



## SUMMER SCHOLAR'S PAPER

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### 'To The Moon and Back'—Parliamentary perceptions of ANZUS since 1950

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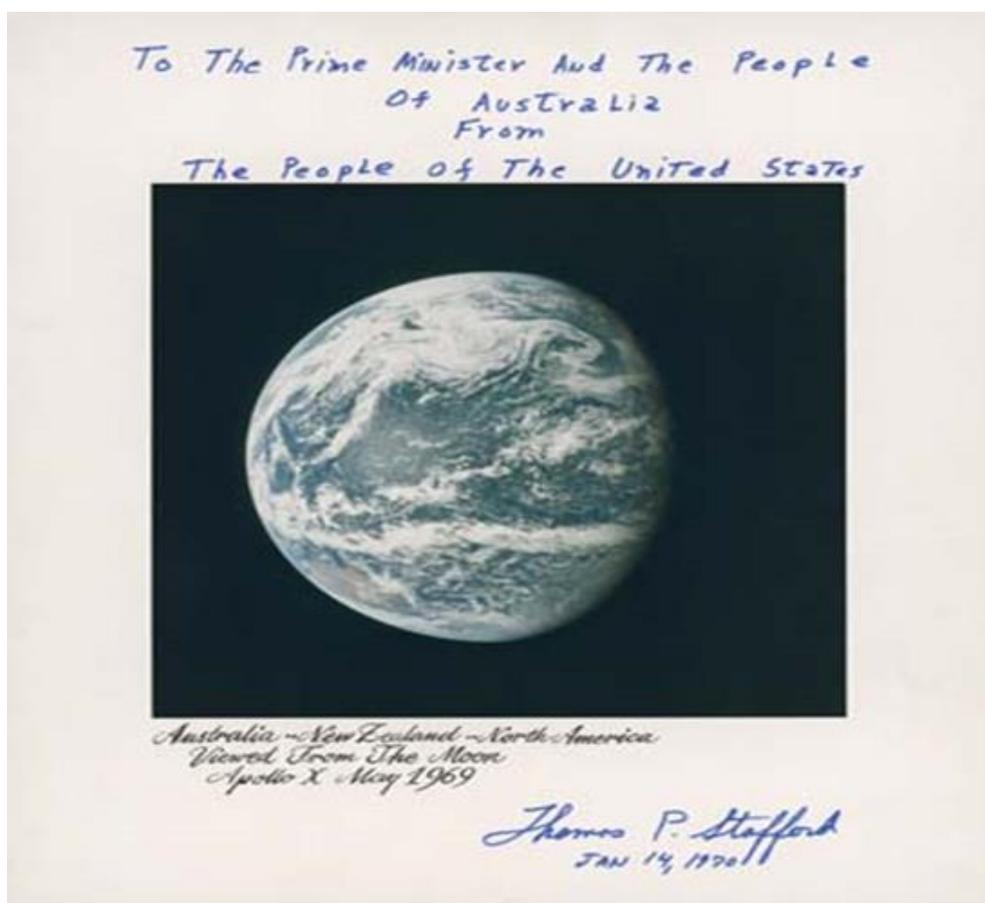


Figure 1 'To The Prime Minister And The People Of Australia From The People Of The United States - Australia, New Zealand and North America Viewed From The Moon Apollo X May 1969'. National Archives of Australia. Barcode: 4196847.

## Executive summary

Since 1951, Australian parliamentarians have viewed the Security Treaty between Australia, New Zealand and the United States of America (ANZUS)<sup>1</sup> as the unquestioned cornerstone of Australia's defence and security.<sup>2</sup> Debate about the treaty has centred on strengthening it rather than scrapping it or replacing it.

Over seven decades, substantial changes in the balance of power between states have taken place, new security threats have emerged and non-state actors have risen in prominence. Leaders have changed, with 14 Australian Prime Ministers, 16 New Zealand Prime Ministers and 13 Presidents of the United States over this period.<sup>3</sup> Yet, throughout these changes, support for ANZUS has remained constant in the major political parties in Canberra, even as Wellington and Washington clashed over nuclear policy in the 1980s.

The first section of this paper zooms in to look in detail at the record of debate contained in Hansard and explore how parliamentarians have interpreted ANZUS to fit Australia's changing security policy needs. The second section zooms out to take a broader perspective that identifies three enduring themes over seven decades. The first theme is the Australia- US alliance and the terms of its reciprocal obligations. The second theme is the repurposing of ANZUS to address nascent security threats, from communism to terrorism. The third theme is greater access to defence capabilities, intelligence and support.

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<sup>1</sup> *Security Treaty between Australia, New Zealand and the United States of America* [ANZUS], signed San Francisco, 1 September 1951, (entered into force 29 April 1952), Australian Treaty Series 1952 No. 2.

<sup>2</sup> The phrase 'ANZUS as the cornerstone (keystone) of Australia's defence/security' appears at least 300 times in Hansard from the 1950s to the 2010s. See Parlinfo, using the search term 'ANZUS cornerstone'.

<sup>3</sup> 14 Australian Prime Ministers (9 Liberal/Country PMs over 46 years, 5 Labor PMs over 21 years); see Parliamentary Handbooks for the Commonwealth of Australia for each Parliament, published by the Parliamentary Library, the Australian Department of Parliamentary Services, Canberra.

16 New Zealand Prime Ministers (8 National PMs over 45 years, 8 Labour PMs over 20 years); see New Zealand Ministry for Culture and Heritage, 'Premiers and Prime Ministers', URL: <https://nzhistory.govt.nz/politics/premiers-and-pms>.

13 American presidents (7 Republicans over 37 years, 6 Democrats over 31 years). See United States White House, 'Presidents', <https://www.whitehouse.gov/about-the-white-house/presidents/>.

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## 1. Introduction

Since 1951, Australian parliamentarians have viewed the Security Treaty between Australia, New Zealand and the United States of America (ANZUS)<sup>4</sup> as the unquestioned cornerstone of Australia's defence and security.<sup>5</sup>

The one-page Treaty enshrines general obligations that are strategic, political and technical in nature.<sup>6</sup> These obligations are not couched in the usual legally-binding terms stating that Parties 'shall' or 'must' take action. Rather, the Treaty commits states to 'consult' (Article III) and 'act' (Article IV) in order to 'meet the common danger' (Article III) should an armed attack occur in the Pacific Area (Article IV), if parties believe that threats exist to their territorial integrity, political independence or security (Article IV). Politically, the Treaty has led to regular high-level meetings through the Council (Article VII). Technically, as a part of the broader defence relationship with the United States it has provided access to US military technology, through defence trade, joint facilities and intelligence-sharing as foreshadowed (Article II). Beyond these aspects, the Treaty aims to act as a deterrent to potential aggressors by promoting unity, self-reliance, regional stability and international peace and security (Preamble).

In practice, the general nature of the Treaty has left it open to interpretation by successive waves of governments and opposition parties as seen through parliamentary debate. It has taken on new meanings across time by generations of parliamentarians. The focus of this report is to capture these changes in the perceptions of Senators and Members. Perceptions are the subjective, sometimes contradictory, meanings attributed by parliamentarians to ANZUS during parliamentary debate.<sup>7</sup>

For parliamentarians, ANZUS addresses three strategic priorities. Securing the American friendship, ensuring Australia's security, and maintaining Australia's defence capabilities at an advanced level. In

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<sup>4</sup> *Security Treaty between Australia, New Zealand and the United States of America* [ANZUS], opened for signature 1 September 1951, [1952] ATS 2 (entered into force 29 April 1952).

<sup>5</sup> The phrase 'ANZUS as the cornerstone (keystone) of Australia's defence policy' appears at least 300 times in Hansard from the 1950s to the 2010s. See Parlinfo search term 'ANZUS cornerstone'.

<sup>6</sup> See full treaty text in Annex 1.

<sup>7</sup> Politicians, diplomats and military strategists all helped build ANZUS. They all have a say in its continued existence. This paper focuses only on the political perspective, as seen in the debates that occur in the chambers of the Australian Parliament. For this research paper, a search of the term 'ANZUS' was run through ParlInfo across four categories – House of Representatives, Senate, Committees, Bills and Legislation – from January 1950 to January 2018. This generated 2445 separate mentions. Each mention was categorised by type, speaker, chamber, theme, political party and electorate. Mentions that were incidental rather than contributing to debate were excluded, such as ministerial arrangements listing meetings attended or condolence motions for deceased parliamentarians. 1814 'unique' mentions were then analysed. The tables used in this report were generated based on this database of mentions, available on request in Excel format.

these three areas, namely friendship, security and capabilities, Australian parliamentarians have stated on record that ANZUS has successfully fulfilled its promise.

The first section of this paper looks at the evolution of parliamentary perceptions over seven decades. The second section expands three enduring themes that emerge from Hansard.

## 2. Seven decades of friendship, changing threats and strengthened capabilities

ANZUS mentions in the Parliament have been spread unevenly across decades, parliaments and political parties. Both main parties—the Liberal Party and the Australian Labor Party (ALP)—have generated the lion’s share of mentions. These two trends are plotted in the graphs below. The following section looks at each decade since the 1950s in order to situate these variations within defence and security environments in flux.

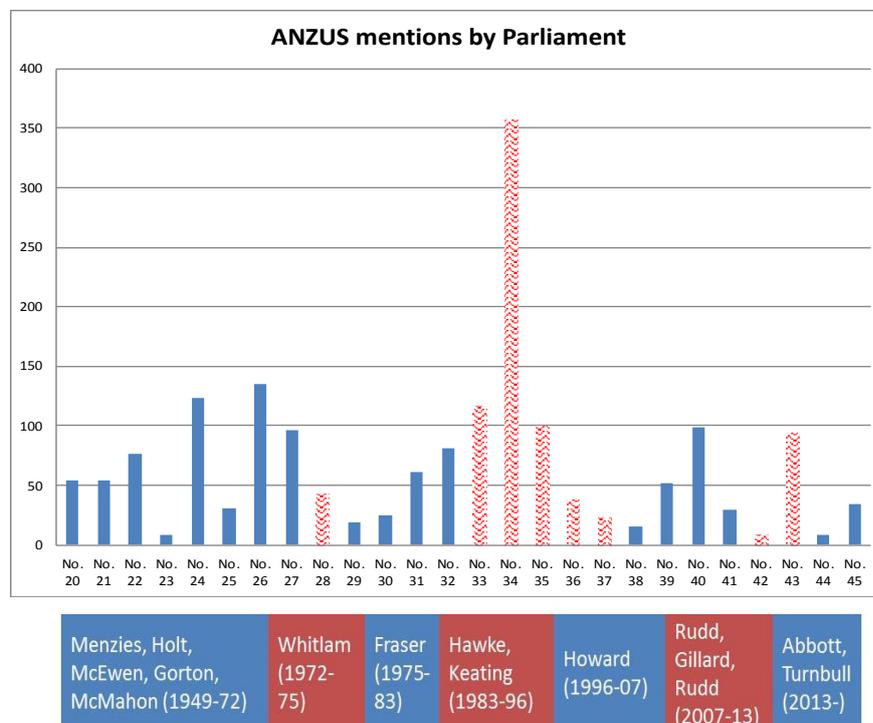


Figure 2 ANZUS mentions by Parliament. Source: author's research/ParlInfo.

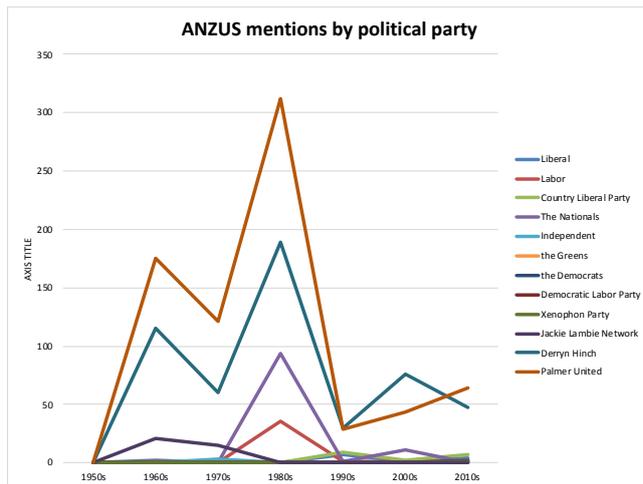


Figure 3 ANZUS mentions by political party. Source: author's research/ParInfo.

### a. 1950s: the creation of ANZUS amidst regional tensions

The creation of the ANZUS treaty in 1951 reflected the changing allegiances of Australian parliamentarians. The fall of Singapore in 1942 signalled to Australia that in the future Great Britain might be neither willing nor able to come to Australia's aid in case of a direct attack. During the Second World War, ALP Prime Minister John Curtin turned elsewhere, looking across the Atlantic instead, pledging to 'pull knee to knee' with the US, 'for every ounce of our weight'.<sup>8</sup> Within 10 years, Australia's attempt to secure Washington's assurance as protector became enshrined in the ANZUS Treaty of 1951.

Australian policymakers had originally intended to mirror the North American Treaty Organisation (NATO) with a Pacific pact.<sup>9</sup> US President Harry Truman was less inclined to commit to a further regional pact.<sup>10</sup> Rather, he was looking to reassure Australia concerns about the possibility of Japanese remilitarisation under the terms of the 1951 US-Japan Peace Treaty.<sup>11</sup>

<sup>8</sup> John Curtin, 'Speech to America', 14 March 1942 (Records of the Australian Broadcasting Corporation, held by John Curtin Prime Ministerial Library). '... within twenty days after Japan's first treacherous blow, I said on behalf of the Australian Government that we looked to America as the paramount factor on the democracies' side of the Pacific. There is no belittling of the Old Country in this outlook. Britain has fought and won in the air the tremendous battle of Britain. Britain has fought, and with your strong help, has won, the equally vital battle of the Atlantic. She has a paramount obligation to supply all possible help to Russia. She cannot, at the same time, go all out in the Pacific. We Australians, with New Zealand, represent Great Britain here in the Pacific - we are her sons - and on us the responsibility falls. I pledge to you my word we will not fail. You, as I have said, must be our leader. We will pull knee to knee with you for every ounce of our weight.'

<sup>9</sup> NATO was both 'menace' and 'model'. While Australians feared that both the US and the UK would lose focus on the Pacific, they also hoped it would provide a template for a new regional pact. Parliamentary Joint Committee on Foreign Affairs and Defence, *The ANZUS Alliance: Australian-United States' Relations*, November 1982, p. 1-2.

<sup>10</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 2.

<sup>11</sup> John Foster Dulles, 'Security in the Pacific,' *Foreign Affairs*, 30 (2), January 1952, pp 175-187.

The openly-worded obligations of the fledgling ANZUS Treaty were put to the test from its first years. Fears that Japanese remilitarisation would lead to an 'irretrievable disaster'<sup>12</sup> were rapidly replaced by the rise of communism as 'the only source from which aggression can come.'<sup>13</sup> As the table in Figure 4 indicates, Parliamentarians grappled with Australia's engagement in regional conflicts, with ADF troops deployed to Korea—announced by Menzies to the US Congress in 1950—and potentially in Malaya and Indo-China as trouble loomed on the horizon. While national service was maintained in order to fulfil Canberra's side of the ANZUS bargain,<sup>14</sup> Parliament sought to clarify if, how and when American troops would engage their reciprocal obligations. This is apparent in the contradiction between the Liberal Party's belief that ANZUS committed American troops to stand with Australia in South East Asia<sup>15</sup> and the ALP's understanding that ANZUS was far from being a solemn guarantee of assistance.<sup>16</sup> In the decade following Australia's turn to Washington, the absence of the United Kingdom from the pact continued to stir debate in both chambers, pitting traditionalists concerned with cutting ties with the 'mother country'<sup>17</sup> against modernists resolutely turned to the United States.<sup>18</sup>

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<sup>12</sup> A Bird, 'Response to Minister Statement: International Affairs', House of Representatives, *Debates*, 21 March 1950, p. 955. 'The view held by a current school of thought is that Japan should be built up as a military buffer between the Soviet Union and the United States of America. If Australia subscribed to that view, irretrievable disaster might be its lot in the not far distant future because there is no guarantee that Japan would not seize the opportunity so presented to make another southward drive with dire consequences to this continent.'

<sup>13</sup> R Casey, 'Debate: ANZUS Council', House of Representatives, *Debates*, 27 November 1953, p. 662. 'The only source from which aggression can come to the Australian geographical area is international communism.'

<sup>14</sup> A Downer, 'Debate: Answer to 'H' Bomb', House of Representatives, *Debates*, 16 September 1954, p.1329. 'It is perfectly obvious that it is no use concluding a great international agreement, and trumpeting its effect all round the world, unless we are, right from the beginning prepared to live up to the obligations that we assume. All this talk of altering the basis of international service training is foolishly timed, discriminating, unfair, and unsound.'

<sup>15</sup> L Haylen, 'Debate: ANZUS Council', House of Representatives, *Debates*, 15 September 1953, p. We know that this is not a solemn treaty between the countries concerned to go to each other's defence if any of them are assailed; it is but a loosely arranged conglomeration of words. However, it does have a security objective of which the Opposition approves, whilst emphasizing that we should have had much more time to consider the Japanese Peace Treaty in justice to this country and what had endured. The Opposition accepted the proposition in the pact as a half a loaf which was better than no bread.'

<sup>16</sup> R Menzies, 'Debate: Australian Defense', *Debates*, 4 April 1957, p. 'We believe that participation in regional arrangements for collective defence is the most effective method of securing the safety of Australia and the other countries who are parties to these arrangements. Such participation also provides the best means of coordinating our defence policy and planning with that of our allies. We cannot stand alone; and therefore we stand in good company in SEATO, in ANZUS and in ANZAM'

<sup>17</sup> L Haylen, 'Debate: ANZUS Council', House of Representatives, *Debates*, 15 September 1953, p. 192. 'Our troops were engaged in Malaya during the last war. Many of them were taken prisoner there, and endured serious sufferings and injuries. During the last few years, we have sent air force units to Malaya to help to suppress terrorism there. The fact that Australia, a member of the ANZUS pact, is associated with the activities of the Mother Country in Malaya suggests strongly that the pact should be widened... For the life of me, I cannot see why it should not be so widened. Nor can the man in the street. ... We do not know the true inwardness of the ANZUS pact or the reasons for Great Britain's exclusion from it. Airy fairy statements have been made by foreign affairs committees and Ministers to the effect that, with more than three members, the pact would not be workable. But we had a chain of allies during the last war, and we were proud to have them. The United Nations, which consists of 52 or 53 nations, does not suffer from any disability due to its size. The United Nations organization is a vast plan for the preservation of world peace. Why, therefore, cannot there be an extension of this somewhat limited plan for the preservation of peace in the Pacific?'

<sup>18</sup> R James, 'Debate: R.171', House of Representatives, *Debates*, 15 September 1953, p. 193. 'I have a great deal of sympathetic concern for Great Britain in connexion with its exclusion from the ANZUS pact, but I must not let sympathy

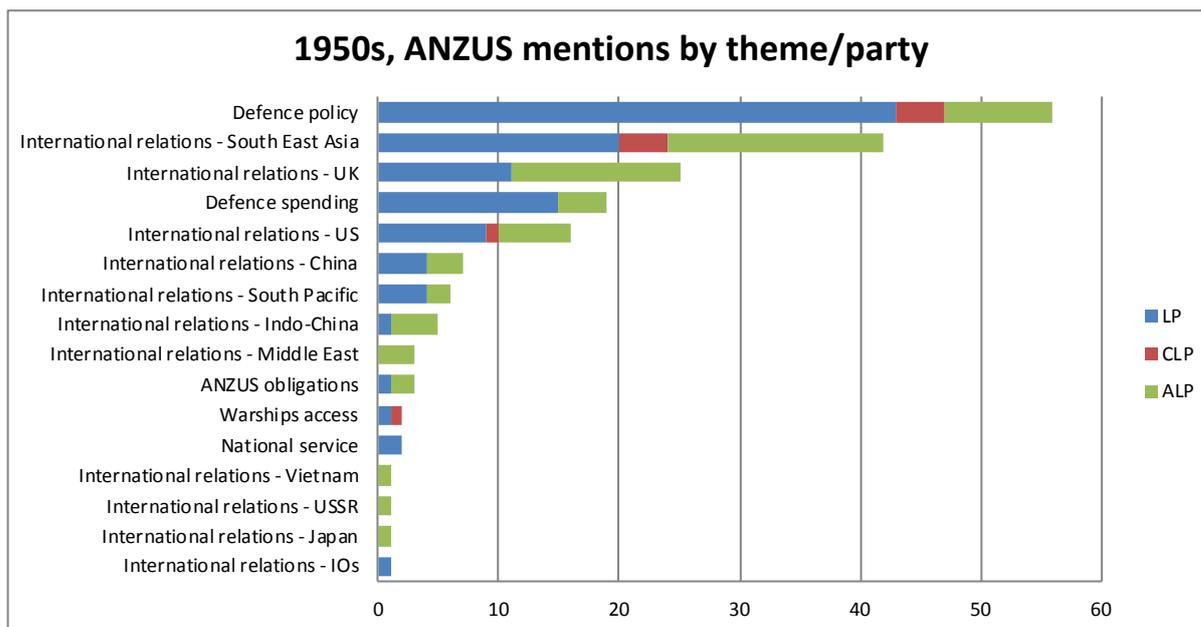


Figure 4 1950s, ANZUS mentions by theme/party. Source: author's research, ParInfo.

### ***b. 1960s: testing the boundaries***

As the regional environment grew tense, with relations between Australia and Indonesia tested over West New Guinea and Malaya, parliamentarians continued to ponder how far the fluid boundaries of ANZUS would stretch, on a wide spectrum spanning collective self-defence to mere 'moral and psychological pressure'.<sup>19</sup>

Above all, Australian legislators sought to clarify the precise nature of commitment from their US allies if Australian troops were to come under attack while deployed in the region.<sup>20</sup> Public

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control my attitude towards the pact. The most important consideration is the defence of this country, and it is to that aspect that I intend to direct my remarks. I know that in the past Great Britain has helped us a great deal, especially during what may be termed the 'infancy' of our development. Modern means of transport, however, and the uses to which an aggressor can put them, have made Great Britain too far away to be able to render this country the same effective protection, in the event of attack, as it did in the past... I do not want Australia to forget our strong relationship with Great Britain, but I stand for Australia first because I love this country. It is the country of my birth and my parents' adoption and I will do nothing, for my part, to retard the smooth working of the ANZUS pact. We should leave it as it is. I believe that in the United States of America we have a great friend able to comfort and succour us in time of need.'

<sup>19</sup> D Willessee, 'Debate: United States-Australian Defence Space Communications Facility', Senate, *Debates*, 14 May 1969, p. 1230. 'The fact is that the ANZUS treaty does not impose obligations on the Australian Government. We do not seem to be able to get that fact over to Government supporters who talk so glibly about the ANZUS agreement. It is not a mutual defence pact. If Government supporters can first grasp that, they may then approach the United States of America and New Zealand more intelligently. The Government ought to be far more often approaching the New Zealand Government than it is. The ANZUS pact imposes on the United States of America, Australia and New Zealand - its three signatories - moral and psychological pressure to do what they think best under their constitutions in certain circumstances.'

<sup>20</sup> A Calwell, 'Suspension of standing orders: Ninth Council Meeting', House of Representatives, *Debates*, 21 April 1964, p. 1274. 'The Minister for External Affairs said in Sydney on Friday that an Indonesian attack on Australian servicemen in Malaysia would come within the terms of the ANZUS Treaty. That is fair enough, but if the Minister's view is correct, then

reassurances were made by President Nixon to Prime Minister John Gorton during Gorton's visit to Washington that Australia, New Zealand and the US would stand as one in the Pacific.<sup>21</sup> What this meant in a military sense was never put to the test. While the Australian military's involvement in Vietnam was contentiously debated in all spheres of public life from 1965 onwards, parliamentarians in general did not draw ANZUS into the frame during the increasingly heated exchanges. While the ALP opposed Australia's involvement in Vietnam, arguing that ANZUS did not compel this, the Liberal Party also steered clear of explicitly linking ANZUS obligations to the deployment of Australian troops in Vietnam.<sup>22</sup>

As seen in Figure 5 below, debate in Parliament during the 1960s on ANZUS turned instead to building defence capabilities; from equipping the Australian military with American technology through to extending the American presence on the Australian mainland with the installation of the Pine Gap intelligence facility near Alice Springs in the Northern Territory and the Nurrungar surveillance facility near Woomera in South Australia. These intelligence outposts were vital for American surveillance of Soviet missile installations. Parliament was still reckoning its way around a clear view of how the uneven partnership between Canberra and Washington would play out. For example, hosting US facilities sat uneasily with some parliamentarians who were concerned about

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obviously the United States was committed as far back as 25th September last year, because on that day the Prime Minister gave an undertaking, which, if it meant anything, meant that Australian troops would be involved. If what the Minister said last Friday was true, it must have been true on 25th September 1963. Are we now asked to believe that it has taken seven months for the Government to discover that there is an American obligation to the defence of Sarawak, and North Borneo under ANZUS just because Australian troops are stationed in those areas or are to be stationed there? Or, has it taken America seven months to discover that it is so much more unequivocally committed in 1964 than it was in 1963 without any alteration to the ANZUS Pact? Yet every action which the United States has taken in this matter makes it plain that the Administration does not wish to be involved directly, and does not believe that its obligation under ANZUS does commit it, either explicitly or implicitly, to protect Australian troops other than in Malaya itself.'

<sup>21</sup> J Gorton (Prime Minister), *Visit to the United States of America*, press release, 15 May 1969. 'The new President and the new Administration have strongly underlined the importance and the significance which they attach to that Treaty. To quote from the public statement issued by the President 'Australia is a member of ANZUS and SEATO, two alliances which are fundamental to our (American) strategy and position in South East Asia. As between us (America and Australia) ANZUS with its provisions for mutual aid in developing our individual and collective capacity to resist armed attack, and its declaration that 'no potential aggressor should be under the illusion that any of them (Australia, New Zealand or the United States) stand alone in the Pacific area' is of great importance to both our countries'.

<sup>22</sup> P Hasluck, 'Ministerial statement: Foreign Affairs', House of Representatives, *Debates*, 26 March 1968, p. 446. 'At present the guaranteed security provided by the United States of America to a number of Asian states under a range of bilateral treaties and the guaranteed security we and New Zealand enjoy under the ANZUS Pact do more than any other single factor to give a sense of security in the East. Our alliance with the United States of America is the foundation of our own present security and, in one sense, it provides the base from which we ourselves can plan our own contributions to regional security, both as a member of SEATO and through any other opportunities that may be made in the future. Hence our consultation with the United States is also close and constant, on broader problems of security as well as on the conduct of the war in Vietnam' and; M Nicholls, 'Address-in-reply', House of Representatives, *Debates*, 2 March 1967, p 361. 'But the point that I want to raise about our obligation under the ANZUS agreement is that any of the constituent bodies, which are Australia, New Zealand and America, must come to the assistance of another when they are attacked. America is not under attack; Australia is not under attack; and New Zealand is not under attack. So how can the Government, in all honesty, come forward and say that Australia has an obligation under the ANZUS Pact to become involved in the war in Vietnam?'

the implications for Australia’s sovereignty, given the new military installations were closed to Australian officials, and which potentially could present a heightened security threat.<sup>23</sup>

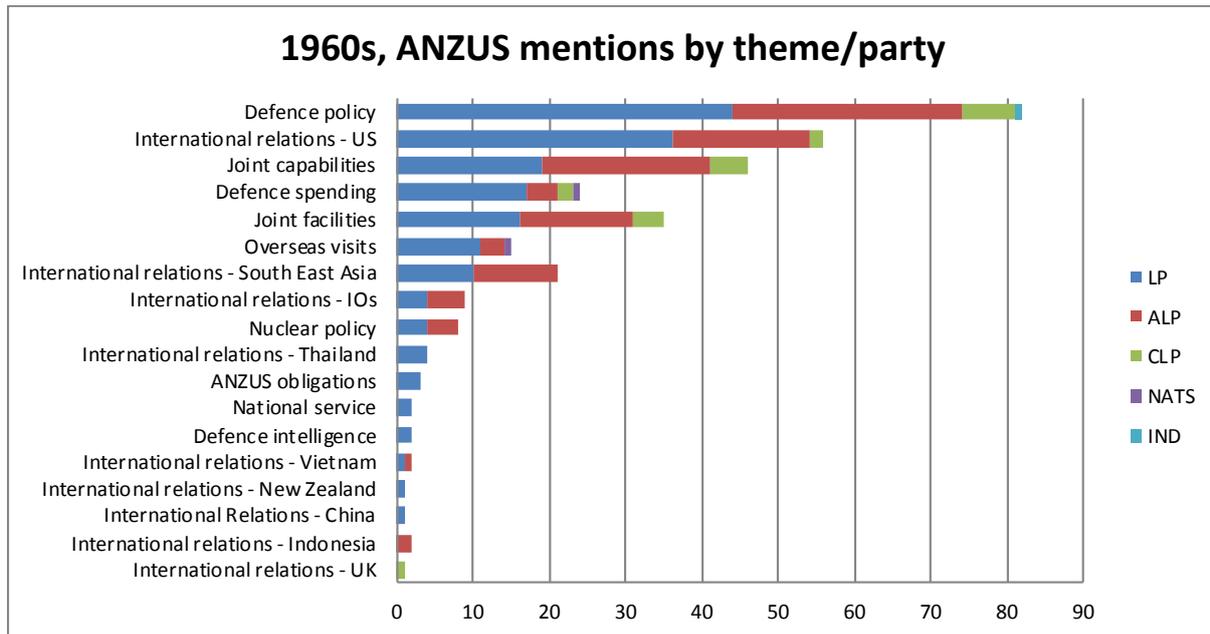


Figure 5 1960s, ANZUS mentions by theme/party. Source: author’s research/ParInfo.

### c. 1970s: American dissent in the air

The election of ALP Prime Minister Gough Whitlam in 1972 ushered in the first change in government since ANZUS was signed. This triggered a period of tension with Washington. Whitlam’s anti-Vietnam electoral platform caused fears of difficult times in the Australia/US bilateral relationship.<sup>24</sup> The posture foreshadowed by Whitlam in the lead up to the election of his government was to recalibrate the friendship with Washington on a more even footing, to avoid Australia being seen as ‘an obsequious satellite of the United States.’<sup>25</sup> Canberra asserted a more

<sup>23</sup> W Hayden, ‘Question – Joint defence bases in Australia,’ House of Representatives, *Debates*, 29 April 1969, p. 1413. ‘We are involved in this arrangement of bases which is part and parcel of the space programme of the United States Department of Defence. (...) We have the base at North West Cape. A few years ago when this matter was debated in the House and members of the Opposition suggested that the base would make the area, and therefore Australia, a target for nuclear attack in time of nuclear war the suggestion was ridiculed. In a Press statement on 23rd April the Minister for Defence confessed that in fact this is a very real probability - that in the event of nuclear war the North West Cape base would be a prime target. But this was denied a few years ago. (...) After all, if Australia is to be moved into the heartland of the world's nuclear targets the Australian people have some justification for expecting some information on this subject.’

<sup>24</sup> In private correspondence to President Nixon, Prime Minister Whitlam announced that he planned to call for Washington and Hanoi to resume peace talks. This controversial juxtaposition of the Nixon Administration on par with the North Vietnamese regime brought the US-Australia relationship to the brink of a serious falling out, delaying by several years the first official invitation for Whitlam to meet Nixon in Washington. James Curran, *Unholy Fury: Whitlam and Nixon at War*, Melbourne University Press, 2015.

<sup>25</sup> G Whitlam, ‘Debate: Prime Minister’s Visit to the United States’, House of Representatives, *Debates*, 22 May 1969, p. 2171. ‘We are, for our own purposes, and in our own interests, closely associated with the United States. ANZUS is the formal expression of that association. Equally, for our own purposes and in our own interest, we have to maintain close and cordial relations with a number of other states, particularly our neighbours in South East Asia. It does not help us and it does not help the United States if we are thought to be an obsequious satellite of the United States and – let me

independent line on defence policy, drawing closer to regional allies in South East Asia and renegotiating the terms of US defence facilities in Australia. As indicated in Figure 6 below, Hansard mentions of ANZUS from Whitlam's tenure onwards dropped significantly over the course of the 1970s, indicating that the reshaping of ANZUS was taking place.<sup>26</sup> While this could have been an indication of indifference, the ANZUS alliance in fact emerged from its third decade stronger than ever. Its validation by both major parties was confirmed during visits to Washington by Prime Minister William McMahon in November 1971<sup>27</sup> and by Prime Minister Gough Whitlam in August 1973.<sup>28</sup> The terms of Australia's bilateral relationship with the US were calibrated to allow for collaboration and access to joint intelligence gathering facilities at Pine Gap, Nurrungar and the North West Cape Communication Centre.<sup>29</sup> Having survived a troubled period between Canberra and Washington, Parliamentary debate on ANZUS diminished from the early years of the Whitlam government as consensus across the aisle became the template for engagement.<sup>30</sup>

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emphasise it – it is of no help to the United States either. We should be seen to be the ally of the United States; we should never be regarded as the agent of the United States in the Pacific or in South East Asia. If Australia is regarded merely as America's agent, rather than her ally, it would hinder the concept of regional self-help which is our declared objective.'

<sup>26</sup> Under Liberal PM McMahon (1970-71, 27<sup>th</sup> Parliament), ANZUS mentions in Parliament hit a high watermark for the decade, at 96 mentions. This dropped under PM Whitlam (62 mentions, 1972-75, 28<sup>th</sup> and 29<sup>th</sup> Parliament), and continued to decrease under PM Fraser (45 mentions, 1975-83, 30<sup>th</sup> and 31<sup>st</sup> Parliament). Source: author's research/ParlInfo.

<sup>27</sup> W McMahon, 'Ministerial statement: Visit to the United States and Great Britain', House of Representatives, *Debates*, 23 November 1971, p. 3458. 'An important result of my visit was the public reaffirmation by President Nixon of the continuing strength and validity of the ANZUS Treaty. President Nixon gave me an unconditional and unqualified assurance that ANZUS is as valid today as it was when it was signed, 20 years ago. (...) in all my discussions on this subject, it was clear that we shared the view that ANZUS is more than a Treaty. It is the symbol of the close co-operation which exists between Australia, the United States and New Zealand. But more than that, in addition to providing for the annual meeting of Ministers, it furnishes a framework of practical co-operation under which there is constant exchange of information and views of the greatest importance to Australia'

<sup>28</sup> D Willesee, 'Prime Ministerial statement: Visit to North America', Senate, *Debates*, 22 August 1973, p. 79. 'My discussions in Washington covered the situation in the Asian and Pacific region, including relationships between the Great Powers, our relations with the United States, ANZUS, SEATO, the situation in Indo-China, nuclear testing, Korea, regional co-operation in Asia, the special importance of Japan and Indonesia to us, and other matters of mutual interest. I told United States leaders that we continue to give strong support to ANZUS which we see as embodying some of the most important permanent and natural elements in the relationship between the three Pacific partners. On the American side also, the value of ANZUS is not questioned. I also told the Secretary of State that ANZUS alone of our Treaties in this area seemed entirely satisfactory and that any Australian Government would strongly support it.'

<sup>29</sup> N Bowen, 'Ministerial statement: Visit to the United States and Great Britain', House of Representatives, *Debates*, 23 November 1971, p. 446. 'Australia, finding itself a middle power in this volatile area, has developed 2 strong lines of policy. The first, which goes right to the heart of our ultimate survival should trouble on a large scale arise, is the maintenance of a close co-operation with the United States and New Zealand. The ANZUS Treaty is more important and significant for Australia today than when it was signed. It not only contains mutual guarantees which go as close as countries with federal constitutions such as our own and America can go towards positive commitment, but, as the Prime Minister has pointed out, it furnishes the framework of continuous co-operation and exchange of military information directed to mutual security and defence. It is not simply an agreement under which we have rights; it is an agreement under which we have obligations. The present Australian Government looking towards Australia's long-term interests has been prompt to meet these obligations whether it be with co-operation on the signal station at North West Cape or, space research installation at Pine Gap. The decision to follow this line of policy is an independent decision taken in the vital interests of Australia. Indeed, at the present time we believe it will continue to be the only safe and responsible policy. The second strong line of policy has been that of close co-operation with our neighbours, directed to securing their rapid economic advancement and their self-sufficient security.'

<sup>30</sup> L Barnard, 'Ministerial statement: International Affairs', 31 May 1973, p. 2998. 'The solidity of our foreign policy can be further demonstrated by pointing to some instances where there has been no change whatsoever in the policy that we

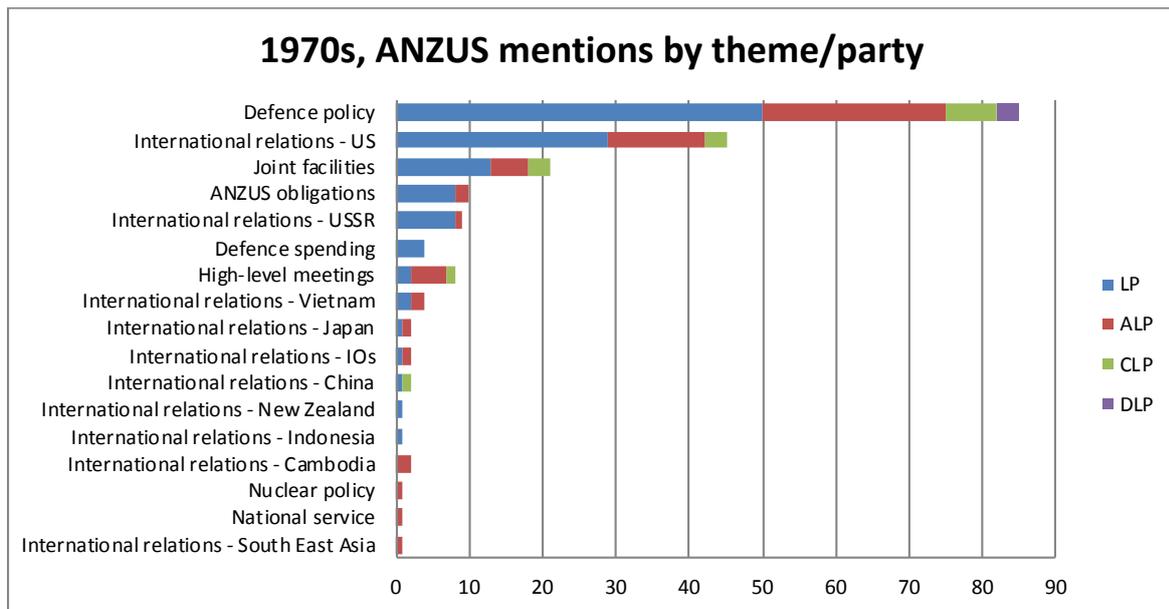


Figure 6 1970s, ANZUS mentions by theme/party, Source: author's research/ParlInfo.

**d. 1980s: expanding while shrinking**

As ANZUS reached its thirty-year mark, debate in Parliament reflected two contrasting directions in its evolution. While the Treaty’s membership was shrinking, with New Zealand’s withdrawal over nuclear vessels, its scope on Australian soil was expanding. Reconciling these two changes occupied Parliament more than at any time before or since.<sup>31</sup> New voices (the Australian Democrats, and the Australian Greens) brought more colour to the debate by questioning its foundations and utility, for example through the introduction of legislation by the Australian Democrats to prohibit nuclear enabled ships in Australian waters.<sup>32</sup> These new challenges led to a consolidation and reaffirmation of the centrality of ANZUS to Australian security across the political spectrum, notably in the wake of

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have adopted. One case that immediately comes to mind is in our attitude to the ANZUS Treaty with the United States and New Zealand, upon which we continue to place great emphasis.’

<sup>31</sup> There were 694 ANZUS mentions in the 1980s, compared to, in descending order, 300 mentions (1960s), 203 mentions (1970s), 195 mentions (1950), 183 mentions (200s), 137 mentions (2010) and 85 mentions (1990s).

<sup>32</sup> Australian Waters (Nuclear-Powered Ships And Nuclear Weapons Prohibition) Bill 1984.

the 1983 ANZUS Review, where the ALP Government's 'unequivocal reaffirmation' of ANZUS<sup>33</sup> was met by a resounding 'we told you so' from the Liberal Opposition.<sup>34</sup>

The conceptual expansion of the scope of ANZUS, through defence collaboration with the US, was debated with interest in Parliament, as seen in Figure 7 below. These measures flowed on as a logical consequence of ANZUS' expanding sphere of influence to include the Indian Ocean, as foreshadowed in a communiqué issued in 1980.<sup>35</sup> Two notable examples of Australian-US cooperation were the expansion of the existing joint surveillance facilities after the Soviet invasion of Afghanistan in 1979 and the formalisation of arrangements for US B-52 bombers to operate in Australia, and an increase in combined naval exercises.<sup>36</sup>

The most mentions of ANZUS in a day (27 February 1985), in a month (February 1985) and in a year (1985) resulted from the crises caused when the US rescinded their defence commitments to New Zealand under ANZUS.<sup>37</sup> On 27 February, the 32 mentions in Parliament came mainly from

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<sup>33</sup> W Hayden, 'Review of ANZUS: Ministerial Statement', House of Representatives, *Debates*, 15 September 1983, p. 898. 'The Government has completed its review of the ANZUS Treaty, first as a national act and then in association with Australia's alliance partners. The review has led us to a firm and unequivocal reaffirmation of the alliance as fundamental to Australia's national security and foreign and defence policies. In saying this, I do not say that the Treaty guarantees Australia's national safety and welfare, nor do I place us in that posture of happy dependence that has satisfied the foreign policy ambitions of many Australians in the past both within and without this Parliament. However, although the Treaty was drawn up a generation ago, and in very different circumstances, we have reached the conclusion that the commitments and obligations that were accepted then remain as valid and appropriate today. The Treaty has the full support of this Government; but we recognise that we must still pull our full weight in our own protection.'

<sup>34</sup> The review of ANZUS just outlined to us by the Minister for Foreign Affairs (Mr Hayden) has been an exercise, like so much of the Government's recent activity in the foreign affairs field, to expose for the benefit of the Australian Labor Party the principles which govern and continue to govern Australian foreign policy, principles which this side of the House accepts as common sense and pragmatic but which have to be spelled out as fresh thought to satisfy the discomfort the Government has in maintaining a common sense approach when faced by the dissident views of the Victorian branch of the Labor Party.

<sup>35</sup> Commonwealth of Australia, Department of Foreign Affairs, News Release, 28 February 1980, 'ANZUS Communique', p. 1. 'The Council also discussed the composition and level of forces in the Indian Ocean that would be appropriate to demonstrate allied support for security of the area and determination to deter further Soviet adventurism. It agreed to explore fully the possibilities for enhancing the effectiveness of the Treaty partners' military activities in the Indian Ocean, without pre-judging the fulfilment of their respective responsibilities in the Treaty area. The Council reviewed United States plans for its military presence in the Indian Ocean and the Arabian Sea. These included enhanced maritime surveillance and anti-submarine patrolling, increased military training and assistance to various countries in the region, and arrangements for secure access into the Indian Ocean for alliance forces. The Council, noted that later in the year Australia will deploy a carrier task group in the Indian Ocean led by the aircraft carrier HMAS Melbourne, Naval and air support will be given by New Zealand as resources permit.'

<sup>36</sup> The Dibb Report on Defence, followed by the 1987 Defence White Paper, clearly articulated how increases in defence spending would underpin increasing self-reliance within the framework of the US alliance. K Beazley, 'Ministerial statement: Defence Budget 1987-88', House of Representatives, *Debates*, 8 October 1987, p. 996.

<sup>37</sup> The US was retaliating against New Zealand's Labour Prime Minister David Lange's refusal to allow the US guided missile destroyer the USS Buchanan to dock at New Zealand ports. This was on the grounds that it may infringe Labor's anti-nuclear policy as the ship may have been nuclear-enabled.

parliamentarians preoccupied with reassuring Washington of Australia's support of ANZUS.<sup>38</sup> The Coalition in opposition also made the most of opportunities to chastise the ALP government for not having exerted pressure on their Labor counterparts across the Tasman Strait.<sup>39</sup>

Far from hollowing out ANZUS' relevance, New Zealand's forced exit from ANZUS demonstrated its flexibility and adaptability in the face of changing circumstances. Less than five months after New Zealand was effectively frozen out of ANZUS, Canberra and Washington introduced a new formula for high-level exchanges with the creation of the annual Australian United States Ministerial Consultations (AUSMIN).<sup>40</sup>

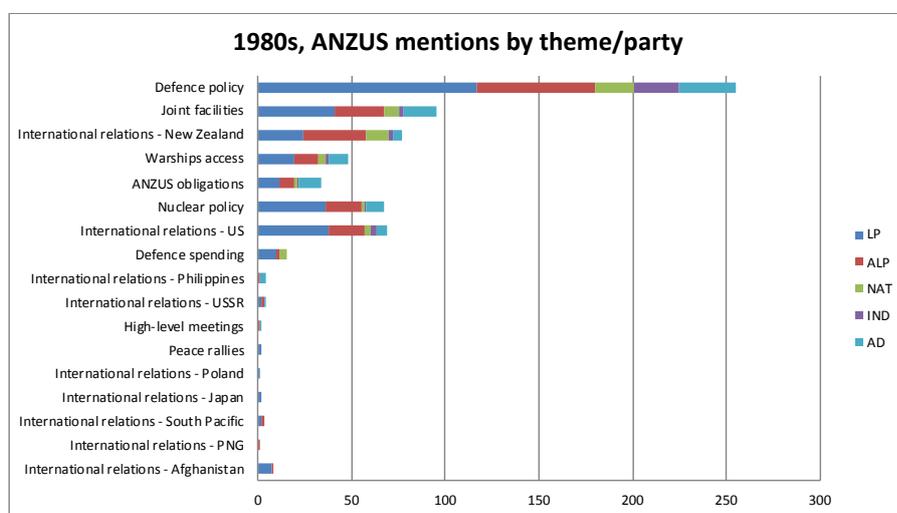


Figure 7 1980s, ANZUS mentions by theme/party. Source: author's research/ParlInfo.

<sup>38</sup> Hodgman, 'Governor-General's Speech: Address-in-Reply', House of Representatives, *Debates*, 25 February 1985, p. 158 'Any person who listened to the debate in this House last Friday would have quickly realised that the Hawke socialist Government, and particularly its erratic and emotional leader-some would say hysterical-have betrayed Australia's interests in the international scene. The ANZUS Treaty fiasco of recent weeks has done more to damage the national security of Australia than anything else since World War II. For this to occur in peacetime is an appalling indictment of a Prime Minister who was prepared to put appeasement of party factions ahead of national interest. As the Leader of the Opposition so eloquently stated on Friday, this is a Government whose actions in recent times have done enormous damage to the ANZUS alliance. I can see no difference in principle between the actions of Comrade Lange and his Government and the actions of Prime Minister Hawke and the Hawke socialist Government. I am absolutely convinced that the United States will never be able to trust the word of Australia while the Hawke socialist Government remains in office.'

<sup>39</sup> Sinclair, 'ANZUS Alliance: Discussion of Matter of Public Importance', House of Representatives, *Debates*, p.298. 'He [William Hayden, Minister for Foreign Affairs] fails to understand that one of the reasons why the ANZUS horse has now bolted is that New Zealand, instead of being approached in a conciliatory fashion, as he now seems to be advocating, has, in fact, been goaded and prodded over the whole period since the election of a Labour Government in that country, with its acknowledged policy about banning visits of nuclear ships, by the comments that he and the left wing of his Party have been making, encouraging the New Zealand Prime Minister to enforce the ban. The Minister for Foreign Affairs has been taking steps which show that he has tried significantly to leave the New Zealand position to New Zealand, for, quite obviously, he does not want to alienate that socialist Left faction on whom he is depending for his ultimate election to the leadership of the Australian Labor Party once again.'

<sup>40</sup> G Brown and L Rayner, *Upside, Downside: ANZUS After Fifty Years*, Current Issues Brief No. 3, 2001-02, Department of the Parliamentary Library, Canberra, 2001, p. 6.

### ***e. 1990s: holding pattern***

During the 1990s, ANZUS was notably absent from parliamentary debate.<sup>41</sup> While the question of New Zealand's defence relations with Australia continued to be raised, little time was spent in contextualising the Treaty's role in geopolitics. As the binary settings of the international scene during the Cold War gradually opened out to a more multilateral configuration, Australia pursued new opportunities through international trade and regional engagement, starting with the creation of the Asia Pacific Economic Cooperation (APEC) forum and continuing Australian efforts under the General Agreement on Tariff and Trade (GATT).<sup>42</sup>

Defence policy was far from the centre stage of parliament, with debate (minimal as it was) centred on locking in defence spending to continue to sustain Australia's pursuit of self-reliance through defence investments.<sup>43</sup> The trend toward greater self-reliance had become entrenched from the 1970s, triggered by US President Nixon's Guam doctrine which held that American allies needed to protect themselves in all cases except attack from major powers.<sup>44</sup>

The strength of the bilateral US relationship was on display when the US President George H.W. Bush, a Republican, addressed Parliament in 1992, the first US president and only the second foreign dignitary to do so (preceded 30 years earlier in 1951 by a UK parliamentary delegation).<sup>45</sup> This was repeated in 1996 with an address by US President Bill Clinton.<sup>46</sup> The benign bipartisanship in both Washington and Canberra, extending across the Republican-Democrat and Liberal-ALP divides, was

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<sup>41</sup> 85 mentions over the decade, the smallest number of the seven decades spanning ANZUS' existence.

<sup>42</sup> These developments began under Labor Prime Minister Paul Keating. Paul Keating 'Transcript of Press Conference, Four Seasons Hotel, Seattle: 20 November 1993: APEC'. 'Today when the APEC leaders met under the chairmanship of President Clinton I think one can say it was a completely historic occasion. For the first time having the leaders of the major Asia-Pacific economies meet and the significance of it was, I think, a tremendous thing for relations in the region... The first thing that was achieved was that everybody thought the meeting was a success, so much so that they have decided to have another one next year in Indonesia in 1994. As well, there was unanimity of opinion that now was the chance to do the, if you like, the triple. And that was NAFTA, APEC and GATT. And there was a determination on the part of everybody there to try and press the Uruguay Round to a successful conclusion, and President Clinton walked away with the support of everybody in the doing of that.'

<sup>43</sup> In Parliament, the most polarising aspect of the 1994 Defence White Paper was the cut in ADF personnel and increase in defence spending. The key feature of the Paper was the bolstering of self-reliance. See synopsis of the 1994 White Paper in N Brangwin, N Church, S Dyer and D Watt, *Defending Australia: a history of Australia's defence white papers*, Research paper series, 2015-16, Parliamentary Library, Canberra, 2015, p. 24.

<sup>44</sup> M McCormack, 'Debate: Australian Defence White Paper', Senate, *Debates*, 16 February 1977, p. 90. 'With the advent of the Nixon Government we got the Guam doctrine in which President Nixon announced that United States aid to the area of the Pacific would be based simply on the capacity of the people who lived in the area to take some defence measures for themselves. The United States was not going to pick up the tab. United States soldiers were not going to die for Australia for example, or for India, or Burma, or Malaysia, or Singapore, or Fiji or New Guinea. That meant that the whole of the strategic needs in Australia, which had been based on the United States alliance, were then placed in some sort of doubt. I think it quite proper that the United States of America should say to us: 'You must help yourselves'. How do we help ourselves?'

<sup>45</sup> G Bush, 'Address By The President Of The United States Of America', House of Representatives, *Debates*, 2 January 1992, p. 1.

<sup>46</sup> W Clinton, 'Address By The President Of The United States Of America', Senate, *Debates*, 20 November 1996, p. 5728.

somewhat tempered by the steady calls by the Australian Democrats and the Australian Greens, for ANZUS to be revisited and even abandoned.<sup>47</sup>

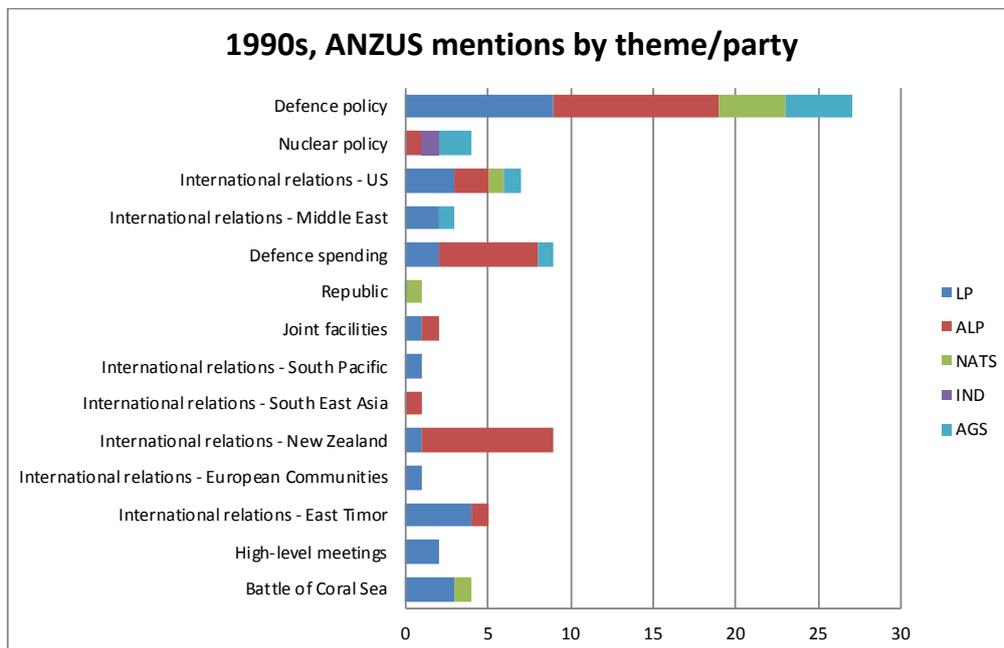


Figure 8 1990s, ANZUS mentions by theme/party

#### ***f. 2000s: ANZUS at the ready***

In the 2000s, ANZUS' raison d'être was finally confirmed in the eyes of Australian parliamentarians, albeit in a form not imagined at its inception half a century prior. In response to the terrorist attacks in Washington and New York on September 11, 2001, Australian Prime Minister John Howard formally invoked ANZUS for the first time and committed Australia's military involvement in Afghanistan.<sup>48</sup> A condolence motion was subsequently moved in both Chambers of the Australian Parliament on 17 September, which included support for the Australian military operations in Afghanistan.<sup>49</sup>

<sup>47</sup> J Vallentine, 'Notice of Motion', Senate, *Debates*, 9 October 1991, p. 1621. 'I give notice that, on the next day of sitting, I shall move: That the Senate—(...) (e) recommends that the Australian Government now takes steps for a fundamental evaluation of the rationale for the continued existence of the ANZUS alliance and US bases in Australia, given the end of the Cold War and the end of East-West confrontation (...).'

<sup>48</sup> J Howard (Prime Minister), Application of ANZUS Treaty to Terrorist Attacks on the United States, media release, 14 September 2009. 'The terrorist attacks on the United States were discussed today at a special Cabinet meeting that I convened on my return from the United States. The Government has decided, in consultation with the United States, that Article IV of the ANZUS Treaty applies to the terrorist attacks on the United States. The decision is based on our belief that the attacks have been initiated and coordinated from outside the United States.'

<sup>49</sup> Australia, House of Representatives, 'Terrorist Attacks of the United States of America', Votes and proceedings, 210, 17 September 2001. 'Motion That this House: ... (6) believes that the terrorist actions in New York City and Washington DC constitute an attack upon the United States of America within the meaning of Articles IV and V of the ANZUS Treaty.'

One of the rare mentions of ANZUS in US Congress (47 mentions overall, compared to Australia's 2000+ mentions), was in relation to a motion of condolence to the Australian people following the 2002 terrorist attacks in Bali, Indonesia, which included 88 Australian victims.<sup>50</sup>

ADF deployments to Afghanistan (2001) and Iraq (2003) were debated in Parliament in terms of fulfilling Australia's commitments to its ANZUS obligations.<sup>51</sup> This is most poignantly articulated when parliamentarians have paid tribute to members of the ADF who have been killed during operational deployments.<sup>52</sup>

During the 2000s, ANZUS mentions by the ALP exceeded those by the Liberal Party. In previous decades, and subsequently since the 2010s, the opposite has been true when Liberal Party mentions

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<sup>50</sup> United States, T Lott, 'Expressing Sympathy For The People Of Australia', *Congressional Record- 107<sup>th</sup> Congress (Second Session)*, vol. 148 no. 137, October 17 2002, p. S10642. 'Mr. President, the people of the United States were shocked and saddened to learn of the cold blooded and cowardly attack on hundreds of Australian tourists vacationing on the island of Bali, on October 12. In a few shocking seconds our friends lost more of their fellow Australians than at any time since the darkest days of World War II. Although Australia is at the farthest corner of the earth, America has no greater friend or ally. Just this year Prime Minister John Howard addressed a joint session of the United States Congress to celebrate the 50th Anniversary of the signing ANZUS Treaty, the document that has formally tied our strategic destinies together for the good of the entire Asian Pacific Rim. But our relationship with Australia did not begin with the ratification of one treaty. American and Australian soldiers have fought together on every battlefield of the world from the Meuse Argonne in 1918 to the Mekong Delta and Desert Storm. In all of our major wars there has been one constant, Americans and Australians have been the vanguard of freedom.'

<sup>51</sup> See for example this statement from then Opposition Leader Kevin Rudd. K Rudd, 'Debate: Ministerial Statement Iraq', House of Representatives, *Debates*, 4 February 2003, p. 10669. 'As we approach the great debate that is now taking place across the world on Iraq, it is important to understand the foreign and security policy context within which that debate occurs in Australia. I said at the beginning that Labor's approach to our policy on Iraq is shaped by our alliance with the US, our membership of the UN and our engagement with the region. Labor's commitment to the alliance has been consistent. It is because of that commitment that Labor, without reservation, supported the Prime Minister's decision to invoke the alliance in support of Australia's military commitment in Afghanistan in October 2001. We did so not only because of the warmth between our two peoples but also because the attacks against the United States on 11 September triggered specific provisions of the ANZUS treaty. These were attacks on the metropolitan territory of the United States and, as a consequence, we had an obligation to assist our ally in meeting the common danger. That danger was al-Qaeda, and the Taliban administration of Afghanistan which gave it succour. My party remains committed to the prosecution of that campaign to eliminate al-Qaeda, root and branch. As a party and as a country, we have no truck with terrorist organisations responsible for the barbarism that was September 11. In fact, understanding (11 is an important part of understanding changes to US foreign policy that have become apparent since then.'

<sup>52</sup> J Briggs, 'Condolence motion: Trooper Mark Donaldson VC', House of Representatives, *Debates*, 4 February 2009, p. 481. 'There are 96 others who have been awarded VCs—which first began in 1856, as I understand it—through our history. The VC, to me, brings back images of Gallipoli. I could be wrong on this, but I think several VCs were awarded for the acts that were undertaken in that battle at the Nek in Gallipoli where they jumped out of trenches and ran at machine guns. It is just impossible to imagine—and, thankfully, it is something that does not occur today. While that does not occur, the same courage, displayed by Trooper Donaldson, does, which is a great thing. Many in this place have reflected on what the citation has said and what Trooper Donaldson did, and now of course we acknowledge Lance Corporal S as well. I will not go into that too much, except for acknowledging exactly how great the acts were. But I think it is worth reminding ourselves why we are in Afghanistan and why our troops are displaying this sort of courage. The Afghanistan commitment from Australia occurred after the terrorist attacks of September 11 2001 on the United States. We invoked the ANZUS treaty, went in with the United States of America and several other countries and took on terrorism in its home, in effect. It is a battle which continues and which will continue for some time yet. It is a sacrifice that eight of our troops have already made and potentially more will make. We in this place—particularly those in leadership in this place—are the ones who have the obligation of making those decisions and commitments, and we should never take those decisions lightly. I know those decisions in the past have not been taken lightly. But what we do there is important. We are fighting for our freedom. We are fighting for democracy. We are fighting for the values we hold true.'

have exceeded ALP mentions, regardless of which party was in government. Again, this reversal in trend is linked to ADF casualties in Afghanistan and the scrutiny this attracted in the Parliament during the period of the Rudd government.<sup>53</sup>

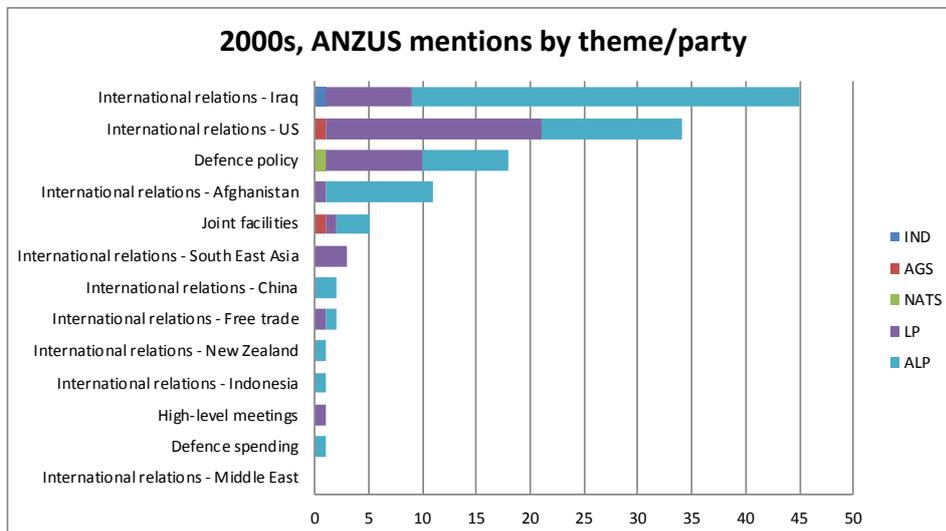


Figure 9 2000s, ANZUS mentions by theme/party

### ***g. 2010s: in for the long haul***

In its seventh decade, ANZUS' place as the basis of Australian defence policy has been further cemented through combined exercises and an expansion of the US military presence in Australia under Prime Minister Julia Gillard.<sup>54</sup> There has been a broadly bipartisan pattern of consensus to ADF

<sup>53</sup> C King, 'Ministerial statement: Afghanistan', House of Representatives, *Debates*, 17 August 2006, p. 129. 'The reality is that insurgents are raging across Afghanistan, particularly in the south. It is a hotbed of terrorism. Terrorists are using Afghanistan to train and refine their skills and, in sending our troops to Afghanistan, we are placing them at significant risk—a risk that has been made even greater by the Howard government's withdrawal of troops in 2002. Labor supported our original deployment to Afghanistan. We entered that war under the ANZUS alliance believing that, if we were to defeat terrorism, Afghanistan had to be at the heart of our operations. There was broad international support for the war in Afghanistan and the political will to deal with terrorism after the terrible aftermath of September 11. The government's focus moved off Afghanistan and they withdrew our troops way too early in 2002. Labor supported that decision, on the information the government gave us and in good faith that the security situation in Afghanistan was under control... Following the visit of our shadow minister and the member for Bruce in 2004, Labor took the difficult decision to call for Australian troops to get back into Afghanistan as soon as possible.'

<sup>54</sup> S Smith, 'Ministerial statements: Full Knowledge and Concurrence', House of Representatives, *Debates*, 26th June 2013, p. 7071. 'The Australia-United States Alliance relationship has never been stronger, following on successive years of military operations together in Afghanistan, expanded practical cooperation in our own region and cooperation in the modern areas of cyber, satellite communications and space. Our increased practical military-to-military cooperation under the United States global force posture initiatives has occurred as the United States has placed greater emphasis on an enhanced engagement in the Indo-Pacific. In November 2010 at the annual Australia-United States ministerial consultations, or AUSMIN, in Melbourne, then United States Secretary of Defense Gates and I established a joint working group on force posture to consider opportunities for enhanced practical defence cooperation between our two countries. In November 2011 in Canberra, Prime Minister Gillard and President Obama announced two agreed force posture initiatives: six month rotational deployments of United States Marine Corps personnel to northern Australia and subsequently increased rotations of United States Air Force aircraft through northern Australia. In April 2012, Australia welcomed the first rotation of 200 marines to Darwin for a six month deployment to northern Australia and South-East Asia. The second such rotation started in April this year. Recently, the government announced that in 2014 the six-month

deployments in support of US operations in Afghanistan<sup>55</sup> and the Middle East.<sup>56</sup> As more minor parties take a seat in Parliament, so too does the plurality of voices confirming ANZUS' importance to Australia's strategic policy<sup>57</sup>—while the Australian Greens remain dissenters.<sup>58</sup> Other voices—with distinctive accents—have also referred to ANZUS in Parliament, with US President Barack Obama<sup>59</sup> and New Zealand Prime Minister Key<sup>60</sup> addressing special sittings of Parliament in 2011; the year of the Treaty's 60<sup>th</sup> anniversary.

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rotational deployment would increase to 1,150 personnel. Over subsequent years, the intent is to increase this rotational presence to a marine air ground task force of around 2,500 personnel.'

<sup>55</sup> S Robert, 'Ministerial statements: Afghanistan', House of Representatives, *Debates*, 19 June 2013, p. 6226. 'Yesterday, the long war in Afghanistan» reached another historic milestone. NATO and coalition forces formally announced the handover of the final provinces and districts to Afghan security forces. President Hamid Karzai described the announcement as a historic moment for his nation and the fulfilment of one of his greatest desires. Whether the President's desire will be met in the future is now fully and totally up to him, his government and their security forces. NATO and coalition forces, including substantial elements of the ADF, have done an enormous amount of heavy lifting over a very long decade... . Terrorism is a threat that cannot and must not be negotiated with. It must be faced; it must be defeated. This was the war that saw the ANZUS alliance activated. And we are not fair-weather friends; tens of thousands of Australia's finest men and women have poured through Afghanistan on continuous rotations. We have provided the third-largest special forces contingent within that troubled country, with numbers and numbers of our special forces soldiers rotating through on up to nine separate occasions.'

<sup>56</sup> T Watts, 'Governor-General's Address-in-reply', House of Representatives, *Debates*, 28 February 2017, p. 1831. 'As a result of the intimate relationship between Australia and the US through ANZUS, Australian security and strategic policy has been closely entwined with that of the United States for many decades now. This is all to the good. This has been a relationship based on shared respect at multiple levels between the Australian and the American people, demonstrated by the fact that Australia is the only country in the world with a positive net migration flow from the United States. I should add that that migration includes my father's partner. We have a close trade relationship—another marker of our relationship with the US. The US is one of our biggest trading partners, one of our biggest sources of foreign investment and one of our biggest destinations for overseas investment. There is also shared respect between our defence forces, who have served side by side in conflicts including the Second World War, the Korean conflict, Vietnam, Iraq and Desert Storm through to the second Iraq conflict in 2003, Afghanistan and more recently operations in Iraq and Syria.'

<sup>57</sup> Nick Xenophon, 'ANZUS, war powers and killing the chicken to scare the monkey', *The Strategist, Australian Strategic Policy Institute*, 24 April 2017, <https://www.aspistrategist.org.au/anzus-war-powers-killing-chicken-scare-monkey/>. Last accessed 4 March 2018. 'There is no doubt in my mind that the ANZUS alliance is the most important strategic alliance we have.'

<sup>58</sup> R Di Natale, 'Consideration of legislation: Defence Legislation Amendment (Parliamentary Approval of Overseas Service) Bill 2015', Senate, *Debates*, 14 August 2017, p. 5431. 'As we teeter on the precipice of what is potentially the first war started on Twitter, let us debate two things. Firstly, our involvement with the ANZUS treaty and our relationship with the US. It is crystal clear now that Australia must rip up the ANZUS treaty and renegotiate our relationship with the US. This is a relationship that is making us less safe, not more safe. It is a relationship that, indeed, endangers humanity on earth.'

<sup>59</sup> B Obama, 'Address By The President Of The United States Of America', House of Representatives, *Debates*, 17 November 2011, p. 12846. 'In the United States, we will never forget how Australia invoked the ANZUS Treaty for the first time ever, showing that our two nations stood as one'.

<sup>60</sup> J Key, 'Address by the Prime Minister of New Zealand', 20 June 2011, House of Representatives, *Debates*, p. 6450. 'Today we face new challenges in peacekeeping and peacemaking, new conflicts and a rapidly changing strategic environment with threats, from terrorism to people-smuggling, that know no borders. Amid this change Australia's and New Zealand's alliance endures. Members and senators of this parliament should know that, while our numbers and resources are smaller than yours, New Zealand's commitment to our defence and security relationship with Australia is absolute. We place priority on fulfilling our alliance obligations to you above all other defence priorities save for defending ourselves. We have no better friend and no closer ally than Australia.'

In 2013, Prime Minister Tony Abbott declared that spending on defence would reach two per cent of GDP over the next decade.<sup>61</sup> This commitment, which was reiterated under Prime Minister Malcolm Turnbull in 2017, indicates how serious Australia is in matching deeds to words.<sup>62</sup> The arrival of a new US administration under President Donald Trump in Washington has had its teething problems, as Canberra Ministers looked for clear signals from their counterparts that ANZUS retains its traditional role. Turnbull’s statements on expanding national security cooperation, to be sovereign rather than reliant,<sup>63</sup> dovetail with President Trump’s statements on US alliances and the need for partners to be more autonomous.<sup>64</sup> As does Australia’s commitment to take on its share of responsibilities in the Indo-Pacific region, including more combined exercises with the US.<sup>65</sup>

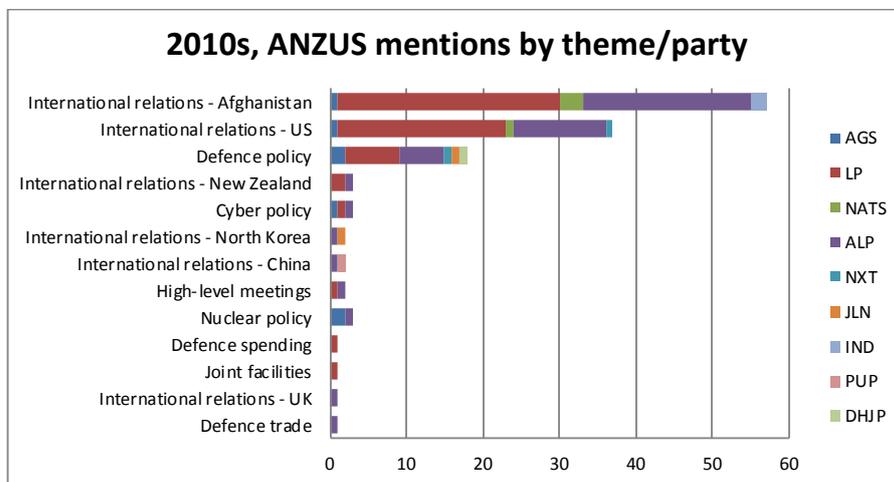


Figure 17 2010s, ANZUS mentions by theme/party. Source: author's research/ParlInfo.

<sup>61</sup> D Johnston (Minister for Defence), *Delivering on our commitments to build a stronger Australian Defence Force*, media release, 13 May 2014. 'The Abbott Government is committed to growing the defence budget to two per cent of GDP within a decade.'

<sup>62</sup> M Payne, 'Minister's Introduction', in Department of Defence, *2016 Defence White Paper*, Canberra, 2016, p. 9. 'The Government will fund the White Paper goals by increasing the defence budget to two per cent of Australia's Gross Domestic Product by 2020–21, providing an unprecedented investment in Australia's defence capability of approximately \$195 billion over ten years.'

<sup>63</sup> M Turnbull, 'The Prime Minister's introduction', in Department of Foreign Affairs and Trade (DFAT), *2017 Foreign Policy White Paper*, Canberra, 2017, p. iii. 'More than ever, Australia must be sovereign, not reliant. We must take responsibility for our own security and prosperity while recognising we are stronger when sharing the burden of leadership with trusted partners and friends'. See also White House, 'Statement from the Press Secretary on the Visit of Prime Minister Malcolm Turnbull of Australia', February 2, 2018. 'The President and Prime Minister will discuss a range of shared bilateral, regional, and global priorities, including fighting terrorism, promoting economic growth, and expanding security and defense cooperation in the Indo-Pacific region.'

<sup>64</sup> D Trump, 'President Donald J. Trump's Foreign Policy Puts America First', media release, January 20, 2018. 'The President is revitalizing the NATO alliance by successfully encouraging our partners to meet their defense spending commitments and share the burden of collective defense.'

<sup>65</sup> Department of Foreign Affairs and Trade (DFAT), *2017 Foreign Policy White Paper*, November 2017, p. 7. 'Our alliance with the United States is central to Australia's approach to the Indo-Pacific. Without strong US political, economic and security engagement, power is likely to shift more quickly in the region and it will be more difficult for Australia to achieve the levels of security and stability we seek. To support our objectives in the region, the Government will broaden and deepen our alliance cooperation, including through the United States Force Posture Initiatives.'

### 3. Alliance, security and capability: parliamentary perceptions of ANZUS

| Seven decades of alliance, defence and capability  |   |   |  |  |  |   |
|--|---|---|--|--|--|---|
|   |    |    |   |    |   |    |
| <p>Figure 10 Jigsaw puzzle featuring US President Roosevelt and Australian Prime Minister Curtin (1942). National Museum of Australia (Object no.53984).</p> | <p>Figure 11 Visit of President of the United States of America, Mr Lyndon B Johnson, to Australia, October 1966. National Archives of Australia. Barcode 11339825.</p> | <p>Figure 9 Prime Minister Whitlam and President Nixon, Washington, 30 Jul 1973. National Archives of Australia. Barcode 6821514.</p> | <p>Figure 12 US President Ronald Reagan and Australian Prime Minister Bob Hawke at the White House. National Archives of Australia. Barcode 11487463</p> | <p>Figure 13 US President George W. Bush meeting members of Parliament in the House of Representatives chamber, National Archives of Australia. Barcode A6135.</p> | <p>Figure 14 President George W. Bush welcomes Australian Prime Minister John Howard to the Oval Office. White House photo by Paul Morse (in the public domain).</p> | <p>Figure 15 President Barack Obama and Prime Minister Julia Gillard toast during the Parliamentary Dinner at Parliament House in Canberra, Australia, Nov. 16, 2011. White House photo by Pete Souza (in the public domain).</p> |

This section looks in detail at the three themes that have emerged from a detailed analysis of parliamentary debates on ANZUS since 1951, namely alliance, security and capability. These three themes were drawn from a detailed analysis of Hansard mentions, as summarised in Figure 16 below, which aggregates the major themes across time.

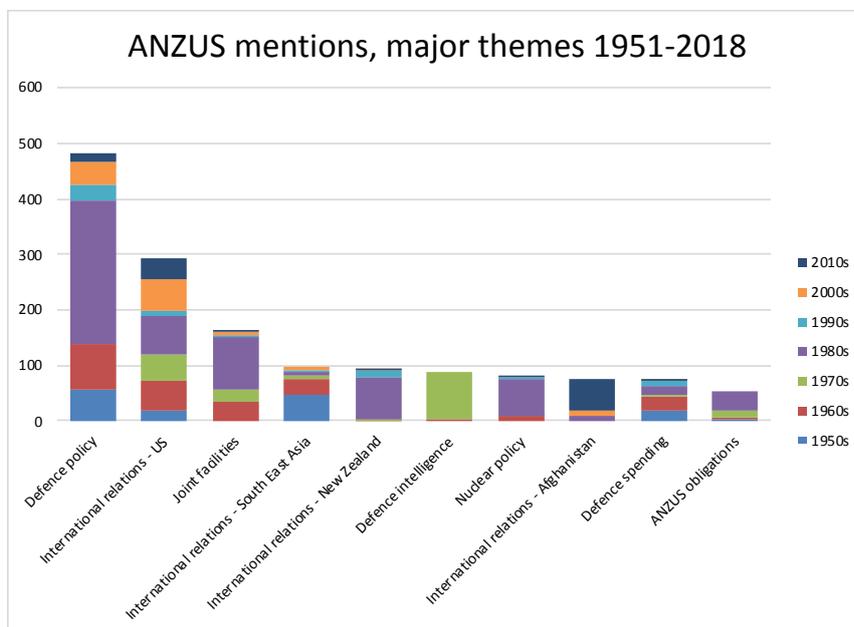


Figure 16 ANZUS mentions, major themes 1951-2018. Source: author's research/ParlInfo.

### **a. Alliance**

From humble beginnings as a ‘loosely arranged conglomeration of words’,<sup>66</sup> which nonetheless clarified ‘where we stand’,<sup>67</sup> ANZUS has evolved, in the eyes of parliamentarians, to become the most visible, and explicit, symbol of Australia’s ‘brotherhood of purpose’ with the US, ‘our staunchest ally and friend.’<sup>68</sup> The Treaty ‘put into form a friendship profoundly established in critical years’.<sup>69</sup> This formalisation of the relationship also helped bolster Australia’s prestige on the international stage—at least in the eyes of parliamentarians.<sup>70</sup>

The transactional nature of the alliance –what can be expected and what should be offered in return—have preoccupied both chambers of Parliament as they test the boundaries on both sides of the ledger. At the same time, this ‘friendship’ is often couched in terms of shared values, common culture and history.

The following Parliamentary statement by Senator Eamon Lindsay draws these two elements together in a pattern common across decades:

Australia's relationship with the United States of America is based on shared values of freedom, peace and progress ... Our relationship is based primarily on a common moral vision shaped by our democratic institutions and cultural heritage.<sup>71</sup>

From this perspective, parliamentarians have viewed ANZUS as a reflection of a shared commitment to the principles of democracy and equality, ‘the magnificent moulding of the Anglo-Saxon spirit and the English-speaking world.’<sup>72</sup>

Statements of reciprocity and largesse are present in parliamentary debate, in equal measure. Parliamentarians have debated whether Australia does enough to help our friends, for example when deploying troops to Vietnam under Prime Minister Harold Holt:

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<sup>66</sup> L Haylen, ‘Speech: ANZUS’, House of Representatives, *Debates*, 15 September 1953, p. 1053.

<sup>67</sup> N O’Sullivan, ‘Appropriation Bill 1958-59 First Reading’, Senate, *Debates*, 17 September 1958, p. 324.’

<sup>68</sup> T O’Brien, ‘Private Members’ Business: United States-Australia Alliance Relationship’, House of Representatives, *Debates*, 27 March 2017, p. 3352.

<sup>69</sup> R Menzies, ‘Ministerial statement: Foreign Affairs and Defence’, House of Representatives, *Debates*, 20 April 1955, p.44.

<sup>70</sup> D Berry, ‘Supply Bill (No. 1) 1954-55 Second Reading’, House of Representatives, *Debates*, 8 April 1954, p. 179.

<sup>71</sup> E Lindsay, ‘Appropriation Bill (No. 3) 1989-90’, House of Representatives, *Debates*, 10 May 1990, p. 353.

<sup>72</sup> R Wright, ‘First reading: Appropriation Bill 1952-53’, Senate, *Debates*, 25 September 1952, p. 2063.

We said that we recognised that we were not merely defending a country against aggression and defending the way of life we believe in but also that we were giving strength to our own alliance with the United States, a country which, above all others, can help to keep Australia secure in our alliance under ANZUS.<sup>73</sup>

Parliamentarians have also speculated at length about whether Australia's ANZUS allies would follow through in return should conflict break out, as dramatically laid out in this statement by George Gray, the member for Capricornia:

The ANZUS pact does not require any one to come to our assistance if we are attacked. It merely requires that other countries will consult with us concerning what is happening ... . In other words, what we would get out of it would be another debate, and we would have to hope that we would survive during the period of the debate and get the assistance we needed. Let us look further at this position regarding our powerful and influential friends. Has it not occurred to any one on the Government side that these powerful and influential friends have powerful and influential enemies?<sup>74</sup>

Parliamentarians' perceptions of Australia's obligations, and expectations of their American allies, have been subject to reinterpretation as events occur on the international stage, with the threat of communism presenting the first fork in the road for the then young Treaty, best expressed by Senator George Hannan:

Most people who criticise the following of the American line criticise it simply because they realise that the material, physical, and in a sense moral power of the United States is the greatest bulwark against the success of world Socialism and world Communism. I do not suggest that we should automatically follow whatever the United States says or does. But as a person who believes that the ANZUS Pact is the most beneficial document which this country has ever signed, I think we need the strongest positive reasons for taking a contrary line to the United States.<sup>75</sup>

Most recently, ADF deployments on US-led operations overseas, such as Afghanistan and Iraq, have been justified by Australian Governments as part of Australia's commitment to take on a fair share of the burden and to fulfil Canberra's side of the bargain. It is believed by successive Australian governments that in return, the US will help Australia in times of need. This message was well received in Washington. It was in these terms of reciprocity and closeness that the US Congress acknowledged Australia's support after the 2001 terrorist attacks in New York and Washington.<sup>76</sup>

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<sup>73</sup> H Holt, 'Ministerial statements: Vietnam', House of Representatives, *Debates*, 2 November 1967, p. 2362.

<sup>74</sup> G Gray, 'Want of Confidence Motion', House of Representatives, *Debates*, 3 April 1963, p. 294.

<sup>75</sup> G Hannan, 'Reply to Ministerial Statement: International Affairs', Senate, *Debates*, 7 April 1965, p. 309.

<sup>76</sup> United States, House of Congress, H.Con.Res.217, *Expresses appreciation to the Government and people of Australia for the support given to the United States in the aftermath of the September 11, 2001, terrorist attacks*, Concurrent Bill introduced on September 6, 2001 and amended on 16 October 2001.

The uneven bind of the alliance—between countries of markedly different size and power—have often sat uneasily with Parliamentarians, who have strived to reset ANZUS as an alliance between equals. The following statement by Senator James Mulvihill is representative of the nuance in parliamentarians’ perceptions, of ‘supportive criticism’:<sup>77</sup>

I return to the relationship of the United States with Australia and whether Australia should be in an inferior, grovelling position... . The point I am making is that unless there is a much more flexible attitude ... to question the United States we will be doing a disservice to Australia ... . The general idea is that there is a sacred cow attitude as to the meaning of the ANZUS treaty ... . The Government should not take a Dick Turpin 'stand and deliver' attitude. They say: 'If you question it one bit, the United States will send you to Coventry.' It is an insult both to the United States President and to the Australian people.

From the 1960s onwards, Canberra sought to rebalance the big brother-little brother relationship of the first decades of ANZUS by negotiating the terms of access to joint facilities on Australian soil. When this was successful, under ALP Prime Minister, Gough Whitlam, this recalibration cemented the bi-partisan support of ANZUS from then on. This evolution was framed by Edward Grace, the member for Fowler, in the following terms:

In its dealings with the United States, particularly through ANZUS, Labor has stressed the point that a partnership exists, not the big brother-little brother relationship which was so eagerly pursued by the previous Government. Our new and equal partnership status has struck a responsive chord in the Americans who, through our now permanent ministerial trade talks, have been prepared to give ground on matters of dispute.<sup>78</sup>

When ANZUS is critiqued, critics do so by denying the existence or relevance of friendship. As voices of protest against ANZUS emerged in the 1980s onwards, parliamentarians questioned its relevance by claiming it was built on a chimera, the illusion of friendship, a notion far removed from the realities of geopolitics, as stated in the motion put forward by Greens Senator Jo Vallentine in the 1980s:

I give notice that, on the next day of sitting, I shall move: That the Senate - (c) calls on both the Government and the Coalition to realise the truth behind the old dictum that 'a nation does not have friends, only interests' by ending our

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<sup>77</sup> J Mulvihill, 'Reply to Ministerial Statement: United States-Australian Defence Space Communications Facility', Senate, *Debates*, 15 May 1969, p. 1323.

<sup>78</sup> E Grace, 'Appropriation Bill (No. 1) 1990-91 Second Reading', House of Representatives, *Debates*, 17 September 1990, p.1962.

humiliating relationship with the US through membership of the ANZUS alliance and asserting our future as an independent, non-aligned nation in the Asia-Pacific region, free of all formal ties with the US.<sup>79</sup>

The lack of clearly defined boundaries around the nature and extent of the alliance that underpin ANZUS has not precluded top-ranking officials from referring to amity and proximity in public during annual meetings between US Secretaries of State and Defence and Australian Ministers of Foreign Affairs and Defence since ANZUS council meetings were first convened in 1952. Since the 1980s, high level meetings between US Presidents and Australian Prime Ministers have also increased in frequency. Friendship and shared values feature frequently here too, as can be seen in this statement by Christopher Pyne:

Australia has no better friend than the United States, and the United States has no better friend than Australia. Every time Australia is called on to support the United States in world affairs, (...) Australia has been there to support the United States. The United States is the greatest bulwark for freedom and against terror in the world today.(...). A visit of a United States President is an historic visit for Australia. We have other great allies, like Japan and Great Britain, but none that have done more for Australia than the United States. I am pleased that in most cases it is a bipartisan issue in this parliament.”<sup>80</sup>

Since 1989, every American president has addressed the Australian Parliament,<sup>81</sup> while two of Australia’s prime ministers have addressed the US Congress.<sup>82</sup> The symbolic value of regular, high-level hospitality has maintained the optics of a close relationship. This was paradoxically reinforced when New Zealand was excluded from these annual meetings after 1985, when AUSMIN meetings replaced ANZUS Council meetings and became a bilateral forum between Canberra and Washington.

The estrangement between Wellington and Washington, over US Navy ships docking in New Zealand ports and potentially violating anti-nuclear legislation, and the subsequent announcement by the US that it was walking away from its commitments under the Treaty vis-à-vis Wellington, was a tangible illustration of the limits of the ANZUS alliance and the consequences of putting domestic policy ahead of alliance obligations. Australian Parliament’s heated debates in February 1985, when the most ANZUS mentions were recorded in Hansard, voiced Canberra’s concern to make explicit to

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<sup>79</sup> J Vallentine, ‘Notice of motion’, Senate, *Debates*, 20 June 1991, p. 5073.

<sup>80</sup> C Pyne, ‘Debate of motion: Address of the President of the United States of America’, House of Representatives, *Debates*, 3 November 2011, p. 12678.

<sup>81</sup> Presidents Bush, Clinton, Bush and Obama. United States Government, Office of the Historian of the Department of State, ‘Travels Abroad of the President’, <https://history.state.gov/departmenthistory/travels/president> .

<sup>82</sup> Prime Ministers Howard and Gillard. United States Government, Office of the Historian of the Department of State, ‘Visits by Foreign Leaders of Australia’, <https://history.state.gov/departmenthistory/visits/australia> .

Washington that it did not support Wellington's move and that US forces would always be welcomed in Australia.

### ***b. Security***

The perceived security assurance that ANZUS brings to Australia is the second theme that has permeated debate over the last seven decades. Again, parliamentarians on both sides of the aisle have been united in pointing to ANZUS as Australia's strongest guarantee of security.

Parliamentarians have singled out two aspects of this guarantee: First, ANZUS is depicted as being a deterrent against potential attackers. Second, ANZUS is seen as being Australia's 'insurance policy', underwritten by the United States.<sup>83</sup> In case of an attack, US military capabilities would come to Australia's assistance, as clearly articulated here by Sir John Cramer, member for Bennelong, and framed again in terms of friendship:

We need to strengthen our association and friendship with the United States which, through the ANZUS treaty, is the greatest protection we have; we must continue to do everything within our power to maintain our friendship.<sup>84</sup>

These two aspects of the perceived security assurance—deterrence and response—have been challenged in Parliament as new threats have emerged and the geopolitical landscape has evolved since the end of World War II. The same questions that were posed in the early days of the Treaty have continued throughout the decades.

Typically, debates around the ANZUS alliance saw parliamentarians speculate whether Australia had committed too much—signing a blank cheque to support its allies—and whether the coy promises of support from the US went far enough. These two issues reflect viewpoints that span decades, as articulated by Reynolds and Armstrong in 1964:

Will the Minister for External Affairs say whether the Government has had an explicit and specific assurance from the United States authorities that under the ANZUS Treaty America will be obligated automatically to come to Australia's assistance if any attack is made on our forces in Malaysia? If no such assurance has been given, does this mean that the Government believes that under the treaty the United States has given Australia a blank cheque, underwriting any decision the Government may make as to what it considers to be appropriate defensive action in the context of the strained relations in this area?<sup>85</sup>

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<sup>83</sup> G Brown and L Rayner, *Upside, Downside: ANZUS After Fifty Years*, Current Issues Brief No. 3, 2001-02, Department of the Parliamentary Library, Canberra, 2001, p. 5-7.

<sup>84</sup> J Cramer, 'Reply to Ministerial Statement: Defence', House of Representatives, *Debates*, 8 May 1968, p. 1176.

<sup>85</sup> L Reynolds, 'Question: ANZUS Treaty' [Respondent G Barwick], House of Representatives, *Debates*, 22 April 1964, p. 1303.

Senator Gorton, as chairman of the Foreign Affairs Committee, has devoted a great deal of his time to this matter. I know he will agree with me that we should be a lot happier if there were more teeth in the ANZUS pact.<sup>86</sup>

Parliamentarians have struggled to agree on the fundamentals, such as definitions of security (and what constitutes an attack) and questions of geography (does ANZUS cover the Indian and Pacific Oceans, does it extend beyond coastlines, what about ADF troops deployed abroad?). For example, the following statement by Sir Garfield Barwick asserts that the Treaty covers:

In various statements in this House I have pointed out the strength of the ANZUS Treaty between Australia, New Zealand and the United States of America, which covers this country not only in the event of Australia itself being attacked but also in the event of our troops, naval vessels or service aircraft being under attack in any part of the Pacific area.<sup>87</sup>

The primacy of ANZUS was unquestioned as the bedrock of security policy, as seen here by Senator Eamon Lindsay:

It seems that Australia has yet to develop its vision as a regional South Pacific power within the so-called new world order. I suggest that this vision must be articulated on the foundations of the ANZUS Treaty. We must never allow ourselves to be lulled into believing that the so-called attractions of regional security cooperation outweigh the inestimable benefits of the ANZUS Treaty.<sup>88</sup>

While posing a conundrum for generations of parliamentarians, the flexibility and adaptability of the Treaty was precisely the mechanism by which the Australian Government formally invoked ANZUS. The general nature of the Treaty's obligations has meant that it could be interpreted in order to justify military intervention. This has occurred once only, when Australia publicly reaffirmed its commitments to the US under the ANZUS Treaty within days of the terrorist attacks in September 2001.<sup>89</sup> Parliamentary debate had historically tended to assume that the US would be called upon to exercise its ANZUS obligations, and the threat of attack had always referred to aggression from another country. Neither of these two assumptions held true in this case. The attack had come from

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<sup>86</sup> J Armstrong, 'Debate: Address-In-Reply', Senate, *Debates*, 5 August 1954, p. 59.

<sup>87</sup> G Barwick, 'Answer to Question Without Notice: International Affairs', [Questioner: J Bate], House of Representatives, *Debates*, 19 March 1964, p. 676.

<sup>88</sup> E Lindsay, 'Debate: Appropriation Bill (No. 1) 1991-92 In Committee', House of Representatives, *Debates*, 9 October 1991, p. 1566.

<sup>89</sup> To put this into perspective, when Australia invoked ANZUS for the one and only time in response to the 2001 terrorist attacks, the monthly number of Hansard hits for September 2001 was 36, compared to 32 in one day over New Zealand's forced exit via the back door of ANZUS on 26 February 1985. Source: author's research/ParlInfo.

a non-state actor, sparking a US-led war 'against terror'. Australia had unilaterally offered its support to the US, further bolstered through other instruments of international law such as UNSC Resolution 1386 authorising the intervention in Afghanistan.<sup>90</sup>

At a procedural level, the motion in Parliament to invoke ANZUS was in fact preceded by a press release from Prime Minister Howard. As often is the case with ANZUS, the exact processes and procedures which operationalise the Treaty are undefined and subject to the circumstances of the day. The term 'invoke' has been taken up by parliamentarians to refer to the enactment of the Treaty's obligations, yet this term has no defined legal meaning under the Treaty.

### ***c. Defence capabilities***

The third ANZUS theme in parliamentary debate is defence capabilities, which brings together both themes already mentioned, namely alliance and security. This has been articulated since the very beginning of ANZUS, as noted by Prime Minister Robert Menzies in 1950:

If, under our foreign policy, we accept obligations, then we have an instant duty to qualify ourselves as a nation to perform them. Nothing could be more ruinous than the easy acceptance of obligations with an indifferent willingness to perform them, because that, as a celebrated writer once said, merely represents an international policy of bankruptcy ... That is why the Government has been applying its mind to what, I repeat, is the first plank of foreign policy. That is, effective defence provision in our own country.<sup>91</sup>

Defence capabilities cover not only ADF personnel but also military installations and intelligence gathering, as well as combined operations. These have all been existential pillars underpinning the Treaty, as captured here in 1955 by Minister of State for External Affairs, Richard Casey:

One of the basic doctrines of modern defence is not to wait until the enemy is on your shores and your homes are being destroyed before you take steps to defend yourself. You keep him at the longest arm's length possible.<sup>92</sup>

Defence capabilities were built up with the distances that separate both countries in mind, as this statement by Senator John Spicer 1954 shows quite starkly:

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<sup>90</sup> United Nations Security Council, Resolution 1386, S/RES/1386 (2001), New York, 20 December 2001.

<sup>91</sup> R Menzies, 'Speech: International Affairs', House of Representatives, *Debates*, 27 September 1950, p. 16.

<sup>92</sup> R Casey, 'Reply to Ministerial Statement: Foreign Affairs and Defence', House of Representatives, *Debates*, 27 April 1955, p. 190.

It is true that if Australia were under direct attack we would receive United States assistance under the ANZUS pact. But the problem of defending our shores in such circumstances and of maintaining our vital communications with the Western world would be tremendous.<sup>93</sup>

Fears around operational compatibility, and the role ANZUS could play in addressing these fears, were a leitmotif in the history of ANZUS, as expressed in 1994:

ANZUS is a vital treaty for us. People misunderstand it by thinking that it is a guarantee of American support which it most certainly is not. America, if we are ever threatened, will come to our aid if it thinks it is in its strategic interests to do so which, if we think about it, would be absurd on any other basis. The advantage of the ANZUS Treaty to us is not that. It is that it allows our forces to be compatible, interoperable with the American forces so that if they came to our aid they would be effective. When America came to our aid in 1942 there was no common communication system, no common tactical system, no common ammunition or logistics. It took a very long time-over a year-before we could really operate together. At least ANZUS assures that if the United States comes to our assistance, it will be immediately effective.<sup>94</sup>

While defence capabilities are geared towards ensuring Australia's territorial security, this is also linked closely with regional and international stability and ensuring that threats from other parts of the world are minimised. To this end, investing in defence capabilities contributes doubly to ANZUS commitments through burden-sharing. In other words, holding up Australia's end of the bargain involves building up one's own domestic capabilities in order to be able to defend one's own security and to come to the aid of others, as highlighted in 1972 by Minister for Defence David Fairbairn:

We shall in the first instance, as I have already said, need forces which give us a greater independent capability so that we may be more self-reliant in protecting our own interests, and in dealing with lesser military situations. Greater self-reliance will also enable us to co-operate more effectively in security matters with our neighbours, who are disposed to look to Australia for co-operation and assistance while they are developing their own forces. It is in no sense in conflict with our expectations of assistance, under ANZUS, if a major threat to our security should arise. Rather, as I have already indicated, greater self-reliance will equip us better to play our part in ANZUS.<sup>95</sup>

ANZUS's commitment, 'to prepare the three signatory countries to combat aggression wherever it arises',<sup>96</sup> was understood in the Parliament to be neither unconditional nor free, as noted by Minister of State for External Affairs, Richard Casey:

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<sup>93</sup> J Spicer, 'Second reading: South-East Asia Collective Defence Treaty Bill 1954', Senate, *Debates*, 9 November 1954, p. 1249.

<sup>94</sup> D Hamer, 'Ministerial statement: Australia's regional security', Senate, *Debates*, 6 December 1989, p. 4041.

<sup>95</sup> D Fairbairn, 'Ministerial Statement: Defence', House of Representatives, *Debates*, 28 March 1972, p. 1255.

<sup>96</sup> R Casey, 'Speech: ANZUS Council', House of Representatives, *Debates*, 27 November 1953, p. 663.

There is great goodwill towards Australia in the American Government (...). But we cannot get back and expect that our interests and views will always be taken into full account without positive effort on our part.<sup>97</sup>

While the price of entry to the Treaty was a signature, the cost of maintaining ANZUS operationally has been through defence trade and combined operations. In other words, 'securing powerful friends' means 'accepting responsibility to carry part of the burden ourselves'.<sup>98</sup>

While striving for self-reliance, Canberra also realised that this was unattainable given Australia's size and strategic neighbourhood. Australia's defence is therefore strongly linked to its strategic partner, and principal supplier of military technology.<sup>99</sup> The US continues to be Australia's major supplier of defence technology, ensuring the ADF is equipped to not only hold its own at home but deploy abroad to support regional security and stability and to participate in combined operations abroad.<sup>100</sup> Australia's geography also opens up strategic sites for surveillance and intelligence gathering such as Pine Gap. Historically, both major political parties have engaged in publicly claiming their side spends more on defence than the other, such as the statement below from Kim Beazley in 1982:

First I want to make just two points about the speeches made by the honourable member for Macarthur (Mr Baume) and the honourable member for McPherson (Mr White) and then ignore them entirely as they deserve to be. The first is that it was not until 1980 that the expenditure of this Government on the defence program exceeded as a percentage of gross domestic product what it was during the period of the Whitlam Government. The second point I want to make—and this concerns the question of bipartisanship—is that in terms of the aggregates of defence expenditure, including each point of time when the Government has said it wishes to increase defence expenditure, the Opposition has said that it will support the aggregate increase.<sup>101</sup>

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<sup>97</sup> R Casey, 'Speech: ANZUS Council', House of Representatives, *Debates*, 27 November 1953, p. 663.

<sup>98</sup> B Graham, 'Debate: Governor-General's Speech', House of Representatives, *Debates*, 7 March 1956, p. 554.

<sup>99</sup> N Brangwin, N Church, S Dyer and D Watt, *Defending Australia: a history of Australia's defence white papers*, Research paper series, 2015-16, Parliamentary Library, Canberra, 2015, p. 75. 'Each white paper asserted Australia's need to be self-reliant while correspondingly emphasising the importance of the United States alliance'.

<sup>100</sup> According to the US Department of Commerce, Australia was the third largest purchaser of US defence exports in 2015. Laurie Hays, '2016 Defense Markets Report, Defense Products, A Market Assessment Tool for U.S. Exporters', U.S. Department of Commerce - International Trade Administration, June 2016, p. 25.

<sup>101</sup> K Beazley, 'Debate: Defence ministerial statement', House of Representatives, *Debates*, 4 May 1982, p. 2177.

Combined military exercises have occurred since the 1950s, while US Marine rotations in the north of Australia have taken place since the early-2010s.<sup>102</sup> The Force Posture agreement with the US also allowed for the US Air Force to have greater access to Australian military airfields (mainly Tindal and Darwin) and US Navy access to Fleet Base West.<sup>103</sup> Defence trade cooperation and greater access to military facilities and joint facilities, have provided the ADF not only with technology, training and shared intelligence, but also with an ‘effective machinery of consultation,’ opening access at the highest political and military level ‘to the thinking and planning of the American administration.’<sup>104</sup>

In the 2017-18 Federal budget, the Australian Government has indicated that defence expenditure (\$30.1 billion) will be slightly less than education (\$33.8 billion).<sup>105</sup> External analysis of the same period states a slightly higher figure for defence (\$34.7 billion), representing 1.9% of GDP and 7.3% of Commonwealth spend.<sup>106</sup> In 2015, Australia was ranked 10<sup>th</sup> in terms of defence spending as a proportion of government spending among OECD countries.<sup>107</sup> Additionally, between 2012- 2017, Australia was the seventh largest global importer of major weapons in volume, between Turkey (6<sup>th</sup>) and Iraq (8<sup>th</sup>).<sup>108</sup> Taken as a whole, these indicators are surprisingly high for a country which has not had to contend with internal conflict, nor with territorial attack since the Second World War. Conversely, Parliamentary debate on defence spending in both chambers is relatively muted with a broad base of support to maintain defence spending both in Parliament and in the public.<sup>109</sup>

While ANZUS is often evoked when governments are seeking increases in defence spending, this has not prompted significant debate around questions of cost, and value, from parliamentarians. If anything, not spending enough—for example, using ANZUS as an excuse for limited defence expenditure—has created more controversy in Parliament than the opposite. This is demonstrated by the statement by Senator Vincent Gair in 1969:

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<sup>102</sup> Nathan Church, *The Australian Defence Force in northern Australia*, Research paper series, 2015-16, Parliamentary Library, Canberra, 2015, p. 7-8.

<sup>103</sup> Department of Defence, United States Force Posture Initiatives, <http://www.defence.gov.au/Initiatives/USFPI/> Last accessed July 17, 2018.

<sup>104</sup> Parliamentary Joint Committee on Foreign Affairs and Defence, *The ANZUS Alliance: Australian-United States' Relations*, November 1982, p. 45.

<sup>105</sup> Australian Government, *Budget Overview 2017-18*, 8 May 2017, p.32.

<sup>106</sup> Mark Thomson, *The Cost of Defence ASPI Defence Budget Brief 2017–18*, The Australian Strategic Policy Institute Limited, Canberra, May 2017, p. vi.

<sup>107</sup> OECD (2018), Central government spending (indicator) doi: 10.1787/83a23f1b-en Last accessed 29 April 2018.

<sup>108</sup> Stockholm International Peace Research Institute (SIPRI), ‘Summary,’ SIPRI Yearbook 2017, Stockholm, p. 16.

<sup>109</sup> Presented with three possible options, 47% say that ‘the government is spending about the right amount on defence’, 38% say ‘the government should spend more on defence’, while around one in eight (12%) say the government should spend less. Lowy Institute, ‘The Lowy Institute Poll 2013’, Sydney, June 2013.

I direct a question to the Leader of the Government in the Senate. I refer to the Prime Minister's speech to the Australian American Association Executive Committee luncheon in Canberra on 19th September. According to the official transcript of this speech the Prime Minister said: I believe that the true protection of Australia in the years ahead while it is growing.. depends in the main on the United States and on the ANZUS Treaty . . . If it were not for that ... we would probably have to divert far more of our resources than we should to building up to an even greater extent our own defences... If Australia's limited defence expenditure is so dependent upon the United States presence in Asia, how does the Leader explain the recent Budget 5% reduction in defence expenditure at a time when President Nixon and the United States Government have indicated clearly their desire for a reduced United States involvement in Asia and for greater efforts by the countries concerned? <sup>110</sup>

#### **4. ANZUS: future fit-for-purpose?**

The final section of this paper looks to the future to ask whether ANZUS will continue to deliver on these three strategic priorities—alliance, security and defence capabilities—and under what conditions.

##### ***a. Channelling Washington***

On friendship, ANZUS' fluid boundaries have played in favour of the US-Australia relationship. Over time, the black letter of the Treaty text has been eclipsed by its symbolic value as a formal declaration of trust and shared values, as noted below by a Parliamentary committee in 2006:

The Committee recommends that the ANZUS Alliance be maintained in its current form and that the treaty be viewed not just as a specific set of requirements, rather as a statement of shared values capable of being acted upon in the face of evolving contemporary threats.<sup>111</sup>

Parliamentarians have endorsed the expansion of the US military presence in Australia and combined military operations, as a reflection of ANZUS obligations and commitments and ultimately advancing Australia's best interests. ANZUS both represents and reflects the broader bilateral relationship. Annual high-level meetings, from the ANZUS Council to AUSMIN, have assured access to high-level strategic thinking in Washington. In times of crisis, the importance of ANZUS has been reaffirmed both in the Australian Parliament (in September 2001) and in the US Congress (October 2002), as mentioned earlier in this paper. However, while both instances were condolence motions, the former followed up with an offer for military assistance from Australia after the 911 attacks,

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<sup>110</sup> V Gair, 'Question Without Notice: Defence Expenditure', [Responder: K Anderson], Senate, *Debates*, 24 September 1969, p. 1260.

<sup>111</sup> Joint Standing Committee on Foreign Affairs, Defence and Trade, *Australia's Defence Relations with the United States Inquiry Report*, December 2006, p.21.

while the latter simply recognised American sympathies for Australian casualties after the Bali bombing. This might suggest that ANZUS is more important for Canberra than it is for Washington.

However, this same flexibility can cut both ways. New Zealand was frozen out of ANZUS when Washington rescinded its commitments to Wellington in the 1980s over its nuclear policy. Could this happen again in the future? Absolutely. President Trump is breaking the mould in terms of how foreign policy is implemented. Mixed messages have at times left officials perplexed, such as in the case of the first phone call between President Trump and Prime Minister Turnbull,<sup>112</sup> or in the case of President Trump's announcement of a trade deal via a tweet which referenced a security deal.<sup>113</sup> While there are strong institutional connections between the US and Australia, they can be unwound. One could speculate that one wrong signal between Canberra and Washington, or vice versa, and all bets could be off. Conversely, a number of credible commentators who suggest that at the operational level at least, relations are strong enough to withstand the political uncertainty.<sup>114</sup>

#### ***b. Solemn warning against an attacker***

The nature of conflict has changed dramatically since the end of World War II. The original scenario envisaged by defence planners of a remilitarised Japan—had faded into the background even before the ink had dried on the ANZUS Treaty. In recent years, not only has the strategic environment changed: the players have too. War is typically no longer waged between states locked into conventional warfare. Defence planners today have to consider non-traditional security threats, from non-state actors such as terrorists, cyberattacks and the impact of climate change, in addition to state based threats to Australia's security.

Taking the two viewpoints adopted by parliamentarians of ANZUS's perceived security assurance, ANZUS as a deterrent and ANZUS as an insurance policy in case of conflict, how might they apply tomorrow? Is the threat of an American response, or the likelihood of American forces coming to the aid of Australia, likely to deter potential attacks on ADF troops abroad or security risks on Australian soil? Put another way, how does ANZUS help address Australia's three key strategic drivers of

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<sup>112</sup> Greg Miller and Philip Rucker, 'This was the worst call by far': Trump badgered, bragged and abruptly ended phone call with Australian leader,' *Washington Post*, February 2, 2017.

<sup>113</sup> Jane Norman, 'Donald Trump, Malcolm Turnbull hit on deal to exclude Australia from new US tariffs,' *ABC News Online*, March 11, 2018. <http://www.abc.net.au/news/2018-03-10/malcolm-turnbull-donald-trump-working-tariff-exemption-agreement/9534984> Last accessed 17 July 2018.

<sup>114</sup> Ben Doherty, 'Australia spared US steel and aluminium tariffs, Turnbull confirms,' *The Guardian*, 10 March 2018.

security in the future, namely ‘a secure, resilient Australia,’ ‘a secure nearer region’ in South East Asia and the South Pacific, and ‘a stable Indo-Pacific region and rules-based global order’?<sup>115</sup>

ANZUS’s perceived promise of collective security is highly unlikely to extend to regional flashpoints, particularly given the signals from President Trump on American military alliances. In the case of China, it may even present a serious threat should the US adopt a strong posture on issues such as Taiwan, the territorial disputes in the South China Sea or North Korea. It is plausible that ANZUS may no longer be enough to fulfil the twin expectations of deterrence and insurance of Australian parliamentarians.

### ***c. Self reliance***

On defence capabilities, ANZUS has helped to provide the ideal conditions for Australia to access US military equipment and technology, as well as intelligence-sharing through joint facilities on Australian soil.<sup>116</sup> Building and maintaining advanced defence capabilities has been a mainstay for both sides of politics. This preoccupation dates back to the early years of the Treaty, when ensuring compatibility between Australian and US systems was thought to be ‘common sense’ to avoid delays in the field if troops were deployed in combined operations; standardisation with American systems was plainly the right way forward for former Prime Minister John Gorton, for example:

What pleases me more than anything else in the Prime Minister's proposal is the indication of standardisation with the United States in respect of small arms, aircraft, gun howitzers and the ammunition they will use. I have advocated such steps in the Senate for two or three years, because it seems to be plain that our commitments under the ANZUS pact, and under the Seato pact, if we are called upon to fulfil them, will find us side by side either with Americans or with the troops of other nations who are equipped entirely with American equipment. Our experience in Korea made it clear that the logistical difficulties in supplying the Commonwealth division we had there with ammunition of different calibre, and other differences between them and the American and Koreans, may detract from the effectiveness of any force by up to 50 per cent. It is reasonably certain that, should we be called upon to fulfil our commitments to hold war from this country, the supply lines from England would either be cut or become most dangerous, and that the supply line across the Pacific would be endangered. That being so, the common-sense thing to do is to take the course that gives the greatest advantage, and that I believe has been done.<sup>117</sup>

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<sup>115</sup> Department of Defence, *2016 Defence White Paper*, Canberra, 2016, p. 17.

<sup>116</sup> The Nautilus Institute lists five joint US-Australian Bases. These are (1) Joint Australian-US intelligence facilities at Pine Gap, Northern Territory; (2) Joint Geological and Geophysical Research Station in Alice Springs, Northern Territory; (3) Joint Combined Training Centre with two sites, the Shoalwater Bay Training Area in Queensland and the Bradshaw Training Area and Delamere Air Weapons Range in the Northern Territory; (4) Australia-US Joint Communications Facility in Geraldton, West Australia; and (5) Harold Holt Naval Communications Station in Exmouth, West Australia. <https://nautilus.org/publications/books/australian-forces-abroad/defence-facilities/australian-defence-facilities-lists/> Last accessed 30 April 2018.

<sup>117</sup> J Gorton, ‘Debate: Australian Defence’, *Senate, Debates*, 8 May 1957, p.594

ANZUS opened the door to a large and growing constellation of agreements and accords that facilitate defence trade and security cooperation with the US, from the joint facilities at Pine Gap to the Naval Communication base and US Marine rotations in the Northern Territory to the Defence Trade Cooperation Agreement with the US. To maintain all of this, defence spending needs to follow in consequence. ANZUS and the US alliance is almost always referenced when governments seek increases in military spending, most recently in the 2016 Defence White Paper.<sup>118</sup>

The risk here is that the cost of maintaining expensive and cutting-edge technologies from the US might one day outweigh the perceived value. This calculation should also include the benefits from sharing the burden of costs associated with the development of innovative, high tech equipment which are effectively shared between the US and Australia. Self-reliance only really makes sense if parliamentarians continue to buy into the deterrence/insurance argument. While the centrality of ANZUS in defence policy on both sides of the political aisle continues to be reasserted,<sup>119</sup> the perception that ANZUS will guarantee Australia's security might be challenged more frequently in the future, particularly given the interest of new political parties in debating ANZUS and the continued criticism from minor parties such as the Australian Greens.<sup>120</sup> Access to US technology provided through the ANZUS alliance comes at a cost. If Canberra is no longer willing to commit sufficiently to convince its American partners that it is paying its way, then the potential ANZUS' security could decline. According to the current strategic direction, this does not appear likely:

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<sup>118</sup> M Payne, *Introduction*, in Department of Defence, *2016 Defence White Paper*, 2016, p. 9. 'The Defence White Paper presents the strong strategic argument for Australia's future defence based on seizing opportunities while managing strategic challenges. An important part of the Government's strategy is to continue to strengthen our alliance with the United States, as well as our other regional and international partnerships, to meet shared security challenges such as the pervasive threat of terrorism. We have been careful in this White Paper to match our strategy and capability plans with appropriate resources. This is the first Defence White Paper to be fully costed, with external private sector assurance of the White Paper's investment plans. The Government will fund the White Paper goals by increasing the defence budget to two per cent of Australia's Gross Domestic Product by 2020–21, providing an unprecedented investment in Australia's defence capability of approximately \$195 billion over ten years.'

<sup>119</sup> PM Turnbull reinforced the closeness of bonds in Washington in February 2018, while Shadow Foreign Minister Penny Wong endorsed ANZUS in recent policy statements. Malcolm Turnbull, 'Speech: Keynote address to the National Governor's Association Annual Winter Meeting', Washington, 25 February 2018. <https://www.pm.gov.au/media/keynote-address-national-governor%E2%80%99s-association-annual-winter-meeting> Last accessed 4 March 2018. Penny Wong, 'Speech: Australia and the US In the Age of Disruption,' Melbourne, 22 November 2017. <https://www.pennywong.com.au/speeches/australia-and-the-us-in-the-age-of-disruption-cranlana-melbourne/> Last accessed 4 March 2018.

<sup>120</sup> Since 2007, the Palmer United Party, the Nick Xenophon Team, the Jackie Lambie Network and the Derryn Hinch Justice Party have all referred to ANZUS in debate in Parliament, in largely favourable terms. Since the 1970s, there have been more Australian Greens and Australian Democrats mentions than since the 1950s across all other parties combined (other than Labor and Liberal). Source: author's research/ParlInfo.

It is strongly in Australia's interests, therefore, to support US global leadership, including by maintaining the strength of our alliance, keeping our commitment to increase defence expenditure to two per cent of GDP and contributing to coalition operations in support of global and regional security. Beyond the United States, our cooperation with like-minded partners is also increasingly important to collective efforts to limit the exercise of coercive power and support an open global economy and a rules-based international order.<sup>121</sup>

However, factoring in public perceptions remain important. While Australians view the US alliance as very important,<sup>122</sup> they are less interested in security and defence.<sup>123</sup> In this context, and given the impact of the current US administration's isolationist tendencies, popular support could change rapidly.

Taking the Treaty in its broadest sense, as shorthand for the alliance, security and defence capabilities between Australia and the US, then it is a purely academic exercise to imagine Australian parliamentarians deviating markedly from their perceptions of the ANZUS alliance as the bedrock of Australia's defence. Indeed, the alliance that has formed since the Treaty was signed has evolved over time and taken on strategic significance far beyond what its authors had envisaged.

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<sup>121</sup> Department of Foreign Affairs and Trade (DFAT), *2017 Foreign Policy White Paper*, 2017, p. 7.

<sup>122</sup> Alex Oliver, *The 2017 Lowy Institute Poll*, Lowy Institute, Sydney, 2017, p. 7.

<sup>123</sup> Mark Thomson, *The Cost of Defence ASPI Defence Budget Brief 2017–18*, The Australian Strategic Policy Institute Limited, Canberra, 2017, p. 9 and p. 11.

## Security Treaty between Australia, New Zealand and the United States of America [ANZUS]

DEPARTMENT OF EXTERNAL AFFAIRS, CANBERRA Australian Treaty Series 1952 No 2 (San Francisco, 1 September 1951) Entry into force generally: 29 April 1952

THE PARTIES TO THIS TREATY, REAFFIRMING their faith in the purposes and principles of the Charter of the United Nations and their desire to live in peace with all peoples and all Governments, and desiring to strengthen the fabric of peace in the Pacific Area, NOTING that the United States already has arrangements pursuant to which its armed forces are stationed in the Philippines, and has armed forces and administrative responsibilities in the Ryukyus, and upon the coming into force of the Japanese Peace Treaty may also station armed forces in and about Japan to assist in the preservation of peace and security in the Japan Area, RECOGNIZING that Australia and New Zealand as members of the British Commonwealth of Nations have military obligations outside as well as within the Pacific Area, DESIRING to declare publicly and formally their sense of unity, so that no potential aggressor could be under the illusion that any of them stand alone in the Pacific Area, and DESIRING further to coordinate their efforts for collective defense for the preservation of peace and security pending the development of a more comprehensive system of regional security in the Pacific Area, THEREFORE DECLARE AND AGREE as follows:

**Article I:** The Parties undertake, as set forth in the Charter of the United Nations, to settle any international disputes in which they may be involved by peaceful means in such a manner that international peace and security and justice are not endangered and to refrain in their international relations from the threat or use of force in any manner inconsistent with the purposes of the United Nations.

**Article II:** In order more effectively to achieve the objective of this Treaty the Parties separately and jointly by means of continuous and effective self-help and mutual aid will maintain and develop their individual and collective capacity to resist armed attack.

**Article III:** The Parties will consult together whenever in the opinion of any of them the territorial integrity, political independence or security of any of the Parties is threatened in the Pacific.

**Article IV:** 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. Any such armed attack and all measures taken as a result thereof shall be immediately reported to the Security Council of the United Nations. Such measures shall be terminated when the Security Council has taken the measures necessary to restore and maintain international peace and security.

**Article V:** For the purpose of Article IV, an armed attack on any of the Parties is deemed to include 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.

**Article VI:** This Treaty does not affect and shall not be interpreted as affecting in any way the rights and obligations of the Parties under the Charter of the United Nations or the responsibility of the United Nations for the maintenance of international peace and security.

**Article VII:** The Parties hereby establish a Council, consisting of their Foreign Ministers or their Deputies, to consider matters concerning the implementation of this Treaty. The Council should be so organized as to be able to meet at any time.

**Article VIII:** Pending the development of a more comprehensive system of regional security in the Pacific Area and the development by the United Nations of more effective means to maintain international peace and security, the Council, established by Article VII, is authorized to maintain a consultative relationship with States, Regional Organizations, Associations of States or other authorities in the Pacific Area in a position to further the purposes of this Treaty and to contribute to the security of that Area.

**Article IX:** This Treaty shall be ratified by the Parties in accordance with their respective constitutional processes. The instruments of ratification shall be deposited as soon as possible with the Government of Australia, which will notify each of the other signatories of such deposit. The Treaty shall enter into force as soon as the ratifications of the signatories have been deposited.[1]

**Article X:** This Treaty shall remain in force indefinitely. Any Party may cease to be a member of the Council established by Article VII one year after notice has been given to the Government of Australia, which will inform the Governments of the other Parties of the deposit of such notice.

**Article XI:** This Treaty in the English language shall be deposited in the archives of the Government of Australia. Duly certified copies thereof will be transmitted by that Government to the Governments of each of the other signatories.

[1] Instruments of ratification were deposited for Australia, New Zealand and the United States of America 29 April 1952, on which date the Treaty entered into force.

Commonwealth of Australia



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