

# **WAR, STRATEGY & HISTORY**

ESSAYS IN HONOUR OF  
PROFESSOR ROBERT O'NEILL



# WAR, STRATEGY & HISTORY

ESSAYS IN HONOUR OF  
PROFESSOR ROBERT O'NEILL

EDITED BY DANIEL MARSTON  
AND TAMARA LEAHY



Australian  
National  
University

---

P R E S S



Published by ANU Press  
The Australian National University  
Acton ACT 2601, Australia  
Email: [anupress@anu.edu.au](mailto:anupress@anu.edu.au)  
This title is also available online at [press.anu.edu.au](http://press.anu.edu.au)

---

National Library of Australia Cataloguing-in-Publication entry

Title: War, strategy and history : essays in honour of professor  
Robert O'Neill / editors: Daniel  
Marston, Tamara Leahy.  
ISBN: 9781760460235 (paperback) 9781760460242 (ebook)  
Subjects: O'Neill, Robert J. (Robert John), 1936-  
Strategy.  
War.  
Military history.  
Festschriften--Australia.  
Other Creators/Contributors:  
Marston, Daniel, editor.  
Leahy, Tamara, editor.  
Dewey Number: 355.02

---

All rights reserved. No part of this publication may be reproduced, stored in a retrieval system or transmitted in any form or by any means, electronic, mechanical, photocopying or otherwise, without the prior permission of the publisher.

Cover design and layout by ANU Press.

Cover photograph: THE XUYEN MOC BATON. This hand-carved baton was presented to Captain Bob O'Neill by the commander of Xuyen Moc District, Phuoc Tuy Province, Vietnam, Captain Duc, on 4 October 1966. O'Neill made the first visit to this isolated outpost by allied personnel after the arrival of the 1st Australian Task Force in the province. Bob, his interpreter and assistant, and RAAF helicopter pilot and co-pilot, had no confirmation that they were flying into and landing in a secure area. All went well and Captain Duc showed his gratitude by presenting O'Neill with this baton just before departure. Photograph: Stuart Hay.

This edition © 2016 ANU Press

# Contents

List of Acronyms and Abbreviations . . . . .	vii
Foreword . . . . .	ix
Michael Howard	
1. Exploring Political–Military Relations: Nazi Germany . . . . .	1
Gaines Post	
2. Vietnam: A Winnable War? . . . . .	15
Ashley Ekins	
3. The Vietnam Chapter . . . . .	31
Tony White	
4. A Strategic Career . . . . .	39
Desmond Ball	
5. Robert O'Neill and Australian Security Policy . . . . .	47
Paul Dibb	
6. Robert O'Neill and the Australian Official War Histories: Policy and Diplomacy . . . . .	61
Peter Edwards	
7. The Evolution of Australian Official War Histories. . . . .	73
David Horner	
8. The Postwar Evolution of the Field of Strategic Studies: Robert O'Neill in Context . . . . .	91
Catherine McArdle Kelleher	
9. Strategic Studies in Britain and the Cold War's Last Decade. . .	107
Lawrence Freedman	
10. The Uncomfortable Wars of the 1990s . . . . .	127
John Nagl and Octavian Manea	
11. A Mission Too Far? NATO and Afghanistan, 2001–2014. . . . .	155
Mats Berdal	

12.	Theory and Practice, Art and Science in Warfare: An Etymological Note . . . . .	179
	Beatrice Heuser	
13.	A Pivotal Moment for Global Nuclear Arms Control and Disarmament Policies: The Contribution of Robert O'Neill . . . . .	197
	Marianne Hanson	
14.	Robert O'Neill's Institutional Leadership: The End of the Cold War and the Re-emergence of a Global World Order . . . .	217
	John Hillen	
15.	Lessons for Iraq and Afghanistan . . . . .	235
	Carter Malkasian and Daniel Marston	
16.	Robert O'Neill and the Birth of ASPI . . . . .	251
	Hugh White	
17.	The Rumble of Think Tanks: National Security and Public Policy Contestability in Australia . . . . .	265
	Allan Gyngell	
18.	Australian Thinking About Asia . . . . .	285
	Michael Wesley	
	Contributors . . . . .	301
	Index . . . . .	309