked to London. After years of discussion and several conferences in the 1880s and 1890s, they decided to federate. (New Zealand was invited to join the federation but declined.)

Federation became effective on January 1, 1901. A Governor-General was appointed as the official representative of the sovereign, Queen Victoria, but each of the states retained a Governor, also appointed by the Crown.

However, the architects of federation and drafters of the Australian Constitution were influenced also by American thought and practice. They based membership in the lower chamber of the legislature on population and named it 'The House of Representatives.' They decided to base membership in the upper chamber on equality among the states and to call it 'The Senate,' but they gave it substantially less power than that wielded by the U.S. Senate.

Today, each of the six states has 12 Senators, and the Northern Territory and the Australian Capital Territory have two Senators each, for a total of 76. The Constitution provides that membership of the House of Representatives be approximately twice that of the Senate, and the House today has 150 members: New South Wales, 50; Victoria, 37; Tasmania, 5; Queensland, 27; South Australia, 12; Western Australia, 15; Northern Territory, 2; and the Australian Capital Territory, 2.

Members of the House of Representatives are elected from single-member districts for terms of three years. Voters must rank each candidate in order of preference. If no candidate receives an absolute majority of the vote, the distribution of preferences determines the winner. This system is considered fairer than the 'first-past-the-post' system used in the United States, under which a candidate who is in fact opposed by a majority of voters can nevertheless be elected.

The party – or coalition of parties – that commands a majority of votes in the House of Representatives then forms the government and normally continues in office until the next election. The government must hold an election after three years but has the option of calling an election at an earlier date. For example, the Liberal-National Coalition Government of Prime Minister John Howard, elected in March 1996,

called the next election in October 1998, after two years and seven months.

The government thus formed becomes Australia's executive and is referred to as The Ministry. It typically consists of about 30 ministers, who come from both the House of Representatives and the Senate; typically, House members hold about two-thirds of the seats. A smaller number of ministers – 17, in 2001 – constitute the Cabinet, and the others are referred to as the Outer Ministry. Several other members of the two chambers are designated Parliamentary Secretaries for various ministerial portfolios and are in effect deputy or junior ministers.

The Prime Minister leads the Cabinet, and the Treasurer is, traditionally, the second most powerful member and usually the heir-apparent to the Prime Minister. When the Liberal-National coalition forms the government, the leader of its National Party component is ordinarily designated Deputy Prime Minister. A Prime Minister from the Liberal-National coalition chooses his own cabinet, with an eye to balance between the two member-parties and the sexes and among the states and age cohorts. By contrast, when the Labor Party controls government, its members in the two chambers collectively elect those of their number who will serve in the Cabinet and Outer Ministry, with strict regard to the representation of each of the party's several factions. For both government and opposition, party discipline is much stronger than in the United States.

For the Senate, each State and Territory is considered a single electorate, and voters' preferences are allocated under a system of proportional representation. This system gives small parties and independent candidates a chance of being elected – and, indeed, small parties and independent Senators often hold the balance of power in the Senate. Senators from the states serve six-year terms, and those from the two territories serve for three years. In normal circumstances, half of the Senators are elected every three years.

Each of Australia's states has its own parliament and government, headed by a Premier who is the leader of the party that holds a majority in the lower house or in a unicameral legislature. Five states have bicameral parliaments. In each case, the upper house is the Legislative Council. In New South Wales, Victoria and Western Australia, the lower house is styled the Legislative Assembly; in South Australia and Tasmania, it is the House of Assembly. Queensland, alone among the states, has a unicameral Legislative Assembly, as do the Australian Capital Territory and the Northern Territory.

State governments in Australia have considerably more power than do states of the United States. For example, the State Premiers have a say in the distribution of federal revenues, and they meet annually with the Federal Prime Minister and Treasurer to determine that distribution. State ministers responsible for such matters as transportation and the environment meet collectively, at least annually, with their federal counterpart (and, frequently, with the counterpart minister from New Zealand). Unlike governors in the United States, State Premiers in Australia seldom shift to federal politics.

Federal and state politics are often counter-cyclical. As of December 2001, the Liberal-National coalition has won three consecutive general elections and has held office at the federal level for almost six years, but the Australian Labor Party controls government in five of the six states and in the Northern Territory.

The Australian judiciary system is relatively simple. It consists of a High Court of seven members that has both appellate and original jurisdiction and is the final arbiter of constitutional questions. Below it is a Federal Court of some fifty judges who are distributed among the state and territory capitals in proportion to workload. There are also a federal Family Court and the Australian Industrial Relations Commission. States and territories have Supreme Courts and lower courts; decisions of the state Supreme Courts may be appealed to the federal High Court.

Political Parties

The Australian Labor Party is the oldest of the country's political parties and is an outgrowth of the trade-union movement. It claims its date of origin as 1891, and in 1901 it organized on a federal basis during the first sitting of the new Parliament. In 1912, under the influence of the American labor movement, it standardized the spelling of its name as 'Labor' rather than 'Labour.' It also claims to have been the first labor party in the world to succeed at electing governments: three federal governments by 1915, and success also in each of the states. The party governed again from 1929 to 1931 and during and after World War II (see HISTORY) but then fell victim to divisions over communist membership in its ranks and was out of office at the federal level from 1949 to 1972.

The party has largely left behind its working-class base and socialist principles and has moved close to the center in terms of economic policy. It has also strongly supported defense cooperation with the United States, both in the 1940s and again in the 1980s and 1990s, although many members campaigned energetically in the 1960s and 1970s against Australian involvement with the United States in Viet-Nam.

The National Party of Australia dates its origins to the Country Party of Australia, established in 1913. Its base is in rural areas and its leanings are conservative. It has participated in governing coalitions for long periods since 1923 but generally as the junior partner.

The Liberal Party of Australia was established in 1944 and styles itself the party of "individual freedom and private enterprise," and also as Australia's most successful party since World War II. It maintains loose ties with the Republican Party in the United States, with which it has considerable ideological affinity.

The Australian Democrats date from 1977 and claim to speak for "ordinary Australians," with a reformist agenda, strong environmental concerns, and a record of opposition to many policies of the Liberal-National coalition and to some of those of the ALP. The Democrats have yet to win a seat in the House of Representatives, although they have come close, but they have recorded as many as a million votes in Senate elections and, currently hold the balance of power in the Senate, with nine seats as of December 2001 and eight from July 1, 2002.

The One Nation Party sprang to life in the late 1990s and reflects the dissatisfaction of some lower-middle-class Australians of European descent with recent political trends, such as the judicial decisions granting

land rights to Aboriginal peoples, and welfare and affirmative-action programs for Asian immigrants. One Nation's founder, Pauline Hanson, appeared to speak for an unreconciled ten per cent or more of the population that resented what it saw as the 'coddling' of recent immigrants and ethnic minorities and sought to restore what it claimed are 'traditional Australian values.'

Hanson and her followers were strongest in Queensland but had support nationwide. They drew substantial numbers of votes in the 1998 Federal election but elected no one to the House of Representatives and only one member to the Senate. In the same year, however, One Nation won 11 seats in the 89-member Queensland Legislative Assembly. By the beginning of 2001, the party had fractured in Queensland, with resignations in the Legislative Assembly, and in the state election of February 2001 it took only three seats. There were also divisions in the national leadership and allegations of fraud.

Some observers now consider One Nation a spent force. However, the party's brief success strengthened the suspicion of some Asians that Australia is, or still is, a racist nation at heart. The Howard coalition government drew considerable criticism, at home as well as around Asia, for its failure to condemn One Nation, Hanson and her policies in a forthright way. Also, it is clear that Hanson tapped a vein of nativist, racist sentiment that continues to represent a real political force. A continuing question for conservative parties at the federal and state levels is whether to accept One Nation 'preferences' – second-choice ranking – for their candidates; such preferences are often important in determining electoral outcomes.

Recent Political History

Since the early days of World War II, control of the government has rested alternately with the Australian Labor Party on the one hand and, on the other, with the Liberal Party of Australia and its ally the National (formerly Country) Party in coalition.

ALP prime ministers led the country from 1941 to 1949. Sir Robert Menzies, who had served as Prime Minister from 1939 to 1941, returned to office in 1949 and served until 1966, a tenure that has not been equaled. Four other coalition prime ministers followed, through 1972, at which time Labor regained power under Prime Minister Gough Whitlam.

Whitlam's term of office ended in drama and controversy on November 11, 1975. In a climate of increasing inflation and unemployment, his government was losing popularity. His coalition opponents used their majority in the Senate to threaten to stop government appropriations ("supply") in the hope of forcing Whitlam to resign, thus producing a new election. Whitlam refused to resign but could not obtain legislation to fund government operations. The Governor-General, Sir John Kerr, appointed by the Queen on the advice of the Whitlam government, resolved the impasse by removing Whitlam from office and naming the Liberal Party leader, Malcolm Fraser to form a government. Fraser's coalition won the election held the following month, and the coalition remained in office until early 1983.

This event, known simply as "The Dismissal," has had a profound and lasting effect on Australian political life, greater in psychological terms than the legacy of Watergate in the United States. A major

question is whether the Governor-General acted within the terms of his ill-defined “reserve powers” in dismissing Whitlam.

Labor returned to office in 1983 and won four consecutive elections thereafter. The Liberal-National coalition won elections in March 1996, October 1998, and November 2001.

Composition of the House of Representatives

(40th Parliament, elected November 10, 2001)

Coalition Government:	81 seats	(68 Liberal Party, 13 National Party)
Country Liberal Party:	1 seat	(Australian Labor Party)
Opposition:	65 seats	
Independents:	3 seats	
TOTAL:	150 seats	

Composition of the Senate

	(Dec. 2001)	(From July 1, 2002, when terms begin of Senators newly elected or re-elected on Nov. 10)
Australian Labor Party:	28 seats	27 seats
Country Labor Party (NSW):	1 seat	
Australian Democrats:	9 seats	8 seats
Australian Greens:	1 seat	2 seats
Independents:	2 seats	2 seats
Liberal Party:	31 seats	31 seats
National Party:	3 seats	3 seats
Country Liberal Party:	1 seat	1 seat
One Nation Party:	1 seat	1 seat
TOTAL:	76 seats	76 seats

The Republic issue

The Governor-General is the Queen’s representative in Australia. The first Australian-born, Australian-citizen Governor-General was appointed in 1931; another served from 1947 to 1953; and all Governors-General since 1965 have been Australian citizens (including one who immigrated in his youth). They have been nominated by the Australian government of the day and merely confirmed and officially

appointed by the crown. Nevertheless, many Australians have long believed it makes no sense that their sovereign should be a foreign monarch who resides 10,000 miles away.

Prime Minister Paul Keating in the early 1990s initiated active public discussion of the issue and announced that he would hold a referendum on the issue if he were returned to office in 1996. He was not, but his successor John Howard – a monarchist – pledged that he would carry through with a constitutional convention and, if indicated, a referendum. The convention took place in early 1998, and the referendum was scheduled for November 1999.

Public-opinion polling shows that about two-thirds of the population favors a republic in concept. However, Howard managed to bring about a stipulation that the chief of state in a republic, to be called the president, would be chosen not by direct election but from a list submitted by a multipartisan commission likely to consist mainly of politicians, and then chosen by a two-thirds majority vote of the two houses of Parliament sitting jointly. The Constitution would be amended by substituting 'President' for 'Governor-General' wherever that term occurred, but no attempt was made to define the vague 'reserve powers' of the chief of state, which had proved so controversial in the removal of Prime Minister Whitlam in 1975. Furthermore, Howard proposed a new preamble for the Constitution and put the question of its adoption on the referendum ballot also.

The proposed method of selection of the president would appear to have precluded the election of a strong partisan or indeed of anyone objectionable to a major party. However, many voters wanted a directly elected president and did not want 'politicians' so centrally involved in the process. Many supporters of direct election therefore joined with those opposed to the *concept* of a republic. In the end, the vote was 45 per cent in favor of the republic, so the proposal failed. So also did Howard's proposed new preamble.

It appears certain that the issue will recur in the near future: The Australian Labor Party is committed to the goal of a republic, and likely successors to John Howard as leader of the Liberal Party are understood not to share his anti-republican views.

Questions

Debate in the Australian Parliament is well-attended and often witty and vituperative – in contrast with proceedings in the U.S. Congress. What explains the differences: Tradition? Physical arrangements, with Government and Opposition facing each other?

What will be the practical consequences for domestic politics and for foreign relations of Australia's becoming a republic?

FOREIGN AFFAIRS AND DEFENSE

Is Australia a nation of Asia, or a European outpost in Asia? This has been an underlying question in

Australia's foreign relations for many years, and notably so since World War II. It is sometimes described as the contest between 'history,' European, and 'geography,' Asian. Even as the Asian element of Australia's population – now about 7 per cent – increases, the dominance of the English language and Australia's strong connections with North America, the United Kingdom and New Zealand tend to cause others in Asia to think of Australia as a place apart. And Australia's attitudes toward immigration, in the period of the 'White Australia' policy and since, have of course influenced Asian attitudes toward Australia.

One symbol of this 'identity' problem is that, for regional voting purposes at the United Nations, Australia is, and has always been, a member of the "West European and Others" Group (WEOG), which also includes New Zealand, Canada and the United States.

Support for the United Nations is one of the fundaments of Australia's foreign policy. Australia is a founding member of the organization; supplied the third president of the General Assembly, Dr. H.V. Evatt, in 1948-49; and has served four terms on the Security Council. Australia also served as the administering authority of two of the eleven trusteeships under the United Nations system: Papua New Guinea and Nauru. (Australia had administered the same territories between World Wars I and II, under Class C mandates from the League of Nations.)

Even more central to Australian foreign policy, however, are these themes:

Its alliance with the United States;

Its close linkages with New Zealand in matters of economy and defense;

Its efforts to preserve peace and security in its immediate region;

Its promotion of policies intended to liberalize international trade and its maintenance of good relations with as many trading partners as possible; and

Its sponsorship of arms-control measures.

The Alliance with the United States

The two nations have been closely associated in matters of war and peace since World War I, when some of the American troops on the Western Front in France fought under Australian command. The association resumed after Pearl Harbor, in the face of the Japanese conquest of Southeast Asia and incursions into the Pacific (see HISTORY). Combined Australian-U.S. operations in the Battle of the Coral Sea and in New Guinea stemmed the tide of Japanese aggression and led to the island-hopping campaign in which the Japanese were ultimately dislodged.

The experience with Japan had a profound effect on Australia. The then-Leader of the Opposition, the

Honorable Kim Beazley, stated in 2001: “For Australia’s part, the key issue of the day [in the late 1940s] was how to deal permanently with Japan. Today it is hard to comprehend¼that our core thinking on external affairs until the early 1950s revolved around how to deal with the emergence of Japan. Washington was never going to get to first base with Australia on the issue of containing communism in Asia unless it settled our minds on the question of Japan.”

Fearful that Japan’s signature of a peace treaty with the United States might permit a return of Japanese militarism, Australia and New Zealand pressed the United States for a treaty of mutual defense. The resulting document, the Security Treaty between Australia, New Zealand and the United States of America, or ‘the ANZUS Treaty’ for short, was signed at San Francisco on September 1, 1951, and entered into force on April 25, 1952.

Before the treaty was signed, Australia had already demonstrated its commitment by joining in the U.S.-led United Nations effort to repel communist aggression in South Korea.

Independently of ANZUS, Australia contributed troops to the American effort in Viet-Nam, initially a battalion-sized unit and later a task force of two battalions and support services, with a New Zealand artillery battery attached, that operated principally in the area immediately east of Saigon. Almost 50,000 Australian troops served in Viet-Nam; 520 died as a result of the war, and 2,398 were wounded. Over time, however, Australia’s participation in the war drew massive protests and became the cause of what is considered the greatest social and political dissent since the conscription referenda of World War I. Australian involvement was reduced in the early 1970s and terminated outright by the Labor government of Prime Minister Gough Whitlam at the end of 1972.

Meanwhile, the United States and Australia during the 1960s established Joint Defense Facilities in Australia, the most important of which were at North West Cape, Pine Gap and Nurrungar. The facilities were critical to U.S. strategic programs and operations but caused controversy in Australian domestic politics, partly on theory that their presence made Australia a nuclear target of the Soviet Union.

In their earliest days, the facilities were essentially American-run, with Australia primarily a landlord and a recipient of the intelligence information the Facilities produced. In the 1980s, thanks largely to the foresight and energy of Kim Beazley, then Minister for Defence in the Hawke Labor government, management of the Facilities became truly joint. At the same time, Beazley’s ‘demystification’ of the facilities, which demonstrated their utility in matters of arms control, helped to defuse them as a political issue. So too did the formal end of the Cold War.

In subsequent international crises, Australia contributed forces to the coalition effort in the Gulf War. The United States in turn contributed equipment, intelligence information, communications capability, and air- and sealift to the International Force for East Timor (INTERFET), the Australian-led United Nations effort to restore order in East Timor after the August 1999 referendum in which voters overwhelmingly chose independence and drew heavy retaliation from Indonesian troops and government-backed militias.

Most recently, the Australian Cabinet on September 14, 2001, in consultation with the United States,

invoked Article IV of the ANZUS Treaty, after the September 11 terrorist attacks on the World Trade Center and the Pentagon. Article IV states:

"Each party recognizes that an armed attack in the Pacific Area on any of the Parties

would be dangerous to its own peace and safety and declares that it would act to meet

the common danger in accordance with its constitutional processes."

(Article V states that Article IV applies to "...an armed attack on the metropolitan territory of any of the Parties...") This is the first time the Treaty has been invoked. Australia proceeded to commit troops, aircraft and ships to the U.S.-led anti-terrorism effort in Afghanistan.

The Australian-United States relationship is not ordinarily dominated, however, by great issues of national security. Rather, there is daily interaction between the two governments on a host of issues, including international trade, arms control, environmental pollution, law enforcement, transportation, taxation, and the like.

The relationship is as close and cordial as any the United States enjoys and is rivaled only by those with the United Kingdom and with Canada.

Relations with New Zealand

If relations between Australia and the United States are close, those between Australia and New Zealand are closer still, in the sense that the two countries, under the rubric of the Closer Economic Relations (CER) agreement instituted in 1983, have gone much of the way toward merging their economies. Duties and other trade barriers have, effectively, been abolished. The free movement of people between the two countries, and the automatic permission to work in each other's country, make them the most integrated labor market in the world.

Defense relations, on the other hand, have been troubled since 1984-85, when the New Zealand Labour Party government of Prime Minister David Lange in effect denied access to New Zealand ports for nuclear-capable and nuclear-powered warships of the U.S. Navy. The later enactment of that policy into law prompted the United States to suspend its ANZUS Treaty obligations toward New Zealand. It caused some political difficulty for the Hawke Labor government in Australia, because left-wing elements in the ALP strongly advocated policies similar to New Zealand's, and difficulty for the Australian Defence Force, which – because the United States declined to exercise with New Zealand forces – was obliged thereafter to conduct two sets of exercises: high-technology exercises with United States forces, and lower-order exercises with the New Zealanders.

Australia nevertheless attempted in the 1990s to involve New Zealand in Closer Defence Relations (CDR), in parallel with CER. This process appeared to work for a time: New Zealand bought two

‘ANZAC-class’ frigates built in Australia and stationed a squadron of Royal New Zealand Air Force A-4 Skyhawks in Australia, where they regularly exercised with the Royal Australian Air Force and Royal Australian Navy.

The trend toward CDR slowed in the late 1990s with New Zealand’s decision not to purchase a third or a fourth ANZAC frigate. And defense cooperation received a body-blow in 2001 when the New Zealand government, now again under the control of the Labour Party, decided to eliminate the combat element of the Air Force (the A-4s) and to upgrade only the maritime-surveillance capability of its P3 Orion aircraft rather than to join Australia in acquiring new capabilities for anti-submarine warfare.

Nevertheless, defense ties between the two date from the fateful landing at Gallipoli in 1915 and have continued through New Zealand’s crucial contribution of an infantry battalion to INTERFET, from its outset in 1999. The close identification of the two countries on a wide array of policy issues ensures that relations will continue to be close, if at times contentious.

Australia’s Immediate Region

Australia sees itself, correctly, as a prominent middle-ranking power in Asia and as by far the most powerful of the Pacific Island nations. It exercises leadership among the island nations through the Pacific Forum, the group of island-states which meets annually at head-of-government level, and the Pacific Community (formerly the South Pacific Commission), an organization of island-states and metropolitan powers from outside the region: the United States, the United Kingdom, and France. Australia is also a ‘dialogue partner’ of the Association of South-East Asian Nations (ASEAN), as is the United States.

Australia pays particular attention to developments in its former ward, **Papua New Guinea**, and directs a substantial portion of its foreign aid to that troubled country. It was Australian intervention that in 1997 headed off a scheme by the then-government of Papua New Guinea to employ European-led African mercenary soldiers to quash the long-running insurgency on the island of Bougainville. Revelation of the plan in the Australian media and strong action by the Australian Government stopped the scheme before the training of PNG troops by the mercenaries really began.

Australia, together with New Zealand, has been troubled by instability in other island states, notably **Fiji** and **Solomon Islands**, but has not managed to identify, much less impose, concrete solutions.

By far the most complex problem in Australia’s regional relations, however, has been **Indonesia**. A determination to “get along” with its populous northern neighbor led Australia over the years to accommodate the Indonesian leadership to a high degree. Australia acquiesced in the Indonesian takeover of the eastern half of the island of Timor after the sudden, irresponsible departure of Portuguese colonial authorities in 1975, and despite the murder of several Australian journalists by Indonesian forces.

Australia continued to court the Soeharto régime in Jakarta for another two decades. This process culminated in the signature by Prime Minister Paul Keating in late 1995 of a mutual security agreement

with Soeharto that had been negotiated in secret. Its intent, apparently, was to reassure Indonesia of Australia's continuing friendship, not least by balancing Australia's links with Singapore and Malaysia under the Five-Power Defence Arrangements (FPDA).

Keating's agreement did not last long, however. Soeharto fell from power in 1998; events following the referendum in East Timor in 1999 caused Australia to step in, by means of INTERFET; and Indonesia could not prevent INTERFET"s creation and deployment but resented very strongly what it saw as Australia's intrusion into its internal affairs.

The case of East Timor has also caused recriminations in Australian domestic politics, where some Labor Party elements have criticized their elders, Whitlam and Keating, for deferring for so long to Indonesia, and where former Liberal Prime Minister Malcolm Fraser, who was caretaker Prime Minister when Indonesia invaded East Timor and elected in his own right a few days later, now calls for dramatic changes in Australian foreign policy and questions the utility of the ANZUS alliance.

No other nation looms so large in Australian thinking as Indonesia or has presented Australia with so many problems. However, Australia's relations with Dr. Mahathir Mohamad, Prime Minister of **Malaysia**, have been contentious since at least the mid-1980s, when Malaysia executed two Australian citizens on narcotics charges despite appeals for clemency by Prime Ministers Hawke of Australia and Thatcher of the United Kingdom. Mahathir attempted to establish an East Asian Economic Caucus (EAEC) that would have rivaled Hawke's Asia-Pacific Economic Cooperation (APEC) forum and would, presumably, have excluded Australia from membership. At later stages, Prime Minister Paul Keating called Mahathir 'recalcitrant,' setting off an angry reaction, and Mahathir has delighted in the political phenomenon of the One Nation Party, which he takes as evidence that Australia is a racist nation and not really part of Asia.

By contrast, Australia's relations with other Southeast Asian nations are generally very good. Australia conducts military exercises with **Singapore** – and Malaysia – under the Five-Power Defence Arrangements (the other parties being New Zealand and the United Kingdom). **Thailand** and **The Philippines** both contributed troops to INTERFET. Australia, with Indonesia, had a leading role in the United Nations effort to restore civil government in **Cambodia** and was one of the first outside nations to invest and institute aid programs in **Viet-Nam** and **Laos** after the Viet-Nam War.

Australia's relations with the **People's Republic of China** are conflicted. There is a strong desire to exploit China's huge market and growing prosperity, but there are also strong reservations over China's behavior in matters of human rights and in other fields such as intellectual-property rights. Australia shares the desire of the United States for a peaceful resolution of differences between the PRC and **Taiwan**, which is also a significant trading partner of Australia's.

Australia's attitudes toward **Japan** have changed markedly since the late 1940s and early 1950s, when Australia worried about a revival of Japanese militarism. Japan today is Australia's leading export market and second-largest supplier of imports; has major investments in Australia; and is a major source of tourists.

International Trade

Australia's sponsorship of 'the Cairns Group' of non-subsidizing agricultural producers and of the Asia-Pacific Economic Cooperation (APEC) forum is discussed above, under ECONOMICS. Australia has supported and benefited from efforts by the United States to open markets in third countries, such as the U.S. campaigns to gain entry into Japan for beef, apples and rice. But Australia and the United States have also disputed each other's trade practices over the years. The Australians complained, for example, that the American Export Enhancement Program (EEP) – intended to head off European sales of wheat, barley, non-fat dried milk and other commodities to nations of the Middle East and South America – were cutting into Australia's share in some of its 'traditional' markets. The United States has its own complaints about Australian practices, such as a refusal to allow the importation of hides for use in automobile upholstery. In mid-1999 the United States imposed punitive additional duties – so high as to constitute quotas – on imports of lamb from Australia and New Zealand. The two exporters took their case to the World Trade Organization – and won, obliging the United States to rescind the additional duties.

More generally, however, the two countries cooperate in matters of international trade. As of mid-2001, Australia was seeking a bilateral Free Trade Agreement with the United States. Negotiations appear unlikely to begin, however, until the U.S. Executive Branch again has Trade Promotion Authority (formerly known as Fast-Track Authority) from the Congress.

Arms Control

Australia has a length record of support for arms-control measures, including the Comprehensive Test Ban Treaty (CTBT), the banning of chemical and biological weapons, and the establishment of an international regime to control the spread of missile technology (MTCR). Australia ratified the Ottawa treaty that outlaws the production, stockpiling transfer and use of anti-personnel landmines, and the Australian Defence Force destroyed its stocks of mines several years ahead of schedule.

Australia has not hesitated to chide the United States when our actions have failed to match Australia's own – as when the U.S. Senate refused to ratify the Comprehensive Test Ban Treaty.

Defense

Australia has a long and proud military tradition. It begins in the Sudan and the Boer War in the 19th century, but its most famous expression was in World War I, at Gallipoli and elsewhere, as the nation made enormous sacrifices. There is scarcely a town in Australia without its monument to those who fought and died in 'the Great War' of 1914-1918.

The Australian Defence Force (ADF) today comprises the Army, the Royal Australian Navy (RAN), and

the Royal Australian Air Force (RAAF). In time of peace, Australia has one officer of four-star rank, the Chief of Defence Force, a post that rotates among the services. The over-all active-duty strength of the ADF as of February 2000 was about 56,050, down from roughly 60,000 in 1995 but on its way back up.

The Army has an active-duty strength of 24,290. The core of the land force is two high-readiness infantry brigades of about 3,000 men each, one of light infantry and one mechanized. There are also armored and artillery units and a Special Air Services regiment. The Army's inventory includes 48 Leopard tanks, 127 Armored Personnel Carriers, and 84 Light Armored Vehicles. Army Aviation has a total of 130 aircraft, mainly helicopters.

The RAN has 12,800 personnel. Its primary role is maritime interdiction. It is currently developing the Collins-class diesel submarine, which will be the largest conventionally powered submarine n the world. By 2005, the Navy is to have 14 warships: eight frigates, each equipped with a Seasprite helicopter and armed with the Sea Sparrow anti-air missile system; and six Collins-class submarines, capable of launching MK 48 wire-guided torpedoes and Harpoon missiles.

The RAAF, with 13,950 personnel, has 71 F/A-18 aircraft for air combat and 33 F-111 long-range bombers. Even with recent modernization and upgrades, however, the F/A-18s will need to be replaced by 2015 and the F-111s by 2020. New generations of air-combat and strike aircraft will require very significant budgetary outlays. Also in the inventory are 19 P-3C Orion aircraft for anti-submarine warfare and maritime surveillance; 24 C-130 Hercules and 14 DHC-4 Caribou transport aircraft; and five Boeing 707s, four of them configured for air-to-air refueling.

Australia spent about $8 billion, or 1.9 per cent of GDP, on defense in 1998. This figure was down from 2.5 per cent of GDP in the mid-1980s, and many observers believe that defense spending will have to increase in percentage terms.

The deployment of 5,000 personnel to East Timor in late 1999 stretched the Land Force very thin and led to a realization that numbers, which had been reduced, would only have to go up again.

There is also a recognition that missions such as INTERFET, like the numerous other peace-keeping operations in which Australia has participated in recent years, are now the norm, and will probably remain so.

Questions and Issues

Australia's intervention in East Timor in 1999 was a dramatic change of policy toward Indonesia. What will be the consequences for Australia's relations in the region?

In 1999, Prime Minister Howard failed to rebut promptly an interviewer's suggestion that Australia had acted in East Timor as "deputy sheriff" for the United States and was criticized both at home and abroad. Can Australia cooperate with the United States but also act independently, when necessary, and avoid the

'deputy' allegation?

Can the Australian defense establishment afford to reconfigure itself for the sort of low-intensity conflict that seems increasingly likely and at the same time maintain interoperability with U.S. forces at a high and costly level of technology?

TIMELINE

60,000 years ago - Estimated date of arrival of the first human inhabitants of present-day Australia. Other estimates range from 30,000 to 100,000 years.

1606 – First transit of the strait between New Guinea and Australia, by Spanish navigator Luis Báez de Torres; first known sighting of Australia by a European navigator, Dutch sea captain Willem Jansz.

1642 – Dutch navigator Abel Tasman sails around much Australia and discovers the island he names Van Diemen's Land, now Tasmania. Australia begins to be known as New Holland, although there are no Dutch settlements.

1770 – Captain James Cook explores and charts the east coast of Australia, claims the area for Britain as 'New South Wales.'

1788 - 'The First Fleet' of eleven British vessels, under the command of Captain Arthur Phillip and transporting mainly criminals, their warders and guards, arrives at the site of present-day Sydney on January 26 (Britain being no longer able to send prisoners to what had been its North American colonies).

1788 – Colony of New South Wales organized. Others follow: Van Diemen's Land in 1825, renamed Tasmania in 1855; Western Australia in 1829; South Australia in 1836; Victoria in 1851; Queensland in 1859; Northern Territory and Australian Capital Territory in 1911.

1840 – Britain proclaims sovereignty over New Zealand, which is established as part of the colony of New South Wales.

1851 – Gold rush in Victoria.

1854 – Massacre at the Eureka Stockade, Ballarat, Victoria.

1878-1880 – Ned Kelly and his gang flourish in the hinterlands of Victoria.

1885 – New South Wales sends an infantry battalion, an artillery battery and an ambulance detachment – 768 men in all – to serve with British forces in the Sudan.

1890s – A series of conferences leading to Federation.

1898 – Australian volunteers fight as part of the British Imperial force against the Boers in South Africa.

1901 – Australian colonies officially federate (January 1). Federal Parliament meets for the first time, in Melbourne.

1905 – Australia assumes administration from Britain of the southeastern quarter of New Guinea and renames it the Territory of Papua.

1908 – Canberra chosen as site of federal capital, in a compromise between Sydney and Melbourne.

1912 -- American architect Walter Burley Griffin wins competition for design of the new capital city.

1914 – World War I begins. Australia immediately commits troops to the British Imperial force in the Middle East; takes over Kaiserwilhelmsland, the Germany territory in the northeast quadrant of the island of New Guinea.

1915 – April 25: The Australian and New Zealand Army Corps (ANZAC), together with British and French troops, lands on the Gallipoli Peninsula and attempts to seize it, and thus control of the Dardanelles, from the Turks. After fierce fighting and many casualties, ANZAC troops are withdrawn late in the year. During the war, the issue of conscription is twice put to referendum and loses both times.

1917-18 – Australian troops heavily engaged on the Western Front.

1919 – Australia joins League of Nations; receives Class C mandates to administer former German territories of New Guinea and Nauru.

1939 – World War II begins in Europe; Australia immediately sends forces to North Africa and the Middle East.

1941 – Japanese forces advance rapidly down Malay Peninsula, take Singapore; Japanese attack Pearl Harbor. Prime Minister Curtin states that Australia will henceforth look to the United States as its primary ally.

1942 -- Japanese forces thwarted on Guadalcanal and on the Kokoda Trail in Papua; Battle of the Coral Sea and Battle of Midway mark turning points in the war. Japanese aircraft attack Darwin 64 times; 243 persons killed. Curtin, defying Churchill, orders that Australian troops, already en route back but too late to reinforce Malaya/Singapore, return home defend Australia, rather than go to Burma..

1945 – Australia becomes a founding member of the United Nations; is assigned Trusteeships to administer the Territory of Papua & New Guinea and the island of Nauru.

1949 – Australia and New Zealand propose negotiation of a mutual-defense treaty with the United States, which is somewhat reluctant, and over British objections.

1950 – North Korean forces invade South Korea; Australia quickly agrees to join U.S.-led United Nations Command.

1951 – ANZUS Treaty signed (September 1); comes into effect April 25, 1952.

1955 – Australian troops join British and New Zealanders in opposing Communist insurgency in Malaya.

1956 - Melbourne hosts XVIth Olympiad.

1965 – Australia deploys battalion-size force to Viet-Nam, later expands it to a two-battalion task force.

1966 – President Lyndon B. Johnson pays state visit to Australia, the first visit by a serving U.S. President. (Subsequent state visits: George H.W. Bush, 1991-92; Bill Clinton, 1996.)

1967 - Prime Minister Harold Holt disappears while swimming; President Johnson attends his funeral in Canberra .

1972 – Whitlam Labor Government elected; last Australian troops withdrawn from Viet-Nam.

1975 – November 11: Governor General Sir John Kerr dismisses the government of Prime Minister Gough Whitlam, who has been unable to get “supply” (appropriations legislation) through the closely divided Senate. Kerr, who had been appointed by the Whitlam government, asks opposition leader Malcolm Fraser to form an interim government. In December, Fraser’s Liberal/National coalition wins elections; governs until 1983.

1983 – Australian Labor Party, led by Bob Hawke, wins election to inaugurate 13 years of ALP rule.

1988 – Australia celebrates bicentennial of European Settlement.

1989 – Prime Minister Hawke proposes the establishment of the Asia Pacific Economic Cooperation (APEC) forum.

1991 – Hawke is deposed by his Treasurer, Paul Keating, who, contrary to expectations, wins election in 1993.

1996 – Liberal/National coalition, led by Prime Minister John Howard, wins election in March; repeats in October 1998 and November 2001./

1999 – Australia organizes and leads the United Nations' International Force for East Timor (INTERFET) to quell violence after people of East Timor vote overwhelmingly for independence in U.N.-sponsored referendum.

2000 – Sydney hosts XXVIIth Olympiad.

2001 – Australia celebrates centennial of Federation.

INTERNET SITE GUIDE

General Information and News

The Australian Federal Government's web site -- www.fed.gov.au/KSP/ -- covers all branches of the government and has links to the sites of the state and territorial governments.

The National Library of Australia – www.nla.gov.au -- is Australia's largest library and a rich source of information. Its site includes links to many other sites and other resources, such as "Australian Newspapers on the Internet."

World-wide Web Virtual Library for Australia – www.api-network.com/vl/ has links to many useful and interesting sites.

Australia Unearthed – www.atc.net.au/market/regions/americ/unearthed/unearthed.htm -- is a good source for tourist information.

All of Australia's television networks and major newspapers have web sites. The newspapers include the following:

The Australian: www.theaustralian.news.com.au/

The Age (Melbourne): www.theage.com.au/

The Australian Financial Review: http://afr.com

The Sydney Morning Herald: www.smh.com.au/

Culture

Australia's Cultural Network – www.can.net.au -- is the online gateway to Australian cultural

organizations, websites, resources, events and news.

Austrlian Humanities Review – www.lib.latrobe.edu.au/AHR/ -- is a peer-reviewed interdisciplinary electronic journal on Australia, published quarterly but with regular updates between issues

All of Australia's universities have web sites. The address is usually the name of the university, dot edu, dot au, preceded by www.

History

The Australian War Memorial – www.awm.gov.au/index_flash.asp -- is an excellent source on all aspects of Australian military history.

Government and Politics

Index to Parliamentary Information – www.aph.gov.au/parlindx.htm -- offers vast amounts of information on Parliament, its members and its work.

Each of the major political parties has a web site:

The Australian Labor Party: www.alp.org.au/

The National Party of Australia: www.ozemail.com.au/~npafed

The Liberal Party of Australia: www.liberall.org.au

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