

WOMENS INTERNATIONAL LEAGUE FOR PEACE AND FREEDOM (WILPF)

AUSTRALIA

SUBMISSION TO DEFENCE STRATEGIC REVIEW 2022

The stated purpose of the Defence Strategic Review is to consider the priority of investment in Defence capabilities and assess the Australian Defence Force's (ADF's) structure, posture and preparedness in order to optimise Defence capability and posture to meet the nation's security challenges over the period 2023-24 to 2032-33 and beyond.

SUMMARY

WILPF strongly urges the *Independent Review Panel* to take a comprehensive and integrated approach to this task. *Our submission proposes that there is a broad range of investments needed, including non-military, in order to ensure Australia's future strategic security.*

- 1. WILPF understands the primary role of Australia's Defence capabilities should be the *'strategic direct defence and protection of Australia.'*
- 2. A critical reassessment of 'expansionist' military cooperation agreements is needed: including the US, UK, NATO and regional partners, to ensure that Australia does not further risk military conflict.
- **3.** As a priority Australia should reject any engagement with nuclear weapons, ratify the Treaty on the Prohibition of Nuclear Weapons, and reverse its decision on AUKUS.
- 4. Australia needs to *invest in integrated complimentary strategic policies and initiatives* including enhanced foreign policy and diplomacy; aid and development; women, peace and security; climate change; regional/ multilateral cooperation; peacekeeping; refugee assistance; education; people to people exchanges. *Military options <u>cannot</u> be the only choices to build and maintain national, regional and global security.*
- 5. The UN Secretary-General has called for action to "reject the continued rise in military spending." WILPF strongly supports reductions in Australia's military spending and the reallocation of resources and MOVING THE MONEY - to areas such as health, aged care, education, social security, the care industry; to mitigate the growing social costs across the community. This includes rejecting Australia's goal of becoming a 'top ten global arms exporter' and using Australia's technical advancements and capacities to build in areas such as pharmaceuticals, renewable energy, cyber security, climate change.
- 6. ADF's role in responding to natural disasters should be critically reviewed and resources should be prioritised to create a coordinated and well resourced civilian approach to support all services necessary for planning, disaster preparation, and relief and recovery to deal with the consequences of health crises, natural disasters and the ever increasing threats of climate change. This would have significant long term benefits and address a fundamental gap to build a sustainable capacity in Australia's domestic response to emergencies, pandemics, and natural disasters, providing job opportunities and enhancing community resilience.
- 7. Critically it's also time for increased investment in and resourcing of accountability and transparency in Defence priorities, planning and expenditure. This includes prioritising reforms to planning, systems and management given extensive cost overruns and delays; as well as provision of resources for accessing information, and thorough review by Parliamentary mandated committees, to ensure we are building towards a safer, more peaceful and secure world for Australia and the global community.



INTRODUCTION

For over 106 years, the **Women's International League for Peace and Freedom (WILPF)** has advocated for universal disarmament and worked to build peace across the globe; from 1915 when women from all sides of the conflict met in The Hague to try and bring about an end to the First World War. WILPF's vision is a world of permanent peace built on feminist foundations of freedom, justice, nonviolence, human rights and equality for all, where people, the planet, and all its other inhabitants coexist and flourish in harmony. This is based on values that include equality and human rights, anti-militarism, non-violence, anti-racism, ecological sustainability, investment in the public good and integrity. WILPF's approach to peace builds on collaboration, partnership, strength in diversity and the transformation of power, to create empowering and collective action and relationships.¹

WILPF utilises a critical gender lens for its analysis and reaffirms the importance of the **Women**, **Peace and Security agenda**, and the role of women in the prevention and resolution of conflicts, peace negotiations, peacebuilding, peacekeeping, humanitarian response and in post-conflict reconstruction and stresses the importance of women's equal participation and full involvement in all efforts for the maintenance and promotion of peace and security. This submission is made on the eve of the 22nd anniversary (31 October 2022) of UN Security Council Resolution (UNSCR) 1325 on Women, Peace and Security (WPS).²

WILPF Australia³ is part of a global organisation with members across Africa, the Americas, South Asia, Asia Pacific, Europe, and the MENA region. In 1948, WILPF became one of the 1st NGOs – and the 1st women's peace organisation – to be granted consultative status with the UN Economic and Social Council (ECOSOC); a status which gives access to all UN bodies that are open to NGOs, including the General Assembly and the Human Rights Council.

CLARIFYING ASSUMPTIONS AND CONTEXT

The Australian Government's 2020 Defence Strategic Update (DSU)⁴ – the most recent statement of Australia's strategic situation and military requirements notes the following.

Our region is in the midst of the most consequential strategic realignment since the Second World War, and trends including military modernization, technological disruption and the risk of state-on-state conflict are further complicating our nation's strategic circumstances. (p.3)

Previous Defence planning has assumed a ten-year strategic warning time for a major conventional attack against Australia. This is no longer an appropriate basis for defence planning. Coercion, competition and grey-zone activities directly or indirectly targeting Australian interests are occurring now. Growing regional military capabilities, and the speed at which they can be deployed, mean Australia can no longer rely on a timely warning ahead of conflict occurring.(p.14)

^{...}including China's active pursuit of greater influence in the Indo-Pacific (p.11)

¹ WILPF International Programme 2022-2025. https://www.wilpf.org/wp-content/uploads/2022/09/WILPF-International-Programme-2022-2025_ENG.pdf

² UNSCR 1325 - Women, Peace and Security. <u>Resolutions | United Nations Security Council</u>. 31 October, 2000.

³ WILPF Australia. https://www.wilpf.org.au

⁴ https://www1.defence.gov.au/sites/default/files/2020-11/2020_Defence_Strategic_Update.pdf

Critical questions:

- Are the DSU policy assumptions, principles, rationale, prioritisation and strategies valid and clearly articulated for the next 10 years and beyond?
- How have the last 10 years of increased military spending addressed Australia's security challenges; is Australia more secure?
- Where is the publicly available data to assess, monitor and evaluate performance, capabilities, budgets and policy to answer these questions?

Review Challenges:

- Does the Review as currently framed have the capacity, adequate timeframe and resources to address these critical and complex questions?
- What is the "Strategic" policy direction being implied and how does it align with "national interest"?
- Is the focus on the capabilities for the 'direct defence' of Australia; or is the Strategic direction more about 'long range engagement'? Clearly each of these approaches has significantly different priorities, requires different investments, capabilities, force structure and posture; and will have significant implications for the short and long term for Australia and its people.
- What are the risks that the Review has been framed as justification for the Defence investments already announced; without explicit, transparent Strategic policy and rationale being openly discussed? Will this be a case of investments drive policy, structure and posture, and what are the consequences of this type of decision-making?

CONTEMPORARY SECURITY CHALLENGES

These critical questions underpin the Review and necessary analysis of today's security challenges. *DSU's context analysis, however, is fast becoming outdated, particularly since the Russian invasion of Ukraine, increasing nuclear threats, tensions with China, and resulting economic, energy, humanitarian and food insecurity.* For the contextual analysis to be fit for purpose more nuanced global concerns also need to be addressed.

The world currently faces, *for the first time on record*, a staggering milestone of 100 million people forced to flee conflict, violence, human rights violations and persecution. This is at the same time as we continue to deal with the ongoing implications of a global health pandemic and where the growing consequences of climate change are all impacting particularly women and girls and vulnerable communities, including in our own Asia-Pacific region. Internal and protracted conflicts (e.g. Ethiopia, Burkina Faso, Nigeria, and the Democratic Republic of Congo); sudden regime change in both Afghanistan and Myanmar; growing inequality, authoritarianism, racism and misogyny fuel violence and discrimination, and challenge democracy and specifically the human rights of women, children and diverse peoples.⁵

Climate change, environmental pollution and loss of biodiversity intersect to pose serious threats to the security of human and other planetary species. Destruction created by climate related catastrophes across the globe, in the current year alone has exceeded predictions, leading to conflict over scarce resources, especially food and water, with women and children bearing the brunt of these outcomes and leading to growing environmentally induced displacement and migration. In

⁵ UN Security Council. Women, Peace and Security Report of the Secretary-General. 21 Sept 2021. S/2021/827. UN Security Council. Women, Peace and Security Report of the Secretary-General. 5 Oct 2022. S/2022/740.

addition, increasing attention is being given to the environmental costs exacerbated by growing military activities (e.g. upkeep of bases, weapons production and testing) and military conflict, contributing to increased greenhouse gas emissions and habitat destruction.

Right now, **nuclear risks and dangers** are back in the public eye. The UN is this week (24-30 October 2022) marking its annual Disarmament Week, while the Russian government continues to threaten to use nuclear weapons during its war in Ukraine. Russian forces have seized nuclear power facilities and armed conflict, risks a radioactive catastrophe. While these current events have elevated the attention being paid to the risks of nuclear weapons and nuclear power, nuclear dangers have persisted in the shadows for decades. Every day, we all live with the possibility of massive nuclear violence, whether by intention, accident, or miscalculation. If nuclear weapons are used, the humanitarian and environmental consequences will be devastating, with risks of escalation which could lead to climate catastrophe, global famine, and the end of life on Earth as we know it.⁶

Yet, during the **global pandemic**, with **unprecedented stress in meeting people's social, economic and health needs and a 3.3% contraction of the global economy, global military expenditure increased by 2.6%**, totalling nearly \$US2 trillion in 2020. Military spending as a share of gross domestic product reached a global average of 2.4%, the largest increase since the global financial crisis in 2009; with 9 nuclear armed countries spending \$US72.6 billion to bolster and modernise nuclear arsenals in 2020.⁷

This has led the **UN Secretary-General to call for action to** *"reject the continued rise in military spending*" in his Report on Women, Peace and Security delivered at the Security Council on 20 October 2022. He has specifically called for UN entities to strengthen partnerships with civil society organisations to advocate with governments and parliamentarians regarding reductions in military spending and the reallocation of resources.⁸

SECURITY IN AUSTRALIA

In the last week as the Australian Government delivered its Budget Statement (25 October 2022) framed by inflation, debt, increasing energy and cost of living concerns, the prospect of further economic uncertainty grew for many Australians as they considered their future security.

Concerns about security across the broader population ranged from the effects of climate change (floods, fires, food insecurity, housing, damage to water supplies, unavailability of essential goods) to criminal violence (including sexual assault, domestic violence, harassment), health (including consequences of the pandemic, mental health), discrimination, political corruption to more external factors such as terrorism, cyber attacks and invasion or interference by a foreign country.

There is a growing recognition, however, that the security of states (and peace within a system of states) is increasingly bound up with the security of individuals within them. Encompassing the personal and public spheres of life, dimensions of security extend beyond the physical to include environmental, economic, civil and political to a broader understanding of "human security." This expands our understanding and practice of security beyond military responses, and beyond the 'absence of war and conflict'. Meaningful participation in decision-making and civil society, respect

⁶ This Disarmament Week, WILPF Demands Nuclear Abolition Now! - WILPF

⁷ UN Security Council. Women, Peace and Security Report of the Secretary-General. 21 Sept 2021. S/2021/827.

⁸ UN Security Council. Women, Peace and Security Report of the Secretary-General. 5 Oct 2022. S/2022/740.

for human rights and having a voice that is respectfully heard are all seen as vital to inclusive peace and security.⁹

How secure are we now?

WILPF's analysis has demonstrated that the DSU and Force Structure Plan (FSP) have promoted Australia's military advantage through procurement of high-tech capabilities and built the conditions for increasing spending in the overarching Defence sector of around \$575 billion by 2030.¹⁰ Our report documents Australia's 'normalisation of militarisation' with growing investments in military budgets; expansion of the arms industry and exports; military integration into domestic responses to the COVID pandemic, bushfires, and floods; and the growing social costs of increasing securitisation and militarisation across the community. The question remains however - *has this increasing militarisation and military expenditure improved our security and contributed to a more peaceful and secure Australia in a post-COVID era?*

Defence Funding

Public funding to Defence in Australia has increased significantly since 2010: with the total annual budget estimate increasing by 50%; **from \$A30.5 billion in 2010 to \$A45.5 billion in 2020**. In October 2022 the total Defence budget grew to **\$A48.7 billion for 2022-23** which is 1.96% of GDP. This is projected to grow to 2% of GDP in 2026.

Looking at Defence spending in context provides the opportunity to fully appreciate the magnitude of the social costs across the Australian society, and to compare and contrast with alternative uses of taxpayer funds in areas such as health, infrastructure, education, the care industry and social security. Despite the pandemic and increasing economic and social costs during 2020-2021, the Australian Government's commitment to increase Defence spending has not waivered, as illustrated in these examples.

Infantry Fighting Vehicles: Estimated cost of military acquisitions (buying and maintaining military equipment) in 2020-2021 was \$A14.4 billion. Acquisition of 450 new, replacement Infantry Fighting Vehicles cost the Australian tax payer between \$A40-60 million *per vehicle*. *Just one of the 450 infantry fighting vehicles could cover funding for over 9,000 students for a year; OR 250 new hospital beds; OR the annual salary of over 400 doctors.*

MRH-90 Helicopters: conservatively estimated to cost Defence \$A30,000 per hour of flight time. Planned to be flown 9,670 hours in a year, running the helicopter costs at \$A290 million annually. ADF had 46 of the MRH-90 helicopters. **One flight hour of a MRH-90 helicopter could potentially** *have financed the maximum fortnightly JobSeeker payment for roughly 36 Australian households relying on Coronavirus supplements, OR supported one household for 18 months during the troubling pandemic months.*¹¹

Data from the Australian National Audit Office and advice from Defence also shows a series of major Defence projects - with approved budgets totalling more than \$69 billion - are facing significant

⁹ Australian Civil Society Coalition for Women, Peace and Security Listening to Women's Voices and Making the Connection s to the Women, Peace and Security Agenda. Fifth Report of the Annual Civil Society Dialogue on Women, Peace and Security. 2017. www.wpscoailition.org

¹⁰ WILPF Australia <u>Research Report Militarisation in Australia - Normalisation and Mythology.pdf (wilpf.org.au)</u> p. 5, 10.

¹¹ Ibid p. 10-16.

schedule delays and 'budget variations'. Of these projects, at least 28 are a combined 97 years behind schedule and at least 18 projects are running over budget and at least \$A6.5 billion of variations from the approved budgets identified.¹² These most recent cost overruns do not include the now infamous nuclear-powered submarines project. The social costs of this expenditure, the need for accountability and transparency for these 'budget variations' cannot be overstated in a period when the community faced significant challenges during the COVID period, and now as the community deals with a high inflation economy. These findings raise additional significant issues for the Review to consider with respect to the prioritisation of and need for investment in systems and management reform within Defence as well.

Defence Industry

Australia's goal to become a top ten global arms exporter indicates a further commitment to expanding Australia's defence portfolio, with the justification of job creation contributing to the prosperity of the Australian economy. In 2018, the Defence Export Strategy set the 10-year objective to grow Australia's defence industry. By 2020 Australia's overall standing in defence export ranking had begun to increase; as had its ranking as one of the four largest arms importers in the world, behind Saudi Arabia, India and Egypt.¹³

Defence industry, providers and suppliers, comprise over 3,000 businesses across Australia, indirectly supporting 15,000 additional businesses (in 2020). Expansion is set to increase, particularly in light of the investment plans and large capability acquisitions, with modernisation efforts intending to create an Australian military complex, principally led by bringing foreign stakeholders into the Australian market, such as Thales and Lockheed Martin.¹⁴ Daley captures both the normalisation and the contradictions when he says:

Where once it was a sheep's back, then farm equipment, cars and minerals, now it seems, Australia is aiming low – seeking to build an international reputation on the ever-greater export of killing machines.¹⁵

BUILDING AUSTRALIA'S SECURITY THROUGH NON-MILITARY INVESTMENTS

In 2020, while Australia's *then new* Defence Strategic Update (DSU) emphasized greater self-reliance it also lacked complementarity and policy coherence with other government policies and portfolios, and civil society initiatives.

For example - Foreign Affairs and Trade; Diplomacy; Aid and Development; Regional Cooperation; Immigration and Refugees; Countering Violent Extremism; Cyber Security; Climate Change; Global Health Pandemics; Humanitarian Assistance; Women, Peace and Security; Transport, Energy and Infrastructure; Education; People to People Exchange

It has left Australia exposed to the militarisation of international relations; at risk of precipitating or being co-opted into conflicts; and with 'siloed' options framed around military responses if strategic security conditions changed. Given the complexity of contemporary global security challenges, *military options cannot be the only choices to maintain national security*.

¹² <u>https://www.minister.defence.gov.au/media-releases/2022-10-10/quality-defence-spending-top-priority-albanese-government</u>

¹³ Stockholm International Peace Research Institute. https://www.sipri.org/sites/default/files/2020-03/fs_2003_at_2019.pdf

¹⁴ WILPF Australia <u>Research Report Militarisation in Australia - Normalisation and Mythology.pdf (wilpf.org.au)</u> p. 17-20.

¹⁵ Daley, P. The Militarisation of Australian History. Presentation Nov 2019. https://www.mapw.org.au

The Australian Defence Force's (ADF's) primary role is to defend Australia from external threats to our national security, i.e. defending and protecting Australia. However, Australia should prioritise further strategic and creative investment in making more effective use of existing structures and capabilities, within the international and domestic contexts that could be used to avert conflict; and to further build the resilience and capacity of the Australian community. The table below provides some initial suggestions.

International

- More comprehensive Foreign Policies that aim to improve relations with other countries; including diplomatic methods, aid and development
- Curtail the use of inflammatory, provocative and alarmist commentary in public statements by politicians and officials (e.g. related to China and Taiwan)
- Greater use of and respect for multilateral institutions, e.g. the UN General Assembly, UN Security Council, International Court of Justice (set up in 1899 to adjudicate interstate conflicts), International Criminal Court, UN Peacekeeping (noting that all of these entities - including the UN Charter - are in need of reform)
- Greater compliance with existing Treaties
- Long term, comprehensive peacebuilding between countries, particularly in our region

Domestic

- Long term, comprehensive peacebuilding at community, state and national levels
- Respect for all human rights and diversity, and elimination of all forms of violence against women and children
- Encouragement of public involvement in democratic processes; particularly participatory and deliberative democracy
- Willingness of government to listen to, resource and act on community priorities for achieving a safe, secure and permanently peaceful world

Building peace

Peacebuilding seeks to address the underlying causes of conflict, helping people to resolve their differences peacefully and lay the foundations to prevent future violence. Simply stopping fighting is not the same as transforming conflict. It is a long-term, collaborative process and requires investment of considerable resources in changing attitudes, behaviours, norms and institutions. So that everyone has fair and equal access to basic needs for their wellbeing; that ultimately people are safe from harm, have access to law and social justice; can engage with community, are included in the democratic political decision making that affects them; and have access to better economic opportunities. These apply at the community, national and international levels and seldom enhanced by the actions of war. It's past time to invest more in peacebuilding.

Domestic engagement of the ADF

WILPF's analysis has demonstrated that the extent of the Australian military's involvement in domestic disaster relief has increased significantly over the last decade. Australian society's acceptance of the ADF as a legitimate actor in domestic affairs, in the economy, civilian bureaucracy and culture, has laid the groundwork and continuing expectations that further domestic military engagement is integral to responses. e.g. Operation Bushfire Assist 2019-2020 and Operation COVID-19 Assist involved significant engagement of ADF personnel and Reservists.¹⁶

¹⁶ WILPF Australia <u>Research Report Militarisation in Australia - Normalisation and Mythology.pdf (wilpf.org.au)</u> p. 21-29.

These types of deployments continue today with military support to flooded communities in NSW and Victoria, as the effects of climate change bring compounding and more frequent natural disasters. It is likely that demand will grow for ADF to play a larger role - e.g. in disaster preparation, relief and recovery in the coming years, with Government leaders requesting assistance from the ADF in such emergencies. There's also an increasing perception by the Australian public that this is a normal task for the ADF and the expectation that they will undertake it whenever called upon, regardless of whether they have the resources, personnel, equipment, or capacity to do so. Yet the recent Royal Commission noted it was clear that Defence does not want to do this work; and that it won't structure, train or equip to do so because it must focus on its core task of war fighting.¹⁷ How will the Review address these issues given the significant engagement, expectations and costs of the last 3-4 years?

Building civilian capacities for enhanced domestic security

And more importantly where does this leave civilian capacity to address increasing climate change events? **WILPF's analysis**¹⁸ indicates that rather than relying on the ADF, resources should be directed to creating a coordinated and well resourced civilian approach to support all services necessary for planning, disaster preparation, and relief and recovery to deal with the consequences of health crises, natural disasters and the ever increasing threats of climate change. While immediate costs may be greater in having a civilian capacity to deal with emergencies, there would be potentially significant long term benefits in saving infrastructure, housing and lives; as well as long term health benefits for affected populations. This would address a fundamental gap and build sustainable capacity in Australia's domestic response to emergencies, pandemics, and natural disasters, providing job opportunities and enhancing community resilience.

CONCLUSION

WILPF's submission proposes that there is a broad range of investments needed, including nonmilitary, in order to ensure Australia's future strategic security.

- The primary role of Australia's Defence capabilities should be the 'strategic direct defence and protection of Australia.'
- This Review should include critical reassessment of 'expansionist' military cooperation agreements, including the United States, United Kingdom, NATO and other Asia-Pacific regional partners, to ensure that Australia does not further risk military conflict.
- This includes rejecting engagement with nuclear weapons, nuclear power and the risk of nuclear violence, with potential devastating humanitarian and environmental consequences. As a priority Australia should ratify the Treaty on the Prohibition of Nuclear Weapons, and reverse its decision on AUKUS.
- Given the complexity of contemporary global security challenges, *military options <u>cannot</u> be the only choices to build and maintain national security*. Australia needs to *invest in integrated complimentary strategic policies and initiatives* such as enhanced foreign policy and diplomacy; aid and development; women, peace and security; climate change; regional and multilateral cooperation; peacekeeping; humanitarian and refugee assistance; education; people to people exchanges to optimise our national, regional and global security.

¹⁷ Royal Commission into Natural Disaster Arrangements Report. Chapter 7 'Role of the Australian Defence Force. 2020.

¹⁸ WILPF Australia <u>Research Report Militarisation in Australia - Normalisation and Mythology.pdf (wilpf.org.au)</u> p. 28-29.

- In October 2022, the UN Secretary-General called for action to "reject the continued rise in military spending." WILPF strongly supports reductions in Australia's military spending and the reallocation of resources. This includes dropping the political rhetoric around fixed proportions of budget expenditure. In addition, there needs to be priority given to planning, systems and management reforms within Defence given recent disclosure of extensive cost overruns and delays.
- MOVE THE MONEY to areas such as *health, aged care, education, social security, the care industry; and to mitigate the growing social costs* of increasing securitisation and militarisation across the community.
- This includes rejecting Australia's goal of becoming a 'top ten global arms exporter.' With critical technical advancements and capacities needed in for example pharmaceuticals, renewable energy, cyber security, climate change Australia is well placed to promote job creation, build global partnerships, and to make strategic contributions to global security across many fields.
- Review the ADF's role in responding to natural disasters by prioritising resources to create a coordinated and well resourced civilian approach to support all services necessary for planning, disaster preparation, and relief and recovery to deal with the consequences of health crises, natural disasters and the ever increasing threats of climate change. This would have significant long term benefits in saving infrastructure, housing and lives. It would shift the dependency on military resources and staff, and address a fundamental gap to build a sustainable capacity in Australia's domestic response to emergencies, pandemics, and natural disasters, providing job opportunities and enhancing community resilience.
- It's time to invest in peacebuilding and broaden the understanding of human security. If we want peace, we need to prepare for peace.
- Critically it's also time for increased investment in and resourcing of accountability and transparency in Defence priorities, planning and expenditure; including providing resourcing for accessing information, and thorough review by Parliamentary mandated committees, to ensure we are building towards a safer, more peaceful and secure world for Australia and the global community.

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