

CASS MILITARY STUDIES

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

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.

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and Michael Raska**

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Contents

<i>List of figures</i>	xi
<i>List of tables</i>	xii
<i>Notes on contributors</i>	xiii
<i>Acknowledgements</i>	xvi
<i>List of abbreviations</i>	xvii
1 Introduction	1
JO INGE BEKKEVOLD, IAN BOWERS AND MICHAEL RASKA	
PART I	
Military change in Asia	13
2 Managing military change in China	15
DENNIS J. BLASKO	
3 Military change in Japan: National Defense Program Guidelines as a main tool of management	36
ISAO MIYAOKA	
4 Garuda rising? Indonesia's arduous process of military change	55
BENJAMIN SCHREER	
5 The management of military change: the case of the Singapore Armed Forces	70
BERNARD FOOK WENG LOO	
6 The sources of military change in India: an analysis of evolving strategies and doctrines towards Pakistan	89
S. KALYANARAMAN	

x *Contents*

- 7 The Indian Army adapting to change: the case of counter-insurgency** 115
VIVEK CHADHA

PART II

Military change in Europe 133

- 8 Perspectives on military change and transformation in Europe** 135
SVEN BERNHARD GAREIS

- 9 Managing military change in Russia** 155
KATARZYNA ZYSK

- 10 Military change in Britain and Germany in a time of austerity: meeting the challenge of cross-national pooling and sharing** 178
TOM DYSON

- 11 Austerity is the new normal: the case of Danish defence reform** 197
MIKKEL VEDBY RASMUSSEN

PART III

Military change in the United States and NATO 219

- 12 Military change in NATO: the CJTF concept – a case study of military innovation in a multinational environment** 221
PAAL SIGURD HILDE

- 13 A new wary titan: US defence policy in an era of military change, Asian growth and European austerity** 241
AUSTIN LONG

- 14 Conclusion: security, strategy and military change in the 21st century** 266
JO INGE BEKKEVOLD, IAN BOWERS AND
MICHAEL RASKA

- Index* 274

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 EU	145

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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.

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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
CDP	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

DJS	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

xx *Abbreviations*

SPD	Social Democratic Party (Germany)
SRBM	Short Range Ballistic Missile
SSBN	Ballistic Missile Submarine
TNI	Tentara Nasional Indonesia
TNI-AD	Tentara Nasional Indonesia – Angkatan Darat (Indonesian Army)
TNI-AL	Tentara Nasional Indonesia – Angkatan Laut (Indonesian Navy)
TNI-AU	Tentara Nasional Indonesia – Angkatan Udara (Indonesian Air Force)
UAV	Unmanned Aerial Vehicles
ULFA	United Liberation Front of Assam
USAF	United States Air Force
VJTF	Very High Readiness Joint Task Force
WEU	Western European Union
WHAM	Winning Hearts and Minds

1 Introduction

Jo Inge Bekkevold, Ian Bowers and Michael Raska

As the 21st century reaches adolescence, established orders are being challenged across the world. On a global level an economic and political power shift is occurring as China's rise and Asia's overall economic strength places the region at the heart of world affairs. While the US is rebalancing to Asia in response to China's potential threat to the established order, Europe is still dealing with the aftermath of the great recession and the impact of austerity. The actions of Russia in annexing Crimea and redrawing the European map have placed great pressure on European nations and NATO to engage more closely with the region's defence. But the battle between welfare and warfare continues to be waged in capitals across the Western world.

These geopolitical and economic challenges are occurring in a global environment of rapidly changing technologies and ever-increasing inter-connectivity. Transnational threats and non-traditional security challenges such as terrorism and piracy are not new phenomena but pose long-term if not existential difficulties for state actors and institutions.

What is happening is not merely a shift in geographic priorities but a change from the continental to the maritime, from the asymmetric threat of insurgency to the considerations of great power politics and an alteration in capitals across the globe in how threats are perceived and should be confronted. Seen together, the developments and challenges described here amount to a fundamental shift in international security and the post-Cold War order.

This volume aims to address these shifts through examining cross-regional military change and its management. Why military change? This phrase provides the editors, contributors and ultimately the readers with the opportunity to conceptualize how strategic thinking, military reform, operational adaptation and technological integration have interacted with the challenges outlined above.

A new security landscape in the making

As the world entered the 21st century, US military predominance was assured by a defence budget more than ten times larger than its greatest

potential competitor, China. By 2013 the disparity had been closed significantly with China's military expenditure being estimated as just under one-third of that of the US.¹ While a gap remains, China's regional focus allows it to narrow its endeavours while the US is spread across the world, dealing with threats in Asia, the Middle East, Africa and Europe.

China's new military muscle, its growing assertiveness in pursuing its international goals, and its perceived disregard for the established rules-based status quo is increasing regional tension and endangering the stability of the world's economic powerhouses.² This dynamic has been further fuelled by a complex mix of historical animosity, economic competition and ever more fraught territorial disputes.

In 2012 military budgets in Asia surpassed those of NATO European states for the first time. The five biggest arms importers between 2008 and 2012 were all in Asia.³ A shift has occurred where the forefront of large-scale modern military procurement has moved from Europe to Asia. Importantly, the maritime system which sustains Asia's economy has now become the focal point of security interaction; sea power has replaced land power as the dominant reflection of national strength and prowess. The potential for a naval arms race exists, although currently competitive procurement is not quite in evidence, despite naval modernization continuing apace.⁴ Thus the most peaceful region since the end of the Cold War has become the crucible for security in competition in the 21st century, complete with shifting threat perceptions, developing alliances and the integration of new and more powerful military technologies.

India currently finds itself on the edge of this security dynamic, but its size, location and ambition mean that it will play an increasingly important role in Asian and global security. However, it faces an extraordinarily complex array of threats. Pakistan alone ensures that India has to prepare for the combined threat of nuclear weapons (Pakistan went nuclear in 1998), conventional warfare (The Kargil War in 1999), insurgency (Kashmir), and terrorism (the Mumbai attacks in 2008).

At the same time China's rise and growing political, economic and military strength is both a concern and an opportunity for New Delhi. China has shown flexibility in solving most of its land border disputes but not yet with India, while the Indian Ocean Region (IOR) is an area where maritime ambitions could clash with dangerous consequences. The visit of Xi Jinping to India in September 2014 highlighted the potential for both competition and cooperation in the relationship. Alleged Chinese encroachment in the disputed border region coincided with agreements for Chinese economic investment in India. Prime Minister Modi has now made serious future economic cooperation contingent upon the settling of the dispute.⁵

Furthermore, India also plays an important role in peacekeeping and contributes to international military operations such as anti-piracy and disaster relief operations. India has, since independence, pursued a non-aligned

foreign policy, and even though it has been argued that India has ‘crossed the Rubicon’ in its foreign policy,⁶ and signed a nuclear deal with the US in 2005,⁷ it wants to remain an independent actor in foreign and security policy.

Asia is not alone in having to deal with seismic shifts in its security environment. In Europe a perfect storm has been washing over the region’s militaries. Economic difficulties resulting in austerity in combination with a lack of an identifiable enemy or strategic purpose and ambivalent populations weary of costly foreign operations has resulted in years of negative inertia.⁸

The 2012 reduction in real defence spending in Europe was 1.63 per cent, which came on top of a 2.52 per cent decline in 2011. In 2012, real defence spending fell in 60 per cent of European states.⁹ NATO still maintains its aspiration for member states to spend at least 2 per cent of their GDP on defence, a goal met by few. Initiatives like ‘smart defence’, and pooling and sharing within NATO and the EU, may lead to some rationalization. However, many European states seem to act according to national imperatives, and capability reductions are largely uncoordinated, with significant implications for combat capacity.¹⁰

It may be argued that such a reduction in defence spending makes sense for countries finding themselves in a relatively safe security environment. However, former NATO Secretary-General Anders Fogh Rasmussen stated in *Foreign Affairs* in 2011 that ‘Libya is a reminder of how important it is for NATO to be ready, capable, and willing to act’.¹¹ But the operation over Libya revealed gaps in key capabilities for NATO Europe.¹² These gaps were made further evident by operations over Iraq and Syria in 2014 where European contributions have been small and in some cases were hindered by a lack of capability. Further, sharp reductions in European spending on defence may have implications for NATO credibility.

Russian actions in Crimea and the Ukraine are a stark reminder of the realities of geo-politics and the potential need for core European competencies to be maintained and modernized. Russia is in the midst of a military modernization programme which has been justified through increasingly nationalist and irredentist rhetoric. NATO and the West are at the centre of a Russian view of the world where the status quo is an imposed constraint. The willingness to use force to redress this perceived imbalance is a significant threat to stability in Europe; one which requires NATO to take concrete measures to combat. The 2014 NATO summit in Wales saw the creation of the Very High Readiness Joint Task Force (VJTF) as part of a package of responses to the Russian actions. However, the new NATO Secretary-General, Norwegian Jens Stoltenberg, will be faced with the challenge of split expectations between Eastern and Western European member states in maintaining a consistent response to Russia.

Before premonitions of a new Cold War take hold,¹³ it must be noted that Russia remains a relatively weak country. While its energy exports give

it a high degree of leverage over the gas-hungry states of Europe, its military, despite its large size and being bolstered by a substantial nuclear deterrent, lags behind its peers in terms of technology and training. Its economy, while being the ninth largest in terms of GDP in 2013, is dwarfed by the major economies of Western Europe. Russia accounts for 5 per cent of the world's total defence spending. While this is individually larger than any single European nation, when combined, the UK, France and Germany spending accounts for almost twice that amount.¹⁴ Europe and NATO need to find a way to leverage their superior strength to prevent further Russian revisionism while operating within the confines of austerity and public suspicion.

The US is reassessing its strategic interests after over a decade of war and a focus on COIN. In the midst of overcoming its own economic problems and subsequent reductions in defence spending the world's largest military power is rebalancing towards Asia by increasing its diplomatic, economic and military assets in the region. This is, however, being tested by the continued proliferation of traditional and non-traditional threats across the globe. The actions of ISIS in Syria and Iraq and renewed tensions in Europe highlight the difficulty the US faces in balancing its global commitments.

In 2012, the US accounted for just under half of global defence spending (45.3%) and still outstrips that of the next 14 countries combined.¹⁵ The US has been forced, however, to reduce its defence budget¹⁶ and withdraw resources from Europe,¹⁷ choosing instead to refocus its strategic outlook and military capabilities on Asia.¹⁸ The level to which the US can continue to commit to such a wide variety of threats in such diverse geographic locations remains to be seen. Budgetary pressures and potential political disengagement call the future of US as a global enforcer of norms into question. Strategic shifts are occurring all around, and US engagement or otherwise will have a large impact upon the direction such shifts take.

Alongside this changing geo-political landscape and a renewed emphasis on great power politics, nations are facing an increasing array of non-traditional or new security challenges. Thus militaries are potentially being pulled towards a broader and broader spectrum of operations, many of which require international coordination and collaboration.

The proliferation of weapons of mass destruction (WMD), piracy and terrorism have been an ever-present feature in defence thinking around the globe. These threats require a broad range of responses, many of which are multilateral rather than state-centric and place further pressures on already stretched budgets. While piracy and terrorism cannot strictly be considered new threats, extant platforms and capabilities are not always the most efficient at countering them. As more state and non-state actors invest in developing cyber capabilities, the conventional use of force is increasingly intertwined with confrontations in and out of cyber space, cyber-attacks on physical systems and processes controlling critical

information infrastructure, as well as various forms of cyber espionage. The increasing complexity of cyber threats means that the distinctions between civil and military domains, state and non-state actors, principal targets and weapons become gradually blurred. How militaries balance their capabilities and operations to deal with both the traditional and the non-traditional is a key concern. At the same time, international cooperation in tackling the converging 'hybrid' threat spectrum is required.

Military change and its management

This volume aims to understand how militaries and nations are adapting to the external and internal instabilities outlined above. In order to achieve this, military change and its management is defined as the ongoing process of adapting, changing and improving military capabilities to handle and manage threats and risks. The success and failure of this process is defined by an intervening set of variables such as institutional and political capacity, leadership skills, technology, and economics.

In other words, managing military change is linked to *strategic, organizational, and operational control and adaptability* – not only in detecting new sources of military innovation, but more importantly, changing military posture quickly and easily over time in response to shifts in geo-strategic environment, military technology, the realities of cost, performance, and organizational behaviour, and national priorities.¹⁹

How change is managed is reflected in the choices or judgements the actors in question in the case studies of this volume make and as such it is best revealed in the strategies, procurement, organization and operational means that a military employs.

We have already argued that the world is seeing significant changes in international security which, when taken together, will have major consequences for the established post-Cold War order. As a result of the changes in the security environment in Asia, Europe and the US, are we witnessing a major military change, or are the countries in question 'muddling through' in a slower evolutionary process of military change? This study proposes to examine this phenomenon by addressing both external and internal variables utilizing the following criteria:

- How do the geo-political changes and emerging new security landscape affect each country (if at all) with regard to threat perception and strategic thinking?
- How well do political, strategic elites and military institutions manage to translate threat perception and strategic thinking into doctrines, operational plans and procurement?
- What are the pathways, enablers and constraints of military change in each country, and what is the institutional capacity to manage military change?

To answer these questions it is important to calibrate our conceptions of military change. The literature on military change has traditionally portrayed the term largely in the context of the debate on what constitutes major military revolutions (MRs) and revolutions in military affairs (RMAs). According to Williamson Murray and MacGregor Knox, for example, ‘military revolutions recast society and the state as well as military organizations. They alter the capacity of states to create and project military power.’²⁰ In other words, military revolutions reflect a disruptive change at the grand-strategic level that transcends the operational military-technological domain. In contrast, within or alongside the cataclysmic military revolutions are lesser RMAs characterized by Murray and Knox as

periods of innovation in which armed forces develop novel concepts involving changes in doctrine, tactics, procedures, and technology ... RMAs [also] take place almost exclusively at the operational level of war. They rarely affect the strategic level, except in so far as operational success can determine the large strategic equation. RMAs always occur within the context of politics and strategy – and that context is everything.²¹

Similarly, Theo Farrell and Terry Terriff, distinguish major military change or ‘change in the [organizational] goals, actual strategies, and/or structure of a military organization’ and minor change or ‘changes in operational means and methods (technologies and tactics) that have no implications for organizational strategy or structure’.²² More recently, Michael Horowitz equated major military innovations as ‘major changes in the conduct of warfare, relevant to leading military organizations, designed to increase the efficiency with which capabilities are converted to power’.²³ Dima Adamsky also focused on disruptive military innovation through the lens of military-technical revolutions (MTRs) or RMAs, when ‘new organizational structures together with novel force deployment methods, usually but not always driven by new technologies, change the conduct of warfare’.²⁴

The perennial question of what constitutes military revolutions, revolutions in military affairs and military-technical revolution has shaped a significant path in the contemporary strategic studies debate, with each term emphasizing the disruptive or ‘revolutionary’ character.²⁵ However, in a historical perspective, most military changes and innovations have arguably followed a distinctly less than revolutionary or transformational path, consisting of incremental, often near-continuous, improvements in existing ways and means of war.²⁶ In other words, while major, large-scale and simultaneous military innovations in military technologies, organizations and doctrines have been a rare phenomenon, military organizations have progressed through *a sustained spectrum of military innovation* ranging from a small-scale to a large-scale innovation that has shaped the conduct of warfare.

More importantly, the academic debate has focused predominantly on *what, why and when* the MRs and RMAs occur, with only limited insights on *how* military change diffuses, how it is managed, adopted and adapted over time. In our perspective, therefore, we attempt to conceptualize the term military change as a dynamic yet gradual (not necessarily revolutionary) process of policy change at three interrelated dimensions: *strategic change* focusing on changes in the global and regional security environment, and concomitant changes in defence strategy, and operational conduct; *defence management* embedded in the transformation of ideas and knowledge into new or improved products, processes, and services for military and dual-use applications; and *military innovation*, encompassing ‘both product innovation and process innovation, technological, operational, and organizational innovation, whether separately or in combination to enhance the military’s ability to prepare for, fight, and win wars’.²⁷

In particular, policy-level changes may be defined as national-level changes and fall under the realm of grand strategy. Grand strategy is the highest level of direction in which military power and strategy is linked with political, economic, demographic, and other national resources to form a coherent direction for the employment of state power.²⁸ Thus an analysis of grand strategy would include the capacity of a state’s civil and military leadership to adjust its threat assessment and grand strategic direction, to formulate and update national security strategies according to changes in a country’s domestic and external security environment and to manage civil–military relations during this period of transformation.

Strategy bridges the policy and institutional levels. Identifying a single definition of strategy is a complex task given the diffusion of meanings that now surround the term. As Freedman notes, ‘strategic discourse has now moved beyond its etymological roots in the arts of generals’.²⁹ In this volume, we use a classical definition of strategy in that it is the link between military means and political ends. The 2012 US Department of Defense Strategic Guidance – Sustaining U.S. Global Leadership: Priorities for the 21st Century Defense, for the first time signed by a US president, would fall under the definition of strategy with implications for military change. In this context, strategy is a tool with which to utilize military power and is dependent on choice and the conditions both internal and external which frame it.

On the operational level doctrine is the central element. Defining doctrine is also complex, as each country and organization utilizes and understands what doctrine is in diffuse ways. We see doctrine as a guide and, by extension, a tool of change for how to conduct strategy and direct armed forces at an operational level. Optimally it reflects a state’s capabilities – in terms of technology, manpower and various other factors – its ethos, culture, training and ultimately the external and internal environments in which a military operates.³⁰

However, to focus on strategy and doctrine in an analysis of military change has certain caveats. A doctrine in itself does not ensure institutional

change, and may be ‘developed as much for political as for strategic or operational reasons.’³² This reinforces the need to understand how doctrine is reflected in operational success on the ground.

These three overarching levels of change may be observed in Japan’s recent approach to its security. Japan is, in response to the challenge of China and other internal and external pressures, looking to adjust its constitution and by extension its policy-level posture while developing a new security strategy (enunciated in the NDPG 2014) and retooling its forces and adjusting its doctrine to meet both the challenges set by the new strategy and to take advantage of the opportunities provided by rapidly advancing technologies.

The structure of the volume

In looking to answer these questions this volume has selected major and medium military powers in both Asia and Europe. The eclectic mix of states, including the United States and Russia, is designed to highlight the diversity of how military change is managed on policy or grand strategy, strategy and doctrinal levels. While some states have pursued and managed military change on all three levels, others have been more restrictive in their efforts to deal with their security environment.

Part I examines military change in Asia. In a region of rising powers, US allies and sleeping giants, the chapters highlight the diversity of responses to military change. In **Chapter 2**, Dennis Blasko analyses the main drivers, enablers and constraints of China’s rapid military modernization. He elicits the success or otherwise of ongoing military change projects and emphasizes the primacy of the political leadership in setting military modernization policy. In **Chapter 3**, Isao Miyaoka looks at how Japan’s defence force is redefining its role in accordance with the changing regional security environment. By focusing on the National Defense Program Guidelines (NDPG) he highlights how the Japanese leadership has managed military change amidst varying levels of opposition from a reluctant populace and the seemingly intractable problems of the Japanese economy. In **Chapter 4**, Benjamin Schreer addresses how the sleeping strategic giant in Southeast Asia, Indonesia, is attempting to realize its renewed ambition for military change and the modernization of its doctrine, training and equipment. In **Chapter 5**, Bernard Loo discusses the case of the Singapore Armed Forces, the strategic context in which Singapore finds itself, and the challenges for Singapore as a small state with a conscript force embracing costly, high-technology weaponry.

Two chapters on India conclude **Part I**. Facing an array of threats, India makes an excellent case study for students of military change. Its operational and structural adaptations have to be assessed alongside economic growth but ever-present budgetary pressures. The extent to which India can cope with and adjust to future challenges will be a significant factor in

regional and global security. In having to deal with both conventional and non-conventional threats since its founding, India is the only nation in Asia with a sustained history of combat operations. It is a unique case in that it has had to apply lessons learned from operations while continuing to deal with extant threats. This provides an important differentiation between it, Japan and China. The two chapters address the challenges of China, Pakistan and insurgency, reminding the reader of the sheer complexity of the security challenges facing India. In [Chapter 6](#), S. Kalyanaraman provides an assessment of the changing Indian strategies towards conflict with China and Pakistan, placing the posture of Pakistan as the key determining factor in the Indian military's various approaches. In [Chapter 7](#), Vivek Chadha examines how the Indian Army has adapted to change in the face of challenges emerging from insurgencies and terrorism. His analysis is conducted across three major drivers of change: doctrinal, organizational and operational.

[Part II](#) addresses military change in Europe. The chapters demonstrate how austerity and disinterested publics have challenged militaries to justify their existence through the construction of contributory expeditionary forces. The Russian annexation of Crimea and the instability in the Ukraine highlights the complexity of the current strategic situation and difficulties Europe faces in attempting to manage such a situation. In [Chapter 8](#), Sven Bernhard Gareis paints the bigger picture of military change in Europe. He argues that in facing a number of security challenges European nations will have to align their military and security policies, advocating the eventual formation of a European army to meet the region's security needs.

In [Chapter 9](#), Katarzyna Zysk examines the motives, drivers and enablers of Russian military reforms and modernization after 2008. She looks at Russia's understanding of the geo-strategic environment and the leadership's willingness to use force to alter perceived disadvantages in the status quo. In [Chapter 10](#), Tom Dyson examines the ability of the UK and Germany to translate the imperative of closer defence cooperation through the EU's Common Security and Defence Policy (CSDP) into actual policy change. Denmark is a unique case as they have approached military change in an almost corporate fashion. In [Chapter 11](#), Mikkel Vedby Rasmussen describes how defence cuts set the agenda for redefining the mission and force structure of the Danish armed forces. He argues that the armed forces are thus no longer a fighting force that can deliver independent, joint operations but are now structured to provide key combat capabilities to larger allies such as the UK and the United States.

[Part III](#) addresses military change in the United States and NATO. In [Chapter 12](#), Paal Hilde enlightens us on how military change is managed within an alliance, using NATO and the Combined Joint Task Force Concept (CJFT) as his case. In 2011, after 17 years of troubled existence, the NATO Military Committee unceremoniously dropped the concept.