



Submission No 7

Inquiry into Australia's Defence Relations with the United States

Organisation: United States Government

United States Government Submission

Joint Standing Committee on Foreign Affairs, Defence, and Trade

Inquiry into Australia-United States Defense Relations

Introduction

The United States Government welcomes the opportunity to contribute to the Joint Standing Committee on Foreign Affairs, Defence, and Trade's inquiry into Australia's defense relations with the United States. As we look back on more than nine decades of hand-in-hand cooperation, and ahead to the security challenges of the twenty-first century, it is appropriate to take stock of the defense relationship. The turbulent world situation in the wake of the September 11, 2001 terrorist attacks has reaffirmed the importance and the necessity of our defense and security relationship. It is crucial to the safety of our nations and the future of our relationship that we consider together how best to maintain and project our strengths, defend our countries, and to create a secure environment for our citizens.

We understand that this inquiry is an Australian process for the benefit of the Australian people and their government. We accept the invitation to submit our views knowing that the Joint Committee's perspective, and that of most contributors to the inquiry, will be focused on Australian interests and priorities. In this context, we believe it can be useful for your partner in the alliance to offer its perspective on the value and direction of that alliance.

The ANZUS Treaty and Our Nations' Security

When representatives of our governments, scholars, and journalists gathered in late June, 2001 to examine the ANZUS alliance on its fiftieth anniversary, they concluded that it had stood the test of time and proven its relevance to contemporary security conditions. Dr. Ashton Calvert, Secretary of the Department of Foreign Affairs and Trade, said, "Australia and America have worked together to promote our common interests in all parts of the world..." That observation was dramatically confirmed a few months later, when Australia invoked, with bipartisan and broad public support, the ANZUS Treaty to come to the assistance of the United States in the wake of the September 11 attacks in New York and Washington. The Australian

Government's decision to invoke the mutual defense clause of the ANZUS Treaty, and the substantial contribution it made to Operation Enduring Freedom in Afghanistan based on that commitment, were tangible, courageous steps that the U.S. Government and people profoundly appreciated. As President Bush said in his address to a joint session of the Australian Parliament on October 23, 2003, "in times of trouble and danger, Australians are the first to step forward, to accept the hard duties, and to fight bravely until the fighting is done."

Australia's invocation of the ANZUS Treaty demonstrated the continuing relevance and vitality of the treaty at a time when threats to national security come not only from states, but also non-state actors. Article IV makes clear that "Each Party recognizes that an armed attack in the Pacific Area on any of the Parties would be dangerous to its own peace and safety and declares that it would act to meet the common danger in accordance with its constitutional processes" -- an unmistakable call to action. Moreover, Article V of the treaty clearly states that it applies not only to an attack in the parts of our countries bordering the Pacific Ocean, but also "an armed attack on the metropolitan territory of any of the Parties, or on the island territories under its jurisdiction in the Pacific or on its armed forces, public vessels or aircraft in the Pacific." Thus, both our countries are fully covered, New York as much as Sydney, and Perth as much as Los Angeles.

The ANZUS Treaty thus provides a formal legal commitment that buttresses a multi-dimensional alliance relationship. For the United States, Australia is a durable and effective partner in the Asia-Pacific region, whose deep knowledge and influential role within the region, and the priority it attaches to its relations with the countries of the region, are of immense value to us. It is also, however, a global partner of the United States. Australia's contributions to this global partnership include tireless efforts to combat the spread of weapons of mass destruction; its strong support for multilateral measures to defeat terrorists; its work with us and other countries to protect critical infrastructure; its place in the forefront of international scientific endeavors (such as the current exploration of Mars); and active diplomacy and assistance programs to advance human development and dignity.

Thus, our pledge to defend Australia in the context of the ANZUS Treaty is not only a solemn commitment, but also an integral part of the defense of our own vital interests, both regional and global. Australia's courage and common-sense approaches to security challenges over many decades have

demonstrated more than trustworthy mateship and reliable partnership. Australia is a cherished friend and ally.

Australia-U.S. Intelligence Sharing and our Security

Cooperative intelligence sharing and the pooling of our resources have been at the heart of our 53-year formal alliance. It is an invaluable two-way street in which we are both producers and consumers of information. Starting from a common base of similar cultures, ethics, values and viewpoints, our joint efforts have fostered an atmosphere of great trust and mutual responsibility. The United States relies upon Australia as an unwavering ally in this and other areas of common endeavor.

The terrorist attacks on New York, Washington, Pennsylvania and Bali, and the subsequent declared war on terrorism, have served to significantly strengthen the historically solid relationship between the United States and Australia. At no time in the history of this relationship have the two countries been more willing to integrate defense forces, share intelligence, and jointly collaborate on technological developments.

Sharing of both foreign and domestic intelligence, technological capabilities, and the integration of defense forces between the U.S. and Australia are critical to the protection of both countries and their allies. Given that the war on terrorism is global in nature, it is not possible for any one nation to bear the burden alone. The human and financial requirements are simply too great. The partnership between the U.S. and Australia in the global war on terrorism has demonstrated a profound commitment to the sharing of capabilities, resources and information in an effort to enhance the safety and security of each nation's citizens and critical infrastructure.

U.S. Engagement in the Asia-Pacific Region

When President Bush spoke to the Australian Parliament last October, he affirmed that "Our nations have a special responsibility throughout the Pacific to help keep the peace, to ensure the free movement of people and capital and information, and advance the ideals of democracy and freedom. America will continue to maintain a forward presence in Asia, and continue to work closely with Australia."

In keeping with the President's words, the United States is, and will remain, fully engaged in the Asia-Pacific region, working proudly alongside our Australian ally. The very proximity of Australia to terrorist-threatened nations in Southeast Asia means that a ready first-response neighbor is on hand to help in crisis situations, such as the Australian Defence Force (ADF) and Australian Federal Police's (AFP) immediate assistance to injured victims and Indonesian investigators after the terrorist attack in Bali. United States Government assistance to Indonesia served to complement and magnify what Australia was already doing on the ground from the first moment of the attack.

Similarly, Australia's leading role in preserving peace in Bougainville, East Timor and, more recently, in Solomon Islands, demonstrates what a credit the nation of Australia is to its region, and what a capable, farsighted ally it is for us. As the U.S. and Australia keep an unswerving eye on other areas of concern in Asia, such as North Korea and the Taiwan Strait, and on the global threats of terrorism and weapons proliferation that affect the Asia Pacific region, we can each draw comfort from knowing the other's commitment to this region reinforces our own. Whether training police or military forces in countries of the Pacific Islands Forum or Southeast Asia, providing food aid to hungry North Koreans, tracking Al Qaida and Jemaah Islamiyah terrorists across the region, or working to resolve the Kashmir dispute, it is a given that both the U.S. and Australia will be involved together in these efforts.

As the U.S. begins to alter its military "footprint" in Asia, and as we seek to become more agile and deployable from home to confront today's less predictable threats, our commitment to preserving stability in the Asia Pacific environment will remain unchanged. Consulting with Australia, we will endeavor to provide a balanced military presence in Asia that corresponds to today's and tomorrow's needs. In fact, as Europe makes further progress toward its long-held dream of a continent that is whole and free, the U.S. will be able to focus more intently on less stable environments. We will continue to rely on Australia's advice -- and abilities -- in this region, and beyond.

Our engagement in Asia, while it has a long history, is not simply a legacy of the past. It is critically important to our current global initiatives and to our ability to join together in meeting the security challenges of the future. The number and variety of international initiatives in which both our

countries are involved demonstrates this fact. These include efforts to get North Korea to dismantle its nuclear program, the initiative to curb North Korea's illicit activities, the informal US/Australia/Japan security trilaterals (now expanded to include counterterrorism), US-Australian coordination on Indonesia and East Timor, and Australian leadership of the intervention in Solomon Islands--just to name a few. In addition, Australia, Japan, and eight other countries are actively participating with the United States in the Proliferation Security Initiative (PSI). We have been able to coalesce around common interests, pool our resources, and create a good division of labor with Australia and other close allies in the region because we have developed practical habits of cooperation, even when we disagree on other issues. That is a model we and others could usefully follow in other regions.

The Adaptability and Interoperability of Australia's Force Structure and Capability for Coalition Operations

Australia is one of our most interoperable allies, as evidenced by the success of recent coalition operations in Iraq and Afghanistan. Additionally, Australia is one of a few allies that has had experience forming and leading multinational coalitions, in East Timor in 1999 and the Solomon Islands in 2003. These experiences give Australian leaders a far greater understanding than most countries of what is important in a coalition partner. This is reflected in the Australian Defence Force's doctrine, equipment, and training. Complementarity between our forces gives both the United States and Australia the secure knowledge that each country can support the other in responding to regional crises, either taking the lead or in a support role.

Interoperability with the U.S., and the ability to contribute meaningfully to multinational coalitions with the U.S. are oft-stated ADF goals, shaping its training, doctrine and force structure, and influencing most of its acquisition decisions. As a longstanding member of the America, Britain, Canada, Australia (ABCA) Armies Program, Australia is a key contributor to coalition interoperability. The ADF's ability to operate seamlessly with U.S. deployments is something large portions of Australia's combat forces can already accomplish. Their naval surface combatants, aviation assets and special operations forces have all deployed and successfully joined U.S. operations in Afghanistan and Iraq over the past two years. For example, in Afghanistan, when U.S. troops were pinned down by Taliban forces, it was the Australian SAS who directed U.S. air strikes to relieve the situation. In Iraq, Australian FA-18's provided close air support to U.S. ground forces

and Australian frigates provided naval gunfire support for coalition operations.

The ADF has also demonstrated an ability to deploy an amazingly high proportion of its combat assets to the fight, rotating much of its personnel through the combat zones over the course of a year. This means that in any upcoming deployment, we can expect the Australians to bring some highly experienced troops and leaders who are familiar with U.S. operations. Such experience is invaluable on the battlefield.

The lessons learned during the past three years of exercises and real world deployments have resulted in both minor and major acquisition programs designed to round out the ADF's equipment. U.S.-Australian logistics agreements are now working better than ever for both the deployment and sustainment phases of combined operations. We should continue to work on these operational procedures to ensure they remain as robust and well-tuned as possible. We welcome continued ADF interest in the U.S. Department of Defense transformation process because we feel it will pay dividends for both U.S. and Australian forces to share technology and keep Australia involved in our ongoing development of new weapons technology and systems.

The Value of Joint Defense Exercises

The robust schedule of joint U.S.-Australian exercises has traditionally been our most important tool for ensuring we can operate side-by-side during real world operations, and this clearly paid dividends during the heavy schedule of high-intensity combat operations we have conducted together since September 11, 2001. Bilateral exercises in the Asia-Pacific region, as well as some of our top-level training outside of the region, give the ADF an opportunity to train its personnel to the very limits of current capability. Regional multinational exercises give Australian forces a chance to rehearse all the skills required to deploy and operate within a large coalition, and afford them a chance to work with some of the neighboring defense forces that might not otherwise pursue training with Australia. The exercise program also gives them a chance to hone their skills and doctrine for leading multinational coalitions, something they have successfully done in East Timor and Solomon Islands, making Australia almost the only country aside from the U.S. to have created and led a non-UN multinational coalition since World War II. Australia is also increasingly participating in U.S.

experimentation and planning exercises, giving the ADF opportunities to safely test doctrine, procedures and equipment it may not presently possess.

Over the last two years, the U.S. and Australia have conducted over 37 major military exercises and many more lower-level ad hoc training activities. This extensive schedule of joint training allows both militaries to learn what operations are currently feasible for the two forces, and what to work toward in the future. As a result, the leadership of each nation has a very good idea of what capabilities the other possesses, and knows what operational contributions to request from the other ally when setting up coalitions. This confidence level in each other's abilities has also allowed the U.S. to play a supporting or non-military role in some recent regional conflicts, deferring to the Australians' professionalism and keen understanding of the region.

Australia's Dialogue with the U.S. on Missile Defense

The global threats we face today are asymmetric and unpredictable; far different from the traditional, nation-versus-nation conflicts that we faced in the past. Today's primary threats of global terrorism and the proliferation of weapons of mass destruction (WMD) and the nexus between them, often involve a mixture of rogue states and non-state actors. These dangers require an array of policies and tools that goes beyond the traditional need for a strong military. In addition to arms control and nonproliferation regimes, we must employ active counterterrorism and counter-proliferation tools of law enforcement, intelligence sharing, terrorist asset freezes, and even WMD interdiction, if necessary. The ability to destroy a few incoming missiles launched by rogue states or terrorist organizations, rather than to serve as a strategic deterrent against the Soviet Union's vast arsenal as was envisioned in the 1980s, is the purpose of today's Missile Defense (MD) program. Our system is intended to protect the U.S., its friends and allies and deployed forces. Levels of interest and participation are left to each ally to determine.

Major world powers understand the true intent behind the United States Government's current development and deployment of MD technology and thus, no new arms race has occurred. In fact, one important element of the MD program is its deterrent effect on rogue nations and terrorist leaders -- it will become prohibitively expensive to obtain missile systems that could succeed in attacking the U.S. or its allies.

Australia's participation in Missile Defense will enable the Australian Government to see and consider the entire array of systems and programs that form a layered defense against all ranges of missiles at every part of the trajectory of an offensive missile (boost, mid-course, and terminal phases). From this array of options the Government of Australia will be able to choose elements of interest to it, whether it be laboratory research and development projects, industrial opportunities, systems to provide territorial defense or the defense of deployed forces, or any combinations thereof.

Australia has a variety of niche industrial capabilities of interest to the United States for its own defense, such as radar, sensor and data fusion technologies, whether or not Australia chooses to explore missile defense coverage for itself or its forces. The framework agreement currently under negotiation will provide Australia the opportunity to explore areas of interest to itself.

Research and Development Cooperation

Defense cooperation between the U.S. and Australia has both a depth and breadth enjoyed by few countries. In addition to the military cooperation during World War II, technical cooperation dates back to immediately after that war, when large numbers of U.S. fighter aircraft were used by Australia to develop extensive databases on aging characteristics of materials. This information became the basis of Australia's world-class expertise in maintaining aircraft.

Over the intervening years, our technical relationships have grown. Today there are many bilateral and multilateral agreements for defense cooperation, ranging from basic research in areas such as insect vision, advanced command and control and hypersonic propulsion, to development of the next generation of front-line fighters and advanced torpedoes.

The Technical Cooperation Program (TTCP) consists of a series of multinational fora geared toward technical cooperation in defense technology. The program enables technical experts from the U.S., UK, Australia, New Zealand, and Canada to share their knowledge and research.

The Cooperative and Collaborative Research Development and

Engineering Agreement (also known as the Deutch-Ayers Agreement), signed in 1994, established a framework under which collaborative projects could be established between defense entities. To date, 30 project agreements between the U.S. Army, Navy or Air Force and the Australian Defence Science and Technology Organisation (DSTO) have been developed, with another 28 projects under consideration. An additional 38 data exchange agreements have been developed under the auspices of the 1962 US-Australia Mutual Weapons Development Data Exchange Agreement (MWDDEA).

The Defense Threat Reduction Agency (DTRA), the Missile Defense Agency (MDA), the Defense Advanced Research Projects Agency (DARPA), and the Director, Defense Research and Engineering, have, or are in the process of developing, arrangements with the Australian Department of Defence and the Defence Science and Technology Organisation to pursue cooperative development projects. For example, DTRA and the Australian Defence Force have signed an agreement to cooperate on developing technologies and systems to protect our citizens and soldiers from biological and chemical attacks.

A Test and Evaluation Memorandum of Agreement, signed in 2003, allows for reciprocal use of DoD test facilities, with only direct costs charged to the user. This opens U.S. test facilities to Australian programs, and Australian test facilities to U.S. programs, reducing the need for expensive investment in infrastructure while encouraging the sharing of technology and test results.

In 2002 the U.S. Technical Support Working Group--a multi-agency organization with the key mission of rapid transition of counterterrorism technology from development stages into useable products--invited Australia to be one of a small group of international partners in TSWG. Australia's Science, Engineering and Technology (SET) Unit in the Department of Prime Minister and Cabinet was established in mid-2003, in part to provide the Australian point of contact for participation in TSWG, but also to look ahead to Australia's future security-driven technology requirements. Similar to TSWG, the SET Unit is staffed with civilian and military personnel.

The U.S. Air Force Office of Scientific Research, the Office of Naval Research, and the Army Research Laboratory continue to seek opportunities for collaboration, not only at the defense laboratory level, but also with

universities in Australia. In 2002, the U.S. Office of Naval Research established an office at the Defense Science and Technology facilities in Melbourne, and began working with military and civilian groups on areas of mutual interest. In recent years, the Air Force Office of Scientific Research, and its adjunct Asian Office of Aerospace Research and Development, have signed more than 42 research contracts with Australian universities.

Cooperation is not limited, however, to science and testing. The Joint Strike Fighter is an outstanding example of technical cooperation to meet future operational needs. As a partner in the development of the aircraft, Australia brings technical and industrial expertise to the table. By pooling the best ideas, technologies, and capabilities of the partner countries, the program not only will provide the best possible capability at the lowest possible price, but also will ensure that successful industries are a part of the program, throughout the life of the system. The U.S. and Australia are looking at expanding this model into other development programs, such as the Multi-Mission Maritime Aircraft, a replacement for the P-3 Orion.

Cooperative research and development can only exist in an atmosphere of trust and technical competency. The U.S.-Australia relationship reflects both. And the two nations are strengthened because of that relationship.

Defense Industry Participation

In the Joint Strike Fighter program, participating countries give their industries a chance to compete for work on the design, production, and support of the system. The philosophy of selecting the best of the best, regardless of nationality, promises to provide an unparalleled capability for the U.S., Australia, and the other partners. Only a few months into the program, Australian industry has won at least 11 contracts with the expectation of many more, and the potential of continuous work for the next 30 years.

The Joint Strike Fighter is neither the first nor the last program in which the U.S. and Australian industries are contributing to a mutual goal.

Today, U.S. and Australian companies cooperatively produce the Nulka target missile and the Enhanced Sea Sparrow Missile. The U.S. Navy's Multi-Mission Maritime Aircraft and Broad Area Maritime Surveillance

unmanned vehicle will be built on the same cooperative model, as will the Missile Defense Agency's international participation in future systems. Future cooperative efforts on the Royal Australian Navy's new Air Warfare Destroyer program and the Army's Future Combat Systems program may also provide such opportunities for industrial collaboration.

The U.S. is constantly looking for technologies and products that satisfy operational requirements. The Foreign Comparative Testing Program evaluates potential military products from around the world as candidates for introduction to the U.S. inventory. From 1980 to 2002, 17 Australian products were evaluated, with four selected for procurement, at a value of more than U.S.\$190 million. Australian products have both reduced U.S. acquisition costs and accelerated fielding of such items as an Interim High Mobility Engineering Vehicle for the U.S. Army, a Next-Generation Loader for the Air Force (at an R&D savings of U.S.\$12 million and a fielding accelerated by more than two years), and a Transportable Recompression Chamber (used in the TWA 800 crash recovery activities in 1997 and the Pennsylvania Mine Rescue in 2002).

In the last two years, the U.S. Army and Marine Corps have leased vessels from Incat and Austal for evaluation of their effectiveness. Due to operational needs, these vessels were almost immediately sent to the Gulf to support operations in Afghanistan and Iraq. While programs such as the fast ferry receive widespread attention, the U.S. also directly procures many smaller items, including solar-powered, portable runway lighting from Aussie Imports/Exports in New South Wales that continue to be instrumental in actions in the Persian Gulf.

Finally, U.S. Pacific Command and the Australian Joint Logistics Command have been working on an Advanced Concept Technology Demonstration project, examining various integrated supply chain concepts.

Australian-U.S. defense and industrial cooperation has reduced the costs of defense, enhanced our military capabilities, and contributed to the economic security of our two countries.

Conclusion

This submission details some of the many ways that the United States and Australia work together daily, and seamlessly, to advance our national

security, global, regional, technological, economic and other interests. We believe it demonstrates that through formal alliance commitments, close political consultations on regional and global issues, intelligence sharing, joint military exercises, interoperability, and cooperative defense research and development, the United States and Australia are doing much to complement each other's strengths and enhance each other's security. Sustaining both the habits and the muscle of our cooperation is a vital interest for both our countries. As President Bush pledged when he spoke before the Australian Parliament last October, "Together we will meet the challenges and perils of our time."