

Professor Hugh White, AO

BA(Hons) (Melbourne), BPhil(Oxon)
Professor of Strategic Studies, School of International,
Political & Strategic Studies
ANU College of Asia and the Pacific



Hugh White AO is Professor of Strategic Studies at the Australian National University. His work focuses primarily on Australian strategic and defence policy, Asia-Pacific security issues, and global strategic affairs especially as they influence Australia and the Asia-Pacific. He has served as an intelligence analyst with the Office of National Assessments, as a journalist with the *Sydney Morning Herald*, as a senior adviser on the staffs of Defence Minister Kim Beazley and Prime Minister Bob Hawke, and as a senior official in the Department of Defence, where from 1995 to 2000 he was Deputy Secretary for Strategy and Intelligence, and as the first Director of the Australian Strategic Policy Institute (ASPI). In the 1970s he studied philosophy at Melbourne and Oxford Universities.

Career highlights

1985-1991 Senior Adviser to Defence Minister and Prime Minister; 1995-2000 Deputy Secretary for Strategy, Department of Defence; 2001-2004 Director of the Australian Strategic Policy Institute.

Publications

- [White, H 2017, 'Without America: Australia in the New Asia', Quarterly Essay, vol. 68, pp. 7pp..](#)
- [White, H 2017, 'The United States or China: 'We don't have to choose'', in Mark Beeson and Shahar Hamerri \(ed.\), Navigating the new international disorder: Australia in world affairs 2011 - 2015, Oxford University Press, Australia, pp. 93-108pp.](#)
- [White, H 2017, 'War and Order: Thinking About Military Force in International Affairs', in Nicholas Farrelly, Amy King, Michael Wesley and Hugh White \(ed.\), Muddy Boots & Smart Suits: Researching Asia-Pacific Affairs, ISEAS Publishing, Singapore, pp. 127-140pp.](#)
- [Farrelly, N, King, A, Wesley, M, and White, H, eds, 2017, Muddy Boots and Smart Suits: Researching Asia-Pacific Affairs, ISEAS Publishing, Singapore.](#)
- [Fealy, G & White, H 2016, 'Indonesia's 'Great Power' Aspirations: A Critical View', Asia & The Pacific Policy Studies, vol. 3, no. 1, pp. 92-100.](#)
- [King, A, Farrelly, N, Wesley, M et al, eds, 2016, Introduction to the Special Issue.](#)
- [White, H 2016, 'Weak and Mighty': Unravelling the Enigma of Soviet Power', in Desmond Ball and Sheryn Lee \(ed.\), Geography, Power, Strategy and Defence Policy: Essays in Honour of Paul Dibb, ANU Press, Canberra, pp. 155-170.](#)
- [White, H 2016, 'Robert O'Neill and the Birth of ASPI', in Daniel Marston and Tamara Leahy \(ed.\), War, strategy and history : essays in honour of professor Robert O'Neill, ANU Press, Canberra, pp. 251-264.](#)
- [White, H 2015, 'Why Australia invaded Iraq: a study in alliance management', in R Thakur, J Cunningham \(ed.\), Australia, Canada, and Iraq: perspectives on an invasion, Dundurn Press, Toronto, Canada, pp. 171-185.](#)
- [White, H 2015, 'Understanding Australia's Role Leading up to the Intervention', in J Blaxland \(ed.\), East Timor Intervention: A Retrospective on Interfet, Melbourne University Publishing Limited, South Carlton, pp. 26-38.](#)
- [White, H 2014, 'Coral Bell and the Concert of Power: Avoiding Armageddon', in Desmond Ball and Sheryn Lee \(ed.\), Power and International Relations: Essays in Honour of Coral Bell, ANU Press, Canberra, pp. 119-132.](#)

- [White, H 2014, 'Australia's Choices in the Asian Century', in David Shambaugh and Michael Yahuda \(ed.\), *International Relations of Asia \(2nd edition\)*, Rowman and Littlefield, Lanham, MD, USA and Plymouth, UK, pp. 247-266.](#)
- [White, H 2014, Neighbourhood Watch, pp. 48-49.](#)
- [White, H 2013, Northern Exposure: What the rise of Indonesia means for Australia, pp. 30-37.](#)
- [White, H 2013, 'The new security order', East Asia Forum Quarterly \(EAFQ\), vol. 5, no. 2, pp. 8-9.](#)
- [White, H 2013, 'Alliances and order in the "Asian Century"', in William T. Tow and Brendan Taylor \(ed.\), *Bilateralism, Multilateralism and Asia-Pacific Security: Contending Cooperation*, Routledge, Taylor & Francis Group, Abingdon and New York, pp. 157-168.](#)
- [White, H 2013, 'The Purpose of War', in Robert Manne \(ed.\), *The Best Australian Essays 2013*, Black Inc, Collingwood, Victoria, pp. 289-296.](#)
- [White, H 2013, 'Response to Commentary on The China Choice', Security Challenges, vol. 9, no. 1, pp. 43-49.](#)
- [White, H 2013, Old-world assumptions will cruel dealings with Australia, pp. 34-35.](#)
- [White, H 2012, *The China Choice: Why America Should Share Power*, Black Inc, Melbourne Australia.](#)
- [White, H 2012, The Idea of National Security: What Use is it to Policymakers?.](#)
- [White, H 2012, White-papering the cracks, pp. 10-14.](#)
- [White, H 2011, 'Power shift: rethinking Australia's place in the Asian century', Australian Journal of International Affairs, vol. 65, no. 1, pp. 81-93.](#)
- [White, H 2011, 'New Zealand's Strategic Options in the Asian Century: an Australian View', Security Challenges, vol. 7, no. 1, pp. 45-60.](#)
- [White, H 2011, Two reflections on Japan: The Foundering Miracle, pp. 34-35.](#)
- [White, H 2011, 'Book Review: Long march of complacency: coping with a resurgent China', International Studies, no. July-August 2011, pp. 9-10.](#)
- [White, H 2011, Comment: Summit Season, pp. 11-12.](#)
- [White, H 2011, 'The Future of the Australian Army', Security Challenges, vol. 7, no. 2, pp. 27-32.](#)
- [White, H 2011, 'Defence and Security', in James Cotton and John Ravenhill \(ed.\), *Middle Power Dreaming: Australia in World Affairs 2006-2010*, Oxford University Press, Australia, pp. 244-260.](#)
- [Arklay, T, Tiernan, A & White, H 2011, 'Advising Ministers - The Special Problem of Defence', Australian Journal of Public Administration, vol. 70, no. 4, pp. 365-376.](#)
- [Saikal, A 2011 \(ed.\), *The Afghanistan Conflict and Australia's Role*, Melbourne University Press, Melbourne.](#)
- [White, H 2010, 'The Trajectory and implications of China's continuing rise for Northeast Asian regional integration', *Toward an ideal Security State for Northeast Asia 2025*, ed. Gordon Flake, Maureen and Mike Mansfield Foundation, USA, pp. 145-159.](#)
- [White, H 2010, Nuclear Weapons and American Strategy in the age of Obama, Lowy Institute pp. 18.](#)
- [White, H 2007, Looking After Australians Overseas, Lowy Institute for International Policy.](#)
- [White, H 2010, 'Geostrategic implications of China's growth', East Asia Forum Quarterly \(EAFQ\), vol. 2, no. 1, pp. 14-15.](#)
- [White, H 2010, *Power Shift: Australia's Future between Washington and Beijing*, Quarterly Essay No 39. Black Inc, Collingwood Victoria.](#)
- [White, H 2010, Comment: The Defence Minister, The Monthly.](#)
- [White, H & Taylor, B 2009, 'A rising China and American perturbations', in William T Tow \(ed.\), *Security Politics in the Asia-Pacific: A Regional-Global Nexus?*, Cambridge University Press, Cambridge, UK, pp. 85-98.](#)

- [White, H 2009, 'The geo-strategic implications of China's growth', in Ross Garnaut, Ligang Song and Wing Thye Woo \(ed.\), *China's New Place in a World in Crisis: Economic, Geopolitical and Environmental Dimensions*, ANU ePress, Canberra Australia, pp. 89-102.](#)
- [White, H 2009, 'Australia's Different Defence Policy', *Survival*, vol. 51, no. 5, pp. 173-183.](#)
- [White, H 2009, 'Defence policy in the Asian century', *New Zealand International Review*, vol. XXXIV, no. 2, pp. 2-7.](#)
- [White, H 2009, 'A Wobbly Bridge: Strategic Interests and Objectives in Force 2030', *Security Challenges*, vol. 5, no. 2, pp. 21-29.](#)
- [White, H 2009, *A focused force: Australia's Defence priorities in the Asian century*, Longueville Media, Sydney Australia.](#)
- [White, H 2009, Comment: Afghanistan, *The Monthly*.](#)
- [White, H 2009, Less bluster, more listening, *Australian Book Review*.](#)
- [White, H 2009, Tricky business. A major new history of Australia in the Great War \(Book Review: *A History of Australian Defence and Foreign Policy*\), *Australian Book Review*.](#)
- [White, H 2009, Turning a Mouse into an Elephant, *The Monthly*. *Australian Politics, Society & Culture*.](#)
- [White, H 2008, 'The new defence white paper: Why we need it, and what it needs to do', in unknown \(ed.\), *Perspectives*, Unknown, unknown, pp. 1-15pp.](#)
- [White, H 2008, 'Strategic Interests in Australian Defence Policy: Some Historical and Methodological Reflections', *Security Challenges*, vol. 4, no. 2, pp. 63-79.](#)
- [White, H 2008, 'Security, prosperity, and defence', *Keynotes*, vol. 9, pp. 14-18.](#)
- [White, H 2008, 'Defence', in Robert Manne \(ed.\), *Dear Mr Rudd: Ideas for a better Australia*, Black Inc, Melbourne, pp. 99-113.](#)
- [White, H 2008, 'Book Review: Burdens of War', *Australian Book Review*, vol. tba, pp. 29-30.](#)
- [White, H 2008, 'Intelligence, Policy, and the Failure to Forecast Risk', in Patrick M Cronin \(ed.\), *The Impenetrable Fog of War: Reflections on MODern Warfare and Strategic surprise*, Praeger Security International, USA, pp. 153-163.](#)
- [White, H 2008, 'Why War in Asia Remains Thinkable', *Survival*, vol. 50, no. 6, pp. 85-104.](#)
- [White, H 2008, 'The Road to INTERFET: Reflections on Australian Strategic Decisions Concerning East Timor, December 1998-September 1999', *Security Challenges*, vol. 4, no. 1, pp. 69-87.](#)
- [White, H 2008, 'From Bean-Counter to War Leader: National Security and Australian Public Leadership', in Paul t'Hart and John Uhr \(ed.\), *Public Leadership: Perspectives and Practices*, ANU ePress, Canberra Australia, pp. 155-164.](#)
- [White, H 2008, 'Australia in Asia: Exploring the Conditions for Security in the Asian Century', in David Shambaugh and Michael Yahuda \(ed.\), *International Relations of Asia*, Rowman & Littlefield Publishers Inc., USA, pp. 215-233.](#)
- [White, H 2007, 'Trilateralism and Australia: Australia and the Trilateral strategic dialogue with America and Japan', in W Tow, M Thomson, Y Yamamoto and S Limaye \(ed.\), *Asia-Pacific Security: US, Australia and Japan and the New Security Triangle*, Routledge, Taylor & Francis Group, UK, pp. 101-111.](#)
- [White, H 2007, 'America's bind', *Australian Book Review*, vol. tba, pp. 22-24.](#)
- [White, H 2007, 'Great Power Gambits to secure Asia's peace', *Far Eastern Economic Review*, vol. 170, no. 1, pp. 7-11.](#)
- [White, H 2007, 'In Support of Accommodation. An Australian View of US Policy toward China', in Jonathan D Pollack \(ed.\), *Asia Eyes America: regional perspectives on U.S. Asia-Pacific strategy in the twenty-first century*, Naval War College Press, Newport, Rhode Island, pp. 153-168.](#)

- [White, H 2007, 'Australia-South Pacific', in Brendan Taylor \(ed.\), *Australia as an Asia-Pacific regional power: Friendships in Flux?*, Routledge, Taylor & Francis Group, United Kingdom, pp. 117-128.](#)
- [White, H 2007, 'Book review: Ethical Realism', Australian Book Review, vol. 01/03/2007, pp. 22-24.](#)
- [White, H 2007, 'Four Decades of the Defence of Australia: Reflections on Australian Defence Policy over the Past 40 years', in Ron Huisken and Meredith Thatcher \(ed.\), *History as Policy: Framing the debate on the future of Australia's Defence Policy*, ANU ePress, Canberra, ACT, pp. 163-161.](#)
- [White, H 2007, 'New nuke rules', The Diplomat, vol. 6, no. 3, p. 39.](#)
- [White, H 2007, 'Civilian Immunity in the Precision-Guidance Age', in Igor Primoratz \(ed.\), *Civilian Immunity in War*, Oxford University Press, United Kingdom, pp. 182-200.](#)
- [White, H 2007, 'Security, defence, and terrorism', in James Cotton and John Ravenhill \(ed.\), *Trading on Alliance Security: Australia in World Affairs 2001-2005*, Oxford University Press, Melbourne, Victoria, pp. 173-191.](#)
- [White, H 2007, 'Japan's Welcome to Arms', The Diplomat, vol. 6, no. 1, pp. 72-74.](#)
- [White, H 2007, Anzac, our Achilles heel?, The Age.](#)
- [White, H 2007, Australia's Rudd Awakening, Far Eastern Economic Review.](#)
- [White, H 2007, Defence faces a deficit deeper than our pockets, The Sydney Morning Herald.](#)
- [White, H 2007, Don't mention the bomb, The Age.](#)
- [White, H 2007, New hero, same villain, The Age.](#)
- [White, H 2007, Pursuit of naval capability heads Blair, Howard in different directions, The Sydney Morning Herald.](#)
- [White, H 2007, The new nuclear arms race, The Age.](#)
- [White, H 2007, The road to Tehran, The Age.](#)
- [White, H 2007, Trying to recover the plot, The Age.](#)
- [White, H 2006, 'Into the breach', The Diplomat, vol. 5, no. 1, pp. 34-35.](#)
- [White, H 2006, 'SDSC at 40: History, Policy and Scholarship', in M Thatcher, D Ball \(ed.\), *A National Asset: Essays commemorating the 40th Anniversary of the Strategic and Defence Studies Centre*, Australian National University, Canberra Australia, pp. 99-108.](#)
- [White, H 2006, 'Old, New or Both? Australia's Security Agendas at the Start of the New Century', in Derek McDougall & Peter Shearman \(ed.\), *Australian security after 9/11: new and old agendas*, Ashgate Publishing Ltd, Hampshire, UK, pp. 13-27.](#)
- [White, H 2006, 'Muscular atrophy in the Pacific enough brawn, too little brain', The Diplomat, vol. 5, no. 5, pp. 30-31.](#)
- [White, H 2006, *Beyond the Defence of Australia*, Longueville Media, Sydney Australia.](#)
- [White, H 2006, 'The New Australia-Indonesia Strategic Relationship: A Note of Caution', in John Monfries \(ed.\), *Different Societies, shared futures: Australia, Indonesia and the Region*, Institute of Southeast Asian Studies \(ISEAS\), Singapore, pp. 41-53.](#)
- [White, H 2006, 'Studying strategy today', in Robert Ayson, Desmond Ball \(ed.\), *Strategy and Security in the Asia-Pacific*, Allen & Unwin, Sydney, pp. 3-9.](#)
- [White, H 2006, A rising China tests Australia's ties, The Age.](#)
- [White, H 2006, At last the army's getting what it needs most: more troops, The Age.](#)
- [White, H 2006, Autonomy a better deal for Papuans, The Sydney Morning Herald.](#)
- [White, H 2006, Back to the future of keeping peace in the neighbourhood, The Sydney Morning Herald.](#)
- [White, H 2006, Defence: the graveyard of political ambition, The Age.](#)

- [White, H 2006, Howard's Iraq policy is about helping mates, not the Iraqi people, The Sydney Morning Herald.](#)
- [White, H 2006, Iraq: the doomed adventure, The Age.](#)
- [White, H 2006, It's the fighter we have to have, The Sydney Morning Herald.](#)
- [White, H 2006, Just who's afraid of China?, The Age.](#)
- [White, H 2006, Moti affair offers a lesson for a short-sighted neighbour, The Sydney Morning Herald.](#)
- [White, H 2006, No way out of this debacle, The Age.](#)
- [White, H 2006, PM's foreign faces, The Age.](#)
- [White, H 2006, Security has to be what we need, not what we fancy, The Sydney Morning Herald.](#)
- [White, H 2006, Stronger China, tougher Japan make for stand-off, The Age.](#)
- [White, H 2006, Terrorism a threat, but not to our way of life, The Age.](#)
- [White, H 2006, The Lombok Pact's Empty Promise, Far Eastern Economic Review.](#)
- [White, H 2006, The looming conflict over West Papua, The Age.](#)
- [White, H 2006, The new - and old - threats beyond defence of Australia, The Sydney Morning Herald.](#)
- [White, H 2006, The real battle is far from the battlefield, The Sydney Morning Herald.](#)
- [White, H 2006, We'll need a lot of luck to beat the odds in East Timor, The Sydney Morning Herald.](#)
- [White, H 2005, Why Australia needs a much bigger army, pp. 1pp.](#)
- [White, H 2005, Torn between the panda and Uncle Sam, pp. 3pp.](#)
- [White, H 2005, Lets rebuild trust in our ties with PNG.](#)
- [White, H 2005, A decision that was probably inevitable.](#)
- [White, H 2005, Peter Cosgrove will be a hard act to follow, pp. 1pp.](#)
- [White, H 2005, US may play hardball with Australia over China ties.](#)
- [White, H 2005, Handling China delicately, pp. 1pp.](#)
- [White, H 2005, Defences white-out.](#)
- [White, H 2005, More than a dose of flu.](#)
- [White, H 2005, Howard's Asian balancing act, pp. 1pp.](#)
- [White, H 2005, Pacific Plan puts Howard to the test, pp. 11pp.](#)
- [White, H 2005, How awful is this threat?.](#)
- [White, H 2005, Learning to live with terror in our own land.](#)
- [White, H 2005, Primal Fears, Primal Ambitions, pp. 32-36pp.](#)
- [White, H 2005, 'Australia and Iraq', The Diplomat, vol. 4, no. 1, p. 8.](#)
- [White, H 2005, 'Australian Strategic Policy', in Ashley J Tellis and Michael Wills \(ed.\), *Military Modernization in an Era of Uncertainty*, National Bureau of Asian Research, United States of America, pp. 305-331.](#)
- [White, H 2005, Without answers, terror laws should be rejected, pp. 2pp.](#)
- [White, H 2005, 'The Limits to Optimism: Australia and the Rise of China', Australian Journal of International Affairs, vol. 59, no. 4, pp. 496-480.](#)
- [White, H 2005, No good reason to build these ships here, pp. 13pp.](#)
- [White, H 2005, 'Big, Slippery Ideas: A cautionary tale about the perils of paradigms', The Diplomat, vol. 4, no. 5, pp. 30-32.](#)
- [White, H 2005, Rethink should sink navy's new ships, pp. 1pp.](#)
- [White, H 2005, 'The Ethics of Invasion: Jus ad Bellum and Iraq', in Tony Coady and Michael O'Keefe \(ed.\), *Righteous Violence: The Ethics and Politics of Military Intervention*, Melbourne University Press \(an imprint of Melbourne University Publishing\), Melbourne, Australia, pp. 32-50.](#)
- [White, H 2005, The concern is no longer if, but when, pp. 2pp.](#)
- [White, H 2005, Australia's new debate on PNG, tba.](#)
- [White, H 2005, Defence review threatens to diminish Australia's strategic clout, tba, p. 13.](#)

- [White, H 2005, New Zealand's niche force is smart defence, tba.](#)
- [White, H 2004, Tanks and talks: the hard-hitting way to win modern battles, p. 15.](#)
- [White, H 2004, Howard must risk his interests for the sake of the nations, pp. 13pp.](#)
- [White, H 2002, 'Australian Defence Policy and the Possibility of War', Australian Journal of International Affairs, vol. 56, no. 2, pp. 55-76.](#)