

On Dit



NATIONAL SUPPLEMENT, SECOND TERM, 1959

Published by the Australian Universities' Press in Adelaide

A DISSERVICE TO RECOGNISE RED CHINA

Despite the enormous amount of heat which has been expended on the question of Australia's formal recognition of Red China, few of the controversialists involved seem to give cognisance to the fact that such is a matter of International Law as well as of political expediency.

By Peter Burley

Now a full treatment of the relevant International Law is of course impossible in so short an article as this, but it might be of some use to outline a few of the more relevant principles. Such a procedure will at least be of use in exposing the entirely specious character of many of the arguments commonly advanced on this matter, particularly those which depend on such misuse of words as arises out of the confusion between the words recognise, as ordinarily used, and "recognise" as used by an international lawyer.

comes thereby apparent that the granting or the denial of recognition is not a matter of International Law, but of international policy. It must be specially mentioned that recognition by one State is not at all binding upon States so that they must follow suit. Since, however, the granting of recognition is a matter of policy and not of law, nothing prevents an old State from making the recognition of a new State dependant upon the latter fulfilling certain conditions.

Conditions

It is this confusion which appears to lie at the base of the oft-repeated catch-cry, "Look, there are 600 million of them and we pretend that they don't exist." This of course is entirely misleading, for as Oppenheim points out, "International Law does not say that a State is not in existence as long as it is not recognised."

With regard to these certain conditions, there are numerous precedents, but most of them can be simply reduced to the following:—

1. The Government enjoys a reasonable assurance of stability and permanence.
2. Evidence that the Government commands the general support of the population.
3. The Government shall prove itself both able and willing to fulfil its international obligations.

Many jurists believe these to be the minimum requirements to be satisfied by members of the international community for there to be any effective International Law.

Disservice

According to Starke, in his "Introduction to International Law," "Recognition de jure means that according to the recognising State, the State or Government recognised formally fulfils the requirements laid down by International Law for effective participation in the International community." This act of recognition gives a Government we recognise an official standing in the international community and means that we will observe the customary rules of International Law when dealing with that Government.

It also involves an acknowledgment of the recognised Government's title to territory and assets, the validation before our courts of its confiscatory and other legislation, full diplomatic relationships with correlative rights and responsibilities, the immunity of the recognised Government and its property from the jurisdiction of our courts.

Now, in the case of Red China, condition 2 appears highly questionable, and condition 3 is certainly not satisfied. This can be seen from a brief summary of part of Red China's record of International lawlessness, viz.:—

1. Red China attacked U.N. forces in Korea.
2. Violated International Law in its ill-treatment of prisoners in the course of that war.
3. Attached and subjugated Tibet and has since on several occasions brutally stamped out Tibetan attempts to regain freedom.
4. Interfered in the internal affairs of several Asian nations, e.g., Indo China and Malaya.
5. Launched several violent attacks against territories currently held by the Nationalist Government of China.

Hence I submit that it would be a disservice to the international community for Australia to grant Red China the recognition (and

the corresponding status, rights and privileges) of fulfilling "the requirements laid down by International Law for effective participation in the international community."

However, the question might then be raised, that in spite of this Australia might find it politically expedient to recognise Red China as certain other nations apparently have.

Hence I submit that recognition of Red China by Australia would mean alienating our most reliable allies, giving extra prestige to the Peking regime and weakening the determination of the free Asian peoples to resist Chinese Communist pressure.

Policy

Further, the weight of legal opinion would appear to be with Oppenheim when he argues in his Treatise on International Law that, "It is a rule of International Law that no new State has a right as against other States to be recognised by them, and that no State has a duty to recognise a new State."

He also points out that, "History nevertheless records many cases of deferred recognition, and apart from other proof, it be-

The New Regime

This fact militated in favour of the new regime. In the interim between their accession to power and the material achievements which captured the imagination and enthusiasm of the majority of the people, the communists were able to establish and entrench their authority by pointing to the alternative.

As the results began to come through and authority began to spread its blanket, those who were inspired began to enthuse,

REPORTS AVAILABLE

The N.U.A.U.S. has had the below reports published and they are now available through the various S.R.C.'s in each Australian university.

The reports in question are:—

(i) The Report of the Asian Study Seminar by R. M. Fels, B.Sc. This seminar was held in Ceylon under the sponsorship of C.O.S.E.C., to discuss the problems of student government and co-operation and activities in Asia under the headings of:

(a) Student press, (b) student travel, (c) student organisation, and (d) constitutional requirements of national unions. An interesting insight into Asian student problems at large. Price, 2/6.

(ii) The Report of the 5th I.S.A. Conference in Japan by Howard Nathan, Graeme McKimm and Frank Ford. A fascinating and thorough account not only of the Conference, but also of modern Japan and her people.

(iii) Students in India, the report of the recently returned Australian delegation. Another fine work and a highly readable analysis of India today.

Hence I contend that it would be most realistic for Australia to continue in her present path helping to strengthen freedom among our allies, assisting to build sound economic and political systems in free Asia and refusing to concede undeserved diplomatic and propaganda advantages to those who by their actions show contempt for the rights of other nations and the rule of law.



Chairman Mao Tse-tung, of Communist China, with young workers.

A.U.P. TO BE REORGANIZED

The possibility of establishing the Australian Universities' Press as a "trust company" was one of the most important issues discussed at the recent student Editors' Conference held in Sydney.

The conference studied a series of proposals submitted for consideration in a report prepared by the editor of "On Dit".

These proposals were adopted by the Conference with a few modifications.

It was agreed at the conference that A.U.P. currently suffered from the absence of a "strong central administrative authority" and any continuity in its administration, from the "constantly changing personnel" within it, from

"insufficient financial support", from the distance separating the Australian universities and also from the "absence of any higher motives".

In order to overcome these disabilities and in order to provide for further development, the Conference agreed to the proposals in the report from the editor of "On Dit".

Listed amongst the functions of such a "trust company" when formed would be the publication of a monthly periodical.

The board of Trustees would be directly responsible for the finances of "trust", but would only have advisory power on editorial policy.

The Board would consist of representatives from the universities, the daily press, the business world, N.U.A.U.S. and the Editors' Conference.

Students would still form the backbone of the organization, the management being solely in their hands.

The report indicated that provided the initiative, enthusiasm and work came from the university students, and provided the various university S.R.C.'s and Councils supported the idea of a "trust company" then there was every possibility that the idea would receive favourable support from the hoped for sources of support, amongst the newspaper companies and business world.

(Continued on page 3)

THE REVOLUTION AND AFTER

by Peter S. Cook

October 1st, 1959, will mark the tenth anniversary of the establishment of the People's Republic of China, one of the greatest epoch-making events in modern history.

Probably never before has a nation, which is so obviously destined to take a place among the great world powers, emerged so rapidly and convincingly. China has long had the obvious physical attributes of supremacy and a long history of intellectual and cultural achievement, but the past ten years has seen progress so staggering as to dwarf the efforts of preceding centuries.

Despite the enormity of the continuing revolution in China, people in the Western World, and in Australia in particular, are poorly informed about the progress of internal developments, but mightily concerned with any fancied external ambitions.

This attitude is unfortunate as it is difficult to reach a balanced judgment without first having examined the history, functions and prospects of the internal situation.

The situation inherited by the Chinese Communist party in 1949 was chaotic. They were confronted with social and economic disintegration of the worst kind. The Kuomintang had been unbelievably corrupt and incompetent. They had left the country in a state of bankruptcy; morally, politically and financially.

Achievements

The availability of such basic necessities as food, clothing, housing and education has been increasing greatly. Working conditions have improved spectacularly, hours of work have fallen and labour welfare benefits have been instituted. Women have been granted full legal rights.

The teaching of the most elementary rules of hygiene has lowered the infant death rate from 200 per 1,000 to 60 per 1,000, while provision of the basic social services has been enlarging steadily.

In the fields of agriculture and industry results have been spectacular. Through the implementation of centrally directed cultivation and irrigation

schemes, selecting the best land regardless of ownership, improved types of utilization of farm implements and extensive involuntarization of labour, the volume of agricultural production has soared.

It is, however, in the field of industry, both heavy and light, where the most startling results have been effected.

After the results of "the year of the great leap" have been analysed, with their increases of 80 per cent. and 100 per cent. in so many spheres, it has been predicted that by 1962, China will have become the world's third largest producer of coal, iron and ingot steel, ranking only after U.S.A. and Russia. China herself confidently expects to overtake Great Britain in industrial production within the next fifteen years.

Australia

The question for Australians then is not will communism in China succeed, but rather, what is to be our attitude towards this new power?

Firstly, we must settle the question of the pretender to the throne. None but the naive or the blindest of Nationalists would hold that Chiang Kai-shek will ever regain the mainland.

With international alignments as they are, the only feasible attitude which we can adopt, apart from sup-

porting the immediate evacuation of the off-shore islands, is to join with Great Britain in granting recognition and to press for a seat for China at U.N. and E.S.C.A.F.E. and other such conferences, so that the quarter of the world's population which China represents will not continue to be ignored.

Trade

So far as trading is concerned, we should continue to expand our trade with China and to explore the possibilities for further exports to this growing factor in international trade. These arguments which oppose such action, either on the grounds of defence or economic stability, are employing fallacious premises.

It is unlikely that we would ever have a surplus of strategic materials for sale. It is equally unlikely that the volume of Australian-Sino trade would ever be sufficiently large to enable Australia to be "held for ransom" by threats of its cessation.

Of course, trade would be greatly facilitated by reciprocal diplomatic representation.

Isolation

Australia, as a nation in close proximity to all that is Asian, should be increasingly attuning herself to the temper of the Asian states. It appears that the sympathies of these countries, ex-

cepting these which have strong economic and political associations with America, are falling increasingly on the side of China

As the present feeling of nationalism continues to rise in Asia, coupled with a desire for the quickest possible economic progress and social welfare, the envy of China and admiration for her expedient methods will rise also. For our country to continue to isolate herself from the need of her neighbours can only mean that we will ultimately find ourselves a geographical and ideological outpost.

EDITORIAL

EXPRESSION OF OPINION

In a recent controversial address, the Governor-General of Australia, Field Marshal Sir William Slim, expressed the view that Australia is in need of scientists of high quality. Much discussion followed this address, and from the views expressed by Sir William, his critics and other authorities, it would seem that Australia has only one need from its universities, namely, these specialist scientists, whether produced in quantity or quality.

Surely it could not be that the adherents to these views are expecting George Orwell's 1984 or Aldous Huxley's Brave New World, where society will be administered with perfect justice by highly trained specialists. If they are not, then they appear to be forgetting that in democratic theories of good government the specialist should only be "on tap, not on top."

Equally as great in the future will be Australia's need of well-educated leaders to control and administer a much more complex society, made complex by the tremendous advances made in science.

With the emphasis so much on producing specialists, the university is fast losing that sacred characteristic it once had of being a centre of thought and discussion. Commonwealth Scholarships, specialised courses of study, government and private enterprise cadetships, salaries for Teachers' College students, have all meant that more students come to a university to study hard and conscientiously to acquire some qualification for a job, or to put it more politely, a profession. With the nature of courses as they are at present, requiring constantly applied study, students do not feel that they have the time for any other real interests. Maybe they do think that "unity tickets" or uniform divorce laws are a bad thing, but they haven't got the time to study these problems sufficiently to be able to state their point of view.

If a student does become interested in such questions, then there is very little he can do to make his feelings known. To write a letter to the Daily Press, approach an M.P., write an article for Nation, stand up on a soap box or bring the matter up at a public meeting, requires some considerable time, patience and forbearance, things which students prefer to reserve for their studies.

There is very little encouragement to air undergraduate views outside the University and almost as little inside the University. Student editors as a rule prefer to publish humorous articles, articles which will be popular to the majority of students, which means the aspiring specialists. Very little is really ever achieved or said at student lunch-time or evening meetings.

It therefore seems that there is a need within universities, if not within the community, for some national publication in which University undergraduates can express their views on matters of public importance. With Australia's small undergraduate population, such a publication would have to be on a national basis.

The Australian Universities Press in editions such as this, makes some attempt to meet this need. In this edition "On Dit" has attempted to provide for further discussion on matters affecting Australia's relations with South-East Asian countries.

OUR ASIAN POLICY

— a Realpolitik View
By Ashley Middleton-Smith

There is a common view that our foreign policy should be primarily directed towards reducing the possible areas of tension and hostility between Asians and us. We should "keep in good" with all manner of gifts and concessions—massive aid, a quota system of immigration, a willingness to share the Indonesian view on West New Guinea. The view is as wrongly slanted as it is widely held.

Its only sound point is its promise that our foreign policy must be basically selfish. So it should; nobody else will ever care for our well-being quite as much as we do. This, of course, is true of every nation in history, and all the more of us today because we are a small power.

What, in fact, is the precise nature and function of a foreign policy? The answer to this question lies in a very simple formula which runs: Interest; Objective; Policy; Commitments. The only thing permanent in national life is the "national interest"—a much abused phrase, but which can be taken without triteness to mean a nation's military, social and economic security. The other three elements of objective, policy and commitment arise from the need to serve the national interest. There variable elements, taken in sequence, comprise "foreign policy".

Our Interest

How then is Australia to serve her national interest? Because we are a very small power, our first objective must be the search for ON DIT, NATIONAL SUPPLEMENT, 2nd TERM, 1959.

powerful allies who are likely to remain allies as far as we can see ahead.

The main objective of our foreign policy so far has, in fact, been to persuade our most powerful friend—America—to underwrite our military security. As things stand, Australia has already achieved about as much success as she can hope for in this direction. America is unlikely to agree to tighten up the military aspects of A.N.Z.U.S. and S.E.A.T.O. unless she comes to perceive her own national interest as best served by doing so.

Appeasement?

With American guarantees secured Australia must do all she can to maintain her own defence forces. This aim is not rendered out of date by nuclear pessimism. There is no absolute guarantee that future wars involving us will be nuclear wars. In any other kind of war Australia could do something about defending herself, and must anticipate the possibility of doing so.

Only after these considerations are met can we start thinking about what

our policies should be towards our Asian neighbours. Naturally we don't want them to attack us. But whatever else we do, we must avoid thinking that security can be bought by concessions. No "concession" in history has ever provided more than a very transitory solution to problems of relationship.

There are various good arguments for and against the idea that we should agree on West New Guinea going to Indonesia, or the idea that we should break down White Australia with a quota system. But whatever other arguments are advanced, it should never be thought that these moves should be undertaken as measures of "appeasement" in the national security sense.

This is especially true of the West New Guinea problem. Giving the area to the Indonesians will do nothing to alter the internal difficulties and pressures, from which the West Irian issue has so far acted as a satisfactory director of attention.

The focus of attention may be forced to re-align itself on, say, Portuguese

Timor. To surrender the area, moreover, will not necessarily have anything to do with "preventing" a rise of Communism in the country—as the Indonesians in the normal usages of diplomacy, have been suggesting to us it will.

Aid

Aid is, of course, a good thing (some altruism is allowed for here) so long as our resources can stand it and so long as our own national development is unhindered. But it will not "buy" friends for us. Internationally speaking, friends are never bought and seldom even earned. Friendships are always contingent upon a wide range of shared interests and the chances of mutual profit in the practical sense.

Does all this ignore the factor of the teeming, underprivileged millions? Won't we one day be "overrun" unless we change our approach—by suddenly discovering, for example, that our aid programme might be safely extended by a few points without our own national welfare suffering thereby?

The answer is no, unless the millions ever come to

Two Cheers for Colonialism!

It has become altogether too fashionable in University circles to be an opponent of British colonialism, and its ally imperialism. As in the case of sin, everyone has to be "agin" it, at least in public.

The time would therefore seem opportune to drag out some of the platitudes in favour of this discredited system, give them a dusting and at least expose them to the view of the great-grandsons and daughters of those eminent and not-so-eminent Victorians who gloried in the Empire "upon which the sun never set."

Perhaps the Victorians were proudest of the expansion of civilisation that took place in their era—an expansion that was sometimes identified with the penetration of liberal ideas into the barbaric lands of Russia and China, sometimes with the spread of European colonies in general, but above all, towards the close of the century with the amount of red splashed on the map.

That red meant not only that the area owed allegiance to the great Queen-Empress ("the Mother of the Empire"), but that its inhabitants were being uplifted by being brought into contact with "our matchless British heritage."

a Question

Disraeli, and after him the Conservatives, tended to emphasise the first; the Liberals, particularly Lord Rosebery and the missionaries the second, for "our matchless British heritage" brought with it the opportunity to spread the light of Christianity.

Even if the British officials on the spot did not like the tampering with local religious susceptibilities, at least they were more cooperative than some cannibalistic tribal king or an inscrutable oriental despot. Moreover, if they demonstrated too much of an "anti-missionary" bias a letter sent Home to some evangelically minded Member of Parliament, followed by a Question in the House, could be relied upon to put the official on the spot in his place.

Yet if the opportunity to spread the light of the Gospel were one of the most edifying reasons for increasing the amount of red on the globe there were others that appealed to that wonderful satisfied middle-class who stare out at us from faded prints and photographs.

by R. L. Reid

Practices like human sacrifice, infanticide, suttee, slavery, non-British education and learning, indeed everything conjured up by the phrase "oriental despotism" were to be swept away. Occasionally the reforming johnnies went a little too fast, particularly when a liberal and enlightened Governor-General like Dalhousie came up against the spectacular misgovernment of certain Indian princes; then you had a natural reaction by the unenlightened such as the Indian Mutiny of 1857. (My, how our ancestors would have been surprised by the myths that have grown round this event since Indian independence!)

Generally, however, it was axiomatic that more red meant more peace, more progress, more enlightenment, and to those who thought about it what more suitable course in enlightenment could there be than an English public-school-type, liberal education.

Macauley

Such a liberal education could not, of course, be open to everyone in the colony any more that it was at Home (whoever heard of children from the lower orders going to Eton or Harrow? Preposterous!) At least it would guarantee, though, a literate, civilized class who, through their studies in Latin, Greek and English literature, would be able to appreciate their "matchless British heritage."

Some, like Lord Macauley, saw that the education of

this elite would in the end be fatal to British rule. They saw that British nationalism, ideas about liberty and the rights of the governed to have a say in the government of their country would be applied to the colonial elite to their own land. This eventuality British governments were prepared to accept, even at times to welcome, although it was pretty clear that for much of the Empire independence would have to be "in the long run" — conveniently elastic phrase.

In the meantime the educated elite either filled the lower ranks of the local civil service or became discontented, unemployed intellectuals, manual labour being beneath their dignity.

The Daughters

Not all colonials, however, needed to be saved from oriental despotism, infanticide, etc. Some were almost civilized, even if they had started off as the sweepings of England's gaols.

Australian colonials, for example, were soon given responsible government in almost all fields, once Liberal governments at Home ceased trying to protect unoccupied Crown Lands from the land-sharks and shady investors of Sydney, Melbourne and Adelaide. These colonies, "fairest of Britain's daughters fair," occasionally went off the rails in certain matters, but British governments learnt to be philosophic about Australian failures to contribute to the cost of Imperial defence and mobility, to see the benefits that must flow from Free Trade.

Basically, these colonies, even if slightly outlandish, were sound, as was proved in the Sudan campaign and the Boer War.

As Lord Rosebery put it in an Address in Adelaide in 1884, "There is no need for any nation, however great, to leave the British Empire because the British Empire is a Commonwealth of Nations."

Criticism

What would our Victorian ancestors say to present-day criticism of their Empire? To the alleged racial pride and discrimination that seemed to flourish wherever Britain ruled over coloured peoples, they would possibly reply that certain people and classes had a moral duty to rule and uplift others, and that it was impossible anyway to abolish the subtleties and structure of discrimination by legislation.

One or two of our more acute Victorians might trace the whole wretched business to the arrival of British women in the Colony and the taboos and codes of behaviour concomitant with this momentous event. They might then go over to the attack and challenge you with the assertion that if Britain had not possessed these colonies some other more brutal power would have done so, a power that would have ruthlessly exploited them, economically and spiritually, and that the poor colonials would then have groaned under a tyranny far more efficient than the oriental despotism from which Great Britain saved them.

As a clincher our great-grandparents would probab-

NATION'S SERVICE

"The American University must have a purpose; and that purpose should be the training of the young for American life, for the nation's service." These words of Woodrow Wilson were recalled by Dr. Archibald MacLeish, the American educationalist and philosopher, in a leading article in "Critic," the student newspaper of Otago University in New Zealand, on May 5, 1959.

Dr. MacLeish says that when Wilson used the phrase, service of the nation, he was thinking and his listeners with him, of the duty of the colleges and universities to turn out people like Elihim Root and Henry L. Stimson—men capable of taking their places in the society of men which the nation then was.

"When we read the phrase today," Dr. MacLeish claims, "we think of something very different; the alleged duty of the colleges and universities to turn out people with certain specialised skills, which the nation is a Nation finds it needs; not to lead it, but to work for it."

Dr. MacLeish was writing on the view he holds that he does not feel at ease when he hears his contemporaries proposing that "the educational policy of our universities and colleges should be dictated by the nation's needs—or, more precisely, by what the nation takes to be its needs."

ly start whispering to our great-aunts and -uncles that "poor Augustus had been infected with the atheism and disbelief of that dreadful Mr. Bradlaugh, that terrible Mr. Shaw, that radical Mr. Keir Hardie or that anti-imperialist Mr. Hobson" all of which, of course, would be true.

THE WEST'S "WHITE AUSTRALIA"

West Australian students appear to be determined to have one particular criticism of the Australian Restricted Immigration Policy recorded as N.U.A.U.S. policy.

This is their objection to the prohibition against Asian graduates of Australian Universities settling in the country.

A motion calling on the Government to remove this was narrowly defeated (5-4) at the N.U.A.U.S. Council meeting. It is now to be reinforced—so it appears from the West's letter published in "On Dit". May 1st.

The Guild throws up the usual arguments about N.U.A.U.S. "apoliticism"—that "White Australia" is so important in our relations with Asian countries, and these in turn so important to

be co-ordinated under uniform political power. Numbers are not fearsome in themselves if Asian countries are deeply divided politically—which they are. But if they were all to come under the control of Communist China, they would be.

Australia, of course, is quite powerless to do anything about Communist China, which brings us back to our starting-point: the most necessary element in our foreign policy is to retain the one ally which is powerful enough to do something about China if necessary—the United States. Apart from that, aid is an altruistic policy worth pursuing for its own sake as far as our resources can stand it; but it has little relationship to the defence of our national interest.

our future, that students, as thinking members of the community, must protest against an unjust and discriminatory policy, and must do so through their National Union.

"Serious" Loss

Without polemic, I would remind the authors of this argument of what a national student body stands to lose in one field—its representation for student welfare and specific grievances by taking part in another—politics at large. The loss might be particularly serious were N.U.A.U.S. intervention in politics as ill-judged and ill-informed as this W.A. effort.

by Martin Davey
President,
N.U.A.U.S.

What in essence is the proposal? That Australia, having given large numbers of young Asian citizens an education which fits them to go back as leaders of their own countries, to fill the urgent need for educated and expert men and women in every walk of life, should then welcome their decisions to make their homes here—decisions which will be prompted in to many cases only by a desire for comfort, the standard of living to which Australia has accustomed them.

Leaders

One would almost think that the Indonesian delegation had not visited Perth. What were their views of this question? They told

the Sydney press that it was expected that Indonesian students here should complete their education, as quickly as possible, and return to serve their country.

It is far from certain that Australia would do a service to Asia by such a step as is suggested. In fact, any evanescent popularity it gained would soon have to be replaced by an intense Asian effort to regain those essential leaders lost to our way of life.

What would Australia gain?—a little good-will, if our public relations were well handled (and "White Australia" is very largely a problem of our public relations overseas); but certainly little long-term appropriation for the creation of a privileged class of Asian immigrant, and the stealing of the cream of Asia's educated classes.

Consider!

I would like to see this question seriously discussed within N.U.A.U.S.; especially as it seems to be of concern to a number of Asian students. I hope that students in each constituent will think it over thoroughly—not merely vote for because something must be said about "White Australia" or against because nothing must be said.

We might then be one step towards a rational consideration of Restricted Immigration in general—recognising the country's right to determine who shall settle here, the present provisions (Continued on Page 3)

EAST NEW GUINEA, BUT WEST IRIAN

The geographical situation of the Indonesian islands ensured that it was the centre of communications between Asia-on-the-Pacific and that part of Asia which extends from the Malay Peninsula to Arabia and also meant that it had a connection with Asian-African communication.

Trade within this area is very ancient, much earlier than the beginning of the Christian era. By that time Asian trade had already made its way to Europe. Asian trade with Europe passed through the Middle-east, and when this became militant Islam, Christian Europe, being at war with Islam, could no longer receive Asian goods.

Asian spices—which came from Indonesian islands of the Moluccas—were especially important for they were a means of preserving foods as well as flavouring them. Therefore, from the 15th century onwards, European seamen, backed by sovereigns and wealthy merchants, sought another route to the sources of especially those spices, but also to Asian trade in general.

THE DUTCH

When the Spanish ships under Magellan reached the Moluccas early in the 16th century, the Portuguese already held power over Ternate as a means of ensuring their eminence in the spice trade. Until the end of this century Spain and Portugal were rivals for supremacy in the area. Then came the Dutch who drove out the Spanish. Then came the English and finally the French, but eventually the Dutch drove them all out.

From the time of the earliest European contacts, Ternate and Tidore between them (Batjan had been important, but later succumbed to these) had vassals along the coasts and in the coastal island of West Irian. It was only during the first half of the 19th century that the Dutch took formal "possession" of West Irian, and the territory so taken into possession was the area indicated as falling within the suzerainty of Tidore—and it was Tidore which outlined that area.

Other evidence from western historical sources about the old association of West Irian with regions to the west of that island, comes from De Torres who called at Onin on the Fak-Fak peninsula in 1606 and found "Moors" (Moslems) there not only trading but also spreading their religion. Onin is precisely one of the places mentioned in the Negarakertagama as one of the vassal areas of Mojopahit, which was also suzerain to Ternate, Tidore and Batjan.

A POLITICAL UNIT

From the other Asian records there are also mentions which appear to indicate West Irian; fifth century Chinese speak of slaves and cockatoos; perhaps a passage of Ramayana epic of India indicates the snow mountains of West

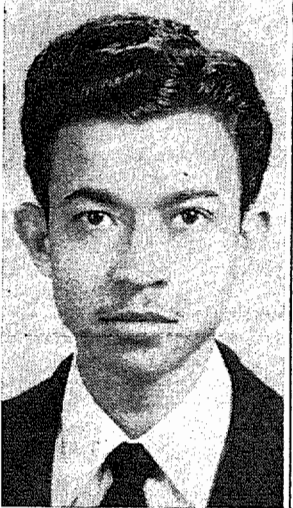
by the Indonesian Student Delegation which visited Australia this year.

These students consisted of Messrs. Kwa Khay Twan (Leader), Hamid Alhadad Octojamahdi, Paimanarcan and Miss Krismartini.

Irian as the most easterly end of the Indonesian region.

From all these records, it is clear that there has been a connection between West Irian and the rest of Indonesia for many centuries, but that this connection has been only with the western part of the island, not with the eastern half.

That West Irian was part of the political unit under Dutch colonialism was therefore a reflection of the political reality. It should also be noted that whilst the ancient political reality also incorporated "Portuguese Timor," and "British Bor-



Hamid Alhadad, of the Islamic Students' Association, who visited Australia this year with the Indonesian Students' Delegation.

neo," the Republic of Indonesia has never and will not make demands for the incorporation of these areas into her territory, no more than she will demand incorporation of the eastern part of New Guinea. These areas were not covered by the modern proclamation of independence from the Dutch (they were not Dutch controlled), because these areas did not join in the activities of the Nationalist Movement. WEST IRIAN DID.

The proclamation of Independence was made to cover the whole of Indonesia (i.e., incorporating West Irian, as this term also incorporated West Irian in the Dutch constitution). It was not only taken by the politically conscious Irianese as applying to them-

selves as for other Indonesians, they also fought and died to uphold it, and to prevent the Dutch from making the region a colony again.

VOTE OR FIGHT?

A number of uprisings against the Dutch took place, organised by the very same Irianese who joined in a resistance movement against the Japanese. These activities were even timed to assist the Republic of Indonesia as much as possible. When Indonesians saw the Dutch mounting arms for an attack, they tried to prevent this in West Irian. Just before the first major attack, made by the Dutch in mid-1947, the Irianese organised another uprising—and thus tied down units of the Dutch army so that they could not be sent to join in the attack upon the heart of the Republic in Jogja (Central Java).

Which is the stronger means of expressing one's self-determination: to vote for it, or to fight and then die for it?

POLITICAL CONVICTIONS

It is not true that there is no political protest against Dutch rule in West Irian. The following sentences are reported in the Dutch reports to the UNO (appendices XXXII and XXXIV of 1953, 1954, 1955 and 1956 Reports). 59 men were imprisoned for "Crimes against the Security of the State;" one was imprisoned and one fined for "Crimes against the Royal Dignity and against the Dignity of the Governor;" 197 were imprisoned for "Crimes against Public Order," 40 for "Crimes against Public Authority," 74 for "Offences against Public Order" and 122 for "Offences against Public Authority," whilst 135 persons were fined on all these four counts together; 27 persons were imprisoned and 81 were fined under the "By-law on Order in the Moluccas." These are clearly political sentences; how many more are concealed under such headings as "Immigration," and how many are not even reported at all?

Colonial conditions exist in West Irian as they existed in pre-war Indonesia; the people have already given support and their lives to join the Republic of Indonesia; West Irian has for centuries been part of the political unit.

EDUCATION

Basic laws for this region are those which formerly covered the whole of the pre-war Dutch colony—the laws have simply been continued there, sometimes being modified only to meet a different physical and political environment and a different economic potential.

There has been no change whatsoever in Dutch colonial attitudes. The Dutch are limiting educational and other processes of advancement for the Irianese to merely what will suit their own economic, social and political supremacy.

It is true that a numerically greater proportion of the Irianese are now receiving education in schools; but even in 1957, of some 45,000 Irianese attending schools and training courses,

Australian Publicity in Asia

"We are looking to Australia to interpret the west to the east and the east to the west." This perhaps was the most soul-searching moment of the tour of the recent N.U.A.U.S. Delegation to India. If this is true, everyone of us thought, we have not just failed, we have not even scored.

In the light of recent history and in the immediate future, this surely is perhaps the greatest challenge Australia has ever, and will ever, have to face.

It was not "we could look . . ." or "we might soon look . . ." but "we are looking . . ." What a unique opportunity for a Western civilisation in an Eastern geographical situation!

What is our response? We publicly state we cannot "afford" to place a pavilion in the Exhibition held in Djakarta, our next door neighbour . . . (Do you know that flying west from Darwin you start crossing the Indonesian archipelago in less than an hour and a half!) We present an immigration policy which is shrouded in mystery, and dished up as an offence to every man whose skin happens by chance to be a darker shade than some of our own.

"Defence"

We offer approximately £1 million annually to help countries who by chance in the first instance, and because of us in the second, happened to be undergoing the Industrial Revolution one hundred and thirty years after we did . . . and at the same time we calmly spend £200,000,000 on our "defence."

We are starting from behind scratch, so let us hurry.

During a train journey from Hyderabad to Poona, we were speaking to a Rail-

less than 6,000 had the opportunity to obtain an education above a level of about third year of an Australian primary school, and of these, less than 2,000 reached levels of higher than primary school. About half of the total number of Irianese at schools obtain an "education" comparable to that of a kindergarten—in some respects, not so wide. (Figures above calculated from the Dutch Report for 1957 to UNO, appendices XL, XLI and XLII.)

'UNDER CONTRACT'

The so-called "community development work" is no more than an attempt to encourage the growth of such goods as will provide Dutch commercial and shipping services with revenue through dealing with them, exporting and selling them on the world market. The prime aim is not to equip Irianese to take over these decisive services themselves. Irianese are encouraged to gather forest products, cut timber, grow cocoa, make copra—but all of these are then made into articles of commerce for Dutch firms, sold through Dutch firms, shipped, etc., through Dutch firms. The Irianese are considered too stupid to be taught such procedures.

Even in the oil company, the largest commercial concern, labourers are "under contract" (that is, indentured, with the usual penal clauses for infringement of contract for only short periods of time so that they do not have opportunity to learn processes. This matter is a subject of complaint by the Irianese, but requests for more thorough training opportunities are not given, under the excuse that this will break up village society.



Members of the N.U.A.U.S. Delegation to India photographed with the Prime Minister, Mr. Nehru. From left to right: Margaret Tait (Melbourne), Mr. Nehru, Bob Fels (Western Australia, Leader), and Robin Burnard (Adelaide).

Members of the N.U.A.U.S. Delegation to India photographed with the Prime Minister, Mr. Nehru. From left to right: Margaret Tait (Melbourne), Mr. Nehru, Bob Fels (Western Australia, Leader), and Robin Burnard (Adelaide).

Aborigines

Surely we need to give a greater hand in this Asian Revolution in which we are being caught up.

Again, they look at the problem of our aborigines and the treatment they have received. Once we were asked, "Is it true that your natives are kept in the jungle and never allowed out?" One could say "desert" for "jungle" and "not shown how" for "never allowed" and be nearer the truth in many cases.

Here it must be stated that in many Asian countries the treatment of their own aborigines is no better, but that does not absolve us.

Asians find it hard to believe that our Government can remain silent on South African apartheid legislation on the grounds that she is a Commonwealth country, unless it is cowardice or because of her own aboriginal law.

We found an intense desire on the part of Indians to learn more of Australia, her thought and ways of living. This desire for knowledge was also shown when some Australian students who were touring Malaya in January received a cable from the Government of Sarawak inviting them to visit that country at the government's expense.

It was undoubtedly a great thing for Australia when she opened her doors to Asian students and they were grateful. But they are not grateful if they are treated with sublime condescension as they occasionally are.

Unique

They want to feel an at-oneness with us as "being born equal in dignity and rights" as the Declaration of Human Rights states.

We, in Universities, have a unique opportunity to grasp this and the responsibility to convey it to others. It is true that our Universities are crowded, but not anything like the degree of theirs, and they have infinitely more ground to make up. We should consider making more scholarships available—only about 10 per cent. of Asian students are aided by Colombo Plan.

Australia must re-think her attitude towards the East, and we must begin to make sacrifices. Many of us should ask ourselves whether

STUDENTS VISIT MR. NEHRU

by A. J. Radford

Indonesian Committee

San Francisco, the "Asian Student" reports that Indonesia's Ministry of Education has set up a Special Study Committee on Technical Education to make recommendations on technical education adapted to the needs of Indonesia and with the aim of developing the society of Indonesia.

The Committee has the specific aims of studying and evaluating the present status of technical education in Indonesia and other systems of technical education in various countries.

A.U.P. to be Reorganised

(Continued from page 1)

The new Board of Directors of A.U.P. for 1959-60 is Miss Joan Sawyers (Chairman), Messrs. D. H. Solomon (Secretary), P. Martin (Treasurer), D. Muirhead and R. H. Corbet.

Mr. Corbet was directed by the Conference to be responsible for putting the "trust company" into operation.

The first step in this direction was to get the support of the S.R.C.'s and University Councils in every university, said Mr. Corbet in Sydney.

The Adelaide S.R.C. has already given its unanimous support. The other S.R.C.'s are in the process of being "sold" on the idea.

Wholly set up and printed by The Griffin Press Advertiser Lane Adelaide, S.A.

SOUTH-EAST ASIA HASN'T TRIED

by R. J. Blandy

The magnitude of the problem facing the underdeveloped countries of South-East Asia can be seen in the figures appearing on this page.

The first stumbling block is their absolute level of poverty as compared with the "advanced" countries; the second stems partly from the first in that their increase in per capita income is not as fast as in the "advanced" countries.

Prima facie one might think that the very harness of per capita income would suggest that rapid increase should be possible. In fact, the poverty of the countries severely curtails industrial and agricultural investment opportunities with the result that the rich nations are getting relatively richer while the poor are getting relatively poorer.

One would think that when 80 per cent. of the work force is engaged in agriculture, compared to 12 per cent. in Australia, there are opportunities for large scale movements of workers into industry as farms become mechanised — but experience has shown that it is very difficult to persuade the peasant farmers to leave their land for the (to them) unpleasant factory life with its accompanying breaks with tradition.

The third great stumbling block is their vast population which is increasing only slightly slower than our own (aided by migration). Any material increase in welfare at such a low level will be immediately brought out in decreased death rates and perhaps increased birth rates (depending on the advance of contraception in the countries) and their populations will increase at a far greater rate than ours.

This increase will cut back per capita income to the old level unless the rise in national income is faster than the rise in population. This means that when growth gets under way it must be maintained at a high rate or else the benefits will eventually be dissipated by the increase in population.

After a certain level of welfare has been reached, experience in the development of Western Countries has shown that increases in income do not call for the near proportionate increases in birth rates. It is arriving at this level that constitutes the problem.

How are the undeveloped countries to reach this level?

Incompatible

The answer is simple in theory, in practice it is extremely difficult to apply. The basic point to grasp is that to achieve such a level the country must undergo not merely piecemeal industrial and agricultural change, but a complete social and economic revolution.

The old institutions and ties must give way to a completely new form of life based on a monetary exchange economy. This means the destruction of the traditional kinship and status attitudes and the setting up of the full gamut of the acquisitive attitudes. It means the loss of the subsistence way of life, the destruction of rigid class or caste stratification of society, the shaking of the ancient

religious precepts, the misery of "not belonging" and a desire amongst the older generation to return to the old life.

It will not be pleasant and it will not be easy, yet the drive to undergo present hardship in order to achieve far greater material wealth for another generation sometime in the future must come from the people themselves in a democracy. When the numbers to be made to grasp this necessity are so vast, tradition-bound and illiterate, the task looks well-nigh impossible.

If the people did not wholeheartedly support and understand in general terms what was being done, their discontent would be a grave threat to the Government. The alternative is for the drive to be imposed from above by an autocratic government and the spirit engendered into the population as much as possible.

The present Chinese endeavour seems to have aroused a very strong public spirit to endure now for a better future and seems infinitely more likely to succeed than present endeavours in India and Indonesia, for example. It is a sad thing for the West to contemplate the likelihood that democracy and rapid economic development are incompatible, but this would seem very probably.

Under democracy, governments try to soften the blow of revolution by "disturbing" people as little as possible in their development schemes. In the long run, this may not be as kind

as a more vigorous policy, which cuts to the core of the established system. The latest report on Indian agriculture claims that by 1965 India will be experiencing her greatest famine ever unless farm productivity increases faster. The fowls are coming home to roost already.

Dumping

Rapid growth in the democratic, "pro-Western" South-East Asian countries has one strong hope. Growth could come about by vast injections of capital from abroad at very easy terms and in appropriate forms. But it would have to be accompanied by the growth of the correct attitudes towards the capital so that it is used to effect, and not left to rot because it is "new-fangled" and "untrustworthy."

Educational aids and trained instructors are thus of paramount importance. Other appropriate forms are better seeds, insecticides, weedicides, water control apparatus, machinery for simple manufactures, and improved credit facilities to do away with the crippling money lender class.

Stocks of consumption goods such as wheat and rice which the United States has built up might also be termed "capital" in this context. If the United States reserves were "dumped" in South-East Asia and not dribbled in as at present, Australia, who exports 20 per cent. of her food-stuffs to India, would be materially affected in the short run. In the long run, even for Australia, the arguments for such a move are

overwhelming, provided the Indians use the food with discretion and America can afford to give it away on the same terms as in the past.

Where should the attack on an underdeveloped country's economic system begin?

The logical place to direct the first blow is in the agricultural sector where disguised unemployment is rampant. This should be followed almost at the same time by a blow at the industrial sector.

"Unemployment"

To remove the "hidden unemployed" from the land, it would be necessary to introduce a system of wage payments to the peasants in place of their former subsistence rewards grown on the family plot. With their wages they could buy food from the common food pool belonging to the land-owner (probably the State).

The land-owner would employ only as many as would maximise his profit margin. The excess labour (the former "hidden unemployed") would either have to sponge off the family or move to find work in the cities.

There are 380 million people on the land in India and Pakistan. A 20 per cent. movement off the land in the above manner would result in 75 million people looking for work in industry. They could be accommodated in simple manufactures suitable for the home market such as cheap textiles, food processing and especially construction.

The capacity of the construction industry sets the absolute limit on industrial growth and on the growth of transport services, which must follow the breakdown of subsistence as hard as possible. Vast increases in productivity of labour and possibly land can be made in the agricultural sector by collectivisation, improved

rotation, better seeds, more fertilisation, insecticides and weedicides, better water control and food storage facilities.

With capital aid from abroad, productivity can be greatly increased; in the industrial sector, through simple machines and diversification; and in the whole economy, by greatly improved transport facilities, and controlled marketing facilities to eliminate middleman "corners."

In Essence . . .

In essence, there must be a reallocation of resources to increase labour productivity. This must be accompanied by an intense education programme by diversifying production, and sustained construction activity.

Finally, it is time for these underdeveloped countries to grasp the nettle vigorously and stop trying to be "kind." At present they are falling hopelessly between two stools.

Per Capita Income in Dollars 1938 and 1948

	1938	1948	Increase
U.S.A.	519	1525	194%
Australia	556	912	64%
New Zealand	567	953	68%
China	17	27	59%
Japan	86	143	90%
India	34	75	120%
Ceylon	45	79	75%
Indonesia	22	n.a.	—
Philippines	40	41	2.5%

Future Population: Projections for the World to 2000 A.D.

	1950	2000	Increase
North America	166	220	32.6%
Asia	1272	1900	49.3%
Aust., N.Z., Pacific Is.	13	20	53.9%

(From Norstein's Projection)

SCIENCE STUDENTS!

THERE IS A

CAREER

for you through the

R.A.A.F. COLLEGE



- Comprehensive training in Science — Electronics — Engineering
- Full Flying Course

Apply Now — Applications Close 31st July, 1959

All students interested can obtain full particulars from their nearest University Squadron or R.A.A.F. Recruiting Officer