

Appendix 1: NATO and Russia Mobilization and Power Projection

Dominant power	Forms of maximization
<p>NATO mobilization</p>	<p>Internal mobilization Enhanced battle groups in its Eastern and South-eastern part Air policing for its allies Upgraded radar system to intercept early launches of missiles since 2012 Upgraded massive ballistic missile defense (BMD) since 2016 in Romania</p> <p>External mobilization Fourteen new ally members (since 1997); All of them former communist countries.</p>
<p>NATO power projection</p>	<p>Combat operations 1994 and 1999 Use of force in Bosnia and in Kosovo 2001 Intervention in Afghanistan 2011 Intervention in Libya</p> <p>Peace missions 1996–2004 Bosnia and Herzegovina 1999–2003 Kosovo 2001–16 “Active Endeavour” maritime surveillance in the Mediterranean Sea 2003–14 Afghanistan 2004–11 Iraq 2005–7 Sudan 2005–6 Pakistani 2001–3 North Macedonia 2007–present African Union in Somalia 2016– present “Sea Guardian” in the Mediterranean Sea 2018–present Iraq</p> <p>1994–present Partnership for Peace (PfP) program; involved 34 countries: 28 were communist countries and 14 among them became NATO members</p>
<p>Russia mobilization</p>	<p>Internal mobilization 175% rise in military spending since 2000, putting Russia among the world’s top five military spenders</p> <p>Military spending as a share of gross domestic product (GDP) increases from 2.6% in 2000 to 5.5% in 2016 close to what USSR military expenditure had been (7–11% of GDP)</p> <p>2008–14 Declared reforms included: All military units’ combat-ready with rapid transfer readiness Air and sea equipped with S-400 missile system</p> <p>2019 Anti-ship missiles deployed on Sredny Peninsula, close to Norway 2019–20 Huge numbers of missiles and weapons deployed in Kaliningrad 2014–20 Coastal defense missile system and assault battalions in Russian-occupied Crimea</p>

	<p>150 Russia satellites in orbit</p> <p>External military mobilization</p> <p>2001 Shanghai Cooperation Organization (SCO)ⁱⁱ Russian–Chinese-led security, political, economic, and energy cooperation with Kazakhstan, Kyrgyzstan, Tajikistan, and Uzbekistan as member states and Mongolia, Iran, Pakistan, and India as observer states.</p> <p>2002 Collective Security Treaty Organization (CSTO) Russian-led military alliance with Armenia, Belarus, Kazakhstan, Uzbekistan, Kyrgyzstan, and Tajikistan with military assistance and rapid reaction mechanism.</p> <p>Bilateral agreement to modernize military industry with Venezuela and Cuba, Vietnam, Egypt.</p> <p>Chinese–Russian joint air force patrols in the Asia-Pacific region.</p> <p>Iran and Russia naval drills in the Indian Ocean.</p> <p>Military assistance to Central African Republic, Gabon.</p>
<p>Russia power projection</p>	<p>Combat operationsⁱⁱⁱ</p> <p>2008 Military intervention in Georgia</p> <p>2014 Annexation of part of Ukraine and undeclared war in Eastern Ukraine</p> <p>2015 Military intervention in the Syrian civil war against the rebels</p> <p>2019 Military involvement in Libya in favor of the rebel leader Khalifa Haftar and against the UN-recognized government</p> <p>2020 Russian paramilitary organization Wagner in Mozambique to assist the government to fight jihadist rebels</p> <p>2022 full scale military intervention in Ukraine</p> <p>“Peace” missions</p> <p>1992–present South Ossetia (Georgia)</p> <p>1992–present Transnistria (Moldova)</p> <p>1993–present Tajikistan</p> <p>1994–present Abkhazia (Georgia)</p> <p>1995–2004 Bosnia under US (not NATO) command</p> <p>1999–2003 Kosovo under NATO command</p> <p>Russian energy resources are tied to Russian security and it was used as a weapon of power and force in Georgia in 2006, in Ukraine in 2005/2006, and 2009, in Estonia in 2007, and in the Czech Republic in 2008.</p> <p>Russia-fostered counter- energy projects: Blue, Nord, and South Stream in response to Western pipeline initiatives BTC, BTE, and Nabucco</p>

ⁱ Humanitarian relief operation after the deadly earthquake.

ⁱⁱ The importance of the military component of the SCO is denied by heads of state. But anti-terrorist military exercises are frequent, the largest “peace missions” being in 2005 and in 2007, believed to be a demonstration of force to NATO and conveyed two messages: one for the USA/NATO, that Russia and China are in charge of the Central Asia region,

and the second for Central Asian countries, to rely less for security assistance on the USA/NATO. Also, the SCO signed a Memorandum of Understanding on military cooperation with the CSTO. For more on why the SCO is a security organization see Marcel De Haas. 2010. "Russia's Foreign Security Policy in the 21st Century: Putin, Medvedev and Beyond". [Roger McDermott](#). 2007. "The Rising Dragon: SCO Peace Mission 2007." Available from: <https://jamestown.org/report/the-rising-dragon-sco-peace-mission-2007/>.

ⁱⁱⁱ For Russian global military activity see David Batashvili monitoring for the Georgian Foundation for Strategic and International Studies (GFSIS): Available from: <https://www.gfsis.org/russian-monitor/military-digest>.