

NEWSLETTER

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

INTERESTING TIMES



Professor Hugh White
 Professor of Strategic
 Studies and SDSC Head

Future historians may well see the first half of 2006 as the time when Australia came to terms with the true scale and complexity of the challenges posed to its security policy by the fragility of its small island neighbours. Since the mid-1990s Australians have increasingly accepted that both our interests and our responsibilities require us to help ensure that our smaller neighbours maintain at least a minimum level of effective and legitimate government. But only over the past few months, with separate crises in Solomon Islands and East Timor, has it become clear how hard it will be for Australia to help solve our neighbours' diverse and deep-seated problems of governance.

The crises that first drew Australia into our new pattern of post-colonial intervention were superficially centred on security issues. In East Timor in 1999, it was the militia violence after the UN-sponsored ballot; in Solomon Islands in 2003 it was the sustained breakdown of law and order after the civil strife of 1999-2000; in PNG in 2004 it was the chronic law and order situation in Port Moresby and elsewhere; in Solomon Islands again in 2006 it was the post-ballot violence, especially in Honiara's Chinatown; and now again in East Timor it is the political violence flowing from problems in East Timor's military and police forces.

In each case, the primary Australian response has been to deploy security forces—military or police—to address the immediate security concerns. But in each case it has become clear that the security crises are only symptoms of much deeper problems — in the quality of state institutions, the structure of

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government, political culture and the basic relationship between state and society. And we have learned that even the security problems themselves are often much harder to address with the policy instruments to hand than we had expected. The success of INTERFET in East Timor in 1999 perhaps led Canberra to overestimate the capacity of the ADF to impose and maintain security in highly-complex situations of communal unrest and widespread criminality. The initial success of RAMSI in 2003 may in turn have led to an overestimate of the success that Australian police can have in applying Australian policing standards and cultures to very different communities.

Both of these assumptions have now been challenged by the events of the past few months. East Timor has reminded us that policing is difficult, specialised work for which the ADF is not trained, equipped or organised. Even police forces find it hard to do the job where languages are a barrier, wider law and justice institutions are weak, and cultures are alien and often opaque. But even more dauntingly, this year's crises in East Timor and Solomon Islands have reminded us that even solving urgent security problems does little or nothing to address the deeper political and social causes of weak and dysfunctional government. The government's AusAID White Paper, published earlier this year, gave due attention to the need for Australia to find ways to support fundamental reforms, but there remains no clear idea of how we can best do that. This is not Australia's problem alone—around the world others are wrestling with similar challenges—but the issue is uniquely important for Australia, because we alone among the OECD have a number of very vulnerable states on our doorstep. Finding new ways to help, and persuading the electorate that more is needed than a modern version of gunboat diplomacy, remain major challenges to all who are interested in Australian strategic policy.

THE BOEING LIBRARY

The Boeing Library has continued to be generously funded by *Boeing Australia Ltd* (<http://www.boeing.com.au>). This contribution allows the Library to maintain its holdings (including a large number of journals), and the collection continues to provide an invaluable resource for those undertaking research in strategic or defence-related fields.

From 1 August 2006, the collection will be held in Rooms 4006 (journals) and 4008 (monographs

and reference). Anyone interested in conducting serious research on defence and security issues will be welcome to visit the Library after that date between 9.00am and 5.00pm (week days only). Room 4008 has chairs and study desks.

Photocopying is also available for a minimal fee. If you would like to receive a monthly update listing those materials received into the Boeing Library, or if you have another inquiry, email Meredith Thatcher at meredith.thatcher@anu.edu.au.

STAFF PROFILE: *Sarah Flint*

Sarah Flint is the Assistant Administrator at Graduate Studies in Strategy and Defence. Sarah will hold this position until January 2007 when Altaire Harris-Semmens returns from study leave. In 2005 Sarah completed her pass degrees in Asian Studies and Science at ANU. Her Asian Studies majors were Indonesian languages and Asian religions. She undertook a double major in Psychology for her Science degree. Her interests are focused on religion and abnormal child psychology and she plans to combine these two areas when she returns to do honours in psychology next year. Her hope is then to take these interests even further and have them as the basis of her PhD in psychology.



Sarah really enjoys the people and environment at GSSD and SDSC, and feels privileged to be a part of what is happening in these areas. She has been welcomed warmly by all the staff and students.

Sarah is trying to keep alive the fading art of black and white photography and is currently building a darkroom in her garage. She is very grateful to her understanding husband, Matt. Sarah is involved with the music at her church, Kippax Uniting Church, and is a volunteer with the 'caring for carers' and 'mental health awareness' programs through Uniting Care Kippax.

40TH ANNIVERSARY OF THE SDSC

HISTORY AS POLICY

This year marks the 40th anniversary of the SDSC's establishment in 1966. We are marking this milestone with a series of events in the second half of the year, in which we hope both to look back at some of the issues we have engaged with over the past four decades, and forward to the challenges of the future.

Our celebrations will start with a presentation by Professor Wang Gungwu, a former Director of RSPAS and a strong supporter of the SDSC, now Director of the East Asian Institute at NUS in Singapore. He will address a seminar to be held on Tuesday 8 August at ANU, about the key strategic issue of our day, The Rise of China.

Then over August, September and October we will hold three seminars on the theme of History as Policy, in which we will explore what the past has to tell us about today's and tomorrow's policy questions. The three seminars will focus on global, regional and Australian issues. Details are set out below.

Then in November we plan to wrap the celebrations up with a major Dinner—details to follow.

In addition to all this, we will publish a volume of essays in our Canberra Papers series in which past and present heads reflect on the history of SDSC and its future directions.

We hope these events will allow us both to mark a major milestone in the SDSC's history, and set some directions for a bright future.

Global strategic issues

Tuesday 15 August

Hugh White	Predictions and policy
Coral Bell	The evolution of the international system
Robert O'Neill	Changing concepts of the nature of security and the role of armed force
Ron Huisken	Whither the United States?

Regional security issues

Thursday 14 September

Alan Dupont	Transnational security issues
Graeme Dobell	The arc of instability
Greg Fealy	Western counterterrorism in Southeast Asia: Is the 'war of ideas' a fallacy?
Brendan Taylor	Security cooperation in the Asia-Pacific region

Australian strategic and defence issues

Tuesday 10 October

Paul Dibb	Self-reliant DoA—The history of an idea
Mark Thomson	The challenge of coherence: Strategic guidance, force structure and budgets
David Horner	The higher command structure for joint ADF operations
Hugh White	Summing up: Seeing the future in the past

The seminars will take place in the Common Room at University House at the Australian National University from 2.00 pm–6.00 pm. They will be preceded by a light luncheon at University House, beginning at 12.30 pm, and followed by light refreshments from 6.00 pm–7.00 pm.

To register for the seminar series, contact sdsc@anu.edu.au

A NEW FRAMEWORK FOR STRATEGIC DEBATE

BOB BREEN

Australian strategic debate should not just be about a contest of ideas between members of the 'Defence of Australia' and 'expeditionary' schools of thought. Australia's strategic posture has been—and will continue to be—about national, regional and international force projection. Continental defence is irrelevant. Governments will not choose to use Australia's geographical advantage to fight enemy forces in national air space and territorial waters, and from continental beaches. Governments will choose to engage threats further from the homeland, preferably in the company of powerful allies.

The defence of national sovereignty is really about national force projection. The Australian continent is vast and divided into southern and eastern heartlands (where most Australians live) and a remote western and northern crescent hinterland. This hinterland can be likened to a curved archipelago located forward of the heartlands. It is comprised of an island of people and infrastructure in the south-west, near Perth, and isolated pockets of people and economically important resources and infrastructure extending north to another island of people and infrastructure near Darwin, and then east across northern Australia to the Torres Strait Islands. Australian military and political responses during the Second World War show that Australians will defend their national archipelago. Western and northern basing and conduct of major exercises in northern Australia in the latter two decades of the 20th century and into the new century confirms their choice. The strategic preference is to defend continental Australia and its territories through a combination of pre-positioning forces and projecting military force from the heartlands to the hinterland and into the air-sea gap—national force projection.

Australian security and armed forces will not stay at home leaving allies and the UN to face international, intranational and transnational security threats, as well as military and humanitarian emergencies alone. The Australian people and their governments will invariably

choose regional and international force projection over isolationism, though the purpose, composition and duration of overseas operations and campaigns with allies will always be the subject of public debate and differing opinions.

Force projection is a term that appears to have originated in the United States but represents traditional use of military force within or beyond national borders, and territorial waters and air space.¹ Britain and Australia do not have definitions of force projection in their military glossaries.² However, American and British doctrinal publications agree that the projection of military force is a component of national power and, for Britain, one of the instruments of grand strategy.³ However, despite Australia's Defence Department glossary not including a definition, the publication *Joint Warfighting* does include 'Operational level functions' within a Joint Warfighting Framework.⁴ These functions can be adapted to form a framework of 10 enabling functions of force projection.⁵

Enabling Functions and Elements of Force Projection

No.	Enabling Function	Elements
1.	Generic Preparation	Military capability that is made up of force structure, readiness, mobilisation and sustainability.
2.	Command	Command, control, communications and computer systems.
3.	Specific Preparation	Concentration of force elements in mounting or home bases, reconnaissance, reinforcement, training, administration and issue of equipment and stocks.
4.	Deployment	Concentration of personnel and matériel, loading, movement of force elements to area of operations, and best effect arrival and pre-positioning.
5.	Protection	Intelligence, surveillance, contingency rehearsal and rapid response.
6.	Employment	Conduct of operations that may include maintaining deterrent presence, manoeuvre and application of firepower.
7.	Sustainment	Planning and carrying out the movement of supplies and maintenance of forces through a supply chain.
8.	Rotation	Reinforcement, relief, resting, retraining, re-equipping and redeployment of force elements.
9.	Redeployment	Protected movement to specified locations, normally home bases.
10.	Reconstitution	Return to required level of military capability and readiness.

Australia is an island nation that will protect itself and its regional and international interests through military force projection. There will be differences of opinion about purpose, distance, composition and duration of projections, but the ADF must stand ready to project force—often at short notice. The 10 enabling functions and elements of force projection constitute a useful and complementary framework for Australia's strategic debate. This debate is not about whether to spend the Defence budget on defending Australia or defending interests further a field. It is really about how to spend funds more effectively on prompt, strong and smart force projection for strategic effect.

¹ Department of Defense, *Dictionary of Military and Associated Terms*, JP 1-0212, Department of Defense, Washington DC, April 2001. Also DOD Dictionary of Military Terms at <http://www.dtic.mil/doctrine/jel/doddict/> accessed on 9 April 2006.

² Ministry of Defence, *United Kingdom Glossary of Joint and Multinational Terms and Definitions*, Joint Warfare Publication 0-01.1, 4th Edition, The Stationery Office, London,

March 2002 (Restricted). Department of Defence, Chief Information Officer, *The Australian Defence Glossary, The Defence Language Management System*, <http://dlms.dcb.defence.gov.au/> (Restricted), Australian Defence Force, *Glossary*, ADFP 04.1.1, Defence Printing Service, Canberra, 2001 (Restricted).

³ Ministry of Defence, *British Defence Doctrine*, JWP-0-01, 2nd Edition, The Stationery Office, London, 2001, p. 2-4, Ministry of Defence, *Joint Operations*, JWP 3-00, The Stationery Office, London, 2001 and Royal Navy, *British Maritime Doctrine*, Second Edition, BR1806, The Stationery Office, London, 1999. US Department of the Army, *Decisive Force: The Army in the Theater of Operations*, FM 100-7, Headquarters Department of Army, Washington DC, 31 May 1995 and US Department of the Army, *Theater Distribution*, FM 100-10-1, Headquarters Department of Army, Washington DC, 1 October 1999.

⁴ Australian Defence Force, *Joint Warfighting*, Capstone Series, Australian Defence Force Doctrine Publication ADDP-D-4, Defence Publishing Service, Canberra, June 2004, pp. 2-15-2-16, Annex A to Chapter 2.

⁵ There are eight Operational Level Functions. Two of them incorporate Redeployment and Rotation. These two functions are crucial for successful force projection. In order to better represent the generic chronology of force projection as well as the influence of these functions, they have been teased out and added as separate functions.

SOME MANAGEMENT THOUGHTS ON TERRORISM

CLIVE WILLIAMS

I was driving interstate at Easter, listening to the car radio. The speaker was a management guru, who had formerly been a supporter of hierarchical management structures. He was extolling the newly-realised benefits of flat structures. It occurred to me that this was an interesting paradigm for counterterrorism versus terrorism.

A hierarchical (i.e. counterterrorism) organisation is one that is structured in such a way that every entity in the organisation, except one, is subordinated to a single other entity. It is the common mode of organisation among corporations, government and organised religions.

'Hierarchy' originally meant 'rule by priests' and came from the organisation of hierarchical churches such as the Roman Catholic and eastern orthodox churches with their earthly leaders, but with God as the top of the hierarchy.

In such pyramidal structures, those nearest the top have considerable power, and the many

further down towards the base of the pyramid have little. The few near the top, naturally, command high status and great rewards.

If too many graduate to the top levels, as is the case with Defence today, you end up with an organisation that has a diminished capacity for management because of the level of internal competition between high status individuals.

Management is also made more difficult in organisations where there are two classes of managers, e.g. in Defence, with its service personnel and civilians, and in the Australian Federal Police (AFP), with its sworn and non-sworn officers.

Members of hierarchical organisations chiefly communicate with their immediate superior and with their immediate subordinates. Senior managers who have not worked their way up through the pyramid find it difficult to gain respect or credibility.

Hierarchical organisations are obviously very good for those at the top, information flow is tightly controlled, and there is control of all subordinate

activity. They are generally considered to be well suited for complex or large-scale tasks. In government, it is a 'safe' way of structuring an organisation.

Bureaucrats also like hierarchies because they are better able to compete within the bureaucratic jungle against other hierarchical organisations. Ministers like them because they provide one point of policy advice.

However a hierarchy is not good at providing a diverse range of outputs where they rely on individual initiative. In addition, a hierarchy tends to over-complicate its core business to make itself less vulnerable to those who might want to undermine it. Hierarchies are also slow to change, and are destructive of those who work for them. Innovative thinking is discouraged. Hierarchies require lots of resources and are expensive to run.

Public service hierarchies are hampered by jurisdictional disputes with other hierarchies over who should do what and, in the Australian context, by state and national boundaries.

The opposite extreme to the hierarchical structure is of course the 'flat', 'single-level' or 'networked' organisation. Al Qaeda is a good example of such an organisation.

In flat organisations it is much easier for individuals to show initiative and be empowered. But it is harder for those at the top to communicate their orders, or strategic thinking, or to exercise control. Al Qaeda principals, Osama bin Laden and Dr Ayman al-Zawahiri, have offset this problem through the use of videotapes and audiotapes on Al Jazeera, and they encourage ideological dialogue through the Internet. Decision-making on operations is largely through consensus.

Other communication is person-to-person. This can create vulnerabilities for terrorist groups, but is partially offset by the creation of networked cells. Cell leaders communicate with each other, but no one except the cell leader knows who his cell members are.

Because no one is indispensable in a flat structure, it can more readily replace lost personnel.

Costs are held down to what is needed to get the job done. It has been estimated that Al Qaeda's annual budget could be as low as US\$5 million. By contrast, Australia has spent about

A\$5 billion on counterterrorism since 9/11. In other words, we are spending roughly \$1,000 for each \$1 that Al Qaeda spends.

Unfortunately, hierarchies are not well suited to countering networks. You really need a network to fight a network effectively.

The problem faced by both Defence and the AFP is that counterterrorism is only a part of their overall business, so it makes sense to them to have only part of their structures configured to deal with terrorism.

One option is to use disintermediated but well-connected command structures, which is essentially the way our Special Forces operate. But Special Forces, unlike Al Qaeda, are limited in their geographic coverage and, since 9/11, have often been deployed for political rather than strategic or tactical reasons.

One aspect of the AFP's response has been to set up a network of liaison offices overseas to try to get on top of international terrorism. It now has posts in 26 countries.

An approach adopted by some businesses, such as sales-oriented organisations, is to turn the hierarchy pyramid upside down so that the whole organisation is focused on supporting 'front line' elements. This is unlikely to find favour with national security hierarchies because it makes many managers redundant.

The reality is that Al Qaeda and its networked affiliates will continue to retain the initiative, but will in turn lack the resources of a military hierarchy to deliver decisive 'killer blows'.

Ironically, a hierarchy's 'killer blows' are only going to be effective against another hierarchy, which is one reason why the US military is having problems in Iraq.

Given existing organisational realities, there is little prospect of putting Al Qaeda or its affiliates out of business, and our most cost-effective approach will be one of management and containment, relying primarily on network analysis to identify terrorist vulnerabilities as they occur.

On a positive note, despite what some Western governments imply, terrorist attacks are unlikely to affect any States' national security to the point where it cannot absorb them and carry on. Nor are they likely to put any hierarchies out of business!

AUSTRALIAN MEMBER COMMITTEE OF CSCAP (Aus-CSCAP)

Aus-CSCAP held its 24th Meeting on 6-7 March 2006, with sessions on counter-proliferation, the Defence Update, regional military capabilities, China and Japan in the region, state fragility and state failure and avian influenza. Wide-ranging discussions were held on all these issues of importance to regional security.

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.

Finally, the sourcebook on contemporary Islam in Southeast Asia project, which was funded by AusAID, has been 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 and will be a significant contribution to an understanding of the variety and diversity of Islamic voices across Southeast Asia.

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

John Buckley
Aus-CSCAP Executive Director

NEW BOOK ON STRATEGY AND SECURITY

In February Sydney-based publishers Allen and Unwin launched *Strategy and Security in the Asia-Pacific*. This is a brand new book edited by SDSC scholars Robert Ayson and Desmond Ball and featuring specially commissioned chapters by leading strategic studies scholars. Among these, SDSC scholars, visiting fellows and PhD students feature prominently.

This new book is designed to unlock the major strategic themes and security challenges of the early 21st century. It consists of two main parts. First, following Hugh White's introduction and Robert Ayson's guide to leading concepts, the reader is guided through the leading issues and themes facing strategic thinkers in any part of the world including the international system and changing strategic norms (Coral Bell), contemporary military operations (Michael Evans), defence transformation (Alan Stephens and David Connery), terrorism (Clive Williams), weapons of mass destruction (Christian Enemark), transnational security (Alan Dupont), human security and intervention (Ramesh

Thakur), economics and security (Brendan Taylor and Bruce Luckham), and critical approaches to strategy and security (Anthony Burke). The second section focuses on the particular issues and challenges in Asia-Pacific security. These include the US role in the region (Paul Dibb), Northeast Asian security (Ron Huisken), Southeast Asian security (David Wright-Neville), South Asian security (Sandy Gordon), Australasian security (Robert Ayson), South Pacific security (David Hegarty and Anna Powles), and regional security cooperation (Desmond Ball and Brendan Taylor).

Each chapter offers a guide to the leading issues and to further reading of the subject. Designed to be useful for readers new to strategic issues and those with lengthy involvement in the subject, *Strategy and Security in the Asia-Pacific* (ISBN: 1741147980) is available in paperback from Allen and Unwin for A\$49.95. Please visit the Allen and Unwin website at <http://www.allenandunwin.com/>

Robert Ayson and Desmond Ball

GSSD PROGRAM UPDATE

The intake of new students for the GSSD Program in semester one 2006 was the largest and strongest in the program's history. The 40 new students joined 60 continuing students in studying for Masters and Graduate Diploma qualifications. Proceedings began with an orientation for new and existing students, including a well attended information evening which indicated some of the changes to GSSD studies. These included enhancements to the Strategic Studies core course including optional discussion sessions to focus on key themes and items of assessment which were led through the semester by Robert Ayson and Hugh White. Also new is a more detailed marking schedule for feedback on assignments.

Elective course offerings included the new course Defence Budgeting and Economics taught by Mark Thomson, in addition to Transnational Security (Chris Chung), European Security (Matt Sussex), Intelligence and Security (Ross Thomas), a special topic on Terrorism (Clive Williams) and US and East Asian Security taught by Brendan Taylor who in April was appointed Lecturer in the GSSD Program. A new feature of all GSSD courses for 2006 is the requirement for students to preface their essays with a short 'Ministerial Summary' designed to communicate the essay's findings in an accessible, policy-relevant manner. This is in addition to the Ministerial Submissions which students in the core courses are required to write.

A considerable number of students undertook sub-thesis research to complete the premier MA (Strategic Studies) degree. These students attended a sub-thesis workshop arranged by Dr Chung as sub-thesis coordinator and were supervised by a member of the SDSC staff. Under Hugh White's coordination, a series of very successful short courses on strategic policy were offered to graduate trainees in the Australian Department of Defence. In conjunction with the Lowy Institute for International Policy and the Department of Defence,

the GSSD Program arranged a special one-day in-house seminar in January featuring Professor Sir Lawrence Freedman of King's College London.

Students undertaking GSSD studies in the first half of 2006 have come from a range of countries including Australia, Brunei, Canada, Egypt, Fiji, Indonesia, Malaysia, New Zealand, Singapore, Thailand, and the United States. Compared to the second semester of 2005, full-time students rose from about 40% of the total number of students in the program to 50%. International student numbers remained steady at about 13% of the total.

The Program has also been pleased to receive applications for the first T.B. Millar Scholarships, named in honour of the first Head of the SDSC. These offer partial fee scholarships which will cover core course fees and are available to domestic and international full-time students, and will be available from semester two, 2006.

Special events hosted by the Program included an inaugural reconnaissance competition designed to introduce students to the highlights of Canberra as Australia's capital city, a very successful weekend retreat to the ANU's Kioloa property on the New South Wales southern coast, and a career evening which featured the largest number yet of prospective employers of GSSD graduates, organised by Dr Chung.

Academic staff and students on the Program continued to benefit from the excellent work of the GSSD Administrative staff, Ping Yu (as GSSD Administrator) and Sarah Flint (Assistant Administrator). The work of tutors William Choong, Cameron Crouch and Stephan Frühling is much appreciated, as is Meredith Thatcher's assistance to students seeking materials from the SDSC's Boeing Library and the rich array of SDSC seminars that Brendan Taylor convened in the first part of 2006, which attracted many students from GSSD. We look forward to another great semester in the second half of the year.

Dr Robert Ayson
Director of Studies

GRADUANDS: *July 2006*

Forty scholars will graduate from the GSSD Program in July 2006. The SDSC wishes every graduand the best for the future:

MASS: Stjepan Kaleb, Somers Lowe, Leo Yamaguchi, Andrew Harrison, Paul Jarrett, Lara Jeffrey, Matthew Lamb, Guy Roberts, Thomas Sefton, Christopher Taylor, Elizabeth White

MSA: Catriona McFarlane, Owen Thompson, Miranda Darling, Christine Davitt, Peter Emmett, Geoffrey Fewell, David Lazarus, Lynda Stenton, George Tausiria, Mark Briskey, Victor Stuart, Helen Thai, Alexander Thomas, Ta-sheng Kuan, Anne Charlesworth, Mohammad Ali, Maryani Atmosuwarno, Katja Bizilj, Sarah Mackey, Boon-Chew Wee, Sarah Driver

GDSA: Joseph-Pierre Sluzalek, Anthony Robinson

MSA/MDIPL: Abelian Yodha, Nicholas Charpentier, Jonathan Daventry, Anne Davis, Benjamin Tifan

MASS/MDIPL: Robert Law

SEMINARS

During the first half of 2006, the SDSC hosted 16 public seminars featuring prominent speakers from the strategic and security studies communities.

2 February: Assistant Secretary of State John Hillen, US Department of State, 'U.S.-Australia Strategic Relations'

3 February: Professor Paul Dibb, SDSC, 'Australia's Strategic Geography: Does it Matter?'

23 February: Dr Naoki Kamimura, Faculty of International Studies, Hiroshima City University, 'US-Japan Alliance—Leverage or Constraints for Japanese Nuclear Disarmament Policy?'

3 March: Dr Jacinta O'Hagan, Department of International Relations (RSPAS), 'Changing Concepts of the West in the 21st Century'

17 March: Dr Ellen Frost, Institute for International Economics, Washington DC, 'Key Challenges for US Foreign Policy in Asia'

29 March: Professor Ross Terrill, Fairbank Center for East Asian Research, Harvard University, 'The ANZUS Alliance—Why it is Still Relevant'

6 April: Robert McClelland, MP, Shadow Minister for Defence, 'Minding the Gap—Dilemmas Facing Australia's Air Combat Capability'

7 April: The Hon. Derek Quigley, SDSC, 'Australia-New Zealand Defence Policy—Where to from Here?'

21 April: Mr Christian Enemark, Australian Defence Force Academy, University of New South Wales, 'Non-lethal weapons—Technology, Ethics and Law'

28 April: Admiral Chris Barrie, SDSC, 'The Links between Strategy and Leadership'

5 May: Dr Alan Gropman, National Defense University, Washington DC, 'The United States—Present state of play and challenges for the next round of candidates for the Presidency'

5 May: Dr Chris Chung, SDSC, 'Japan's Maritime Territorial Disputes with China, South Korea and Russia'

19 May: Dr Jian Zhang, Australian Defence Force Academy, University of New South Wales, 'Nationalism and Beijing's Japan policy'

1 June: Admiral Chris Barrie, Professor James Fox and Mr John McFarlane, ANU, 'Crisis in East Timor—Issues and Prospects'

9 June: Dr Mark Thomson, Australian Strategic Policy Institute, 'The 2006-2007 Defence Budget'

15 June: Dr Robert Sutter, School of Foreign Service, Georgetown University, 'China's Rise in Asian and World Affairs'

**part of the Asian Security Seminar Series co-hosted by the ANU's SDSC and the Department of International Relations.*

The contact for the seminar series is **Dr Brendan Taylor**.

Please email brendan.taylor@anu.edu.au if you wish to be notified by email of forthcoming seminars.

SDSC PUBLICATIONS

The SDSC Publications has undergone several changes. Firstly, copies (in pdf format) of all SDSC Working Papers published since 2006 may be downloaded for free from the SDSC website. Secondly, every paper in the Canberra Papers on Strategy and Defence series beginning with CP163 is now peer reviewed and is in a new style. These continue to be available only as a printed paperback.

CP161: *Essays on Australian Defence* by Paul Dibb. This paper is a collection of essays on the Australian debate at various times over the last four years. The Canberra Paper was launched in July (see page 11 of this newsletter).

CP162: *New Depths in Australia-US Relations: The Collins Class Submarine Project*, by Maryanne Kelton analyses the *Collins* Class Submarine Project through its construction and delivery phases, and places these within the context of foreign and defence policy developments.

CP163: *Ethics of War in a Time of Terror* has chapters by A. Bellamy, H. Smith, C. Michaelson, J. Moses, B. He, R. Devetak, and C. Enemark. This collection examines themes including 'lesser evils' and 'dirty hands' in the fight against terrorism, the ethics of intelligence gathering, humanitarian intervention, terrorism and the North-South divide, cultural equality as a response to terrorism, human rights and counterterrorism legislation, and the ethics of defending against 'bioterrorism'.

CP164: *Track 2 Diplomacy in Asia: Australian and New Zealand Engagement*, authored by Brendan Taylor, Anthony Milner and Desmond Ball, documents Australia's and New Zealand's existing Track 2 engagement with Asia. It identifies those Track 2 institutions and networks with an Asian focus that exist in the Asian region with which Australia and New Zealand either are or could be engaging and assesses their relative importance. The paper also suggests how Australia and New Zealand might best strengthen their existing Track 2 engagement with the Asian region. The paper is the outcome of research commissioned by the Asia New Zealand Foundation in late 2004, and involved fieldwork in New Zealand, Australia, China, Indonesia, Singapore and Thailand.

CP165: *'A National Asset': Essays Commemorating the 40th Anniversary of the Strategic and Defence Studies Centre (SDSC)* has chapters by C. Bell, R. O'Neill, D. Ball, P. Dibb, and H. White; together with two republished chapters by T.B. Millar and J.D.B. Miller. This volume is being published to coincide with the 40th anniversary of the SDSC's founding in 1966 and looks back at the strategic debate and security preoccupations in Australia over the past four decades. It also delves into personal recollections of the Centre and its activities during this period. The book is to be published in a larger B5 format and has photographs of those who have worked at, or been associated with, the SDSC over the years. Canberra Paper 165 is to be published in July.

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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>>.

BOOK LAUNCH

Emeritus Professor Paul Dibb's Canberra Paper entitled *Essays on Australian Defence* was launched on Monday 10 July 2006.

The recently-appointed Chancellor of the National Australian University, Dr Allan Hawke, launched the volume following a short address to guests by Professor Hugh White, Head of the Strategic and Defence Studies Centre.

The essays gather together Emeritus Professor Dibb's views on the Australian defence debate since 2001.

According to Dibb, 'Australia's defence policy stands at a crossroads' where 'two schools of thought have emerged'. One of them argues for the development of 'an expeditionary force for distant coalitions', while the other argues that 'the defence of Australia and its vital regional interests should remain the primary drivers of Australia's force structure'. These essays argue in support of the latter proposition, with Emeritus Professor Dibb's final essay being a critique of *Defence Update 2005*.

This volume is extremely timely, as Defence contemplates its future. It is a practical assessment of current and future acquisitions placed within the context of what might be termed 'contending defence theologies'.

The Centre wishes to thank Dr Allan Hawke for his thoughts on the volume and his prescient comments about the current state of, and future course for, Defence.

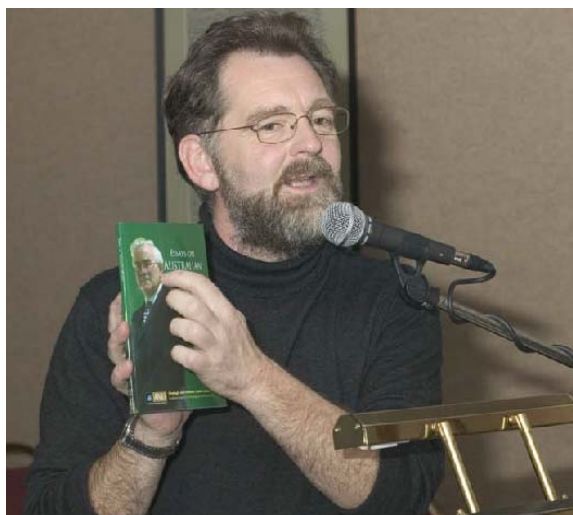
Finally, the Centre is grateful to the staff at University House for making the book launch in their Drawing Room such a memorable event.

Essays on Australian Defence
by Emeritus Professor Paul Dibb

Canberra Papers on Strategy and Defence # 161
Published by the Strategic and Defence Studies
Centre, Australian National University

\$23.00 (+ GST)
ISBN 0 7315 5468 X

(To purchase a copy, refer to the Ordering Information on page 10 of this newsletter.)



Professor Hugh White, Head of the SDSC



Dr Allan Hawke, Chancellor of the ANU



Emeritus Professor Paul Dibb, SDSC

WORK IN PROGRESS

Dr Robert Ayson addressed an ASPI seminar on WMD terrorism held at Parliament House, spoke on ANZUS and regional security to a conference at Dickinson College in Carlisle Pennsylvania, and on security issues to the Australia-New Zealand Leadership Forum in Auckland. In May he gave a Blake Dawson Waldron ANU Lecture on 'Australia's Defence Dilemmas'.

Security and Strategy in the Asia-Pacific, which Dr Ayson co-edited with Professor Desmond Ball, was launched by Allen and Unwin early in the year. In May the Asia:NZ Foundation published Dr Ayson's report into 'New Zealand and East Asia's Security Future'.

Work in progress included a study of the links between complexity theory and Asia-Pacific stability (presented to the ISA convention in San Diego), and book chapters on the nature of war and Australia-NZ alliance relations. Dr Ayson continued to oversee the Graduate Studies in Strategy and Defence Program, teaching the core Strategic Studies course. He will be on study leave from July to December 2006.

Professor Desmond Ball has recently completed a book on the current resurgence of para-militarism in Thailand. It is expected that the book will be published in Bangkok later this year. Professor Ball has continued to be heavily engaged in research projects involving various aspects of security in the Thailand-Burma borderlands, which he visited again in February, February-March and June-July.

Professor Ball's recent publications include *Strategy and Security in the Asia-Pacific*, co-edited with Robert Ayson and published by Allen & Unwin in January. An article on 'Robert O'Neill: A Strategic Career' was published in the *Australian Journal of International Affairs* in March. A *Canberra Paper* co-authored with Brendan Taylor and Anthony Milner on *Track 2 Diplomacy in Asia: Australian and New Zealand Engagement* was published in June. He has also co-edited (with Meredith Thatcher) a volume of essays entitled *A National Asset*, published by SDSC to commemorate the Centre's 40th anniversary. A co-edited book called *Masters of Terror: Indonesia's Military and Violence in East Timor* was published in May by Rowman & Littlefield in the United States. Two book chapters on the Australia-Japan security relationship are currently in press.

Professor Ball attended the CSCAP Steering Committee meeting and the 20th Asia-Pacific Roundtable in Kuala Lumpur on 28 May-1 June.

He is currently working closely with Professor Anthony Milner and the Lowy Institute in Sydney on an ARC Linkage Project on *Languages of Security*, which they began in late 2004.

Dr Bob Breen received the award of Doctor of Philosophy for his thesis, *Australian military force projection in the late 1980s and the 1990s: what happened and why*, on 12 July 2006. He continued working on Volume IV of the Official History of Australian Peacekeeping and Post-Cold War Operations that will cover Australia's participation in peacekeeping operations in the near region. Currently his focus is on Australian participation in peacekeeping operations in the autonomous North Solomons Province of Papua New Guinea (Bougainville). He visited Wellington, New Zealand, at the end of April to peruse New Zealand Defence Force and Ministry of Foreign Affairs and Trade files. On 28 February he delivered a paper, *Australian Force Projection: A Short History of Logistic Problems*, to a conference in Canberra on Combat Service Support for Expeditionary Forces.

Dr Chris Chung has commenced research for an article examining Japan's behaviour towards its maritime territorial disputes with China, South Korea and Russia, and is preparing a book chapter on the implications of non-traditional security threats in Southeast Asia for Australia's security co-operation arrangements. He is also preparing a paper evaluating Australia's maritime security co-operation initiatives in Southeast Asia for a Fulbright Symposium on Maritime Governance and Security.

Emeritus Professor Paul Dibb published three major works: *Essays on Australian Defence* (Canberra Paper 161), 'Is strategic geography relevant to Australia's current defence policy?' (*Australian Journal of International Affairs*, June 2006) and 'A new defence industry development strategy' (in *Aligning Defence Strategy and Industry Capability*, CEDA June 2006). He published newspaper articles on the crisis in East Timor, the future of US power, defence industry policy, and tasks for the new Defence Minister.

Professor Dibb participated in the Defence Minister's 'Defence Industry Policy Roundtable' and attended the Foreign Minister's Foreign Affairs Council meeting. He gave an SDSC seminar about

Australia's strategic geography, a lecture to the Masters program on the sources of US conduct, a talk to the GSSD students at Kioloa about the practice of defence policy, and two speeches to the Defence graduate trainees program on 'Reflections on a career in strategy'. He gave a public speech to the ADM 2006 Conference called 'The implications of the new Defence Capability Plan for industry'.

Professor Horner has continued his work on the Official History of Australian Peacekeeping and Post-Cold War Operations and has drafted chapters on the Australian contingent in Western Sahara in 1991-1993. This involved a considerable number of interviews in Canberra, Sydney and Brisbane. On 9 February he delivered a lecture on the characteristics of Australia command to the Australian Command and Staff College, and on 28 February addressed the USI of NSW on aspects of the official history project. Between 18 and 29 May he visited the United States and Canada where he attended the conference of the Military History Society, interviewed two Canadian generals, and visited the Canadian Directorate of History and Heritage, the US Army Center of Military History and the US Navy Historical Center. He is continuing work on a new edition of his 1989 history of the Royal Australian Regiment.

Dr Ron Huiskens has worked primarily on the issues of US security policy, nuclear non-proliferation, and China's evolving policy settings as it grows in strength and influence. His working paper, *Iraq: Why a strategic blunder looked so attractive*, was published in April, as was a comment presented in a paper to a CSCAP working group dealing with an action plan for non-proliferation in East Asia. He has commenced work on a longer-term project (funded by an ARC Linkage grant) dealing with China. In this connection, he has drafted an assessment of China's long experience as an imperial power.

Dr Brendan Taylor recently completed his term as SDSC post-doctoral fellow and was appointed as Lecturer in the GSSD program. During the first half of 2006 he coordinated a GSSD elective entitled 'The US and East Asian Security'. He continued his work on Asia-Pacific security cooperation, including completion of a co-authored monograph, book chapter and refereed journal article. He was also successful in gaining a contract with RoutledgeCurzon to publish an edited text on Australia's Asia-Pacific

security relationships. This book will be published in 2007 and includes contributions from a number of SDSC staff and other leading Australian commentators. Dr Taylor also recently attended a US Army War College conference in Carlisle, Pennsylvania on the US-Australia alliance and a Tokyo workshop on US military transformation hosted by the Japan Institute of International Affairs.

Professor Hugh White has completed a major paper on Australian defence policy to be published by the Lowy Institute, and is now working on a book to introduce defence policy to a wider Australian audience, to be published by MUP, and on papers on US-China relations, the emerging US-Japan-Australia trilateral security dialogue, and Australia's strategic relationships in the Southwest Pacific. In the second half of 2006 he will teach an elective course on Australian Strategic and Defence Policy in the GSSD Masters program. So far in 2006 he has participated in a conference on the US strategic posture in Asia at the US Naval War College, Newport, RI, and has delivered seminars on defence policy to the Defence Department's Graduate Development Program. Over coming months he will deliver seminars or papers on China's regional diplomacy, US-Australia-China relations, Australia's role in the South Pacific, defence policy as public policy, and some major defence-policy issues.

Visiting Fellows

Dr Coral Bell has spent the past six months on two studies to be published later this year in connection with the 40th anniversary of SDSC. The first, called 'Strategic Debate and Security Preoccupations in Australia', deals with the period before its founding, and some of the outside influences on it. The second, called 'Global Change and Strategic Priorities', deals with the current revolutionary changes in the society of states as it reverts from a unipolar structure to a multipolar one, and the likely implications for strategic priorities. Since completing these studies, she has moved on to writing a chapter for a book being put together by Professor Richard Rosecrance (Harvard) on norms and foreign policy. The chapter is called 'Norms and Power-Concerts'. In between times, Dr Bell has been writing short pieces for *The Diplomat* and *Asia Times*.

In May, **Dr Richard Brabin-Smith** published his paper (Working Paper No. 400) on *Australia's International Defence Relationships with the United States, Indonesia and New Zealand*. Work

continues with Professor Dobb on the larger project of which this working paper is part. Dr Brabin-Smith has written an article for the Committee for the Economic Development of Australia (CEDA) on 'Defence Innovation in Australia', and has addressed management courses of the Defence Science and Technology Organisation (DSTO) on 'The Strategic Context and What it Means for Defence Science'.

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. He is actively involved in the work of the CSCAP Study Group on Peacekeeping, which met in Vancouver, Canada, from 10-12 March. As a member of the Project Monitoring Group of the AFP/AusAID-funded Timor Leste Police Development Project, he visited Timor Leste between 3-12 April. He conducted an intensive course on Transnational Crime for the Masters of Strategic Studies at Victoria University in Wellington between 15-19 May. He also continues to speak at courses conducted by the AFP, ADFA, the ADC, the RAN College and DFAT on transnational crime and related matters, and is writing a chapter on maritime crime for an ASPI project on Maritime Security. He also remains active as a member of the Council of the United Services Institute of the ACT and a Board Member of the Kokoda Foundation.

The Hon. Derek Quigley has been working on two main projects. His paper on trans-Tasman defence includes a history of the relationship since the Canberra Pact in 1944; the impact of each country's main defence reviews since the mid 1980s on policy, priorities and force structure; and ways in which Australia and New Zealand can enhance defence cooperation. His second paper deals with the history of the ANZUS stand-off between the United States and New Zealand over the latter's anti-nuclear policy and will be published as a Canberra Paper later this year.

Dr Alan Stephens completed his book on strategy, which is now with the publishers. He had an article published in *Security Challenges*, and two others reprinted in Sweden and Norway. He gave evidence at the JCFADT hearings into the ADF and regional air superiority; lectured at the ANU, the Australian Defence College, and UNSW@ADFA; was interviewed on several radio programs; and continued to supervise a number of post-graduate

students. He has started preliminary research into a book on the relationship between military planning and strategy.

Mr Clive Williams' main activity during the period has been national security-related conference presentations. These included a keynote address at a conference for regional leaders in Hong Kong, and presentations at a number of similar conferences in Australia. He was also active as the Australian representative to the Council for Asian Terrorism Research (CATR), presenting a paper at its most recent conference in Colombo in April. Other activities have included the usual range of lectures at the Australian Defence College, various police management courses, and running a Masters course *Transnational Crime and Terrorism* with John McFarlane at ADFA. He also presented a paper, to be produced as a journal article, as part of a two-day workshop on terrorism legislation run by the ANU law faculty. In April, he ran his elective *Terrorism Issues* which was part of the GSSD Masters program. In May, he was part of a two-week MIA recovery mission in Vietnam. Other SDSC activities have included lunch and dinner presentations, and specialist workshops and briefings on terrorism and counterterrorism issues.

Mr Derek Woolner has continued his work as co-writer of the history of the Collins submarine program. To date the team has interviewed some 60 people involved over the more-than quarter-century history of the program. Following some delay in administrative procedures, work will soon begin in analysing documentary sources.

In addition, Derek has continued his interest in defence management (particularly that of the procurement process) and following the progress of the conflict in Iraq. He recently completed an article on the contractual management of defence procurement programs with a particular focus on the Air Warfare Destroyer program. This is to be released in a study compiled by the Committee for the Economic Development of Australia (CEDA) to be released in June.

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. He has almost completed his first case study, *National Security Policymaking in a Crisis: The Case of East Timor* and hopes to have this published by mid-2006. This study draws upon nearly 50 interviews with participants and a wide range of published sources. He has recently commenced a research project on behalf of the Kokoda Foundation entitled *National Security Community 2015*. This project asks Government, business and the community how security issues and actors might change in the near future, and what such change could mean for Government. David is also starting a case study on counter-terrorism coordination in Australia that covers the period from 2000 to 2006. His recently-published work includes essays and articles in *Australian National Security Magazine* and the journal *Security Challenges*.

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 continued to work on his thesis entitled 'Managing Strategic Risk: A Theory of Defence Planning'. During the last six months, the journal *Comparative Strategy* accepted his article 'Uncertainty, Forecasting and the Difficulty of Strategy' for publication in its forthcoming issue. He is also working on an article on NATO missile defence as well as a book chapter on Counterproliferation and, together with Robert Wylie, he has taken up the editorship of the Kokoda Foundation's journal *Security Challenges*.

Mr Tamotsu Fukuda has returned to Japan and is finalising his doctorate degree on multilateral security cooperation in East Asia.

Ms Stephanie Koorey continues to research and write her thesis, which now includes interviewing a range of people. She presented a seminar on Armed Groups and Small Arms in Southeast Asia to the Indonesia programme during ANU's Asia Pacific Week 2006. Stephanie

has given a lecture on Small Arms Diffusion to the GSSD students, to the Centre for Defence and Strategic Studies at Weston, and to the University of Melbourne. Stephanie also gave a presentation to the Sporting Shooters Association of Australia in April. In the lecturer's absence, she coordinated the Asian Studies core course on Security and Strategy in the Asia Pacific for a month and completed the ANU's Graduate Information Literacy Programme in May.

Mr Christopher Michaelsen joined the SDSC as a PhD scholar in 2003. His thesis focuses on domestic responses to 9/11 in the United Kingdom, Germany and Australia. In January 2006, Chris took up a position at the OSCE Office for Democratic Institutions and Human Rights in Warsaw, Poland, but continues to work on his PhD on a part-time basis.

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.

Mr Gary Waters contributed a chapter entitled 'The Strategic Value of Information in Effects-Based Operations' to the Kokoda Foundation's *Security Challenges* journal, which was published in April 2006.

Gary presented a progress paper to his supervisory panel (Professors Des Ball, Hugh White and Paul Dibb) and a selection of other faculty members on 13 April 2006. As a result of feedback from that session, the title of the work has changed to focus on the military dimension of information age developments. Accordingly, the title is now 'Network Enabling the ADF for Operations in the Information Age'. The study examines the nature of warfare in the information age, explores 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 are examined, as is the need to protect the information. Based on this work, the study will conclude with the practicalities of networking the ADF.

THE SDSC TEAM (Research Interests)

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*19th and 20th century military history, the
changing nature of warfare—the way that
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*expatriate soldiering, especially mercenaries and
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(Drs Bou, Glozier and Hearder are located at the
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management, military transformation, Asia Pacific
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Mr William Choong, BBA(NUS), MIRAP(Qld)
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Mr David Connery, MIntS(Hons) (Sydney),
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concepts, regional security and capability
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the study of conflict; terrorism

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),
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*international politics, conventional arms control
and disarmament, conflict and post conflict social
issues including landmine victim assistance*

Mr Christopher Michaelsen, LL.M(Qld)
*terrorism, human rights, international law,
disarmament & arms control*
(currently in Poland)

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
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of the information age*

Graduate Studies in Strategy & Defence (Research Interests)

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The SDSC team, May 2006

Back row: Mr Cameron Crouch, Mr David Connery, The Rt. Hon. Derek Quigley, Dr Richard Brabin-Smith, Mr William Choong, Dr Christine Winter, Ms Ping Yu, Dr Ron Huisken, Mrs Sarah Flint, Mr John McFarlane, Dr Matthew Glozier, Dr Rosalind Hearder, Mr Clive Williams, Dr Brendan Taylor, Dr Jean Bou

Front row: Miss Meredith Thatcher, Ms Anne Dowling, Dr Coral Bell, Professor Hugh White (Head of the SDSC), Professor Desmond Ball, Professor David Horner, Dr Robert Ayson, Dr Chris Chung, Dr Bob Breen

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