

# Significance of the War in Kosovo for China and Russia

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## Introduction

China and Russia were remarkably offended by the air campaign against Yugoslavia executed by the North Atlantic Treaty Organization (NATO) from March till June in 1999. China and Russia considered the war in Kosovo as an aggressive war against Yugoslavia, a sovereign state which is out of NATO's area, perpetrated by NATO under the leadership of the United States, and the two countries also perceived by this aggression the reinforcement of the unipolar world order with only superpower U.S. The political and military leaderships of the two countries started to review their defense policies because they recognized the U.S. policy of pursuing its global supremacy as an increasing military threat to them. And the war in Kosovo strongly affected the East Asian strategic environment because it gave China and Russia a chance to reinforce the strategic partnership between them. The reinforcement of China-Russian strategic partnership will have a serious influence on the security of Japan, and so we have to keep watch over its prospects. In this paper, we will analyze the following points. First is what China and Russia thought about the characters of the war in Kosovo. Second is what lessons they learned from this war for review of their defense policies. Third is what impact this war had on China-Russian strategic partnership and its prospects. And final point is what impact the reinforcement of their strategic partnership will have on the East Asian strategic environment and on the security of Japan.

## 1 Significance of the War in Kosovo for China and Russia

China and Russia perceived that the U.S. reinforced its global supremacy by the war in Kosovo and harshly criticized the U.S. and NATO. According to them, NATO under the leadership of the U.S. made an air campaign against Yugoslavia without the endorsement of the U.N. Security Council resolution and ignoring objections of China and Russia, and this therefore was an aggression on a sovereign state out of the NATO's area. They strongly blamed the U.S. and NATO for this<sup>1</sup>. China and Russia are increasingly alerted because they think that military intervention by NATO in ethnic and regional conflicts, which arise out of its area, will become more in numbers in the future. China and Russia have a lot of triggers for

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<sup>1</sup> Refer to the interview with Colonel General Leonid Ivashov, Chief of the Main Administration of International Military Cooperation of Defense Ministry of Russia, printed in *The Russia Journal* (on line), No.20, 14 June, 1999.

ethnic and regional conflicts within them, so that they thought if they admitted this military intervention, then the next Yugoslavia would possibly be themselves<sup>2</sup>. Russia had considered NATO as a defensive military alliance before the war in Kosovo began. However, through NATO's air campaign against Yugoslavia, Russia realized NATO's offensive nature and concluded that NATO became a serious military threat to Russia<sup>3</sup>. And China also realized a serious threat from NATO because of the mistaken missile attack on the Chinese Embassy in Belgrade by a U.S. fighter at the time of the air campaign against Yugoslavia.

China and Russia pay attention to two aspects of the war in Kosovo from the military viewpoint. First, the war was an asymmetrical war. In other words, a strong military alliance with overwhelmingly superior military power attacked a sovereign state with far less military power. The U.S. and NATO took advantage of advanced weapons while Yugoslavia opposed them with older weapons. In addition, NATO's air campaign enormously damaged its opponent without serious damage to its own troops. Army General Anatoliy Kvashnin, Chief of the General Staff, said about the War in Kosovo, "NATO's aggression on Yugoslavia was a dangerous precedent of taking military action on a sovereign state which does not have reliable capability of deterrence<sup>4</sup>." Russian military experts understood that the war in Kosovo changed fundamentally an ordinary image of war in which two parties which have equal military power fight with each other and that in the future wars would be asymmetrical<sup>5</sup>. Chinese military experts also predict that wars in the future would be asymmetrical, and moreover, they emphasize that a factor which enabled NATO to carry out such an operation was its superiority in information technologies. According to them, NATO used various reconnaissance satellites to collect information and utilized the multi-dimensional information technologies such as C4I system. Hence, they see that the superiority in information technologies gave NATO a good chance to prepare the massive air campaign and it could carry out the asymmetrical warfare by gaining accurate information and analyzing it rapidly<sup>6</sup>.

Second, this war was an uncontact war. Although the war in Kosovo continued for 78 days, the ground forces of both sides never met face to face throughout the war. Aircraft and missiles were solely used in the war and the air campaign became one military operation pattern. Russia recognized the importance of the air force again. China recognized that, when the U.S. or Western countries

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<sup>2</sup> *Zhanlue ping gu 2000-2001* ([2000-2001, Strategic Assessment]), published by Military Sciences Publisher, July, 2000 and *Krasnaya Zvezda*, July 30, 1999.

<sup>3</sup> Celeste A. Wallander, "Wary of the West: Russian Security Policy at the Millennium," *Arms Control Today*, March 2000, pp.7-10 and *Krasnaya Zvezda*, August 12, 1999.

<sup>4</sup> He made this statement in his lecture at the Diplomatic Academy of Russia in July, 1999. The title of this lecture was "Traditsionnye vyzovy v sfere bezonasnosti" ([Traditional challenges in the field of Security]). Sakaguchi obtained the text of the lecture from Dr. Evgeniy Bazhanov, Vice President of the Diplomatic Academy of Russia, in July, 1999.

<sup>5</sup> *Voennaya Mysl'*, No.1, January-February 2000, pp.19-25

<sup>6</sup> *Liberation Army Daily*, April 27, 1999, and June 29, 1999.

intervene militarily in other countries, they would carry out again the air campaign such as NATO and the U.S. did in Kosovo. In other words, China thinks that air campaign with solely aircraft and missiles would become a main trend of military operations in the 21st century<sup>7</sup>.

## 2 Analysis of the War in Kosovo by China and Russia

The Chinese and Russian military experts precisely analyzed the war in Kosovo from two points of view. First point is how NATO acted during the war. And another one is how Yugoslavia reacted to the NATO's attack.

### (1) Analysis of NATO's Operation and Strategy

The military experts of the two countries pointed out the five characteristics of NATO's operation and strategy<sup>8</sup>, and their analyses were common in many points. However, we can see the differences between their analyses; only the Chinese experts mentioned weaknesses of advanced weapons, and only the Russians pointed out poor performance by the Yugoslav Air Force.

As to NATO's operation, first, a large number of aircraft were used. Particularly, the way to increase rapidly the number of aircraft involved was taken. At the Gulf War in 1991, 2,300 aircraft were used from the beginning, but, in contrast, at the war in Kosovo only 460 aircraft were initially mobilized. However, the number of aircraft was increased 1.5 fold a month later, and 2.5 fold in the final stage. Therefore, NATO started its operation with the fewer number of aircraft earlier, and rapidly increased the number of them as the need arose. A factor enabling NATO to carry out this operation was its high capability of logistics. The logistical units placed the strategic points at the air bases in the United Kingdom, Germany, Italy, and Turkey, and supplied the front with fuels, ammunitions and the other goods over a long term. Besides, NATO did not need to worry about Yugoslavia's attack on those bases.

Second, NATO carried out a large scale joint operation with various air forces. Tactical fighters were deployed at the air bases (in Italy, Germany, and Turkey) located near from Yugoslavia, and strategic bombers flew from the air bases in the U.K. and North America. Thus, those fighters and bombers came from three directions at the same time to strike Belgrade. Furthermore, "Tomahawk" cruise missiles were discharged from the Adriatic Sea.

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<sup>7</sup> *Kesuo zhan zheng (II)* ([The War in Kosovo (2nd)], published by Academy of Military Science Publisher, p. 1, *Liberation Army Daily*, March 27, 1999, and *Military History*, No.1, 2000, p. 50.

<sup>8</sup> Those 5 points are based on: with regard to China, *Kesuo zhan zheng (II)*, pp. 30, *Liberation Army Daily*, April 27, 1999, June 1, 1999, June 29, 1999, and December 5, 2000: with regard to Russia, *Krasnaya Zvezda*, July 6, 1999 and *Voennaya Mysl'*, No.1, January-February 2000, pp.19-25.

Third, NATO attacked intensively some specific facilities. It mobilized EA-6B and EC-130 fighters for electronic warfare, and F-16C/J fighters followed by EA-6B to attack and destroy early warning radars and air defense radars in Yugoslavia. Simultaneously, they made electronic attacks (interruptions and interferences) on communication facilities. These led Yugoslavia to communication disorder, and its information systems completely collapsed. And NATO also made concentrated attacks on roads, railroad bridges, oil refineries, oil storage facilities, power plants and so on. Consequently, because of the deterioration of the abilities of communication and transportation, Yugoslav Army fell into a serious shortage of fuel and energy.

Fourth, NATO used new air attack weapons. B-2A strategic bombers were used for the first time, and new electronic weapons to interfere with opponent's computers and radios were put in use. The massive mobilization of highly accurate guided weapons was one of the key features of this war. Approximately 90% of air attack weapons were these types.

Fifth and finally, NATO's air attacks were pretty accurate. According to its data, although 15,000 of missiles and bombs were used during the war in Kosovo, those which missed targets were only 15. The accurate guided weapons were exploited intensively under fine weather or at night. This is because navigating function of the infrared system does not work well under complicated weather conditions. For this reason, Chinese military experts pointed out remarkably limited use of NATO's accurate guided weapons due to bad weather. Thus, for 39 days out of 78 its air attacks were affected by weather. They concluded that NATO just carried out its operation at the war without enough understandings of regional natures.

## (2) Analysis of Reaction of Yugoslavia

The reaction of the country with inferior military power in an asymmetrical war was very interesting for China and Russia because their military power is inferior to that of the U.S. or NATO. The Chinese and Russian military experts put their focuses on why inferior Yugoslav Armed Forces could actually withstand for 78 days<sup>9</sup>. Although they analyzed the same points, Russians were solely interested in tactics of the Yugoslav Armed Forces; on the other hand, Chinese were interested in their training, the arrangement of armaments, as well as the morale of the troops. Chinese analyzed the Yugoslav Armed Forces more multi-laterally than Russians did

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<sup>9</sup> This part is based on: with regard to China, *Liberation Army Daily*, June 29, 1999, and November 21, 2000, and *Danji shi jie de yin mai* ([A Cloud of Dust in Unipolar World]), published by Academy of Social Sciences Publisher, November, 1999, p. 138; with regard to Russia, *Krasnaya Zvezda*, July 6, 1999, *Voennaya Mysl'*, No.1, January-February 2000, pp. 19-25 and Viktor Gobarev, "Kosovo Aftermath: Russia-NATO Relations after the Kosovo Crisis: Strategic Implications," *The Journal of Slavic Military Studies*, Vol.12, No.3, September 1999, pp. 9-11.

probably because the degree of asymmetry between the U.S. or NATO's military power and China's is greater than that between the U.S. or NATO's and Russia's.

According to the Chinese and Russian experts' analyses, the Yugoslav Armed Forces made their efforts to defend the most important logistical facilities and to conceal the air defense forces and weapons, so that they could withstand the attack without control of the air over a long term. As to the strategic aspect, they were particularly attracted by much dependence of Yugoslav side on the anti-aircraft weapons. The Yugoslav Armed Forces used old types of anti-aircraft weapons without electronic control equipment, which did not require radar, and sought and fired targets with the naked eye. This prevented NATO's aircraft from flying at low altitude below 3,000 m. In addition, the Yugoslav Armed Forces with the anti-aircraft weapons shot down cruise missiles with great success.

And the Chinese military experts pointed out that the Yugoslav Armed Forces could hold out against the attack over a long term, not only because of tactics but also because they were well trained and their armaments were highly arranged. Surface-to-air missiles which Yugoslavia retained were produced in 1960's to early 1970's, but their conditions were well maintained. The armaments were always well maintained, so that these became a threat to NATO's operational aircraft. Chief of the General Staff of the Yugoslav Armed Forces declared that they had shot down some tens of NATO's advanced aircraft (including helicopters, unmanned aircraft, and cruise missiles) during the war in Kosovo. According to the Chinese evaluation, this just proved that it is possible to lower the capability of advanced weapons by devising tactics even with older weapons. In addition, they evaluated that high cohesiveness of Yugoslav made them withstand against NATO's power over a long term without accepting its demand.

However, we can find not only positive evaluations but also negative ones for performance of the Yugoslav Armed Forces. The Air Force could not get as good results as the Air Defense Force did. The fighters of Yugoslav Air Force mainly consisting of MiG-21 were obviously inferior to the fighters such as F-15 and F-16 equipped with intermediate range missiles, and 20% of MiG-21 and 62 % of MiG-29 retained by Yugoslav Air Force were lost for the first few days. The number of MiG-29 was evidently too few to protect troops and logistical facilities. The miserable performance of Yugoslav Air Force made the Russian experts understand clearly what would happen to a party with inferior military power when fighting against a party with overwhelmingly superior military power.

### 3 Lessons from the War in Kosovo for the Defense Policies of China and Russia

China and Russia learned some lessons for their defense policies from the war in Kosovo. We have to pay attention to two points in common between them. First, they recognized that they had to take measures for information warfare or

asymmetrical war with advanced weapons, which is considered as the characteristics of future warfare. Second, they understood again the necessity of reinforcing air force and for allowing them to carry out uncontact wars. However, we can find differences between their review of defense policies based on the lessons from the war. China falls behind Russia in the modernization of weapons, so that China tends to learn more serious lessons from the war in Kosovo than Russia does. As to the problems of the Chinese Military, in addition to the lack of high-tech weapons, human resources who can handle advanced weapons are in short supply. Thus, it is emphasized that it is important to foster and train highly qualified human resources. And how existing older weapons including air defense weapons can be effectively utilized becomes an important subject. On the other hand, Russia tries to supplement the inferiority of its conventional forces to the U.S. or NATO's with enhancement of combat and rapid reaction readiness through the military reform, especially maintenance and enhancement of rapid reaction readiness of the nuclear forces. These points are the key differences between the two countries.

#### (1) Lessons for Chinese Defense Policy

##### A. Importance of modernizing armed forces, and fostering and training human resources

China learned the lesson from the war in Kosovo that information warfare with the advanced weapons would be the mainstream in the future. For example, Fu Quanyou, Chief of the General Staff of People's Liberation Army (PLA), contributed a paper about this to the theoretical journal "Qiu Shi" in commemoration of 72nd anniversary of the establishment of PLA on 1st, August 1999<sup>10</sup>. In this paper he stated that high-tech information technologies were getting widely used in military field due to the arrival of the information era, and significant changes occurred in the style of war, operational patterns, army organization, and type of armaments and training, and as a result, new tendencies such as informationization of battle fields, unification of operations, digitalization of army, and intellectualization of armaments lead the new challenges for the modernization of the Chinese Armed Forces. Moreover, he mentioned that the result of war would be much dependent on whether utilizing the latest scientific technologies for the military field, or whether achieving the quality improvement of combat capability. Based on these points, the Chinese Army is now carrying out military training featuring new technologies. Therefore, trainings for the enhancement of three abilities (physical strength, skill, and intelligence) are carried out for soldiers, and four newly adopted trainings (new knowledge, new skill, new armament, and new tactic) are for officers and commanders of units. In addition, five

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<sup>10</sup> *Qiu Shi*, No. 15, 1999.

capability trainings (rapid reaction, counter-intelligence, field operations survival, integration operations, and comprehensive security) are adopted to the unit trainings in order to improve comprehensive skills of soldiers and comprehensive operational abilities of units.

China learned from the war in Kosovo that they were increasingly required to foster highly qualified human resources. If they do not have servicemen with scientific knowledge and training skills to deal with advanced weapons, it will be difficult to show the capability of advanced weapons to the full. And the high quality of commanders are also important because they have to grasp the whole situation of war and give an order as dealing with a local war under high-tech conditions. Fu Quanyou argued that knowledge was a leading factor of ability to fight in informationized battle fields and it was necessary to raise more human resources with high skills than the opponent did, and concluded that by matching those human resources with advanced weapons the huge combat efficiency could be displayed.

“The critical draft of the Standing Committee of the National People’s Congress for revision of ‘The Regulation on the Service of PLA Soldiers and Officers on Active Services’” was adopted at the Nineteenth Session of the Standing Committee of the Ninth National People’s Congress (NPC) in the end of December, 2000. And the regulation was renamed “The Law on PLA Soldiers and Officers on Active Service.” The regulations on the fundamental requirements of officers, officers’ selection, the term of officers’ service, officers’ position, and the treatment of officers were revised by this. As to the fundamental requirements of officers, it was stated formerly that “a person shall be loyal to the Chinese Communist Party, and shall possess the firm ideal and conviction of revolution, and the modern military knowledge.” In addition to this, a new requirement was added; “a person shall be given the appropriate qualification through the courses at university.” As this shows, it is evident that the Chinese Military requires human resources with high skills<sup>11</sup>. China is just preparing for a war under high-tech conditions and the Revolution in Military Affairs (RMA).

## B. Importance of the older weapons

China learned that it was dangerous to depend too much on advanced weapons while realizing these weapons would be increasingly important in the future. This is a lesson that the weak learned from the reaction of the Yugoslav Armed Forces mainly with older weapons. This precept also says that even advanced weapons have weak points, so that the weak can stand up to a powerful opponent if it adequately displays the potential of older weapons.

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<sup>11</sup> *Liberation Army Daily*, January 4, 2000.

The Chinese experts summarized weak points of advanced weapons as follows. First, production cost is expensive, production cycle is extended, and thus, it is extremely difficult to supply them under a touch and go situation. Second, advanced weapons are so complicated that it is very hard to handle them. Third and finally, since advanced weapons are significantly dependent on electronic devices, they are easily interfered or interrupted and damaged, and their functionality is limited under specific weather and geographical conditions.

The Yugoslav Armed Forces took advantage of weak points of infrared guided weapons by emitting artificial smoke screen, and this reduced the effectiveness of NATO's electronic reconnaissance and accurate guided weapons. Furthermore, they used Internet to make an attack on NATO's network over a long term. As you can see in these examples, the reduction in the abilities of advanced weapons of NATO allowed the Yugoslav Armed Forces to take advantage. Because the Yugoslav Armed Forces were inferior, they did not neglect to study a new tactic. They fully utilized their existing armaments to attack on the opponent's weak points. In the air defense operation, they established the radar network, and the early warning intelligence system allowed them to accurately distinguish between the opponents and their own. Especially, the Yugoslav Armed Forces showed the ability of older milli-wave radar to the full to capture stealth fighters.

In conclusion, China learned that it was important to fully display the abilities of existing armaments by analyzing the reaction of the Yugoslav Armed Forces<sup>12</sup>. The reason why the Chinese experts pay much attention to this lesson is that it is difficult for the Chinese Armed Forces, which have a vast number of military personnel, to deploy the latest weapons to its troops in a short term.

### C. Insight into the role of the Air Force

The war in Kosovo resulted in dramatically changing Chinese insight into the role of the Air Force. In other words, although the main mission of Chinese air force was air defense, China found the necessity of making its Air Force get ability of both defense and attack. This change in insight was significantly affected by NATO's achievement, which was made solely with the air force. On the occasion of 50th anniversary of the establishment of the Air Force, Liu Shun Yao, Commander of the Air Force, contributed a paper to "Qiu Shi." In this paper, he mentioned that it was required to convert the Chinese Air Force of territorial air defense type into that with ability of both defense and attack. The ordinary mission of the Air Force has been merely to supplement operations of the Ground Force and the Navy so far. However,

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<sup>12</sup> *Jundui jian she xin shi ye* ([The New Perceptions of the Construction of the Armed Forces]), published by the National Defense University Publisher, April, 2000, pp.4-12.



he emphasized that, from now on, the Air Force had to play a key role in an operation or carry out an operation independently.

The Chinese Air Force bought the fighters such as Su-27 and Su-30 from Russia, and it has been steadily enhancing its capability. At the military parade for 50th anniversary of the foundation of People's Republic of China, the refueling aircraft were introduced, and thus, the modernization of the Air Force is steadily in process. And the Air Force tries to obtain the airborne warning and control system (AWACS). In addition, China is promoting the military training featuring new technologies to improve the quality of the troops and to enhance the ability of the Air Force, which can win a local war<sup>13</sup>.

#### D. The importance of air defense operation

As a result of the war in Kosovo, China recognized the importance of the air defense operation again. The Chinese Armed Forces took up the air defense operation as an important subject and are strengthening the military training. This training is called new "3 attacks and 3 defenses." "3 attacks" training is the training of shooting down stealth fighters, cruise missiles, and armed helicopters. On the other hand, "3 defenses" training is the training of defending against precise strikes, electronic attacks, reconnaissance and monitoring. This is the research findings for measures in a modern warfare conducted by a certain division in Lanzhou military region in September, 1999. The division summarized achievements obtained from the training, made tactics consisting of 40 items, and spread it throughout the whole Armed Forces<sup>14</sup>. During the training, the tactics such as strikes against armed helicopters by infantry, strikes against cruise missiles by anti-aircraft force, and defense against electronic interference by communications force were carried out for each group force and in each military region. Based on the lessons from the war in Kosovo, they were trying to improve their skills as paying attention to advanced technologies. And now, as a result of the training in which the whole armed forces were involved, they are gradually and comprehensively embodying the campaign under the conditions of high-tech warfare<sup>15</sup>.

In the beginning of November, 2000, Jiang Zemin, President of People's Republic of China, made an important speech at the Fourth National Session of People's Air Defense at People's Meeting Hall in Beijing. He emphasized that people's air defense was an important part of defense, air attack and anti-air attack (air defense) were the key operational pattern in a modern local war under high-tech conditions, and people's air defense would play an important role in future defense operations. Moreover, he mentioned that the general situation of the national strategy

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<sup>13</sup> *Qiu Shi*, No. 21, 1999.

<sup>14</sup> *Liberation Army Daily*, October 10, 1999.

<sup>15</sup> *Liberation Army Daily*, November 14, 2000.

would be affected by whether the arrangement of air defense succeed or fail. And he pointed out that people's air defense had a significant responsibility so that people's air defense project should be placed in strategic position. Finally, he demanded that the whole country made their efforts to establish modernized people's air defense under the strong instruction of the army and the government<sup>16</sup>. He obviously thought that Yugoslavia could withstand NATO's air campaign with advanced technologies since they properly built people's air defense<sup>17</sup>. During the war in Kosovo, NATO targeted at non-military facilities and less important industrial facilities, as well as military facilities. Thus, Yugoslavia could not ensure the territorial depth for absolute security. Consequently, NATO's inferior uranium bombs victimized ordinary citizens and children. Based on these lessons, they recognized the necessity of air defense training and education to citizens, and have started the reinforcement of air defense.

## (2) Lessons for Russian Defense Policy<sup>18</sup>

### A. Perception of external threats

Russia concluded that there was high possibility that NATO might make an attack on Russia and its allied nations in a similar way NATO did in Kosovo because NATO underwent a transfiguration to an aggressive alliance, adopting the "New Strategic Concept." This change in perception of external threats caused to revise the "National Security Concept" and the "Military Doctrine" from the end of 1999 to the beginning of 2000. As early as in May, 1999, Vladimir Putin, then Secretary of the Security Council, argued that Russia had to revise the National Security Concept because the present concept (former "Security Concept") did not take into account a military invasion on Russia from foreign countries. On 5th of October, 1999, the new National Security Concept (new "Security Concept") was adopted at the Security Council and it was up for consideration at the Federal Council. At this council, then President Boris Yeltsin stated that they needed to draw up the new "Security Concept" considering the serious situation in Balkan, and emphasized that the financial condition of Russia should be adequately improved to enhance the military power<sup>19</sup>. As to the revision of the "Military Doctrine," first, the draft of the new doctrine appeared in Defense Ministry's Daily "Krasnaya Zvezda" dated on 9th of

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<sup>16</sup> *Liberation Army Daily*, November 9, 2000.

<sup>17</sup> *Gaoji shu kong xi yu fang kong* ([Air Attacks by Means of High-tech Weapons and Air Defense]), published by the National Defense University Publisher, October, 1999, pp. 364-380.

<sup>18</sup> This section is mainly based on: Gobarev, *op. cit.*, *Krasnaya Zvezda*, July 6, 1999, *Voennaya Mysl'*, No. 1, January-February 2000, pp.19-25, *Rossiiskaya Gazeta*, July 27, 1999, *Izvestiya*, September 25, 1999, Andrei Piontkovsky, "Season of Discontent: Lessons from Kosovo: one year on," *The Russia Journal* (on line), No.18, 15 May, 2000. And refer to Wallander, *op. cit.*, and Wallander, "Russia's New Security Policy and the Ballistic Missile Defense Debate," *Current History*, October 2000, pp.339-340.

<sup>19</sup> *Krasnaya Zvezda*, October 6, 1999.

October in 1999. This draft stated that the expansion of a military block or a military alliance was a military threat against Russia. This obviously described that Russia recognized NATO's enlargement to the east was a military threat<sup>20</sup>. And then, these documents forming the fundamentals of the Russia's national defense policies had been approved one after another since Putin took over the authority (the new "Security Concept" and the new "Military Doctrine" were approved on 10th of January in 2000 and on 21st of April in 2000, respectively). Increasing NATO's activities drove Russia to expressly stipulate the existence of threat from the west in the texts. As a result the increasing military threat from the foreign countries is explicitly announced in both the new "Security Concept" and the new "Military Doctrine"<sup>21</sup>.

The new "Security Concept" says that, in terms of the present condition of the Russian Armed Forces, the level of the ability of combat and rapid reaction is critically low because of the stagnation of the reform of the Armed Forces and defense industry and because of inadequate defense expenditure. And it says that this leads to the deterioration of the military security of Russia. Finally, it points out that a basic task of Russia's national security is to enhance the military power to an adequately high level and maintain it<sup>22</sup>. Similarly, in the new "Military Doctrine" it is emphasized that it is essential for Russia to ensure enough military power to repel invaders. In the new "Military Doctrine" utilizing the whole Russian military power in order to get rid of invasion upon Russia and its allied nations is explicitly justified<sup>23</sup>.

## B. Revision of the nuclear strategy

Comparing the conventional forces, that of NATO is apparently asymmetric to that of Russia. NATO is overwhelmingly superior to Russia<sup>24</sup>. An urgent matter for Russian military leadership is how well they deal with NATO's military invasion under this condition. Russia tries to revise its nuclear strategy to resolve this problem.

On 29th of April in 1999, a closed conference of the Security Council was held. At this conference the nuclear deterrence strategy was discussed, and Yeltsin signed three presidential decrees in relation to the development and the use of strategic and non-strategic nuclear forces. Vladimir Putin, then Secretary of the Security Council, said that this conference was not related to the war in Kosovo, but it was obvious that

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<sup>20</sup> Refer to the draft of "Military Doctrine" printed in *Krasnaya Zvezda*, October 9, 1999.

<sup>21</sup> The texts of the new "Security Concept" and of the new "Military Doctrine" are released in *Rossiiskaya Gazeta*, January 18, 2000, and *Rossiiskaya Gazeta*, April 25, 2000, respectively.

<sup>22</sup> *Rossiiskaya Gazeta*, 18 January, 2000.

<sup>23</sup> *Voennaya Mysl'*, No.3, 2000, pp.22-34.

<sup>24</sup> With regard to the perception of the Russian military officials that in conventional forces Russia is inferior to NATO and the estimate of the military forces of Russia by them refer to Sakaguchi, "NATO no tohokakudai to roshiya," ([ NATO's Enlargement to the East and Russia]) *Kaigaijijo*, May, 1997, pp. 43-55.

NATO's air campaign on Yugoslavia made the Russian leadership hold this conference<sup>25</sup>.

At this conference, in relation to strategic nuclear forces, measures for the service-life extension of Delta-III class nuclear-powered ballistic missile submarines and intercontinental ballistic missiles (ICBM) were decided. And according to some sources, they also decided that tactical nuclear weapons were granted a new role as the effective deterrent forces<sup>26</sup>. Russia cannot significantly update and enhance its conventional forces for economic reason. So, they cannot help relying on nuclear forces as a key deterrent. However, strategic nuclear forces themselves have become too old for work. Thus, the expectation to tactical nuclear weapons would reflect the distress to Russia.

As to the use of nuclear weapons, in the new "Military Doctrine," it is emphasized that Russia has a right to use nuclear weapons when Russia fall into a serious situation because of a large scale invasion on Russia or its allied nations by means of conventional weapons, as well as when being invaded by means of nuclear weapons and weapons of mass destruction<sup>27</sup>.

The large-scale strategic command-post exercise, ZAPAD (West) 99 was executed between 21st and 26th of June in 1999. This exercise was based on the following scenario; when NATO invades Belarus, which forms a union with Russia, Russia and Belarus jointly repel it. About 50,000 military persons participated in this exercise, therefore, it was the largest one after the end of the Cold War. One particular thing attracting attention was that the use of nuclear weapons was assumed in this exercise<sup>28</sup>.

In addition, the Russian Armed Forces carried out massive exercises based on the scenario of nuclear war with the U.S. in the West and the Far East regions simultaneously from 13th to 16th of February in 2001<sup>29</sup>. The objectives of the exercises were to alert the U.S. government, which is launching NMD initiative, and to demonstrate the ability of rapid reaction of Russian nuclear forces. The strategic bombers such as Tu-22M3, Tu-95MS and Tu-160 were mobilized in the exercises, and the intercontinental ballistic missile RS-12M, "Topol" (SS25), was fired from Prisetks missile base into the ocean off the coast of Kamchatska Peninsula.

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<sup>25</sup> *Krasnaya Zvezda*, April 30, 1999.

<sup>26</sup> *Izvestiya*, April 30, 1999.

<sup>27</sup> *Rossiiskaya Gazeta*, April 25, 2000.

<sup>28</sup> Military Information Services, Bureau of Studies and Analysis, Ministry of Defense of Poland, *The Intelligence Review*, pp.8-9. When Sakaguchi visited the National Defense Academy of Poland in July, 1999, he obtained this document there. With regard to the Russian news of this exercise, refer to the article summarizing the exercise in *Krasnaya Zvezda*, July 10, 1999, and the detailed article in *Krasnaya Zvezda*, July 13, 1999.

<sup>29</sup> For more information of this exercise, refer to *Nezavisimaya Gazeta*, February 24, 2001 and "Russia proposes Euro missile shield," BBC News, 20 February, 2001 (available from [http://news6.thdo.bbc.co.uk/hi/english/world/europe/newsid\\_1177000/1177889.stm](http://news6.thdo.bbc.co.uk/hi/english/world/europe/newsid_1177000/1177889.stm)).

### C. Enhancement of the Air Force

One of the operational and strategic lessons learned from the war in Kosovo is the necessity of enhancing the Air Force. The Air Force now is required the high ability of rapid reaction allowing to intensively deploy it under the operations in the regions where a threat becomes evident or where a threat is about to arise, and it is necessary to rapidly enhance that ability in order to deal with the opponent who has the capability to make an intensive air attack on the various facilities. The deployment of the Air Force must be carried out at the speed corresponding to the opponent's. Therefore, more and more military officials require the enhancement of the Russian Air Force.

Russian military leaders lost no time in putting the strategic lessons in practice in the second Chechen conflict just a few months after the war in Kosovo. The Russian Armed Forces imitated NATO's scheme, which was carried out by means of air attack, because (1) it can minimize the damage to human resources, and (2) it can neutralize the important facilities and the infrastructure, as well as the opponent's forces<sup>30</sup>.

Another important lesson is the enhancement of the ability of strategic bombers. It is noted that the number of long range strategic bombers, Tu-160, which were used in the massive exercise in February, 2001, was increased. In May, 2000, one Tu-160 was handed over to the Russian Air Force from Kazan Aircraft Production Plant for the first time in these 12 years. The Russian Air Force holds 15 of Tu-160s including this newly introduced one. Because of the collapse of the Soviet Union, only 6 of Tu-160s remained in Russia. But in May, 1999, just after the war in Kosovo Ukraine handed over 8 of Tu-160s to Russia as a part of repayment of foreign debt from Russia. And then Russia finally got the new one<sup>31</sup>. Some say that Russia has a plan to buy back 11 of Tu-160s left in Ukraine<sup>32</sup>. Considering the timing of handing over from Ukraine, the Russian military leaders obviously intended to reinforce the long-range strategic bombers. First, this is because the reinforcement of Tu-160 directly leads to the improvement of the ability of rapid reaction for strategic nuclear forces. And this is because Russia learned that NATO made air attacks by means of long-range strategic bombers with conventional warheads at the war in Kosovo, and Russia planned to use them in the same way<sup>33</sup>.

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<sup>30</sup> Alexander Golts, "Chechnya not another Yugoslavia. But Russians study NATO attack plan," *The Russia Journal* (on line), No.32, October 4, 1999.

<sup>31</sup> For this more details, refer to Vladislav Komarov, "Explosive gift for airborne nuclear forces," *The Russia Journal* (on line), No.19, May 22, 2000.

<sup>32</sup> Military Information Services, *The Intelligence Review*, p.8.

<sup>33</sup> Komarov, *op. cit.*

#### D. Military reform for the enhancement of the ability of rapid reaction

The war in Kosovo put an enormous impact on the military reform in Russia. Igor Sergeev, former Defense Minister, always believed that there was no possibility of a large scale invasion on Russia in 10 years. Based on this belief, he, ever since taking office, had kept saying that Russia should give up maintaining the ability of rapid reaction for the moment and that the investment to research and development should be given the highest priority in order to supply advanced weapons for the army in the future. As to the deterrence for the moment, he had kept saying that Russia should rely on nuclear forces. However, with NATO's air campaign on Yugoslavia as a turning point, the necessity of enhancing the ability of rapid reaction of the Russian Armed Forces became a consensus within the Russian leadership. The objective of Russia's military reform is to organize the compact and professional armed forces with highly developed mobility. The new "Security Concept" severely describes the rapid reaction ability of the Russian Armed Forces, and this means that the promotion of the military reform is one of the most important subjects for the Putin Administration. A dilemma, in which the Putin Administration is caught, can be summarized as follows. It is important for Russia to maintain the rapid reaction ability of nuclear forces at a high level in order to deter NATO from invading it because of its inferiority to NATO in conventional forces. On the other hand, if defense budget is spent much on the Strategic Missile Forces, then Russia cannot proceed to improve and update conventional forces, and as a result, the inferiority in conventional forces to NATO will continue for a long period.

Then, a friction has occurred about how defense budget, which is chronically in short supply, should be efficiently spent to improve a combat and rapid reaction readiness of the Russian Armed Forces, and it has been going on. The difference of stance on how to use defense budget has been most clear between Army General Anatoliy Kvashnin, Chief of the General Staff, and Sergeev<sup>34</sup>. Kvashnin has always argued that defense budget should be preferentially allocated to the improvement and the update of conventional forces. In April, 2000, he submitted to President Putin a military reform proposal, in which a dramatic decrease in the Strategic Missile Forces was mainly described. The outline of the proposal is (1) decreasing the Strategic Missile Forces to one sixth to one seventh of the present scale of forces and integrating the Forces into the Air Force by 2003, (2) assigning the budget, left over due to the decrease in the Strategic Missile Forces, to the improvement and the update of conventional forces. He explained this proposal at a meeting of executive staffs of Russian military in July, 2000. And in that speech, he mentioned that the possibility of global nuclear war had lowered due to the end of the Cold War, on the

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<sup>34</sup> With regard to the difference between the opinions on the military reform of Kvashnin and Sergeev, refer to *Nezavisimaya Gazeta*, October 2, 1999.

other hand, regional conflicts such as the war in Kosovo had come to occur frequently, and the military reform in Russia, however, was not fit to this strategic change<sup>35</sup>.

On the contrary, Sergeev harshly criticized that the Kvashnin's proposal sacrificed the Strategic Missile Forces, which were only military branch with the high ability to battle, for the reinforcement of conventional forces<sup>36</sup>. On 11th of August in 2000, the Security Council was held for the military reform from present to 2015 and the following three points were determined: (1) maintaining the Strategic Missile Forces as an independent military branch until 2006, (2) manufacturing the latest intercontinental ballistic missiles, "Topol M," more than Kvashnin proposed, and (3) canceling the combat disposition of the intercontinental ballistic missiles at the expiration of their service life<sup>37</sup>. Sergei Ivanov, then Secretary of the Security Council (present Defense Minister) mentioned that, at this council, they examined the military reform based on a principle not to give considerable damage to a certain military branch<sup>38</sup>. According to these decisions made, we can see that Russian leadership cannot easily take the plunge and give up the vast nuclear forces, which Russia, as a superpower, solely relies on.

#### E. Measures for the reduction of military personnel

The war in Kosovo made the Putin Administration feel keenly the necessity of enhancing the rapid reaction ability of the armed forces. To organize the rigidly disciplined and professional armed forces with appropriate scale by reducing military personnel became an important subject. A chronic shortage of defense budget causes deterioration in the standard of living and the demoralization of soldiers. Consequently, the armed forces' ability to battle has decreased<sup>39</sup>. The budget is not adequately allocated not only to the update of the armaments but also to the payment for soldiers. As these circumstances show, judging from its current economic capability, it is very difficult for Russia to maintain the current scale of the Russian Armed Forces. On 9th of November, 2000, the Security Council decided to reduce military personnel by 600,000 although the military officials stubbornly resisted the reduction of military personnel. It is possible to stop the decline in the ability of combat and rapid reaction of the Russian Armed Forces by putting this reduction plan into practice, but some factors block the realization of the plan. First, military persons to be reduced include those of Paramilitaries such as the interior troops of the

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<sup>35</sup> Refer to the related part in Chapter 7 of the National Institute for the Defense Studies (ed.), *East Asian Strategic Review 2001*, February, 2001.

<sup>36</sup> Refer to the article criticizing Kvashnin in *Itogi*, 4 July, 2000.

<sup>37</sup> *Izvestiya*, 12 August, 2000

<sup>38</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>39</sup> With regard to the impact of the lack of the national defense budget on Russian Armed Forces, refer to "Russia's armed forces: Problems of reform and resettlement," *Strategic Comments*, Vol.6, No.7, September 2000.

Ministry of Internal Affairs, the units of Frontier Forces and the railway troops. It is noted that these units and troops stubbornly resist the reduction plan<sup>40</sup>. In addition, if the plan is actually put into practice, a new fiscal burden will arise because the Russian government has to provide housing for 120,000 soldiers, who do not have their own place to live<sup>41</sup>.

#### F. Reinforcement of defense industry

As a result of the war in Kosovo, the military officials have been worrying if the present miserable condition in defense industry continues, Russia will become seriously behind NATO in terms of military technologies, especially communications and information weapons, reconnaissance weapons, and highly accurate guided weapons. They started emphasizing that it was necessary for the government to take measures to rebuild defense industry. In other words, they noted that in order not to be defeated in a symmetrical war in the future Russia had to enhance defense industry's ability to produce the weapons, which enable the armed forces to withstand opponent's latest weapons<sup>42</sup>.

In the second half of 1999, they seriously started to draw up the State Program on Research and Development of Weapons and Military Technology from 2001 to 2010. This Program has two objectives. First, until 2010 the existing armaments' systems will be kept in the combat and rapid reaction readiness in order to deter from an invasion by means of both nuclear weapons and non-nuclear weapons, and to carry out perfectly combat and operational missions. Second, the potential of science, technology and production must be enhanced in order to produce the latest weapons after 2010, which will become very important factors for strengthening the armed forces. This Program describes that Russia should make its best efforts to develop the vital military technology for the 21st century, and to develop and produce the strategic weapons, the reconnaissance system, the command and communications system, and the system and method for tactical combat<sup>43</sup>.

Putin himself also well understood that the maintenance and enhancement of defense industry was a key factor of national security. And he showed his attitude to tackle this challenge actively. In March, 2000, the All-Russian Conference of Workers of Defense-Industrial Complex was held in Nidzenii Novgorod. At this conference, Putin made a speech and admitted that Russia had a serious problem that defense industry of Russia was behind that of the other countries in terms of the high-tech area such as information and communications although the production of the whole

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<sup>40</sup> *The Russia Journal* (on line), No.38, 5 October, 2000.

<sup>41</sup> *Izvestiya*, 7 October, 2000.

<sup>42</sup> *Voennaya Mysl'*, No.1, January-February 2000, p.21.

<sup>43</sup> *Krasnaya Zvezda*, December 9, 1999.



defense industry favorably grew by 30 % on a year over year basis<sup>44</sup>. And also he admitted that many of defense corporations did not have the capability to work well under the market economy. The subject to be dealt with, which Putin proposed, was to select a few companies with strategic significance for national security, and to invest intensively sufficient funds in those companies. When Putin organized a cabinet for the first time, the Ministry of Industry, Science, and Technology was newly founded, which has jurisdiction over defense industry. It has come to take charge of the development of military technology, the procurement of weapons and the export of Russian- made weapons<sup>45</sup>.

#### 4 The War in Kosovo and China-Russia Strategic Partnership

##### (1) Strategic convergence between China and Russia

The leaders of China and Russia have promoted their relationship through mutual visits since they declared the strategic partnership in April, 1996. After the outbreak of the war in Kosovo , especially after mistaken air attack on the Chinese Embassy in Belgrade, their relationship has been getting closer. Both countries blamed harshly the U.S. and NATO for their action, and at the same time, noted that they would promote to cooperate in important international problems with each other thereafter.

Before the war in Kosovo occurred, Russia and China had slightly different attitudes to the U.S. and NATO because Russia felt directly pressure from the west due to NATO's enlargement to the east, and China did not. For example, although then Prime Minister Evgeniy Primakov proposed the strategic triangle initiative by Russia, China, and India to withstand the unipolar world order with only superpower U.S. when he visited India in December, 1998, China showed cold attitude to this proposal. But the war in Kosovo caused China to take a firm stand against the U.S. and NATO. We can understand that, as a result of the war, China and Russia have come to share the standpoint to consider NATO under the leadership of the U.S. as a military threat<sup>46</sup>.

The strategic partnership between China and Russia has continued after Putin succeeded former President Yeltsin, who gave priority for Russia's foreign policy to the relations with China during his last term of office. In July, 2000, Putin, before his first visit to China, emphasized the importance of the development of China-Russia

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<sup>44</sup> <http://president.kremlin.ru/events/19.html>

<sup>45</sup> *Vedomost'*, 23 May, 2000.

<sup>46</sup> Ahmed Rashid, "Unstable Fringe: Terrorist threats help push China and Russia closer," *Far Eastern Economic Review*, September 9, 1999, p.28.

relations<sup>47</sup>. In Jiang Zemin-Putin talk, Jiang Zemin said, “Both China and Russia are permanent members of the UN Security Council and hold nuclear weapons. Thus, we are significantly responsible for global peace and security. To establish and develop our strategic partnership is historically a right decision and it is necessary for us in terms of our strategic benefits.” In addition, he emphasized that China-Russia relationship would become more stable and both countries would become a permanent “good friend, good neighbor, and good partner.” On 18th of July, both leaders signed the “Beijing Declaration.” The declaration describes (1) to promote the formation of the multipolar world order and the new, fair and reasonable international order through the enhancement of China- Russia friendship, and (2) to enhance the cooperation in foreign and defense policies thereafter<sup>48</sup>. In addition to the “Beijing Declaration,” they signed another joint statement, which explicitly describes the opposition against the U.S. NMD plan<sup>49</sup>.

In Jiang Zemin-Putin talk in November, 2000, Jiang Zemin said, “We had meetings no less than four times. Chairmen of the Assemblies and Prime Ministers had meetings as well. Our cooperation in each area is being enhanced without interruption.” And he said, “We reinforced our cooperation in the Anti-Ballistic Missile (ABM) Treaty matter as well. The United Nations adopted the resolution of continuing and following ABM Treaty this year. Our strict standpoint are getting supported increasingly and widely,” and he emphasized the output of their partnership. Taking into consideration these above mentioned aspects of China-Russia relations, we can say that the war in Kosovo resulted in reinforcing their partnership.

## (2) The War in Kosovo and China-Russia military relations

The strategic partnership between China and Russia makes much progress in the military cooperation and the military-technical cooperation.

China is the largest buyer of Russian-made weapons, and arms export to China is extremely important for Russia’s defense industry to survive<sup>50</sup>. Russian leadership thinks arms export to China very important in terms of the strategic viewpoint, as well as in terms of the economic viewpoint. The Russian leadership thinks that the multipolar world order is more desirable for the stabilization of the world than the unipolar world order with only superpower U.S.. In the Russian leadership’s image of the multipolar world order, China is thought to be one of some

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<sup>47</sup> In the new “Foreign Policy Concept” of Russia, which was released in July, 2000, sequentially the relationship with China is given the highest priority in terms of the Asia policy. The text of the new “Foreign Policy Concept” is available from <http://www.mid.ru/mid/vpcons.htm>.

<sup>48</sup> The text of the “Beijing Declaration,” printed in *Problemy Dal’nego Vostoka* ([Problems of Far East]), No.5, 2000, pp.5-8, was used.

<sup>49</sup> The text in *Ibid*, pp.9-10, was used.

<sup>50</sup> *Nezavisimaya Gazeta*, August 27, 1999.

polars in it, and it is not favorable for Russia that the military power of China are too weak compared to that of the U.S. because militarily weak China cannot become one polar in the multipolar world order. And therefore, the Russian leadership believes that it is necessary to help China modernize its Armed Forces through the military technical cooperation<sup>51</sup>. After the war in Kosovo, a lot of political and military leaders of Russia assert the necessity of reinforcing the military cooperation with China to withstand the threat from the U.S. and NATO<sup>52</sup>.

China has already bought Su-27SK fighters from Russia. The licensed production of the fighters was launched in 1999, and 10 to 15 units would be produced a year. In addition, when Yeltsin visited China in December, 1999, he promised to sell 60 of Su-30MK fighters to China. As to the Russia's promise to sell Su-30MK fighters, China analyzed that Russia hoped to enhance the strategic partnership with China, and as a result, getting rid of a pressure on Russia from NATO since the war in Kosovo<sup>53</sup>. In relation to the armaments of the Navy, China bought four of kilo-class submarines and Russia handed over the second sovremenny- class missile destroyer to China. Moreover, China plans to obtain S-300 surface-to-air missile systems and AWACS from Russia. Obtaining AWACS is one of the most important subjects for the Chinese military and at first China tried to obtain AWACS from Israel, but failed to do.

China's capability to deal with information warfare such as the war in Kosovo is limited. Thus, the partnership with Russia, which has more advanced information technologies than China, is essential for China, and obtaining advanced technologies for the modernization of the armed forces from Russia through strengthening the partnership became an urgent matter for the Chinese leadership. The war in Kosovo caused China to be increasingly dependent on Russian-made weapons<sup>54</sup>. The development of the military exchange between the two countries shows this tendency clearly. Xinhua News Agency (on 5th of January, 2000) looked back the military exchanges between China and foreign countries in 1999, and said that the exchange between China and Russia was prominently active above all. The article said, "There were comprehensive and active military exchanges. Above all, the exchanges between

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<sup>51</sup> When Sakaguchi exchanged opinions with Evgeniy Bazhanov, Vice President of the Diplomatic Academy of Russia, in Moscow in July, 1999, Bazhanov pointed out this Russian strategic thinking in the background of the arms export to China.

<sup>52</sup> We can see this, for example, in the statements of Colonel General Leonid Ivashov, Chief of the Main Administration of International Military Cooperation of Defense Ministry of Russia, and Sergei Arbatov, Vice Chairman of Defense Committee of the State Duma. For more information, refer to their papers, which they contributed to Rossiiskaya Akademiya Nauk ([Russian Academy of Sciences]), *Rossiia i Zapad: Krizis otnosheniy v sfere bezopasnosti i problema kontrolya nad vooruzheniyami* ([Russia and the West: The Crisis of Relations in the field of Security and the Problem of Arms Control]), Moscow, 1999.

<sup>53</sup> *Beijing Review*, No. 2, 2000, p.12.

<sup>54</sup> The strategic thinking in the background of the arms export of Russia is that if a certain country is increasingly getting dependent on the weapons from Russia, Russia will be able to expand its political influence on that country.

China and Russia, and between China and the Northeast Asian countries particularly attracted attention. In the process of global multipolarization, China and Russia are playing an important role. The high level military exchange between those two was active and the military relationship was developed well. The visit to Russia by Zhang Wannian, Vice Chairman of the CPC Central Military Committee, was important because one of the highest military officials of China visited Russia. Sequentially, delegations of the General Political Department of PLA, the General Armament Department of PLA, and the Chinese Navy visited Russia. The strategic partnership between China and Russia for the 21st century including military relations has been developed more strikingly this year<sup>55</sup>.”

Chi Haotian, Minister of Defense, met Sergeev, then Defense Minister, in Russia in January, 2000. They signed the understanding memorandum between the Defense Ministries of both countries, which describes the reinforcement of the military cooperation. And Chi Haotian met Putin as well and they agreed on strengthening the military relations. He told Putin that he placed an emphasis on the China-Russia relations of friendship, good-neighborliness and cooperation, and that he believed the strategic partnership for the 21st century would be surely developed. In July, 2000, Chi Haotian met Sergeev again, who visited Beijing with President Putin, and he admired the Russia's standpoint of following ABM Treaty. Xiong Guangkai, Deputy Chief of the General Staff, and Valeriy Manilov, First Deputy Chief of the General Staff participated in the fourth council of the General Staffs of Chinese and Russian Armed Forces in Beijing in November, 2000. The General Staffs discussed the reinforcement of the China-Russia military partnership such as the reinforcement of the consultation mechanism. We think that the war in Kosovo made Chinese and Russian Armed Forces enhance their partnership.

### (3) Perspective of the China-Russia Strategic Partnership

China and Russia have been enhancing their relationship throughout 1990's, and the war in Kosovo further accelerated this tendency. The two countries have shared the benefits in various areas, and they have had very close opinions on extremely important matters. Thus, they think that any conflict of interests will not occur between them. Especially, the military partnership, which is the most sensitive one of all areas, is very smoothly progressing. Considering these facts together, the strategic partnership between the two countries will be maintained in the future.

But we have to pay attention to limits to the strategic partnership between China and Russia. First, both Chinese and Russian leaderships are paying more attention to their own relations with the U.S. than China-Russia relationship. They keep emphasizing that their strategic partnership is not against a certain third country.

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<sup>55</sup> *News of China News Services*, January 7, 2000, p. 6.

This reflects their intention to avoid deteriorating their own relations with the U.S. and other western countries, although the strategic partnership was motivated by the rebellious spirit against the unipolar world order with only superpower U.S.

It is essential for the two countries to enhance the economic relationship with the U.S. and other western countries. It is because both China and Russia need the economic cooperation with these countries for accelerating their own economic reform. The two countries consider each other very useful economic partner, and they will get closer in economy and trading<sup>56</sup>. However, some say that the current situation of their economic relationship is inadequate<sup>57</sup>. The development of resources in Siberia and the far eastern region of Russia is essential for Russia to recover its own economy, and at the same time, China needs those abundant resources to enhance its own economy. But Russia apparently expects Japan, not China, to hugely invest in the development of resources<sup>58</sup>. Both China and Russia hope to be regarded as a great power not only in terms of military power but also in terms of economic power. For this reason, one of the main objectives of their domestic and foreign policies is to enhance their own economic power. It is necessary for especially Russia to recover its economic power, and the Putin Administration gives the highest priority to the resolution of this matter. If Russia really wants to achieve this, it will be vital to strengthen the economic relationship with the western countries.

Second, Russian people, especially the leaders and citizens living in the far eastern region where Russia shares borders with China, have been worrying about the threats from China. According to some Russian experts, if China makes an attack on the far eastern region by means of its huge military personnel, the Russian armed forces deployed there cannot resist it, and thus, Russia needs to promote the military cooperation with China<sup>59</sup>. In addition, some Russian military officials say that the military technical cooperation with China is important, but the export of the latest weapons to China should be carefully done in order to minimize the military threats from China. Sergeev also was cautious on exporting the advanced weapons such as Su-37 fighters and S-400 surface- to-air missile systems to China<sup>60</sup>.

Third and finally, especially after Putin took office, Russia's approach toward China has been slightly changed compared to that under the Yeltsin leadership. Putin's policy toward China has been more pragmatic. The Putin Administration

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<sup>56</sup> *International Studies*, No.1, 2000, p. 10.

<sup>57</sup> The new "Foreign Policy Concept" of Russia explicitly describes that Russia recognizes that the economic relation is behind the political relation in Russia-China relationship.

<sup>58</sup> Refer to Joseph Ferguson (translated by Sakaguchi) , "Continuing Patterns in Japanese-Russian Relations: Time for Change?," *Shinboueironshu*, Vol. 28, No. 1, June, 2000, pp. 49-66.

<sup>59</sup> When Sakaguchi exchanged opinions with Evgeniy Bazhanov, Vice President of the Diplomatic Academy of Russia, who is an expert of China affairs, in Moscow in July, 1999, Bazhanov argued this kind of Russian thoughts.

<sup>60</sup> Bin Yu, *New Century, New Face, and China's " Putin Puzzle "*, Regional Overview: China-Russia, the Pacific Forum CSIS, July 2000

(available from file://C:\Windows\¥...¥Comparative Connections—China-Russia Relations New Century.ht).

wants to change the current situation of Russia's export to China. Presently Russia's export to China heavily relies on the weapons export, and Putin wants to increase the export of various goods to China except for weapons. The Putin Administration will take more realistic approach toward China although the Yeltsin Administration inclined to the strategic cooperation with China due to an antipathy against the U.S. and NATO during his last term of office. When Ilya Klebanov, then Deputy Prime Minister in charge of Defense Industry, visited China in March, 2000, he expressed his disappointment that the export to China except for arms export was on a very low level<sup>61</sup>.

## 5 Implications for East Asia and Japan

The reinforcement of the U.S.-Japan alliance, such as the revision of the guideline of the U.S.-Japan security treaty and research and development of TMD, makes China and Russia worry about the increase of U.S. influence in East Asia. They have concluded that the reinforcement of the U.S.-Japan alliance in East Asia is connected with the reinforcement of NATO under the leadership of the U.S. in Europe. In other words, they realized that military alliances led by the U.S. are being reinforced in East Asia as well as in Europe. Because China and Russia shares the fear of the expansion of the U.S. hegemony in the world, the leaders of the two countries frequently exchange views on security problems in the Asia Pacific region and together deal with the most sensitive subjects in the world. China and Russia think very important to deal together with strengthening U.S. hegemony in the world although they give the highest priority to their own relations with the U.S.

What impact will the reinforcement of China-Russia strategic partnership have on the East Asian strategic environment? What we need to pay attention to is the impact of the progress in arms reduction and Confidence Building Measures (CBM) at the border area between China and Russia. China and Russia have been attempting to stabilize the border region of China and the former Soviet Union by means of arms reduction and CBM agreement not only bilaterally but also among five countries (Shanghai Five) including, China, Russia, and three countries in Central Asia (Kazakhstan, Kyrgyzstan, and Tajikistan). China admires that these efforts by China and Russia have a positive impact on the situation in East Asia and highly contribute to the stabilization and security of the Asia Pacific region. However, we have to pay attention to the problem that military tension may be adversely mounted in the region out of this cooperative framework between them. Frankly speaking, there is a possibility that Chinese military power would become a serious threat in South (in ocean area) because China have stabilized the strategic environment in North (in the border area with Russia) and have enhanced especially Naval power through

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<sup>61</sup> *Ibid.*

purchasing Russian-made weapons. In order to accurately catch up with modernizing military forces of China, Japan must enhance the military exchange with Russia and try to get useful information and analyses about Chinese military power. In addition, Japan needs to begin the partial military technical cooperation with Russia, which Russia requests<sup>62</sup>, in order to decrease the significance of Chinese market for Russia's defense industry.

Russia is decreasing its presence in the far eastern region, and this tendency will continue in the near future. And Russia is always more interested in strategic problems in Europe than those in East Asia. Thus, there is a limit to the expansion of Russia's role in the Asia Pacific region although Russia has been one of the main players which have impact on security of this region. The key players in this region will be China and the U.S. But presently the initiative of security problems can take the U.S. because the military power of the U.S. is much bigger and stronger than that of China. If the U.S. policy will be hostile toward China and Russia, these two countries' policy toward Japan will be hostile because of the existence of the U.S.-Japan alliance. The worsening of China-Japan relations and Russia-Japan relations is not favorable in terms of security of Japan because of Japan's geostrategical situation. It is indispensable for Japan to try to enhance its relations with China and Russia in order to avoid worsening the relations to the utmost.

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<sup>62</sup> *Krasnaya Zvezda*, September 16, 2000 implied that Ilya Klebanov, Deputy Prime Minister in charge of Defense Industry, would possibly launch the military technical cooperation with Japan. And also, it reported that Minister of Industry, Science and Technology, who visited Japan with President Putin in September, 2000, mentioned the matters related to supply of military aircraft at the meeting with Japan.