

## Bibliographical Note

As mentioned in the Introduction, there are relatively few works on WNG. The bulk of these, furthermore, are based on the public record. R. C. Bone's work, *The Dynamics of the Western New Guinea (Irian Barat) Problem*, is one of the oldest and most frequently cited studies, but is poorly written and overly partisan. A more balanced account – and a useful source of factual material – is William Henderson's *West New Guinea: The Dispute and its Settlement*. The best English-language work on policy from a Dutch perspective is A. Lijphardt's *The Trauma of Decolonization: The Dutch and West New Guinea*, though a book of this kind drawing on declassified material is still awaited. For a Dutch overview of Netherlands administrative policy in WNG, see Kees Lagerberg's *West Irian and Jakarta Imperialism*. Of the non-archival works focussed on Australian attitudes, Verrier, Viviani, and Haupt are the most comprehensive. Verrier does not pursue the WNG question in as much detail as the others, but provides a helpful analysis of pre-War Australian opinion on NG, and its generic link with the post-War position on WNG. Viviani's speculations are often reasonably accurate, and the thesis is worth looking at for interviews with now deceased figures (such as Spender). Haupt's dissertation is the least valuable, being highly descriptive. All three studies are now of limited use given that scholars have access to government papers from the entire 12 year period.

As noted in the Conclusion, the documentary studies of the dispute by Phelps and Chauvel suffer from various problems.<sup>1</sup> Within a limit of around 100,000 words, Phelps ambitiously tries to cover each year between 1949 and 1962 in relatively equal detail, but misses and misconstrues subtleties in Australian policy as a result. However, anyone planning to visit the Australian, British, or US archives (Phelps used US and UK documents gathered by his Supervisor) should consult his footnotes and bibliography as a check against this bibliography. Chauvel's first paper on NNG, 'The emergence of the West New Guinea dispute', concentrates on the 1947-49 period. It contains some interesting generalizations regarding the Australian construction of its "neighbourhood", but focuses too much on the DEA. It also takes little note of the changes that the Liberal-Country Government brought to WNG policy. His second article, 'Up the Creek Without a Paddle: Australia, West New Guinea and the 'Great and Powerful Friends'', is generally

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<sup>1</sup> Edwards does deal briefly with WNG in *Crises and Commitments*, (pp. 200-07) but his treatment is cursory at best. This is an undoubted defect in a book concentrating on Australian involvement in SEA conflict.

accurate in terms of the briefly-told 'story' of WNG through to 1962. A weakness is the importance given to an Indonesian proposal in 1951 to solve the dispute, and does not reflect truly the central concerns (as is claimed) of the Australian and American governments on WNG between 1951 and 1954. Chauvel is currently working on a book on Australian policy towards the WNG dispute.

Regarding primary sources on WNG, the most significant from an Australian perspective are contained in two DEA series of files (one 'Top Secret', the other 'Secret') entitled "West New Guinea: Developments Relating to Future Status". The reference numbers vary, but files may be found using a word-search function in the NAA database.<sup>2</sup> The top secret series is unsurprisingly more important, but by no means contains all notable material. Certainly, all of the files from these series and relevant to February 1950 to January 1962 (approximately 75 in number) should be read by students of Australian WNG policy. Files not included in these series, but nonetheless of considerable significance, are: those containing JIC, JPC, and DC reports on WNG (A1838/269, TS696/3/2, Pt 1; A5954/1, 1682/13; A1838/269, TS696/3/2, Pt 2; A1838/269, TS696/3/3, Pt 1; A1838/269, TS696/2/2, Pt 4; A1838/269, TS696/3/8, A1838/269, TS666/42; A7941/2, I8, Pt 1; A1838/269, TS666/40), letters to Menzies from Casey (M2576,1, 39), and various files relevant to Subandrio's visit (A1838/276, TS3036/6/1; Pt 1, A4940/1, C2314). Prime Ministers' Department files on WNG consist mainly of duplicates of DEA cables contained in the DEA files, but they should be skimmed for occasional minutes and memoranda written by Menzies' key advisers (see the A1209/23 series; search also 'Dutch New Guinea', 'West New Guinea', and 'Netherlands New Guinea'). Cabinet minutes (otherwise named 'Decisions' or 'Conclusions') vary in series number, owing to changes in the system maintained by the Cabinet Secretariat, and are best found via hard copy reference files in the NAA reading room. All files of minutes between 1950 and 1962 should be skimmed. All Cabinet submissions on WNG will be referred to by number in the minutes.

Notable Australian primary sources outside the NAA include photocopies of Casey's diaries at the National Library (MS6150, Series 4). These contain much material on WNG not mentioned in Casey's published diaries. However, their value is tempered by the fact that they were not secret at the time; excerpts were distributed in large numbers to a wide variety of people. Menzies' papers at the NLA, which include letters from Spender and others, are not particularly illuminating on WNG. Neither are those of Spender

(MS4875) The diaries of Sir Walter Crocker at the NLA are a rich source, particularly on the social dynamics in Cabinet and the DEA in the mid-1950s, but may only be accessed with permission.

In terms of sources on American policy, little secondary material is available. Pemberton's chapter in *All the Way* is good on the Kennedy period, but he was unable to access all relevant documentation. Terrence Markin's thesis, *The West Irian Dispute: How the Kennedy Administration Resolved that "Other" Southeast Asian Conflict*, is disappointing in terms of documentation – especially considering the ready access he had to US archives. It does contain a number of interviews with participants that should be browsed. A copy of Markin's thesis may be obtained from the Menzies Library at the ANU. In connection with American primary sources, papers in the presidential libraries of Truman, Eisenhower, and Kennedy could be profitably scrutinized (time and money prevented me from doing so). Pemberton has looked at the WNG issue in Kennedy's collection, but has not concentrated on those of Truman or Eisenhower. State Department records (RG 59) are available at Archives II in Maryland. Papers on multi-national issues like WNG are difficult to trace given that most documents are filed according to US relations with certain countries (for example, US-Indonesia relations, or US-Dutch relations), and not by topic. See State Department Decimal Files (for all periods between 1950 and 1962), under 756C.00; 756C.5; 656.98; 656.61; 656.56D11. State Department Lot Files also hold documents on WNG. See those of: the Policy Planning Staff, 1957-61, Lot 67D548, box 141; the Office of Western European Affairs, 1941-1954, Lot 56D37, Box 1; the Bureau of Far Eastern Affairs, Lot 58D614, box 2, Lot 58D3, box 3, and Lot 59D19, box 1. See Phelps' bibliography for other clues on RG 59 sources. Record groups apart from those created by the State Department (such as RG 330 – Records of the Office of the Secretary of Defense) could reward study. Beyond this, *Foreign Relations of the United States* constitute essential reading, particularly regarding the later years of the dispute.

There are apparently no secondary works on British WNG policy. John Saltford (who was, and may still be, working for the PRO) was writing a PhD thesis on the topic. It is not known if he has completed this. Pertinent British primary records on WNG may be found at the PRO. Organization at the PRO is far superior to that at Archives II, and documents on WNG are easy to access. The general correspondence files of the Foreign

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<sup>2</sup> The first part of the title also at times changes to 'Dutch New Guinea', or 'Netherlands New Guinea'.

Office (FO 371) are the most important *vis-à-vis* WNG, and may be found with a simple word-search. Dominions Office files are also useful (DO 35 and DO 165). Most relevant Cabinet papers are available in hard copy in the reading room. There are other files on WNG, which I was unable to track in a four week period, that would be worth viewing. Again see Phelps' bibliography for some of these.

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