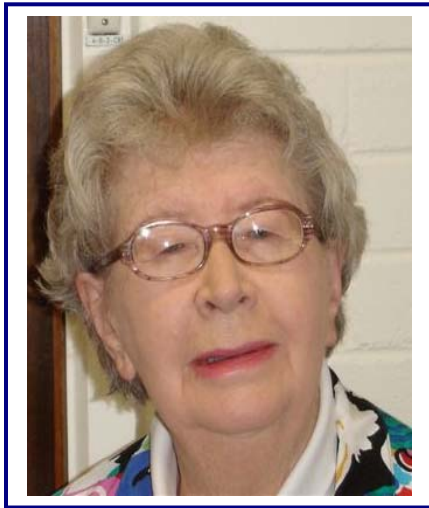


SDSC NEWSLETTER

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

JULY — DECEMBER 2005 • ISSN 1327 4139



Dr Coral Bell AO

Dr Coral Bell, one of Australia's most eminent strategic scholars, has been honoured with the award of Officer of the Order of Australia in the June 2005 Queen's Birthday Honours List. The Strategic and Defence Studies Centre, at which Dr Bell is a Visiting Fellow, is delighted to join many others in offering her its warmest congratulations.

Coral is highly respected by her peers in the field of strategic studies, and cherished for her warmth and charm by practitioners and students around the world. Her award reflects the incalculable contribution she has made to the strategic and defence debate within a global setting over a number of decades. Her numerous highly-regarded and respected publications focus on research in crisis management, and the interaction of strategic, economic and diplomatic factors in international politics (particularly as those factors affect the foreign policies of the United States and Australia). As a mentor to many in the current generation of policymakers, Dr Bell's contribution to Australia has always extended far beyond the halls of academia.

An unassuming, yet gracious and dignified lady who dispenses her thoughts and ideas in an engaging and scholarly style, Dr Coral Bell, as one of Australia's 'living treasures', represents a perfect choice as recipient of one of the highest accolades the nation can bestow.

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INTERESTING TIMES



Professor Hugh White
Professor of Strategic
Studies and SDSC Head

The first half of 2005 has seen intriguing developments in many areas of Australia's security and defence policies. The decision in February to expand Australia's military contribution in Iraq by 450 personnel, and in July to send special forces back to Afghanistan, showed how the Government's support for invasion and regime change in 2003 has created more enduring strategic and political commitments than the Government apparently expected and intended when it offered that support back in 2002. Mr Downer's public declaration in March that Australia would not necessarily support the United States militarily in the event of a US-China conflict over Taiwan reminded us of the complex policy challenge Australia faces in sustaining good relations with both the United States and China in the face of re-emerging strategic competition between them.

President Susilo Bambang Yudhoyono's very successful visit to Australia in April raised the prospects of new momentum in the strategic relationship with Indonesia after five years of marking time. And the suspension of the Enhanced Cooperation Program with Papua New Guinea in May raised questions about the future of the Government's long-term strategy for helping PNG overcome its deep-seated problems.

Also in May, the Government took important steps towards Australia's largest defence procurement in fifteen years with decisions on the Air Warfare Destroyers.

All of these are among the areas in which SDSC has been active over the past six months. As you will see from this newsletter, my colleagues have been working on question of Australia's alliance with the United States in the face of today's global and regional challenges, the evolving great-power dynamics in the Asia-Pacific region, questions of traditional and transnational security concerns in Southeast Asia and the Southwest Pacific, and the evolution of Australian policy towards all these issues.

We have also been looking back a little. Next year marks the fortieth anniversary of the establishment of the SDSC. 1966 was a year of extraordinary strategic change for Australia. As we turn our minds to thinking how best to mark and celebrate this occasion, it is intriguing to see how many of the big themes that absorbed our predecessors then are still with us today.

One very vivid demonstration of this sense of continuity in our work is provided by Dr Coral Bell, whose richly deserved AO in the Queen's Birthday honours this year marks a lifetime's achievement in tracing the enduring lineaments of the strategic world. Congratulations to Coral from all of us.

NOTABLE PUBLICATION

Strategic Command: General Sir John Wilton and Australia's Asian Wars (Oxford University Press, Melbourne, 2005, ISBN 0 19 555282 2) by **Professor David Horner** was launched earlier this year. *Strategic Command* tells the story of General Sir John Wilton, one of the most important and influential Australian Army officers in the second half of the twentieth century. Aside from the human story of Wilton's career, this major study of the development of Australian defence policy, command, organisation, and strategy is essential reading for those seeking to understand current Australian defence issues.

The problems faced by Wilton in dealing with politicians and senior bureaucrats while remaining true to the calling of the military professional remain as relevant as ever.

About the Author

Professor of Australian Defence History at the SDSC, David Horner is a Royal Military College, Duntroon graduate with years of regimental and staff experience. He has written numerous volumes on military command, operations, defence policy and strategy, and in 2004 was appointed Official Historian for Australian Peace-keeping and Post-Cold War Operations.

CHANGING WAR'S RULES

CORAL BELL

The driving force of technology is nowhere more pervasive than in the modes of warfare. During the twentieth century, it drove the world in new and disastrous directions. That tendency seems intensified in this new century. Two sorts of rules have been affected, to their detriment: the laws of war and the norms of combat. Though sometimes equated, they are in reality quite different, and often in conflict. The word 'norm' is derived from the Latin for a carpenter's set-square: a practical guide for a practical activity. The set-square tells the carpenter what a right-angle is expected and required to be. In the same way, the norms of combat tell those at the sharp and dangerous end of battle what is required and expected of them in that particular war. The world has discovered in, for example, the stories of what has actually been happening to prisoners held at Abu Ghraib and Guantanamo Bay, how different that may be from what is prescribed in the laws of war, as laid down in the Geneva Conventions.

That really should not come as much of a surprise. The laws of war have been progressively codified by Grotius and his successors ever since 1625, but the revisions have seldom kept up with the successive changes in the technology of war, especially in the twentieth century. Two enormous technological changes in the early to mid century changed war's whole nature forever. The first was the invention of military aviation, which had a very marginal effect on battle during the First World War, but had begun to seem almost decisive by the Second World War. The second but related change was the steady increment in explosive 'yield', culminating of course in the development of nuclear weapons. A 'MIRVed' (or multiple warhead) long-range strategic nuclear missile can destroy a large city a continent away.

The most disturbing result of those two technological 'advances' has been that, while the human toll of war in the early twentieth century was 90 per cent in actual combatants, by the end of the century, 90 per cent of war's victims were widely expected to be civilians. That tendency seems to show no signs yet of diminishing, despite the advent of what are called 'smart' bombs and missiles, i.e., precision guided weapons, which ought in theory to cut down the level of 'collateral damage'.

In these days of asymmetric warfare, 'the civilian, as a soft target', is almost always the easiest to hit. And that is not only the case for terrorists. Think of the great firestorms in Tokyo, in the Second World War, produced by United States incendiary bombs, which caused even more immediate civilian deaths than the atomic bombs, though those went on killing for longer.

The laws of war do not change as fast as the norms of combat, but they tend to be reassessed, in guilt and sorrow, at the end of every cataclysmic war. Those currently or theoretically in force mostly date from 1948–1949, when the conscience of the society of states was still in shock at the atrocities of 1939–1945. They are therefore oriented to conventional warfare between the great powers, and the treatment of the prisoners captured in such wars. (Incidentally, the distinction between laws and norms is well illustrated in the treatment of prisoners in the Second World War. Germany's Western prisoners, but not Japan's, were mostly accorded treatment more or less meeting the requirements of the existing laws. But Nazi Germany and the Soviet Union treated each other's prisoners abominably, and Japan treated prisoners-of-war in ways that reflected their own norm that soldiers must die rather than let themselves be captured.)

What the world has now is 'asymmetric war'. That is, war in which the two sides have available to them, and use, entirely different weapons and strategies: the suicide bomber, for instance, versus advanced weapon technologies. As illustrated in Iraq and Afghanistan, this has meant the discarding of such traditional concepts as prisoners-of-war in favour of the term 'illegal combatants'. The results in Guantanamo Bay and Abu Ghraib have become all too familiar. But US courts have lately been throwing out concepts like the Pentagon's military tribunals, so this issue is still in play. Maybe we shall yet see a return to the oldest Western norms of combat, dating from the fifth century, embodied in 'just war' doctrine.

War, to be just, must be the decision of a legitimate authority (like the United Nations), for a just cause, with a right intention, with a good prospect of success, with means proportional to the end sought, and with due attention to avoidance of civilian casualties. But do not hold your breath: it will not happen soon.

THE HEARTLAND OF AUSTRALIA'S DEFENCE POLICIES

RICHARD BRABIN-SMITH

Over recent years, there has been much public discussion on the direction of Australia's defence policies. Much of this commentary has been quite critical, even strident and personal, in arguing that the 'Defence of Australia' policies of the past thirty years were no longer appropriate—and perhaps never had been.

With this in mind, I became concerned that the conceptual underpinnings of these policies had become obscured and were being ignored, so I set out to re-examine them. My analysis looked at the *conceptual framework* that Australian governments have used over the past thirty years or so to give direction on defence policy and priorities. I drew primarily on the four Defence White Papers published over this period—as it happens two from each side of politics—and my own recollections from much of this period. It was not difficult to choose a framework for this analysis. Four separate but interrelated themes in effect recommended themselves: a strong focus on self-reliance in the defence of Australia; the conclusion that, while minor attacks on Australia were credible in the shorter term, the prospect of major attack was distant or even remote; the observation that, in a global context, the scale of Australia's military capabilities was modest; and the strong preference to give more prominence to operations closer to home than in distant theatres.

During the period under review, Australia's government changed sides several times, and the broader security environment changed radically. Yet the treatment of these four themes shows a degree of consistency that deserves recognition. The only variation that merits mention is the different treatments that the White Papers give to the influence that operations in the region should have on planning for Australia's force structure, but even these differences tend to be small or ambiguous. That the *conceptual framework* could weather such extensive changes speaks well of the strength of its foundations, and of the courage and wisdom of those who put it in place—often in the face of hostile incredulity. But what of the future? Does this framework retain its relevance in today's circumstances?

Let's take each of the four themes in turn. To the extent that the *defence of Australia* retains its centrality, it is likely that **self-reliance** will also remain central. These twin concepts have become integral to our self-image as an independent nation—accepting the responsibilities of sovereignty as well as the rights—and it would be difficult to bring forward convincing arguments that we should rely on others in some way to look after such a core national interest. Similar arguments apply to *operations in our region*. Geography still counts in world affairs, and Australia has interests in the stability of the sometimes-troubled island states in its vicinity that other nations do not. Australia should not leave its interests to be picked up by others, and in any case others would not pick up such a burden. Australia has also learnt that taking the lead in even regional operations can be very demanding, and this must be factored in when considering capability development and resource allocation.

With respect to **conflict and warning time**, the arguments concerning *major attack* remain little changed—remote in time and likelihood but of the highest concern should such a threat emerge. With respect to *lesser contingencies*, discussion today needs to give particular consideration to operations in the neighbourhood and in response to terrorism, and we should note that the Australian Government is already doing this.

That **Australia's military resources and influence are limited** remains as true today as when first expressed. It is difficult to imagine a catalyst sufficient to cause an Australian government in contemporary circumstances to embark upon major expansion of the nation's defence capabilities.

Finally, there is the issue of the influence that should be given in Defence planning to **operations in distant theatres**. This has been at the centre of most of the recent public debate. The judgement hitherto has been that a defence force structured for the defence of Australia would give Australian governments a sufficient set of options to contribute to operations led by others in theatres distant from Australia. This policy has proved successful, as a wide variety of overseas deployments over many years has shown.

There have been several reasons for this success. The ADF is highly professional, with privileged access to its counterparts in the US, UK and other leading nations. The intrinsic demands of the defence of Australia mean that the options available are extensive. There have been few competing demands from operations closer to home—although the potential for such competing priorities has always to be kept in mind. Australian governments have also recognised that Australian contributions have been in pursuit of foreign policy objectives, rather than having a decisive impact on the battlefield. The latter is a key point: the extent to which contributions to distant operations should influence defence planning is ultimately much more a matter for foreign policy than for defence *per se*.

Nevertheless, should these judgements about the balance between local and distant operations change? Some might argue that today's concerns about terrorism should have yet greater influence on how the ADF is structured. But even global terrorism has its regional aspects, and the countering of terrorism is an endeavour that should be led by agencies of government, and not Defence. Is a new world order, or even a new regional order, such a real and imminent prospect as to make concerns over the defence of Australia no longer relevant? There is little evidence for this, at least for the immediate future and probably for the longer term.

Are we approaching a situation in which an Australian government would have too few options for contributing to coalition operations? If this can be argued, it is only at the margins, given that Australia has in service, or will have soon, such capabilities as the Collins-class submarines, destroyers, maritime patrol aircraft, special forces, fighter aircraft, air-to-air refuelling aircraft, air-borne early-warning and patrol aircraft, and highly-trained infantry (and other Army capabilities), albeit in modest numbers.

Is there an argument that Australia's interests and alliance obligations are such as to compel it always to want to answer a coalition's call and that its force structure needs therefore to reflect this? It would be interesting to see how this could be argued, given the extensive options that governments already have and that Australia tends—correctly—to be jealous of the independence of its foreign policy.

The *conceptual framework* that has guided Australia's defence policies over the past 30 years has set high standards for overall coherence and cogency, including for priority setting and for the development of joint doctrine. The challenge that proponents of more radical change to Australia's defence policies face is the difficulty of matching these standards. They have yet to achieve this. And the challenge is compounded by the Government's continuing adherence to the policy principles set out in its 2000 Defence White Paper.

This article is based on Dr Brabin-Smith's Working Paper No. 396 of the same name. It is part of the project that he and Professor Dibb are undertaking to explore in more detail Australia's defence policies over the past thirty years.

STAFF PROFILE: *Ping Yu*

Ms Ping Yu joined the GSSD as its Program Administrator in September 2004 after working for three years in administrative positions at both the University of Canberra and the Australian National University. Prior to her employment in Australia, Ms Yu worked in the fields of higher education and international education in China for ten years. Her last position there was as Deputy Director of the Dongfang International Centre for Educational Exchange, where she managed more than 15 foreign projects and recruited Chinese self-financed students to study abroad. Ms Yu received her BA from North-East Normal University and her Master of Law from Jilin University. She also completed a Master of Education, majoring in Education Administration, at the University of Canberra, and has a particular interest in education administration, including Australian international education and Chinese higher education administration. Ms Yu's current role includes looking after the GSSD Program and student administration, and managing the GSSD budget and marketing activities, under the general direction of the Director and Deputy Director of the Program.



GSSD PROGRAM UPDATE

The first semester for 2005 saw important new developments in the Graduate Studies in Strategy and Defence (GSSD) Program, which continues to provide advanced Masters level strategic studies education to 90 students. The two core courses, 'Strategic Studies' and 'Key Security Challenges in the Asia-Pacific', are being taught in alternate semesters to provide students with a consistent mix of core and elective courses each semester. 'Strategic Studies', now coordinated by Robert Ayson, continued to feature a range of expert guest speakers, but half of its weekly sessions were run twice to allow students greater access to smaller sized roundtable seminar discussions, including an end of semester workshop led by Hugh White that used Iraq as a case study for understanding modern strategy. This approach will also feature in 'Key Security Challenges in the Asia-Pacific' being coordinated by Chris Chung in the second semester.

The healthy array of elective courses included the 'United States and East Asian Security' (Brendan Taylor), 'Intelligence and Security' (Ross Thomas), 'Terrorism and Counter-terrorism' (Clive Williams) 'Strategic Planning' (Alan Hinge), 'Transnational Security in the Asia-Pacific' (Chris Chung), and 'European Security' (taught by Matthew Sussex from the University of Tasmania). A dozen students also flew to Washington D.C. to undertake the U.S. Foreign Policy Institute course at George

Washington University coordinated by Jo Spear. A record number of students completed sub-theses in the early months of 2005, with topics ranging from 'Transnational Security Issues in Laos' to 'Protectionism in Defence Industry Policy'. A number of these MA students featured in the 21 graduates from the Program graduating in July 2005. The Program extends its congratulations to all of these students and its appreciation to the leading roles played by many of its graduates in the Australian Strategic Studies Alumni (ASSA) organisation. Excellent career opportunities continue to open up for its graduates.

Students have continued to arrive to undertake the Program from a range of countries including Canada, Indonesia, New Zealand, Solomon Islands, Taiwan, the United Kingdom, and the United States, with high calibre students also attracted from throughout Australia. In addition to special tutorials for students for whom English is a second language, students attended a very successful careers evening and a wonderful weekend retreat at the Australian National University's coastal campus at Kioloa. The Program continued to benefit from the excellent administrative work of Ping Yu and Altaire Harris. Having enjoyed a busy and successful first half of 2005, the GSSD Program looks forward to the remainder of the academic year.

Dr Robert Ayson
Director of Studies



GRADUANDS: *July 2005*



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

MASS

1. Allan, Justin Keith
2. Black, Shane
3. Brims, Marcus Michael Clark
4. Flower, Scott Jason
5. Mills, Bernard Michael
6. Schaefer, Lindy Lou
7. Small, Duncan
8. Tseng, I-Ling

MSA

9. Byfield, Samuel Alexander
10. Dreghorn, Keely Jade
11. Forbes, Mark
12. Hopkins, Scott
13. Lee, Kuo-Wei
14. Mulholland, Lorraine
15. Stone, Simon Charles
16. Stuart, Melissa Jane
17. Tseng, Hsiao-Feng
18. Vanduren, Roberta Ann Beatrice
19. Whalebone, Gavin Michael

GSDA

20. Chang, Kuang-Shih

MDipl/MSA

21. Kasimun, Ernawati

AUSTRALIAN STRATEGIC STUDIES ALUMNI



As Australian Strategic Studies Alumni (ASSA) will shortly be celebrating its first birthday, it is timely to have a quick look at what we have achieved since our inauguration. The report-card is excellent, and 'growing from strength to strength' seems to be the phrase that most appropriately describes our position.

We are delighted to have welcomed over 110 members, representing five of Australia's states as well as 10 other countries. Our membership now includes professionals, research students and distinguished scholars, working across a wide spectrum of government and private security-related organisations in Australia and abroad. What is very encouraging is that we continue to grow, and to see new memberships and expressions of interest every week. We encourage anyone who is interested in learning more about ASSA, or wanting to join, to go to our website—www.ausstrat.org.au.

ASSA has also conducted a series of initiatives and events, with the focus deliberately split between social and professionally oriented activities. Our inaugural annual dinner in December 2004 was a great success, and we were honoured to hear from the *Australian Financial Review's* Geoffrey Barker as our special guest. Since that time, our social calendar has included a wine tour and a summer barbecue, and we are currently planning a major winter dinner. On the professional side, ASSA has been involved in organising mentoring dinners for current students, as well as the GSSD careers evening. We have also been able to offer members a range of more individual opportunities to gain experience and contacts in our field, and the ASSA Council is currently in discussions with a number of organisations that should result in further such opportunities becoming available. In closing, ASSA is well down the road towards achieving our motto of being 'a global network of strategists and friends'. We thank you all for your enthusiasm and support.

Bernard Mills

AWARD: *Rosalind Hearder*



Dr Rosalind Hearder
BA (UNSW); PhD (Melbourne)

In 2004, **Dr Rosalind Hearder** graduated with her PhD in History from the University of Melbourne. In recognition of her outstanding thesis titled 'Careers in Captivity: Australian Prisoner-of-War Medical Officers in Japanese Captivity during World War II', Dr Hearder has been awarded the inaugural Chief of Army's CEW Bean Prize for Military History and will be presented with a medal at the forthcoming Chief of Army's History Conference ('Entangling Alliances: Coalition Warfare in the Twentieth Century'), to be held on 13-14 October 2005. This award is a reflection of Dr Hearder's exemplary research in an area of military history of particular interest to her—Australian military medicine—and the SDSC extends her its warmest congratulations on receiving this honour. Dr Hearder is currently a member of the team working on the 'Official History of Australian Peacekeeping and Post-Cold War Operations', a five year project funded by an Australian Research Council grant and led by Professor David Horner. Prior to this, Dr Hearder taught at the University of Melbourne in various history subjects including the Cold War, and South African and Australian military history. She has also written two websites for the Australian War Memorial on Australians in France in 1918 and the Korean War, and has authored published articles in the field of Australian military history.

AUSTRALIAN MEMBER COMMITTEE OF CSCAP (Aus-CSCAP)

Aus-CSCAP holds two meetings each year, in February and August. These provide the opportunity for members to discuss issues of security relevance with a range of high-level speakers. At the February 2005 meeting, issues discussed included: Human Trafficking, Japanese Defence and Foreign Policy, the Situation in Indonesia, Disaster Relief, Aceh, Health Issues, Iraq, developments in the ARF, and AFP activities in the Solomon Islands and PNG.

Aus-CSCAP also takes an active role in broader CSCAP activities. The 23rd Steering Committee meeting was held in Kuala Lumpur on 30-31 May and was attended by Professors Des Ball and Tony Milner, the Co-chairs of Aus-CSCAP, the Executive Director, John Buckley, and representatives of the Department of Foreign Affairs and Trade and Defence. Jusuf Wanandi of Indonesia was appointed as the Co-chair of CSCAP, joining Qin Huasan of China. The meeting heard reports from the various Study Groups, in which a number of Aus-CSCAP members take an active role. These include Sam Bateman, who is one of the Co-chairs of the Maritime Security Group, James Cotton on the North Pacific/Northeast Asia Group, John Buckley on the Human Trafficking Group, Ron Huisken on the WMD Group and John McFarlane on the Peacekeeping and Peacebuilding Group. Greg Fealy also gave a presentation at the Terrorism Group meeting and followed this with

a series of joint seminars in Bangkok with Anthony Bubalo of the Sydney-based Lowy Institute.

The two Aus-CSCAP Co-chairs are also actively involved in the preparations for the CSCAP General Conference to be held in Jakarta on 6-8 December. The Conference is being organised by CSCAP Indonesia and is being co-sponsored by Aus-CSCAP, CSCAP Canada and CSCAP Japan. The Conference, to which a number of Ministers and senior officials from the region have been invited, will concentrate on practical issues relating to counter-proliferation and the task of developing a regional response to proliferation. It will also highlight the issues being considered in the various CSCAP Study Groups that form the backbone of CSCAP's work.

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 due for completion by August 2005. The Sourcebook aims to represent the variety and diversity of Islamic voices not only within countries, but across Southeast Asia.

The next meeting of Aus-CSCAP will be on 8-9 August 2005.

John Buckley
Aus-CSCAP Executive Director

THE BOEING LIBRARY

Generously funded by *Boeing Australia Ltd* (<http://www.boeing.com.au>), the Library's holdings (including over 80 journals) 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

RECENT SDSC PUBLICATIONS

The following papers (see the SDSC website for abstracts) were published January-May 2005.

WORKING PAPERS

Working Paper 394 *Cost \$A8.00 (+ GST = A\$8.80)*
The Use of Depleted Uranium Ammunition in Operation Iraqi Freedom: A War Crime?
Christopher Michaelson

ISBN 0 7315 5462 0, January 2005, 28 pp.

This paper examines whether or not the use of Depleted Uranium (DU) ammunition by British armed forces in Operation *Iraqi Freedom* may have constituted a war crime. It is analysed whether and to what extent the use of DU ammunition is in breach of obligations under the international humanitarian law of armed conflict. The provisions examined include the customary prohibition of indiscriminate attacks; the customary prohibition of weapons causing superfluous injury; and the obligation to protect the environment as codified in the Additional Protocol I to the Geneva Convention. It is argued that the use of DU ammunition raises serious concerns in relation to several provisions of international humanitarian law. Nevertheless, it appears rather unlikely that DU ammunition use by Coalition forces in Iraq was authorised with criminal intent and thus constituted a war crime.

Working Paper 395 *Cost \$A8.00 (+ GST = A\$8.80)*
A Threat-Based Reassessment of Western Air Power
Alan Stephens

ISBN 0 7315 5464 7, January 2005, 32 pp.

The way in which the West employs its air power in the post-September 11 world demands reassessment (as indeed does every other national security capability). Two factors are especially important. First, the strike against the World Trade Center and subsequent attacks on Western interests around the world may imply a change in the nature of conflict, away from state-versus-state, theatre-level campaigns towards a more ambiguous model represented by non-state actors, undefined battlefields, and disregard for the law of armed conflict—so-called ‘asymmetric’ warfare. Within that model, how relevant are traditional doctrines? Second, the suite of capabilities needed to mount and sustain a modern theatre-level air campaign is so complex and extensive that it is questionable whether it is a realistic aspiration for any nation other than the United States.

That is not to say that individual states should no longer contemplate the possibility of having to conduct theatre-level campaigns should their security circumstances indicate a need to do so; it is to say, however, that in the process they must be keenly aware of their limitations. More than ever, planners must satisfy the imperative to match force structures to threats and interests, both national and collective.

Throughout the history of the systematic application of air power, two roles have remained pre-eminent: defensive counter-air; and precision strike. The effects we require those vital roles to generate will remain constant, but the ways in which they are pursued are likely to change conceptually, technologically and organisationally. As long as those changes are managed capably (a task which may challenge some traditional air force preferences), focused defensive counter air operations, and strikes which are precise both in the understanding of their intended effect and in their execution, should continue to provide the West in general and its smaller member states in particular with a powerful military asymmetric advantage. The successful application of those capabilities will be central to the West’s campaign to contain the threat of jihadist revolutionaries and rogue states, and to promote the interests of good global governance, at both the collective and national security levels.

Working Paper 396 *Cost \$A8.00 (+ GST = A\$8.80)*
The Heartland of Australia’s Defence Policies
Richard Brabin-Smith

ISBN 0 7315 5465 5, April 2005, 22 pp.

This paper looks at the conceptual framework that Australian governments have used over the past 30 years or so to give direction on defence policy and priorities. It examines four separate but strongly interrelated notions: self-reliance; levels of conflict and warning time; limitations to Australia’s military resources and influence; and regional as opposed to distant operations, and observes that the treatment of these four themes shows a high level of consistency, despite the changes of government over the period, and the extensive changes in the external security environment. The paper speculates on the continuing relevance of this conceptual framework. It concludes that, while change should not be ruled out, any more radical change that might be contemplated would need to meet the challenge of at least matching the current conceptual framework for overall cogency and coherence.

WORKING PAPERS

Working Paper 397 *Cost \$A8.00 (+ GST = A\$8.80)*
***From 'Poisonous Shrimp' to 'Porcupine':
An Analysis of Singapore's Defence Posture
Change in the early 1980s***

Pak Shun Ng

ISBN 0 7315 5466 3, April 2005, 66 pp.

In the early 1980s, Singapore announced a crucial change in its defence policy, from a defensively deterrent strategy (known as the 'poisonous shrimp') to a more actively deterrent variant (known as the 'porcupine'). This paper utilises Graham Allison's three models of decision-making analysis to study why Singapore announced this policy change, even though no actual policy or strategic change could be observed to have taken place. By altering Allison's models to make them more applicable to Singapore's political and military contexts, this paper finds that the Rational Actor Model fails to fully explain why Singapore made the policy announcement. The paper argues that the Organisational Process Model and the Political Bargaining Model analyses contribute to the most plausible and convincing explanations for the announcement in the early 1980s by providing both the timing and the motive for the rhetorical change in Singapore's defence posture.

Working Paper 398 *Cost \$A8.00 (+ GST = A\$8.80)*
***Assisting the Solomon Islands:
Implications for Regional Security and
Intervention***

James Stratford

ISBN 0 7315 5469 8, May 2005, 30 pp.

In 2003 the Australian-led Regional Assistance Mission to the Solomon Islands (RAMSI) was dispatched to the Solomon Islands. The mission has been seen by some as providing a model for future interventions in the South Pacific. However, it is doubtful whether this is either desirable or readily reproducible given the limitations of regional governments and the diverse character of security threats faced by South Pacific states. After looking at RAMSI and the conditions for its success, this paper provides a brief survey of security issues across the region and examines the possibility of RAMSI-style interventions elsewhere. While RAMSI is a significant development in regional security cooperation, and in particular Australia's policy towards the region, the author concludes that targeted measures will continue to be the norm of regional development and security assistance.

CANBERRA PAPERS

Canberra Paper 157
Cost A\$35.00 (+ GST = A\$38.50)

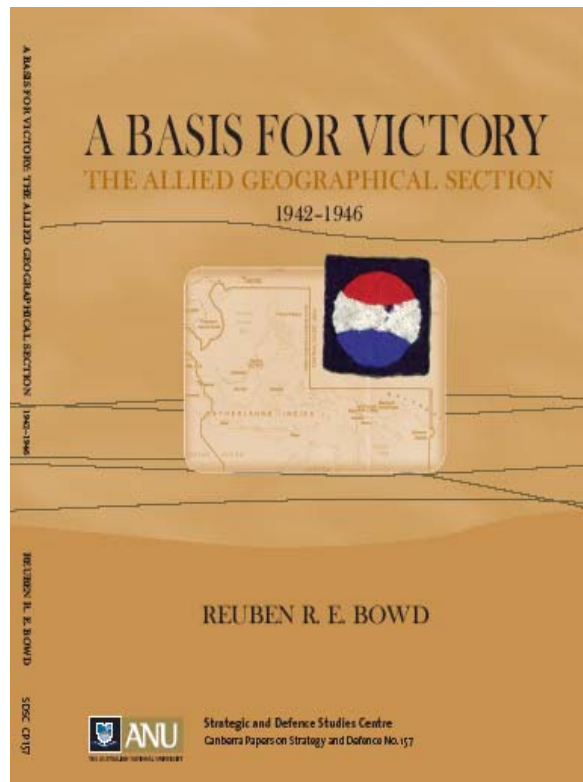
***A Basis for Victory: The Allied Geographical
Section 1942-1946***

Reuben R.E. Bowd

ISBN 0 7315 5455 8, March 2005, xxiv + 168 pp. (includes frontispiece, maps, plates, appendices, bibliography, index)
Note: The paperback volume is in larger B5 format.

In the annals of popular military history, pride of place goes to the exploits of major combat units and formations, decisive battles and covert special operations forces. What is often overlooked in the recounting of events is the tireless contribution of a cast of thousands who are overshadowed, often unjustly, by the exploits of the combat elements that prosecute the war. This well-researched book by Reuben Bowd examines the Allied Geographical Section (AGS), a unique, yet largely forgotten, cornerstone intelligence organisation that played an important role in ensuring allied victory in the war against Japan during the Second World War. It contains numerous photographs and details of those persons who formed an integral part of the Section during this important period in Australian history.

This book is be officially launched at the Chief of Army History conference in October 2005.



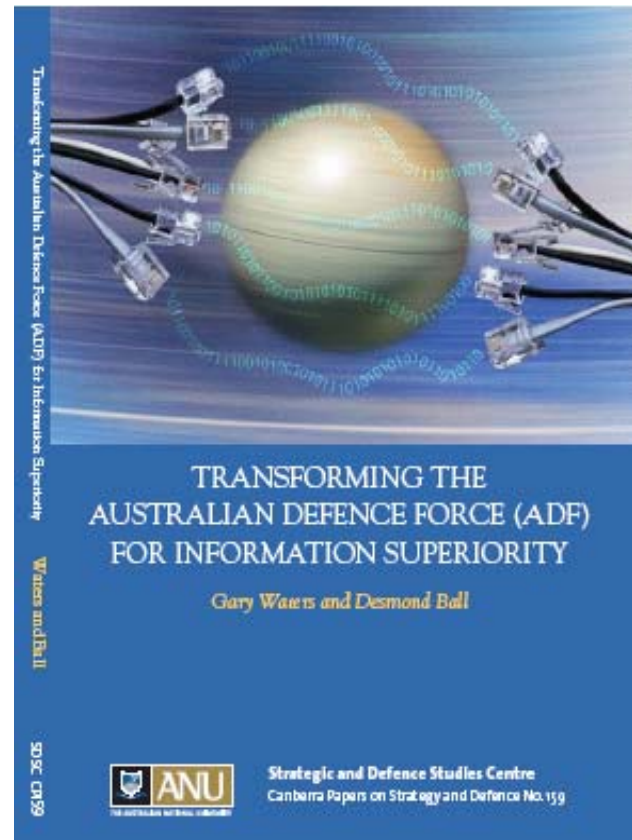
Canberra Paper 159

Cost A\$26.00 (+ GST = A\$28.60)

Transforming the Australian Defence Force (ADF) for Information Superiority Gary Waters and Desmond Ball

ISBN 0 7315 5463 9, January 2005, xv + 106 pp. (includes colour diagrams)

The Australian Defence Force is in the process of being transformed to enable it to gain information superiority in future contingencies. It is aiming to obtain common battlefield awareness and superior command decision-making, using a comprehensive 'information network' linking sensors (for detection), command and control (for flexible, optimised decision-making), and engagement systems (for precision application of force). This book by Air Commodore (Ret.) Gary Waters and Professor Desmond Ball discusses Australia's approach to Network-Centric Warfare; examines the command aspects of dispersed military operations utilising networked systems; outlines some of the principal strategic, organisational, operational, doctrinal and human resource challenges; and discusses the information architecture requirements for achieving information superiority. The book is also intended to contribute to the promotion of a vision that might excite and shape this transformation process.



FORTHCOMING PAPERS

Canberra Paper 160

Cost To be advised

Forearmed Forewarned: Australian Specialist Intelligence Support in South Vietnam, 1966-1971 Blair Tidey

Since the end of the Vietnam War, historical research and writing on the Australian military involvement has only briefly dealt with intelligence aspects. Even less attention has been given to specialist intelligence collection, such as signals intelligence, imagery intelligence and human intelligence.

This paper examines the *modus operandi* and effectiveness of specialist intelligence support to the 1st Australian Task Force (1 ATF) in South Vietnam during the period from May 1966 to December 1971. The operations of 1 ATF represent the major Australian contribution to the Vietnam War, and a useful case study of the utility of specialist intelligence collection in counterinsurgency operations.

This paper focuses on the specialist intelligence units organic to 1 ATF, namely the Detachment 1st Divisional Intelligence Unit and 547 Signal Troop. The former was responsible for the provision of imagery intelligence, interrogation and counterintelligence (including liaison and agent handling) to 1 ATF, while the latter was responsible for the provision of signals intelligence.

The paper examines how these units were organised and equipped, how they conducted their operations, and how effective they were in providing specialist intelligence support. In determining the latter, three interlocking issues are examined:

- what impact the units had in terms of the whole 1 ATF intelligence system;
- what impact the units had on the mounting of Australian military operations; and
- what impact the units had on the enemy forces opposing 1 ATF.

Canberra Paper 161

Cost To be advised

Essays on Australian Defence Paul Dibb

Professor Paul Dibb has collated a number of his papers on Australian Defence into a collection of essays. These essays form the chapters of Canberra Paper 161, which is shortly to be published by the SDSC. In this volume, Professor Dibb draws on his extensive career in government and academia to provide coherent and structured views on the future of Australian defence. The timeliness of such a volume is obvious and is a welcome addition to the SDSC's publication program.

Ordering Information

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WORK IN PROGRESS

Dr Robert Ayson worked on editing (with Professor Ball) the forthcoming text *Strategy and Security in the Asia-Pacific* to be published in early 2006 by Allen and Unwin. (This will be suitable as a text for undergraduate and post-graduate courses in strategic and security studies). His article on the concept of regional stability in the Asia-Pacific was published by *Asian Security* in April 2005, whilst his assessment of Australia's evolving security policy towards East Asia was published in June as an Australian Strategic Policy Institute *Strategic Insights* paper. Dr Ayson had earlier offered a conference paper on that theme to the Institute for Defence Studies and Analyses annual conference in New Delhi and also gave a paper on Australia's Arc of Instability thinking to the International Studies Association convention in Hawaii. He is working on a project on perceptions of East Asia in New Zealand Security Policy (for the Asia-NZ Foundation) and a chapter on New Zealand security and defence policy since 1990 (for a NZ Institute of International Affairs volume). In addition to directing the GSSD program, Dr Ayson coordinated the Strategic Studies core course for the first time, continued working with the six PhD students he is supervising in the Centre, and taught at the Australian Command and Staff College.

Professor Desmond Ball has recently returned from Southeast Asia after attending the 23rd Steering Committee meeting of Aus-CSCAP (as Co-chair), held in Kuala Lumpur on 30-31 May. He is researching a number of forthcoming publications and is co-editor (with Dr Robert Ayson) of *Strategy and Security in the Asia-Pacific* to be published in early 2006 by Allen and Unwin.

Dr Chris Chung spent the first half of 2005 preparing a book-length study on foreign policy decision-making in the Spratly Islands dispute, focusing on China, Malaysia and the Philippines. In particular, the study examines the relationship among foreign policy decision-making, government behaviour and domestic politics. Four case studies inform the empirical analysis: the approaches taken by Malaysia and the Philippines to bolster their respective sovereignty claims; China's establishment of a comprehensive maritime jurisdictional regime covering the Spratly Islands among other areas; China-Philippines contestation over Mischief Reef; and the development of a regional instrument to regulate conduct in the South China Sea.

Dr Chung is also preparing a co-authored article (with Professor David Rosenberg, Department of Political Science, Middlebury College, Middlebury, Vermont) assessing the convergent and divergent maritime security priorities of international and regional states in the South China Sea.

Emeritus Professor Paul Dobb authored 'An Australian View of Security Problems in a Global Age and the Future Course of the Transformation of the Military', National Institute for Defense Studies, Tokyo: *NIDS International Symposium on Security Affairs 2004*, March 2005, pp. 7-16. In June, he presented a paper at the Pentagon's National Defense University *2005 Pacific Symposium: Asia-Pacific Democracies—Advancing Prosperity and Security* in Honolulu on the subject of alliance relationships and democracy in the Asia-Pacific region. He also wrote newspaper articles on 'There are limits to our defence capabilities' for *The Australian* and 'Managing geopolitical risk' for *The Australian Financial Review*, as well as contributing to a Radio National series of interviews on the Soviet Union and the Cold War. He was also a panellist on the question of 'Australia's Global and Regional Competitiveness' at the *Future Summit* organised by the Australian Davos Connection in May. Forthcoming publications include a chapter entitled 'America and the Region' for the Ball and Ayson edited text *Strategy and Security in the Asia-Pacific* and the soon-to-be-published Canberra Paper 161 entitled *Essays on Australian Defence*.

Professor David Horner has continued work on the Official History of Australian Peacekeeping and Post-Cold War Operations and has drafted several chapters on Australia's contribution to the UN Iran-Iraq Military Observer Group in Iran in 1988-1990 and to the UN Transition Assistance Group in Namibia in 1989-1990. In this regard he has carried out a wide range of interviews, and he visited Namibia in April.

On 9 February he addressed the USI of the ACT on Australia's recent military operations and their place in Australian history. Between 14 and 20 March he visited the Philippines to deliver a paper at the Philippines Army Senior Leaders' Conference on 'Managing Change in the Australian Defence Force'. On 16 June he presided at the launch of a biography by Brigadier John Essex-Clark of General Sir Francis Hasset and, on 23 June, attended the Land Warfare Studies Centre seminar: 'Confronting Asymmetry: Military Conflict in the Twenty First Century'.

His recent publications include: *Strategic Command: General Sir John Wilton and Australia's Asian Wars* (OUP), which was launched by the Governor General on 6 June (see page 2 of this newsletter), and two chapters, 'General MacArthur's War: The South and Southwest Pacific campaigns 1942-45', and 'The ANZAC Contribution: Australia and New Zealand in the Pacific War' in Daniel Marston (ed.), *The Pacific War Companion: From Pearl Harbor to Hiroshima*, (Osprey, Oxford). He has also written several articles for *The Australian*.

Dr Ron Huisken has been preoccupied with preparations to deliver a course on the non-proliferation of Weapons of Mass Destruction (WMD) to the Graduate Studies in Strategy and Defence (GSSD) Masters program. He is also preparing a monograph on the implications of the Bush Administration for ANZUS, and is participating in a Council for Security Co-operation in the Asia Pacific (CSCAP) Study Group on a WMD action plan for the Asia Pacific. The SDSC recently agreed to join a global consortium of think tanks supporting the G8 Global Partnership Against the Spread of WMD, and Dr Huisken will coordinate the Centre's involvement in this project.

Over the past six months, **Dr Brendan Taylor**, the Post Doctoral Fellow at the SDSC, has been involved in co-writing a report (with Professors Des Ball and Anthony Milner) commissioned by the Asia New Zealand Foundation. This report evaluates second track diplomacy in the Asia-Pacific region and can be accessed at <http://www.asia2000.org.nz/research/TrackII/fullreport.pdf>. He also authored an article on US-China relations for the June 2005 issue of the *Australian Journal of International Affairs*, as well as two smaller co-authored articles on 'US policy toward North Korea' and 'China's policy toward the South Pacific' for *The Diplomat*. He also coordinated a course in the GSSD program entitled 'The US and East Asian security' and, in early May, both presented a paper at a conference organised by the Department of International Relations, RSPAS, on China's International Engagement and attended the Asia-Pacific Roundtable in Kuala Lumpur, Malaysia.

Professor Hugh White has been working on US-China-Australia strategic relations, Australia's commitments in Iraq, and Defence policy and capability issues. He has written a study of Australian defence and strategic policy for the United States National Bureau of Asian

Research, a paper for the Lowy Institute on Air Warfare Destroyers, delivered an ANU-BDW lecture on renewing ANZUS for the new century, and participated in a number of forums including the Australia-Japan Conference and the ANZ Leadership Forum. Over the next six months he will prepare a paper for the Indonesian Update conference, write a chapter for the next volume of *Australia in World Affairs*, and prepare a major paper for the Lowy Institute on Australian Defence policy.

Visiting Fellows

Admiral Chris Barrie has recently returned from overseas and is working on a range of 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. He also conducted seminar sessions during the Oxford Leadership Program in May and participated in the Australia-Taiwan Strategic Dialogue in early May. At present he is revising his elective program on 'strategic leadership' for presentation in the fall semester at the National Defense University in Washington, D.C., and finalising a paper on transformation for publication there.

Dr Coral Bell's monograph for the Australian Strategic Policy Institute titled *Living with Giants: Finding Australia's Place in a More Complex World* was published in April and has been well received. It is a study of changing global and regional power-relationships and the diplomatic and strategic problems they are likely to present in the next few decades. Since then, she has been engaged in writing an article called 'The Twilight of the Unipolar World' for a new Washington journal, *The American Interest*, and an essay for the *Oxford Companion to Australian Military History on Strategic Debate in Australia, 1945-2005*. She also writes a regular column for *The Diplomat*. In late June, she presented a paper on Asymmetric War to the attendees of the Land Warfare Studies Centre's Rowell conference on 'Confronting Asymmetry: Military Conflict in the Early 21st Century'.

Dr Richard Brabin-Smith, having published his working paper titled *The Heartland of Australia's Defence Policies*, is now working on the next paper in the series, addressing the changing pattern of Australia's defence relationships with the United States, Indonesia and New Zealand. This work is part of a larger project with Professor Paul Dibb to examine the evolution of Australia's defence policies over the past thirty years.

John McFarlane's term as a Visiting Fellow has been extended. He continues to work on issues relating to transnational crime, links between crime and terrorism, corruption, and police peace operations in disrupted states. In addition, he has been involved in the ARC-funded 'Languages of Security' Project and has assisted with the organisation of the Leading Australia's Future in Asia (LAFIA) 2005 Program.

Mr McFarlane gave a presentation on the first meeting of the CSCAP Study Group on Peace-keeping and Peacebuilding in Bali, on 12-13 February; spoke at several courses convened by DFAT; co-chaired the National Security Australia 2005 Conference at the Sydney Convention Centre on 21-22 February; gave seminars at the University of Sydney on 11 March and the University of Queensland on 4 May and 14 June; and spoke at a Terrorism Workshop at the Australian National University on 31 March-1 April and at a further Workshop on the 'End of Westphalia?' (also at the ANU) on 9-10 April. During the first six months of 2005, he also delivered several lectures at the Australian Defence College and the Royal Australian Navy College, HMAS Creswell.

Mr McFarlane continues to be involved with the Australian Federal Police Management of Serious Crime Courses, and delivered lectures to MOSC courses in Semarang, Indonesia, on 2 December 2004 and in Singapore on 8 May 2005. He has also lectured on transnational crime to the 'Security in Business and Government' course within the ANU's Graduate Studies in Strategy and Defence (GSSD) Program.

Mr Derek Quigley is continuing his research on the historical, political and economic factors that have influenced defence policy changes in New Zealand over the past two decades. His 37,000 word paper on the so-called 'ANZUS crisis' is close to completion.

Dr Alan Stephens has continued work on his book on strategy, due for completion early next year. He has also written articles for *Asia-Pacific Defence Reporter* and the Swedish Defence Academy, and co-authored a chapter (with David Connery) on Defence Transformation for the forthcoming Ball/Ayson edited text entitled *Strategy and Security in the Asia-Pacific*.

He has lectured to the Australian Defence College, Australian Defence Headquarters, and master's courses at ANU and UNSW@ADFA, and supervises doctoral students at both universities. Media work included radio interviews on various defence issues, and commentary for ABC Television's Anzac Day broadcast from Sydney. He has been a participant in a series of workshops on the ADF's New Air Combat Capability, organised by the Kokoda Foundation.

Mr Ross Thomas conducted the SDSC's course on Intelligence and Security at the Australian National University in March 2005. Since that time he has been engaged in re-development of the course and has begun development of an undergraduate course on Intelligence and Government decision-making that may be offered in 2006 or 2007. He has also been collaborating with senior intelligence experts about intelligence training courses that might be provided to both Government personnel as well as to tertiary institutions.

During the first half of 2005, **Clive Williams** ran Masters electives in 'Terrorism and Counterterrorism' at the Australian National University and 'Counterterrorism Policy and Law' at the Law Faculty of the University of Sydney—the latter in cooperation with Professor Don Rothwell. He has continued his terrorism research, worked with Australian, UK and US government agencies, networked with other Australian universities, authored a chapter for the forthcoming *Strategy and Security in the Asia-Pacific*, and presented at conferences in the United Kingdom, Australia and the United States. He currently has a proposal with ANU management for the introduction in 2006 of a new Bachelors course in 'Terrorism, Counterterrorism and National Security'.

PhD Scholars

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

Mr Bob Breen has submitted the last chapter of his PhD thesis to his supervisory panel and received feedback. He will be editing chapters and finalising the introductory and concluding chapters, as well as a selected bibliography, in June and hopes to submit his thesis to an examining panel by the end of July 2005 after receiving approval to do so from his supervisory panel.

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 co-ordination, 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 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 Christian Enemark is in the final year of his PhD, researching disease-based security challenges in East Asia. In March 2005 he presented a paper on 'Securitising Infectious Diseases' at the International Studies Association convention in Honolulu. From there he travelled to Washington D.C., Aberystwyth, Bradford, London and Singapore to conduct interviews. Mr Enemark's work on biological weapons issues has been scheduled for publication in the *Nonproliferation Review* and the *Australian and New Zealand Journal of Public Health*.

He is the co-author (with Christopher Michaelsen) of an article on the 2003 Iraq War forthcoming in the *Australian Journal of Politics and History*. In May 2005 Mr Enemark was appointed to the National Consultative Group on Biosecurity Issues (Department of Foreign Affairs and Trade). Over the past year he has also served as convenor of the 'Ethics of War and Peace' working group preparing for the 2006 Oceanic Conference on International Studies.

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. In addition, he is working on a paper on European ballistic missile defence policy.

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 is undertaking her studies at the SDSC as a recipient of one of a small number of Re-Entry Scholarships offered each year by the University. She holds an MA in Peace Studies from the University of Bradford (UK) and a Diploma in International Relations from the University of London and, during the first months of 2005, has continued to work towards her doctorate. Her proposed thesis is 'Weapons of Mass Possession: the security problems posed by the accumulation of small arms by Armed Groups in Southeast Asia and the possibilities for regional solutions'. In July Ms Koorey will be attending the United Nations in New York as a non-government delegate with the Australian delegation to the Biennial Meeting of States on the progress of the UN Programme of Action on Small Arms.

Mr Edwin Lowe is a recipient of an Australian Post-graduate Award. His PhD research is a comparative study of cultural distinctiveness and the influence of cultural philosophies on the military responses to the nature of conflict in the contemporary strategic environment. His research will compare Chinese, United States and UK/Australian responses to the challenges of modern conflict and warfare, with a particular interest in the Chinese concept of 'unrestricted warfare'. Mr Lowe is the author of Canberra Paper 155: *Transcending the Cultural Gaps in 21st Century Strategic Analysis and Planning: The Real Revolution in Military Affairs*.

Mr Christopher Michaelsen joined the SDSC as a PhD scholar in 2003. His thesis focuses on the liberal democratic response in the United Kingdom, Germany and Australia to the attacks on 11 September 2001. Most recently, he gave several papers questioning the idea that security can and needs to be 'balanced' against civil liberties when responding to the challenges of terrorism.

He also presented a paper at the annual conference of the Australian and New Zealand Society of International Law calling for an international arms trade treaty, and continues to have a strong interest in small arms and human rights.

Ms Anna Powles joined the SDSC in May 2003 as a recipient of the 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 will be returning to the Solomon Islands and Fiji shortly to conduct further field research.

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.

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 Des 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.

THE SDSC TEAM (Research Interests)

Head of Centre

H White, BA(Hons)(Melbourne), B.Phil(Oxon)
Australian strategic and defence policy
Phone: 6125 1562
Email: hugh.white@anu.edu.au

Emeritus Professor and Chairman of Advisory Council

P Dibb, AM, BA(Nott), PhD(ANU)
Australian defence policy, regional security, alliance relationships
Phone: 6125 9921
Email: paul.dibb@anu.edu.au

Special Professor

DJ Ball, BEc, PhD(ANU), FASSA
Australian security, intelligence, nuclear and strategic issues, regional cooperation
Phone: 6125 9922
Email: desmond.ball@anu.edu.au

Professor

DM Horner, DipMilStud (RMC), MA(UNSW), PhD(ANU)
Australian defence history, concepts for land operations
Phone: 6125 9933
Email: david.horner@anu.edu.au

Senior Fellow

R Huisken, BEc (Hons)(UWA), MSs(Stockholm), PhD(ANU)
Ballistic missile defence, alliance issues, West Asian security mechanisms
Phone: 6125 9938
Email: ron.huisken@anu.edu.au

Senior Fellow (on extended leave at the Lowy Institute, Sydney)

A Dupont, BA(UNSW), MA, PhD(ANU)
Southeast Asia and regional security

Post-doctoral Fellow

B Taylor, BSocSc(Waikato), MA, PhD(ANU)
North Korea, US Foreign Policy (in Asia only), Economic statecraft/sanctions
Phone: 6125 9928
Email: brendan.taylor@anu.edu.au

Visiting Fellows

Brigadier S Ayling, AM, BSc (Physics)(NSW), BSc (War Studies)(University of Baluchistan)
Phone: 6125 9921; Email: sdsc@anu.edu.au

Admiral C Barrie, AC, RANR
strategic leadership and decision-making, world security, reform of the UN, international affairs in the Asia-Pacific region
Phone: 6125 9929; Email: sdsc@anu.edu.au

Dr CM Bell, AO, BA(Syd), MSc(Econ), PhD(London), FASSA
central balance of power, crisis management, US foreign policy
Phone: 6125 9921
Email: anne.dowling@anu.edu.au

Dr R Brabin-Smith, AO, BSc, PhD(Nott)
Australian and regional defence security policy
Phone: 6125 9932
Email: richard.brabin-smith@anu.edu.au

Commodore J McCaffrie RANR, BA(Qld), MA(ANU)
naval and maritime strategy, Southeast Asian navies, the constabulary role of navies
Phone: 0403 585 509
Email: jackmccaff@bigpond.com

Mr J McFarlane, BA(Monash)
transnational crime, terrorism, corruption, police peace operations, military support for law enforcement and homeland security.
Phone: 6125 1561
Email: john.mcfarlane@anu.edu.au

Adjunct Professor R O'Neill, AO, BE(Melb), MA, DPhil(Oxon), DLitt(ANU), FASSA, FRHS
Phone: 6125 9921; Email: sdsc@anu.edu.au

The Hon. Derek Quigley, QSO, LLB (Canterbury)
trans-Tasman and regional security and defence issues
Phone: 6125 1561
Email: quig_mca@hotmail.com

Dr A Stephens, BA, LittB (History)(UNE), MA(ANU), PhD(NSW)
contemporary strategy, force transformation
Phone: 6249 6362
Email: alans@webone.com.au

Mr RK Thomas PSM, BEc(Syd), BA(ANU)
Defence and security policy and strategy, intelligence, alliance relationships
Phone: 6125 9921; Email: sdsc@anu.edu.au

Mr C Williams, MG, BA(Hons), MA(Hons) (Melbourne)
terrorism, protective security
Phone: 6125 9936
Email: clive.williams@anu.edu.au

Centre Administrator

A Dowling
Phone: 6125 9921
Email: anne.dowling@anu.edu.au

Research Assistant and Publications Editor

M Thatcher, MA(Hons)(Waikato)
Phone: 6125 9931
Email: meredith.thatcher@anu.edu.au

Research Assistants

Australian Peacekeeping and Post-Cold War Operations

Mr D Flitton, BA (Hons), MA(Deakin)
Australian foreign policy; the US-Australia alliance; the politics of foreign policy; military intervention
Phone: 6125 1560

Email: daniel.flitton@anu.edu.au
(located at the Australian National University)

Dr M Glozier, BA (Hons)(Sydney), MPhil(Sydney), PhD(UWS)
expatriate soldiering, especially mercenaries and peacekeepers 1600s to present day; interaction between armies and the state; command appointments and patronage networks; military history; early modern European history (1450-1750)
Phone: 6243 4499

Email: matthew.glozier@awm.gov.au
(located at the Australian War Memorial)

Dr D Hay, BA(Hons)(VU), PhD(ANU)
(Dr Hay worked on the Project until 6 May 2005)

Dr R Hearder, BA(UNSW), PhD(Melbourne)
twentieth century military history, military medical history, diplomatic history
Phone: 6125 1559

Email: rosalind.hearder@anu.edu.au
(located at the Australian National University)

Aus-CSCAP Executive Director

Mr J Buckley
Phone: 6125 9979

Executive Officer

A Haese, BInfMgt (Canberra)
Phone: 6125 9979
Email: auscscap@anu.edu.au

PhD Scholars

Mr Marc Ablong
national security, military strategy, national crisis management, military transformation, Asia Pacific geopolitics

Mr Bob Breen, BA(UNSW), MA(Monash), MSc(Florida State University)
short notice military interventions, military force projection, post-conflict nation building, Australian peace support operations

Mr William Choong, BBA(NUS), MIRAP(Qld)
nuclear deterrence, East Asian security, international political economy

Mr David Connery, MIntS(Hons) (Sydney), MSA(ANU), MDefStud(Canberra), BA(Qld), psc
Australian national security, future military concepts, regional security and capability development

Mr Cameron Crouch, BA(Hons), MIRAP(Qld)
the study of conflict; terrorism

Mr Christian Enemark, BA(Hons), LLB(Hons) (Sydney)
chemical and biological weapons, transnational security, and the ethics of war and peace

Mr Stephan Frühling, M.S.(SMSU), Dipl.-VW(Kiel)
defence planning, missile defence, nuclear weapons, deterrence

Mr Tamotsu Fukuda, BA (Cincinnati), MA (International Christian University, Tokyo)
regionalism, multilateralism, international relations in East Asia, Japanese foreign and security policy
(currently in Japan)

Ms Stephanie Koorey, MA(Bradford, UK), DipIR(London)
international politics, conventional arms control and disarmament, conflict and post conflict social issues including landmine victim assistance

Mr Edwin Lowe, BSc, BA(Hons)(Macquarie)
comparative cultural philosophies, cultural approaches to warfare, Chinese strategic culture, future warfare, modern conflict, Chinese military developments

Mr Christopher Michaelson, LLM(Qld)
terrorism, human rights, international law, disarmament & arms control

Mr Bruce Luckham, BA, MSc(London), MSA(ANU)
economic security, strategic concepts, bargaining, US security policy, terrorism

Ms Anna Powles, BA(Hons), MA(Victoria, Wellington)
internal conflict, self-determination movements (Papua, French Pacific), civil-military affairs, politics of development assistance, Pacific regionalism, environmental security

Mr Gary Waters, FRMIT, MA(Hons) (UNSW)
development of concepts, strategy and capability 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

Mr Derek Woolner, BA(Hons) (Sydney), BA(ANU)
development of national security policy, Australian Defence Force capability development, Australian defence equipment procurement, ADF personnel planning, Defence financial policy and Defence management, Australian maritime border security

Mr Bob Wylie, BA(Hons) (Qld)
the principles, institutions and processes by which Australia marshals the resources required to protect and advance its security interests in peace, crisis and war

Graduate Studies in Strategy & Defence (Research Interests)

Director of Studies

R Ayson, BSocSc(Waikato), MA(ANU), PhD(Lond)
Strategic concepts and Asia-Pacific security, New Zealand defence policy
Phone: 6125 9923
Email: robert.ayson@anu.edu.au

Deputy Director of Studies

C Chung, BSc, MSc (Hons)(Canterbury), PhD (UNSW)
Asia-Pacific maritime affairs; China-ASEAN relations; non-traditional security
Phone: 6125 1540
Email: chris.chung@anu.edu.au

Administrator

Ping Yu, BA(Northeast Normal University, PRC), LL.M.(Jilin University, PRC), MEd(UC, Canberra)
Education administration, particularly in Australian international education and Chinese higher education administration
Phone: 6125 9924
Email: ping.yu@anu.edu.au

Assistant Administrator

A Harris-Semmens
Phone: 6125 9930
Email: altaire.harris@anu.edu.au

CONTACT US

Strategic and Defence Studies Centre

Strategic and Defence Studies Centre
HC Coombs Building 9, Fellows Road
Australian National University
Canberra, ACT 0200 Australia

Telephone: +61 (0)2 6125 9921
Facsimile: +61 (0)2 6125 9926
E-mail: sdsc@anu.edu.au
Home page: <http://rspas.anu.edu.au/sdsc/>

Graduate Studies in Strategy and Defence

Graduate Studies in Strategy and Defence
HC Coombs Building 9, Fellows Road
Australian National University
Canberra ACT 0200 Australia

Telephone: +61 (0) 2 6125 9924
Facsimile: +61 (0) 2 6125 6642
Email: gssd.administrator@anu.edu.au or
chris.chung@anu.edu.au
Home page: <http://rspas.anu.edu.au/gssd/>



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the world's top 200 universities published by the *Times Higher Education Supplement*.