Section 4. Russia

1. General Situation

After the collapse of the Soviet Union, Russia fell into a state of confusion and chaos, and under these circumstances, the Putin administration’s policy is supported by the Russians: the administration insists that only a strong nation would bring order and stability to the country. Towards the goal of creating a multipolar world, the administration has been conducting active summit diplomacy with major countries in the region including China and India. In July 2006, Russia successfully chaired the G8 Summit held in Saint-Petersburg.

At the inauguration ceremony making the start of his second term, President Vladimir Putin made clear his emphasis on domestic policy, and he has pressed ahead with social reforms. He has at the same time moved to rebuild a centralized structure by abolishing the direct electoral system of regional governors. The Russian economy remains in good shape thanks to a rise in the international market price of crude oil, its major export since 1999. However, the economy depends on the export of energy resources and the living standards of Russians are not high enough. Russia is implementing economic structural reforms and other policies to solve these problems.

2. Security and Defense Policies

1. Basic Posture

Russia revised its “National Security Concept of the Russian Federation” in January 2000. The Concept recognizes that two exclusive trends exist in the current international situation: the trend towards the multipolar world made by countries including Russia and the trend towards the world dominated by the Western countries. As threats to Russia’s security under these international circumstances, the document lists international terrorism, a movement to decrease the role of the United Nations, the eastward expansion of the North Atlantic Treaty Organization (NATO) and others, and states that these factors, together with an increase of hi-tech weapons in the Western countries and a delay in the reforms of Russia’s armed forces and the military-industrial complex, have weakened Russia’s national security. The Concept concludes that from this perspective, Russia should take deterrent measures, including the possession of nuclear forces, to prevent invasions of any scale.

In line with this Concept, the Military Doctrine of the Russian Federation was stipulated in April 2000 as the basic philosophy underlying Russian national defense policies. The Doctrine states that potential threats remain both at home and abroad and in some areas these latent threats are growing despite the decreased possibility of large-scale wars and the reduced threat of a direct invasion in a traditional form. Based on this recognition, it states that the objective of national defense should be to deter aggression by any means including the use of nuclear weapons and that Russia reserves the right to use nuclear weapons in retaliatory attacks in response to a large-scale invasion with the use of conventional weapons.

In addition, The Priority Tasks of the Development of the Armed Forces of the Russian Federation was published in 2003 to embody the aforementioned Concept and Doctrine. Concerning the military duties, this
report points out the possibility of using armed forces not only for national defense but also for the implementation of various peacetime operations including counter-terrorism measures. In addition, the importance of inter-theater mobility of permanent combat-ready troops is also pointed out given the vastness of the Russian territory.

The occupation of a Moscow theater by Chechen armed rebels in 2002 drove a movement to review Russia’s security posture throughout the country. President Putin directed the Defense Minister and others to review the National Security Concept. As of May 2007, however, the country has not yet announced the revised Concept.

2. Military Reform

In Russia, the overall restructuring of its armed forces had been delayed after the collapse of the Soviet Union. Since 1997, however, progress has been made in the modernization of military forces, including the reduction of the number of soldiers, structural reforms, and development and introduction of new-type equipment and in the improvement of combat readiness. The reduction of military personnel is coming to an end and no further large-scale reduction is planned for the future. In structural reforms, shift to three services and three independent corps and the integration of military districts have been almost completed. As for the modernization of military forces, President Putin approved the state policy on military equipment for the period from 2007 to 2015 and accordingly, approximately five trillion rubles will be spent in the development and procurement of military equipment by 2015. At the same time, efforts are being made to create an integrated order placement system. On the other hand, in order to improve the quality of military personnel and maintain highly skilled forces, Russia is implementing measures toward the introduction of a contract-based service, under which soldiers are recruited not by conscription but by contract. Together with the ongoing improvement of the permanent combat-ready troops, the contract-based service would contribute to the improvement of the Russian military combat readiness. Also, Russia has been improving the military unit command system, and Russia is thought to continue these measures to improve conventional armed forces along with its efforts to maintain nuclear deterrent potential against the backdrop of the national defense budget that has been increasing in recent years. (See Fig. I-2-4-1)
3. The Chechen Issue
Triggered by the invasion of armed groups of Chechen rebels into the Republic of Dagestan in 1999, the armed forces of the Russian Federation started military actions against the groups (the Second Chechen War). In April 2002, President Putin announced in his state of the union address that the military stage had already ended. However, military actions by the Russian forces continued thereafter.

In the midst of this conflict, there were frequent terrorist attacks by armed groups, including the occupation of a Moscow theater in October 2002 and the takeover of a school in the Republic of North Ossetia in September 2004. President Putin enhanced mop-up operations against armed groups, and in 2006, established the National Anti-Terrorism Committee (NAC) and enacted a new antiterrorism law. Also, Russia has been promoting antiterrorism operations with the Commonwealth of Independent States (CIS) and NATO members.

In the Chechen Republic, a new constitution was adopted in 2003 and a parliamentary election was held in 2005, and thus the federal government has been implementing measures to stabilize Chechen. Also, as a result of mop-up operations by the government, leaders of pro-independence forces including Shamil Basayev, who was thought to be an extreme hardliner, were killed. However, the armed Chechen rebels have not been completely eliminated and it is difficult to tell what it will be in the future.

3. External Relations

1. Relations with the United States
The relationship between Russia and United States has been improved in various fields through cooperation in fight against terrorism and other measures. The United States, however, expresses concerns about domestic affairs in Russia, while Russia expresses concerns regarding the U.S. foreign policies. Thus the two countries have different stances.

The United States, which has been developing its ballistic missile defense program, withdrew from the Anti-Ballistic Missile (ABM) Treaty in June 2002. Russia criticized the U.S. decision, but did not regard it as a threat to Russia’s security. Subsequently, however, the United States agreed with the Czech Republic and Poland to start full-scale negotiations to deploy part of its missile defense system to the countries, and Russia is strongly opposed to this, claiming that the system targets Russia and would badly affect its nuclear deterrent capabilities.

In pursuant to the Strategic Offense Reductions Treaty (the Moscow Treaty), which was signed in May 2002 and came into effect in June 2003, both the United States and Russia shall reduce the number of nuclear warheads to between 1,700 and 2,200 by December 31, 2012. The treaty provides that each country shall independently determine the composition and structure of their nuclear forces within its limits.

2. Relations with the Commonwealth of Independent States (CIS)
Russia promotes military integration with CIS member countries, claiming that its vital interests are concentrated in the territories of the CIS. To this end, Russia has dispatched its federal forces to stay in Ukraine, Georgia, Moldova, Armenia, Tajikistan, and Kyrgyz. It also concluded agreements to form a unified air defense system or joint border security treaties with CIS member countries.

With increasing activities by Islamic armed forces in Central Asia/Caucasia, Russia pursued military cooperation to fight against terrorism in the region, and organized a Collective Rapid Deployment Force in May 2001 within the framework of the CIS Collective Security Treaty Organization. Since the U.S. and other military forces launched the military campaign in Afghanistan following the 9/11 terrorist attacks in September 2001 in the United States, Russia has not opposed the U.S. assistance to Uzbekistan, Kyrgyz, Tajikistan, and Georgia or the U.S. military presence in these countries. On the other hand, in 2003, Russia established an air
force base in Kyrgyz to enhance the CIS Collective Rapid Deployment Force. Russia also had a division (of approximately 8,000 personnel) stationed in Tajikistan, and afterward made an agreement with Tajikistan in October 2004 to secure a Russian military base in the country.

In the meantime, Georgia and Ukraine, both of which have new administrations that took office in 2003 to 2004, are aiming to strengthen their relations with Europe and the United States for their future accession to NATO, even as they emphasize relations with Russia. In May 2005, Russia and Georgia decided through negotiations that the Russian military base located in Georgian territory should be closed in 2008. As for Ukraine, if the Russian Black Sea Fleet continues to stay in Ukraine, it may be a barrier to its future NATO membership.

3. Relations with NATO
Russia, as a rule, has been against the accession to NATO of the former Soviet Union countries and the countries of Central and Eastern Europe. However, it took steps to build a new cooperative relationship with NATO especially after the 9/11 terrorist attacks in the United States, and a NATO-Russia Council was established as a mechanism to pursue joint activities in May 2002. Within the framework of this Council, Russia will participate in decision making to a certain extent and act as an equal partner in the fields of common interest.

4. Relations with Asian Countries
Russia is implementing a pipeline project to transport Siberia oil to the Far East and developing natural gas fields in Sakhalin. To develop these underground resources and revitalize its regional economy and social
infrastructure, it is important for Russia to enhance economic relations with Asia-Pacific countries including Japan and China. To this end, Russia emphasizes relations with these countries in its foreign policies and has joined the Asia-Pacific Economic Cooperation (APEC), the ASEAN Regional Forum (ARF), and the Shanghai Cooperation Organization (SCO) (see Section 3.1). Also, Russia signed the Treaty of Amity and Cooperation in Southeast Asia (TAC) in 2004. President Putin has been actively engaged in summit diplomacy with Asian countries. For example, he has been maintaining close relationship with China and India through annual reciprocal top-level visits. In July 2006, President Putin had a trilateral summit meeting with Chinese and India leaders. Furthermore, due to the fact that regional peace and stability mean much to its national interests, Russia intends proactively to get involved in the solution of regional problems, such as those concerning the Korean Peninsula.

5. Exportation of Arms
Russia seems to be promoting the exportation of arms not only to maintain the infrastructure of the military industry and make profit but also to help promote better foreign policies. The export value has been increasing in recent years. In January 2007, the Russian government granted an exclusive right to export arms to the Rosoboronexport State Corporation as part of its lasting efforts to improve the export system. In addition, Russia regards the 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 jet fighters and warships to countries including China, India, and ASEAN member countries. In addition, Russia signed agreements on military technology cooperation with North Korea and Iran in 2001. The international community is concerned about the possibility of an outflow of materials and technologies related to weapons of mass destruction, such as nuclear weapons, as well as personnel having knowledge and technology that are related to these weapons from former Soviet countries.

4. Military Posture

1. Nuclear Forces
Russia seems to have gradually reduced the number of its strategic nuclear missiles, and it also seems that building of a new-type nuclear-powered ballistic missile-carrying submarine (SSBN) has fallen behind schedule. However, Russia still maintains intercontinental ballistic missiles (ICBM) and submarine-launched ballistic missiles (SLMB) second only to the United States in scale. Although Russia totally abolished SS-24 missiles, which were only railway-mobile ICBMs, by the end of 2005, it decided to prolong the lifetime of its old-type ICBMs. While the aging of its nuclear missiles has been pointed out, Russia began to accelerate the development and introduction of new weapons, completed the test of the new mobile-type Topol-M ICBM, and started its deployment in 2006. Also, Russia started a flight test of the new-type Bulava submarine-launched ballistic missile in September 2005, but some point out that the test failed in 2006. It seems that Russia has not yet deployed the missile.

Pursuant to the aforementioned Moscow Treaty, Russia and the United States shall reduce the number
of their nuclear warheads to between 1,700 and 2,200 by December 31, 2012. The treaty raises international attention regarding whether the future disposal of nuclear weapons, including cost issues, will proceed smoothly. On the other hand, after the United States withdrew from the ABM Treaty, Russia declared the second Strategic Arms Reduction Treaty (START II) nullified, and said that it would take countermeasures such as suspension of the disposal of multiple nuclear warhead missiles. In light of the fact that the first Strategic Arms Reduction Treaty (START I) would become null and void in 2009, Russia proposed to start negotiations about a new treaty to replace START I.

As for non-strategic nuclear forces, Russia had scrapped surface-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, and had removed tactical nuclear weapons deployed aboard naval vessels and stored them in onshore missile silos in the following year. Russia, however, still possesses a broad array of nuclear forces.

Russia has been promoting modernization of its conventional forces. However, it has not progressed as planned. Given this, and as is indicated by the detailed description of the use of nuclear weapons in the Concept and the Doctrine, it is said that Russia emphasizes the importance of nuclear forces to make up for deficiencies in its conventional forces, and is making efforts to maintain the readiness of its nuclear forces.

2. Conventional Forces and Other Issues

Since 1990, Russian conventional forces have been reduced in size, but on the other hand, it seems that Russia is concentrating its limited resources on specific units to maintain their combat readiness.

However, many problems remain, including a decrease in the number of men available for conscription, bad living conditions for military personnel, lax military discipline, and difficulties in securing military personnel due to broad-ranging deferments and exemptions from military service. It would thus appear difficult for Russia to maintain the same level of military activities as it was in the Soviet era.

The future of Russian forces is unclear due to the opacity of both the political and economic conditions in the country, and it is necessary to continue monitoring the progress of military reform or Russian forces. It is, however, unlikely in the foreseeable future that the size and posture of Russian forces would return to their status during the Cold War era.

5. Russian Forces in the Far East Region

1. General

The present scale of the Russian military forces in the Far East region is much smaller than its peak. However, Russia deploys ground forces of about 90,000, approximately 250 warships, and roughly 630 combat aircraft in the Far East Region, and a considerable scale of military forces including nuclear forces still remains in the region. Training operations, after reaching bottom, have been slightly increasing in recent years. Since 2003, Russia has conducted military exercises in the Far East region, including “Vostok 2003” and “Vostok 2005,” both of which were large-scale exercises, and “Mobility 2004,” which was an exercise for the country’s permanent combat-ready troops to deploy from the western part of Russia to the Far East region.

In Russia, the number of troops has been reduced due to military reforms, and as a result, the personnel vacancy rate of the troops is thought to be declining. However, only strategic nuclear units and permanent combat-ready troops maintain a state of readiness, and the readiness of troops in general seems to be under improvement now.

For the future of the Russian forces in the Far East region, it is necessary to continue to monitor the trend of Russian forces as well as what they will be in the future, because, as a whole, the forces tend to focus on
dealing with conflicts by inter-theater mobility of its combat-ready troops, and political and economic conditions in the country still remain quite uncertain. It is, however, unlike in the foreseeable future that the scale and posture of the Russian forces in the Far East region will return to what they were during the Cold War era. Contexts for this argument are as follows: military détente with the United States has made it less necessary for Russia to emphasize its military presence in the Pacific, and a reduction of military tension with China has reduced the need for military vigilance against the country. (See Fig. I-2-4-3)

(1) Nuclear Forces

As for strategic nuclear forces in the Far East region, ICBMs, such as SS-25s and Tu-95MS Bear strategic bombers are deployed along the Trans-Siberian Railway, and SSBNs, such as the Delta III-class nuclear submarine carrying SLBMs, and others are deployed in and around the Sea of Okhotsk. The readiness of these strategic nuclear forces appears to have been generally maintained. The effects of the Moscow Treaty, which was signed between the United States and Russia in 2002, will have on strategic nuclear forces in the Far East region should be followed.

As for non-strategic nuclear capabilities, Russian forces in the Far East Region have a variety of weapons, including medium-range bombers such as Tu-22M Backfires and sea (undersea)-and air-launched cruise missiles. A total of approximately 70 Backfires are deployed in the west of Lake Baikal and the coast areas including the area across from Sakhalin.
(2) Ground Forces
Ground forces in the Far East region have continuously shrunk since 1990 and are currently made up of 15 divisions of approximately 90,000 personnels.

Also, the Pacific Fleet of the Russian Navy has a naval infantry division with an amphibious capability. (See Fig. I-2-4-4)

(3) Naval Forces
The Pacific Fleet is deployed from its main bases in Vladivostok and Petropavlovsk. The Fleet comprises approximately 250 ships with a total displacement in the region of 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 approximately 280,000 tons. These forces have been scaled down since 1990. (See Fig. I-2-4-5)

(4) Air Forces
Russia deploys approximately 630 combat aircraft of its Air Force and Navy. This represents a drastic fall from its peak, but existing models are being modified to improve their capabilities. (See Figs. I-2-4-6 • 7)

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**Fig. I-2-4-4  Changes in the Russian Ground Forces in the Far East Region**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Year</th>
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<th>Number of personnel</th>
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</table>

Notes: 1. 1989 = peak year
2. Far Eastern region of the former Soviet Union until 1992
3. Numbers in 1989 and 1990 include those of Russian troops stationed in Mongolia.
Fig. I-2-4-5 Changes in the Russian Naval Forces in the Far East Region

(Ships) (10,000 tons)

- Frigates
- Conventional submarines
- Destroyers
- Nuclear-powered submarines
- Cruisers and others
- Total tonnage

Fig. I-2-4-6 Changes in the Russian Air Forces in the Far East Region (Fighters)

(Fighters)

- 4th generation
- 3rd generation
- 2nd generation

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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 the Kunashiri, Etorofu, and Shikotan Islands of Japan’s Northern Territories. These territories are illegally occupied by Russia although they are an integral part of Japanese territory. The number of Russia’s military personnel in this region has been declining in recent years, and is considered to have far decreased from the peak. However, tanks, armored vehicles, various types of artillery, and anti-air missiles are still deployed in the region. With regard to ground forces in the Northern Territories, then President Yeltsin officially announced during his visit to Japan in 1993 that half of the troops stationed on the four islands had already been withdrawn and the remaining half, with the exception of the national border guard, would also be pulled out. In the late 1990s, Russia repeatedly stated at various official meetings with Japan that the number of Russian troops stationed in this region had been reduced. The number of Russian military personnel stationed in this region in 1991 was approximately 9,500, but at the Japan-Russia summit meeting held in 1997, then Russian Defense 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, however, when then Russian Defense Minister Ivanov visited the Northern Territories, he declared that Russia would not either increase or decrease the troops stationed on the four islands, clearly showing the intention to keep the status quo.

As mentioned above, Russian troops continue to be stationed in the Northern Territories, which are an integral part of Japanese territory, and it is hoped that the issue will be solved at an early date.
3. Operations in the Vicinity of Japan

Russian military operations have remained generally quiet in the vicinity of Japan, including exercises and training, as compared with those conducted by the former Soviet Union in the Cold War era. There are, however, signs that such operations have started up again.

The number of exercises carried out by the Russian ground forces in areas adjacent to Japan decreased sharply from the peak number, but some activities seem to have been reactivated.

With regard to naval vessels, there is a sign of change in the naval training and other activities. For example, long sea training by submarines and surface ships was conducted for the first time in several years, and nuclear submarines resumed their patrols.

Flights close to Japan’s territorial airspace, air exercises, and training seem to have reached bottom.