

NEWSLETTER

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

INTERESTING TIMES

Great Power Strategic Relations in East Asia



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in Strategy and Defence

For the 21st Asia-Pacific Roundtable hosted by ASEAN-ISIS in Malaysia in June 2007 I was asked to speak for eight minutes on relations between the great powers. I provided eight main points on the basis of one observation per minute. They are all trends in the changing global and East Asian power balance which are of interest to Australia, New Zealand, the South Pacific, and Southeast Asia. The central consideration is that those of us living in these less than great powers need to be realistic about how much (or actually how little) influence we can expect to have over the strategic interactions between the big players. My eight points are as follows:

1. **The rise of China is still the big story.** It is the main catalyst for change in the global strategic balance and also in Asia where that global balance is being determined. The necessary economic correction in China may slow its exploding growth rates but the Middle Kingdom will come through these perturbations.

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2. **China's rise is not the only game in town.** India is simultaneously emerging as a great power whose profile globally and in East Asia is on the rise. Japan is adopting a new and more active regional personality and retains much economic weight and strategic potential. The United States remains the pre-eminent global power. It is also a major factor in East Asia, especially to the extent that it can successfully refocus energies dispersed after 9/11.

3. **The future of East Asia depends upon the interaction between the big four: China, India, Japan and the United States.** Few periods of international history can provide us with an understanding of how the simultaneous rise and strength of so many great powers can be successfully managed. Most of the rest of us in the region are essentially spectators in this contest. Each of these four big powers faces potential self-limiting factors. China's balance between economic liberalisation and political control, India's introspective ability to argue itself out of a stronger role, Japan's self-doubts and demographic challenges and America's willingness to bear the costs of global and Asian engagement all need to be watched.

4. **Wild cards can complicate the interaction between the great powers in East Asia.** These may include Korean reunification (de facto and de jure); North Korean nuclear aggression; any serious moves in Taiwan towards independence (which seem frustrated at present); the reassertion of Russian power with teeth as well as the current rhetoric; the collapse and/or radicalisation of Pakistan; and the accelerated nuclearisation of Iran.

5. **Southeast Asia's future role will not be in leading regional cooperative mechanisms to regulate (and restrain) the big four.** Since the mid-1990s ASEAN has sponsored and led a range of cooperative mechanisms designed to engage the great powers. In the future ASEAN will be much more a follower than a leader. The same applies to Australia, New Zealand and the Pacific Island countries. We're all potential venues for this new era of great power competition. We'll not be significant managers of that competition.

6. **Hopes for collaboration between the great powers lie in their capacity for direct cooperation in an Asian concert.** This great power collaboration could serve the interests of ASEAN and Australasia but these smaller powers will be excluded from it. The concert will not depend on formal institutions and architecture (EAS, ASEAN+3, APEC et al) which often have large and memberships and unwieldy processes. It will live in patterns of informal and instinctive collaboration between the big powers.

7. **Successfully addressing the region's major security challenges will be difficult, even if an Asian concert is in place.** Most of these future challenges will centre on North Asia as will the concert itself. The Six Party Talks show us that a degree of collaboration between some of the great powers is possible (especially between China and the United States), even if this process has not resolved the North Korean nuclear crisis. The trick is not to make the Six Party talks a wider formal mechanism for great power collaboration, but to extract the collaboration within the talks and apply it further afield.

8. **An ineffective concert is preferable to a functioning alliance of democracies which could split the region dangerously by excluding China.** Growing security cooperation involving the United States, Japan, India and Australia will intensify strategic competition in Asia if it is not well managed. A surrounded China may respond with a rival grouping of dissatisfied powers, including Russia, Pakistan, Iran and at least North Korea, and a strengthened Shanghai Cooperation Organization. The Asia of 2014 may come to resemble the Europe of 1914. ASEAN countries and Australasia should therefore resist values-based visions of the future security order of Asia. This may be hardest for those of us in liberal democracies.

IS BALLISTIC MISSILE DEFENCE DESTABILISING?

PAUL DIBB

Ballistic missile defence is promising to become a real issue of tension in international security affairs. Both Russia and China have strongly rejected US claims that its ballistic missile defence cooperation with Japan and planned deployment of missiles and early warning radars in Eastern Europe is purely defensive. President Vladimir Putin has bluntly asserted that Russia will target Poland and the Czech Republic. China is concerned that its small nuclear forces could be effectively disarmed. But from the US point of view these sorts of claims—to quote Secretary of State Condoleezza Rice—are utterly ludicrous.

In the Cold War, Washington was keen to stop advances in the Soviet Union's anti-ballistic missile technology. In 1972 it signed the ABM Treaty, which limited Soviet ballistic missile defences to 100 launchers around Moscow. The Soviet Union had the world's only operational ABM system, which consisted of nuclear-armed ground-based missiles designed to intercept warheads in space shortly before they entered the Earth's atmosphere.

The United States unilaterally abrogated the ABM Treaty in December 2001. It now sees the threat as not being from thousands of Soviet nuclear warheads but rather from limited numbers of missiles from rogue states like North Korea and Iran. The focus today is not on President Reagan's unattainable 'Star Wars' aim to have an impermeable umbrella against large-scale nuclear strikes. Instead, the current focus of the US missile defence program is on limited defence of the homeland and on the defence of allies and deployed forces overseas.

A complication, however, is that many of the concepts advanced to address the 'Star Wars' dream continue to receive significant funding for research though, on the whole, not for development and testing. The net effect is that Beijing and Moscow in particular perceive Washington's political assurances on missile defence as far weaker than the barriers once imposed by the ABM Treaty.

There can be no doubt, however, that there are serious concerns in Washington about the proliferation of ballistic missile and nuclear weapon technologies. In our own region, Russia, China,

North Korea, India and Pakistan—as well as the United States—all have these capabilities and there are probably another half dozen countries that could relatively quickly acquire them should they decide to do so. It is, however, not credible to argue that non-state players—such as terrorists—could acquire intercontinental ballistic missiles, nuclear warheads and their associated targeting and command and control arrangements.

A former Australian Chief Defence Scientist, Dr Richard Brabin-Smith, has pointed out the compelling argument is that missile defence raises the entry-level for an already difficult area of endeavour, requiring the resources and commitment over many years that only the major powers can readily command. And Washington can quite readily saturate any country except Russia with overwhelming nuclear force. The problem for the United States, so the argument goes, is that a rogue state will not be deterred from threatening a major US city and, therefore, a limited ballistic missile defence shield is necessary for effective protection.

The technologies involved here are highly sophisticated and have not yet matured. They involve the short-warning tracking and intercepting of missiles and their warheads travelling at extremely high speed. The options are to destroy the missile in its vulnerable launch phase (easier, but you have to get close to the launch site); intercept it in mid-course in space before the warheads separate (harder because of the distances and speed involved); destroy it in its terminal phase as it re-enters the Earth's atmosphere (extremely hard, given the small size of the warheads and re-entry speeds of 30,000 km per hour). Nevertheless, the United States intends to persevere with these challenging technologies and reportedly is having some increasing success.

The central question, however, is whether other countries—and especially major powers such as Russia and China—see this as a cover by impressive US technologies potentially to effectively disarm them. China has relatively modest strategic nuclear forces, which it has steadily built up since its first nuclear explosion in the mid-1960s. Beijing has about 45 intercontinental ballistic missiles and one ballistic

missile firing submarine. According to the Pentagon's latest publication (*Military Power of the People's Republic of China 2007*), China has approximately 20 silo-based, liquid fuelled CSS-4 ICBMs 'which constitute its primary nuclear means of holding continental US targets at risk'. It has another 20 or so liquid fuelled, limited range CSS-3 ICBMs that can target parts of Europe but not the United States. China's sole ballistic missile firing submarine would be highly vulnerable in a crisis to being destroyed.

Until recently, it has probably been the perception in Beijing that its strategic nuclear forces are vulnerable to a disarming first strike from the United States. That fear may well be exacerbated by even limited advances in US ballistic missile defence deployments. The risk here is that China will feel compelled to accelerate its strategic nuclear force modernisation program as a direct result of the US missile defence program. This would be a classic action–reaction arms race escalation, which would in turn provoke India and therefore Pakistan.

But as China's economy is growing so rapidly anyway it has ambitious plans to modernise its strategic nuclear forces. As soon as 2010, China's strategic nuclear forces will include solid-fuelled, road-mobile DF-31A ICBMs capable of targeting all of the United States and a new generation of submarine launched ballistic missiles and SSBN submarines, which will give China a more survivable and flexible nuclear force. It will inevitably develop multiple, independently targeted missile warheads with decoys. And, as Brabin-Smith has pointed out, if China wants to become a serious strategic competitor to the United States it would expect to develop nuclear forces in large numbers (several hundreds) at high levels of sophistication, irrespective of the modest level of threat that US missile defences will be capable of countering. But there may be a dangerous period of transition between a perception of vulnerability in Beijing now and some future position of acquiring an invulnerable second-strike capability.

In all of this, it is important not to be led astray by Beijing's propaganda with regard to Japan and Taiwan. The simple fact is that Japan has no nuclear forces and it is well-known that China already targets Japan with a force of up to 50 CSS-5 road-mobile, solid fuelled medium-range ballistic missiles, which are specifically designed for regional missions. Japan's plans to build up a limited ballistic missile defence capability would not be remotely capable of handling such an attack.

As for Taiwan, according to the Pentagon, China has deployed some 900 mobile CSS-6 and CSS-7 short-range ballistic missiles to garrisons opposite Taiwan, expanding at a rate of more than 100 missiles per year and with improved range and accuracy. It is obviously a complete fallacy to conjure up the spectre of any ballistic missile defence shield capable of effectively disarming 1,000 incoming ballistic missiles, irrespective of what foreseeable advances are foreseen in ballistic missile defence technologies.

The issue of Russia's bloody-minded threat to target with its nuclear forces any European country that is host to ballistic missile interceptors or early warning radars is a different order of magnitude altogether. At first blush, it is difficult to understand Moscow's problem. Although Russia's strategic nuclear forces are considerably degraded from the height of Soviet military power, they are still the only force in the world capable of destroying the United States. Russia still has some 506 ICBMs, 186 of which have between six and 10 multiple warheads per missile. It also still has 15 ballistic missile fired submarines with between 16 and 20 intercontinental ballistic missiles each. It is currently flight testing a new inter-continental ballistic missile, the *Topol M*, with what Vladimir Putin boasts as having a hypervelocity warhead—presumably capable of conducting high-speed manoeuvres and angles of attack to defeat US ballistic missile defences. In October 2006, Moscow also carried out a successful underwater firing of the new *Bulava* submarine launched ballistic missile which will equip two new *Typhoon*-class submarines that are expected to enter service by 2009.

Although it is true that Moscow's early warning detection of an enemy's nuclear launch has been seriously degraded with a limited number of serviceable satellites now remaining operational, the fact is that Russia is still probably capable of absorbing a US first strike and retaliating in a devastating way. Certainly, that is the risk to its national survival that the United States faces.

So what is the problem? In my view, it is not so much the alleged threat from US ballistic missile defence systems as Moscow's anger at the loss of its national power with the collapse of the former Soviet Union and its perception now of NATO encirclement. There are deep-seated Russian historical paranoidias at work here that we ignore at our peril, given Russia's growing economic strength and confidence. This is not to argue that the United States or Europe should succumb to naked threats from Moscow. But it is playing with fire to position NATO forces and US bases on the very borders of a Russia that has contracted to its smallest geographic extent since the time of Catherine the Great in the 1700s.

The *Economist* argues with some force that the Kremlin needs to be told that it does not have an automatic veto in global diplomacy, even in its old sphere of influence. That is true and Europe should not succumb to Russian bullying, which we have seen nakedly at work recently in Estonia, Georgia and Ukraine. Even so, the question needs to be asked of just how Washington would respond if Russia were to deploy ballistic missile defences in the US sphere of influence in the Western Hemisphere?

Vladimir Putin's counter-offer to President Bush is quite smart: instead of Poland and the Czech Republic, he proposes placing the proposed US missile defence interceptors in Azerbaijan. Russia already has a very large (16-storey high) and power ballistic missile early-warning radar in northern Azerbaijan at Gabala (Qabala) facing south towards the Middle East and the Indian Ocean. Azerbaijan

shares a common border with Iran and is much closer to any Iranian ballistic missile launch sites (the Gabala site is only 700km from Tehran, whereas Poland and the Czech Republic are more than 3,000 km away). Azerbaijan, of course, is a former Soviet republic and comes under the definition of what Moscow terms 'the near abroad'.

The real mistake by the United States in all this was not to offer at the outset to cooperate with Russia and China in the development and transfer of ballistic missile defence technologies, although it claims it offered to share information with Russia 15 years ago. It would thus have been seen as not attempting to gain a one-sided advantage. But even if such an offer were to be belatedly made, now the suspicion has to be in Moscow and Beijing that the transfer of certain technologies would be withheld by Washington, thus assuring it of strategic nuclear dominance.

AUSTRALIAN MEMBER COMMITTEE OF CSCAP (Aus-CSCAP)

The past six months have been busy for Aus-CSCAP. On 28 February and 1 March 2007, the member committee held its 26th meeting at the Shine Dome in Canberra. The primary theme of this meeting was the nexus between security and climate change. The attendees were fortunate to hear a range of leading speakers discuss this topic, including Professor Alan Dupont (the strategic implications of, and approaches to resolving, climate change); Brendan Pearson from the Department of Foreign Affairs and Trade and Greg Picker from the Department of Environment and Heritage (the Australian Government's perspective of the security implications of climate change); and Andrew Millar from the Foreign and Commonwealth Office, United Kingdom (a British and European view of the issue). In addition to climate change, the meeting also heard from Professor William Tow and Dr Ron Huisken (the Iraq War and its impact on American security policy); Matthew Allen (recent developments in the Solomon Islands); and Professor Des Ball, who gave an engaging presentation on China's anti-satellite capability.

Aus-CSCAP has also been active in CSCAP's various Study Groups. Specifically, Dr Marianne Hanson and Dr Ron Huisken travelled to San Francisco and Da Nang, respectively, to contribute to the WMD Study Group; Andrew Forbes attended the newly-formed Study Group on Energy Security in Singapore in April 2007; and Matthew Allen and Dr David Hegarty represented Aus-CSCAP at the Study Group on Oceania in Wellington in April 2007.

Finally, a number of Aus-CSCAP members were involved in the last two CSCAP Steering Committee Meetings. The first of these was held in Wellington on 13 December 2006, while the second was held in Kuala Lumpur on 4 June 2007. The primary consequence of these meetings was the decision to establish an annual CSCAP publication. Titled *CSCAP Regional Security Outlook*, this journal will provide analysis of regional issues relating to security and security cooperation. The first issue is expected to be published in late 2007.

Aus-CSCAP's next meeting will be held in mid-August 2007.

Mr John Buckley
Aus-CSCAP Executive Director

THE BOEING LIBRARY

Boeing Australia Ltd continues to fund the Boeing Library (<http://www.boeing.com.au>) and this contribution allows the SDSC to maintain the Boeing Library's holdings. Its journal collection, in particular, is extensive.

Located in Room 4008, the entire collection continues to provide an invaluable resource for those undertaking research in strategic or defence-related fields.

The library is open to academics, students, other researchers and the public. Photocopying is available for a minimal fee.

Anyone interested in conducting research on defence and security issues should contact Meredith Thatcher (+61 2 6125 9931) or by email (meredith.thatcher@anu.edu.au) between 9.00am and 4.00pm (Monday to Friday).

SEMINARS

The SDSC hosted a mixture of public and 'in-house' seminars during the first half of 2007. Speakers included Bruce Hoffman (Georgetown University), Mark Lowenthal (Intelligence and Security Academy, LLC), Michael Green (CSIS, Washington DC), Alan Gropman (National Defense University, Washington DC), Paul Dibb (SDSC), and Clive Williams (SDSC). Seminar topics were wide-ranging, including 'A Resurgent Russia', 'The War on Terror after Iraq', and 'The Mumbai Terrorist bombings in context'.

The SDSC also co-hosted 2 seminars—one led by Professor Robert O'Neill and the other by a panel of visiting American experts addressing US-Australia alliance issues—with the Department of International Relations as part of the Asian Security seminar series. The next SDSC seminar is scheduled for Tuesday 31 July, when Dr Norman Friedman will discuss 'The Utility of Navies'. This seminar will be held in Seminar Room A (Coombs Building) from 2.00–3.30pm. The contact is **Dr Brendan Taylor**. Please email brendan.taylor@anu.edu.au if you wish to be notified by email of forthcoming seminars.

GRADUANDS: *June 2007*



Nineteen scholars graduated from the GSSD Program in June 2007. The SDSC wishes every graduand the best for the future.

Master of Arts (Strategic Studies) with honours

Chris Botha, Andrew Carr, Terdsak Dumkhum, Guy Roberts, Peita Spence, David Wain

Master of Strategic Affairs

Susan Bodell, Matthew Brennan, Larissa Briedis, Nicklaus Browne, Duncan Hayward, Kai Ianssen, Kelvin Jones, Robert Little, Janette Morgan, Sanaila Naqali, Janette Padasian, Tamara Spigelman

Master of Diplomacy/Master of Strategic Affairs

Erlina Widyaningsih

GSSD PROGRAM UPDATE

The first semester of the sixth year of GSSD's teaching program witnessed the successful introduction of the changes and enhancements signalled at the end of 2006. These have included:

- A new course on Pacific Security taught by Elsin Wainwright
- A renewed course on Intelligence and Security taught by Andrew Davies
- A more focused structure to the core Strategic Studies course with tutorials taught by GSSD/SDSC academic staff
- The adjustment to 40% weighting for exams
- The introduction of additional pieces of marked work for sub-thesis students
- The introduction of WebCT for selected courses and free electronic reading bricks

These changes would not have been possible without the hard work of the GSSD staff. Particular thanks goes to Brendan Taylor for his tireless efforts in coordinating the sub-thesis component of the program and in taking on so much of the pastoral care and academic advice to students. It also goes to Sarah Flint for her leading role in expanding the services we offer students and the preparation of the new GSSD website.

At the end of the semester the GSSD Program bade farewell to two of its essential administrative staff members. Altaire Harris, who had not one but two invaluable stints as Assistant Administrator, is leaving Australia to complete her university studies in Norway. And Ping Yu, who has been our exceptional Administrator, has taken a six month secondment with the ANU's College of Asia and the Pacific. We're extremely grateful for their contributions to the Program and to Sarah Flint who has been able to take over as Acting Administrator while new people have been found for the GSSD team. On that note we're delighted to advise that Angela Short has been appointed on secondment as Administrator and that Hannah Taarnby has been appointed as Assistant Administrator. Sarah Flint will become the GSSD Program's Projects Officer.

The addition of Elsin Wainwright and Andrew Davies to the GSSD teaching team, working alongside Mark Thomson, Brendan Taylor and Robert Ayson as course coordinators in the first semester has allowed us to offer a particularly strong and fresh array of strategic studies courses in semester one. In semester two we look forward to Mark Thomson's new Strategic Crises course and to welcoming Evelyn Goh from Oxford to teach the Transnational Security course on an intensive basis. They will be joined by Hugh White (Australian Strategic and Defence Policy), Ron Huisken (China's Strategy), David Wright-Neville (Terrorism and Identity), and Brendan Taylor (the Asia-Pacific Security core course). We're also thrilled to welcome Stephan Frühling, who has joined us as GSSD Lecturer and in the coming semester will be coordinating a short course on Nuclear Weapons issues.

We've had the benefit of the wider SDSC community and colleagues from further afield in delivering guest presentations to our students. Thanks go out to Paul Dibb, Desmond Ball, Hugh White, Chris Reus-Smit, Coral Bell, Bill Tow, Chris Barrie, Ron Huisken, Christian Enemark, Stephan Frühling, Rod Barton, Mary-Louise O'Callaghan, and Bina D'Costa. And special thanks to Chris Barrie for leading an excellent wargame to finish the Strategic Studies core course.

In addition to the normal teaching of the GSSD Program, Hugh White has provided short courses on strategy to the Department of Defence's graduate program and a new advanced course to mid-level officials. We thank Hugh for this very significant undertaking and contribution to GSSD's wider efforts and revenues. We're also grateful to the many GSSD/SDSC staff members who have contributed to undergraduate teaching in the Faculty of Asian Studies Strategy and Security program.

Finally we have enjoyed teaching such a gifted group of students in semester one and in spending time with them at the Kioloa coastal retreat and at our end of year cocktail evening. Congratulations once again to our T.B. Millar Scholars Vasileios Kappis and Raoul Heinrichs and to all our students graduating in July.

Dr Robert Ayson
Director of Studies

PUBLICATIONS

Early 2007 saw a focus on **SDSC Working Papers**. Papers published between May 2003 and June 2007 can be downloaded from http://rspas.anu.edu.au/sdsc/working_papers.php (WPs 382 and 388 are only available in print).

Recent working papers are:

WP404: *Dien Bien Phu, and the Defence of Australia* by Alan Stephens (26 pages)

In May 1954 Vietnamese nationalists defeated a French expeditionary force at the remote outpost of Dien Bien Phu. Although the fall of Dien Bien Phu occurred more than half a century ago, the battle continues to present a compelling metaphor for contemporary Australian military strategy. This paper contends that at a time when the West's strategic preferences are being severely challenged, if not confounded, by militarily inferior groups, a number of fashionable concepts which claim to reveal a way forward and which invariably imply the need for expeditionary campaigns have not been adequately tested. These concepts are war amongst the people; complex and adaptive (that is, close-up) warfare; and the so-called three-block war.

WP403: *The Domain in which we Dwell: The Foundations, Form and Future of Land Warfare* by Craig Stockings (33 pages)

This paper sets out to explore the central themes and key contemporary aspects of 'conventional' land warfare, such as its timeless characteristics, basic principles, taxonomy and conduct. Within an exploration of the 'conduct' of land warfare, concepts of 'manoeuvre theory', the types of land-based operations, combined arms/joint effects, modern influences, the 'battlespace' of the 21st century and future directions are investigated.

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

WP402: *The Defence Diarchy: A Case Study on its Abolition in New Zealand* by Derek Quigley (21 pages)

In 1990, the Lange Labour Government in New Zealand adopted the recommendation of the Strategos Resource Management of Defence (the Strategos Review) chaired by the author, and split the then Ministry of Defence into two separate legal entities. This resulted, amongst other things, in the end of the twinning of the civilian and military responsibilities in the former structure, or diarchy as it is more commonly called. This working paper is an adaptation of the author's presentation to the Proust Committee on 1 November 2006 on the abolition of the defence diarchy in New Zealand in 1990 and the advantages and disadvantages of that decision.

Canberra Papers to be published before the end of 2007 include:

- ***History as Policy: Framing the debate on the future of Australia's defence Policy***, a volume arising from the 2006 SDSC 40th anniversary seminar series; and
- ***Struggling for Self-Reliance: Four Case Studies of Australian Regional Force Projection in the late 1980s and the 1990s*** by Dr Bob Breen, Research Fellow at the SDSC.

One major book will be ***Defence Policy-Making: A Close-Up View, 1950–1980. A Personal Memoir by Sir Arthur Tange***. This is an account by Sir Arthur Tange that briefly summarises his career before arriving at Defence and then examines his time spent in that Department. The chapters focus on such items as the various Defence Reviews; the abolition of the Service Boards and the implications of that and other restructuring efforts; and obligations concerning ANZUS, including the joint US-Australian Defence Facilities. He also writes of his earlier time spent in India and of his 'refuge in the mountains' in later years. As befits a memoir, the volume is replete with anecdotes and offers a glimpse into how Tange perceived his relationships with figures both within government and beyond. The book is **edited by Peter Edwards**, author of *Arthur Tange: Last of the Mandarins*, Allen & Unwin, Crows Nest, NSW, 2006.

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WORK IN PROGRESS

Dr Robert Ayson has continued to direct the Graduate Studies in Strategy and Defence (Masters) Program and coordinated the core Strategic Studies course as well as his elective course on Strategic Concepts. He contributed lectures to strategy and security courses in the ANU's Faculty of Asian Studies and for the Asia-Pacific College of Diplomacy. He presented papers on stabilisation operations at the International Studies Association conference in Chicago and subsequently to the New Zealand Institute of International Affairs in Wellington, and on the Six Party talks to a workshop in Beijing hosted by the China Centre for International and Strategic Studies. He spoke on great power relations in Asia to the Asia-Pacific Roundtable in Kuala Lumpur, a subject he had also addressed at Victoria University of Wellington during his earlier visit to New Zealand.

Dr Ayson's publications in the first half of 2007 comprised a study of Australia's arc of instability thinking (in the *Australian Journal of International Affairs*) and book chapters on New Zealand's defence policy since 1990 and the role of the Australian-US alliance in Asian security. He has also continued to contribute to a planned ARC grant proposal on Australia's

Nuclear Futures with scholars from other Australian institutions.

Professor Desmond Ball's most important recent publication, co-authored with David Scott Mathieson, was *Militia Redux: Or Sor and the Resurgence of Paramilitarism in Thailand*, published by White Lotus in Bangkok in April. This is a comprehensive critique of Thailand's internal security and counter-insurgency arrangements, in which paramilitary organisations are a central feature, with special reference to the Thai-Burma borderlands and the troubled South. Professor Ball is currently completing a book, co-authored with Cliff Lord and Meredith Thatcher, on New Zealand's signals intelligence (SIGINT) activities during the Second World War.

Dr Bob Breen has continued researching and writing Volume IV of the Official History of Australian Peacekeeping and post-Cold War Operations that covers Australian peacekeeping operations in the South Pacific. He delivered a presentation on Australia's participation in regional peacekeeping to a seminar conducted by the United Nations-Australia Association. He finalised and submitted a manuscript for publication on Australian battalion group operations in East Timor in 2000. He has begun

working on his next publication, which will be an analysis of the operational environment of junior leaders and small teams in emergency situations on Australian peace enforcement operations. The focus will be on urban and countryside operations in Somalia in 1993 and urban and border operations in East Timor in 1999–2000. The aim is to use selected case studies of emergency situations that required split-second decision-making to better understand the pressures on 'strategic' corporals and their subordinates and the decision-making challenges they have had under rules of engagement during contemporary peace enforcement operations. He is also editing a manuscript 'Running the Iraq War: An Inside View'. In the coming months Dr Breen will also prepare a paper for a conference commemorating the 60th Anniversary of Australian Peacekeeping that is scheduled for 13–14 September at the Australian War Memorial.

Professor Paul Dibb attended a meeting of the ASEAN Regional Forum Experts and Eminent Persons group in Manila in February, which focused on the topic of Northeast Asia's security. He was sponsored by the Department of Foreign Affairs and presented a paper on the relationship between non-traditional and traditional forms of security.

He has completed a chapter for the SDSC's 40th anniversary book on the subject of 'The Defence of Australia: the History of an Idea'. He is currently collaborating with Dr Richard Brabin-Smith to write an article about 'Indonesia in Past and Future Australian Defence Planning' for the journal *Security Challenges*.

Professor Dibb chaired a conference in February on challenges of force structure and defence procurement; it included presentations by the Minister for Defence, the three Service Chiefs, and the CEO of the Defence Materiel Organisation. He gave lectures to the Department of Foreign Affairs, Defence Graduate Trainees, the GSSD program, the undergraduate Asian security class, and the Asialink Leaders Program. In April he gave an SDSC seminar on the question of 'A Resurgent Russia?', which was based on the articles he published in *The American Interest* in December 2006 and in *The Diplomat* in March 2007.

He has published newspaper articles on the United States and Iraq, existential threats to global security, the Joint Declaration on Security Cooperation between Australia and Japan, the Defence Management Review, Defence's planning processes, and on the air-warfare destroyers.

He attended meetings of the Defence Minister's Defence and National Security Advisory Council and the Foreign Minister's Foreign Affairs Council.

Professor David Horner has continued his work as General Editor of the Official History of Australian Peacekeeping and post-Cold War Operations, and in the past six months he has completed the drafting of chapters on Australia's role in the First Gulf War. In February the government agreed to expand the history from four to five volumes to allow a volume of overseas humanitarian operations, and work on this volume will begin later in the year. He has also been planning a conference, to be held on 13 and 14 September, to mark the 60th anniversary of Australian peacekeeping. The conference will be held at the Australian War Memorial.

In February and June Professor Horner delivered lectures on the Australian approach to command at the Australian Command and Staff College and the Australian Centre for Defence and Strategic Studies.

The new edition of his history of the Royal Australian Regiment, jointly edited with Dr Jean Bou, is now with the publishers.

Dr Ron Huisken prepared conference papers on the intersection of major power interests in Southeast Asia, the outlook for America's security engagement in East Asia, and on rebuilding the coherence of the nuclear non-proliferation regime. He is engaged in editing the proceedings of the SDSC's History as Policy seminar series, and of a workshop conducted in Beijing in March 2007 on the security architecture in East Asia. He also completed an introductory monograph on China entitled *The World's Oldest and Newest Major Power*.

Dr Brendan Taylor completed his edited volume *Australia as an Asia-Pacific Regional Power: Friendships in Flux?* This volume will be published by Routledge in September 2007 and includes contributions from a number of SDSC academics. He attended two academic conferences in Beijing, China in April. The first of these conferences examined Australian and Chinese perceptions of Asia-Pacific security architecture. The second addressed Australia-China security relations. Dr Taylor also co-authored (with Professor Bill Tow of the ANU's Department of International Relations) a journal-length article on the subject of Asia-Pacific security architecture which has been submitted for review to a major International Relations journal. He authored two smaller pieces on the North Korean nuclear crisis and the Australia-Japan security declaration respectively.

Finally, Dr Taylor taught an elective on 'The US and East Asian security' in the GSSD program.

Professor Hugh White has been working to finish a book on Australia defence policy, and preparing papers on the future strategic balance between the United States and China, the implications of increased consular workloads for Australian diplomacy, and on the development of a National Security Strategy for Australia. Over the next few months, in addition to teaching a Masters elective on Australian strategic and defence policy, he will present papers at conferences on the causes of the Iraq war, the implications of the war for international affairs, the role of the ADF in Australia's immediate neighbourhood, and the future of US-China relations, as well as deliver a paper on intelligence warning and failure at the IISS annual conference in Geneva.

Visiting Fellows

Dr Coral Bell is engaged in two studies at present. The first is a monograph entitled 'The Next Landscape World Politics: The End of the Vasco da Gama Era'. It is a study of the changes in the structure and norms of the society of states as a consequence of the emergence of the three great non-Western civilisations (Chinese, Indian and Islamic) to new positions of power in the international system. It should be published later this year.

The second study is entitled 'Remembering Hedley'. It is intended to be published at the time of the official opening of the new *Hedley Bull Centre of World Politics* currently being constructed at the ANU. He was an Australian, and a Professor of International Relations at Oxford at the time of his death more than twenty years ago, who is widely regarded as Australia's most notable contributor to the theory of the subject. The book is intended for visitors and students who may be visiting the Centre or may have become interested in his work. It will contain essays by many scholars analysing his contributions to the field, as well as some of his own writings, and memories of colleagues and friends.

Dr Bell has also been engaged in lecturing to various graduate student groups and at the Australian Defence College, and in writing short analyses for some on-line and printed publications.

Dr Richard Brabin-Smith gave a brief paper to the annual symposium of the Australian Defence Magazine on *Technology and the Australian Defence Force*, in which he speculated on the ADF's access to advanced technology in the period 2017–27. An edited version of this presentation is on the SDSC's website. He commenced an examination of official papers relevant to the development of Australian strategic and defence policy, written in 1976 and released under the Archives Act. As joint author with Professor Dibb, he is at the early stages of writing a paper for the Kokoda Foundation on the defence relationship between Australia and Indonesia.

The Hon. Derek Quigley has recently published his first book 'The War Against Defence Restructuring'. This is a case study on the changes to the current structure of New Zealand Defence. In March 2007 he published an SDSC Working Paper on the abolition of the defence diarchy in New Zealand. He is currently completing a book on the 'Politics of ANZUS' and doing research for a further book titled 'Beyond the Three Block War'.

Dr Alan Stephens completed a chapter for the book *On New War* to be published by the Norwegian War College; and wrote book reviews for *Global Change, Peace and Security*, and for the *Canberra Historical Journal*. Oxford University Press released a soft-cover edition of his *Centenary History of the Royal Australian Air Force*, originally published in 2000.

He lectured at the Australian Defence College, UNSW@ADFA, and the Office of National Assessments, and participated in workshops convened by the Kokoda Foundation. In February he made an extensive study tour of battlefields in Vietnam, most notably the old Road 1 between Hue and Quang-Tri (Bernard Fall's 'Street without Joy'), Khe Sanh, and Dien Bien Phu. He continues to supervise a number of doctoral students at ANU and UNSW@ADFA.

Mr Clive Williams' main activity during the period was national security-related conference presentations, both in Australia and overseas. In March, he attended the Council for Asian Terrorism Research (CATR) meeting in Manila and presented on counterterrorism developments in Australia. In May he presented at a 'Faces of Terrorism' conference in Liverpool, UK, where he gave a paper on the psychological and sociological aspects of terrorism in Australia. The same month, he presented at a Foreign & Commonwealth Office Wilton Park 'CBRN Terrorism: Mapping the Threat' conference on CBRN threat patterns and actors. He wrote two

journal articles during the period, one on the law in Australia related to terrorism, and one on psychological vectors for terrorist motivation. He also ran a 'Terrorism/Counterterrorism Policy & Law' Masters course at the University of Sydney. In June, he was part of a successful MIA recovery mission in Vietnam. Other SDSC activities included Opinion pieces in leading newspapers, and specialist workshops and briefings for government on terrorism and counterterrorism issues.

Mr Derek Woolner has continued work on the official history of Australia's Collins class submarines. This is being co-authored with Peter Yule, a well known corporate historian connected to Melbourne University. After interviewing well over 150 individuals and reading major documents in Defence's submarine project archives, drafting is complete. The manuscript will be presented to the publisher, Cambridge University Press, on 3 August and will be available in April or May 2008.

PhD Scholars

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

Mr David Brewster recently joined the SDSC as a doctoral scholar after practising as an international corporate lawyer for 18 years in the United States, Europe and Australia. He is researching the role of India as an emerging regional power, with a focus on its relationships with other key regional powers.

Since arriving at ANU in late March **Mr James Bunce** has been working on narrowing a topic for his thesis. So far, he has narrowed it to an examination of the history of Australian use of military capabilities in the South Pacific region, beginning with the early 1960s and the process of decolonisation, and ending with the recent, interventionist stance of the early 2000s. The intention is to help place the contemporary situation in its historical context. Thus he has spent much time reading, about both the field of strategic studies and South Pacific history, with a view to improving both his understanding of the region, and the field of strategy and defence more generally.

Mr William Choong started his PhD study at the SDSC in March 2005. He is researching the future of American nuclear strategy vis-à-vis potential peer competitors like China and delinquent states like North Korea and Iran. He is the co-author of 'Asian Perceptions of Ballistic Missile Defence: Defence Disequilibrium?' published in *Contemporary Southeast Asia* in 2001.

Mr Choong received his Masters in International Relations from the University of Queensland. He is also a correspondent for the *Straits Times* in Singapore, having worked there for eight years covering foreign policy issues such as Iraq, American grand strategy, ballistic missile defence, and the geopolitics of oil.

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

Mr Cameron Crouch joined the SDSC in June 2003 on a Sir Arthur Tange PhD Scholarship award. His central research focus is terrorist group regeneration. He is supervised by the SDSC's Dr Robert Ayson and Professor William Tow from the Department of International Relations. Mr Crouch holds a BA (Hons) and MIRAP from the University of Queensland.

Mr Stephan Frühling submitted his doctoral thesis on Defence Planning Concepts in June 2007, and will commence his position as Lecturer with Graduate Studies in Strategy and Defence at SDSC in July. Over the last year, he has published several articles on NATO and the US missile defence system, and continued to work as Managing Editor of *Security Challenges*.

Mr Tamotsu Fukuda has returned to Japan and is finalising his doctoral thesis entitled 'A Liberal Turn on Illiberal Regionalism: The Influence of State Development in East Asia'. He is also a research assistant at International Christian University in Tokyo. Between January and June 2007, he published an article in the ICU's *Journal of Social Science*. He is supervised by Professor Desmond Ball and Emeritus Professor Paul Dibb of SDSC, and Professor Alan Dupont of the University of Sydney.

Mr Michael Henderson joined the SDSC in July 2006. His PhD research focuses on the Five Power Defence Arrangements and he is supervised by Dr Ron Huisken, Professor Hugh White and Dr Robert Ayson.

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

Miss Amanda Lennon joined the SDSC in March. Still under development, her thesis will explore aspects of military transformation as it is being implemented across the ABCA nations, paying particular attention to the extent to which the transformation approach has impacted their approaches to internal organisation, external relationship management, and capability development.

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

Ms Anna Powles joined the SDSC as a recipient of the Sir Arthur Tange PhD Scholarship in May 2003. Based on extensive field research, her thesis examines the nature

of engagement between peacekeeping forces and local communities in the Solomon Islands and Timor-Leste and seeks to identify why civilian populations are marginalised by external peacekeeping and peacebuilding interventions. She has recently returned from an extended leave of absence during which she served as an advisor to the Timorese Government on issues surrounding internal displacement and community-based approaches to conflict resolution following the April/May 2006 crisis. She is supervised by the SDSC's Dr Robert Ayson and Professor Des Ball, and by Mr Greg Fry of the Department of International Relations at ANU.

Mr Gary Waters has narrowed the focus of his research to concentrate on the military dimension of information age developments. Accordingly, the title is now 'Network Enabling the ADF for Operations in the Information Age'. He plans to complete this work in 2007.

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Mr Michael Henderson, BA(Hons)(Toronto), M.Litt Strategic Studies (Aberdeen, Scotland) *alliances and the security of small states, Australian strategic and defence policy, political and strategic developments in North East Asia, military strategy, Canadian defence*

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*

Miss Amanda Lennon BIC (UNITEC, Auckland), BA(Hons), MA(Hons) (Auckland) *military strategy, defence planning, military concept development, revolutionary theory, unconventional warfare, insurgency, terrorism, organisation theory, network analysis*

Mr Christopher Michaelson, LL.M.(Qld) *terrorism, human rights, international law, disarmament and arms control*

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*

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