Transforming Italy’s Military for a New Era: Options and Challenges

A joint research CeMiSS-RAND

RAND team
John Gordon, F. Stephen Larrabee, David Gompert

CeMiSS team
Carlo Finizio, Giovanni Gasparini, Andrea Grazioso, Lucio Martino

November 2003

Rubbettino

© Rubbettino
Contents

Preface 7

Summary 9
1. Introduction 15
2. The Italian Military in 2003 21
3. Global Niche 29
4. Regional Full Spectrum 43
5. Evaluation of the Options 53

FIGURES

Table 3.1 Missions and Capabilities for Niche Options 30
Table 4.1 Missions and Capabilities for Regional Full Spectrum Option 45
Table 5.1 Assessment of Options 58

© Rubbettino
Preface

This study examines two options identified in the December 2002 RAND-CeMiSS study *Changing US Defense Policy and the War on Terrorism: Implications for Italy and US-Italian Relations* and the changes in the Italian armed forces that would be required to implement each option.

The study was sponsored by the Italian Ministry of Defence within the framework of the CeMiSS Programme 2003 (Doc CeMiSS/2/16/4/2003 Annex, A1.c/S). Research for the study was conducted within RAND Europe and the International Security and Defense Policy Center of RAND’s National Security Research Division (NSRD), which conducts research for the U.S. Department of Defense, allied foreign governments, the intelligence community, foundations, and in cooperation with the Military Centre for Strategic Studies (CeMiSS) of the Italian Ministry of Defence.
Summary

During the Cold War, the need to counter a possible Soviet attack against Europe provided a clear rationale for Italian force planning. Today, however, many of the most serious threats to Western interests come from beyond Europe’s borders. These include instability in North Africa, violence in the Middle East, the spread of weapons of mass destruction, and threats from global terrorism. Consequently, Italian defense and force planners face a dual challenge of ensuring the security of Italian territory while also contributing to international security more broadly.

Defense Options for Italy

Against this background, this study examines two basic defense options for Italy. The options differ in strategic rationale, operational missions for the Italian forces and the military capabilities needed to carry them out.

- **Global Niche.** This option focuses elements of the Italian military on selected capabilities for coalition operations, potentially anywhere in the world. This option would ensure Italian relevance in addressing critical global security issues as part of a coalition, while still being feasible in terms of resources.

  Within this option, Italy would have to make an important initial choice between two sub-options:

  - **Rapid Response.** In this sub-option, Italy would concentrate on building the capabilities to participate in the most demanding aspects of expeditionary operations. Italian combat forces would deploy promptly and wherever required with coalition forces to eliminate anti-access defenses and gain decisive advantage over enemy forces. Required Italian capabilities would include: naval and air precision-strike forces and rapidly deploying ground forces networked with each other, with allied forces, and with common sensors and command and control; strategic airlift; and
specialized forces of value to the coalition (e.g., mine- or missile-defense). This could allow Italy to play a major in the most demanding missions envisioned for the European Rapid Reaction Force (ERRF) and eventually in the NATO Response Force (NRF), if all the legal and political conditions for the effective participation in the NRF were met.

- **Sustained Operations.** In this sub-option, Italy would provide selected niche capabilities that would be configured to arrive later in a coalition operation, after anti-access defenses have been destroyed and rapid-response coalition forces have gained the advantage. With limited naval and air support, Italian ground forces, along with other coalition forces, would conduct sustained combat as well as stabilization operations to consolidate victory and ensure post-conflict security. These same Italian forces would also be capable of conducting demanding peace-enforcement, humanitarian intervention and other non-combat operations.

In either case, Italy would concentrate resources on its niche forces in order to make a meaningful contribution to coalition operations. Additional Italian armed forces (those elements not filling a niche role for global deployment operations) would be configured for homeland defense missions. The size and composition of the remainder of the Italian military would be based on the threats to the Italian homeland.

- **Regional Full Spectrum.** This option focuses the Italian armed forces on operations in the Mediterranean/Balkan region. Italy would have little ability to project and sustain forces globally. However, Italy would assume a major security role in the Mediterranean and the area surrounding it. In order to carry out this role, the Italian armed forces would selectively enhance their capability to project power in the region and provide forces for operations that span the range of military operations from low to high intensity missions. Although Italy's security role in the Mediterranean would be expanded in this option, Italy would still be configuring its forces within an alliance framework. Required Italian capabilities would include balanced naval, air and ground forces and corresponding theater-range lift. Long-range airlift would not be needed.

**Required Capabilities**

Each of the options would require some change in Italy’s armed forces, but the degree of change would vary, depending on which option Italy chose.
The **Regional Full-Spectrum** option would require the **least change** in Italian force structure, which is already relatively well-balanced. However, it would require broad force improvement and transformation, emphasizing the adoption of networking capabilities and doctrine. At the same time, this option would offer less opportunity than the **Global Niche** option to reduce existing capabilities and planned investments in order to cover the cost of improvements. The option would yield considerable influence for Italy within NATO and the EU and would enable the United States to devote greater capabilities to meeting requirements in other regions, though not to leave the Mediterranean altogether. Italy would retain greater military and foreign policy independence in this option than in the other two, which depend on coalition operations and therefore on coalition policies. However, the option would be costly, since Italy would have to enhance capabilities in a number of areas, especially theater-range lift.

The **Rapid Response** sub-option would require especially intensive transformation of strike and rapidly-deployable light-and-medium weight ground forces, as well as major investment in networking and strategic airlift. At the same time, slow-deploying heavy forces, e.g., armor and artillery, could be reduced. Because few countries can perform rapid response missions alongside US forces, this option would yield considerable influence on both operations and policy, especially in NATO where Italy could become a leading participant in the NRF.

The **Sustained Operations** sub-option would require investment in sea lift. But it would require less transformation than the other options because Italian forces would depend less on networking with one another and with allied forces. Current and planned Italian air- and naval-strike forces could be reduced. This option would be less demanding for Italy than the other options, and less costly; but it would also yield less influence for Italy within NATO because a significant number of countries can play a comparable role.

**Role of the Carabinieri**

Italy has a significant national strength in its Carabinieri, some units of which are configured for deployment abroad. The need for this type of capability in international stabilization operations is growing, and Italy could help meet that need while still using the bulk of the Carabinieri for domestic duties. The capability is most relevant in the **Regional Full-Spectrum** option and **Sustained Combat** sub-option than in the **Rapid Response** sub-option.
Assessing the Options

Each option has advantages, There is no obvious best choice. How they rank depends on the fundamental strategic priorities of Italian policy makers.

- If Italian policy makers are motivated mainly by Italy’s interest in joining the United States and other leading allies in confronting the most serious global security challenges of the new era, the Global Niche Rapid Response option ranks first.
- If motivated mainly by Italy’s interest in strengthening security of its immediate geographic environment, the Regional Full Spectrum option ranks first.
- If motivated mainly by the desire to keep down costs and avoid risks, the Global Niche Sustained Operations option ranks first.

In any of the options, Italian policy makers will have to face trade-offs:

- The Global Niche Rapid Response option would involve a loss of military autonomy, a loss of balance in Italian forces, and heightened risk to those forces.
- The Regional Full Spectrum option would entail the highest costs and would leave Italy with comparatively little influence in global security issues.
- The Global Niche Sustained Operations option would leave Italy with less influence with the United States and on global security issues than allies that are prepared to take a leading role in the NRF and join in coalition rapid-response operations.

In addition to these strategic considerations, Italian policy makers will make more subjective political judgments regarding the prospects for domestic support, the political risks, and the acceptance of EU partners of each of the options. It may be easiest to gain domestic support for Regional Full Spectrum. Global Niche Rapid Response may contribute well to NATO and to EU interests. Global Niche Sustained operations may involve the lowest political risk. These political considerations do not point decisively toward one or another option, which means that policy makers will be left to judge on strategic grounds.

In any case, the authors do not mean to suggest that Italian policy makers should make a simple selection among the three options. Rather, as they face various upcoming defense policy decisions – regarding force structure, investment in new capabilities, and cooperation with the United States and European
partners in NATO and the EU – they will want to bear in mind these broad options and be aware of how their practical choices point among them.

**Broader Considerations**

Independent of whether Italy elects one or another of these options, several general observations can be drawn from this study:

- Italy needs greater clarity in the strategic and military role it will play in the alliance, the region and the world. Without such clarity, its force structure, capabilities, and defense spending will lack logic, motivation, and sustainable political support.
- While Europe has become safer since the end of the Cold War, and the Balkan wars, the Mediterranean region has become more remained unstable and dangerous. Threats in this region have direct implications for Italian security. Therefore, while the UK, Germany and France have or are being drawn into security roles far from Europe, Italy faces a more difficult choice about how to configure its forces for global vs. regional contingencies.
- Force transformation is essential for NATO – and Italy. New networking concepts of operations must be absorbed. This is an important factor in each of the options described in this study; information technology must be exploited; and inter-operability with US and other Alliance forces must be ensured. If Italy embraces force transformation seriously, it has the potential to be an important leader within NATO.
- The degree of transformation which Italian forces would have to undergo would depend on which option Italy selects. A greater but not identical degree of transformation and networking would be needed in the Global Niche Rapid Response option and Regional Full Spectrum option than in the Global Niche Sustained Combat option.
1. Introduction

This study is the second of two joint publications of RAND and CeMiSS. The first work, published in December 2002, assessed recent changes in U.S. defense policy and their implications for Italy. The study identified six major defense policy options for Italy. These were:

- **Global Full Spectrum.** This option would give Italy a broad capability for missions across the spectrum of operations (from high intensity combat to peace operations), including the ability to act on a global scale. This option would result in an Italian military similar to the British or French models.
- **Global Niche.** In this option, Italy would have the ability to project selected types of forces globally for coalition operations.
- **Global Stability Operations.** This option would focus the Italian military on stability missions such as humanitarian and peace operations. The Italian armed forces would have the ability to conduct these operations on a global scale.
- **Regional Full Spectrum.** This option would result in an Italian military with robust, full spectrum capabilities for operations in the Mediterranean/Balkan region. Italy would have very little ability to project forces beyond that region.
- **Regional Niche.** In this option, the Italian military would focus on operations in the Mediterranean/Balkan region by providing specialized air, land, and sea capabilities as part of a regional coalition. Essentially, this is a less robust version of the previous option.
- **Regional Stability Operations.** In this case the Italian military would be designed for humanitarian assistance and peace operations in the Mediterranean/Balkan region.

---

The military missions and associated capabilities required for each option vary. The Global Full Spectrum and Global Niche options would require sufficient strategic lift (a mixture of military and contracted civilian transport ships and aircraft) to deploy and sustain Italian forces anywhere in the world. The Stability options would require far less high-tech, combat-oriented military equipment since in those options the Italian military would focus on missions at the lower end of the conflict spectrum such as peace keeping and peace enforcement.

Focus of the Study

This study focuses on two most interesting options – Global Niche and Regional Full Spectrum – evaluated in the previous research. The rationale and requirements for both options are examined, together with insights on how the current Italian military would have to be modified in order to implement each option. The advantages and disadvantages of the two options are also examined in greater detail than in the previous study.

Where relevant, the study addresses the link between the process of transformation of Italian forces and the two most important European initiatives on force restructuring: the EU European Rapid Reaction Force (ERRF) and the NATO Response Force (NRF). Changes to Italian forces will take place largely within these two frameworks.

There are major differences between the Global Niche and the Regional Full Spectrum options, and it is important to understand these differences before discussing the changes in the Italian armed forces that would be required to implement them.

Global Niche

The Global Niche option focuses elements of the Italian military on selected capabilities for coalition operations, potentially anywhere in the world. The rationale for this option is that it would ensure Italian relevance in addressing critical global security issues as part of a coalition, while still being feasible in terms of resources (the Global Full Spectrum option, presented in the previous report, for example, would be more expensive than this approach). This
option could be applied to all branches of the Italian military, or to only one or two of the military Services. Within this option, Italy has to make an important initial choice about where to concentrate its efforts. There are two sub-options. Italy could prepare niche forces either for *Rapid Response* operations, where select Italian forces would be able to quickly deploy and participate in the early phases of a coalition operation, or Italy could focus its niche capabilities on *Sustained Operations*.

In the second case, Italy would provide selected niche forces that would be configured to arrive later in a coalition operation, after the initial conditions had been established by early-arriving forces from other nations. However, Italian forces could arrive while there is still a high likelihood of heavy combat taking place. In addition, Italian forces designed for this option could remain in the operational area for some portion of the stability phase of operations.

In either case, Italy would concentrate resources on its niche forces in order to make a meaningful contribution to coalition operations. It would do so in loose consultation with NATO and EU defense planners to clarify its role in the NRF and ERRF. Additional Italian armed forces (those elements not filling a niche role for global deployment operations) would be configured for homeland defense missions. The size and composition of the remainder of the Italian military would be based on the threats to the Italian homeland and the need to have a pool of forces to form a rotation base in the event that sustained operations last longer than anticipated or demand larger forces than planned.

**Regional Full Spectrum**

This option focuses the Italian armed forces on operations in the Mediterranean/Balkan region. The underlying rationale of this option is that Italy would best use its defense resources by focusing on regional problems. Italy would retain little if any ability to project and sustain forces globally. However, Italy would assume a major security role in the Mediterranean and surrounding areas, including the possibility of being the lead nation for some operations. In order to perform this expanded role the Italian armed forces would selectively enhance their capability to project power in the region and provide forces for operations that span the range of military operations from low to high intensity missions. Although Italy’s security role in the Mediterranean would be expanded in this option, Italy would still be configuring its
forces within an alliance framework. Choices on the size and exact composition of the Italian armed forces would be based on similar decisions by Italy’s friends and allies in the region.

**Homeland Security**

The focus of this study is on major strategic options for the configuration and employment of Italian forces operating outside Italy. The issue of defense of the Italian homeland, however, would remain an issue in either option.

In either the Global Niche or the Regional Full Spectrum options those elements of the military not configured for expeditionary operations beyond Italy would be focused on homeland security. How many forces would be required in the Army, Navy, Air Force, and Carabinieri would be based on the size and nature of the threats within the region. For example, although Italy might not have missile defense units as part of its global niche forces, a missile defense capability might be required for defense of the homeland, based on the specific nature of the threats that are present in the Mediterranean and Balkans.

The homeland defense requirement could be relatively large or small, depending on how Italian leaders assess the threats to the nation. If the threats to Italy are determined to be low, then many of the remainder of Italy’s military forces could be moved into reserve status, available for activation in the event of a crisis. It should be noted, however, that in contrast to many central and northern European nations, the immediate threats to Italy such as missile attack and unconventional attacks, even strikes on Italian ships in the Mediterranean, are more severe due to Italy’s proximity to areas of instability in the Mediterranean region. The specific requirements of what forces Italy would need for homeland security are beyond the scope of this study.

**Approach**

The study begins with a brief review of the current Italian military, including the force structure changes and equipment purchases that are already planned. This is designed to provide a base line for subsequent changes that would be required to implement the two options.

Chapters three and four provide a detailed assessment of both strategic
options that are the focus of this study. Each chapter focuses on the following questions:

- What are the strategic and operational goals that the option would be designed to achieve?
- What key military capabilities would the option require?
- What changes to the Italian military would have to be made to implement the option?
- Chapter five discusses the advantages and disadvantages of each option and evaluates them. It also examines trade-offs between the options.
2. The Italian Military in 2003

This chapter gives a brief overview of the current Italian military. This provides the context and starting point for considering the two options examined in this study. The Italian armed forces are in the middle of a transition to an all-volunteer force. That change will have important resource implications for the nation’s armed forces. In the post-World War II militaries of Europe, it was common for nations to have important restrictions on how conscripts could be employed. Often they were not allowed to deploy outside the home nation, or only to areas immediately bordering the nation. By transitioning to an all volunteer force, not only will the personnel be better trained as a result of longer services, there should be greater flexibility for the use of volunteer personnel for operations away from the Italian homeland.

Size and composition of the Italian Armed Forces

The Italian military presently consists of roughly 216,000 active duty personnel in the Army, Navy, and Air Force. Additionally, there are some 112,000 personnel in the Carabinieri\(^1\). The breakout by Service is:

- Army = 128,000 active, plus 12,000 reserves
- Navy = 38,000 active, plus 23,000 reserves
- Air Force = 50,800 active, and 30,000 reserves

The change to a volunteer military will result in a reduction of active duty military personnel to 190,000. The transition to a volunteer force is sched-

---

\(^1\) The Carabinieri is a military organization that performs functions for both the Ministry of the Interior and the Ministry of Defense. Although most Carabinieri operate inside Italy, the organization can and has deployed forces to operate alongside other elements of the Italian armed forces outside Italy.
uled to be completed by late 2006, with conscription ending in 2005. It is anticipated that the change to an all-professional military will increase personnel costs by roughly 500 million euros annually, even though some 25,000 personnel will be eliminated from the active force. The increased personnel costs will make it more difficult to provide the resources for modernization of the Italian military in coming years.

Army

Today the Italian Army consists of the following major combat elements:

- One armored brigade
- Five mechanized brigades
- One armored cavalry brigade
- One parachute brigade
- Two mountain brigades
- One air assault brigade
- One air defense brigade (armed with the I-HAWK SAM)
- Various support units

The Army will be reorganized into a total of nine ground operations brigades, plus one air cavalry brigade in the coming years. Three of the brigades will be “medium” units armed with wheeled armored fighting vehicles that are more conducive to air deployment than heavy armor (although Italy’s wheeled armored fighting vehicles cannot fit in the C-130. The C-17 or the new European A-400M, targeted to enter the service in 2009, would be required to air deploy Italian medium units). Two of the “light” brigades will be mountain units, while the third will be a paratrooper brigade. Finally, three brigades will be “heavy” units armed with main battle tanks and armored personnel carriers.

The Italian Army has several specialized capabilities that are not generally found in most land forces. These include the two mountain brigades that have training and equipment for operations in difficult, mountainous terrain. The Army also maintains a mountain airborne battalion in addition to the units found in the two mountain brigades.

A number of modernization plans were initiated for the Army in the

---

2 It should be noted, however, that Italy has dropped out of the A-400 program.
1980s and 1990s. Some of these are still underway, with the equipment deliveries still in progress. It is important to note these planned equipment enhancements, since they represent choices already made. While some modifications may be possible, contractual, budgetary, and political factors may constrain the degree to which already planned and/or ongoing equipment purchases could be changed. This reality is true for all branches of the Italian military, not just the Army.

Important modernization plans for the Italian Army include:

- 200 Ariete main battle tanks have recently been delivered to the Army. This roughly 60-ton tank will be the mainstay of Italy’s heavy units (three brigades) for many years into the future.
- The *Dardo* armored infantry fighting vehicle will be delivered from 2002-2005 and will equip the infantry of Italy’s three heavy brigades.
- The *Puma* wheeled armored vehicles will equip cavalry, mountain infantry, paratroop, and amphibious units. Deliveries take place from 2003-2005. A total of over 550 vehicles are being produced.
- 70 of the German-designed 55-ton PzH 2000 armored self-propelled howitzer will equip the artillery battalions of Italian heavy units. Deliveries are scheduled from 2005-2011.
- 60 NH-90 transport helicopters are scheduled for delivery from 2004 onward.
- A new surface-to-air missile system is planned to replace the American-designed I-HAWK. Funding problems are delaying that effort.

**Navy**

The Italian Navy is already one of the most powerful naval forces in the Mediterranean region. After the Mediterranean-based U.S. 6th Fleet, the Italian Navy ranks with the French fleet as the most important naval force in the region. Today the Navy has the following major units:

- The *Garibaldi* light aircraft carrier armed with AV-8B Harrier fighters, and helicopters.
- The *Vittorio Veneto* guided missile cruiser
- Four guided missile destroyers
- 14 frigates of various types
- 16 coastal combatants ranging from corvettes to patrol vessels
• Three amphibious ships capable of lifting (when combined) a Marine infantry battalion
• 13 mine warfare vessels
• Six submarines with limited range
• A small number of support-type ships such as oilers and repair vessels

The Italian Navy will remain roughly the same size for the rest of the decade. The most important already-planned modernization efforts include:

• A new aircraft carrier of roughly 26,000 tons (essentially double the size of the current Garibaldi) to go into service in 2008, possibly armed with the U.S.-designed F-35 Joint Strike Fighter.
• Two new Horizon-type guided missile destroyers of roughly 7,000 tons to enter service in 2007-2009, with options for two more.
• A new class of 10 frigates built in conjunction with France, scheduled to enter service in 2008-2018.
• Two new submarines to enter service in 2006-07, with the possibility of two additional boats being built.
• Mid-life upgrades to various current ships.
• There is also the possibility that a new amphibious ship of some 14,000 tons will be built in the farther future.
• The navy also has a small, but very well trained group of commando-type units are capable of sea-based direct action missions.

**Air Force**

Just as the Italian Navy is one of the most capable naval forces in the Mediterranean, the Italian Air Force today is among the leading air services in that region. The Italian Air Force today has the ability to conduct many types of operations.

The major components of the Italian Air Force today include:

• Five squadrons of interceptor-type fighters armed with a mix of Tornado, F-16, and the old F-104, the latter being scheduled for replacement by the Eurofighter EF-2000 Typhoon.
• Six squadrons of ground attack fighters armed with Tornado, AMX, and MB-339s.
• A transport wing with C-130 and the G-222. The G-222s are to be phased out in the near future.
• Various combat at search and rescue, aerial tanking, and special transport aircraft.
• Four 707 tankers.
• A wing of long-range surface-to-air missiles (Nike Hercules).

The Air Force’s near-term modernization plans include the following major elements:

• Some 120 EF-2000 Eurofighter Typhoons to upgrade interceptor squadrons.
• Additional C-130J transports, for a total of 22 such aircraft.
• Upgrades to existing fighters to include provisions for the AMRAAM missile and the JDAM GPS-guided bomb.
• Four B-767 tankers.
• 12 C-27 transports to replace the outgoing G-222s.

There is a possibility that Joint Strike Fighter will be procured at some point in the future. The Italian Navy is also interested in JSF for the new aircraft carrier that will replace the Garibaldi. So far Italy is participating in the development of the F-35 JSF, but has not committed to a purchase at this time.

**Carabinieri**

The Carabinieri became an independent service in the 1990s, although it is still commanded by an Army general and is considered an Armed Force. With a strength of some 112,000 personnel, the Carabinieri is only slightly smaller than the Army. Essentially a heavily armed and militarized constabulary, the Carabinieri have gained a good reputation for police-type operations in the Balkans and elsewhere. They are very well-suited for stability-type operations. The force has armored cars, helicopters, armored personnel carriers, heavy infantry-type weapons, and military training. Carabinieri elements were sent to Iraq as part of the multi-national stability force.

The overwhelming majority of the Carabinieri is focused on operations inside Italy. Only one Carabinieri brigade is intended for overseas deployments and operations. This is the 2nd Brigata Mobile that has three battalion-sized regiments and a total strength of roughly 2,000 personnel. Additionally, the Carabinieri maintains a small special operations force with a counter-terrorism focus.
The Carabinieri has an excellent internal command and control network that permits real-time “visibility” of all its vehicles that are conducting operations. In that regard, the Carabinieri is probably ahead of the rest of the Italian armed forces in the extent of the “situational awareness” of its own assets. The extent to which the Carabinieri’s command and communications systems are compatible with similar systems in foreign military forces alongside which the Carabinieri might have to operate is an issue, since that service could figure prominently in either strategic option 3.

There are two constraints to an increased use of Carabinieri in either the Global Niche or Regional Full Spectrum options. First, as noted, the great majority of the force is employed in police-type missions inside Italy. Therefore, if increased use of the Carabinieri was required outside the country, some substitute organization or a larger total force of Carabinieri would be needed to carry out domestic missions. Second, the ability of the Italian military to deploy and sustain forces outside Italy means that if Carabinieri are deployed, some other element of the Armed Forces might not be.

Overarching Force Transformation Issues

As noted above, the Italian Armed Forces are currently engaged in an important transition to new equipment and capabilities, in addition to moving toward an all volunteer force. Nevertheless, the Italian military, as well as the other armed forces in Europe, recognize the “capability gap” that has developed in recent decades between their forces and those of the United States. U.S. defense spending, which is larger than all of Europe combined, has allowed the U.S. to modernize its forces faster (including a more rapid and complete introduction of new network centric techniques and technologies) and procure far more air and sealift than Europe has in the past two decades. As Italy considers options for the future, including the Global Niche and Regional Full Spectrum options analyzed in this study, it should look for ways to close important capability gaps in with U.S. forces.

The Italian Army, Navy, and Air Force all have taken steps to enhance interoperability in coalition operations, particularly NATO missions. The command, control and communications equipment of the Italian armed forces

3 Data for this chapter were compiled from various sources including Jane’s World Armies, the 2002-2003 edition of the Military Balance, data provided by CeMiSS, and a memorandum provided to RAND from the headquarters of the Carabinieri.
have been designed to be interoperable with other NATO elements. Italy is now a major contributor to NATO’s rapid reaction corps, the ARRC. These steps toward enhanced coalition interoperability are conducive to either option under consideration in this study. However, a capability gap currently exists between U.S. and European military forces. Some European nations, in particular the British, are striving to maintain interoperability with U.S. forces in critical command and control areas. NATO as a whole, however, may still be falling behind the U.S., even as NATO improves its internal interoperability. This is an important issue for Italy to consider as it plans for the future.

An important issue for any future transformation of the Italian military is the implication in terms of the new paradigm for military operations: networking. Essentially, network centric operations enable forces of all types and services to rely on one another, on fused information from all available sensors, and on a unified joint (and possibly coalition) command and control system.

The principle benefits from networking are:

- Enhanced situational awareness
- More precise effects
- Improved flexibility
- The ability to conduct operations at a higher tempo than one’s opponent
- The ability to operate forces in a distributed but still integrated manner

Recent operations in Afghanistan and Iraq demonstrated how a smaller ground force can operate with increased lethality and survivability due to the joint connectivity and firepower made available via network centric operations.

NATO committed to force transformation at the Prague Summit. Italy should follow this trend. There are, of course, costs associated with transformation in general, and network centric operations in particular. Additionally, these changes will not come about overnight; they require time and resources.

As Italy considers the options presented in this research, various levels of transformation and networking could be required. For example:

- The Global Niche/Rapid Response sub-option would require the most aggressive transformation so that Italian forces could fulfill critical missions and tasks for a coalition, whether it is a NATO, EU, or US-led ad hoc operation.
- The Global Niche/Sustained Operations sub-option would require less aggressive transformation because the need to network with foreign forces eases after the most intense phases of combat are over.
The Regional Full Spectrum option would require broad transformation and use of networking in order to improve the effectiveness of Italian forces and to permit interoperability, especially with U.S. forces in the region or when Italy is acting as the lead nation.
3. Global Niche

In this option, Italy would focus on developing militarily important capabilities that contribute to multi-national coalition operations, possibly anywhere in the world.

The Global Niche option is designed with demanding coalition expeditionary operations in mind. The Italian military would not have a full range of air, land, and naval forces available for global deployments. In Europe today the only two nations that have significant power projection capability (including the ability to transport and sustain their forces) for world-wide operations are Britain and France. If this strategic option was selected, the fact that the Italian military was focused on key niche areas – and prepared for operations anywhere in the world – would have to be clearly understood by Italian policymakers, the Italian public, as well as Italy’s allies and likely coalition partners. Selected portions of the Italian forces would be configured, and receive resource priority, to fill the capability niches that were selected.

As Italian policy makers consider the details of this strategic option, they need to decide whether to focus on one of two sub-options: *Rapid Response* or *Sustained Combat* operations.

- **Rapid Response.** In this sub-option, the Italian military would develop niche forces focused on fighting alongside the other members of a coalition early in an operation. These forces would be designed for early deployment in a crisis, using military airlift aircraft and shipping, supplemented where possible by commercial assets.

- **In the Sustained Operations.** In this sub-option, Italian niche forces would be intended for the later phases of operations, as well as peace enforcement and stability missions. In this case, there would be less emphasis on deployment speed and more reliance could be placed on commercial transportation assets. On the other hand, the size of the Italian force could be larger in the latter case.
The types of missions and capabilities required by a coalition for this strategic option are listed in Table 3.1. Italy would not need all of these capabilities, but the coalition would.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th><strong>Rapid Response</strong></th>
<th><strong>Sustained Operations</strong></th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td><strong>Missions</strong></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Air superiority</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Interdiction</td>
<td>Major offensives</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Suppression of enemy air defense</td>
<td>Reconnaissannce/surveillance</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Counter-mine operations</td>
<td>Urban operations</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Special operations actions</td>
<td>Naval patrolling</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Reconnaissance/surveillance</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Rapid seizure and holding of terrain</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Capabilities Required</strong></td>
<td><strong>Capabilities Required</strong></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Offensive and defensive counter air</td>
<td>Ground units for major offensive operations</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Long range strike forces</td>
<td>Specialized urban ops units</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Naval aviation</td>
<td>Ground support aircraft</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Area missile defenses</td>
<td>Commercial transport aircraft</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Forced entry ground units</td>
<td>Commercial transport ships</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Long range aerial tanking</td>
<td>Military police</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Military transport aircraft</td>
<td>Civil affairs units</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Military transport ships</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Special operations forces</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>High readiness levels for Short notice deployment</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ability to integrate (network) with coalition forces</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Table 3.1 - Missions and Capabilities for Niche Options
Issues

The table above highlights the types of missions and capabilities associated with the Rapid Response or Sustained Operations sub-options within the Global Niche strategy. How then, should Italy make its choices regarding which path to pursue, and what capabilities it should concentrate on?

First, Italy would have to decide on which sub-option it would want to pursue: Rapid Response or Sustained Operations. This is the fundamental choice associated with the Global Niche option. The armament, equipment, doctrine, and level of required readiness of the niche forces is influenced by the Rapid Response versus Sustained Combat decision. If Italy decides to focus on Rapid Response operations, the readiness levels of the niche forces and the amount of multi-national communications connectivity required will be higher than if the Sustained Operations option is selected. On the other hand, if Italy wants to provide forces for Sustained Operations, then the readiness levels of the niche forces could be lower. Similarly, early deploying Italian forces would require more military-owned airlift and sealift that would be available on short notice, as opposed to late deploying forces that would move largely by commercial transportation assets contracted for the particular crisis.

Once a decision is made on whether to pursue the Rapid Response or Sustained Operations path, then other, more detailed decisions are required in order to select which military capabilities are the Italian Armed Forces need to emphasize.

Two criteria are important to identify appropriate capabilities for Italian forces:

1. **What are the greatest needs of a coalition force in which Italy could participate?** Italy should examine its niche options in terms of operations alongside the U.S. or as part of a European coalition. There are many possible niche areas for the Italian military. Many choices are available for the Army, Navy, and Air Force. Some niche forces would cost considerably more (for example, missile defense) than others (such as light infantry units). In a Europe-only context, the nature of the niches Italy could select would be somewhat different than if Italy based its niche forces on demanding expeditionary operations alongside the United States. For example, the U.S. Navy has by far the strongest naval aviation capability in the world. Therefore, the contributions of coalition partners in this area are less important than in a Europe-only context where in all of non-Russian Europe there are only about six aircraft carriers, all of them small by U.S. standards.
2. What capabilities does Italy already have that could, with some or no enhancement, fill an important coalition niche. Italy already has some capabilities that are in demand and would fill an important niche in a NATO operation. These include the Army’s mountain troops, the Navy’s light aircraft carrier and special operations units, and the Carabinieri. Italy may want to play to its existing strengths when identifying possible niche areas. It should be noted that even if Italy elects to play to one or more of its traditional strengths, there would still be a need to coordinate such choices with allies. It would not be helpful from an alliance perspective if, for example, most of the NATO air forces selected an air superiority niche, thinking that was an existing strength of each of their air forces, while leaving uncovered other missions such as suppression of air defenses or precision ground strike. Fortunately, there are mechanisms within NATO and the EU to help coordinate alliance choices on important issues such as which nation(s) will fill a particular niche.

Once Italy identifies niche areas using the criteria listed above, it can then identify capabilities that could be reduced or eliminated. It should be possible to identify various types of forces and capabilities that could be reduced or eliminated in order to free resources for the global niche forces. For example, Italy might want to create a squadron of SEAD-capable fighters with the associated cargo support aircraft for global deployments. If it was determined that the air threat to Italy was modest, then purchases of air superiority fighters for homeland air defense could be minimized in order to free funds for the Air Force (and other Service) global niche capabilities.

Rapid Response: Implications for the Italian Military

As mentioned earlier, a fundamental issue for Italian policymakers is whether to seek niches that focus on Rapid Response operations or Sustained Combat operations. This section will examine implications for the Italian armed forces if the first alternative was followed – rapidly deployable forces suitable for early participation in global expeditionary combat operations.

The key capabilities (based on Table 3.1 and the two criteria listed above) of the niche forces needed to carry out this option would include:

- **Capabilities for the intense, potentially dangerous early phase of operations.** This includes the ability to deploy promptly, to overcome enemy
anti-access techniques, strike operations against key enemy capabilities, and the ability to conduct forced entry operations.

- **Readiness, training, and doctrine for short notice global deployments for coalition operations.** These are, in part, “cultural” issues for the Italian military. Those forces identified as niche elements would have to be able to deploy on fairly short notice (days or a few weeks) for operations alongside American, other European, or (at least theoretically) forces from countries anywhere in the world that could arrive in the operational area early in a crisis. Certain elements of the Italian armed forces today are preparing for short notice coalition missions. These include Italian Army forces in the rapid reaction corps and naval units that operate with the NATO and European standing naval force in the Mediterranean. In this option, Italian officers would probably need to be permanently included on key coalition planning staffs that could lead rapid deployment missions. Examples include NATO’s ARRC, and various U.S. staffs such as Central Command (CENTCOM) and European Command (EUCOM). Including Italian officers in these staffs would permit closer peacetime planning efforts – a critical enabler for rapid response when a crisis actually takes place.

- **Command and control systems that are conducive to coalition operations.** Today the Italian armed forces are basing their C2 systems on NATO standards. That step significantly enhances the ability to conduct coalition operations, especially on short notice. For example, many Italian fighters today have Link 16 capability. Depending on the specific niche(s) that Italy selected, integrated, coalition-capable C2 systems would be needed. Some of these are more technically challenging and expensive than others. For example, if the Italian Navy wanted to participate in the U.S. Navy’s Cooperative Engagement System for missile defense, very high quality (and costly) integration would be required among some Italian ships.

- **Sufficient air and sea lift to deploy and sustain the niche forces.** This has been alluded to earlier in the preliminary discussions of the current state of the Italian armed forces. This is an area of relative weakness in almost all European militaries, the British and French being notable exceptions. If Italy created certain niche forces (particularly Air Force and Army) without the requisite lift to deploy and at least initially sustain them with organic Italian lift assets, there would be a good chance that those forces would not be able to deploy quickly, since such forces would have to wait on strategic lift becoming available from other nations once they have de-
ployed their own forces, or wait for contracted civilian lift to become available. Recent operations in Afghanistan highlight this issue – several European nations quickly offered forces for movement to Afghanistan, but had no means to deploy or sustain them. As mentioned earlier, the Italian military would either have to own appropriate deployment assets or it would be dependent on lift from a coalition partner and the utility of the niche forces would be diminished.

The Navy

The Italian Navy could have important roles in a Rapid Response force. Politically, it may be much easier to gain support to deploy naval forces early in a crisis, since naval units do not need permission to enter another nation’s territory and can maintain a low profile well “over the horizon” until needed for action.

The likely missions that the Italian Navy would have to perform in the Rapid Response option include strike operations with missiles and carrier aircraft, countering enemy anti-access capabilities such as mines, lift of other Italian forces into a distant operational area, and littoral control.

With two important exceptions, the capabilities listed below highlight naval capabilities appropriate for Rapid Response based on the missions and capabilities in Table 3.1, and that meet the two criteria listed earlier: (1) fulfilling coalition needs, and (2) areas where Italy already has existing strengths.

Examples of naval capabilities that would be applicable to the Rapid Response sub-option include:

- **Naval aviation for strike operations.** Italy is already among the small group of European nations that have aircraft carriers. The follow-on to the Garabaldi is envisioned as a much more capable ship, thus giving the Italian Navy the ability to rapidly deploy a meaningful strike capability either with other European naval elements, or alongside the U.S. Navy. As noted earlier, an Italian carrier capability has relatively more importance in a European context, since U.S. naval aviation is so powerful. Nevertheless, the U.S. would likely welcome more power projection capability from the European navies, and the aircraft carrier is still the premier naval power projection platform for non-nuclear operations. Naval aviation can be considered one of the comparative advantages of the Italian Navy for the foreseeable future.
• **Missile defense-capable ships.** Depending on who the opponent is, there could be a great demand for sea-based missile defenses. Today the Italian Navy is planning on several new air defense destroyers of the European Horizon type. These ships could potentially be given a missile defense role. This would be a useful capability in a coalition context, especially at the start of an operation when the enemy’s missile forces would pose the greatest threat to allied access.

• **Sealift to deploy and sustain Italian forces.** Although airlift is usually thought of as the best means to quickly deploy forces, often the air-sea deployment calculus favors deployment by sea, especially to littoral areas where the airport infrastructure is poor. This is a relatively weak area in the Italian Navy, and is the one exception to the two-criteria guideline listed above, since it is not an area of existing Italian strength. The lack of strategic lift in most European nations today, however, means that this important niche must be filled, either by Italy or other nations even though there is relatively little existing current capability on which to build. An additional point of consideration is that ships are considerably cheaper than aircraft for the amount of tonnage that they move.

• **Logistics ships to sustain early deploying forces.** Whether Italy’s early deploying forces are naval-only or if they include elements of the Army and Air Force, having a logistics capability to sustain forces that may be operating at considerable distances from Italy would be needed. Such a ship could be a multi-role supply vessel for naval use, as well as deliver support to forces ashore. This capability would complement the sealift, mentioned above. As was the case with sealift, this is a relatively weak area in today’s Italian Navy, but the same logic applies as in the sealift case – there is an overarching European need to improve in this area.

• **Countermining operations.** One of the most widely employed “anti-access” capabilities of future opponents could be sea mines. A coalition force deploying into a mined area would need the ability to clear that area quickly. Today the Italian Navy has a useful number of minesweepers that could be configured for early deployment, although they would need logistics support ships (mentioned above) to accompany them to an operation far beyond Italy.

• **Naval special operations forces.** Although only available in small numbers, the naval commando force that exists today in the Italian Navy is an important capability that could be useful to a coalition. Due to their small numbers, naval commandos or raiding forces would be deployable in small amounts of strategic lift. If Italy could expand the number of mis-
sions that its naval special operations forces are capable of performing (with U.S. Navy SEAL forces as the model), this would enhance the usefulness of this niche force.

Army

As mentioned earlier, the current Italian Army has a useful mix of heavy, medium, and light forces. Additionally, the Army has a number of specialized units that are either unique in NATO, or only available in small numbers.

Likely missions for Italian Army forces in the Rapid Response case include forced entry to seize lodgments for follow-on forces, rapid seizure of key terrain, and rapidly deployable forces that could provide the initial follow-on to a forced entry operation. The criteria for selecting Army capabilities for the Rapid Response sub-options are the same as for the Navy: providing forces that can accomplish the types of missions listed in Table 3.1, developing capabilities that meet coalition needs and focusing on capabilities that are already Italian strengths.

Should Italian decisionmakers decide that the Army should provide Rapid Response niche forces, example Army capabilities include:

- **Airborne forces and light infantry.** These Army units are generally lightly armed with few vehicles and are therefore conducive to air deployment. In order to keep one battalion on short-notice alert, at least one brigade would have to be maintained on a rotational readiness basis. Today this capability is a relative strength for the Italian Army, but the Italian Air Force lacks sufficient transport aircraft to deploy and sustain a sizable light force a long distance from Italy.

- **Mountain troops.** This is a rare capability in NATO’s armed forces, and the U.S. Army maintains no specialized mountain-trained units (the 10th Mountain Division has that title as a World War II-era honor; the division has no specialized mountain capabilities). Like light infantry and airborne forces, mountain infantry would be relatively easy to deploy by air — although the previously mentioned limitation of insufficient transport planes still applies. Currently a strength for the Italian Army as a rapidly deployable niche option.

- **Medium armored forces.** The U.S. Army is currently introducing this class of maneuver unit in the form of its Stryker Brigades. The Italian Army has used wheeled medium armored vehicles for many years and has
several brigades of these units. Although most of Italy’s wheeled armor are not conducive to deployment on C-130 or G-222, elements of these units could be air deployed if a larger airlifter (such as A-400M or C-17) was obtained by the Italian Air Force.

- **Special Forces.** The Italian Army plans to expand its spectrum of Special Forces and special operation-capable units, by the constitution of a dedicated Special Operation Command. A broader range of “special capabilities”, including ranger-style units, psychological warfare and civil affairs, together with the existing direct-action and deep reconnaissance assets and supported by specially equipped helicopters, could prove to be an effective solution for the creation of a rapid response niche.

**Air Force**

The Italian Air Force today is configured for operations close to Italy or from well-established bases that are within range of Italy, such as in the Balkans.

Should Italy select to focus on the Rapid Response Niche sub-option, the likely missions of the Italian Air Force would include: precision strikes against critical enemy units such as command and control nodes, suppression of enemy air defenses, and defeat of enemy air forces.

The criteria for identifying Italian Air Force capabilities appropriate for Rapid Response are the same as in the case of the Navy and Army.

- **Suppression of enemy air defenses.** One Italian fighter squadron has the capability to use anti-radiation missiles. Early in a crisis enemy air defenses will probably be at their most severe. Therefore, this would be a useful capability for a coalition, even if it was dominated by the United States. Probably a relative strength to build on in today’s Italian Air Force.

- **Air transport.** This key capability has already been mentioned several times. It is particularly important for Italian Army and Air Force early deploying elements; less so for the Italian Navy (Italian Navy commandos could be deployed via airlift). Today this is a weak area in the Air Force, given the amount of lift that would be required by either the Army or Air Force’s early deploying elements. As with sealift, however, this is an area of particular weakness in most of Europe. Therefore, if Italy wanted to focus on developing a Rapid Response sub-option, airlift would probably need to be increased even though it is not a current area of strength in the Italian military.
Inappropriate Capabilities

Should Italy decide to pursue the Rapid Response sub-option, the Services have some capabilities that are not appropriate for that mission. Italian decisionmakers should identify capabilities that could be eliminated or reduced in order to free resources for the niche areas that are selected. An example is

- **Air Superiority.** With the introduction of the Eurofighter, Italy will have several squadrons of air-superiority fighters. This capability is found in most European nations, and the U.S. has an abundance of air superiority aircraft, this Italian capability could probably be reduced significantly, depending on the homeland defense requirement.

- **Heavy armored forces.** The Army is planning on three heavy brigades armed with the Ariete main battle tank. There would be no need for Italian heavy forces in the Rapid Response sub-option. Additionally, many other European armies have this capability, as does the U.S. Army.

Sustained Operations: Implications for the Italian Military

If Italy decides to focus on developing forces for the Sustained Operations sub-option, the general characteristics of the forces needed for this sub-option would be different than units optimized for the Rapid Response sub-option. Italian forces optimized for sustained combat would still have to be capable of integrating into a coalition, but they would have more time (weeks or months) to prepare for and deploy to those operations. These forces would be well suited for participation in the ERRF or as forces to follow on to a deployment of the NRF to help it consolidate victory. There are two major roles that late-deploying Italian forces could fulfill. First, Italy could provide forces for offensive operations that may not start until weeks or months after the beginning of a campaign. Second, Italy could provide forces for stabilization operations such as peace enforcement. These latter missions, such as today’s operations in Afghanistan or Iraq, require different capabilities than early deploying forces.

In terms of offensive operations, Italian forces (probably arriving via contracted commercial air and sea lift) would arrive after the initial forces had achieved forced entry but in time to participate in offensive missions to win or to consolidate control of enemy territory. Although Italian forces would arrive after the battle against key enemy “anti-access” capabilities was largely won, this
missions could still involve heavy fighting against enemy forces, including operations in difficult urban terrain. In the case of peace enforcement and stability-type missions, the operation could be prolonged, lasting up to several years.

The Service capabilities listed below are based on the list in Table 3.1 and the two criteria mentioned earlier: (1) filling key coalition needs, and (2) stressing areas where the Italian military already has existing strengths.

**Navy**

The role of the Italian Navy in this case would be deployment and sustainment of Italian and coalition forces, plus patrolling to ensure no remaining enemy anti-access capability could threaten coalition forces. Specific examples of Italian naval capabilities for this role include:

- **Transport ships with global reach.** The Italian Navy could focus on procuring or leasing cargo-type ships to deploy forces and supplies to coalition elements in the later phases of operations. This is a weakness in today’s Italian Navy. However, the logic of why more lift is needed from the rapid response option still holds in this case.

- **Escort.** The cargo ships mentioned above could require escort, as could other maritime traffic operating in areas where a prolonged threat is present (such as the lengthy “tanker war” in the Persian Gulf in the 1980s) or piracy in coastal regions. The Italian Navy today has a reasonable capability in this area with its force of destroyer and frigate-type ships.

- **Coastal patrol for prolonged low intensity missions.** As noted above, stability operations could last years. There could be a need for coastal or riverine patrol vessels for patrolling, maritime interdiction, and naval quarantine mission. Such “small craft” (ranging in size from river patrol vessels to corvette-type small combatants) would also need appropriate logistics support ships for prolonged operations.

**Army**

The likely missions of the Italian Army in the Sustained Operations option would include offensive operations to seize and control enemy terrain, clearing out remaining pockets of enemy forces, urban operations, and stability operations.
In the Gulf War in 1991, in Kosovo in 1999, and in the recent war with Iraq in 2003, it was months before coalition forces were ready to conduct large-scale offensive (or counteroffensive) operations. While this may not always hold true in the future, in some future cases political and military considerations mean that a considerable amount of time could pass before a coalition is willing and ready to conduct offensive operations. The Italian Army’s contributions in the Sustained Operations case include:

- **Heavy forces that could deploy by sea.** Today this is a strength of the Italian Army which has recently introduced a new main battle tank, a new armored personnel carrier, and is about to procure the German PzH 2000 heavy self-propelled howitzer.
- **Light and motorized forces for control of urban areas or other complex terrain.** This is also an area of strength for the Italian Army, which today has light, mountain, and motorized units.

**Air Force**

In the Sustained Operations sub-option, the missions of the Italian Air Force change in a similar manner to the Navy. The focus of Italian air efforts would be ground support aircraft, transport, and reconnaissance. In this case, there would be little need for air superiority or suppression of enemy air defense elements, since by the time the Italian Air Force arrived the enemy air force would probably be defeated and the opponent’s air defenses significantly weakened. Example capabilities include:

- **Air transport.** The Air Force could be expected to transport Italian and other coalition forces around the operational area, especially if operations are taking place deep inland. Since Italian forces would be arriving later in the operation than in the Rapid Response sub-option, the Air Force’s transport capability could consist of a mix of military aircraft as well as contracted commercial aircraft.
- **Aerial reconnaissance.** By the time late deploying Italian forces arrive, the reconnaissance challenge could be different than the early phases of operations. Nevertheless, there would always be a need for real-time data on friendly and enemy forces. If the operation is a challenging counterinsurgency mission, where identification of enemy forces is difficult, the Air Force’s reconnaissance capabilities could be optimized to locating and
possibly identifying enemy forces camouflaged in urban areas, and small groups of enemy who are operating in a dispersed manner.

Carabinieri

While the Carabinieri would probably not figure prominently in the Rapid Response sub-option, the organization could have a very important role in a Sustained Operations sub-option. There is no equivalent to the Carabinieri in the American armed forces. The Carabinieri brigade that is configured for deployment outside Italy is, essentially, a heavily militarized police force. Better prepared than combat troops for stability and law enforcement-type missions, the Carabinieri have established a very good reputation for conducting peace or stability-type operations in the Balkans and elsewhere.

The Carabinieri could play an important role in the Sustained Operations sub-option, deploying alongside the Army to gain and maintain control of areas of enemy territory that have been seized. Possible missions for the Carabinieri include: police functions and control of urban areas that have been seized from enemy forces, establishment and enforcement of law and order in occupied areas, training of indigenous police forces.

An increase in the numbers of Carabinieri configured for global use might be needed. This is especially true if Italian forces were expected to remain in a crisis area for what could be years-long stability operations.

Nevertheless, including the Carabinieri in the Sustained Operations sub-option has considerable appeal. There would be a need to have a force such as this to help stabilize areas that are taken over by coalition forces. As mentioned above, the law enforcement focus of the Carabinieri make them ideal for stability missions. Since the Carabinieri would be a late deploying niche force, there would be little if any need to procure expensive transport aircraft to enable their deployment to the crisis area. Time would be available to contract air transport if that was needed. In some cases Carabinieri forces could deploy on surface transport to a crisis location (road and rail) or could deploy by sea.

Inappropriate Capabilities

As was the case in the Rapid Response sub-option, in the Sustained Operations sub-option Italian decisionmakers should identify existing capabilities in the Italian military that would not be appropriate for this mission. The
resources freed by reducing or eliminating inappropriate capabilities would then be available for other, more applicable, capabilities. Examples include:

- **Air Superiority.** By the time Italian forces would arrive in the operational area the battle for air superiority would be over. Therefore, the need for aircraft and other systems dedicated to the air superiority mission would be minimal or non-existent. Only homeland security would require this capability, based on the direct threats to Italy.

- **Naval Aviation.** In the case of the Sustained Operations sub-option, there would be less need for sea-based aviation to support operations ashore.

- **Army Airborne Forces.** In the Sustained Operations sub-option, Italian forces would arrive after the forced entry phase of an operation is over. Therefore, Italian Army forces that are optimized for forced entry roles could be eliminated.
4. Regional Full Spectrum

In the Regional Full Spectrum option the Italian military would be focused on operations in the Mediterranean region. Italy would assume a major security role in the area. In order to perform this expanded strategic role, the Italian military would need a very wide suite of capabilities for missions that would span the range of military operations, from humanitarian assistance, peace operations, small sudden contingency operations, all the way to major war in the region.

For purposes of this analysis, the Mediterranean region is defined as running from Morocco and Spain in the west through Syria and Lebanon in the east. It stretches from the Balkans (Croatia, Bosnia, and Yugoslavia) in the north to several hundred miles into the Sahara Desert in the south. Therefore, while not strictly limited to the shores of the Mediterranean Sea, it clearly includes those nations along the coast, as well as a few hundred miles inland from the sea.

The Regional Full Spectrum option would require the Italian armed forces to be able to participate in operations that span the range of military operations. The types of operations include:

- **Major war** in the Mediterranean region where Italian forces would conduct expeditionary deployments in conjunction with coalition partners and allies.
- **Mid-level conflicts** such as counter-insurgency missions, short notice strike operations to combat terrorists, or the coercive uses of strike operations.
- **Stability operations** such as peace enforcement and peace keeping. These missions could be either small (a few dozen Italian personnel) or very large (thousands of Italian military personnel are committed), and could be of either relatively short duration (a few months) to prolonged (years long) commitments of the Italian military.
Although the Italian military would have an expanded role in this option, it would still be functioning within an alliance framework. Italian choices on force structure and specific capabilities could still be taken in conjunction with the force structure and capabilities choices of other friendly nations in the Mediterranean region. Italian choices in this option would also influence American decisions regarding how much U.S. military presence would still be required in the area. Similarly, NATO and the EU force structure choices in the Mediterranean region would influence Italy, as Italian capabilities would help inform other allied nations as to the amount of capability they would require in the region.

Politically, this option would require Italian leaders to ensure that the public understands the expanded role that the nation would have in the region. Italy could be required to provide units for stability operations that could last many years. Additionally, should a dangerous crisis erupt in the Mediterranean region, Italy would expect to be one of the major players in a coalition effort to resolve the crisis—including committing considerable amounts of military force, if necessary. Finally, in this option, Italy would have an increased ability to act unilaterally in response to a crisis in the region.

In this option the Italian military would have very little, if any, ability to deploy and sustain forces far from the Mediterranean region. Italy’s allies, the Italian public, and decision makers would have to understand this reality. Therefore, this strategic option would have the advantage of focusing the Italian armed forces on operations in the region closest to home. However, this option has the disadvantage of limiting the ability of the Italian government to deploy forces farther afield, should the West’s interests be threatened by some action taken from outside the Mediterranean.

In this option, the Italian Armed Forces are sized and equipped based on the types of threats that could arise in the region. This is significantly different than in the Global Niche options, where global mission requirements, coalition needs, and existing Italian strengths would become the primary criteria for determining the size of the force and the capabilities needed.

The likely missions and associated capabilities required for this option include:
Missions

Major Combat operations
Strikes and raids
Peace keeping and peace enforcement
Regional force projection
Nation building
Deterrence

Capabilities Required

Special operations forces
Sufficient forces for protracted peace operations (need for a rotation base)
Forward presence forces (within the region)
Forces capable of short notice strikes within the region
Heavy, medium, and light ground forces
Full spectrum air capabilities (air superiority, strike, reconnaissance, tanking, air transport, surveillance)
Theater reconnaissance and surveillance systems
Theater and national missile defense
Surface and sub-surface naval capabilities
Sealift

Table 4.1 - Missions and Capabilities for Regional Full Spectrum Option

Issues

There are a number of issues that Italy’s decisionmakers would have to resolve in order to achieve this option. These include:

- **What are the main threats in the region?** Since Italy would have a major security role, the full range of threats to Italian, NATO, and EU interests in the region would have to be considered when Italian force capabilities and structure are determined. The capabilities listed in the table above would be influenced by the regional threats. For example, since Italy today has no ballistic missile defense capabilities for either defense of the homeland or protection of deployed forces, this capability would proba-
bly have to be created, given the missile systems that are becoming available to some of the nations in the region. Similarly, the Italian armed forces might have to assume a major role in peace enforcement and peace keeping operations in the Mediterranean, a role that would require the right type and quantity of forces needed for these missions.

- **How well suited are the present and planned future Italian armed forces for this expanded role?** The Italian military already is generally focused on the Mediterranean region, and has a generally well balanced mix of air, land, and naval capabilities appropriate for the area. The Army has a mix of heavy, medium, and light forces that would be appropriate for the different terrain types found in the region, the Navy has a useful mix of ship types for operations inside the Mediterranean, and the Air Force is capable of operations close to the homeland from existing Italian bases. Given the expanded role of the Italian armed forces in this option, the question is, where are capability gaps, and where might there be an excess of capability? A major feature of this strategic option is the fact that Italy would have to maintain a wide suite of capabilities in order to have a leading role in operations that span the entire range of military operations.

- **How can Italy create a Regional Full Spectrum force in concert with allies?** As mentioned above, this option assumes that Italy is still operating in conjunction with allies. Although all the Mediterranean nations (and the United States) would understand that Italy would have an increased role in the region, Italy would coordinate its force structure planning and modernization decisions to the actions of its allies. Other European nations, especially those with interests in the Mediterranean area, could be consulted closely about Italy’s steps to develop a regional full spectrum force. Turkey and France would have a significant interest in the expanded role that Italy would assume. To the extent that there is European cooperation on role specialization within NATO and the EU, an increased Italian capability in the Mediterranean region might allow France to reorient more of its forces to global deployments. In the case of Turkey, an increased Italian capability might allow Ankara to place greater emphasis on selected capability areas, knowing that the Italian forces would assume more roles in their region. The United States would also have a great interest in steps by Italy to increase its capabilities in this region. An increased Italian regional capability might allow the United States to reduce its presence in the Mediterranean and redeploy forces elsewhere. However, it clearly would not be in the interests of NATO or Italy for the United States to withdraw completely from the region. Nev-
Nevertheless, an increased Italian capability in the region would probably lead to a somewhat reduced U.S. and French presence, and greater Italian influence in the area. Therefore, to ensure that all the important parties in the region understand the implications of an increased Italian capability, Italy’s policy would have to be closely coordinated with its friends and allies.

This option would restrain Italian participation in the NRF in operations beyond providing some special units and combat ships. The Regional Full Spectrum option would require a close consultation with Allied Command Operations (ACO) and defense planners at NATO Headquarters to make it clear that Italy would play a major role in NRF only inside its region.

For the Italian Armed Forces to perform the enhanced role necessary in this option, a high level of joint integration would be required among the Services. The Army, Navy, and Air Force would have to be able to deploy and sustain forces anywhere in the region, possibly for prolonged periods. Italian forces could be the lead nation in an operation in the Mediterranean, which would also place a premium on their own ability to conduct complex joint operations. Italian forces would probably have to move decisively toward network centric operations in order to achieve a high degree of joint integration.

What follows are insights on how the branches of the Italian military today fit into the concept of a Regional Full Spectrum force, including insights regarding the types of changes that each Service might have to make in order to be better suited to carry out this strategic option. The amount of force structure required will not be dealt with in detail, since there is a wide range of possibilities such as whether Italian forces should be structured for the possibility of a very large war or stability operation, or a more modestly sized crisis. The focus of the discussion below will be on capabilities.

Navy

Today the Italian Navy has a fairly wide range of capabilities for operations within the Mediterranean. Likely missions of the Italian Navy would include projecting power anywhere in the Mediterranean, even against high level threats, conducting strike operations, performing long-term surveillance and patrolling missions, contributing to the defense of the Italian homeland against missile and other threats.

In the event that Italy decided to pursue a regional full spectrum option, the Navy would require capabilities including:

© Rubbettino
• **Ability to operate in a high intensity environment.** Today the Italian Navy can assume that it will operate alongside the U.S. Navy in the event of a major crisis in the Mediterranean. Therefore, Italian surface ships can count on U.S. aircraft carriers for protection and to conduct major strike operations. If the Italian fleet had to operate alone, or with only other regional naval forces with only minimal help from the U.S. Navy, it would require improvements in its overhead and subsurface surveillance ability, its ability to fight off a substantial air and missile attack on its forces, and the capability to launch major strike operations with aircraft and missiles. Today these areas are weaknesses in the Italian fleet. Today’s Italian Navy would be at great risk if it had to take unilateral action (or action with other EU members) in the face of the kind of air and missile threat that possible opponents could mount. Therefore, to assume the kind of role envisioned in this strategic option, the Navy would need enhanced strike and defensive capabilities. That said, the new aircraft carrier and the new *Horizon*-class destroyers are a major step in the right direction. Italian force planners should examine whether the number of ships envisioned in the current modernization plans would be sufficient for this role.

• **Enhanced logistics and transport capability.** While focusing on operations inside the Mediterranean would make the Italian Navy’s logistics and transport responsibilities much easier than global missions, it is likely that the Navy would still need an enhanced ability to sustain naval forces anywhere in the Mediterranean for prolonged operations, as well as transporting forces within the region. As noted earlier, the current amphibious lift and cargo transport capability of the Italian fleet is limited. This enhanced regional role for Italy could require Italy to develop the ability to rapidly transport (and then sustain) Italian and other coalition ground forces, including heavy units. Today the Italian Navy has very limited ability to transport troops, virtually no ability to deploy heavy units, and a modest ability to sustain forces deployed outside Italy.

• **Missile defenses.** If Italy were to play a major regional role in the Mediterranean, it might need to acquire an enhanced missile defense. If Italy was perceived by regional troublemakers as one of their main opponents, they could attempt to threaten Italy with missile attacks either against the Italian homeland or deployed forces. The Italian Navy could be given a significant missile defense responsibility in both areas – homeland defense and protection of deployed forces. The *Horizon* destroyers mentioned
earlier are a step in this direction (assuming they were properly modified for this role), but more capability could be required, depending on the severity of the missile threat in the region.

Army

Missions that the Italian Army could expect to conduct in this option include offensive and defensive operations in any of the terrain types found in the Mediterranean region, protracted stability missions such as peace keeping or enforcement, and nation building.

As noted earlier, the current Italian Army has a mix of heavy, medium, and light forces that would be conducive to full spectrum operations inside the Mediterranean. Additionally, the Army’s specialized mountain units are well suited for operations in the Balkans and other mountainous areas in the region such as Morocco or Lebanon. The Army would, however, have to make some choices about how to enhance its ability to conduct full spectrum operations – almost certainly in conjunction with similar choices made by the Carabinieri.

Capabilities required of the Italian Army would include:

- **Forces able to perform across the spectrum of operations.** This would include forces for high intensity combat in the region, prolonged stability operations, and nation assistance/building missions. This ranges from heavy forces, rapidly deployable light and medium units, forced entry-capable units, and appropriate support forces.

- **Sufficient support-type units for prolonged stability operations and for support of other coalition partners.** The enhanced responsibilities that Italy would assume in this option include the possibility of very prolonged (and possibly large scale) peace keeping and enforcement missions. Therefore, the Italian Army would need a wide range and sufficient number of support-type units such as medical, logistics, civil affairs, military police, and similar units that are well suited for such missions, in addition to adequate numbers of combat units. Depending on how the roles of the Army and Carabinieri were rationalized, the Army might have to provide support forces for lengthy deployments of Carabinieri in stability operations.

- **Doctrine and training for full spectrum operations in the region.** An advantage of this strategic option is that Italian units could focus their
training for operations in the region. Part of this process would have to include appropriate doctrine, training, and concepts of operations for missions that would span the range from short-notice deployments to a crisis location, to a major war where Italian forces could have a leading role in a coalition, to stability operations. The Army’s culture would have to adjust to be prepared for both short notice crisis response as well as protracted peace operations – possibly taking place simultaneously within the region.

- **Balancing active and reserve capabilities.** Although the Italian Army would have to maintain a wide range of combat and support units for operations throughout the region, it would not have to maintain all of those forces in the active force. Rapid response units would, of course, have to be active units with high levels of readiness. Units envisioned as having a short notice follow-on role (to reinforce the initially deploying rapid response forces) would also have to be active duty, regular forces. Many of the Army’s capabilities could, however, be located in the reserves. This could include units required to maintain an adequate rotation base for protracted peace keeping and peace enforcement missions. By making appropriate use of reserve forces, the manpower and other costs of this option to the Army could be reduced.

- **Adequate air and sealift for the new role.** As was highlighted in the Navy section, the Army would require adequate air and sealift to meet the responsibilities inherent in this strategic choice. For example, the Italian Air Force may have to purchase and maintain a sufficient number of transport planes to ensure the rapid deployment of an Army battalion-sized battle group. Similarly, the Navy would probably have to procure some number of ships capable of transporting heavy armor to locations in the region. In that sense, the Army would not be the master of its own destiny, since the key lift assets would reside in the Air Force and Navy. Therefore, the Italian Army would have to carefully articulate its lift needs to decisionmakers.

- **Rationalization of roles with the Carabinieri.** This has already been alluded to earlier. In this strategic option the Italian military would be expected to have a major role in stability-type operations in the region. Those missions (humanitarian operations, peace keeping, and peace enforcement) lend themselves to ground forces. The issue for Italy would be to what extent it would employ the Army, and where would the *Carabinieri* assume the responsibility, or would there be a mixture of forces used? Coming to a clear understanding of the Army-*Carabinieri* relation-
ship for stability missions would be an important policy decision with force structure and resource implications.

**Air Force**

Probable missions for the Italian Air Force include air superiority, strike operations, airlift, surveillance and reconnaissance, and defense of Italy.

The Italian Air Force today is intended primarily for operations from air bases in the homeland. While using Italian bases would be adequate for operations in the central portion of the Mediterranean, operations at either end of the region (the Mediterranean is roughly 2,000 miles from east to west) would be very difficult, particularly given the very limited number of tankers that the Air Force currently has. Additionally, the Italian Air Force would have additional reconnaissance, surveillance, transport, and ground support responsibilities imposed on it in this strategic option. Capabilities required in the Air Force include:

- **The ability to conduct operations anywhere in the Mediterranean.** This could be accomplished by some combination of increased access to bases in friendly nations (not necessarily on a permanent basis – “use when needed” agreements might be sufficient) and/or increased numbers of aerial tankers.
- **Ground support.** The Italian Air Force would be expected to conduct both close support of ground forces as well as independent strike operations in this strategy. Therefore, the Air Force should examine whether it has an adequate mix of attack platforms and munitions to perform this role.
- **Transport aircraft.** In this option, the Italian Air Force would not need transport planes with extreme range, since operations are focused on the Mediterranean. However, given Italy’s increased responsibilities, including the likely requirement for some Air Force and Army units to be rapidly deployable, the Air Force would probably have to increase the number of transport planes of the C-130 and G-222 class.
- **Air superiority.** In this option the Italian Air Force could have an important role in winning air superiority against a regional opponent, particularly if large numbers of U.S. forces are not able to participate in the operation.
- **Reconnaissance and surveillance.** The modern, Western way of conducting military operations relies very heavily on high levels of information. Assuming a somewhat diminished American presence in the Mediter-
ranean region when Italy takes on increased responsibilities, the Italian Air Force might need an increased sensor, reconnaissance, and surveillance capability. Some combination of manned and unmanned aerial platforms could be used to increase this capability. Given that Italy would still (despite its now-leading role in this option) be conducting coalition operations, Italian sensor platforms should be designed in a way that facilitates rapid sharing of data with likely coalition partners and allies. Given the significant American advantage in this area, Italy might want to negotiate with the United States the retention of a meaningful reconnaissance and surveillance capability in the region, even though the U.S. might be inclined to withdraw combat forces from the region as Italian forces assumed more of a leading role.

**Carabinieri**

As mentioned in the Army section, this strategic option would require a rationalization of the role of the Army and the Carabinieri. Today only a small portion of the Carabinieri is intended for employment outside Italy. If Italy assumed a significantly increased role in the region, and given the reality that most missions will be stability-type operations as opposed to high-end combat, the role and importance of the Carabinieri could increase significantly.

That could require an increase in the portion of the Carabinieri that is devoted to operations beyond the homeland. Alternatively, the Army could be given the main responsibility for regional low-intensity, stability missions. The key point is that Italy would need to make a decision regarding the roles of the two branches. While the Carabinieri may be very well suited for police-type stability operations, they may lack the size and support capabilities for large, protracted stability operations, unless they are provided the resources to conduct such operations.

Once the required capabilities for all elements of the Italian Armed forces have been identified, Italian defense officials would need to determine areas of possible overcapacity. While in many areas, the Italian Armed Forces could require increased capability, there may be some areas where there is too much existing capacity. Identifying possible areas that merit reductions could free resources for those areas that require additional funding.
5. Evaluation of the Options

This chapter evaluates the Global Niche and Regional Full Spectrum options. The advantages and disadvantages associated with each option are discussed and the options are assessed according to a set of specific criteria.

Global Niche

As mentioned earlier, in this strategic option Italy would need to decide on whether it would focus on Rapid Response or Sustained Operations forces. The types of required military capabilities differ depending which of those choices is selected.

**Advantages:**
- Gives Italian decisionmakers the ability to participate in coalition military options anywhere in the world.
- Increases Italy’s influence with the U.S. and other possible coalition partners in terms of global security matters.
- Allows the military to specialize its forces.
- Focuses Italian military spending on a few key niche areas.
- Costs less than the Regional Full Spectrum option.

**Disadvantages:**
- Makes the Italian military dependent on certain capabilities provided by other nations (capabilities not embedded within Italy’s niche forces).
- The Italian military would not have a full spectrum capability – even for missions in the Mediterranean region.
- Depending on the niche(s) that are chosen, certain Italian military capabilities could be eliminated.
• Similar to the point immediately above, once choices on niches are made, certain elements of the Italian defense industry could be eliminated if the services and products they provide do not support the niche choices.

The above discussion highlighted the overall pros and cons of the Global Niche option. The Rapid Response and Sustained Operations sub-options also have advantages and disadvantages. These include:

**Rapid Response advantages:**

• Provides Italy with the most influence on U.S. decision making because Italy can contribute forces early in a crisis.
• Gives Italian decisionmakers the military means to contribute to a sudden crisis that could threaten Italy’s interests.
• Would result in a high readiness level for select Italian military forces.
• Would give the Italian military access to planning of U.S. and other coalition members during normal peacetime operations and during the build up to particular crises.

**Rapid Response disadvantages:**

• Focuses the Italian armed forces on a rather narrow set of capabilities that are most applicable to the earliest stages of operations. While some forces that are optimized for the early phase of an operation might be applicable for the entire campaign, others might have little use later in an operation. For example, air superiority fighters may be of great use early in an operation, but have little utility later when the enemy’s air capability has been eliminated.
• Cost of procuring air and sealift would be substantial. In order to properly execute this option Italy would probably have to significantly increase the amount of military air and sealift compared to today. Commercial shipping (air or sea) takes time to contract and make available for military use, and is probably not appropriate to support forces designed for rapid deployment and employment.
• Political challenges. Italy would need to optimize significant elements of its armed forces for rapid, possibly global, force projection. Italian policymakers and the public may not be comfortable with such a requirement, preferring instead to take time to deliberate whether Italy should become involved in a crisis.
• Italian forces would require a great degree of coalition interoperability. Forces participating in the early phases of an operation probably have a greater networking requirement to ensure the coalition effort is well integrat-
ed and deconflicted. This could lead to significant investment costs in terms of high-tech command and control systems that meet coalition standards.

**Sustained Operations advantages:**

- Would probably result in a broader suite of capabilities than the Rapid Response option. While the Rapid Response option requires many highly specialized capabilities, forces designed for what would probably be a more protracted Sustained Operations phase would have broader applicability. For example, Italian Army forces designed to fight in the later phases of operations would probably be better for post-war stability operations compared to specialized Rapid Response units such as light airborne units or air superiority fighters.

- Less need to procure military air and sea lift. In this sub-option, Italy would have more time to respond to a crisis. Therefore, time would be available to contract for commercial air and sea lift to move Italian forces into the operational area. While there would probably still be a need for some specialized military transport ships and aircraft, it would be significantly less than in the previous option.

- Greater political acceptability. This choice would give Italian decision-makers more time to decide how and when the nation’s forces would be committed, with the realization that their contribution could still be very important, even though their forces are not arriving early in an operation.

**Sustained Operations disadvantages:**

- Italy could expect to have less influence in a coalition, since it would not be able to contribute forces to the early stage of an operation. Often the initial campaign plan has profound influence on the entire duration of the operation, and those who cannot contribute forces to the initial phases usually have little or no influence on how the operation will progress.

- Italian forces would probably need less coalition interoperability. Since Italian forces would be arriving in the operational area after the intense, initial phase of operations is over, they could probably be assigned specific land and naval sectors, and the period of intense air action to win air superiority would probably be over. Therefore, Italian forces would probably need a lower level of coalition interoperability than in the Rapid Response case.

- Greater likelihood that Italian combat forces would be expected to remain well into the post-conflict stabilization phase. Whereas the highly specialized forces associated with the Rapid Response option would probably be withdrawn from the operational area fairly soon after the end
of serious fighting, the forces designed for Sustained Operations would probably be better suited – and therefore would probably be used – for what could be a protracted post-conflict stabilization operation.

**Regional Full Spectrum**

This option focuses the Italian military on operations in the Mediterranean region, including the Balkans, Levant, and North Africa. As was the case with the Global Niche option, there are advantages and disadvantages for Italy associated with this option.

**Advantages:**

- Italy would have a major role in the region. This would translate into a greater voice in regional security policy.
- Greater influence on U.S. policy in the region. If Italy increased its military capability to contribute to security in the Mediterranean, the U.S. would regard Italy as a more serious partner.
- The Italian armed forces would have a broad range of capabilities. The nation’s decisionmakers would have a wide range of military options available to them in the event of a deterioration of the security situation in the Mediterranean.
- Italian defense industries would have a broad focus. Since the nation would need a wide range of air, land, and naval capabilities in this option, the nation’s defense industries could expect orders for many different types of military equipment.
- Italy would be less dependent on other nations for its security. Earlier it was stressed that even in the Regional Full Spectrum option Italy would design its armed forces with coalition and allied capabilities in mind. Nevertheless, in this option, Italy would in fact be less dependent on other nations at times when its interests are threatened in the region. Indeed, in some cases, the Italian military would be capable of unilateral action to respond to a regional crisis.

**Disadvantages:**

- High Cost. This is a costly option compared to the Global Niche option. While many of Italy’s current military forces and capabilities would be directly applicable in this option, additional capabilities would be needed, including possibly more force structure in the active and reserve elements of
the armed forces. For example, the Italian navy would need improved capability to operate in a high-threat environment and the Air Force would need more tankers and transport aircraft. Additionally, Italy's missile defense capability is currently very limited and would require significant upgrading.

- **Uncertain Political support.** The Italian public could balk at the cost of creating a truly Full Spectrum Regional force. Additionally, this option assumes that Italy would have a rather “activist” role in the region — committing its forces for sudden crises as well as prolonged stability operations. The nation’s decisionmakers and public would have to accept this new, expanded role for the Italian military.

- **Greater reliance on other nations to protect Italy’s interests outside the region.** Because Italy would have little if any ability to project and sustain forces beyond the Mediterranean, the nation would be highly dependent on others to protect what could be its vital interests elsewhere. For example, if the Straits of Molucca or Hormuz closed — either event posing a significant threat to the Italian economy — and military actions were required, Italy would be unable to participate.

### The Options Compared

The matrix below highlights some of the major factors that would influence any decision to adopt either the Global Niche or Regional Full Spectrum options.

The matrix compares the three options analyzed in the text. The Global Niche option has been divided into the two sub-options; Rapid Response and Sustained Operations. The options are ranked in terms of how they meet a specific set of criteria. A rating of “1” means that the option ranks best, or is most desirable, in relation to the particular category. A “3” means that the option ranks lowest, or is least desirable. For example, In terms of Cost, the Regional Full Spectrum option has a “3” (the highest potential cost), while the Global Niche/Sustained Operations option ranks best with a “1” (lowest potential cost). Therefore, in overall terms, a lower “Total” score is best.

The options are scored according to the following criteria:

- **Network Centric Operations:** this criterion highlights the degree to which each option would require the Italian military to be networked, both internally and in its ability to operate in a networked manner with coalition forces.
• **Italian security**: highlights the degree to which a particular option would contribute to the immediate security of the Italian homeland.
• **Global security**: refers to how well each option contributes to the larger issue of global security.
• **Influence with the U.S.**: addresses how much each option would contribute to Italy’s ability to influence U.S. decisionmaking.
• **Degree of Operational Interdependence**: refers to the degree to which an option would make the Italian military “dependent” on other nations. In this case a “3” means the most interdependence, and “1” the least.
• **Risk to Italian Forces**: assesses how much military risk (casualties) that a particular option could expose Italian forces to. A “1” means the option carries the least risk, a “3” the most risk.
• **Degree of balance of the Italian armed forces**: assesses each option in terms of how “robust” the Italian military would be. A “1” means that the armed forces would have a wide range of capabilities, a “3” means that the military would be most highly specialized.
• **Cost**: ranks the options according to their potential cost. “3” is the most costly (least desirable) option, “1” the least costly.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>Network Centric Ops</th>
<th>Italian Security</th>
<th>Global Security</th>
<th>Influence with U.S.</th>
<th>Degree of opnl InterDependence</th>
<th>Risk to Italian Forces</th>
<th>Degree of Balance of Italian Forces</th>
<th>Cost</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Global Niche Rapid Response</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Global Niche Sustained Operations</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Regional Full Spectrum</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>3</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Table 5.1 - Assessment of Options
The scoring in Table 5.1 represents the authors’ best estimate of how each of the options ranks, measured against certain criteria. It is inevitably somewhat subjective. Nevertheless, it provides a useful yardstick for assessing the various options.

All the criteria listed along the top of Table 5.1 are equally unweighted. This is an important point that readers should keep in mind as they view the results on Table 5.1. Assigning different weights to various criteria could lead to a preference for one option or another change the results of the assessment.

For example, if Italian decisionmakers placed particular importance on Italy’s joining ability to operate alongside the United States, in addressing the most severe global security challenges, then following criteria such as would be given greater weight: Networking, Global Security, and Influence with the U.S. would be more heavily weighted than the other criteria. By weighting those criteria more heavily, the Global Rapid Response Niche option would be the preferred choice.

Similarly, if Italian policy decisionmakers place particular importance on wanted to minimizing cost and risk, then the following criteria would be more heavily weighted: cost and risk to Italian forces. This would lead to Consequently, the Global Niche/Sustained Operations option would be the being preferred option.

Finally, if decisionmakers wanted to stress the security defense of Italy’s immediate environment, the following criteria would be more heavily weighted, such as Italian Security, Degree of Operational Interdependence, and Degree of Balance of Italian. This could result in the Regional Full Spectrum option being preferred.

As the discussion at the beginning of this chapter – as well as the criteria in Table 5.1 – make clear, each of the three options has advantages and disadvantages. For example, the Global Niche – Rapid Response option would give Italian policymakers maximum influence with their U.S. counterparts (the U.S. finds it desirable to have allies and coalition partners who can participate early in a crisis so that the intervention is not seen as a “U.S.—only” event). However, adoption of that option would probably meet the strongest domestic political resistance because it would require Italian military involvement in crises far from areas of traditional Italian interest. The rankings provided in Table 5.1 indicate that the Regional Full Spectrum option ranks best, based on the equally weighted criteria used in the table. It scores well in terms of focusing the Italian military on the nation’s immediate security needs, increasing Italian influence within the EU, the limited amount of interdependence required, the high degree of balance that would result in the Italian armed
forces, and likelihood of domestic support for the option. However, this option would probably be the most expensive of the three because the Italian military would need significant increases in certain capabilities in order to have available a full range of military capabilities for operations in the region. Additionally, Italy would be very dependent on other nations for its security needs in regions outside the Mediterranean.

The Global Niche-Sustained Combat option ranks next best. It is close to the Regional Full Spectrum option, scoring better in terms of focusing Italian forces on global security needs, reduced risk to Italian forces, political risk, and cost. This option fares less well in terms of Italian security needs, influence with the U.S. and EU, greater dependence on other nations, balance of Italian forces, and domestic support.

The Global Niche-Rapid Response option ranked last of the three — using the equally weighted criteria of table 5.1. While this option ranks well in terms of Italian participation in global security and influence with the U.S., it does poorest in terms of Italy’s immediate security needs, a greater degree of dependence on other military forces, risk to Italian forces, and balance of the Italian military, and the likelihood of reduced domestic political support.

In addition to the criteria listed in Table 5.1, Italian decision makers would have to consider three other issues as they weigh the advantages and disadvantages associated with the three options. These are Domestic Political Support, the Degree of Political Risk, and Influence with the European Union.

1) Domestic political support

The two Global Niche options and the Regional Full Spectrum option differ in terms of level of internal political support each would receive.

The Global Niche/Rapid Response option would receive the least support because it could require an early Italian military involvement in crises far from areas of clear Italian interest. The Global Niche/Sustained Operations option would rank next. The Regional Full Spectrum would probably have the most domestic support because it focuses on areas of clear Italian national interest.

However, humanitarian interventions, eventually supported by the United Nations, usually enjoy quite strong domestic support even when conducted in areas far from the Italian homeland.

2) Political risk

The degree of political risk to the Italian government that each option carries, should the Italian government elect to commit forces in one or in anoth-
er type of operation, is probably higher for the Global Niche/Rapid Response sub-option. On the other hand, after more than twenty years of peacekeeping operations, the Global Niche/Sustained Operations option is probably the least risky from a political point of view.

The peculiarities of the Italian political culture make the assessment of the **Domestic political support** and the **Political Risk** less objective than all the other categories in the matrix. Historically, Italy lacks a true bipartisan foreign policy. Any intervention would have a very different political impact on a right-wing or a left-wing government. Any serious assessment should also address not only the difficult-to-measure national interests, but also the position of the Holy See.

### 3) Influence within the EU

Without specifying assumptions about future EU-based defense policy and force development, it is impossible to say which of the three options considered in this study would gain Italy the greatest influence within the EU. Until recently, the EU has favored strong national defense efforts, loosely coordinated (or coordinated through NATO force planning). With the establishment of the ESDP’s “Helsinki Headline Goal”, the EU is encouraging national capabilities that complement those of other members and are geared to agreed, common military priorities. Beyond this, the EU might aim to create essentially collective capabilities, in which national forces would be specialized, interdependent and interoperable, permitting them to operate as a single force.

In addition to the question of how integrated EU defense could become, whether the EU takes a global or regional view of security interests and responsibilities is also important. Insofar as the EU limits itself to a regional security horizon and is satisfied with stronger but only loosely coordinated national forces, the Regional Full Spectrum option would gain Italy the greatest influence. At the same time, that option could engender the greatest resistance, especially from other EU Mediterranean countries. Insofar as the EU takes a global security view and commits to ever-greater integration, the Global Niche/Rapid Response option would earn Italy the most influence.

### Conclusion

In assessing the three options, there is no obvious best choice. How they rank depends on the fundamental strategic priorities of Italian policy makers.
• If Italian policy makers are motivated mainly by Italy’s interest in joining the United States and other leading allies in confronting the most serious global security challenges of the new era, the Global Niche/Rapid Response option ranks first.
• If motivated mainly by Italy’s interest in strengthening security of its immediate geographic environment, the Regional Full Spectrum option ranks first.
• If motivated mainly by the desire to keep down costs and avoid risks, the Global Niche/Sustained Operations option ranks first.

In any of the options, Italian policy makers will have to face trade-offs:

• The Global Niche/Rapid Response option would involve a loss of military autonomy, a loss of balance in Italian forces, and heightened risk to those forces.
• The Regional Full Spectrum option would entail the highest costs and would leave Italy with comparatively little influence in global security issues.
• The Global Niche/Sustained Operations option would leave Italy with less influence with the United States and on global security issues than allies that are prepared to join in coalition rapid-response operations.

In addition to these strategic considerations, Italian policy makers will make more subjective political judgments regarding the prospects for domestic support, the political risks, and the acceptance of EU partners of each of the options. It may be easiest to gain domestic support for the Regional Full Spectrum option. The Global Niche/Rapid Response option may contribute well to EU interests. Global Niche/Sustained Operations may involve the lowest political risk. These political considerations do not point decisively toward one or another option, which means that policy makers will be left to make their judgments on strategic grounds.

In any case, the authors do not mean to suggest that Italian policy makers should make a simple selection among the three options. Rather, as they face various upcoming defense policy decisions – regarding force structure, investment in new capabilities, and cooperation with the United States and European partners – they will want to bear in mind these broad options and be aware of how their practical choices point among them.
### Collana Ce.Mi.S.S. – Serie Blu

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>N°</th>
<th>Titolo</th>
<th>Autore/i</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1</td>
<td>Il reclutamento in Italia (1989)</td>
<td>(Autori Vari)(*)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>6</td>
<td>Soppressione della leva e costituzione di Forze Armate volontarie (1990)</td>
<td>P. Bellucci, A. Gori (*)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>6/a</td>
<td>Servizio di leva e volontariato: riflessioni sociologiche (1990)</td>
<td>M. Marotta, L. Labonia (*)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>7</td>
<td>L’importanza Militare dello spazio (1990)</td>
<td>C. Buongiorno, S. Abbà, G. Maoli,</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>A. Mei, M. Nones, S. Orlandi, F. Pacione, F. Stefani (**)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>8</td>
<td>Le idee di “difesa alternativa” ed il ruolo dell’Italia (1990)</td>
<td>F. Calogero, M. De Andreis, G. Devoto, P. Farinella (*)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>9</td>
<td>La “policy science” nel controllo degli armamenti (1990)</td>
<td>P. Isernia, P. Bellucci, L. Bozzo, M. Carnovale, M. Coccia,</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>P. Crescenzi, C. Pelanda (*)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>10</td>
<td>Il futuro della dissuasione nucleare in Europa (1990)</td>
<td>S. Silvestri (*)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>G. Ombuen, S. Scaparra, C. Presciuttini (*)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>14</td>
<td>L’industria italiana degli armamenti (1990)</td>
<td>F. Gobbo, P. Bianchi, N. Bellini, G. Utili (*)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>16</td>
<td>Profili di carriera e remunerazioni del personale militare e civile dell’Amministrazione dello Stato delle qualifiche direttive e dirigenziali (1990)</td>
<td>D. Tria, T. Longhi, A. Cerilli, A. Gagnoni, P. Menna (*)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>17</td>
<td>La riconversione dell’industria per la Difesa (1990)</td>
<td>S. Rossi, S. Rolfo, N. Bellini (*)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>18</td>
<td>Il trasferimento di tecnologie strategicamente critiche (1990)</td>
<td>S. Rossi, F. Brunini Roccia, A. Politi, S. Gallucci (*)</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

© Rubbettino
20  Warfare simulation nel teatro mediterraneo (1990) M. Coccia (*)
23  Effetti economici della spesa della Difesa in Italia (1990) A. Pedone, M. Grassini (*)
25  Disarmo, sviluppo edebito (1990) C. Pelanda (*)
27  Integrazione militare europea (1990) S. Silvestri (*)
28  La Rappresentanza Militare in Italia (1990) G. Caforio, M. Nuciari (*)
29  Studi strategici e militari nelle università italiane (1990) P. Ungari, M. Nones, R. Luraghi, V. Ilari (*)
31  Costituzione della difesa e stati di crisi per la difesa nazionale (1991) G. de Vergottini (*)
35  Valutazione comparata dei piani di riordinamento delle FF.AA. dei Paesi dell’Alleanza Atlantica (1991) D. Gallino (*)
36  La formazione del Dirigente Militare (1991) F. Fontana, F. Stefani, G. Cacchiamo (*)
37  L’obiezione di coscienza al servizio militare in Italia (1991) P. Bellucci, C.M. Redaelli (*)
38  La “Condizione Militare” in Italia - Fenomenologia e problemi di devianza (1991), Vol. III G. M. Marotta (*)
39  La Dirigenza Militare (1992) S. Cassese, C. D’Orta (*)
40  Diritto Internazionale per Ufficiali della Marina Militare (1993) N. Ronzitti, M. Gestri (*)
41  I volontari a ferma prolungata: un ritratto sociologico. Tomo I (I volontari a ferma prolungata ed i Sottufficiali) (1993) F. Battistelli (*)

© Rubbettino
41/bis Sottufficiali delle Forze Armate. Idee propositive per migliorarne il recluta-
mento, lo statuto e la carriera. Tomo II (I volontari a ferma prolungata e i Sotto-
tufficiali) (1993) M. Marotta (*)

42 Strategia della ricerca internazionalistica (1993) L. Bonanate (*)

43 Rapporto di ricerca sui movimenti migratori e sicurezza nazionale (1993) G. Sacco (*)

44 Rapporto di ricerca su nuove strutture di sicurezza in Europa (1993) S. Silvestri (*)

45 I sistemi di comando e controllo ed il loro influsso sulla sicurezza italiana (1993) P. Policastro (*)

46 Le minacce da fuori area contro il fianco Sud della Nato (1993) R. Aliboni (*)

47 Approvvigionamento delle materie prime, crisi e conflitti nel Mediterraneo (1993) G. Mureddu (*)

48 Lo sviluppo dell’aeromobilità (1993) A. Politi (*)


50 I paesi della sponda Sud del Mediterraneo e la politica europea (1994) R. Aliboni, B. Scarca Amoretti, G. Pennisi, G. Lancioni (*)


52 Il pensiero militare nel mondo musulmano - Ragion militare e ragion di Stato, Vol. III (1994) V. Fiorani Piacentini (*)

53 Presupposti concettuali e dottrinali per la configurazione di una futura forza d’intervento (1994) G. Caccamo (*)

54 Lo status delle navi da guerra italiane in tempo di pace ed in situazioni di crisi (1994) A. de Guttry (*)


57 Il problema della quantificazione di dati attendibili sull’interscambio militare-industriale fra i vari Paesi (1994) S. Sandri, A. Politi (*)

58 Ottimizzazione della selezione del personale - Metodi e modelli di selezione e organizzazione nelle Forze Armate italiane (1994) A. De Carlo (*)

59 Gestione della crisi: metodologie e strumenti (1994) P. Isernia (*)

60 Politica militare e sistema politico: i partiti ed il nuovo Modello di Difesa (1994) P. Bellocci (*)

61 Sicurezza ed insicurezza nell’Europa post-comunista (1994) A. Rossi, P. Visani (*)

62 Indagine sulla propensione delle donne italiane a svolgere il servizio militare (1994) R. Savarese (*)


© Rubbettino 67


L’organizzazione e l’architettura C3I per il vertice decisionale nazionale (1995) M. Nones, R. Romano, S. Silvestri, A. de Guttry (*)


Evoluzione del rischio da Sud in connessione con il prevedibile progresso tecnologico e misure di difesa (1995) C.M. Santoro (*)


Il potere aereo post-CFE (1996) A. Politi

La gestione disciplinare e normativa del personale volontario (1996) G. Gasperini, M. Negri (*)


Il futuro della CFE. Il passaggio alla seconda fase di riduzione dopo la conclusione della prima (1996) M. Cremasco

La componente sicurezza/rischio negli scacchieri geopolitici Sud ed Est. Le opzioni del Modello di Difesa italiano (1996) A. Colombo

La geopolitica del Mediterraneo: problemi e prospettive dell’Italia negli scenari futuri (1996) C. Giglio, P. Soave


Le operazioni militari all’estero gestite al di fuori del sistema delle organizza-
zioni internazionali o nel suo ambito: problemi giuridici o organizzativi per le Forze Armate italiane (1996) A. de Guttry
84 La difficile scommessa. L'allargamento della NATO ad Est (1997) M. Crema-
sco
85 L'embargo e le altre misure economiche come mezzo di gestione e soluzione
delle crisi (1998) G. Pastori
86 La questione sindacale nell'evoluzione delle politiche strategiche della sicurez-
za in Italia - Osservazioni storico metodologiche (1998) A. Ciampani
87 Cooperazione dell'Italia con l'Austria, La Repubblica Ceka, la Slovenia, la
Croazia e l’Ungheria (1998) S. Mazzaroli
88 Elementi di diritto umanitario dei conflitti armati (Diritto italiano di bandiera) (1998) A. Marcheggiano (*)
89 Italia e nucleare francese: attualità e prospettiva (1998) C. Paoletti (*)
90 Analisi delle spese per l'investimento dell'Esercito. Esame delle note aggiunti-
ve: previsioni e scostamenti. Valutazioni sulle principali cause degli scostamen-
ti (1998) M.T. Fiocca
91 Applicazioni spaziali civili di possibile interesse della Difesa (1998) M. Nones, A. Traballesi
92 Lo Stratega mediatico (1998) P. Visani
93 Le prospettive di integrazione tra Unione Europea e Unione Europea Occi-
dentale (1999) E. Letta
94 Prospettive di applicazione del D.D.L. di iniziativa governativa riguardante l'i-
stituzione del servizio civile nazionale e della nuova legge sull'obiezione di co-
scienza (1999) C. Politi
95 Aspetti politici ed economici della European Security and Defence Identity nel
quadro di una integrazione degli eserciti europei (1999) A. Ferranti
96 Le zone di pesca nel Mediterraneo e la tutela degli interessi italiani, (1999) N. Ronzitti
97 Il processo di approvvigionamento degli idrocarburi in situazione di crisi in-
ternazionale (1999) N. Pedde e V. Porfiri
98 Albania – (Manuali-Paese) (1999) a cura del Centro per l’Europa Centro-
Oriente e Balcanica (*)
99 Bosnia-Erzegovina – (Manuali-Paese) (1999) a cura del Centro per l’Europa Centro-
Oriente e Balcanica (*)
100 Proliferazione missilistica: stato ed evoluzione della minaccia e prospettive per
un sistema di difesa antimissile (1999) A. Nativi
101 Il controllo degli armamenti nella ex-Jugoslavia con particolare riferimento al-
la Bosnia-Erzegovina (1999) M. Cremasco
103 Evoluzione dei rapporti transatlantici nel settore della produzione industriale
della difesa, a fronte della costituzione dell’Europa degli armamenti (2000) A. Traballesi
104 La geoeconomia delle imprese italiane: riflessi sulla gravitazione degli interessi geostrategici nazionali (2000) A. Cattaneo
105 Strategic sealift: sviluppo e caratteristiche nazionali di un importante strumento di proiezione e di forza nel Mediterraneo allargato (2000) G. Muredu
106 Repubblica di Jugoslavia (Manuali-Paese) (2001) a cura del Centro per l’Europa Centro-Orientale e Balcanica
107 Fyrom: La Repubblica di Macedonia (Manuali-Paese) (2001) a cura del Centro per l’Europa Centro-Orientale e Balcanica
108 La corte penale internazionale, i crimini di guerra e le truppe italiane all’estero in missione di pace (2001) N. Ronzitti
110 Il coordinamento interministeriale per la politica industriale della difesa: valutazione comparata tra la soluzione italiana e quella dei principali paesi europei (2002) M. Nones
111 La difesa europea in ambito alleanza: una sfida per l’industria degli armamenti (2002) A. Traballesi
113 Il legame nazione-esercito: l’abolizione della leva basterà a rendere le forze armate meno impopolari tra i giovani? (2002) T. M. Blasi
115 Cambiamenti organizzativi dell’industria statale della difesa: confronto con le altre realtà europee, con particolare riferimento agli stabilimenti di manutenzione navale (2003) R. Stanglini
116 La bonifica umanitaria nel quadro della cooperazione civile e militare (2003) F. Termentini
117 La questione di Cipro (2003) G. Sardellone
118 The international role of the European Union (2003) R. Balfour, E. Greco (edizione in lingua inglese)

Collana Ce.Mi.SS. – Serie Blu – Atti di convegni

- South-Eastern Europe, bridge or border between civilizations (Atti del convegno tenutosi a Sofia nei giorni 17 e 18 ottobre 1997)
- NATO enlargement: situation and perspectives (Atti del convegno tenutosi a Budapest dal 11 al 15 luglio 1998)
• I reparti multinazionali come strumento della sicurezza regionale (Atti del 1° seminario italo/polacco – Roma, 24 marzo 1999)

Altre pubblicazioni

• Diritto Internazionale per Ufficiali della Marina Militare (1996) N. Ronzitti (Ristampa della ricerca n. 40 sul supplemento della “Rivista Marittima” del luglio 1996)(* )
• Un’intelligence per il XXI secolo (1999) G. Dottori
• Il Neo-Terrorismo: suoi connotati e conseguenti strategie di prevenzione e contenimento (2001) V. Pisano

Collana Ce.Mi.S.S. – edizioni Franco Angeli

1520.269 Giovani e Forze Armate (1996) F. Battistelli
1136.11 Scenari di sicurezza per l’Europa e l’Italia (1996) M. Cremasco
1136.13 Società civile e processo di pace in Medio Oriente (1996) D.V. Segre
1136.14 Interesse nazionale e interesse globale (1996) P. Portinaro (* )
1136.15 La crisi del bipolarismo (1996) S. Romano (* )
1136.16 Il pensiero militare nel mondo musulmano (1996) V.F. Piacentini
1136.17 Rischio da Sud (1996) C.M. Santoro (* )
1136.18 Evoluzione della Guerra (1996) C. Pelanda
1136.19 L’invasione scalza (1996) G. Sacco
1136.21 Pax Pacifica (1996) M. Dassù (* )
365.66 Integrazione e sicurezza nel Mediterraneo – le opzioni dell’Occidente (1997) P.C. Padoan
1136.23 Russia e sistema di sicurezza Occidentale (1997) M. Cremasco
1550.6 Difesa della Patria e interesse nazionale nella scuola (1997) R. Cartocci, A. M. L. Parisi
1136.24 La logica del disordine (1997) E. Zanoni
1136.25 Alla ricerca dell’interesse nazionale (1997) A. L. Pirocchi, M. Brunelli
1136.26 La politica di sicurezza tedesca verso il duemila (1997) G. Dottori, S. Marino
Medio Oriente e Forze di Pace (1997) G. Tappero Merlo
Armi e Disarmo (1997) F. Calogero, P. Miggiano, G. Tenaglia
Le missioni delle Forze Armate italiane fuori area (1997) A. de Guttry
La guerra civile in Rwanda (1997) Umwantisi
La “questione illirica” (1997) L. Bozzo, C. Simon Belli
Difesa, Politica e Società (1997) P. Bellucci
Partenariato nel Mediterraneo (1997) R. Aliboni
Combatere con le informazioni (1997) F. Pierantoni
Il conflitto Etnico (1997) R. Arbitrio
Geopolitica della salute (1997) B. Arrabito
Interessi nazionali e identità italiana (1997) F. Corsico
Missione in Bosnia (1999) T. Ammendola
Le armi inabilitanti non letali (1999) J. Alhadeff
Geopolitica della Turchia (1999) R. Aliboni
Antropologia e Peacekeeping (1999) A. Antoniotto (*)
Regionalismi economici e sicurezza (1999) L. Troiani (*)
Asia Centrale: verso un sistema cooperativo di sicurezza (1999) V.F. Piacen- centini
Macedonia: la nazione che non c’è (1999) L. Bozzo, C. Simon Belli (*)
Scenari strategici per il futuro (1999) M. Coccia
Transizioni democratiche (2000) L. Bonanate
La Difesa Civile e il progetto Caschi Bianchi (2000) F. Tullio
La difficile sfida (2001) M. Cremasco (*)
L’Egitto tra Maghreb e Machrek (2001) C. Simon Belli
Le organizzazioni criminali internazionali (2001) M. Giaconi
La questione Kurda (2001) S. Mazzocchi, R. Ragionieri, C. Simon Belli
L’Europa centro-orientale e la NATO dopo il 1999 (2001) F. Argentieri
The Effects of Economic Sanctions: the Case of Serbia (2001) M. Zucco- nni

Collana Ce.Mi.S.S. – edizioni A & P

1.10 La guerra incruenta (2001) F. Pierantoni
1.11 La politica di sicurezza e difesa dell’Unione Europea (2001) F. Attinà, F. Longo, C. Monteleone, S. Panebianco, P. Rosa
1.12 The flexible officer (2001) G. Caforio
1.15 Peacekeeping: Polizia internazionale e nuovi ruoli militari tra conflitti etnici, terrorismo, criminalità organizzata (2001) R. Bettini
1.16 Il XXI Secolo: Ipotesi e tendenze dei modelli di difesa negli scenari mondiali (2001) C. M. Santoro
1.17 Sociological aspects concerning the relations within contingents of multinational units: The case of the Italian-Slovenian Hungarian Brigade (2001) G. Gasperini, B. Arnejčič e A. Ujj
1.18 Il ruolo della forza europea di reazione rapida: un quadro strategico degli anni duemila (2001) M. Cremasco
1.20 La sicurezza in Europa dopo il Kosovo (2001) R. Menotti e R. Balfour
1.21 Il processo di integrazione del procurement militare in Europa (2001) L. Bertini
2.26 Il diritto dei trattati nelle attività di interesse delle FF.AA. (2003) N. Ronzitti
2.27 Le dinamiche palestinesi nella politica giordana, prospettive per la stabilità di un pivotal state (2003) R. Storaci
2.28 Le cooperazioni rafforzate per la ristrutturazione dell’industria europea degli armamenti (2003) G. Bonvicini – G. Gasperini

Paper Ce.Mi.S.S.

- L’Ucraina nuovo architrave della sicurezza europea (1999) F. Argentieri
- L’impatto dell’evoluzione sul futuro campo di battaglia (1999) ISTRID
- Disordine, Sicurezza, Stabilità. Il sistema internazionale ed il ruolo per l’Italia (1999) P. Soave
- Resources and economic cooperation in the Caspian and Black sea region and security in south-eastern Europe (1999) N. Behar
- Western European Union: operational capabilities and future perspectives from the national point of view (1999) S. Giusti (*)
• Conflict management in Europe on the return of the century (1999) I. Gyarmati
• Risks for Russia’s security in the next decade: repercussion on the country’s domestic, foreign and defence policies (2000) I.B. Lada
• Central-Eastern Europe and the process of approaching western institutions (2000) B. Klich, B. Bednarczyk, A. Nowosad, M. Chorosnicki - Institute for Strategic Studies “Studies and Analyses” – Kraków (*)
• Institutions and civil society: crucial aspects of a peace process (2000) A. Corazza Bildt
• Projects of exploitation of the Caspian Sea Central Asia energy resources: impact on relations between the states involved and the stability in the region (2000) V. Naumkin
• Is the establishment of a national security policy for a Bosnia – Herzegovina possible? (2000) S. Turkovic (*)
• The regional co-operation initiatives in the black sea area and their influence on security in the Romania-Moldova-Ukraine region (2000) A. Pop
• The regional and circum-regional co-operation initiatives in South-East Europe and their influence on security (2000) Center for National Security Studies – Sofia
• Possible developments in the Balkans in the medium term (2000) E. Kojokine
• Il controllo della qualità degli approvvigionamenti della Amministrazione della Difesa, con particolare riferimento ai servizi. (2000) Politecnico di Torino
• Il futuro delle forze armate nell’era dell’information technology (2000) A. Ferranti
• L’evoluzione della minaccia e l’alea di rischio delle nazioni moderne (2000) V. Porfiri – N. Pedde
• The post – Yeltsin Russia: the main trends in domestic and foreign policy evolution (2001) N. Arbatova
• European transport corridors and security in south eastern Europe (2001) Institute for Social and Political Studies – Sofia
• Società e Forze Armate in Albania (2001) R. Devole
• La politica estera e di sicurezza italiana nell’Europa Sud – Orientale e l’iniziativa quadrilaterale (2001) R. Umana
• Tendenze dello sviluppo della dottrina militare della Russia (2001) M. Gareev
• Maghreb Alaqa. L’estremo Occidente (2001) M. Giaconi
• Le politiche della ricerca militare e duale nei principali paesi industrializzati (2001) M. Nones, G. Perani, S. Rolfo
• La cultura del peacekeeping (2002) T. Bergantini
• Ottimizzazione della contrattualistica di Forza Armata (2003) R. Pardolesi

(*) pubblicazione esaurita