



The Royal United Services Institute of Victoria, Inc.  
*Promoting National Security and Defence*

A constituent body of The Royal United Services Institute for Defence and Security Studies Australia Limited

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## **RUSI VIC NEWSLETTER**

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The Government has approved the purchase of 29 Boeing Apache AH64E attack helicopters. The Apache is flown by the US and 15 other countries and will replace the Airbus Tiger from 2025.

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**Next Lunchtime Address at ANZAC House - Thursday 1st April at 1200 for 1230**

**Professor Greg Barton**

**Topic: Reviewing the Global Terrorist Threat**

Coffee and Tea from 12.00 pm. Entrance fee: \$10

As current COVID-19 protocols limit attendances to 40 attendees, it would be appreciated if you could advise of your attendance. Contact the office, preferably by email to [secretary@rusivic.org.au](mailto:secretary@rusivic.org.au) or phone 9282 5918 by 2pm Monday 29 March 2021.

# Royal United Services Institute of Victoria Incorporated

## March 2021 Newsletter

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Australia Defence Association	<a href="http://www.ada.asn.au">www.ada.asn.au</a>
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Defence Reserves Association	<a href="http://www.dra.org.au">www.dra.org.au</a>
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Department of Veteran's Affairs	<a href="http://www.dva.gov.au">www.dva.gov.au</a>
Shrine of Remembrance	<a href="http://www.shrine.org.au">www.shrine.org.au</a>



Opinions expressed in the RUSI VIC Newsletter are those of the authors and are not necessarily those of the Institute.

## From the President:

### Major General Mike O'Brien CSC



It has been an unusual year and from my position would say that we have had some failures and some successes.

I am reluctant to over-emphasise the C – COVID19 – word. However, there is no doubt whatsoever that the virus changed all our lives. To the best of my knowledge, it did not take the life of any of our members or their immediate families. Thank God for that.

Members are the agents of our successes and our failures. We need to deliver what they expect. We need to grow our membership, not just to replace natural attrition but also to grow our credibility with our major supporter, the Department of Defence.

Let me dwell on this support for a moment. We get less from them than we did in the halcyon days. We do get our premises and that must be valued at about \$100k per year. But Defence continues to ask – rhetorically – why they pay for us and what value we deliver to them. It's a legitimate question. My answer is that we keep the public (or at least our members) informed on defence and security issues. This service is not available in today's media. Then they note that our membership is aging. That's true. Their implications are that our members are irrelevant. My rejoinder is that *all* our members are voters, deserving of respect whatever their age. But I have to admit that it would be better if we could lower our age profile and increase our numbers.

We have several things we normally do to deliver value to our members for their money.

We have monthly speakers. That was a problem - one of our understandable failures. We have started to make amends and our talks have recommenced at Anzac House.

We provide a quarterly newsletter and that has successfully continued throughout the year. We decided to supplement it with a weekly or fortnightly e-newsletter and that has been a resounding success – but it does not help the small number of our members resistant to email. However, I would ask you to pass this

newsletter on to your friends to encourage them to join us.

Our library is fully online, and continues to cement its position as one of the best military libraries in Australia. Visit [www.thecollectingbug.com/rusivictoria/](http://www.thecollectingbug.com/rusivictoria/). We can thank our donors and volunteer workers for that. It is still an under-used resource and we continue to encourage you our members and the general public to change this.

2021 will be a year where the findings of the Brereton Review into incidents in Afghanistan are followed up in the full view of public scrutiny. Our response is to offer something positive. We plan to launch an annual essay competition, open to Australian citizens, on the topic of ethics in the Australian Defence Force, with a prize of \$2000. We have an independent judging panel and plan to launch the contest soon. We rely on separate donations to fund the annual prize.

We plan to continue our monthly lunchtime addresses here at RSL State HQ and our e-newsletter at least fortnightly intervals. We also plan a one-day seminar in conjunction with Naval Commemoration Week in October 2021.

RUSIV exists to provide services to its members. Once again, I thank all our members for their faith in our organisation. I would also like to particularly thank our volunteers whose work continues without proper recognition. Particular recognition is deserved by our Secretary, LTCOL Bob Hart, who is the vital glue that holds us all together. Your Council has, as usual, provided me with invaluable assistance, and I thank them all for their support. I would like to particularly single out Ian Lillie and Neil Graham for their help – they are standing down from Council in 2021.

May I wish you all a very healthy, normal and prosperous 2021.

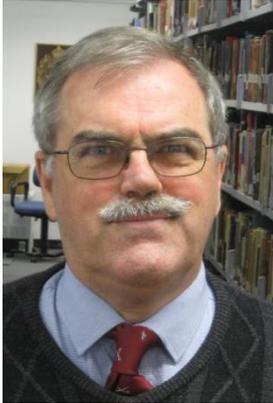
**Michael O'Brien**



The President and February Speaker LTCOL Alistair Pope

## From the Secretary:

### Lieutenant Colonel Bob Hart RFD



Here starts the lesson

"The latest COVID-19 scare is over and we are allowed back in the office again. That has meant a bit of catchup, especially in such matters as memberships, etc.

I have been working to reconcile the various emails, direct deposits, membership renewals etc and there is light at the end of the tunnel. I will be sending out reminders in the next few weeks for the FY 20/21. I understand that 2020 was a difficult year for some and in the confusion, memberships may have been overlooked.

We have decided to keep the email newsletters but that raises a very important point. We can only keep in touch effectively by email. I understand there are those of you who don't have a computer or email accounts. That is up to you and we will try and accommodate you. However, it does mean that postal deliveries will be slow and you will not get the email newsletters, which, as they all require an internet connection, would be of no use.

However, if you do have an email account, please let me know. Even if it is a simple Gmail account that you only use for RUSI VIC matters.

For members who did not attend the February Lecture at ANZAC House, Michael Small has kindly provided a summary of the talk by LTCOL Alistair Pope on page 10 of this newsletter.

Our next speaker is Professor Greg Barton on the topic: Reviewing the Global Terrorist Threat. Please note that we have slipped a week and the date is

**Thursday 1<sup>st</sup> April**, 1200 for 1230 at ANZAC House.

**Bob Hart**



## RAAF Centenary

On 31 March 2021, the Royal Australian Air Force will mark 100 years of service to Australia.

2021 will be an important time to reflect on the RAAF's enduring contribution to the security of Australia.

From modest beginnings in 1921, the RAAF has grown into a potent, world class Air Force.

Air Force Centenary events will highlight the spectrum of air and space power capabilities in today's Air Force, and Air Force's contributions to the Australian Defence Force's Joint Force effects more broadly.

A national series of events and initiatives is planned that will honour the sacrifices and service of the last 100 years, demonstrate today's highly capable force, and foreshadow its continued evolution into the future.



## **Opinion:**

### **China, Deterrence and Social Cohesion**

**Mike Rawlinson**

#### **China in the Region**

China is Australia's largest trading partner. Australia has been a major beneficiary of China's rise to be an economic super-power. Chinese 'authoritarian capitalism' involves the mixing of market and planned economies, and to date has been outstandingly successful. Unfortunately, the anticipated convergence of communism in China with liberal democratic norms has not eventuated, and China has emerged as a Leninist, one-party state led by a President for life with geo-political ambitions. President Xi Jinping has publicly-stated his 'China Dream' of making China the world's greatest power by a long term peaceful rise resulting in economic domination. Regarding Taiwan, it appears that Beijing will use every means short of war to coerce Taiwan into accepting some form of reunification. Xi Jinping aims to achieve tangible progress in reunification with Taiwan during his Presidency.

Elements of the China Dream strategy are the Belt and Road Initiative (BRI), rapid expansion of the Peoples Liberation Army (PLA)-Navy and effective annexation of the South China Sea. The BRI is a grand strategic agenda designed to link China with Eurasia, Africa and Oceania. Essentially it is a network of modern ports and transportation hubs that are Chinese built, owned and/or operated. The Digital Silk Road provides matching communication technology. The Maritime Silk Road has extended into Oceania with Chinese 'soft power' felt in East Timor, PNG and the South-West Pacific.

China is competing with the United States to be the regional hegemonic power. While China is not currently a military threat to Australia, as well as militarising the South China Sea it is rapidly expanding the PLA-Navy. It has also behaved in an abrasive and coercive way by restricting some of Australia's exports. It would clearly like Australia to submit to China's leadership 'on the path to peace and prosperity'.

Australia does not stand alone. Following the election of President Biden, the ANZUS Alliance has resumed its former status as the cornerstone of Australia's security. ANZUS is supplemented by the Quadrilateral Dialogue. The 'Quad' initiated by Japan in 2007, comprising Japan, India, Australia and the US, is a grouping of countries interested in strengthening a rules-based order in the Indo-Pacific. The 'Quad' is now also concerned with China's coercion and aggression. Two democracies yet to be included in the dialogue are Indonesia and South Korea. As a deterrent to any future PLA threat to Australia's sovereignty and interests, a strong ADF

needs to be considered in the context of Australia's friends and allies.

#### **Deterrence**

Deterrence not only applies to overt military aggression, but also to the full range of activities, including cyber interventions, aimed at coercing a political outcome.

From a US perspective, there are two fundamental ways to deter conflict. 'First, by the threat of punitive action that would inflict pain that exceeds the attacker's anticipate gains. This form of deterrence requires leaders to convince the potential enemy that the target of his contemplated aggression possesses both the will and the capability to retaliate. It also requires the ability to hold at risk something of value to the potential aggressor.' ..... 'But deterrence by the threat of punitive action later is often unsuccessful.'... A second form of deterrence is more appropriate for ideological regimes or adversaries without valuable assets. 'Deterrence by denial is based on the ability to convince adversaries that they cannot accomplish their objectives through the use of force or other forms of aggression.'<sup>1</sup>

For the ADF to be perceived as a credible deterrent, the force must be capable of inflicting unacceptable losses upon an aggressor. There are two aspects to the force's credibility: perceived military capability and perceived political will. While, if it chooses, Australia can afford a deterrent military capability, it also needs the political will to deploy and engage its force. Political will rests very much on national resilience and social cohesion.

#### **National Resilience**

Australia has recently experienced a severe drought, devastating bushfires and the COVID-19 pandemic. With notable exceptions Australians have adapted well to adversity, and Australian governments and institutions have performed admirably. Australia has done well but could have done better if it had been better prepared. All sides of politics agree, Australia needs to be more resilient - better prepared for droughts, bushfires, floods, pandemics, other natural disasters, various national security threats including wars involving nuclear weapons, and the effects of climate change.

Among other aspects, lessons have been learnt about self-sufficiency in strategic medical and military consumables and equipment, strategic fuel reserves, diversification of trading partners, and maintaining latent capacity. All of these lessons need to be acted on.

Australia has long demonstrated resilience in regional areas with ongoing experience with floods, droughts, bush fires, and cyclones. Because of increasing congestion and complexity, the State capitals are most likely not as resilient as regional cities and towns.

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<sup>1</sup> McMaster H.R. LTGEN, Battlegrounds, Harper, New York, 2020, p441.

Australia has been successful in its handling of the COVID -19 pandemic. Social cohesion has been maintained during lockdowns and Australians have accepted quite severe temporary restrictions on their freedom.

A well-resourced, cohesive society with a sound, sustainable economy and a population with the knowledge, attitudes and skills to adapt to changing situations is potentially resilient against most threats. Desirable characteristics are diversified production and markets, multiple sources for energy and consumables, redundancy, excess capacity, low debt, buffer stocks and surge capacity. Human aspects include a society that is cohesive, openminded, tolerant with a strong civil society of community organizations.

### **Social Cohesion**

Compared with the US, UK and some countries in Europe, Australia has a reasonably high level of social cohesion. Areas where problems exist relate to inequality, institutional failure, immigrant assimilation, social justice causes relating to gender and race, aboriginal reconciliation and extremist groups.

Democracy in the Western world has been degraded as a tertiary effect of globalisation. Manufacturing industry has migrated to China and developing countries, taking with it well-paid production jobs. The resulting decline of former manufacturing towns and cities is contrasted with commercial capitals where tertiary educated elites have prospered in corporate management, professional services and public service. This inequality underlies both the election of Donald Trump in the US and the Brexit vote in the UK. It is characterised by the following destabilising dichotomies: City/Country, Somewhere/ Anywhere, Private Employment/Public Employment. These effects have been much less marked in Australia as the manufacturing sector was relatively much smaller. They have been accompanied by populism in federal politics and a turn away from the major political parties.

Since the election of the last Howard government in 2004, social cohesion has been damaged by a decline in trust in government and institutions – churches, banks, other financial institutions, traditional media and now age care providers. Additionally, climate change and energy policy have been divisive issues over the last 10 years. Inner city Greens prioritizing carbon dioxide emission reduction have been pitted against voters in regional electorates with jobs in coal mines, coal-fired power stations and energy dependent industry. The major parties have been internally polarised along similar lines and a coherent policy has been slow to evolve.

Australia is an immigrant society which has integrated successive waves of immigrants from different countries. It is often claimed to be the world's most successful multi-cultural country. Despite long experience with welcoming immigrants, problems generally arise with

each wave of immigrants, and dissipate as they are absorbed into the community. Predictably the smaller the cultural gap between the immigrant's parent society and Australian norms the less the likelihood of difficulties.

The cohesion of Australia's multi-cultural immigrant society is undermined by a social justice movement emanating from universities that focuses on gender and racism. This has produced a drift towards identity politics, and a victim culture that is inherently socially divisive. If women, racial minorities and other minorities are inherently victims, then everyone else is inherently an oppressor. Identity politics leads people to see one another not as fellow citizens but as enemies. It creates and perpetuates division among citizens and a loss of faith in the nation and its institutions.

There are a small number of extremist groups in Australia. Generally, they are either from the ideological far right or fundamentalist Islam. Several Islamist terrorist plots have been uncovered by internal security agencies and have involved Australian born Muslims inspired by overseas organizations. Unfortunately, the actions of a few have caused discrimination against Australian Muslims and have required remedial action by community and political leaders. By the 2016 census 2.6% of Australia's population is Muslim.

Aboriginals make up 1.8% of Australia's population, and have not adapted well to contemporary Western conditions. Indigenous inequality is a major issue and Aboriginal reconciliation is a matter that remains outstanding. Aboriginals see Australia Day on 26 January which celebrates the first European settlement as 'invasion day'. Social cohesion would be served if Australia had a National Day that could be celebrated by all citizens, maybe a National Day celebrating Australia's status as a mature liberal democracy.

Australia's successful multi-cultural society contains many fault lines of potential divisiveness which could be exploited to destabilize society, particularly using social media. China's involvement with Australian society has not taken this course, but instead has sought to influence Australians to understand and appreciate Chinese initiatives.

### **China – Political Influence**

Chinese Investment in Australia by private companies or State-Owned Enterprises (SOEs) has been in agriculture, mining, ports, power utilities, telecommunications infrastructure, and real estate. This ownership can appear benign but can all ultimately be influenced by the Chinese Communist Party. China has also deployed soft power, including industrial espionage, clandestine cyber activity, intellectual property theft, political contributions, tariff and non-tariff barriers to trade. China has co-opted former politicians, and Chinese businessmen have made generous donations to universities and political parties.

*Continued page 9*

# A CHRONICLE of Events, Decisions & Issues relating to Defence Matters

December 2, 2020 – March 1, 2021

by Michael Small

## December 2 2020

Justice Paul Brereton recommended that the Meritorious Unit Citation be stripped from more than 3000 soldiers who served with the Special Operations Task Force in Afghanistan between 2007 and 2013. This comment sparked a swift community backlash.

The idea of the freedom of the individual V. the arbitrary authority of the despot was established by the *Magna Carta* in 1215. John Locke (1689/90) also wrote in his Second Treatise in Government: *it is the natural right of a person that they "should not be subject to the inconstant, uncertain, unknown, arbitrary will of another man"*. The arbitrary rule by people in power is the antithesis of the rule of law.

Former prime minister John Howard did what every leader in a democracy should do. He expressed his gratitude for soldiers who fought in a long and difficult war. He voiced distress about the findings of credible information about the allegedly unlawful killings of 39 Afghans and reminded Australians that these alleged crimes concern a small group of special forces personnel.

## December 3 2020

New Zealand, Britain, US, Taiwan and others have supported Australia without being asked. They realize China's treatment of Australia will be meted out to them if they refuse to accept a silenced, subordinate status.

Can China be persuaded to behave as a responsible member of the global community? The government's strategic update in July says that conventional war, "while still unlikely, is less remote than in the past". The strategy unveiled a major new effort to increase the range and hitting power of the ADF.

Hypersonic cruise missiles fly at speeds above Mach 5, that is, five times the speed of sound. Airbreathing cruise missiles, which fly like aircraft, have been tested to speeds of Mach 9.6. Russia, China and the US want to field these weapons quickly. Australian researchers have been working on hypersonic vehicles for 15 years. The question is: what can be delivered in two to five years, not in a decade?

## December 5-6 2020

MAJGEN Sengelman who instigated the Brereton war crimes inquiry says leadership accountability is an "unwritten contract" in which senior officers are responsible "for all that their command does or fails to do". MAJGEN Sengelman set off the process by asking SASR soldiers to tell him, in confidence, about their own

failures and those of the unit. He received 209 responses. Defence chiefs will work through a list of senior officers to identify those who bear some responsibility for crimes committed by lower-ranked soldiers. MAJGEN Sengelman argued command responsibility was a fundamental principle that held the military together.

## December 14 2020

Three MHRs say Australia should abandon the *Airbus ARH Tiger* helicopter and buy *Boeing's Apache AH64E*. The government is about to make a decision whether to buy 29 new attack helicopters or upgrade the army's 22 *Tigers* and purchase an extra seven secondhand airframes. Airbus Helicopters says the *Tiger*, which is flown by France, Germany and Spain, should be extended until 2040, saving \$3bn and 500 jobs.

## December 17 2020

Victorian Court of Appeal judge Mark Weinberg QC, who ruled that George Pell should be exonerated in a decision backed by the High Court, was named on Wednesday as the nation's war crimes special investigator. He will be backed by Attorney-General's Department secretary Chris Moraitis, who has been appointed as the director general of the Office of the Special Investigator, and former Queensland deputy police commissioner Ross Barnett, who will take the role of lead investigator.

## December 18 2020

Former Governor-General Michael Jeffery died today. MAJGEN Jeffery was Governor-General (August 2003 / 2008), and Governor of Western Australia (1993 / 2000).

## December 29 2020

Australia's *F-35A Lightning II* stealth jets are ready to send on operations, giving the nation an air capability edge against all but the most advanced opponents. RAAF took delivery of its 30th *F-35A* in September and has another three awaiting shipping in the US. Australia will eventually acquire 72 of the aircraft at a total program cost of \$17bn.



## January 2 2021

Warrant Officer John Letch, the sergeant major of Australia's Special Operations Command has resigned. Warrant Officer John Letch was responsible for dress, bearing and fault correction in the formation. He was involved in revelry with soldiers which involved drinking from a prosthetic leg.

## January 2 2021

### Five Steps to Rebalancing Strategic Policy on China:

(i) Stop talking up China's rise, but scrutinise its vulnerabilities and inefficiencies; (ii) Deepen Australia's diplomatic co-ordination and security dialogue with partners in the Quad; (iii) Insist on a level playing field as regards trade, investment and information flows; (iv) Configure Australia's information warfare capabilities not only to block Chinese hacking and interference, but also to push back by documenting the abuses and inefficiencies; (v) Educate a cadre of China specialists with language skills and analytic abilities to deal with the deception and disinformation of the CCP. See also Raby, G. *China's Grand Strategy and Australia's Future in the New Global Order*, and Metcalf, R. *Contest for the Indo-Pacific: Why China Won't Map the Future*.

## January 12 2021

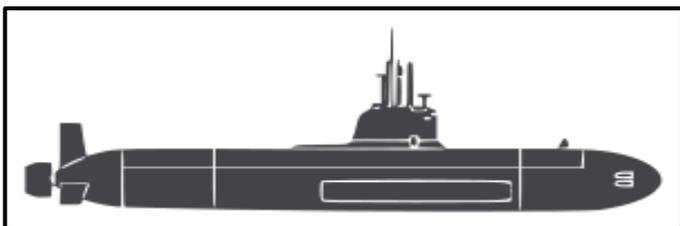
The risk of cyber-attack is a security threat greater than any Australia has experienced. It is greater than the threat Australia faced during the Cold War period in the mid-1950s. The risks include: the theft of financial assets, identity, ransom/blackmail, manipulation of public thinking, falsification of information; theft of data held in corporate and government servers; and loss of control of or disruption to critical infrastructure assets such as telecommunications, public utilities, mining and agriculture.

## January 15 2021

Defence Minister Linda Reynolds will announce that the government has approved the purchase of 29 Boeing *Apache AH64E* helicopters. The *Apache* will become the ADF's replacement helicopter from 2025. The European-designed *Tigers* have experienced recurring problems ranging from pilots being gassed by fumes in the cockpit, rocket launcher pods falling off, inadequate rocket sights and compatibility issues with communication systems. (see item December 14, 2020).

## January 22 2021

PM and A/Defence Minister Andrew Hastie are revisiting the French submarine contract to find out where/if it all went wrong. The review starts with the 2016 French tender document which costed the project at between \$20bn and \$25bn in 2016 dollars. PM is now expressing concern about this project and looking at alternatives. Total cost of the project is estimated at \$220bn but it will go much higher, perhaps to \$400bn or \$500bn.



## February 1 2021

RAAF's Edinburgh base will undergo significant change with a \$500m investment in infra-structure and technology to accommodate 6,000 defence personnel and civilian contractors. The redevelopment will be

alongside the Defence Science and Technology Group hub-the largest R&D organisation in Australia. The new hub places Edinburgh at the centre of military intelligence, surveillance, reconnaissance, and electronic warfare. The new arrangements include: 14 Poseidon maritime surveillance aircraft; AIR 555 Peregrine program-an electronic warfare type aircraft; AIR 7000 Triton program-an unmanned aircraft that will fly out of Northern Australia with the crews based at Edinburgh and AIR 7003-Sky Guardian armed drones that will fly out of Northern Australia with the crews based in Edinburgh.

## February 5 2021

Army will upgrade its amphibious fleet at a cost of \$800m. The new vehicles, which can travel on land and water, will replace vehicles dating from the Vietnam War. The new fleet will include landing craft, so that the combined fleet can "support an enhanced Defence posture and influence in the region including the Pacific step-up objectives".

## February 8 2021

PM Morrison may attend the first leaders' meeting of Quad partners in coming months, as Australia, US, Japan and India look to work together to counter growing Chinese assertiveness in the region. Foreign Minister Marise Payne said Australia was keen on increasing Quad engagement. China's incursions into Indian territory in the Himalayas have led New Delhi to take a harder line, bringing the country into the Indo-Pacific security partnership. The Quad's potential as a security grouping was demonstrated last year when Australia was invited by India to attend its November Malabar naval exercises with US and Japan.

## February 11 2021

*Naval Group France* which is building Australia's \$90bn *Attack-class* submarines has hired one of the nation's political relations advisory firms to repair its image in Australia. *Naval Group France* has engaged *Dragoman Consultants*, which includes former defence minister Robert Hill as its "chairman of counsellors", to develop a strategy to work with Australian suppliers. Media reports suggest that senior Defence officials are considering axing the trouble-plagued *Attack-class* program amid cost blowouts and missed deadlines. An updated version of the *Collins class* submarine was being considered by Defence to replace the *Attack-class* boat, although Defence has not raised the idea with Swedish shipbuilder Saab, which bought *Collins'* designer Kockums in 2014.

An Australian frigate will join HMS *Queen Elizabeth*, Britain's new aircraft carrier, for exercises in the Indo-Pacific region in what is being seen as a show of strength against China. RN's Carrier Strike Group 21 will sail from the Mediterranean to the Pacific Ocean on its first major overseas deployment. The strike group will sail via the Malacca Strait and probably transit through the South China Sea.

Australia will join American, Japanese and Dutch warships. A squadron of US Marine Corps F-35 joint strike fighters will operate from HMS *Queen Elizabeth* during the deployment.

### February 23 2021

Defence Minister Reynolds is assessed as having three problems to sort out: (i) the *Joint Strike Fighter/F35* can no longer deliver regional air superiority because superior aircraft have been developed by the Russians and Chinese. (ii) The second problem is related to the *submarine contract*. Defence Minister Reynolds said the original French tender was \$50bn in 2016 dollars, however documents shows the base tender was below \$25bn in 2016 dollars. (iii) Australia has *ordered nine extra frigates*, stating that they must conform to specifications. There now appears to be a problem in delivering these vessels to the required specifications.

### February 25 2021

Following the release of Justice Paul Brereton's report, there appears to be a clash between the military hierarchy and the IGADF. A small number of special forces soldiers who blew the whistle on alleged war crimes have been issued with termination notices against the advice of the IGADF. The question of how to deal with special forces veterans who have admitted to egregious acts is not simple.

**End**

*Continued from page 6*

### China, Deterrence and Social Cohesion

Beijing sympathizers in Australia work at influencing Australian governments to support, or at least not oppose Beijing policy. They seek to reinforce the view that China's continued rise and the China Dream are inevitable, and we should act accordingly. Beijing has directly employed Chinese students studying in Australia and also seeks to favourably influence about a million Australians of Chinese ancestry. Those that have family ties to mainland China can be pressured to support Beijing.

Following dramatic oversights where strategic assets have been sold to Chinese interests, exemplified by the 99-year lease of the Port of Darwin in 2015, these sales are now carefully examined and if necessary vetoed in the national interest by the federal government. Major political parties have stopped taking large donations from Chinese businessmen, and the media has been alert to expose any Chinese links to Australian politicians. University links to China have also been scrutinized and Chinese participation in research projects with defence applications has been ended. As an aid to transparency, lobbyists for foreign entities are now required to register.

### Conclusion

China is our major trading partner and is not going away. Its economic growth will most likely result in it becoming the leading great power in the Indo-Pacific Region, but this is not inevitable. Despite difficulties, Australia should try to have a constructive relationship with China.

Australia's best course is to act in its national interests, maintain its values, and encourage continued US engagement in the region. However, this does not mean uncritically following the US, or compliantly conforming to pressure from China. Australia needs to ensure the security of its strategic infrastructure and maintain a strong defence force that can work with the US and other democratic nations as well as operating independently if necessary.

Social cohesion is important in maintaining a credible deterrent as it underlies the political will for action. A society that strongly believes in its liberal democracy and trusts its government can be a formidable opponent.

Immigrants learn the values and virtues of Australian society and democracy via citizenship. These values should be reinforced for young Australians. While the Australian way of life is not perfect it is probably the best in the world.

**My Country, right or wrong,  
if right to be kept right; and  
if wrong, to be set right.**

**US Senator Carl Schurz 1872**

## Bequests

### Royal United Services Institute of Victoria

The Royal United Services Institute of Victoria was established in 1890. It seeks to promote informed debate on and improve public awareness and understanding of defence and national security.

The Institute maintains a specialist library to assist in this, as well as scheduling regular lectures and visits of interest. The costs of doing so, however are becoming burdensome and are exacerbated by an ageing and declining membership.

To allow us to continue to provide services to members and the community into the future, you could greatly assist us by remembering the Institute in your will. Should you desire assistance in adding an appropriate codicil to your will, please contact the Secretary at [secretary@rusivc.org.au](mailto:secretary@rusivc.org.au). If you have added a bequest to your will, it would be of assistance to be advised of it (not the specific amount) in case we need to communicate with you or your executors.

**For members who did not attend the February Lecture at ANZAC House, Michael Small has provided a summary of the talk by LTCOL Alistair Pope.**

## **The Coming War for the South China Sea**

Lieutenant Colonel Alistair Pope (Retd)

February 25, 2021

Lieutenant Colonel Alistair Pope gave the first lunchtime address for 2021. The topic was an analysis of the current state of China's foreign policy, and how it could affect Australia.



Colonel Pope introduced the subject of China's current foreign policy by referring the audience to the Germany of 1933-1939.

Hitler had decided on a policy of a Greater Germany at the expense of several smaller nations which had been created after World War I. The old Austro-Hungarian empire had been dismantled, and new countries such as Czechoslovakia, Slovenia and Yugoslavia appeared on the map of Europe. Hitler thought that German speaking minorities, in adjacent and nearby territories, should be brought into a Greater German Reich, yet to be established. In particular, Hitler had in mind Sudetenland *i.e.* the German speaking parts of northern, southern and western Czechoslovakia.

During the period, 1933-1939, Hitler knew full well that 'appeasement' was first and foremost in the minds of the British government, and also that the French were not prepared to confront Hitler who was blatantly ignoring the key provisions of the Treaty of Versailles, 1919. Hitler was rebuilding an army, a navy and an air-force. A small military unit, which could have been challenged by the French, marched into the demilitarised Rhineland, March 7, 1936. There was no response from Britain or France or Czechoslovakia. Hitler then annexed (*anschluss*) Austria, March 12, 1938, and later in September 1938, after the Munich 'agreement', Hitler decided to invade and dismantle Czechoslovakia, March 15, 1939. Finally, Hitler invaded Poland, leading to the outbreak of WW II on September 3, 1939.

Colonel Pope, in outlining the rise of Nazi Germany, pre-WW II, argued that China today is following much the same path as Nazi Germany in the years 1933-1939. To

illustrate: Communist China overcame the Nationalists in 1949. Since then, China has made claims to or annexed large tracts of surrounding country *e.g.* there were disputes involving the Amoy islands, China then 'invaded' and took over Tibet; played an active part in the Korean War greatly assisting the North Koreans; occupied inner Mongolia; had disputes with the former USSR; had two 'minor' wars with India; had a dispute with Vietnam; is currently staking a claim to the Paracel and Spratly Islands in the South China Sea, and is busy tearing up the agreed arrangements re Hong Kong 23 years before the agreed date.

Closer to Australia, China negotiated a deal to establish a base in Port Darwin and has established 'fishing research' arrangements in Daru and Manus, islands in the Admiralties and Torres Straits, but belonging to Papua New Guinea. Colonel Pope argued strongly that Australia should align itself more closely with Taiwan, Vietnam, Philippines, Malaysia, Indonesia, Brunei and Singapore. As with the example of Nazi Germany, pre the outbreak of WW II, engaging in takeovers and occupations which eventually led to WW II, Colonel Pope saw a similar ending to China's aggressive behaviour ending with war in/over the South China Sea.

This was a most interesting address/lecture. Questions followed, illustrating members' keen interest in this area of importance to Australia.

**History doesn't repeat itself, but it often rhymes.**

**Mark Twain**

### **Book Reviewers Wanted**

Due to the generosity of Australian and overseas publishers, RUSI – Vic Library finds itself swamped with copies of books that are required to be reviewed. To lighten the load and spread the workload, we are urgently seeking members who are prepared to assist with this task.

It matters not that you have never review a book before – we can provide you with easy-to-follow guidance.

As benefactors of their generosity, we have an obligation to the publishers. They are often looking for a review to include in their publicity for the launch of a new title – so timeliness (a reasonably short turnaround time) is expected.

If you feel you can assist, we would be delighted to hear from you.

Please contact the Secretary Bob Hart, on 9282 5918

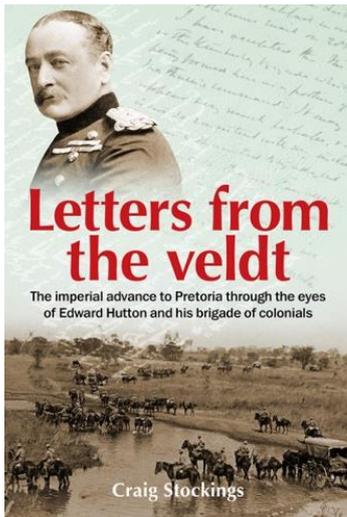
## Book Reviews

**This newsletter has 10 Book Reviews. On behalf of members the Editor thanks the reviewers. The Royal United Services Institute of Victoria Library thanks authors and publishers for providing copies for review. If you would like a hard copy of a review, please contact the Secretary.**

### *Letters from the veldt*

*The imperial advance to Pretoria through the eyes of  
Edward Hutton*

*and his brigade of  
colonials*



#### **Craig Stockings**

Newport, NSW: Big Sky  
Publishing 2020  
Paperback 286pp RRP  
\$29.99

Reviewer: Neville Taylor,  
December 2020

With a formidable  
*introduction* and *Chapter  
1* consuming more than  
20% of the work,  
Stockings has admirably

painted the state of the military in England and its dominions, as well as providing an encapsulation of Major General Hutton's career prior to his arrival in South Africa in March 1900.

Posted to Natal in 1881 after the British defeat at Majuba Hill, Hutton admired the mobility and effectiveness of the Boer citizen-soldiers and commented to his superiors that the British needed trained mounted infantry to combat the Boers. He was tasked with planning a school to train mounted detachments for the British battalions. With a deteriorating situation in Khartoum in 1894, Hutton, based in Egypt, suggested using camels instead of horses for Khartoum's relief. In January 1888 a mounted infantry regiment was raised at Aldershot under Hutton's command and instruction.

Major General Hutton arrived in Sydney in May 1893 to command the New South Wales military forces during an economic depression. As he strove to develop a force of mounted volunteer soldiers, he was constantly frustrated by shortage of funds and 'political interference', leading to acrimony between himself and the Premier. Unaware of the politics involved in approaching federation for the colonies, Hutton's agenda was mainly sidelined by the state premiers, and he left New South Wales feeling that his system for co-operation between the states could be adopted by Canada, New Zealand, South Africa and eventually by Britain. Arriving in Ottawa in August 1898, he worked to make Canada's military forces more efficient. He became embroiled in Canada's slowness in committing a

contingent to the war in South Africa, and again crossed swords with his political masters. Embarrassing recall from Canada was averted by the War Office offering him a command in South Africa, and he departed Canada in February 1900.

Hutton was appointed to command the 1st Mounted Infantry Brigade - being part of a British Mounted Infantry Division in South Africa. It was a command that included four British mounted infantry battalions, two Canadian Mounted Rifle battalions, one New Zealand Mounted Infantry battalion, six mounted infantry/rifle battalions from Western Australia, South Australia, Queensland, New South Wales and Victoria, British Artillery, Australian Pioneers and a NSW Medical Team. This truly 'imperial' force was what Hutton had espoused for so many years. Unfortunately, almost half of his brigade was allocated elsewhere, and at no time did he have it all under his direct control.

Dated and embedded in the narrative of the British advance from Bloemfontein through Johannesburg to a little beyond Pretoria are Hutton's letters to his wife Eleanor in England. They even include orders of battle and battle maps, interspersed with his comments on renewing acquaintance with former officers and soldiers served with in earlier days, the condition of the men, their horses and the logistic difficulties faced. Frequently he was extremely critical of his superiors whom he considered far too timid in their approach and preparedness to exploit situations at little risk; he was constantly frustrated by being ordered not to pursue a withdrawing enemy and then having to constantly fight them again. Considering the massive size of the British force and the few casualties they suffered (with disease and illness causing far more casualties), it is questionable what level of engagement actually took place. With his brigade dismantled, Hutton left for England in early October 1900. He felt perturbed that the Boers had not really suffered any crushing defeat - which saw a Britain expecting to occupy territory, but actually having another 21 months of fighting ahead. Hutton was knighted (KCMG) on his return to England

Reluctantly the Australian government offered Hutton command of the Federal Army of Australia. Arriving in January 1902, it was New South Wales and Canada repeated, with Hutton having no concept of needs outside his own, finally leading to his resignation at the end of 1904. He took to his deathbed (in 1923) 'the same attitudes that had shaped his life: the same brilliance, determination, conviction, arrogance, blindness and self-delusion'.

With a fourteen-page Bibliography, impeccably referenced *Endnotes* and *Index* (people only), excellent maps and high-quality photographs of key players and troops in the field, this is an impressive work elaborating on military conditions and problems of 125 years ago. At the same time some insight has been provided into the evolution of Australia's our own military force.

## ***The Ottoman Army and the First World War***

**Mesut Uyar**

Abingdon, United Kingdom: Routledge 2021

Hardback 466 + xviii pp., illus., maps RRP \$236.72

Reviewer: Michael Tyquin, January 2021

*The Ottoman Army and the First World War* is a thorough analysis of the Ottoman Army on all fronts during the Great War. It describes its operational military history and military



**THE OTTOMAN ARMY AND  
THE FIRST WORLD WAR**

Mesut Uyar



effectiveness during that war and it is hard to disagree with Uyar in his assessment that Western historiography has for too long ignored the so-called peripheral campaigns of the war.

He reminds us that in 1914 it was by no means a foregone conclusion that the Ottomans would join the Central Powers. Once committed the author contends that the First World War demonstrated for the new Turkey the failure of the multi-national Ottoman imperial

regime. He exposes the Ottoman unpreparedness, having taken no steps prior to the war to secure stocks of food, fuel or munitions. Cemal Pasha, the Ottoman wartime leader, does not come away from this study in a favourable light. Another of the book's themes is the constant interference of Germany's High Command and Ottoman acquiescence to both its strategic vision and its demands.

Western scholars with a very few notable exceptions, have long struggled with access to Turkey's war archives, let alone translate and read both old and modern Turkish. If only for this reason Uyar's book is tremendously important for those interested in the Ottoman contribution to the First World War. Each chapter is rich in footnotes with some archival material, no doubt seeing the light of day for the first time. I was surprised to learn, given the decades-long lament of Western scholars about the paucity of archival sources, that Ottoman military authorities actively encouraged their men to record their combat experiences. There is an extensive and up-to-date bibliography thereby providing a handy synthesis of non-English language sources, although the author has not included Klaus Wolf's 2020 in-depth study of the German-Ottoman Alliance.

Uyar highlights the problems found in the wake of army reorganisation when in 1911 'triangular divisions were established but insufficient attention was given to the doctrine and combat services support which were ignored. He details the vastly over-stretched military resources of the Ottoman Empire in the lead-up to and subsequent prosecution of the First and Second Balkan Wars. By 1914 Ottoman leaders cautiously weighed the options and formulated their war aims based not on positive gains but rather on elementary threats.

The author examines the genesis of German military advisors and support. Initially the German alliance appeared to provide security against the territorial aspirations of both greater and lesser powers. But the optimism of the German High Command in using pan-Islamism as a force multiplier soon foundered on the reality of regional and tribal politics. Like most of the armies of the Triple Entente and Central Powers personal animosities and discord were never far from senior command personalities and power play. These

relationships are explored at some length through the book. In the body of text it was refreshing to see that Austro-Hungarian units and armaments deployed to Turkey receive more than a passing footnote.

While the Ottoman Army of 1914 was far more representative of the empire's population than that of any other period it lacked well-trained NCOs. This hindered the effectiveness of mobilisation and the sudden appearance of tens of thousands of new recruits. In this the empire was not alone. The British Dominions shared a similar experience. The Ottoman Army was initially hampered by the total absence of aviation assets and any organisation to manage Lines of Communications issues. In addition much heavy equipment and weapons had been lost in the Balkan Wars (1912/13). Unfortunately the Ottoman High Command made no systematic effort to resolve or at least reduce the impact of these problems. Lack of a good road and rail network did not help matters. In 1914 too the Ottoman Army was burdened by the inheritance of a dying empire: rampant corruption, inefficiency and inadequate Lines of Communications and hopelessly inadequate medical and veterinary care.

There was an abysmal lack of understanding in Berlin of not only the cultural and political mores of its Ottoman ally but the challenges facing a collapsing empire from 1917. We learn also that as early as April 1914 senior German advisors worked actively to deny Ottoman officers positions of influence and uniformed of developments on the Western Front. The author also highlights fundamental tactical flaws in General von Sanders' initial defence plan for the Dardanelles in March-April 1915 where his interference further exacerbated tensions between Ottoman staff and their German advisors.

The Ottoman Army never recovered from its manpower losses during the Dardanelles Campaign, especially from the death of experienced junior officers. The war was a constant search for manpower (both for fighting and a labour force) and resources. The Empire would face the same privations and black markets in food that its allies experienced from 1916. The author provides an interesting statistic, namely that at least three soldiers were allocated to gather and transport food to keep one combatant alive and ready at the front line. The vexing problem of fodder supplies was never resolved. More generally the efficient allocation of scarce resources was not a strong feature of the Ottoman General Staff and the civilian population across the empire was largely neglected.

Early battles against the Russians in the East demonstrated the shortcomings of the sweeping reforms of the post-Balkan War period. Intelligence gathering and processing remained problematic, while logistics were nothing short of catastrophic. Overarching Ottoman strategy appeared to gamble on success in the Caucasus, no matter what the cost to recapture lost territorial possessions and create buffer states. To do this it sacrificed Palestine and Mesopotamia, where a shortage of food and forage sealed the fate of Ottoman forces there.

Enver Pasha's long-term political goal of having a seat around the bargaining table at the end of the war coloured his strategic outlook. Consequently opportunities, particularly in the Caucasus, were squandered. There are insights into ethnic rivalries between Armenian/ Kurdish groups in the Caucasus in the wake of the Russian revolution in 1917. It was in this theatre that Ottoman commanders skilfully deployed Kurdish tribes to eliminate recent Russian gains in the region. Little-known Ottoman contributions to Macedonia, Galician and Romania are also included in this study.

The crisis in command and infighting with its German ally continued into the last year of the war, exacerbated by the tactless and inflexible General von Falkenhayn. The situation cooled with his replacement by the more sympathetic Liman von Sanders in February 1918, but by then the Ottoman Army

was little more than a name. Even so its operations in Mesopotamia, Jordan, Palestine, Jordan and Syria kept sorely needed British, Indian and allied divisions from the Western Front.

It is the discussion of these campaigns that highlights the need for more maps as many intricate operations are discussed across various theatres. Those which have been produced often have place names which are difficult to read and lack a distance scale. I note that the author occasionally uses some sources uncritically, particularly Birdwood's *Khaki and Gown* which is cited widely while simple typographical errors (hard to excuse in such an expensive book) cause distractions for the reader.

The author's thesis is that throughout the war the empire was highly responsive to its ally's demands and needs despite its own frequent and grave crises. He concludes that for the Ottomans World War One was an imperial war from the beginning to the very end and against a backdrop to the Central Powers Alliance. The Ottoman Army, forced during the war to fight on eight fronts, proved remarkably resilient to the end, but it was let down by political and military leadership in Constantinople. The overly ambitious and meddling wartime leader Enver Pasha did not help and leaders lacked coherence and consistency in implementing the empire's military strategy.

This book is a long overdue addition to the modern historiography of the First World War.

**Dr. Michael Tyquin is a consulting historian based in Tasmania.**

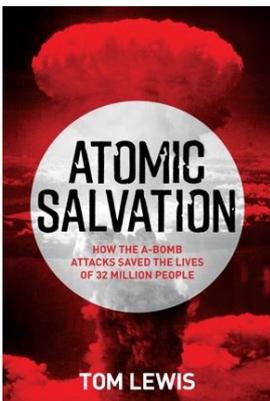
## ***Atomic Salvation***

*How the A-Bomb attacks saved the lives of 32 million people*

**Tom Lewis**

Big Sky Publishing, 2020  
Paperback 364pp RRP \$29.99

Reviewer: Robert Ellis, February 2021



Dr Lewis has discussed two major issues in this, his 15th book of military and other history. He addresses the justification of the decision by America's President Truman and his senior political and military advisors to use the atomic bomb to obtain unconditional surrender of the Japanese in 1945. It is easy in hindsight, to discuss whether the decision to drop the bomb was or was not correct, given

the situation that existed in the Allied war against Japan and the alternatives available at the time.

These were for the Americans and their Allies: a massive amphibious operation on one of the Japanese Home Islands, Kyushu, to be followed by an even larger landing against the main island of Honshu; continue the massive fire-bombing raids on Japanese cities and towns that had already destroyed a large part of Tokyo and many other cities causing the deaths of more than 100

000 civilians; a naval blockade of Japan; or, without warning, the use of atomic bombs. The third possibility was to establish a close naval blockade around Japan, and simply starve the population into submission – at a cost of not less than three and as many as five million lives.

The author justifies the Hiroshima and Nagasaki bombing as Japan's 'Atomic Salvation'. He argues that, although the bombs took more than 200 000 lives, the alternatives may have led to as many as 20 million lives – American and its Allies, as well as Japanese civilian lives. He provides statistical table to justify these estimates, which are convincing in their detail, and are reliant on credible sources of both wartime and post-war analysis.

American Military Intelligence had estimated that for an amphibious landing against a prepared opponent, numerical odds of 4:1 in the invader's favour would be needed. Lewis cites credible estimates that show Japan had over 2.2 million troops in Japan, with a further 1.1 million personnel of the Imperial Japanese Navy, and approximately 4 million partly trained and ill-equipped Militia. There were also as many as 28 million armed civilians of the National Volunteer Combat Force, who, although untrained and ill-equipped, would have still followed the Japanese code of fighting to the death. There were a further 1.3 million formed troops in China, Malaysia and South East Asia, and many of these would have (as some did) fought on even after they had been ordered to lay down their arms by their own commanders and the Emperor himself. Furthermore, the topography of Japan, with its mountains and rugged coastlines, mitigated against amphibious landings.

The author shows, with extensive analysis, that there was little chance that the Americans, even with strong Allied support, would have had enough manpower to make the operation successful. There would have been massive casualties, which would have been politically unacceptable in all the Allied countries involved.

Dr Lewis justifies the atomic bombing, not as a catastrophe for the Japanese people, but as a measure of salvation – hence the book's title. Using the bomb meant the salvation of millions of Japanese and Allied lives. While 200 000 lives were taken by 'Little Boy' and 'Fat Man', the alternatives would have led to **at least** two million deaths or more – including 300 000 Allied POWs who would have been executed by their Japanese captors, had an amphibious landing been attempted.

The book is well worth reading, for the logical structure of the narrative, the sequencing of Lewis's arguments, the detailed chronology, some clear and informative statistical tables, and the transcripts from many personal interviews.

The author, who served in the RAN for over 20 years, makes his case clearly and concisely, and has given an easily read description of the many political, military and ethical issues, which are still contentious 76 years after the event.

## Bay of Pigs

*CIA's Cuban Disaster, April 1961*

[Cold War 1945 - 1991 Series]

### Phil Carradice

Barnsley, UK: Pen & Sword Military 2018

Paperback 136pp RRP \$39.99

Reviewer: Neville Taylor, December 2020

Fulgencio Batista was a US-backed military dictator who served as Cuba's President from 1952 to 1958. The much-hated Batista was overthrown by the popular revolutionary leader Fidel Castro on New Year's Day 1959. Appointed head of Cuba's armed forces by the interim President, Castro had no intention of letting his revolution stop there. He had no desire for democratic elections, removing the President in the summer of 1959 and replacing him with a puppet with Communist leanings. Show trails of Batista followers and other dissidents saw over 500 public executions and built up a large Castro following. Disaffected Cubans became militant guerrillas as counter-revolutionaries supported by Cubans who had fled to Miami, other Caribbean nations and the US Central Intelligence Agency (CIA).

After an American-based Cuban exile overflew Havana dropping leaflets, the resultant anti-aircraft fire caused four deaths, sparking a Castro diatribe against the US. Thus began tit-for-tat sanctions and after a French oil freighter was blown up and American refineries refused to unload and process Russian crude, Castro nationalized all US refineries. In retaliation the US halted the import of Cuban sugar, to which Russia responded by taking virtually all its sugar. Worried about the spread of Communism so close to the US, by March 1960 a CIA plan to overthrow the Castro regime was presented to US President Eisenhower.

The plan was to use paramilitary trained Cubans as a brigade-strength guerrilla force (2506 Assault Brigade) lodged south of Havana, uniting with local Cuban guerrillas to be supported by Cuban-flown US aircraft (FAL) out of Trinidad. The US wished to remain 'plausibly deniable' until called upon by a new Cuban government to assist the locals in overthrowing Castro's regime. The number of Cuban 'guerrillas' and pilots able to be recruited and their training became a major problem for the CIA. In early November 1960 plans changed to training the brigade to be a conventional seaborne landing force. Castro meanwhile was inflicting heavy losses on the local guerrillas and gaining greater local support. To further complicate matters the US was undergoing a change of President as John F Kennedy was inaugurated in January 1961.

The planning of the operation simply lurched from one 'broken military rule' to another. Kennedy changed the landing site from Trinidad to the isolated Zapata

Swamp in the Bay of Pigs on 15 March. Capturing the Girón airstrip and flying in a new Cuban Government was to be thwarted by an unpreparedness to provide heavy armament to combat Castro's forces and air support prior to and after the landing. Too many assumptions were made on the basis of poor and incomplete intelligence, and Kennedy's cancellation of airstrikes that would have wiped out Castro's aircraft were to be crucial in the outcome. No contingency plans were ever formulated, and ultimately the lodged force was doomed to be defeated in detail.

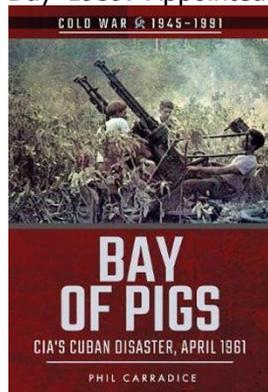
An initial airstrike by the FAL on 15 April that destroyed virtually no serviceable Cuban Air Force planes, coupled with a botched defector deception, united the Cuban population behind Castro as never before. He now had close to 200 000 fighters ready to repel what was obviously a looming US-inspired assault.

The landings took place early on 17 April, punctuated by unforeseen mishaps, a non-functioning logistics chain, ships running aground, and a virtually non-existent evacuation plan. On 18 April Premier Khrushchev made it quite plain to Kennedy that Russia would not permit US forces to land on Cuba, with an implied Russian nuclear response if the US did. By 20 April Castro was busy rounding up the remnants of 2506 Bde, and the US leadership moved into 'damage control' mode.

It would take eighteen months before all those wounded and captured were repatriated back to the US. The cost was \$28m (for 500 heavy duty tractors) plus an additional \$53m (for medicine, agricultural equipment and food). There was to be much soul-searching in the White House and defence and security departments in the subsequent months. [The stance taken by Kennedy was to be at the opposite end of the spectrum come the Cuban Missile Crisis of October 1962 – see Carradice's *The Cuban Missile Crisis* [2017] in this series.] In Miami, on 29 December 1962, President Kennedy attended a 'Welcome Back' ceremony, where the leaders presented the Brigade flag to the President.

As per his story-tellers' approach, Carradice has provided an excellent concise political background, and pen (and photographic) picture of the major players and locales. Two maps place the reader 'in-situ' for the doomed invasion that was to unfold.

An excellent monograph for those of us who vaguely recall the invasion; but more importantly, a reminder to a current generation of a past event on the world stage from which so many lessons both politically and militarily can be learned.





**'Niche Wars:**  
Australia in Afghanistan and Iraq, 2001-2014'

**Speaker: Professor John Blaxland**

MHHV Zoom Speaker Event  
Wednesday 5 May 2021 7:00PM-8:00PM



MILITARY HISTORY  
SPEAKER PROGRAM

## **Pure Massacre**

*Aussie soldiers reflect on the Rwandan Genocide*

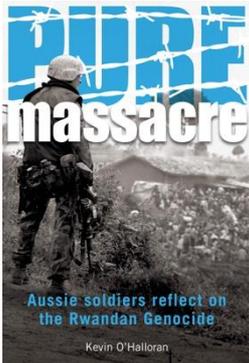
**Kevin O'Halloran**

Newport, NSW: Big Sky Publishing 2020

Paperback 303pp \$29.99

Reviewer: Roger Buxton, December 2020

Subtitled 'Aussie soldiers reflect on the Rwandan Genocide', and written by a soldier who was there, this is a reprint of the 2010 book about the experiences of the Australian contingents that served under the United Nations in Rwanda in 1994-1995.



The Arusha Peace Agreement, which ended the (suspended) civil war in Rwanda was signed in August 1993 and in October the UN Security Council resolved to establish a United Nations Assistance Mission for Rwanda (UNAMIR1) to assist in the implementation of the Arusha Peace Agreement. On the night of 6/7 April 1994, the aircraft

carrying the president of Rwanda, Major General Habyarimana crashed – or was shot down – while attempting to land at Kigali airport, and the president was killed. Habyarimana was a moderate Hutu, the majority tribal group in Rwanda, who was prepared to allow Tutsi refugees to return to Rwanda and to establish a multi-ethnic government. However, many Hutus were not prepared to live in harmony with the Tutsi minority and had been preparing to resist implementing the Arusha Accords. With the death of the president, a massacre of Tutsis and moderate Hutus began immediately and about one million were killed.

The soldiers of UNAMIR1, restricted by their rules of engagement and small numbers, were powerless in the face of the genocide. Once the killing began the largely Tutsi Rwandese Patriotic Army (RPA) swept down from the border area with Uganda, routed the Rwandese Government Forces (RGF), captured Kigali and pushed much of the RGF and many Hutu extremists – now fleeing for their lives - across the borders into Zaire and Tanzania. The genocide lasted only a few weeks and in May 1994 UNAMIR2 was established by the United Nations to contribute to the security and protection of displaced persons, refugees and civilians at risk in Rwanda. Again, the rules of engagement were very restrictive, allowing the Blue Berets to open fire only if fired upon.

In late 1994 a second contingent of Australian Defence Force personnel was sent to Rwanda under UNAMIR2. This second contingent consisted of a medical, logistical and a protection support force. The author, Kevin 'Irish' O'Halloran was a sergeant of the protection support force - 4 Platoon Bravo Company, 2<sup>nd</sup> Battalion, the Royal Australian Regiment.

The displaced persons camps in Rwanda, run by non-government organizations, contained thousands of Hutus, many of whom had taken part in the 1993

genocide, and the victorious RPA was anxious to disperse these refugees back to their villages before they became a serious threat to the new government. Emptying the camps was initially undertaken by the United Nations, but this proved too slow for the RPA which decided to do the job itself. At the Kibeho Displaced Persons Camp a seven-member Australian medical team and their protection support force were obliged to watch as, on 22 April 1995, three battalions of the RPA shot, bayoneted, mortared and killed with machetes some 4,000 refugees. Forbidden to intervene as women and children were murdered in front of them, they risked their lives under fire rescuing and treating the wounded.

The recollections of the Australians who served in Rwanda show, with brutal clarity, the difficulties under which they operated, the horror of the massacre, and the courage and discipline with which they maintained the rules of engagement. Kevin O'Halloran includes a history of Rwanda and the Tutsi-Hutu conflict, and there are also maps and 28 pages of colour photographs, many taken at the Kibeho camp during the massacre. Written 15 years after the massacre to help the veterans' healing process, *Pure Massacre* shows the United Nations at its worst, and is still worth reading.

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## **Britain at Bay**

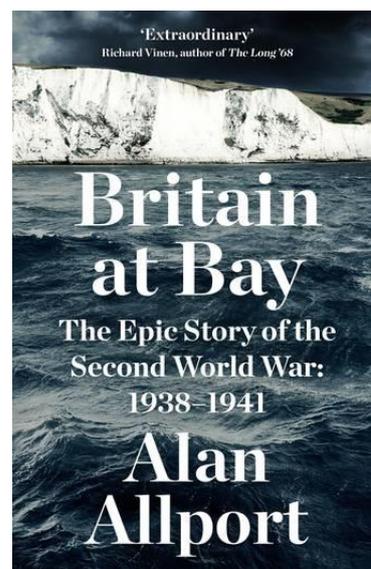
*The epic story of the Second World War: 1938-1941*

**Alan Allport**

Gosford, NSW: Allen & Unwin, 2020

Hardback 608pp RRP \$49.99

Reviewer: Robert Ellis,  
February 2012



This book is the first of two volumes on the Second World War and covers the period from the early 1930s to the end of 1941. Its focus is on the social and political aspects of this period, leading up to the start of the war on 3rd September 1939, and then going through the first signs of some surety of Britain's survival in the winter of 1941.

Allport cannot be said to have written a 'military history', although there is a broad coverage of the British and other European countries' re-armament programs after 1935.

The disastrous campaigns in Norway and in France led to the evacuation of the British Expeditionary Forces and French troops from Norway and Dunkirk. There is also concise coverage of the Battle of Britain, the great Battle

of the Atlantic, and the war in North Africa and the Mediterranean Basin. These are covered adequately as to the military aspects of the campaigns, as are the British re-armament programs and the parallel development of its political and diplomatic policies.

The decision-making by both the political leaders and the military High Commands comes in for some justifiably sharp criticism. It appears that much of the planning and thinking was directed towards equipping the three Services to re-fight World War One, but without any clear conception how a war would be fought after 1939. It is noticeable that Allport attributes the same confused thinking to the French political and most of its military leaders, who should have known better.

Considerable space is given to the then Prime Minister of Britain, Neville Chamberlain, and his futile attempts to gain a peaceful settlement with Adolf Hitler. The author appears to have had access to Chamberlain's private papers, to Government archives and private papers of some of his Cabinet colleagues. The consequent fumbling decision-making and the lack of clarity in formulation of policies are both covered in detail in Part 2 of the book, and also give an excellent understanding of the history of the period.

The author describes succinctly the uncertain relationships between the British and French political and military leaders from September 1939 until the Dunkirk evacuation. Given the lack of any coherent strategy between the large but poorly led French forces trying to co-ordinate with the under-sized and ill-equipped BEF, it is clear that they all were unable to respond effectively to the fast-moving German forces, which were co-operating closely with the Luftwaffe, which was numerically superior in close air-to-ground co-operation between the more combat-experienced German troops and airmen.

After the French collapse there came a rather poisonous relationship caused by French belief that Britain had abandoned them in France, and then the Royal Navy's attack on the French warships anchored at Mers-el-Kebir, in Algeria, to prevent them falling into German hands.

'Sea Lion', the planned German invasion of Britain, is mentioned only briefly. Recent research shows quite conclusively, that Hitler had little intention of ever going through with this difficult expedition, to the great relief of his military leaders, who had realized early in the planning stages that it would be an almost certain failure. Hitler's objective was to use all his available military power for his long-held plan of invading the USSR despite the Non-Aggression Pact signed in August 1939.

The author took interesting, and what some may see as an usual approach to his discussion of the attitudes of the British civilian population in the immediate pre-war period and during the first two years of the war. He relates them to the 'People of the Shire', as they are described in J. R. R. Tolkien's epic *The Lord of the Rings*, and endeavours to see their reactions in terms of how the Shire Folk would have seen the situations that developed between 1935 and 1941.

The author, Alan Allport, graduated in Physics from Liverpool Polytechnic. After migrating to the United States, he read for a PhD degree in History at the University of Pennsylvania. His two earlier works on the Second World War led him to becoming a Fellow of the Royal Historical Society. The broad research skills he developed, linked to the precision that comes from his professional education as a physicist, makes this a very readable and well-constructed book, with an excellent and well-used bibliography.

## ***Dunera Lives. Volume 2***

*Profiles*

"In the way it traces the lives of "Dunera boys" before, during and after internment, Dunera Lives: Profiles is narrative history in one of its most engaging and moving forms."

RADMOND GATA

## **DUNERA LIVES**

*Profiles*



Ken Inglis, Bill Cunnage, Seumas Spork and Jay Winter  
with Carol Bannan

**Ken Inglis et al**

Clayton, Vic: Monash  
University Publishing, 2020  
Paperback 512pp RRP \$39.95

Reviewer: Neville Taylor,  
February 2021

Interned in the UK as enemy aliens, probably because there were potentially Nazi agents among them, were men and boys who had sought refuge from the Nazis. Most were from Germany and Austria, with a few from Poland, Czechoslovakia, Romania, the Soviet Union, Turkey, Palestine and Italy. Many were unknowingly Jewish. The ship *Dunera* sailed on 10 July 1940 for Australia with 2546 internees and the *Queen Mary* left Singapore on 18 September with 266 men, women and children detained as potential enemies of Britain. On arrival in Australia, they were sent to internment camps in Hay, Orange and Tatura.

Following *Dunera Lives. Volume 1: A Visual History*, *Volume 2* presents 20 detailed profiles of the 'Dunera Boys'. The first two profiles are not of internees, but of Edward Broughton and Julian Layton who both worked for to return all the internees to freedom.

Broughton was a Maori who fought with New Zealand forces in both the Boer War and First World War. Enlisting in the Australian Army in 1940, he became a captain commanding the 8th Labour Company. As one option for the internees was to join the Army in the Labour Company, Broughton commanded respect through his knowledge of their individual names, their customs, traditions, religious holidays and diet, and would not tolerate any form of internee harassment. He assisted many in their eventual transition back into Australian society and retained contact with many following this.

Julian Layton (formerly Lowenstein) was, by the mid-1930s, actively involved with organisations finding ways to enable more than 4000 to escape the Continent and rebuild their lives in Britain. In Australia, as an agent of the British Home Office and an officer in the British Pioneer Corps, he was charged with finding ways to free all internees in Australia so they could join the

services or contribute in other ways to the Allied war effort. Labour shortages enabled him to organize work parties and internees to join the British and Australian armies. Returning to Britain in January 1945, he then had the task of processing the survivors liberated from German concentration camps.

Ken Inglis had worked tirelessly on the detailed lives of a sample of 30 of the 'Dunera Boys', narrowing it to eighteen before his passing. His fellow writers completed the research and writing to enable a chapter on each internee he had selected to illustrate the diversity and achievements of the internees. So often the success stories that had been told were of those with academic, artistic or musical ability who were able to have professional careers for themselves in a post-War Australia.

The profiles are most thorough, and, where known, include detail of the internees' parents and their lives in the late 19th century, their youth and background prior to escaping Nazism. Numerous examples of the mistreatment during the Dunera voyage to Australia are part of their stories. The innumerable problems faced in acclimatising to their new surroundings, bureaucracy not recognising their needs, and the loneliness of separation from family are common features of their stories, often created dependent bonds between them. The incredible dedication required to re-establish their bona fides in their own fields is something to be admired. The eighteen profiles include three artists, two historians, four scientists, an economist, a businessman, a composer, a furniture maker, a forestry worker, a youth hostel warden and a psychiatrist.

Each profile is accompanied by photographs, often with family, their partners, in internment camps and in their later life. Some sketches and art works are included where appropriate. The text is complemented by detailed footnotes and a comprehensive *Index*. Included is a manifest of those non-Italians who came out on the *Dunera* including their date of birth, initial internment camp and those who passed away before gaining freedom.

Sitting beside *Dunera, a Visual History*, this work completes a moving and invaluable record of a set of circumstances imposed upon those who had no control over their immediate future but showed the determination and fortitude to overcome them.

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## ***The Death of Glory***

*The Western Front, 1915*

**Robin Neillands**

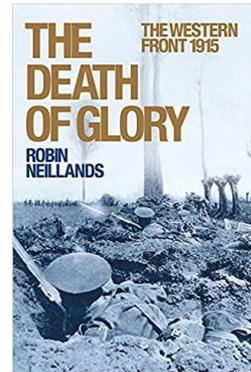
London: John Murray, 2006

Paperback 298pp RRP: \$39.95

Reviewer: Mike O'Brien, February 2021

This book was posthumously published. Like many of this author's books it is notable for its lucid clarity and careful analysis.

There are two dominant analyses of British leadership of that war on the Western Front: one has the 'lions led by donkeys' theme while the other is much kinder to the generals and to Douglas Haig in particular. The first school was led by Alan Clark (*The Donkeys*) and the braying was echoed by many including John Laffin and the play *Oh What a Lovely War*. The echoes persist. More recent scholarship, led notably by Gary Sheffield, has been kinder to the generals.



1915 provides a good deal of fodder for the 'donkeys' school. Field Marshal French commanded the British Expeditionary Force in uneasy cooperation with his French allies. The predominant theatre of operations was the Aubers Ridge standing between the British and Lille, in whose vicinity the (now) lesser remembered battles of Neuve Chapelle, Aubers Ridge and Festubert were fought. In sad summary, the attacking troops suffered great casualties, gained little or no ground and inflicted lesser losses on their opponents. So – donkeys?

Neillands convincingly argues that the British did not have the tools to break through in 1915. They had too little artillery of the wrong sort and calibre with the wrong fuses. No wave of a tactical magic wand would remediate this imbalance – only time could supply the deficit. A machine was needed to break through the wire entanglements – the tank – and it would not be developed mechanically and tactically until 1917. And the last chief deficit was intercommunication – the enabler of follow-ups of the few successes. Wire & telephones could not do this task. Radio could – to some extent – later in the war – but not in 1915.

The author exculpates the British commanders from the generalised charge of being donkeys but applies it judiciously to several of them in particular circumstances. His judgement is clinical and well-based.

It is ironic that the first Australian experience on the Western Front, Fromelles in 1916, has so much in common with the Aubers Ridge battles of 1915 – location (the ridge itself), the corps commander, the artillery deficit and a plan more asinine than most. I suspect that few Australians, now more familiar with Fromelles than earlier, can see the echoes of 1915 and the British and Indian sacrifices therein.

This book does far more than lucidly examine 1915: it is a tactical primer for the First World War and

deserves to be read as such. It is a great pity that it will not be followed by his analysis of the later war years.

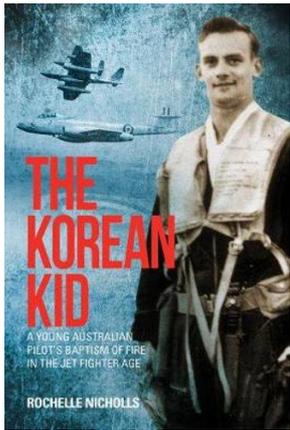
## ***The Korean Kid***

*A young Australian pilot's baptism of fire in the jet fighter age*

**Rochelle Nicholls**

Newport, NSW: Big Sky Publishing, 2020  
Paperback 340pp RRP \$29.99

Reviewer: Neville Taylor, February 2021



Born in 1930, James Kitchenside grew up in a Depression-ridden Marrickville, surviving in hand-me-downs in an overcrowded house a stone's throw from Mascot Aerodrome. As he had little to look forward to, he often visited the Mascot fence, dreaming of flying in a blue uniform. He achieved good academic results in his schooling, but preferred sport fields where he was already displaying leadership. Ill-health prevented him gaining his Matriculation Certificate. Answering an advertisement recruiting young fliers, James, he was selected as

one of 75 recruits from 1200 applicants for RAAF Training Course in 1949 at Point Cook, Victoria.

June 1950 saw the outbreak of the Korean War. No 77 Squadron RAAF was stationed in Japan, and with long-range capability of their P-51 Mustangs, were ideal for striking North Korea's supply lines. By November, the first jet air battle was fought above North Korea between US Meteors and China's Russian MiG-15s. It was not until July 1951 that the RAAF flew its first Gloster Meteor F.8s out of its Kimpo base, north-west of Seoul. August 1951 saw James ('the boy' as referred to by Nicholls throughout the text) graduate and commence advanced flight training on Mustangs and Vampire jets. His first Vampire flight saw his aircraft's engine 'flame out' and he glided from an altitude of 30 000 feet back to Williamtown base. Six weeks before his posting to Japan for a mere eight hours training on Meteor jets, James married Beryl Sjoberg in Sydney.

An hour after arrival at Kimpo on 19 March 1952, James was handed orders for his first mission. Six weeks later he had 46 missions under his belt, with 77 Squadron flying twice as many missions as their US counterparts, and James an exceptional four missions on Easter Sunday! After 50 missions 77 Squadron's CO summoned James, then escorted his youngest pilot to present him with his personal Meteor. Overnight it had been emblazoned with the figure of a skinny gunslinger under the title 'The Korean Kid' by the RAAF and US groundcrew artists.

In May the death of one 77 Squadron pilot spurred his World War I-veteran father to make public calls for Australians to be fully aware of the conditions and workloads of their pilots in Korea. The following month operational tours were cut from nine to six months as 77 Squadron suffered its 30th loss. On a convoy-strafing mission James lost one engine due to ground fire and limped back to base. A South African pilot assigned to 77 Squadron, collared James' Meteor, only for James to witness it being shot down. The pilot parachuted out and became a prisoner of war. Just before his 148th (and last)

mission on 10th September, James again survived after enemy fire caused loss of rudder and elevation controls in the tail section. He returned to Australia that with the US Air Medal, a Mentioned in Dispatches, Beryl and two-week old son named Gary.

At 22 years of age James was the youngest pilot selected for the 1953 Fighter Instructors Course at RAAF Williamtown – earmarked for No. 9 Flying Instructors Course at East Sale and commissioned as Pilot Officer. In 1954, promoted to Flying Officer, he returned to Williamtown's Operational Training Unit until 1955. Again, his life was threatened in 1955 when leaking fuel from his Vampire meant he had to shut down the engine and make a forced landing. He was promoted to Flight Lieutenant and was appointed temporary CO of No.21 (City of Melbourne) Squadron in 1957.

His completed the Antarctic Pilots Navigation Course in 1958, reconnoitred the Antarctic in '59 when the 1960 RAAF Antarctic Flight was raised. Promoted Acting Squadron Leader, his first major challenge in Antarctica in January 1960 was to land from the *Thala Dan* a Douglas C-47 at Mawson Base, and then reassemble it. It would be June before the aircraft had its first test flight. In the previous month, James, was flying a de Havilland Beaver that plunged from 6500 feet to 300 feet due to katabatic winds. In December a 40-hour 300 kph blizzard destroyed the C-47 and Beaver aircraft on the Rumdoodle plateau, 16km from Mawson.

The following years saw James complete an Administrative Course, head air combat training on Vampires, convert to Sabres, promotion to Squadron Leader joining No. 76 Fighter Squadron, to senior Flight Commander with No. 77 Squadron Butterworth at the end of 1963. Three months in 1965 were spent in Sabres off the coast of Borneo. He attended the RAAF Staff College and 1968 saw James being promoted to Wing Commander and then command No. 38 Squadron at RAAF Richmond. A unit with a tarnished reputation was, through careful and considerate steps, nurtured by Kitchenside, back to being again respected by the RAAF. Its Caribou transport aircraft flew in Vietnam and Papua New Guinea. A round-the-world flight to Canada in November 1969 to pick up a new Caribou was to be the end of his flying days.

A series of staff postings followed including in 1971 Head of Joint Warfare Staff at Defence Central, Canberra, but not meeting political and social obligations sunk James' chances of further promotion and resulted in him taking retirement from the RAAF at 45 years of age. He moved into the Public Service where his skills and experience were rewarded with satisfying years. 1980 saw him appointed Assistant Director of Security and Intelligence which entailed five years of travel before he retired in 1985. In 2010 he was invited by South Korean President Lee to join the celebrations marking 60 years since the outbreak of the Korean War and receive the Ambassador of Freedom Medal.

A well-written work containing many highlights and quality photographs illustrating them. There are 21 pages of *Endnotes* that encompass the research put in by the author.

Sadly, this is one of too few books written about Australia's 'Forgotten War'.

## ***South Pacific Air War***

### ***Volume 4***

*Buna and Milne Bay June - September 1942*

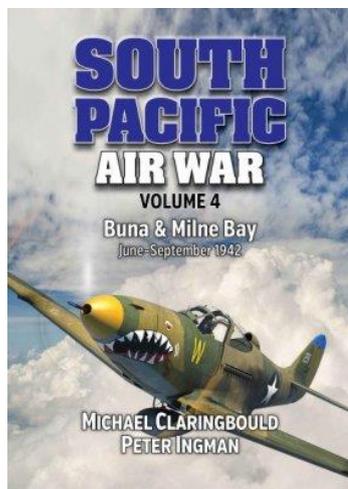
**Michael Claringbould & Peter Ingman**

Kent Town, SA: Avonmore Books, 2020;  
Softcover 180pp RRP \$44.95

Reviewer: Neville Taylor, March 2021

This volume records the day-by-day activities over an eleven-week period that saw a move from air combat to support for forces involved in land battles. With no carrier support the Japanese Navy air forces based at Rabaul were forced into a reactive mode and attacking multiple targets over longer distances.

Reconnaissance and bombing raids against Rabaul were stepped up and a Japanese gunboat was sunk by a US submarine. The Japanese undertook long-range reconnaissance from Lae to Cairns and Cooktown, and attacked Port Moresby, while the Allies attacked both Lae harbour and Salamaua.



An Australian ground attack against Heath's Plantation near Lae, caused the Japanese to strike at mountain strongholds at Wau and Bulolo. Large scale attacks by both sides continued to be thwarted by bad weather and poor visibility over the selected targets. Several aircraft

flying out of north Queensland were lost with heavy passenger losses. Longer range reconnaissances were flown when Japanese shipping was detected off Guadalcanal and Tulagi in the Solomons Islands.

Without ships capable of good speed, the Japanese assembled a fourteen-vessel convoy that left Rabaul on 20th July for the Buna and Gona on the coast of Papua. Thousands of troops were disembarked and set about establishing a base from which to push overland towards Port Moresby through Kokoda. On 22nd the Allies sunk a Japanese transport vessel, while strafing of landing barges did not cause much disruption. Despite early warning of the landing, the Allies missed a golden opportunity to inflict major losses on the invasion convoy, its troops and materiel. With virtually no aerial resupply for its troops and the native carriers being intimidated by Japanese air activity, the Allies now faced a major resupply problem for those defending the southward thrust to Port Moresby. An Allied attack on 29th July launched against a third Japanese convoy to Gona, resulted in major loss of aircraft and crews. It was on this day the Japanese captured Kokoda. Three air raids on Townsville in the last week of July saw important military installations destroyed. A fourth transport convoy to Buna was turned around after Allied bombers attacked it.

As August came round, air attacks on Lae forced the Japanese Zeroes there to withdraw to Rabaul. Air reconnaissance on 3rd saw the Japanese discover the Allied airbase at Milne Bay. Finding Rabaul full of Japanese aircraft, a massive raid was launched against them on 7th August, with the Commander Allied Air Forces claiming between 75 and 150

bombers being destroyed! [Japanese commanders did not rate the raid highly in their memories.]

The massive Allies convoy, having been masked by poor weather, landed unopposed on 7th August at Guadalcanal which possessed a newly-completed Japanese airstrip, while carrier-based aircraft wiped out the Japanese aircraft at Tulagi. The following day the Japanese navy sunk four Allied cruisers at the Battle of Savo Island.

Two squadrons of Kittyhawks and five Hudsons were operational at Milne Bay by early August with air transport flights commencing as well. As use by heavy US bombers became too dangerous, so it was almost exclusively used by the RAAF. Avoiding the radar coverage of Port Moresby on 17th August, Japanese bombers inflicted major destruction of the air transport fleet at Port Moresby. Japanese air efforts were concentrated on Guadalcanal and a concerted attack on Milne Bay was thwarted by bad weather. The Japanese build-up at Buna continued with additional convoys and the airfield became operational.

The Japanese desired to capture Milne Bay to provide a forward base and Allied Intelligence indicated a land offensive against Milne Bay in the last week of August. Barges despatched from Buna were spotted by a coastwatcher on Goodenough Island and were destroyed by Kittyhawks. An invasion convoy of nine vessels landed nearly 1200 men on 26th August some distance from the selected site. Kittyhawks destroyed all barges and fuel on the landing site. Due to bad weather and the overnight withdrawal of Allied aircraft to Port Moresby, Japanese air attacks on the base were virtually ineffective. The main Japanese attack on the base was launched on 31st August, without air support as the Zeroes on Buna had been strafed and bombed several days earlier. Stern ground opposition saw the attackers suffer their first land defeat of the war, and the subsequent withdrawal of the Japanese land force was completed by 7th September.

As a result of the 76 air raids on Port Moresby prior to August 1942, there were no heavy bombers stationed there, thus significantly reducing Allied bombing effectiveness. In the eleven weeks considered, Japanese losses were only 37 aircraft and 46 crewmen compared to 89 and 191 by the Allies - mainly through accidents and poor weather.

This volume is able to stand alone and be read as an individual work. The incredible detail of the day-by-day action over the eleven-week period has been compiled as a result of exhaustive research of the war records of both sides - aircraft types, crews, damage sustained, lost aircraft and fate of crews. Excellent maps preface each volume, with black and white photographs of aircraft, their crews and ground locations generously interspersed in the text. Even more impressive is the full colour artwork of aircraft in combat. The respective appendices listing aircraft losses and fatalities for each period show the incredible attrition rates suffered by both sides. A bibliography and detailed index round out this work.

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This system will operate during the Coronavirus period.

## Library Notes

At last, our volunteers are back and the library already seems more alive!

We are also receiving an increasing number of visitors from Barracks who are buying some of our large collection of excellent surplus books. We encourage members to visit and see the changes in the library consisting of expanded storage and the reorganisation of our maps collection – thank you Kathryn Williams.

The problem with our catalogue on the internet has been solved and we have uploaded a total of around a thousand newly acquired items. The link is: [www.thecollectingbug.com/rusivictoria/](http://www.thecollectingbug.com/rusivictoria/)

If you have difficulty using this system, please contact us and we will take you through it step by step.

Our collection also appears on Trove, the Australian National Library website.

Our publisher contact volunteer, Neville Taylor, has been busy in absentia and has secured many newly published books for us over the last year.

The President Mike O'Brien and the Secretary Bob Hart have been busy adding images to our book entries on our internet catalogue, a big job which greatly enhances the look of the catalogue entries. Thank you both.

### Brian Surtees

Hon Librarian

## New Acquisitions (since December 2020)

Books reviewed in this *Newsletter* have not been included

Title	Author(s)	Subject
<i>Law, Politics and Intelligence</i>	Peter Edwards	A life of Robert Hope.
<i>On Our Doorstep</i>	Craig Collie	When Australia faced the threat of invasion by the Japanese.
<i>Secret &amp; Special</i>	Will Davies	The untold story of Z Special Unit in the Second World War.
<i>Island off the Coast of Asia</i>	Clinton Fernandes	Instruments of statecraft in Australian foreign policy.
<i>Bastard Behind the Lines</i>	Tom Gilling	The extraordinary story of Jock McLaren's escape from Sandakan and his guerrilla war against the Japanese.
<i>Wars without End</i>	Danny Keenan	New Zealand's Land Wars – a Maori perspective.
<i>Military Ethics and Leadership International Studies on Military Ethics series Vol 3</i>	Peter H. J. Olsthoorn (Ed)	
<i>Dark Secrets</i>	Robert Hadler	The true story of murder in <i>HMAS Australia</i> .
<i>Pacific Adversaries Vol 3</i>	Michael Claringbould	Japanese Navy vs the Allies in New Guinea & the Solomons 1942-1944.
<i>A Secret Australia</i>	Felicity Ruby and Peter Cronau (Eds)	Revealed by the WikiLeaks exposés.