

University of Wollongong - Research Online

Thesis Collection

Title: Contemporary maritime pressures and their implications for naval force structure planning

Author: Bruce Clark McLennan

Year: 2006

Repository DOI:

Copyright Warning

You may print or download ONE copy of this document for the purpose of your own research or study. The University does not authorise you to copy, communicate or otherwise make available electronically to any other person any copyright material contained on this site.

You are reminded of the following: This work is copyright. Apart from any use permitted under the Copyright Act 1968, no part of this work may be reproduced by any process, nor may any other exclusive right be exercised, without the permission of the author. Copyright owners are entitled to take legal action against persons who infringe their copyright. A reproduction of material that is protected by copyright may be a copyright infringement. A court may impose penalties and award damages in relation to offences and infringements relating to copyright material.

Higher penalties may apply, and higher damages may be awarded, for offences and infringements involving the conversion of material into digital or electronic form.

Unless otherwise indicated, the views expressed in this thesis are those of the author and do not necessarily represent the views of the University of Wollongong.

Research Online is the open access repository for the University of Wollongong. For further information contact the UOW Library: research-pubs@uow.edu.au

2006

Contemporary maritime pressures and their implications for naval force structure planning

Bruce Clark McLennan
University of Wollongong

Follow this and additional works at: <https://ro.uow.edu.au/theses>

University of Wollongong

Copyright Warning

You may print or download ONE copy of this document for the purpose of your own research or study. The University does not authorise you to copy, communicate or otherwise make available electronically to any other person any copyright material contained on this site.

You are reminded of the following: This work is copyright. Apart from any use permitted under the Copyright Act 1968, no part of this work may be reproduced by any process, nor may any other exclusive right be exercised, without the permission of the author. Copyright owners are entitled to take legal action against persons who infringe their copyright. A reproduction of material that is protected by copyright may be a copyright infringement. A court may impose penalties and award damages in relation to offences and infringements relating to copyright material.

Higher penalties may apply, and higher damages may be awarded, for offences and infringements involving the conversion of material into digital or electronic form.

Unless otherwise indicated, the views expressed in this thesis are those of the author and do not necessarily represent the views of the University of Wollongong.

Recommended Citation

McLennan, Bruce C, Contemporary maritime pressures and their implications for naval force structure planning, PhD thesis, Centre for Maritime Policy, University of Wollongong, 2006. <http://ro.uow.edu.au/theses/604>

NOTE

This online version of the thesis may have different page formatting and pagination from the paper copy held in the University of Wollongong Library.

UNIVERSITY OF WOLLONGONG

COPYRIGHT WARNING

You may print or download ONE copy of this document for the purpose of your own research or study. The University does not authorise you to copy, communicate or otherwise make available electronically to any other person any copyright material contained on this site. You are reminded of the following:

Copyright owners are entitled to take legal action against persons who infringe their copyright. A reproduction of material that is protected by copyright may be a copyright infringement. A court may impose penalties and award damages in relation to offences and infringements relating to copyright material. Higher penalties may apply, and higher damages may be awarded, for offences and infringements involving the conversion of material into digital or electronic form.

**CONTEMPORARY MARITIME PRESSURES
AND THEIR
IMPLICATIONS FOR NAVAL FORCE STRUCTURE PLANNING**

A thesis submitted in fulfilment of the
requirements for the award of the degree

DOCTOR OF PHILOSOPHY

from

UNIVERSITY OF WOLLONGONG

by

BRUCE CLARK McLENNAN

GDSS (jssc), GDBA (dist) (QUT), MMDS (UC), MMS (dist) (UoW)

CENTRE FOR MARITIME POLICY

2006

CERTIFICATION

I, Bruce Clark McLennan, declare that this thesis, submitted in fulfilment of the requirements for the award of Doctor of Philosophy to the Centre for Maritime Policy, University of Wollongong, is wholly my own work unless otherwise referenced or acknowledged. The document has not been submitted for qualifications at any other academic institution.

Bruce C. McLennan

8 November 2006

**CONTEMPORARY MARITIME PRESSURES
AND THEIR
IMPLICATIONS FOR NAVAL FORCE STRUCTURE PLANNING**

TABLE OF CONTENTS

Title Page		i
Certification		ii
Table of Contents		iii
List of Tables, Figures, Illustrations		vii
Abstract		viii
 Chapter 1	Introduction	 1
	The Security Environment	2
	The Contribution of Research	6
	Methods and Sources	9
	Chapter Structure	10
 Chapter 2	Navies as Instruments of National Policy	 15
	The Span of Maritime Operations	15
	Strategic Maritime Theory	20
	Sea Command and Sea Control	28
	Contemporary Force Structure Capability Development	30
	The Changing Emphasis for Naval Force Structure	32
 Chapter 3	Sea Power Dominance – The Empires of <i>Pax Romana</i> and <i>Pax Britannica</i>	 36
	The Empire of <i>Pax Romana</i>	36
	The First and Second Punic Wars	37
	Mithridate and the Scourge of Cilician Pirates	44
	The Imperial Roman Navy	48
	The Empire of <i>Pax Britannica</i>	57
	Trade, Colonies and the Navy	58
	The Evolution of the Colonial Squadrons	64
	The Empire Falters	69

	Conclusion	71
Chapter 4	The Empire of <i>Pax Americana</i>	73
	Cold War Offensive Deterrence	73
	United States' Military Ascendancy	74
	The Confidence of Unilateralism	76
	American Imperium	78
	The Empire of <i>Pax Americana</i>	81
	Policing the Peace of America	84
	Re-structuring the Fleet	89
	Globalisation—The Triumph of American Capitalism	91
	Maritime Trade—	
	The Consolidated Ocean Web of Communications	92
	Crisis of the Nation-State	98
	Conclusion	102
Chapter 5	The Asymmetric Response to Technology	105
	The Supreme Super Weapon and Naval Panacea	105
	Low-Intensity Warfare	108
	Maritime Terrorism	114
	Piracy and Armed Robbery at Sea	117
	Belligerent Rights	121
	Summary	124
	Weapons of Statecraft	126
	Network-Centricity	129
	Conclusion	131
Chapter 6	The Great Oceanic Common	133
	The Early Juridical Nature of the Sea	133
	The Canary Islands	135
	Africa's West Coast Trade	136
	Discovery of the New World	139
	The Treaty of Tordesillas	141
	The Protestant Challenge	144

	Hugo de Groot	146
	John Selden	148
	America's Advocacy for Freedom at Sea	150
	Trade Liberalisation and the Hague Conferences	154
	Conclusion	158
Chapter 7	Ocean Exploitation and Enclosure – Modern Oceans Governance	159
	The Intensification of Users and Uses	159
	Coastal State Unilateral Assertions	162
	Early Attempts at Law of the Sea Codification	166
	1982 United Nations Convention on the Law of the Sea	173
	Exclusive Economic Zone	178
	Conclusion	184
Chapter 8	Australia's Maritime Strategic Imperatives	186
	The Island Fortress	188
	The Invasion Planning Paradigm	189
	Australia's Regional Maritime Environment	193
	East Timor and INTERFET	197
	Background to the East Timor Intervention	199
	Operation <i>Stabilise</i>	202
	In Summary	207
	Australia's Domestic Maritime Environment	208
	Timor Sea Joint Petroleum Development Area	212
	Consequential Security Prospects	215
	The Antarctic Treaty System	217
	Refugee Movements across Maritime Boundaries	224
	People Trafficking	228
	The Australian Illicit Fishing Industry	230
	Conclusion	235

Chapter 9	Naval Force Structure Implications – An Australian Case Study	237
	The Nature of Expeditionary Warfare	240
	Not Merely an Army Escorted by a Fleet	243
	The Ship-of-Expedition Over the Shore	245
	United States Expeditionary Capabilities	246
	The Australian Amphibious Requirement	248
	Small vs Big Ship Options	250
	The Constabulary Requirement	252
	The Ship-of-Law	259
	The Inevitable Transition	262
	The Coast Guard Debate	263
	An Ocean Patrol Ship	271
	Project <i>Deepwater</i>	273
	Flexible Support Ships	276
	Conclusion	278
Chapter 10	Conclusion	281
	The Historical Legacy	285
	 Bibliography	 296

**CONTEMPORARY MARITIME PRESSURES
AND THEIR
IMPLICATIONS FOR NAVAL FORCE STRUCTURE PLANNING**

LIST OF TABLES, FIGURES, ILLUSTRATIONS

Figure 1	The Span of Maritime Operations	19
Figure 2	The Changing Emphasis for Naval Force Structure	35
Figure 3	<i>Pax Romana</i> - The Roman Empire 1AD	52
Figure 4	<i>Pax Britannica</i> – The British Empire 1897	61
Figure 5	Distribution of British Warships 1897 & 1912	70
Figure 6	Consolidated Ocean Web of Communications	95
Figure 7	Treaty of Tordesillas 1494	142
Figure 8	Maritime Zones of Jurisdiction	177
Figure 9	Effect of the 200nm Coastal State Jurisdiction	179
Figure 10	East Timor and INTERFET	203
Figure 11	Australia’s Maritime Jurisdiction (post 1982)	211
Figure 12	The Antarctic Treaty and the Convention for the Conservation of Antarctic Marine Living Resources Areas	219

CONTEMPORARY MARITIME PRESSURES AND THEIR IMPLICATIONS FOR NAVAL FORCE STRUCTURE PLANNING

ABSTRACT

The contemporary determinators of Australia's naval force structure are generally derived from threat based calculations as modelled through scenario focused exercises. Analysis, future capability development, and force structure planning, are principally configured for high-intensity war-fighting roles against a similarly sophisticated enemy, in the defence of the Australian mainland—in the belief that forces structured for the defence of Australia and its approaches can meet all the tasks asked of it by the Government. The underlying assumption is that geostrategic imperatives should shape strategy as well as force structure. The focus remains firmly affixed to 'contest' and the assertion of strategic security to the detriment of constabulary control. It also drives the tendencies for 'bigger/brighter and more gigabytes' that lead to the unsatisfiable demands in defence expenditure and the over-specification of required capability.

This thesis argues that a historical trend analysis offers a further dimension in appreciating naval force structure emphasis, claiming that there are at least three contemporary pressures that should be exerting influence on a nation's naval planning—these pressures are maritime geopolitical evolution through a dominant sea power hypothesis, the asymmetric response to technology that has changed the character of warfare, particularly at sea, and the inevitable progression of ocean exploitation and enclosure that has dawned the modern era in oceans governance. All three forces are applying their pressure in a similar direction—away from the traditional ship-of-war, towards the ship-of-law and the ship-of-expedition over the shore.

To argue this thesis there are three supporting suppositions:

The first supposition contends that we have entered the era of *Pax Americana*—an era of unchallenged maritime supremacy. Like the eras of *Pax Romana* and *Pax Britannica* before it, with *Pax Americana* ruling the oceans and guaranteeing the freedom of

navigation, there is now an emergent need to shift the balance of force structure away from those naval forces that are needed to fight for the control of the seas—combat and contest—and towards those naval forces that are going to use the sea control given to them—regulation and utilisation.

The second, that the character of warfare has changed: that conventional warfare has moved to the Third World. Yet the modern ship-of-war is at the forefront of technological development and the product of a nation's technical ability and resource. It is designed to fight against a similarly sophisticated enemy; against a platform that resembles itself in technical sophistication. It is also a weapon of statecraft, as only States can afford the infrastructure and costs to support them. If conventional warfare has indeed moved to the Third World, then it has also moved against States that do not have the technical skills and resource base to support the modern warship—the traditional ship-of-war no longer has an equally sophisticated enemy.

The third, that the modern practise of State sovereignty expansion and ocean enclosure that has dawned the modern era of ocean governance is a fundamental evolution in ocean usage. It is now being reflected in, or by, the increased awareness of, and emphasis on, 'constabulary tasking' such as resource management, environmental protection, immigration regulation, quarantine inspection and trans-national crime enforcement—the demand for a ship-of-law.