

# NEWSLETTER

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RESEARCH SCHOOL OF PACIFIC AND ASIAN STUDIES • ANU COLLEGE OF ASIA &amp; THE PACIFIC

## INTERESTING TIMES



**Professor Hugh White**  
 Professor of Strategic  
 Studies and SDSC Head

2006 looks to have been a bleak year for WMD proliferation. Iran has successfully defied international diplomatic efforts to curb its presumed nuclear program, and the United States has agreed to sell nuclear material and technology to India outside the provisions of the NPT. But North Korea led the field. In July it resumed tests of ballistic missiles after a lengthy moratorium, and then in October it detonated a nuclear device. This confirmed what most had presumed for some years now—that the world has another nuclear power. In late December the Six-Party talks resumed in Beijing, after a 15-month hiatus, with significant concessions apparently being offered to North Korea. But few would be confident that Pyongyang is willing to trade away its nuclear capability for any price that its negotiating partners are prepared to offer. It therefore seems prudent to expect that North Korea will remain a nuclear power, and will steadily develop a small arsenal increasingly capable of inflicting immense damage on at least its nearer neighbours. Japan is clearly the country most at risk, but this development must influence the strategic calculations of every country in the Western Pacific, including the United States.

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Thank you.

But what exactly does it mean? Clearly a world in which North Korea possesses nuclear weapons is more dangerous than one in which it does not. But what precisely is the danger? There are three major concerns: that Pyongyang might use its weapons against a neighbour; that its example might encourage or provoke others to build nuclear weapons; and that it might sell or give nuclear weapons or technology to others, including possibly terrorists. These are all serious risks, but how serious?

Clearly any use of North Korea's nuclear weapons would risk a devastating retaliatory response, which should deter Pyongyang from initiating nuclear conflict. But does Pyongyang understand that? I think the answer is almost certainly that it does. It is easy to dismiss Kim Jong Il as a madman, but the evidence points the other way. Kim's nuclear policy and diplomacy in recent years has shown a sophisticated understanding of the strengths and weaknesses of his position—more sophisticated, one is tempted to say, than some of those who have sought to oppose him. There is always a risk that deterrence might break down, of course. Pyongyang might threaten first use if it faced an overwhelming conventional assault, for example, as the United States did in the Cold War. But overall it seems reasonable to expect deterrence to work as well in limiting North Korea's use of nuclear weapons as it has with other nuclear powers over the past 60 years.

What of the demonstration effect of North Korea's nuclear breakout from the NPT? Does this fatally weaken the NPT and encourage a new wave of proliferation in Asia? Again, it is a reasonable concern, but perhaps not such a clear and present danger as some believe. Which countries might be impelled by North Korea's nuclear program to develop weapons of their own? The most obvious candidates are North Korea's nearer neighbours. Russia and China already have them, and Taiwan and South Korea are protected by US extended deterrence. Japan too—the country most at risk from North Korea—is protected by US extended deterrence. As long as Japan remains confident of American undertakings, it will not develop nuclear weapons. If Tokyo loses confidence in Washington, it will develop them quickly, whether North Korea has nuclear weapons or not. So Pyongyang's moves, though unsettling, do not change the fundamentals of Japan's nuclear calculations.

Lastly, there is the risk that North Korea might export its nuclear capability. This is a serious risk, especially in the light of North Korea's record of WMD and missile exports. There is no reason to think that North Korea would not export nuclear technology or capability if they believed they could get away with it. That makes it essential to make clear to Pyongyang that they cannot get away with it. A demonstrated capacity to trace the origins of nuclear materials back to their makers, and a credible threat to retaliate massively against countries that allow their nuclear materials to fall into others hands, may be the most important response to the North Korean nuclear threat. So far these measures do not seem to have received the attention they deserve.

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## THE BOEING LIBRARY

During 2006, the Library materials were streamlined so as to provide a more efficient collection that better suits the needs of academics, students, other researchers and the general public.

Located in Rooms 4006 (recent journals) and 4008 (monographs and reference), the collection continues to provide an invaluable resource for those undertaking research in strategic or defence-related fields.

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 photocopying is available for a minimal fee. If you would like to receive a monthly update that lists those materials received into the Boeing Library or you have another inquiry, email

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# 40TH ANNIVERSARY OF THE SDSC

In the second half of 2006 we marked the 40<sup>th</sup> anniversary of SDSC's establishment in 1966 with a series of three seminars and a celebratory dinner under the theme of 'History as Policy'. The dinner, held at the Boathouse on the Lake on 8 August, was addressed by Professor Wang Gungwu, who gave us a masterly sketch of the strategic implications of the rise of China, drawing on a deep knowledge of China's history. Our guests for the evening included the CDF ACM Angus Houston, the Secretary of Defence Ric Smith, and other key figures from the policy world, the intelligence community, the media and friends and colleagues from ANU, including the Convener of the College of Asia and the Pacific, Professor Robin Jeffrey. We were also delighted to welcome Mr Paul Gargette, Vice President, Operations and Business Integration, Boeing Holdings Australia Ltd. Boeing continued a long tradition of support to SDSC by very kindly and generously sponsoring both the dinner and the seminars that followed. The dinner provided a wonderful opportunity to reflect on the contribution SDSC has made—to ANU, to Canberra's strategic policy community, to the national debate, and to the wider study of strategic issues—and to think about the future.

The three anniversary seminars were held on 15 August, 14 September and 10 October at University House. They were organised around the theme 'History as Policy', and aimed both to look back over some of the issues that SDSC had worked on over the past 40 years, and to draw on these to reflect on key questions for the future. In the first seminar on 'Global Strategic Issues' Bob O'Neill

spoke on 'Changing concepts of the nature of security and the role of armed force', Hugh White on 'Predictions and policy', Coral Bell on 'The evolution of the international system', and Ron Huisken on 'Whither the United States?'. In the second seminar on 'Regional Security Issues' Alan Dupont spoke on 'Transnational security issues', Graeme Dobell on 'The arc of instability', Greg Fealy on 'Western counterterrorism in Southeast Asia: Is the 'war of ideas' a fallacy?', and Brendan Taylor on 'Security cooperation in the Asia-Pacific region'. In the final seminar on 'Australian Strategic and Defence Issues' Paul Dibb spoke on 'The Defence of Australia: the history of an idea', Mark Thomson on 'The challenge of coherence: Strategic guidance, force structure and budgets', David Horner on 'The higher command structure for joint ADF operations', and Hugh White on 'Summing up: Seeing the future in the past'.

The papers were of a very high standard and stimulated much discussion. It was great to hear both from some of SDSC's most distinguished alumni and from some of our most promising young talent. Dr Ron Huisken is exploring options for the papers to be published as a book.

The seminars were preceded by light luncheons and followed by drinks, and they provided both a stimulating and a very enjoyable way to mark our anniversary and to foreshadow some of the work to be done over the years ahead. We would like to thank those who delivered papers, those who attended, and especially to Anne Dowling and Meredith Thatcher who did so much to make the series a success.

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## NORTH KOREA—AUSTRALIA

### RON HUISKEN

On 9 October 2006, North Korea became the eighth country to detonate a nuclear explosive device. It would appear that the device very nearly failed, weighing in at the equivalent of just 500 tons of TNT. Although the test was conducted underground, sampling the atmosphere for traces of the unique by-products of a nuclear explosion eventually confirmed Pyongyang's claim that it had

conducted its first test. This is an important milestone for North Korea and its neighbours, even though a small arsenal of deliverable nuclear weapons may still be years away. Still, it is not a development to be panicky about. A proven nuclear capability makes threats to use force preemptively against North Korea even more problematic, but no one had the stomach for this in any case. Beyond

that, it does little to expand Pyongyang's very short list of political and military options. Before the test, North Korea was a comprehensive economic and social failure and headed for more of the same. A nuclear test will do nothing to change this outlook. It may even put at risk some of the life-support systems that have sustained the regime in recent decades. Most observers are confident that Pyongyang is acutely aware that it cannot afford to give anyone a decent excuse to resort to force against it. A genuine opportunity to retaliate and remove the regime would not be wasted. At the same time, a reality for all concerned, but especially for South Korea and Japan, is that a great deal of twitchy military firepower is arrayed on both sides of the DMZ and the nearby seas. An accident or miscalculation, or a moment of madness, could escalate very quickly.

On 31 October 2006, Pyongyang agreed to participate in another round of six-party negotiations in November or December. The agreed purpose of these negotiations was to eliminate North Korea's nuclear weapons and the means of making them. The six-party talks have been a tortuous affair since they kicked off in 2003. The United States consistently declared that it preferred diplomacy to address North Korea's clamorous progress toward the bomb, but a powerful clique within the Bush Administration was allowed to insist only on the delivery of extreme US preferences. China, the state with the most effective leverage over Pyongyang, put stability and the status quo ahead of focused pressure to secure de-nuclearisation, both for short-term reasons (the risk of large numbers of refugees from North Korea) and its longer-term interests in precluding the United States and Japan from expanding their influence on the Korean peninsula. These circumstances allowed Pyongyang to indulge all of its infuriating whims, and to beaver away on the bomb.

The equation has now changed. The Bush Administration, in its second term, has signalled a greater willingness to engage in genuine negotiations. That development was central to the agreement in September 2005 on the package of issues, headed by the verifiable and irreversible dismantlement of the North's nuclear weapon capability that would comprise the elements of a

final settlement. Equally, Beijing was humiliated by Pyongyang's rejection of its strong and public counsel to avoid escalating tensions, first by conducting a blizzard of missile tests in July and then detonating a nuclear device in October. Then came UN Security Council Resolution 1718, imposing penalties on North Korea that could potentially put the regime at risk. Beijing participated in the construction of this resolution and voted for it. Although obscured by a noisy dispute over the scope of interdicting shipping to and from North Korea, this was a decisive new element in the political equation. Beijing now could (and did) go to Pyongyang with a harsh message: Resolution 1718 allows, indeed requires, us to exercise our capacity to inflict severe economic hardship; how rigorously we implement this Resolution is up to you.

A resumption of negotiations is a necessary but far from sufficient condition for a successful outcome. What North Korea seems to want most is recognition, legitimacy and acceptance—above all from the United States. The sole trophy in North Korea's cabinet is having fought the US-led coalition to a draw in the war of 1950–53. Pyongyang seems to attach the highest importance to being seen to be dealing directly with the United States in translating the prevailing armistice into a full and permanent settlement. Kim Jong Il may feel that nothing less will allow him to match his father in North Korea's hall of fame. This means, in effect, that all of the most important carrots in the upcoming negotiations are held by the United States. The sticks, however, are mostly held by the others—especially China.

Everything therefore depends on the United States and China achieving a close understanding on what an acceptable outcome looks like and exercising great skill and coordination in getting there. The United States must resolve to engage Pyongyang with professionalism and discipline. As Pyongyang is as odious a regime as any in living memory, this will be a tough call. Equally, China will have to subordinate its other interests and be prepared to use its full influence to compel Pyongyang to stay at the negotiating table, to make realistic demands, to say yes when a satisfactory compromise has been achieved, and to implement any agreement in full.

# WHAT ARE THE REAL EXISTENTIAL THREATS

PAUL DIBB

This article was published in *The Australian* on 6 February 2007.

Our contemporary era is beset with existential threats, or at least that's what the politicians and much of our media would have you believe. First it was the terrorist events of 9/11 in the US, which allegedly changed the world forever and poses a greater threat to our existence than the former Soviet Union.

Now it is global warming that faces the Earth's eco-systems with collapse and threatens the very existence of the human race. In between, we've had allegations that the world is going to run out of oil and that the world's population growth is unsustainable.

As Owen Harries has observed, it is the parochialism of the present to believe that our contemporary situation confronts us with threats like no other and that our world is the most dangerous, the most unpredictable and the most complex in history. In my view, the notion that today's future is more unpredictable than yesterday's is very much overdrawn. The habit of prophesying doom testifies less to intellectual lucidity than to abject pessimism.

Every era undoubtedly has its threats and its preoccupations, and ours in that sense is no different. But we desperately need to keep a sense of perspective in this world of 24/7 media reporting that elevates everything to crisis proportions.

Historically, mankind has always brooded about the Apocalypse and a cataclysmic end to the human race. The coming end of the world has been a persistent theme in most religions.

In the 18th century Malthus foresaw that the world would collapse from overpopulation. Then we had the prediction by Marx that the capitalist world would inevitably succumb to the dialectical victory of communism. And for a while that looked feasible given its success in the USSR and elsewhere. But it is communism, not capitalism that has now been swept into the dustbin of world history.

In the 1960s, we had a repeat of the population time-bomb theory by Paul Ehrlich, who predicted that the battle to feed humanity would fail in the 1970s and 1980s as hundreds of millions of people starved to death. In fact, the success of the Green Revolution brought about an embarrassing surplus of food.

And in the 1970s the Club of Rome predicted that the world would run out of oil and coal, as well as key minerals such as copper and aluminium. Yet here we are in the middle of a resources boom. And although there is current concern about when the limits to oil production might be reached, higher prices will probably stimulate oil exploration and alternative energy sources.

Of course, human beings are also contrarians and, from time to time, it has been fashionable to predict an endless peace because of marvellous technological breakthroughs and growing economic interdependence. This was the case in the early 1900s, which was the last period in world history when economic interdependence was as marked as it is now. Then, as now, eminent scholars predicted that it would make no economic sense for the world to go to war. And yet in 1914 it did, provoked by a terrorist assassinating the Archduke Ferdinand in a place called Sarajevo.

Now once again we are being told that war between states is an obsolete idea and that conflict between the major powers is unthinkable. All that matters foreseeably, you understand, is the so-called long war on terror. Yet, in the near future the world is going to experience one of the most remarkable shifts in the balance of power in its history.

The centre of gravity of world power is shifting from Europe and the North Atlantic to Asia. The rise of China and India, and the fact that Asia has never experienced a strong China and a strong Japan at the same time, risks a collision of great power interests. This will also occur at the same time as a resurgent Russia is reappearing on the world stage as the world's largest producer of natural gas and the second largest producer of oil. The US will be reluctant to relinquish its natural leadership of world

affairs to what some see as this new multipolar balance of power.

But how serious are the two threats that are currently being posed as existential ones: Islamic terrorism and the proliferation of nuclear weapons, on the one hand, and global warming on the other? It is hard to take seriously the assertion that the threat from terrorism is the decisive ideological struggle of the 21st century, as President Bush would have us believe. The world has been plagued by terrorism before and while the current bout of extreme Islamic terrorism looks more dangerous, the same could have been said about the anarchists in the late 19th century (who assassinated eight heads of state including President McKinley of America).

Even if Islamic terrorists use a nuclear weapon it will not be the end of the world. Let us not kid ourselves that it in any way would compare with the destruction brought about by a nuclear war between the US and the Soviet Union, which would have killed 160 to 180 million people in the first 24 hours. Indeed, the nuclear winter effect of all-out nuclear war could well have meant the end of the human race. No terrorist threat is comparable to that.

I must emphasise that this is not to underestimate the effect of the successful use of a nuclear device

devastating, not least psychologically, and in the on an American or European city. It would be case of the US it would most likely draw a response in kind—particularly if it could track down the source of the fissile material. The spread of nuclear weapons know-how to rogue states and terrorists is undoubtedly a key issue of our time.

So, what of global warming? How catastrophic and, indeed, likely is it really? I agree with Alan Wood, the economics editor of the Australian, who acknowledges that global warming is taking place but questions how fast it will proceed, what its causes and consequences are, and what can, or should, be done to attempt to mitigate it. In any case, if global warming proceeds to worsen its impact will be perceptible and it will not be an abrupt catastrophe like war.

Contrary to some views, the national security implications will also take a considerable time to discern. I find it hard to envisage that nations will go to war over the effects of climate change. In any case, foreign threats are unlikely to be major for a country in Australia's geographical location. Of course, there may well be other dangers to our broader national security interests. A serious consideration for us to contemplate would be the degradation of Australia's relative economic and strategic strengths in a world where the impact of global warming would be far from even.

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## POWERS AND PROXIES

### CORAL BELL

The turbulence currently gripping the world is not the product solely of the crises in the Middle East. Two major redistributions of global power are underway at the moment, and the outcomes of their convergence are not yet determined, but they bring back a shadow from the past.

The more visible of the two, as far as outsiders are concerned, is the process of demographic and economic change which lies behind the rise and rise of China and India as great powers. That process is what is turning the unipolar world (which has been with us since the collapse of the Soviet Union at the end of 1991) back into a more historically familiar structure—a multipolar world. Though China and India are certainly the stars of that transformation, they are not its only movers

and potential shakers.

To my mind it will produce a world of six great powers (the United States, the European Union, China, India Russia and Japan), but also at least six other very substantial influential powers: Pakistan, Indonesia, Brazil, Mexico, Nigeria and Iran. All twelve together will make up a 'company of giants'—certainly demographically, but economically as well. According to the UN's statistics, there will be 18 countries of more than 100 million people in the world by mid-century. Most of them will be growing fast and will have therefore a vast appetite for the world's resources, such as oil. That will make for a very competitive and turbulent world, unless diplomatic institutions can be constructed to cope with its frictions.

I will return to the implications of that transformation presently, but first I want to look at a second (complicating) process—the redistribution of power *within* sovereign states. It also is widespread but takes two forms, one benign and the other disastrous. In the benign form, in many Western societies, it just means that authority is being shared with non-governmental organisations of several types, along with regional groupings. That can be viewed as the rise of ‘civil society’, operating as a useful restraint on the powers of government, and particularly welcome in the ex-Communist societies of Eastern Europe.

But, unfortunately, in the crises of the moment in the Middle East, we have been seeing the dangers of a different form of the internal redistribution of power, namely the rise of ‘non-state actors’ to the point at which they are able to usurp the powers of the state. Of particular note is the power of these ‘actors’ to involve their respective societies in war.

The obvious example of this is Lebanon. The ‘non-state actor’, Hezbollah, has commanded more loyalty (especially among the Shia community) and therefore more military effectiveness than the official Lebanese army, and was long ‘dug in’ on the border with Israel. Its cross-border raid, and the capture of two Israeli soldiers, precipitated the Lebanese people into a reluctant war with Israel. More than a thousand of them died in that war, and a lot of their hard-bought infrastructure has been destroyed, not to mention the tourist trade from which many Lebanese make their living.

As is now almost a tradition, the burden of trying to patch things up for a while has fallen on the US Secretary of State, Condoleezza Rice, following in the footsteps of Henry Kissinger and others. Now that the Israeli armed forces have done as much as they readily can to weaken Hezbollah, a measure of quiet has returned to Lebanon, and the world has staggered on to the next crisis—North Korea. The United States is digesting the implications of the 2006 elections, and preparing for those of 2008, so plenty of alarming and alarmist rhetoric will probably be coming out of Washington, though not much in the way of military action. Yet the underlying diplomatic and political problem that Lebanon exemplified remains to bring future dangers.

One of the ministers in Lebanon’s luckless (and newly democratic) government said that Hezbollah ‘had taken the fate of Lebanon into its own hands’. True, and what we must ask, is whether the conjunction of the two kinds of change that I have been describing will be likely to enable other ‘non

state actors’ to take the fate of the societies in which they are based into their respective hands? One example might be Lashkar-e-Toiba in Pakistan. The ‘adversary pair’ in that part of the world, India and Pakistan, are both nuclear powers. An encounter between them could blow up the world if the crisis were handled badly and the other great powers got into the act.

The world that seems to be emerging over the next few decades bears an eerie and disturbing resemblance to the world before 1914. Then there were five great powers (Britain, France, Russia, Austria and Imperial Germany) as against the current prospective six, but also, as at present, a couple of rapidly emerging powers (the United States and Japan) who went on to overshadow the original five. There was also then a revolutionary cause abroad in the world—a nationalism as perfervid and militant as the current perfervid and militant Islamism. Then, as now, that revolutionary cause attracted the loyalty of assorted ‘non-state actors’. The epicentre of the demand for change was then in the Balkans, as it is now in the Middle East.

On 28 June 1914, a young zealot of one of those ‘non-state actors’ (which went by the suitably sinister name of ‘the Black Hand’) managed to assassinate Archduke Franz Ferdinand in Sarajevo. Six weeks later, the world was embroiled in a murderous hegemonial war which destroyed that entire society of states and ushered in most of the troubles of the 20<sup>th</sup> century. We must hope that the crisis-management has improved since then. Yet, the capacity of a ‘non-state actor’ to act as proxy for a sovereign state remains with us. A few months ago, it was Hezbollah for Iran. Almost a century ago, it was ‘the Black Hand’ for Serbia.

Oddly enough, some factors or reassurance are to be found even in the analogy with that earlier catastrophe. Though the murder of the Archduke triggered the crisis of 1914, the genesis of the war itself is to be found in the relationships between the great powers of the time, and the crisis-management of the following few weeks, which saw the governments involved move further into hostile confrontation. Russia stood behind Serbia; France and Britain behind Russia; and all three were fearful of the rising power of Imperial Germany, which loomed menacingly behind its ally—Austria.

That kind of relationship is not true of the current great-power decision-makers. On the contrary, they seem at the moment fully conscious that they have more to fear from ‘non-state actors’ than their

fellow sovereignties. The rise in the capacity of even small cells of jihadists to do great harm has undoubtedly added an extra dimension to the security agenda of the whole world. And though it is not really new, it was seriously underrated until five years ago. Every anniversary of the attacks on 11 September 2001 should above all prompt a resolution among the world's policymakers that 'non-state actors' should never be allowed to precipitate hostilities between sovereign states.

Any time they manage to do so is a victory for them, as the destruction in Lebanon and Israel is for Hezbollah. But the reaction of governments must also be judged. When India suffered the attacks in Mumbai in 2006, the Pakistan-based terrorist group Lashkar-e-Toiba was under suspicion, but the Indian Government, showed no disposition towards the invasion of Pakistan.

Similarly, in the 30-year long campaign of the Irish Republican Army in Britain (which at one stage nearly wiped out Margaret Thatcher and most of her Cabinet) no government in London showed any inclination to invade Ireland. They managed to keep a 'disconnect' between the 'non-state actor' and the sovereign nation. That kind of 'disconnect' is going to remain vital if a successful strategy for this problem is ever to be attained.

The most alarming aspect of the present stage of this prospectively long conflict is that many of the strategies being used on most of its battlefields (Iraq, Afghanistan, Lebanon, Sri Lanka) seem dysfunctional or even counterproductive. And that problem gets worse, not better. But change may be coming.

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## STAFF PROFILE: *Dr Jean Bou*

Dr Jean Bou began his job as a research assistant on the *Official History of Australian Peacekeeping and Post-Cold War Operations* in May 2006. He studied as an undergraduate at the University of Queensland where he also did his honours (1st Class) in history in 1995. He completed his PhD in History at the University of New South Wales at the Australian Defence Force Academy in 2005. An officer in the Army Reserve, Dr Bou is also a member of the Army History Unit which has led to him working as a research assistant/associate editor on the forthcoming second edition of the *Oxford Companion to Australian Military History*. He is also co-editing the forthcoming second edition of the history of the Royal Australian Regiment, *Duty First*, with Professor David Horner.

Dr Bou moved back to Canberra from Brisbane to join the peacekeeping history project and is living, for the time being, in Belconnen with his wife, Renae, and 13-month old son, Sébastien. When the demands of history allow he likes to spend time with his family, and work on his recently developed interest in sailing. Come winter, the ski slopes will beckon.



# AUSTRALIAN MEMBER COMMITTEE OF CSCAP (Aus-CSCAP)

Aus CSCAP held its 25th Meeting on 15 August 2006, in conjunction with the SDSC 40th Anniversary seminar on 'Global Strategic Issues'. Following the meeting, members attended the launch of the sourcebook on contemporary Islam in Southeast Asia project, funded by AusAID. The project was completed with the publication of a book entitled *Voices of Islam in Southeast Asia*, compiled and edited by Greg Fealy and Professor Virginia Hooker. The Sourcebook project was facilitated through Aus CSCAP and the Department of Foreign Affairs. The Foreign Minister, Alexander Downer, launched the book at a ceremony attended by Aus CSCAP members, the press, officials and members of the diplomatic community. He praised publication of the sourcebook as a significant contribution to an understanding of the variety and diversity of Islamic voices across Southeast Asia.

CSCAP held its regular Steering Committee meeting in Kuala Lumpur in June 2006, in association with the Asia Pacific Roundtable. The next Steering Committee meeting will be held in Wellington on 14 December and will be followed the next day by a seminar on 'Comprehensive and Cooperative Security' at Victoria University.

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

**John Buckley**  
Aus-CSCAP Executive Director

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## SEMINARS

The SDSC hosted more than 30 public seminars in 2006, featuring prominent speakers from the strategic studies and security studies communities. These included Assistant Secretary of State John Hillen (US Dept. of State), Bates Gill (Center for Strategic and International Studies, Washington DC), Evelyn Goh (Oxford University), Alan Gropman (National Defense University), Robert McClelland (then-Shadow Minister for Defence), Ross Terrill (Harvard University), Mark Thomson (Australian Strategic Policy Institute) and Robert Sutter (Georgetown University). A number of seminars were held in conjunction with the Department of International Relations, with special thanks due to Professor Bill Tow for his tireless efforts in helping to facilitate these.

Thanks also are due to Trevlyn Gilmour from the US Embassy who sent a number of high-profile speakers our way. Finally, special thanks is due to a number of SDSC colleagues who presented seminars in 2006, including Rob Ayson, Chris Barrie, Paul Dibb, Derek Quigley and John McFarlane, as well as to Meredith Thatcher, Ping Yu, Sarah Flint and Anne Dowling whose administrative assistance was indispensable in helping the series to run smoothly.

An equally rich and diverse range of seminars is planned for 2007. The contact for the seminar series is Dr Brendan Taylor. Please email [brendan.taylor@anu.edu.au](mailto:brendan.taylor@anu.edu.au) if you wish to be notified by email of forthcoming seminars.

# GSSD PROGRAM UPDATE

After a busy and interesting 2006 the GSSD Program is entering its sixth year of Masters-level teaching with a series of new developments designed to enhance the educational experience for its students. These include:

- New elective courses in Pacific Security and Strategic Crises. There will be a total of ten GSSD elective courses and two core courses offered in 2007: see <http://rspas.anu.edu.au/gssd/degrees.php>
- Redesigned core courses to enhance students' interaction with staff and to increase the depth of their analysis of leading strategic issues
- New visiting teaching staff: we welcome Dr Elsinia Wainwright (who will be teaching Pacific Security) and Dr Andrew Davies (Intelligence and Security)
- The shift in assessment to 60% assignments and 40% exams (from the existing 50/50 ratio and the adoption of additional elective course assessment items)
- Additional assessment items for the sub-thesis to give students a formal indication of their progress well before submission

- The provision of all essential readings in electronic form and the trialling of WebCT (webpages for individual courses)
- A new in-house seminar series– the “GSSD Dialogue” – which will allow GSSD students to interact with leading policy and opinion makers

There have also been some changes in the composition of the GSSD's core academic and administrative staff. In the second semester of 2006, we farewelled Dr Chris Chung who took up a significant appointment in the Australian Public Service. We'd like to thank Chris for all of his important contributions to GSSD. A new member of our academic staff will join us mid-way through 2007. And we welcome back Altaire Harris from her year studying in Norway. Altaire and Sarah Flint will share the Administrative Assistant role in 2007 as they both pursue full-time study at the ANU, and will work alongside our Administrator Ping Yu. Dr Brendan Taylor is now coordinating the MA sub-theses in addition to his normal teaching responsibilities and Robert Ayson has returned from his semester of study leave to resume his role as Director of Studies. We look forward to welcoming all of our new and returning students for an excellent 2007 academic year.

**Robert Ayson**  
Director of Studies

## GRADUANDS: *December 2006*

Twenty two scholars graduated from the GSSD Program in December 2006. The SDSC wishes every graduand the best for the future:

**MA(SS):** Liam Grealish, Dane Richmond, Peita Spence, Luke Sylwestrzak.

**MSA:** Glen Askew, Daniel Boettcher, Melissa Brennan, Gavin Briggs, Mohammad El Soukary, Gemma Haines, Dorothy Horsefield, Ashley Keller, Timothy Laird, Elizabeth Price, Kamini Sathananthar, Simon Stringer, Callum Weeks

**GDSA:** Benjamin Sandon

**MSA/MDIPL:** Nicholas Charpentier, Elisha Grange, Mark Latina, Erlina Widyaningsih

# SDSC PUBLICATIONS

The SDSC Publications Program underwent several changes during 2006. First, copies (in pdf format) of all SDSC Working Papers published since 2006 can be downloaded for free from the SDSC website. So far these include:

**WP401: *The Probabilities of On The Beach: Assessing 'Armageddon Scenarios' in the 21<sup>st</sup> Century*** by Desmond Ball

**WP400: *Australia's International Defence Relationships with the United States, Indonesia and New Zealand*** by Richard Brabin-Smith

**WP399: *Iraq: Why a Strategic Blunder Looked So Attractive*** by Ron Huiskens

The number of papers available for download is set to expand throughout 2007, with the digitisation and on-line posting of many previous Working Papers. 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>>.

The peer-reviewed Canberra Papers on Strategy and Defence series, in its more modern looking format, currently continues to be available only as a printed paperback. Two recent volumes of note are:

**CP166: *The War Against Defence Restructuring: A Case Study on Changes Leading to the Current Structure of New Zealand Defence*** by Derek Quigley, currently a Visiting Fellow at the SDSC, discusses a variety of events that impacted on New Zealand defence during the period from the election of the Clark Coalition Government in late 1999 and ends with a brief section on the positive and negative aspects of those changes in terms of defence, structure, systems, processes, accountabilities, roles and relationships. The author is a former New Zealand Cabinet Minister. He chaired the *Strategos Resource Management Review of New Zealand 1988* and later was chair of the Foreign Affairs, Defence and Trade Select Committee which produced the *Defence Beyond 2000* Report. That Report became the blueprint for the Clark Government's subsequent changes to New Zealand defence policy. In 2000, he reviewed the contract to purchase F-16 fighter aircraft from the United States Government.

**CP165: *'A National Asset': Essays Commemorating the 40th Anniversary of the Strategic and Defence Studies Centre (SDSC)*** is a commemorative monograph,

published to coincide with the anniversary of the SDSC's founding in 1966. Coral Bell describes the formative years of the International Institute for Strategic Studies in London, explores the notion of strategic culture in Australia, and places the development of SDSC in both these international and domestic contexts. Both Tom Millar and Bruce Miller (chapters previously published, with minor amendment) describe the foundation of the SDSC; while Bob O'Neill and Des Ball describe its growth to international repute during the 1970s and 1980s. Paul Dibb discusses its reorientation after the end of the Cold War and, finally, Hugh White discusses the place of academic strategic and defence studies, and more particularly the SDSC, in Australia's current circumstances, and projects its future course. The chapters are replete with tales of university politics, internal SDSC activities, cooperation among people of very different social and political values, and conflicts between others, as well as the SDSC's public achievements.

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# WORK IN PROGRESS

**Dr Robert Ayson** was on study leave from July to December. Plans for an extensive period of research time overseas were curtailed by a bicycle accident in August. Remaining in Canberra, he was able to contribute to the ongoing direction of the GSSD Program following the departure of the Acting Director of Studies Dr Chris Chung who has since joined the public service. Dr Ayson completed a series of articles and book chapters on Strategic Studies (for a forthcoming Oxford University Press Handbook), Australian-NZ defence relations, (published in *Security Challenges*), Australian-US relations and Asian security, and Australian thinking on the 'arc of instability'. He provided extensive media commentary following North Korea's announcement of a nuclear test in October. He also gave a conference paper in Brisbane and spoke on the 'Complex Stability of Political Equilibria' to the SDSC seminar series. He now holds a continuing position with the ANU.

**Professor Desmond Ball's** primary research activity in the second half of 2006 involved finalisation of his book called *Militia Redux: Or Sor and the Revival of Paramilitarism in Thailand*, co-authored with David Mathieson. The book is being published by White Lotus Press in Bangkok, with publication scheduled for February 2007. Professor Ball visited the Thailand-Burma borderlands in November, mainly in connection with his next book, being co-authored with Phil Thornton, called *Buddha's Renegades: The Democratic Karen Buddhist Army (DKBA)*, which they hope to finish in 2007.

He also visited New Zealand in December, where he attended a conference on *The Asia-Pacific: Future Strategic Perspectives*, organised by the Centre for Strategic Studies at Victoria University, Wellington; and the 26th Meeting of the Steering Committee of the Council for Security Cooperation in the Asia Pacific (CSCAP), organised by CSCAP-New Zealand and also held in Wellington.

On 21 December, Professor Ball co-chaired with Professor Anthony Milner a meeting of the researchers involved in their ARC project (jointly with the Lowy Institute) on *Languages of Security*. The first part of this project, involving preparation of a *Lexicon* of terms and concepts used in security discourses in the Asia-Pacific

region, is expected to be completed in March 2007; the second phase, involving publication of a series of case studies will then get underway.

Professor Ball's recent publications include a volume of essays co-edited with Meredith Thatcher, entitled *A National Asset: Essays Commemorating the 40th Anniversary of the Strategic and Defence Studies Centre (SDSC)*, to which he contributed a chapter on 'SDSC's Middle Decades'. Co-authored chapters in other volumes include (with Brendan Taylor), 'Reflections on the Track Two Process in the Asia-Pacific Region', in Hadi Soesastro, Clara Joewono and Carolina G Hernandez (eds.), *Twenty Two Years of ASEAN ISIS: Origin, Evolution and Challenges of Track Two Diplomacy*, (Centre for Strategic and International Studies, Jakarta, 2006), pp. 105-116; 'Security Cooperation Between Japan and Australia: Current Elements and Future Prospects', in Brad Williams and Andrew Newman (eds.), *Japan, Australia and Asia-Pacific Security*, (Routledge, London, 2006), pp. 164-185; 'Silent Witness: Australian Intelligence and East Timor', in Richard Tanter, Desmond Ball and Gerry van Klinken (eds.), *Masters of Terror: Indonesia's Military and Violence in East Timor*, (Rowman & Littlefield, Boulder, Colorado, 2006), pp. 177-201; and 'Wither the Japan-Australia Security Relationship?', in Michael Seigel and Joseph Camilleri (eds.), *Caught Between Multilateralism and Alliance: Japan and Australia at a Crossroads*, (Kokusai Shoin, Nagoya, 2006), pp. 33-62 (in Japanese).

Professor Ball also contributed a chapter entitled 'Reflections of a Defence Intellectual', in Brij Lal and Allison Ley (eds.), *The Coombs: A House of Memories*, (Research School of Pacific and Asian Studies, Australian National University, Canberra, 2006), pp. 149-158 and was co-author (with Brendan Taylor and Anthony Milner) of the journal article 'Track Two Security Dialogue in the Asia-Pacific: Reflections and Future Directions', *Asian Security*, (Vol. 2, No. 3), October 2006, pp. 174-188. His paper 'Whither the Japan-Australia Security Relationship?', (Austral Policy Forum 06-32A, Nautilus Institute, RMIT University, Melbourne, 29 August 2006), 19 pp., can be accessed at <http://nautilus.rmit.edu.au/forum-reports/0632a-ball.html>.

**Dr Bob Breen** continued to research and write chapters for Volume IV of the Official History of Australian Peacekeeping and Post-Cold War

Operations 'Australian Peacekeeping Operations in the South Pacific 1980-2005'. He submitted for publication a monograph entitled, 'Struggling for Self Reliance: Four Case Studies of Australian Regional Force Projection in the late 1980s and the 1990s'. He also revised Chapters 9 and 10 of a second edition of a regimental history, 'Duty First: The Royal Australian Regiment in War and Peace'. Over the coming months he will continue further work on chapters for the official history and edit another monograph for publication entitled, 'Humanitarian Assistance, Nation Building and Border Operations: Australian Battalion Groups in East Timor in 2000.'

**Emeritus Professor Paul Dibb** represented Australia at the first plenary meeting of the Experts and Eminent Persons Group of the ASEAN Regional Forum in South Korea in July 2006. He presented a paper on 'The Role of the Experts and Eminent Persons in the ASEAN Regional Forum Process'. Some 34 representatives (and 22 observers) from 21 countries, plus the European Union and the ASEAN Secretariat, attended this first ever meeting of ARF experts and eminent persons. Professor Dibb also visited Vladivostok to open contacts with the Far East Branch of the Russian Academy of Sciences, which specialises in the study of China, North Korea and Japan.

Professor Dibb's publications include 'The Bear is Back: A Resurgent Russia?' in the November/December issue of *The American Interest* and 'SDSC in the 90s: A Difficult Transition' in Meredith Thatcher and Desmond Ball (eds) *A National Asset: Essays Commemorating the 40th Anniversary of SDSC*. He has also completed a chapter about the future of Australia's alliance with the United States for a book to be edited by Dr Taylor. He wrote newspaper articles about flash points in Northeast Asia, problems of recruitment in the ADF, and the history of Australia's policy on nuclear weapons.

Professor Dibb attended two meetings of the Foreign Affairs Council and the inaugural meeting of the Defence Minister's Defence and National Security Advisory Council. He appeared before the Defence Management Review, chaired a meeting of SDSC's 40<sup>th</sup> Anniversary Conference and delivered a talk to that Conference on 'The Defence of Australia: the History of an Idea'. He also gave lectures to the SDSC Masters program on the balance of power in Asia and to the APSEG Foreign Affairs

program on the major states in the regional balance of power. He attended the launch in Adelaide by the Minister of Defence of the CEDA publication *The Business of Defence: Sustaining Capability* and gave a speech about the need for a new defence industry development strategy.

On 7 December 2006, Professor Dibb received a Commendation from the Foreign Minister of Japan for his contribution to Japan-Australia relations.

**Professor David Horner** has continued his work as General Editor of the four-volume *Official History of Australian Peacekeeping and Post-Cold War Operations*, and in the past six months he has drafted chapters on Australia's role in the First Gulf War 1990-91 for his volume of the series. During July he presented a paper at the Australian Historical Association conference on the problems of writing the official history, and also that month he lectured at the Centre for Defence and Strategic Studies on the Australian way of command. In the first week of October he was a visiting scholar at the John Curtin Prime Ministerial Library, Curtin University of Technology, Perth, and presented a public lecture on Curtin as war leader and defence minister. The following week he presented a paper on joint command arrangements for ADF operations as part of SDSC's 40th anniversary seminar series, and he also delivered lectures on the 1943 New Guinea campaign at the Australian Command and Staff College. His recent publications include a 'reflections' piece in John Moremon (ed.), *Vietnam: our war—our peace*, published by the Department of Veterans' Affairs, and 'Malaya and Singapore in the Context of the Defence of Australia', in Rosalind Hearder (ed.), *Legends and Legacies: Perspectives on Australian soldiers' battles and captivity experiences in the Far East during the Second World War*, the proceedings of a conference held at the Australian War Memorial in 2005. He is continuing work on a new edition of his 1989 history of the Royal Australian Regiment.

**Dr Ron Huisken** continued his work on Iraq, particularly explaining the US decision to invade and assessing its consequences. He presented his findings to a conference at the ANU and published an article in a professional journal on the same theme. His other major research interest are China (where he continued to work on a monograph looking into the influence that China's past may have on its present security policies) and Weapons of Mass Destruction (where he prepared papers for presentation to the CSCAP Study Group on WMD). On the teaching front, Dr

Huisken delivered an elective course on WMD for the GSSD Masters program, gave individual presentations to undergraduate and postgraduate course at the ANU, the Australian Defence College and to NGO's, and participated in the delivery of intensive courses to audiences in the Australian Public Service. During this period, Dr Huisken finalized a partnership arrangement between SDSC and a Chinese think tank, continued to coordinate SDSC's PhD program, and responded to regular requests from the media for assessments on a broad range of security topics.

**Dr Brendan Taylor** has taken on an increasingly active role in the GSSD program following the departure of Dr Chris Chung. He has also coordinated the SDSC semester program for 2006. During the last six months he has travelled extensively, delivering conference papers in Cambridge, Tokyo, Cebu (Philippines), Brisbane, Hobart and Melbourne. He has continued his work on regional security cooperation, co-authoring (with Des Ball and Anthony Milner) an article on Track 2 diplomacy in the American journal *Asian Security*, an SDSC Canberra paper (with Des Ball and Anthony Milner) on the same subject, a book chapter (with Des Ball) on the Trilateral Security Dialogue, and an SDSC 40<sup>th</sup> anniversary lecture on regional security cooperation. He is in the final stages of editing a book on Australia's Asia-Pacific security relationships, which includes contributions from a number of SDSC staff and other leading Australian scholars. Finally, Dr Taylor was recently successful in gaining a contract with *RoutledgeCurzon* to publish a single-authored book on the subject of American sanctions in the Asia-Pacific.

Over the past few months **Professor Hugh White's** paper 'Beyond the Defence of Australia' has been published by the Lowy Institute, and he has completed chapters for edited volumes on US-China relations, the US-Japan-Australia trilateral security dialogue, and Australia's strategic relationships in the Southwest Pacific. He presented two papers in SDSC's 40<sup>th</sup> anniversary 'History as Policy' seminar series, gave speeches at La Trobe, the AIIA, and the Pacific Institute in Melbourne, participated in CIS' Consilium Conference and Australian Davos Connections Australian Leadership Retreat in Queensland, gave seminars or speeches to the Political Science Department in RISS, ANU's International Studies Association, ANZSOG,

ASSA and Defence's Operational Research Forum in Canberra, and the Lowy Institute in Sydney. He participated in a workshop for the Parliament's JCFADT on Australia's strategic environment, and addressed a workshop on defence and foreign policy held by the NZ National Party in Wellington. He travelled to Cambridge in the United Kingdom to co-chair a workshop to develop a collaborative research program on Security for the IARU. He taught an elective course on 'Australian Strategic and Defence Policy' in the GSSD Masters program.

In the first half of 2007 Professor White intends to focus primary on a book on Australian defence policy, tentatively entitled *Defending a Small Continent*. He will teach a series of seminars introducing defence policy to Defence graduate trainees, and write papers on the development of a National Security Strategy for Australia, and the management of nuclear competition between the United States and China.

### Visiting Fellows

**Dr Coral Bell** has devoted much of the last six months to research and writing for a prospective monograph whose current working title is 'The Next Landscape of World Politics'. It is a study of the international forces – demographic, economic, diplomatic, normative and military—which have been transforming the unipolar world (of roughly the ten years from the dissolution of the Soviet Union at the end of 1991 till the attacks of 2001) back into the more historically familiar form of a multipolar world. The transformation will present many governments, including Australia's, with the need for new assessments of strategic priorities. Coral has presented various seminars bearing on this issue, including one to the Naval College at Jervis Bay, and has published short articles bearing on it in *The Diplomat* and *Asia Times*. Two of them are re-published in *Capturing the Year: 2006* (Canberra, ANU College of Asia and the Pacific, 2006). The United Nations University Press has published an article of Coral's, 'Power and World Order' in a volume of essays entitled *Multilateralism Under Challenge?* [Tokyo, 2006]

**Dr Richard Brabin-Smith** continued his research into the development of Australian defence and security policy. In particular, he and Professor Dibb interviewed Mr Bill Pritchett, a former Secretary to the Department of Defence and a principal author of the 1976 Defence White Paper and the Strategic Review documents of that period. Dr Brabin-Smith made a presentation to

the Australian College for Defence and Security Studies on the conceptual framework for the *Defence of Australia* policies and their continuing relevance. He also provided comments on a draft of a *History of the Defence Science and Technology Organisation* being prepared by Dr Peter Donovan for that organisation." As a former member of the Senior Review Panel of the 1997 Defence Efficiency Review, he was invited along with other members of the Panel to discuss relevant matters with members of the current Proust Review of Defence management.

**Mr John McFarlane** is continuing his research on matters relating to transnational crime, links between crime and terrorism, police peace operations, military support for law enforcement, disrupted states, governance and corruption, in addition to contributing to an ASPI study on maritime security, for which purposes he visited Singapore, Malaysia and Indonesia during November 2006. He also attended a CSCAP Study Group meeting on peacekeeping in New Delhi, India, between 7-10 December. On 1 June, together with Admiral Chris Barrie and Professor Jim Fox, he gave a seminar on the current situation in East Timor. In the period under review, he delivered a course on 'Transnational Crime' at Victoria University of Wellington, New Zealand, and, together with Clive Williams, a course on 'Security in Business and Government' for GSSD. In addition, he lectured at the Australian Defence College (CDSS and ACSC), the Royal Australian Naval College at Jervis Bay (together with Dr Coral Bell), the Department of Foreign Affairs and Trade, the 24<sup>th</sup> International Symposium on Economic Crime at the University of Cambridge, a Maritime Security Conference in Victoria, Canada, a Chinese Police Course at the University of Canberra, and at the United Services Institute of the ACT. Finally, on 20 October he gave evidence before the Defence Sub-Committee of the Joint Standing Committee on Foreign Affairs, Defence and Trade in Canberra.

**Dr Alan Stephens** lectured at the Australian Defence College, the RUSI of NSW, the Joint Intelligence Organisation, and the Office of National Assessments. In September/October 2006, he completed an extensive study tour of battlefields in Spain as research for a book in progress. He had two articles published; and his latest book, *Making Sense of War: Strategy for*

*the 21st Century*, was released internationally by Cambridge University Press in November. He continues to supervise a number of doctoral students at ANU and the Australian Defence Force Academy, University of New South Wales.

**Mr Clive Williams'** main activity during the period has been national security-related activities. These included presentations at: a Major Event Management seminar in Melbourne for CEOs and police; Insight CEO dinners in Sydney and Melbourne; a DFAT workshop on strategic policy; a CEW Bean dinner panel on national security and the media; an RMA conference in Melbourne on managing risks; an Attorney General's Department specialist course; and the Australian Bomb Data Centre annual conference. He was also active as the Australian representative to the Council for Asian Terrorism Research (CATR), presenting a research paper at its most recent conference in Goa. Other activities have included running Masters course electives: 'Security in Business and Government' with John McFarlane as part of the GSSD program, and 'Terrorism Issues' at Macquarie University. He also wrote Op Eds for major dailies and provided terrorism-related public commentary.

**Mr Derek Woolner** has continued his work as co-writer of the official history of the *Collins* submarine program, sponsored by the Defence Materiel Organisation. To date, the authors have interviewed almost 200 people involved over the more than a quarter-century history of the program. Derek's co-author recently returned from Europe where he interviewed 19 Swedish and German participants from the early days of the project that became the Collins class. Derek has completed analysis of documentary sources covering the period to the selection of Kockums as the successful tenderer and initial drafts of the history up to this event are near completion.

In addition, Derek has continued his interest in defence management (particularly procurement processes) and following the progress of the conflict in Iraq. Articles on the Australian defence budget and procurement practices were published during the second half of the year and in September Derek met the request of the Senate Foreign Affairs, Defence and Trade References Committee to provide evidence to their enquiry into Australian shipbuilding. In early December *The Canberra Times* published an article reviewing the status of Australian strategic policy on Iraq, the third year of this journalistic assessment.

## PhD Scholars

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

**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 David Connery's** PhD research focuses on the current and future prospects for national security policymaking in Australia.

**Mr Cameron Crouch** joined the SDSC in June 2003 as a recipient of the 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 a MIRAP from the University of Queensland.

**Mr Stephan Frühling** continues to work on his thesis entitled 'Managing Strategic Risk: A Theory of Defence Planning'. During the last six months, the RUSI Journal accepted an article on NATO missile defence, which he co-authored with Svenja Sinjen of Kiel University, Germany. He also contributed a book chapter on Counterproliferation to an upcoming Festschrift in honour of Dr William Van Cleave. Stephan is co-editor of the Kokoda Foundation's journal 'Security Challenges'.

**Mr Tamotsu Fukuda** has returned to Japan and is finalising his doctorate degree. His thesis examines the influence of differences in the levels of state development among East Asian states upon regional multilateral security cooperation in East Asia.

**Ms Stephanie Koorey** continues to research and write her thesis, which now includes interviewing a range of people.

**Mr Chris Michaelsen** continues to work on his PhD-thesis on counterterrorism and human rights/civil liberties on a part-time basis. He is working full-time as Anti-Terrorism Officer at the Organisation for Security and Cooperation in Europe, Office for Democratic Institutions and Human Rights, in Warsaw, Poland.

**Ms Anna Powles** joined the SDSC in May 2003 as a recipient of the Sir Arthur Tange PhD Scholarship award. Since undertaking fieldwork in 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 Department of International Relations.

After feedback from his supervisory panel, **Mr Gary Waters** has narrowed the focus of his research to concentrate on the military dimension of information age developments. Accordingly, the title is now 'Network Enabling the ADF for Operations in the Information Age'. The working hypothesis remains: that in this age of change, of globalisation, and of information, the ADF must be networked to exploit information flows, pace of change and impacts of globalisation.

The study will now examine the nature of warfare in the information age, explore the net-centric developments in the ADF, together with the related notions of dispersing forces and commanding and informing networked, dispersed forces. Because information is all-pervasive, the underpinning technologies, people aspects and organisational aspects that all contribute to the information capability will be examined, as well as the need to protect the information. Based on this work, the study will conclude with the practicalities of networking the ADF.

With the narrowing of focus, Gary has been able to complete drafts of the first seven chapters and hand these to Des Ball for comment. That leaves four to be drafted, followed by the laborious task of ensuring consistency across all chapters, together with the more mundane aspects of finalising all footnotes, bibliography, and so on. Gary hopes to complete this work in 2007.

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