

**PERSPECTIVES**

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**THE CASE FOR AUSTRALIA'S UN SECURITY  
COUNCIL BID**

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**S E P T E M B E R 2 0 0 9**

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## **The case for Australia's UN Security Council bid**

**Michael Fullilove**

### **Introduction**

In March 2008, Prime Minister Kevin Rudd announced that Australia would be a candidate for a non-permanent seat on the United Nations Security Council in 2013-14.<sup>1</sup> This decision made good sense: it would clearly be in Australia's national interest for us to win a seat on the Council – and it would be in the UN's interest, too. It turns out that the great majority of Australians agree with the Government's decision. Yet the bid has also attracted many exaggerated and inconsistent criticisms.

The purpose of this paper, launched in the week that the Prime Minister is addressing the UN General Assembly in New York, is fourfold: to describe the bid for the Security Council; restate why it is in Australia's interest; provide the first evidence of Australian public opinion on the issue; and refute the arguments made against the bid.

### **Background to the bid**

Chapter V of the United Nations Charter provides that the Security Council shall consist of 15 members. Five members are permanent (China, France, Russia, the United Kingdom and the United States) (the P5) and ten members are elected for two-year terms (the E10). The ten rotating seats are divided amongst the UN's various geographical groupings. Australia has sat on the Council on four previous occasions: 1946-1947, 1956-1957, 1973-1974 and 1985-1986. We have not been present, in other words, since the end of the Cold War. Our last campaign, for the 1997-1998 term, was initiated by the Keating Government but ended in failure early in the Howard Government's term in office, when Australia finished third in a three-way race against Sweden and Portugal.

Now Australia is running for one of the two spots on the Council reserved for the members of the Western European and Others Group (WEOG). A successful candidate requires two thirds of the votes of members present in order to be elected. The election, which is conducted by secret ballot, will take place in October 2012.

We have started from behind the eight-ball: our declared opponents, Luxembourg and Finland, announced their candidacies in 2001 and 2002 respectively. At least fifteen countries have publicly pledged support for Australia's bid and a number of others are thought to have given private indications. Despite the convention against the P5 publicly endorsing candidates, the UK and France have issued positive public signals about our bid.<sup>2</sup> Australia is doing all the normal things that candidates for the Council do: cultivating bilateral relationships, lobbying governments, attending meetings, carrying out our various UN reporting obligations, and so on.

Getting elected will not be easy. Finland has a good story to tell, given its strong human rights record, generous aid budget and the UN work of prominent Finnish nationals such as Martti Ahtisaari, the former Finnish President who won the Nobel Peace Prize last year for his efforts in resolving various international conflicts. Luxembourg is significantly smaller than Australia, but as a well-respected contributor which has never sat on the Council, it is also a formidable opponent. This is not to say that our task is impossible. Government sources report that this will be a difficult contest but that, despite some rumours to the contrary, our campaign is off to a credible start.

The truth is, however, that it is difficult for outsiders (and perhaps even for insiders) to draw conclusions about our chances, given the opaque nature of the process and the fact that the vote is still three years off. There is simply too much campaigning in smoke-filled rooms – or, given that this is the UN, campaigning in smoke-free rooms – still to come. We can, however, make a decision now about whether or not our candidacy is in the national interest.

### **Why Australia is right to run for the UN Security Council**

The principal reason that we are right to run is that the Security Council is the world's pre-eminent crisis management forum. Australians are joiners by instinct and practice. We are a wealthy nation with a small population occupying a large continent that is located a great distance from our historical sources of security and prosperity. We have always sought to further our national interest – and contribute to the global good – by joining international institutions, as well as by allying ourselves with the United States and building strong bilateral relationships with the countries around us. Yet we are excluded from many of the world's influential circles: for example, we are not a member of the G8, NATO or the nuclear weapons club. One pragmatic response has been to create new multilateral institutions – hence Bob Hawke's efforts to establish APEC, Paul Keating's work on the APEC Leaders' Meetings, Peter Costello's and Kevin Rudd's efforts on the G-20, and Rudd's initiative for an

Asia Pacific Community. Another response is to run for an elected seat on the Security Council.

Membership of the Security Council, if used well, would increase Australia's international leverage on all sorts of issues. It would add to our reputation as a country with global interests and capacities. Like our alliance with the United States, it would be a source of prestige – but it would be a different and complementary source of prestige. And it would help vaccinate Australia against our occasional tendency to try to retreat into our immediate region.

The Council represents the pointy end of the United Nations, because of its power under Chapter VII of the Charter to take whatever means it sees fit, including the imposition of sanctions and the use of force, to respond to threats to international peace and security. The 2002-2003 debate over the invasion of Iraq demonstrates the centrality of the Council in conferring international legitimacy on the use of force, or denying it – which in turn affects the risks and costs of a military operation. As a former member of the tiny coalition of the willing in Iraq, Australia understands this better than most. Closer to our shores, how would the Australian-led INTERFET force have fared in East Timor in 1999 without the cover provided by a Security Council resolution? In the absence of imminent action on the Council's part, it seems unlikely that Indonesia would have acquiesced to the presence of foreign troops in East Timor or that Australia would have provided them.

The Council's responsibility for the peaceful settlement of conflicts under Chapter VI of the Charter, along with its Chapter VII prerogatives, also empower it to authorise peacekeeping missions. The Council is ultimately responsible for the 116,000 peacekeepers currently serving in 18 missions around the world. This is a matter of no small importance to Australia, given that over the past 60 years Canberra has contributed nearly 40,000 military, police and civilians to more than 60 UN operations.<sup>3</sup>

The Security Council can also top up the legitimacy of external interventions led by individual states. For example, no blue helmets were deployed in support of the Australian-led RAMSI mission to Solomon Islands in 2003, nor was it endorsed in a Council resolution. RAMSI's legitimacy depended primarily on the endorsement of the Pacific Islands Forum and the invitation issued by Honiara. However, there was a valuable laying on of hands by the international community, in the form of statements of support from the UN Secretary-General and the Security Council President.<sup>4</sup>

It is hard to predict which issues will come before the Security Council in the 2013-14 term. Some may engage our national interests directly; for example, it seems likely that the Afghanistan war will be on the agenda. Other issues will be less directly relevant to us but just as important. In recent years, for instance, the Council has considered the Iranian and North Korean nuclear programs, terrorism, and the ‘responsibility to protect’, the idea championed by Gareth Evans and others that a collective international responsibility to protect individuals exists in cases of genocide, ethnic cleansing and widespread violations of human rights. For nearly a quarter of a century, Australia has had to rely on others to represent our views and protect our interests on these kinds of questions. It is past time that we sat at the big table and made our own arguments.

Certainly, we deserve a term on the Security Council. Australia is a founding member of the United Nations and an active and generous contributor to the organisation. We deployed arguably the first UN military observers in September 1947 when four officers were sent to support the UN Good Offices Mission in the Dutch East Indies (later Indonesia). Six decades later, many Australians still serve in multilateral peace operations. Australia is the 13<sup>th</sup> largest contributor to the assessed UN core budget, providing US\$44 million this year. This is only one element of our financial contribution, however: if one were to include our contributions to the UN peacekeeping budget and the various UN agencies, the figure would be as much as ten times larger.<sup>5</sup> The Government’s interest in seeking representation on the UN’s ultimate decision-making body is, as one observer says, ‘like a major shareholder in a company wanting a seat on the board of directors’.

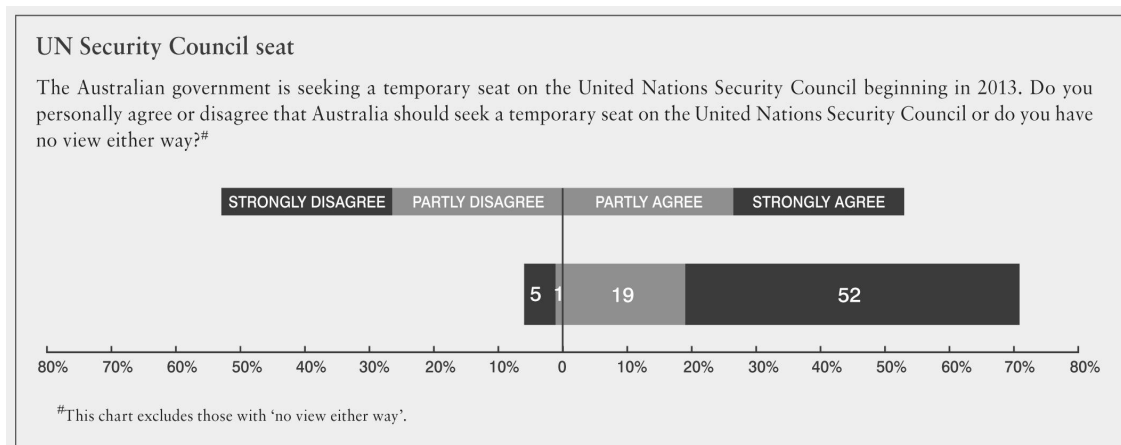
Finally, Australia’s membership of the Security Council would also be in the interests of the United Nations. As a Western country located in the Asia-Pacific, our presence would make the Council more representative: the only other South Pacific nation to serve on the Council in the past twenty years is New Zealand. Should Finland and Luxembourg be elected to the WEOG spots, the Council would boast at least four and possibly five members from the EU (if an EU member happens to win one of the Eastern European seats). By contrast, and notwithstanding the huge population disparity, there will be no more than two or three East Asian or South Asian members of the Council, including China.

Given our national resources and the quality of our diplomats, Australia would contribute positively to the Council’s deliberations, including during our one-month term as President of the Security Council and through our work in the Council’s subsidiary bodies.

The best argument for our election, however, is the contribution that Australia makes to international security. Article 23 of the Charter provides that in the election of non-permanent members, due regard should be paid ‘in the first instance to the contribution of Members of the United Nations to the maintenance of international peace and security and to the other purposes of the Organization, and also to equitable geographical distribution.’<sup>6</sup> The Security Council’s standing is reinforced by the membership of credible middle powers who have shown a willingness to spend blood and treasure to preserve international security. Australia has demonstrated this preparedness throughout its history: in the world wars, in UN peacekeeping operations, and in non-UN missions such as the NATO mission in Afghanistan and the regional mission in Solomon Islands. The British historian Paul Kennedy has argued in *The Wall Street Journal* that small and mid-sized candidates for the Council ‘should be prepared to prove their qualifications, and that means by actions not mere words.’<sup>7</sup> Australia has proved its qualifications.

### What Australians think about the Security Council bid

If Australia’s bid for the council is prudent, it is also extremely popular. As part of the forthcoming 2009 Lowy Institute Poll, we asked a nationally representative sample of 1003 adult Australians whether they agreed or disagreed that Australia should seek a temporary seat on the Security Council beginning in 2013. The results are indicated in the table below. Nearly three-quarters of respondents (71%) ‘partly’ or ‘strongly’ agreed with the statement; more than half (52%) agreed strongly. 22% had no view either way, and only 6% disagreed. Apart from a small rump of opinion, then, Australians are very supportive of the Government’s bid.<sup>8</sup>



## **Why the critics of Australia's bid are wrong**

The 6% of Australians who oppose the bid are, however, very vocal. The reaction on the opinion pages of the nation's newspapers has been overwhelmingly negative and, on occasions, scornful. Regrettably, the specific question of our bid for the Security Council has fallen into the ruts of an old and barren debate about the value of the United Nations as a whole.

This broader debate has been dominated over the years by two familiar tribes of pundits – UN groupies and UN bashers – neither of which takes a balanced and realistic view of the international organisation.

UN groupies defend the organisation come what may. The blame for mistakes is always laid at the feet of the member states, never the secretariat. The serious problems pointed to by critics are waved away, to the long-term detriment of the organisation the groupies think they are protecting. National interests are always seen as suspect, especially American interests. Groupies are often reflexively anti-American, ignoring Washington's financial contributions, which account for a fifth of the UN budget; the personal contributions to the institution made by US presidents such as Franklin Roosevelt, Harry Truman and Bill Clinton and other US nationals such as the Nobel Peace Prize-winning UN official Ralph Bunche; and the fact that the success of most UN operations depends on US support.

In the opposing trenches squat the UN bashers, for whom UN peacekeepers (most of whom give honourable service and risk their lives in a decent cause) are 'pedophilic sex tourists with guns'; talk of a rule-based international order is 'intellectually degenerate'; and the UN system is 'a toilet.' The UN, we are told, is 'historically corrupt' and 'an abject failure'. It is 'the most ridiculously hopeless organisation in the world.' It is the 'United Nations of Despots'.<sup>9</sup>

The UN is, of course, deeply flawed. But many of its agencies do essential work. Even more importantly, it provides a venue for creative statecraft – the UN is the forum where countries come together to discuss mutual problems. Do we like all the regimes represented in New York? No. But we have to deal with the world as we find it. Perhaps it would be congenial to confine our relations to countries like our own, but it would not be sensible. The Bush Administration found in its later years that the UN had its uses – and President Barack Obama will this week become the first US president ever to chair the Security Council in person.<sup>10</sup> If



even the global hegemon needs the UN, how much more important is it for a country of twenty-two million?

Not all of the four main arguments that have been put forward against Australia's Security Council campaign have been affected by the jaundice of the UN bashers. But none of them are convincing.

The first objection is that the process of campaigning is forcing Australia to compromise its foreign policy values. *The Australian's* foreign editor Greg Sheridan asserted that 'Australian foreign policy is in danger of being seriously distorted by our bid' and shadow foreign affairs minister Julie Bishop claimed the Government has 'thrown many longstanding foreign policy principles to the wind in its pursuit of a seat'. Former foreign minister Alexander Downer mused that 'to be successful we will have to change the emphasis of our foreign policy' and warned of backsliding on human rights in Zimbabwe or corruption in the South Pacific. (These concerns did not worry Mr Downer sufficiently five years ago to prevent him from proposing, unsuccessfully, that the Howard Government should launch a Council bid.)<sup>11</sup>

All manner of government decisions have been characterised, without much evidence, as attempts to curry favour with UN member states. According to the Opposition, the PM's first compromise was to 'let the Europeans off the hook in regards to committing troops to combat zones in Afghanistan' at the NATO meeting in Bucharest in April 2008. (It will come as a surprise to European capitals to hear that they were ever on Australia's hook.) In March 2009, Greg Sheridan was concerned by 'circumstantial evidence' that Australia might attend the Durban Review Conference. In June, Julie Bishop blamed the Government's inability to repatriate the 'Merauke Five' (a group of Australians who had been detained in West Papua after apparently flying there without visas or flight clearances) on a desire to win Jakarta's support for our candidacy.<sup>12</sup> Others have hinted, without actually saying it in so many words, that Canberra soft-pedalled its protests to Beijing over the treatment of Stern Hu in deference to China's influence over African states.

Most of these specific claims are unconvincing. Australia decided not to participate at Durban. The visitors to West Papua were eventually released, due no doubt in part to ongoing Australian diplomatic involvement in the matter. At a more general level, though, it is pointless to deny that candidates for election will adjust their behaviour from time to time and make some compromises. Compromise is inherent to realpolitik. The critics imply that, absent the Security Council bid, Australia could get back to running a 'pure' foreign policy. Yet, as Gough Whitlam noted once, only the impotent are pure. Both Labor and Liberal prime

ministers have found that foreign policy success requires a pragmatic approach. In late 1996, for instance, after a dreadful start to the bilateral relationship, John Howard settled on an approach to dealing with Beijing which involved the acknowledgment of certain Chinese prerogatives and the de-emphasis of human rights. To cite another example, even the greatest defenders of the US-Australia Free Trade Agreement of 2003 would admit that it was an imperfect agreement.

The Australian Government will no doubt take steps to maximise its electoral support – if not, why enter the race at all? It will practise all the dark arts of politics. But Australia will not compromise its values, because the whole point of this exercise is to *promote* our values, as well as our interests. In any case, a race to the ethical bottom is rarely a winning Security Council campaign strategy. It is usually more valuable to be seen as a reliable and consistent player. And we are not, after all, competing for election with countries who possess wholly different value systems: we are competing with Finland and Luxembourg. The foreign policies of Canada, The Netherlands and Ireland do not appear to have been notably distorted by their successful campaigns for elected positions on the Security Council.<sup>13</sup>

The second criticism of the bid is that it is too expensive – that, in Piers Akerman’s words, ‘Rudd’s vainglorious goal will cost Australian taxpayers millions’.<sup>14</sup>

The Government has announced that it will spend \$13.1 million over the first three years of the bid, including staffing, outreach, meetings, information technology and so on.<sup>15</sup> In addition to direct costs, the Government will no doubt make other expenditures, partly with an eye to their effect on the Council ballot. It seems unlikely that these expenditures would be huge, but the lack of precision about them has led critics of the bid to come up with other, much larger estimates. Alexander Downer has been quoted as suggesting a total figure of \$35 million. *The Australian* columnist Glenn Milne accused Rudd of ‘outlaying more than \$1.5 billion on his Quixotic UN tilt. That’s when you take into account the direct funding for the bid and the money set aside in the last budget for development assistance to non-specified countries, all of which is set to spike in the year of the UNSC vote.’<sup>16</sup>

This last estimate is plainly ridiculous. It appears to include all of the increased AusAID funding which was announced in the 2009 Budget, even though boosting foreign aid is a longstanding Labor policy which predates the Council bid. But the real problem is not so much the fuzzy maths as the strange sense of priorities revealed by all this pettifoggery. Yes, the Government needs to be prudent in its expenditure of public monies. But how expensive is this campaign compared to other exercises in international policy? A \$35 million campaign,

if that is indeed the true cost, would be equivalent in value to a half of one of the Australian Defence Force's 46 new MRH-90 helicopters, or one fifth of one of the RAAF's 24 new Super Hornet aircraft.<sup>17</sup> I am all in favour of a muscular ADF. But would two years on the UN Security Council, if our campaign were successful, not be worth half a helicopter or a fifth of a plane?

The critics' focus on relatively insignificant costs reveals a depressingly small opinion of Australia's possibilities. Do the sceptics really take such a straitened view of our role in the world that they would cavil at the cost of running a *diplomatic campaign*? It is hard not to be reminded of Alexander Downer's Playford Lecture of 2007, in which he accused his opponents of running a 'Little Australia' campaign and ignoring Australia's 'responsibilities as a significant global citizen', and urged them to 'think big'.<sup>18</sup>

A third, related criticism is that membership of the Security Council would put us in the awkward position of having to state our position on controversial issues. The conservative commentator Des Moore warned that 'we will be obliged to take a very public attitude on matters about which we would otherwise wish to retain a sensible silence.' Coming from the opposite ideological direction, former UN diplomat James Ingram is concerned that 'on any issue of concern to the US we would be under great pressure to lend our support. To do so would only reinforce the impression that Australia is no longer an ally but an American satellite.' The Lowy Institute's Raoul Heinrichs applies the argument to the US-China-Australia strategic triangle:<sup>19</sup>

*'For years now, an implicit organising principle of Australian foreign policy has been to maximise our bilateral relations with China and the US, but to decouple those relationships from each other, keeping them firewalled as a way of insulating ourselves from the danger of a major deterioration in Sino-US relations... if the sum of Australian fears involves having to choose between the US and China, why would we want to sit at a table with both of them, forced to make public and explicit choices between them, however symbolic, on the most contentious global issues, from North Korea and Iran to Darfur and Zimbabwe?'*

These critics would prefer, apparently, a small-target strategy whereby Australia avoids difficult questions and refuses to speak its mind on global issues. But that is not the kind of foreign policy Australia has traditionally adopted. In fact, one could go so far as to say it would be a distortion of our values.

Our interests are far better served by having clear and well-understood positions on global issues than by dissembling on everything outside our immediate sphere of interest. In any case, even if our aim were to conceal our views, being absent from the Council hardly provides automatic protection from scrutiny. We already have explicit policies on, say, North Korea, Iran, Darfur and Zimbabwe. Given the existence of diplomatic cables and the news media, foreign capitals are aware of our policies and actions regardless of whether we have the chance to tell them face-to-face in the Council chamber. Yes, the US-China relationship is likely to test Australian diplomacy in the future, but those tests will confront us whether or not we sit on the Council.

The final argument against the bid is that non-permanent membership of the Security Council is unimportant or even demeaning. It is unimportant, according to the Opposition, because of the ‘veto power of the five permanent members... and the irrelevance experienced by many other temporary members.’<sup>20</sup> But the view that the P5 have all the power and the E10 have none is not accurate. While resolutions can be vetoed by permanent members, they cannot be passed without elected members, as the Charter provides that a majority of nine votes is required for passage. And in practice, vetoes have rarely been exercised since the end of the Cold War. Less than two dozen substantive vetoes have been cast by the P5 in the last two decades, compared with the nearly two hundred substantive vetoes cast during the Cold War.<sup>21</sup> The Council is noticeably more collegial and businesslike now than it was during the era of superpower stand-off. Most of its work is done through negotiation, in which the E10 play an important role. In any case, it is not only formal power that determines influence in the Council: Britain, for example, exercises disproportionate influence due to the professionalism of the diplomats it sends to New York and, in particular, their drafting ability. There is no reason why Australia could not make a very positive contribution to the Council’s deliberations.

Glenn Milne has gone further and suggested that elected members of the Council would be poor company for Australia:<sup>22</sup>

*‘... the membership of the current non-permanent grouping surely brings into question why Rudd is so determined to join this club in any case. Where does our continuity of national interest lie with the likes of Uganda, Burkina Faso, Libya, Vietnam, Costa Rica and Mexico?’*

In fact, there are many continuities of national interest between Australia and recent elected members of the Council, including key allies such as Japan (2009-2010) and New Zealand

(1993-1994), neighbours such as Vietnam (2008-2009), Indonesia (2007-2008) and Singapore (2001-2002), and Western powers such as Germany (2003-2004) and Canada (1999-2001). Certainly, some of the elected members are small and even distant from Australia: however this adds to, rather than detracting from, from the Council's legitimacy. In any case, this is a rather blinkered way to think about membership of the Council, which would bring us into intimate contact not only with the elected members but also with the permanent five. It is hard to argue that our national interest is not affected by the actions of great powers such as the US, China and Russia.

## **Conclusion**

The arguments that have been made against Australia's campaign for the Security Council are weak and largely ideological. They are also inconsistent with each other: supposedly we should refrain from compromising our foreign policy values, but also refrain from stating our opinion on contentious issues; elected membership of the Council is apparently both dangerous (because it would expose us to conflict with major powers) and irrelevant (because it would group us with minor powers).

In fact, the best argument for ending our candidacy would be if we had a negligible chance of winning. But while we have a reasonable chance, we should press on at speed.

A quarter of a century is long enough for Australia to be away from the Security Council chamber. This bid is not only well supported: it is also well advised.

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## NOTES

<sup>1</sup> Kevin Rudd, *Press Conference, United Nations, New York, 30 March 2008*: <http://www.pm.gov.au/node/5880>.

<sup>2</sup> The public pledges are as follows: Maxime Verhagen, *Speech at the Sydney Institute, 20 January 2009*: [http://www.minbuza.nl/en/News/Speeches\\_and\\_Articles/2009/January/Speech\\_by\\_the\\_Minister\\_of\\_Foreign\\_Affairs\\_Maxime\\_Verhagen\\_at\\_the\\_Sydney\\_Institute\\_20\\_January\\_2009](http://www.minbuza.nl/en/News/Speeches_and_Articles/2009/January/Speech_by_the_Minister_of_Foreign_Affairs_Maxime_Verhagen_at_the_Sydney_Institute_20_January_2009) (The Netherlands); Rwanda to support Australian bid for UN Security Council seat. *Australian Associated Press*, 15 June 2009 (Rwanda); Moses Wetang'ula, *Joint Press Conference with Moses Wetang'ula, Kenyan Minister for Foreign Affairs, 12 June 2009*: [http://www.foreignminister.gov.au/transcripts/2009/090612\\_pc.html](http://www.foreignminister.gov.au/transcripts/2009/090612_pc.html) (Kenya); Pacific Islands Forum, *Forum Communiqué, Alofi, Niue, 19-20 August 2008* at paragraph 32: <http://www.forumsec.org.fj/pages.cfm/newsroom/press-statements/2008/final-communicue-of-39th-pacific-leaders-forum-matavai-resort-niue.html> (Pacific Islands Forum countries). See also: France promises support for Australia's UNSC bid. *Australian Associated Press News*, 3 April 2008 (France) and *Media Release: Joint UK - Australia Statement, Progressive Plan of Action on Common Interests: Climate Change, Trade, Development and Global Institutions*, 7 April 2008: <http://www.pm.gov.au/node/5861> (the UK).

<sup>3</sup> United Nations Department of Peacekeeping Operations, *Fact sheet: United Nations peacekeeping*: <http://www.un.org/Depts/dpko/dpko/factsheet.pdf>. The estimate of Australian peacekeeper numbers is from the Appendix of David Horner, Peter Londey and Jean Bou, *Australian peacekeeping: sixty years in the field*. Port Melbourne, Cambridge University Press, 2009, pp 273-280.

<sup>4</sup> Michael Fullilove, *The testament of Solomons: RAMSI and international state-building*. Lowy Institute Analysis. Sydney, Lowy Institute for International Policy, 2006, p 14: <http://www.lowyinstitute.org/Publication.asp?pid=351>. Honiara's close diplomatic and economic relations with Taipei might have prompted a Chinese veto of a Security Council resolution on the issue, or at the very least seriously complicated its passage.

<sup>5</sup> United Nations Secretariat, *Assessment of Member States' contributions to the United Nations regular budget for the year 2009*: [http://www.un.org/ga/search/view\\_doc.asp?symbol=ST/ADM/SER.B/755](http://www.un.org/ga/search/view_doc.asp?symbol=ST/ADM/SER.B/755). The larger estimate includes Australia's contribution to the UN core budget, peacekeeping operations and the activities of the UN agencies. See e.g. Department of Foreign Affairs and Trade, *About Australia: peacekeeping and related peace operations 2009*: <http://www.dfat.gov.au/facts/peacekeeping.html>; United Nations General Assembly Economic and Social Council, *Comprehensive statistical analysis of the financing of operational activities for development of the United Nations system for 2006, 2008*, p 54: <http://www.globalpolicy.org/images/pdfs/0507comprehensive.pdf>.

<sup>6</sup> Chapter V, Article 23, *Charter of the United Nations*: <http://www.un.org/en/documents/charter/chapter5.shtml>.

<sup>7</sup> Paul Kennedy, Weak states and scofflaws have no business on the Security Council. *The Wall Street Journal*, 17 October 2008, p A13.

<sup>8</sup> Data taken from 2009 Lowy Institute Poll, forthcoming.

<sup>9</sup> James Morrow, UN is not fit to criticise. *The Australian*, 30 March 2005, p 11; Greg Sheridan, UN Expansion equals more uselessness. *The Australian*, 4 December 2004, p 22; Andrew Bolt, Resign? Hell yes. *The Herald Sun*, 1 April 2005, p 25; Piers Akerman, Advanced nations act as UN dithers. *The Hobart Mercury*, 10 January 2005, p 16; Greg Sheridan, Not much security in the palace of dreams. *The Sunday Telegraph*, 18 September 2005, p 87; Andrew Bolt, Our values cannot be so cheaply sold. Or defended with such hesitation. *The Adelaide Advertiser*, 18 March 2009, p 18.

<sup>10</sup> Harvey Morris, Obama move seals UN links, *Financial Times*, 9 September 2009, p 3.

<sup>11</sup> Greg Sheridan, A price too high to pay. *The Australian*, 7 March 2009, p 20; Julie Bishop, *Doorstop interview, Perth, 13 July 2009*: <http://www.julie-bishop.com/transcripts/135-doorstop-interview-perth.html>; Downer quoted in Philip Williams, Rudd vies for a place on UN Security Council, *7:30 Report*, 1 April 2008: <http://www.abc.net.au/7.30/content/2007/s2205224.htm>; Greg Sheridan, Howard abandons his push for UN Security Council seat. *The Australian*, 29 January 2004, p 4.

<sup>12</sup> Andrew Robb, A seat at the Security Council will cost Australia dearly. *The Age*, 11 April 2008, p 13; Greg Sheridan, A price too high to pay; Julie Bishop, *Media Release: Rudd Government must do more to help Merauke Five, 9 June 2009*: <http://www.julie-bishop.com/portfolio-media-releases/115-rudd-government-must-do-more-to-help-merauke-five.html>.

<sup>13</sup> See e.g. David Malone, Eyes on the prize: the quest for nonpermanent seats on the UN Security Council. *Global Governance* 6 (1) 2000, pp 3-23; Mary Whelan, Ireland's campaign for election in 2000 to the United Nations Security Council. *Administration* 50 (1) 2002, pp 3-40.

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<sup>14</sup> Piers Akerman, PM's spear-chucker is woefully off target. *The Daily Telegraph*, 10 March 2009, p 18. See also Greg Sheridan, A price too high to pay.

<sup>15</sup> Portfolio additional estimates statements 2008-09, Foreign Affairs and Trade portfolio, p 4: [http://www.dfat.gov.au/dept/budget/2008\\_2009\\_paes/2008-2009\\_paes.pdf](http://www.dfat.gov.au/dept/budget/2008_2009_paes/2008-2009_paes.pdf); Budget 2009-10, Part 2: Expense measures, Foreign Affairs and Trade: [http://www.budget.gov.au/2009-10/content/bp2/html/bp2\\_expense-15.htm](http://www.budget.gov.au/2009-10/content/bp2/html/bp2_expense-15.htm).

<sup>16</sup> Downer quoted in Philip Williams, Rudd vies for a place on UN Security Council; Glenn Milne. Hu forgotten in PM's hopeless UN quest. *The Australian*, 20 July 2009, p 10.

<sup>17</sup> I am grateful to Mark Thomson of ASPI for providing unit cost estimates of new ADF equipment.

<sup>18</sup> Alexander Downer, *The Sir Thomas Playford Memorial Lecture: Labor's Little Australia*, 23 August 2007: [http://www.foreignminister.gov.au/speeches/2007/070823\\_1la.html](http://www.foreignminister.gov.au/speeches/2007/070823_1la.html).

<sup>19</sup> Des Moore, Danger in UN seat. *The Australian*, 10 March 2009, p 10; James Ingram, *Speech to the Lowy Institute: Reforming the United Nations: an iconoclastic view from the inside*, 8 August 2007, p 7: <http://www.lowyinstitute.org/Publication.asp?pid=648>; Raoul Heinrichs, Canberra's UN Security Council Folly, *The Interpreter*, 28 July 2009:

<http://www.lowyinterpreter.org/post/2009/07/28/Canberra28099s-UN-Security-Council-folly.aspx>.

<sup>20</sup> Andrew Robb, A seat at the Security Council will cost Australia dearly.

<sup>21</sup> See Global Policy Forum, Subjects of UN Security Council vetoes.

<http://www.globalpolicy.org/security-council/tables-and-charts-on-the-security-council-0-82/subjects-of-un-security-council-vetoes.html>; David Malone, Introduction IN David Malone (ed.), *The UN Security Council: from the Cold War to the 21st century*. Boulder, Lynne Rienner, 2004, p 7. Substantive' vetoes excludes the vetoes cast as part of the UN Secretary-General selection process.

<sup>22</sup> Glenn Milne, Hu forgotten in PM's hopeless UN quest. *The Australian*, 20 July 2009, p 10.





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