



Royal United Services Institute of Victoria Inc.

Promoting National Security and Defence

A Constituent Body of the Royal United Services Institute of Australia

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RUSI-VIC NEWS

Volume 6 Issue 3–July 2005

ISSN 1446 - 4527

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Dates for your Diary

28 July – Lunchtime Speaker – **Defence Plaza**

3 August – Council Meeting – **Defence Plaza**

25 August – Lunchtime Speaker – **Victoria Barracks**

29 September – AGM and Speaker – **Defence Plaza**

6 October – Annual Dinner – **Naval & Military Club**

27 October – Lunchtime Speaker – **Defence Plaza**

9 November – Council Meeting

24 November – Lunchtime Speaker – **Defence Plaza**

RUSI VIC CYBERLINKS

RUSI of Australia (inc Victoria) <http://www.defence.gov.au>

Department of Defence

<http://defence.gov.au>

Rusi for Defence Studies Whitehall <http://www.rusi.org>

Australian Strategic Policy Institute <http://www.aspi.org.au>

Australia Defence Association

<http://www.ada.asn.au>

Speaker Luncheon

**** Thursday, 28th July, 2005 ****

Major General Greg Garde AO RFD QC Rtd

Former Chief of Reserves and Head of Reserve Policy

“ADF Reserves - An Agenda for Further Reform”

Major General Garde is ideally placed to talk freely on the future of this vital part of our defence capability. He will lead a subsequent discussion session on the way ahead for Australia's Defence Reserves, assisted by other senior members of the Defence Reserves Association. RUSI Members are encouraged to participate vigorously in what promises to be an informative and important discussion.

Venue: Defence Plaza; **Time:** 1130hrs (Tea/Coffee); **Address:** 1200hrs

Admission: Members -\$3-00 Non-Members - \$5-00

Lunch may be purchased from the adjacent “Armoury Bistro” afterwards

Please advise the Office on 9282 7498 or 9282 7392 if you and/or any guests intend to be present by Tuesday, 26th July.

**** Thursday 25th August 2005 ****

Lunchtime Speaker

Mr Neil James

Executive Director – Australian Defence Association

“Defence – The ADA View”

Venue: Victoria Barracks; Time 1130hrs (Tea/Coffee); Address 1200hrs

Vale – We record with deep regret the passing of;

WGCDR G.D. Bolam; CAPT R.J. Sexton RFD; Mr D.A. Walker.

New Members – We welcome the following New Members:-

**LTCOL W.B. Atkinson – Blackburn; CAPT J.R. Beck – Glenalvie;
LT C.J. Campbell – Geelong; LT J.P. Cooper – North Melbourne;
WGCDR J.M. Crowley AFC – Queenscliffe; Mr M. McKinney – Avondale Heights;
Mr I.A. Mitchell – Port Melbourne; WGCDR S.K. Rodgers – Geelong.**

**Mr Peter West – British Consul-General (*Honorary Member*);
MAJGEN David McLachlan AO – RSL State President, Victoria (*Honorary Member*).**

From the Library – Major General Mike O'Brien

The sale of surplus books that was planned for 28th July and foreshadowed in the June Flyer has been postponed due to a lack of a suitable venue at that time. It is now planned to hold the sale later in the year. Members will be advised of the details nearer the time.

Two books have been presented to the Library:

- **HASSETT –Australian Leader** by John Essex-Clark DSM.
This splendid and recent biography of General Sir Francis Hasset was presented by Colonel Ralph Sutton.
- **NAVIES of the West** by Bernard Ireland
This comprehensive and technical examination of the major fleets of Europe and North America circa 1980 was presented by Commander Hugh Jarrett RAN.

Your Library Needs Help

Help to maintain the Institute's Library as the best collection in Victoria on defence and military related subjects by donating to the RUSI VIC Inc Library Fund.
The RUSI VIC Inc Library Fund is a Deductible Gift Recipient (DGR) approved by the Australian Taxation Office, and monetary gifts to the Fund over \$2 are tax deductible by the donor.

From the President – Air Commodore Mike Rawlinson

Britain recently celebrated the 200th Anniversary of the Battle of Trafalgar (held in late June to capture the good weather) with a re-enactment staged on the Solent. As well as ships of the Royal Navy and the French and Spanish Navies, this time Australia was represented by the presence of HMAS ANZAC in the supporting fleet. The actual date of the battle was 21 October 1805, so you can expect to hear more about Nelson and Trafalgar as that date approaches.

The Trafalgar celebrations have been eclipsed by the confluence of the G-8 Summit in Edinburgh, the Concert for Africa, the successful London bid for the Olympic Games and the terrorist attack on the London transport system. From the viewpoint of the general public, we may have been getting complacent – the terrorists have not gone away. Do you still have your fridge magnet in place?

Following work done at the 2004 RUSI National Council Meeting in Adelaide, a National Strategic Plan for the RUSI of Australia has been progressively developed under the leadership of our National President Major General John Hartley. The Plan will be finalised at the National Council meeting in Perth during October. The National Plan will be broad enough to cover the somewhat different situations of the individual 'Constituent Bodies' – the RUSIs in the States and Territories. The Victorian Council is aligning the RUSI VIC Plan with the National Plan where appropriate.

Annual subscription notices were forwarded to members in early June. While our costs are steadily rising we have managed to maintain subscriptions at \$35pa for metropolitan members. New members can now join at any time without disadvantage, as the Rules provide that initial subscriptions are a pro-rata proportion of the financial year remaining. Prospective new members are always welcome at our various activities, and if you know someone who is not a member

and has an interest in defence and national security, please bring them along.

The Institute has one of the best collections in Melbourne of military and defence related titles. The Library is available for use by RUSI members as well as researchers into military history, defence and national security matters. Council's intention is to increasingly fund the Library by donations, and we have approval from the Australian Taxation Office that monetary donations to the 'RUSI VIC Inc Library Fund' are Tax Deductible by the Donor. Your donation will help to maintain the collection for current use and posterity.

Recently I represented RUSI VIC at the Reserve Forces Day March, which recognised the service to the nation of all forms of Reserve military service. The salute at the Shrine of Remembrance was taken by the Governor General His Excellency Major General Michael Jeffery. We were reminded that 2005 is not only the 90th Anniversary of the AIF Landing at Gallipoli but also the 50th Anniversary of the 1st Commando Regiment. The 1st Commando Company was set up as a Citizen Military Forces unit by our Immediate Past President, Brigadier 'Mac' Grant, then a Major, in July 1955. Well done Mac.

Reserves are no less important now than they have been in the past, even more so now that full-time forces have been reduced, and small but significant detachments are maintained overseas. The RUSI NSW Journal 'United Service' and the Australia Defence Association Newsletter have both carried an article by Major General Warren Glenny (Retd) the National President of the Defence Reserves Association, on 'Rebuilding the Army Reserve'. The essence of this article is reproduced in this newsletter as the basis for a discussion on the Reserves that will be led by Major General Greg Garde (Retd) at our July meeting. Reform of the Reserves is an important issue. I encourage you all to come along and take part.

From The Secretary - Martin Holme

At the end of May, Major General Hartley, National President of RUSI Australia, delivered the 2005 Blamey Oration, addressing the subject "The changing World Order : a further decade of uncertainty". It was an outstanding presentation and this edition of the Newsletter contains the first of two instalments which will allow all Members access to what was a memorable and challenging Oration.

The June Lunchtime Meeting, unfortunately, coincided with a massive Union demonstration/march which brought the city to a standstill and prevented many Members from attending. This was a pity, as Dr Mark Thomson's talk on the 2005 Defence Budget was fascinating and instructive, deserving a larger audience than we were able to muster.

The July speaker, on Thursday, 28th July, is Major General Greg Garde, who will make a short presentation on the future of our Reserve Forces and, with assistance from other senior members of the Defence Reserves Association, lead a comprehensive discussion on the issue. We are hoping for a large turnout of Members primed to participate in the debate. To assist, this Newsletter is carrying an article from the Defence Reserves Association designed to stimulate interest in the subject.

I mentioned in the last Newsletter that a move to the ground floor of this building was planned. But, with remarkable perspicacity, I predicted slips twixt cup and lip. The banana skins have come into immediate play and our move has been postponed indefinitely!



Check your Bookshelves

- Do you have any RUSI Library Books that you have forgotten to return? Let's have them back so that others can read them.
- Do you have any of your own books on defence and military related subjects that you would like others to read? Why not donate them to the RUSI Library? They will be gratefully accepted, well cared for, and made accessible for members and scholars. All donations will be acknowledged in the Newsletter.

The 2005 Blamey Oration

Given by

Major General John Hartley AO (Retd)

"The Changing World Order: a further decade of uncertainty"

General Hartley identified three main areas of concern over the next decade;

- *The uncertainty over Islam and Islamism*
- *The possible implosion of the Russian empire*
- *Tensions in northeast Asia*

The first instalment of the Oration contains General Hartley's introduction and his comments on the Islamic situation. His thoughts on Russia and northeast Asia will be published in the next edition.

When we look back on this decade, the first in the twenty-first century, I believe we will clearly see ourselves in a period of transition. We are well clear of the Cold War era. Where before much of the world was divided between two competing ideologies, each with a similar strategic doctrine, appropriately termed MAD (Mutually Assured Destruction), we have moved into a post-cold war era without any defining title.

A highlight of this period is obviously the war against terror, launched so dramatically on September 11th. The subsequent destruction of the Taliban in Afghanistan and the continued occupation of Iraq are direct outcomes. But even now, Washington is beginning to turn its attention to other matters, while acknowledging that the war against militant Islamism will continue at a high level for a long time to come.

While any judgement about the future is fraught with uncertainty, there are a number of developments, several of which have started, that will attract our attention over the next ten years. I should like to speak to three in particular which, I believe, do not get much coverage in the mainstream media, partly because they are difficult to define and partly because they are not headline material at this time.

I should like to speak briefly on the following:

- The uncertainty that prevails within the ranks of Islam on the way ahead.

- The beginning of the end of the Russian empire.
- Rising tensions in northeast Asia where one issue in particular is going to have a major impact.

Islam: Uncertainty and renewal

In 1993, author and political philosopher Samuel Huntington caused much debate in the media, among academics and government officials with the publication of his paper *The Clash of Civilisations*.

His contention was that while nation states would remain the most powerful actors in world affairs, future conflict would not be between nation states but between civilisations. In other words, the battle lines of future conflict would be cultural.

Most academic and western governments publicly rejected Huntington's argument. But many in the Islamic world believe that a fundamental conflict between Islam and the West is occurring. Western governments, on the other hand, are at pains to point the finger at Islamists, that is those Muslims who view Islam as an ideology rather than a religion. Thus the West attempts to replace Huntington's clash of civilisations with an old fashioned clash of ideologies. It is as if the communist reds have been replaced by the Islamic greens. This has allowed President George Bush to declare that September 11th was driven by the terrorists' "abhorrence of democracy". Even our own White Paper on terrorism argues that the ideology of terrorism lies at the heart of the threat facing the world.

Of course, there is some justification for this. Recent acts of terrorism have given Islamism a global dimension. Terrorist networks that appear to be in ideological allegiance to al-Qaeda may have established worldwide operational linkages. Islamists themselves are quick to contribute to this perception.

But we need to be very careful that we do not see Islamism as a monolithic ideological movement spreading from its putative centre, the Middle East, and encompassing all Muslim countries. Indeed, most of today's Muslims no longer live in the Middle East. While figures vary, only 350 to 380 million of the world's 1.2 to 1.5 billion Muslims are found in the region.

So what is Islamism? Traditionally, it has been defined as Islam conceived as an ideology. Those who adhere to it see Islam as encompassing everything in society; from the way it is governed, to its education and legal systems, to its culture and economy. For Islamists, a truly Islamic society – a just, prosperous and strong one – does not simply consist of pious Muslims but requires an Islamic state or system.

But Islamists also differ as to what this means in practice. For Ayatollah Khomeini, for example, an Islamic state implies clerical rule while other Islamists envisage a much more circumscribed role for the clergy. Having said that, Islamists generally agree that an Islamist state is not based on secular rule or a complete separation of state and religion.

Another key element, over which there is considerable dissent, is the level of activism to be employed. This can range from preaching and teaching to terrorism. It can also be reflected in a decision to form political parties and participation in parliamentary elections.

Three further conclusions can be drawn:

- Most Muslims draw a distinction between Islam and Islamism although many see Islam as part of everyday life.

- The Qur'an says a good deal about law, politics, social relations and even economics. But what it says is by no means clear or undisputed, certainly in a contemporary context.
- Islamism is an evolving discourse and opinions as its true meaning are divided.

But the majority of Muslims share a common concern: how can a Muslim world in decline both defend against and absorb the advances being made in the West in such diverse areas as law, industry, the economy and military technology but still remain true to its own unique society, culture and beliefs? The answer clearly lies in the revival and reform of Islam.

At the expense of being overly simplistic, I believe there are two broad approaches being taken: firstly, one that essentially is political and accommodates the state; and secondly, one that has a radical jihadist approach.

By the mid-1990s Islamists were confronting failure, particularly in Egypt and Algeria and had publicly called for a halt to armed attacks. In part this was the result of government repression although the escalation of violence, especially in Egypt, had alienated many ordinary Egyptians. Younger members also began to agitate for change. They had grown impatient with the slow and more religiously oriented actions of their elders. They advocated a more overtly political though still non-violent approach, including the establishment of political parties. Some even promoted the idea of an Islamic democracy and have distinguished between Islam as a religion, which excludes non-Muslims, and Islam as a political entity that includes all members, including non-Muslims. People of this persuasion call for democratic elections, advocate the rights of minorities and attempt to reconcile sharia with parliamentary rule.

An example, and one not lost on Islamist movements, is the Justice and Development Party in Turkey that is in power today. Islamist parties have also entered parliaments in Jordan, Kuwait,

Bahrain and Algeria. These have been referred to as liberalising autocracies. Of course, none of this is to suggest that violence has been irrevocably abandoned, particularly if avenues of political expression remain closed or limited.

Now the group I have just described is reconciled essentially with a state or nationalist approach. Others, however, who still do not advocate violence, see the ideal political outcome as the restoration of an Islamic caliphate that would see the creation of a super Islamist state. The use of the mass media has been particularly powerful in this regard.

I now turn to the radical groups that have moved into organised terrorism. Again there are probably two groups: that characterised by al-Qaeda that seeks to engage the 'far enemy' (that is the US and its allies) and those who oppose the 'near enemy' (that is the autocratic rulers of Muslim states). Increasingly, I suspect, these distinctions are being blurred, and many previously regional or national based groups are prepared to support other, like-minded groups.

Al-Qaeda increasingly looks like an ideology rather than a coherent movement. Even this description may add more coherence than al-Qaeda deserves. Recent utterances reflect little more than fervent anti-American and Western statements and anti-Semitism, all apparently justifying a perpetual jihad. Indeed, in some ways, the jihad appears to be an end in itself.

But there is also a political and opportunistic dimension to al-Qaeda's rhetoric. It attempts to represent conflicts involving Moslems around the world into a vision of a clash of civilisations and to promote international angst towards the US and the West.

This is illustrated by the way bin Laden's statements have evolved over the years. In the original 1998 statement, bin Laden's main focus was the Middle East. In particular, he highlights several issues: the 'occupation' by US troops of Islam's holiest land, Saudi Arabia; the devastation inflicted upon Iraq both during, and as a

result of sanctions after, the 1991 Gulf War; and US support for Israel. But reflecting al-Qaeda's transnational horizons, these soon expanded to more global concerns. By 2002, in his 'letter to America', bin Laden had included the Palestinian cause in his complaints against the US. He also added to the list Russian atrocities in Chechnya, Indian oppression in Kashmir and US support for the Philippine government against its Muslim minority. He even cited the Bush administration's refusal to sign the Kyoto Treaty as evidence of how US companies were destroying the world's environment. Australia has also received a mention in earlier pronouncements for its alleged role in helping East Timor 'secede' from Indonesia.

Now what do I draw from all of this? Firstly Islam is severely divided by how it is to reconcile its faith with future global directions. And secondly, most importantly, we in the West must avoid seeing Islam as monolithic terrorist movement bent on the destruction of the West by violent means. While many may adopt an Islamist approach, only a small minority accept the use of al-Qaeda style violence. But if we persist in seeing every Muslim, especially those with Islamist tendencies, as a member of an al-Qaeda type organization, then we will increasingly drive even larger numbers in that direction.

Let me say a few words about the war against al-Qaeda.

It is difficult to gauge the effectiveness of this campaign but there is a growing sense that al-Qaeda has been unable to replace its losses since the occupation of its base in Afghanistan. There has been no major incident since the Madrid train bombing, over a year ago, and a number of countries, that previously remained uncommitted, have decisively sought to counter al-Qaeda's influence.

Saudi Arabia, for instance, not only appears to have contained al-Qaeda's militancy but has recently taken the offensive. Perhaps more significantly, the kingdom's religious establishment, long

viewed as having divided loyalties, has recently spoken out against the 'jihadist' movement. As a result, al-Qaeda has shifted some of its operational focus to Kuwait and Qatar and may even seek to operate in the UAE and return to Yemen.

Al-Qaeda has only been able to operate with some success in Iraq. But even here, al-Qaeda has essentially coopted a regional group that is headed by al-Zarqawi who has warned of a race against time. Indeed, the recently returned commander of the US 1st Cavalry Division, whose prime responsibility was the security of Baghdad, made the interesting observation that bin Laden's reference to al-Zarqawi as the 'prince of Iraq' drew an instant negative reaction from many Iraqis who heard a Saudi telling a Jordanian to kill Iraqis.

Some have suggested that the war in Iraq, like the Soviet conflict in Afghanistan, has become a breeding ground for the next generation of Islamist militants. While there are similarities - the convergence of Arab and Muslim fighters and the presence of Islamist extremists - there are also significant differences.

In Afghanistan the majority of the populace opposed Soviet efforts to prop up an Afghan Marxist regime. In Iraq, while many wish to see the end of the occupation, a majority of Shia and Kurds, and a significant number of Sunnis, support the new US-backed government.

Nor has the Iraqi conflict attracted nearly as many foreign fighters as Afghanistan did. Nor does the majority of Sunnis subscribe to al-Zarqawi's extreme Wahhabist ideology.

There is also an argument that the push for democratisation will reduce the attractiveness of militant action in the long term. Many people in the Middle East have no love for their authoritarian regimes and external demands for democracy probably mesh with internal desires for greater freedom and self-determination.

A fear lingers in the West, however, that a truly democratic protest could allow radical anti-Western, and particularly anti-US, groups to gain power. While it is early days to make this judgement, there is evidence that conservative and even Islamist forces, which wield much greater influence than the jihadists, moderate their stance as they assume political responsibilities. This has happened in Turkey and to a lesser extent in Iran and Pakistan. In other words, the democratisation of states, where significant Islamist movements make respectable showings in elections, may also lead to a moderating influence on Islamist ideologues.

(To be continued in the next issue)



The following article, submitted by the Defence Reserves Association, is intended to act as a catalyst for the discussion session at our Lunchtime Speakers Meeting on Thursday, 28th July. Members are invited to study the article which should help stimulate debate.

Rebuilding the ADF Reserve Forces

Background:

Western democracies all rely on volunteers to man their armed forces and most have a significant "reserves" element. For example the USA today has over 46% of its Army manned by their Army Reserve and National Guard.

Australia's defence history is one of "too little too late" and by governments of both persuasions. There are no votes in defence when there is no perceived or real threat!

The ADF since Vietnam has downsized through successive reviews/reorganisations to meet its budget allocations. Irrespective of the level or amount of funding the percentages remain similar, i.e. Personnel 40%, Operating costs 35% and Equipment/Capital Procurement at 25%. This has led to outsourcing to the commercial world in order to cut personnel and cutting back on procurement. This has had a profound effect on Reserve Forces and how they are resourced.

The East Timor operation in 1999 has become another watershed for the ADF, highlighting all the ADF shortcomings when it comes to sustained operations.

Current Situation:

The 2000 Defence White Paper was a direct result of the East Timor operation. The ADF was to have a "fully developed capability", rather than the "fitted for but not with" basis and at much shorter notice. There was a necessary increase in strength and an attendant Defence Capability Plan to provide appropriate equipment/platforms. More importantly the Government pledged a 3% increase in real growth terms over the succeeding ten years in the Defence Budget.

Despite the best intentions, neither the strength, equipment procurement nor expenditure of the budget was achieved, leading to a Strategic Update in February 2003 along with a Defence Capability Review of the ADF structure and a refined Plan in 2004. A complementary Defence Procurement Review (Kinnaird Review) examined the process difficulties of procurement management and accrual accounting, which led to the re-establishment of the Defence Materiel Organisation.

Over the last two years recruiting targets for personnel of all three Services, including their Reserves, have not been met despite expensive advertising campaigns and an outsourced centralised agency.

Reserves Reaction:

It is assumed that there is agreement that Reserves are a cost effective component of the Services in order to expand the ADF when the situation requires it and that they are trained for the task(s).

The Chief of Army, LTGEN Peter Leahy, wrote an article for AAJ Vol 2 No.1, Winter 2004 entitled "The Australian Army Reserve – Relevant and Ready" extolling the virtues, need and relevance of that component of Army. The article did not however deal with the ARes's short coming, which also could equally apply to the other Services.

The Defence Reserves Association responded in the ADA's "Defender" of Autumn 2005 in an article entitled "Matching performance to promise – Rebuilding the army reserve", outlining options of how to make the ARes relevant and ready.

Our strategic policy now requires the ADF to maintain and sustain an independent Brigade on operations and to have a Battalion Group available for other contingencies. Sustaining a Brigade on operations requires another Brigade to be brought to operational readiness within at least six months and a third Brigade in training for its possible rotation as well as providing re-enforcement for inevitable wastage.

The deployed force requires its logistic supply chain, with all that that entails, especially with outsourced support only operating within Australia. It follows that there is a huge role for Reserves to offset these shortfalls as well as providing or rounding out the combat force(s).

We fortunately now have appropriate Call Out legislation and workplace protection for reservists as well as employer incentives. However in the Army the attempt to clone the reservist as a regular soldier has failed overall and along with other processes has seen the ARes strength diminish to an alarming situation.

The Way Forward:

A viable Reserve Force is essential for all Services to operate within an independent joint environment. This paper will now postulate Army's position. The ARes present strength is of the order of 15,000, as compared to a desired "effective" strength around 20,000 and is continuing to fall as a result of:

- Incorrect recruiting approach
- Inappropriate training, inadequate facilities and equipment
- Outmoded terms and conditions of service
- Erosion of ARes structure and opportunities for promotion

- "Cloning" to the regular prototype

The DRA has proposed the following areas as essential to rebuilding the ARes:

- ARes recruiting returned to the local Unit/community
- Unit hosting of recruits and initial training before centralised modified Common Induction Training (CIT) courses
- Regional Training of Initial Employment Training (IET) courses that are modified and offered in modules
- Regional Training of NCOs and similar for WOs and officers
- Reserve Conditions of Service thoroughly reviewed with the aim of retention and transfers from the regular forces.
- Reserve budgets to be hypothecated within the Defence Budget
- Reserve advice at all levels of equipment procurement
- Specialist capabilities of reserves to be manned and equipped, especially of combat and theatre type units.

Further background material can be found in an article written by Major General Warren Glenny contained in the Autumn 2005 issue of 'Defender', the journal of the Australian Defence Association.



'I've always said we need strong leadership.'