**Supplementary Tables**

**Table 1: Vital interests**

|  |
| --- |
| Russia’s vital national interests that, if threatened, would prompt the Russian leadership to consider use of force (work in progress): |
| * Prevent armed aggression against Russia and secession of territories from Russia; (Chechen wars/Caucasus insurgency); |
| * Prevent emergence of hostile individual or collective regional hegemonies, ensure Russia is surrounded by friendly states among which Russia can play a lead role and in cooperation with which it can thrive (2014-2016 conflict in Ukraine and 2008 war in Georgia); |
| * Prevent large-scale or sustained terrorist attacks on Russia with use of WMD or conventional weapons; |
| * Ensure Russian allies' survival and their active cooperation with Russia (2008 war with Georgia over South Ossetia and Abkhazia and 2015-2017 intervention in Syria). |
| Russian ruling elite’s vital interest: |
| * Preservation of power in Russia. |

* + *Moscow has also cited major violations of the basic rights of Russian-speaking minorities as a reason for military intervention, although so far this has been more of a pretext than a genuine cause, as Crimea has shown.*
  + *Full list of Russia’s vital interests can be* [*accessed here*](https://www.russiamatters.org/sites/default/files/media/files/Presentation%20on%20US-Russian%20Relations%2001.13.17.pdf)*.*

**Table 2: Summary of changes in Russian GDP, defense budget and military training**

*The Russian military has rebounded at rates higher than the economy that finances it, but there has been a downward trend since 2014.*

|  |  |  |
| --- | --- | --- |
| **% change in Russian GDP in 2016 vs. 1999** | **% change in Russian military expenditures in 2016 vs. 1999** | **% change in # of Russian military exercises in 2016 vs. 2008** |
| 88% | 204% | **157%** |

**Table 3: Russian wargames**

|  |  |  |  |  |  |
| --- | --- | --- | --- | --- | --- |
| **Year** | **Number of military exercises in Russia** | **Annual strategic exercises** | | | **Conflicts** |
| Russian estimate of number of participating troops | Western estimate of number of participating troops | |
| 2008 | n/a | Tsentr (Center)-2008: | | | Conflict in S. Ossetia and Abkhazia (deployments concealed as part of smaller-scale exercise—[8,000 servicemen involved](http://www.ng.ru/regions/2008-07-18/1_peacemakers.html)—in N. Caucasus in July 2008) |
| 40,000 men, according to Ground Forces Commander Gen. Vladimir Boldyrev cited by TASS and [RIA](http://en.rian.ru/russia/20080926/117145587.html) | | N/A |
| 2009 | [1,400](http://special.kremlin.ru/events/president/news/10677)+ | Zapad (West)-2009 | | |  |
| 12,500 servicemen, [according to](https://ria.ru/analytics/20090908/184193961.html) RIA Novosti | 12,500, [according to](https://www.google.com/url?sa=t&rct=j&q=&esrc=s&source=web&cd=1&ved=0ahUKEwiYvbSNsfXVAhVoxoMKHfzQAIYQFggmMAA&url=https%3A%2F%2Fwww.foi.se%2Freport-search%2Fpdf%3FfileName%3DD%253A%255CReportSearch%255CFiles%255C8e2dc822-a31c-4f6c-aecd-954375e3fe31.pdf&usg=AFQjCNFcTjxleAOvuLeue8VBtRNw7BZebw) Swedish Ministry of Defense report | |
| 2010 | [2,000](http://special.kremlin.ru/events/president/news/10677)+ | Vostok (East)-2010 | | |  |
| 26,000 servicemen, [according to](http://special.kremlin.ru/events/president/news/10677) the Kremlin | 20,000, [according to](https://www.google.com/url?sa=t&rct=j&q=&esrc=s&source=web&cd=1&ved=0ahUKEwiYvbSNsfXVAhVoxoMKHfzQAIYQFggmMAA&url=https%3A%2F%2Fwww.foi.se%2Freport-search%2Fpdf%3FfileName%3DD%253A%255CReportSearch%255CFiles%255C8e2dc822-a31c-4f6c-aecd-954375e3fe31.pdf&usg=AFQjCNFcTjxleAOvuLeue8VBtRNw7BZebw) Swedish Ministry of Defense report | |

|  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |
| --- | --- | --- | --- | --- | --- | --- | --- |
| 2011 | [3,000](http://special.kremlin.ru/events/president/news/10677) | Tsentr (Center)-2011 | | | | |  |
| 12,000 servicemen, according to Izvestiya | | | 12,000 servicemen, [according to](https://www.google.com/url?sa=t&rct=j&q=&esrc=s&source=web&cd=1&ved=0ahUKEwiYvbSNsfXVAhVoxoMKHfzQAIYQFggmMAA&url=https%3A%2F%2Fwww.foi.se%2Freport-search%2Fpdf%3FfileName%3DD%253A%255CReportSearch%255CFiles%255C8e2dc822-a31c-4f6c-aecd-954375e3fe31.pdf&usg=AFQjCNFcTjxleAOvuLeue8VBtRNw7BZebw) Swedish Ministry of Defense report | |
| 2012 | [1,400](http://mil.ru/et/news/more.htm?id=11570015@egNews)+ by ground forces alone | Caucasus (Kavkaz)-2012 | | | | |  |
| 8,000 servicemen, [according to](https://www.vedomosti.ru/politics/news/2012/09/16/putin_posetit_ucheniya_kavkaz2012_v_krasnodarskom_krae) RIA Novosti | | | | 8,000 servicemen, according to [RFE/RL](https://www.rferl.org/a/georgia-south-ossetia-trade-accusations-of-preparing-for-war/24716583.html) and [Swedish Ministry of Defense report](https://www.google.com/url?sa=t&rct=j&q=&esrc=s&source=web&cd=1&ved=0ahUKEwiYvbSNsfXVAhVoxoMKHfzQAIYQFggmMAA&url=https%3A%2F%2Fwww.foi.se%2Freport-search%2Fpdf%3FfileName%3DD%253A%255CReportSearch%255CFiles%255C8e2dc822-a31c-4f6c-aecd-954375e3fe31.pdf&usg=AFQjCNFcTjxleAOvuLeue8VBtRNw7BZebw) |
| 2013 | [3,000+](http://syria.mil.ru/news/more.htm?id=11876851@egNews) (Also, the practice of [snap checks](http://tass.ru/info/1018067) resumed after a 20-year hiatus.) | Zapad (West)-2013 | | | | |  |
| 13,000, according to [BelTA](https://news.tut.by/society/366933.html) and the Russian Defense Ministry’s [TV channel](https://tvzvezda.ru/news/forces/content/201309300927-n4cc.htm) | | 13,000, according to [Swedish Ministry of Defense](https://www.google.com/url?sa=t&rct=j&q=&esrc=s&source=web&cd=1&ved=0ahUKEwiYvbSNsfXVAhVoxoMKHfzQAIYQFggmMAA&url=https%3A%2F%2Fwww.foi.se%2Freport-search%2Fpdf%3FfileName%3DD%253A%255CReportSearch%255CFiles%255C8e2dc822-a31c-4f6c-aecd-954375e3fe31.pdf&usg=AFQjCNFcTjxleAOvuLeue8VBtRNw7BZebw) report; 75,000 according to [Jamestown](https://jamestown.org/wp-content/uploads/2015/12/Zapad-2013-Full-online-final.pdf) | | |
| 2014 | [3,000+](http://www.kp.ru/daily/26329.3/3212122/) | Vostok (East)-2014 | | | | | Conflict in Crimea and E. Ukraine (some of the initial deployments concealed as exercises) |
| 100,000, according to the Russian Defense Ministry cited by [TASS](http://tass.ru/politika/1452454) | 155,000 servicemen (largest in post-Soviet Russia), [according to](https://www.google.com/url?sa=t&rct=j&q=&esrc=s&source=web&cd=1&ved=0ahUKEwiYvbSNsfXVAhVoxoMKHfzQAIYQFggmMAA&url=https%3A%2F%2Fwww.foi.se%2Freport-search%2Fpdf%3FfileName%3DD%253A%255CReportSearch%255CFiles%255C8e2dc822-a31c-4f6c-aecd-954375e3fe31.pdf&usg=AFQjCNFcTjxleAOvuLeue8VBtRNw7BZebw) Swedish Ministry of Defense report | | | |

|  |  |  |  |  |  |
| --- | --- | --- | --- | --- | --- |
| 2015 | [5,000](http://tass.ru/armiya-i-opk/2621999) | Tsentr (Center)-2015 | | | Involvement in conflict in Syria (some of the initial deployments concealed as exercises) |
| 95,000 servicemen, [according to](https://ria.ru/defense_safety/20150914/1249904975.html) RIA | 95,000 servicemen, according to Jamestown | |
| 2016 | [3,600](https://regnum.ru/news/polit/2222408.html) | Kavkaz (Caucasus)-2016 | | |  |
| 120,000 servicemen, according to Russian General Staff [cited by](https://russian.rt.com/article/320177-mo-rf-bolee-120-tys-voennosluzhaschih-prinyali) RT | 120,000, [according to](https://jamestown.org/program/novel-developments-in-russias-latest-snap-exercise/) Jamestown | |
| **% change in 2016** | **157% since 2008** | **200% since 2008** | **1020% since 2009** | |  |
| **Projections for 2017** | **Number of military exercises in Russia** | **Annual strategic exercises** | | | **Conflicts** |
| Russian estimate of number of participating troops | | Western estimate of number of participating troops |
|  | [2,800](http://www.interfax.ru/russia/547953) | Zapad (West)-2017 | | | ? |
| 12,700 servicemen, according to Russian Defense Ministry [cited by](http://tass.ru/mezhdunarodnaya-panorama/4419659) TASS | | As many as 100,000 servicemen, [according to](https://www.nytimes.com/2017/07/31/world/europe/russia-military-exercise-zapad-west.html) the New York Times |

*Note the time lag between change in GDP and change in intensity of military activities.*

**Table 4: Performance of Russian economy**

|  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |
| --- | --- | --- | --- | --- | --- | --- | --- | --- | --- |
| **GDP, PPP in constant (2011) US$ billion, rounded (Source: World Bank)** | | | | | | | | | |
| Year | **RF** | USA | | GBR | FRA | DEU | ITA | CHN | WLD |
| 1999 | 1873 | 12465 | 1871 | | 2046 | 2936 | 2006 | 4307 | 60310 |
| 2000 | 2060 | 12976 | 1941 | | 2126 | 3022 | 2080 | 4673 | 63174 |
| 2001 | 2165 | 13102 | 1994 | | 2167 | 3074 | 2117 | 5062 | 64682 |
| 2002 | 2267 | 13336 | 2042 | | 2191 | 3074 | 2123 | 5525 | 66442 |
| 2003 | 2433 | 13711 | 2113 | | 2209 | 3052 | 2126 | 6079 | 68953 |
| 2004 | 2607 | 14230 | 2166 | | 2271 | 3088 | 2159 | 6694 | 72678 |
| 2005 | 2774 | 14706 | 2230 | | 2307 | 3109 | 2180 | 7457 | 76135 |
| 2006 | 3000 | 15098 | 2286 | | 2362 | 3224 | 2224 | 8405 | 80217 |
| 2007 | 3256 | 15366 | 2345 | | 2418 | 3330 | 2256 | 9601 | 84593 |
| 2008 | 3427 | 15321 | 2330 | | 2423 | 3366 | 2233 | 10528 | 87019 |
| 2009 | 3159 | 14896 | 2229 | | 2351 | 3177 | 2110 | 11518 | 86696 |
| 2010 | 3301 | 15273 | 2272 | | 2398 | 3306 | 2146 | 12743 | 91277 |
| 2011 | 3442 | 15518 | 2306 | | 2448 | 3427 | 2158 | 13958 | 94973 |
| 2012 | 3563 | 15863 | 2336 | | 2452 | 3444 | 2097 | 15055 | 98040 |
| 2013 | 3608 | 16129 | 2381 | | 2466 | 3461 | 2061 | 16222 | 101348 |
| 2014 | 3635 | 16511 | 2454 | | 2490 | 3516 | 2064 | 17406 | 104934 |
| 2015 | 3532 | 16940 | 2508 | | 2516 | 3577 | 2080 | 18607 | 108407 |
| 2016 | 3524 | 17214 | 2553 | | 2546 | 3643 | 2098 | 19854 | 111804 |
| % change in 2016 vs. 1999 | 88% | 38% | 36% | | 24% | 24% | 5% | 361% | 85% |

**Table 5: Russia’s military expenditures**

|  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |
| --- | --- | --- | --- | --- | --- | --- | --- | --- |
| **Military expenditures in constant (2014) US$ billion, rounded (Source: SIPRI)** | | | | | | | | |
| Year | **RF** | USA | GBR | FRA | DEU | ITA | CHN | WLD |
| 1999 | **23** | 379 | 47 | 62 | 51 | 40 | 34 | 1077 |
| 2000 | **31** | 394 | 48 | 62 | 51 | 43 | 37 | 1115 |
| 2001 | **34** | 397 | 50 | 62 | 50 | 42 | 45 | 1140 |
| 2002 | **37** | 446 | 53 | 63 | 50 | 44 | 53 | 1211 |
| 2003 | **39** | 508 | 57 | 65 | 49 | 44 | 57 | 1285 |
| 2004 | **41** | 553 | 58 | 66 | 48 | 44 | 64 | 1359 |
| 2005 | **46** | 580 | 58 | 65 | 47 | 42 | 71 | 1416 |
| 2006 | **51** | 589 | 59 | 65 | 46 | 41 | 84 | 1464 |
| 2007 | **56** | 604 | 60 | 66 | 46 | 40 | 97 | 1522 |
| 2008 | **61** | 649 | 63 | 65 | 47 | 41 | 107 | 1604 |
| 2009 | **65** | 701 | 64 | 69 | 49 | 40 | 129 | 1712 |
| 2010 | **66** | 720 | 63 | 66 | 50 | 39 | 136 | 1738 |
| 2011 | **70** | 711 | 60 | 65 | 48 | 38 | 147 | 1744 |
| 2012 | **81** | 671 | 58 | 64 | 49 | 35 | 161 | 1740 |
| 2013 | **85** | 618 | 55 | 64 | 48 | 34 | 174 | 1719 |
| 2014 | **92** | 578 | 55 | 63 | 47 | 31 | 191 | 1711 |
| 2015 | **91** | 595 | 60 | 61 | 47 | 28 | 214 | 1760 |
| 2016 | **70** | 606 | 54 | 56 | 41 | 28 | 226 | 1682 |
| % change in 2016 vs. 1999 | 204% | 60% | 15% | -10% | -20% | -30% | 565% | 56% |