



Military History & Heritage Victoria

Game of Dominoes: Australia's Security and the Cold War 1947-1991



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The 5th Biennial Two-Day Conference of Military History and Heritage Victoria Inc at the Waverley RSL in Melbourne, 13-14 April 2024.

This conference examines the Cold War period (1947-1990), its impact on Australia's defence posture and Australia's contribution to the anti-Communist alliance during this time. Australia's involvement in Asia in particular, arising from its part in the ANZUS treaty of 1951 and in SEATO from 1954 will be examined – its role in the Malayan Emergency, the Korean War, *konfrontasi* and the Vietnam War all within the context of potential nuclear war. Australia's Army, Navy, and Air Force were all engaged in this struggle, partly against the Soviet Union but mostly against revolutionary movements in Asia supported by Communist China. Australia's counter-intelligence operations within Australia will also be examined.

Conference Chair: Professor of History Craig Stockings, UNSW
Official Historian of *Australian Operations in Iraq and Afghanistan, and Australian Peacekeeping Operations in East Timor.*

Convenors: Dr Andrew Kilsby and David Mitchelhill-Green

SATURDAY 13 APRIL 2024

8:30 – 9:00 am | Conference Registration

9:00 – 9:15 | Opening Remarks

Major-General Jim Barry AM, MBE, RFD, ED (Rtd), MHHV Patron

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Introduction | Conference Chair

Professor of History Craig Stockings, UNSW

Official Historian of *Australian Operations in Iraq and Afghanistan, and Australian Peacekeeping Operations in East Timor*.

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9:15 – 10:00 | Keynote: Australia and the Cold War

Professor Peter Edwards, AM

Official Historian and general editor of *The Official History of Australia's Involvement in Southeast Asian Conflicts 1948–1975*.

10:00 – 10:30 | Morning Tea

10:30 – 12:30 | Session 1 – The Post War Chill

Panel Chair: Dr Daryl Moran, MHHV

10:30 – 11:05 | Revisiting Menzies' national security state

Professor David Lowe, Alfred Deakin Professor and Chair in Contemporary History, Deakin University

11:10 – 11:45 | Woomera's contribution to Britain's and Australia's security in the Cold War 1947-1980: From Blue Danube to Project Falstaff

Michael Wohltmann, author of *Looking Back to See the Future* and *A Future Unlived*

11:50 – 12:10 | Dangerous Games: Nuclear Colonialism in Australia

Associate Professor Dr Elizabeth Tynan, a science writer and academic at the James Cook University Graduate Research School, Queensland. (Zoom presentation)

12:10 – 12:30 pm | Q&A Panel

Edwards, Lowe, Wohltmann, Tynan (Moran moderator)

12:30 – 1:30 | Lunch

1:30 – 2:45 | Session 2 – Forewarned is Forearmed

Panel Chair: Major-General Mike O'Brien CSC (Rtd), President Royal United Services Institute

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1:30 – 2:05 | Countdown to Korean Surprise: Australia's Experience of Intelligence Assessment, 1949-50

Dr David Schaefer, Visiting Fellow Department of War Studies, King's College London

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2:10 – 2:45 | Revealing Secrets: Australian Signals Intelligence in the Cold War

Clare Birgin, former diplomat and historian at Australian National University, co-author (with John Blaxland): *Revealing Secrets: An Unofficial History of Australian Signals Intelligence and the Advent of Cyber*.

2:45 – 3:15 | Afternoon Tea

3:15 – 5:00 | Session 3 – Asian Dominoes?

Panel Chair: Keith Wolahan, MP, Member for Menzies and ADF veteran.

3:15 – 3:50 | Vietnam – Defending the Domino

Gary McKay MC OAM, writer, former Army officer and Vietnam War veteran

3:55 – 4:40 | Round Table: Game of Dominoes: What if?

Moderator: Colonel Marcus Fielding (Rtd) Immediate past-President MHHV

Peter Edwards, David Horner, David Lowe, Keith Wolahan MP

+ Georgina Downer: Executive Director Robert Menzies Institute.

4:45 | Convenor – end of day and dinner arrangements

6:00 for 6:30 pm | Drinks at RSL downstairs bar

6:30 - 9:30 pm | Conference Dinner & Speaker

Introduction: Major-General Jim Barry AM MBE RFD ED (Rtd), MHHV Patron

Reflections on the Cold War - *with the BAOR and the US Army Red Force in Nevada*
Major General Greg Garde AO RFD (Rtd)

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SUNDAY 14 APRIL 2024

9:00 - 9:15 | Session 4 - Skulduggery

Panel Chair: Emeritus Prof. David Horner AM

Official Historian: *The Spy Catchers: The Official History of ASIO 1949-1963.*

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9:00 – 9:40 | ASIO and Cold War counter espionage

Dr Rhys Crawley, Senior Lecturer in History, UNSW at ADFA

9:40 – 10:15 | Menzies, the Kremlin, and the Waterfront

Dr Zachary Gorman, Robert Menzies Institute.

10:15 – 10:45 | Morning Tea

10:15 – 11:00 | National Archives of Australia Exhibition, ‘Spy’

Patrick Ferry, NAA

11:00 – 11:45 | Alliance or Reliance: Australia and the US during the Cold War

Professor Peter Dean, Director Foreign Policy and Defence, United States Study Centre, University of Sydney.

11:50 – 12:30 | Round Table – Who won the Cold War? Capitalism or Communism? Democracies or Autocracies? Did the Cold War ever finish?

Moderator: Colonel Marcus Fielding (Rtd), Immediate Past President MHHV

Craig Stockings, Peter Edwards, David Horner, David Lowe, Rhys Crawley, Clare Birgin, Peter Dean

12:30 – 1:30 | Lunch

1:30 – 3:00 PM | Session 5 – Air, Sea and Land

Panel Chair: David Mitchelhill-Green, Conference Co-Convenor, MHHV

1:30 – 2:05 | The Politics of Air Power: The deployment of Australian Air Power to Southeast Asia 1962-1972

Dr Ross Mahoney, Editor-in-Chief of *From Balloons to Drones*.

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2:10 – 2:45 | The RAAF and the nuclear option

Martin James, Air Force Historian, Office of Air Force History

2:45 – 3:15 | Defence Sovereignty, the Cold War and the Royal Australian Navy

Adjunct Professor Erik Eklund, ANU and historian with the Sea Power Centre, Australia

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3:15 - 3:40 | Afternoon Tea

3:40 – 4:50 | Session 6 – Air, Sea and Land *Cont.*

Panel Chair: *Lieutenant Colonel Murray Duckworth CSM*

3:40 – 4:15 | Australian submarines in the Cold War: a force multiplier for the West

Dr Tom Lewis, OAM author of *The Sinking of HMAS Sydney* and *The Truth of War*.

4:15 – 4:50 | Leadership and regimental life in the Cold War

Brigadier Allan Murray CSM (Rtd) MBus - Managing editor and author, FMT Military History and author: *Oh Captain, My Captain*.

4:50 – 5:00 | Closing Remarks

Conference Chair

Professor Craig Stockings

Conference Closed:

Major-General Jim Barry AM, MBE, RFD, ED (Rtd), MHHV Patron

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Conference Chair

Professor Craig Stockings

Craig Stockings is a Professor of History and Head of the School of Humanities and Social Sciences, UNSW Canberra. He is concurrently Official Historian of Australian Operations in Iraq and Afghanistan, and Australian Peacekeeping Operations in East Timor. *Born of Fire and Ash: Australian operations in response to the East Timor crisis 1999-2000*, Volume One of the Official History of Australian Operations in Iraq and Afghanistan, and Australian Peacekeeping Operations in East Timor, was released in late 2022.

His areas of academic interest concern general and Australian military history and operational analysis. He has published a history of the army cadet movement in Australia entitled *The Torch and the Sword* (2007), and a study of the First Libyan Campaign in North Africa 1940-41: *Bardia: Myth, Reality and the Heirs of Anzac* (2009). He has also edited *Zombie Myths of Australian Military History* (2010) and *Anzac's Dirty Dozen: 12 Myths of Australian Military History* (2012).

In 2013 he co-authored an in-depth study of the Greek campaign - *Swastika over the Acropolis: re-interpreting the Nazi Invasion of Greece in World War II*; and co-edited *Before the Anzac Dawn: A Military History of Australia to 1915. Britannia's Shield: Lieutenant-General Sir Edward Hutton and Late Victorian Imperial Defence*, an investigation of turn of the century imperial defence, was published by CUP in 2015 while *Letters from the Veldt: the imperial advance to Pretoria through the eyes of Edward Hutton and his brigade of colonials* was published in 2020.

Keynote Speaker

Professor Peter Edwards, AM

Peter Edwards has published extensively on the history of Australian foreign and defence policies. As the Official Historian of *Australia's Involvement in Southeast Asian Conflicts 1948-1975*, he was the author of the volumes dealing with politics, strategy and diplomacy, *Crises and Commitments* (1992) and *A Nation at War* (1997), and general editor of the nine-volume Official History.

He is also the author of *Australia and the Vietnam War* (2014); *Robert Marsden Hope and Australian Public Policy* (2011); *Arthur Tange: Last of the Mandarins* (2006); *Permanent Friends? Historical Reflections on the Australian-American Alliance* (2005); and *Prime Ministers and Diplomats* (1983); the co-author of *A School with a View* (2010); the editor of *Defence Policymaking* (2008) and *Australia through American Eyes 1935-45* (1979); and the co-editor of *Facing North Vol 2* (2003) and the initial volumes of *Documents on Australian Foreign Policy*.

A Rhodes Scholar, Peter has held a Harkness Fellowship, based at Duke University in the United States, a Harold White Fellowship at the National Library; a Research Fellowship and a Visiting Fellowship at the Australian National University; a Visiting Scholarship at the John Curtin Prime



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Ministerial Library; a Visiting Professorship at the University of New South Wales, Canberra; and a part-time professorship at Flinders University.

Peter has worked extensively with a number of Commonwealth Government agencies, including the Australian War Memorial, the Department of Foreign Affairs and Trade, the Department of Defence, the National Library, the National Archives, and the Office of National Assessments. He is a long-standing member of the editorial advisory board of the Historical Documents Project in DFAT, and the Army Military History Advisory Committee.

Peter Edward's publications have been awarded the Queensland Premier's Prize for History, the WA Premier's Book Award for Non-Fiction, the Colin Roderick Award and H.T. Priestley Medal, the George Watson Prize and a short-listing for the National Biography Award. He is a Member of the Order of Australia, a Fellow of the Australian Institute of International Affairs, and a former Trustee of the Shrine of Remembrance in Melbourne.

He is also the Vice-Patron of Military History and Heritage Victoria Inc.

Dinner Speaker

Major General (Retired), The Honourable Justice Greg Garde AO RFD

Major General retired The Honourable Justice Greg Garde AO RFD has served as a Justice or Reserve Justice of the Supreme Court of Victoria since 2012. From 2012 to 2018, he was also the President of the Victorian Civil and Administrative Tribunal and is Victoria's longest serving VCAT President. He signed the bar roll in 1974 and was appointed as a Queens Counsel in 1989.

Prior to his appointment as a Judge, General Garde enjoyed a distinguished career in the Australian Army as a reserve officer serving in infantry and armour.

General Garde enlisted in the Australian Army in 1967 and was commissioned in 1970. After serving in regimental postings, he was appointed Commanding Officer of Monash University Regiment from 1982 to 1984 and as Commanding Officer of 4th/19th Prince of Wales's Light Horse Regiment from 1984 to 1986. As a Brigadier, he was the Commander 3 Training Group from 1990 to 1992 and the Commander 4 Brigade from 1992 to 1994. He held the appointment of the Assistant Chief of the Defence Force – Reserves and Head Reserve Policy from 2001 to 2004. Over this period, he represented Australia on the NATO Reserve Forces Committee. He was made a Member of the Order of Australia in 1995, and an Officer of the Order of Australia in 2005.

During his service, General Garde visited and served with US, UK and West German forces in Europe and in the US on a number of occasions during and after the Cold War. He will speak of his experiences and observations of the Cold War.



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Conference Convenor

Dr Andrew Kilsby

Andrew Kilsby is an independent professional historian (connect-history.com), with experience in military and diplomatic service both in Australia and overseas (Indonesia, the Philippines, and Thailand). He is a published author of military, business, and biographical history.

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Andrew's military history publications include *The Reservists: A History of the Defence Reserves Association 1970-2020*, with a foreword by the Governor General of Australia, General David Hurley AC DSC (2023); *The Case of Eichengruen-Edwards and Continental Tyres 1904-1919* (Commendation, Victorian Community History Awards 2020); a cont. chapter 'The Rifle Clubs' in Stockings, C. & O'Connor, J. (ed), *Before the Anzac Dawn* (2013); *The Riflemen – A History of the NRAA 1888-1988* (2013); *On the Field and in the Field: a History of Army Rugby Union* (2013); and *The Forgotten Cruiser: HMAS Melbourne 1913-1928* (2013), with Greg Swinden.

Andrew was a founder of MHHV in 2010. He was convenor for MHHV's 1st and 4th Biennial two day conferences - *In the Shadow of War: Australia 1942* (2012) and *Hard Fought: Australia in the Mediterranean Theatre 1940-45* (2022), along with a number of one-day conferences since 2012 including *A Hot Cold War: Korea 1951-1953*; *The Great Debate: Conscription and National Service in Australia 1912-1972*; and *Choppers: Helicopters and the Vietnam War*. Andrew co-convened MHHV's *By the Seat of their Pants: Australian Airmen and their Aircraft 1915-1918* and *In the Bag: POWs 1915-1945*. He also convened the National Vietnam Veterans Museum's conference *Phantoms: Australia's Secret War in Vietnam*.

Andrew holds a PhD in history (UNSW) and is a graduate of RMC Duntroon. He is editor, with Dr Daryl Moran, of *In the Fight: Australians and the War in Burma 1942-1945* (2024).

Co-Convenor

David Mitchelhill-Green

David Mitchelhill-Green is an independent historian and photographer. A graduate of Monash University, he was awarded the 2021 RAAF Heritage Prize for Literature for his work on the Cold War in Malaya.

His publications include *Desert Diggers: Writings from a War Zone 'Somewhere in the Middle East' 1940-1942* (2024); *Wings Over Malayan Jungle* (2024); *Tobruk: Fiercely Stand or Fighting Fall* (2021), *Hitler's War in Africa 1941-1942* (2021), *Air War over North Africa – USAAF Ascendant* (2019) and *Fighting in Ukraine: A photographer at War* (2016). An interest in Japan led to the co-authoring of *Castles of the Samurai* and *Samurai Castles* (2018) with Jennifer Mitchelhill.

At MHHV, David has been co-convenor for the MHHV 4th Biennial Conference *Hard Fought: Australia in the Mediterranean Theatre 1940-45* (2022). His new publication is *Desert Diggers* (2024).