

academic journals as *International Affairs*, *Survival* and the *Australian Journal of International Affairs*. He is the author or editor of five books, including *Australia as an Asia-Pacific Regional Power* (2007) and *Sanctions as Grand Strategy* (2010).

Dr Mark Thomson is a senior analyst at the Australian Strategic Policy Institute. Mark's research interests include strategy, defence economics and defence industry policy. In 2008 and 2009, Mark was a member of the ministerial advisory panel for the Defence White Paper.

Professor Russell Trood is Professor of International Relations at the School of Government and International Relations, Griffith University and an Adjunct Professor in the Defence and Security Program, US Studies Centre at the University of Sydney. From 2005–11 he was a Senator for Queensland in the Australian Parliament, serving a term as Chair of the Senate Committee on Foreign Affairs, Defence and Trade and as a member of the Parliamentary Joint Committee on Intelligence and Security, among other committees. From 2011–12, he was the Special Envoy of the Prime Minister of Australia for Eastern Europe. Professor Trood has lectured and published extensively on international relations, Australian foreign and defence policy and Asian security, including *The Emerging Global Order: Australian Foreign Policy in the 21st Century* (2008). Professor Trood's most recent work has focused on Japanese security policy; Australian foreign policy; the G20 Organisation; Australia's public diplomacy; and Australian defence policy.

Dr Joanne Wallis is a lecturer at the Strategic and Defence Studies Centre, Australian National University, where she convenes the 'Asia-Pacific Security' program. She graduated with a PhD in Politics and International Studies from the University of Cambridge in 2012. Her research on state-building in the South Pacific has been published in leading international journals and her first book, *Constitution-Making During State-Building*, will be published by Cambridge University Press in 2014. Joanne has also conducted research consultations for Australian and international NGOs, and writes analyses for a leading global political risk advisory service.

Introduction by Brendan Taylor

When Professor TB Millar produced *Australia's Defence*—the book from which the current volume draws its inspiration—almost fifty years ago, it was literally the first of its kind. Very little if anything had been written on the subject, aside from a handful of official and unofficial histories of the two World Wars and the Korean War. Public debate on the subject of Australia's defence was next to non-existent. There were no think tanks or academic institutes dedicated to the study of the subject. It would take the foresight of Millar, and his boss and English derided namesake JDB Miller, to found the Strategic and Defence Studies Centre at the Australian National University in 1966, the year after *Australia's Defence* was published. As Millar has written elsewhere, Australia's defence at that time 'in the government's view, was not a matter for public inquiry or debate; the public should simply accept the Defence provisions which the Australian government, in its superior wisdom and knowledge, provided'.¹

Half a century on, the scope of public debate on the subject of Australia's defence is radically different. Issues of defence policy are vigorously contested amongst leading defence intellectuals—many of whom have previously served in senior positions in the Australian Government or the military—on the opinion pages of mainstream

print media and across numerous blog sites.² Unlike in 1965, Australia is now home to some of the world's leading think tanks—such as the Australian Strategic Policy Institute (ASPI) and the Lowy Institute for International Policy—whose work focuses upon Australian defence issues and whose very existence, at least in the case of the former, was intended by the Australian government to facilitate a better informed public debate on issues of defence. Increasingly, issues of Australian defence are also garnering attention amongst a wider international audience.³

Yet despite the impressive growth in Australian public debate which has occurred during the fifty years since Millar penned *Australia's Defence*, there remains a surprising shortage of comprehensive studies dedicated to the subject as a whole. One exception is Ross Babbage's *A Coast Too Long*.⁴ This book was a seminal contribution to a larger body of work developing the 'Defence of Australia' concept—including a number of edited volumes and academic working papers—which were produced during the 1970s and 1980s.⁵ More broadly focused volumes addressing Australia's foreign policy, but which encompassed the subject of Australia's defence, were also published from this period and into the 1990s.⁶

As in Millar's day, official and unofficial histories addressing Australia's involvement in international conflicts have continued to be regularly produced,⁷ yet book-length studies devoted explicitly to the subject of Australia's defence have been few and far between. By bringing together some of Australia's leading analysts and intellectuals to write on a broad spectrum of issues and challenges facing Australia's defence—in greater depth than shorter publication formats such as newspaper articles, blog posts and policy papers allow—the present volume seeks to go some way towards filling this gap.

As with Millar's book, the current volume is intended to be accessible to a wide audience. His target audience was the 'intelligent layman' (perhaps more appropriately termed the 'intelligent layperson' in contemporary parlance) and it is to this demographic that the current volume is also addressed. Following in Millar's footsteps, each of the chapters in this volume contains some historical background of pertinence to the subject that they are addressing. Their principal focus, however, is 'to deal with Australia's defence

situation as it is today.⁸ In addition, this contemporary volume is also intended to be forward looking, unpacking a range of challenges—some new, some more enduring—that Australia's defence faces into the future.

The volume addresses the theme 'towards a new era'. This 'new era' that Australia's Department of Defence is currently entering is a challenging and multifaceted one. It is one where Australia's strategic position between a 'rising China' and a 'rebalancing America' is being hotly contested. It is an era where Australia's status as a 'middle power' and its capacity to maintain its longstanding military technological edge over other countries in its region will likely be tested, as Asia's giants (such as China and India) and other medium sized powers (such as Indonesia, South Korea and Vietnam) stand up. And it is the beginning of an era of new government for Australia, which will lead to the publication of a new Defence White Paper in 2015.

Drawing inspiration from Millar's approach, the current volume is divided into four parts. Part I examines the national context underpinning Australia's defence. In the first chapter of this section, Russell Trood examines the symbiotic relationship between policy and politics that has been such an enduring feature of Australia's defence. Trood provides a unique perspective on this relationship—and the institutions and processes which facilitate and, sometimes, inhibit it—based in part on his time as a Senator for Queensland and a member of the Joint Committee on Foreign Affairs, Defence and Trade. In Chapter 2, Andrew Carr goes on to interrogate the concept of Australia as a 'middle power', which has formed, and continues to form, such an important part of Australia's defence identity and strategic culture. Yet rather than viewing the 'middle power' construct as an end in itself—as has traditionally been the case—Carr makes the case that Canberra would, instead, do well to see Australia's middle power status as a starting point to inform an overdue debate on Australia's defence into the future. In the final chapter of Part I, Charles Miller reviews the current state of Australian public opinion on foreign policy and defence issues. Miller points out that public opinion polling on defence issues is a relatively new phenomenon in Australia, as reflected by how little attention issues of public opinion received in Millar's 1965 book. Drawing from a number of modern-day polls, Miller surveys the current state of Australian public

attitudes on a range of defence issues including threat perception, defence spending, support for operational commitments and casualty tolerance.

Part II of the current volume moves to examine another central driver of Australia's defence, its broader international context. This section focuses its attention upon three sub-regions of the Asia-Pacific (or what some Australian defence planners and commentators increasingly refer to as an emerging 'Indo-Pacific' strategic system). Northeast Asia, the first of these sub-regions, is examined by Army King in Chapter 4 of this volume. In this chapter, King considers the interplay between economic and security factors which has traditionally shaped Australian policy towards this part of the world. King argues that some form of reconciliation between these two sets of factors will need to be sought in the period ahead as a largely unprecendented degree of tension and potential contradiction emerges between them. In Chapter 5 John Blaxland outlines Australia's defence engagement with Southeast Asia. As Blaxland observes, Southeast Asia is becoming more central in Australian defence thinking as Canberra conceives of its security prospects as lying not *against* Asia—as Millar and many of his contemporaries did—but rather *with* this increasingly dynamic and strategically central part of the world. In the final chapter of Part II Joanne Wallis considers Australia's engagement with the South Pacific. Wallis observes that the South Pacific has traditionally been regarded by Australian defence planners as an 'arc of instability' from, and through, which threats to Australia could emanate—or in Millar's terms, 'an exposed and vulnerable front door'.⁹ While some of the threats which informed those perceptions remain—and while new South Pacific strategic challenges have also emerged—Wallis argues that Canberra should strive to see the South Pacific not as an 'arc of instability' but as an 'arc of opportunity' that can achieve more enduring stability with the help of appropriately calibrated Australian assistance.

The third part of the volume examines issues of 'strategy'. In a recent book on the subject, Lawrence Freedman defines strategy 'as being about maintaining a balance between ends, ways and means; about identifying objectives; and about the resources and methods available for meeting such objectives'.¹⁰ This is the ground traversed by Paul Dibb in Chapter 7 and Stephan Frühling in Chapter 8 of the

current volume as each reflects upon the various factors which have previously occasioned fundamental turning points in Australia's defence posture. They then move on to identify the contemporary strategic and financial challenges that will demand a fundamental change in direction of Australian defence policy. In the final chapter of Part III, Peter Dean examines Australia's alliance with the United States—a relationship described in the Australian government's January 2013 *National Security Strategy* as a 'pillar' of this country's strategic and security arrangements.¹¹ In his chapter, Dean reviews the remarkable adaptability of the Australia-US alliance and makes the case that, as the centre of gravity in international politics gradually shifts toward the Asia-Pacific region, the alliance is presently entering yet another key turning point in its history.

Part IV of the volume examines the size and state of Australia's defences. In Chapter 10, James Goldrick traces the evolution of the Australian military towards a more 'joint' force—defined as activities and operations where at least two of the services (Army, Navy, Air Force) participate. While significant progress has been made—including implementation of some of the recommendations that Millar made in his 1965 volume—Goldrick demonstrates that the Australian Defence Force's (ADF) journey towards jointery remains a work in progress, one whose success ultimately hinges critically on the provision of adequate budgetary resources and an ability to avoid sacrificing single service strengths and expertise.

Mark Thomson then goes on in Chapter 11 to explore two of the present constraints on the size and state of Australia's defences—the scale of the human and financial resources that Australia devotes to this task and the efficiency with which Australia uses those resources. His analysis of these issues bear a striking resemblance to the albeit much shorter analysis of budgetary issues contained in Millar's book. Consistent with Millar's assessments, Thomson concludes that Canberra currently has little choice other than to find more money, or to moderate Australia's ambitions for its defence policy and security into the future.

In the final chapter of Part IV, Richard Brabin-Smith concludes the volume by examining the considerations that should determine the shape of the ADF—its force structure and posture. Brabin-Smith begins by outlining some of the key principles which have guided

force structure and posture decisions in recent decades. He considers some of the imminent challenges in this area, including determining the appropriate size and shape of Australia's future submarine force, questions surrounding the new Joint Strike Fighter (JSF) program and re-focusing the Australian Army closer to home after long and protracted 'expeditionary' operations in places like Iraq and Afghanistan. While Brabin-Smith does not predict radical change in the ADF away from its current high-end maritime focus—particularly given some of the natural advantages which Australia's relatively distant strategic geography bestows—he does call for the government to become even more open with the Australian people about Defence in an era when the balance between strategic ambition and budgetary realities is set to become increasingly vexed.

In closing, a few words seem in order here about what the current volume is not. First and foremost, it is not a work of advocacy. While, in keeping with the academic tradition, each of the contributors advances a range of arguments and suggestions, the views expressed herein are very much their own. *Australia's Defence: Towards a New Era?* does not portend to be an alternative policy document or government White Paper. That said, the editors and contributors alike are hopeful that the volume will be seen as a useful resource for those developing future White Papers and other relevant government policies; for the men and women of the Australian defence organisation who are tasked with implementing those policies; and to the broader Australian public who—given the resource commitments involved—has an interest in Australia's security. For as the very last sentences of Millar's book observe: 'let us not be frightened to have a public discussion on Defence. It is the public, after all, which seeks and needs to be defended.'

Notes

- 1 TB Millar, 'Strategic Studies in a Changing World', in M Thatcher and D Ball (eds), *A National Asset: Essays Commemorating the 40th Anniversary of the Strategic and Defence Studies Centre (SDSC)*, no. 165, *Canberra Papers on Strategy and Defence*, Strategic and Defence Studies Centre, Australian National University, Canberra, 2006, p. 16.
- 2 See, for example, P Dilib, 'Why I Disagree with Hugh White on China's Rise', *The Australian*, 13 August 2012.
- 3 See, for example, J Thomas, Z Cooper and I Rehman, *Gateway to the Indo-Pacific: Australian Defence Strategy and the Future of the*

- 4 *Australia-US Alliance*, Center for Strategic and Budgetary Assessments, Washington DC, 2013.
- 5 R Babbage, *Rethinking Australia's Defence*, University of Queensland Press, St Lucia, 1980; and R Babbage, *A Coast Too Long: Defending Australia Beyond the 1990s*, Allen & Unwin, Sydney, 1990.
- 6 See, for example, R O'Neill (ed), *The Defence of Australia: Fundamental New Aspects*, Strategic and Defence Studies Centre, Australian National University, Canberra, 1976.
- 7 See, for example, Coral Bell (ed), *Agenda for the Eighties: Contexts of Australian Choices in Foreign and Defence Policy*, Australian National University Press, Canberra, 1980; Desmond Ball and Pauline Kerr, *Presumptive Engagement: Australia's Asia-Pacific Security Policy in the 1990s*, Allen & Unwin, Canberra, 1996.
- 8 See, for example, D Horner, *Australia and the New World Order: From Peacekeeping to Peace Enforcement: 1988–1991*, vol. 2, *The Official History of Australian Peacekeeping, Humanitarian and Post-Cold War Operations*, Cambridge University Press, Port Melbourne, 2011; and PJ Dean (ed), *Australia 1943: The Liberation of New Guinea*, Cambridge University Press, Port Melbourne, 2013.
- 9 TB Millar, *Australia's Defence*, Melbourne University Press, Carlton, 1965, p. 6.
- 10 *ibid.*, p. 150.
- 11 L Freedman, *Strategy: A History*, Oxford University Press, New York, 2013, p. xi.
- 12 Commonwealth of Australia, *Strong and Secure: A Strategy for Australia's National Security*, Commonwealth of Australia, Canberra, 2013, p. vii. www.dpmc.gov.au/national_security/docs/national_security_strategy.pdf (viewed February 2014).