Section 4. Russia

1. General Situation

Russian citizens support the former Putin administration’s policy that only a strong nation can deliver order and stability. In December 2007, the ruling party United Russia, with former President Putin atop the candidate list, secured more than two-thirds in the State Duma (lower house), which was regarded as a sweeping victory.

In February 2008, then President Putin delivered a speech entitled “Russia’s Development Strategy through to 2020,” which set forth the nation’s long-term perspective leading up to the year 2020. Thereupon, the former Putin administration has been accredited for breaking away from the crisis of the 1990s and restoring the country to its status as a powerful player within the international community. In the future, the administration aims to promote social and economic reform that departs from a dependence on the energy resources sector under a qualitatively new development strategy.

Furthermore, in regards to security, an unintentional arms race has begun, and the administration has noted that countermeasures against the U.S. and the North Atlantic Treaty Organization (NATO) are in need as NATO military facilities are closing in on the Russian border. In addition, against the backdrop of Russia’s robust economy, the administration has stressed the need to modernize the military in accordance with national strength while also avoiding an excessive arms race.

President Medvedev, who took office in May 2008, has designated former President Putin as prime minister in charge of policy implementation. As such, it appears that the Medvedev administration will essentially continue policy implemented by the Putin administration.

2. Security and Defense Policies

1. Basic Posture

Russia revised its “National Security Concept of the Russian Federation” in January 2000. The Concept recognizes that two exclusive trends exist in the current international situation—the trend toward a multipolar world promoted by countries including Russia and the trend toward establishing a world dominated by Western countries. The document lists such phenomena as terrorism, a movement to decrease the role of the United Nations and the eastward expansion of NATO as threats to Russia’s security under these international circumstances. It also states that Russia’s national security has been weakened by these factors as well as by an increase of hi-tech weapons in Western countries, and by a delay in the reforms of Russia’s armed forces and the military-industrial complex. The Concept concludes that from this perspective, Russia should take deterrent measures, including the possession of nuclear forces, to prevent invasions of any scale.

In line with this Concept, the Military Doctrine of the Russian Federation was drafted in April 2000 as the basic philosophy underlying Russian national defense policies. The Doctrine states that potential threats remain both at home and abroad and in some areas these latent threats are growing despite the decreased possibility of large-scale wars and the reduced threat of a direct invasion in a traditional form. Based on this recognition, it states that the objective of national defense is to deter aggression by any means including the use of nuclear weapons and that Russia reserves the right to use nuclear weapons in retaliatory attacks in response to a large-scale invasion with the use of conventional weapons.
In addition, The Priority Tasks of the Development of the Armed Forces of the Russian Federation was published in 2003 to embody the aforementioned Concept and Doctrine. Concerning military duties, this report points out the possibility of using armed forces not only for national defense but also for the implementation of various peacetime operations including counterterrorism measures. Furthermore, the importance of the inter-theater mobility of permanent combat-ready troops is also pointed out in consideration of the vastness of the Russian territory.

Former President Putin directed the Defense Minister and others to review the National Security Concept, and currently (as of May 2008) amendments to the Concept are being made.

2. Military Reform

Since 1997, Russia has shown progress in the modernization of military forces, including the reduction of the number of soldiers, structural reforms, and the development and introduction of new types of equipment, and in the improvement of combat readiness. The country appears to be nearing its troop reduction goal—a goal set in order to maintain an adequate troop level of one million personnel.

In structural reforms, a shift to three services and three independent corps and the integration of military districts are nearing completion. Regarding the modernization of military forces, in October 2006 the president approved the state policy on military equipment for the period of 2007 to 2015, and accordingly, approximately five trillion rubles (approximately 22.2 trillion yen) will be spent in the development and procurement of military equipment by 2015. At the same time, efforts are being made to create an integrated order placement system in order to realize efficient procurement. Moreover, in order to improve the quality of military personnel and maintain highly skilled forces, Russia is implementing measures toward the introduction of a contract-based service, under which soldiers are recruited not by conscription but by contract. Together with the ongoing improvement of the permanent combat-ready troops, a contract-based service would contribute to the improvement of the Russian military’s combat readiness. In so doing, Russia recognizes the issues of improving the treatment of soldiers and securing personnel with technical knowledge and abilities. In addition, Russia has been improving the military unit command system, and it is thought that Russia will continue these measures to improve conventional armed forces along with its efforts to maintain its strategic nuclear deterrent capability against the backdrop of the national defense budget that has been increasing in recent years. (See Fig. I-2-4-1)

Fig. I-2-4-1  Russia’s Defense Budget from FY 2004 to 2008

Note: Official figures announced by Russian Government.
3. The Chechen Issue
Triggered by the invasion of armed groups of Chechen rebels into the Republic of Dagestan in 1999, the armed forces of the Russian Federation commenced military actions against the groups (the Second Chechen War). There were frequent terrorist attacks by armed Chechen groups, including the occupation of a Moscow theater in October 2002 and the takeover of a school in the Republic of North Ossetia in September 2004. The Russian Federation is promoting anti-terrorism operations with the Commonwealth of Independent States (CIS) and NATO members while also conducting thorough mop-up operations against the armed groups.

Meanwhile, in the Chechen Republic, a new constitution was adopted in 2003 and a new president for the Republic was designated by the Russian Federation in March 2007. The Russian Federation has thus been implementing measures to stabilize Chechen. Moreover, as a result of mop-up operations by the Russian Federation, leaders of pro-independence armed forces including Shamil Basayev, regarded as an extreme hardliner, were killed. However, the armed Chechen rebels have not been completely eliminated and the situation still remains unstable.

3. External Relations

1. Relations with the Commonwealth of Independent States (CIS)
Russia promotes military integration with CIS member countries, stating that its vital interests are concentrated in the territories of the CIS. Russia has dispatched its federal forces to remain in Ukraine, Georgia, Moldova, Armenia, Tajikistan and Kyrgyz. It has also concluded agreements to form a joint air defense system and joint border security treaties with CIS member countries. (See Fig. I-2-4-2)
With increasing activities by Islamic armed forces in Central Asia/Caucasia, Russia pursued military cooperation centered on counterterrorism measures in the region, and organized a Collective Rapid Deployment Force in May 2001 within the framework of the CIS Collective Security Treaty Organization. Since the U.S. and other military forces launched the military campaign in Afghanistan following the 9/11 terrorist attacks against the United States in 2001, Russia has permitted U.S. assistance or U.S. military presence in Uzbekistan, Kyrgyz, Tajikistan and Georgia. On the other hand, in 2003, Russia established an air force base in Kyrgyz to enhance the CIS Collective Rapid Deployment Force. Russia also had a division (approximately 8,000 personnel) stationed in Tajikistan, and later made an agreement with Tajikistan in October 2004, securing a Russian military base in the country.

In the meantime, Georgia and Ukraine are aiming to strengthen their relations with Europe and the United States for their future accession to NATO. In November 2007, a Russian base located in Georgia was closed and Russian forces withdrew from the area. As for Ukraine, the continued presence of the Russian Black Sea Fleet may be a barrier to its future NATO membership.

2. Relations with the United States
The relationship between Russia and the United States has improved in various fields through cooperation in the fight against terrorism and other measures. The United States, however, has expressed concerns about domestic affairs in Russia, while Russia has expressed concerns regarding U.S. foreign policy. Russia states that it must take countermeasures against the U.S. in response to such activities as the large investments by the U.S. into next-generation weapons development and deployment of U.S. military bases in Eastern European countries.

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

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

However, Russia took steps to build a new cooperative relationship with NATO following the 9/11 terrorist attacks in the United States, and within the framework of the NATO-Russia Council (NRC), Russia participates in decision making to a certain degree and acts as an equal partner in areas of common interest. Meanwhile, Russia was dissatisfied that NATO countries would not ratify the Application Treaty of Conventional Armed Forces in Europe (CFE) because Russian forces would not withdraw from Georgia and Moldova. Thereafter, discussions were held in such forums as the NRC; however, Russia suspended the CFE Treaty in December 2007, halting inspections based on the treaty. Attention is paid whether NATO and Russia will hold any discussion on the CFE Treaty in the future.

4. Relations with Asian Countries
Russia is currently implementing a pipeline project to transport Siberian oil to the Far East and developing natural gas fields in Sakhalin. In order to develop these underground resources and revitalize its regional economy and social infrastructure, it is important for Russia to enhance economic relations with Asia-Pacific countries including Japan and China. For this reason, Russia emphasizes relations with these countries in its foreign policy and has joined the Asia-Pacific Economic Cooperation (APEC), the ASEAN Regional Forum (ARF), and the
Shanghai Cooperation Organization (SCO). (See Section 3) Additionally, Russia signed the Treaty of Amity and Cooperation in Southeast Asia (TAC) in 2004. Furthermore, former President Putin actively engaged in summit diplomacy with Asian countries. For example, he maintained close relationships with China and India through annual reciprocal top-level visits and in July 2006, Russia held its first trilateral summit meeting with Chinese and Indian leaders.

5. Exportation of Arms

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

Russia has exported jet fighters and warships to countries including China, India and ASEAN member countries. In addition, Russia signed agreements with North Korea and Iran on military technology cooperation in 2001.

4. Military Posture

1. Nuclear Forces

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

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

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

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

In August 2007, then President Putin announced the resumption of regular patrol flights by the strategic bomber unit, since they ceased following the disintegration of the Soviet Union in 1992. This activated flights by Russian long-range bombers, which, other than large-scale exercises, had been terminated after the collapse of the Soviet Union. Related countries are hurrying to respond to this.
According to the Treaty on Strategic Offensive Reductions (better known as the Moscow Treaty), the United States and Russia shall reduce the number of their deployable operational nuclear warheads to between 1,700 and 2,200 by December 31, 2012 (not including stored nuclear warheads). Continued attention should be paid to the progress of the disposal program\textsuperscript{116}. At the suggestion of the Russian side, negotiations began for a new treaty (post-START) that would succeed the Strategic Arms Reduction Treaty I that is to expire in April 2008.

As for non-strategic nuclear forces, Russia had scrapped surface-launched short- and intermediate-range missiles with a range of between 500 and 5,500km by 1991 in accordance with the Intermediate-Range Nuclear Forces (INF) Treaty, and had removed tactical nuclear weapons deployed aboard naval vessels and stored them in onshore missile silos in the following year. Russia, however, still possesses a broad array of nuclear forces\textsuperscript{117}.

2. Conventional Forces and Other Issues

Conventional forces have concentrated their limited resources on specific units to maintain their combat readiness\textsuperscript{118}. The Russian military is working to recover the proficiency of each of its forces and is conducting large-scale exercises using its conventional forces in the direction of Europe (See Column). In addition, the state policy on military equipment for the period of 2007 to 2015 instates plans for developing and procuring equipment for conventional forces. However, there are issues such as difficulties in securing personnel and lax military discipline due to the decrease in the population of young men as well as poor living conditions for military personnel\textsuperscript{119}. While the modernization of conventional forces is underway, development is not necessarily sufficient.

The future development of the Russian economy and society remains unclear, and it is necessary to continue to observe future trends of the Russian military.

**COLUMN**

**Large-scale Exercises by the Russian Military Units in the Seas of the Mediterranean and the North Atlantic**

From December 2007 to February 2008, the Russian Navy and Air Force carried out large-scale exercises in the seas of the Mediterranean and the North Atlantic. The country had taken stern stances toward the United States and NATO since last year, opposing the U.S. plan to deploy the missile defense (MD) system in Eastern Europe and suspending the implementation of the Conventional Forces in Europe (CFE) Treaty.

In August 2007, then President Putin announced the resumption of regular patrol flights by strategic bomber troops. In light of this, the latest pelagic navigation exercises could be seen as a display of Russia’s presence in the European region. Accordingly, the United Kingdom and Norway sent their air fighters as a show of force against the Russian Air Force squad maneuvering above the North Atlantic during its joint exercises with the Navy.

At the same time, Russia’s latest exercises also included joint training exercises with France, Italy and Portugal aimed at promoting anti-terrorism and mutual friendship. These three countries were apparently on the alert for the spread of terrorist activities en route to the Mediterranean Sea. It appears that Russia is continuing its efforts to build cooperative ties with any European country to combat terrorism and other areas of mutual strategic interest. The latest exercises mark the first deployment into the Mediterranean since 1996 by the Russian Navy’s aircraft carrier. They are also the first Russian Navy exercises joined by three fleets since the collapse of the Soviet Union.

The commander in chief of the Russian Navy indicated on February 3 that Russia planned to promote navigations similar to the latest one at least biannually, in order to build-up its presence in the global seas.
This remark was made upon the commander’s return to Severomorsk, the home port of the Northern Fleet that participated in the latest exercise. Attention is being paid to whether or not Russia will continue to deploy its fleets to the Mediterranean and other distant seas.

Outline of the exercises

- Pelagic navigation exercises by the Russian Navy
  - Period: December 5, 2007 to February 3, 2008 (return to port)
  - Main routes: The Mediterranean; Bay of Biscay (off France and northern Spain); northeastern part of the Atlantic Ocean (off the United Kingdom); the Arctic Ocean (off Norway)
  - Participating warships: A total of 11 vessels including the aircraft carrier Admiral Kuznetsov; the Udaloy-class destroyer Admiral Levtchenko; and the Slava-class missile-guided destroyer Moscow
- Long-distance aviation exercises by the Russian Air Force
  - Period: January 24, 2008 to February 2, 2008
  - Main air routes: The northeastern Atlantic Ocean (off the United Kingdom) - the Arctic Ocean (off Norway)

5. Russian Forces in the Far East Region

1. General Situation

The current presence of the Russian military forces in the Far East region is comparatively much smaller than its peak. However, a considerable scale of military forces including nuclear forces still remains in the region. The declining trend of exercise activities has ceased, and in recent years activities have revitalized in association with efforts for recovery of skill levels. Since 2003, Russia has conducted military exercises in the Far East region, including “Vostok,” which is a biennial large-scale anti-terrorism exercise, and “Mobility 2004,” which was an exercise for the country’s permanent combat-ready troops to deploy from the western part of Russia to the Far East region. Additionally, in 2007, an air and logistics exercise called “Krylo 2007” was held in the Far East region.

It is necessary to continue to monitor the positioning and trends of Russian forces in the Far East region in the future while taking into consideration that the overall forces tend to focus on maintaining combat readiness of the strategic nuclear unit as well as dealing with conflicts by inter-theater mobility of its permanent combat-ready troops. (See Fig. I-2-4-3)
(1) Nuclear Forces
As for strategic nuclear forces in the Far East region, ICBMs, such as SS-25s, and Tu-95MS Bear strategic bombers are deployed along the Trans-Siberian Railway, and SSBNs, such as the Delta III-class nuclear submarine carrying SLBMs, and others are deployed in and around the Sea of Okhotsk. The readiness of these strategic nuclear forces appears to have been generally maintained.

As for non-strategic nuclear capabilities, Russian forces in the Far East region possess a variety of weapons, including medium-range bombers such as Tu-22M Backfires and sea- (undersea) and air-launched cruise missiles. A total of approximately 70 Backfires are deployed in the west of Lake Baikal and coastal areas, including the area across from Sakhalin.

(2) Ground Forces
Ground forces in the Far East region have continuously shrunk in scale since 1990 and currently consist of 15 divisions of approximately 90,000 personnel.120

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

(3) Naval Forces
The Pacific Fleet is 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 600,000 tons, including 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 since 1990. (See Fig. I-2-4-5)

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

![Graph showing changes in divisions and personnel from 1989 to 2008.](image)

**Fig. I-2-4-5 Changes in the Russian Naval Forces in the Far East Region**

![Graph showing changes in ships and tonnage from 1989 to 2008.](image)

**Notes:**
1. 1989 = peak year
3. Numbers in 1989 and 1990 include those of Russian troops stationed in Mongolia.
4. Source: Based on The Military Balance of each corresponding year (and others).
(4) Air Forces
Russia deploys approximately 630 combat aircraft from its Air Force and Navy. This represents a drastic decrease compared with numbers at peak times, but existing models are being modified to improve their capabilities. (See Fig. I-2-4-6 & 7)
2. Russian Forces in Japan’s Northern Territories

Since 1978 under the regime of the former Soviet Union, Russia has been redeploying ground troops on the Kunashiri, Etorofu, and Shikotan Islands of Japan’s Northern Territories. These territories are illegally occupied by Russia although they are an integral part of Japanese territory. However, the numbers of military personnel are considered to be far less than at past peak times. Nevertheless, tanks, armored vehicles, various types of artillery, and anti-air missiles are still deployed in the region. With regard to ground forces in the Northern Territories, then President Yeltsin officially announced during his visit to Japan in 1993 that half of the troops stationed on the four islands had already been withdrawn and the remaining half, with the exception of the national border guard, would also be removed. In the late 1990s, Russia repeatedly stated at various official meetings with Japan that the number of Russian troops stationed in this region had been reduced. The number of Russian military personnel stationed in this region in 1991 was approximately 9,500, and at the Japan-Russia Summit Meeting held in 1997, then Russian Defense Minister Rodionov made it clear that the troops stationed in the Northern Territories had been reduced to 3,500 soldiers by 1995. In July 2005, however, when then Russian Defense Minister Ivanov visited the Northern Territories, he declared that Russia would neither increase nor decrease the troops stationed on the four islands, clearly showing the intention to maintain the status quo.

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

3. Operations in the Vicinity of Japan

Russian military operations seem to be increasingly more active in the vicinity of Japan, including exercises and training, in association with the recovery of troop skill levels.

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

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

Regarding aircraft, a tendency of revitalization in such activities as flights close to Japan’s territorial airspace, exercises and training, can be seen. In July 2007, Tu-95MS Bears flew near Guam, and on February 9, 2008, Tu-95MS Bears entered into Japanese territorial airspace (above Sofugan Island in the southern Izu Islands). (See Fig. 1-2-4-8)
Fig. I-2-4-8  Russian Aircraft Tracks Around Japan

Brief activity overview of intruding aircraft of territorial airspace (February 2008)

Soufugan Island