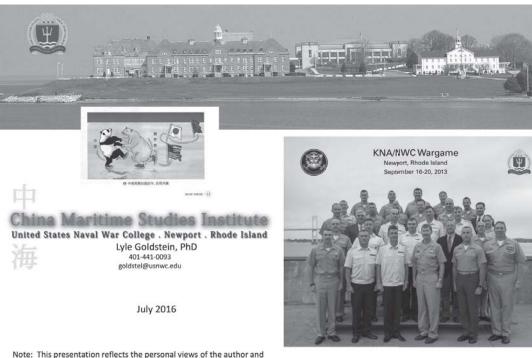
PROJECT PRESENTATION "RUSSIA FUTURES PROJECT" / "MEETING CHINA HALFWAY"

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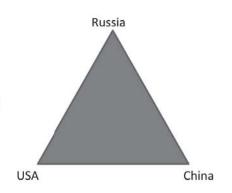


not the official assessments of the U.S. Navy or any other entity of the U.S. Government.



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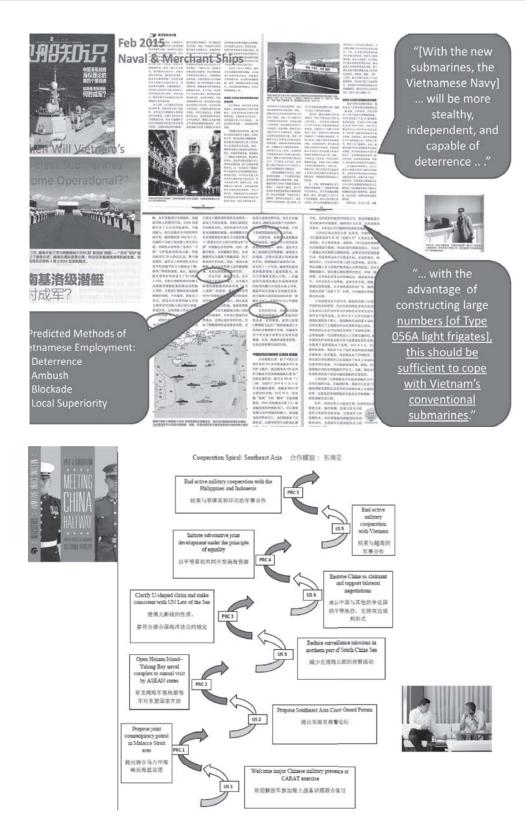
- 1. US-China Relations
- 2. US-Russia Relations
- 3. China-Russia Relations







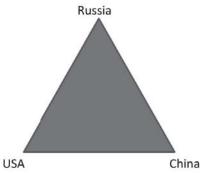






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- 2. US-Russia Relations
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Russia Futures Project—Summary Report

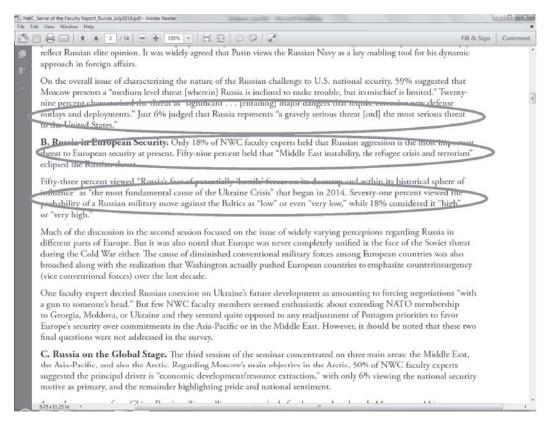
On 25 March 2016, the Naval War College convened a group of faculty experts to discuss Russia's future trajectory and the challenge it may pose to U.S. national security. The group of about 20 professors included many with extensive Russian-language skills and significant time in either Russia, other states of the former Soviet Union, or Central Europe. There were also a number of faculty members with diplomatic and military experience dealing with Moscow present for the seminar. Some faculty experts with specialized knowledge (e.g., Syria, energy, arms control) were also invited to participate. As a forum open to the whole of the NWC faculty, the group not only was exceptionally knowledgeable regarding Russian affairs and associated issues but can genuinely provide a "sense of the faculty" assessment with respect to the Russian challenge.

I. ORGANIZATION OF THE STUDY AND THIS REPORT

This "sense of the faculty" study is unique in at least three respects. First, there was a commitment to focusing on the in-house talent resident at the Naval War College on the faculty. NWC professors are neither constrained by rigid bureaucracies, nor beholden to sponsors for research contracts, nor so close to events that they are chasing headlines. They have a uniquely objective set of viewpoints built on broad and deep intellectual experience. Second, this study aims to gauge faculty viewpoints through the use of surveys. While not without pitfalls, this methodology has the advantage of delivering crisp assessments to decision makers in an efficient format. The organization of this seminar implies, moreover, that these results represent a genuine poll of uniquely qualified experts.

Third and finally, this study embraces an academic approach to policy formulation that emphasizes open and informed debate. There was no expectation that participants would agree on the major issues. Quite the

	Project Summary
	Index
DEBATE #1:	
	egic Intentions page 4
DEBATE #2	
Russian Mili	tary Power page 5
DEBATE #3	
Russia's Econ	omic Outlook page 6
DEBATE #4	
Russia in Syr	ia page 7
DEBATE #5	i
Russia and C	hina page 8
DEBATE #6	i
Baltic Securi	ty page 9
DEBATE #7	i
NATO's Futi	ire Role page 10
DEBATE #8	i
Russian A2/A	D in the Black Sea page 11
DEBATE #9	
Russian SSB?	N Modernization page 12



DEBATE #1: Russia's Strategic Intentions

LIMITED IN SCOPE

It is clear that Russia under Vladimir Putin is actively working to alter the post-Cold War settlement, and is prepared to use force or the threat of force in certain cirnstances. Many now advocate for major increases in U.S. spending and deployments to counter Russian rerisionism. Given that any pivot "back to Europe" would shift resources away from other geostrategic priorities, it is important to consider whether a renewed focus on countering Russia is an overreaction.

Russian moves-while deeply troubling to Russia's immediate neighbors-are in the large part limited in scope and are not any effort to restart the Cold War. Russia is seeking the ability to dominate the core of the Eurasian landmass and its adjacent coastal waters. Russia does not directly threaten core U.S. interests and it does not seek to conquer or control Europe but instead to create a "Eurasian" pole of power that would counterbalance the Western Euro-Atlantic world and a

Russia most directly threatens the interests of post-Soviet neighbors that prefer to be integrated into the West and also seeks to pressure those members of the EU and NATO who favor extending the Western zone into the Eurasian space. This is not equivalent to the Soviet era when the USSR was committed to spreading Communism and was prepared to send military forces into European states in the event of any major conflict with the West.

It is a problem that is containable with existing U.S. forces working with European allies who can deter Russian adventurism from impacting the European core. Indeed,

A DIRECT THREAT TO THE UNITED STATES

The United States is facing an aggressive and revanchist regime in Russia that is determined to pursue its objectives not just through economic and political means but also through its increasingly capable military. Since Vladimr Putin came to office, Russia has sought to reclaim a sphere of privileged interest along its periphery. In Europe Putin's two principal goals are (1) to hollow out the existing security regime by undermining NATO's ability to act collectively in a crisis; and (2) to exploit the current crisis in the EU, especially the migration crisis, in order to paralyze European Union institutions. This strategy directly threatens the interests of the U.S. and our allies. Russia is a revisionist power, as Putin has described the collapse of the Soviet Union as the "greatest geopolitical tragedy of the 20th century."

Since Russias power was significantly degraded in the 1990s, Putir has played from a position of relative weakness; stil, before the collapse of energy prices, he nonetheless nanaged to capitalize on Russia's energy resources to consolidate state power and to modernize its military. During the past 15 years Russia has bought selectively into different sectors of Europe's economies, with a special focus on energy and banking. On the military side, Putin's decision to launch a 10-year military modernization program-at a time when Europe has effectively disarmed and the United States has withdrawn assets from Europe—has significantly altered the balance of power along NATO's northeastern flank. Russian deployments in Kaliningrad and more recently in Crimea constitute a direct challenge to NATO's ability to operate in the Baltic and the Black Sea. This changing strategic landscape poses a direct threat to the

DEBATE #4 Russia in Syria

A Blunder in the Long Run ...

"Russia ... will foolishly own Syria's dysfunction for the foreseeable future. In the short six months of the intervention, Russia has strained its bilateral relations with Turkey to the breaking point with significant trade and security implications." ... A Successful Intervention

"In 2013, Putin's role as an intermediary allowed Asad to remain in power and avoid US military action ... Russia has positioned itself as an honest broker between the Asad regime, Syrian opposition groups, and the US-led anti-ISIL campaign... Action in Syria plays well for the Russian domestic audience and provide a distraction from events in Ukraine.'

DEBATE #5 Russia and China

Unlikely to Form an Effective Coalition ...

"A strategically effective Sino-Russian naval coalition is unlikely because they are each other's prime adversaries, while the US is at best only a secondary enemy. Historical tensions over the lengthy Sino-Russian border, Beijing's growing economic clout, plus possible Chinese revanchism in Siberia, prohibit a close alliance."

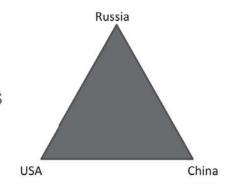
... Strategic Synergies Are Evident

"[A joint naval] exercise of unprecedented scale (23 surface ships and two submarines) occurred in August 2015 in the Sea of Japan. The tendency in these [bilateral] exercises is toward more complex and realistic war-fighting drills, such as a new focus on anti-submarine warfare. China's tacit diplomatic support has been crucial on such issues as Russia's annexation of Crimea...."



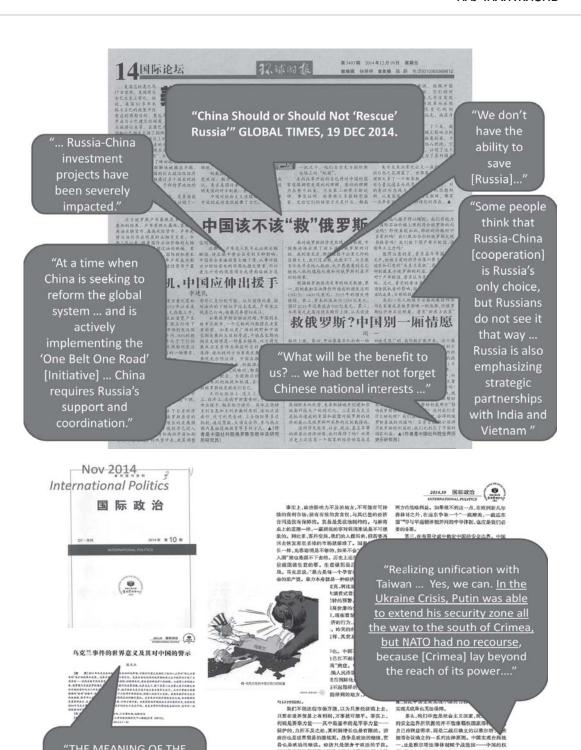
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"THE MEANING OF THE

UKRAINE EVENTS FOR THE

WORLD AND ALSO THEIR

WARNING TO CHINA" -

ZHANG Wenmu

百方曾想用世界贸易组织等经济方式限制中国。迫使 我们就前,没成功:如这种观象再持续下去,令后人家

级可能。因为公司是"直接来证的。 来边目由西边南、道是无情却有情。乌克兰事件中,款很同的力量边界已全埃落定,那么远东的格局

尚属未定之天。目前看。尽力将对战后颗尔塔和平体

制已有异心的美国挽留在中、债、美共同建立并依远 东稳定了半个多世纪的森尔塔体制之中,最符合中很 利。面现在这项权利还只靠在纸筐上。虽然已经过去

60多年了。但在实际中我们的这项权利并提完全得到

語文、現此、教中国的安全边界宣在台灣水界联合中 国际曾全合国际注意。 第么,我们能不能实现这样的目标规?当然可

以。 音京在乌克兰事件中之所以能够构其安全边界 接至支里未可需界而北约却无可奈何,就是因为北约

力量在郑邕鞭长英及、而且也没有触及北约的核心利

