

NEWSLETTER

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 RESEARCH SCHOOL OF PACIFIC AND ASIAN STUDIES • THE AUSTRALIAN NATIONAL UNIVERSITY

INTERESTING TIMES



Professor of Strategic Studies and SDSC Head

What is commonly called the season of goodwill is also the season for defence policy pronouncements. By my count, all but two of the nine strategic policy papers published since the 1987 White Paper have been published in the months of November or December. The latest in this long series—the Government's *Defence Update 2005*—was, true to this pattern, released by Prime Minister Howard on 15 December in Sydney.

The *Update* upheld tradition in other ways as well. It did not take Australian defence policy in any major new directions. Perhaps understandably, the Government has really just restated rather than resolved Australia's post Cold War defence policy dilemma—the need to balance effort and resources between preparing for old-fashioned state-to-state conflict in the Asia-Pacific on the one hand, and building capabilities for post-modern, sub-state conflicts either in our region or beyond on the other. The answer is, 'a bit of both'. That kind of approach is easier to sustain when there is plenty of money around. The most important statement concerning the future of the ADF was made in

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the Prime Minister's Press Conference, when he indicated his strong support for the continuing sustained increases in real defence funding beyond the end of the decade.

That same day, Peter Costello announced that the Government's fiscal surplus was even bigger than expected, so the Prime Minister's generosity did not seem unwarranted. But careful strategic planners will notice a significant risk in a defence policy which avoids hard choices by spending money freely. Such policies do not degrade gracefully when money gets tight. After more than a decade of economic growth, talk of a possible downturn may seem unnecessarily gloomy. But good strategic policy always has an eye for the darker possibilities. How sure are we that the economy will average 3 percent real growth for another decade? How sensible would a decision to buy, say, C-17 heavy lift aircraft look if the defence budget flatlines for a few years around the end of the decade? Good strategic policy requires the sustainable alignment of objectives and resources over many years. I am not sure that we are there yet.

Of course, a key part of SDSC's role is to help illuminate these long-term strategic choices. One way we can do that is to inject a little historical perspective into the debates. To Senator Hill and his colleagues, today's problems and dilemmas may seem unique and unprecedented. But in truth the choices we face today are not so very different from those that have faced the Minister's predecessors for a century.

In 2006, the SDSC will celebrate its fortieth anniversary by staging a series of seminars on the theme of History and Policy, in which distinguished speakers will explore what history can tell us about some of the issues and problems we face today. We will be finalising details of the series early next year, and we hope as many of our supporters as possible will join in.

AWARDS

ARC Linkage Grant

SDSC Senior Fellow, **Dr Ron Huisken**, secured an ARC Linkage grant for a three-year research program on the security challenges likely to be associated with China's rise, and on the management of these challenges. Dr Brendan Taylor and Dr Chris Chung, both with the SDSC, will collaborate with Dr Huisken on this project. The research will also be coordinated with scholars in the United States, the United Kingdom and Sweden.

RSPAS General Staff Development Award

Both the GSSD Program's Administrator, **Ms Ping Yu**, and the Assistant Program Administrator, **Ms Altaire Harris Semmens**, have recently received General Staff Development

Awards from the ANU's Research School of Pacific and Asian Studies.

Ms Yu won an award through the Personal and Professional Development Scheme that allowed her to travel to New Zealand in late 2005 to attend a conference on International Education, an area which she follows closely and which also relates to the GSSD Program's international student enrolments.

Ms Semmens, currently undertaking her Bachelor of Arts at the Australian National University, has won a Higher Education Encouragement Scheme grant that will contribute to her course fees. She will travel to Norway in 2006 on a one-year study exchange program as part of her studies.

THE BOEING LIBRARY

The Boeing Library continued to be generously funded by *Boeing Australia Ltd* (<http://www.boeing.com.au>) throughout 2005 and into 2006. This contribution allows the Library to maintain its considerable holdings (including over 80 journals) and the collection continues to provide an invaluable resource for those undertaking research in strategic or defence-related fields.

Located in Rooms 4008 (monographs), 4009 (reference) and 4011 (recent journals), anyone interested in conducting serious research on

defence and security issues is welcome to visit the Library between 9.00am and 5.00pm (week days only). All rooms have chairs and study desks, and library folders located in Room 4011 contain detailed listings of the holdings. Photocopying is also available for a minimal fee. Any queries should be directed to:

Meredith Thatcher
Tel: +61 2 6125 9931
Email: meredith.thatcher@anu.edu.au

BAN THE BOMB: WHERE WE STAND AFTER 60 YEARS

RON HUISKEN

We have just notched up 60 years since the nuclear attacks on Hiroshima and Nagasaki without seeing another use of these weapons in anger. The taboo on the use of nuclear weapons, that is, something we don't evaluate but simply reject out of hand, remains intact. In a way, this is pretty amazing. For one thing, the last 60 years have hardly been an era of tranquility in relations between states. For another, it's likely that the nuclear powers have cumulatively produced well over 100,000 nuclear weapons (the US stockpile peaked at 32,500 in 1967; the Soviet one at 45,000 in 1986), conducted over 2,000 test explosions and probably spent in the order of US\$15 trillion in the process (based on estimates for the United States alone of \$4-5 trillion).

Clearly, we have been smart enough to recognise that nuclear weapons were really different—different enough to require thinking about them in ways quite distinct from the instruments of conventional warfare. Not quite smart enough, however, to conclude that these weapons simply didn't fit in a community of nation states still prone to waging war. Not quite smart enough to act on the evidence from Hiroshima and Nagasaki that they were, in effect, powerful beyond purpose in the sense that using them against a non-nuclear enemy was unconscionable and stumbling into an exchange of them with another nuclear power utterly irrational.

As we know, the superpowers slipped ever deeper into a spiral of nuclear competition in terms of the number, variety, range, accuracy and, for a time, size of weapons. The Soviet Union holds the size record with the 1961 test of a 61 megatonne device: that's the equivalent of 61 million tonnes of TNT or over 3,000 times more powerful than either of the bombs dropped on Japan. Within a decade, Washington and Moscow began to sense a profound dilemma. Each could put the very existence of the other in question and there was little either could do to prevent it: they could only promise to make extermination mutual. This gathering fact, and acute scares like the Cuban missile crises in 1962, led to a mutual interest in the

most careful management of their bilateral relationship to preclude an armed clash of any kind, the most plausible precursor to escalation to nuclear war. It also led to an acute concern that third parties, especially third parties with nuclear weapons, might be less disciplined and provoke situations that might escalate into strategic nuclear war between them. President Kennedy said in the early 1960s that there could be as many as 25-30 nuclear weapon states by the turn of the century.

These considerations contributed to the drive to conclude the nuclear non-proliferation treaty (NPT) in 1968. The NPT declared that five states would be recognised as Nuclear Weapon States (the US, USSR, UK, France, and China), while all other states should forego the option of acquiring them in exchange for full access to nuclear technologies for peaceful applications and an undertaking by the five to aspire to complete nuclear disarmament. It was an improbable bargain, but one that has served us remarkably well.

The NPT became the most widely adhered to arms control treaty in history, but adherence has been imperfect and incomplete. This fraying at the margins has worsened over the past 15 years. A small group of states never signed on. Three of them (Israel, India and Pakistan) are now recognised as states with a nuclear arsenal (although Israel has never formally claimed or demonstrated this status). A fourth, South Africa, actually built a handful of weapons in the 1980s but then dismantled its entire program and applied, successfully, for membership of the NPT. Others, including Brazil, Argentina, Taiwan, and South Korea tilted at nuclear weapons but changed their minds. Libya dabbled endlessly with chemical and nuclear weapon programs before concluding a secret deal with the United Kingdom and the United States in 2003 to verifiably abandon both.

We still have North Korea—which has not tested a bomb but claims to have them and is believed to already have sufficient plutonium for 7-8 weapons—and Iran which denies absolutely any interest in nuclear weapons but is insisting on its legal entitlement under the NPT to acquire the complete nuclear fuel cycle, including the

capacities that could produce bomb fuel: highly enriched uranium and plutonium. Iran's credibility is not high: it didn't think it could get away with this overtly so it went ahead clandestinely for 18 years. Despite the IAEA, export control regimes and western intelligence capabilities, it was able to access a despairingly sophisticated black market in these technologies. A nuclear North Korea is likely to erode non-proliferation instincts in Japan and South Korea. Iran would do the same in countries like Saudi Arabia, Egypt and perhaps Syria.

The experiences with Iraq, India, Pakistan, North Korea and Iran, diverse as they are, spell big trouble for non-proliferation. There has to be a tipping point somewhere, that is, a point at which many states will conclude that further proliferation is likely and that they should at least get closer to being able to exercise the nuclear option themselves. Stepping back a bit, these recent trends and developments should be seen as the writing on the wall getting bigger. Nuclear weapons are not a transient phenomena: we are stuck with the knowledge of how to make them. We need to bear in mind that we will also have to manage proliferation risks in 50 and 100 years from now.

If we are to rebuild the sort of enduring global determination we need to preclude recourse to nuclear weapons, all states will have to work much harder to kick the habit than is now the case. In addition to persuading North Korea and Iran to reverse course, to toughening up the NPT and curtailing the rights of non-nuclear states to national ownership of key elements of the nuclear fuel cycle, the states with nuclear weapons must re-establish the credibility of the undertaking given in the NPT that they too intend to get along without them. The United States and Russia have reduced their arsenals substantially, and continue to do so. But highlighting reductions in the nuclear arsenals from the obscene levels of the Cold War has had its day, particularly as the process has been characterised by strong assertions that it will stop a long way from zero and by statements that appear to *elevate* the importance of these weapons in the security postures of the countries that possess them.

In the absence of a more determined, coherent and comprehensive non-proliferation strategy, the odds against the nuclear taboo seeing its 100th anniversary may continue to shorten alarmingly.

[A condensed version of this article appeared in the August 2005 issue of *The Bulletin*.]

AUSTRALIAN URBAN TRANSIT SECURITY

CLIVE WILLIAMS

Next year, Melbourne plays host to the Commonwealth Games, during which thousands of people will be moving between venues on buses, trains, and trams. The likelihood of a terrorist attack at that time is relatively low—Al Qaeda and its affiliates have generally avoided attacking sporting events because of heightened security measures, the likelihood of adverse international reaction from their supporters, and of course in this case because their preferred targets (the United States and Israel) will not be participating.

Nevertheless, should a terrorist attack occur in Australia in the next couple of years, urban transit systems would be the most likely target—with the main aim of causing mass casualties to influence government policy.

The reason for heightened Australian concern is of course the Madrid and London terrorist bombings of 2004 and 2005.

In Madrid, there were 14 improvised explosive devices (IEDs) that killed 192 rail commuters, while in London four IEDs killed 56 commuters. The similarities between the two attacks were the intent to cause mass casualties to influence coalition governments to pull their forces out of Iraq; differences being that in Madrid the backpack IEDs were placed on the trains with activating timers, while in London the bombers killed themselves when they activated the devices.

Both methodologies create different security problems, and of course there are other options available to terrorists for causing mass casualties.

The terrorism threat in Australia comes mainly from Islamist extremists—who may be home-grown—or from external facilitators who come into the country to assist others to conduct an attack.

Another possible threat to transport comes from mentally disordered persons who may or may not be politically motivated. An example is David Mark Robinson who tried on 29 May 2003 to hijack and crash a Qantas flight in Tasmania. He believed he had been chosen by God to kill the pilots and crash the plane into Tasmania's Walls of Jerusalem National Park in order to destroy the devil's underground lair.

The main counterterrorism focus in Australia is threat prevention through better intelligence, proactive policing, and making targets harder to attack.

The problem faced by mass transit systems, unlike aircraft and ships, is the need to process very large numbers of people quickly—which makes individual screening of passengers impractical.

Instead, urban transit passengers are urged to take some responsibility for their own security and report suspicious items or persons. A typical British slogan is "If you see something, say something"—also adopted by the New South Wales rail system. In Orwellian Singapore, the message is "For your safety this station is monitored by 40 CCTVs". In money-minded Hong Kong, a common slogan (in Chinese) is "Beware of small hands (i.e. pickpockets)".

Technology is improving rapidly to address urban transit security issues. This includes the development of smart CCTV systems that can analyse suspicious behaviour and identify left items, systems that can follow a person camera-to-camera automatically, and access-point screening systems that can screen several commuters at the same time. Other systems in use in the United States (but not here yet) allow fusion of different surveillance systems to provide comprehensive monitoring of persons of interest.

The United Kingdom will institute a (voluntary) passenger screening trial next year on the Heathrow Express platforms in London. People agreeing to be screened for the trial will either walk through a scanner or be 'frisked' by a hand-held device.

If screening is eventually implemented, police intelligence could play a part in passenger selection. Millimetre-wave technology, which can detect dense objects concealed under clothes, will also be trialled. Other equipment being tested include hand-held explosive trace detectors and X-ray machines to examine bags. Sniffer dogs will also be used to detect explosives.

The London bombings taught us new lessons about the problems faced by emergency management immediately after an attack. They include the difficulties of evacuation from tunnels, the strenuous working environment for emergency services, the likelihood of the mobile phone system crashing through overload, the need to get factual information quickly to the travelling public, prioritisation and supplementation of the local ambulance fleet, the need for hospital preparedness, and the likelihood of protracted commuter disruption while the crime scene is exploited. (In London, crime scene examination took two weeks.)

There are considerable difficulties and costs in upgrading old transport infrastructure of the kind that exist in Sydney and Melbourne to contemporary security standards. Rail station design has gone through a revolution in recent years because of problems ranging from loutish behaviour to terrorism. Modern stations are open plan, well lit, have comprehensive CCTV surveillance, staff is secured from assault, and items that could hide a bomb or become shrapnel have been removed. It is a sad commentary on human society, but reflects the way the world is today.

Suicides are an ongoing problem for city rail systems; surprisingly few people suicide by leaping in front of buses.

While the main security concern is terrorism, day-to-day security problems are far more costly economically for urban transit systems. These include vandalism, graffiti, and fare evasion. In Perth, a new bus is vandalised within three hours of it going on the road. In Sydney, trains are secured at night, but graffiti writers manipulate train signals to stop trains to tag them. (Trains are attractive targets because pieces or tags on trains are seen by graffitiists throughout the city.) In Melbourne, public transport fare evaders cost the government an estimated \$50 million a year.

Key issues for CEOs are accurately identifying the nature of the security threat, both now and prospectively, and using a risk management approach to optimise *necessary* expenditure.

THE CHOICE OF BATTLEFIELDS

CORAL BELL

Of all the errors that governmental decision-makers and their strategists can commit, the most devastating in its consequences may be the wrong choice of a battlefield to fight on. Those consequences are what we are seeing now in Iraq, and saw thirty years ago, in 1975, in Vietnam.

We are not yet quite at the 1975 point (the other side's victory) in Iraq: more at the 1972 point, when the exit strategy (political and diplomatic) was being devised and put into operation. It will be interesting to see whether the 'decent interval' in the two cases is much the same: three years after the exit of US forces. But perhaps I am being too pessimistic about the time-scale. The solution that the British (mostly Winston Churchill and T.E. Lawrence) devised for Iraq back in 1923 (which effectively created the modern state out of three provinces of the old Ottoman Empire) lasted thirty-five years, until the first of the military coups in 1958.

Would that we could be so lucky this time; but the Islamic world is in a far more widespread state of turbulence these days than it was back then. The only hope would be if some Iraqi, maybe an Islamic cleric of comparatively moderate views, like al-Sistani, proves able to hold the three communities together for long enough for them to turn into a viable state, even if it is not exactly a Western-style democracy.

The long-term consequences of Iraq are not likely to be fully apparent for at least ten years or so, but the point about the importance of prudence in the choice of battlefield already seems valid enough to make comparison of the two cases instructive. There is a factor in common: (what I would call an ideological assumption) 'read in', deceptively, from the global to the local context. In the Vietnam case, it was the global rivalry of the Cold War 'read into' the local rivalry of left and right wing nationalisms which had been struggling for control of Vietnam ever since 1945, and had been exacerbated by the anti-colonial fight

against France. When Ho Chi Minh was first looking round for help against the French, he tried Washington, and rebuffed there he (being a good Vietnamese nationalist) turned to the Soviet Union, not China. In Iraq, it has been the fervid moral zeal of Washington in the 'global war on terrorism' (GWOT, as it has been called) which has been 'read into' the tribal, ethnic, sectarian and political rivalries of Iraq. Saddam's regime was undoubtedly an oppressive and detestable tyranny, but the jihadists were no friends of his. On the contrary, since his regime was rather secular as well as thoroughly corrupt, he was one of their natural targets for 'regime change', perhaps even more so than the Saudi royals.

There is an obvious case for arguing that the clear victor of the Iraq war is Iran. Certainly its shadow is larger now, especially as it is potentially nuclear. But the Iraqis are predominantly Arab, even bearing in mind the Kurdish minority, and the Iranians are predominantly Persian. There are plenty of old grudges and rivalries between those two groups of tribes. The Iraqi Shia will not want to be under the thumbs of the Iranian Ayatollahs, and will know that they must keep the Sunnis and the Kurds reasonably content if Iraq is to remain a viable sovereign state, capable of claiming a major role in the Arab world and keeping Iran at a respectful distance.

How does all this affect Australia? I am assuming that we will continue to play 'follow my leader'. Since we went into Iraq with the United States and Britain, we may as well come out with them, and reap what benefits we may from such conspicuous loyalty to allies. I do not believe it does us much harm with our neighbours, rather the contrary in fact. The rise and rise of China, as already the economic great power of Asia, and relatively soon likely to be its most potent military power, must certainly be the central pre-occupation of every government of the area, including our own. So consciousness of the desirability of an 'outside balancer' must already be in the minds of many diplomatic and military strategists in the region. The only great power of equal or (at present) greater military weight is of

course the United States. So Australia's role, alongside Japan, as the closest US ally, and one even more concerned than Japan with specifically the security of South East Asia, is actually a diplomatic asset to Canberra.

What actually is more likely to damage our standing with our regional neighbours is Australian attempts to (as they see it) bully them into adopting our norms. We may hope (I do myself) that the Japanese may come round

to our view that whales are not for eating. We may hope that Indonesia and Singapore and Malaysia may come round to our view that even may hope that Indonesia and Singapore and drug-traffickers ought not to be executed. And that China may come round to our view that dissent ought to be tolerated. But diplomatic battlefields, like military ones, need to be carefully chosen. If we expend all our diplomatic capital on these causes, we may not have much left for larger ones, in human terms, like the future of Papua.

AUSTRALIAN MEMBER COMMITTEE OF CSCAP (Aus-CSCAP)

Aus-CSCAP held its 23rd Meeting on 8-9 August, which concentrated on three major themes—Australia and the Great Powers, The War on Terror, and Australia's Defence and Foreign Policy Priorities. These sessions, which were led by Dr Coral Bell, Professor Hugh White and Admiral Chris Barrie, allowed a more detailed consideration of issues and resulted in a thoughtful and lively discussion. Aus-CSCAP continues to expand, with six new members joining at the August 2005 meeting.

The main event for CSCAP this year, is the General Conference to be held in Jakarta on 6-7 December, preceded by the Steering Committee meeting. Aus-CSCAP is providing funding for the Conference, which is being organised by CSCAP Indonesia. The major focus will be on countering proliferation and an impressive list of Ministers, senior officials and experts from CSCAP Member Committees has been assembled. In addition to counterproliferation, the Meeting will consider issues involving regional cooperation, maritime security, human trafficking and disaster relief. There will be approximately thirty Australians participating, led by the Minister for Foreign Affairs and Professors Des Ball and Tony Milner, as Co-chairs of Aus-CSCAP.

Aus-CSCAP has been active in the various CSCAP Study Group Meetings held this year. Dr Ron Huisken has been attending the Study Group on WMD, Mr John McFarlane went to the meeting on peacekeeping, Professor James Cotton has attended several meetings on security in Northeast Asia and Mr Andrew Goledzinowski from DFAT attended the meeting on terrorism. Dr Sam Bateman continues as Co-chair of the Study Group on Maritime Security, and Mr John Buckley plays a similar role in the Group on Human Trafficking.

Finally, Aus-CSCAP has been facilitating the preparation of a *Sourcebook on Contemporary Islam in Southeast Asia*, which is funded by AusAID. The project is being undertaken by Dr Greg Fealy and Professor Virginia Hooker and is in the final stages of preparation. The *Sourcebook* aims to represent the variety and diversity of Islamic voices across Southeast Asia.

The next meeting of Aus-CSCAP will be in the first week of March 2006.

Mr John Buckley
Aus-CSCAP Executive Director

AUSTRALIAN STRATEGIC STUDIES ALUMNI



The Australian Strategic Studies Alumni (ASSA) wishes all members of the Strategic Studies community a Happy New Year and all the best for the challenges of 2006. Looking ahead, 2006 promises to be a year of growth for ASSA, with the Council seeking to increase the value of membership through excellent professional and social events and opportunities.

On 9 November 2005, ASSA completed its first Annual General Meeting since the organisation's inception 18 months ago. The AGM provides an important governance function for ASSA members to elect the ASSA Executive and Council via a transparent and democratic process. The newly elected Council looks forward to continuing ASSA's goal of growing a network of strategists and friends in Australia and abroad, and we wish to thank the inaugural ASSA councillors led by Mr Brek Batley for their hard work in establishing the organisation and taking ASSA from an idea into reality.

The Council aims to develop and plan a series of new initiatives and events spanning a range of social and professional activities. A calendar of ASSA initiatives for 2006 will be placed on the ASSA website (www.ausstrat.org.au) in February. If you wish to propose any particular events, feel free to email us at events@ausstrat.org.au. We will also aim to generate a two-year Strategic Plan that will

articulate and communicate the direction of the organisation to our members.

ASSA will continue to find new ways in which it can offer its members a range of opportunities to gain experience, knowledge and contacts in the strategic and security studies field. Our work with CSCAP, the Kokoda Foundation and the Youth Professional Alliance has already offered great benefits to members. We are currently in discussions with other organisations to grow professional and research opportunities for members and will endeavour to make the Alumni a more Australia-wide group with a more diverse range of members and an enhanced participation from the private sector.

ASSA has a substantial membership base to build upon, with members spanning five Australian states and ten other countries. Our membership includes professionals, research students and distinguished scholars, working across a wide spectrum of government and private strategic and security-related organisations in Australia and abroad. We would like to thank current ASSA members for their enthusiasm and support and would invite colleagues from the SDSC community to also become ASSA members. We encourage anyone who is interested in learning more about ASSA, or wanting to join, to go to our website at www.ausstrat.org.au.

Mr Scott Flower (President)

STAFF PROFILE: *Bob Breen*

Bob Breen began work as a Research Fellow at the Strategic and Defence Studies Centre with the Official History of Australian Peacekeeping and Post-Cold War Operations Project on 3 November after submitting his PhD thesis, 'Australian Military Force Projection in the late 1980s and the 1990s: what happened and why', for examination. He will be with SDSC for three years writing Volume IV, *Good Neighbour Operations, 1994-2005*. Bob has had a long involvement with Australian peacekeeping, beginning in Somalia in 1993. Subsequently, he has conducted research in Rwanda, Mozambique, the Middle East, Bougainville and East Timor. He published *A Little Bit of Hope: Australian Force—Somalia* in 1998 and *Mission Accomplished—East Timor: ADF participation in InterFET* in March 2001, both with Allen and Unwin. In December 2001, he published *Giving Peace a Chance—Operation Lagoon, Bougainville 1994: A Case Study of Military Action and Diplomacy* (CP142) with the SDSC. Bob lives with his wife, Nicola, at Greenway on Lake Tuggeranong. Occasionally, he can be seen walking two dogs around the lake or paddling a kayak on the lake. In winter he follows the premiership campaign of the Sydney Swans Football Club.



GSSD PROGRAM UPDATE

The second half of 2005 proved to be another busy semester for the program with about 90 students enrolled and studying for Masters and Graduate Diploma qualifications in Strategic Studies. The second core course in the program, 'Key Security Challenges in the Asia-Pacific', was coordinated by Dr Chris Chung: many of the sessions featured guest speakers in presentations to the whole group and several sessions ran twice to allow a roundtable format. A full array of elective courses also was offered. The first course to run in the new Special Topic slot, 'Weapons of Mass Destruction', was delivered by Dr Ron Huisken: this subject will be offered as a regular course from 2006. (The scheduled Special Topic for 2006 is 'Terrorism', to be taught by Mr Clive Williams). Some courses featured new presenters: Professor Hugh White delivered the 'Australian Defence and Strategic Planning' course (to be renamed as 'Australian Strategic and Defence Policy' from 2006) and Dr You Ji from the University of New South Wales delivered 'China's Defence and Strategic Challenges' in intensive (one week) mode in Canberra. Another specialist external presenter, Dr David Wright-Neville from Monash University delivered his 'Terrorism: Violence and Identity' course for the first time in Canberra. The other elective courses to be offered were 'Security in Business and Government' (Mr Clive Williams and Mr John McFarlane) and 'Strategic Concepts' (Dr Robert Ayson).

A number of students continued to undertake sub-thesis research for their MA (Strategic Studies) degrees. These students attended a very productive workshop arranged by Dr Chung as sub-thesis coordinator, where work in progress seminars were given and commented on by staff and doctoral students. The Program's second intern was placed with the Land Warfare Studies Centre and GSSD graduates continued to have success in obtaining good positions in the employment market. About two dozen students graduated in the December ceremony, to whom the Program extends its warmest congratulations. The work of the

Australian Strategic Studies Alumni association (in which our graduates continue to play a major role) is very much appreciated. Interest from the official community in short courses continued to develop with a number of possibilities being considered for 2006. The Director of Studies and Deputy Director of Studies each travelled to Jakarta in October/November 2005 to deliver one-week courses.

Students undertaking GSSD studies in the second half of 2005 have come from a range of countries including Australia, Canada, Indonesia, Japan, New Zealand, Slovakia, the Solomon Islands, Taiwan, the United Kingdom, and the United States. Compared to the second semester of 2004, full-time students rose from about 40 percent of the total number of students in the program to 50 percent. International student numbers remained steady at about 13 percent of the total. The Program is pleased to advise that planning is well underway for the first scholarships to be offered by GSSD in 2006. These will be named after a prominent figure in the Australian strategic studies community and in the life of the Strategic and Defence Studies Centre.

The Program is seeking to appoint a much needed third member of academic staff by the middle of 2006. It is delighted to advise that Ms Ping Yu has become a permanent member of staff as GSSD Administrator. Ms Altaire Harris Semmens will travel to Norway for a much deserved student exchange year after providing excellent service as Assistant Administrator. Her replacement for 2006, Mrs Sarah Flint, joined the team in mid-December. Dr Brendan Taylor has continued to provide sterling assistance with the Program's marking load. Mr William Choong's work in tutoring international students is also much appreciated, as is Miss Meredith Thatcher's outstanding assistance in guiding students to the treasures of the Boeing Library.

Dr Robert Ayson
Director of Studies

GRADUANDS: *December 2005*



Twenty-one scholars graduated from the GSSD Program in December 2005. The SDSC wishes every graduand the best for the future.

MASS

1. Brennan, Christopher
2. Fulham, Lisa
3. Kaleb, Stjepan

MSA

4. Alexander, Sherene Anne
5. Chaloner, Robert Eyton
6. Chang, Shui Yung
7. English, Philip Christian
8. Grey, Julian George Watson
9. Hammond, Jessica Sarah
10. Hayes, Bruce Andrew

11. Moody, Helen
12. Needham, Annabelle
13. Palfreyman, Alistair Edward
14. Perkins, Randal
15. Price, Shaun William
16. Sanchez, Scott F
17. Smith, Joseph Kenny
18. White, Alexandra
19. Wuketich, Marek

GDSA

20. Courtis, Derek Vale



Dr Robert Ayson, Director of Studies, Graduate Studies in Strategy and Defence, and staff, accompanied by GSSD Program graduates (December 2005).

SEMINARS

In 2005 the SDSC hosted no less than a dozen public seminars featuring prominent speakers from the international strategic and security studies communities. A number of these events contributed to an ongoing Asian Security Seminar Series established and co-hosted by the Centre and the ANU's Department of International Relations.

3 June: Dr Sheila Smith, East-West Center, Hawaii, 'Japan's Evolving Security Perspectives and Policies'*

27 July: Mr Peter Brookes, Heritage Foundation, Washington DC, 'US Security Policy Towards East Asia under the Second Bush Administration'*

5 August: Professor Jurgen Brauer, Augusta State University, Georgia, 'The Economics of Military History'

12 August: Professor Amitav Acharya, IDSS, Nanyang Technological University, Singapore and Professor William Tow, Department of International Relations, Australian National University, 'The Transformation of US Security Alliances in the Asia-Pacific'*

19 August: Dr Coral Bell, SDSC, 'The Twilight of the Unipolar World'

7 September: Professor Leszek Buszynski, International University of Japan, Niigata, 'The Shaping of Japan's Security Policy: Assessing Domestic and External Influences'*

13 September: Walter Russell Mead, Council on Foreign Relations, New York, 'Grand Ideas and Grand Strategy: The American Experience'

15 September: Mr Harlan Ullman, CSIS, Washington DC, 'Iraq or China? Where Should US Strategic Priorities Be?'*

19 October: Dr Bates Gill, CSIS, Washington DC, 'US Perspectives on Managing China's "Peaceful Rise"'*

11 November: Professor Gwyn Prins, London School of Economics, 'The New Geopolitics: The Challenge of Long Wave Events'

18 November: Professor Hugh White, SDSC, 'Beyond the Defence of Australia: Rethinking the Foundations of Australian Defence Policy'

9 December: Dr Ron Huiskens, SDSC, 'Explaining the War in Iraq'

part of the Asian Security Seminar Series co-hosted by the ANU's SDSC and the Department of International Relations. The contact for the seminar series for 2006 is **Dr Brendan Taylor.*

BOOK LAUNCH



The author, Reuben Bowd, speaking at the book launch.

A Basis for Victory: The Allied Geographical Section 1942-1946 by Reuben R.E. Bowd (Canberra Paper 157) was officially launched by the Chief of Army Lieutenant General PF Leahy, AO, at the Chief of Army's History Conference on the morning of 14 October 2005 at the National Convention Centre in Canberra. The theme of the conference was 'Entangling Alliances: Coalition Warfare in the Twentieth Century', and *A Basis for Victory* chronicles the work of the Allied Geographical Section, an often overlooked cornerstone intelligence organisation that operated during the Second World War, and the role it played in ensuring an allied victory in the war against Japan. The volume contains numerous photographs and details of those persons who formed an integral part of the Section during this important period in Australian history and it was a privilege for the Centre to launch such a well-researched book. Special thanks must also be accorded to the Army History Unit who made the launch possible.

Cost A\$35.00 (+ GST = A\$38.50)

ISBN 0 7315 5455 8, March 2005, xxiv + 168 pp. (includes maps, plates, appendices, bibliography, index)

FORTHCOMING CANBERRA PAPERS

CP160: *Forearmed Forewarned: Australian Specialist Intelligence Support in South Vietnam, 1966-1971*

Blair Tidey

Blair Tidey's monograph examines how Detachment 1st Divisional Intelligence Unit and 547 Signal Troop (two units operating in support of the 1st Australian Task Force (1 ATF) in South Vietnam from May 1966 to December 1971) were organised and equipped, how they conducted operations, and how effective they were in providing specialist intelligence support. Blair Tidey is a member of the Australian Intelligence Corps and has served in a variety of tactical and strategic postings during his Army career, including operational tours of Rwanda and Iraq. He received his Master of Defence Studies from the Australian Defence Force Academy, for which he was awarded the ADFA Defence Studies Prize in 2002.

CP 161: *Essays on Australian Defence*

Paul Dibb

The SDSC's Emeritus Professor Paul Dibb has collated a number of his papers on Australian defence into a collection of essays. In so doing, he draws on his extensive career in government and academia to share his views on the future of Australian defence. The timeliness of such a volume is a welcome addition to the SDSC's publications program.

Abstracts of recent SDSC publications, together with a complete list of publications in print, are available through the SDSC's home page at
<<http://rspas.anu.edu.au/sdsc>>.

CP 162: *New Depths in Australia-US Relations: The Collins Class Submarine Project*

Maryanne Kelton

Controversy has swamped the *Collins* class submarine project since the tender process was concluded in the late 1980s. To reflect on why this has been the case, Maryanne Kelton describes the project details and analyses how it was captive of a change in broad foreign and defence policy orientation between the two governments who assumed responsibility for the submarines' construction and delivery. Maryanne Kelton is a Lecturer in the School of Political and International Studies at Flinders University.

CP 163: *Ethics of War in a Time of Terror*

Christian Enemark

This book is a collection of papers originally presented at a workshop entitled 'After Nine Eleven: Ethics in the Time of Terror' hosted by Monash University on 24 June 2005. The participants included members of the Ethics on War and Peace working group. Chapters examine a wide range of themes including 'lesser evils' and 'dirty hands' in the fight against terrorism, the ethics of intelligence gathering, humanitarian intervention, terrorism and the North-South divide, cultural equality as a response to terrorism, human rights and counterterrorism legislation, and the ethics of defending against bioterrorism. Contributors include Dr Alex Bellamy and Dr Richard Devetak (University of Queensland), Mr Christian Enemark, Mr Christopher Michaelsen and Mr Jeremy Moses (ANU), Professor Baogang He (Deakin University), and Associate Professor Hugh Smith (Australian Defence Force Academy).

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WORK IN PROGRESS

Dr Robert Ayson's main research focus for the second half of 2005 was a project on the place of East Asia in New Zealand security policy that he is undertaking for the Asia-New Zealand Foundation. He delivered a conference paper based on that research for the Australasian Political Studies Association conference in Dunedin and gave similar papers elsewhere in New Zealand. Dr Ayson's contribution to a debate among Australian academics on the future of non-proliferation, 'Selective Non-Proliferation or Universal Regimes?', was published by the *Australian Journal of International Affairs*. He helped complete the final edits for the forthcoming book *Strategy and Security in the Asia-Pacific* (co-edited by Desmond Ball) being published by Allen and Unwin. In addition to directing the GSSD program, Dr Ayson delivered his 'Strategic Concepts' elective course, co-convened a joint seminar series (for the SDSC) on Asian Security with Professor William Tow of the Australian National University's Department of International Relations, and supervised a number of PhD and MA students.

Professor Desmond Ball's main priority during the past six months has been completion of a book, co-authored with Mr David Mathieson, on the resurgence of paramilitarism in Thailand. It is to be submitted to the publisher in January 2006. He has also completed a book chapter on the Australia-Japan security relationship, which is currently in press. A co-edited book, *Masters of Terror: Indonesia's Military and Violence in East Timor*, is scheduled for publication by Rowman and Littlefield in the United States early in 2006.

Mr Bob Breen took up the position of Research Fellow with the Official History of Australian Peacekeeping and post-Cold War Operations project on 3 November 2005.

Dr Chris Chung has continued working on an article evaluating coastal and user state maritime security interests in the South China Sea, co-authored with Professor David Rosenberg of Middlebury College. In addition to contributing to the management of the GSSD program, he coordinated the 'Key Security Challenges in the Asia-Pacific' course and continued oversight of the MA sub-thesis process, including convening a research progress workshop and supervising two students. He also delivered a course at the University of Indonesia on transnational security

in the Asia-Pacific and taught at the University of New South Wales at the Australian Defence Force Academy.

Emeritus Professor Paul Dibb has completed work on editing his collection of papers entitled *Essays on Australian Defence* (Canberra Paper 161). He is currently researching and writing a paper to be called *Australia's Changing Strategic Geography*. He published newspaper articles on the Howard Government's policy towards China and on Australia's intelligence cooperation with the United States during the Cold War. He has started working with the Committee for the Economic Development of Australia (CEDA) on a major research project for 2006 about Australia's defence procurement and the future of defence industry.

In September, he gave evidence before the Senate Foreign Affairs, Defence and Trade References Committee on Australia's relationship with China. He also participated in an international scenario seminar sponsored by the Director of Net Assessment in the office of the US Secretary of Defense. He hosted visits by the Indonesian Institute for National Resilience (Lemhanass) and the Swedish National Defence College. In November and December he participated in three seminars in the Department of Defence, as well as attending the Foreign Minister's Foreign Affairs Council. He was also heavily involved in supervising the final submission of Mr Bob Breen's PhD thesis on Australian military force projection. He continues to work with Dr Richard Brabin-Smith on the evolution of Australia's defence policies, which includes interviewing senior military and civilian participants.

Professor Horner has continued his work on the Official History of Australian Peacekeeping and Post-Cold War Operations and has drafted chapters on the UN Mine Clearance Training Team in Pakistan/Afghanistan. This has involved conducting a considerable number of interviews in Canberra, Sydney and Melbourne. During July and August, he attended several military history conferences and presented a paper on the fall of Singapore and its effect on the defence of Australia at a conference organised by the 2/15th Field Regiment Association. On 6 October, he delivered two lectures at the Australian Command and Staff College on the 1943 New Guinea campaign, and on 13 October he presented a paper on Australia and coalition warfare in the Second World War at the Chief of Army's History

Conference. During late October he visited MINURSO (the UN observer organisation in Western Sahara), UNMIK (the UN administration in Kosovo), and conducted interviews in Britain.

Dr Ron Huisken delivers a Masters course on the non-proliferation of weapons of mass destruction and coordinates SDSC involvement in a global consortium of think tanks supporting the G8 Global Partnership Against the Spread of WMD. He also participates in a CSCAP working group developing a non-proliferation action plan for East Asia. He has maintained his long-standing interest in US security policies and their implications for East Asia, completing a monograph on *Explaining the Invasion of Iraq*, an article on the DPRK's nuclear program and presenting a seminar for the IISS on America's plans for a new military footprint in Asia. He secured an ARC Linkage grant in October 2005 and will lead a small team over the period 2006-2008 looking into the strategic stresses that will accompany China's re-emergence as a central player in East Asian Affairs.

Over the past six months, **Dr Brendan Taylor**, the Post-Doctoral Fellow at the SDSC, has continued his work (with Professors Des Ball and Tony Milner) on Track 2 security dialogue in the Asia-Pacific region, having recently completed a journal-length article on this subject. He also authored an article on Dr Coral Bell's contribution to Australian foreign policy, which appeared in the September 2005 issue of the *Australian Journal of International Affairs*. He succeeded in securing a contract with *Routledge Curzon* to edit a book on Australia's Asia-Pacific security relationships and (with Dr Ron Huisken and Dr Chris Chung) also won an ARC Linkage grant to conduct research on China. Finally, he appeared before the Senate Foreign Affairs, Defence and Trade Committee to provide testimony on Australia's relationship with China and has also provided media commentary on the continuing North Korean nuclear crisis.

Professor Hugh White is finishing work on a major paper on Australian defence policy to be published early in 2006 by the Lowy Institute, and has begun writing a book to introduce defence policy to a wider Australian audience, to be published by Melbourne University Press. In the second half of 2005 he taught an elective course on 'Australian Strategic and Defence Policy' in the GSSD Masters program. He has participated in the Australian National University's Indonesia Update Conference, the Australian Davos Connection's Leadership

Retreat, and the Lowy Institute conferences on Avian Flu and on Values in Foreign Policy. His paper on Australia and the future of the US-China relationship has been published in the *Australian Journal of International Affairs*, and he has published articles in *The Diplomat* and elsewhere. He also contributed papers on Governance and Security to the development of the Government's White Paper on the Overseas Aid program.

Visiting Fellows

Admiral Chris Barrie has recently returned from overseas and is working on a range of defence transformation and leadership issues. Whilst overseas, he participated in the first Coalition and Combined Land Force Component Commander's Conference at the Army War College, Carlisle, Pennsylvania as a presenter and 'greybeard' commentator. At present he is revising his elective program on 'Strategic Leadership' for presentation in the fall semester at the National Defense University in Washington, DC, and finalising a paper on transformation for publication there.

Dr Coral Bell has been mostly engaged in preparing chapters or articles for various books and journals. She has written a study called *Power and World Order* for a book on challenges to multilateralism, to be published by the United Nations University Press in Tokyo, and a chapter called 'Strategic Debate in Australia, 1945-2005' for the next edition of *The Oxford Companion to Australian Military History*. An article of hers, called *The Twilight of the Unipolar World*, was published in the Winter 2005 issue of the Washington-based journal called *The American Interest*. She has also delivered lectures or papers for several conferences. For the Land Warfare Conference, she spoke on Asymmetric Warfare, for the Kokoda Foundation Conference on Next Generation Threats to Australia, for the European Update Conference on Europe in a Multipolar World, for the Lowy Conference on Values and Foreign Policy, and for the Asia-Pacific College of Diplomacy Workshop on Phases in the Life of the US-Australia Alliance. She also lectured for the GSSD program on Asia's Future Security Order.

Dr Richard Brabin-Smith has continued the drafting of his Working Paper on the evolution of Australia's defence relationships with the US, Indonesia and New Zealand over the past thirty years. As part of their broader work, he and Professor Dibb have started their interview program with key people involved in the development and implementation of Australia's defence policy over this period.

Mr John McFarlane participated as a chair in the Safeguarding Australia Conference in Canberra on 13-14 July; as a speaker at a Seminar on New Zealand's Counter-Terrorism Capability in Wellington on 15-16 August; as a speaker and workshop leader at the 23rd International Symposium on Economic Crime in Jesus College, University of Cambridge, between 4-10 September; as a discussant at the Kokoda Foundation Conference in Canberra on 25-26 October; and as a speaker at the 2005 Beijing Centre for Transnational Crime Prevention Annual Conference in Beijing between 10-12 December 2005. He also spoke at the International Management of Serious Crime Course at the Jakarta Centre for Law Enforcement Cooperation in Semarang, Indonesia, between 29 August and 15 September; at two courses conducted by the Department of Foreign Affairs and Trade (DFAT) on 14 July and 5 December; and delivered lectures on Transnational Crime to the ASIA.3030 Course at ANU on 11 August; and a Chinese Police Officers' Course at the University of Canberra on 14 October.

Together with Mr Clive Williams, he conducted a course on 'Security in Business and Government' between 26-30 September (as part of the SDSC Graduate Studies in Strategy and Defence Program), and also spoke to an ANU National Graduate School of Management Master of Business Administration Course on 27 July. He also participated as the supervisor and examiner for two of the Strategic Assessment Paper and Abridged White Paper projects that course members at the Centre for Defence and Strategic Studies at the Australian Defence College completed in 2005. Finally, he participated as a member of the two-person Program Monitoring Group for the Timor Leste Police Development Project sponsored by AusAID and the Australian Federal Police, visiting East Timor for that purpose between 19 and 24 November 2005.

The Hon. Derek Quigley has completed an extensive paper on the so-called 'ANZUS Crisis' which is awaiting publication as a Canberra Paper early in 2006. He is also well advanced with another detailed paper on 'Policy and Structural Options for a Small Country's Defence Force'. This focuses on the changes that have taken place to New Zealand defence over the past twenty years and contains a series of case studies to explain them. This paper should be ready for public release in the first half of 2006. After that, he intends to complete the work he has already started on how Australia and New Zealand might better coordinate their

respective defence and security interests to enhance regional security.

Dr Alan Stephens continued work on his book on strategy, and had articles published in Australia, South Korea, and Sweden, while another article was accepted by the US-based journal *Joint Forces Quarterly*. He reviewed several books, lectured at the Australian Defence College and Australian Defence Force Academy, University of NSW, supervised post-graduate students at both the SDSC and ADFA, UNSW and examined several theses. Presentations were made at conferences in South Korea and Australia, and to the United Services Institute in Canberra.

Mr Ross Thomas is updating the Masters elective course on 'Intelligence and Security' for delivery in March. He is also developing a modified version of that program, in association with Mr Clive Williams and Mr John McFarlane, to be provided as an intelligence training course to the Department of Defence in the first half of 2006.

Mr Clive Williams's main activity during the period was national security-related conference presentations and providing specialist workshops. He gave 24 public presentations, including eight to major international conferences, some of those as the keynote speaker. They included conferences in Australia, the United States and Indonesia. The specialist workshops included several restricted-attendance workshops on suicide terrorism. Mr Williams was also a presenter on courses at the ANU, ADFA, the Australian Defence College, the Australian Command and Staff College, and the Australian Federal Police College. Mr Williams and Mr McFarlane presented a National Graduate School of Management Masterclass on security issues in July, and the Masters course elective 'Security in Business and Government' in September. His publications included ten opinion pieces in *The Australian*, the *Australian Financial Review*, *The Courier Mail*, *The Age* and *The Canberra Times*. He also published articles in protective security-related publications and contributed a book chapter on 'Terrorism' for the SDSC text book *Strategy and Security in the Asia-Pacific* (to be published early in 2006).

Mr Derek Woolner has commenced research work on the *Collins* class submarine project. He will be co-authoring the official history of the project, which is sponsored by the Defence Material Organisation and is due to be published by Cambridge University Press in mid-2008. His colleague in writing the book is Dr Peter Yule, a professional historian with a number of volumes

of organisational histories to his credit. Mr Woolner wrote two papers on the *Collins* program in 2001 that are still available on the Parliamentary website. However, the objective of the current study is to describe the development of the submarines through the eyes of those who had to make the crucial decisions that shaped its future, so as to explore the background to and processes involved in them.

PhD Scholars

Mr Marc Ablong is a doctoral scholar concentrating on 'Revolutionary Concepts in National Security'.

Mr Bob Breen submitted his thesis, 'Australian Military Force Projection in the late 1980s and the 1990s: what happened and why' for examination on 2 November 2005.

Mr William Choong started his PhD study at the SDSC in March 2005. He is researching the future of American nuclear strategy vis-à-vis potential peer competitors like China and delinquent states like North Korea and Iran. He is the co-author of 'Asian Perceptions of Ballistic Missile Defence: Defence Disequilibrium?' published in *Contemporary Southeast Asia* in 2001. Mr Choong received his Masters in International Relations from the University of Queensland. He is also a correspondent for the *Straits Times* in Singapore, having worked there for eight years covering foreign policy issues such as Iraq, American grand strategy, ballistic missile defence, and the geopolitics of oil.

Mr David Connery joined the SDSC in August 2004 as a recipient of an ANU Graduate School Scholarship. His PhD research focuses on whole-of-government approaches to national security, and the emerging concepts of network-enabled operations and effects-based strategy. His supervisors are Professor Ross Babbage, Dr Ron Huisken and Dr Alan Stephens. Mr Connery's research so far has focused on the theory of bureaucratic coordination, and he has been conducting interviews for a case study of how the Australian bureaucracy coordinated its activities during the East Timor crisis in 1999. He has also completed papers on the Joint Strike Fighter, and an issues paper on Australia's future strategic command support environment.

Mr Cameron Crouch joined the SDSC in June 2003 on a Sir Arthur Tange PhD Scholarship award. His central research focus is terrorist group regeneration. He is supervised by the SDSC's Dr Robert Ayson and Professor William

Tow from the Department of International Relations. Mr Crouch holds a BA (Hons) and MIRAP from the University of Queensland.

Mr Christian Enemark plans to submit his PhD thesis ('Disease and Security in East Asia: Nature's Plagues and Biological Weapons') in February 2006. In the second half of 2005, he presented papers on disease-based security challenges at the Lowy Institute for International Policy in Sydney, the Annual Governance Research Network (GovNet) Conference in Melbourne, and the Council for Security Cooperation in the Asia-Pacific (CSCAP) 5th General Conference in Jakarta. Mr Enemark's latest publication (with Christopher Michaelsen) is 'Just War Doctrine and the Invasion of Iraq' (*Australian Journal of Politics and History*, December 2005). He is presently editing a forthcoming SDSC Canberra Paper entitled 'Ethics of War in a Time of Terror' and, in March 2006, will take up the position of Lecturer in Global Security at the Australian Defence Force Academy.

Mr Stephan Frühling joined the SDSC as a Doctoral candidate in March 2003. His thesis topic is 'The Use of Risk Management Methods in the Defence Planning Process'. *Comparative Strategy* published his article on 'Nuclear 'Bunker Busters' and Intra-War Deterrence' in its October-December 2005 issue.

Mr Tamotsu Fukuda has returned to Japan and is finalising his doctorate degree on multilateral security cooperation in East Asia. He is supervised by Professor Desmond Ball, Emeritus Professor Paul Dibb, and Dr Alan Dupont. Mr Fukuda received his BA (Hons) from the University of Cincinnati, and his MA from the International Christian University (ICU) in Tokyo.

Ms Stephanie Koorey has continued to work towards her doctorate. Her proposed thesis is 'Weapons of Mass Possession? An Examination of the Nexus Between Small Arms and Armed Groups in Southeast Asia'. This thesis takes four case studies of Armed Groups in Southeast Asia and asks to what extent does the accumulation and use of small arms influence their behaviour? In July, Ms Koorey attended the United Nations in New York as a delegate on the Australian mission to the Biennial Meeting of States on the UN Programme of Action on Small Arms. She also wrote a piece on Armed Groups in Southeast Asia for the Geneva-based *Small Arms Survey* (due for publication mid-2006). In December she accompanied Professor Ball on fieldwork to northern and western Thailand.

Mr Christopher Michaelsen joined the SDSC as a PhD scholar in 2003. His thesis focuses on

domestic responses to '9/11' in the United Kingdom, Germany and Australia. In January 2006, Mr Michaelsen takes up a position at the OSCE Office for Democratic Institutions and Human Rights in Warsaw, Poland, while continuing to work on his PhD on a part-time basis.

Ms Anna Powles joined the SDSC in May 2003 on a Sir Arthur Tange PhD Scholarship award. Since undertaking fieldwork in the Solomon Islands and Fiji, Ms Powles' research focus on intervention in the region has shifted to examine the question of legitimacy and participatory intervention in the development and practice of peace support operations. She is supervised by the SDSC's Dr Robert Ayson and Professor Desmond Ball, and by Mr Greg Fry from the ANU's Department of International Relations.

Mr Gary Waters completed the first year (part-time) of his PhD in May 2005, in which he

is researching the pervasive nature of information in terms of the networked military, the networked enterprise, and networked government. He has completed rough drafts of the different operating context in the information age and the strategic nature of information. His work on the networked military aspects was sufficiently advanced for him to co-author (with Professor Desmond Ball) Canberra Paper 159 entitled *Transforming the Australian Defence Force (ADF) for Information Superiority* earlier this year.

Mr Bob Wylie joined the SDSC as a PhD scholar in August 2004. He is researching how small countries can leverage their national innovation systems in order to secure an acceptable degree of strategic sovereignty in the information age. In doing so, Mr Wylie is drawing on his prior experience in developing and applying defence policy for Australian industry as both a government official and as a consultant.

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regionalism, environmental security*

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to support the military of the future, the future
use of air power, the strategic value of
information and its role in underpinning networks
of the information age*

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