Security, Strategy and Military Change in the 21st Century

Cross-regional perspectives

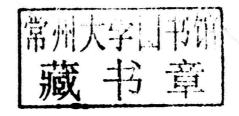
Edited by Jo Inge Bekkevold, Ian Bowers and Michael Raska



# Security, Strategy and Military Change in the 21st Century

Cross-regional perspectives

Edited by Jo Inge Bekkevold, Ian Bowers and Michael Raska





First published 2015 by Routledge 2 Park Square, Milton Park, Abingdon, Oxon OX14 4RN

and by Routledge 711 Third Avenue, New York, NY 10017

Routledge is an imprint of the Taylor & Francis Group, an informa business

© 2015 selection and editorial matter, Jo Inge Bekkevold, Ian Bowers and Michael Raska; individual chapters, the contributors

The right of the editor to be identified as the author of the editorial matter, and of the authors for their individual chapters, has been asserted in accordance with sections 77 and 78 of the Copyright, Designs and Patents Act 1988.

All rights reserved. No part of this book may be reprinted or reproduced or utilized in any form or by any electronic, mechanical, or other means, now known or hereafter invented, including photocopying and recording, or in any information storage or retrieval system, without permission in writing from the publishers.

Trademark notice. Product or corporate names may be trademarks or registered trademarks, and are used only for identification and explanation without intent to infringe.

British Library Cataloguing-in-Publication Data A catalogue record for this book is available from the British Library

Library of Congress Cataloging-in-Publication Data
Security, strategy and military change in the 21st century: crossregional perspectives / edited by Jo Inge Bekkevold, Ian Bowers and
Michael Raska.

pages cm. - (Cass military studies)

Includes bibliographical references and index.

1. National security-Case studies. 2. Armed Forces-

Reorganization-Case studies. 3. Military policy-Case studies.

4. Strategy. 5. Security, International. I. Bekkevold, Jo Inge, editor of compilation. II. Bowers, Ian, editor of compilation. III. Raska, Michael, editor of compilation.

UA10.5.S37356 2015

355'.033-dc23

2014045470

ISBN: 978-1-138-83265-7 (hbk) ISBN: 978-1-315-73589-4 (ebk)

Typeset in Baskerville

by Wearset Ltd, Boldon, Tyne and Wear



### Security, Strategy and Military Change in the 21st Century

This edited volume explores and analyses strategic thinking, military reform and adaptation in an era of Asian growth, European austerity and US rebalancing.

A significant shift in policy, strategy and military affairs is underway in both Asia and Europe, with the former gaining increasing prominence in the domain of global security. At the same time, the world's powers are now faced with an array of diverse challenges. The resurgence of great power politics in both Europe and Asia, along with the long-term threats of terrorism, piracy and sustained geopolitical instability, has placed great strain on militaries and security institutions operating with constrained budgets and wary public support.

The volume covers a wide range of case studies, including the transformation of China's military in the 21st century, the internal and external challenges facing India, Russia's military modernization program and the USA's reassessment of its strategic interests. In doing so, this book provides the reader with the opportunity to conceptualize how strategic thinking, military reform, operational adaptation and technological integration have interacted with the challenges outlined above. With contributions by leading scholars and practitioners from Europe and Asia, this book provides a valuable contribution to the understanding of strategic and operational thinking and adjustment across the world.

This book will be of much interest to students of military and strategic studies, security studies, defence studies, Asian politics, Russian politics, US foreign policy and IR in general.

Jo Inge Bekkevold is Head of the Center for Asian Security Studies at the Norwegian Institute for Defense Studies, Oslo.

**Ian Bowers** is Assistant Professor at the Center for Asian Security Studies at the Norwegian Institute for Defense Studies, Oslo. He has a PhD in War Studies from King's College, London.

**Michael Raska** is a Research Fellow at S. Rajaratnam School of International Studies, Singapore, and has a PhD from the National University of Singapore.

### **Cass Military Studies**

#### Intelligence Activities in Ancient Rome

Trust in the gods, but verify Rose Mary Sheldon

### Clausewitz and African War

Politics and strategy in Liberia and Somalia Isabelle Duyvesteyn

### Strategy and Politics in the Middle East, 1954–60

Defending the northern tier Michael Cohen

### The Cuban Intervention in Angola, 1965–1991

From Che Guevara to Cuito Cuanavale Edward George

### Military Leadership in the British Civil Wars, 1642–1651

'The genius of this age' Stanley Carpenter

### Israel's Reprisal Policy, 1953–1956 The dynamics of military retaliation

The dynamics of military retaliate Ze'ev Drory

## Bosnia and Herzegovina in the Second World War

Enver Redzic

#### Leaders in War

West Point remembers the 1991 Gulf War Edited by Frederick Kagan and Christian Kubik

### Khedive Ismail's Army

John Dunn

### Yugoslav Military Industry 1918–1991

Amadeo Watkins

#### Corporal Hitler and the Great War 1914–1918

The list regiment John Williams

#### Rostóv in the Russian Civil War, 1917–1920

The key to victory Brian Murphy

### The Tet Effect, Intelligence and the Public Perception of War

Jake Blood

## The US Military Profession into the 21st Century

War, peace and politics Edited by Sam C. Sarkesian and Robert E. Connor, Jr.

#### Civil-Military Relations in Europe

Learning from crisis and institutional change Edited by Hans Born, Marina Caparini, Karl Haltiner and Jürgen Kuhlmann

### Strategic Culture and Ways of War Lawrence Sondhaus

#### Military Unionism in the Post Cold War Era

A future reality? Edited by Richard Bartle and Lindy Heinecken

#### Warriors and Politicians

U.S. civil-military relations under stress Charles A. Stevenson

### Military Honour and the Conduct of War

From Ancient Greece to Iraq Paul Robinson

### Military Industry and Regional Defense Policy

India, Iraq and Israel Timothy D. Hoyt

### Managing Defence in a Democracy

Edited by Laura R. Cleary and Teri McConville

#### Gender and the Military

Women in the armed forces of Western democracies Helena Carreiras

#### Social Sciences and the Military

An interdisciplinary overview Edited by Giuseppe Caforio

### Cultural Diversity in the Armed Forces

An international comparison Edited by Joseph Soeters and Jan van der Meulen

### Railways and the Russo-Japanese War

Transporting war Felix Patrikeeff and Harold Shukman

#### War and Media Operations

The US military and the press from Vietnam to Iraq
Thomas Rid

#### **Ancient China on Postmodern War**

Enduring ideas from the Chinese strategic tradition

Thomas Kane

## Special Forces, Terrorism and Strategy

Warfare by other means Alasdair Finlan

#### Imperial Defence, 1856-1956

The old world order Greg Kennedy

#### Civil-Military Cooperation in Post-Conflict Operations

Emerging theory and practice Christopher Ankersen

### Military Advising and Assistance

From mercenaries to privatization, 1815–2007 Donald Stoker

#### Private Military and Security Companies

Ethics, policies and civil-military relations

Edited by Andrew Alexandra, DeanePeter Baker and Marina Caparini

### Military Cooperation in Multinational Peace Operations

Managing cultural diversity and crisis response

Edited by Joseph Soeters and Philippe
Manigart

The Military and Domestic Politics A concordance theory of civil military relations Rebecca L. Schiff

Conscription in the Napoleonic Era A revolution in military affairs? Edited by Donald Stoker, Frederick C. Schneid and Harold D. Blanton

### Modernity, the Media and the Military

The creation of national mythologies on the Western Front 1914–1918

John F. Williams

American Soldiers in Iraq McSoldiers or innovative professionals? Morten Ender

Complex Peace Operations and Civil–Military Relations Winning the peace Robert Egnell

# Strategy and the American War of Independence

A global approach Edited by Donald Stoker, Kenneth J. Hagan and Michael T. McMaster

Managing Military Organisations
Theory and practice
Joseph Soeters, Paul C. van Fenema and
Robert Beeres (eds)

### Modern War and the Utility of Force

Challenges, methods and strategy Edited by Jan Angstrom and Isabelle Duyvesteyn

**Democratic Citizenship and War** Edited by Yoav Peled, Noah Lewin-Epstein and Guy Mundlak Military Integration after Civil Wars Multiethnic armies, identity and post-conflict reconstruction Florence Gaub

Military Ethics and Virtues
An interdisciplinary approach for
the 21st century

Peter Olsthoorn

The Counter-Insurgency Myth
The British experience of irregular
warfare
Andrew Mumford

Europe, Strategy and Armed Forces Towards military convergence Sven Biscop and Jo Coelmont

Managing Diversity in the Military
The value of inclusion in a culture
of uniformity
Edited by Daniel P. McDonald and
Kizzy M. Parks

The US Military
A basic introduction
Judith Hicks Stiehm

**Democratic Civil–Military Relations** Soldiering in 21st-century Europe *Edited by Sabine Mannitz* 

Contemporary Military Innovation Between anticipation and adaptation Edited by Dmitry (Dima) Adamsky and Kjell Inge Bjerga

### Militarism and International Relations

Political economy, security and theory Edited by Anna Stavrianakis and Jan Selby

#### Qualitative Methods in Military Studies

Research experiences and challenges Edited by Helena Carreiras and Celso Castro

#### Educating America's Military Joan Johnson-Freese

Military Health Care
From pre-deployment to postseparation
Jomana Amara and Ann M. Hendricks

# Contemporary Military Culture and Strategic Studies

US and UK armed forces in the 21st century Alastair Finlan

### **Understanding Military Doctrine**

A multidisciplinary approach Harald Hoiback

#### Military Strategy as Public Discourse

America's war in Afghanistan Tadd Sholtis

### Military Intervention, Stabilisation and Peace

The search for stability Christian Dennys

# International Military Operations in the 21st Century

Global trends and the future of intervention Edited by Per M. Norheim-Martinsen and Tore Nyhamar

### Security, Strategy and Military Change in the 21st Century

Cross-regional perspectives Edited by Jo Inge Bekkevold, Ian Bowers and Michael Raska

### Military Families and War in the 21st Century

Comparative perspectives Edited by René Moelker, Manon Andres, Gary Bowen and Philippe Manigart

## Private Security Companies during the Iraq War

Military performance and the use of deadly force Scott Fitzsimmons

# **Figures**

3.1	Impression of the SDF	49
8.1	Decreasing force levels of important EU member states	141
8.2	Military expenditures in per cent/GDP of important EU	
	countries and EU average	142
11.1	Danish defence expenditure, 1990 to 2012 (constant	
	prices)	198
11.2	Ratio between total defence expenditure (constant 2010	
	US\$) and armed forces strength	199
11.3	Index 100 of defence expenditure in per cent of BNP vs.	
	social expenditure in per cent of BNP	205
11.4	Cost of Danish capabilities (in millions of DKK)	210
11.5	Costing military models (in millions of DKK)	213

### **Tables**

3.1	NDPG comparison table	43
3.2	NDPG comparison table	46
4.1	Indonesia defence spending, 2003 to 2013	60
5.1	Singapore defence spending, 1991 to 2010	78
8.1	Important multinational military structures in Europe	143
8.2	Military operations of the FII	145

### **Contributors**

- Jo Inge Bekkevold is Head of the Centre for Asian Security Studies at the Norwegian Institute for Defence Studies. His main research areas are Chinese foreign and security policies, China–Russia relations, naval developments in Asia, and Asia in the Arctic. He is a former career diplomat.
- Dennis J. Blasko, Lieutenant Colonel, U.S. Army (Retired), served 23 years as a Military Intelligence Officer and Foreign Area Officer specializing in China. He was an army attaché in Beijing and Hong Kong from 1992 to 1996. He served in infantry units in Germany, Italy, and Korea and in Washington at the Defense Intelligence Agency, Head-quarters Department of the Army (Office of Special Operations), and the National Defense University War Gaming and Simulation Center. He has written numerous articles and chapters on the Chinese military and is the author of *The Chinese Army Today: Tradition and Transformation for the 21st Century, second edition* (Routledge, 2012).
- Ian Bowers is an Assistant Professor at the Norwegian Institute for Defence Studies. He received his PhD in War Studies from King's College London. His research focuses on Asian naval modernization and Northeast Asian security.
- Vivek Chadha, Colonel (Retired) is a Research Fellow with the Institute for Defence Studies and Analyses IDSA in New Delhi. Prior to joining IDSA, he served in the Indian Army for 22 years. His research covers counter-insurgency, counter-terrorism and terrorist finance.
- Tom Dyson is Senior Lecturer in International Relations at Royal Holloway, University of London. He was an Alexander von Humboldt Research Fellow based at the Chair of German and European Politics at Potsdam University and the Stiftung Wissenschaft und Politik in Berlin, Germany. He is the author of several books and journal articles on European defence policies, among others Neoclassical Realism and Defence Reform in post-Cold War Europe (Palgrave, 2010).

- Sven Bernhard Gareis is Deputy Dean at George C. Marshall European Center for Security Studies. Since 2007 he has been teaching as a Professor of Political Science at the Westfaelische Wilhelms-Universitaet in Muenster/North Rhine-Westphalia. His research interests include the United Nations, German and European foreign and security policy and the foreign relations of the People's Republic of China. He is the author of *The United Nations: An Introduction* (Palgrave, 2012).
- Paal S. Hilde is Associate Professor at the Norwegian Institute for Defence Studies. He received his DPhil in Politics in 2003 at the University of Oxford (St. Antony's College). His research focuses on Baltic security, NATO and the Arctic. He is the co-editor of *The Future of NATO:* Regional Defense and Global Security (University of Michigan Press, 2014).
- **S. Kalyanaraman** is a Research Fellow with the Institute for Defence Studies and Analyses in New Delhi. His main research focus is on India's foreign and security policies.
- Austin Long is an Assistant Professor at the School of International and Public Affairs and a Member of the Arnold A. Saltzman Institute of War and Peace Studies and the Harriman Institute for Russian, Eurasian, and East European Studies at Columbia University. He is also a non-resident Senior Fellow at the Foreign Policy Research Institute.
- **Bernard Fook Weng Loo** is Associate Professor and Coordinator of the Master of Science (Strategic Studies) Degree Programme at the S. Rajaratnam School of International Studies (RSIS) in Singapore. He received his PhD from the University of Wales, Aberystwyth. He is the author of *Middle Powers and Accidental Wars: A Study in Conventional Strategic Stability* (Edwin Mellen, 2005) and the editor of *Transformation and Military Operations* (Routledge, 2009).
- Isao Miyaoka is Professor in International Politics, Department of Political Science, Faculty of Law, Keio University. He received his DPhil in Politics in 1999 at the University of Oxford (St. Antony's College). He is the author of Legitimacy in International Society: Japan's Reaction to Global Wildlife Preservation (Palgrave Macmillan: 2004). His current research focuses on Japanese and American security policies as well as international relations theory.
- Michael Raska is a Research Fellow with the Military Transformations Programme at the Rajaratnam School of International Studies, Nanyang Technology University. He received his PhD at the Lee Kuan Yew School of Public Policy at the National University of Singapore. His research interests focus on East Asian security and defense. He is the author of Military Innovation in Small States: Creating a Reverse Asymmetry (Routledge, 2015).

- Mikkel Vedby Rasmussen is Professor with the Department of Political Science, University of Copenhagen. He is currently on leave from the University, working as Head of the Secretariat for Defence and Security Policy at the Danish Ministry of Defence and Head of the Centre for Military Studies at the same department. Among his publications are The Risk Society at War: Terror, Technology and Strategy in the Twenty-First Century (Cambridge University Press, 2006) and The West, Civil Society and the Construction of Peace (Palgrave Macmillan, 2003).
- Benjamin Schreer is a Senior Analyst for Defence Strategy at the Australian Strategic Policy Institute (ASPI). Previously, he was deputy head of the Strategic and Defence Studies Centre (SDSC) at the Australian National University (ANU). He also worked as a research fellow at the Stiftung Wissenschaft und Politik (SWP) in Berlin. His current research interests include strategic trends in the Asia-Pacific region and nuclear dynamics in Asia.
- Katarzyna Zysk is Associate Professor at the Norwegian Institute for Defence Studies. She also serves as a non-resident Research Fellow at the US Naval War College and is a member of the Arctic Security Initiative at the Hoover Institute, Stanford University. Her current research interests focus on international security studies, including Russian security and defence policy, military innovation, Arctic geopolitics, and security in transatlantic relations.

### Acknowledgements

In early December 2013 academics from three continents met in Oslo to discuss global perspectives on military change. This engaging and often surprising conference led to the realization that military change, its drivers and influences differ across the world and was worthy of further examination. As a result this volume was conceived of as a way to distil some of the conclusions reached during the conference.

First, the editors would like to thank the Norwegian Embassy in New Delhi, India. Without their funding support this volume would not have been possible. A number of people have also provided invaluable advice and assistance. The staff at the Norwegian Institute for Defence Studies who participated in the conference and made invaluable contributions to the discussion are worthy of special mention. Krishnappa Venkatshamy, formerly of the Institute for Defence Studies and Analyses, New Delhi, provided great assistance during the formative stage of both the conference and this volume. Wrenn Yennie Lindgren was invaluable as the volume's proof-reader. Finally, Andrew Humphrys and Hannah Ferguson from Routledge deserve special mention for shepherding this volume through the publication process.

### **Abbreviations**

3G SAF Third Generation SAF
A2/AD Anti-Access/Area Denial
ACE Allied Command Europe
ACLANT Allied Command Atlantic

ADIZ Air Defence Identification Zone
AMS Academy of Military Science (China)

ARRC Allied Command Europe Rapid Reaction Corps

ASBM Anti-Ship Ballistic Missile ASDF Air Self-Defence Force

ASEAN Association of Southeast Asian Nations

BICES Battlefield Information Collection and Exploitation System

C2 Command and Control

C3I Command, Control, Communications and Intelligence C4ISTAR Command, Control, Communications, Computer,

Intelligence, Surveillance, Targeting Acquisition and

Reconnaissance

CBS Corps Battle Schools
CCP Chinese Communist Party

CENTRIX CENTCOM Regional Intelligence Exchange System

CDU Christian Democratic Union (Germany)

CI Counter-insurgency

CIA Central Intelligence Agency CJTF Combined Joint Task Force

CMC Central Military Commission (China)

COSTIND Commission of Science, Technology, and Industry for

National Defence

COTS Commercial off the Shelf

CSDF Common Security and Foreign Policy

CSDP Common Security and Defence Policy (EU)

CSE Communications Security Establishment (Canada)

CSU Christian Social Union (Germany)

DANCON Danish Contingent

DCIS Deployable Communication and Information System

#### xviii Abbreviations

DIS Deployable Joint Staff

DJSE Deployable Joint Staff Elements
DJTF Deployable Joint Task Force

DSCO Doctrine for Sub Conventional Operations
DSD Defence Signals Directorate (Australia)
DTIB Defence Technological and Industrial Base

EDA European Defence Agency EEZ Exclusive Economic Zone

EME Electronics and Mechanical Engineers
ESDI European Security and Defence Identity
ESDP European Security and Defence Policy

ESS European Security Strategy

EUMC European Union Military Committee

EUMS European Union Military Staff FDP Free Democratic Party (Germany)

GAD General Armaments Department (China)

GCHQ Government Communication Headquarters (UK)
GCSB Government Communications Security Bureau (New

Zealand)

GLD General Logistics Department (China)
GMTI Ground Moving Target Indication
GPD General Political Department (China)
GSD General Staff Department (China)
GSDF Ground Self-Defence Force (Japan)
ICBM Intercontinental Ballistic Missile
IED Improvised Explosive Device

IRBM Intermediate Range Ballistic Missile

IP Internet Protocol

ISAF International Security Assistance Force

ISR Intelligence, Surveillance and Reconnaissance

J&K Jammu and Kashmir JSF Joint Strike Fighter

JSOC Joint Special Operations Command (US) KODAM Military Area Commands (Indonesia)

LPD Landing Platform Dock

LDP Liberal Democratic Party (Japan)

LoC Line of Control

MBT Main Battle Tank

MC Military Committee

MEF Minimum Essential Force

MFP Major Force Program

MJO Major Joint Operations

MLF Multinational Land Force MND Ministry of National Defence (China)

MNF Mizo National Front

MPV Mine-protected Vehicle MR Military Region (China)

MRBM Medium Range Ballistic Missile

MRO Military Representative Offices (China)

MSDF Maritime Self-Defence Force NAC North Atlantic Council

NATO North Atlantic Treaty Organisation

NCCT Network Centric Collaborative Targeting

NCS NATO Command Structure

NDPG National Defense Program Guidelines

NDMC National Defence Mobilization Committee (China)

NDU National Defence University (China)

NPC National People's Congress NRF NATO Response Force NSA National Security Agency

NSC National Security Commission (China) NSC National Security Council (Japan) NSHQ NATO Special Operations Headquarters

NSS National Security Strategy (Japan)

NUDT National University of Defense Technology (China)

NWFP North West Frontier Province
ODA Official Development Assistance
OOTW Operations Other Than War

PAP People's Armed Police
PCG Policy Coordination Group
PFP Partnership for Peace

PKO Peacekeeping Operations
PLA People's Liberation Army
PSC Policy and Security Committee

RAP Readiness Action Plan

RMA Revolution in Military Affairs

RR Rashtriya Rifles

SACEUR Supreme Allied Commander Europe SACLANT Supreme Allied Commander Atlantic

SAF Singapore Armed Forces

SASTIND State Administration of Science, Technology and Industry

for National Defence

SDF Self-Defence Forces (Japan)

SDSR Strategic Defence and Security Review

SHAPE Supreme Headquarters Allied Powers Europe

SIGINT Signals Intelligence

SLBM Submarine-launched Ballistic Missile

SLOC Sea Lines of Communications

SOCOM Special Operations Command (US)

SOF Special Operations Forces