



# SDSC NEWSLETTER

STRATEGIC AND DEFENCE STUDIES CENTRE

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## DEFENCE POLICY

DR RON HUISKEN, *The Canberra Times* – 1 November 2002

A NEW DEBATE is brewing on what Australia should declare to be the core missions of the ADF, that is, the missions that seek to provide critical guidance to defence planners on what government expects the ADF to be capable of doing. The articulation of these core missions in defence policy ranks among the most critical responsibilities of government. Although conventional military force will rarely be a good answer to the threat of terrorism, it is appropriate that we deliberate carefully on what recent developments and trends should mean for our defence policy.

For more than a quarter of a century, our defence policy has been captured by the phrase, *the self-reliant defence of Australia*. The force posture that emerged to give effect to this policy emphasised air and maritime capabilities that could make the air-sea gap across the north of Australia extremely inhospitable and a compelling deterrent to the threat or use of conventional military power against us.

This policy was to an important extent the product of reactions both in the US and Australia to the trauma of Vietnam. The US sent clear political signals to its allies and friends in Asia that they should take greater responsibility for their own defence. The reinforcing reaction in Australia was a public (and political) rejection of any defence posture that embodied a strong pre-disposition to fight at great distances from Australia as the (very) junior partner to a powerful ally. Over time, as the Vietnam experience receded into history, our growing self-confidence and maturity as a nation and the increasingly positive transformations under way in South East Asia saw the self-reliant defence of Australia confirmed, publicly and professionally, as a sensible defence posture.

Even so, government formally ended the defence of Australia monopoly on force structure several years ago. *Australia's Strategic Policy*, prepared in 1997 (well before East Timor) officially allowed that, in addition to the defence of Australia, the considerations shaping the ADF should include the capacity to work with allies and friends in the region to address conflicts or contingencies in the Asia Pacific.

This prescription for what should shape the ADF was confirmed in the White Paper *Defence 2000*, but with an important refinement. *Defence 2000* contended plainly that the closer a crisis or problem was to Australia the greater the likelihood that it would be important to our security. Accordingly, the White Paper distinguished (clearly but with some subtlety) between a capacity to operate as part of a 'joint force' to deal with contingencies in the approaches to Australia' and the more familiar concept of 'coalition operations' for more distant contingencies, including in the wider Asia Pacific region. Moreover, it made clear that only the first of these would be admitted, alongside the defence of Australia, as an objective that should influence force structure.

Some interest is now being shown in substantially increasing the weight of this 'expeditionary' capability as a determinant of force structure, that is, to make it more equal (or less subordinate) to the defence of Australia mission. The contention is that the ADF is actually deployed quite regularly to remote locations, and that this is likely to be an enduring phenomenon. In light of this, some feel that defence policy should encompass this phenomenon and encourage the acquisition of the necessary capabilities as a core mission, not a capacity derived from the inherent flexibility of a defence force focussed on other missions.

This is an understandable position but one that we need to think about very carefully, for several reasons. For one, we need to ensure a broad fit between our defence posture and our general status or weight in regional and global terms. We are a middle power that has been performing well but our weight and authority have been declining in relative terms, and will continue to do so.

Related to this is that no imaginable development of the ADF would allow us to provide the predominant or even a major part of a coalition force assembled to deal with a contingency remote from Australia. And the inescapable consequences of being a minor coalition partner are, first,



having little or no role in the decision to use force or in developing the military strategy to be followed and, second, having to accept significantly attenuated command and control of our forces.

Thirdly, the 'expeditionary' capability endorsed by current defence policy will require careful development and presentation as part of a wider posture of engagement with our South East Asian neighbours if it is to be seen as a reassuring commitment to common interests. This will get harder if our ambitions on this front become significantly bigger.

There are values and norms and interests that Australia will, and should, want to uphold and protect, including through the use of force, even when they are threatened in locations

remote from Australia. The ADF will in the future, as in the past, be deployed for such purposes. But to require that the ADF acquire capabilities optimised for this purpose would be a development with significant political, military and financial consequences. There is much to be said, in my view, for continuing to regard such deployments as exceptional, and not the core business of our armed forces.

Our extant defence policy — the defence of Australia and a capacity (yet to be fully developed) to operate jointly with our immediate neighbours to address problems that could develop into a more direct threat to Australia — is already ambitious. Defined in this way, 'our patch' is a pretty big one. Keeping it safe will be a formidable job. Optimising the ADF to help perform this job has a lot going for it. ■

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## ANZUS AND IRAQ

DR RON HUISKEN, *The Canberra Times* – 7 August 2002

ANZUS declares to the world that anyone thinking of threatening either Australia or the United States with military force should reckon on having to deal with both. Obligations between states do not come any more serious than this. They are not entered into lightly, and they must be continually validated to remain credible. This is the essence of alliance management. Each time the core issue arises of shedding blood with the other party, it has to be addressed and answered essentially as if the treaty did not exist.

Alliance management is clearly an elusive skill. All too often, our governments end up conveying the impression domestically as well as internationally that Australia takes the short cut and simply aligns itself with Washington.

It has happened again over Iraq. The Bush administration put Iraq firmly on its agenda of the war on terror in November last year. Most countries were instantly cautious. Al Qaeda was one thing, Iraq something else altogether. In Australia, the issue was left sleeping for 8 months and then abruptly introduced through cryptic but electrifying Ministerial comments on pre-emption being the key lesson of September 11, and on the folly of appeasement. Suddenly, Australia seemed to be ahead of the rest of the world, including much opinion in Washington, and to have all but committed the ADF to such a campaign.

Following its defeat in the Gulf War, Iraq accepted the obligation to eliminate its possession of and capacity to produce any weapons of mass destruction (WMD) — chemical, biological and nuclear — as well as any missile delivery systems with a range in excess of 150 kilometres. Iraq was not a cooperative partner in this process. To the contrary,

it was quite systematically dishonest, deceitful and obfusatory. Despite this, the UN inspection/destruction effort (UNSCOM) found and destroyed a great deal before the operation was suspended in December 1998. But considerable uncertainty remained. Recent unclassified US intelligence reports confirm that Iraq's status with respect to WMD is uncertain and suspicious. On the whole, however, they do not convey the impression that Iraq is about to break out in a major way. The classified versions of these reports would certainly offer more detail but not necessarily greater certainty. There can be little doubt that if the intelligence data supported more alarming assessments, the US would not hesitate to make them public.

It is also important to remember that Iraq is a state. It is a state that supports some terrorist groups, particularly those acting against Israel, but it does not itself think like a terrorist organisation. Saddam's overwhelming priority is to ensure the survival of his regime. Even if he has meaningful WMD capabilities, would he regard a single major strike against the United States, and the certainty of the consequent demise of his regime, as worthwhile? It seems most unlikely. Even less likely is that he would be attracted to diverting WMD to a terrorist group for an attack on the US. The terrorists would get all the 'glory' while Iraq would carry the huge risk that the transfer would be uncovered or simply suspected and provoke determined US military action to eliminate the regime. In this regard, it seems reasonable to assume that Iraq knew more than most about al Qaeda, its aims and the means it was prepared to employ to advance them. But a prolonged and focussed US-led intelligence effort has failed thus far to uncover any meaningful connection.

None of these considerations strengthen the case for pre-emptive action against Iraq, certainly not as a simple extension of the logic that would apply to an al Qaeda cell. It has yet to be established that continuing to contain and deter Iraq without war must now be abandoned as non-viable.

The post-September 11 circumstances have already triggered renewed contacts between Iraq and the UN Security Council regarding Iraq's compliance with existing UN resolutions. There are also grounds for confidence that the Council will now display more resolve and solidarity in turning back any Iraqi attempts to delay or enfeeble the compliance process.

Compared to pre-emptive action, this looks like an untidy and uncertain process. But in the absence of a 'smoking gun' linking Iraq to September 11, a genuinely determined effort must be seen as an unavoidable step in the process. And although many are convinced that it will again prove to be a dead-end, the process must admit the possibility that full and on-going compliance will avert a pre-emptive strike.

On 20 September 2001, President Bush declared war on every terrorist group of global reach. He also insisted that every state had a choice to make: 'either you are with us or you are with the terrorists'. Two months later he extended the objectives of the war beyond international terrorist groups to include Iraq and any other state developing weapons of mass destruction with which to 'terrorise the world'. The President insisted that this had always been his definition of the objectives of the war on terror. That may be so, but no other ally has conceded that international terrorist groups and states like Iraq can be put on the same list of objectives to be checked off before the war is ended. Nor has the US Congress. Australia shouldn't either.

The United States doesn't need to be urged on by anybody to put the use of force against Iraq on the table. We can be confident that the United States will not, in the end, resort to some pretext for an invasion of Iraq. This would likely be, in the words of one American commentary, 'the most momentous use of force by the United States since the Vietnam war', and with costs and risks to match. But we should still bear in mind that Iraq raises special passions in Washington and that President Bush is declaring almost daily that a regime change in Iraq is the 'stated policy' of his administration.

As Foreign Minister Downer has said (*The Australian* 17 July) a credible threat to use force is, in the case of Iraq, an essential stimulant to other solutions. We can't add much to the credibility of the threat to use force. But if the ADF is very likely to be involved in the use of force against Iraq, Australia has a truly vital interest in these other solutions. Mr Downer listed the several things Australia is already doing to counter the Iraqi threat, but they hardly amount to 'exhausting every available avenue'. In particular, Australia could be putting far more resources and energy than now seems to be the case into galvanising the Security Council and the wider UN membership into testing Iraq's interest in a timely and credible demonstration that it is no longer in the WMD business. Australia stuck its neck out in a big way in the past on such issues as the nuclear test ban and seeking election to the Security Council. We have much more at stake in the case of Iraq. ■

# GSSD PROGRAM CONTINUES TO FLOURISH

THE NEW Graduate Studies in Strategy and Defence program completed a successful first year of operation with the November examinations period. Several students have completed the requirements for their coursework-based Master of Strategic Affairs and Graduate Diploma of Strategic Affairs while others will be undertaking sub-thesis research to complete their Master of Arts (Strategic Studies) degrees in early 2003.

With an influx of new students for the second half of the year, there are now approximately 50 graduate students enrolled in the program, many of whom are studying on a part-time basis. Students continue to represent diverse backgrounds and include recent honours graduates, civilian and military employees of government agencies and private sector organisations, journalists, teachers, and academic researchers. A number of them began their GSSD studies at Curtin University of Technology in Perth and will transfer to Canberra to complete their compulsory courses in the first semester of 2003.

Following the successful completion of the two compulsory courses in semester one (Strategic Studies and Key Security Challenges in the Asia-Pacific), students have undertaken elective courses in the second half of the year. Those run in Canberra included:

- Australian Defence and Strategic Planning (Professor Ross Babbage)
- Strategic Planning (Alan Hinge)
- Terrorism and Counter-Terrorism (Clive Williams)
- Intelligence Policy and Management (Dr Paul Monk & Dr Tim van Gelder) in conjunction with the Graduate Program in Public Policy

The first two of these courses were also successfully delivered in Perth to students undertaking their GSSD electives at Curtin University of Technology. The Indian Ocean side of the program, coordinated by Mr Alexey Muraviev, also offered the following four courses:

- Strategic Geography
- Key Security Challenges in the Former Soviet Union
- Key Security Challenges in Europe
- Key Security Challenges in the Indian Ocean and Persian Gulf

Additionally, the Intelligence Policy and Management course was delivered in Taipei to allow Taiwanese students on the GSSD Program, who had spent the first six months of their

studies in Canberra, to complete their elective course requirements.

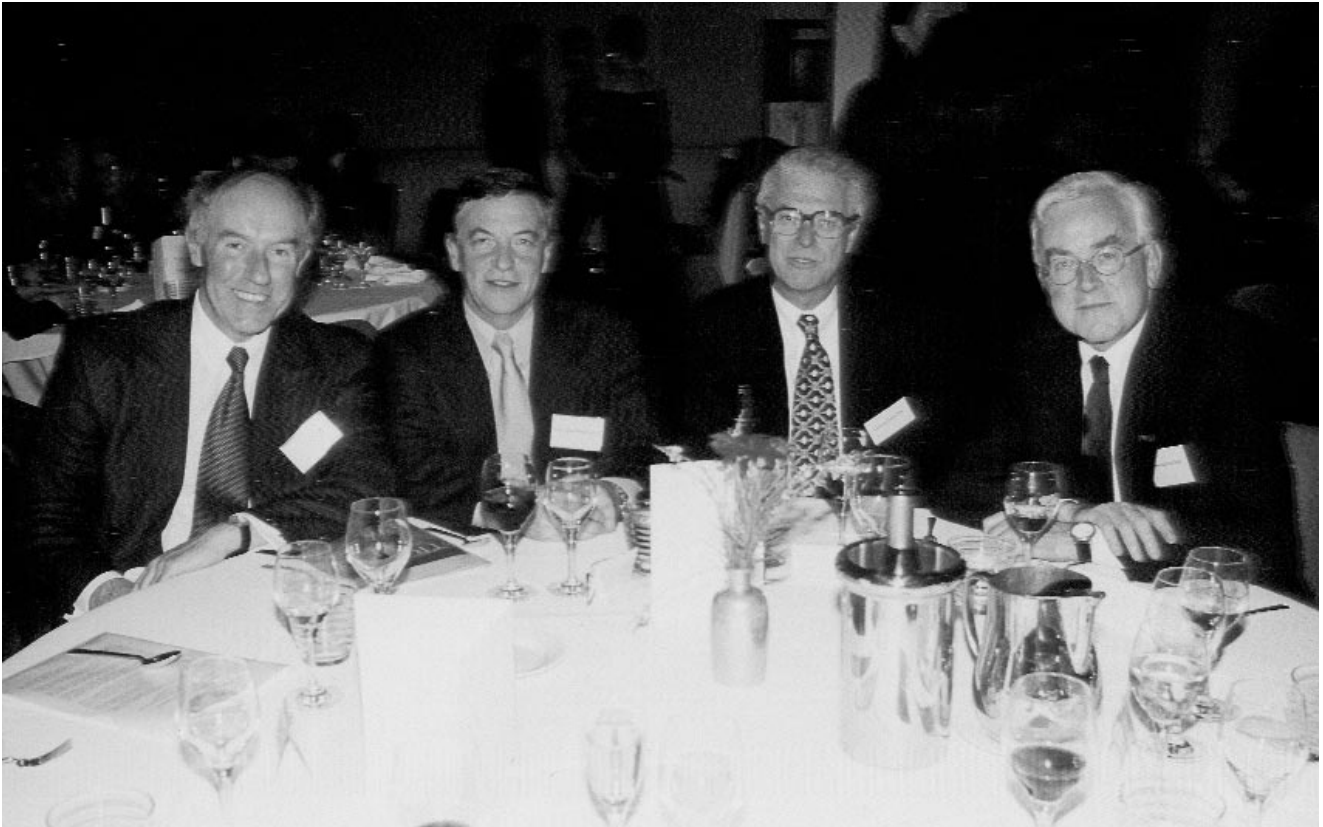
The GSSD Program has put significant energy into making course options as flexible as possible. All of the above elective courses are available either as intensive courses offered over a few days or as evening courses suitable to part-time students who have employment commitments during the day. GSSD courses are available to students enrolled in Masters and Graduate Diplomas as well as in Graduate Course Award format which allows prospective students to enrol in individual courses on a one-off basis, and to credit these later to GSSD qualifications. In November and December the program also delivered short course versions of Clive Williams' Terrorism and Counter-Terrorism course in Canberra and Sydney.

Throughout the year SDSC staff and associates continued to contribute extensively to the courses and other activities run through the GSSD Program. Lectures and other presentations were delivered by Professor Paul Dibb, Professor Desmond Ball, Professor David Horner, Dr Ron Huisken, Dr Alan Dupont, Dr Coral Bell, Mr Clive Williams and Mr John McFarlane, Professor Ross Babbage and Dr Robert Ayson. Important teaching contributions to GSSD courses were also made by Dr Chris Reus-Smit and Mr Greg Fry of the ANU Department of International Relations, and by other members of the ANU staff, and other experts within and beyond Canberra.

SDSC staff also made important contributions to the running of the undergraduate course in Strategy and Security: the Asian Region, managed by Ross Babbage and coordinated by Anna Powles in the Faculty of Asian Studies. As with the GSSD Program, this undergraduate option brings together the best available expertise on the full range of regional strategic and security issues. A number of the students from this very popular and successful undergraduate stream are expected to join the GSSD Program in future years.

## Broader GSSD Activities

To supplement the teaching program, two significant events were organised to allow GSSD and undergraduate course members to interact with leading figures in the wider strategic studies community. In October a formal dinner was held at the Hyatt Hotel in Canberra to celebrate the successful running of both graduate and undergraduate programs. The Australian Minister for Defence, Senator Robert Hill gave the keynote address which dealt with future Asia-Pacific



*GSSD Dinner: from left, Professor Ross Babbage, GSSD Program Manager; Senator Robert Hill, Minister for Defence; Professor James Fox, Director, Research School of Pacific and Asian Studies; Professor Paul Dibb, Head, Strategic and Defence Studies Centre.*

security challenges and paid particular attention to terrorist threats in the region in the wake of the tragic Bali bombings. Representatives from several key defence, intelligence, diplomatic and research organisations were present at the dinner.

No less than eight of these organisations played a central role in the careers evening which took place in November. Designed to provide students with a guide to the work of potential employers in the strategy and security field, the careers evening involved briefings from each organisation and then an opportunity for students to speak with senior representatives on a one-to-one basis.

### **New Developments for 2003: Locations and Course-Options**

The GSSD Program looks forward to an exciting second year of operation in 2003 with new course options and locations for study coming on stream. In addition to the full range of courses listed above, a new elective course, Strategic Concepts, will be introduced in August, coordinated by Robert Ayson. This course will examine a range of strategic concepts and then evaluate their relevance and application in the Asia-Pacific region. In 2003 the first lectures in this new course will be delivered by Professor Lawrence Freedman, of King's College London who will be visiting

Canberra from the United Kingdom. Clive Williams' very popular Terrorism and Counter-Terrorism course will be available in both semesters as an elective course.

Expansion is also occurring in the range of locations at which students may undertake GSSD elective courses. In 2003 at least two new locations in the Asia-Pacific region are likely to come on line. Arrangements are being made which will provide for eventual GSSD course options in other Australian locations, Southeast Asia, North Asia, the United States and Europe. This will allow students to complete half of their coursework requirements close to their home locations and also give options for Canberra-based GSSD students to undertake elective courses at other leading international universities. This supports the program's vision of educating the next generation of strategic thinkers across the Asia-Pacific-Indian Ocean Region and networking the alumni so that they can maintain contact in their subsequent careers.

### **New Staff and Materials**

In November the GSSD Program and the SDSC was pleased to welcome Jo Wilcox who has joined the program as its new Administrator. With a strong private sector and project management background, Jo is an extremely valuable addition to the team. Plans are also underway for GSSD



*Students and guests enjoy the GSSD Dinner*

students to have increased access to tutorial assistance and for the eventual appointment of additional full-time academic staff on the program.

The October dinner saw the launch of a suite of GSSD materials including a new logo, brochures and posters which are being used to give the program wider publicity. All GSSD information, including electronic copies of the Program Guide and the full GSSD Information Kit can be obtained from:

Jo Wilcox  
Administrator  
Graduate Studies in Strategy and Defence  
Strategic and Defence Studies Centre  
The Australian National University,  
Canberra ACT 0200, Australia  
*Tel* +61 2 61259924, *Fax* +61 2 61256642  
*Email* jo.wilcox@anu.edu.au  
<http://rspas.anu.edu.au/gssd/>

For those interested in the undergraduate Strategy and Security option available through the ANU Faculty of Asian Studies, please contact:

Ms Anna Powles  
Strategic and Security Studies  
Centre for Asian Societies & Histories  
Faculty of Asian Studies  
The Australian National University,  
Canberra ACT 0200, Australia  
*Tel* +61 2 61258243  
*Email* Anna.Powles@anu.edu.au

At the time of printing, applications were still being accepted for these programs for first semester study beginning in March 2003. For details on application deadlines and requirements, please visit the GSSD website: <http://rspas.anu.edu.au/gssd/> ■

# WORK IN PROGRESS

**PROFESSOR PAUL DIBB's** major research activity in this period was delivering a report to the Secretary to the Department of Defence analysing Australia's strategic environment and the implications for defence policy and force structure priorities.

On 23 October, Professor Dibb gave the inaugural public speech for the ANU's National Institute for Asia and the Pacific, in the theatre of Parliament House, entitled "Does Asia Matter to Australia's Defence Policy?" His lecture was introduced by former Chief of the Defence Force General John Baker, AC. The speech attracted a great deal of media attention, including headlines in *The Australian* newspaper.

In October, Professor Dibb visited Washington, D.C. where he had discussions with Vice President Dick Cheney, Deputy Secretary of State Rich Armitage and Deputy Secretary of Defence Paul Wolfowitz, as well as other officials in the Pentagon, State Department and intelligence agencies.

Professor Dibb's other activities in this period included:

- attending the Defence and Industry Conference in Canberra;
- contributing to a speech by the Secretary of Defence at the CDF change of command ceremony on 3 July;
- attending a farewell dinner for Admiral Chris Barrie at Government House;
- attending the Fourth Australia–Korea Forum, organised by DFAT in Hobart in July;
- participating in a briefing session with Admiral Tom Fargo, CINCPAC;
- having discussions with the Governor of Indonesia's National Resilience Institute (Lemhannas);
- having discussions with senior visitors from the Thai military;
- undertaking research on the rationalisation of Australia's naval shipbuilding industry;
- discussions with the Japanese Defence Minister;
- participating in ASPI's Research Programs Committee;
- giving lectures to SDSC's Masters degree program;
- discussions with Yukio Okamoto, adviser to the Prime Minister of Japan;
- giving a paper at SDSC's Post-September 11 Conference.
- participating in a one-day conference with the US Strategic Analysis Group;
- giving a lecture at the Australian Defence College;
- giving a lecture to the Defence Regional Management Seminar;
- addressing a group of Australian institutional investors on strategic and political risk management;
- participating in an Indonesia Forum organised by ASPI;
- giving a paper at Melbourne University on Australia and the US alliance;

- chairing a Strategic Outlook Seminar and a Senior Leadership Seminar for the Department of Defence.

Professor Dibb's writings in this period included:

- *The War on Terror and Air Combat Power* (SDSC Working Paper No 369);
- *Does Asia Matter to Australia's Defence Policy?* (to be published by the ANU);
- *Australia and the US Alliance* (to be published by Melbourne University).

In addition, Professor Dibb wrote several newspaper articles for *The Australian*, *The Australian Financial Review* and the *International Herald Tribune*, as well as giving national television and radio interviews about Australia's defence policy and the war on terror.

**PROFESSOR DESMOND BALL** spent the first part of July in Thailand, undertaking research on security issues in Thailand's borderlands. He also had discussions with senior Royal Thai Army officers in Bangkok about defence matters, and with academic counterparts in the Department of International Relations, Faculty of Political Science, Chulalongkorn University concerning cooperative arrangements with respect to graduate programs in strategic and defence studies.

He again visited Thailand between 2 and 16 October, doing research in border areas in Tak and Kanchanaburi provinces. These recent visits to Thailand have resulted in the completion of a book called *The Boys in Black: The Thahan Phran (Rangers), Thailand's Para-military Border Guards*, which is to be published in 2003.

Professor Ball visited Taiwan between 25 October and 5 November, where he participated in two events organised by the National Strategic Studies Institute (NSSI) at the National Defense University (NDU) in Taipei. One was a *Senior Leaders' Training Program*, at which he presented a paper on 'International Security Trends'; the other was a Roundtable concerned with the preparation of a *Strategic Assessment 2003* by the NSSI/NDU.

He visited Taiwan again between 26 November and 3 December, when he participated in a conference on *East Timor and Australian Security: Implications for East Asia*, held at National Cheng Chi University in Taipei. He also had discussions with colleagues in the College of International Affairs at National Cheng Chi University concerning cooperative graduate program arrangements.

On 7 and 8 August, Professor Ball co-chaired (with Professor Stuart Harris) the 17th meeting of the Australian Committee of the Council for Security Cooperation in the Asia Pacific (AUS–CSCAP). On 20 August, he participated in East

Timor's National Security Advisory Program. During August and September he gave several lectures in the Faculty of Asian Studies at the ANU on (for example) 'Strategic Studies and Security in Southeast Asia as Fields of Study', 'Chemical and Biological Weapons (CBW) Proliferation in Asia', and 'Information Warfare (IW) in Asia'. He also lectured to the Australian Defence Planning course in the SDSC Graduate Program. On 7 November, he chaired the opening panel on 'Regional Security' at the *Third Australia-India Update Seminar* at the University of Canberra.

His publications include 'Missile Defence: Trends, Concerns and Remedies', in Mohamed Jawhar Hassan, Stephen Leong and Vincent Lim (eds.) *Asia Pacific Security: Challenges and Opportunities in the 21st Century*, (ISIS Malaysia, Kuala Lumpur, 2002), pp.353–370 and an article on 'The Defence of East Timor: A Recipe for Disaster?' was published in *Pacifica Review*, (Vol. 14, No.3), October 2002. He has recently completed a major paper on 'Information Warfare (IW) in Asia: Signals Intelligence (SIGINT), Electronic Warfare (EW) and Cyber-warfare'.

**PROFESSOR DAVID HORNER** spent most of the period from July to December conducting research for his study of General Sir John Wilton, Chairman of the Chiefs of Staff Committee during the Vietnam War. On 3 October he presented a paper on 'The Higher Direction of the Army in the Vietnam War' for the Chief of the Army's history conference, and on 5 October he spoke at the Australian War Memorial on the 'SAS in the Vietnam War'. He also spoke at the launch of *The Fight Leaders*, a study of battalion command in the Korean War. During the period three other books were launched in the Army History series, of which Professor Horner is editor. These were biographies of Lieutenant General Sir James Whiteside McCay and Brigadier Ted Serong, and a history of the battle of El Alamein from an Australian perspective.

His own publications during the period include: 'Towards a Philosophy of Australian Command', *Command Papers 2/2002*, Centre for Defence Command Leadership and Management Studies, Weston Creek, June 2002; 'The Evolution of Australian Higher Command Arrangements', *Command Papers 3/2002*, Centre for Defence Command Leadership and Management Studies, Weston Creek, July 2002; 'Kokoda Heroes', in *Wartime*, Issue No 20, October 2002; and 'Higher Direction of the Army in the Vietnam War', Peter Dennis and Jeffrey Grey, *The Australian Army and the Vietnam War, 1962–1972*, Army History Unit, Canberra, 2002, pp. 32–55.

**DR ALAN DUPONT** was awarded his PhD and promoted to Senior Fellow in October. He was kept busy in the second half of the year commenting on a range of defence and regional security issues especially after the Bali bombing on 12 October. He appeared regularly on SBS and ABC radio

and television including Radio National, 'Insight', and Lateline in addition to CNN, the BBC, Voice of America and Radio Singapore International. He also wrote several opinion pieces for the *Australian Financial Review* and the *International Herald Tribune* and was interviewed by the *Far Eastern Economic Review*, *The Asian Wall Street Journal*, *The Washington Post*, *Newsweek*, *Reuters* and the *Asahi Shimbun*.

Dr Dupont delivered several lectures on regional security issues to the ANU's undergraduate program and the Australian Defence College. In conjunction with the Australian Strategic Policy Institute, he organised a visit to Australia by Professor Aaron Friedberg from Princeton University and the first holder of the Henry Kissinger Chair in Foreign Policy and International Relations at the Library of Congress. He also chaired an ANU seminar on 30 July given by Professor Friedberg entitled 'US Strategic Policy in East Asia after 11 September'.

His research in the second half of the year was devoted to two main projects — a paper looking at intelligence trends over the next decade which will be published in the journal *Intelligence and National Security*; and a major paper on Australian defence strategy for the *Australian Journal of International Affairs*.

Dr Dupont's other activities included:

- participating in a one-and-a-half track dialogue on *Australia–Indonesia Security Cooperation* at the Australian Strategic Policy Institute, Canberra, 10 July;
- chairing the session on *Resource Conflicts* at the annual conference of the Centre for Defence and Strategic Studies, Canberra, 2 August;
- attending the meeting of the Australian Committee of the Council for Security Cooperation in the Asia–Pacific in Canberra on 6 and 7 August;
- at the invitation of Timor's Ministry of Foreign Affairs giving a paper entitled 'Regional Security Options for Timor Leste', to the special National Seminar on regional security for senior civil servants and defence officials in Dili 4–6 September;
- visiting the East Timor–Indonesia border area for briefings on the security situation by UN and Australian Defence Force officers on 8 September;
- giving the keynote address on 'Australia–Japan Security Cooperation' to the Japan–Australia Dialogue, a collaboration between the Global Forum for Japan, a consortium of three Australian universities and the Australia–Japan Foundation in Tokyo, 19–20 September;
- participating in the Strategic Assessment Group–Australian Strategic Policy Institute *Conference on Asia–Pacific Responses to National US Grand Strategies: 2005–2010*, Old Parliament House, Canberra, 24 September;
- briefing the Premier of NSW, the Honourable Bob Carr, on terrorism and homeland security on 3 October;

- briefing the Australian Labor Party Caucus on regional security trends and international terrorism in the aftermath of the Bali bombing, Parliament House, Canberra, 15 October;
- participating in the Australian Strategic Policy Institute Forum on *Indonesia — After Bali*, The Australian National University, 30 October;
- giving a presentation on 'Australia and Asia' to the Human Security Workshop, Griffith University, Brisbane, 25 October;
- at the invitation of the Minister for Foreign Affairs and Trade, Alexander Downer, participating in the Second Australia–Japan Conference in Tokyo, 7–8 November;
- at the invitation of the Menzies Centre, presenting the inaugural lecture in the seminar series on defence and security entitled 'Transformation or Stagnation? Rethinking Australian Defence', Canberra, 13 November.

**DR RON HUISKEN** focussed particularly on regional security issues, including US security policies towards Asia and the development of multilateral security processes. He presented papers to conferences in Australia and Singapore on US security perspectives and security cooperation in Asia respectively. Dr Huisken also authored several newspaper articles on topical security issues and responded to many media requests for interviews and background commentary. His publications over the period include 'Civilising the Anarchical Society: Multilateral Security Processes in the Asia Pacific', (in *Contemporary South East Asia*), and 'Strengthening the ARF: Involving Defence Ministers', (in *Pacifica Review*).

**DR CORAL BELL** gave presentations at the Centre for Independent Studies Conference and the Hedley Bull First Memorial Conference of the Australian Strategic Policy Institute in August and the Strategic and Defence Studies Centre Conference 'Post September 11 — New Directions' in September. Dr Bell has also continued writing for *The Diplomat* having contributions appearing in the June, September and November issues.

**MR CLIVE WILLIAMS'** major achievement during the second half of the year was the introduction of a well-received Masters course elective in August on 'Terrorism and Counterterrorism'. Similar courses were also run later in the year in Canberra and Sydney for non-student participants.

Other activities and commitments during this period were:

- an article titled 'Characteristics of Bombers' for the *Australian Bomb Data Centre (ABDC) Annual Report*;
- presentation and paper on 'Financing of Terrorism' to the IIR Money Laundering Countermeasures Conference in Sydney on 24 July;
- presentation and paper on 'The Terrorist Threat to Transport' for The Australian Transport Safety Summit in Sydney on 26 July;
- lecture to ANU Asian Studies students on 'Terrorism in Asia' on 8 August;
- participation in a Pugwash Working Group on East Asian Security at UCSD, La Jolla, California during 10–14 August;
- assistance with a Masters course elective 'Asia Pacific Society and Culture' for the National Graduate School of Management, ANU;
- provision of two chapters in September 2002 for a book on 'Extremism in Southeast Asia' edited by Dr Harold Crouch;
- organisation of a conference titled 'Post 11 September–New Directions' for the Strategic and Defence Studies Centre on 11 September 2002. Also a presentation to the conference on: 'Terrorism: A Diminishing Threat?';
- provision in September of a working paper titled 'The Sydney Olympics — The Trouble-Free Games' for consideration as a Canberra paper;
- presentation to Rotary Sunrise, Canberra on 11 September on 'Contemporary Terrorism';
- presentation to the Transport Association, Canberra on 11 September on 'Terrorist Threats' to Transport;
- briefing to the Joint Standing Committee for Foreign Affairs, Defence and Trade on 23 September on 'The Terrorist Threat to Australia';
- participation in a SAG/ASPI conference 'Asia–Pacific Responses to National US Grand Strategies 2005–2010' on 24 September;
- presentation to the ASIS annual conference in Sydney on 2 October 2002 on 'Security Threats to Business';
- presentation and paper for the Chief of Army's History Conference on 3 October on 'Doctrine, Training and Combat in Vietnam 1965–66';
- presentation to the AIPIO annual conference on 22 October on 'Prospects for Macroterrorism';
- participation in a Sydney UTS Science Forum on 29 October and presentation on 'Counterterrorism Intelligence';
- participation in a panel discussion on 'Indonesia — Post-Bali' at DFAT for AsiaLink on 30 October;
- participation in the Homeland Security conference in Canberra 31 October–1 November;
- presentation to a Business Continuity Management Symposium in Perth on 6 November on 'Security Threats to Business';
- presentation of special module on 'Terrorism and Counterterrorism' in Canberra 11–15 November;
- participation in the CSCAP regional Transnational Crime Working Group in Bangkok during 18–19 November, and presentation to delegates on 'Regional Terrorism Threats';
- presentation to IABTI Australia on 24 November on 'International Bombings';
- presentation on 24 November to the IABTI Regional Conference on 'Threats to Australia';

- presentation to the Australian Bomb Data Centre annual conference on 26 November on 'Prospects for Terrorism';
- presentation to Canberra Grammar School on 'Terrorism' on 29 November;
- presentation of special module on 'Terrorism and Counterterrorism' in Sydney 2–6 December;
- contribution 'Australia's Evolving Maritime Threat Environment' in the book *Protecting Australia's Maritime Borders: The MV Tampa and Beyond* (ed. Martin Tsamenyi and Chris Rahman, Centre for Maritime Policy, University of Wollongong).

Other activities by Clive Williams have included approximately 200 media commentaries and interviews, and six *op ed* articles for leading newspapers.

**MR TAMOTSU FUKUDA** continues to work towards his PhD. His area of research is multilateral security cooperation in the Asia–Pacific region and Japan's foreign and security policy. He holds a BA(Hons) from the University of Cincinnati and a MA from International Christian University in Tokyo.

**MR BOB BREEN** began his PhD studies in June 2002. He completed a literature review and has submitted his PhD thesis proposal on Australia's projection of military force in the 1990s. He presented a paper in Tokyo on 18 September at the United Nations Institute of Training and Research (UNITAR), The Institute of Policy Studies (IPS, Singapore) and The Japanese Institute of International Affairs (JIIA) Conference on 'UNTAET [United Nations Transitional Administration — East Timor]: Debriefing and Lessons'. His paper was on future lessons for the UN from the UNTAET experience. After his return he received the Australian Government's Overseas Humanitarian Service Medal for his six months service in East Timor as a United Nations Volunteer earlier this year.

**MR JOHN McFARLANE** continues his duties as Executive Director of the Australian Member Committee of the Council for Security Cooperation in the Asia–Pacific (AUS–CSCAP). These duties included organising the 17th Meeting of AUS–CSCAP in Canberra on 7 and 8 August 2002.

In addition, he:

- participated in the 1st Vietnam–Australia Academic Exchange, jointly sponsored by the Australian Defence Studies Centre, Australian Defence Force Academy, and the Vietnamese Institute for Military Strategies, Vietnamese Ministry of Defence, in Hanoi, Vietnam, 1–3 July;
- on 9 August, he addressed the Interdepartmental Committee on Human Smuggling, conducted by the Department of Foreign Affairs and Trade, on the role of the CSCAP Working Group on Transnational Crime, and, on behalf of that Working Group, undertook to

contribute two papers for the Bali Ministerial Meeting on Human Smuggling and Transnational Crime;

- between 12 and 16 August, together with Clive Williams, coordinated the delivery of an Asia–Pacific Politics and Culture Unit for a Master of Business Administration course conducted by the National Graduate School of Management at the ANU;
- on 15 August, provided assessments of the policy papers written by 18 Australian and international students from the 1st National Financial Crime Management Investigation Course, conducted by the Australian Securities and Investments Commission, in Canberra;
- delivered a paper on Transnational Organised Crime to a training course for the Security Adviser to the President of East Timor, and his staff, in Canberra on 19 August, and also participated in scenario training for the same course on 23 August;
- delivered a paper titled 'Prioritising Transnational Threats: Transnational Crime and Terrorism' at the 2002, 2nd Senior Executive Course at the Asia–Pacific Centre for Security Studies, Honolulu, on 26 August;
- delivered a paper titled 'The Unholy Alliance between Terrorism and Organised Crime: what terrorism and organised crime have learned from each other' at the 20th International Symposium on Economic Crime, Jesus College, University of Cambridge, 8–15 September;
- gave a talk on 'Transnational Organised Crime' at the Australian Federal Police Management of Serious Crime Course (MOSC) No. 27 in Canberra on 22 October. He subsequently reviewed and assessed the Strategic Crime Management Initiative proposals prepared by the 18 Australian and international students on the course;
- between 31 October and 1 November 2002, was Co-convenor of and speaker at the conference Australian Homeland Security: Who is Responsible? conducted by the Australian Defence Studies Centre, at the National Convention Centre in Canberra;
- from 17–19 November, co-chaired the 13th Meeting of the CSCAP Working Group on Transnational Crime, in Bangkok, Thailand;
- delivered a paper titled 'Non-Traditional Threats: Corruption' at the Pacific Islands Political Studies Association Conference (PIPSA 2002), at Noosa, Queensland, 4–6 December;
- participated in the 18th Meeting of the CSCAP Steering Committee in Singapore on 9 December.

Mr McFarlane also published *SDSC Working Paper* No. 370, titled 'Organised Crime and Terrorism in the Asia-Pacific Region: The Reality and the Response', July 2002. He also edited and published *AUS–CSCAP Newsletter* No 14, November 2002.

**PROFESSOR ROSS BABBAGE** has been heavily engaged in recent months both in helping to deliver parts of the Masters Degree program in strategy and defence and also in

developing the international network of partnerships within the program.

The Masters and Graduate Diploma Program has progressed substantially in recent months. From 31 students in first semester, the program grew to 50 students in second semester. All indications are for larger numbers in coming years. The quality of the teaching across the program has been outstanding and the enthusiasm of the students has been contagious. During the second semester, Ross coordinated and personally delivered large parts of the *Australian Defence and Strategic Planning* course. This elective course was delivered twice in Canberra and a third time in Perth.

The vision for the Masters Degree program is to educate and network the next generation of strategic thinkers across the Asia-Pacific-Indian Ocean region. To this end, close partnerships are being negotiated with leading universities across the region so that up to half of the coursework can be delivered to local students in their home environments (by a combination of local and ANU teachers). Curtin University of Technology is already operating as a very effective node for this program in Perth. Other nodes are under active negotiation in Melbourne, Wellington, Taipei, Tokyo, Bangkok, London and Washington D.C. At least half of these new nodes for the program are expected to be operating in 2003.

Substantial progress has also been made in recent months in further developing the undergraduate major in *Strategic and Security Studies: the Asian Region*. This new course has rapidly grown to become one of the most popular undergraduate majors within the Faculty of Asian Studies.

On 23 October, the Minister for Defence, Senator Robert Hill, addressed a special dinner at The Hyatt Hotel to celebrate the successful completion of the first year of both the undergraduate and graduate programs in strategy and defence. Amongst other things, Senator Hill remarked that ANU's new programs in strategy and defence had the potential to contribute substantially to future security cooperation across the Asia-Pacific-Indian Ocean Region.

Ross Babbage also participated in the first ever meeting of Asia-Pacific Defence Ministers held on 1 and 2 June in Singapore. As a result of a suggestion that he made during this meeting, ministers requested the rapid production of a paper proposing a regime for closer cooperation in the Asia-Pacific in preparing for, and recovering from, the new style of terrorist attacks with which the world is confronted. Following the conference, this paper was quickly prepared and published by the Australian Strategic Policy Institute. The ASEAN Regional Forum meeting (of foreign ministers) that followed in Brunei endorsed the initiative.

In response to an urgent request from the Department of Defence, Ross Babbage designed, developed and coordinated a two-week training program for the new East Timorese National Security Advisor and related staff. This program was delivered successfully during August.

During September Ross Babbage travelled to London for a Council Meeting of the International Institute for Strategic Studies (IISS) and also attended the first IISS Global Strategic Update Conference. In November and December, he travelled to Taiwan and Japan to further strengthen the international linkages of the Graduate Program in Strategy and Defence.

**DR ROBERT AYSON** continued to focus on the new Graduate Studies in Strategy and Defence Program for which he is Director of Studies. In this role, he oversaw and contributed to:

- arrangements for the second semester elective courses which took place between July and November;
- final examination arrangements and marking;
- planning for the GSSD dinner and career evening;
- the production of new GSSD information materials;
- advice for students on sub-thesis research topics and other issues;
- liaison with Curtin University over GSSD course teaching in Perth;
- arrangements for courses and locations in 2003;
- the consideration of applications from prospective GSSD students;
- planning for his new course on Strategic Concepts in 2003.

Dr Ayson was also the main point of contact for students applying for ANU Summer Scholarships and for PhD study in the Strategic and Defence Studies Centre.

In the second half of 2002 Dr Ayson also:

- gave the concluding address on 'Globalisation, Civil Conflict and the National Security State' to the 37th Otago Foreign Policy School in Dunedin, New Zealand;
- presented a paper on 'Concepts of Regional Stability in the Asia-Pacific Context' to the Australasian Political Science Association Conference in October;
- prepared a paper on New Zealand's defence policy for the *Cosmopolitan Militaries in the 21st Century* conference in November organised by the ANU Department of International Relations;
- wrote an article on the future of strategic studies for the *Asia-Pacific Defence Reporter* (November 2002);
- wrote an article on Australia's defence and security challenges for the *New Zealand International Review*;
- delivered a two-day teaching module on Strategy to the New Zealand Defence Command and Staff College in Auckland, New Zealand;
- addressed the NZ Defence Force Command and Staff College during its visit to the Australian Command and Staff Course on Australia and Security in East Asia;
- made presentations on Australia's approach to security in Southeast Asia to Professor Ross Babbage's Australian Defence and Strategic Planning course;
- made a number of media contributions on defence and security issues. ■

# SDSC PUBLICATIONS

## Working Paper 368

Cost \$A8.00 (+ GST \$A8.80)

**Asia Pacific Security Taking Charge, Collectively  
by Ron Huisken**

### Abstract

This paper attempts to characterise the strategic challenges that lie ahead for the Asia Pacific. It then considers how more authoritative multi-lateral processes could contribute to managing these challenges. Finally, it offers some broad proposals on what a more authoritative multilateral security architecture in the Asia Pacific might look like.

## Working Paper 369

Cost \$A8.00 (+ GST \$A8.80)

**The War on Terror and Air Combat Power: A Word  
of Warning for Defence Planners by Paul Dibb**

### Abstract

This paper discusses the future role of Australia's defence planning principles and air combat power and Project AIR 6000.

## Working Paper 370

Cost \$A8.00 (+ GST \$A8.80)

**Organised Crime and Terrorism in the Asia-Pacific  
Region: The Reality and the Response by John  
McFarlane**

### Abstract

Organised and entrepreneurial crime groups are well established throughout the Asia-Pacific region and have been very active in the whole spectrum of criminal activities from drug trafficking, human and arms smuggling, sea piracy and kidnapping to credit-card fraud, investment scams, money laundering and intellectual property crime. There are also states, such as the DPRK and Myanmar, where senior officials periodically engage in criminal activities, such as drug trafficking and counterfeit currency operations, with the apparent knowledge, and blessing, of the state itself. With little or no state sponsorship, terrorist groups operating in the region have little option but to engage in criminal activities in order to generate the necessary funds to support their political objectives. Some groups, such as the Philippine Abu Sayyaf, could more accurately be described as criminal rather than terrorist groups, even though they employ terrorist methods.

A range of international and regional initiatives has been devised to limit the effectiveness of transnational criminal and terrorist groups that, if implemented on a region-wide basis, would certainly have a very significant impact on lowering the level of threat they currently present.

# SDSC STAFF AND THEIR RESEARCH INTERESTS

## SDSC STAFF AND THEIR RESEARCH INTERESTS

### Professor and Head of Centre

P Dibb, AM, BA(Nott), PhD(ANU)

*Australian defence policy, regional security, alliance relationships*

### Special Professor

DJ Ball, BEc, PhD(ANU), FASSA

*Australian security, intelligence, nuclear and strategic issues, regional cooperation*

### Professor

DM Horner, DipMilStud(RMC), MA(UNSW), PhD(ANU)

*Australian defence history, concepts for land operations*

### Senior Fellows

R Huisken, BEc(Hons)(UWA), MSs(Stockholm), PhD(ANU)

*Ballistic missile defence, alliance issues, East Asian security mechanisms*

A Dupont, BA(UNSW), MA, PhD(ANU)

*Southeast Asia and regional security*

### Visiting Fellows

Dr CM Bell, BA(Syd), MSc, PhD(Lond)

*Central balance of power, crisis management, US foreign policy*

Mr Clive Williams, MG, BA(Hons), MA(Hons)(Melb).

Department of Defence

*Terrorism*

### AUS-CSCAP Executive Director

J McFarlane, BA(Monash)

*Transnational crime, terrorism, corruption, police peace operations, military support for law enforcement and homeland security.*

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## GRADUATE STUDIES IN STRATEGY AND DEFENCE

Adjunct Professor Ross Babbage, BEc, MEc,(Syd), PhD(ANU)

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