

Section 4 Russia

1 General Situation

Under President Vladimir Putin who reassumed office in May 2012, Russia, having allegedly completed the phase of revival and strengthening, sets an agenda of constructing a prosperous Russia, and at the same time, attaches importance to becoming an influential power underpinned by its new position of economic, cultural, and military power¹.

“The collapse of the Soviet Union was a major geopolitical disaster of the 20th century”². President Putin, who made this remark, aims to realize the concept of the Eurasian Union³ encompassing the areas of the former Soviet Union. The President has made clear Russia’s adversarial stance against the West, noting that the West is responsible for the crisis in Ukraine, and that the West exercises influence directly or indirectly on the former Soviet Union countries that Russia considers are under its sphere of influence⁴.

In response to the increasingly tense situation in Ukraine since February 2014, President Putin instructed the mobilization of the Russian Armed Forces on the pretext of guarding their facilities in Crimea and other purposes. Russia asserts the legitimacy of its position, stating that the “annexation” of Crimea in March 2014 was a decision made by the Autonomous Republic of Crimea through a “referendum” and was “fully legal”⁵. These unilateral acts by Russia had the effect of boosting the approval

rating of the President. In regard to the situation in eastern Ukraine where confrontations have continued between the Ukrainian forces and separatist armed groups since April 2014, Western and other countries have noted that there was clear and direct intervention by the Russian Armed Forces, whereas Russia has consistently denied the presence of the Russian Armed Forces in eastern Ukraine.

At the same time, Russia faces a severe economic situation due to the effects of the falling prices of crude oil – Russia’s key export, as well as the depreciation of Russia’s currency the ruble, and the economic sanctions by the West and other countries in response to the situation in Ukraine. Since the collapse of the Soviet Union, Ukraine is thought to have collaborated on the development of Russia’s intercontinental ballistic missile (ICBM). Analysts have suggested that the suspension of Ukraine’s technical support following the deterioration of bilateral relations may impair the operations of Russian equipment which rely heavily on Ukraine.

Under these circumstances, attention is on how President Putin, while maintaining his power base, will deal with Russia’s diplomatic isolation and economic hardships as well as promote economic structural reforms and measures aimed at the modernization of Russia’s military forces⁶.

2 Security and Defense Policies

1 Basic Posture

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

The National Security Strategy construes that Russia’s influence has been strengthened by a policy of promoting the multipolarization of the world and using the latent capabilities 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 U.S. plan to deploy a missile defense system (MD) in Europe as well as the movement of NATO’s military infrastructure closer to the Russian border.

As for national defense, Russia cites as challenges a shift to a new military structure by increasing the number of permanent readiness units⁷ and improving organizational and military alignment, while maintaining the capabilities of its strategic nuclear forces.

The Russian Federation Military Doctrine, established in February 2010 as a document substantiating the principles

1 Annual State of the Nation Address by President Putin (December 2012).

2 Annual State of the Nation Address by President Putin (April 2005).

3 In an article in the *Izvestia* dated October 4, 2011, then-Prime Minister Putin proposed the creation of a “Eurasian Union” that would strengthen intraregional economic partnerships founded on the Customs Union and the Common Economic Space.

4 Annual State of the Nation Address by President Putin (December 2014).

5 Annual State of the Nation Address by President Putin (December 2014). In an interview with the Russian media in March 2015, President Putin stated that he instructed the Ministry of Defence to mobilize special operation forces, the naval infantry, and the airborne troops in Crimea on the pretext of strengthening the security of the Russian Armed Forces’ facilities in Crimea.

6 In his campaign platform papers published after January 2012, then-Prime Minister Putin listed his policies: expanding the public’s participation in politics; prevention of corruption; strengthening of domestic industries by exiting the resource-dependent economy to modernize the economy; and development of a middle class that plays a leading role in the society.

7 The permanent readiness units have been created by reorganizing troops in the midst of a military forces reduction after the launch of the Russian Armed Forces. By concentrating personnel, combat readiness was strengthened. The units are expected to respond promptly during the first phase of a large-scale war or in the event of a minor conflict.

of the National Security Strategy in the military sphere, was revised in December 2014 against the backdrop of foreign policy factors, including the increasingly tense situation in Ukraine. The new military doctrine states the existing view that while the probability of an outbreak of a large-scale war is decreasing, military risks to Russia are increasing, including the expansion of NATO, the movement of NATO's military infrastructure closer to Russia's borders, and the establishment and deployment of strategic MD systems. In addition, the doctrine expresses growing alarm, defining the following as new military risks: NATO's military buildup; the realization of the U.S. Global Strike concept; rise of global extremism (terrorism); inauguration of governments in neighboring countries that carry out policies threatening Russia's interests; and the incitement of ethnic, social, and religious confrontations in Russia.

The doctrine continues to regard nuclear weapons as an essential component for preventing the outbreak of nuclear wars and wars that use conventional weapons. It 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.

Furthermore, defending Russian interests in the Arctic was newly added as one of the military's tasks in peacetime.

2 Military Reform

Russia has implemented full-scale military reform since 1997 by presenting the three pillars of reform: downsizing; modernization; and professionalization.

Moreover, based on the policy statement, "Future Outlook of the Armed Forces of the Russian Federation," that was approved by then-President Dmitry Medvedev in September 2008, Russia is advancing measures to modernize the Russian Armed Forces, including troop reductions, structural reforms (from the division-based command structure to a brigade-based one⁸), strengthening of combat readiness, and the development and introduction of new equipment.

Regarding the downsizing of the military forces,

the country aims to achieve troop reduction in order to maintain an adequate troop level of one million personnel by 2016⁹. Since December 2010, Russia reorganized its six military districts into four military districts (Western, Southern, Central and Eastern Districts). On this basis, Russia established a joint strategic command in each military district and is carrying out integrated operations of its entire military forces, such as the ground force, naval force, and air force under the control of the Military District Commander. In December 2014, the new Joint Strategic Command in charge of the Arctic became operational¹⁰.

Regarding the modernization of the military forces, based on the State Armaments Program (GPV: Gosudarstvennaya Programma Vooruzheniya) 2011-2020 that appeared to have been approved by the President by the end of 2010, Russia intends to further modernize its equipment and invest about 20 trillion rubles (about 46 trillion yen) to increase its percentage of new equipment up to 70%¹¹ by 2020.

Regarding the professionalization of the military forces, in order to make the combat readiness of the permanent readiness units effective, Russia promotes the introduction of a contract service system which selects personnel through contracts from the conscripted military personnel. However, further review has been under way due to the difficulties in securing personnel because of such problems as high turnover rate and financial constraints¹².

Russia has continued to increase its defense budget, even as spending cuts are made across the board due to

8 The command structure is reorganized from the four-tiered structure of military district–army–division–regiment, to a three-tiered structure of military district–operational command–brigade. This was supposed to be completed in December 2009, but in May 2013 the Guards Tamanskaya Motorized Rifle Division and the Guards Kantemirovskaya Tank Division, which had supposedly been reorganized into brigades under Minister of Defence Anatoly Serdyukov, were restored and participated in a victory parade.

9 It was decided that the total military force would be limited to 1 million people as of 2016 by an executive order in December 2008 (about 1.13 million people as of 2008).

10 While Joint Strategic Command had been established in each military district, the new Joint Strategic Command was formed on the basis of the Northern Fleet and does not entail the creation of a new military district.

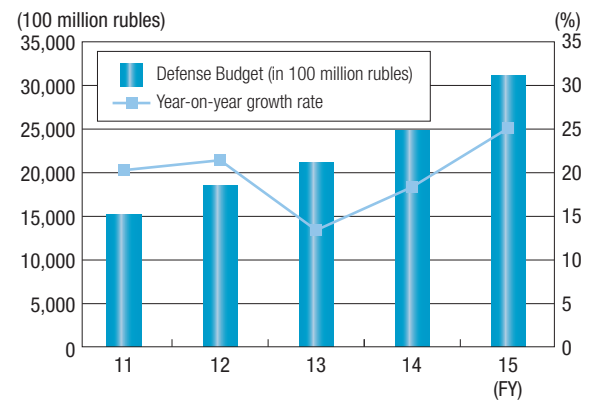
11 In his campaign platform paper on national defense policy published in February 2012, then-Prime Minister Putin indicated that he would strengthen military power, including nuclear force, aerospace defense, and naval power by spending about 23 trillion rubles (about 43 trillion yen) in ten years.

12 Reasons behind the promotion of the contract service system may include a decrease of the population suitable for military service and the shortening of the conscription period (from January 2008, the conscription period has been shortened to 12 months). At the Expanded Meeting of the Defence Ministry Board in December 2014, Minister of Defence Sergei Shoigu stated that personnel adequacy was 90.5% and contracted soldiers totaled about 295,000. The Regulation on the Military Service was amended in January 2015, enabling nationals who are not citizens of countries as well as foreign citizens to serve as contracted soldiers.

the recent severe economic situation. Russia is expected to continue its efforts to build up the capacity of conventional forces and maintain the strategic deterrence capability provided by nuclear weapons, at least for the time being¹³.

See Fig. I-1-4-1 (Russia's Defense Budget)

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



Note: Official figures announced by the Russian government

3 Military Posture and Trends

Russia's military force is derived not only from the Russian 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 Armed Forces have three services (forces) and three independent corps (units): ground force; naval force; air force; strategic-rocket unit; aerospace defense forces¹⁴; and airborne unit¹⁵.

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

1 Nuclear Forces

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

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

Russia is obligated to reduce strategic nuclear arms

pursuant to the New Strategic Arms Reduction Treaty concluded with the United States¹⁶. 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 GPV.

In March 2011, Russia started the deployment of the RS-24, which is thought to be a multi-warhead version of the Topol-M ICBM¹⁷. In January 2013, "Yuri Dolgoruky," the first of the Borey-class nuclear-powered ballistic missile submarines (SSBN), which are believed to carry the new-type SLBM Bulava, was delivered to the Northern Fleet. "Alexander Nevsky," the second of the SSBNs, and "Vladimir Monomakh," the third of the SSBNs, were delivered to the Pacific Fleet in December 2013 and December 2014, respectively. These SSBNs are scheduled to be brought to the Pacific Ocean in the near future¹⁸.

In October 2013, a surprise inspection designed to validate the combat readiness of strategic nuclear units was implemented under the control of President Putin, involving two ICBMs, two SLBMs, and live firing of three air-launched cruise missiles (ALCMs) from long-range bombers. In May 2014 also, a field training exercise was conducted including one ICBM and two SLBMs as well as live firing of six ALCMs¹⁹.

13 According to the FY2015-2017 budget plan of the Russian Federation which President Putin signed in December 2014, the FY2015 defense budget increased 33% from the previous fiscal year to 3.2868 trillion rubles. In January 2015, Deputy Prime Minister Dmitry Rogozin stated that the GPV 2016-2025 expenditures may be similar to or slightly lower than that for the GPV 2011-2020. The FY2015 defense budget approved by the Federal Assembly is 3.1168 trillion rubles.

14 At the Expanded Meeting of the Defence Ministry Board in December 2014, Minister of Defence Shoigu identified the creation of aerospace forces as one of the priority tasks to be executed in 2015.

15 Three Air Assault Brigades which belonged to the ground forces were incorporated into the airborne unit in November 2013.

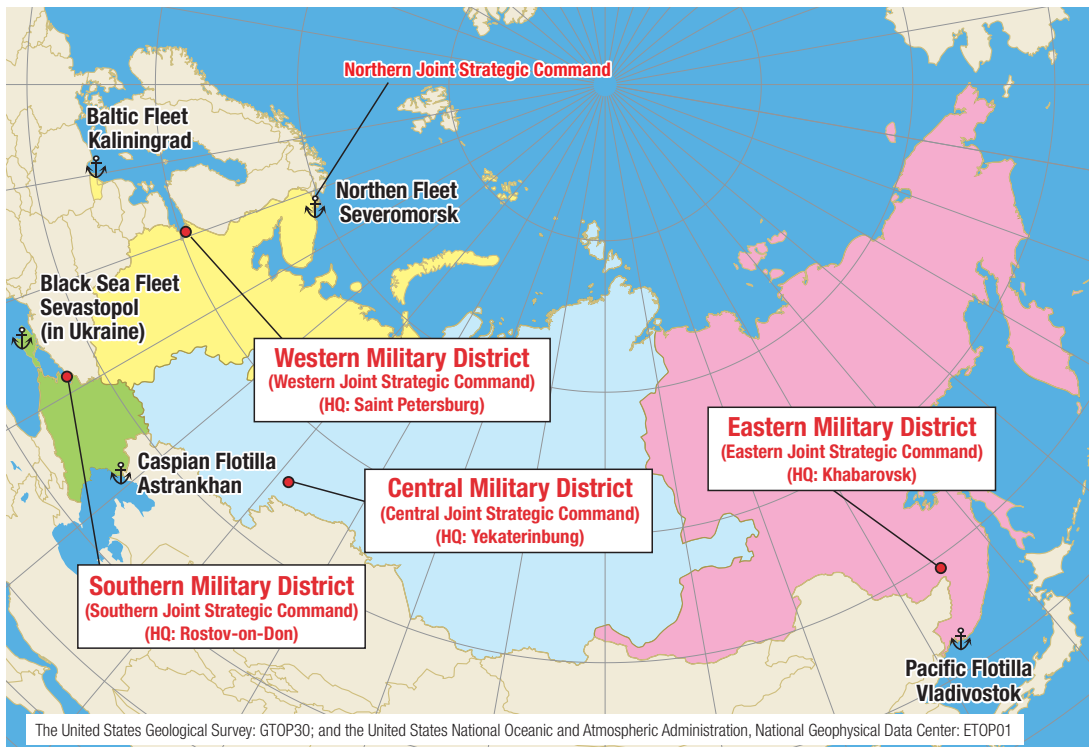
16 In April 2010, Russia and the United States signed the New Strategic Arms Reduction Treaty to replace the Strategic Arms Reduction Treaty I (START I), and the treaty came into force in February 2011. Each side is obligated to reduce deployed strategic warheads to 1,550 and their deployed delivery platforms to 700 within seven years after the entry into force of the treaty. In April 2015, the United States announced that Russia's deployed strategic warheads was 1,582 and their deployed delivery platforms was 515 as of March 1, 2015.

17 In March 2011, the first regiment of RS-24 missiles was operationally deployed in the division in Teykovo, Ivanovo oblast in northeast Moscow. At the Expanded Meeting of the Defence Ministry Board in December 2014, Minister of Defence Shoigu stated that three rocket regiments equipped with RS-24 were put on combat duty in 2014. In addition, it is believed that Russia is developing a new heavy ICBM that can destroy robust ICBM launch sites and mount a large number of warheads, the light-weight mobile solid-fuel RS-26 Rubezh ICBM, as well as new warheads aimed at enhancing the capability to penetrate missile defense. Rubezh is scheduled to be deployed to Irkutsk in 2015.

18 Eight Borey-class SSBNs plan to be built by 2020. The test launches of the Bulava started in September 2005. Through November 2014, 22 test launches have been conducted, 14 of which have been successful. While the test launch of the Bulava from "Alexander Nevsky" in September 2013 is deemed to have failed due to problems with the missile's nozzle, the same test launch was conducted successfully in September 2014.

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

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



		Russia	
Total military forces		Approx. 770,000 troops	
Ground forces	Ground troops	Approx. 260,000 troops	
	Tanks	T-90, T-80, T-72, etc. Approx. 2,600 (Not including mothballed tanks.) Approx. 20,100 including mothballed tanks)	
Maritime forces	Warships	Approx. 960 vessels Approx. 1,968,000 tons	
	Aircraft carriers	1 vessel	
	Cruisers	5 vessels	
	Destroyers	14 vessels	
	Frigates	31 vessels	
	Submarines	64 vessels	
		Marines	Approx. 20,000 troops
Air forces	Combat aircraft	Approx. 1,410 aircraft	
	Modern fighter aircraft	188 MiG-29 aircraft 32 Su-30 aircraft 150 MiG-31 aircraft 18 Su-33 aircraft 220 Su-25 aircraft 46 Su-34 aircraft 199 Su-27 aircraft 25 Su-35 aircraft (4th generation fighter aircraft: Total 878)	
	Bombers	16 Tu-160 aircraft 62 Tu-95 aircraft 63 Tu-22M aircraft	
Reference	Population	Approx. 142.50 million	
	Term of service	1 year (In addition to conscription, there is a contract service system)	

Source: The Military Balance 2015, etc.

As for non-strategic nuclear forces, Russia scrapped ground-launched short- and intermediate-range missiles with a range of between 500 and 5,500 km by 1991 in accordance with the Intermediate-Range Nuclear Forces (INF) Treaty with the United States, and removed tactical nuclear weapons from naval vessels and stored them in onshore missile silos in the following year. Russia, however, still possesses a broad array of nuclear forces. Under such circumstances, in July 2014, the U.S. government concluded that Russia possesses ground-launched cruise missiles (GLCM) in violation of the INF Treaty and notified the Russian government. The Russian side denies this.

2 Conventional Forces and Other Issues

It is assumed that Russia is developing and procuring conventional forces in accordance with its GPV. There is a need to pay close attention to Russia's development, procurement, and deployment of new equipment in addition to the introduction of Su-35 fighters, which includes the so-called fifth generation fighters²⁰ and the Mistral-class amphibious assault ships²¹.

In addition to carrying out a range of exercises²², since February 2013, the Russian Armed Forces have been conducting surprise inspections designed to validate the combat readiness of the military districts and independent corps for the first time since the collapse of the Soviet Union²³. Outside of Russia, the Russian Armed Forces have

continued to participate in the counter-piracy operations off the coast of Somalia and in the Gulf of Aden since 2008, and maintained deployment of vessels in the Mediterranean Sea²⁴. In September 2013, a Kirov-class missile cruiser was deployed to the eastern Arctic for the first time, where it conducted military exercises. In September 2014, the flotilla of the Northern Fleet transported equipment and supplies to the New Siberian Islands in the eastern Arctic to build a facility²⁵.

In June and September 2014, the Tu-95 long-range bombers approached the airspaces of U.S. mainland and Canada²⁶. Furthermore, in October 2014, Russian aircraft, including the Tu-95 long-range bomber, conducted large-scale military exercises over the Baltic Sea, the North Sea, the Atlantic Ocean, and the Black Sea²⁷. From October to November 2014, vessels of the Pacific and the Black Sea Fleets entered the South Pacific Ocean, and the vessels of the Baltic Fleet entered the South China Sea²⁸.

The Russian Armed Forces have thus intensified activities not only in the Asia-Pacific, but also in the Arctic, Europe, and areas near the U.S. mainland. In particular, Russia's vessels and aircraft have tended to expand their area of activity²⁹.

As for the future Russian military forces, since there are uncertain elements which may be influenced by Russia's future economic and social development and trends in Russia's diplomatic relations with European and other countries, it is necessary to continue to follow future developments.

20 According to media reports, in January 2015, President Yury Slusar of Russia's United Aircraft Corporation stated that Russia's PAK FA (Future Air Complex for Tactical Air Forces) fifth generation fighters have begun to be delivered to the Air Force for test flights. In March 2013, Commander-in-Chief of the Air Force Viktor Bondarev stated that PAK FA will enter service in 2016.

21 In December 2010, Russia decided to purchase two ships from a consortium with France. Their construction contract was signed in June 2011, and the launching ceremony of the first ship, Vladivostok, was held in October 2013 at a French shipyard. In November 2014, based on the increasingly tense situation in Ukraine, France announced the postponement of the handover of the Vladivostok to Russia. As a result, its crew who were undergoing operational training for the ship in France returned to Russia in December 2014.

22 As it proceeds with its military reform, Russia has conducted large-scale exercises for verification and other purposes in recent years. Exercises involving field training at the level of military district and above include "Center 2011" in the Central Military District, Kazakhstan, Kyrgyzstan, and Tajikistan in September 2011. "Caucasus 2012" was carried out in the Southern Military District in September 2012. In addition, "Zapado 2013" was carried out in the Western Military District and in the territories of Belarus in September 2013 and "Vostok 2014" in the Eastern Military District in September 2014.

23 Surprise inspections were conducted at the Central and Southern Military Districts in February 2013, Southern Military District in March 2013, Western Military District in May 2013, Eastern and Central Military Districts in July 2013, strategic nuclear units in October 2013, and Western and Central Military Districts from February to March 2014. In September 2014, a surprise inspection of the Eastern Military District was conducted in the form of transitioning to the Vostok 2014 large-scale exercise.

24 Russia's naval fleet in the Mediterranean, for which formation was completed on June 1, 2013, is positioned as a permanent operational force.

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

26 On June 9, 2014, four Tu-95 long-range bombers flew in the airspace near Alaska and northern California. Two of these bombers flew within 50 miles off the coast of California. On September 17, 2014, six aircraft – two Tu-95 long-range bombers, two MiG-31 fighters, and two Il-78 air-to-air refueling aircraft – entered the U.S. Air Defense Identification Zone. On September 18, two Tu-95 long-range bombers entered the Canadian Air Defense Identification Zone.

27 According to NATO's Allied Command Operations, NATO detected and monitored four groups of Russian military aircraft conducting significant military maneuvers in European airspace over the Baltic Sea, the North Sea, the Atlantic Ocean, and the Black Sea on October 28 and 29, 2014. These sizable Russian flights are said to represent an unusual level of air activity over European airspace.

28 The vessels included the Pacific Fleet's flagship Slava-class guided missile cruiser Varyag and the Black Sea Fleet's flagship Slava-class guided missile cruiser Moskva. Varyag was deployed off the coast of Australia, and Moskva in the Philippine Sea. On November 15-16, 2014, the G20 Summit was held in Brisbane, Australia, which was attended by President Putin.

29 It is deemed that the Russian Armed Forces aim to maintain and enhance their combat readiness, keep the West and other countries in check in connection with the situation in Ukraine, and expand Russia's influence.

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 2010³⁰. Ground Forces, the Pacific Fleet, the Air Force, and Air Defense Units have been placed under the control of the Military District Commander, who has unified the control over each of these services.

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

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

(1) Nuclear Forces

As for strategic nuclear forces in the Far East region, ICBMs, such as SS-25s and about 30 Tu-95 long-range bombers are deployed mainly along the Trans-Siberian Railway. In addition, the Delta III-class SSBNs carrying SLBMs are deployed in and around the Sea of Okhotsk. By and large strategic nuclear units are believed to maintain readiness posture. In a surprise inspection conducted in October 2013 and a field training exercise conducted in May 2014 for the strategic nuclear unit, the Delta III-class SSBNs launched SLBMs in the Sea of Okhotsk. The second of the Borey-class SSBNs Alexander Nevsky was deployed to the Pacific Fleet in December 2013 and the third of the SSBNs Vladimir Monomakh in December 2014³¹.

(2) Ground Forces

As part of its military reforms, Russia is thought to be reorganizing the command structure from a division-based to a brigade-based one, while also shifting all of its

combat forces into permanent readiness units. The Eastern Military District now consists of eleven brigades and one division with about 80,000 personnel in total. In addition, it has a naval infantry brigade equipped with amphibious operations capability, and therefore, has amphibious operations capability. The Eastern Military District has inducted new equipment, such as the Iskander surface-to-surface missile system and the S-400 surface-to-air missile system.

(3) Naval Forces

The Pacific Fleet is stationed and deployed from its main bases in Vladivostok and Petropavlovsk. The fleet comprises about 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 about 300,000 tons.

(4) Air Forces

In the Eastern Military District, Russia deploys about 350 combat aircraft from its Air Force and Navy combined. Existing models are being refurbished and new models, such as the Su-35 fighters, are being introduced³² to improve their capabilities.

2 Russian Forces in Japan's Northern Territories

Since 1978 during the former Soviet Union era, Russia has redeployed ground troops on Kunashiri, Etorofu, and Shikotan Islands of the Northern Territories, which are inherent territories of Japan. While the Russian troop strength is thought to be far less than that at peak times, one division with mainly defensive duties is still stationed. Furthermore, tanks, armored vehicles, various types of artillery, and anti-air missiles are deployed³³. In August 2014, an exercise was conducted with the participation of over 1,000 troops from the Eastern Military District on the Northern Territories and the Chishima Islands.

After then-President Medvedev visited Kunashiri Island³⁴ for the first time as head of state in November 2010,

³⁰ The Eastern Military District's headquarters is in Khabarovsk.

³¹ At the Expanded Meeting of the Defence Ministry Board in December 2014, Minister of Defence Shoigu stated that the second of the Borey-class SSBNs Alexander Nevsky and the third SSBN Vladimir Monomakh would be brought to the Pacific and join the formation of the permanent readiness units in 2015.

³² In February 2014, 12 Su-35 fighters entered service with the 23rd Fighter Regiment based in Khabarovsk.

³³ The 18th Machine Gun and Artillery Division, which comprises two regiments, is Russia's only machine gun and artillery division amid the military's reforms to turn divisions into brigades, and is stationed on Etorofu Island and Kunashiri Island. The Division aims to prevent landings, and participated in surprise inspections conducted in the Eastern Military District and elsewhere in July 2013.

³⁴ After the visit, Kunashiri Island and Etorofu Island were visited by First Deputy Prime Minister Shuvalov in December 2010, by then-Regional Development Minister Basargin in January to February 2011, followed by then-Deputy Prime Minister Ivanov in May 2011. Furthermore, Security Council Secretary Patrushev visited Kunashiri Island and Suisho Island of the Habomai Islands in September 2011. In addition, in January 2011, Deputy Minister of Defence Bulgakov, and in February 2011, then-Minister of Defence Serdyukov visited Kunashiri Island and Etorofu Island and inspected the units stationed there. Furthermore, Prime Minister Medvedev visited Kunashiri Island in July 2012.

Russia started replacement of equipment and construction of facilities, among other measures, to ensure the security of the “Kuril” Islands.

The number of Russian military personnel stationed in this region in 1991 was about 9,500. At the Japan-Russia Defense Ministerial Meeting held in 1997, then-Russian Defence Minister Rodionov made known that the troops stationed in the Northern Territories had been reduced to 3,500 personnel by 1995. In July 2005, when then-Russian Defence Minister Ivanov visited the Northern Territories, he declared that Russia would neither increase nor decrease the troops stationed on the four islands, clarifying Russia’s intention to maintain the status quo³⁵.

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

3 Operations in the Vicinity of Japan

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

In the large-scale military exercise “Vostok 2010” that was conducted from June to July 2010, it is thought that Russia verified its ability to respond to conflicts under its new command structure and also its ability to manage units from different services in an integrated manner. In addition, by mobilizing troops that are not stationed in this region to the Far East exercises, it is considered that Russia verified its ability to deploy forces in regions far from where they are stationed³⁶.

In September 2014, the large-scale exercise “Vostok 2014,” considered to be the largest and the most important Russian Armed Forces’ exercises and drills conducted that year, was carried out in the Eastern Military District. Over 155,000 personnel, over 4,000 combat vehicles, about 80 vessels, and about 630 aircraft participated in the exercise³⁷. Its purpose was likely to verify the combat readiness and

mobilization postures of the units in the Far East strategic front, including the Arctic. The exercise included units from not only the Eastern Military District, but also the Western and Central Military Districts. The various units conducted long-distance maneuvers covering a distance of 12,000 km at most. Furthermore, the exercise improved coordination among the Ministry of Defence and other ministries, agencies, and local governments.

The number of exercises carried out by the Russian Ground Forces in the areas adjacent to Japan has decreased from the peak. However, some activities seem to be on the rise.

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 involving long voyages of the vessels of the Pacific Fleet, and nuclear submarines are carrying out patrols³⁸. In September 2011, 24 naval vessels including a Slava-class guided missile cruiser passed through the Soya Strait one after another. This was the first time since the end of the Cold War that such a major transit of Russian naval vessels through this strait has been confirmed³⁹. Prior to the holding of the large-scale exercise “Vostok 2014” in September 2014, ten vessels passed through the Soya Strait in August 2014. In October of the same year, eight vessels successively passed through the Tsushima Strait

35 During the 1998 visit to Russia by Japan’s Administrative Vice-Minister of Defense, then-Russian Minister of Defence Sergeyev commented that the number of Russian troops stationed in the Northern Territories was being steadily decreased. In February 2011, a senior official of the General Staff stated that troops on the “Kuril Islands” would be maintained at around 3,500 personnel, within the process of reorganizing the division into a brigade. In May 2014, Commander Surovkin of the Eastern Military District announced the buildup of military facilities on the Northern Territories. In August 2014, Russia opened a new airport in Etorofu Island. Through such measures, Russia has stepped up its activities to reinforce its claims to the Northern Territories.

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

37 The large-scale exercise “Vostok 2014” was conducted over a vast area extending from the Arctic to the coastal area. In the Kamchatka Peninsula, ALCM launches were carried out from long-range bombers, as well as launches of submarine-launched cruise missiles (SLCMs) from Oscar II-class nuclear-powered guided missile submarines (SSGN). In Wrangel Island in the Arctic, evening parachute landings and survival drills were conducted. In the Sakhalin, the Naval Infantry conducted landing drills as well as drills to prevent the landings of opposing forces. In the coastal and inland areas, drills were conducted of the launches of short-range ballistic missiles and GLCMs using the Iskander surface-to-surface missile system, as well as drills that made use of private infrastructure, such as takeoff and landing drills of the Su-25 attack aircraft using roads for motor vehicles.

38 The number of cases of the Russian naval fleet passing through the three international straits (Soya, Tsugaru, and Tsushima) of Japan that have been identified and disclosed in FY2014 is as follows: 10 cases in the Soya Strait (6 in FY2012, 11 in FY2013); 1 case in the Tsugaru Strait (2 in FY2012, 1 in FY2013); and 8 cases in the Tsushima Strait (5 in FY2012, 4 in FY2013).

39 Some of the 24 naval vessels participated in the exercise conducted in the eastern part of the Kamchatka Peninsula and other places.

and entered the South Pacific Ocean.

Regarding aircraft, since the resumption of the patrol activities by its strategic aviation units in 2007, Russia has been increasing flights by long-range bombers and carrying out flights of Tu-95 long-range bombers and Tu-160 long-range bombers which are refueled in mid-flight and supported by A-50 early warning aircraft and Su-27 fighters⁴⁰. Moreover, due to an upturn in its fuel situation, among other factors, the pilot training time is on an upward trend.

Activities such as flights close to Japan's airspace and exercises and trainings have tended to increase⁴¹, as exemplified by the abnormal flights of Russian aircraft



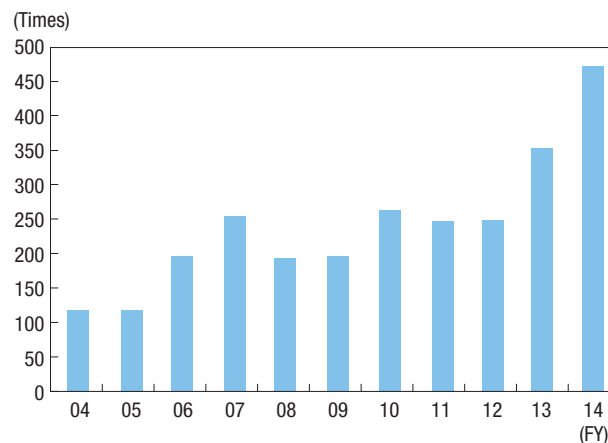
Slava-class guided missile cruiser passing through the Tsushima Strait (October 25, 2014)

detected on seven consecutive days and the flights by six individual Tu-95 long-range bombers on a single day between March and April 2014⁴².

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

Fig. I-1-4-3

Changes in the Number of Scrambles against Russian Aircraft



5 Relations with Other Countries

1 General Situation

Recognizing that, amid the trend towards 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 interests⁴³. Moreover, stating that its diplomacy is to be conducted based on the national security that serves the interests of its people, Russia aims to have a practical diplomacy conducive to solving issues towards modernizing the country's economy⁴⁴.

For this reason, Russia has been working to deepen its economic partnerships with the Commonwealth of Independent States (CIS)⁴⁵. Furthermore, Russia aspires to deepen its relations with the Asia-Pacific countries from the

perspective of modernizing the country⁴⁶.

On the other hand, Russian efforts to strengthen cooperative relations with the Western countries aimed at modernization face challenges following the series of events which have given rise to the increasingly tense situation in Ukraine.

Attention will be on how Russia balances the posture it takes towards other countries, which is economic-centered and benefit-focused in order to realize the country's modernization, and Russia's politics and diplomacy which include the security domain. In addition, attention will be on how Russia develops its relations with other countries.

⁴⁰ The Russian Ministry of Defence announced in January 2014 that surveillance flights of two Tu-95 long-range bombers took place with the assistance of Su-27 fighters and A-50 airborne early warning and control aircraft.

⁴¹ When Tu-95 long-range bombers took a route that circled the area encompassing Japan in September 2011, they were refueled in mid-flight by an IL-78 air tanker in the temporary danger zone set by Russia. In addition, when Tu-95 long-range bombers flew in the vicinity of Japan in February 2012 and February 2014, other aircraft such as A-50 Early Warning Aircraft flew with them. Two Su-27 fighters and two Tu-95 long-range bombers invaded Japanese airspace in February 2013 and August 2013 respectively.

⁴² In April 2014, Deputy Minister of Defence Antonov stated that "Russian Air Force aircraft operated in strict compliance with the international law." The Deputy Minister also asked the Japanese Ministry of Defense to "alter its attitude towards cooperation with the Russian Ministry of Defence."

⁴³ The Foreign Policy Concept of the Russian Federation (July 2008).

⁴⁴ 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 campaign platform paper on foreign policy published in February 2012, then-Prime Minister Putin presented his stance of ensuring Russia's security and interests while developing mutually-beneficial cooperative relationships with other countries.

⁴⁵ In October 2011, eight CIS countries (Russia, Belarus, Kazakhstan, Kyrgyzstan, Tajikistan, Ukraine, Moldova, and Armenia) signed the CIS Free Trade Zone Agreement in the same month.

⁴⁶ 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).

2 Relations with Asian Countries

Russia recognizes that the significance of the Asia-Pacific region is increasing within its multi-pronged foreign policy, and the relationship with Asian countries is also important from the viewpoint of economic development in Siberia and the Far East⁴⁷, counter-terrorism, and security⁴⁸. In the executive order concerning foreign policy issued in May 2012, President Putin held up his policy to participate in the integration process of the Asia-Pacific region in order to accelerate socioeconomic development in the East Siberia and Far East regions, and stated that Russia would work to develop relationships with Japan, the Republic of Korea, and other countries, in addition to China⁴⁹, India, and Vietnam⁵⁰.

Under this policy, Russia has participated in various frameworks in the Asia-Pacific region⁵¹. The Asia-Pacific Economic Cooperation (APEC) Summit was held in Vladivostok in September 2012.

Among these different countries, Russia and India maintain a close relationship under a strategic partnership, with the leaders of both countries paying mutual visits. In October 2013, President Putin held talks with then-Prime Minister Singh when he visited Russia, during which they reached an agreement on enhanced military cooperation including arms exports. In December 2014, President Putin, during his visit to India, held talks with Prime Minister Modi, and the two sides agreed to build a new Russian-made nuclear power plant, among other matters. In January 2015, Minister of Defence Shoigu, during his visit to India, held talks with Minister of Defence Parrikar, and the two sides discussed military and military technology cooperation between the two countries. Both countries are strengthening their military technology cooperation, including the joint development of the fifth generation PAK FA fighter jet and the BrahMos supersonic cruise missile. Additionally, since 2003 Russia and India have been conducting INDRA anti-terrorism exercises involving the Armies and Navies of both countries. Regarding the relationship with Japan, Russia

states that it will develop mutually beneficial cooperation and is intensifying its approach in many fields including politics, economy and security.

3 Situation in Ukraine

Following the political upheaval in Ukraine in February 2014, the Yanukovich government collapsed and was replaced by an interim government led by the opposition party. At the same time, in the Autonomous Republic of Crimea in southern Ukraine, armed forces, believed to be Russian forces, occupied the Council of Ministers Building and the Parliamentary Building. In addition, the military forces took control of airports, arterial roads that travel through the rest of Ukraine, and the major facilities of the Ukrainian military forces. In March 2014, Russia, which took de facto control of Crimea, “annexed” Crimea based on the results of the “referendum” on whether or not Crimea should be “annexed” into Russia⁵². Meanwhile, in April 2014, in eastern and southern Ukraine, separatist armed groups believed to be ethnic Russian nationals stepped up their protests and attacks against the interim Ukrainian government and occupied buildings, including the Council of Ministers Building. In response, the interim Ukrainian government condemned Russia over its alleged involvement and mobilized military forces in an attempt to expel the occupying forces. This, however, did not lead to the resolution of the situation. In May 2014, in parts of Donetsk and Luhansk oblasts in eastern Ukraine, a “referendum” was conducted under the control of separatist armed groups on whether or not autonomy should be expanded⁵³. President Petro Poroshenko who assumed presidency in June 2014 following the presidential election in Ukraine announced a temporary ceasefire with separatist armed groups and unveiled a peace plan⁵⁴. Nonetheless, the negotiations with separatist armed groups failed to reach a breakthrough, and the Ukrainian forces resumed their mop-up operation against separatist armed groups

47 Russia is currently developing resources in Siberia and Sakhalin.

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

49 See Part I, Chapter 1, Section 3-3 for the relationship with China

50 President Putin made an official visit to Vietnam and the ROK in November 2013.

51 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).

52 The West and Japan condemn and do not acknowledge the “annexation,” which violate the sovereignty and territorial integrity of Ukraine as well as the international law, including the United Nations Charter. The West and Japan express the view that Russia’s act of changing of the status quo by force or coercion is a global issue that impacts the entire international community, including Asia.

53 President Putin urged separatist armed groups in Donetsk and Luhansk oblasts to postpone the referendum. While around 90% of the residents are said to have voted in favor in the election, many misconducts have been reportedly observed.

54 President Putin endorsed President Poroshenko’s decision on the ceasefire in southeastern Ukraine, and expressed support for President Poroshenko’s announcement of intent to take a series of concrete measures aimed at the realization of peace.

in July 2014. The attacks by Ukrainian forces fragmented and decreased the areas under the control of separatist armed groups, and the groups fell into a perilous situation. Since August 2014, separatist armed groups, receiving various supports from Russia that are deemed to be direct intervention⁵⁵, regained lost territory and acquired the power base to be able to sustain the confrontations with Ukrainian forces.

In September 2014, partially owing to the calls made by President Putin⁵⁶, the Ukrainian government and separatist

armed groups agreed to a ceasefire and signed a 12-point document aimed at the realization of peace⁵⁷. However, agreement failed to be reached thereafter on the ceasefire line, among other matters, and small-scale confrontations continued. In early 2015, following the intensification of fighting once again between the Ukrainian forces and separatist armed groups, the leaders of Germany, France, Russia, and Ukraine held talks and agreed on 13 items, including the ceasefire, in February 2015⁵⁸.

Throughout the crisis in Ukraine, Western and other countries have pointed clearly to Russia's direct military intervention⁵⁹ and have strongly condemned Russia's direct or indirect intervention. The countries contend that Russia used a combination of diverse non-military tactics, such as sabotage and information manipulation, and military tactics utilized in secrecy, conducting acts of aggression through methods that cannot be clearly labeled an "armed attack" based on their outward form, i.e., "hybrid warfare"⁶⁰. The countries invoked severe sanction measures on Russia⁶¹. Despite the international community's strong condemnation and sanction measures, Russia's attempt to change the status quo by force or coercion could not be stopped. The international community is facing challenges in dealing with "hybrid warfare."

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- 55 In the crisis in Ukraine, it is believed that Russia developed a separatist armed group that nearly integrates such groups in Ukraine as ethnic Russian nationals and the Russian special operation forces. While using the media to carry out propaganda warfare, Russia successively mobilized the paramilitary forces that have vague legal statuses, such as Cossacks, and ultimately had regular military forces make invasions. Since August 2014, the intrusion of Russian humanitarian assistance supply trucks into Ukrainian territory has been reported, and the activities of airborne units which are deemed to be Russian forces and the activities of T-72 tank, self-propelled artillery, and other units on Ukrainian territory. Meanwhile, Russia has consistently maintained the position that the Russian forces have no presence in Ukraine.
- 56 On August 29, 2014, President Putin released a statement. The President commented that separatist armed groups have achieved a major success, and called on the Ukrainian government to stop military actions and sit down at the negotiating table with "Donbass representatives."
- 57 The items of the agreement document consisted of the following: (1) Immediate suspension of the use of weapons by both sides; (2) Monitoring by the Organization for Security and Cooperation in Europe (OSCE) of the suspension of the use of weapons; (3) Adoption of the law on the special status of Donetsk and Luhansk oblasts; (4) Creation of a security zone between Ukraine and Russia and monitoring by OSCE; (5) Immediate release of all hostages; (6) Ban on the prosecution and punishment of persons in connection with the events that have taken place in Donetsk and Luhansk oblasts; (7) Continuation of inclusive national dialogue; (8) Implementation of measures to improve the humanitarian situation in Donbas (eastern Ukraine); (9) Early elections in Donetsk and Luhansk oblasts; (10) Withdrawal of the illegal armed groups, fighters, and mercenaries from Ukrainian territory; (11) Designing of a program for economic recovery and the rehabilitation of social life in Donbas; and (12) Guarantee of personal security for the participants in the consultations.
- 58 The items of the agreement document consisted of the following: (1) Ceasefire from February 15, 2015, 12 am (local time); (2) Withdrawal of heavy weapons to create a security zone that is 50-140 km wide; (3) Monitoring by OSCE of the ceasefire; (4) Launch of dialogue that grants autonomy to areas controlled by separatist armed groups; (5) Pardon of detainees; (6) Release of all hostages; (7) Provision of humanitarian assistance; (8) Resumption of socioeconomic systems in the east, including pensions and living subsidies; (9) Control of the border with Russia by the government of Ukraine throughout the conflict area; (10) Withdrawal of foreign armed formations, weapons, and mercenaries from Ukraine; (11) Entry into force of a new constitution by the end of 2015 that expands local autonomy; (12) Discussions on local elections in areas controlled by separatist armed groups; and (13) Strengthening of cooperation among Ukraine, Russia, and OSCE.
- 59 In August 2014, NATO released satellite images that are thought to show Russian combat forces engaged in military operations inside the territory of Ukraine.
- 60 An article published on the website of NATO's Allied Command Operations in August 2014, co-authored by NATO Secretary General Anders Fogh Rasmussen and Supreme Allied Commander Europe Philip Breedlove, stated that Russia should withdraw its troops from Ukraine, stop using hybrid warfare tactics, and engage with the international community and the Ukrainian government to find a political solution to the crisis.
- 61 The West imposes sanctions, such as asset freezes and travel bans to Russia on senior Russian government officials. The countries have gradually added more individuals and organizations to the sanctions list based on the developments related to the crisis in Ukraine.

4 Relations with Other Commonwealth of Independent States

Russia positions the development of bilateral and multilateral cooperation with the CIS as the top foreign policy priority. Russia considers that its vital interests are concentrated in the territories of the CIS⁶², and has dispatched troops to be stationed in Ukraine (Crimea), Moldova (Transnistria⁶³), Armenia, Tajikistan, Kyrgyzstan, and Georgia (South Ossetia, Abkhazia), which left the CIS in August 2009⁶⁴. In November 2014, Russia and Abkhazia concluded an alliance and strategic partnership treaty⁶⁵. In such ways, Russia has worked to maintain its military influence⁶⁶.

With increasing activities by Islamic armed insurgents in Central Asia and the Caucasus, Russia has been pursuing military cooperation centered on counter-terrorism measures in the region, and organized the Collective Rapid Deployment Force in May 2001 within the framework of the CIS Collective Security Treaty Organization (CSTO)⁶⁷. Furthermore, in June 2009, a permanent joint rapid reaction force was established to strengthen the functions of the CIS Collective Rapid Deployment Force⁶⁸.

In addition, out of concern that the worsening security in Afghanistan could lead to the destabilization of Central Asia, Russia and Central Asian countries support Afghanistan while considering measures to strengthen the security of borders with Afghanistan⁶⁹.

5 Relations with the United States

President Putin has striven to deepen cooperative relations with the United States in the economic domain, and on the other hand, has retaliated against the United States on any action Russia considers as “a U.S. attempt to encroach on Russia’s strategic interests.” Meanwhile, in response to the recent increasingly tense situation in Ukraine, the Obama administration has strongly condemned Russia’s violation of the sovereignty and territorial integrity of Ukraine and has imposed severe economic sanctions on Russia⁷⁰. U.S.-Russia relations have deteriorated from the time of the inauguration of the Obama administration.

Russia strongly opposed the deployment plan of the MD system in Europe by the United States, stating that it would have a negative impact on Russia’s nuclear deterrent capabilities. In September 2009, the United States announced that it was reviewing the proposed deployment of the MD system in Europe⁷¹, which was cautiously welcomed by Russia.

However, Russia’s understanding is that the New Strategic Arms Reduction Treaty (New 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 strength⁷². Russia has striven to keep the United States in check in response to the recent progress of the U.S. MD plan in Europe, indicating that Russia would withdraw from the New START⁷³.

- 62 In August 2008, following the conflict with Georgia, then-President Medvedev indicated that one of the five principles of Russia’s foreign policy was that there are regions in which Russia has privileged interests.
- 63 In Transnistria, located on the eastern side of the Dniester River, ethnic Russian residents declared separation and independence from Moldova in 1990, but was never recognized as such by the international community. Following the annexation of Crimea into Russia, in March 2014 the Parliament of Transnistria urged Russia to also incorporate the region. Moreover, during a telephone conference between President Putin and President Barack Obama in March 2014, President Putin pointed out that Transnistria was experiencing a blockade. A Russian unit of about 1,500 troops is currently stationed in Transnistria.
- 64 After the conflict with Russia in August 2008, Georgia withdrew from the CIS in August 2009, but Russia unilaterally recognized the independence of South Ossetia and Abkhazia in the Georgian territory and continues to have troops stationed in the regions. In the parliamentary election in October 2012 “Georgian Dream,” an opposition alliance with a campaign promise of improving Georgia-Russia relations, defeated the ruling “United National Movement” that adopts an anti-Russian policy. In the presidential election of October 2013, Giorgi Margvelashvili, backed by “Georgian Dream,” was elected and became president in November of the same year. In his inauguration speech, President Margvelashvili stated that he was ready to deepen the dialogue with Russia, expressing his intention to continue with pro-Euro, pro-U.S. lines while pursuing improvement of the relationship with Russia.
- 65 Russia’s “Military Doctrine” revised in December 2014 states that Russia would promote cooperation with the Republic of Abkhazia and the Republic of South Ossetia aimed at shared defense and security.
- 66 While some CIS countries continue to prioritize their relations with Russia, such as Belarus and Kazakhstan, others attempt to maintain a distance from Russia. Georgia, Ukraine, Azerbaijan, and Moldova have taken mostly pro-Western policies to reduce their security and economic dependence on Russia. In September 2012, Kyrgyzstan and Russia agreed on a 15-year extension of the period of the use of Russian military bases in Kyrgyzstan, which otherwise would end in 2017. In October 2012, Tajikistan and Russia agreed to extend the lease of the base of Russia’s 201st Motor Rifle Division in Tajikistan until 2042. In December 2013, Su-27 fighters of the Russian naval force were deployed in Belarus for the first time.
- 67 In May 1992, leaders of six countries (Armenia, Kazakhstan, Kyrgyzstan, Russia, Tajikistan, and Uzbekistan) signed the Collective Security Treaty (CST) in Tashkent, Uzbekistan. In 1993, Azerbaijan, Georgia and Belarus joined the treaty, which came into effect in April 1994. However, Azerbaijan, Georgia, and Uzbekistan withdrew from the treaty in 1999 without renewing it. In May 2002, CST was reorganized into the Collective Security Treaty Organization (CSTO). Uzbekistan returned to CST in August 2006 but gave notice of suspension of participation in CSTO in June 2012, effectively withdrawing from the organization.
- 68 Learning from the fact that CSTO could not sufficiently respond to the request by Kyrgyzstan for the peace-keeping activities at the time of the ethnic conflict in the southern part of Kyrgyzstan in June 2010, CSTO has been discussing improvement in the efficiency of its crisis response system. The CSTO Summit Meeting in December 2011 warned against the foreign forces’ stationing in a member state by requiring the consent of all member states when any member state builds a base of a third country. CSTO joint exercises, “Vzaimodeistvie” (cooperative operation), were implemented in Kazakhstan in October 2009 and October 2010, in Armenia in September 2012, and in Belarus in September 2013.
- 69 During the December 2013 Expanded Meeting of the Russian Defence Ministry Board, President Putin said that the withdrawal of the International Security Assistance Force (ISAF) from Afghanistan in 2014 would be a destabilizing element to not only Afghanistan but also the wider Central Asia and could pose a threat to the national interests and security of Russia.
- 70 The United States has gradually expanded the list of Russian individuals and companies subject to asset freezes and entry bans. In addition, the United States has expanded the targets of its loan suspensions and asset freezes to include key industry sectors, including finance, energy companies, state-owned banks, and state-owned defense technology companies.
- 71 See Part I, Chapter 1, Section 1-2 for the U.S. deployment plan of the MD system in Europe.
- 72 Statement by the Russian Federation concerning missile defense (April 8, 2010)
- 73 Russia has demanded a legal guarantee that the MD plan of the United States is not targeted at Russia, and claimed that the United States is not considering Russia’s concerns. Russia issued an executive statement in November 2011, mentioning countermeasures such as fielding of the early-warning radars and the possibility of its withdrawal from the New START. In addition, in November 2013, Foreign Minister Sergey Lavrov stated that if the Geneva agreement on Iran’s nuclear issues was implemented, a U.S. MD system for Europe would not be needed.

With regard to the military exchanges with the United States, Russia was thought to be wishing to establish cooperative relations with the United States to some extent, as exemplified from Russian vessels' participation in RIMPAC in waters around Hawaii for the first time in July 2012. However, following Russia's moves in connection with the situation in Ukraine, the United States announced the suspension of the military exchanges with Russia in March 2014⁷⁴. In addition, the United States dispatched a missile destroyer to the Black Sea and provided non-lethal weapons to the Ukrainian government⁷⁵. With the situation remaining tense in eastern Ukraine, the United States has stepped up its activities to keep Russia in check, including hinting at the provision of lethal weapons to the Ukrainian government in February 2015.

6 Relations with Europe and NATO

Through the framework of the NATO-Russia Council (NRC), Russia has worked with NATO as an equal partner on the areas of mutual interest, such as by participating in certain decision-making processes. However, following the recent increasingly tense situation in Ukraine, NATO and European countries suspended their practical cooperation with Russia, including in the military domain, except for the NRC's ambassador-level meetings⁷⁶. Additionally, NATO and European countries have maintained a severe diplomatic stance towards Russia while working with the Ukrainian government.

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

Meanwhile, there remains the unsolved issue between Russia and NATO regarding the Conventional Armed Forces in Europe (CFE) agreement⁷⁷.

Furthermore, the increasingly tense situation in Ukraine has presented a threat to NATO's eastern border for the first time since the Cold War. Consequently, some of NATO's member states in Eastern Europe and the Baltic harbor national security concerns. For this and other reasons, NATO continues to take steps to ensure the effectiveness of its collective defense⁷⁸.

Meanwhile, Russia has actively conducted the air activity that can be deemed provocative in Europe, especially near the Baltic countries⁷⁹.

⁷⁴ Following the occupation of the Crimean Peninsula by Russia, then-U.S. Department of Defense Spokesperson Kirby announced in March 2014 that the United States would cease all military exchange with Russia, including joint exercises with Russian forces, consultations, and port calls.

⁷⁵ The United States provided to Ukraine non-lethal weapons such as body armor, helmets, vehicles, night and thermal vision devices, heavy engineering equipment, advanced radios, patrol boats, rations, tents, counter-mortar radars, uniforms, first aid equipment, and other related items.

⁷⁶ NATO issued a statement condemning Russia over the situation in Ukraine, and has deployed additional military forces to countries in Eastern Europe and the Baltic. However, there are discrepancies among NATO's member states in their responses to Russia. The United Kingdom has announced its intention to suspend equipment exports to Russia and to deploy fighters to bolster patrols of the airspace over the Baltic countries, in addition to suspending military cooperation with Russia. Germany has announced the suspension of equipment exports to Russia.

⁷⁷ At the 1999 Istanbul summit of the Organization for Security and Co-operation in Europe (OSCE), an agreement was reached on changing the troop ceilings set formerly by blocks to those set by country and territory and on complying with the current CFE Treaty until the adapted CFE Treaty comes into effect. Russia was dissatisfied with the fact that despite its ratification of the adapted CFE Treaty, NATO member states refused to ratify the Treaty on the grounds that Russian forces were not withdrawing from Georgia and Moldova. Therefore, in December 2007, Russia suspended the implementation of the CFE Treaty and halted inspections based on this treaty. Presently, only four countries have ratified the adapted CFE Treaty—Russia, Belarus, Kazakhstan, and Ukraine—and it has not yet come into effect. In addition, 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.

⁷⁸ At NATO's Wales Summit in September 2014, the Readiness Action Plan (RAP) was adopted as a measure to strengthen NATO's collective defense. The RAP includes the creation of the Very High Readiness Joint Task Force (VJTF) as an initial response force of the NATO Response Force (NRF), a command and control presence on the territories of eastern Allies to facilitate the rapid increase of troops, the development of host facilities, the advance deployment of equipment and supplies, and the enhancement of exercise plans focused on collective defense. Bulgaria, the Baltic countries, Poland, and Romania have expressed their intention to provide facilities.

⁷⁹ In October 2014, NATO announced that the Russian Air Force conducted significant military maneuvers over the Baltic Sea, North Sea, Atlantic Ocean, and Black Sea on October 28 and 29. NATO criticized that said air activity represents an unusual level of activity over European airspace.

7 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 years⁸⁰. In January 2007, the Russian government granted the exclusive right to export arms to the Rosoboron Export State Corporation as part

of its ongoing initiatives to improve its export system. In addition, Russia regards its military industry as an integral part of the nation's military organization and is committed to improving and further developing the military industry by such measures as promoting the integration of aircraft companies such as Sukhoi, MiG, and Tupolev.

Russia has exported its fighters and warships to countries including India, ASEAN member countries, China, Algeria, and Venezuela⁸¹.

Section 5 Australia

1 General Situation

Australia shares universal values with Japan, such as respect for freedom and human rights, and democracy; and is allied with the United States, as are Japan and the Republic of Korea (ROK). Based on the awareness that Australia's security environment will be significantly influenced by how the Indo-Pacific, connecting the Indian and Pacific Oceans through Southeast Asia, and its security framework evolve, Australia is adjusting its main strategic focus to the region.

In Australia, a federal election was held in September 2013. Tony Abbott, the head of the Liberal Party of the conservative coalition which won control of the lower house, took office as Prime Minister, resulting in a change of government from the Labor Party to the conservative

coalition¹. No significant differences are thought to exist between the security and defense policies of the Abbott administration and the policies of previous Australian administrations. However, on the budget front, the Abbott administration has criticized the defense spending cuts of the previous administration, and has signaled its intention to actively make investments which are deemed necessary for building a stronger defense force. With regard to Australia's relations with other countries, the administration continues to work to deepen relations with the countries in the Indo-Pacific region and proactively contribute to global peace and stability through the overseas deployment of the Australian Defence Force (ADF), among other activities.

2 Security and Defense Policies

The Australian government launched its first National Security Strategy (the Strategy) in January 2013². The Strategy provides a blueprint for national security over the next decade, presenting the recognition that responding to the economic and strategic changes in the Asia-Pacific region is vital to the national security of Australia. The Strategy defines four objectives for the country's national security: (1) to ensure a safe and resilient population; (2) to

protect and strengthen Australia's sovereignty; (3) to secure Australia's assets, infrastructure and institutions; and (4) to promote a favorable international environment. On this basis, the Strategy outlines the following priorities for the next five years: (1) enhanced engagement in the Asia-Pacific region³; (2) integrated cyber policy and operations⁴; and (3) effective partnerships⁵.

In May 2013, the Australian government released

80 According to the Stockholm International Peace Research Institute (SIPRI), Russian arms exports between 2010 and 2014 increased by 37% compared to the period between 2005 and 2009.

81 Russia concluded sales contracts with Indonesia for the Su-27 and Su-30 fighters in 2003 and 2007, and with Malaysia and Vietnam for the Su-30 fighters in 2003, and has delivered the fighters to these countries. There are also reports of a sales contract with Vietnam in 2009 for the Su-30 fighters and Kilo-class submarines. In January 2014, the first of the Kilo-class submarines, "Hanoi," arrived in Vietnam. With regard to India, aircraft carrier "Admiral Gorshkov," which had been refurbished in Severodvinsk, was delivered to India, renamed as INS Vikramaditya, which arrived in India in January 2014. Moreover, in 2006, Russia concluded sales contracts with Algeria and Venezuela for arms, including Su-30 fighters, and has delivered some of these arms. Russia's exports to China have included Su-27 and Su-30 fighters, Sovremenny-class destroyers, and Kilo-class submarines. Against the backdrop of the advancement of indigenous weapon production in China, some point out that the value of Russian exports to China has been declining in recent years. Nevertheless, Russia has continued to export equipment such as aircraft engines for repair purposes. Russia and China are also reportedly in talks on exporting the Su-35 fighter and the "S-400" surface-to-air missile.

1 In this election, the conservative coalition comprised of the Liberal, National, and other parties won 90 out of the 150 lower house seats. As a result, Tony Abbott, the head of the Liberal Party, which had the most seats among the member parties of the conservative coalition that secured a majority in the lower house, was inaugurated as the 28th Prime Minister of Australia.

2 This strategy is based on the National Security Statement, announced in December 2008, which articulated Australia's national security agenda and set in motion reforms to strengthen the National Security Community. The national security strategy is scheduled to be revised every five years.

3 This includes: deepening the Australia-U.S. alliance; enhancing bilateral cooperation with influential regional countries such as China, Indonesia, Japan, the ROK, and India; and promoting the superiority and effectiveness of multilateral forums.

4 The Australian Cyber Security Centre (ACSC) integrates the capabilities of Australia's Department of Defence, Attorney-General's Department, and Federal Police and the cyber-related personnel of the Australian Crime Commission.

5 This includes sharing information securely and quickly with domestic and international partners and strengthening information sharing between government and business.