

NAVAL POSTGRADUATE SCHOOL

Monterey, California



THESIS

THE RUSSIAN NAVY AND THE FUTURE OF RUSSIAN POWER IN THE WESTERN PACIFIC

by

Brian T. Mutty

December 2001

Thesis Advisor:
Second Reader:

Douglas Porch
Mikhail Tsypkin

Approved for public release; distribution is unlimited

Report Documentation Page

Report Date 19 Dec 2001	Report Type N/A	Dates Covered (from... to) -
Title and Subtitle The Russian Navy and the Future of Russian Power in the Western Pacific		Contract Number
		Grant Number
		Program Element Number
Author(s) Mutty, Brian		Project Number
		Task Number
		Work Unit Number
Performing Organization Name(s) and Address(es) Naval Postgraduate School Monterey, California		Performing Organization Report Number
Sponsoring/Monitoring Agency Name(s) and Address(es)		Sponsor/Monitor's Acronym(s)
		Sponsor/Monitor's Report Number(s)
Distribution/Availability Statement Approved for public release, distribution unlimited		
Supplementary Notes The original document contains color images.		
Abstract		
Subject Terms		
Report Classification unclassified	Classification of this page unclassified	
Classification of Abstract unclassified	Limitation of Abstract UU	
Number of Pages 126		

REPORT DOCUMENTATION PAGE			<i>Form Approved OMB No. 0704-0188</i>	
Public reporting burden for this collection of information is estimated to average 1 hour per response, including the time for reviewing instruction, searching existing data sources, gathering and maintaining the data needed, and completing and reviewing the collection of information. Send comments regarding this burden estimate or any other aspect of this collection of information, including suggestions for reducing this burden, to Washington headquarters Services, Directorate for Information Operations and Reports, 1215 Jefferson Davis Highway, Suite 1204, Arlington, VA 22202-4302, and to the Office of Management and Budget, Paperwork Reduction Project (0704-0188) Washington DC 20503.				
1. AGENCY USE ONLY (Leave blank)		2. REPORT DATE December 2001	3. REPORT TYPE AND DATES COVERED Master's Thesis	
4. TITLE AND SUBTITLE: The Russian Navy and the Future of Russian Power in the Western Pacific			5. FUNDING NUMBERS	
6. AUTHOR(S) Brian T. Muttu				
7. PERFORMING ORGANIZATION NAME(S) AND ADDRESS(ES) Naval Postgraduate School Monterey, CA 93943-5000			8. PERFORMING ORGANIZATION REPORT NUMBER	
9. SPONSORING / MONITORING AGENCY NAME(S) AND ADDRESS(ES) N/A			10. SPONSORING / MONITORING AGENCY REPORT NUMBER	
11. SUPPLEMENTARY NOTES The views expressed in this thesis are those of the author and do not reflect the official policy or position of the Department of Defense or the U.S. Government.				
12a. DISTRIBUTION / AVAILABILITY STATEMENT Approved for public release; distribution is unlimited			12b. DISTRIBUTION CODE	
13. ABSTRACT (maximum 200 words) This thesis contends that the current attempts by the Russian Federation to assert its influence in the Western Pacific region through naval power are destined to fail. President Vladimir Putin appears determined to make the Russian Federation a prominent actor in the region through the assertion of Russian naval power, and by forming an alliance of convenience with the PRC to minimize U.S. influence in the region. Four reasons provide an explanation for what will be Moscow's ultimate failure to influence events in the Western Pacific region. First, historically Russia has proven unable to sustain a naval build-up. Second, Russia's major interests lie in the Europe. Third, the Russian Federation has limited common interests with the countries of the Western Pacific region beyond residual anti-Americanism. Finally, arms sales provide only short-term leverage in the projection of international influence.				
14. SUBJECT TERMS Russian Navy, Soviet Navy, Russia, Reform, Western Pacific, Russian Pacific Fleet			15. NUMBER OF PAGES 126	
			16. PRICE CODE	
17. SECURITY CLASSIFICATION OF REPORT Unclassified	18. SECURITY CLASSIFICATION OF THIS PAGE Unclassified	19. SECURITY CLASSIFICATION OF ABSTRACT Unclassified	20. LIMITATION OF ABSTRACT UL	

NSN 7540-01-280-5500

Standard Form 298 (Rev. 2-89)
Prescribed by ANSI Std. Z39-18

THIS PAGE INTENTIONALLY LEFT BLANK

Approved for public release; distribution is unlimited

**THE RUSSIAN NAVY AND THE FUTURE OF RUSSIAN POWER IN THE
WESTERN PACIFIC**

Brian T. Muttu
Lieutenant, United States Navy
B.A., Virginia Polytechnic Institute and State University, 1992

Submitted in partial fulfillment of the
requirements for the degree of

MASTER OF ARTS IN NATIONAL SECURITY AFFAIRS

from the

**NAVAL POSTGRADUATE SCHOOL
December 2001**

Author:


Brian T. Muttu

Approved by:


Douglas Porch, Thesis Advisor


Mikhail Tsypkin, Second Reader


James Wirtz, Chairman
National Security Affairs Department

THIS PAGE INTENTIONALLY LEFT BLANK

ABSTRACT

This thesis contends that the current attempts by the Russian Federation to assert its influence in the Western Pacific region through naval power are destined to fail. President Vladimir Putin appears determined to make the Russian Federation a prominent actor in the region through the assertion of Russian naval power, and by forming an alliance of convenience with the PRC to minimize U.S. influence in the region. Four reasons provide an explanation for what will be Moscow's ultimate failure to influence events in the Western Pacific region. First, historically Russia has proven unable to sustain a naval build-up. Second, Russia's major interests lie in the Europe. Third, the Russian Federation has limited common interests with the countries of the Western Pacific region beyond residual anti-Americanism. Finally, arms sales provide only short-term leverage in the projection of international influence.

THIS PAGE INTENTIONALLY LEFT BLANK

TABLE OF CONTENTS

I.	INTRODUCTION.....	1
A.	DESCRIPTION.....	1
B.	METHODOLOGY.....	3
C.	ORGANIZATION.....	4
II.	A HISTORY OF FAILED NAVAL BUILD-UPS.....	7
A.	INTRODUCTION.....	7
B.	THE TIMES OF PETER THE GREAT “FATHER OF THE RUSSIAN NAVY”.....	7
C.	TURN OF THE 19TH AND 20TH CENTURY WITH A FINAL CULMINATION AT THE BATTLE OF TSUSHIMA.....	11
D.	THE SOVIET BUILD-UP OF THE 1970S AND 1980S.....	19
E.	CONCLUSION.....	29
III.	ATTEMPTS AT REFORM.....	31
A.	INTRODUCTION.....	31
1.	Ideology.....	34
2.	Culture.....	34
3.	Economics.....	36
B.	GORBACHEV AND “REASONABLE SUFFICIENCY”.....	37
1.	Mathias Rust Fiasco.....	38
2.	Various Reform Suggestions.....	40
C.	YELTSIN’S FIRST MILITARY REFORM ATTEMPT.....	42
D.	YELTSIN’S SECOND MILITARY REFORM ATTEMPT.....	48
E.	PUTIN’S MILITARY REFORMS.....	52
F.	CONCLUSION.....	55
IV.	FOREIGN POLICY IN THE WESTERN PACIFIC REGION.....	57
A.	INTRODUCTION.....	57
B.	LITTLE TO OFFER.....	57
C.	THE CHINA CARD.....	60
1.	Military Priorities.....	61
2.	Diplomacy.....	62
a.	<i>Shanghai Cooperation Organization.....</i>	<i>62</i>
b.	<i>Treaty on Good Neighborly Friendship and Cooperation between the Russian Federation and the People’s Republic of China.....</i>	<i>63</i>
c.	<i>Taiwan.....</i>	<i>65</i>
3.	Arms Trade.....	65
D.	CONCLUSION.....	68
V.	THE RUSSIAN NAVY TODAY.....	69
A.	INTRODUCTION.....	69

B.	RUSSIAN FEDERATION NAVAL OVERVIEW.....	70
1.	Capabilities and Limitations	70
2.	Environmental Concerns.....	74
C.	THE PACIFIC FLEET.....	76
1.	History	76
2.	Resources.....	78
a.	<i>Force Structure</i>	78
b.	<i>Pacific Fleet Naval Bases</i>	80
3.	Deployments.....	82
4.	Exercises	85
D.	CONCLUSION.....	87
VI.	CONCLUSION.....	89
	APPENDIX A: TIMELINE FOR NOTEWORTHY EVENTS IN RUSSIAN HISTORY SINCE 1962	95
	APPENDIX B: SOVIET/RUSSIAN FEDERATION PERSONNEL COMBATANT SHIPS AND AIRCRAFT 1989-2000	97
	BIBLIOGRAPHY	99
	INITIAL DISTRIBUTION LIST	107

LIST OF FIGURES

Figure 5.1 Major Russian Naval Base Locations (From: Janes Sentinel Security Assessment).....	70
Figure 5.2 Russian Federation Pacific Fleet Naval Bases (From: Center for Nonproliferation Studies).....	82

THIS PAGE INTENTIONALLY LEFT BLANK

LIST OF TABLES

Table 2.1 Russian Fleets at the Battle of Tsushima (From Ref 27)	15
Table 2.2 Japanese Fleets at the Battle of Tsushima (From Ref 27).....	16
Table 2.3 Soviet Navy Active Aircraft Order of Battle:1991 (After Ref 40)	21
Table 2.4 Soviet Navy Active Ships Order of Battle:1991 (After Ref 40)	22
Table 2.5 Out-of-Area Ship Days – Distribution by Geographical Area, 1956-1980 (From Ref 43).....	24
Table 2.6 Out-of-Area Ship Days – Percentage Distribution by Geographical Area, 1956- 1980 (From Ref 43).....	25
Table 5. 1 Technologically Advanced Russian Federation Naval Ships and Missiles (After Ref 156).....	71
Table 5.2 Changes in the Composition of Pacific Fleet Surface/Submarine/Aviation Forces:1990-1998 (After Ref 177).....	79

THIS PAGE INTENTIONALLY LEFT BLANK

LIST OF ABBREVIATIONS

ASM	Anti-ship Missile
AW	Air Warfare
CFE	Conventional Forces Europe
CG	Guided Missile Cruisers
CGN	Guided Missile Cruiser (Nuclear)
CHG	Helicopter-Carrying Cruiser
CIS	Commonwealth of Independent States
CSCE	Conference on Security Cooperation in Europe
CVBG	U.S. Fleet Carrier Battle Group
CVHG	Guided Missile VTOL and Helicopter Carriers
CVG	Guided Missile Aircraft Carrier
DD	Destroyer
DDG	Guided Missile Destroyers
FF	Frigate
IMEMO	Institute for World Economy and International Affairs
KGB	Committee for State Security
LPD	Amphibious Transport Dock Ship
LSM	Amphibious Medium Landing Ship
LST	Amphibious Vehicle Landing Ship
MPA	Main Political Administration
MBR	Mutual Balanced Force Reductions
MSF	Fleet Minesweepers
MVD	Ministry of Internal Affairs
NATO	North Atlantic Treaty Organization
NK	North Korea
PLAN	People's Liberation Army Navy
PRC	People's Republic of China
ROC	Republic of China
ROK	Republic of Korea
ROKN	Republic of Korea Navy
SSBN	Ballistic Missile Submarine (Nuclear)
U.S.	United States
USS	United States Ship
USSR	Union of Soviet Socialist Republics
USW	Undersea Warfare
VPK	Military Industrial Commission
SCO	Shanghi Cooperation Organization
SS	Attack Submarine
SSA	Auxiliary Submarine
SSAN	Auxiliary Submarine (Nuclear)
SSG	Cruise Missile Submarines
SSGN	Cruise Missile Submarine (Nuclear)
SSN	Torpedo-Attack Submarine

SST	Auxiliary Submarine
SUW	Surface Warfare
WPS	Large Patrol Ship

ACKNOWLEDGMENTS

I would like to express my sincere appreciation for the patience and assistance that Professor Douglas Porch provided. Without his expertise and guidance, this thesis would not have been possible.

I would like to thank Professor Mikhail Tsypkin for his intricate knowledge of the Soviet Union/Russian Federation. It was invaluable toward the successful completion of this thesis.

I am also eternally grateful to my loving and supportive wife, Kim, without whom this thesis could not have been written. Additionally, I want to thank my sons Zachary and Nathan whose laughs and smiles put this thesis into perspective, for helping to remind me that time with them is precious.

I would like to thank my father, John, for supporting me in all of my endeavors.

THIS PAGE INTENTIONALLY LEFT BLANK

EXECUTIVE SUMMARY

The attitude of Russia toward the evolving political environment in the Western Pacific plays an important role in an increasingly volatile region. President Vladimir Putin appears determined to make the Russian Federation a prominent actor in the region through the assertion of Russian naval power, and by forming an alliance of convenience with the People's Republic of China (PRC) to minimize U.S. influence in the region. However, current attempts by the Russian Federation to assert its influence in the Western Pacific region through naval power are destined to fail.

The region is a vast area running from the Strait of Malacca in the south to Siberia in the north. The leadership of the Russian Federation under President Vladimir Putin is nevertheless eager to utilize its navy as leverage to extend its influence in the Western Pacific through at least four means: First, through SSBN strategic nuclear deployments. Second, by increasing the Russian Federation's visibility through port visits, participation in peacekeeping and multilateral operations, and through joint maneuvers with other countries such as India, Vietnam and China. Third, through the sale of high technology naval weapons systems, specifically the Sovremennyy class guided missile destroyers, Krivak-class frigates and Kilo-class submarines. Finally, by utilizing naval power to leverage better relations and possible alliances with U.S. adversaries in the region to counter a dominant U.S. influence. Increasing tensions between the PRC and the United States in the Western Pacific over Taiwan and the South China Sea have presented Russian President Vladimir Putin with an opportunity to develop common cause with the Chinese government to thwart U.S. power in the region. President Putin has allegedly promised Beijing that the Russian Pacific Fleet will intervene against the U.S. Seventh Fleet during a potential conflict between the PRC and the Republic of China (ROC). However, none of these programs is living up to its potential due to a lack of means.

Therefore, Moscow's ambition to assert its influence in the Western Pacific region will ultimately fail. Numerous reasons explain the inability of the Russian Navy to influence events in the Western Pacific region. First, historically Russia has proven unable to sustain a naval build-up since Peter the Great founded the Russian Navy in

1697. Second, Russia is a continental power that lacks the assets and interests for sustained maritime power projection. The Russian Army, not the navy, has decided the outcome of every major war that Russia has been involved in. Third, Russia's major interests lie in Europe. The Russian Federation has limited common interests with the countries of the Western Pacific region beyond a residual anti-Americanism. NATO remains the primary concern for Russia's military commanders, not countries in the Far East. Finally, Moscow's reliance on arms sales only provides short-term leverage in the projection of international influence. Many of the advances Russia enjoys today regarding high-tech weapons will diminish rapidly without proper research and development. Inevitably it is an absence of fundamental Russian interests in the Western Pacific region, combined with the inadequacy of Russian naval power, which ensures Russian attempts to assert influence in the region will fail.

I. INTRODUCTION

A. DESCRIPTION

This thesis will argue that the current attempts by the Russian Federation to assert its influence in the Western Pacific region through naval power is destined to fail for four reasons: First, historically Russia has proven unable to sustain a naval build-up. The country's political, economic and social structure is too fragile to mount a sustained naval armaments program. Russia is a continental power that lacks the assets and interests for sustained maritime power projection. Second, Russia's major interests lie in Europe. Historically, when forced to choose between its European and its Pacific interests, Russia invariably chooses Europe. This was the case in the Russo-Japanese War of 1904-1905, and in two World Wars. Moscow's primary security concerns today are NATO expansion and the Islamic inspired terrorist threat in the south. The expansion of the Western Pacific will do nothing to resolve either issue. Third, the Russian Federation has limited common interests with the countries of the Western Pacific region beyond residual anti-Americanism. China's sense of isolation is being exploited by Moscow as a vehicle to assert strategic leverage with the United States. Fundamentally, Moscow shares few common interests with the People's Republic of China (PRC) beyond a common fear of Islamic fundamentalism in Central Asia. Moscow has no fundamental interests in the future of Taiwan, the issue seen by Beijing as its most important priority. Europe has always been the primary focus for Russia and it is where its major interests lie. Fourth, arms sales provide only short-term leverage in the projection of international influence. Current advantages in the areas of naval technology held by the Russian Federation will diminish as the systems sold to India and the PRC are reverse engineered, and new systems introduced.

This topic is relevant and important because the future of Russian influence in the region has a direct impact for the U.S. Navy and U.S. national security. The Russian Federation inherited an immense industrial complex, as well as, a capable and powerful naval force in the Soviet Pacific Fleet from its Soviet predecessor. However, the end of the Cold War has witnessed the diminished power of many of the institutions of the former Soviet Union. Among them, the under-funded Russian Navy is but a shadow of its

Soviet predecessor. The leadership of the Russian Federation under President Vladimir Putin is nevertheless eager to utilize its navy as leverage to extend its influence in the Western Pacific in at least four ways:

1. Through SSBN strategic nuclear deployments.
2. By increasing the Russian Federation's visibility through port visits, participation in peacekeeping and multilateral operations, and through joint maneuvers with other countries such as India, Vietnam and China.
3. Through the sale of high technology naval weapons systems, specifically the Sovremennyy class guided missile destroyers, Krivak-class frigates and Kilo-class submarines.
4. By utilizing naval power to leverage better relations and possible alliances with U.S. adversaries in the region to counter a dominant U.S. influence. Increasing tensions between the PRC and the United States in the Western Pacific over Taiwan and the South China Sea have presented Russian President Vladimir Putin with an opportunity to make common cause with the Chinese government to thwart U.S. power. President Putin has allegedly promised Beijing that the Russian Pacific Fleet will intervene against the U.S. Seventh Fleet during a potential conflict between the PRC and the ROC.¹

The United States is uniquely positioned to influence, through naval forward presence, the Western Pacific region. The region has a complex geographical, economic and political environment, which will be difficult for any country to manage. The region is a vast area running from the Strait of Malacca in the south to Siberia in the north. It offers blue-water and littoral environments, in which the U.S. Navy has learned to operate effectively.

¹ "Russian Fleet Will Intercept U.S. 7th Fleet's Intervention in Cross-Strait War," *Hong Kong Sing Tao Jih Pao*, 8 July 2000, reported and translated by the Foreign Broadcast Information Service, 8 July 2000, CPP 20000708000004.

The Western Pacific region is growing economically and the United States has significant economic interests there. Primary U.S. trade occurs within the region, in particular with Japan and with an increasingly economically powerful China. However, the region is politically volatile. Increasing economic, political and military assertiveness by the PRC threatens to unsettle stable relationships the United States has built up in the region since the end of World War II, relationships that have been cemented in large part through naval forward presence. The changing political situation in the region is important to the U.S. Navy. Before the events of 11 September 2001, the George W. Bush administration appeared to be focusing U.S. diplomatic and military assets toward the Western Pacific. And while that strategic redeployment has been temporarily interrupted by the “War on Terrorism” and the attacks on Afghanistan, one may assume that once those issues are resolved, Washington’s primary focus will once again settle on the Western Pacific. Of particular concern to Washington is a peaceful resolution of the Taiwan issue. However, the United States must also solidify its relationship with Japan and South Korea.

The attitude of Russia toward the evolving political environment in the Western Pacific plays an important role in an increasingly volatile region. President Putin appears determined to make the Russian Federation a prominent actor in the region through the assertion of Russian naval power, and by forming an alliance of convenience with the PRC to minimize U.S. influence in the region. This Thesis will argue that an absence of fundamental Russian interests in the Western Pacific combined with the inadequacy of Russian naval power means that Russian attempts to assert its influence in the region will fail.

B. METHODOLOGY

The research for this thesis will come from a variety of primary and some secondary sources. It will use the history of United States, PRC and Soviet activities in the Western Pacific Region as a guide for future developments there. Additionally, the thesis will make use of books, scholarly articles, web sites, and official reports as research sources about the evolving political climate in the region, as well as the technological capabilities of Russian naval forces.

C. ORGANIZATION

Chapter II offers a historical overview of Russian attempts at naval power projection since Peter the Great. At various times in its history, Russian leaders have endeavored to increase Russia/Soviet Union's world standing through an increased naval presence. The chapter will specifically focus on three pivotal periods in the history of Russian naval development: First, the period of Peter the Great, "The Father of the Russian Navy" and his direct descendants. Second, the turn of the 19th and 20th century with a final culmination at the Battle of Tsushima. Finally, the Soviet naval build-up spearheaded by Admiral Sergei Gorshkov in the 1970s and 1980s. It will argue that prior reform attempts failed for various reasons. First, Russia must contend with a limited number of suitable outlets to the sea. Second, Russia lacks the necessary resources to be both a sea and a land power. Third, the lack of political stability required to sustain the build-up of a powerful navy has never been achieved. Finally, Russia is a European power, one that lacks the resources to project power into the Pacific region. Prior attempts at increasing naval presence in the Western Pacific region have invariably failed over time. When Russia is required to choose between Europe and the Pacific, it will always focus on Europe.

Chapter III investigates the political events in Russia after the introduction of "Reasonable Sufficiency" by Mikhail Gorbachev in 1985. Various reform attempts have been undertaken since "Reasonable Sufficiency" including Gaidar's 1989 Economic Reforms, Yelstin's 1992 Military Reform and Yeltsin's second Military Reform in 1997. However, the first serious attempt at military reform was instituted by President Putin at the Russian Security Council meeting on 11 August 2000 where he expressed two principle points: First, any military-reform policy must be backed by a clear and balanced economic assessment that should result in the more efficient use of funds. The economic goal is eventually to decrease public spending on defense. Second, the structure of the armed forces should correspond to the threats that Russia faces now and in the near future.² But this statement is at odds with Putin's focus on the Western Pacific, where

² The International Institute for Strategic Studies, *Military Balance 2000-2001* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2000), p. 110.

Russia faces no threat. Furthermore, funds required for all of the military services will be curtailed until the war in Chechnya is resolved, thereby preventing a significant increase in naval expenditures. The fundamental conclusion is that Putin's Western Pacific strategy is both opportunistic and unsustainable.

Chapter IV focuses on the Russian Federation's foreign policy in the Western Pacific Region. Russian policy in the region is predominantly opportunistic, and Russia has little to offer regional powers such as Japan, Korea or even Vietnam. The loss of Cam Ranh Bay as a military base in Vietnam is a key example of the Russian Federation's decline despite assurances by President Putin that the Western Pacific region will be a primary focus. China has recognized the Russian Federation's current weakness and desires cooperation in various areas including military priorities, diplomatic and arms transfer purposes. However, the only real common interests shared between the two countries are a fear of Islamic Fundamentalism and a reduction in U.S. dominance.

Chapter V will explore the capabilities, limitations and environmental concerns for the Russian Navy in general terms. The Russian Federation was officially established as an independent state on 31 December 1991, following the dissolution of the Soviet Union. Somewhat reluctantly, President Boris Yeltsin announced the creation of the Russian armed forces on 7 May 1992. During this period, the Russian Navy has suffered from under funding more than any other branch of the armed services. The lack of resources has forced the Navy to reduce its focus from a blue-water navy to a littoral or coastal defense force.

The structure and capabilities of the Russian Pacific Fleet will be discussed in some detail. Historically, depending on political interests, the Pacific Fleet has fluctuated with Russian political interests between a small naval force to a formidable fleet. The lack of resources since 1990 has significantly decreased the size of the fleet. However, it should be noted many of the ships that were decommissioned had outlived recommended life cycles in any case. At the present time the Russian navy does not have sufficient capabilities to support an active foreign policy in the Western Pacific region. Given other security concerns and a lack of resources it is unlikely that the Russian Federation will be

able to build a Navy to support an ambitious foreign policy in the Western Pacific in the foreseeable future.

Chapter VI integrates and analyzes the various factors concerning key political and military developments in the Russian Federation's history. It offers informed conclusions about identifiable trends, the implications for future Russian capabilities, and the significance for U.S. naval forces and U.S. national security in the region. Its conclusion is that a Russian Navy will not pose a significant threat to the U.S. Navy in the foreseeable future.

II. A HISTORY OF FAILED NAVAL BUILD-UPS

A. INTRODUCTION

Throughout Russia's history, its leaders have attempted to increase its standing in the world through the use of an increased naval presence. Each time they ultimately failed. The rise and fall of the Russian Navy is an old story in Russian history that has occurred at least three times. Peter the Great founded the Russian Navy, and used it to conquer Azov in the south and defeat the Swedes in the Baltic. However his successors failed to continue his work and the navy declined to that of a second-rate power. At the turn of the 19th and 20th century, the Russian Navy was perceived as the world's third most powerful behind that of Great Britain and France. However, the navy was crushed by Japan at the Battle of Tsushima in 1905. Finally, the Soviet naval build-up spearheaded by Admiral Sergei Gorshkov in the 1970s and 1980s appeared to place the Soviet Navy on par with that of the United States Navy. But, the Soviet Navy fell into decline after Admiral Gorshkov's death.

Four reasons help to explain Russia's historic inability to sustain a naval build-up and to project power into the Western Pacific region. First, although vast, Russia has few suitable outlets to the sea. Second, Russia lacks the necessary resources to be both a sea and land power. As the major threats come from a land invasion, and because the army has been vital both for internal security and to maintain Russia's vast continental empire, defense priorities invariably go to the land forces. Third, over time Russia has lacked the political stability required to sustain the build-up of a powerful navy. Finally, because Russia's diplomatic, security and economic priorities are essentially focused on Europe, Moscow has lacked the resources to project power into the Pacific region. Prior attempts at increasing naval presence in the Western Pacific region have invariably failed. When Russia is required to choose between Europe and the Pacific, it will always focus on Europe.

B. THE TIMES OF PETER THE GREAT "FATHER OF THE RUSSIAN NAVY"

Tsar Peter the Great is rightly considered the "Father of the Russian Navy." Throughout his childhood, ships, shipbuilding and navigation captivated him.

At Lake Pleshcheyevo, one hundred fifty kilometers northeast of Moscow, a recreational area was set aside for the young Tsar and his childhood friends. A miniature shipyard was created and in it were built replicas of Western sailing vessels. This preserve, named the 'amusement flotilla,' played an important part in Peter's naval education; he and his young friends spent all their waking hours sailing about the lake in their small ships, engaging one another in mock battles.³

However, the "amusement flotilla" was just the beginning of his fascination for ships.

In 1688 he discovered in an abandoned shed at Izmailov a small English-built sailing vessel, which had belonged to his grandfather. He at once had the ship repaired (by Karshden Brandt, the Dutch carpenter who had largely built the Orel), fitted it with sails, and learned to navigate it. Later he referred to it as the 'little grandfather of the Russian Navy'.⁴

He was primarily instructed by Dutch and Swiss teachers due to the lack of educational opportunities in Russia. Peter's "Grand Embassy" of 1696-97 took him to the Netherlands and England precisely so that he might learn the techniques and skills that made these countries the leading maritime powers of the day.

Securing unique control of the throne, in 1698, Peter quickly set in motion a program to transform Russia into a modern European state. He believed this goal could not be achieved without a strong navy and merchant marine that had clear access to the sea. The mouths of the Don and Neva rivers were considered the first priorities for future Russian dominance.⁵ In 1689, Turkey and Sweden controlled the mouths of the Don and Neva rivers respectively. Russia was prevented from venturing into the Black Sea because the northern shores were controlled by Khanates loyal to the Ottoman Sultan. However, Russia did control the White Sea and in 1693 Peter ordered the creation of a state shipyard, which began a limited shipbuilding program in Arkhangelsk.⁶ In 1694 the shipyard produced three ships: Svyatoye Prorochestvo (Holy Prophecy), Apostol Pavel

³ *History of the Russian Navy, Glorious Beginnings: Under the Romanovs*, [paper on-line] (accessed on 21 August 2001); available from <http://www.navy.ru/history/hrn1-e.htm#Under%20the%20Romanovs>; Internet.

⁴ Donald W. Mitchell, *A History of Russian and Soviet Sea Power*. (New York: Macmillan Publishing Co., INC, New York, 1974), p. 17.

⁵ Ibid.

⁶ Ibid.

(Apostle Paul) and the yacht Svyatoy Pyotr (Saint Peter). However, access to Europe from Arkhangelsk was extremely limited and could not be relied upon year round due to the climate and its remoteness. Therefore, access to the Baltic and Black Seas became necessary for Russia to begin to become a naval power.

Russia was involved in numerous military conflicts throughout most of Peter's tenure as Tsar. In 1695, Peter attacked the Turkish city of Azov in his quest to secure a port on the Black Sea and was soundly defeated. The defeat occurred due to the replenishment effort by Turkish naval forces from the Black Sea. "This defeat lent confirmation to Peter's estimation of the importance of sea power, and he set out to repair the deficiencies of his forces in that area."⁷ Therefore, shipyards were established in Voronezh on the upper Don and at Briansk on the Desna. "By June 22, 1696, the Russians had completed 22 galleys and 24 fire ships, as well as some larger craft and approximately 1,500 barges, rafts, and small boats."⁸ Upon the completion of this new fleet of ships, Peter once again ordered an attack against Azov. The city quickly succumbed because the Turks could no longer resupply Azov over water. However, the conquering of Azov provided few benefits for Peter because Turkey maintained control of the Sea of Azov and the Black Sea. On 20 October 1696, during council with the Boyar Duma, Peter proposed the formation and upkeep of a Russian fleet. "The Boyars agreed, declaring, 'The seagoing ships shall be!'" whereupon the Azov Naval Base was founded."⁹ With this proclamation the Russian Navy was born. This early attempt to gain access to the Black Sea failed because in 1711 Peter was forced to surrender Azov to the Turks. Nevertheless, the experience had been useful preparation for the Great Northern War, which saw Russia gain access to the Baltic.

In 1700, the Baltic Sea was primarily a Swedish lake controlled by Charles XII.¹⁰ Nevertheless, Peter realized Russia lacked adequate maritime access to Europe from the

⁷ Ibid.

⁸ Donald W. Mitchell, *A History of Russian and Soviet Sea Power*, p. 20.

⁹ *The History of the Russian Navy: Peter I and the Azov Fleet* [paper on-line] (accessed on 21 August 2001); available from <http://www.navy.ru/history/hrn1-e.htm#Peter%20I%20and%20the%20Azov%20Fleet>; Internet.

¹⁰ Charles XII became the King of Sweden in 1697 at the age of 15 and was a brilliant military commander. He forced Denmark to make peace (Aug., 1700), defeated the Russians at Narva (Nov., 1700), and defeated Poland in (1704). He was eventually killed in the Swedish trenches while besieging the

White and Black Seas; therefore in 1703 he began construction in St Petersburg to shift the capital of Russia from Moscow. The construction effort for an effective seaport for the navy and merchant marine forces now focused squarely on St Petersburg. “By funneling all foreign trade through St. Petersburg he assured the commercial future of his new capital.”¹¹ The Great Northern War ensued for over twenty years with Sweden and the foothold Peter desired to create a Baltic Fleet was achieved through various battles including: Dvina, Ladoga, Vyborg and Gangut (considered the first major naval victory for Russia). In 1718 Charles XII, King of Sweden, was killed. The Treaty of Nystadt, signed in 1721, ceded significant territorial gains for Peter. It was through the navy that many favorable terms were set at Nystadt. The strength of the Navy in the Baltic area provided Peter the leverage to gain numerous possessions. From the Treaty Russia acquired Livonia, Estonia, Ingria, part of Kurland, and eastern Finland including Vyborg. The territorial gains were much greater than Peter had hoped for early in the war and laid the foundations for Russia to become a maritime power. Russia was now considered the most powerful state in the Baltic. Unfortunately, for Russia, his successors failed to maintain his successes.

Peter the Great was well on his way to establishing Russia as a dominant power before his death. At Peter’s death in 1725 the Baltic fleet consisted of 34 battleships, nine frigates, and numerous lesser craft operating in three divisions and manned by some 25,000 officers and men. In the Caspian were 17 sailing and 38 rowing vessels based at Astrakhan, Derbent, and Baku. The White Sea also had a small fleet, which included several large vessels.¹² However, his successors lacked the drive to maintain the Navy. Peter’s wife, Catherine I only ruled for two years, but her inept administration of the navy nearly brought on complete disaster. ... Catherine’s naval policy was one of almost complete neglect. She laid down no new ships, completed only five battleships and 80 galleys which were building at Peter’s death, failed to authorize repairs and upkeep, and

fortress of Fredrikssten. *Charles XII*, [encyclopedia article on-line] [Infoplease.com] (accessed on 23 September 2001); available from <http://www.infoplease.com/ce6/people/A0811458.html>; Internet.

¹¹ Donald W. Mitchell, *A History of Russian and Soviet Sea Power*, p. 28.

¹² Ibid. p. 43. A quotation of two or more sentences is typed .05” from left & right margins & single spaced. Delete quotation marks – please check all the way through

demanded little in the furtherance of efficient performance.¹³ After Catherine's death Peter II became Tsar. A regency was established for Peter II, due to his youthfulness, and the capital was moved back to Moscow. "All shipbuilding ceased, and naval funds were slashed by 50 percent. Shore administration was in complete disorder; ships were greatly undermanned and rotting. Admiral Zmaevich, caught stealing, was demoted in rank only one grade. In 1728 an order was promulgated forbidding warships to put to sea save for the movement of royalty (probably no more than five or six vessels could have gotten to sea in any case)."¹⁴ Political instability was certainly a factor. As was the fact that Peter's successors concentrated on expanding and consolidating Russia's land frontier. Sweden, Peter's main maritime rival, was no longer a threat after 1721 and the death of Charles XII. Therefore, the navy temporarily useful to Russia, no longer had a major strategic role to play.

C. TURN OF THE 19TH AND 20TH CENTURY WITH A FINAL CULMINATION AT THE BATTLE OF TSUSHIMA

By the 17th century, Russians had crossed the Urals and reached the Sea of Okhotsk. Eastward expansion occurred due to the lure of easy money from the pelts of squirrels, otters, martens, beavers, ermine, mink, arctic foxes and sables.¹⁵ However, food shortages occurred with the influx of people, which sparked the attainment of the Amur valley. The Qing dynasty regarded the "intrusion" as an infestation of "man-devouring demons" and by 1689 had forced the signing of the Treaty of Nerchinsk. Moscow accepted the loss of the Amur valley so it could secure a trade agreement with China.

Between 1877 and 1904, Russia experienced a period of rapid naval development. Although this naval build-up was significant it was essentially defensive in nature. Coastal defense ships were built and naval maneuvers conducted were based on the premise that a strong enemy naval force was blockading Russia.¹⁶ The expansion, due to the persistence of Alexander III and Nicholas II, provided Russia with what appeared to be an adequate naval force. In 1893, England and France were the only countries that

¹³ Ibid. pp. 44-45.

¹⁴ Ibid. pp. 45-46.

¹⁵ John J. Stephan, *The Russian Far East: A History* (Stanford: Stanford University Press, 1994), p.20.

¹⁶ Ibid. p. 192.

surpassed the number of first-class battleships possessed by Russia.¹⁷ However, although the Russian Navy appeared powerful on paper, the simple truth was that it was woefully overstretched. This was because, from 1895, Russia shifted from building defensive ships to the construction of ocean going vessels. The shift in shipbuilding reflected a shift in strategy. Russia had decided to expand to the Far East. The problem from a defensive perspective was that this would leave Russia and especially the Russian Navy dangerously overstretched. The construction of ocean-going vessels occurred to enhance Russia's sphere of influence throughout the world. "By threatening intervention at the end of Japan's war with China, Russia succeeded in acquiring Port Arthur and in developing a sphere of interest in Manchuria. This foot hold was strengthened by the dispatch of first class battleships to the Far East until the Russian fleet in the Pacific was as strong as that in the Baltic."¹⁸

Why did Russia expand in the Far East? Alexander III and Nicholas II wanted the country to be considered a Great Power, as is the case with many authoritarian rulers, and be respected as such. Also, the Russian economy had been slipping and unrest among Russian minorities, as well as peasants, was gaining momentum. Therefore, the acquisition of the Liaotung peninsula and the occupation of Manchuria were viewed as necessary for both economic development and national prestige. Sergei Iulevich Witte was ultimately assigned the responsibility to rescue Russia from its declining state of affairs by Nicholas II. The occupation of these territories provided Witte the impetus to implement his economic plan for Russia. As the Minister of Finance, Witte believed the theories of Fredrich List would provide Russia the means to compete with the Great European powers. Through his teachings Fredrich List stressed that industrialization will create its own markets.¹⁹ Witte utilized railroad construction to stimulate industry and exploit the natural resources of the Far East. ²⁰ Witte viewed rapid industrial and territorial acquisition as Russia's only hope to modernize and thus to take her rightful

¹⁷ With reference to "first class" battleships, England had 35 ships, while France had 16 and Russia 11. The numbers of armored cruisers were 18, 13, and ten respectively. Protected cruisers of the first and second class numbered 67, 27 and 3.

¹⁸ Donald W. Mitchell, *A History of Russian and Soviet Sea Power*, p. 192.

¹⁹ Ibid. p. 20.

²⁰ After graduation from the Novorossiisk University in Odessa Witte began his career in railway administration, eventually administering the construction of the Trans-Siberian railroad.

place beside the industrialized nations of Europe.²¹ However, Witte ignored portions of List's economic planning and did not properly think through the consequences of his economic policy. The adventurous and imperialist policy in the Far East instituted by Witte contributed to Russia's eventual war with Japan in 1904.

Concerns over the implementation of Witte's economic policy were greatest in the Far Eastern districts themselves. "The Staff of the Priamur Military District observed in early 1903 that Russia had failed utterly to integrate the population of Manchuria into its economy; since Russian factories had been started there, and those were distilleries that produced liquor for the Russian army of occupation."²² However, the military leadership was still concerned about Europe, specifically the Triple Alliance. "During 1903 Japan made several attempts to reach an agreement with Russia regarding their respective interests. None of the negotiations met with notable success, largely because the Russian adventurers in the Far East and Nicholas the II alike underestimated the Japanese strength and felt there was no danger of war."²³ Table 1²⁴ displays a breakdown of Russian and Japanese forces prior to the Russo-Japanese War. However, Japan had been planning for the contingency of war and eventually severed diplomatic relations with Russia on February 5, 1904. On February 8 the Russo-Japanese War began with Japan's surprise attack on Port Arthur.

The Russians were completely caught by surprise by Japan's initial surprise attacks on Port Arthur. Military leaders not only in Russia, but also in numerous countries throughout Europe, believed Japan would fall quickly to Russia. A comparison of the two countries' resources demonstrated a disparity of ten to one in government revenues, more than three to one in population (140 million as compared to 44 million), and nearly sixty to one in area, all, of course, in Russia's favor. In 1903, Japanese naval expenditures totaled \$2.5 million yen, while Russia totaled \$12.3 million—a ratio of five to one. Also,

²¹ Howard Mehlinger and John Thompson, *Count Witte and the Tsarist Government in the 1905 Revolution*, (Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 1972), p. 23.

²² TsGvia, f. 400, op.4. d. 60 (materials on the conference of January 25, 1903, about a potential withdrawal from Manchuria), ll. 21-22: cited in William C. Fuller Jr., *Strategy and Power in Russia 1600-1914* (New York: The Free Press, 1992), p. 374.

²³ Donald W. Mitchell, *A History of Russian and Soviet Sea Power*, p. 204.

²⁴ Ibid. p. 207.

the Russian Navy held almost a three-to-one superiority in total tonnage.²⁵ Even some of the Japanese naval officers were surprised to see the ineptness of the Russian Fleet.

A Japanese Naval Officer noted in his diary some wide differences in the two fleets: It must be admitted now that the European newspapers have been very wrong ever since the beginning of the war—in declaring that the Russian squadron in the Far East is as powerful as ours. At first sight it looks as though it might be so, for they have the advantage over us in battleships; but actually we are far stronger, owing to the fact that we possessed six magnificent armored cruisers before the arrival of the NISSHIN and KASUGA ... Our battleships are superior to theirs in tonnage, weight of guns, and speed, whilst we possess an enormous advantage over them in torpedo boats and destroyers.²⁶

But, the naval superiority held by Russia was dispersed between its various fleets. Therefore, the neutralization of the Pacific Fleet early in the war forced Russia to utilize its European reserves. The Black Sea Fleet was useless because international treaties forbade the Turkish Sultan to allow the Black Sea Fleet to transit the Straits. Therefore, the only remaining hope for the Far East was to dispatch the Baltic Fleet to the rescue. Admiral Rozhdestvensky's voyage with the Baltic Fleet to defeat the Japanese was the prelude to the Battle of Tsushima. The ability of Admiral Rozhdestvensky to take a large squadron of ships to the Far East from the Baltic without proper logistics was a feat in itself. The fact that the fleet even arrived in the Far East was surprising.

The lack of friendly ports only exacerbated the voyage of Admiral Rozhdestvenskii's fleet and contributed to its ultimate defeat. The Battle of Tsushima was one of the greatest naval battles ever to take place and the losses incurred by the Russians were among the heaviest in the history of naval warfare. Tables 2.1 and 2.2²⁷ provide an overview of the Russian and Japanese fleets at the Battle of Tsushima. "Few naval battles in history have been as decisive as Tsushima. Thirty-eight of the ships entering the battle were sunk, captured, or interred; and of these all were Russian except

²⁵ Ibid. p. 205.

²⁶ Capt. R. Grant, *Before the Battle of Port Arthur in a Destroyer: The Personal Diary of a Japanese Naval Officer*, London, 1907, p. 2: quoted by Donald W. Mitchell, *A History of Russian and Soviet Sea Power*, p. 211.

²⁷ Ibid. p. 250.

three torpedo boats.”²⁸ The Battle of Tsushima greatly contributed to Russia’s defeat in the Russo-Japanese War.

NAME	DATE OF LAUNCH	TONAGE	BELT	ARMOR TURRET	MAIN ARMAMENT	SPEED (KNOTS)
Commander - Admiral Rozhdestvenskii						
<i>First Division</i>						
<i>Kniaz Suvorov (flag)</i>	1902	13,516	7 3/4	10	4 12"; 12 6"	18
<i>Aleksandr III</i>	1901	13,516	7 3/4	10	4 12"; 12 6"	18
<i>Borodino</i>	1901	13,516	7 3/4		4 12"; 12 6"	18
<i>Orel</i>	1902	13,516	7 3/4		4 12"; 12 6"	18
<i>Second Division - Rear Admiral Fokersam (deceased)</i>						
<i>Osiliabia (flag)</i>	1898	12,674	9	10	4 10"; 11 6"	19
<i>Sysoi-Veliky</i>	1894	10,400	16	14	4 12"; 4 6"	16
<i>Navarin</i>	1891	10,206	16	12	4 12"; 8 6"	15
<i>Nakhimov</i>	1885	8,542	10	8	8 8"; 10 6"	17
<i>Third Division - Rear Admiral Nebogatov</i>						
<i>Nikolai I (flag)</i>	1889	9,672	14c	18	2 12"; 4 9"; 8 6"	15
<i>Ushakov</i>	1893	4,648	10	8	4 10"; 4 4.7"	16
<i>Seniavin</i>	1894	4,126	10	8	4 10"; 4 4.7"	16
<i>Apraksin</i>	1896	4,126	10	8	3 10"; 4 4.7"	16
<i>Cruiser Squadron - Rear Admiral Enkvist</i>						
<i>Oleg (flag)</i>	1903	6,650	3	3	12 6"	23
<i>Avrora</i>	1900	6,630	2 1/2		8 6"	23
<i>Monomakh</i>	1880	5,593	2		5 6"; 6 4.7"	15 1/2
<i>Dmitry</i>	1885	6,200	2		6 6"; 10 4.7"	16 1/2
<i>Svetlana</i>	1898	3,200	-		6 6"	21
<i>Almaz</i>	1903	3,285	-		12 small guns	20
<i>Zhemchug</i>	1903	3,106	2		6 4.7"	24
<i>Izumrud</i>	1903	3,106	2		6 4.7"	24

Table 2.1 Russian Fleets at the Battle of Tsushima (From Ref 27)

²⁸ Ibid. p. 265.

NAME	DATE OF LAUNCH	TONAGE	BELT	ARMOR TURRET	MAIN ARMAMENT	SPEED (KNOTS)
Commander - Admiral Togo						
<i>First Division</i>						
<i>Mikasa (flag)</i>	1900	15,200	9	10	4 12"; 14 6"	18.6
<i>Fuji</i>	1896	12,500	18	16	4 12"; 10 6"	19.2
<i>Shikishima</i>	1898	14,854	9	10	4 12"; 14 6"	18.5
<i>Asahi</i>	1899	15,200	9	10	4 12"; 14 6"	18
<i>Kasuga</i>	1902	7,700	6	5 1/2	1 10"; 2 8"; 14 6"	20
<i>Nisshin</i>	1903	7,700	6	z5 1/2	4 8"; 14 6"	20
<i>Second Division - Armored Cruiser Squadron - Vice Admiral Kawamura</i>						
<i>Idzuma (flag)</i>	1899	9,750	7	6	4 8"; 14 6"	22.3
<i>Asama</i>	1898	9,750	7	6	4 8"; 14 6"	21 1/2
<i>Tokiwa</i>	1898	9,900	7	6	4 8"; 14 6"	21 1/2
<i>Adzumo</i>	1899	9,500	7	6	4 8"; 14 6"	20
<i>Yakumo</i>	1898	9,800	7	6	4 8"; 12 6"	20 1/2
<i>Iwate</i>	1900	9,750	7	6	4 8"; 14 6"	21
<i>Third Division - Vice Admiral Dewa</i>						
<i>Kasagi (flag)</i>	1897	4,760			2 8"; 10 4.7"	23
<i>Chitose</i>	1893	4,760			2 8"; 10 4.7"	23
<i>Niitaka</i>	1902	3,400			6 6"	20
<i>Otava</i>	1903	3,000			2 6"; 6 4.7"	21
<i>Fourth Division - Vice Admiral Uriu</i>						
DECK TURRET						
<i>Naniwa (flag)</i>	1885	3,700	3		2 10.2"; 6 6"	18
<i>Takachiho</i>	1885	3,700	3		2 10.2"; 6 6"	18
<i>Akashi</i>	1897	2,700	2		2 6"; 6 4.7"	20
<i>Tsushima</i>	1903	3,400	2 1/2		6.6"	20
<i>Fifth Division - Vice Admiral Kataoka</i>						
<i>Itsukushima (flag)</i>	1889	4,230	1 1/2	4	1 12.5"; 4.7"	16.7
<i>Chinyen</i>	1882	7,350		3	4 12"; 4 6"	14.5
<i>Matsushima</i>	1890	4,230	1 1/2	4	1 12.5"; 12 4.7"	16.7
<i>Hashidate</i>	1891	4,230	1 1/2	4	1 12.5"; 12 4.7"	16.7
<i>Sixth Division - Rear Admiral Togo</i>						
DECK TURRET						
<i>Suma (flag)</i>	1895	2,700	2		2 6"; 6 4.7"	20
<i>Chiyoda</i>	1889	2,440	1		10 4.7"	19
<i>Akitsushima</i>	1892	3,170	3		4 6"; 6 4.7"	19
<i>Idzumi</i>	1884	2,970	1		2 10.2"; 6 4.7"	17
21 destroyers, 17 first-class and 40 second-class torpedo boats.						

Table 2.2 Japanese Fleets at the Battle of Tsushima (From Ref 27)

Why did the Russian Navy suffer such a humiliating defeat at the Battle of Tsushima? Overall, the problems that have plagued the Russian Navy throughout its history led to the defeat. The lack of political stability prevented Alexander III or Nicholas II from properly comprehending the problems of the Russian Navy. Alexander

III had to deal with the assassination of his father Alexander II by the “People’s Will”²⁹. The assassination became the foundation for Alexander III style of rule. He was extremely autocratic and continuously had to contend with the same revolutionary threats that troubled his father. During Nicholas II’s reign, revolutionary movements were growing quickly (Social Democratic Party, Socialist Revolutionary Party) and he also had to quell opposition groups rather than focus on military matters. Therefore, interests in the Far East were of minimal importance to both Tsars due to the disturbances in the urban cities in the west. Neither Tsar completely understood the ramifications of having their military forces overstretched in the Far East. Also, they underestimated the strength of the Japanese military. Therefore, both Tsars were engaged in activities that prevented them from properly prosecuting an adequate policy for the Far East.

Russia continued to view itself as a European power and the Russian Pacific Fleet suffered severely from the over stretch of Russia’s military forces. Alexander III and Nicholas II had visions of expanding the Russian Empire, but both were focused foremost towards Europe. Of great concern was a possible clash with Great Britain over Russian expansion into East Asia. Also, the ‘Triple Alliance’ had been formed in 1882 due to German fears of a French revival and Austria-Hungary’s concern with Russian expansionist policies in the Balkan region. When Germany failed to re-ratify its Reinsurance Treaty with Russia in 1890, Russia allied itself with France to counter the Triple Alliance. “To the Ministry of War the Far East was an infuriating distraction from Russia’s chief security problem, Central Europe.”³⁰ In March 1903, the Chief of Staff told the Tsar, “It is essential to give priority to the main danger over others. And this menaces Russia from the powers of the Triple Alliance. They threaten Russia with the greatest loss, having the capacity... to deliver a blow against the very center of our might.”³¹ Russia’s concentration had to be maintained in the west due to the possible loss

²⁹ The narodniki attempted to adapt socialist doctrine to Russian conditions; they envisaged a society in which sovereignty would rest with small self-governing economic units resembling the traditional Russian village commune and held together in a loose voluntary confederation replacing the state. Infoplease.com: *Naordniki* [encyclopedia article on-line] [Infoplease.com] (accessed on 21 August 2001); available from <http://www.infoplease.com/ce6/history/A0834866.html>; Internet.

³⁰ William C. Fuller Jr., *Strategy and Power in Russia 1600-1914*, p. 377.

³¹ TsGvia, f. 400, op. 4, d. 56, l. 31: cited in William C. Fuller Jr., *Strategy and Power in Russia 1600-1914*, p. 377.

of Poland and its agricultural and industrial centers. Russia did not know the true capabilities of the German forces allied against them in the Triple Alliance, therefore the first priority had to be the West. Military policy became focused squarely on Europe. Because it was bottled up in the Baltic, the Russian Navy's role in any future European war was minimized. Priority would be given to land forces. In turn, the Russian Navy focused its forces in the European theatre of operations, but still had to contend with inadequate access to the seas.

The European focus for Russia ensured the Baltic Fleet was Russia's primary fleet regardless of the difficulty transiting the Belts and the Skagerrak. "The largest bases were in the Baltic, where St. Petersburg was the center of a whole complex of government and private shipyards which included, in addition to smaller establishments, Kronstadt, the Baltic Works, the New Admiralty, Izhora, Obuknov, and Galernyi Island."³² The Black Sea Fleet did not carry the same importance of the Baltic Fleet due to Turkish control of the Bosphorus Strait. However, adequate funding was provided for the missions required of the fleet. "In the Black Sea the only bases of importance were Nikolaev and Sevastapol. Nikolaev was well guarded and relatively modern, with good dockyards and industrial facilities of various types. Sevastapol was less modern but had docks, two building slips, and reasonably good fortifications." The Pacific Fleet was a different story altogether. Many Russian naval bases were of poor quality, but Vladivostok was for a time the only base of importance in the Pacific, and its facilities were distinctly second-class to the premier bases of the west.³³ The resources required to maintain not just the premier naval bases in the west, but also in the Pacific were not available.

In 1892, Russia and France formed an alliance to counter Germany, the strongest continental power at the time. However, naval power was viewed as the key to imperial success during this time period. "Battleships were related to the control of world-wide commercial interests in a way that armies could never be."³⁴ In 1898, the German War Minister, Admiral Alfred Von Tirpitz, embarked on the strategic decision to launch a ship-building program and challenge Great Britain for supremacy of the seas. Germany's

³² Donald W. Mitchell, *A History of Russian and Soviet Sea Power*, p. 202.

³³ Ibid.

³⁴ Norman, Davies, *Europe: A History* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1996), p. 853.

naval aspirations threatened France and Russia, thereby cementing the relationship between France and Russia, while at the same time ensuring Moscow's focus was in Europe.

Witte and the Russian leadership ignored the lack of manpower and revenue in the Far East, which was required to maintain Russia's position there. Russia was not going to give any ground in Europe in order to provide for greater access to the Far East. "The Imperial government lacked a reservoir of trained men adequate to process [the revolution and the Manchurian war] simultaneously."³⁵ During the Russo-Japanese War Nicholas II had come to the realization that the government could no longer afford the war and Russia no longer had the resources to wage the war. "The Minister of Finance noted in March 1905 that Russia had begun the war in a relatively strong financial position, with a budget surplus of 185 million rubles on hand. After that sum had been exhausted, it had been possible to cover war expenses with half a billion rubles of foreign loans."³⁶ The war was an utter failure for the Russian Navy and the reputation for smartness which the Russian Navy had enjoyed early in the nineteenth century gradually diminished until finally the fleet became known as the least efficient maintained by any great power.³⁷

D. THE SOVIET BUILD-UP OF THE 1970S AND 1980S

The immense size of the Soviet Union had allowed Joseph Stalin to implement his development plans due to the country's seemingly inexhaustible raw materials and virgin lands for farming/engineering.³⁸ Stalin's five-year plans combined with the defeat of Hitler in 1945, had allowed Russia to attain its status as a world power. However, it was under Nikita Khrushchev that the goal of attaining nuclear parity with the United States became a priority and provided the justification Admiral Sergei Gorshkov required to create a world-class navy. After the conclusion of WWII, the Soviet navy was considered no more than a coastal defense force. The military leadership understood that in the 1950s the United States could counter any Soviet maneuver with a strategic assault on

³⁵ William C. Fuller Jr., *Strategy and Power in Russia 1600-1914*, p. 403.

³⁶ Ibid. p. 405.

³⁷ Donald W. Mitchell, *A History of Russian and Soviet Sea Power*, p. 184.

³⁸ Malia, Martin, *The Soviet Tragedy: A history of Socialism in Russia 1917-1991*, (New York: The Free Press, 1994), p. 363.

Soviet soil. Admiral Gorshkov Commander-in-Chief of the Soviet Navy from 1956 to 1986, transformed the Soviet Navy from a coastal defense force to a blue-water navy powerful enough to challenge the United States.

During Admiral Gorshkov's tenure the Soviet Navy became one of the premier navies in the world, and was more capable than any other time in its history. The Soviets constructed a fleet of submarines, a naval air force, and surface combatants to defend the Soviet Union's sea approaches and coasts in depth. The capabilities required to defend the Soviet Union continued to dominate naval requirements; therefore submarine construction and deployment to the Atlantic and Pacific oceans was a major factor for fleet compositions and out-of-area operations through 1980.³⁹ Table 2.3 and 2.4⁴⁰ provide a detailed order of battle description for Soviet Naval forces during this time period. The immense building period eventually saw the proliferation of naval forces to Vietnam, Cuba, Libya and Syria, as well as, small ports in Ethiopia, Oman and Yemen. Therefore, one of the underlying principles of the Soviet Navy was to maintain contact with Moscow's proliferating satellites. However, this rationale eventually would lead to over stretch for the navy. Even the numbers of naval exercises were increasing in size and complexity.

³⁹ Nikita Khrushchev believed that 'huge' surface vessels were obsolete and cut funding for long-range aviation and carrier projects. Submarines were seen as the economical counter to the United States Navy. "By 1985, Soviet naval thinking had largely reverted to a defensive strategy based on submarines." Donald W. Mitchell, *A History of Russian and Soviet Sea Power*, p. 475.

⁴⁰ Frank B. Kelso, *Understanding Soviet Naval Developments* (Washington, D.C.: Office of the Chief of Naval Operations, 1991), p 123.

<i>Strike Bombers</i>	185	<i>Tanker/Transport/Training/R&D</i>	
BACKFIRE B/C		<i>Aircraft</i>	560
BADGER A/C		<i>Reconnaissance/Electronic Warfare/</i>	
BLINDER A		<i>Command and Control Aircraft</i>	200
<i>Fighters and Fighter/Bombers</i>	400	BEAR D/J	
FITTER C/H		BADGER C/H/J	
FORGER A		BLINDER C/E	
FLOGGER B		COOT A/B	
FULCRUM C		CUB B	
FENCER A/B/D		FENCER E	
<i>Antisubmarine Warfare Aircraft</i>	480	HORMONE B	
BEAR F		<i>Mine Warfare/Assault Helicopters</i>	50
MAIL		HAZE B	
MAY		HELIX B	
HAZE A			
HORMONE A			
HELIX A			

Table 2.3 Soviet Navy Active Aircraft Order of Battle:1991 (After Ref 40)

Submarines - Nuclear Powered		Frigates	
<i>SSBN Ballistic Missile Submarines</i>		<i>FF/WFF Frigates</i>	
TYPHOON Class	6	KRIVAK I/II/III, NEUSTRASHIMYY,	
DELTA I/II/III/IV Classes	43	RIGA Classes	44
YANKEE I Class	11	<i>FFL/WFFL Corvettes</i>	
<i>SSGN Cruise Missile Submarines</i>		GRISHA, MIRKA, PETYA Classes	101
CHARLIE I/II, ECHO II,		Patrol Combatants/Craft	
OSCAR I/II, YANKEE Classes	43	<i>PGGA/PGG</i>	
<i>SSN Torpedo-Attack Submarines</i>		DERGACH, UTKA, NANUCHKA,	
AKULA, HOTEL, SIERRA,		TARANTUL Classes	74
VICTOR I/II/III, YANKEE Classes	60	<i>PG/WPG Patrol Combatant</i>	
<i>SSAN Auxiliary Submarines</i>		PARCHIM II, PAUK, POTI Classes	50
ECHO II, HOTEL, UNIFORM,		<i>WPS Large Patrol Ship</i>	
YANKEE Classes	5	IVAN SUSANIN Class	6
Submarines - Diesel-Electric Powered		<i>Miscellaneous Coastal Patrol Craft</i>	
<i>SSG Cruise Missile Submarines</i>		(Navy and KGB subordinated)	
JULIETT Class	15	MATKA, OSA, MURAVEY,	
<i>SS Torpedo-Attack Submarines</i>		STENKA, SVETLYAK TURYA etc.	
FOXTROT, KILO, ROMEO		Classes	230
TANGO, WHISKEY Classes	100	Amphibious Ships	
<i>SSA/SST Auxiliary Submarines</i>		<i>LPD Amphibious Assault Transport Dock Ships</i>	
BELUGA, BRAVE, GOLF,		IVAN ROGOV Class	3
INDIA, LIMA, XRAY, ZULU		<i>LST Amphibious Vehicle Landing Ships</i>	
Classes	15	ALLIGATOR, ROPUCHA I/II Classes	32
Aircraft Carriers		<i>LSM Amphibious Medium Landing Ships</i>	
<i>CVG Guided Missile Aircraft Carriers</i>		POLNOCHNY A/B/C Classes	32
KUZNETSOV Class	1	<i>Miscellaneous Amphibious Warfare</i>	
<i>CVHG Guided Missile VTOL and Helicopter Carriers</i>		<i>Craft</i>	68
KIEV Class	4	Mine Warfare Ships/Craft	
Cruisers		<i>MSF Fleet Minesweepers</i>	
<i>CHG Helicopter-Carrying Missile Cruisers</i>		NATYA, YURKA, T-43 Classes	80
MOSKVA Class	2	<i>Miscellaneous Mine Warfare Ships</i>	
<i>CGN Guided Missile Cruisers - Nuclear</i>		MHS, MM, MSFT MSS Types	7
KIROV Class	3	<i>Miscellaneous Mine Warfare Craft</i>	
<i>CG - Guided Missile Cruisers</i>		MSC, MHC, MSIA, MSI Types	155
SLAVA, KARA, KRESTA,		Auxiliary Ships	
KYNDA Classes	25	Logistics Support Ships	119
Destroyers		Intelligence Collectors	56
<i>DDG Guided Missile Destroyers</i>		Other Auxiliary/Research Ships	565
KASHIN, SOVREMENYY,			
UDALOY Classes	35		
<i>DD Destroyers</i>			
MOD KILDIN, MOD KOTLIN			
Classes	2		

Table 2.4 Soviet Navy Active Ships Order of Battle:1991 (After Ref 40)

In 1956, the North Atlantic and the Norwegian Seas were the primary operating areas of the Soviet Navy.⁴¹ The European focus of Soviet naval deployment was evident for the Soviet naval and political leadership at the height of the Cold War because it coincided with the Main Area of Russian interest. Bruce Watson⁴² cleverly utilizes the geographical distribution of “ship days” which displays the areas of the world that were most important to the Soviet Union. Tables 2.5 And 2.6⁴³ display the number of deployed Soviet ships for a particular time and also the amount of power the navy was either able to deploy or believed necessary to fulfill its assigned missions and Appendix A correlates these activities to political events of the time.⁴⁴

⁴¹ Out-of-area operations encompass all of the world’s ocean areas except Soviet inland waterways, coastal waters and local fleet exercise areas. Surface combatants, submarines, amphibious, and auxiliary ships are included in the calculations. Bruce Watson, *Red Navy at Sea: Soviet Naval Operations on the High Seas 1956-1980* (Boulder: Westview Press, 1982), p. 21.

⁴² CDR Bruce Watson holds a PHD in Russian Area Studies from Georgetown University and is a member of its adjunct staff. He taught and was the director of publications at the Defense Intelligence College.

⁴³ Bruce Watson, *Red Navy at Sea: Soviet Naval Operations on the High Seas*, p. 183.

⁴⁴ Ibid. p. 22.

Year	Atlantic Ocean	Mediterranean Sea	Pacific Ocean	Indian Ocean	Caribbean Sea	Total
1956	500	100	200	-	-	800
1957	1,500	600	200	-	-	2,300
1958	1,300	1,000	900	-	-	3,200
1959	2,100	4,100	900	-	-	7,100
1960	1,600	5,600	400	200	-	7,800
1961	2,200	2,300	700	-	-	5,200
1962	4,300	800	1,400	100	-	6,600
1963	3,600	600	1,800	100	-	6,100
1964	5,300	1,800	2,000	-	-	9,100
1965	5,400	3,700	2,500	-	-	11,600
1966	5,500	5,400	2,800	-	-	13,700
1967	5,800	8,800	3,600	200	-	18,400
1968	5,900	11,700	4,200	1,200	-	23,000
1969	9,600	15,400	5,900	4,100	300	35,300
1970	13,600	17,400	7,100	4,900	700	43,700
1971	14,800	18,700	6,200	4,000	700	44,400
1972	14,500	17,700	5,900	8,900	1,900	48,900
1973	13,000	20,600	6,300	8,900	1,400	50,200
1974	13,900	20,200	7,400	10,500	1,200	53,200
1975	13,200	20,000	6,800	7,100	1,100	48,200
1976	14,000	18,600	6,500	7,300	1,000	47,400
1977	15,800	16,300	7,500	6,700	1,200	47,500
1978	16,100	16,600	6,900	8,500	1,300	49,400
1979	16,900	16,600	10,400	7,600	1,100	52,600
1980	16,900	16,600	11,800	11,800	700	57,800

Table 2.5 Out-of-Area Ship Days – Distribution by Geographical Area, 1956-1980 (From Ref 43)

Year	Atlantic Ocean	Mediterranean Sea	Pacific Ocean	Indian Ocean	Caribbean Sea
1956	62%	13%	25%	0%	0%
1957	65	26	9	0	0
1958	41	31	28	0	0
1959	29	58	13	0	0
1960	20	72	5	3	0
1961	42	44	14	0	0
1962	65	12	21	2	0
1963	59	10	29	2	0
1964	58	20	22	0	0
1965	47	32	21	0	0
1966	40	39	21	0	0
1967	31	48	20	1	0
1968	26	51	18	5	0
1969	27	44	17	11	1
1970	31	40	16	11	2
1971	33	42	14	9	2
1972	30	36	12	18	4
1973	26	41	12	18	3
1974	26	38	14	20	2
1975	27	42	14	15	2
1976	30	39	14	15	2
1977	33	34	16	14	3
1978	32	34	14	17	3
1979	32	32	19	15	2
1980	29	29	20.5	20.5	1

Table 2.6 Out-of-Area Ship Days – Percentage Distribution by Geographical Area, 1956-1980 (From Ref 43)

The tables demonstrate that the Atlantic and not the Pacific was the main focus of out-of-area activity for the Soviet Union due to the Western approaches. The Mediterranean was not even considered as vital due to the diminished strength of the U.S. Sixth Fleet compared to NATO's ground forces. "Inversely, Leningrad, Tallinn, Kaliningrad, the other Baltic ports, and the strategic industrial complexes are extremely vulnerable to sea borne attack and thus have received first priority."⁴⁵ Also, the primary submarine threat for the U.S. and NATO was and continues to be from the Northern Fleet. "For these reasons, the initial Soviet operations involving Soviet security were concentrated in the North Atlantic and in the Norwegian and North Seas."⁴⁶ It should be noted the Pacific Fleet was not ignored during this period of time, but only maintained a secondary role because its ports are ideal for defense of the Far Eastern districts.

⁴⁵ Ibid. p. 23.

⁴⁶ Ibid.

“However, because of the isolation and relatively lesser importance of the East, it initially was assigned a lower priority for naval resources than was the West.”⁴⁷ It was not until 1974 that the Soviet Pacific Fleet split its operation between the Indian and Pacific oceans, which would eventually lead to over stretch for this fleet due to the European focus for resources. Upon the collapse of the Soviet Union, deployments to the Indian Ocean were curtailed dramatically, due to the limited resources available to the navy as a whole. The Okean Exercises in 1970 and 1975 thrust the Soviet navy to the forefront of world navies behind only the U.S. Navy.⁴⁸ The exercises were designed to demonstrate the Soviet Navy’s progress after the 8th and 9th five-year plans. “They were the most valid indicators of Soviet naval potential in the early and mid-1970s.”⁴⁹ The exercises were global in scope, but focused primarily on the North Atlantic and the Norwegian Sea. The changes were seen in the Okean-70 Exercise in which 200 ships and submarines were utilized in the operation. “At the time, Okean-70 was the largest Soviet naval exercise ever conducted, and it involved antisubmarine and antiaircraft carrier warfare and amphibious landing operations.”⁵⁰ However, the peak of Soviet naval power would quickly come to an end as could be seen when the much-anticipated exercise ‘Okean-80’ never materialized. The economy of the Soviet Union could no longer handle the weight of the immense defense expenditures, which in turn set the foundation for the political instability of the mid to late 1980s.

The state of economic affairs in the Soviet Union in the mid to late 1980s was abysmal. The Defense Minister, General Yazov and the Chief of General Staff, General Moiseev realized that the restructuring of the military establishment was inevitable due to the economic situation. Military restructuring was championed by four sources: The main push for reform came from the General Secretary, Mikhail Gorbachev. “First,

⁴⁷ Ibid.

⁴⁸ Okean 70 and 75 were the first worldwide coordinated Soviet naval exercises to test and improve the level of combat skills, as well as the operational readiness/preparedness of naval staffs. Prior to Okean 70, very few exercises were held “out-of-area” to test the ability to coordinate global operational activities. Those that did only lasted 2-3 days. Okean 75 was revolutionary for the Soviets, because naval units operated well beyond the 1500nm “defense perimeter” around the USSR.

⁴⁹ Watson, Bruce, *Red Navy at Sea: Soviet Naval Operations on the High Seas 1956-1980*, p. 29.

⁵⁰ Ibid.

Gorbachev's unilateral reductions had to be implemented, no small challenge.⁵¹ Second, the civilian critics not only demanded reductions but also offered strong advice about what forces to reduce. Third, after more than two years of diplomatic maneuvering with the Conference on Security Cooperation in Europe (CSCE) forum, the long-enduring negotiations for mutual balanced force reductions (MBFR) were replaced with a new set of negotiations, centered on conventional forces in Europe (CFE). ...Fourth, the new parliament would undoubtedly add new voices to the chorus of military reformers.”⁵² It was clearly evident the military establishment was being attacked from all sides and was in no position to maintain its bloated structure.

Mikhail Gorbachev understood the economic straits the country was in and realized that military reform had to be implemented in order to tackle the deficit and carry out sweeping social programs. By 1990, Gorbachev had conceded independence for the Eastern European countries that had been controlled by Moscow since the end of World War II. In 1990, Lithuania was the first Baltic republic to agitate for independence. Soon, other Soviet republics demanded independence. While maintaining adequate outlets to the sea became a major priority during the political instability of the late 1980s, there was nothing the Russian Navy could do to staunch the break-up of the USSR. Russian governments traditionally relied on the Army for internal security and to bind the nation together. Hence, large expenditures were reserved for the army. The concern for Gorbachev and the leadership of the country was not a foreign attack, but the prevention of the dissolution of the Soviet Union.

The Soviet Navy had attempted, but never fully succeeded, to address the problem of inadequate outlets to the sea during Admiral Gorshkov's tenure. Geographic constraints prevented a maritime perspective during Soviet times, which has historically been the case. This perspective has dictated the fundamental concern for land forces and been supported by recurring invasion and occupation throughout Russia's history. Also, arrays of problems such as “choke points” in major operating areas have complicated

⁵¹ Unilateral reductions were overarching force reductions for the military and VPK that were designed to allow for quality versus quantity in the Soviet armed forces. Mikhail Gorbachev at the United Nations officially proposed the idea on 7 December 1988.

⁵² William E. Odom, *The Collapse of the Soviet Military* (New Haven: Yale University Press, New Haven, 1998), pp. 180-181.

naval development. A great deal of access to the open sea for the Soviet Navy was through waters that are frozen for significant portions of the year, or from ports that are logistically distant from industrial population centers.⁵³ The collapse of the Soviet Union only exacerbated the fact the country lacked adequate outlets to the sea.

Even today, the four primary fleets⁵⁴ for the Russian Federation must contend with the problem of inadequate outlets to the sea. The Northern Fleet has to deal with the severe Arctic climate, as well as, the long transit times to operating areas. Also, the narrow straits in the Belts and the Skagerrak, which could easily be sealed off by an adversary, confined the Baltic Fleet. The Black Sea Fleet faces similar concerns due to restricted access through the Bosphorus Straits, which are controlled by Turkey. Finally the Pacific Fleet has attempted to alleviate some access restrictions into the Pacific Ocean, presented by the Japanese straits, through the maintenance of the naval base Petropavlovsk on the Kamchatka Peninsula. However, Petropavlovsk and Vladivostok are at the end of a long and vulnerable supply line. Their environment is unpleasant, and they are remote from Russia's European focus.⁵⁵

The command economy of the Soviet Union, derived from the Marxist-Leninist ideology, was driven primarily by the military and its requirements. The once abundant resources and labor force, that provided the means to develop the Soviet military, were being depleted at an alarming rate.⁵⁶ Therefore, the rapid growth of the military during the 1970s and 1980s placed an enormous economic burden on Soviet society. Technological innovations were never properly introduced into the Soviet economy due to the specific focus on the military. The incentive for new technologies did not exist in the socialist system and only exacerbated the economic problems. "A surprisingly broad consensus existed among most of the Soviet elite that the Soviet economy was in serious trouble and that the burden of military expenditures was to blame."⁵⁷ It was impossible to

⁵³ Choke points occur in the Atlantic and Pacific Oceans, as well as the Baltic and Black Seas. Frank B. Kelso, *Understanding Soviet Naval Developments*, p. 5.

⁵⁴ Northern, Pacific, Baltic and Black Sea Fleets

⁵⁵ Frank B. Kelso, *Understanding Soviet Naval Developments*, pp. 43-44.

⁵⁶ Murray Feshbach, *The Soviet Union: Population, Trends, and Dilemmas* (Washington, D.C.: Population Reference Bureau, 1982): cited in Malia, Martin, *The Soviet Tragedy: A history of Socialism in Russia 1917-1991*, p 364:

⁵⁷ William E. Odom, *The Collapse of the Soviet Military*, p. 115.

rapidly implement the shift from the production of military to civilian goods in the Soviet Union. Therefore, the kind of relief Gorbachev sought, a purely administrative shift in the mix of production from guns to butter, could not occur due to the conditions of the Soviet economy in the mid-1980s.⁵⁸ The concern over the lack of resources, not just for the military, but also for the population continued to increase.

As Yegor Ligachev said, "After April 1985, we faced the task of curtailing military spending. Without this, large-scale social programs could not have been implemented: the economy could not breathe normally with a military budget that comprised 18 percent of the national income."⁵⁹ The lack of resources for the military eventually led to Mikhail Gorbachev's insistence for military reform under the policy of "Reasonable Sufficiency." Once again the navy would shift from an ocean going fleet to a defensive force and lose funding reserved for the army. In 1990, then Soviet Foreign Minister Eduard Shevardnadze claimed the Soviet military had expended 25 percent of the country's GNP. The abundant amounts of resources enjoyed during Admiral Gorshkov's tenure were no longer available.

E. CONCLUSION

The three pivotal periods in the history of Russian naval development addressed provide the background required for understanding the successes and failures of the Russian Navy since Peter the Great. However, the periods of naval primacy have been fleeting and unsustained for four reasons: First, Russia has a limited number of outlets to the world's seas. Furthermore, these are poorly situated because they are strategically vulnerable or geographically remote. Second, the lack of resources to be both a land and sea power has been prevalent throughout Russia's history. Third, Russia has lacked the political stability required to sustain the build-up of a powerful navy. Finally, Russia's interests are primarily European. Prior attempts to increase naval presence in the Western Pacific region have invariably failed over time. Throughout Russia's history, it's leaders have attempted to increase it's standing in the world through the use of an increased naval presence, but have ultimately failed each time.

⁵⁸ Ibid. p. 224.

⁵⁹ Ligachev, *Inside Gorbachev's Kremlin*, p. 329: quoted by William E. Odom, *The Collapse of the Soviet Military*, p. 92.

THIS PAGE INTENTIONALLY LEFT BLANK

III. ATTEMPTS AT REFORM

“To have a reliable defense with the least possible spending - this is the essence, in general, of any military reform.”⁶⁰

A. INTRODUCTION

The numerous attempts for reform in the Russian Navy have failed and will continue to fail because they have not been properly implemented and most have been undertaken in a disorganized and haphazard manner. The term ‘military reform’ connotes many different meanings and it must be properly understood in the Russian context to comprehend why reform efforts have taken the course they have. “Military reform in the contemporary Russian context is a broad term, very distinct from the concept of reform of the armed forces, which refers to the transformation of the military forces belonging to the Russian Ministry of Defense and involves both down-sizing the force and its transformation into a force that will meet the needs and requirements of Russia in the post-Cold War era.”⁶¹ However, this thesis will utilize the following definition to better characterize attempts at reform from Mikhail Gorbachev to Vladimir Putin. “Military reform, on the other hand, is a more all-embracing process which encompasses all the military and paramilitary formations of the Russian state and addresses the core political, economic, and social questions attached to raising, sustaining, training, arming, deploying, and employing a military as an element of Russian national power.”⁶² The description implies that real military reform for Russia is a two-part process: First, Russian governments since 1985 have had to overcome the Soviet legacy of a militarized state, society and economy, while shifting control of the military to civilians. Second, they have had to reestablish the foundation for a ‘new’ military that meets today’s state,

⁶⁰ Capt 1st Rank V. Vaniyan “Economic Consequences of Disarmament, Effects on MIC,” *Morskoy Sbornik*, 01 October 2000, reported and translated by Foreign Broadcast Information Service, 8 December 2000, FTS20001208000310, p. 1.

⁶¹ Jacob Kipp, *Russian Military Reform: Status and Prospects (Views of a Western Military Historian)* [Paper on-line] (Sveaborg, Finland: Finnish National Defence College, 1998, accessed 15 August 2001); available from <http://www.fas.org/nuke/guide/russia/agency/rusrform.htm>; Internet.

⁶² Ibid.

society and economic needs. Unfortunately, for the Russian leadership, they have bungled the first portion of the process and been unable to accomplish the second one.⁶³

Comprehension of what military reform constitutes is crucial to understand why past reform efforts have failed. Also, ideology, culture and economics have prevented more structured and organized attempts for naval reform. As a general proposition, people in any large bureaucracy or corporation do not want to reduce the importance of their position in society. The drive to expand or at the very least maintain their position is no different within the Russian Navy, heirs of the once powerful Soviet Navy. The attempts to 'reform' the armed forces were begun with Mikhail Gorbachev and have continued through Vladimir Putin. Numerous people have presented reform programs, but the political leaders have had the ultimate responsibility for reform decisions. Mikhail Gorbachev and his successors have had to contend with the Soviet Union's history regarding ideological, cultural and economics norms.

Mikhail Gorbachev, Boris Yeltsin and Vladimir Putin all made their ascendancy to power by means of the Communist Party. Each grew up in Western Russia and had few ties to the Far Eastern regions. The reforms proposed by each have had little effect on the military's goal of regaining its status as a world power.

Mikhail Gorbachev studied law at Moscow University and eventually returned to his hometown of Stavropol. His standing in the local Communist Party progressively increased and in 1970, was appointed the Stavropol Communist Party leader. In 1985, despite being the youngest member of the Politburo, he was appointed General Secretary of the Communist Party. Upon his selection, Gorbachev proceeded to embark on a comprehensive restructuring of the political, economic and social structures in the USSR. In 1990, he was awarded the Nobel Peace prize for his contributions for the reduction of tensions between East and West. However, Gorbachev's reform attempts failed to significantly improve the economy. The re-emergence of latent ethnic and national tensions throughout the Soviet Union was caused by the elimination of political and social control by the government. In August 1991, Gorbachev thwarted a coup by

⁶³ Ibid.

communist hardliners, but in return had to cede the majority of his authority to then Russian Republic's President, Boris Yeltsin.

In 1968, after thirteen years of working for Sverdlovsk construction, Boris Yeltsin began to work for the Communist Party and was appointed Secretary of Sverdlovsk in 1976. Yeltsin received induction into the Central Committee of the Communist Party in 1981, rose to Moscow Party Chief in 1985 and was appointed to the Politburo in 1986. While in the Politburo he became a sharp critique of Mikhail Gorbachev's reform measures. Because of this criticism he was forced to resign from the Politburo and assume the insignificant job of Deputy Minister for Construction. However, he continued to advance radical reform and eventually became Russia's first popularly elected leader upon Gorbachev's resignation.

Anti-reform opponents and problems with the economy continuously plagued Yeltsin throughout his tenure in office. Yeltsin did manage to further improve relations with the West, but the economic collapse in 1998 signaled his eventual downfall. In 1998, he dismissed the government twice, faced an impeachment vote and it was during this period in which Vladimir Putin ascended to power. On 31 December 1999, Boris Yeltsin stunned the world by announcing that Vladimir Putin would immediately assume the duties as the Russian President until national elections were held in 2000.

In 1975, Vladimir Putin graduated from Leningrad State University and began to work for the KGB. Putin served as a KGB spy in East Germany until 1989 and then returned to Leningrad State University to work in the international affairs department. In 1991, he became the first Deputy Mayor of Leningrad and lured a great deal of Western investment to the city. Putin's work in Leningrad increased his stature and he was recruited to work in the Kremlin as an aide for property manager Pavel Borodin. In 1998, then President Boris Yeltsin tapped him to be the head of the Federal Security Service, the successor to the KGB and was eventually chosen as Prime Minister after the sacking of Yeltsin's Cabinet in 1999.

Vladimir Putin has been portrayed as a political novice, but has enjoyed tremendous support during his tenure as President. In March 2000 he was formally elected as the Russian President. Vladimir Putin is a stated pro-market democratic

reformer. He has vowed to revitalize the economy, fight corruption, subvert communism and build a strong Russia.

1. Ideology

By 1985, Mikhail Gorbachev no longer considered nuclear war as a rational solution. He informed the Minister of Defense and the General Staff that the party rejected a strategy of victory through nuclear war. At the same time, Gorbachev rejected the Soviet foundation for Marx's concept on war, that of a historical process of war waged through revolution, alienation and class struggle. In this way, the elimination of the long held belief of "international class struggle" redefined the foreign military threat for the Soviet Union. National interests were shifted to the forefront of thinking ahead of 'class' interests. This meant that relations with imperialist countries should be approached from a perspective shorn of Cold War Nuclear Theory and Marxist historical philosophy.

A fundamental change in political education had to be implemented. "Over the next two years military and party ideologist alike would wrestle with Gorbachev's revisions, constructing tortured arguments to reconcile Marx's concept of class struggle with 'new thinking' and the primacy of 'humankind interests'".⁶⁴ This new realism in Soviet foreign policy forced a debate within the military and political leadership concerning threats to the Soviet Union and how they should be addressed. Even in this new atmosphere, many military and political leaders clung to time-honored Marxist-Leninist ideology and sabotaged many government-mandated changes. In doing so they found support among those adamantly opposed to Gorbachev's new approach.

2. Culture

Cultural problems are misleading in peacetime and tend to give a deceptive representation in wartime. Russian cultural development originated in Byzantium and was fueled by the Orthodox Church and in a small part by Western and Asian values. Russians have always lived a 'hard' lifestyle and for the most part been culturally isolated. Russians have dealt with terrible weather and in many cases a flat and tedious setting. "The geographic and climatic conditions of their home land, the history of their

⁶⁴ William E. Odom, *The Collapse of the Soviet Military* (New Haven: Yale University Press, New Haven, 1998), p. 114.

nation, the origin and cultural evolution of their race, their social structure, and the characteristics of their political-economic system have interacted to create the specifically Russian national characteristics, attitudes, values, and beliefs.”⁶⁵ While being able to endure great hardships, a focused and deliberate approach traditionally dictated the patterns of life. Individual initiative was seldom rewarded in a population sunk in for idleness and a general apathy. A history of political and bureaucratic tyranny bred fatalism in the Russian people. Reformers with an idealistic vision for the future tended to think in terms of systems that would somehow harness the repressed energies of the Russian people to transform the nation as a whole and to create a new “Russian Man.”

Historically, Russian/Soviet governments imposed autocratic and bureaucratic rule to control its citizens through exploitation and oppression. Decision-making was centralized, ruthless and arbitrary. This style of rule cultivated an atmosphere of ‘passive submission’ to authoritative figures. Personnel initiative was stifled and the completion or actual commencement of a task would not be undertaken without constant prodding and supervision. Generations settled into an attitude of acceptance of the most arbitrary decisions out of a sense of fatalism and self-preservation. A lack of understanding and knowledge of the outside world led to an ingrained distrust of foreigners.

By 1914, the Russian social structure consisted of a small upper and middle class and a vast mainly rural lower class. The lower class received few benefits for work, which created a careless approach. Today sailors require constant supervision.

The Navy man finds that he needs constant motivation, direction, and supervision to overcome his tendency of idleness, his apathy, his plodding approach to work, his reluctance to exercise initiative, and his unwillingness to discipline himself, or to depend on himself. He seems to lack the ability to organize his fellows and his work spontaneously and effectively. For a modern sailor he is technically undeveloped, crude, and haphazard in his work. Given authority, he is likely to be bureaucratic and exercise power arbitrarily and harshly.⁶⁶

⁶⁵ W. H. Jr. Manthorpe, Captain, U. S. Navy, “The Influence of being Russian on the Officers and Men of the Soviet Navy.” *U. S. Naval Institute Proceedings Naval Review*, vol 113 no 2 (February 1978), p. 130.

⁶⁶ Bruce Watson, *The Soviet Navy: Strengths and Liabilities* (Boulder, CO: Westview Press, 1986), p. 23.

Even the technically proficient officer corps is narrowly educated and cannot compensate for a lack of an effective petty officer corps. The cultural problem was exacerbated by the economic downturn from the 1980s through today.

3. Economics

The initial impetus for Gorbachev's reforms stemmed from the fact that the Soviet Union could no longer afford the military spending of the past. The country suffered from a command economy, in which military spending figured prominently during the Soviet era. "The Soviet version of centralized control and management of almost all the affairs of a country was inherently inefficient and usually poorly executed."⁶⁷ Today Russia is attempting to correct past deficiencies and transition to a market economy, but continues to have a GDP smaller than Argentina.

Just how have economics affected the Russian Navy?⁶⁸ By 1978, the Department of the Navy delivered over 1300 ships and auxiliary vessels to more than thirty countries. Between 1976-1988 over 200 shore support facilities were delivered to foreign customers. Up until 1991, due to ideological reasons, numerous amounts of equipment and weapons were delivered at no charge to Soviet satellites and client states. Upon the collapse of the Soviet Union the ability to spend at will ceased. The conflict in Chechnya diverted crucial funds earmarked for the Navy. In December 1999, Admiral V. Kuroyedov expressed his concerns over the deterioration of the Russian Navy at the Conference of the Council of Security of the RF. Kuroyedov's discussion of the state of shipbuilding and repair is best expressed by his comments about the cruiser Moscow. "The final stage in the repair of the guided missile cruiser, 'Moscow', was completed in the Black Sea Fleet. When, on 21 December 1990, the missile cruiser, 'Slava', departed to undergo ship-repairing operations in Nikolayev, nobody would have imagined that this repair process would actually exceed the time that it took to build the ship itself."⁶⁹ The ship was renamed the Moscow to elevate its status and priority in the navy. However,

⁶⁷ Charles Krupnick, *Decommissioned Russian Nuclear Submarines and International Cooperation*. Jefferson (North Carolina: McFarland & Company INC., 2001), p. 11.

⁶⁸ Chapter V provides an overall framework for force reductions. I.e. Reduction in Strategic SSN's from 62 to 30 and combatant ships from 969 to 159 from 1989 to 2000 respectively. This paragraph provides key highlights only.

⁶⁹ "Russian Navy Activities, December 1999," *Morskoy Sbornik*, 1 December 1999, reported and translated by Foreign Broadcast Information Service, 11 February 2000, CEP20000211000162, p. 3.

how can you say things were accomplished when you can't even get the premier ship to complete a yard period that occurred over eight years? Ultimately, the Navy of the Russian Federation has suffered due to the various attempts at reforms, which have not been implemented in a well thought out manner.

B. GORBACHEV AND “REASONABLE SUFFICIENCY”

Gorbachev viewed the world as one in which the two superpowers (United States and USSR) followed policies that threatened to bring about their mutual destruction. Each was armed to the teeth with nuclear weapons. Each planned to adopt offensive strategies at the outbreak of hostilities. How could this be changed? Gorbachev identified the reduction of nuclear weapons on both sides to a point of ‘reasonable sufficiency’ as the answer, which, he expressed at the 27th party congress. Reasonable sufficiency came to be known as “...the minimal quantitative and qualitative level of military capability of a state that reliably guarantees its security and does not create a real military threat to other countries...”⁷⁰

As a result of “reasonable sufficiency,” a fundamental change in political education had to be implemented. “Over the next two years military and party ideologist alike would wrestle with Gorbachev’s revisions, constructing tortured arguments to reconcile Marx’s concept of class struggle with “new thinking” and the primacy of “humankind interests.”⁷¹ The change in political ideology forced a debate concerning the threats to the Soviet Union and how they should be addressed. For the first time in the history of the Soviet Union the military doctrine was to be a matter of public debate and scrutiny. Gorbachev also saw the Main Political Administration (MPA) as a control of the military by the military.⁷² Therefore, the major goal in perestroika for the military was to bring the military under the genuine control of the civilian authorities.⁷³ Initially, the military leadership promoted Gorbachev’s new doctrine. But this changed, when they

⁷⁰ Scott M. Stanley, “Assessing the Impact of ‘Reasonable Sufficiency’ on the Structure and Missions of the Former Soviet Navy” (Masters Thesis, Naval Postgraduate School, 1992), p. 21.

⁷¹ William E. Odom, *The Collapse of the Soviet Military*, p. 114.

⁷² The MPA was a Communist Party apparatus that was responsible the political indoctrination of officers and troops. Each military command level down to regiment had a deputy for political affairs that presented propaganda lectures and accounted for troop morale. William E. Odom, *The Collapse of the Soviet Military*, pp. 36-37.

⁷³ Ibid. p. 114.

realized that personnel and weapons would be cut. The military leadership had been taught from a young age that imperialism was the root of all wars and responsible for the majority of past conflicts. Problems began to arise at the realization that reasonable sufficiency did not apply to nuclear weapons. Now they became concerned with cutting forces too deeply before the US and NATO countries followed suit. The question was then asked: would the West be allowed to gain strategic superiority? Once this was realized, many people resisted the change in focus and clung to Marxist-Leninist ideology as a way to sabotage any reasonably structured military reforms. The event that finally set Gorbachev's military reform measures in motion was the Mathias Rust fiasco.

1. Mathias Rust Fiasco

On May 28, 1987, Mathias Rust (West German Youth) landed a small Cessna aircraft in Moscow near Red Square. Mikhail Gorbachev was out of the country and felt the stunt was allowed by the military leadership to embarrass him politically. If so, the event boomeranged on the Russian military leadership, who were turned into the laughing stock of the world for the failure to intercept Mathias Rust's aircraft. The technology utilized by the Soviet Military was more than adequate to track and intercept the aircraft. However, military morale was at such a low ebb that soldiers were apathetic and had been afraid to give the specific order to shoot down the small airplane down.⁷⁴

"L' Affair Rust" triggered the first attempt at military reform since those of Stalin prior to World War II. As Anatolii Chernayev stated, "The time again is ripe for a cardinal reform. For a beginning, an unavoidable 'detail,' but important: the minister of defense must be a general of a new type. And he should not be a member of the Politburo. Let him always attend its sessions in order to know what the policy is. But in the formulation of policy, you can go around him and do without him." However, other concerns were also addressed. Specifically, the "vital necessity to abandon the multimillion-man army and its total conscription system... A professional, cadre army is needed-quality not quantity."⁷⁵ Therefore, Gorbachev's "perestroika"⁷⁶ would not occur

⁷⁴ The destruction of Korean Air 007 in 1984 still loomed in many military leaders minds.

⁷⁵ William E. Odom, *The Collapse of the Soviet Military*, pp. 108-109.

⁷⁶ Perestroika or "Restructuring" was the Soviet Economic and Social Policy of the late 1980s. It was an attempt to transform the stagnant, inefficient command economy of the Soviet Union into a decentralized market economy. *Perestroika* [encyclopedia on-line] [Infoplease.com] (accessed on 8 October 2001); available from <http://aolsvc.aol.infoplease.com/ce6/history/A0838284.html>; Internet.

without a major shift in military policy. Gorbachev had been pushing for arms control since 1985. However, he had not addressed the issue of overall military reform and Mathias Rust provided him with the catalyst.

The Mathias Rust incident resulted in the sacking of the Minister of Defense Marshal Sokolov. Dmitirii Yazov replaced Sokolov, and the purge of senior personnel began shortly after his appointment. “Even during Stalin’s bloody purge of the Red Army in 1937-38, the percentage of change in top level posts was not as high.”⁷⁷ The aftermath of the Mathias Rust affair had frightened the senior military leadership. But convincing them to undertake a fundamental reform of the military was another issue. Self-preservation for each service chief became difficult due to Gorbachev’s insistence on reform. Gorbachev understood the conservative outlook of the military leadership and their resistance to his new thinking. To bolster his case with the public, in 1987 Gorbachev published ‘Perestroika and New thinking’ in both Russian and English. The drive to change the ideological thinking in the Soviet Union had begun.

However, Gorbachev’s constant preoccupation with political reform prevented him from addressing his economic initiatives, and in turn, military reform. In 1991, out of frustration over his inability to set up a structured reform, Gorbachev ordered unilateral cuts in the armed forces. These cuts initiated a general disintegration of the armed forces. Delay and resistance to reform had left the military leadership ill prepared to deal with unilateral reductions. Many military leaders wanted to overthrow the government, but dared not because no one would take the lead. Hypocrisy, mistrust and careerism crippled the response of the party and military to Gorbachev’s initiatives. Officially, the Soviet military ceased to exist on the last day of 1991 upon the demise of the Soviet Union, however it should be noted that Russia preserved the military establishment. Troop withdrawals from Eastern Europe, budget reductions, the conscription revolt⁷⁸ and general deterioration of discipline and order had to be addressed. The progress of reforms had been haphazard, and provided little relief for the military. Ultimately, Gorbachev did

⁷⁷ William E. Odom, *The Collapse of the Soviet Military*, p. 110.

⁷⁸ The Conscription Revolt began in 1989 due to the policy of perestroika. In 1988, the media focused on the negative aspects of military service, therefore damaging concerns about the military spread. In 1989, the public felt the best way to remain safe was to avoid the draft. William E. Odom, *The Collapse of the Soviet Military*, pp. 292-297.

not back draft legislation on military reform that was proposed by parliament. “Instead, he allowed a stalemate between the defense ministry and the parliamentary reformers.”⁷⁹ However, perestroika did allow for numerous recommendations for military reform to be presented, which should not be ignored.

2. Various Reform Suggestions

Gorbachev’s “perestroika” allowed virtually all sectors of Soviet society to express opinions regarding the path that military reform should follow. However, Gorbachev and the Duma sanctioned only one, the Committee on Defense and Security.⁸⁰ Many members of the committee favored military reform and attempted to structure it similar to the United States model. Strong opposition came from the Ministry of Defense and the Military Industrial Commission (VPK), which simply refused to divulge information. This action brought about the “Law on Defense” that would define the relationship between the military and the parliament. On 20 October 1989 a draft bill for the “Law on Defense” was presented to the Supreme Soviet and was quickly put on the back burner.

While the Committee on Defense and Security was formulating its reform proposals the Ministry of Defense was also organizing its own proposal. General

⁷⁹ William E. Odom, *The Collapse of the Soviet Military*, p. 202.

⁸⁰ Committee was commissioned by the Supreme Soviet and was responsible for reform not only in the Ministry of Defense, but also the Ministry of Internal Affairs (MVD), Committee for State Security (KGB) and the Military Industrial Commission (VPK).

Major Vladimir Lopatin in June of 1990 was made the chairman of the Commission for the Preparation and Implementation of Military Reform in the USSR.⁸⁰ Due to foot dragging from the military leadership, the commission was forced to enlist the services of prominent scholars. In 1990, a two thousand-page document was published, which was subsequently rejected by the military, but none-the-less approved by the parliamentary subcommittee on the armed forces.⁸⁰ Military opposition produced a backlash in the Ministry of Defense and many of the reformers on the committee were pressured into renouncing the commission’s findings. Of note, the findings by the committee focused not on the balance of conventional forces or nuclear weapons, but on life inside the military and how to make it better.

Gorbachev had desired a bottom up review of the military such as this, but he ignored the deeply rooted resistance to reform of his military leadership. It should also be noted that Gorbachev never fully supported the reform measures posed by Major Lopatin’s committee. Even if Gorbachev had wanted to implement some of the measures, the push for independence in Lithuania and the other Baltic Republics forced him to rely on the military leadership once again.⁸⁰ If military repression were to be utilized he would require the military leaderships full backing. Therefore, the military leadership used their new found leverage with Gorbachev to initiate their own internal reform measures as a means to counter those coming out of the Duma and the Kremlin.

The eventual report dealt with conscription, civilian control of the military, force structure, budgets, morale welfare and recreation and a cut in the communist party influence over the military. William E. Odom, *The Collapse of the Soviet Military*, pp. 184-185.

Moiseev headed an interdepartmental commission for military reform, organized by the Minister of Defense Yazov. The military leadership argued that ‘outsiders’ could not truly understand nor comprehend the requirements of military restructuring. The commission eventually noted five major areas that required attention for proper reform.⁸¹ The proposed reforms of the Lopatin commission were expected to require nine or ten years to complete. The infighting only compounded the chaotic nature of the reform process.⁸² The military leadership managed to provide their own reform and circumvent the Lopatin commission because the “Law on Defense” was not enforced. Therefore, the military leadership’s slow and deliberate pace of reform continued.

The Scholarly review is the last valid response to Gorbachev’s “perestroika” for reform suggestions regarding the military. Scholars at the Institute for the Study of the USA and Canada (ISKAN) viewed security under Gorbachev’s “new thinking” as “indivisible” and military means alone would no longer suffice. The term “Defensive Sufficiency” was coined during this time and, in 1989, two scholars from the Institute for World Economy and International Relations (IMEMO), Georgii Kunadze and Sergei Blagovolin, confronted the military leadership and explained to them the term in a down-to-earth language.⁸³ In their view, too many military assets were deployed in the Far East.

⁸¹ (1) Comprehensive restructuring of organizations and methods of work. A ‘qualitative renewal’ of manning, force structure, production, procurement and management systems. A reduction in personnel, staffs and educational institutions would take place. (2) Defensive doctrine. Nothing new was noted with the exception of retaliatory military operations. Therefore, training and planning would be revised. (3) Military conscription should be retained, but concessions for the future were made and in 1992 ‘contract’ soldiers would be implemented. No national military formations due to interethnic tensions. (4) MPA political organs would be retained, but had to distinguish their educational and party functions. (5) Social support for servicemen and families. The main problem with troops returning from Eastern Europe. Increase pensions.

⁸² The Navy would accomplish these tasks through four methods; (1) Averting War, (2) Repelling Aggression, (3) Protection of Troops and Facilities from sea borne strikes and (4) Depriving the enemy’s use of contiguous waters for purpose of offensive operations. The naval leadership knew NATO and the United States were not reducing forces in relation to Soviet reductions. In response to Mikhail Gorbachev’s promise for reform, Fleet Admiral Chernavin printed his view for the post Soviet Navy in *Morskoy Sbornik* (November 1991). Chernavin saw a two-fold purpose for the Navy: deterrence and SLOC interdiction and protection.

⁸³ The first issue was to discard the old ideological thinking. Many third world countries defended by the Soviet Union no longer required attention and drained the military economically, specifically in the Navy. “By dropping ideological lenses, one could see that the Navy ought to be radically reduced.” The North Atlantic Treaty Organization (NATO) was viewed as the only serious military threat to warrant attention. The second issue concerned “how” the Soviet Union should be defended. They felt that, for defense purposes, the Soviet Union should be broken up into regions. The third issue was with Soviet domestic interests. The economy had to be the primary focus, thereby relegating military requirements to a secondary or possibly even a tertiary position. The “military-industrial complex” of the command-based

By allowing the United States to be the stabilizing factor in the Far East, Washington would be forced to bear the economic, military and political burden.

Both Kunadze and Blagovolin agreed, “the Soviet Union had to cease frightening the world with military power, abandon old ideological formulas, and reduce its military forces to modest levels.”⁸⁴ For this reason, they were highly critical of Gorshkov’s naval doctrine of “global presence” and “force projection,” arguing the buildup only provided the United States Navy the ammunition to increase its capabilities, thereby obliging the Soviet Navy to respond in kind.

C. YELTSIN’S FIRST MILITARY REFORM ATTEMPT

In 1992, military reform became a political struggle by the executive and legislative branches to gain control over the military. The assault on the Russian White House occurred in October 1993 and only one month later, President Boris Yeltsin proclaimed that a new military doctrine would be implemented. Reformers became optimistic with Boris Yeltsin’s ascendancy to power. However, the preceding political struggle between Yeltsin and Gorbachev prevented any decisive action concerning military reform. Implementing reform had dramatic personnel ramifications and would leave a taste of ‘bad blood’ between the military and civilian leadership. The most important cause for friction was the appointment of Yevgenii Shaposhnikov’s as the Commander of the Commonwealth of Independent States (CIS) Armed Forces. Shaposhnikov was reform minded, but did not implement expected changes. Therefore, Shaposhnikov was replaced and Yeltsin’s first genuine attempt at military reform occurred under the auspices of the new Russian Defense Minister Pavel Grachev.

Grachev began his reform attempts in the wake of the reduction of the CIS armed forces framework. Events in Russia and the “near abroad”⁸⁵ dictated the path he chose for

economy had to be dismantled and restructured.

Blagovolin was quick to point out the continued pace of the Soviet military buildup since World War II, even though it had achieved parity with the United States and no major attack on the Soviet Union had occurred. He underlined the misconception by military leaders in their understanding of western democracies, in particular the political and social forces that prevented aggressive foreign policies without the threats of a large enemy military force. Therefore, Soviet military forces should not build against any one country or ideology, but only guarantee the protection of the Soviet Union itself.

⁸⁴ Ibid, p. 157.

⁸⁵ The near abroad is commonly referred to as the border regions of the former Soviet Union.

military reform. The decision for leaving the former Soviet military organization intact occurred due to various conflicts in Russia's "near abroad." Also, Yeltsin wanted to ensure the loyalty of the newly created CIS armed forces due to the growing quarrels with the Supreme Soviet, which culminated at the Russian White House in October 1993.⁸⁶ The first stage of Grachev's reforms produced a fifty percent reduction in the 'central apparatus' of the Ministry of Defense. The second stage was to establish a 'mobile' elements command.⁸⁷ However, throughout the reforms sponsored by Grachev, President Yeltsin assumed a hands off approach and allowed the military a free hand in structuring their own reform measures. "Without clear-cut guidelines, not knowing what kind of enemy to counter, with President Yeltsin as a Commander-in-Chief who is unwilling or unable to give extensive political leadership to the armed forces, and with utterly insufficient budget funding, the Russian armed forces under Grachev had no chance to 'reform' in any meaningful way, wrote editor of the Security Dialogue Pavel Baev"⁸⁸ The leaders of the newly formed republics began to assume a major role in military policy for their respective countries. On the whole, the republics sought to dismantle the Soviet military in their countries. But their insecure political base hindered their efforts. Throughout the confusion, numerous ideas were expressed, but few were implemented.

Military reform and the economic crisis worsened inter-service rivalry. Numerous high-ranking military officials, Russian admirals prominent among them, publicly expressed their opposition to military reform. In 1995, Colonel V. Sokolov alleged the

⁸⁶ Traditional markets were lost and living conditions in Russia deteriorated due to the hard-line economic policy "shock therapy." A political struggle between Yeltsin and the Parliament ensued. On 21 September 1993, Boris Yeltsin declared Parliament dissolved and that new elections would be held on 12 December 1993. An emergency session of Parliament was held and its supporters barricaded the Russian White House and refused to obey Yeltsin. On 3-4 October 1993, violent clashes occurred within the eventual arrest of the leaders in parliament. On 26 February 1994, all anti-Yeltsin leaders were pardoned and released from jail. *Civil War in Moscow* [Paper online] (accessed 14 August 2001); available from <http://www.cs.toronto.edu/rmes/russia/period/october93.html>; Internet. And Baev, Pavel, "Putin's Military Reform: Two Trajectories for the First Presidency" [Paper on-line] [Security Policy Library no.6-2001, The Norwegian Atlantic Committee, 2001] (accessed 14 August 2001); available from <http://www.atlanterhavskomiteen.no/publikasjoner/sp/2001/6-2001.htm>; Internet.

⁸⁷ The Mobile Elements Command was designed for special mobile forces that could be rapidly deployed in any part of Russia's extended land borders to deter any possible threat. Felgenhauer, Pavel, *Russian Military Reform: Ten Years of Failure* [newspaper article on-line] [Svedonya newspaper, Moscow, 1997] (accessed 15 August 2001); available from <http://nsa.nps.navy.mil/Publications/Tsyppkin/RusDef97/Felg.html>; Internet.

⁸⁸ Ibid.

very idea of aggression between the Russian Federation and a US/NATO alliance was irrational.⁸⁹ In his view, the attempt to preserve a navy only slightly inferior to that of the United States was an inappropriate use of funds, given the diminishing access to the seas and a greater prominence given to the issues requiring land forces. Nuclear weapons would provide the “reasonable sufficiency” Gorbachev and others had prescribed years earlier in case of a foreign threat.

To counter Colonel Sokolov’s arguments, Vice Admiral N. Zakorin replied that the Russian Federation’s security concerns include political, economic, social, ecological, information and military matters. Therefore he pointed out that the Russian Federation must be concerned with the Navy for three reasons: First, developed states require navies for power projection in order to play an active role within the world community. The Navy’s fundamental distinction from the other branches of the armed forces lay in its ability to operate constantly and systematically away from state boundaries. As Russia’s First Deputy Minister A Kokoshin noted: “Do not forget that the Navy also is a special state instrument by which not only purely military, but also political missions are accomplished. I have in mind the showing of the Russian flag. I am convinced we should accomplish the later constantly and there is no place here for a bookkeeping approach.”⁹⁰ Second, Russia would be turning its back on the 300-year history of its navy. Third, navies and economic development go hand in hand.⁹¹ Furthermore, he proposed that Vice Admiral Zakorin’s thoughts appeared to fall on deaf ears and the Fleet Admirals saw a need for drastic measures.

In March 1996, admirals from each of the Russian Federation fleets addressed their concerns to the Duma and said the Russian Federation has lost its domination of the Black, Baltic and Caspian Seas as well as of key strategic regions of the world’s oceans. It did not appear as if the country’s leadership cared at all about the navy. Western countries were not negotiating the reduction of their navies to fall in line with RF reductions. “Two-thirds of our basing facilities have been lost in these regions (the cities

⁸⁹ Alters his view after the ‘air war’ campaign by NATO in Kosovo.

⁹⁰ Ibid.

⁹¹ Vice Admiral N. Zakorin and Colonel N Dolbunov, “Navy in Politics of National Security,” *Morskoy Sbornik*, 19 October 1995, reported and translated by Foreign Broadcast Information Service, 25 April 1997, FTS19970425003124, p. 2.

of Tallinn, Riga, Lijepaja, Odessa, Nikolayev, Donuzlav, Kerch, Poti, Izmail, and others)—sites that Russia gained in the 18th century in the struggle for access to the seas.”⁹² Countries now had the capability to exert pressure on Russia due to irrational cuts in the fleets. The following list represents key concerns provided by the admirals:

- Number of ships cut in half. Sea based aviation by 60 percent. Personnel cut in half.
- Manning levels at 65-70 percent.
- 30-70 percent of ships and equipment is obsolete or fails to meet today’s standards. Modern ships will only account for 10 percent in 2000.
- No new missile submarines have been built since 1991.
- Over 140 nuke subs retired from service. No steps have been taken to solve the problem of salvaging them.
- 300 warships, 80 combat launches, 80 percent of all support ships require shipyard repairs. The problem is accentuated by the lack of a long-term state program for military shipbuilding.
- Funding for Material and Technical support is weak.
- Reduced capabilities in the Navy’s combat effectiveness to accomplish missions has been reduced in the oceans by 45-50 percent and the near sea zones by 30 percent⁹³

“This kind of so called naval reform, which has led to a sharp decline in the Navy’s combat assets, should be recognized as unacceptable for the Russian state, since Russia’s geostrategic position has greatly deteriorated, and serious damage has been done to its defense capability and security the admiral’s report concluded.”⁹⁴The Russian Federation’s new military doctrine (1993) did not address the concern for maintaining the

⁹² Fleet Admiral N.D. Sergeyev and others, “Admiral’s Appeal to State Duma,” *Morskoy Sbornik*, 01 March 1996, reported and translated by Foreign Broadcast Information Service, 01 March 1996, FTS19960301000916, p. 1.

⁹³ Ibid, p. 2.

⁹⁴ Ibid, p. 2.

state's naval might as an element of national security. It only dealt with the reduction of naval forces and limiting their activity. The Duma did not act in 1994-95, nor had a single proposal in the parliamentary hearings of October 25, 1995 on the question of the Russian Navy been realized. An appeal from the Chairman of the Federation Council of the Russian Federal Assembly to the Russian President of May 26, 1995 also went unanswered. A presidential decree signed in June 1995 "On Urgent Measures to Support the Combat Readiness of Naval Strategic Nuclear Forces" and a subsequent decision adopted by the Russian President on August 10, 1995 on financing measures set forth went unfulfilled. The navy felt that, of all the branches of the Armed Forces, they had been called upon to make the greatest sacrifice.

However, it was not just the admirals who were expressing their displeasure with reforms. In July 1996, Captain 1st rank Sergey Bondar addressed the problems of manning ships and cited various reasons:

- Introduction in 1991 (in accordance with presidential edicts) of deferments from the draft for military service for students of daytime higher education institutions and vocational education.
- Expansion of benefits to draftees for state of health and family status and the granting as of January 1, 1995 of the right of deferment from call-up for students of tekhnikums and specialized vocational-technical schools.
- Ship manning at 75 percent. April 1995 adoption of the law "On Military Obligation and Military Service" (canceling deferments from call-up of citizens for military service and with the increase in the term of active military service on two years, the situation with seamen and petty officer manning of fleets has changed for the better). Therefore in 1996 manning should be at 85 percent. Naval vessels must be at 90-95 percent for adequate manning.
- Seaman and petty officers, short-term leave personnel, hospital patients, and those discharged to the reserve count against manning figures.

- In 1995, 34 percent of draftees were deemed unfit for duty due to medical reasons.
- Education level is declining. In 1991, 98.8 percent of incoming personnel had secondary education, whereas in 1995, only 32 percent had. It has become difficult to teach naval specialties to seaman and petty officers.⁹⁵

The appeals by the Fleet admirals and Captain Bondar appeared to have some effect when, in September 1996, Aleksandr Lebed, Secretary of the Security Council and national security assistant to the Russian president, proposed another look at how military reforms were being conducted in the Russian Federation. “Deep, radical, quality transformations of the state’s entire military system must be accomplished insisted.” Lebed insisted.⁹⁶ Lebed proposed a civilian approach to military reform that would be directed by parliament and the Security Council and not the Minister of Defense, as had been the case in 1992. In Lebed’s view, what occurred since 1991 was not reform, but a system of “chaotic measures” to reduce and reorganize the military establishment. The level of readiness in the armed forces dropped due to this mish-mash of actions.

Even President Yeltsin admitted the failings of reform. “On February 23, 1995, after a wreath-laying ceremony at the tomb of the Unknown Soldier, Yeltsin said ‘the army has begun to fall to pieces,’ precisely because ‘we have been late in introducing reforms.’”⁹⁷ In 1996, once again reform became a political issue and Yeltsin utilized it for his re-election campaign. He promised not only reform, but also an end to the draft in Russia by the year 2000. However, Yeltsin never followed through with the intended reforms, which seemed only a political ploy to gain time. Fundamental military reforms appeared doomed until President Yeltsin’s appointment of Marshal Igor Sergeev as the new Minister of Defense in 1997.

⁹⁵ Captain First Rank Sergey Borisovich Bondar, “Navy Manning Problems,” *Morskoy Sbornik*, 01 July 1996, reported and translated by Foreign Broadcast Information Service, 28 March 1997, FTS19970328000788, p. 1.

⁹⁶ Colonel Yuriy Churkin, “Lebed Interview on National Security Priorities,” *Morskoy Sbornik*, 01 September 1996, reported and translated by Foreign Broadcast Information Service, 01 September 1996, FTS19960901000514, p. 1.

⁹⁷ Pavel Felgenhauer, *Russian Military Reform: Ten Years of Failure*

D. YELTSIN'S SECOND MILITARY REFORM ATTEMPT

The second attempt at military reform was preceded by President Yeltsin's annual address to the Federal Assembly in March 1997. In this speech, he stated that it was necessary for five things to occur for military reform to work.⁹⁸ However, no new reform measures were presented. During this period then Defense Minister Igor Rodionov was attempting to implement his version of military reforms in the summer of 1997 after the defeat in the First Chechen War. "Defence Minister Rodionov was desperately pushing forward quite elaborate and far-going plans; there were also several alternative proposals developed by civilian experts."⁹⁹ However, President Yeltsin opted for a reduced approach from what was presented by Rodionov. "The military reform launched in mid-1997 was essentially a packaging of several long-overdue structural measures such as, merging the Air Defence into the Air Force or reducing the number of military districts."¹⁰⁰ The only major change presented was to integrate all components of the strategic forces under one command, however Air Force and Navy Commanders effectively nullified this proposal. Therefore, the reduced approach by Yeltsin was enacted.

President Yeltsin appointed two commissions to direct military reform, while the Minister of Defense also proposed his outline for reform measures. The first commission was headed by Prime Minister Victor Chernomyrdin and was to address technical issues. The second was headed by First Deputy Prime Minister Anatolii Chubais and was to address financial issues. Finally, Minister of Defense Sergeyev proposed the unification

⁹⁸ (1) To bring the state's entire military organization in line with the potential threats and challenges to Russia's security, within the country's economic capabilities. The structure of the armed services and the Armed Forces will be optimized; the number of Ministries and departments that are allowed to have armed formations will be cut; and the numerical strength of the Armed Forces and other troops will be reduced. The authorized strength of the Armed Forces is to be cut by 200,000 this year alone. (2) To strengthen social protections, social support and retraining in civilian specialties for officers and warrant officers discharged from the Armed Forces, and other troops in connection with their reduction, on the basis of existing and specially drafted state programs. (3) To build highly mobile forces as a component of military districts on the regional principle. (4) To put the manning of the Armed Forces and other troops onto a contract footing, as the necessary infrastructure is built. (5) To focus military-technical policy efforts on the provision of high-quality equipment, and on growth in the combat efficiency of the Armed Forces and other troops. The eventual purpose of military reform is to build sufficient defenses and qualitatively new Armed Forces and other troops, which would be fitted out with up-to-date military equipment and boast high professional skill. Pavel Felgenhauer, *Russian Military Reform: Ten Years of Failure*.

⁹⁹ Pavel Baev, *Putin's Military Reform: Two Trajectories for the First Presidency*.

¹⁰⁰ Ibid.

of the Strategic Missile Forces, Space Forces, Air Forces and the Air Defense Forces under one command. While not all of the proposals were enacted, many did occur. Many Hollow ‘cadre’ divisions were eliminated while a small number of ‘permanent readiness’ divisions were created. Moderate structural reforms, such as the merger of the air defense and air forces, as well as, the reduction in the number of military educational institutions, were also pushed through. Some reform measures were taking place, but larger issues were being ignored. In order for Yeltsin to move forward with practical reform measures, base closures and deep personnel cuts had to be addressed, but were not.

Boris Yeltsin often stressed that “the threat of a large-scale war of aggression against Russia is from the sphere of fantasy,” due to the nuclear threat held by Russia.¹⁰¹ However, Yeltsin stated his concern that a new ‘cordon sanitaire’ on Russia’s western front could occur. “This statement appears to set the basis for real military reform: to build and preserve a Russian force capable of deterring unfriendly NATO forces with nuclear weapons, according to Pavel Felgenhauer, the Defense and National Security editor of the *Svedonya* newspaper in Moscow.”¹⁰² However, it was well known the military’s problems stemmed from the poor economy, corruption and theft. The Minister of Defense Igor Sergeyev made some very interesting remarks on May 23, 1997 “We are realists”, “We will proceed on those funds which the country is in a position today and tomorrow to allocate to defense.”¹⁰³ The goal was to raise the qualitative level in equipment and supplies and for the social status of servicemen. “In fact the reform of the armed forces should have begun five or six years ago, Sergeyev argued.”¹⁰⁴ His statements struck at the heart of the matter concerning reform. Sergeyev had to deal with the many disputes between the service chiefs. The disputes were resolved in the Security Council and in 1998 Boris Yeltsin signed “The Basis (Concept) Of The State Policy Of The Russian Federation On Military Construction Through The Year 2005.” The policy

¹⁰¹ Major General, Retired, Valentin Rog, “National Security Concept Critique,” *Morskoy Sbornik*, 01 March 2000, reported and translated by Foreign Broadcast Information Service, 08 May 2000, FTS200000508000176, p. 2.

¹⁰² Pavel Felgenhauer, *Russian Military Reform: Ten Years of Failure*

¹⁰³ Oleg Falichev, “Progress Noted in Military Reforms,” *Morskoy Sbornik*, 1 May 1999, reported and translated by Foreign Broadcast Information Service, 25 July 1999, FTS19990725000342, p. 1.

¹⁰⁴ *Ibid*, p. 2.

laid out clear lines of authority, which put an end to interdepartmental quarrels.¹⁰⁵ It appeared suitable changes were occurring in the military reform process and were noted from various sources.

Vice Admiral Mikhail Zakharenko, Pacific Fleet Chief of Staff, noted positive changes in July 1997, changes that flowed from the 1st realistic reform in the Navy. Admiral Zakharenko viewed non-standard thinking as a requirement to motivate personnel to adapt to the economic situation. However, Admiral Zakharenko noted the numerous problems in the reform measures being enacted.¹⁰⁶

In August 1998, just as some reform measures had taken a step in the right direction, albeit a minor one, an economic crash stymied further measures.¹⁰⁷ At that point, the money the navy had counted on for reforms became worthless. Reform debates commenced again with military specialists believing that no effective measure for carrying out the reforms existed. Once a decision was made it was not adequately followed up. The naval leadership made decisions that failed to take account of Russia's fragile economy. As a result, navy morale plummeted. In September 2000, the Commander of the VARYAG, noted the following:

- A brand new lieutenant receives only 1600 rubles and sea pay and for the first five years on a ship an officer is only entitled to service quarters.
- Medical commissariats send ill personnel; therefore dozen of sailors must be written off from call up alone.
- Some seaman are sent utilizing youth travel passes which saves money so thank you letters are sent to parents and city leaders.
- Some seamen do not know how to brush their teeth.

¹⁰⁵ Ibid, p. 2.

¹⁰⁶ Concerns for naval commanders were as follows: (1) Ships must go to sea, but increased financing should not be expected. (2) Officers are not able to feed their families, but are working to maintain their ships. (3) It is becoming more and more difficult to make it to the CO's chair because a reduction in the number of ships has frozen promotion. (4) Warrant officers cannot meet the needs of the demands placed on them. (5) Industry that used to support the ships is falling apart. (6) New ships are coming to the fleet, however they are not in the numbers needed.

¹⁰⁷ The Russian ruble became suspect, similar to many Asian currencies, due to the default by the Russian Federation regarding its debt, which caused the eventual economic downturn.

- Sea time limited due to no fuel, therefore a typical underway period is twenty-four hours.
- Low educational levels of new recruits are disturbing.¹⁰⁸

Personnel and commanders live on hopes for more funding and a greater attention to the navy. Documents now in circulation addressing concepts for future security in the Russian Federation may be the ‘medicine the doctor ordered’ for the navy. Appendix B.¹⁰⁹ displays a breakdown of naval forces since the beginning of reforms. If followed and implemented the ‘Russian Naval Policy’¹¹⁰ and the ‘World Ocean’¹¹¹ concepts may

¹⁰⁸ Captain First Rank, Sergey Moyseyev and K. Lobkov, “Commanding Officer of Pacflt Flagship, Varyag, Discusses Morale,” *Morskoy Sbornik*, 01 September 2000, reported and translated by Foreign Broadcast Information Service, 28 September 2000, FTS20000928000321, p. 1.

¹⁰⁹ Rear-Admiral (retired) Radiy Anatolyevich Zubkov, “R-Adm Zubkov on State of Russian Navy,” *Morskoy Sbornik*, 01 January 1996, reported and translated by Foreign Broadcast Information Service, 28 March 1997, FTS19970328000664, p. 2.

¹¹⁰ The new naval policy has been broken down by Admiral V Kravchenko and appears appropriately to address the financial realities in the Russian Federation. The grandiose goal of rivaling the US Navy appears to be a thing of the past. The goals and stages presented appear to be realistic, however the doctrine has not been ratified. Once again the importance of the Navy is in question. The main goals, stages and assurances for the policy are as follows:

Goals the Navy feels it needs to meet: (1) Protect Russian sea borders. (2) Restrain the process of weakening naval potential. (3) Coordinate state regulation problems in ship construction

Stages that need to be met: (1) By 2002, develop priorities for the Navy’s next 5-10 years. (2) From 2003-2007, Stabilize Russia’s status of a sea power and the security in adjacent waters. (3) By 2007, Stabilize Russia’s status of a sea power and invigorate economics by exploiting the world’s oceans. (4) By 2020, Begin massive rearming and replace the existing fleet.

The new Russian naval policy ensures: (1) Strategic nuclear deterrence will be maintained. (2) Deter individuals or coalitions from attacking Russia. (3) Defense of the state will occur from the sea and ocean directions will occur if attacked. (4) Helping border troops by guarding the underwater environment.

M. Mostak, “Northern Fleet Exercise Assessed,” *Morskoy Sbornik*, 01 July 1999, reported and translated by Foreign Broadcast Information Service, 28 September 1999, FTS19990928001681, p. 1.

¹¹¹ The World Ocean concept paper was implemented with a Presidential Decree in January 1997, due to Russia’s curtailment of oceanographic activities. “The program is aimed at a comprehensive solution of the problem of exploration and effective use of the World Ocean in the interests of economic development and provision for the national security of the country.” Therefore, the main point of the paper is to stop the decline of Russian maritime activities abroad. The concept provides the Navy with the ammunition it requires to restore its prominence by not allowing a military-technological lag behind developed countries. The unification of all ministries for naval development is seen as important for adequate development. Therefore, the Navy must become less burdensome for the country and protect Russia’s national interests in the world’s oceans.

Atlantic: Rich in mineral resources and seafood, avenue for economic cooperation.

Pacific: Continental shelf, seafood, marine animals, minerals and deep-water ports, avenue for economic cooperation.

Arctic: Deep water ports, only open exit to the Atlantic for Russia, large deposits of oil, coal, gas, iron ore, and poly metals, seafood, fresh water fish and quickest route to the Far East.

once again be the impetus that has been required for adequate reform during President Putin's tenure in office.

E. PUTIN'S MILITARY REFORMS

Waste and mismanagement has been a characteristic of the Russian Military since the collapse of the Soviet Union. Increased military spending is being seen as throwing money into the fire, because previous reform measures have not taken shape. Many of President Putin's specific reform measures for the Navy are presented in Chapter V. President Putin appears poised to be the first true glimmer of hope for the military, but he must ensure his reform measures do not fail as past presidents have. However, proper reform measures may be difficult because his arrival to power was directly linked to the problem of the build-up and use of military power.¹¹² However, similar to Yeltsin, President Putin was not eager to rapidly implement military reform measures during his early tenure in office. The military leadership opposed drastic reform measures and the issue did not provide him with "votes" required for election into office. His willingness to place military reform on the 'backburner' was seen best during his 'conceptual' address in July 2000 to parliament, when the issue of military reform was neglected.¹¹³ Every military leader in the world wants to increase the resources and prestige of his/her country's military forces, and Putin is no different.

Moscow does not have the capital required to rebuild its Cold War force structure. Clear and concise reform will be the only avenue available to President Putin; therefore the force structure for Russia in the future must be a smaller state-of-the-art force. "As experts see it, the best outcome for Russia would be the emergence of a smaller, more modern fighting force shaped to deal with border incursions and internal disputes, according to Stuart Powell, who is the White House correspondent for Hearst

Indian: Large reserves of marine mineral and biological resources, expansion of economic cooperation (Iraq, Yemen, Mozambique, Ethiopia, etc...).

Baltic, Black, Caspian and Med: Short lines of communications to Africa, Near and Middle East, Northern Med, economic possibilities, ice free seaports, oil in the Caspian sea.

The World Ocean [Paper on-line] [Decree #11 of the President of the Russian Federation, Moscow, 1997] (accessed 12 August 2001); available from <http://www.fas.org/nuke/guide/russia/doctrine/CDONEW22.htm>; Internet.

¹¹² Ibid.

¹¹³ Pavel Baev, *Putin's Military Reform: Two Trajectories for the First Presidency*.

Newspapers.”¹¹⁴ If the continental focus is the leading case, then the Navy will find it difficult to garner any support for its reform measures. The naval leadership is hoping to catch the attention of the native St Petersburg, President Putin, while utilizing the debacle of the KURSK accident to push for desired naval reforms. However, Putin has warned, “the structure of the armed forces must precisely correspond to the threats Russia faces now and will face in the future. To maintain such a cumbersome and at times ineffective military organization is extravagant. In our situation, it’s simply impermissible.”¹¹⁵ This point was addressed again in President Putin’s June speech to graduates in Russia’s military academies, “We are paying special attention to military construction and military reform. The unique geopolitical location of Russia, its vast territory and long borders present great demands before defenders of the homeland.” President Putin understands the immense size and structure of the military must be addressed and he has enacted upon reducing some of the ‘bloat’.

It should be noted that the Russian Federation has drastically cut its military forces from four million to 1.2 million, while the Navy has diminished its force size from 450,000 to 180,000 men.¹¹⁶ As Dr Alexi Arbatov has stated many times, the Russian Federation must decide between a qualitative or a quantitative armed force structure, because it can not afford to do both. In September 2000, President Putin ordered a three-year reduction to cut another 350,000 personnel and maintain a force structure of 850,000.¹¹⁷ The Army is projected to receive the deepest cuts. But the Navy will also lose 50,000 personnel. The ultimate goal in the proposed personnel reductions is to free funds for fuel, spare parts, maintenance and training.¹¹⁸ The downsizing of the armed forces is a step in the right direction. But it has been prepared without any reflection on

¹¹⁴ Stewart Powell, *Russia’s Military Retrenchment* [magazine article on-line] [Air Force Magazine, August 2001] (accessed 06 August 2001); available from <http://ebird.dtic.mil/Aug2001/s20010806russias.htm>; Internet.

¹¹⁵ Ibid.

¹¹⁶ Current military personnel breakdown: 1.2 million servicemen; 800,000 civilians serving in the armed forces; and 1 million civilians serving in ‘other’ agencies, such as interior troops, border guards and special construction troops. Putin is committed to a reduction of 600,000 personnel by 2004. Servicemen would decrease to 865,000; civilians would decrease to 670,000 and ‘others’ would decrease to 900,000. Rear-Admiral (retired) Radiy Anatolyevich Zubkov, “R-Adm Zubkov on State of Russian Navy.”

¹¹⁷ The force will be 20% as large as the force structure in the Cold War.

¹¹⁸ Stewart Powell, *Russia’s Military Retrenchment*.

the mission or structure of the Russian military.¹¹⁹ Therefore, it will be difficult to maintain a strong foreign policy in the Asian-Pacific region with cuts this deep for the Navy.

Tackling the issue of the ‘bloat’ in the military is just one focus for President Putin. He also wants to increase the professionalism in the military. It has been reported that President Putin earned nearly ninety percent of the military vote in his last election due to his pledge to eliminate the draft. Putin’s goals are to reduce the years of neglect and ensure that missed paydays, food shortages, brutal hazing, and corrupt moonlighting become things of the past.¹²⁰ In his view, the shift to an all-volunteer force offers the only valid path to future improvements. More recently, the issue of military reform appears to be attaining a higher priority on President Putin’s agenda. The catalyst for current reform measures was the sinking of the KURSK and the Ostankino tower fire, both of which showcased Russia’s dilapidated military infrastructure.

The appointment of Sergei Ivanov as the new Minister of Defense in March 2001 could provide the impetus towards serious and sustained reform efforts. In January 2001, President Putin signed a package of documents regarding reform in the military that was generated by the Security Council and the General Staff. “The documents are supposed to elaborate the basic decisions taken during the series of meetings of the Security Council during autumn 2000.”¹²¹ However, various proposals for military reform continue to be debated. First, the Yabloko Party¹²² proposes wide cuts in the military forces. This is countered by the Communist Party, which advocates a Soviet style army structure half the size of Cold War levels and to spend more resources building against NATO enlargement. Third, the Council on Foreign and Defense Policy places a greater emphasis

¹¹⁹ Victoria Levin, “Prospects for Military Reform in Russia,” [paper on-line] [Carnegie Endowment] (accessed on 14 August 2001); available from <http://www.ceip.org/files/events/trenin.asp?pr=2&EventID=249>; Internet.

¹²⁰ Stewart Powell, *Russia’s Military Retrenchment*.

¹²¹ Pavel Baev, *Putin’s Military Reform: Two Trajectories for the First Presidency*.

¹²² Yabloko (apple) was a political party formed in 1993 as opposition to the method of reforming Russia’s economy by President Yeltsin. The party has the intention of making life “normal” by consolidating the statehood of Russia in a consistent democracy without using violence and extraordinary solutions. *All-Russia Public Political Organization Yabloko* [Yabloko Party website on-line] (accessed on 14 August 2001); available from <http://www.eng.yabloko.ru/Programme/Docs/Yabloko.html>; Internet.

on restoring the ties between the Armed Forces and the Defense industries.¹²³ The task to address each of the separate proposals has fallen upon the Security Council. While Ivanov's appointment is seen as a positive step for military reform, numerous problems remain. It appears probable that many crucial issues will not be properly addressed due to the political infighting, which can only be resolved by President Putin.

The President of the Russian Federation will be the only person who can control the political infighting and implement proper reform measures. "A real reform can only be a presidential initiative, executed by a committed team of reformers with sufficient political support under constant financial supervision, Baev argues."¹²⁴ The political strength of Putin allows him to be in the position to enact clear and concise military reforms, but even he has said that reforms could take a decade or longer for full implementation.¹²⁵ Therefore, Russia must still contend with the burden of a massive and unreformed defense-industrial complex that employs two million people and presents a formidable "obstacle on Russia's road towards more functional, market-oriented economy."¹²⁶ Only if the economy maintains its current positive growth rate, will reform measures have the capability to be performed. Yet to be seen is whether Putin's determination will be enough to bring about the changes in attitude and organization that everyone agrees will be needed.¹²⁷

F. CONCLUSION

The attempts at military reform by Mikhail Gorbachev and Boris Yeltsin were minimalist at best and only concerned the economy. One can only speculate as to the reform measures President Putin will enact. Initially, he has embarked on strategy of reduction similar to that of President Yeltsin. The reality is reform measures in the Russian Federation have only amounted to further cuts in the military forces and few modern organizational changes. Low pay and poor discipline continue to diminish the effectiveness of the forces. The draft is a major problem and violence still occurs in the

¹²³ Pavel Baev, *Putin's Military Reform: Two Trajectories for the First Presidency*.

¹²⁴ Ibid.

¹²⁵ Stewart Powell, *Russia's Military Retrenchment*.

¹²⁶ Victoria Levin, "Prospects for Military Reform in Russia."

¹²⁷ Stewart Powell, *Russia's Military Retrenchment*.

ranks. Roughly 70% of defense spending today is for personnel and maintenance. “There has been a remarkable lack of progress in most areas of military reform and that fact in itself is news,” says Terence Taylor, IISS Assistant Director. “I suspect the armed forces will be able to get their share of the defense budget, but whether that will enhance the situation is doubtful.”¹²⁸ Reform measures appear to be moving forward. However the desire and speed of reforms is in doubt. The numerous attempts for reform in the Russian Navy have failed and will continue to fail because they have not been properly implemented and most have been undertaken in a disorganized and haphazard manner.

¹²⁸ Ibid.

IV. FOREIGN POLICY IN THE WESTERN PACIFIC REGION

A. INTRODUCTION

This chapter focuses on the Russian Federation's foreign policy in the Western Pacific Region. Russia has little to offer regional powers such as Japan, Korea or even Vietnam. Despite assurances by President Putin that the Western Pacific will be a primary focus of Russia's interests, the loss of Cam Ranh Bay in Vietnam (in 2004) exemplified the Russian Federation's decline as a naval power. China, too, has recognized the Russian Federation's current weakness. In fact, Russia's weakness has brought the two powers closer together to coordinate their military priorities, diplomacy and arms transfer policies to check what they see as U.S. hegemony in the Western Pacific. But, at the same time, Putin swings between pro and anti-U.S. stances. Without a credible long-term vision for the Pacific, or a means to carry out a forward policy there, Putin's policies continue to be opportunistic.

B. LITTLE TO OFFER

Moscow has little to offer regional powers in the Asia-Pacific region. The Russian Federation will not be viewed as a major player in the Pacific Region until their economic system fully converts to a market economy. Even with the break-up of the Soviet Union, the Russian Federation has been unable to fully convert to the "open" international market.

In 1993, the Tokyo Declaration was signed during President Boris Yeltsin's trip and has been the cornerstone for the development of bilateral relations. Japan's sole fundamental policy towards Russia is to resolve the issue of the 'Northern Territories'¹²⁹ by 2000, which would conclude with a peace treaty and fully normalize relations between the two countries. Obviously the issue of the 'Northern Territories' has not been concluded, but progress has been seen in political, economic, security issues. The two countries have exchanged port visits, as Japan does not wish to alienate Russia militarily. Japan has readjusted its naval force structure to deal with a broader range of defense contingencies and shifted away from its former preoccupation with the Soviet threat.

¹²⁹ The Etorofu, Kunashiri, Shikotan, and the Habomai islands administered by Russia since 1945, but claimed by Japan.

Russia has nothing to offer Japan diplomatically or militarily beyond the resolution of the 'Northern Territories' issue. In fact, it is Japan that is assisting Russia by aiding Russian submarine decommissioning through technology and equipment transfers, as well as financial support. For example, from 1994-1999, Japan disbursed \$100 million and June 1999 announced an additional \$200 million contribution for submarine decommissioning and plutonium disposition.¹³⁰ Finally, in February 1997, the United States, Japan and Korea embarked upon 'Trilateral Naval Cooperation' due to the evolving security environment in Northeast Asia.

Trade agreements and human rights issues constitute the major diplomatic concerns between Russia and Korea. On 15 May 2001, the fifth round of working-level talks for the coordination of defense policy occurred between the Russian and Korean ministries of defense. Discussions focused on bilateral exchanges of military personnel and the promotion of mutual cooperation. The fact that these talks are occurring is encouraging. But, as with Japan, the U.S. military presence is the dominant force in Korea. The United States has seven installations in Korea, including one naval facility (Chinhae Fleet Activities). The majority of the Republic of Korea Navy's (ROKN) ships are small craft. Hence, the operational capability for 'blue-water' operations is limited, so that cooperation with the U.S. Navy has occurred since the cessation of hostilities on the peninsula in the 1953. Moscow simply cannot provide the same forward presence as the United States Seventh Fleet.

Furthermore, Moscow's backing of Pyongyang over the years has left a bitter taste in Seoul's mouth. North Korea has requested that Russia provide a number of high-tech weapons, including ground-to-air missiles, anti-aircraft radar navigation systems, large warships, and advanced T-90 tanks. However, Sergei Ivanov, the Russian Federation Defense Minister, said the defense cooperation between the two countries would mainly involve spare parts for North Korea's aging military equipment. Ivanov said the arms trade with the North would be of a nature and scope that will not compromise stability on the Korean Peninsula.¹³¹

¹³⁰ Michael J. Green and Katsuhisa Furukawa, "New ambitions, old obstacles: Japan and its Search for an arms control strategy," *Arms Control Today*, vol. 30, Issue 6, (Jul/Aug 2000), pp. 17-24.

¹³¹ Jang-Jin Hwang, "Russia, N.K. Make Progress on High-tech Weapons Trade," *Korea Herald*, 31 July 2001.

Relations with Vietnam, so close during the Vietnam War, have grown more distant since 1989. The Soviet Union had a number of overseas naval bases, but Cam Ranh Bay was pivotal for the Pacific Fleet. Cam Ranh Bay has two 10,000 foot runways and is an excellent deep-water port. The bay provides a relatively secure position; hence it is the site of large munitions and Petroleum/Oil/Lubricants storage sites. The stationing of Soviet air and naval forces began in 1978 with the establishment of the Soviet-Vietnamese alliance. During the 1980s, the Soviet military role in Vietnam increased as Moscow provided Hanoi with weapons and equipment. In return, the Soviet Navy benefited from harbor access at Danang and Cam Ranh Bay, while reconnaissance aircraft operated out of Vietnamese airfields. Since 1989, Russian combat troops have been withdrawn from Cam Ranh Bay, and only a few auxiliary vessels remain.

In 1993, Moscow and Hanoi signed a ten-year contract that ensured the continued use of signal intelligence facilities at Cam Ranh Bay. The government of Vietnam did not extend the lease on Russia's sole military base in Southeast Asia beyond 2003, claiming they required the port for civilian economic development. Therefore, from 2004, Russia will have no signal intelligence coverage of the South China Sea. The importance of the facility to the intelligence community is immeasurable and will be difficult to replace. The Russian Federation's diminishing position in the Asia-Pacific region is evident in the loss of use of the facilities at Cam Ranh Bay.

Relations with China are improving and the goal is to increase the military sphere of cooperation with neighboring countries in the Pacific region. However, the scope of military contacts with these countries has been limited, in part because the Russian Pacific Fleet is unable to dispatch more than one squadron of ships in the Russian Pacific Fleet.* The only 'trump cards' available to Moscow are its nuclear weapons capability and high-tech weapons systems.¹³² The nuclear capability ensures countries in the region

* Chapter V provides a greater emphasis regarding the lack of deployments and exercises conducted by the Russian Pacific Fleet.

¹³² The Russian Pacific Fleet has increased its nuclear exercise frequency in the past few years. The recognition of how much more powerful the U.S. Navy's hold on maritime dominance is has produced a chilling realization concerning the use of nuclear weapons. "[A number of people] in the Russian military have publicly speculated in writing that the use by the Russian Navy of a tactical nuclear weapon against a US fleet carrier battle group (CVBG) would not really constitute nuclear war." The outcome of recent exercises in the Pacific region has led Russian planners to conclude that nuclear weapons are the only means to check an aggressive U.S. advance. Subsequently, simulated nuclear launches were conducted off

will not ignore Moscow, but it is only a matter of time before Russia loses its advantage in high-tech weapons systems. “Russia and China share the same objective: They want to constrain United States military power,” according to Bao Shifen, a scholar at the Shanghai Institute for International Studies.¹³³ China sees the Russian Federation as the only country that can compete with the United States as a nuclear power. While this remains true with Intercontinental Ballistic Missiles, the Russian Pacific Fleet may lose its strategic submarine capabilities, thereby diminishing any military dominance Moscow may claim in the Asia Pacific region.

C. THE CHINA CARD

President Vladimir Putin is well aware of his weakness at home. Since the beginning of his presidency, he had been concerned with the conflict in Chechnya, quarrels with Russia’s oligarchs and NATO’s eastward expansion. All of these concerns have caused Putin to strengthen ties with the PRC. In June 2001 President Putin, prior to meeting President George W. Bush, traveled to Shanghai to set up a regional cooperation semi-alliance with President Jiang Zemin and the rest of the Shanghai Cooperation. The diplomatic and military priorities approach has provided Moscow leverage in the Asia-Pacific region. Leverage has also been attained with arms sales between Russia and countries in the Asia-Pacific region, specifically China. Moscow views these ties as providing the ability to maintain a voice in regional affairs and as collateral to discourage China from invading the Russian Far East with Chinese immigrants.

What do the Chinese seek from Russia and Vladimir Putin in return? Beijing wants President Putin to strengthen control of the Central Asian regions to discourage Islamic-inspired separatism there, as well as to provide high-tech equipment for China. Russia is eager to retain what is left of its far-flung empire to slow, and eventually reverse, Moscow’s declining influence in the Far East. Moscow will be able to continue

the coast of Alaska. This results in a departure from Soviet policy. Since 1958, Soviet President Nikita Khrushchev, who flatly refused to risk nuclear confrontation with the U.S. over Taiwan, devised the nuclear policy for the Soviet Union. Yung, Christopher, Kim Soo Chang, Wie, Hwan Sue and Ishizu, Tomoyuki, *Trilateral Naval Cooperation: Japan-US-Korea*, (Korea Institute for Defense Analyses, The National Institute for Defense Studies and The Center for Naval Analyses, 1997), p. 7. And Baker, Richard W, ed. *Asia Pacific Security Outlook 2000*, (Tokyo: Japan Center for International Exchange, 2000), p. 145.

¹³³ Andrew Higgins, “Russia Courts China in an Effort to Constrain U.S. before Summit,” *Wall Street Journal*, 15 June 2001.

focusing on reasserting control over the oil-rich lands around the Caspian Sea and the pipeline routes to the West by maintaining stability in the border regions. President Putin can then make the claim to Russian nationalists that he saved this part of the extended empire; if Chinese-Russian and Russian-Japanese border negotiations can be delayed indefinitely.¹³⁴

1. Military Priorities

The military budget for the Russian Federation was increased in 2001 by 50 percent to \$7.9 billion, and the provisional budget for 2002 includes another 20 percent increase to \$9.5 billion. Moscow has moved to boost investments in military projects, with a significant portion going to the navy. The goal to secure Russia's maritime frontiers and influence global maritime operations continues to be echoed. Even greater emphasis is placed by Moscow on ballistic missile submarines as Russia's most important nuclear strategic deterrent. In 2000, President Putin approved a 'roadmap' that calls for building new naval fleet 'flagships' over the next five years with successive production to be completed by 2010, and a total rearmament by 2020. Russian Navy commander-in-chief Vladimir Kuroyedov recently told reporters in St Petersburg that "Russia is making a step toward the realization that it is a naval power," according to ITAR-TASS. If this were true, a re-emergence of the Russian Navy in the Asia-Pacific region would have widespread implications, fueling naval arms races already underway in Asia between China, South Korea, Japan and others. And, the influence Russia desires in the region would possibly be attained. However, even with this impressive propaganda, the state of the Russian Navy remains dismal: only 40 percent to 60 percent of personnel are able to fulfill their assignments due to aging and inoperable ships and equipment. It is far more likely that Russia's Navy will dwindle to fewer than 60 ships in a little more than a decade.¹³⁵

Moscow has also stated plans to create a pair of high-readiness joint force groups by 2006. One group will be based in Southwestern Asia and one in Central Asia. "These forces will be the first to receive new weapons systems," says Oksana Antonenko, a

¹³⁴ Bruce Elleman and Sarah Paine, "Security Pact with Russia Bolsters China's Power," *International Herald Tribune*, 6 August 2001.

¹³⁵ "Signs of Strength in Russia's Navy, Possible wit Help of Stolen U.S. Secrets," *Stratfor*, 14 June 2001.

research fellow for the Institute for International Studies.¹³⁶ And, the priority for equipment modernization will be given to air force and missile air defense, communications, reconnaissance systems, and precision weapons. It should be noted that no mention has been made regarding the recreation of a naval squadron for Southeastern Asia has been mentioned. How can the Russian Navy or the Russian Pacific Fleet be taken seriously when Russia's meager defense priorities are being focused on other services? As stated earlier, Russia is a continental power and the naval leadership will not easily divert this focus.

2. Diplomacy

Moscow and Beijing have already demonstrated an ability to cooperate to defeat U.S. diplomatic initiatives, as was seen in the defeat of the United States proposal for "smart sanctions" against Iraq. First, China extracted economic concessions from Washington in return for not using its veto in the United Nations Security Council to stop the United States plan. Then Russia stepped in with a veto. The Shanghai Cooperation Organization and the Treaty on Good Neighborly Friendship and Cooperation between the Russian Federation and the People's Republic of China offer two examples of Russian Federation /People's Republic of China agreement to thwart the United States, Taiwan provides a third area of cooperation.

a. Shanghai Cooperation Organization

On June 15 2001, the Presidents of China, Russia and four former Soviet Central Asian republics established a political-military coalition called, the Shanghai Cooperation Organization (SCO).¹³⁷ The organization was formed to promote mutual trust, good-neighborly and friendly relations between the member states and strengthen regional security and stability by promoting joint development. Chinese President Zemin stated that the six countries had agreed upon political, military and intelligence cooperation for the purpose of "cracking down on terrorism, separatism, extremism" and

¹³⁶ The Kremlin wants to tackle long-fester problems, and painful reform can't be avoided much longer. Stewart Powell, *Russia's Military Retrenchment* [magazine article on-line] [Air Force Magazine, August 2001] (accessed 06 August 2001); available from <http://ebird.dtic.mil/Aug2001/s20010806russias.htm>; Internet.

¹³⁷ The Shanghai Cooperation Organization was formerly known as the 'Shanghai Five,' which was formed in April 1996. The initial focus was to resolve border disputes and secure tension free relations. The countries involved: Russian Federation, China, Kazakhstan, Kyrgyzstan, Tajikistan and Uzbekistan (admitted in 2001), hold a yearly summit to discuss pending issues. Eventually, other nations may be invited to join including Pakistan, India and Mongolia.

to maintain “regional security.” Specifically, Moscow and Beijing view the SCO as a means to combat twin evils: Islamic militancy in Central Asia and U.S. hegemony throughout the world.

The political significance of the current ‘association’ is not as great as Moscow would like. Also, the events of 11 September 2001 in the United States have led to an increase in America’s role in Central Asia.¹³⁸ However, both countries realize the advantage of “soft” influence gained through the political and economic means. The SCO is taking on a regional dimension. The six countries involved in the SCO cover 30 million square kilometers, 60 percent of continental Europe and Asia and have a combined population of 1.5 billion. President Putin is ‘grasping for straws’ in the Far East, willing to use almost any means to salvage Russia’s prestige as a superpower.¹³⁹

b. Treaty on Good Neighborly Friendship and Cooperation between the Russian Federation and the People’s Republic of China

On 16 July 2001, Russian President Vladimir Putin and Chinese President Jiang Zemin signed a treaty of cooperation in Moscow. The treaty brings the countries together for the next 20 years and commits them jointly to oppose a majority of the framework for international security that the United States has been seeking to impose since the end of the Cold War. The treaty is officially called the Treaty on Good Neighborly Friendship and Cooperation between the Russian Federation and the People’s Republic of China.¹⁴⁰ One Russian commentator in Moscow described the treaty as “an act of friendship against America.” The pact says that Russia and China will “uphold the strict observance of generally recognized principles and norms of international law against any actions aimed at exerting pressure or interfering, under any pretext, with the internal affairs of sovereign states.”

¹³⁸ The 11 September 2001 incident refers to the terrorist attacks in New York, Washington and Pennsylvania.

¹³⁹ Mahmud, Khalid Mahmud, “Beginning of a new alliance,” [paper on-line] [DAWN]; (accessed on 19 October 2001), available from <http://www.dawn.com/2001/08/29/op.htm>; Internet.

¹⁴⁰ The treaty is composed of 25 articles and formally opposes the United States missile plans, and places Russia more firmly behind China’s claim of sovereignty over the island of Taiwan. It also strengthens military cooperation between Beijing and Moscow while rejecting the intervention in the Balkans by NATO. Also, the treaty stipulates a further reduction of military forces in the border regions, an arrangement to fight terrorism and drug trafficking, work to resolve the final disputes along the 2,250 mile border and prevent groups or a country from using the territory of one against the other.

The treaty is the first such agreement between the two countries since Mao Tse-tung and Joseph Stalin signed the Sino-Soviet Treaty of 1950. Although the treaty states that it “is not aimed at any third country,” it does seek to promote a “new international order.”¹⁴¹ The five key areas of cooperation are: (1) Joint actions to offset a perceived U.S. hegemony; (2) Demarcation of the two countries’ long disputed 4,300 kilometer border; (3) Arms sales and technology transfers; (4) Supply of energy and raw materials; (5) Cooperation to combat the rise of militant Islam in Central Asia. The goal is to divide America from its allies. Nor is Vladimir Putin, who served in the KGB between 1975 and 1991, above using covert means to achieve that goal. The treaty could provide the impetus Moscow has been searching for to further regain its standing as world power.

Since 2000, the leaders of the two countries have met over eight times to coordinate their “work together to preserve the global strategic balance.” Although Europe and the United States should take this Sino-Russian rapprochement seriously, contradictions in political objectives remain between Moscow and Beijing. Foremost among them is Russia’s ‘primordial distrust’ of the Chinese, according to Dr. James Sherr of the Royal Military Academy at Sandhurst.¹⁴² Another important goal of the treaty is to increase sales from the Russian, oil, gas, nuclear and armaments industries.¹⁴³ Although Russia may now be more ideologically aligned with China, its major trade remains with the United States. Neither Moscow nor Beijing wants to forfeit the economic benefits of trade with the United States, which is much greater than their interchange with each other.¹⁴⁴

¹⁴¹ Constantine C. Menges, “Russia, China and What’s Really on the Table,” [newspaper article-online] [Washington Post 29 July 2001 Page B02] (accessed on 17 October 2001); available from <http://www.washingtonpost.com/ac2/wp-dyn/A64193-2001Jul28?language=printer>; Internet. Menges is a senior fellow at the Hudson Institute and was special assistant for security and national affairs to President Reagan.

¹⁴² Cohen, Ariel, “The Russia-China Friendship and Cooperation Treaty: A Strategic Shift in Eurasia?,” [paper on-line] [The Heritage Foundation] (accessed on 19 October 2001); available from <http://www.heritage.org/library/background/bg1459.html>; Internet.

¹⁴³ Tyler, Patrick E, “Russia and China Sign ‘Friendship’ Pact,” *New York Times*, 17 July 2001. Patrick E. Tyler, “Russia and China Sign ‘Friendship’ Pact,” *New York Times*, 17 July 2001.

¹⁴⁴ Trade between China-U.S. \$115 billion; between Russia-China \$10 billion; Russia-U.S. \$11 billion.

c. Taiwan

Moscow is searching for any means to disrupt or prevent the perceived U.S. hegemony in the world. Hence, the first Sino-Russian cooperation agreement since the end of the Cold War, and the first regarding Taiwan, was announced in 1999 between Admiral Zakharenko and Colonel General Zhang Wannian. The “Friendship Treaty” states that, “The government of the People’s Republic of China is the sole legitimate government representing the whole of China” and “Taiwan is an integral part of China.” Evidence of the potential new military risks to Washington and its allies came this past February prior to the signing of the Friendship Treaty, in the form of Russian military exercises that included large-scale simulated nuclear and conventional attacks against United States military units “opposing” a Chinese invasion of Taiwan.¹⁴⁵ In July 2000, according to reports from Hong Kong Sing Tao newspaper, Vladimir Putin told Jiang Zemin that, in the event of a conflict between China and Taiwan, he had ordered the Russian Pacific Fleet to block any intervention by the U.S. Seventh Fleet.¹⁴⁶

Moscow believes that it can increase its world standing by flexing its military muscle, specifically the Russian Pacific Fleet, in the Far East against the United States. However, the Russian Pacific Fleet no longer possesses the capability to contend with the U.S. Seventh Fleet, even in conjunction with the PLAN. Therefore, the only means available to counter the U.S. Seventh Fleet would be nuclear war with the United States for the sake of Chinese interests in Taiwan. Therefore, the only conclusion to draw is that the Russian Federation does not have the capability to thwart a U.S. assault on Taiwan. It would limit its actions to diplomatic protests or perhaps a token naval sortie in the northern Pacific, which is unlikely.

3. Arms Trade

The Soviet economy was a command-based economy centered on the defense industry. The majority of arms sales by the Soviet Union during the Cold War period were not advanced technology weapons. This is not to say that the Soviet Union did not have advanced technology weapons. Rather, the Soviets did not export their top of the

¹⁴⁵ Constantine C. Menges, “Russia, China and What’s Really on the Table.”

¹⁴⁶ “Russian Fleet Will Intercept U.S. 7th Fleet’s Intervention in Cross-Strait War,” *Hong Kong Sing Tao Jih Pao*, 8 July 2000, reported and translated by the Foreign Broadcast Information Service, 8 July 2000, CPP 20000708000004.

line weapons systems. For example, in the 1980s, many weapons sold abroad were designed and produced in the 1950-70s. The decrease in national defense budgets throughout the world has significantly affected defense procurements. In Russia, defense procurement has declined by 80 percent since 1990.¹⁴⁷ The survival of many defense firms is directly tied to arms sales abroad. Hence, countries look to procure advanced conventional arms based on modern 1980-90s technology, and some of this technology is now being exported. The defense industry in Russia is full of expertise and advanced weapon design, but lacks the necessary demand from its impoverished military.¹⁴⁸ Many defense firms have received subsidies, but the only real source of income for the industry is exports.*

President Vladimir Putin is actively pursuing a restructuring of the defense sector. Russian leaders view the export of conventional weapons, and in particular, Military-Technical Cooperation as a possible savior for the defense industry.¹⁵⁰ Since 1991, Russian military exports have become a primary means to diminish the economic burden of military spending and ensure the effectiveness of defense industries as the core of Russia's defense potential.¹⁵¹ President Putin stated that, "It is the military industrial complex that can help Russia out of all the problems the country is facing. The government considers [the defense industry] a priority sector of the Russian economy, and the sphere of accumulating the most advanced technologies and highly skilled

¹⁴⁷ Andrew Hull and David Markov, "A Changing Market in the Arms Bazaar," *Jane's Intelligence Review* 1 March 1997, p. 140.

¹⁴⁸ If a fiscal crisis occurs again, the possibility for the transfer of even greater technologically advanced systems exists. For example, the Komsomol'sk shipyard attempted to sell the NERPA (Akula-II class) and an unnamed Akula-II class submarine, to India and China in 1999, but the government halted the unauthorized effort. Even with the growing economy the Akula series (Projects 971 and 971U) is at a standstill; one of these, the DRAKON, actually was completed in July 1995 for the Pacific Fleet but has yet to be delivered because of the debt still owed the shipyard. A. D. Baker III ed., "World Navies in Review," [magazine article on-line] [Proceedings: Combat Fleets of the World (March 2000)] (accessed on 17 October 2001); available from <http://www.usni.org/Proceedings/Articles00/PRObaker.htm#europe>; Internet.

* Some of the advanced weapon systems sold abroad are discussed in Chapter V Table 5.1.¹⁴⁹

¹⁵⁰ Mostly concerned with arms imports and exports, but also, includes the provision of military technical services, free or preferential aide, manufacturing licenses, and cooperation with other nations in the development of arms and military equipment.

¹⁵¹ A. J. Pierre and Dmitri Trenin, "Russia in the World Arms Trade," *Carnegie Endowment for International Peace*, 1997, p. 22.

personnel.”¹⁵² One of the first steps taken by President Putin was the restructuring of the defense industry in February 2000 with the creation of the Russian Conventional Weapons Agency.¹⁵³ However, the restructuring has not taken full effect and the transition to a market economy has forced the remaining defense industry companies to sell their products abroad in order to remain solvent.

India and China have welcomed Russian firms with open arms, and between them constitute about half of Russia’s total arms purchases. The thesis will only examine the Chinese role in arms sales. The widespread conviction that quality is more important than quantity has driven all the states in the Pacific region to seek the most modern and sophisticated weapons systems. In pursuit of its goal to become a world power, China has entered into a “strategic relationship” with Russia. The partnership provides hard cash to Russia in return for oil and advanced weapon systems. In the 1990s, China became the largest customer for the Russian defense industry by purchasing billions of dollars worth of aircraft, submarines, missiles and destroyers. Between 1991 and 1996, the Russian Federation sold China an estimated \$1 billion (U.S. dollars) worth of military weapons and related technologies each year. From 1996-2001, the amount of arms sales doubled to \$2 billion dollars. Currently, a five-year program is planned for \$20 billion worth of military technology transfers to China.

Russia has begun to sell some of its high-tech weapons systems abroad including the Sovremennyy class guided missile destroyer, Krivak class frigate, Kilo class submarine, Shkval “Squall” underwater rocket and the SS-N-22 “sunburn” missile. The selling of high-tech weapons could provide Moscow the leverage it desires by utilizing its

¹⁵² Russia plans to streamline its bloated defense sector by halving the number of weapons producers and consolidating the rest into big corporations capable of fighting for a larger share of the global arms market. Orders have slowed to a trickle and the sector is currently operating at less than 50% capacity. It is hoped that by combining forces, arms producers will be able to export more and use the increased earnings to finance research into new weapons systems. Guy Chazan, “Russia to Reduce Weapons Producers in a Bid to Streamline Defense Sector,” *Wall Street Journal*, 31 July 2001. And “Putin: Defense Industry Will Help Russia Out of Trouble,” *Moscow ITAR-TASS*, 21 March 2000, reported and translated by the Foreign Broadcast Information Service, 21 March 2000, CEP20000321000180.

¹⁵³ The Russian Conventional Weapons Agency is a federal executive body, which effects executive, control, and licensing, regulatory and other functions. The agency will operate in the sphere of the conventional arms industry, including research, development, production, modernization and utilization of armored vehicles, firearms and artillery systems, missile systems, high-precision weapons, cartridges for firearms, optic and electronic devices and systems for weapons and civil equipment. “Putin Approves Statute of Conventional Weapons Agency,” *Moscow ITAR-TASS*, 2 February 2000, reported and translated by the Foreign Broadcast Information Service, 21 March 2000, 2 February 2000, FTS20000202001255.

navy in the Western Pacific. But, the Chinese already have a broad program in place to train military students, scientists and engineers and over 1,500 Russian scientists work in China's design and production facilities. Therefore, the political leverage Moscow gains through its arms sales will prove to be a wasting asset. Eventually, Beijing will no longer need Russia's expertise once it feels confident in its ability to train its personnel and reverse engineer high-tech equipment. Concerns of another fiscal crisis in Russia brought on by diminished oil sales could lead to further reductions in the Russian Pacific Fleet, and diminish any leverage it may hold.

D. CONCLUSION

Russia has little to offer countries in the Far East. The loss of Cam Ranh Bay, the only remaining overseas naval presence of a once great fleet, further highlights the Russian Federation's decline. President Putin has attempted to portray the Western Pacific region as a primary focus of Russian foreign policy, but events in Europe and Central Asia have deflected those priorities, which thwarted his policies. China's recognition of Moscow's current weakness led to the Shanghai Cooperation Organization and the July 2001 Friendship treaty. Of note, a senior Chinese official said candidly that the July 2001 treaty did not explicitly include military cooperation "because we have ample agreements on that issue."¹⁵⁴ Putin has said in July 2001 that the China-Russia treaty was President Jiang Zemin's idea and it seems clear the Shanghai group was as well. Both are positioning themselves to define the rules under which the United States will be allowed to participate in the strategically important Central Asia and Western Pacific region. The reason for Russia to support China's security interests and vice versa may lie in the fact that each country now views the other as a strategic backup. Russian leaders have often stated that the threats to Russia are NATO enlargement to the West and radical Islamic forces in Chechnya in the South. The only threat to Russia in the Far East is arguably a massive Chinese migration into Siberia. Hence, the only real common interests shared between the two countries are a fear of Islamic Fundamentalism and a reduction in the perceived U.S. hegemony.

¹⁵⁴ Constantine C. Menges, "Russia, China and What's Really on the Table."

V. THE RUSSIAN NAVY TODAY

A. INTRODUCTION

On 31 December 1991, the Russian Federation was officially established as an independent state. On 7 May 1992, President Boris Yeltsin announced the creation of the Russian armed forces. Since 1992, the Russian Navy has suffered from under funding more than any other branch of the armed services. This under funding has diminished the capabilities, increased the limitations and reduced the environmental concerns of the Russian Navy. As a consequence, the Navy has reduced its focus from a blue-water to a littoral or coastal defense force.¹⁵⁵ While this altered capability has been less important in the Baltic or Black Sea where Russia built its major interlocutors, the absence of a blue-water Navy in the Pacific has severely impacted Russia's ability to project power and influence.

The structure and capabilities of the Russian Pacific Fleet will be discussed in greater detail. Historically, the Pacific Fleet has fluctuated from a piecemeal naval force to a premier naval power, depending on Russia's political and the naval strength of other littoral powers interests. Russia's lack of resources since 1990 has significantly decreased the size of the fleet. However, it should be noted many of the ships decommissioned since 1990 had already outlived their recommended life cycles, because scheduled overhauls and maintenance were never conducted. Therefore, many ships "aged" much faster than they would have with proper upkeep. Despite a decade of fiscal constraints, the Pacific Fleet is attempting once again to deploy ships to "show the flag" (Forward Presence), and to conduct naval exercises with the goal of increasing crew proficiency and demonstrating capabilities. However, these deployments and exercises are few and far between. Currently the Russian Navy does not have sufficient capabilities to support an active foreign policy in the Western Pacific region. Given other security concerns and

¹⁵⁵ Blue-water or "open ocean"; capability is defined as the ability of naval forces to project power away from homeland areas for a sustained period. Littoral or "near land" consists of two areas of battle space: 1. Seaward-the area from the open ocean to the shore, which must be controlled to support operations ashore; 2. Landward-the area inland from shore that can be supported and defended directly from the sea. Sean O'Keefe, Frank B. Kelso and C. E. Mundy, ... *FROM THE SEA: Preparing the Naval Service for the 21st Century*, Washington D.C.: Navy Office of Information, September 1992. (accessed on 14 September 2001); available from <http://www.chinfo.navy.mil/navpalib/policy/fromsea/fromsea.txt>; Internet.

a chronic lack of resources, it is unlikely that the Russian Federation will be able to build a credible Navy to support an ambitious foreign policy in the Western Pacific in the foreseeable future.



Figure 5.1 Major Russian Naval Base Locations (From: Janes Sentinel Security Assessment)

B. RUSSIAN FEDERATION NAVAL OVERVIEW

1. Capabilities and Limitations

The Russian Federation's naval forces of today have limited capabilities and numerous weaknesses. Russian Navy today is a relic of the Soviet era in both technology and force structure. However, the current capabilities are diminishing and adequate plans are not in place to prevent a further deterioration. While many of the current weaknesses are a direct consequence of the USSR, other shortcomings stem directly from Soviet naval policies that continue to the present day.

Overall, the Russian Navy's role is to provide sea-based nuclear deterrent and to support Russia's wider economic and political interests. This global security ambition is comprised by technology that dates from the Soviet era. Many of the ships and missiles

developed during the Soviet era continue to be a concern for U.S. naval forces and those of our allies (See Table 5.1).¹⁵⁶ However, while the weapons still continue to pose a threat they are no longer cutting edge.

Name	Designation	Mission	Remarks
Project 877 Kilo class, Project 636 Kilo class	SS	Protection of naval bases, coastal installations, sea lanes and reconnaissance and patrol	One of the quietest diesel submarines in the world
Project 971 Shuka-B Akula class	SSN	USW, SUW	Quietest Russian submarine built, Similar to U.S. Los Angeles class, Steady production until 1995, However current operations restricted to conserve fuel
Project 949 Granit / Oscar I and Project 949A Antey / Oscar II	SSGN	Primary SUW, Secondary USW	One of Russia's largest and most capable submarines, designed primarily to attack U.S. Carrier battlegroups, Carries 24 SS-N-19 ASM
Project 956 Sarych Sovremeny class	DDG	Primary SUW, Secondary AW	One of the last large surface combatants active in large numbers, Carries SS-N-22 and SS-N-19, 11 built from 1985-1999, designed to complement Udaloy destroyers
Project 667 BDRM Dolphin Delta IV	SSBN	Strategic Deterrence	First launched in 1985, 1st boat of class overhauled in 1999, Of note the Pacific Fleet does not have any Delta IV's in service
Project 1155 Fregat I Udaloy-I class, and Project 1155.1 Fregat II Udaloy-II class	DDG	Primary USW, Secondary SUW	Udaloy-II is Russia's only multi-purpose warship, Carries SS-N-22, Similar to the Sovremennyy class it is the only other large surface combatant with significant numbers remaining in active service
Project AFM-L Alfa Shipwreck	SS-N-19	ASM	The P-900 Alfa: Attack speed is 2.5 Mach, Warhead 300KG
Sunburn	SS-N-22	ASM	320KG Warhead, Mach 3, Fastest ASM in world today
Project 1244.1 Novik Class	SKR	USW, SUW, Patrol	1st Keel laid in 1997, but production has been temporarily suspended
Project BA-111 Shkval	Underwater Rocket	ASM, USW	Reach speeds of 200 Knots underwater, Range 7,500 yds

Table 5. 1 Technologically Advanced Russian Federation Naval Ships and Missiles
(After Ref 156)

¹⁵⁶ Of note, some of the ships and weapons have been sold to other countries in the Western Pacific region, thereby enhancing the danger to the United States and its allies. Federation of American Scientists, [various papers on-line] (accessed 14 September 2001); available from <http://fas.org/cgi-bin/taxis/webinator/search/?db=db1&query=russian+Navy>; Internet.

Even before the collapse of the USSR, the Navy was in decline.¹⁵⁷ However, Vladimir Putin has made a rhetorical commitment to Russia's political resurgence based on a 'first world navy.' One of President Putin's stated goals, described in the National Security Concept, is the restoration of the navy's blue-water capability.¹⁵⁸ In August 2000 President Putin stated that, in his view, a strong navy would provide the key for Russia's future status as a great power.

President Putin's stated interest in the naval forces has allowed Russia's naval leadership to advance proposals for the modernization and expansion of Russia's naval forces. Russians view naval power as a less threatening 'means to an end' for power projection than land or air forces. Freedom of movement, international visibility and operational flexibility assure lower levels risk of a conflagration that is associated with the Army or Air Force.¹⁵⁹ The naval leadership is taking advantage of Putin's vision to re-kindle atrophied shipbuilding efforts, a major capability during Soviet times. Also, as the Russian economy rebounds from the 1998 economic crisis, it is hoped that greater funds will be made available for defense spending. However, even with increased funding, it will take at least a decade to restore prestige and dominance of the Navy over the other services. Furthermore, at the time of writing, the world appeared on the brink of a global recession that must surely curtail funds available for a revival of the Russian Navy.

The majority of the weaknesses of the Russian Navy stem from the geographic size and location of the country, as well as ingrained Soviet operating methods. Military leaders must implement a national defense strategy for eleven different time zones and four maritime areas. Therefore, the massive size of the country and population distribution favors a continental orientation rather than a maritime one. This was best demonstrated in 1985, when the Navy was placed last in the order of precedence of the

¹⁵⁷ See Appendix B for force level implications. Zubkov, Radiy Anatolyevich Rear-Admiral (retired), "R-Adm Zubkov on State of Russian Navy," *Morskoy Sbornik*, 01 January 1996, reported and translated by Foreign Broadcast Information Service, 28 March 1997, FTS19970328000664.

¹⁵⁸ First, a "blue-water navy" is one "designed to operate in the oceans of the world as opposed to a ["brown-water"] navy designed to operate in coastal waters." Lew Lind, *Sea Jargon: A Dictionary of the Unwritten Language of the Sea* Cambridge: Patrick Stephens, 1982), p. 40.

¹⁵⁹ Greg Austin and Alexy D. Muraviev, *The Armed Forces of Russia in Asia* (New York: I. B. Tauris, New York, 2000), p. 204.

five Soviet armed services.¹⁶⁰ Not much has changed since then. Numerous problems that existed during the Soviet era continue today, in fact they have grown worse. The hazing of recruits is still prevalent.¹⁶¹ Naval personnel complain of serious morale problems brought on by the lack of money and substandard military housing. Officers must deal with problems such as nepotism, limited promotion opportunities and a fear of officers at all levels of making decisions for which they will be held accountable, as well as long ship tours with monotonous jobs. Officers continue to fill specialists and technical positions that leave them little time to properly manage junior personnel.¹⁶²

Following the collapse of the Soviet Union, the Russian Navy was unable to deploy many of its ships and submarines. In the early 1990's the number of Russian ships declined by fifty percent and fleet aircraft by sixty-six percent. "According to a Russian source, in 1996 most ships were at a relatively low readiness level, with most units remaining close to homeport. As of 1997 it was estimated that the Navy was taking thirteen to fifteen ships out of commission each month."¹⁶³ By December 1998, the Russian Navy had removed over 150 nuclear-powered submarines from active service. As many as 100 are still awaiting decommissioning today. Concern is growing in Moscow that the navy's present decline has become irreversible. The loss of basic seamanship skills due to the reduced number of ships and time at sea is only now becoming a topic of discussion. Sea duty for submarines has been cut twenty five percent since 1997, and for ships by one third. Without proper funding and maintenance the reduction in naval assets will only continue as ships become unseaworthy!

Several surface ships that were under construction when the Soviet Union dissolved are finally reaching the fleet. However, the Navy has been forced to go, hat in hand, to local governments and even to businesses for alternate sources of financing. The

¹⁶⁰ The order of precedence was: (1) Strategic Rocket Forces (2) Ground Troops, (3) Troops of Air Defense (4) Air Force (5) Navy. Watson, Bruce and Watson Susan, *The Soviet Navy: Strengths and Liabilities* (Boulder: Westview, 1986), p. 20.

¹⁶¹ Hazing by senior sailors (Stariki) against newly reported personnel (Molodye) exacerbate the problems. Upon arrival uniform exchanges would occur between the Stariki and Molodye. The Molodye would then be assigned to difficult and demeaning jobs formerly assigned to the Stariki, and some even endured physical violence.

¹⁶² Watson, Bruce and Watson Susan, *The Soviet Navy: Strengths and Liabilities*, p. 42.

¹⁶³ Federation of American Scientists, *Russian Navy*, [paper on-line] (accessed 14 September 2001); available from <http://www.fas.org/nuke/guide/russia/agency/mf-intro-r.htm>; Internet.

shortage of funds to pay for normal repairs and upkeep, as well as inadequate port facilities, has meant that many ships have been taken out of service before the end of their prescribed life cycle. Funds are only now being allocated for the completion of ships ordered prior to the collapse of the USSR, as well as for refits and repairs on fleet ships taken out of service since.¹⁶⁴ In 1997, the first keel lying in seven years of a major surface combatant occurred. However, during his 28 August 1999 press conference, Russian Navy Commander-in-Chief Fleet Admiral Vladimir Kuroyedov announced that no new warships would be ordered for the Navy for the next five years. Therefore, the reduction in naval strength will only continue to diminish for the foreseeable future.

2. Environmental Concerns

Historically, the Soviet Union/Russian Federation has had an abysmal environmental record. The Russian Navy reflects Moscow's indifference to environmental concerns. The Russian Navy is only now addressing major issues such as radioactive waste disposal. The Navy must not only contend with the issue of maintaining current inventories of ships, but also the decommissioning and dismantlement of ships placed out of service. The monetary impact will be enormous and the Navy can ill afford to allocate its scarce funds for ship decommissioning/scraping. Health concerns emanating from the Russian Navy's poor environmental record have been raised by domestic and international organizations. The issue could become a public relations fiasco if funds are not allocated for the proper disposal of radioactive equipment and greater environmental damage continues to surface.

The Russian Federation's current policy of dumping radioactive waste into the world's oceans can be traced back to Soviet practices of the late 1950s. The Soviet Union dumped radioactive waste into the Arctic Ocean during the initial testing of the first nuclear-powered submarine (Leninskiy Komsomolets). "In all, the former Soviet Union, now Russia, has dumped more than twice as much radioactivity as other countries having dumped radioactive waste at sea according to Thomas Nilsen and Nils Bohmer, editors for the Bellona Foundation."¹⁶⁵ One needs only to look as far as the Russian submarine

¹⁶⁴ For example the Admiral Lazarev from the Pacific Fleet

¹⁶⁵ Dumping of radioactive waste 93 PBq/2.5MCi (official Russian figures) and 46 PBq/1.24 MCi (IAEA-estimate) accordingly. Nilsen, Thomas and Bohmer, Nils, *Sources of Radioactive Contamination in Russian Counties of Murmansk and Arkhangelsk*, [report on-line] [Bellona Foundation 1994] (accessed on

program to find evidence for environmental concerns. Beginning in the late 1950s, the Soviet Union constructed approximately 250 nuclear submarines. Of these remaining, around 160 submarines have been decommissioned. One hundred and six of these nuclear submarines await dismantlement, with their radioactive reactor cores still in place. This leaves approximately 200 nuclear reactors on the water's surface. Of the 106 submarines, the Northern Fleet has mothballed ninety-two and sixty-five still have their reactors on board. It should be noted that Russian Federation's remaining 80-plus operational strategic and attack submarines are all scheduled to be decommissioned within the next ten years, thereby doubling the backlog of the "floating Chernobyl's."¹⁶⁶

The dismantlement process is dangerous, costly and slow. Numerous concerns must be addressed prior to the removal of the reactor core and its components including the removal of missiles, torpedoes and various weapons systems. Upon the removal of the weapons systems, the draining and filtering of liquid radioactive wastes must occur. Finally, the removal and storage of the spent fuel cores and reactor compartments complete the process.¹⁶⁷ A recurring theme for providing the proper technical expertise and material is the cost. Russia simply does not have the funds to properly and safely handle this enormous task. At the current rate of submarine dismantlement, it will take up to a hundred years to do away with the radioactive waste problem. Only an incurable optimist would assume that, during that time, a major environmental catastrophe could be avoided.¹⁶⁸

The health problems in the Arctic Ocean region provide background information to the overall environmental problems faced by the Russian Navy everywhere, but also in the Pacific. Both environmentalists and scientists claim there has been a definite decrease in the health quality in the Arctic region over the past fifteen to twenty years. In the

16 September 2001); available from <http://www.bellona.no/imaker?id=9845&sub=1>; Internet.

¹⁶⁶ If a submarine were to sink, exposing its reactor fuel rods and liquid radioactive materials, the environmental and health hazards could be equivalent to Chernobyl. Alexei G. Arbatov, Karl Kaiser, and Robert Legvold, editors, *Russia and the West : the 21st century security environment* (Armonk, NY: M.E. Sharpe, 1999), p. 212.

¹⁶⁷ "Dismantling Russia's Nuclear Subs: New Challenges to Non-Proliferation," *Arms Control Today*, June 1999.

¹⁶⁸ Russians only have the capability to dismantle 3-6 submarines a year. Alexei G. Arbatov, *Russia and the West: the 21st century security environment*, p. 211.

Arkhangelsk region there have been significant increases in mortality rates in cancer, and in blood, skin, and oncological diseases. “The Russian Academy of Medical Sciences recently observed that the cancer death rate in Chukotka jumped from 10% of the population in 1970 to 27% in 1988 writes Peter Gizweski, Research Associate for the Canadian Centre for Global Security. And in April 1992, scientists noted that thousands of seals were dying off Russia's northern coastline as a result of radioactive pollution of the seabed.”¹⁶⁹ The most recent concerns have come from the fishing industries of the Russian Federation and neighboring countries that complain of the devastation that would invariably occur to the fishing industry from nuclear pollution of the seas. Therefore, now that Russia is a democracy, the Navy must “sell” its strategy not only to governmental leadership, but also from the population it is supposed to be protecting.

C. THE PACIFIC FLEET

1. History

The importance to Russia of maintaining a naval presence in the Pacific Ocean is greatly underestimated by many outsiders of Russia. In the mid-eighteenth century, barely sixty years after crossing the Urals, Russian explorers had reached the Sea of Okhotsk, descended to the Amur River, and passed over the straits separating Asia and America.¹⁷⁰ As a result, Russia acquired a permanent outlet to the Pacific Ocean before it did on the Baltic or Black Seas.

The Russian Pacific Fleet was established in 1856, but was not given a high priority by the naval leadership. The glaring deficiencies caused through inattention were highlighted during the Russo-Japanese War of 1904-05. The opportunity was taken by commanders in the east to “unload politically active and disgruntled sailors” at the onset of the war. It is surprising the outcome of the war shocked many not just in Russia, but also in Europe due to the lack of attention for the fleet.

¹⁶⁹ Peter Gizweski, *Military Activity and Environmental Security: The Case of Radioactivity in the Arctic*, [magazine article on-line] [Northern Perspectives, Volume 21, Number 4, Winter 1993-94] (accessed on 17 September 2001); available from <http://www.carc.org/pubs/v21no4/military.htm>; Internet.

¹⁷⁰ John J. Stephan, *The Russian Far East: A History* (Stanford: Stanford University Press, 1994), p. 20.

Interest in the Russian Far East revived in the 1950's and 1960's when Far Eastern fishing fleets traveled to the open sea for the first time. Nikita Khrushchev viewed the Pacific Ocean as an avenue to engage the outside world. He stated his vision during a speech in Los Angeles when he insisted that "the Pacific Ocean unites the USSR and USA."¹⁷¹ Khrushchev's visions lead to the metamorphosis of the Pacific Fleet. During the "Era of Stagnation" (1964-1985)¹⁷² the Soviet fleet was transformed from a coastal "lake flotilla" of 50,000 men and 200 ships to the largest and most powerful component of the Soviet Navy, with 150,000 men and 800 ships operating between Madagascar and California.¹⁷³ The fleet was expected to carry out a "forward deployment" strategy (sea and air probes along the USSR's Far Eastern periphery from bases in South Korea, Japan, Hawaii, and Alaska)¹⁷⁴ against the United States (U.S.), as well as parry threats from China and Japan. By 1966 the Pacific Fleet was the strongest and largest in the Russian Navy.

The Russian Far east is wedged between China, Korea, Japan, and the United States. The end of the Cold War diminished fears of confrontation in the Pacific Ocean region, but valid apprehensions remain. The major concerns for conflict in the Far East for Moscow today are, (1) potential Chinese threat, (2) war in Korea, (3) Taiwan Strait crisis and (4) Japanese rearmament. However, the region is no longer economically important to Moscow and a similar disconnect that occurred in 1904-05 can be seen today. By 1993, there were over 1,000 joint ventures in the Russian Pacific region with Chinese, Japanese, Korean, North American, European, and Australian partners involving restaurants, department stores, hotels, boutiques, computers, sturgeon hatcheries, sausage plants, and Dutch windmills.¹⁷⁵ The joint ventures listed amount to little for Moscow and do not provide the impetus required to maintain a large fleet in a distant, backward part of

¹⁷¹ Ibid. p. 263.

¹⁷² The "Era of Stagnation" occurred during Leonid Brezhnev's tenure and was highlighted by falling rates of labor productivity, inefficiency and waste, poor quality of goods produced, poverty, etc... The immense hopes for sweeping changes were never fully realized in the civilian population and the Far East region failed to meet five-year planning targets. The failures resulted from a build-up strategic rocket, army, navy and KGB forces, but detracted from badly needed investment in infrastructure for the region. Hence, the rapid expansion of naval forces in the region.

¹⁷³ John J. Stephan, *The Russian Far East: A History*, p. 265.

¹⁷⁴ Ibid. p. 278

¹⁷⁵ Ibid. p. 298.

the Russian Federation. Of note, many territorial disputes still exist today: 1) Two small sections of the boundary with China remain to be settled, 2) Islands of Etorofu, Kunashiri, and Shikotan and the Habomai group occupied by the Soviet Union in 1945, now administered by Russia, claimed by Japan despite the 1997 boundary agreement and 3) In Antarctica, Russia has asserted no territorial claims, but has reserved the right to do so. In the meantime, Moscow does not recognize the claims of any other nation.¹⁷⁶ These disputes though apparently minor, should not be discounted and are even more disconcerting now to the Russian Federation due to the implied weakness of the Pacific Fleet during the current reform process.

2. Resources

a. Force Structure

The Pacific Fleet is divided into two major formations, Vladivostok (primarily surface combatants) and Petropavlovsk-Kamchatski (primarily submarines). Economic realities and political objectives have forced an immense reduction in the fleet's composition as seen in Table 5.2.¹⁷⁷ Overall, the number of ships and personnel has been reduced by more than half since the end of the Soviet era. Due to force reductions, the 10th Eskadra has become the strongest squadron of surface vessels and performs a majority of the exercises.¹⁷⁸

¹⁷⁶ *World Fact Book, Nations/Alliances/Geographic Regions Eurasian Republics—Russia: Transnational Issues/Disputes* [article on-line] [Periscope] (accessed on 17 September 2001); available from <http://www.periscope.ucg.com/nations/eurasia/russia/worldboo/index.html>; Internet.

¹⁷⁷ Greg Austin and Alexy D. Muraviev, *The Armed Forces of Russia in Asia*, pp. 208-218.

¹⁷⁸ The Eskadra primarily consists of Sovremennyy and Udaloï destroyers, as well as the Slava class cruiser Variag. Also, the Admiral Lazarev, a sister ship to the Variag, is currently in refit and will greatly enhance the capabilities of the fleet when the overhaul is completed.

Ship Type	1990	1998	Class of Ships 1990	Class of Ships 1998
Cruisers	16	4	Kara, Kiev, Kirov, Kresta-I, Kresta-II, Kynda, Sverdov	Ushakov, Slava, Kara
Destroyers	14	11	Kashin, Kotlin, Sovremennyi, Udaloi	Sovremennyi, Udaloi
Frigates	11	3	Krivak-I, Krivak-II	Krivak-I
SSBN	9	2	Delta-I	Delta-I
	8	6	Delta-III	Delta-III
	8	0	Yankee	
SSGN	8	0	Charlie-I/II	
	14	0	Echo-II	
	0	6		Oscar-II
SSN	5	7	Akula	Akula
	5	0	Echo-I	
	4	0	November	
	4	0	Victor-I	
	12	1	Victor-III	Victor-III
SSB	6	0	Golf-II	
SSG	6	0	Juliet	
SSK	13	0	Foxtrot	
	9	8	Kilo	Kilo
	12	0	Whiskey	
SSAC	1	0	Golf 1	
SST	1	0	Bravo	
ASGSS	1	0	India	

Table 5.2 Changes in the Composition of Pacific Fleet Surface/Submarine/Aviation Forces: 1990-1998 (After Ref 177)

The immense changes in the overall force structure have been noted. “Russia’s naval experts believe that the Pacific Fleet should have at least the same number of strategic and general-purpose submarines as it has now. According to Rear Admiral V. Aleksin, a senior member of the Main Naval Staff, and Captain 1st Rank (retired) E. Shevelev, a leading expert in systemology and the head of the military section of the recently-organized, International Informatization Academy. Ideally, the nucleus of the surface fleet should include approximately two aircraft-carriers, one to two CG (N) s, two to three DDGs, two to three FFGs, plus a significant number of light missile, anti-submarine, patrol and mine-sweeping craft.”¹⁷⁹ However, the “dream” fleet proposed is just that. Russia lacks the necessary resources to commit to the Far East, which is economically and strategically marginal. But, the force reductions should not be seen as solely due to economics or due to an equally large deterioration of Russian Naval Power. It is an attempt to rationalize a force structure that has grown unwieldy and inefficient. For example, in 1990 the Pacific Fleet had thirteen types of major surface combatants and

¹⁷⁹ Greg Austin and Alexy D. Muraviev, *The Armed Forces of Russia in Asia*, p. 230.

twenty types of submarines, many of which performed similar tasks.¹⁸⁰ That the ships were designed and delivered in this fashion was a reflection in part of the command-based economy of the Soviet Union, which was reflected in the defense industry. Also, perhaps, a reflection of debates over the relative merits of ship types, or of strategies. Therefore, the forces reduction was an economy of force to outfit the navy with fewer classes of ships and submarines. However, it is clear by looking at Table 5.2 that the Russian Navy has paid a price for this rationalization because it now lacks the numbers to carryout the grand strategic vision that Putin seems to have envisioned for it in the Pacific.

b. Pacific Fleet Naval Bases

The Russian Federation, utilizing the Soviet model, employs a different approach for base structuring and use than the United States. In the opinion of Derek Da Cunha, Senior Fellow at the Institute of Southeast Asian Studies in Singapore, the base structure concept is dominated by ideology rather than funding constraints. “The [Russians] conceive of the value of their individual naval bases with a clearly defined hierarchical structure, from naval bases of the first rank – operationally the most important – to those of the fourth (rank)”.¹⁸¹ A base is structured on three premises: 1) Number and type of units normally considered home port (not transit) units at a base, 2) Geographical location of a base in relation to the likely area in which stationed forces would operate in wartime and 3) Adequacy of communication links for command and control of forces.¹⁸² The location of the major naval bases for the Russian Pacific Fleet can be seen in Figure 5.2.¹⁸³

- 1st Rank: Central naval command and control functions, Headquarters:
 - o Vladivostok: lost some standing upon the growth of SSBNs.
 - o Petropavlovsk: can only be re-supplied by air and sea, however it can logistically maintain itself for 150 days.

¹⁸⁰ Ibid. p. 208.

¹⁸¹ Derek Da Cunha, *Soviet Naval Power in the Pacific* (Boulder: L. Rienner Publishers, 1990), p. 57.

¹⁸² Ibid.

¹⁸³ “Pacific Fleet Naval Facilities,” [chart on-line][Monterey Institute for International Studies] (accessed on 20 January 2001); available from, <http://cns.miiis.edu/db/nisprofs/maps/rfe.htm>; Internet.

- 2nd rank: Backup command and control structures:
 - Sovetskaya Gavan (Soviet Haven) Central fleet logistics headquarters, connected to the Trans-Siberian railroad in 1947.
- 3rd Rank: Springboard for patrolling the Kuriles:
 - Burotan Bay.
- 4th rank: Dispersal points during international crisis or major hostilities.
Ships not ready for hostilities could be made ready at these bases:
 - Magadan.

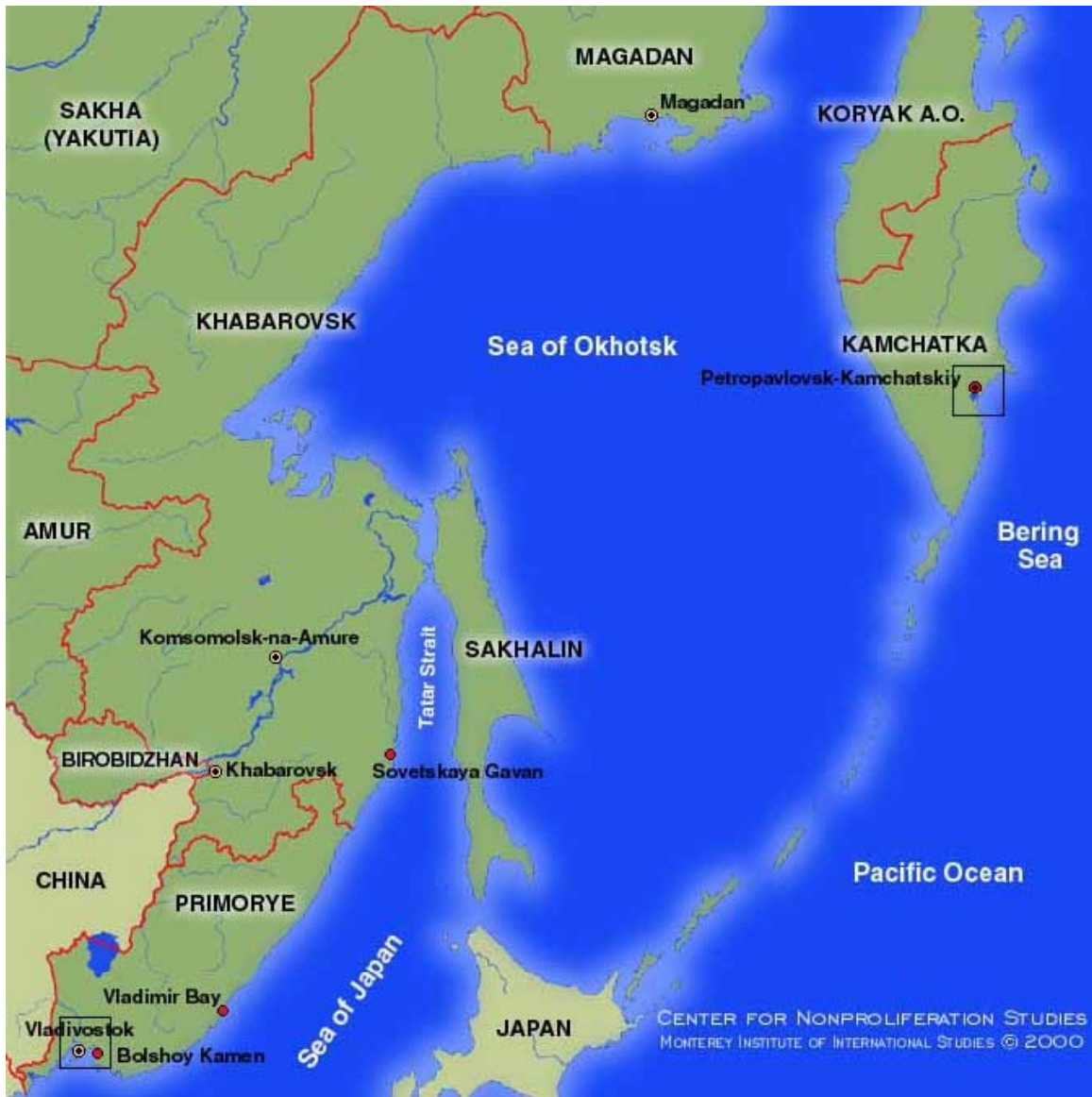


Figure 5.2 Russian Federation Pacific Fleet Naval Bases (From: Center for Nonproliferation Studies)

3. Deployments

Deployments and the concept of Forward Presence for the Russian Navy (as was the case during Soviet times) are viewed as more of a political tool than a military one. However, the Pacific Fleet does not have the capability to accomplish Moscow's political objectives. The distinction as a political tool is critical in understanding and assessing the capabilities of the Russian Pacific Fleet. Many people fall prey to the concept of mirror-imaging Russian naval deployments with those of the United States. In fact the operational concepts of the two navies are very different. The Soviet doctrine was that of

“Surge Deployment.” That is rapid and sudden deployment of forces out of port.¹⁸⁴ As Rear Admiral John Butts stated: “To the Soviets, it’s more important to be ready to go to sea than to be at sea. Consequently, their readiness philosophy emphasizes maintenance and in-area training rather than extended at-sea operations. In-area training runs the gamut from ASW to cruise missile defense to basic seamanship... The goal of this readiness philosophy is to achieve a maximum force generation capability.”¹⁸⁵ Therefore long deployments are thought to be irrelevant to Russian ‘readiness’. However, to assert Moscow’s policy influence, the Russian Navy has attempted to regain a visible presence through the participation in international peacekeeping actions in various parts of the world. For instance in September 1992, a surface combatant and tanker from the Pacific Fleet were deployed to the Persian Gulf in support of the U.N. sanctions against Iraq.¹⁸⁶

Fuel shortages and a lack of maintenance have placed severe restrictions on the ability of the navy to undertake long-distance deployments in recent years. Those ships in a seagoing condition have generally been restricted to short periods of sea time in home waters. Senior naval officers are eager to resume “show the flag” deployments on a limited basis, in order to demonstrate the navy's continued ability to deploy into areas where Russia perceives it has strategic interests. The Russian Pacific Fleet has focused on short and medium range operations, due to the diminished overseas basing presence. Therefore, Pacific Fleet forces rely on organic resupply capabilities, with the exception of the few countries willing to host Russian warships.

In February 2001, the ADMIRAL VINOGRADOV and ADMIRAL PANTLEYEV (Udaloi-class) along with a supply ship, undertook the first deployment of Pacific Fleet surface ships in over seven years. This deployment displays the continued deterioration of the Pacific Fleet in comparison to September 1992, which was not a

¹⁸⁴ Ibid. p. 2.

¹⁸⁵ Ibid. p. 3.

¹⁸⁶ Forward Presence has become a primary concern for the Russian Navy and is viewed as one means to influence events in the Western Pacific Region. Forward Presence can be defined as: “Overseas presence promotes national influence and access to critical global areas, builds regional coalitions and collective security, furthers stability, deters aggression, and provides initial crisis-response capability.” Sean O’keefe, Mike Boorda and Charles Mundy, ...*From the Sea*, [magazine article on-line] (accessed on 17 September 2001); available from http://www.nwdc.navy.mil/doctrine/docs/ndp1/ndp10003.htm#0003_0002; Internet.

major deployment of forces. The ships deployed to the Indian Ocean for two months and participated in the Indian Navy's international fleet review, visited Ho Chi Minh City in Vietnam, conducted missile and artillery live firing drills and shadowed the USS Kitty Hawk prior to returning home. The goal for the Pacific Fleet deployment was to display its ability to conduct blue-water operations and regain its status as a 'first world navy', thereby providing it the capability to influence events in the Western Pacific region. Also, on September 8, 2001 an Udaloi destroyer, the ADMIRAL TRIBUTS, deployed for a five-day visit to Japan. Search and rescue drills are scheduled to be conducted between the two navies, which is only the fourth time in history that this has occurred.¹⁸⁷ However, it should be noted that only one warship is deploying to Japan. This suggests that the Pacific Fleet is incapable of doing more, or that relations between Moscow and Tokyo are unsteady. Currently, the Pacific Fleet is planning another deployment to the Indian Ocean.¹⁸⁸

The submarine force in the Pacific Fleet has attempted to maintain a constant deployment schedule. But it has also suffered from inadequate repair facilities and funding. Beginning in 1994, an Oscar-II class attack submarine deployment normally coincides with a U.S. carrier battle group deployment. However, this has not been the case for the SSBNs assigned to the Pacific Fleet. As of early 1998, Russia was reportedly deploying only two SSBNs at any one time, since 20 out of 26 were not capable of putting to sea at all.¹⁸⁹ All of the current SSBNs stationed in the Pacific Fleet may ultimately be transferred to the Northern Fleet at Nerpichy and Yagelnava due to inadequate shipyard facilities at Rybachy and funding, which would be in line with President Putin's fiscal policy towards reform, which is undermining the policy of Forward Presence in the Pacific. The removal of the SSBNs would be a considerable

¹⁸⁷ "Russian Warship leaves for Japan," [newspaper article on-line] [Russian Journal] (accessed on 17 September 2001); available from <http://www.russiajournal.com/news/index.shtml?nd=9397>; Internet.

¹⁸⁸ The configuration and tasking of ships for this deployment has not been released. However, senior naval officers are eager to resume "show the flag" deployments, in order to demonstrate the Pacific Fleet's ability to deploy into areas where Russia sees a strategic interest, as noted by Richard Scott, Jane's Defence Weekly Naval Editor.

¹⁸⁹ Greg Austin and Alexy D. Muraviev, *The Armed Forces of Russia in Asia*, p. 219.

blow to the Pacific Fleet and its capability to influence events in the Western Pacific Region.¹⁹⁰

Finally, one of the most professional elements of the Russian Pacific Fleet is the amphibious force. Pacific Fleet amphibious forces (marines) were sent to Chechnya to supplement the army's forces. The live combat training received in Chechnya has only enhanced the capabilities and knowledge level of the force. The Pacific Fleet has maintained the capability to deploy a capable amphibious force of 500 marines, 20 main battle tanks, and 24 infantry fighting vehicles anywhere in the Western Pacific region.¹⁹¹ However, the fact that troops were sent to Chechnya demonstrates that when push comes to shove, the Pacific Fleet transfers its resources to more important priorities.

4. Exercises

Since 1998, the Pacific Fleet has maintained the ability to test its ships and personnel, albeit at a greatly reduced level compared to the Soviet era. Fiscal constraints placed on the fleet require many of the exercises to be conducted in the Sea of Okhotsk, Sea of Japan and Bering Sea to conserve fuel and rations. The primary focus of the fleet has shifted from Soviet concerns as a blue-water naval force for power projection operations to peacekeeping operations, piracy prevention and sea lines of communication (SLOC) protection. Russian Pacific Fleet submarines continue to perform missions of limited patrols for strategic deterrence, protection of strategic assets, regional security, and training for anti-surface warfare. However, the patrols are constantly decreasing in frequency and it is believed that gaps between SSBN patrols are increasing in frequency for the Pacific Fleet. Various exercises have occurred in the 1990/2000s and are listed below:

¹⁹⁰ SSBNs carry long-range nuclear warheads and their primary mission is nuclear deterrence. In 1991, Russia had 6 SSBN bases, 6 SLBM storage and loading bases, several weapon depots, the total of 22 strategic naval facilities. The SSBN infrastructure will be reduced due to the costs associated with operations and the diminished military budget. However, if START II is ratified, then over half of the strategic weapons in the Russian Federation may reside on SSBN's. The inherent strategic value of the SSBN's and support ships (SS, SSN, SSGN) remain as a vital center of Russia's defense planning and National Security. Without this credible threat the Russian Pacific Fleet will have a difficult time influencing events in the Western Pacific Region. "Submarine Centennial Frequently Asked Questions," [article on-line] [Chief of Naval Information] (accessed on 17 September 2001); available from <http://www.chinfo.navy.mil/navpalib/ships/submarines/centennial/faqs.html>; Internet. And, "Chapter 3. The Russian Federation's Strategic Nuclear Forces: Present Status and Prospective Developments," [article on-line] [Nuclear Arms Reduction: The Process and Problems] (accessed on 17 September 2001); available from <http://www.armscontrol.ru/reductions/ch3.htm#fn25>; Internet.

¹⁹¹ Greg Austin and Alexy D. Muraviev, *The Armed Forces of Russia in Asia*, p. 224.

- Beginning in 1994, an annual disaster relief exercise has been conducted with the U.S. Navy. The stated goal is to ease regional tensions and promote awareness while also providing valuable peacekeeping training.
- “In April 1996, *sbor-pokhod* (exercise designation) of the Pacific Fleet became the largest naval exercise held in Russia or the USSR for ten years. The manoeuvres held over several days in areas of the Sea of Japan, Sea of Okhotsk and the Bering Sea, involved 69 warships and support vessels, and paratroopers and aviation of the Far East MD. Some 200 different exercise components were conducted.”¹⁹²
- In 1997, six of the eleven *sbor-pokhod*’s conducted were in the Pacific Fleet.
- In October 1999 Russian and Chinese navies conducted their first joint naval exercise since 1949. Russian warships included the Pacific Fleet flagship *Variag* and destroyer *Burgy*. The two Russian vessels participated in joint exercises with warships from China’s Eastern Fleet.¹⁹³
- From March to June of 1999 three command and staff exercises were conducted.
- It should be noted Russian submarines on exercises are operating in a fashion very similar to the Soviet era by carrying out simulated attacks on U.S. naval forces.¹⁹⁴
- From 29-30 August 2001, Pacific Fleet surface ships, submarines and aircraft took part in an exercise in the Gulf of Peter the Great. The goal was to prepare the crews of the ocean going ships for combat missions.

¹⁹² Ibid. p. 225.

¹⁹³ Federation of American Scientists, *Pacific Fleet*, [Article on-line] (accessed on 17 September 2001); available from <http://www.fas.org/nuke/guide/russia/agency/mf-pacific.htm>; Internet.

¹⁹⁴ “Russia’s Navy looks to show the flag again,” [article on-line] [Jane’s Defence Weekly 10 April 2001] (accessed on 17 September 2001); available from http://newsite.janes.com/defence/naval_forces/news/jdw/jdw010410_1_n.shtml; Internet.

D. CONCLUSION

This chapter has described the capabilities, limitations and environmental concerns for the Russian Navy in general terms. Even with the creation of the Russian Federation Armed Forces, the Russian Navy continues to suffer from under funding more than any other branch of the armed services. The naval infrastructure is decreasing at a rapid rate and the lack of resources has forced the Navy to reduce its focus from a blue-water navy to a littoral or coastal defense force.

The reduction in the Navy will only diminish the ability for the Russian Federation to influence events in the Western Pacific region. The capabilities of the Pacific Fleet have been reduced to those of a piecemeal naval force. It should be noted many of the ships that were decommissioned had outlived recommended life cycles in any case. Newer vessels are being commissioned, but at an extremely low rate. The reduction in size severely limits two of the primary measures for the Pacific Fleet to influence affairs in the Western Pacific region: SSBN deployments and Forward Presence. Current deployments and exercises are few and far between and the Pacific Fleet does not have sufficient capabilities to support an active foreign policy in the Western Pacific region. Given other security concerns and a lack of resources, it is unlikely that the Russian Federation will be able to build a Navy to support an ambitious foreign policy in the Western Pacific in the foreseeable future.

THIS PAGE INTENTIONALLY LEFT BLANK

VI. CONCLUSION

This thesis has argued that current attempts by the Russian Federation to assert its influence in the Western Pacific region through naval power are destined to fail for four reasons: First, historically Russia has proven unable to sustain a naval build-up. The country's political, economic and social structure is too fragile to mount a sustained naval armaments program. Also, Russia is a continental power that lacks the resources and interests for sustained maritime power projection. Second, Russia's major interests lie in Europe. Historically, when forced to choose between its European and its Pacific interests, Russia invariably chooses Europe. This was the case in the Russo-Japanese War of 1904-1905, and in the two World Wars. Even today, Moscow's primary security concerns are NATO expansion and Islamic inspired terrorist threat from Central Asia. Expansion in the Western Pacific will do nothing to resolve either issue. Third, the Russian Federation has limited common interests with the countries of the Western Pacific region beyond a residual anti-Americanism. China's sense of isolation is being exploited by Moscow as a vehicle to assert strategic leverage regarding the United States. Fundamentally, Moscow shares few common interests with the PRC beyond the common fear of Islamic fundamentalism in Central Asia. Taiwan, the issue presented by Beijing as its most important priority, has no fundamental interest for Moscow. Fourth, arms sales provided Moscow with only short-term leverage in the projection of international influence. Current advantages in the areas of naval technology held by the Russian Federation will diminish as the systems sold to India and the PRC are reverse engineered, and new systems are introduced.

The Russian Navy is too decrepit to support an aggressive diplomacy strategy in the Pacific. The Russian Federation inherited an immense industrial complex, as well as a capable and powerful naval force in the Soviet Pacific Fleet. However, the end of the Cold War has witnessed the diminished power of many of the institutions of the former Soviet Union. Among them, the under-funded Russian Navy is but a shadow of its Soviet predecessor. The leadership of the Russian Federation under President Vladimir Putin is nevertheless eager to utilize its navy as leverage to extend its influence in the Western Pacific in at least four ways: First, through SSBN strategic nuclear deployments. Second,

the Russian Federation seeks to increase its visibility through port visits, participation in peacekeeping and multilateral operations, and through joint maneuvers with other countries such as India, Vietnam and China. Third, the sale of high technology naval weapons systems, specifically the Sovremennyy class guided missile destroyers, Krivak-class frigates and Kilo-class submarines, gives it a prominence in the region. Finally, naval power can be employed to leverage better relations and possible alliances with U.S. adversaries in the region to counter a dominant U.S. influence. Increasing tensions between the PRC and the United States in the Western Pacific over Taiwan and the South China Sea have presented Russian President Vladimir Putin with an opportunity to make common cause with the Chinese government to thwart U.S. power. However, none of these aspirations is close to being realized due to a lack of means.

Russia's leaders have attempted to increase their country's world profile through naval expansion on several occasions. As a consequence, the rise and fall of the Russian Navy is an old story in Russian history that has occurred on at least three previous occasions. After its founding in 1697 by Peter the Great, the navy was instrumental in the successes at Azov and against the Swedes. But Peter's successors failed to carry on his vision, and the navy ultimately declined to that of a second-rate power. The Russian Navy did rise in prominence once more at the turn of the 19th and 20th centuries, and it was perceived as the world's third most powerful behind that of Great Britain and France. However, much of the navy was annihilated by Japan at the Battle of Tsushima in 1905. Finally, the Soviet naval build-up spearheaded by Admiral Sergei Gorshkov in the 1970s and 1980s appeared to place the Russian Navy on par with that of the United States Navy. Once again, the navy fell into decline after the death of its champion Admiral Gorshkov. The three pivotal periods in the history of Russian naval development addressed provide the background required for understanding the successes and failures of the Russian Navy since Peter the Great. However, the periods of Russian naval primacy have been fleeting for four reasons: First, Russia has a limited number of outlets to the world's seas. Furthermore, the outlets Russia possesses are poorly situated because of their strategic vulnerability or geographic remoteness. Second, Russia possesses insufficient resources to be both a land and sea power. When push comes to shove, the Russian Army will always receive the lion's share of resources ahead of the navy. Third,

the political stability required to sustain the build-up of a powerful navy has eluded Russia. Finally, Russia's interests are primarily European. Prior attempts to increase naval presence in the Western Pacific region have invariably failed over time.

Serious military reform for Russia has languished since Mikhail Gorbachev's minimalist attempts during 'glasnost' and 'perestroika'. This thesis has utilized Russian specialist Jacob Kipp's definition of military reform as an "all-embracing process which encompasses all the military and paramilitary formations of the Russian state and addresses the core political, economic, and social questions attached to raising, sustaining, training, arming, deploying, and employing a military as an element of Russian national power."¹⁹⁵ Kipp's definition implies that military reform for Russia is a two-part process: First, Russian governments since 1985 have had to overcome the Soviet legacy of a militarized state, society and economy, while shifting control of the military to civilians. Second, they have had to reestablish the foundation for a 'new' military that meets today's state, society and economic needs. Initially, President Putin has embarked on strategy of force reduction similar to that followed by President Yeltsin. While one can only speculate as to the reform measures he will enact in the future, the reality is that reform measures in the Russian Federation have only amounted to further cuts for military forces and embraced only modest organizational changes. Low pay and poor discipline continue to diminish the effectiveness of the forces. The draft is a major problem and violence still occurs in the ranks. Roughly seventy percent of defense spending today is for personnel and maintenance. Therefore, the numerous attempts at reform in the Russian Navy have failed and will continue to fail because they have not been properly implemented and because most have been undertaken in a disorganized and haphazard manner.

Russian power projection into the Far East will be stillborn because Moscow has little to offer countries in the region. The loss of Cam Ranh Bay, the only remaining overseas naval presence of a once great fleet, highlights the Russian Federation's decline, mocking President Putin's insistence that the Western Pacific region will be a primary

¹⁹⁵ Jacob Kipp, *Russian Military Reform: Status and Prospects (Views of a Western Military Historian)* [Paper on-line] (Sveaborg, Finland: Finnish National Defence College, 1998, accessed 15 August 2001); available from <http://www.fas.org/nuke/guide/russia/agency/rusrform.htm>; Internet.

focus of Russian diplomacy. Events in Europe and Central Asia have deflected these priorities in the Far East. However, China has recognized the Russian Federation's current weakness and desires a limited amount of diplomatic and military cooperation. But, the primary reason for Russia to support China's security interests and vice versa may lie in the fact that each country now views the other as a strategic back up. Russian leaders have often stated that the threats to Russia are NATO enlargement to the East and radical Islamic forces in Chechnya not the Far East. Hence, the only real common interests shared between the two countries are a fear of Islamic Fundamentalism and a reduction in the perceived U.S. hegemony.

Conditions in the Navy in general, and in the Pacific Fleet in particular have gone from bad to worse. On 31 December 1991, the Russian Federation was officially established as an independent state. On 7 May 1992, President Boris Yeltsin announced the creation of the Russian armed forces. Since 1992, the Russian Navy has suffered from under funding more than any other branch of the armed services. This under funding has diminished the capabilities, increased the limitations and reduced the environmental concerns of the Russian Navy. Hence, the Navy has concentrated its focus on a littoral or coastal defense vice a blue-water force.¹⁹⁶ The reduction in the Navy will only diminish the ability for the Russian Federation to influence events in the Western Pacific region and the capabilities of the Pacific Fleet have been reduced to those of a piecemeal naval force. It should be noted many of the ships that were decommissioned had outlived recommended life cycles. A few modern vessels are being commissioned, but at an extremely slow rate. The reduction in size severely limits two of the primary measures for the Pacific Fleet to influence affairs in the Western Pacific region: SSBN deployments and Forward Presence. Current deployments and exercises are few and far between. The Pacific Fleet does not have sufficient capabilities to support an active foreign policy in the Western Pacific region. Given other security concerns and a lack of resources, it is unlikely that the Russian Federation will be able to build a Navy to support an ambitious foreign policy in the Western Pacific in the foreseeable future.

¹⁹⁶ Sean O'Keefe, Frank B. Kelso and C. E. Mundy, ... *FROM THE SEA: Preparing the Naval Service for the 21st Century*, Washington D.C.: Navy Office of Information, September 1992. (accessed on 14 September 2001); available from <http://www.chinfo.navy.mil/navpalib/policy/fromsea/fromsea.txt>; Internet.

The United States is uniquely positioned to influence, through naval forward presence, the Western Pacific region. The region has a complex geographical, economic and political environment, which will be difficult for any country to manage. It offers blue-water and littoral environments in which the U.S. Navy has learned to operate effectively. Also, primary U.S. trade occurs within the region, in particular with Japan and an increasingly economically powerful China. The changing political situation in the region is important to the U.S. Navy. President Putin appears determined to make the Russian Federation a prominent actor in the region through the assertion of Russian naval power, and by forming an alliance of convenience with the PRC to minimize U.S. influence. However, an absence of fundamental Russian interests in the Western Pacific combined with the inadequacy of Russian naval power means that Russian attempts to assert its influence in the region will fail.

THIS PAGE INTENTIONALLY LEFT BLANK

APPENDIX A: TIMELINE FOR NOTEWORTHY EVENTS IN RUSSIAN HISTORY SINCE 1962

Year	Day	Event
1962		Cuban Missile Crisis, Khrushchev withdraws missiles from Cuba.
1964		Leonid Brezhnev helps engineer Khrushchev's fall from power, becomes first secretary of Communist Party.
1969		Major border clashes with China.
1972		Détente: President Richard Nixon visits USSR, signs arms control treaties with Chairman Brezhnev.
1978-1982		Soviets invade Afghanistan
1985-1991		General Secretary Mikhail Gorbachev attempts to improve faltering economy with glasnost and perestroika.
1991		Soviet Union disintegrates; 14 former republics become independent nations. Russian Federation formed; Boris Yeltsin appointed, later elected president.
	16-Jun	Still a member of the USSR, the Russian Republic elects Boris Yeltsin president in its first-ever direct elections.
	19-Aug	A hard-line communist coup attempts to depose Soviet President Mikhail Gorbachev. Yeltsin plays a crucial role in returning him to power two days later, earning broad popular support in the process.
	25-Dec	Gorbachev resigns his position as president of the USSR, signifying the demise of the Soviet Union. The former Soviet republics (including Russia) become independent states.
1992		Yeltsin ends supremacy of Communist Party, privatizes state-run enterprises, guarantees free press; businessmen, mobsters begin to take over economy, massive corruption sets in.
	June	Yeltsin names Yegor Gaidar acting prime minister of Russia. Gaidar is never confirmed by parliament.
	14-Dec	In the face of parliamentary opposition to Gaidar's reforms, Yeltsin fires him and appoints businessman Viktor Chernomyrdin prime minister.
1993	12-Dec	A national referendum approves a new Russian constitution, which increases the power of the president. Nationalists are well-represented in the newly elected Duma (the lower house of parliament).
1994-1996		Russia invades breakaway province of Chechnya; humiliated, withdraws with heavy casualties.
1996	3-Jul	Despite suffering a heart attack in June, Yeltsin wins a second term in office, defeating communist Gennady Zyuganov by 13 points in the national election.
1998		Russian stock market crashes, economy collapses.
	23-Mar	Yeltsin sacks his entire cabinet, including Chernomyrdin. He names liberal former Energy Minister Sergei Kiriyenko acting prime minister. The Duma twice rejects Kiriyenko's nomination, but confirms him, under the threat of dissolution, in a third vote.
	23-Aug	In the midst of Russia's worst post-Soviet currency crises, Yeltsin fires Kiriyenko and re-nominates Chernomyrdin Prime Minister. The Duma twice rejects his nomination. Rather than risk a third vote and the possible dissolution of the Duma, Yeltsin nominates Yevgeny Primakov, foreign minister and former KGB official, as a compromise candidate. The Duma confirms the relatively conservative Primakov in September.
1999	12-May	Yeltsin fires Primakov, ostensibly because of the need for more energetic leadership. The nomination of Interior Minister Sergei Stepashin, a Yeltsin loyalist, as Primakov's replacement suggests to many that Primakov had become too powerful for the President's comfort. Stepashin is easily confirmed by the Duma.
	15-May	The Duma votes down five counts of impeachment brought against Yeltsin.
	9-Aug	Stepashin is fired without explanation. Yeltsin nominates Vladimir Putin, former KGB official, head of the FSB and secretary of the Russian Security Council. Yeltsin also designates Putin heir-apparent to the presidency.
	19-Dec	Scheduled date for Duma elections
1999-2000		Second Chechen war, Russia crushes rebels; Vladimir Putin elected president
2000		Russian Orthodox Church bestows sainthood on Czar Nicholas and 1,000 others killed by Communists.

THIS PAGE INTENTIONALLY LEFT BLANK

APPENDIX B: SOVIET/RUSSIAN FEDERATION PERSONNEL COMBATANT SHIPS AND AIRCRAFT 1989-2000

	Number as of:			
	1989	1992	1995	2000
Personnel	450,000	440,000	270,000	180,000
Strategic SSN's	62	58	39	30*
General purpose nuclear and diesel powered submarines	372	227	115	61
Submarines (total)	434	285	154	91
Ocean zone surface ships: air-capable, cruisers, destroyers, large ASW, 2nd rank patrol, large landing	193	142	109	75
Sea zone surface ships: small missile, 3rd rank patrol, small ASW, ocean minesweepers, medium landing	342	304	238	84
Combatant ships (total)	969	731	501	159
Small combatants	776	566	245	189
Combatant ships and small combatants (total)	1,745	1,297	746	348**
Missile-armed aircraft	378	328	158	134
Bombers	202	715	170	71
Attack aircraft, fighters, ASW aircraft	207	195	121	98
Strike aircraft (total)	787	1,238	449	205
Reconnaissance, target designation, EW aircraft	152	101	70	55
Combat aircraft (total)	939	1,339	519	358
Combat helicopters	385	343	321	222
Aircraft and helicopters--training and transport	493	435	325	220
Aircraft and helicopters--(total)	1,917	2,117	1,165	800
Shore troops	24,000	42,000	27,000	25,000

* Only 19 are operational

** Not included are 436 support and miscellaneous ships

THIS PAGE INTENTIONALLY LEFT BLANK

BIBLIOGRAPHY

All-Russia Public Political Organization Yabloko [Yabloko Party website on-line] accessed on 14 August 2001; available from <http://www.eng.yabloko.ru/Programme/Docs/Yabloko.html>; Internet.

Arbatov, Alexei G., Kaiser, Karl and Legvold, Robert editors, *Russia and the West: the 21st century security environment*. Armonk, NY: M.E. Sharpe, 1999.

Austin, Greg and Muraviev, Alexy D., *The Armed Forces of Russia in Asia*. New York: I. B. Tauris, 2000.

Baev, Pavel, "Putin's Military Reform: Two Trajectories for the First Presidency" [*Paper on-line*] [Security Policy Library no.6-2001, The Norwegian Atlantic Committee, 2001] accessed 14 August 2001; available from <http://www.atlanterhavskomiteen.no/publikasjoner/sp/2001/6-2001.htm>; Internet.

Baker III, A. D., ed., "World Navies in Review," [magazine article on-line] [Proceedings: Combat Fleets of the World (March 2000)] accessed on 17 October 2001; available from <http://www.usni.org/Proceedings/Articles00/PRObaker.htm#europe>; Internet.

Baker, Richard W, ed. *Asia Pacific Security Outlook 2000*. Tokyo: Japan Center for International Exchange, 2000.

Bondar, Sergey Borisovich Captain First Rank, "Navy Manning Problems," *Morskoy Sbornik*, 01 July 1996, reported and translated by Foreign Broadcast Information Service, 28 March 1997, FTS19970328000788.

"Chapter 3. The Russian Federation's Strategic Nuclear Forces: Present Status and Prospective Developments," [article on-line] [Nuclear Arms Reduction: The Process and Problems] accessed on 17 September 2001; available from <http://www.armscontrol.ru/reductions/ch3.htm#fn25>; Internet.

Charles XII, [encyclopedia article on-line] [Infoplease.com] accessed on 23 September 2001; available from <http://www.infoplease.com/ce6/people/A0811458.html>; Internet.

Chazan, Guy, "Russia to Reduce Weapons Producers in a Bid to Streamline Defense Sector." *Wall Street Journal*, 31 July 2001.

Churkin, Yuriy Colonel, "Lebed Interview on National Security Priorities," *Morskoy Sbornik*, 01 September 1996, reported and translated by Foreign Broadcast Information Service, 01 September 1996, FTS19960901000514.

Civil War in Moscow [Paper online] accessed 14 August 2001; available from <http://www.cs.toronto.edu/rmes/russia/period/october93.html>; Internet.

Cohen, Ariel, "The Russia-China Friendship and Cooperation Treaty: A Strategic Shift in Eurasia?," [paper on-line] [The Heritage Foundation] accessed on 19 October 2001; available from <http://www.heritage.org/library/backgrounder/bg1459.html>; Internet.

Da Cunha, Derek, *Soviet Naval Power in the Pacific*. Boulder: L. Rienner Publishers, 1990, p. 57.

Davies, Norman, *Europe: A History*. New York: Oxford University Press, 1996.

"Dismantling Russia's Nuclear Subs: New Challenges to Non-Proliferation," *Arms Control Today*, June 1999.

Elleman, Bruce and Paine, Sarah, "Security Pact with Russia Bolsters China's Power," *International Herald Tribune*, 6 August 2001.

Falichev, Oleg, "Progress Noted in Military Reforms," *Morskoy Sbornik*, 1 May 1999, reported and translated by Foreign Broadcast Information Service, 25 July 1999, FTS19990725000342, p. 1.

Federation of American Scientists, *Russian Navy*, [paper on-line] accessed 14 September 2001; available from <http://www.fas.org/nuke/guide/russia/agency/mf-intro-r.htm>; Internet.

Federation of American Scientists, *Pacific Fleet*, [Article on-line] accessed on 17 September 2001; available from <http://www.fas.org/nuke/guide/russia/agency/mf-pacific.htm>; Internet.

Federation of American Scientists, [various papers on-line] accessed 14 September 2001; available from <http://fas.org/cgi-bin/taxis/webinator/search/?db=db1&query=russian+Navy>; Internet.

Fuller, William C. Jr., *Strategy and Power in Russia 1600-1914*. New York: The Free Press, 1992.

Gizweski, Peter, *Military Activity and Environmental Security: The Case of Radioactivity in the Arctic*, [magazine article on-line] [Northern Perspectives, Volume 21, Number 4, Winter 1993-94] accessed on 17 September 2001; available from <http://www.carc.org/pubs/v21no4/military.htm>; Internet.

Green, Michael J. and Katsuhisa Furukawa, "New ambitions, old obstacles: Japan and its Search for an arms control strategy," *Arms Control Today*, vol. 30, Issue 6, (Jul/Aug 2000).

Higgins, Andrew, "Russia Courts China in an Effort to Constrain U.S. before Summit," *Wall Street Journal*, 15 June 2001.

History of the Russian Navy, Glorious Beginnings: Under the Romanovs, [article on-line]. (accessed on 21 August 2001); available from <http://www.navy.ru/history/hrn1-e.htm#Under%20the%20Romanovs>; Internet.

Hull, Andrew and Markov David, "A Changing Market in the Arms Bazaar," *Jane's Intelligence Review*, 1 March 1997.

Hwang, Jang-Jin "Russia, N.K. Make Progress on High-tech Weapons Trade," *Korea Herald*, 31 July 2001.

Kelso, Frank B., *Understanding Soviet Naval Developments*. Washington, D.C.: Office of the Chief of Naval Operations, 1991.

Kipp, Jacob, *Russian Military Reform: Status and Prospects (Views of a Western Military Historian)* [Paper on-line]. Sveaborg, Finland: Finnish National Defence College, 1998, accessed 15 August 2001; available from <http://www.fas.org/nuke/guide/russia/agency/rusrform.htm>; Internet.

Krupnick, Charles, *Decommissioned Russian Nuclear Submarines and International Cooperation*. Jefferson, North Carolina: McFarland & Company INC., 2001.

Levin, Victoria, "Prospects for Military Reform in Russia," [paper on-line] [Carnegie Endowment] accessed on 14 August 2001; available from <http://www.ceip.org/files/events/trenin.asp?pr=2&EventID=249>; Internet.

Lind, Lew, *Sea Jargon: A Dictionary of the Unwritten Language of the Sea*. Cambridge: Patrick Stephens, 1982.

Mahmud, Khalid, "Beginning of a new alliance," [paper on-line] [DAWN]; accessed on 19 October 2001, available from <http://www.dawn.com/2001/08/29/op.htm>; Internet.

Malia, Martin, *The Soviet Tragedy: A history of Socialism in Russia 1917-1991*. New York: The Free Press, 1994.

Manthorpe, W. H. Jr. Captain, U. S. Navy, "The Influence of Being Russian on the Officers and Men of the Soviet Navy." *U. S. Naval Institute Proceedings Naval Review*, vol. 113 no 2 (February 1978).

Mehlinger, Howard and Thompson, John, *Count Witte and the Tsarist Government in the 1905 Revolution*. Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 1972.

Menges, Constantine C., "Russia, China and What's Really on the Table," [newspaper article- online] [Washington Post 29 July 2001 Page B02] accessed on 17 October 2001; available from <http://www.washingtonpost.com/ac2/wp-dyn/A64193-2001Jul28?language=printer>; Internet.

Mitchell, Donald W. *A History of Russian and Soviet Sea Power*. New York: Macmillan Publishing Co., INC, New York, 1974.

Mostak, M., "Northern Fleet Exercise Assessed," *Morskoy Sbornik*, 01 July 1999, reported and translated by Foreign Broadcast Information Service, 28 September 1999, FTS19990928001681.

Moyseyev, Sergey Captain First Rank and Lobkov, K. "Commanding Officer of Pacflt Flagship, Varyag, Discusses Morale," *Morskoy Sbornik*, 01 September 2000, reported and translated by Foreign Broadcast Information Service, 28 September 2000, FTS20000928000321.

Naordniki [encyclopedia article on-line] [Infoplease.com] accessed on 21 August 2001; available from <http://www.infoplease.com/ce6/history/A0834866.html>; Internet.

Nilsen, Thomas and Bohmer, Nils, *Sources of Radioactive Contamination in Russian Counties of Murmansk and Arkhangelsk*, [report on-line] [Bellona Foundation 1994] accessed on 16 September 2001; available from <http://www.bellona.no/imaker?id=9845&sub=1>; Internet.

Odom, William E., *The Collapse of the Soviet Military*. New Haven: Yale University Press, New Haven, 1998.

O'keefe, Sean, Boorda, Mike and Mundy Charles, ...*From the Sea*, [magazine article on-line] accessed on 17 September 2001; available from http://www.nwdc.navy.mil/doctrine/docs/ndp1/ndp10003.htm#0003_0002; Internet.

O'Keefe, Sean, Kelso Frank B. and Mundy C. E., ... *FROM THE SEA: Preparing the Naval Service for the 21st Century*, Washington D.C.: Navy Office of Information, September 1992. accessed on 14 September 2001; available from <http://www.chinfo.navy.mil/navpalib/policy/fromsea/fromsea.txt>; Internet.

"Pacific Fleet Naval Facilities," [chart on-line][Monterey Institute for International Studies] accessed on 20 January 2001; available from,) <http://cns.miis.edu/db/nisprofs/maps/rfe.htm>; Internet.

Perestroika [encyclopedia on-line] [Infoplease.com] accessed on 8 October 2001; available from <http://aolsvc.aol.infoplease.com/ce6/history/A0838284.html>; Internet.

Pierre, A.J. and Trenin Dmitri, "Russia in the World Arms Trade," *Carnegie Endowment for International Peace*, 1997.

Powell, Stewart, *Russia's Military Retrenchment* [magazine article on-line] [Air Force Magazine, August 2001] accessed 06 August 2001; available from <http://ebird.dtic.mil/Aug2001/s20010806russias.htm>; Internet.

"Putin Approves Statute of Conventional Weapons Agency," *Moscow ITAR-TASS*, 2 February 2000, reported and translated by the Foreign Broadcast Information Service, 2 February 2000, FTS20000202001255.

"Putin: Defense Industry Will Help Russia Out of Trouble," *Moscow ITAR-TASS*, 21 March 2000, reported and translated by the Foreign Broadcast Information Service, 21 March 2000, CEP20000321000180.

Rog, Valentin Major General, (retired), "National Security Concept Critique," *Morskoy Sbornik*, 01 March 2000, reported and translated by Foreign Broadcast Information Service, 08 May 2000, FTS200000508000176.

"Russian Fleet Will Intercept U.S. 7th Fleet's Intervention in Cross-Strait War," *Hong Kong Sing Tao Jih Pao*, 8 July 2000, reported and translated by the Foreign Broadcast Information Service, 8 July 2000, CPP 20000708000004.

"Russian Warship Leaves for Japan," [newspaper article on-line] [Russian Journal] accessed on 17 September 2001; available from <http://www.russiajournal.com/news/index.shtml?nd=9397>; Internet.

"Russian Navy Activities, December 1999," *Morskoy Sbornik*, 1 December 1999, reported and translated by Foreign Broadcast Information Service, 11 February 2000, CEP20000211000162.

"Russia's Navy Looks to Show the Flag Again," [article on-line] [Jane's Defence Weekly 10 April 2001] accessed on 17 September 2001; available from http://newsite.janes.com/defence/naval_forces/news/jdw/jdw010410_1_n.shtml; Internet.

Sergeyev N.D. Fleet Admiral and others, "Admiral's Appeal to State Duma," *Morskoy Sbornik*, 01 March 1996, reported and translated by Foreign Broadcast Information Service, 01 March 1996, FTS19960301000916.

"Signs of Strength in Russia's Navy, Possible wit Help of Stolen U.S. Secrets," *Stratfor*, 14 June 2001.

Stanley, Scott M., "Assessing the Impact of 'Reasonable Sufficiency' on the Structure and Missions of the Former Soviet Navy." Masters Thesis, Naval Postgraduate School, 1992.

Stephan, John J. *The Russian Far East: A History*. Stanford: Stanford University Press, 1994.

“Submarine Centennial Frequently Asked Questions,” [article on-line] [Chief of Naval Information] accessed on 17 September 2001; available from <http://www.chinfo.navy.mil/navpalib/ships/submarines/centennial/faqs.html>; Internet.

Ten Years of Failure [newspaper article on-line] [Svedonya newspaper, Moscow, 1997] accessed 15 August 2001; available from <http://nsa.nps.navy.mil/Publications/Tsyarkin/RusDef97/Felg.html>; Internet.

The History of the Russian Navy: Peter I and the Azov Fleet [paper on-line] accessed on 21 August 2001; available from <http://www.navy.ru/history/hrn1-e.htm#Peter%20I%20and%20the%20Azov%20Fleet>; Internet.

The International Institute for Strategic Studies, *Military Balance 2000-2001*. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2000.

The World Ocean [paper on-line] [Decree #11 of the President of the Russian Federation, Moscow, 1997] accessed 12 August 2001; available from <http://www.fas.org/nuke/guide/russia/doctrine/CDONEW22.htm>; Internet.

Tyler, Patrick E, “Russia and China Sign ‘Friendship’ Pact,” *New York Times*, 17 July 2001.

Vaniyan V. Capt 1st Rank, “Economic Consequences of Disarmament, Effects on MIC,” *Morskoy Sbornik*, 01 October 2000, reported and translated by Foreign Broadcast Information Service, 8 December 2000, FTS20001208000310.

Watson, Bruce, *Red Navy at Sea: Soviet Naval Operations on the High Seas 1956-1980*. Boulder: Westview Press, 1982.

Watson, Bruce, *The Soviet Navy: Strengths and Liabilities*. Boulder: Westview Press, 1986.

Watson, Bruce and Watson Susan, *The Soviet Navy: Strengths and Liabilities*. Boulder: Westview, 1986.

World Fact Book, Nations/Alliances/Geographic Regions Eurasian Republics—Russia: Transnational Issues/Disputes [article on-line] [Periscope] accessed on 17 September 2001; available from <http://www.periscope.ucg.com/nations/eurasia/russia/worldboo/index.html>; Internet.

Yung, Christopher, Kim Soo Chang, Wie, Hwan Sue and Ishizu, Tomoyuki, *Trilateral Naval Cooperation: Japan-US-Korea*, Korea Institute for Defense Analyses, The National Institute for Defense Studies and The Center for Naval Analyses, 1997.

Zakorin N. Vice Admiral and Dolbunov N. Colonel, "Navy in Politics of National Security," *Morskoy Sbornik*, 19 October 1995, reported and translated by Foreign Broadcast Information Service, 25 April 1997, FTS19970425003124.

Zubkov, Radiy Anatolyevich Rear-Admiral (retired), "R-Adm Zubkov on State of Russian Navy," *Morskoy Sbornik*, 01 January 1996, reported and translated by Foreign Broadcast Information Service, 28 March 1997, FTS19970328000664.

THIS PAGE INTENTIONALLY LEFT BLANK

INITIAL DISTRIBUTION LIST

1. Defense Technical Information Center
Ft. Belvoir, Virginia
2. Dudley Knox Library
Naval Postgraduate School
Monterey, California
3. Douglas Porch
Code NS/Pd
Naval Postgraduate School
Monterey, CA 93943-5101
4. Mikhail Tsypkin
Code NS/Tk
Naval Postgraduate School
Monterey, CA 93943-5101
5. Richard B. Doyle
Code SM/Dy
Naval Postgraduate School
Monterey, CA 93943-5101
6. CAPT John E. Mutty, USN (Ret)
Code GSBPP/Mu
Naval Postgraduate School
Monterey, CA 93943-5101
7. LT Brian T. Mutty, USN
25295 Pine Hills Dr
Carmel, CA 93923