

protector and the American Alliance the keystone of security and defence. The dominant logic of the alliance strategy down the years has been that of the insurance policy - the notion that if Australia faithfully pays its dues to its great power ally - it will someday reap the protective dividends. The strategic principle integral to this logic has been 'forward defence' - the notion that Australian security and sovereignty is best maintained by involving ourselves in offshore military conflict in order to support the protector and/or preempt direct attack on the Australian continent. In this context the 'dues' have for the most part been paid by young Australians in far-off wars as Australia has time after time leapt enthusiastically to the bugle call of its protector.⁴⁰

The (ostensible) end of the traditional era came in the wake of the Vietnam War as Australia began to confront the implications of the US strategic withdrawal from the SEAsian region. Importantly, this shift in orientation was not prompted by a critical reassessment of Australian policy even after the Vietnam debacle. Rather, the decision was effectively forced upon Australian policy planners by changes in US policy attitudes outlined in the Guam Doctrine (1969). In this game of 'follow my leader' changes were, nevertheless, discernible by the late 1970s and early 1980s as challenges to US global hegemony on the economic front, the British decision to turn towards the EC and the emergence of new dynamic actors in Asia (e.g. Japan) acted as further catalysts for foreign policy reassessment.

The end of twenty-three years of Conservative Government in 1972 also gave impetus to the notion that the 'art of the possible' might include a more flexible and independent approach to world affairs and during the brief and turbulent years of the Whitlam ALP Administration (1972-75) a broader more cosmopolitan sense of Australia's global and regional identity began to develop, albeit with the American Alliance insurance policy still firmly in place. Since the 1980s Australian foreign policy has resonated with the tensions between the post-Whitlam liberalised perspective on the world and traditional perspectives more obviously rooted in Westphalian principles.

Characteristic of this new age has been the ongoing attempt to synthesise these 'liberal' and realist tendencies as, for example, in the underlying policy goal of

⁴⁰Dues were paid, for example, in the 19th century on behalf the British Empire in wars against the Maoris in NZ, the Boxers in China and the Boers in South Africa. During WW1, 300,000 Australians out of a total population of some five million volunteered for the carnage in France and Belgium, and nearly 60,000 died there, and in 1939 when Britain declared war on Germany, Australia was also, automatically, at war. In the post-WW2 period, Australians have continued to leave their country for foreign battlefields, to assist either the British, e.g. in the Malaysia/Indonesian Konfrontasi and the United States in Korea, in Vietnam and in the Gulf Wars.