

## **Section 4 Russia**

### **1 General Situation**

Russia, while claiming that it has completed the stage of revival and strengthening, and setting an agenda of constructing a prosperous Russia, attaches importance to becoming an influential power underpinned by its new position of economic, cultural and military power<sup>1</sup>. Specifically, Russia recognizes that it must undertake a number of sweeping modernizations, including departing from its conventional resource-dependent economy, establishing a democratic political system based on the Russian tradition and eradicating corruption.

Then Prime Minister Putin who had served as president for eight years (two terms) from 2000 to 2008 won the presidential election in March 2012 and took office in May of the same year.

How President Putin will gain broader support in the country and handle issues concerning the modernization including structural reform of the economy while maintaining his power base will be the focus of attention<sup>2</sup>. According to an opinion poll, the people overwhelmingly supported the “annexation” of Crimea in March 2014. Coupled with the success of the Sochi Olympic Games, the approval ratings of President Putin have increased sharply.

### **2 Security and Defense Policies**

#### **1 Basic Posture**

Russia believes that it needs to plan for further strengthening of military capability in light of potential challenges and threats toward Russia’s security<sup>3</sup>.

Approved in May 2009, the National Security Strategy of the Russian Federation through to 2020 sets out the objectives and strategic priorities, in domestic and foreign policies.

The National Security Strategy views that Russia’s influence has been strengthened by a policy of promoting the multipolarization of the world and using the potential of Russia. The unilateral approach to the use of force and confrontation of major countries in international relations is

---

<sup>1</sup> Annual State of the Nation Address by President Putin (December 2012).

<sup>2</sup> In his papers to serve as a campaign platform published after January 2012, then Prime Minister Putin listed as his policies: expanding the participation in politics by the people; prevention of corruption; strengthening of domestic industries by departing from the resource-dependent economy to modernize the economy, and that the middle class should play a leading role in society.

<sup>3</sup> Statement made by President Putin at the expanded meeting of the Defence Ministry Board (December 2013)

listed as having a negative impact on the interests of Russia, and Russia expresses vigilance over the United States' plan to deploy a missile defense system (MD) in Europe as well as the approach of NATO's military infrastructure to the Russian border.

As for national defense, Russia cites as challenges a shift to a new military structure by increasing the number of permanent readiness units<sup>4</sup> and improving organizational and military alignment, while maintaining the capabilities of its strategic nuclear forces.

The Military Doctrine of the Russian Federation, formulated in February 2010 as a document substantiating the principles of the National Security Strategy in the military sphere, demonstrates the recognition that, while the probability of a large-scale war breaking out is on the decline, the military dangers facing Russia are increasing, which is demonstrated by the approach of NATO's military infrastructure to the Russian border, including the expansion of NATO, as well as the construction and deployment of strategic MD systems. Furthermore, it also states that Russia will maintain permanent combat-readiness to deter and prevent conflict.

The doctrine regards nuclear weapons as an essential component for preventing the outbreak of nuclear wars and wars that use conventional weapons and claims that Russia maintains a sufficient level of nuclear deterrent capacity and reserves the right to use nuclear weapons in response to an event where nuclear or other weapons of mass destruction are to be used against it or its allies or under circumstances wherein conventional weapons have been used against it and where the survival of the country itself is imperiled.

## 2 Military Reform

Russia began a full-scale process for military reform in 1997 by heeding the three pillars of reform: downsizing, modernization, and professionalization.

Moreover, based on the policy statement "Future Outlook of the Armed Forces of the Russian Federation" that was approved by then President Medvedev in September 2008, Russia is advancing measures to modernize its army, including troop reductions, structural reforms (from the command structure based on divisions to that based on brigades<sup>5</sup>), strengthening of

---

<sup>4</sup> The permanent readiness units have been created by reorganizing troops in the midst of a military forces reduction after the launch of the Russian Federation's military forces, to strengthen combat readiness through concentrating personnel. The units are expected to promptly respond during the first phase of a large-scale war or in the event of a minor conflict.

<sup>5</sup> The command structure is reorganized from the four-tiered structure of military district–army–division–regiment, to a three-tiered structure of military district–operational command–brigade. This was supposed to have been completed in December 2009, but in May 2013 the

combat-readiness, and the development and introduction of new equipment.

Regarding the downsizing of the military forces, the country aims to achieve troop reduction in order to maintain an adequate troop level of one million personnel by 2016<sup>6</sup>. Since December 2010, Russia reorganized its six military districts into four military districts (western, southern, central and eastern districts), and based on this, Russia established an integrated strategic command in each military district and is carrying out integrated operations of its entire military forces such as the ground force, naval force and air force under the control of the Military District Commander.

Regarding the modernization of the military forces, based on the state policy on military equipment for the period of 2011 to 2020 that appeared to have been approved by President by the end of 2010, Russia intends to further modernize its equipment and invest about 20 trillion rubles (about 55 trillion yen) to increase its percentage of new equipment up to 70%<sup>7</sup> by 2020.

Regarding the professionalization of the military forces, in order to make the combat readiness of the permanent readiness units effective, Russia is promoting the introduction of a contract service system which selects personnel through contracts from among the conscripted military personnel. However, further review has been under way to address difficulties in securing personnel due to such problems as a high turnover rate and financial restraints<sup>8</sup>.

It is thought that Russia will continue these measures to improve the conventional military forces along with its efforts to maintain its strategic nuclear deterrent capabilities against the backdrop of the national defense budget that has been increasing in recent years.

*See ▶ Fig. I-1-4-1 (Change in Russia's Defense Budget)*

### **3 Military Posture and Trends**

---

Guards Tamanskaya Motorized Rifle Division and the Guards Kantemirovskaya Tank Division, which had supposedly been reorganized in brigades under the Minister of Defence Anatoliy Serdyukov, were revived and participated in a victory parade.

<sup>6</sup> It was decided that the total military force would be limited to 1 million people as of 2016 by a presidential order in December 2008 (about 1.13 million people as of 2008).

<sup>7</sup> In his paper on national defense policy published in February 2012 to serve as a campaign platform, then Prime Minister Putin indicated to strengthen military power including nuclear force, aerospace defense and naval power by spending about 23 trillion rubles (about 63 trillion yen) in 10 years.

<sup>8</sup> Reasons behind the promotion of the contract service system may include decrease of the population suitable for military service and the shortening of the conscription period (from January 2008, the conscription period has been shortened to 12 months). At the expanded meeting of the Defence Ministry Board in December 2013, Minister of Defence Sergei Shoigu stated that personnel adequacy was 82% and the contracted soldiers were about 220,000.

Russia's military force is derived not only from the Russian Federation Armed Forces, but also from forces such as the Border Troops of the Border Service of the Federal Security Service of the Russian Federation (FSB) and the Interior Troops of the Ministry of the Interior of the Russian Federation. The Russian Federation Armed Forces have three services (forces) and three independent corps (units): ground force, naval force, air force and strategic-rocket unit, aerospace defense forces<sup>9</sup>, and airborne unit<sup>10</sup>.

See ► *Fig. I-1-4-2 (Location and Strength of Russian Military)*

## 1 Nuclear Forces

Russia emphasizes its nuclear forces to secure its global standing and to strike a balance with the nuclear forces of the United States as well as to supplement its inferiority in conventional forces. It is thus believed that Russia is working to maintain a state of immediate readiness for its nuclear force unit.

Russia still possesses intercontinental ballistic missiles (ICBM), submarine launched ballistic missiles (SLBM) and long range bombers (Tu-95 Bears and Tu-160 Blackjacks) following only the United States in scale.

Russia is obligated to reduce strategic nuclear arms pursuant to the New Strategic Arms Reduction Treaty concluded with the United States<sup>11</sup>. Russia is working to accelerate the development and introduction of new weapons following the policy to prioritize the modernization of nuclear forces based on its state policy on military equipment.

Russia started the deployment of the RS-24, which is considered as a multi-warhead version of the Topol-M, in March 2011<sup>12</sup>. In January 2013, "Yuri Dolgoruky," the first of Borey-class

---

<sup>9</sup> The Aerospace Defence Forces were established in December 2011 based on the existing space unit and the units assigned under the air force as one corps with missions including outer space surveillance, missile attack alarm, defense against ballistic missiles and aerospace attacks and satellite launches.

<sup>10</sup> 3 air assault brigades which were under the ground forces were reorganized in the airborne unit in November 2013.

<sup>11</sup> In April 2010, Russia and the United States signed the new Strategic Arms Reduction Treaty to replace the Strategic Arms Reduction Treaty I (START I) and the treaty came into force in February 2011. Each side is obligated to reduce deployed strategic warheads to 1,550 and their deployed delivery platforms to 700 within seven years after the entry into force of the treaty. In April 2014, the U.S. announced that Russia's deployed strategic warheads was 1,512 and their deployed delivery platforms was 498 as of March 1, 2014.

<sup>12</sup> In March 2011, the first regiment of RS-24 missiles was operationally deployed in the division in Teykovo, in the Ivanovo Oblast northeast of Moscow. In December 2013, at the expanded meeting of the Defence Ministry Board, Minister of Defence Sergei Shoigu stated that in 2013 one rocket regiment and two rocket battalions will be upgraded to RS-24 missiles and an additional rocket regiment and four rocket battalions will be upgraded to RS-24 missiles in 2014. In addition, it is believed that Russia is

nuclear-powered ballistic missile submarines (SSBN), which are believed to carry the new-type SLBM Bulava, was delivered to the Northern Fleet<sup>13</sup>. And “Alexander Nevsky,” the second of these submarines, was delivered to the Pacific Fleet in December 2013.

In October 2013, a surprise inspection designed to validate the combat readiness of strategic nuclear units was implemented under the control of President Putin, involving two ICBMs and two SLBMs as well as live firing of three air-launched cruise missiles (ALCMs) from long-range bombers. In May 2014 also, a field training exercise was conducted including one ICBM and two SLBMs as well as live firing of six ALCMs<sup>14</sup>.

As for non-strategic nuclear forces, Russia scrapped ground-launched short- and intermediate-range missiles with a range of between 500 and 5,500 km by 1991 in accordance with the Intermediate-Range Nuclear Forces (INF) Treaty with the United States, and removed tactical nuclear weapons from naval vessels and stored them in onshore missile silos in the following year. Russia, however, still possesses a broad array of nuclear forces.

## 2 Conventional Forces and Other Issues

It is assumed that Russia is implementing the development and procurement of conventional forces based on its state policy on military equipment. There is a need to pay close attention to Russia’s development, procurement and deployment of new equipment in addition to the introduction of Su-35 fighters, which includes the so-called fifth generation fighters<sup>15</sup> and the Mistral-class amphibious assault ships<sup>16</sup>.

---

promoting the development of a new heavy ICBM that can destroy robust ICBM launch sites and mount a large number of warheads, light-weight mobile solid-fuel ICBMs, as well as new warheads of enhanced capability to penetrate missile defense.

<sup>13</sup> Russia plans to build eight Borey-class SSBNs by 2020. Of the 19 test launches of Bulava missiles conducted between September 2005 and September 2013, 11 test launches were successful. It is believed that the September 2014 Bulava missile test launched from the Alexander Nevsky failed due to a faulty nozzle part. The Russian Ministry of Defence is planning an additional five tests.

<sup>14</sup> Under the leadership of President Putin, an exercise of strategic nuclear units, said to be the largest in recent years, took place in October 2012. The objective of the exercise was to assess the automated communication management system and the new command algorithms for strategic nuclear forces through the integrated action of all components of strategic nuclear systems. The exercise involved one ICBM and one SLBM and the firing of four ALCMs. Surprise inspections are exercises designed to assess the combat readiness of the various service commands by ordering units to complete operational maneuvers without prior warning.

<sup>15</sup> According to various news reports, the fifth prototype of Russia’s fifth generation fighter, the PAK FA (Future Air Complex for Tactical Air Forces), conducted trial flights in October 2013. In March 2013, Commander-in-Chief of the Air Force Bondarev, stated that the PAK FA will be introduced in 2016.

<sup>16</sup> In December 2010, Russia decided to purchase two ships from a consortium with France. Their construction contract was signed in June 2011, and the launching ceremony of the first ship, Vladivostok, was held in October 2013 in a French shipyard. Furthermore, it is said that Commander of the Pacific Fleet Sergei Avakyan reported to Minister of Defence Shoigu, who visited Vladivostok in February

Furthermore, Russian military forces have been carrying out a range of exercises<sup>17</sup> and since February 2013, they have been conducting surprise inspections designed to validate the combat readiness of the military districts and independent corps for the first time since the collapse of the Soviet Union<sup>18</sup>. Outside of Russia, Russian military forces have continued to participate in the counter-piracy operations off the coast of Somalia and in the Gulf of Aden since 2008, and maintained deployment of vessels in the Mediterranean Sea<sup>19</sup>. In September 2013, a Kirov-class missile cruiser was deployed to the eastern Arctic for the first time, where it conducted military exercises<sup>20</sup>.

In this way, the Russian military forces are showing signs of growing activity and expansion of their area of operations.

As for the future Russian military forces, since there are opaque elements which may be influenced by Russia's future economic and social development, it is necessary to continue to observe their future trends.

#### **4 Russian Forces in the Vicinity of Japan**

##### **1 General Situation**

Russia newly established the Eastern Military District and the Eastern Joint Strategic Command in 2010<sup>21</sup>. In addition to ground forces, the Pacific Fleet, air force, and air defense units have

---

2014, that the docking infrastructure for the Vladivostok and a second ship, the Sevastopol, will be constructed before the end of September 2015.

<sup>17</sup> Advancing its military reform, Russia has been conducting large-scale exercises for verification and other purposes. Exercises involving field training at the level of military district and above include: "Vostok-2010" conducted in the former Far Eastern Military District and the former Siberian Military District between June and July 2010, and; "Center 2011" in the Central Military District, Kazakhstan, Kyrgyzstan and Tajikistan in September 2011. "Caucasus-2012" was carried out in the Southern Military District in September 2012. In addition, "Zapado-2013" was carried out in the Western Military District and in the territories of Belarus in September 2013.

<sup>18</sup> Surprise inspections were conducted in February 2013 in the Central Military District and Southern Military District; in March 2014 in the Southern Military District; in May 2014 in the Western Military District; in July 2014 in the Eastern and Central Military Districts; in October there was a surprise inspection of the strategic nuclear units; and between February and March 2014 unannounced inspections were conducted in the Western and Central Military Districts. At the December 2013 the expanded meeting of the Defence Ministry Board, Minister of Defence Shoigu said that continued unannounced inspections are essential.

<sup>19</sup> Russia's naval fleet in the Mediterranean, for which formation was completed on June 1 2013, are positioned as a permanent operational force.

<sup>20</sup> The Temp Airport on the New Siberian Islands (Novosibirsk) located in the Eastern Arctic, has been closed since 1993, but in October 2013, was restored to operation through the support of the Northern Fleet.

<sup>21</sup> Eastern Military District's headquarters are in Khabarovsk.

also been placed under the control of the Military District Commander, who has unified control over each of these services.

The current presence of the Russian military forces in the Far East region is comparatively much smaller than it was at its peak. However, a considerable scale of military forces, including nuclear forces, still remains in the region. Russian military operations in the vicinity of Japan appear to be increasingly active.

Given that the Russian military forces set their basis of operation on maintaining the combat readiness of their strategic nuclear units as well as dealing with conflicts through the inter-theater mobility of its round-the-clock readiness units, it is necessary to continue paying attention to the positioning and trends of the Russian military forces in the Far East region while also keeping in mind the movement of units in other regions.

#### (1) Nuclear Forces

As for strategic nuclear forces in the Far East region, ICBMs, such as SS-25s and about 30 Tu-95 long-range bombers are deployed mainly along the Trans-Siberian Railway. In addition, the Delta III-class SSBNs carrying SLBMs are deployed in and around the Sea of Okhotsk. By and large strategic nuclear units maintain readiness posture. In a surprise inspection conducted in October 2013 and a field training exercise conducted in May 2014 for the strategic nuclear unit, the Delta III-class SSBNs launched SLBMs in the Sea of Okhotsk. And in December 2013, the second of the Borey-class SSBNs Alexander Nevsky is being deployed in the Pacific Fleet<sup>22</sup>.

#### (2) Ground Forces

As part of its military reforms, it is believed that Russia is promoting reorganization from a division-based command structure to a brigade-based one, while also shifting all of its combat forces into permanent readiness units. The Eastern Military District now consists of eleven brigades and one division with about 80,000 personnel in total and has a naval infantry brigade with an amphibious capability.

#### (3) Naval Forces

The Pacific Fleet is stationed and deployed from its main bases in Vladivostok and Petropavlovsk. The fleet comprises about 240 ships with a total displacement in the region of

---

<sup>22</sup> In January 2014, ITAR-TASS reported that the submarine is expected to arrive in Vilyuchinsk on the Kamchatka Peninsula, where the submarine will be stationed, in Autumn 2014. Furthermore, in February 2014, Minister of Defence Shoigu visited Vilyuchinsk to inspect the state of construction of the submarine docking infrastructure.

about 600,000 tons, including about 20 major surface ships and about 20 submarines (about 15 of which are nuclear powered submarines) with a total displacement of about 300,000 tons.

#### (4) Air Forces

In the Eastern Military District, Russia deploys about 340 combat aircraft from its Air Force and Navy combined. This number continues to shrink, but existing models are being modified and new models (Su-35 fighters) are being introduced<sup>23</sup> to improve their capabilities.

#### 2 Russian Forces in Japan's Northern Territories

Since 1978 under the regime of the former Soviet Union, Russia has been redeploying ground troops on Kunashiri, Etorofu, and Shikotan Islands of Japan's Northern Territories, which are inherent territories of Japan. The numbers of military personnel are considered to be far less than at past peak times, however, one division with mainly defensive duties is stationed in this region and there are deployed tanks, armored vehicles, various types of artillery, and anti-air missiles<sup>24</sup>.

After then President Medvedev visited Kunashiri Island<sup>25</sup> for the first time as head of state in November 2010, Russia started replacement of equipment and construction of facilities, among other measures, to ensure the security of the "Kuril" Islands.

The number of Russian military personnel stationed in this region in 1991 was about 9,500, and at the Japan-Russia Defense Ministerial Meeting held in 1997, then Russian Defence Minister Rodionov made it clear that the troops stationed in the Northern Territories had been reduced to 3,500 soldiers by 1995. In July 2005, when then Russian Defence Minister Ivanov visited the Northern Territories, he declared that Russia would neither increase nor decrease the troops stationed on the four islands, clearly showing an intention to maintain the status quo<sup>26</sup>.

---

<sup>23</sup> In February 2014, 12 Su-35 fighter jets entered service with the 23rd Fighter Regiment based in Khabarovsk.

<sup>24</sup> The 18th Machine Gun and Artillery Division which comprises two regiments is Russia's only machine gun and artillery division following the military's progress in reforming divisions into brigades, and is stationed on Etorofu Island and Kunashiri Island. The Division aims to prevent landings, and participated in surprise inspections conducted for the Eastern Military District in July 2013.

<sup>25</sup> After the visit, Kunashiri Island and Etorofu Island were visited by First Deputy Prime Minister Shuvalov in December 2010, by then Regional Development Minister Basargin in January to February 2011, and by then Deputy Prime Minister Ivanov in May 2011. Furthermore, Security Council Secretary Patrushev visited Kunashiri Island and Suisho Island of the Habomai Islands in September 2011. In addition, in January 2011, Deputy Minister of Defence Bulgakov, and, in February 2011, then Minister of Defence Serdyukov visited Kunashiri Island and Etorofu Island and inspected the units stationed there. Furthermore, Prime Minister Medvedev visited Kunashiri Island in July 2012.

<sup>26</sup> During the 1998 visit to Russia by our Administrative Vice-Minister of Defence, then Russian Minister of Defence Sergeyev commented that the number of Russian troops stationed in the northern territories

As mentioned above, Russian troops continue to be stationed in the Northern Territories, which are inherent territories of Japan, and it is hoped that the issue will be resolved at an early date.

### 3 Operations in the Vicinity of Japan

Activities by Russian military forces in the vicinity of Japan including exercises and drills that are believed to have objectives such as verification of the results of military reform are on the rise.

In the large-scale military exercise “Vostok-2010” that was conducted from June to July 2010, it is thought that Russia could verify its ability to respond to conflicts under its new command structure and also its ability to manage units from different services in an integrated manner. In addition, by mobilizing troops that are not stationed in this region to the Far East exercises, it is considered that Russia verified its ability to deploy forces in regions far from where they are stationed<sup>27</sup>.

In July 2013, a surprise inspection was conducted in the Eastern Military District involving about 160,000 personnel, more than 5,000 combat vehicles, 130 aircraft and 70 naval vessels. Furthermore, between August and September 2013, the Pacific Fleet conducted large scale exercises involving about 15,000 personnel, 50 naval vessels and 30 aircraft in the coast region, Sakhalin, waters off east of Kamchatka Peninsula, and Chukchi Peninsula<sup>28</sup>. Notably, as part of these exercises naval infantry of the Pacific Fleet conducted landing drills on the Kuril Islands for the first time since the end of the Cold War<sup>29</sup>.

The number of exercises carried out by Russian ground forces in the areas adjacent to Japan has decreased from the peak, however, some activities seem to be on the rise again.

---

was being steadily decreased. Also, a senior official of the General Staff stated that troops on the “Kuril Islands” would be maintained at around 3,500, within the process of reorganizing the division into a brigade.

<sup>27</sup> In September 2011, a large-scale exercise was held involving anti-vessel and anti-aircraft live fire drills and landing drills in eastern Kamchatka Peninsula. More than 10,000 personnel, 50 naval vessels and 50 aircraft participated in the exercise. Furthermore, between June and July 2012, various exercises, including landing drills, were conducted in Sakhalin involving about 7,000 personnel, 40 naval vessels, and 60 aircraft. Through these drills and exercises, the units trained and improved ability to cope with various situations. Moreover, Vostok 2014, a large-scale exercise, is planned to be held in the Eastern Military District in 2014.

<sup>28</sup> In August 2013, the naval infantry of the Pacific Fleet completed a landing drill for the first time on Chukchi Peninsula in the Arctic.

<sup>29</sup> An article published on the Ministry of Defence website on the November 27, 2013 Naval Infantry Day

With regard to naval vessels, their activities seem to be on the rise in recent years. For example, joint exercises and counter-piracy operations have been carried out, in long voyages by vessels deployed in the Pacific Fleet, and nuclear submarines are carrying out patrols<sup>30</sup>. In September 2011, 24 naval vessels including a Slava-class guided missile cruiser passed through the Soya Strait one after the other. This was the first time ever identified since the end of the cold war that Russian naval vessels on this scale passed through the strait<sup>31</sup>. In a surprise inspection conducted in the Eastern Military District (July 2013), 23 vessels passed through the Soya Strait. In August of the same year, 16 vessels passed through the Soya Strait.

Regarding aircraft, since the resumption of patrol activities by its strategic aviation units in 2007, Russia has been increasing flights by long-range bombers and carrying out flights of Tu-95 long-range bombers and Tu-160 long-range bombers which are refueled in mid-flight and supported by A-50 early warning aircraft and Su-27 fighters<sup>32</sup>. Moreover, due to an upturn in its fuel situation, among other factors, pilot training time is on an upward trend, and in September 2011 and March and December 2013 Tu-95 long-range bombers, etc. took a route that circled the area encompassing Japan. There also seems to be an increase in activities such as flights approaching Japan and exercises and training<sup>33</sup>, as exemplified by the abnormal flights of Russian aircraft detected on seven consecutive days and the flights by six individual Tu-95 long-range bombers on one single day between March and April 2014<sup>34</sup>.

See ▶ *Fig. I-1-4-3 (Changes in the Number of Scrambles against Russian Aircraft)*

## 5 Relations with Other Countries

---

<sup>30</sup> The number of cases of the Russian fleet passing through the three international straits (Soya, Tsugaru, and Tsushima) of Japan that have been identified and disclosed in FY2013 is as follows: eleven cases in the Soya Strait (eleven in 2011, six in 2012), one case in the Tsugaru Strait (one in 2011, two in 2012), and four cases in the Tsushima Strait (seven in 2011, five in 2012).

<sup>31</sup> A part of 24 naval vessels participated in an exercise conducted in the eastern part of the Kamchatka Peninsula and other places.

<sup>32</sup> The Russian Ministry of Defence announced in January 2014 that surveillance flights of two Tu-95 long-range bombers took place with the assistance of Su-27 fighter jets and A-50 airborne early warning and control aircraft.

<sup>33</sup> Long-range flights in the vicinity of Japan were carried out in areas surrounding Japan by Tu-95 long-range bombers in July, September and November 2011, February and April 2012 and March and December 2013; by Tu-22 middle-range bombers four times in August 2011; and by Tu-142 patrol aircraft in December 2013. When Tu-95 long-range bombers took a route that circled the area encompassing Japan in September 2011, they were refueled in mid-flight by an IL-78 air tanker in the temporary danger zone set by Russia. In addition, when Tu-95 long-range bombers flew in the vicinity of Japan in February 2012 and February 2014, other aircraft such as A-50 early warning aircraft flew with them. Two Su-27 fighters and two Tu-95 long-range bombers invaded Japanese airspace in February 2013 and August 2013 respectively.

<sup>34</sup> In April 2014, Deputy Minister of Defence Antonov stated that "Russian air force aircrafts operated in strict compliance with international law." The Deputy Minister also asked the Japanese Ministry of Defense to "alter its attitude toward cooperation with the Russian Ministry of Defence."

## 1 General Situation

Recognizing that, amid the trend toward multipolarity, Russia's international position as one of the poles of influence is being strengthened, Russia sets out its basic foreign policy to achieve its national interests<sup>35</sup>. Moreover, stating that its diplomacy is to be conducted based on the national security that serves the interests of its people, Russia aims at a practical diplomacy conducive to solving issues toward modernizing the country's economy<sup>36</sup>.

Toward this goal, while strengthening the economic cooperation with Commonwealth of Independent States (CIS) countries, Russia is taking initiatives to strengthen its ties with the United States and European countries to achieve modernization, launching the building of a partnership with the European Union (EU)<sup>37</sup>. Also from the perspective of its own modernization, Russia considers that it needs to strengthen its relationships with countries in the Asia-Pacific region<sup>38</sup>. Close attention should be paid to how Russia, with its diplomatic stance focused on the benefits of achieving its own modernization, will develop its relations with other countries in the future, including in the area of security.

## 2 Relations with Asian Countries

Russia recognizes that the significance of the Asia-Pacific region is increasing within its multi-pronged foreign policy, and the relationship with Asian countries is also important from the viewpoint of economic development in Siberia and the Far East<sup>39</sup>, anti-terrorist measures, and security<sup>40</sup>. In the presidential order concerning foreign policy issued in May 2012, President Putin holds up his policy to participate in the integration process of the Asia-Pacific region in order to accelerate socioeconomic development in the East Siberia and Far East regions, and stated that Russia will work to develop relationships with Japan, South Korea and other

---

<sup>35</sup> The Foreign Policy Concept of the Russian Federation (released in July 2008).

<sup>36</sup> According to the speech by then President Medvedev at the Meeting with Russian Ambassadors and Permanent Representatives to International Organizations (July 2010) and the annual state of the nation address (November 2009, November 2010 and December 2011). In his paper on foreign policy published in February 2012 to serve as a campaign platform, then Prime Minister Putin showed his stance to ensure Russia's security and interests while developing mutually-beneficial cooperative relationships with other countries.

<sup>37</sup> In Izvestia on October 4, 2011, then Prime Minister Putin advocated the foundation of a "Eurasia Union" to strengthen economic partnerships in the region built on the customs union and the unified economic block. In addition, eight CIS countries (Russia, Belarus, Kazakhstan, Kyrgyzstan, Tajikistan, Ukraine, Moldova and Armenia) signed the CIS Free Trade Zone Agreement in the same month.

<sup>38</sup> According to the speech by then President Medvedev at the Meeting with Russian Ambassadors and Permanent Representatives to International Organizations (July 2010) and the annual state of the nation address (November 2010).

<sup>39</sup> Russia is currently developing resources in Siberia and Sakhalin.

<sup>40</sup> The Foreign Policy Concept of the Russian Federation (released in July 2008). In his paper on foreign policy to serve as a campaign platform published in February 2012, then Prime Minister Putin expressed his recognition that the importance of the whole Asia-Pacific region was rising.

countries in addition to China<sup>41</sup>, India and Vietnam<sup>42</sup>.

Under this policy, Russia has participated in various frameworks in the Asia-Pacific region<sup>43</sup>. The Asia-Pacific Economic Cooperation (APEC) Summit was held in Vladivostok in September 2012.

With regard to Russia-India relations, the two countries maintain a close relationship under a strategic partnership, with the leaders of both countries paying mutual visits to the other. In October 2013, President Putin held talks with Prime Minister Singh when he visited Russia, during which they reached an agreement on enhanced military cooperation including arms exports. The two countries are strengthening their military technology cooperation, including the joint development of the fifth generation PAK FA fighter jet and the BrahMos supersonic cruise missile. Additionally, since 2003 Russia and India have been conducting INDRA anti-terrorism exercises involving the armies and navies of both countries. Regarding the relationship with Japan, Russia states that it will develop mutually beneficial cooperation and is intensifying its approach in many fields including politics, economy and security.

### 3 Relations with the Commonwealth of Independent States

#### (1) General Situation

Russia has positioned the development of bilateral and multilateral cooperation with the CIS as the highest priority of its diplomatic policy. Stating that its vital interests are concentrated in the territories of the CIS<sup>44</sup>, Russia has been making efforts to maintain its military influence<sup>45</sup>, such as by dispatching troops to be stationed in Ukraine (Crimea), Moldova (Transdnester<sup>46</sup>),

---

<sup>41</sup> See Part I, Chapter 1, Section 3-3 for the relationship with China

<sup>42</sup> President Putin made an official visit to Vietnam and ROK in November 2013.

<sup>43</sup> Russia has participated in regional frameworks, such as the Asia-Pacific Economic Cooperation (APEC), the ASEAN Regional Forum (ARF), the Shanghai Cooperation Organization (SCO), and the East Asia Summit (EAS since 2011.)

<sup>44</sup> After the conflict with Georgia in August 2008, then President Medvedev indicated that Russia recognized as one of its five principles of diplomacy the area of privileged interests for Russia.

<sup>45</sup> While some CIS countries continue to prioritize their relations with Russia, such as Belarus and Kazakhstan, others are attempting to maintain a distance from Russia. Georgia, Ukraine, Azerbaijan, and Moldova have been taking mostly pro-Western policies to reduce their security and economic dependence on Russia. In September 2012, Kyrgyzstan and Russia agreed on a 15-year extension of the period of use of Russian military bases in Kyrgyzstan, which otherwise would end in 2017. In October 2012, Tajikistan and Russia agreed to extend the lease of the base of Russia's 201st Motor Rifle Division in Tajikistan until 2042. In December 2013, Su-27 fighters of the Russian naval force were deployed in Belarus for the first time.

<sup>46</sup> In Transnistria, located on the eastern side of the Dniester River, ethnic Russian residents declared separation and independence from Moldova in 1990, but was never recognized as such by the international community. Following the annexation of Crimea into Russia, in March 2014 the Parliament of Transnistria urged Russia to also incorporate the region. Moreover, during a telephone conference between President Putin and President Obama in March 2014, President Putin pointed out that

Armenia, Tajikistan, Kyrgyzstan and Georgia, which left the CIS in August 2009 (South Ossetia, Abkhazia)<sup>47</sup>.

With increasing activities by Islamic armed insurgents in Central Asia and the Caucasus, Russia has been pursuing military cooperation centered on counterterrorism measures in the region, and organized the Collective Rapid Deployment Force in May 2001 within the framework of the CIS Collective Security Treaty Organization (CSTO)<sup>48</sup>. Furthermore, in June 2009, a permanent joint rapid reaction force was established to strengthen the functions of the CIS Collective Rapid Deployment Force<sup>49</sup>.

In addition, out of concern that the worsening security in Afghanistan could lead to the destabilization of Central Asia, Russia and Central Asian countries are supporting Afghanistan while considering measures to strengthen the security of borders with Afghanistan<sup>50</sup>.

## (2) Ukraine

Following political upheaval in Ukraine in February 2014, the Yanukovich Government collapsed and was replaced by an interim government led by the opposition party. At the same

---

Transnistria is experiencing a blockade. A Russian unit of about 1,500 troops is currently stationed in Transnistria.

<sup>47</sup> After the conflict with Russia in August 2008, Georgia withdrew from the CIS in August 2009, but Russia unilaterally recognized the independence of South Ossetia and Abkhazia in the Georgian territory and continues to have troops stationed in the regions. In the parliamentary election in October 2012 “Georgian Dream,” an opposition alliance with a campaign promise of improving Georgia-Russia relations, defeated the ruling “United National Movement” that adopts an anti-Russian policy. In the presidential election of October 2013, Giorgi Margvelashvili, backed by “Georgian Dream,” was elected and became president in November of the same year. In his inauguration speech, President Margvelashvili stated that he was ready to deepen the dialogue with Russia, expressing his intention to continue with pro-Euro, pro-U.S. lines while pursuing improvement of the relationship with Russia.

<sup>48</sup> In May 1992, leaders of six countries (Armenia, Kazakhstan, Kyrgyzstan, Russia, Tajikistan and Uzbekistan) signed the Collective Security Treaty (CST) in Tashkent, Uzbekistan. In 1993, Azerbaijan, Georgia and Belarus joined the treaty, which came into effect in April 1994. However, Azerbaijan, Georgia and Uzbekistan withdrew from the treaty in 1999 without renewing it. In May 2002, CST was reorganized into the Collective Security Treaty Organization (CSTO). Uzbekistan returned to CST in August 2006 but gave notice of suspension of participation in CSTO in June 2012, effectively withdrawing from the organization.

<sup>49</sup> Learning from the fact that CSTO could not sufficiently respond to the request by Kyrgyzstan for peace keeping at the time of the ethnic conflict in the southern part of Kyrgyzstan in June 2010, CSTO has been discussing improvement in the efficiency of its crisis response system. The CSTO summit meeting in December 2011 warned against foreign forces’ stationing in a member state by requiring the consent of all member states when any member state builds a base of a third country. CSTO joint exercises, “Vzaimodeistvie” (cooperative operation), were implemented in Kazakhstan in October 2009 and October 2010, in Armenia in September 2012, and in Belarus in September 2013.

<sup>50</sup> During the December 2013 Russian the expanded meeting of the Defence Ministry Board, President Putin said that the withdrawal of the International Security Assistance Force (ISAF) from Afghanistan in 2014 would be a destabilizing element to not only Afghanistan but also the wider Central Asia and could also pose a threat to the national interests and security of Russia.

time in the Autonomous Republic of Crimea in southern Ukraine, military forces, believed to be Russian forces, occupied the Council of Ministers Building and the Parliamentary Building. The military forces also took control of arterial roads to the airport and the rest of Ukraine as well as some major Ukrainian military forces facilities. In March 2014 after Russia took effective control of Crimea, a referendum was held, asking Crimean citizens if they wanted Crimea to be “annexed” by the Russian Federation. Following the referendum, Russia “annexed” Crimea. In March, 2014 President Putin criticized western nations in a speech, pledging to protect the interests of ethnic Russian citizens of Ukraine. The United States, European countries and Japan condemned the referendum as it violates the sovereignty and territorial integrity of Ukraine and is in violation of international laws including the Charter of the United Nations, and have refused to recognize the “annexation” of Crimea<sup>51</sup>. Said countries have expressed the view that Russia’s changing of the status quo by force or coercion is a global issue that impacts the entire international community, including Asia. In April 2014, forces believed to be ethnic Russian citizens increased the intensity of their protests and attacks against the interim Ukrainian government in eastern and southern Ukraine. During this period, buildings including the Council of Ministers Building were seized. In response, the interim Ukrainian government accused Russia of involvement and made attempts to expel the occupying forces by flinging the military, etc. However, this has not led to the resolution of the situation. On the other hand, Russia is believed to have deployed military forces consisting of as many as 40,000 personnel near the Ukraine-Russia border. In May 2014, a presidential election was held in Ukraine, except in Crimea and some parts of Eastern Ukraine, in a free, fair, and peaceful manner. Candidate Mr. Petro Poroshenko was elected by winning a majority of the votes and assumed the office of President in June of the same year. There have been indications that a diplomatic solution is being sought over the Ukrainian situation, but the situation is in a state of flux and the outlook remains extremely volatile and uncertain.

#### 4 Relations with the United States

---

<sup>51</sup> Chinese Foreign Ministry Spokesperson Hong Lei stated during a March 2, 2014 press conference that "China maintains the principle of non-intervention in domestic affairs of other countries and respects the independence, sovereignty and the protection of territories of Ukraine." During a March 7, 2014 press conference, Hong Lei said, "China has always opposed the rushed implementation of sanctions during a period of deteriorating international relations and the use of sanctions as a means of intimidation. China hopes that all relevant nations seek to avoid a further deterioration of the situation and seek political resolution of the crisis." Hong Lei avoided directly answering the question as to whether he believes that the referendum in Crimea was in violation of international law, saying "China urges all forces in Ukraine to resolve the issue peacefully through dialog and negotiation under a legal and well-ordered framework. China also urges all forces in Ukraine to protect the interests of Ukrainians, promptly restore order and maintain the peace and stability of the region." Moreover, China refused to adopt the March 2014 United Nations Security Council Resolution ruling the referendum in Crimea invalid. During the speech delivered by President Putin following the March 2014 referendum in Crimea, Putin expressed his gratitude to China.

With the inauguration of the Obama administration in January 2009, the U.S.-Russia relationship, which had been stalled due to the Russo-Georgian War, went through a period in which both sides took the stance of improving relations, but the gap between them has not yet been filled.

In August 2013, the U.S. expressed strong disapproval over Russia's decision to grant temporary asylum to Snowden, a former U.S. intelligence agency employee<sup>52</sup>. Consequently, the U.S. notified Russia of its intention to postpone the U.S.-Russia Summit scheduled to take place in September the same year<sup>53</sup>. In relation to Syrian affairs, Russia expressed strong disapproval over President Obama's announcement to take military action against Syria on the grounds that the Syrian Government used chemical weapons. Russia successfully encouraged the al-Assad regime of Syria to abandon all chemical weapons.

Russia strongly opposed the deployment plan of the MD system in Europe by the United States, stating that it would have a negative impact on Russia's nuclear deterrent capabilities. But in September 2009, the United States announced that it was reviewing the proposed deployment of the MD system in Europe<sup>54</sup>, which was cautiously welcomed by Russia.

However, Russia's understanding is that the new Strategic Arms Reduction Treaty (START) effective from February 2011 would be invalidated if the United States developed, both quantitatively and qualitatively, its MD capabilities and threatened Russia's potential strategic nuclear strength<sup>55</sup>. Russia also indicates that it would withdraw from the new START in response to the United States' recent advancement of its MD plan in Europe<sup>56</sup>.

It is believed that Russia intends to establish a certain level of cooperative relationship in military exchanges with the U.S. as exemplified by Russian naval vessels' first participation in RIMPAC conducted in the seas around Hawaii in July 2012. However, in light of Russia's

---

<sup>52</sup> Former U.S. intelligence agency employee Edward Snowden was charged with espionage for revealing domestic and international intelligence gathering practices by the U.S. Edward Snowden later sought asylum in Russia.

<sup>53</sup> The U.S.-Russia Defense Ministers and Foreign Ministers meeting (Two-Plus-Two meeting) was held in Washington in August 2013 as scheduled. This was the first meeting of its kind since the Moscow meeting in March 2008 five-and-a-half years ago.

<sup>54</sup> Refer to Part I, Chapter 1, Section 1 - 2 for the U.S. deployment plan of the MD system in Europe.

<sup>55</sup> Statement by the Russian Federation concerning missile defense (April 8, 2010)

<sup>56</sup> Russia has demanded a legal guarantee that the MD plan of the United States is not targeted at Russia, and claimed that the United States is not considering Russia's concerns. Russia issued a Presidential statement in November 2011, mentioning countermeasures such as fielding of early-warning radars and the possibility of its withdrawal from the new Strategic Arms Reduction Treaty. In addition, in November 2013, Foreign Minister Sergey Lavrov stated that if the Geneva agreement on Iran's nuclear issues was implemented, a U.S. MD system for Europe would not be needed.

attitude toward the Ukrainian situation, the United States announced that military exchanges with Russia would be halted in March 2014<sup>57</sup>. Furthermore, the U.S. exhibited actions to restrain Russia by dispatching a missile destroyer to the Black Sea as well as F-16 fighter jets to Poland.

## 5 Relations with Europe and NATO

While the relationship between Russia and NATO temporarily deteriorated due to factors such as the Russo-Georgian War, through the framework of the NATO-Russia Council (NRC), Russia now participates to a certain extent in NATO decision-making and acts as an equal partner in areas of mutual interest.

At the NRC summit held in Lisbon in November 2010, Russia and NATO stated that both sides would work toward building a true and modernized strategic partnership. They are now searching for possibilities of dialogue and cooperation in fields such as missile defense (MD), Afghanistan, cooperation to fight terrorism, and anti-piracy measures. With regard to MD cooperation, there has been no progress in the cooperation of Russia and NATO. For example, the talks at the meeting of NRC defense ministers held in June 2011 highlighted the difference in position between NATO advocating MD cooperation in which only information and data would be exchanged under the two independent systems of NATO and Russia, and the position of Russia aiming at “sector MD” in which both sides operate integrally by setting zones for each country’s responsibility under a unified MD system of NATO and Russia.

Meanwhile, there remains the unsolved problem between Russia and NATO about the Conventional Armed Forces in Europe (CFE) agreement<sup>58</sup>. In addition, NATO and European countries decided in April 2014 to cease practical support including military aspects, excluding the ambassador-level meetings of NRC, in response to Russia’s “annexation” of Crimea<sup>59</sup>.

---

<sup>57</sup> Following the occupation of the Crimean Peninsula by Russia, U.S. Department of Defense spokesperson Kirby announced in March 2014 that the U.S. will cease all military exchange with Russia including joint exercises with Russian forces, consultations, and port calls.

<sup>58</sup> At the 1999 Istanbul summit of the Organization for Security and Co-operation in Europe (OSCE), an agreement was reached on changing the troop ceilings set formerly by blocks to those set by country and territory and on complying with the current CFE Treaty until the adapted CFE Treaty comes into effect. Dissatisfied with NATO members having refused to ratify the adopted CFE Treaty due to Russian forces not withdrawing from Georgia and Moldova, although Russia had ratified it, in December 2007 Russia suspended the implementation of the CFE Treaty and halted inspections based on this treaty. At the time of writing, only four countries had ratified the adapted CFE Treaty—Russia, Belarus, Kazakhstan, and Ukraine—and it has not yet come into effect. Besides this, Russia has proposed dissolving the existing security framework that has NATO at its center and creating a new European security treaty that would provide new fundamental principles for security in Europe and the Atlantic region.

<sup>59</sup> NATO issued a statement of condemnation over the Ukraine situation. NATO deployed additional military forces in Eastern Europe and the Baltic region, but member nations have shown varied attitudes

NATO dispatched early warning and control aircraft (AWACS) with an aim to monitor the airspace of NATO member states bordering Ukraine as well as the Black Sea.

## 6 Exportation of Arms

Russia seems to actively promote the export of arms not only to maintain the infrastructure of its military industry and to make economic profit, but also to help promote better foreign policy. The country's export value has been increasing in recent years<sup>60</sup>. In January 2007, the Russian government granted the exclusive right to export arms to the Rosoboron Export State Corporation as part of its ongoing initiatives to improve its export system. In addition, Russia regards its military industry as an integral part of the nation's military organization and is committed to improving and further developing the military industry by such measures as promoting the integration of aircraft companies such as Sukhoi, MiG, and Tupolev.

Russia has exported its fighter jets and warships to countries including India, ASEAN member countries, China, Algeria, and Venezuela<sup>61</sup>.

---

toward Russia. In addition to the cessation of military cooperation with Russia, the UK also announced halting of military equipment exports and the deployment of fighter jets for enhanced patrolling of the Baltic region's airspace. Germany also expressed intentions to halt military equipment exports to Russia.

<sup>60</sup> According to the Stockholm International Peace Research Institute (SIPRI), Russian arms exports between 2009 and 2013 increased by 28% compared to the period between 2004 and 2008.

<sup>61</sup> Russia concluded sales contracts with Indonesia for the Su-27 and Su-30 fighters in 2003 and 2007, and with Malaysia and Vietnam for the Su-30 fighters in 2003, and has delivered the fighters to these countries. There are also reports of a sales contract with Vietnam in 2009 for the Su-30 fighters and Kilo-class submarines. In January 2014, the first of the Kilo-class submarines, "Hanoi," arrived in Vietnam. With regard to India, aircraft carrier "Admiral Gorshkov," which had been refurbished in Severodvinsk, was delivered to India, renamed as INS Vikramaditya, which arrived in India in January 2014. Moreover, in 2006, Russia concluded sales contracts with Algeria and Venezuela for arms, including Su-30 fighters, and has delivered some of these arms. Russia's exports to China have included Su-27 and Su-30 fighters, Sovremenny-class destroyers, and Kilo-class submarines. However, against the backdrop of the advancement of indigenous weapon production in China, while some point out that the value of its exports to China has been declining, exports such as aircraft engines for repair purposes continue.