

Section 4. Russia

1. General Situation

Russia claims that it has restored the level of social and economic development that was lost in the 1990s. It asserts that under President Dmitry Medvedev it will continue to pursue its national interests as a “strong state,” while aiming to further the multipolarization of the international community.

One of the contributing factors to Russia recovering its national power to such an extent was the economic recovery propelled by price hikes of crude oil, its major export product. Russia takes the stance, in pursuing military modernization, that the country will not be drawn into the arms race and jeopardize economic development¹³⁵.

However, it is considered that there are various sorts of factors that might restrain further social and economic development, such as excessive dependence on the energy resource sector. Russia itself realizes that it must undertake a number of sweeping modernizations for the further development of the country. These include breaking free of its conventional resource-dependant economy, refashioning its economy and society on a fundamentally new foundation backed up by technical innovation, establishing a democratic political system, and eradicating corruption¹³⁶. How Russia will overcome these challenges will be the focus of attention in the future¹³⁷.

2. Security and Defense Policies

1. Basic Posture

Approved in May 2009, the National Security Strategy of the Russian Federation through to 2020 sets out national and international objectives and strategic priorities for national security and for solid national development.

The National Security Strategy views that Russia’s influence has been strengthened by a policy of promoting the creation of a multi-polar world and using the potential of Russia. The unilateral approach to the use of force and confrontation of major countries in international relations are 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 in Europe as well as the approach of NATO’s military infrastructure to the Russian border. Furthermore, it does not rule out the possibility that the conflicts over resources will be resolved by force. In order to ensure strategic security, Russia claims it will, under the central role of the United Nations in the international security, enhance cooperation with members of the Commonwealth of Independent States (CIS) and build an equal and full-fledged strategic partnership with the United States. Russia says it will use political, legal, economic, military and other instruments in order to uphold national sovereignty and interests.

As for the field of national defense, viewing as a threat the series of policies of some developed nations that pursue superiority in the military field, particularly in the area of strategy by developing high-tech weapons, non-nuclear strategic weapons, and global missile defense systems, Russia exemplifies, as challenges for strengthening defense capabilities, a shift to a new military structure by increasing the number of permanent

readiness units¹³⁸ and improving organizational and military alignment, while maintaining the capabilities of its strategic nuclear forces.

In February 2010 the Military Doctrine of the Russian Federation was formulated as a document substantiating the principles of the National Security Strategy in the military sphere¹³⁹. This doctrine demonstrates the recognition that, while the probability of a large-scale war breaking out is on the decline, the military dangers facing Russia are increasing¹⁴⁰, which is evidenced 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 a strategic missile defense system. Furthermore, it also states that Russia will maintain permanent combat-readiness to deter and prevent conflict, and that in the event of war it will repel aggression and forcibly put a stop to military actions.

The doctrine regards nuclear weapons as an essential component for preventing the outbreak of nuclear wars and wars that use conventional weapons. It also claims that in addition to maintaining a sufficient level of nuclear deterrent capacity¹⁴¹, Russia reserves the right to use nuclear weapons in response to an event where nuclear or other weapons of mass destruction were 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 imperiled¹⁴².

Furthermore, concerning the use of its army, it claims that Russia may use its armed forces outside of its territory for the purposes of peacekeeping operations pursuant to resolutions by the United Nations Security Council, etc., and of the protection of Russian citizens overseas¹⁴³. Furthermore, it lists as characteristics of modern wars the frequent use of weapons comparable to nuclear weapons and high-tech weapons, the expansion of the scale of the use of weapons to aerospace areas, information wars, and it claims that it must equip each echelon of its forces with the requisite new equipment, such as new precision guidance weapons or information command systems.

2. Military Reform

Having gone through the chaos after the collapse of the Soviet Union and faced with the difficulty in maintaining its military posture of the same level as during the Cold War era because of the severe economic situation and the decline in population in the 1990s, Russia began a full-scale process for military reform in 1997 by heeding the three pillars of reform: down-sizing, modernization, and professionalization.

Currently, Russia is showing progress in the modernization of military forces, including the reduction of the number of soldiers, structural reforms, the improvement of combat-readiness, and the development and introduction of new types of equipment.

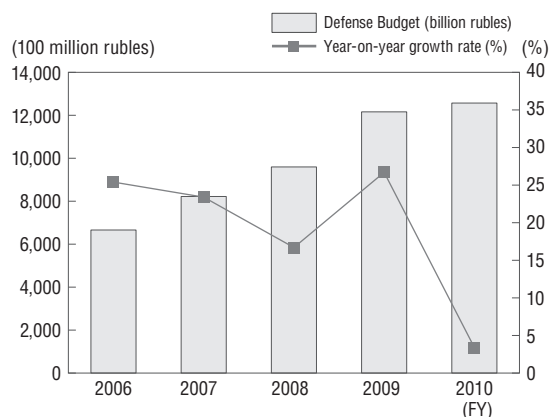
The country's troop reduction goal, set in order to maintain an adequate troop level of one million personnel, is scheduled to be achieved by 2016¹⁴⁴. In terms of structural reforms, thus far Russia has shifted to three services and three independent corps and has integrated military districts. In order to improve combat readiness for the high probability of a small-scale conflict, it is currently promoting a reorganization from its previous division-based command structure to a brigade-based command structure, while also moving forward with reorganizing all of its combat forces to permanent readiness units¹⁴⁵.

Regarding the modernization of military forces, in October 2006 the president approved the state policy on military equipment for the period of 2007 to 2015, and accordingly, approximately five trillion rubles (approximately 15 trillion yen) will be spent in the development and procurement of military equipment by 2015¹⁴⁶.

Furthermore, in order to make effective the combat readiness of permanent readiness units, Russia is promoting the introduction of a contract service system which secures personnel with high combat readiness capabilities by selecting them through contract from among the recruited military personnel¹⁴⁷. Russia also recognizes as a challenge securing human resources who possess expert skills and knowledge through treatment improvement, etc.¹⁴⁸

It is thought that Russia will continue these measures to improve conventional armed forces along with its efforts to maintain its strategic nuclear deterrent capability against the backdrop of the national defense budget that has been increasing in recent years.
(See Fig. I-2-4-1)

Fig. I-2-4-1 Russia's Defense Budget from FY2006 to 2010



Note: Official figures announced by Russian Government.

[COLUMN]

COMMENTARY

Status of Fifth Generation Fighters in Various Countries

While there are no clear standards for demarcating fighter generations, a fifth generation fighter is considered to have more advanced capabilities than those of previous generations because they have been combined with the latest technologies, such as various types of avionics and stealth. The United States' F-22, which is currently considered to be the sole fifth generation fighter currently in use, possesses advanced stealth capabilities, supersonic cruising capabilities, sophisticated fire control capabilities, and more.

The nine countries of the United States, United Kingdom, Italy, Netherlands, Turkey, Canada, Australia, Denmark, and Norway are jointly developing the F-35 based on the Joint Strike Fighter (JSF) Program. They are moving forward with the development of three types: the F-35A conventional takeoff and landing model, the F-35B short takeoff and vertical landing model, and the F-35C carrier-variant model.

Russia is currently developing its PAK FA (Future Frontline Aircraft System), which it is aiming to equip beginning in 2015, and conducted test flights for it in January 2010.

China is also believed to be developing a next generation fighter, with the opinion that it will begin operation around 2010.

3. Military Posture

1. Nuclear Forces

The Russian military emphasizes nuclear forces in order to supplement its conventional forces. In addition, it allots focus to nuclear forces to secure a global position in the context of an increasingly multipolar world, and as a balance with the nuclear forces of the United States. It is believed that Russia is working to maintain a state of immediate readiness for its nuclear force unit.

Russia is gradually reducing the number of its strategic nuclear missiles due to issues such as aging. However, it still possesses intercontinental ballistic missiles (ICBM) following the United States in scale, submarine-launched ballistic missiles (SLBM) and long range bombers (Tu-95MS Bears and Tu-160 Blackjacks).

Regarding the update of nuclear missiles, Russia began to accelerate the development and introduction of new weapons, beginning with the deployment of new Topol-M ICBM (SS-27) units in 2005. In addition, flight trials for the RS-24, which appear to be a multi-headed version of the Topol-M, started in 2007.

In April 2007, Russia launched a Borey-class ballistic missile submarine (nuclear powered) (SSBN); however, it is believed that construction of the new SSBN is behind its initial schedule. Russia also started a flight test in September 2005 for the new-type SLBM Bulava, which appears to mount Borey-class SSBNs. However, it has been pointed out that all flight tests as of 2008 have been unsuccessful, and they have not yet reached the stage of deployment.

In addition, the United States and Russia agreed in April 2009 to begin bilateral intergovernmental negotiations to work out a new, legally binding treaty on reducing and limiting strategic offensive arms to replace the Strategic Arms Reduction Treaty I (START I) before it expired on December 5 of that year¹⁴⁹. In April 2010 the U.S. and Russian Presidents signed a new Strategic Arms Reduction Treaty, which stipulates reducing both side's deployed strategic warheads¹⁵⁰ to 1,550 and their deployed delivery platforms to 700 within seven years after entry into force of the treaty¹⁵¹.

As for non-strategic nuclear forces, Russia had scrapped surface-launched short- and intermediate-range missiles with a range of between 500 and 5,500km 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 forces¹⁵².

2. Conventional Forces and Other Issues

Russia recognizes the need to outfit its conventional forces with new equipment¹⁵³, and it is assumed that Russia implements the development and procurement of such equipment based on its state policy on military equipment for the period of 2007 to 2015. In January 2010 Russia carried out its first test flights for its so-called fifth generation fighters, and continued attention needs to be paid to trends in their future development¹⁵⁴.

Furthermore, the Russian armed forces have been striving to maintain their combat readiness by promoting the reorganization of all of their combat forces to permanent readiness units and have been carrying out large-scale exercises using its conventional forces in Europe. In addition, Russia is intensifying its military activities; its naval aircraft carrier units were deployed to the Mediterranean Sea in 2008 as well as in 2007; it has taken part in counter-piracy operations off the coast of Somalia and in the Gulf of Aden; in 2008 its naval vessels visited Central and South American countries for the first time since the end of the Cold War.

However, as there are issues such as difficulties in securing personnel and lax military discipline due to the decrease in the population of young men as well as poor living conditions for military personnel, the modernization of conventional forces is not necessarily sufficient.

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

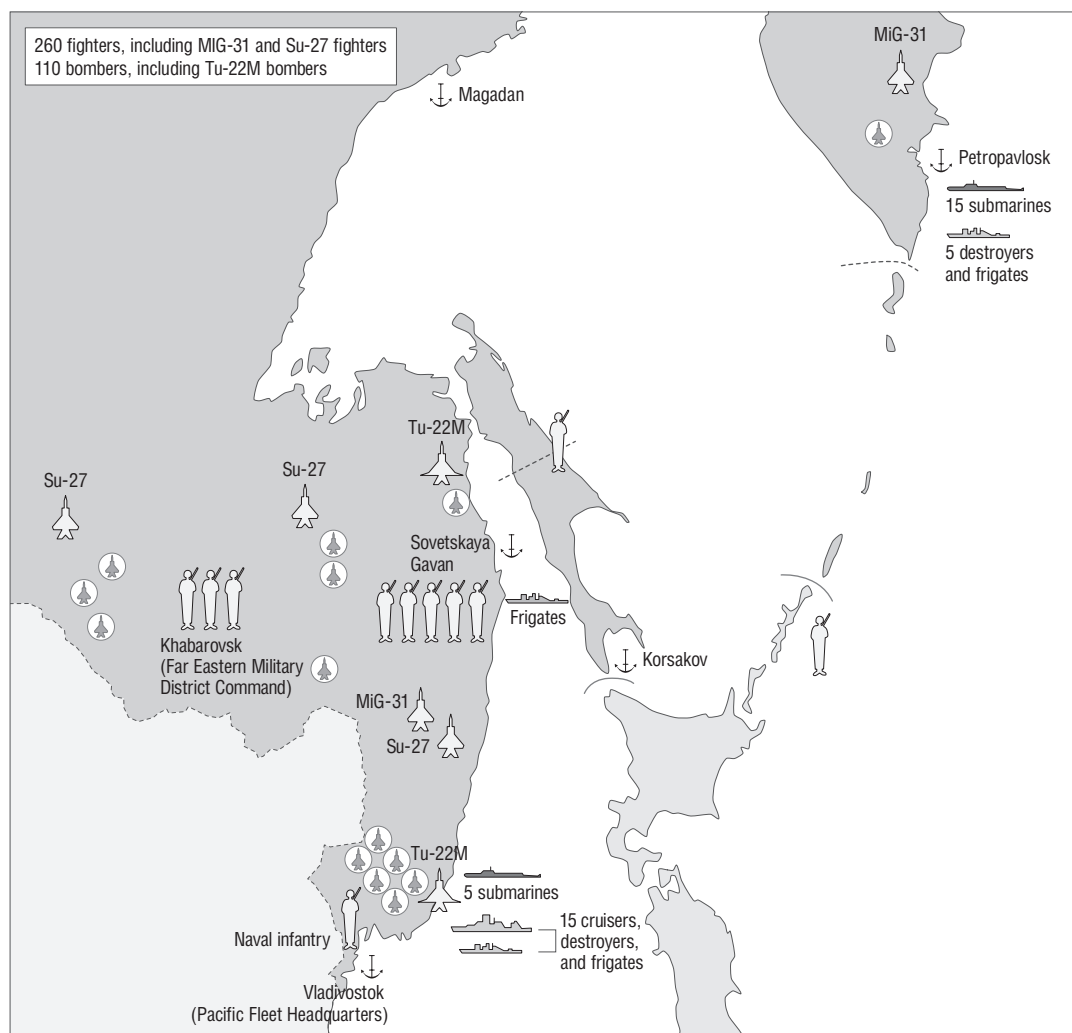
4. Russian Forces in the Vicinity of Japan

1. General Situation

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, including exercises and drills.

Russia has conducted military exercises in the Far East region, including “Vostok”, which is a large-scale anti-terrorism exercise that has been held almost biennially, and “Mobility 2004”, which was an exercise for the

Fig. I-2-4-2 Russian Military Deployment in Areas Close to Japan



- Notes: 1. represents the number of divisions and brigades.
2. represents the locations of main naval bases.
3. represents the locations of main air bases.
4. Figures shown are approximate.

country's permanent combat-ready troops to deploy from the western part of Russia to the Far East region. A large-scale exercise, "Vostok2010," was held in 2010 with many units from other than Far East region, with the aim of verifying the achievement of military reform through the reorganization of command structure etc.¹⁵⁵.

With regard to activities done throughout Russia and with the involvement of the entire Russian military, "Stability 2008", a major joint strategic military exercise involving the launch of an intercontinental ballistic missile, was conducted in 2008, and in "Zapad 2009", a major joint strategic military exercise conducted with Belarus in 2009, Russia is thought to have verified the new command organization indicated in the Future of the Armed Forces of the Russian Federation¹⁵⁶.

Given that the overall Russian armed forces set their basis of operation on maintaining the combat readiness of their strategic nuclear unit as well as dealing with conflicts with the inter-theater mobility of its permanent readiness units¹⁵⁷, it is necessary to continue paying attention to the positioning and trends of the Russian armed forces in the Far East region with the movement of units in other regions also in mind.

(See Fig. I-2-4-2)

(1) Nuclear Forces

As for strategic nuclear forces in the Far East region, ICBMs, such as SS-25s, and approximately 30 Tu-95MS Bear long range bombers are mainly deployed along the Trans-Siberian Railway. In addition, 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.

As for non-strategic nuclear capabilities, a variety of weapons are deployed in the Far East region, including medium-range bombers such as Tu-22M Backfires and sea- (undersea) and air-launched cruise missiles. A total of approximately 80 Tu-22 are deployed in the west of Lake Baikal and coastal areas, including the area across from Sakhalin.

(2) Ground Forces

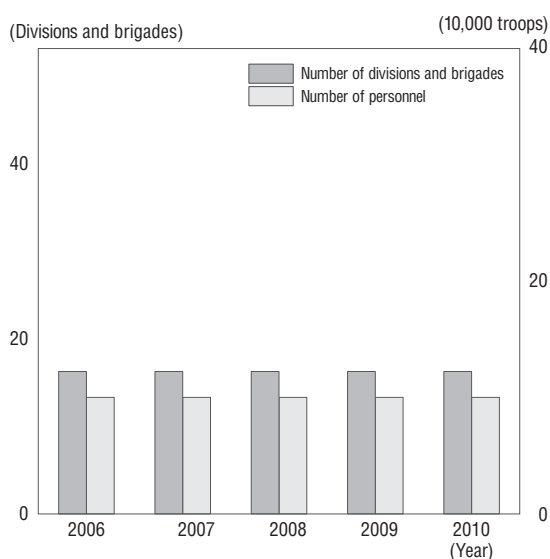
Ground forces in the Far East region have continued to shrink. As part of its military reforms, it is believed that Russia is promoting a reorganization from a division-based command structure to a brigade-based one, while also reorganizing all of its combat forces to permanent readiness units. They now consist of 15 divisions and brigades and approximately 90,000 personnel¹⁵⁸. Also, the Pacific Fleet of the Russian Navy has a naval infantry division with an amphibious capability.

(See Fig. I-2-4-3)

(3) Naval Forces

The Pacific Fleet is stationed and deployed from its main bases in Vladivostok and Petropavlovsk. The fleet comprises approximately 240 ships with a total displacement in the region of about 550,000 tons, including about 20 major surface ships and about 20 submarines (about 15 of which are nuclear-powered submarines) with a total displacement of

Fig. I-2-4-3
Changes in the Russian Ground Forces in the Far East Region



Source: Based on the Military Balance of each corresponding year and others.

approximately 280,000 tons. The forces have been scaled down.

(See Fig. I-2-4-4)

(4) Air Forces

In terms of air forces in the Far Eastern region, Russia deploys approximately 570 combat aircraft from its Air Force and Navy. This number continues to shrink, but existing models are being modified to improve their capabilities.

(See Fig. I-2-4-5)

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 an integral part of Japanese territory. However, the numbers of military personnel are considered to be far less than at past peak times. Nevertheless, tanks, armored vehicles, various types of artillery, and anti-air missiles are still deployed in the region.

The number of Russian military personnel stationed in this region in 1991 was approximately 9,500, and 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 neither increase nor decrease the troops stationed on the four islands, clearly showing the intention to maintain 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 resolved at an early date.

3. Operations in the Vicinity of Japan

The number of exercises carried out by Russian ground forces in areas adjacent to Japan decreased sharply from peak numbers; however, some activities seem to be on the rise again¹⁵⁹.

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

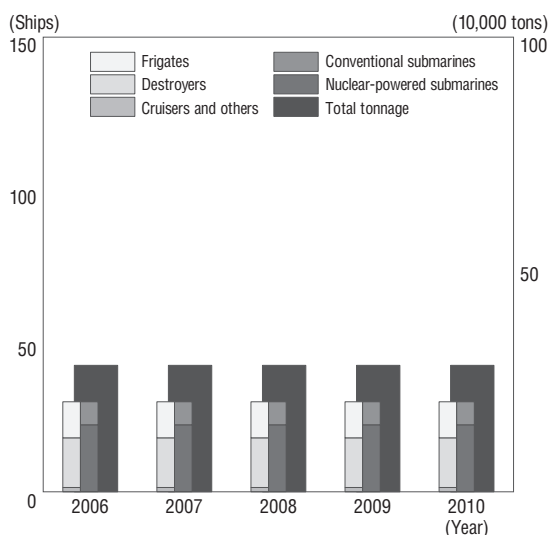
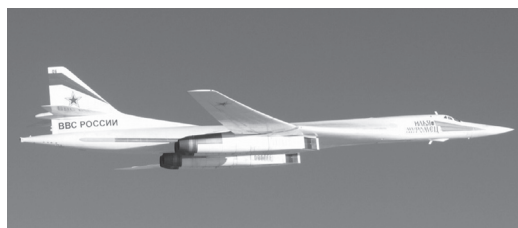
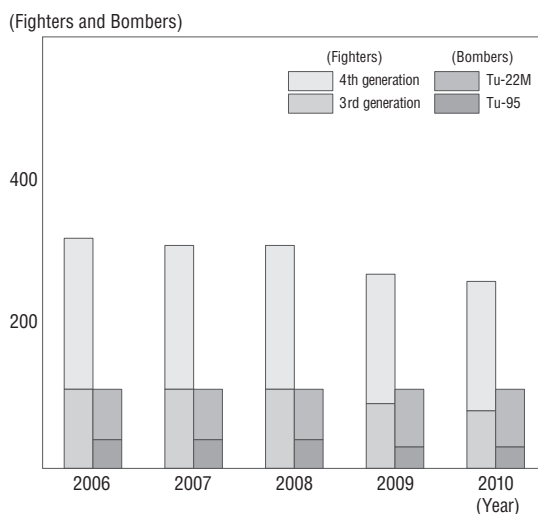


Fig. I-2-4-5
Changes in the Russian Air Forces in the Far East Region
(Fighters and Bombers)



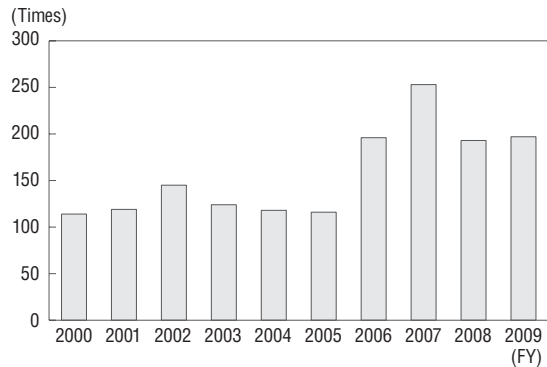
A Tu-160 long-range bomber flying near the Hokkaido area

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 extended voyages by vessels deployed in the Pacific Fleet, and nuclear submarines carry out patrols ¹⁶⁰.

Regarding aircraft, since the resumption of patrol activities by its strategic aviation units in 2007, Russia has been increasing flights by long distance bombers and carrying out flights of Tu-95MS and Tu-160 long range bombers which are refueled in mid-flight. Moreover, due to an upturn in its fuel situation, etc., pilot training time is on an upward trend, and there also seems to be an increase in activities such as flights approaching Japan and exercises and training ¹⁶¹.

(See Fig. I-2-4-6)

Fig. I-2-4-6
Changes in the Number of Scrambles against Russian Aircraft



5. External Relations

1. Relations with the Commonwealth of Independent States

(1) General Situation

The Foreign Policy Concept of the Russian Federation approved by President Dmitry Medvedev in July 2008, which sets out the basic foreign policy of Russia, presents the view that Russia's international status has been elevated as one of the influential centers in the trend toward multipolarity and lists the following three basic foreign policies: (a) to preserve and strengthen its sovereignty and territorial integrity, (b) to commit to resolving global issues multilaterally in accordance with the rule of international law, and (c) to form friendly relations with neighboring countries. Russia identifies the development of bilateral/multilateral cooperation with the Commonwealth of Independent States (CIS) as the first priority of foreign policy ¹⁶², and it maintains relationships including multi-lateral frameworks such as the Collective Security Treaty Organization (CSTO) and the Shanghai Cooperation Organization (SCO) ¹⁶³.

Russia has promoted military integration with CIS member countries, stating that its vital interests are concentrated in the territories of the CIS; Russia has dispatched its federal forces to remain in Ukraine, Georgia (South Ossetia, Abkhazia), Moldova (Transdnierster), Armenia, Tajikistan and Kyrgyz; it has also concluded agreements to form a joint air defense system ¹⁶⁴ and joint border security treaties with CIS member countries ¹⁶⁵.

(See Fig. I-2-4-7)

With increasing activities by Islamic armed forces in Central Asia/Caucasus, Russia pursued military cooperation centered on counterterrorism measures in the region, and organized a Collective Rapid Deployment Force in May 2001 within the framework of the CIS Collective Security Treaty Organization (CSTO) ¹⁶⁶. Since U.S. and other military forces launched the military campaign in Afghanistan following the 9/11 terrorist attacks against the United States in 2001, Russia has permitted U.S. assistance or U.S. military presence in Uzbekistan, Kyrgyz, Tajikistan, and Georgia ¹⁶⁷. 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 (approximately 8,000 personnel) stationed in Tajikistan, and later made an agreement with Tajikistan in October 2004, securing a Russian military

base in the country. Furthermore, in June 2009 a permanent, joint rapid reaction force was created with the enhanced function of the CIS Collective Rapid Deployment Force¹⁶⁸.

(2) Georgia Conflict

The Georgia conflict is the incident that broke out in August 2008, touched off by the armed conflict between Georgia and South Ossetia and introduced a large-scale armed intervention by Russia, against the backdrop of Georgia's suppression on movements seeking separation and independence by South Ossetia and Abkhazia and the fact that relations between Georgia, which was taking a pro-U.S./Europe policy, and Russia had grown strained. With mediation by the European Union (EU), the conflict itself ended after five days. However, the relationship between Russia and Europe-U.S., which had been appealing for a peaceful resolution based on the principle of Georgia's territorial integrity, deteriorated as Russia unilaterally recognized the independence of South Ossetia and Abkhazia.

Moreover, Russia has also displayed moves to strengthen military cooperation with South Ossetia and Abkhazia¹⁶⁹. How Russia's recognition of South Ossetia and Abkhazia will influence the movement of secession and independence within the CIS, such as the Chechen Republic¹⁷⁰ in the Russian territory, Nogorno-Karabakh in Azerbaijan, and Transdniestria in Moldova is worthy of attention.

Fig. I-2-4-7 CIS Member States



2. Relations with the United States

Russia agreed with the United States in April 2009 to begin bilateral intergovernmental negotiations to work out a new, legally binding treaty on reducing and limiting strategic offensive arms to replace START I¹⁷¹.

Russia strongly opposed an agreement that had been reached to begin full-scale negotiations for the deployment of the ballistic missile defense (MD) system being promoted by the United States, part of which would be deployed in the Czech Republic and Poland, on the grounds that this system would be pointed at Russia and has the potential to negatively impact its own nuclear deterrent capabilities. However, in September 2009 the United States announced that it was revising its plan to deploy the MD system in Europe¹⁷², in response to which Russia assessed it at a certain value. But this is not to imply that the United States has suspended its plan to deploy MD in Europe itself.

In addition, the Presidents of the United States and Russia signed a new treaty in April 2010 on reducing strategic arms to replace the START I. With regard to the MD system, this treaty stipulates that there exists an interrelationship between strategic offensive arms and strategic defensive arms, that this interrelationship will become more important as strategic nuclear arms are reduced, and that the current strategic defensive arms will not undermine the viability and effectiveness of the strategic offensive arms of both the United States and Russia. The treaty also prohibits using launchers of ICBM, etc., for MD, and using launchers of MD for ICBM, etc. However, Russia's interpretation is that the treaty will become invalid in the event that the United States develops its capabilities pertaining to the MD quantitatively or qualitatively and threatens the potential capabilities of its nuclear forces¹⁷³. Attention will be paid to future Russian responses as the United States' MD plan progresses further.

3. Relations with Europe and NATO

Russia, as a rule, has been against the accession to NATO of former Soviet Union countries as well as Central and Eastern European countries.

However, Russia took steps to build a new cooperative relationship with NATO following the 9/11 terrorist attacks in the United States, and within the framework of the NATO–Russia Council (NRC), Russia participates in decision making to a certain degree and acts as an equal partner in areas of common interest¹⁷⁴. Meanwhile, Russia was dissatisfied that NATO countries would not ratify the Application Treaty of Conventional Armed Forces in Europe (CFE)¹⁷⁵ because Russian forces would not withdraw from Georgia and Moldova. Thereafter, discussions were held in such forums as the NRC; however, Russia suspended the CFE Treaty in December 2007, halting inspections based on the treaty. Russia expressed concerns that Ukraine and Georgia reached an agreement with NATO about their future membership at the NATO summit meeting in April 2008¹⁷⁶, and NATO's announcement in April 2009 that it would hold multilateral drills in Georgia. But foreign minister-level NRC meetings were resumed in June 2009, and it is believed that NATO–Russian relations, which had been at a standstill because of the Georgia conflict, have returned to normal for the time being.

In addition, Russia has also proposed a new European security treaty which would get rid of the existing NATO-centered security framework and set out new basic principles for security in the European and Atlantic Ocean region¹⁷⁷.

4. Relations with Asian Countries

Russia recognizes that the significance of the Asia-Pacific region is increasing within its multi-pronged foreign policy, and the region is also important from the viewpoint of economic development in Siberia and the Far East, anti-terrorist measures, and security¹⁷⁸. The country is currently implementing a pipeline project to transport Siberian oil to the Far East and developing natural gas fields in Sakhalin. In order 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. For this reason, Russia emphasizes relations with these countries in its foreign policy and has joined the Asia-Pacific Economic Cooperation (APEC)¹⁷⁹, the ARF, and the SCO¹⁸⁰ (See Section 3-3). Additionally, Russia signed the Treaty of Amity and Cooperation in Southeast Asia (TAC) in 2004.

5. 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. In January 2007, the Russian government granted the exclusive right to export arms to the Rosoboronexport State Corporation¹⁸¹ as part of its on-going efforts to improve its 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 its jet fighters and warships to countries including India, Algeria, ASEAN member countries, China, and Venezuela¹⁸². In addition, Russia signed agreements with North Korea and Iran on military technology cooperation in 2001.