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OPPORTUNITIES AND OBSTACLES:
FUTURE AUSTRALIAN AND NEW ZEALAND
COOPERATION ON DEFENCE AND SECURITY ISSUES

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This paper represents the author's views alone. It has been drawn entirely from open sources, and has no official status or endorsement.

Abstract

Since 1999 there has been a marked divergence in the defence policies of Australia and New Zealand, which has placed significant pressure on the bilateral relationship. In essence New Zealand has a more positive outlook on its security environment and has restructured its defence forces accordingly. This paper will examine how different perceptions and priorities have made defence and security cooperation between the two nations more difficult. It will argue, however, that a number of important opportunities for cooperation remain, because of the manner in which the domestic, regional and international defence and security concerns of the ANZAC nations overlap.

Opportunities and Obstacles: Future Australian and New Zealand Cooperation on Defence and Security Issues

Gavin Keating

The relationship between Australia and New Zealand is fascinating, multi-dimensional and elusively complex.¹

... I'm all in favour of playing down the family metaphors and thinking about New Zealand as a foreign country... because I think we will understand each other better and get more out of the relationship if we try to look as objectively as we can at our individual interests.²

Australia and New Zealand probably have more in common with each other than with any other third country.³ For all their similarities, however, Australia and New Zealand remain separate nations and the strength of the relationship has fluctuated over time. The developments in New Zealand's defence policies since 1999 can be seen as marking a significant turning point in the historically longstanding bilateral defence ties.⁴ One Australian defence analyst stated they made New Zealand a 'strategic liability' and some New Zealand commentators have subsequently assessed that diverging attitudes on defence and security have been the 'most important reason why the two countries have been drifting apart'.⁵ This paper will assess the main obstacles and opportunities for future cooperation between Australia and New Zealand on defence and security issues. It will argue that 'deep and durable differences in strategic outlook and perception' between the two constitute the greatest obstacle to future cooperation.⁶ From this flow other important impediments such as different attitudes towards defence strategy and spending and the importance of the military alliance with the US. Whilst these form considerable barriers, opportunities for future cooperation exist in joint responses to problems in the South Pacific, the challenges posed by emerging security concerns and continued cooperation in other areas of traditional collaboration. Security will be defined as 'the protection of the nation from external attack',⁷ but it will be demonstrated that the prospects for future Australasian cooperation depend on whether this is approached only in terms of traditional military defence of sovereignty or in a wider and more comprehensive fashion.

Obstacles for Future Cooperation

During the debate about New Zealand's changing defence policies, Helen Clark made two important statements. The first was a denial that both countries represented a 'single strategic entity' and the second was that New Zealand existed in an 'incredibly benign strategic environment'.⁸ These statements highlight the fact that the two countries have very different strategic perceptions. Geographic realities and diverging historical experiences form the basis of this difference. The New Zealand External Assessments Bureau has noted:

Put simply, New Zealand is an isolated oceanic archipelago whose nearest neighbour, Australia, is benign and like-minded. But Australia itself is a resource rich, empty continent with no particular affinity with the much closer and vastly more populous countries of Asia.⁹

As a result, Australians have traditionally felt greater levels of insecurity than New Zealanders.¹⁰ The Japanese attacks against northern Australia during the Second World War, the more recent experiences of coping with sea-borne refugees and the shock of the 2002 Bali bombings have all helped to reinforce this perception.¹¹ Whilst neither country sees a direct attack against it as likely within the foreseeable future, Australian defence planning is underpinned by the requirement to be prepared for such a contingency.¹² Perhaps not surprisingly Australia tends 'to a significantly more negative assessment of the security environment'.¹³ Defence decision-makers in Australia have 'traditionally taken a narrow view of security', focusing on politico-military concerns.¹⁴ In comparison, a lack of credible threat has encouraged New Zealanders to perceive security in a wider and more comprehensive sense.¹⁵

These different strategic perspectives have provided the basis for the divergence in Australian and New Zealand defence policies, which first became evident during the 1980s. Hugh White has noted that Australia is one of the few nations in the industrialised world that is still primarily oriented towards fighting conventional war in the defence of its sovereignty. In contrast, he argued that New Zealand has been leading the counter trend – where governments place less emphasis on structuring their forces for conventional war and concentrate on new security tasks.¹⁶ The various policy documents released by New Zealand since 2000 have clearly stated that the core requirement of the New Zealand Defence Force (NZDF) is for 'well-equipped, combat trained land forces that are also able to act as effective peacekeepers and are well supported by the Navy and Air Force.'¹⁷ The

decisions to disband the air combat capability, to reduce the navy from a three to two frigate force and to provide only partial upgrades to the maritime patrol aircraft all flow logically from this reordering of priorities. However, they eliminate or reduce the very capabilities seen as critical for contributing to the defence of Australia.¹⁸ Previously Australian defence planners assumed that New Zealand's air and maritime forces could provide a 20-30% increase in the forces available for this contingency.¹⁹ This was 'very much the most prized aspect of the relationship from the Australian point of view'.²⁰ Whilst it has been traditionally understood that each country would aid the other against direct attack, it is now debatable if the NZDF is capable of substantially doing so. Even if the defence of Australia is an unlikely contingency, this change in priorities also obstructs more routine cooperation. During the 1990s the permanent basing of six RNZAF A4 Skyhawks in Australia was seen as one of the best examples of bilateral defence cooperation.²¹ Similarly, New Zealand's ability to exercise with Australia and the other nations of the Five Power Defence Arrangements is also constrained, given the FPDA's emphasis on air and maritime operations.²² Perhaps more importantly, these reductions in capability may undermine the potential for future cooperation by encouraging an Australian belief, in some quarters, that New Zealand is simply exploiting its option of getting a 'substantially free ride on security'.²³

New Zealand's low levels of defence spending over the last 15 years have long been a source of irritation to Australia²⁴, and are closely related to diverging defence policies. 'Defence spending has *always* been an area of controversy in New Zealand'.²⁵ This partly reflects the general feeling of security within the population.²⁶ In contrast, in Australia there has been a high level of public support for *increases* in defence spending.²⁷ Wellington's defence spending steadily decreased between 1992 and 2002, with the percentage of GDP being allocated to defence being almost halved to 1.2%.²⁸ Canberra's spending on defence has steadily risen and maintained spending as a share of GDP at around 1.9%, although this is also low by historical standards.²⁹ Both countries have committed to increased spending over the next decade,³⁰ and the reordering of New Zealand's defence priorities was designed to facilitate increased expenditure on other NZDF capabilities. However, the simple fact that New Zealand has a population and total GDP both about one fifth the size of Australia's totals³¹ ensures that defence spending in New Zealand will always be under considerably more pressure. This disparity in size necessarily restricts the opportunities for cooperation but more important could be the impression that even in proportional terms New Zealand is failing to contribute to the relationship on an equitable basis.³²

The complexities of the American alliance are a further major obstacle to ANZAC defence and security cooperation. In confronting its security fears, Australia's problem is that, unlike New Zealand, it does not have a natural larger ally in the region.³³ This explains the different priority placed on alliance with the US by both countries. Australia approached the creation of the ANZUS Treaty as an 'over-anxious and accommodating middle power', whilst New Zealand was an 'uneasy and reluctant small power' partner.³⁴ Since 1951 ANZUS has increasingly become a core element of Australian strategic planning and the US is seen as the 'ultimate guarantor of Australia's security'.³⁵ The benefits of the alliance, such as preferential access to US technology, intelligence cooperation, other military exchanges and access to Washington's senior strategic councils, are of great significance to Australia.³⁶ The connection with the US is seen as particularly important for enabling Australia to pursue the Revolution in Military Affairs.³⁷ Such benefits do not come without cost however, particularly the requirement for general Australian support of US foreign policy, but Australia has been willing, and in some cases overly eager, to pay this premium.³⁸

In contrast, the costs of the US alliance for New Zealand, particularly in terms of its linkage to America's nuclear capabilities, were deemed to be politically untenable in the mid 1980s and resulted in the 1984-1985 dispute which effectively suspended the US-New Zealand arm of ANZUS.³⁹ The US reaction to New Zealand's anti-nuclear policies has obstructed ANZAC cooperation in a number of ways. Restrictions continue to exist on trilateral intelligence exchanges and military exercises, which not only complicate Australian activities but also restrict New Zealand's ability to maintain operational skills and knowledge.⁴⁰ New Zealand's reduced access to US military technology, when combined with budgetary pressures, might also serve to make the NZDF's adoption of the RMA more difficult and create ANZAC interoperability problems.⁴¹ The reality is that, for the foreseeable future, the US-Australia alliance will be of greater importance to Australia than its relationship with New Zealand.⁴² This may not only limit the prospects for military cooperation but could also hamper bilateral cooperation on global security issues where Australia's close ties to the US see it diverging from New Zealand's outlook.⁴³

One last factor that has influenced the other impediments to ANZAC cooperation has been the interplay between the domestic politics of Australia, New Zealand and the US. Pressure from public protesters and the New Zealand Labour Party were the key factors in the Lange Government's adoption of the anti-nuclear policies that led to New Zealand's suspension from ANZUS.⁴⁴ Bipartisan support for the continuation of this legislation

has been maintained by strong public approval and seems unlikely to change.⁴⁵ This will remain an obstacle to Australasian cooperation. The introduction of the Mixed Member Proportional voting system in New Zealand, and the increased likelihood of coalition or minority governments, has also made cooperation more difficult by reducing the prospects for a consistent approach towards security policy – itself a traditional problem.⁴⁶ In Australia there is strong public and bipartisan support for the US alliance and, since the mid 1970s, defence policy has also enjoyed broad bipartisan support.⁴⁷ The problem for Australia of balancing the ANZUS and ANZAC relationships thus remains. The political leaning of the incumbent US administration has influenced prospects for cooperation. For example, the Clinton administration's liberal agenda facilitated policy coordination between Canberra and Wellington,⁴⁸ whilst the more belligerent international approach of the Bush administration has arguably reduced the prospects for higher security cooperation.⁴⁹ The interplay between the domestic politics of the three countries is certainly subject to change – all three countries are due to have elections within the next 12 months. However, past experience has shown that it is likely to remain problematic for cooperation between Australia and New Zealand.

Opportunities for Future Cooperation

It would seem that there is little scope for future Australasian defence and security cooperation. However, there are a number of important opportunities. It is significant that the 1944 ANZAC Pact, the original security agreement linking the two countries, concentrated on the importance of the South-West and South Pacific.⁵⁰ Alexander Downer noted recently that 'nowhere is the benefit of close cooperation between Australia and New Zealand more apparent than in our response to developments in the Pacific'.⁵¹ The international community views Australia as the natural leader to deal with security challenges within this region.⁵² Its larger size, closer links to the US, colonial history and lack of cultural links to some parts of the region have, however, made its relations with many of the region's nations difficult.⁵³ New Zealand's partnership offers several advantages to Australia in overcoming these difficulties. Its less threatening size, reputation for independence, understanding of local cultures, own population of Maori and Pacific Islander peoples, and depth of mediation and peacekeeping experience have all proven valuable in the past.⁵⁴ In essence, a 'sensitivity to small island countries' aspirations, concerns and sensibilities' is a distinctive part of New Zealand's strategic culture.⁵⁵

The fact that Australia and New Zealand share complementary, but not identical, regional profiles, was of enormous benefit to their joint efforts to achieve peace on Bougainville.⁵⁶ Here, whilst the Bougainville Revolutionary Army viewed Australia as 'tainted', New Zealand was considered an acceptable mediator.⁵⁷ Its hosting of the Burnham negotiations during 1997 paved the way for the New Zealand-led Truce Monitoring Group to commence the peace process on Bougainville. It is 'now a well-established fact that New Zealand's participation in regional security activities – alongside Australia – has been critical to the overall success of those operations and to the credibility that has attached to Australia when it has been lead partner'.⁵⁸ Recent joint efforts in the Solomon Islands are a further example of the importance of this partnership and also a reminder that instability in the region offers prospects for future ANZAC cooperation. Given Australia's traditionally difficult relationship with Papua New Guinea,⁵⁹ and current efforts to provide PNG with additional stability support, there is perhaps future scope for New Zealand's assistance in this venture. The joint development of 'smart sanctions' against Fiji, as a result of the coup in 2000, also demonstrates that not all future collaborative responses to the region's security problems will necessarily have a military or police dimension.⁶⁰

An important aspect of most joint responses to recent major regional problems has been the close cooperation between the Australian Defence Force (ADF) and the NZDF. This had its beginnings with the South Pacific Peace Keeping Force in 1994⁶¹ and also featured during peace monitoring on Bougainville and in the Solomon Islands intervention. It was of particular importance during the Australian-led INTERFET deployment to East Timor. New Zealand's early allocation of approximately half of its regular military capability to the operation was considered to be critical to the eventual success of this mission.⁶² One of the important lessons from the campaign was that New Zealand's land forces, particularly infantry, proved to be invaluable in helping to alleviate deficiencies in Australia's force structure. Concerns about the reductions to the NZDF's maritime and air capabilities have led to an underestimation of the strategic value of New Zealand's highly deployable land forces to Australia.⁶³ Given the priority being afforded to upgrading New Zealand's army, and the fact that light land forces will be a critical component in many likely future regional security scenarios, this would suggest that there is a strong incentive for future ANZAC cooperation.⁶⁴

The term 'Closer Defence Relations' (CDR), coined in 1991, was intended to invigorate the military ties between the two countries, in the same way that the Closer Economic Relations (CER) agreement stimulated economic cooperation. It had several aims, including institutionalising consultations on strategy and capabilities, enhancing interoperability, increasing joint training opportunities and coordinating procurement decisions and resource programming.⁶⁵ To a large extent the fiscal pressures facing both countries were a major motivation for CDR.⁶⁶ In 1998 there were nearly 140 separate arrangements for defence cooperation between the two countries and the ANZAC frigate project was seen as a good example of what could be achieved.⁶⁷ It has been argued, however, that the recent defence developments in New Zealand have effectively ended any tangible benefits offered by CDR.⁶⁸ Whilst they may have reduced some scope for cooperation, this overlooks the continuing importance of the arrangements made under CDR. Interoperability has always been a key outcome.⁶⁹ Whilst it may not offer dramatic opportunities for cooperation in the future, continuing the exchanges and exercises that develop the ability of the ADF and NZDF to work together will be a necessary precursor for successful future regional cooperation. Furthermore, the budgetary pressures facing both nations are unlikely to lessen and there will always be opportunities for collaborative defence procurements and common repair and maintenance efforts.⁷⁰ The recent announcement of New Zealand's selection of the Australian company Tenix as the preferred bidder for its \$327 million dollar defence shipbuilding project has been seen as evidence of the strength of the Australian and New Zealand defence and industry relationship.⁷¹ The fact is that CDR enables a high level of ongoing interaction, which both facilitates and offers many opportunities for future cooperation in a wide range of areas.

The strong security links between Australia and New Zealand also offer to support combined efforts to deal with the wide range of non-conventional security threats that have recently assumed a higher priority for both nations. Wellington's decision to accept some of the Tampa refugees and its general support of Australia's 'Pacific solution' to asylum seekers has been acknowledged as a valuable contribution to an area of particular concern to Australia.⁷² Both nations have made substantial efforts to respond to the 'war on terrorism'⁷³ and coordinating their domestic responses would seem to offer further possibilities for collaboration. For instance, New Zealand has identified the requirement to establish a 'capability to respond to a terrorist emergency of a chemical or biological nature'⁷⁴ — an area where Australia already has considerable experience. Recent agreements concerning the exchange of tax information between the two countries and

calls for the development of shared aviation security laws and a common border, under the auspices of the CER, have application to countering illegal immigration, terrorism and transnational crime.⁷⁵ Bilateral and multilateral intelligence, law enforcement and legal exchanges are critical to defeating such threats.⁷⁶ Not only is there scope for further ANZAC cooperation in these areas but, more importantly, for a joint approach to assisting nations in the immediate region in dealing with such challenges. The synergies achieved when Australia and New Zealand work together in the region have already been noted.

The last areas that offer opportunities for security cooperation between the two countries are international disarmament and arms control. Despite the complications caused by strong US-Australia ties, Australia and New Zealand have a long history of collaboration in this field. Previous efforts have included the joint introduction of a resolution for a Comprehensive Nuclear Test Ban treaty in the UN in 1972 (adopted in 1996) and development of the South Pacific Nuclear Free Zone treaty in 1984.⁷⁷ More recent efforts have included their contributions to the 2000 Nuclear Non-Proliferation Treaty Review conference and negotiations on a Fissile Material Cut-Off Treaty.⁷⁸ Both governments see the threats posed by nuclear, biological and chemical weapons as particularly acute⁷⁹ and there remains much work to be done to develop and uphold international norms dealing with these problems. In the forums that deal with such matters 'Australians and New Zealanders are natural interlocutors', given their similar geographic locations and cultures, and they have perspectives not shared by other nations active in disarmament and arms control.⁸⁰

Differing concepts of defence and security have set diverging priorities for the nations of Australasia. Australia has ultimately been preoccupied with territorial defence, whilst New Zealand has never felt this to be a priority. The basis of this difference in emphasis, and the reactions to it, constitute the main obstacles for future ANZAC cooperation. Lord Palmerston is famous for his dictum that there are no permanent friends or enemies, only permanent interests. Australia and New Zealand might share many similarities but they remain separate nations. However, the degree to which their defence and security interests overlap and complement one another, particularly as they confront a range of domestic, regional and international challenges, indicates that there are more opportunities for cooperation than traditional approaches to the protection of sovereignty would otherwise suggest.

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