

# Strategic policing

## in a complex security environment

**Mick Keelty**

### **The interplay of crime and security**

Over the last three years the role of the Australian Federal Police (AFP) has expanded significantly in response to changes in the international crime environment and its interplay with our wider national security requirements. Over the last twelve months we have had the Madrid train bombings, the sentencing of key Bali bombers and the bombing attack on the J.W. Marriott Hotel in Jakarta. Within Australia we have had the first person to be sentenced for terrorism-related offences. We've also had new measures to promote security in aviation, border protection and intelligence gathering—not only here in Australia but also overseas.

While we might, of necessity, have had a very tactical and immediate response to a lot of events and threats over the last three years, it is time for us to start thinking about how we can be more strategic over the long term.

Despite setbacks, such as the recent bombing of our embassy in Jakarta, a snapshot of law enforcement progress to date shows that international terrorist cells have been disrupted in our region and key terrorist figures arrested. There have been over 36 arrests directly related to the Bali bombings and over 15 directly related to the Marriott bombings, which was in fact only 12 months ago in August last year.

We have gained new understandings of how terrorist cells are operating, including a solid appreciation of Jemaah Islamiyah—its goals, structures, organisation, and regional linkages with such other groups as the Moro Islamic Liberation Front and the Abu Sayaf Group, both working out of the southern Philippines.

Here at home the Australian Government has committed more than \$3 billion to security initiatives in recent years. The Australian Security Industry Association conservatively estimates further spending to be about \$4 billion annually on private security measures to protect our homes, our businesses and our belongings.

### **Strategic partnerships**

For the Australian Federal Police, one of the biggest lessons learned from this new security environment has been the importance of investing in strategic partnerships. One of the realities of fighting most forms of crime in today's world is that it simply can't be done

alone. Borders are often rendered meaningless when it comes to crime.

A key strategic partnership has evolved from the long-term relationship that has developed between the Australian Federal Police and the Indonesian National Police (INP) over the last 20 years or so. It began back in the late 1970s when the AFP established a presence in Indonesia to step up the fight against illicit drugs. The original aim was to prevent offshore drugs from reaching Australia in the first place and we have met with considerable success in this regard.

The relationship we established with Indonesia many, many years ago based upon drug crimes has given us an opportunity to develop a deep understanding and appreciation of the people of Indonesia, of their culture and the conditions under which the INP works.

Whilst we in Australia might think that our system of government works for us here, there is no way known our system of government will work in the same way in a country like Indonesia, or indeed many other countries in the world. To have a country which is an archipelago of many thousands of islands—some people counted up to 15,000 islands—and not have a strong centralist government would simply just not work.

You wouldn't know that if you were sitting here trying to understand it from just our perspective. You must live and work offshore to get an understanding of what life is like in some of these countries. We need to get away from finger pointing and try and understand more about the issues confronting the countries of our region. Sometimes these are not the issues that we think are the highest priority.

In this part of the world, in my view, it is not so much the business that you do but how you do your business that is critically important to your organisation. The AFP has had to work hard over a long period of time to distinguish ourselves from other countries working in the region, to eliminate duplication and try to find a niche.

The deep sense of mutual trust and understanding between the AFP and INP was built up long before the Bali bombings brought us even closer together professionally and strategically. Even when the AFP were invited to participate with the United Nations as part of

the UN mission monitoring the East Timor ballot, one of the things that I did—I wasn't head of the AFP at the time—was to always make sure that every time I went to East Timor I had a stop-over in Jakarta, on the way in to Dili and again on the way out of Dili. That was in recognition of their sovereignty. I think if there is any single thing I did correctly it was probably that, because it gave me some sort of insight into what was important, in a value sense, to the Indonesians.

## **Cultivating full partnerships**

Another of the key lessons the AFP has learned about doing business in Indonesia is that you have to do some things that are very much part of Indonesian culture, and indeed the culture of Asia. I have just returned from my second invitation to the ASEAN Police Conference (ASEANAPOL). The first time anyone from Australia was invited to ASEANAPOL was last year. This year it was hosted by Thailand.

A critical thing you have to do for such interaction is learn how to play golf and learn how to sing Karaoke. Fairways and putting greens are very much where high-level negotiation takes place. If you can get an opportunity to spend four-and-a-half hours of quality time with someone, without officials around, it can actually deliver enormous benefits.

One of the things very much in the forefront of Australia's mind, going back to just before the Bali bombings, was the issue of people smuggling. The arrangements in this regard that we had with the Indonesian National Police were set aside at the time of the bombing during our focus on that tragedy. We have subsequently worked hard to get those arrangements back together.

Some six months before the Bali bombings, I invited the head of the INP, General Dai Bachtiar to play golf. Just to give some perspective, the AFP is an organisation that has an annual budget of about \$A900 million and only about 5000 staff. We are in every capital city of Australia and in 26 countries (and 33 cities) overseas, which doesn't include the personnel we have got in the Solomon Islands and the personnel we are about to deploy in Papua New Guinea. My counterpart in Indonesia is a Cabinet Minister. He has at the moment 270,000 police and it is about to increase to 300,000. So to compare the two of us is just extraordinarily wrong. We both work in very different ways.

It is important that relationships are built up on a personal level. Whilst Memoranda of Understanding or arrangements can be very symbolic, to make them more meaningful you have to really build up that personal and professional relationship. Six months before the Bali bombings, General Dai Bachtiar and I were playing a game of golf and he raised with me the problems he was having in Aceh and Ambon.

He is a very devout Muslim. He knew that I was a Christian. We talked about how you could get Christians and Muslims together. He was very sincere about it and very sincere about the capacity of his own police force to deal with the problems in Aceh and Ambon. We talked

about our assistance with capacity building in terms of post-blast analysis, and some of the other forensic examination skills that we might be able to pass on.

In fact, on the 13th of October 2002 we were due to start the first post-blast analysis forensic course in Jakarta. Our forensic police were on their way from Singapore down to Jakarta on the night of the Bali bombings. When the bombings happened General Dai Bachtiar rang me and said: 'Do you remember the golf game we had? Remember terrorism? This is what has happened to me. I need your help'. You can do business in the region but you really must develop the relationships, before the business, to make a difference.

## **Broadening strategic partnerships**

There is another side to the Bali bombings that is very difficult to talk about publicly, but is important to mention. We commissioned a study by the Centre for International Economics on the economic cost of the Bali bombings. I have a real interest in this because in many of the countries that we operate in there is a large investment by Australian companies trying to develop their business in these regions. Such companies are calling upon us more often than not now to talk about what the local security environment is like.

The Centre for International Economics tells us that the cost of the Bali bombings at an economic level is about \$3 billion. This figure includes the short and long-term costs, including the emergency response of about \$200 million, property destruction of more than \$6 million, and investigation and flow-on costs to industries. Whilst those costs might seem large, they could have been much worse had there not been early intervention and early arrests. We need to acknowledge the work done by the INP to actually get through the investigation at quite an impressive pace.

It also demonstrated the enormous value of bilateral and multi-lateral arrangements. When the Marriott bombing happened, General Dai Bachtiar rang again to ask for assistance from the Australian Federal Police working in Indonesia.

The other thing that this close professional relationship has done for us, is that it has helped the AFP to work closer with other countries in the region. We have now established memoranda of understanding with the Philippines, Thailand, Cambodia, East Timor and Fiji. In the Philippines, for example, the day that we signed the MOU a very infamous terrorist, Al Ghazi, escaped from jail. Whilst there was some criticism of the circumstances of that escape, the incident actually highlights the reason why we are there providing capacity building to some of the developing police organisations in the region.

We have also done other things in Indonesia in recent times. We have opened up the Jakarta Centre for Law Enforcement Operations, a \$38 million project over four years. This is a regional centre that will enhance the law enforcement capacity of the region—not only for Indonesia and Australia. That will help regional police forces with investigations, criminal intelligence, forensics, financial investigations, prosecutions, as well as legislative drafting

skills in the area of counter-terrorism.

This initiative has attracted significant attention from the European Union, which is a major donor in the region but often does not have the facility through which to donate.

We are also trying to set the centre up to deal with training police in countering maritime crime. This is a real issue in the straits around Indonesia; as is people smuggling and the trafficking of women and children for sexual servitude. The centre will develop strong links with the South East Asian Regional Centre for Counter-terrorism, based in Kuala Lumpur, and also the International Law Enforcement Academy in Bangkok. The Australian Federal Police has also established a transnational crime co-ordination centre in Indonesia, which will now link into co-ordination centres that we have established throughout the South Pacific.

## Regional assistance operations

A lot of the experiences that we have gained out of our work in Indonesia have helped us to set up for regional assistance deployments to places like the Solomon Islands—where gaining an understanding of local conditions, the different priorities and the way of doing business, and local sovereignty, has been so important.

July the 24th was the 12-month anniversary of the Australian-led regional intervention in the Solomon Islands. For a country that was in the state that it was in at that time, it is significant to note that not one crime has been committed using a firearm since the intervention force was committed. This marked increase in the law and order situation has made a huge difference for the people of the Solomon Islands.

The success of this regional assistance deployment has led us to create what is now called the International Deployment Group in the AFP. One of the problems confronting us as an organisation, but also a wider problem internationally, particularly with the United Nations, is that you can often—anywhere in the world—tap into defence resources, but it is very difficult to tap into experienced police resources. If you think about it, most communities need the policing skills and resources they have at home. Even where there are some 'spare' police, the idea of sending police in large numbers offshore is not one that is attractive to many communities, because they believe that the more police that are available on the ground, the safer their community is going to be.

At the beginning of this year we therefore created the International Deployment Group. We are trying to build up a contingency body of state and federal police—up to 500 strong—so that we can deploy to places like the Solomon Islands. A contingent has just left for Bougainville as part of the wider deployment to Papua New Guinea.

## Rethinking the fight against crime

On the domestic front, Bali also got us to think 'outside the square' a little bit. We realise even more now that fighting crime is not about just law enforcement. The private sector and academic institutions have a very valuable role in helping guide our law enforcement policy

to promote prevention and knowledge-based responses.

One of the initiatives announced in recent months is the creation of the Business–Government Advisory Group on national security. This group will encourage dialogue between government and peak business leaders on national security matters. Some organisations will get access to intelligence and I think this will be very much mutually beneficial. Business, after all, is an excellent source of information on what is going on in the community. It employs large numbers of people and has wide exposure to the public. Business also relies on government to promote the stability that underpins their activities.

The AFP has been doing a number of things to build relationships with business. As we all know, high-tech crime is one of the fastest growing areas of crime. A recent survey of computer security operations amongst our private and public sector organisations found that 49 per cent of those agencies last year experienced electronic attacks that harmed data confidentiality, the integrity of the system or the system availability in some way.

One of the other things we have been doing, which is very much focused on business outcomes, has been to commence some strategic partnerships with some of the universities. We have got joint research on illicit drugs with the Australian National University. We have done some analysis on the return on investment from various AFP operations. For every dollar that is invested in an AFP drug operation, about \$5 in value is returned to the community. For every dollar that is invested in a fraud investigation in the AFP there is about \$6 returned to the community.

We have just engaged the University of Queensland to do a similar assessment of the dollar value of the money we have invested into counter-terrorism. That is along with work we are doing with Deakin University, the University of Wollongong, and Charles Sturt University. We are trying to get some empirical understanding of some of the things we have engaged ourselves in.

## The long haul

Significant progress in securing our strategic and social environments is being made. But it is going to be a long haul. Matters of philosophy and ideology, and our understanding of what is going on, all play a part. Often we too quickly categorise groups and institutions and do not understand what the real long-term issues are. For example, who would have thought that the IRA, which was responsible for so much terrorism in years gone by, would now have the constitutional and post-violence position that it now has? Whilst we were happy to celebrate the end of the Cold War and the depolarisation of the world, in the current climate we need to be careful not to let the instability and uncertainty created by terrorism drag us back into a divided world. We need to avoid a world where communities are pitted against each other—generations against generations, or children against adults, or countries against countries—based on religious or ideological grounds.

There is some other work that we need to do. There are many countries in our region, particularly in the South Pacific, who have been left behind in globalisation's wake. They do not have too many opportunities to choose the relevant path, or an easier path, particularly when it comes to wider international problems such as money laundering.

Recently I have been involved in a project involving an architect—for whom I have enormous regard—and she got me to read a book entitled *The Clock of the Long Now*. In this book there is a quote by a mathematician, Freeman Dyson, which in terms of the long haul sums up our strategic and social perspectives very accurately.

*The destiny of our species is shaped by the imperatives of survival on six different time scales. To survive means to compete successfully on all of the six time scales. But the unit of survival is different on all six time scales.*

*On a time scale of years, the unit is the individual.*

[I guess we could compare ourselves three years ago, two years ago, one year ago, to that.]

*On a time scale of decades, the unit is the family.*

*On a time scale of centuries, the unit is the tribe or the nation.*

*On a time scale of millennia, the unit is the culture.*

*On a time scale of tens of millennia, the unit is the species.*

*On a time scale of eons, the unit is the whole web of life on our planet.*

*Every human being is the product of adaptation to the demands of all six time scales.*

*This is why conflicting loyalties are deep in our nature.*

*In order to survive, we have needed to be loyal to ourselves, to our families, to our tribes, to our cultures, to our species and to our planet. If our psychological impulses are complicated, it is because they were shaped by the complicated and conflicting demands.*

So, in essence, we now need to think about the challenges we confront in a big picture context. We face a lot of challenges and none of them will be resolved overnight. The one thing that should guide us all is that everything we do today should be based upon making a better future for the generations that follow us, regardless of who they are or where they are. ♦

*Commissioner Mick Keelty, APM, has been the head of the Australian Federal Police since April 2001. In recognition of the close co-operation between the AFP and the Indonesian National Police he was awarded the Bintang Bhayangkara Utama Medal by President Megawati Sukarnoputri in 2003. This article was based on his speech to the UNSW Homeland Security Conference in Canberra on 24 August 2004 (before the bombing of the Australian embassy in Jakarta on 9 September 2004).*

## Conference Calendar

ADA members and other *Defender* readers may be interested in the following public conferences and activities:

### Homeland Security Seminar

Implications for National Security of a Labor Victory  
27 September 2004, National Press Club, Canberra  
Enquiries: (02) 6161-5143 or [www.homelandsecurity.org.au](http://www.homelandsecurity.org.au)

### Land Warfare Conference 2004

Weapons, Webs and Warfighter  
27-30 September 2004, Melbourne Convention and Exhibition Centre  
Enquiries: (08) 8259-5455 or [www.dsto.defence.gov.au/corporate/conferences/landwarfare](http://www.dsto.defence.gov.au/corporate/conferences/landwarfare)

### Chief of Army History Conference 2004

Battles Near and Far: Operational Deployment in Theory and Practice  
14-15 October 2004, National Convention Centre, Canberra  
Enquiries: (02) 6266-2744 or [www.army.gov.au/ahu/events](http://www.army.gov.au/ahu/events)

### Australian Institute of Professional Intelligence Officers 13<sup>th</sup> Annual Conference

Success involves more than luck. It requires intelligence  
19-21 October 2004, Hilton-on-the-Park, Melbourne  
Enquiries: (03) 6234-1424

### International Quality and Productivity Centre

3<sup>rd</sup> Annual Defence Integrated Materiel Support Conference  
16-17 November 2004, National Convention Centre, Canberra  
Enquiries: (02) 9223-2600 or [www.iqpc.com.au/DefenceIQ](http://www.iqpc.com.au/DefenceIQ)

### International Quality and Productivity Centre

Network-Centric Warfare Conference 2004  
24-25 November 2004, Australian Defence Force Academy, Canberra  
Enquiries: (02) 9223-2600 or [www.iqpc.com.au/DefenceIQ](http://www.iqpc.com.au/DefenceIQ)

### Australian International Airshow 2005

15-20 March 2005, Avalon Airport, Melbourne  
Enquiries: (03) 5282-0500 or [www.airshow.net.au](http://www.airshow.net.au)