

## 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, and asserts that it will continue to pursue its national interests as a state with global influence while aiming to further the multipolarization of the international community.

Recognizing that it must undertake a number of sweeping modernizations, including departing from its conventional resource-dependent economy, establishing a democratic political system and eradicating corruption<sup>1</sup>, Russia has worked on these issues under then President Medvedev and then Prime Minister Putin.

In such situation, then Prime Minister Putin who had served as President for two terms—eight years from 2000 to 2008—again declared his candidacy for president in September 2011<sup>2</sup>. However, in the lower house election in December 2011 “United Russia” assembled the majority but lost many seats<sup>3</sup>. In addition, civil demonstrations were staged protesting against irregularities during the election and demanding the resignation of the prime minister. It is believed that the environment surrounding the new administration is not necessarily favorable<sup>4</sup>.

Against this background, President Putin who won the presidential election in March 2012 and took office in May of the same year and former President Medvedev who

was appointed as Prime Minister recognize the need of continued efforts to solve modernization issues<sup>5</sup>. How the new administration will solidify its support base in the country and what political methods they will use to handle these issues will be the focus of attention.

### 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 the objectives and strategic priorities, domestic and foreign, 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

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 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 (MD) in Europe as well as the approach of NATO’s military infrastructure to the Russian border. In order to ensure strategic stability, Russia claims it will, under the

<sup>1</sup> Annual State of the Nation Address by then President Medvedev (November 2009).

<sup>2</sup> In the party convention of the ruling party “United Russia” in September 2011, then President Medvedev recommended then Prime Minister Putin for presidential candidate and Putin accepted the recommendation. In return, Putin declared that he would recommend Medvedev for Prime Minister after winning the presidential election, subject to the victory of “United Russia” in the lower house election. “United Russia” formally fielded then Prime Minister Putin as presidential candidate at its party convention in November of the same year.

<sup>3</sup> “United Russia” won only 238 seats that is approximately 53% of the total seats of the Russian Lower House (450 seats), falling greatly from 315 seats won in the previous election (2007).

<sup>4</sup> According to the Russia Public Opinion Research Center, the approval rating of presidential candidate Putin (then Prime Minister) was 52% as of February 3, 2012.

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 its political, legal, economic, military, and other instruments in order to uphold its national sovereignty and interests.

As for national defense, Russia views 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 the challenges for strengthening its defense capabilities, a shift to a new military structure by increasing the number of permanent readiness units<sup>1</sup> and improving organizational and military alignment, while maintaining the capabilities of its strategic nuclear forces.

The Military Doctrine of the Russian Federation, formulated as a document substantiating the principles of the National Security Strategy in the military sphere, in February 2010, 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<sup>2</sup>, 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 the strategic MD system. 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

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: downsizing, modernization, and professionalization.

Moreover, against the backdrop of the changes to the army's operating environment and the decline in its combat capabilities due to a shortage of personnel<sup>3</sup>, based on the policy statement "Future Outlook of the Armed Forces of the Russian Federation" that was approved by President in September 2008, Russia is currently advancing measures to modernize its army, including troop reductions, structural reforms (from the command structure based on divisions to that based on brigades<sup>4</sup>), combat-readiness reviews (reform of all combat forces into permanent readiness units), and the development and introduction of new equipment.

The country's goal in troop reduction, set in order to maintain an adequate troop level of one million personnel, is scheduled to be achieved by 2016<sup>5</sup>. Since December 2010, Russia reorganized its six military districts into four military districts, established joint strategic commands (OSK) corresponding to each of these new military districts, and controls all of its services—Ground, Navy, and Air forces—in an integrated manner under the supervision of a Military

<sup>1</sup> - 5 In his papers to serve as campaign platform published after January 2012, then Prime Minister Putin listed as his policy: expanding the participation in politics by the people; prevention of corruption; strengthening of domestic industries by departing from its resource-dependent economy to modernize its economy, and: that middle class should play a leading role in society. In the "United Russia" party convention in November 2011, he said that he would pursue a foreign policy that claims national interests and raise the military strength to a new level. In his annual state-of-the-nation address, then President Medvedev listed as future tasks of his administration modernization of politics, prevention of corruption, drastic change in military forces and promotion of foreign policies based on the national security.

<sup>2</sup> - 1 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 armed 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. Russia also attaches importance to the deployment of troops across multiple theaters of operation in order to defend its vast land with compact military forces. During the Georgia conflict in August 2008, Russia deployed not only troops of North Caucasian region but also troops of other regions. This is believed to be a training of handling a conflict by mobilizing permanent readiness units across theaters of operation.

<sup>2</sup> In the Doctrine, the general notion pertaining to threats is split into two categories: military dangers (a state of interstate or intrastate relations that may, in certain conditions, cause the emergence of a military threat) and military threats (a state of interstate or intrastate relations where there is the real possibility of the outbreak of a military conflict). It lists for the former's example the approach of NATO's military infrastructure to the Russian border, including the expansion of NATO, the construction and deployment of a strategic missile defense system, as well as the territorial claims and the intervention against Russia and its allies. For the latter it lists the radicalization of military and political situations, and ostentatious displays of military strength designed to provoke through exercises in its adjacent territories.

<sup>3</sup> The changes to the army's operating environment indicates that large-scale military strength is no longer required; cooperative operation has become necessary between each service of the military under a unified command structure; the ability to carry out a wide range of tasks has also become necessary including non-combat duties; and threats Russia faces have changed.

<sup>4</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. It claimed to have been completed in December 2009, but there remains the challenge of setting in place a system to operate the structure hereafter.

<sup>5</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 (approximately 1.13 million people as of 2008).

District Commander<sup>6</sup>.

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 by 2020 to further modernize its equipment and invest approximately 20 trillion rubles (about 55 trillion yen) to increase its percentage of new equipment up to 70%<sup>7</sup>.

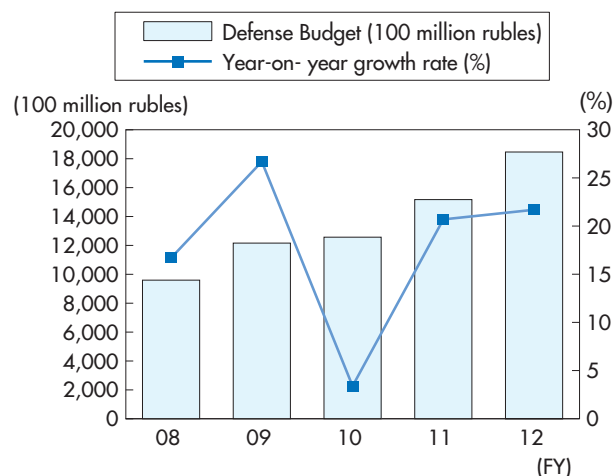
Furthermore, in order to make the combat readiness of permanent readiness units effective, Russia is promoting the introduction of a contract service system which secures personnel with high combat readiness capabilities by selecting them through contract from among the conscripted military personnel.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

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-1-4-1)

**Fig. I-1-4-1** Russia's Defense Budget



Notes: Official figures announced by Russian Government.

### 3 Military Posture

Russia's military strength 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 has three services (forces) and three independent corps (units): ground force, naval force, air force and strategic-rocket unit, aerospace defense unit<sup>1</sup>, and airborne unit.

(See Fig. I-1-4-2)

#### 1 Nuclear Forces

The Russian military emphasizes its nuclear forces to secure a global position in the trend toward forming a multipolar world, 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 is gradually reducing the number of its strategic nuclear missiles due to issues such as aging. However, it still possesses intercontinental ballistic missiles (ICBM), submarine

<sup>6</sup> By the September 2010 presidential order, four military districts were newly established by December of the same year; the Western, the Southern, the Central and the Eastern military districts. Prior to this, in July 2010 the President signed another presidential order for the establishment of the four military districts and the four joint strategic commands (OSK) corresponding to these four districts. It is assumed that units that belong to other ministries and government bodies, 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 come under the control of the Military District Commander. However, it is thought that the strategic rocket units are not under the direction of the Military District Commander. It also seems that the military districts are positioned as military districts from the perspective of administrative management, and as joint strategic commands (OSK) from the perspective of operation of units.

<sup>7</sup> Russia intends to increase the percentage of new equipment to 70% by 2020 by updating it by an average of 9 to 11% per year. About 19 trillion rubles (about 52 trillion yen) of the 20 trillion rubles (about 55 trillion yen) will be allocated to the Ministry of Defense. Furthermore, of the 19 trillion rubles, about 80% will be allocated to the procurement of new equipment, approximately 10% to R&D, while modernizing its nuclear triad would be made a priority. In his paper on national defense policy published in February 2012 to serve as campaign platform, then Prime Minister Putin indicated to strengthen military power including nuclear force, aerospace defense and naval power by spending approximately 23 trillion rubles (about 63 trillion yen) in 10 years. In addition, it has been pointed out from some part of Russian government that the defense industry needed to make efforts to improve the quality of equipment, set fair price and meet deadlines to ensure equipment procurement according to plan. In his paper on defense policy, then Prime Minister Putin also stated that the defense industry is slow in modernization and that it is necessary to regain leading position in technology through promotion of competition, public-private cooperation and other efforts.

<sup>8</sup> By the end of 2007, Russia had made steady progress toward establishing a completely professional army, such as allotting contract NCOs to permanent readiness units. But Chief of the General Staff Nikolai Makarov intended to reduce the number of contract NCOs for reasons such as unpopularity of military service and financial burden. In February 2012, however, then Prime Minister Putin announced the policy to increase contract NCOs to 700,000 by 2017; attention should be paid to future development. Behind the promotion of contract service system, there may be 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).

<sup>3-1</sup> Aerospace defense unit was established in December 2011 based on the existing space unit and the units assigned under the air force as one corps with missions including outerspace surveillance, missile attack alarm, defense against ballistic missile and aerospace attacks and satellite launches.

**Fig. I-1-4-2** Location and Strength of Russian Military

Russia		
Total military forces		Approx. 960,000 troops
Ground forces	Ground troops	Approx. 310,000 troops
	Tanks	T-90, T-80, T-72, etc. Approx. 2,800 (Not including mothballed tanks. Approx. 20,800 including mothballed tanks)
Maritime forces	Warships	Approx. 980 vessels Approx. 2,047,000 tons
	Aircraft carriers	1 vessel
	Cruisers	5 vessels
	Destroyers	17 vessels
	Frigates	31 vessels
	Submarines	62 vessels
	Marines	Approx. 9,500 troops
Air forces	Combat aircraft	Approx. 1,940 aircraft
	Modern fighter aircraft	MiG-29 300 aircraft Su-30 4 aircraft MiG-31 218 aircraft Su-33 18 aircraft Su-25 261 aircraft Su-34 14 aircraft Su-27 362 aircraft (4th generation fighter aircraft: Total 1,177)
	Bombers	Tu-160 16 aircraft Tu-95 63 aircraft Tu-22 172 aircraft
Reference	Population	Approx. 139 million
	Term of service	1 year (In addition to conscription, there is a contract service system)

Source: The Military Balance 2012 and others

launched ballistic missiles (SLBM) and long range bombers (Tu-95MS Bears and Tu-160 Blackjacks) following 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>2</sup>. However, 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 Topol-M ICBM (SS-27) units in 2005 and the deployment of the RS-24, which is considered as a multi-warhead version of the Topol-M, in March 2011<sup>3</sup>.

In April 2007, Russia launched a Borey-class ballistic missile submarine nuclear- powered (SSBN). As Russia completed a flight test for the new-type SLBM Bulava in December 2011, it is believed that the deployment of the submarine that mounts SLBM Bulava on it will be decided within 2012<sup>4</sup>.

As for non-strategic nuclear forces, Russia had 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 had 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.

## 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>1</sup>. In addition to ground forces, the Pacific Fleet, air force, and air defense units have also been placed under the control of the Military District Commander, who has unified control over each of these services.

### 2 Conventional Forces and Other Issues

Russia recognizes the need to outfit its conventional forces with new equipment, and it is assumed that Russia is implementing the development and procurement of such equipment based on its state policy on military equipment<sup>5</sup>. There is a need to pay close attention to the direction Russia will take in its development, procurement, and deployment of new equipment, which includes the so-called fifth generation fighter<sup>6</sup> and the Mistral-class amphibious assault ship<sup>7</sup>.

Furthermore, the Russian armed forces have been carrying out a range of exercises<sup>8</sup> using its conventional forces in Europe and Asia. In addition, Russia is intensifying its military activities, including joint naval exercises for its vessels on voyages of long duration and its continuous participation in the counter-piracy operations off the coast of Somalia/Gulf of Aden since 2008.

However, it faces issues such as difficulties in securing personnel and lax military discipline due to the decrease in the youth population as well as poor living conditions for military personnel. There is a need to keep a close watch on how these factors will affect Russia's ability to manage its military forces.

As for the future Russian armed 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.

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 overall Russian armed forces set their basis of operation on maintaining the combat readiness of their strategic

<sup>2</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 2012, the United States announced that as of March 1, 2012, the number of Russia's deployed strategic warheads was 1,492 and that of its deployed delivery platforms was 494.

<sup>3</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 addition, it is believed that Russia is promoting the development of new heavy ICBM which enables highly flexible operations with its heavy launch weight which allows it to smash robust ICBM launch sites and mount a large number of warheads with less yield, as well as new warheads of enhanced capability to penetrate missile defense.

<sup>4</sup> Russia plans to build eight Borey-class SSBNs by 2020. In February 2012, it was reported that Minister of Defense Serdyukov revealed a plan to field the first SSBN "Yuri Dolgoruky" in June 2012 and the second SSBN "Alexander Nevsky" in August 2012. There is another report that a prospect to deploy Bulava in October 2012 was presented at an extended meeting of Defense Ministry staff conference in March 2012. Out of the 18 flight tests of Bulava that had started in September 2005, 11 tests succeeded. In addition, Russia is developing improved version of SLBM to be mounted on Delta-IV class SSBNs (the first one was commissioned in 1984) that are believed to play a central role in marine nuclear force before the commission of Borey-class SSBNs.

<sup>5</sup> The need for new equipment was touched on in the annual state of the nation address by President in November 2009, and in the military doctrine.

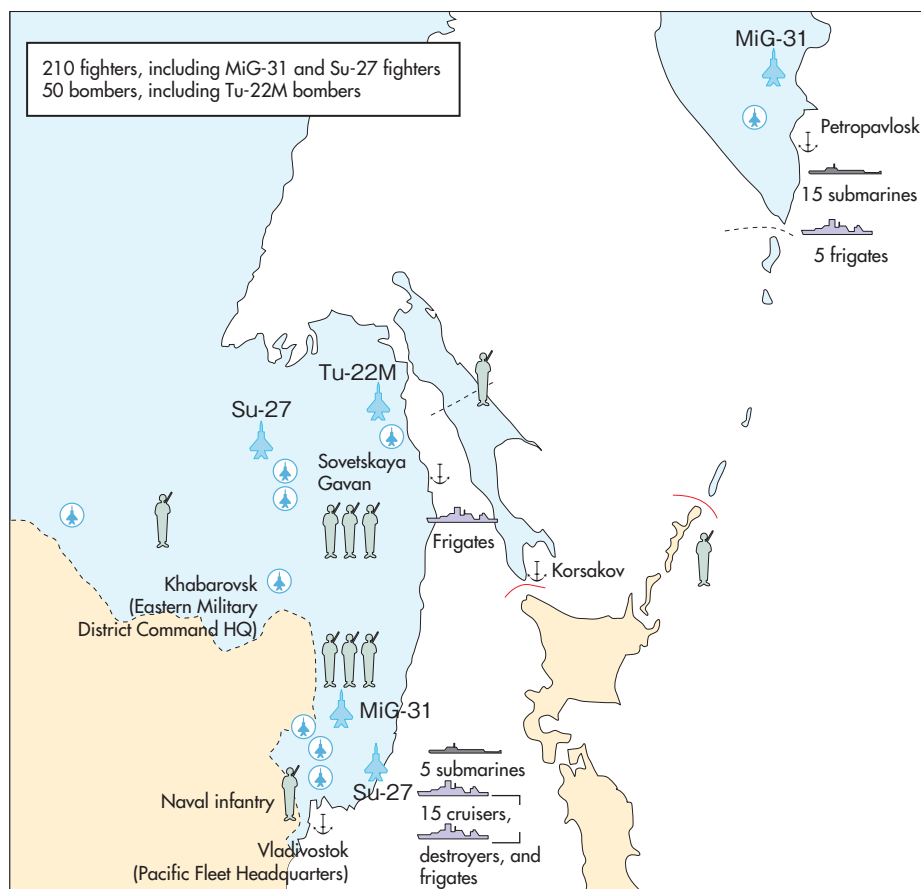


nuclear unit as well as dealing with conflicts with the inter-theater mobility of its permanent readiness units, it is necessary to continue paying attention to the positioning and trends of the

Russian armed forces in the Far East region with the movement of units in other regions also in mind.

(See Fig. I-1-4-3)

**Fig. I-1-4-3** Russian Military Deployment in Areas Close to Japan



- 6 While there are no clear standards for demarcating fighter generations, it is pointed out that a fifth generation fighter has more advanced capabilities than those of previous generations by combining the latest technologies, such as various types of electronic equipment and stealth. According to various news reports, Russia aims to mass-produce and equip its fifth generation fighter PAK FA (Future Frontline Aircraft System) by 2015. In July 2010, then Commander-in-Chief of the Russian Air force Zeline stated that the initial batch of mass produced fifth generation fighters would be installed with the engines not for the fifth generation fighters, which indicates a possibility that the development of the engine has been delayed. Also, according to Sukhoi, 100 test flights have been completed as of November 2011.
- 7 From the lessons learned during the conflict with Georgia in which Russia took a long time to transport military forces by naval vessels, it was pointed out that Russia needed to strengthen its amphibious capabilities. In December 2010 Russia decided to purchase two ships from a consortium with France and in January 2011 an agreement was reached that the two would be constructed in France and a further two would be constructed in Russia. Reports have suggested that the ships will be deployed to the Northern Fleet and the Pacific Fleet, but in June 2010 Chief of the General Staff Makarov stated that the ships were particularly needed in the Far East region and that for the defense of the Kuril Islands Russia needed a means of maneuver to deploy units swiftly when necessary. Russia calls the four islands of the Northern Territories and the Kuril Islands "Kuril" Islands.
- 8 Advancing its military reform, Russia has been conducting large-scale exercises for its verification and other purposes. "Caucasus-2009", "Ladoga-2009" and "Zapad-2009" were carried out mainly in the western part of Russia from June to September 2009; "Vostok-2010" was 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, Kyrgyz and Tajikistan in September 2011.

4-1 Eastern Military District's headquarters are in Khabarovsk.

### (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 Tu-22M Backfire medium-range bombers and (under)sea- and air-launched cruise missiles. A total of approximately 20 Tu-22Ms are deployed in the area across from Sakhalin in the Eastern Military District.

### (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. The Eastern Military District now consists of twelve divisions and brigades 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 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 approximately 280,000 tons. The forces have been scaled down.

### (4) Air Forces

In terms of air forces in the Far East region, in the Eastern Military District Russia deploys approximately 390 combat aircraft from its Air Force and Navy combined. This number continues to shrink, but existing models are being modified and

new models are being introduced 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>2</sup>.

After then President Medvedev visited Kunashiri Island<sup>3</sup> for the first time as head of the state in November 2010, Russia started modernization of equipments stating that this is necessary to ensure the security of the "Kuril" Islands. In February 2011, the Minister of Defense Serdyukov indicated his intention to keep the division stationed on Kunashiri Island and Etorofu Island and stated that Russia would strengthen the units there through supplying them with the latest communication systems, electronic warfare systems, and radar, while suggesting a possible reduction in the units<sup>4</sup>.

The number of Russian military personnel stationed in this region in 1991 was approximately 9,500, and at the Japan-Russia Defense Ministerial 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<sup>5</sup>.

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.

<sup>2</sup> The 18th Machine Gun and Artillery Division which comprises two regiments is stationed on Etorofu Island and Kunashiri Island. It is a defensive division whose purpose is the defense of landing and Russia's only machine gun and artillery division, following the military's progress in reforming divisions into brigades.

<sup>3</sup> After then President Medvedev became the first head of the state to visit Kunashiri Island in November 2010, 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 Defense Minister Bulgakov and in February 2011 Minister of Defense Serdyukov visited Kunashiri Island and Etorofu Island and inspected the units stationed there.

<sup>4</sup> Then President Medvedev stated that "the additional equipment to be deployed there (on Kunashiri Island and Etorofu Island) must be necessary and sufficient and modern enough to ensure the safety of these islands ("Kuril Islands"), which are integral parts of Russia's federal territories." In addition, the maintenance of infrastructure, such as the airports and the ports, are being carried out in accordance with the "Kuril" Islands Social and Economic Development Plan. Moreover, there are reports on plans for updating equipment, including the deployment of the Bastion coast defense missile system and the Tor M2 ground-to-air missile system and updating to T-80 tanks. In addition, it was reported in February 2012 that the development of two garrisons in Kunashiri Island and Etorofu Island would be completed within 2013. Furthermore, there is another report that the Mistral-class amphibious assault ships will be deployed to the Pacific Fleet for the defense of "Kuril" Islands.

<sup>5</sup> During the 1998 visit to Russia by our Administrative Vice-Minister of Defense, then Russian Minister of Defense Sergeev commented that the number of Russian troops stationed in the northern territories was 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.

### 3 Operations in the Vicinity of Japan

Intensified activities by Russian forces in the vicinity of Japan including exercises and drills are believed to have objectives such as verification of the results of military reform through exercise, etc. against the background of the economic recovery at home.

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 deploying troops that are not stationed in this region to the Far East exercises, it is considered that it verified its ability to deploy forces in regions far from where they are stationed<sup>6</sup>.

In September 2011, a large-scale military exercise was conducted in the eastern part of the Kamchatka Peninsula, including anti-aircraft and anti-ship firing drills and landing drills with participation of over 10,000 personnel, more than 50 naval vessels and 50 aircraft. It is believed that abilities to deal with various situations were trained through the exercise.

The number of exercises carried out by Russian ground forces in areas adjacent to Japan decreased sharply from the peak; however, some activities seem to be on the rise again<sup>7</sup>.

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<sup>8</sup>. In September 2011, 24 naval vessels including Slava-class guided missile cruiser passed through the Soya Strait one after the other. This was the first time ever identified after the end of the cold war that Russian naval vessels on this scale passed through the strait<sup>9</sup>.

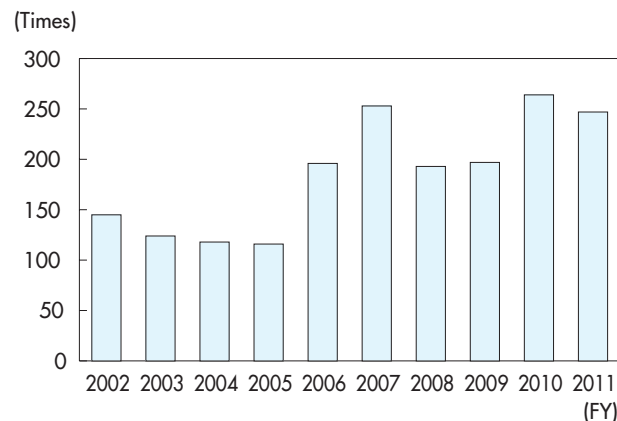
Regarding aircraft, since the resumption of patrol activities by its strategic aviation units in 2007, Russia has been increasing flights by long-range bombers and carrying out flights of Tu-95MS long-range bombers and Tu-160 long-range bombers which are refueled in mid-flight. Moreover,

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<sup>10</sup>, as exemplified by the flight of Tu-95MS long-range bomber that took the route that circled the area encompassing Japan in September 2011.

(See Fig. I-1-4-4)

**Fig. I-1-4-4**

Changes in the Number of Scrambles against Russian Aircraft



A Tu-95 long-range bomber undergoing mid-air refueling from an IL-78 aerial refueling tanker (September 8, 2011)

- 6 “Vostok-2010” was carried out in June and July 2010 in the Far Eastern Military District and the Siberian Military District. In addition to the units from these military districts, permanent readiness units from the Volga-Urals Military District (at that time), Northern Fleet and Black Sea Fleet naval vessels and air force fighters stationed in Eurasia deployed within the (former) Far Eastern Military District. Also, units from the Ministry of the Interior, Federal Security Service, and Ministry of Emergency Situations also participated. Moreover, as part of “Vostok-2010”, related exercises were conducted on Etorofu Island.
- 7 Ground force of the Eastern Military District conducted an anti-terrorism exercise “Selenga 2011” jointly with Mongol in September 2011. It is reported that the ground force also participated in a navy exercise enacted in the eastern part of the Kamchatka Peninsula in the same month. In addition, Russia is reported to have conducted a command and staff section exercise to verify its new organization.
- 8 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 FY2011 is as follows: eleven cases in the Soya Strait (three in 2009, seven in 2010), one case in the Tsugaru Strait (none in 2009, two in 2010), and seven cases in the Tsushima Strait (ten in 2009, seven in 2010), showing an increase in the last few years.
- 9 A part of 24 naval vessels participated in the exercise conducted in the eastern part of the Kamchatka Peninsula and other places.
- 10 Long-range flights in the vicinity around Japan were carried out in areas surrounding Japan by Tu-95 long-range bombers in July, September and November 2011, and February and April 2012; and by Tu-22 middle-range bombers four times in August 2011. When Tu-95 long-range bombers took the route that circled the area encompassing Japan in September 2011, they are refueled in mid-flight by a 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, other aircraft such as A-50 early warning aircraft flew with them.



## 5 Relations with Other Countries

### 1 General Situation

Recognizing that, amid the trend toward multi-polarity, 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 interest<sup>1</sup>. Moreover, stating that its diplomacy is to be conducted based on the national security that serves the interest of its people, Russia aims at a practical diplomacy conducive to solving issues toward modernizing the country's economy<sup>2</sup>.

Toward this goal, while strengthening the economic cooperation with Commonwealth of Independent States (CIS) countries, Russia is tackling strengthening of its ties with the United States and European countries to achieve modernization, launching to build a partnership with the European Union (EU)<sup>3</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>4</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 the Commonwealth of Independent States

Russia has positioned the development of bilateral and multilateral cooperation with the CIS as the highest priority of its diplomatic policy. It maintains relationships with the CIS states including multinational frameworks such as the Collective Security Treaty Organization (CSTO) and the Shanghai Cooperation Organization (SCO)<sup>5</sup>. There is also a

move to pursue strengthening of economic ties within the CIS region, as exemplified by the announcement of the "Eurasia Union" concept<sup>6</sup>.

Russia has been making efforts to maintain its military influence<sup>7</sup> among the CIS member states, stating that its vital interests are concentrated in the territories of the CIS<sup>8</sup>; Russia has dispatched its troops to be stationed in Ukraine, Moldova (Transdnister), Armenia, Tajikistan, Kyrgyz and Georgia, which left the CIS in August 2009 (South Ossetia, Abkhazia)<sup>9</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 a Collective Rapid Deployment Force in May 2001 within the framework of the CIS Collective Security Treaty Organization (CSTO). Furthermore, in June 2009, a permanent Joint Rapid Reaction Force was established to strengthen the functions of the CIS Collective Rapid Deployment Force<sup>10</sup>.

In addition, out of concern that the worsening security in Afghanistan could lead to the destabilization of Central Asia,

<sup>1</sup> The Foreign Policy Concept of the Russian Federation (released in July 2008).

<sup>2</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 campaign platform, then Prime Minister Putin showed his stance to ensure Russia's security and interests while developing mutually-beneficial cooperative relationship with other countries.

<sup>3</sup> Russia and European Union (EU) released a Joint Statement on the Partnership for Modernization, launching a partnership for modernization including increasing investment. Moreover, at the U.S.-Russia summit in June 2010, both countries determined to cooperate on innovations and other fields.

<sup>4</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>5</sup> For SCO, see footnotes 3-10 of Section 3.

<sup>6</sup> In Izvestia on October 4, 2011, then Prime Minister Putin advocated the foundation of "Eurasia Union" to strengthen economic partnership in the region built on the customs union and the unified economic block. In addition, eight CIS countries (Russia, Belarus, Kazakhstan, Kyrgyz, Tajikistan, Ukraine, Moldova and Armenia) signed the CIS Free Trade Zone Agreement in the same month.

<sup>7</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 Georgian territory and continues to have troops stationed in the regions.

<sup>8</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. Each member state of GUAM, a regional structure formed by Georgia, Ukraine, Azerbaijan, and Moldova (the acronym "GUAM" is composed of the initial letters of the member states) has been taking mostly pro-Western policies to reduce their security and economic dependence on Russia.

<sup>9</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.

Russia and Central Asian countries are supporting Afghanistan while considering measures to strengthen the security of borders with Afghanistan<sup>11</sup>.

### 3 Relations with the United States

The U.S.-Russia relationship, which had been stalled due to the Russo-Georgian War and the deployment plan by the United States of the MD system to the Eastern Europe, turned toward improvement under the Obama administration inaugurated in January 2009.

Russia strongly opposed to 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>12</sup>, which was cautiously welcomed by Russia.

Meanwhile, 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>13</sup>. Russia also intimates that it would withdraw from the new START in response to the United States' recent advancement of its MD plan<sup>14</sup> in Europe<sup>15</sup>.

### 4 Relations with Europe and NATO

While the relationship between Russia and NATO temporarily deteriorated due to factors such as the Russo-Georgia 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 the both sides would work toward building a true and modernized strategic partnership. They are now searching for possibilities of dialogue and cooperation in the fields such as missile defense (MD), Afghanistan<sup>16</sup>, cooperation to fight terrorism, and anti-piracy measures. With regards to MD cooperation, there has been no progress in the cooperation of NATO and Russia<sup>17</sup>. 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 the "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>18</sup>.

- 10 Learning from the fact that CSTO could not sufficiently respond to the request by Kyrgyz for peace keeping at the time of ethnic conflict in the southern part of Kyrgyz in June 2010, CSTO has been discussing improvement in 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 of member state builds a base of a third country.
- 11 Influx of narcotics and activities of Islamic extremists from Afghanistan are recognized to be threats for the Central Asia region. For this reason there are moves to strengthen the security of the border with Afghanistan; SCO is offering support to Afghanistan; CSTO discussed closer cooperation for Afghanistan border security, and; Russia and Tajikistan signed a border security cooperation agreement (September 2011). There is also a concern that the security situation in the Central Asia could be worsened by the withdrawal of the International Security Assistance Force (ISAF) from Afghanistan scheduled toward the end of 2014.
- 12 See Section 1-2 for the U.S. MD deployment plan in Europe
- 13 Statement by the Russian Federation concerning missile defense (April 8, 2010)
- 14 See footnote 4 of Section 1-2
- 15 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 does not consider Russia's concern. Russia warns against the United States by issuing a Presidential statement in November 2011, mentioning countermeasures such as fielding of early-warning radars and the possibility of its withdrawal from the new START.
- 16 NRC summit in 2010 decided to further facilitate railway transit of non-lethal items of the International Security Assistance Force (ISAF) through Russian territory in support of Afghanistan.
- 17 In the field of Theater Missile Defense aimed at protection of deployed troops from the threat of short- and intermediate-range missiles with a range of up to 3,000 km (the object of protection has been extended to the people and entire territories of NATO members in Europe at the Lisbon conference in 2010) NATO and Russia launched joint researches on interoperability under the framework of NRC in 2003; four joint command post exercises were conducted from 2004 to 2008. The cooperative relationship was discontinued as a result of the Georgian Conflict in August 2008 but the parties agreed to resume the cooperation at the NRC summit in 2010. At the summit the parties also agreed to advance comprehensive joint analysis concerning the future framework of missile defense cooperation. Russia claims that its participation in cooperation with NATO on missile defense needs to be on a completely equal footing. Russia also claims that it will face the following alternatives in the next 10 years: either an agreement is reached on missile defense and a complete mechanism of cooperation is created, or failing to do so, a new stage of arms race will start. India and Vietnam's exports to China has been declining.
- 18 At the 1999 Istanbul summit of the Organization for Security and Cooperation 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 came 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 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 ratified the adapted CFE Treaty—Russia, Belarus, Kazakhstan, and Ukraine—and it has yet to 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.

## 5 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 security<sup>19</sup>. It is currently implementing a pipeline project to transport Siberian oil to the Far East and developing resources in Sakhalin. In order to develop these underground resources and revitalize its regional economy and social infrastructure, which moreover will help to modernize its economy, Russia attaches great importance to enhancing its economic relations with Asia-Pacific countries, including Japan and China<sup>20</sup>.

For this reason, Russia has been prioritizing relations with countries in the Asia-Pacific region in its foreign policy and has joined various regional frameworks<sup>21</sup>.

In respect to the relationship with North Korea, there is a move toward strengthening the relationship. For example, in August 2011 then President Medvedev met then Chairman of the National Defense Commission Kim Jong Il who visited Russia for the first time in nine years, and it was reported that later they agreed in implementing a joint exercise for search and rescue<sup>22</sup>. On the other hand, Russia clarified its stance on North Korea's missile launch that was claimed to be a satellite by stating that it is regrettable and incompatible with the U.N. Security Council Resolution 1874.

## 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>23</sup>. In January 2007, the Russian government granted the exclusive right to export arms to the Rosoboron Export State Corporation as part of its on-going efforts 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 jet fighters and warships to countries including India, ASEAN member countries, China, Algeria, and Venezuela<sup>24</sup>. In addition, Russia signed agreements with North Korea and Iran on military technology cooperation in 2001.

<sup>19</sup> The Foreign Policy Concept of the Russian Federation (released in July 2008). In his paper on foreign policy to serve as campaign platform published in February 2012, then Prime Minister Putin expressed his recognition that the importance of the whole Asia-Pacific region was rising.

<sup>20</sup> To strengthen the Russian economy, Russia considers utilizing the potential of the Asia-Pacific region an important issue (according to the speech by then President Medvedev at the Meeting with Russian Ambassadors and Permanent Representatives to International Organizations (July 2010)). 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 East Siberia and Far East regions, and stated that Russia will work to develop relationships with Japan, South Korea and other countries as well as China, India and Vietnam.

<sup>21</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.) At Russia's proposal, the 2012 APEC Summit is scheduled to be held in Vladivostok.

<sup>22</sup> In addition, the Eastern Military District Commander visited North Korea in August 2011 and had a talk with Chief of General Staff of the North's Korean People's Army.

<sup>23</sup> According to the website of the Stockholm International Peace Research Institute (SIPRI), the value of Russia's arms exports in 2011 was approximately 7.87 billion dollars, making it the world's second largest exporter after the United States (about 9.98 billion dollars).

<sup>24</sup> Russia concluded sales contract with Indonesia for the Su-27 and Su-30 fighters in 2003 and 2007, and with Malaysia and Vietnam for the Su-30 fighter 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 fighter and a Kilo-class submarine. In March 2010, Russia agreed to deliver an aircraft carrier to India by the end of 2012, and concluded a sales contract for the MiG-29K fighter. In April 2012, an Akula-class nuclear submarine Nerpa was leased to India based on a lease contract that had been concluded with India. Moreover, in 2006 Russia concluded sales contracts with Algeria and Venezuela for arms, including the Su-30 fighter, and has delivered some of these arms. Russia's exports to China have included the 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, some point out that the value of its exports to China has been declining.