

Appendix

Table 1: Modified Goldstein Conflict Cooperation Scale

WEIGHT	EVENT (GOLDSTEIN, 1992)	PROCESS CODING (LINK)
-10	Military attack; clash; assault	Conflict
-9,2	Seize position or possessions	Conflict
-8,7	Nonmilitary destruction/injury	Conflict
-8,3	Noninjury destructive action	Conflict
-7,6	Armed force mobilization, exercise, display; military buildup	Conflict
-7	Break diplomatic relations	Conflict
-7	Threat with force specified	Conflict
-6,9	Ultimatum; threat with negative sanction and time limit	Conflict
-5,8	Threat with specific negative nonmilitary sanction	Conflict
-5,6	Reduce or cut off aid or assistance; act to punish/deprive	Conflict
-5,2	Nonmilitary demonstration, walk out on	Conflict
-5	Order person or personnel out of country	Conflict
-4,9	Expel organization or group	Conflict
-4,9	Issue order or command, insist, demand compliance	Conflict
-4,4	Threat without specific negative sanction stated	Conflict
-4,4	Detain or arrest person(s)	Conflict
-4,1	Reduce routine international activity; recall officials	Conflict
-4	Refuse; oppose, refuse to allow	Conflict
-4	Turn down proposal, reject protest, demand, threat	Conflict
-3,8	Halt negotiation	Conflict
-3,4	Denounce; denigrate, abuse	Conflict
-3	Give warning	Conflict
-2,4	Issue formal complaint of protest	Competition
-2,2	Charge; criticize; blame; disapprove	Competition
-2,2	Cancel or postpone planned event	Competition
-1,9	Make complaint (not formal)	Competition
-1,1	Grant asylum	Competition
-1,1	Deny an attributed policy, action, role or position	Competition
-0,9	Deny an accusation	Competition
-0,2	Comment on situation	Competition

WEIGHT	EVENT (GOLDSTEIN, 1992)	PROCESS CODING (LINK)
-0,1	Urge or suggest action or policy	Competition
-0,1	Explicit decline to comment	Competition
-0,1	Request action; call for	Competition
0	Explain or state policy; slate future position	Coexistence
0,1	Ask for information	Competition
0,6	Surrender, yield to order, submit to arrest	Competition
0,6	Yield position; retreat; evacuate	Competition
1	Meet with; send note	Competition
1,2	Entreat; plead, appeal to; beg	Competition
1,5	Offer proposal	Competition
1,8	Express regret; apologize	Competition
1,9	Visit, go to	Competition
1,9	Release and/or return persons or property	Competition
2	Admit wrongdoing; apologize, retract statement	Competition
2,5	Give state invitation	Competition
2,8	Assure; reassure	Competition
2,8	Receive visit; host	Competition
2,9	Suspend sanctions; end punishment; call truce	Competition
3	Agree to future action or procedure, to meet, or to negotiate	Cooperation
3,4	Ask for policy assistance	Cooperation
3,4	Ask for material assistance	Cooperation
3,4	Praise, hail, applaud, extend condolences	Cooperation
3,6	Endorse other's policy or position, give verbal support	Cooperation
4,5	Promise other future support	Cooperation
4,5	Promise own policy support	Cooperation
5,2	Promise material support	Cooperation
5,4	Grant privilege; diplomatic recognition; de facto relations	Cooperation
6,5	Give other assistance	Cooperation
6,5	Make substantive agreement	Cooperation
7,4	Extend economic aid; give, buy, sell, loan, borrow	Cooperation
8,3	Extend military assistance	Cooperation

Notes: Table II shows a Conflict-Cooperation Scale I adapted from multiple scholars. First, it uses Goldstein (1992) Cooperation-Conflict Events which were weighted IR events according to eight panelists that helped develop Goldstein's scale. The created scale ranges from -10 (maximum conflict) to 10 (maximum cooperation). Goldstein's scale was originally used to classify Event Data from Newspaper articles. For that reason, I expanded the scale and added an additional pillar to code the empirics. For that I used literature in liberal conflict theory to create coding ranging from Conflict, Competition, Coexistence to Cooperation. Own Adaption of Goldstein (1992: 376-377).

Table 2: Statements by Government NATO Officials Regarding Relations or Perceptions with Russia and Vice Versa

Row	Date	Actor	Name	Position	Statement (Quote/ Speech/ Article/ Interview/ Press Release)	Event/ Reasoning	Codes	Perception	Source
	27.05.1997	NATO RUSSIA FOUNDING ACT ratified							
1	27.05.1997	NATO	-	-	"They intend to develop, on the basis of common interest, reciprocity and transparency a strong, stable and enduring partnership."	Founding Act on Mutual Relations, Cooperation and Security between NATO and the Russian Federation	build strong partnership ^a	strategic partner	NATO (1997)
	13.03.1999	First Round of NATO enlargement officially enclosed.							
2	15.03.1999	NATO	North Atlantic Council	Heads of State and Government	"36. [...] NATO and Russia have agreed [...] to build a strong [...] partnership between NATO and Russia."	NATO strategic concept paper	build strong partnership ^a	strategic partner	NATO (1999a)
3	15.03.1999	NATO	North Atlantic Council	Heads of State and Government	"50. [...] deepen NATO's relationships with Russia."	NATO strategic concept paper	deepen relationship	strategic partner	NATO (1999a)
	24.03.1999	NATO intervened in the Kosovo War by starting to airstrike Yugoslavia							
4	30.12.1999	Russia	Vladimir Putin	President of Russia	"Belief in the greatness of Russia. Russia was and will remain a great power. It is preconditioned by the inseparable characteristics of its geopolitical, economic and cultural existence. They determined the mentality of Russians and the policy of the government throughout the history of Russia, and they cannot but do so at present. But Russian mentality should be expanded by new ideas. In the present world the might of a country as a great power is manifested more in its ability to be the leader in creating and	Essay on "RUSSIA AT THE TURN OF THE MILLENNIUM"	was and will remain a great power		Putin (1999)

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					using advanced technologies, ensuring a high level of people's wellbeing, reliably protecting its security and upholding its national interests in the international arena, than in its military strength."				
5	12.10.2000	NATO	Lord Robertson	SG of NATO	"Finally, we must re-invigorate NATO-Russia relations . Some have argued that because Russia is weak, it can be ignored. Others have argued that because Russia is difficult, it should be sidelined. But that would be a perilous strategy. Because no other nation's development can affect European security more than the development of Russia. "	Speech by Lord Robertson, SG of NATO at the Atlantic Club of Bulgaria	rebuild relations	strategic partner	NATO (2000a)
6	12.10.2000	NATO	Lord Robertson	SG of NATO	"We want Russia's transformation to succeed. That is why the key is engagement , not disengagement. And that is why NATO has persistently opted for a strong relationship with Russia."	Speech by Lord Robertson, SG of NATO at the Atlantic Club of Bulgaria	engagement, a strong partnership	strategic partner	NATO (2000a)
7	23.11.2001	Russia	Vladimir Putin	President of Russia	"If we change the quality of Russia-NATO relations, the issues of NATO expansion will cease to matter."	Meeting with US president Bush	integrate relationship	equal partners	Wines (2001)
8	23.11.2001	NATO	Lord Robertson	SG of NATO	"At a news conference, Lord Robertson described a proposed appendage to NATO, a "Russia-North Atlantic Council," in which Russia would hold equal status with NATO's 19 permanent members "on occasion, perhaps on specific subjects." On those issues, he said, Russia "would be part of the same compromising trade-offs, give and take, that is involved in day-to-day NATO business . That is how we do business at 19." Asked by the Reuters news agency if the new proposals would in effect hand Russia a veto in NATO affairs, Lord Robertson said, "That's one of the implications ."	News conference	integrate relationship	equal partners	Wines (2001)

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9	07.12.2001	NATO	-	NATO member states	"The 19 nations of NATO pledged today to build a closer relationship with Russia"	Meeting of the defense ministers of NATO member states	enhance relationship	partners	NYT (2001)
10	07.12.2001	NATO	Per Stig Moeller	Danish foreign minister	"They cannot get a veto about enlargement"	try to reverse previous statement of NATO SG	partnership	equal partners	NYT (2001)
	28.05.2002	Rome Declaration signed - NATO Russia Council formed							
11	28.05.2002	NATO	George Bush	President of the US	"Two former foes are now joined as partners , overcoming 50 years of division and a decade of uncertainty."	signing of Rome Declaration	partnership	partners	Sanger (2002)
12	28.05.2002	Russia	Vladimir Putin	President of Russia	"Although Russia was not admitted as a full member and may never be — "we must understand this Rome Declaration represents only a beginning ," he said"	signing of Rome Declaration	implying enhanced partnership	partners	Sanger (2002)
13	28.05.2002	NATO	-	-	"NATO formally welcomed Russia as a participant today but not a full-fledged member of the organization"	signing of Rome Declaration	limited partnership	partners	Sanger (2002)
14	07.04.2004	Russia	Sergei Ivanov	Minister of Defense of Russia	"But to move ahead, our partners in the Russia-NATO Council must show that they take seriously our concerns about the alliance's approach to our borders."	Upcoming NATO enlargement	reprieve NATO on virtue and duties of partnership	partners	Ivanov (2004)
15	07.04.2004	Russia	Sergei Ivanov	Minister of Defense of Russia	"Any NATO action not approved by the United Nations should therefore be considered illegal -- including "preventive wars" like that in Iraq. However, should this new principle of the preventive use of force come to be seen as legitimate in international affairs , Russia will have no	US invasion of Iraq	questioning US foreign policy	-	Ivanov (2004)

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					choice but to adapt as well, and to act in order to ensure its national interests."				
16	09.04.2004	Russia	Vladimir Putin	President of Russia	"Russia's position toward the enlargement of NATO is well known and has not changed"	Meeting between Russian president Putin and NATO SG de Hoop Scheffer	skepticism about partnership	partners	Mydans (2004)
17	09.04.2004	NATO	Vladimir Putin	President of Russia	"Despite Moscow's opposition to the expansion of NATO, Mr. Putin said he hoped it would lead to "the strengthening of trust in Europe and the entire world." Putin added that " each country has the right to choose the form of security it considers most effective."	Meeting between Russian president Putin and NATO SG de Hoop Scheffer		partners	Mydans (2004)
18	09.04.2004	NATO	Jaap de Hoop Scheffer	SG of NATO	"the problems facing us are simply too big -- terrorism, weapons of mass destruction, Afghanistan, the Balkans, Iraq -- to think that we can go it alone, that Russia or NATO can go it alone "	Meeting between Russian president Putin and NATO SG de Hoop Scheffer	partnership necessary	partners	Mydans (2004)

Row	Date	Actor	Name	Position	Statement (Quote/ Speech/ Article/ Interview/ Press Release)	Event/ Reasoning	Codes	Perception	Source
	29.06.2004	Second Round of NATO enlargement officially ratified at Istanbul Summit							
19	22.04.2005	NATO	Jaap de Hoop Scheffer	SG of NATO	"The agreement "is indeed a milestone of NATO-Russia cooperation, "	Signing of Partnership Status of Forces Agreement	strengthening of relationship	partners	NYT (2005)
20	22.04.2005	Russia	Sergey Lavrov	Minister of Foreign Affairs of Russia	"Notably, Lavrov steered clear of Moscow's previous criticism of efforts by its former Soviet satellites to join the military bloc. "It would be the choice of Ukraine to choose its partners," Lavrov told a news conference after his meeting with the 26 NATO ministers."		-	-	NYT (2005)
21	01.12.2007	Russia	Vladimir Putin	President of Russia	"President Vladimir V. Putin signed a law suspending Russia's participation in a NATO treaty limiting conventional forces in Europe, intensifying pressure on NATO to make concessions"				Dempsey (2007)
22	01.12.2007	Russia	Russian Government	-	"Russia contends that the enlargement of NATO to include Romania, Bulgaria and the Baltic states has given it too much muscle near Russia's borders. "	Russia states that NATO came to close to their borders	becomes a threat	rivals	Dempsey (2007)
23	04.04.2008	NATO	Jaap de Hoop Scheffer	SG of NATO	"On the potential status of becoming a member in NATO he said that there was "not a sliver of a doubt" and that "These countries will become members of NATO, there can be no misunderstanding about that,". In addition to that de Hoop Scheffer also states that "It would be wrong to describe it as a clash of views "	actively	mentioning interests that clash with Russia. But emphasizing cooperation possibilities	partners	NYT (2008)

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24	04.04.2008	Russia	Vladimir Putin	President of Russia	" Moscow would view any attempt to expand NATO to its borders as a direct threat "	Potential MAP for Georgia & Ukraine	threat	adversaries	The Guardian (2008)
25	27.05.2008	Russia	Vladimir Putin	President of Russia	"Putin warns of NATO offering Georgia a MAP: "The appearance of a powerful military bloc on our borders will be taken by Russia as a direct threat to the security of our country""	Potential MAP for Georgia	questioning partnership	rivals	Dempsey (2008)
26	27.05.2008	Russia	Sergey Lavrov	Minister of Foreign Affairs of Russia	"Lavrov states that NATO does not plan on adding any members out of security reason "We are convinced that the geographical enlargement of NATO was not seriously motivated by security . It will not lead to a single security space. On the contrary, it will lead to fragmentation and new dividing lines""	alleges NATO lies and hidden motivation	questioning partnership	rivals	Dempsey (2008)
	07.08.2008	Russo-Georgian War							
27	14.08.2008	NATO	-	-	"NATO cut off formal ties with Moscow in the aftermath of the August war, and said there would be no "business as usual""	Russo-Georgian War	cut off formal ties	questioning partnership	Erlanger (2008)
28	14.08.2008	NATO	Jaap de Hoop Scheffer	SG of NATO	"Russia is such an important factor in geopolitical terms that there is no alternative for NATO than to engage Russia"	Russo-Georgian War	no alternative but to engage	goal of partnership in the long term	Erlanger (2008)
29	14.08.2008	NATO	Jaap de Hoop Scheffer	SG of NATO	"What was behind Georgia"	Russo-Georgian War	questioning motives	questioning partnership	Erlanger (2008)

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30	14.08.2008	NATO	Kurt Volcker	US ambassador to NATO	"We signaled our unhappiness with Russia using military force to invade Georgia and change borders by force of arms, yet we also signaled a desire for a cooperative relationship with Russia"	Russo-Georgian War	questioning motives	goal of partnership in the long term	Erlanger (2008)
31	05.03.2009	NATO	Jaap de Hoop Scheffer	SG of NATO	"Hoop Scheffer states that they are willing to continue talks . Even though it is not to be understood that NATO accepts Russia plan on building military bases. He said that "It's not a fair-weather forum, and the weather is certainly not fair" in regard to NRC"	Russo-Georgian War	signaling willingness to restart talks	goal of partnership in the long term	Landler (2009)
32	16.12.2009	NATO	Anders Fogh Rasmussen	SG of NATO	"It is my priority to develop a true partnership between NATO and Russia . We all know that we do have disagreements in some areas. But despite these difficulties, we have done a lot."		signaling cooperation	goal of partnership in the long term	Levy (2009)
34	21.10.2010	NATO	Barack Obama	President of the US	"We agreed to cooperate on missile defense, which turns a source of past tension into a source of potential cooperation against a shared threat"		signaling cooperation		Dempsey (2010b)
35	21.10.2010	NATO	Barack Obama	President of the US	"We see Russia as a partner, not an adversary"	NATO meeting in Lisbon		partners	Dempsey (2010b)
36	21.10.2010	Russia	Dimitri Medvedev	President of Russia	"We have large plans, we will be working in all areas, including European missile defense"	NATO meeting in Lisbon	signaling cooperation	partners	Dempsey (2010b)
37	03.11.2010	NATO	Anders Fogh Rasmussen	SG of NATO	"We will invite Russia to cooperate, and then, of course, we have to work out how to cooperate"	NATO meeting in Lisbon	signaling cooperation	partners	Erlanger (2010)

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38	16.04.2011	Russia	Sergey Lavrov	Minister of Foreign Affairs of Russia	"Russia has strongly opposed the NATO mission in Libya"	NATO Mission in Libya	warning	unclear	Dempsey (2011)
39	23.11.2011	Russia	Dmitry Medvedev	Russian Prime Minister	"Secure the destruction of the European component of the U.S. missile defense system."	Missile Defense System	destruction	adversaries	Guttermann (2013)
40	23.11.2011	Russia	Dmitry Medvedev	Russian Prime Minister	"We won't agree to participate in a program that in a fairly short time -- five, six, maybe eight years -- is capable of weakening our deterrent potential , and that is precisely the missile defense program that is beginning to be implemented."	Missile Defense System	distrust	adversaries	Guttermann (2013)
41	05.12.2011	NATO	Anders Fogh Rasmussen	SG of NATO	"NATO and Russia have held many discussions on missile defense. We have made it clear that our missile defense system is not directed at Russia . It is designed to protect European nations in NATO against threats from outside Europe; it is a defensive system."	Missile Defense System	coexistence	partners	Rasmussen (2011)
42	05.12.2011	NATO	Anders Fogh Rasmussen	SG of NATO	" In the 21st century, confrontation is not a choice. The only real choice is cooperation"		signaling cooperation	goal of partnership in the long term	Rasmussen (2011)
43	05.12.2011	NATO	Anders Fogh Rasmussen	SG of NATO	"NATO-Russia cooperation remains of strategic importance"	-	signaling cooperation	strategic partner	Rasmussen (2011)
44	22.02.2012	Russia	Vladimir Putin	President of Russia	"We will under no circumstances surrender our strategic deterrent capability, and indeed will in fact strengthen it. [...] As long as the 'powder' of our strategic nuclear forces [...] remains dry, nobody will dare launch a large-scale aggression against us"	-	-	-	Putin (2012)

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45	04.05.2012	Russia	Nikolai Makarov	Russian General	§Threat by Russian General "Nikolai Makarov" on a pre-emptive strike in eastern Europe because of NATO's plans for a missile-defense system in Europe§	planned deployment of missile-defense system	threatening use of force	adversaries	Kramer (2012)
46	06.07.2012	Russia	Nikolai Korchunov	permanent representative of Russia to NATO	"It is of critical importance for us to have clear, legally binding guarantees that the missile-defense system being deployed will not be directed against Russia"	Missile Defense System	demanding guarantees	distrustful relationship	Korchunov (2012)
47	19.06.2013	NATO	Barack Obama	President of the US	"Obama expresses interests in mutual agreement on reducing nuclear arms"	Arms reduction	cooperation	partners	Calmes (2013)
48	03.09.2013	Russia	Dmitry Medvedev	Russian Prime Minister	"I don't want there to be any illusions ... Practically, for our Ukrainian partners, entry into the Customs Union will be closed"	Ukraine	threatening to cut off Ukraine if it westernizes	distrustful relationship	Reuters (2013)
49	27.02.2014	NATO	-	Meeting of Defense Ministers	"Continue to support Ukrainian sovereignty and independence , territorial integrity, democratic development and the principle of inviolability of frontiers, as key factors of stability and security in Central and Eastern Europe and on the continent as a whole"	Annexation of Crimea	warning without specific threat	distrustful relationship	Cooper (2014)
50	27.02.2014	NATO	Chuck Hagel	US Secretary of Defense	" not to take any steps that could be misinterpreted, or lead to miscalculations during a delicate time"	Annexation of Crimea	warning without specific threat	distrustful relationship	Cooper (2014)
	27.02.2014	Russia started Occupation and Annexation of Crimea							
51	02.03.2014	NATO	Barack Obama	President of the US	"Russia's continued violation of international law will lead to greater political and economic isolation. "	Annexation of Crimea	isolation	adversaries	Baker (2014)

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52	08.03.2014	Russia	Sergey Lavrov	Minister of Foreign Affairs of Russia	"We are ready to continue a dialogue on the understanding that a dialogue should be honest and partnerlike, without attempts to portray us as one of the parties in the conflict "	Annexation of Crimea	continue dialogue		Erlanger & Meyers (2014)
53	08.03.2014	Russia	-	Military Official	"In Moscow, an unidentified military official told Russian news agencies that Russia was considering suspending inspections of its strategic nuclear arsenal required by the arms reduction treaties , as well as other military cooperation accords meant to build confidence and avoid confrontations"	Annexation of Crimea	suspend cooperation	rivals	Erlanger & Meyers (2014)
54	08.03.2014	NATO	John Kerry	Secretary of State of the US	"Continued military escalation and provocation in Crimea or elsewhere in Ukraine, along with steps to annex Crimea to Russia, would close any available space for diplomacy,"	Annexation of Crimea	suspend diplomacy	rivals	Erlanger & Meyers (2014)
55	08.03.2014	NATO	John Kerry	Secretary of State of the US	"Continued military escalation and provocation in Crimea or elsewhere in Ukraine, along with steps to annex Crimea to Russia, would close any available space for diplomacy,"	Annexation of Crimea	suspend diplomacy	rivals	Erlanger & Meyers (2014)
56	29.08.2014	Russia	Vladimir Putin	President of Russia	"Let me remind you that Russia is one of the world's biggest nuclear powers. These are not just words – this is the reality. What's more, we are strengthening our nuclear deterrent capability and developing our armed forces. They have become more compact and effective and are becoming more modern in terms of the weapons at their disposal. We are continuing this work to build up our potential and will keep doing so, not in order to threaten anyone, but so as to be able to feel safe, ensure our security and be able to carry out our economic and social development plans."	Seliger National Youth Forum 2014	"But so as to be able to feel safe, ensure our security "		Putin (2014)
57	29.08.2014	Russia	Vladimir Putin	President of Russia	"We have begun reviving the Northern Sea Route. You have no doubt read about this many times and probably discuss it with your students. This route will be a powerful competitor for the existing transport routes and could cut freight transport costs for business."	Seliger National Youth Forum 2014	Arctic		Putin (2014)

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58	29.08.2014	Russia	Vladimir Putin	President of Russia	"The Arctic plays a very important part for us in terms of guaranteeing our security too. It is regrettably the case that the United States' attack submarines are concentrated in that area, not far from the Norwegian coast, and the missiles they carry would reach Moscow within 15-16 minutes, just to remind you."	Seliger National Youth Forum 2014	Attack from US		Putin (2014)
59	29.08.2014	Russia	Vladimir Putin	President of Russia	"I hope that you saw the news recently about our military group that landed in the region. They are there for peaceful purposes, but they are a military group, and this is our territory. We will redevelop the entire military infrastructure there and the Emergency Situations Ministry infrastructure. We are doing this also because we need to ensure safe shipping and keep the trade routes secure, and not because we plan to fight. Many view our activeness with caution and concern. We have said on numerous occasions that we will act solely within the framework of international law. We have always acted this way and will continue to do so. Other countries also have many interests there. We will take these interests into account and seek acceptable compromises, at the same time defending our own interests of course. a war with anyone or seek conflict."	Seliger National Youth Forum 2014			Putin (2014)
60	29.08.2014	Russia	Vladimir Putin	President of Russia	"It was a unique situation when such countries as France and Germany joined us in opposing the United States. This alone means a lot. While today's European leaders are far from showing their independence, this does not mean the tendency is not there."	Seliger National Youth Forum 2014			Putin (2014)

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61	29.08.2014	Russia	Vladimir Putin	President of Russia	"Now, I think, it is clear to everyone – when we look at the events in Donbass, Lugansk and Odessa – it is now clear to everyone what would have happened to Crimea, if we had not taken corresponding measures to ensure that people could freely express their will. We did not annex it, we did not seize it, we gave people the opportunity to express themselves and make a decision and we treated that decision with respect I feel we protected them. And all this has truly greatly united us, including the opposition parties that are fairly critical of the authorities in power, critically assessing the actions of the authorities with regard to politics and the economy. So, we have a nationally oriented opposition."	Seliger 2014 National Youth Forum	Crimea		Putin (2014)
62	29.08.2014	Russia	Vladimir Putin	President of Russia	"As far as Crimea is concerned, we have discussed this at length and I think that if one were to choose between what is happening in Donbass and how people in Crimea are living, a man of sense would choose the current state of affairs in Crimea. I am not even talking about the spiritual breakthrough that Crimean residents experienced and still feel with regard to re-joining Russia – for which, incidentally, we are very grateful to the Crimean people, because they demonstrated the true meaning of patriotism. "	Seliger 2014 National Youth Forum	Crimea		Putin (2014)
63	12.09.2014	NATO	Linas Linkevicius	Foreign Minister of Lithuania	"But to have a strategic partnership with Russia," as NATO has tried to establish for 20 years, " is not possible now. "		partnership, not possible	adversaries	Erlanger (2014)
64	25.02.2015	NATO	Jens Stoltenberg	SG of NATO	"And we will continue to work for the day when Russia recognizes that there is no future in confrontation. But only in respect, trust and cooperation. "	Crimea	signaling willingness to cooperate under conditions	adversaries	Stoltenberg (2015)

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65	28.05.2015	NATO	NATO SG	Jens Stoltenberg	"Russia's nuclear saber-rattling is unjustified, destabilizing and dangerous."	Press Conference after a speech at the Center for Strategic and International Studies			The Guardian (2015)
66	28.05.2015	NATO	NATO SG	Jens Stoltenberg	"We are not back to the Cold War, but we are far from a strategic partnership"	Press Conference after a speech at the Center for Strategic and International Studies			
67	28.09.2015	Russia	Vladimir Putin	President of Russia	"Sadly, some of our counterparts are still dominated by their Cold War-era bloc mentality and the ambition to conquer new geopolitical areas . First, they continued their policy of expanding NATO – one should wonder why, considering that the Warsaw Pact had ceased to exist, and the Soviet Union had disintegrated. ext, the post-Soviet states were forced to face a false choice between joining the West and carrying on with the East. Sooner or later, this logic of confrontation was bound to spark off a major geopolitical crisis."	Ukraine	blame NATO for conflict	adversaries	Putin (2015)
68	02.12.2015	Russia	Chairman of Russian Parliament	Vladimir Komoyedov	"They are ready to admit even the North Pole to NATO just for the sake of encircling Russia." The invitation to Montenegro, he said, means that NATO "was and remains an adversary of Russia."	Montenegro joins NATO	adversary	adversaries	Erlanger (2015)

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69	13.02.2016	Russia	Sergey Lavrov	Minister of Foreign Affairs of Russia	" NATO and the EU's refusing full cooperation with Russia, creating the image of an enemy, and arms deployment to harden the dividing lines in Europe that the West had promised to eliminate."	Munich Security Conference	blamed NATO for conflict	adversaries	Lavrov (2016)
70	13.02.2016	Russia	Sergey Lavrov	Minister of Foreign Affairs of Russia	"the world's top nations - the US, the EU, China, Russia , as well as other leading countries - can manage to achieve breakthrough results."	Munich Security Conference			Lavrov (2016)
71	01.12.2016	Russia	Ministry of Foreign Affairs of the Russian Federation		"61. Systemic problems in the Euro-Atlantic region that have accumulated over the last quarter century are manifested in the geopolitical expansion pursued by the North Atlantic Treaty Organization (NATO) and the European Union (EU) along with their refusal to begin implementation of political statements regarding the creation of a common European security and cooperation framework, have resulted in a serious crisis in the relations between Russia and the Western States. The containment policy adopted by the United States and its allies against Russia, and political, economic, information and other pressure Russia is facing from them undermine regional and global stability, are detrimental to the long-term interests of all sides and run counter to the growing need for cooperation and addressing transnational challenges and threats in today's world."	Foreign Policy Concept of the Russian Federation (approved by President of the Russian Federation Vladimir Putin on November 30, 2016)			MFA Russia (2016)

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72	01.12.2016	Russia	Ministry of Foreign Affairs of the Russian Federation		"69. "The Russian Federation maintains its negative perspective towards NATO's expansion, the Alliance's military infrastructure approaching Russian borders, and its growing military activity in regions neighboring Russia, viewing them as a violation of the principle of equal and indivisible security and leading to the deepening of old dividing lines in Europe and to the emergence of new ones.""	Foreign Policy Concept of the Russian Federation (approved by President of the Russian Federation Vladimir Putin on November 30, 2016)			MFA Russia (2016)
73	01.12.2016	Russia	Ministry of Foreign Affairs of the Russian Federation		Russia will be firm in countering any attempts to introduce elements of political or military confrontation in the Arctic, and, in general, politicize international cooperation in the region. Using the Northern Sea Route as Russia's national transport route in the Arctic, as well as for transit shipments between Europe and Asia is significant for the region development."	Foreign Policy Concept of the Russian Federation (approved by President of the Russian Federation Vladimir Putin on November 30, 2016)	Arctic		MFA Russia (2016)
74	01.12.2016	Russia	Ministry of Foreign Affairs of the Russian Federation		77."The Russian Federation will continue its efforts to preserve and expand its presence in Antarctica [...]"	Foreign Policy Concept of the Russian Federation (approved by President of the Russian Federation Vladimir Putin	Arctic		MFA Russia (2016)

Row	Date	Actor	Name	Position	Statement (Quote/ Speech/ Article/ Interview/ Press Release)	Event/ Reasoning	Codes	Perception	Source
						on November 30, 2016)			
75	01.12.2016	Russia	Ministry of Foreign Affairs of the Russian Federation		<p>“Russia respects the choice of European States that are not members of any military alliances. These States are making a genuine contribution to ensuring stability and security in Europe. Russia is ready to engage in constructive multi-faceted cooperation with them.”</p>	Foreign Policy Concept of the Russian Federation (approved by President of the Russian Federation Vladimir Putin on November 30, 2016)	European Non-NATO members		MFA Russia (2016)
76	01.12.2016	Russia	Ministry of Foreign Affairs of the Russian Federation		<p>“Assisting the establishment of the Republic of Abkhazia and the Republic of South Ossetia as modern democratic States, strengthening their international positions, and ensuring reliable security and socioeconomic recovery remains a priority for Russia.”</p>	Foreign Policy Concept of the Russian Federation (approved by President of the Russian Federation Vladimir Putin on November 30, 2016)	European Non-NATO members		MFA Russia (2016)
77	01.03.2018	Russia	Vladimir Putin	President of Russia	<p>“I hope that everything that was said today would make any potential aggressor think twice, since unfriendly steps against Russia such as deploying missile defenses and bringing NATO infrastructure closer to the Russian border become ineffective in military terms and entail unjustified costs, making them useless for those promoting these initiatives.”</p>	Presidential Address to the Federal Assembly			Putin (2018)

Row	Date	Actor	Name	Position	Statement (Quote/ Speech/ Article/ Interview/ Press Release)	Event/ Reasoning	Codes	Perception	Source
78	01.03.2018	Russia	Vladimir Putin	President of Russia	"I will say once again what we have repeatedly told our American and European partners who are NATO members: we will make the necessary efforts to neutralize the threats posed by the deployment of the US global missile defense system. We mentioned this during talks, and even said it publicly. Back in 2004, after the exercises of the strategic nuclear forces when the system was tested for the first time [...] the Russian Armed Forces, the Strategic Missile Forces, will receive new hypersonic-speed, high-precision new weapons systems that can hit targets at inter-continental distance and can adjust their altitude and course as they travel. This is a very significant statement because no country in the world as of now has such arms in their military arsenal." End of quote. [...] Let me repeat, this was in 2004. It is actually surprising that despite all the problems with the economy, finances and the defense industry, Russia has remained a major nuclear power. No, nobody really wanted to talk to us about the core of the problem, and nobody wanted to listen to us. So, listen now. "	Presidential Address to the Federal Assembly			Putin (2018)
79	01.03.2018	Russia	Vladimir Putin	President of Russia	"use of nuclear weapons against Russia or its allies, weapons of short, medium or any range at all, will be considered as a nuclear attack on this country. Retaliation will be immediate, with all the attendant consequences."	Presidential Address to the Federal Assembly			Putin (2018)
80	01.01.2019	NATO	Jens Stoltenberg	SG of NATO	"And we will need to continue to deal with a more assertive Russia . In 2014, Russia illegally annexed Crimea. The first time in Europe that one country had taken part of another by force since World War Two. We see a pattern of Russian behavior. Including a massive military build-up [...] There is no contradiction between deterrence, defense and dialogue. We strive for a better relationship with Russia. "	Address to US Congress		adversaries but willing to cooperate	Stoltenberg (2019a)
81	12.07.2021	Russia	Vladimir Putin	President of Russia	"It would not be an exaggeration to say that the path of forced assimilation, the formation of an ethnically pure Ukrainian state, aggressive towards Russia , is comparable	Essay on the "The Historical Unity of			Putin (2021)

Row	Date	Actor	Name	Position	Statement (Quote/ Speech/ Article/ Interview/ Press Release)	Event/ Reasoning	Codes	Perception	Source
					in its consequences to the use of weapons of mass destruction against us. "	Russians and Ukrainians"			
82	12.07.2021	Russia	Vladimir Putin	President of Russia	"Along with that we are witnessing not just complete dependence but direct external control, including the supervision of the Ukrainian authorities, security services and armed forces by foreign advisers, military" development" of the territory of Ukraine and deployment of NATO infrastructure. It is no coincidence that the aforementioned flagrant law on" indigenous peoples" was adopted under the cover of large-scale NATO exercises in Ukraine.	Essay on the "The Historical Unity of Russians and Ukrainians"			Putin (2021)
83	12.07.2021	Russia	Vladimir Putin	President of Russia	"The Western authors of the anti-Russia project set up the Ukrainian political system in such a way that presidents, members of parliament and ministers would change but the attitude of separation from and enmity with Russia would remain."	Essay on the "The Historical Unity of Russians and Ukrainians"			Putin (2021)
84	12.07.2021	Russia	Vladimir Putin	President of Russia	"I am confident that true sovereignty of Ukraine is possible only in partnership with Russia. Our spiritual, human and civilizational ties formed for centuries and have their origins in the same sources, they have been hardened by common trials, achievements and victories. Our kinship has been transmitted from generation to generation. It is in the hearts and the memory of people living in modern Russia and Ukraine, in the blood ties that unite millions of our families. Together we have always been and will be many times stronger and more successful. For we are one people"	Essay on the "The Historical Unity of Russians and Ukrainians"			Putin (2021)
85	17.12.2021	Russia	Russian Government	Treaty between US and Russia Federation on security guarantees	" The Parties shall refrain from deploying nuclear weapons outside their national territories and return such weapons already deployed outside their national territories at the time of the entry into force of the Treaty to their national territories. The Parties shall eliminate all existing infrastructure for deployment of nuclear weapons outside their national territories."		European Security Order		MFA Russia (2021b)

Row	Date	Actor	Name	Position	Statement (Quote/ Speech/ Article/ Interview/ Press Release)	Event/ Reasoning	Codes	Perception	Source
86	17.12.2021	Russia	Russian Government	Treaty between US and Russia Federation on security guarantees	"The United States of America shall undertake to prevent further eastward expansion of the North Atlantic Treaty Organization and deny accession to the Alliance to the States of the former Union of Soviet Socialist Republics. The United States of America shall not establish military bases in the territory of the States of the former Union of Soviet Socialist Republics that are not members of the North Atlantic Treaty Organization, use their infrastructure for any military activities or develop bilateral military cooperation with them."		European Security Order		MFA Russia (2021b)
87	17.12.2021	Russia	Russian Government	Treaty between US and Russia Federation on security guarantees	"the Parties shall refrain from deploying their armed forces [...] perceived by the other Party as a threat to its national security, with the exception of [...] deployment within the national territories of the Parties"		American Troop Deployment in Europe		MFA Russia (2021b)
88	21.02.2022	Russia	Vladimir Putin	President of Russia	"I would like to emphasize again that Ukraine is not just a neighboring country for us. It is an inalienable part of our own history, culture and spiritual space. These are our comrades, those dearest to us – not only colleagues, friends and people who once served together, but also relatives, people bound by blood, by family ties."	Invasion of Ukraine			Putin (2022)
89	21.02.2022	Russia	Vladimir Putin	President of Russia	"So, I will start with the fact that modern Ukraine was entirely created by Russia or, to be more precise, by Bolshevik, Communist Russia. This process started practically right after the 1917 revolution, and Lenin and his associates did it in a way that was extremely harsh on Russia – by separating, severing what is historically Russian land. Nobody asked the millions of people living there what they thought."	Invasion of Ukraine			Putin (2022)
	24.02.2022	Russia invaded Ukraine							
90	14.07.2022	NATO			" Russian Federation is the most significant and direct threat to Allies' security and to peace and stability in the Euro-				NATO (2022c)

Row	Date	Actor	Name	Position	Statement (Quote/ Speech/ Article/ Interview/ Press Release)	Event/ Reasoning	Codes	Perception	Source
					Atlantic area. [...] NATO does not seek confrontation and poses no threat to Russia. The Alliance will continue to respond to Russian threats and hostile actions in a united and responsible way."				
91	29.06.2022	NATO	Heads of State and Government at NATO		"48. The Russian Federation is the most significant and direct threat to Allies' security and to peace and stability in the Euro-Atlantic area. It seeks to establish spheres of influence and direct control through coercion, subversion, aggression and annexation [...] undermining the rules-based international order. The Russian Federation is modernizing its nuclear forces [...] It aims to destabilize countries to our East and South."	NATO Summit in Madrid	threat	adversary	NATO (2022d)

Table 3: Events determining Conflict-Cooperation Scale

Date	Weight	Goldstein Event	Event	Additional Information	Source
27.05.1997	6,5	Make substantive agreement	establishment of Permanent Joint Council (PJC)	"The Permanent Joint Council will provide a mechanism for consultations, coordination and, to the maximum extent possible, where appropriate, for joint decisions and joint action with respect to security issues of common concern. The consultations will not extend to internal matters of either NATO, NATO member States or Russia."	NATO (1997)
27.05.1997	6,5	Make substantive agreement	Nato Russia Founding Act	"NATO and Russia do not consider each other as adversaries. They share the goal of overcoming the vestiges of earlier confrontation and competition and of strengthening mutual trust and cooperation. The present Act reaffirms the determination of NATO and Russia to give concrete substance to their shared commitment to build a stable, peaceful and undivided Europe, whole and free, to the benefit of all its peoples."	NATO (1997)
27.05.1997 NATO RUSSIA FOUNDING ACT ratified					
30.05.1997	6,5	Make substantive agreement	Euro-Atlantic Partnership Council (EAPC),	Russia automatically became a member through its status in the PfP	
12.06.1998	6,5	Give other assistance	Statement by NATO-Russia Permanent Joint Council Meeting at Defense Ministers Level guaranteeing additional military cooperation on SFO	"Ministers agreed to continue NATO-Russia cooperation in SFOR following the end of its current mandate, thus helping to consolidate the peace."	NATO (1998)
13.03.1999 First Round of NATO enlargement officially enclosed.					
15.03.1999	3	Agree to future action or procedure, to meet, or to negotiate	NATO Strategic Concept	"36. [...] NATO and Russia have agreed [...] to build a strong [...] partnership between NATO and Russia."	NATO (1999a)
24.03.1999 NATO intervened in the Kosovo War by starting to strike Yugoslavia					
19.06.1999	-5,2	Nonmilitary demonstration, walk out on	"Russia froze all military relations with the alliance to protest the NATO bombing of Yugoslavia that started on March 24."	Russia declared NATO's invasion of Kosovo illegal under international law. Therefore, Russia froze its work in the PJC, EAPC and PfP	Whitney (1999)

23.07.1999	3,6	Endorse other's policy or position, give verbal support	Joint Statement on situation in Kosovo	"NATO and Russia call upon all the people of Kosovo to support and co-operate with the international security and civil presences in carrying out their mandates established by UNSCR 1244."	NATO (1999b)
15.12.2000	2,8	Assure; reassure	Press Statement NATO-Russia Permanent Joint Council Meeting	"Ministers welcomed the progress achieved in NATO-Russia dialogue and cooperation since their meeting in Florence in May and reaffirmed their commitment to build, within the framework of the PJC, a strong, stable and equal partnership in the interest of security and stability in the Euro-Atlantic area, as enshrined in the NATO-Russia Founding Act. "	NATO (2000b)
14.11.2001	3,6	Endorse other's policy or position, give verbal support	9/11 Terrorist Attack	"NATO -- The Western military alliance won Russian support for a campaign against global terrorism. In a joint statement, NATO and Russia declared they were "united in their resolve" that those who carried out the attacks would not "go unpunished."	NYT (2001)
28.05.2002	6,5	Make substantive agreement	Beginning of NATO-Russia Council (NRC) by signing the 2002 Rome Declaration	"stablished as a mechanism for consultation, consensus-building, cooperation, joint decision making and joint action . Within the NRC, the individual NATO member states and Russia have worked as equal partners on a wide spectrum of security issues of common interest."	NATO (2022b)
28.05.2002	Rome Declaration signed - NATO Russia Council formed				
13.05.2003	-4,1	Reduce routine international activity; recall officials	Russia decided to withdraw its forces from the SFOR and KFRO missions in the Balkan region	"Russia's decision, in light of the continuing success of SFOR and KFOR in bringing peace and stability to the Balkans, to withdraw its military forces from these operations, and paid tribute to their significant contribution in crisis management. "	NATO (2003a)
13.05.2003	3	Agree to future action or procedure, to meet, or to negotiate	Declare common interest in the fight against terrorism	"On cooperation against terrorism , we agreed that our future work should concentrate increasingly on practical aspects, including in facilitating rapid cooperation as necessary in response to future terrorist incidents"	NATO (2003a)
04.12.2003	2,8	Assure; reassure	Meeting of the NATO-Russia Council at the level of Foreign Ministers	"Finally, we reaffirmed our commitment to ensure security and stability in Europe . We reiterated our determination to continue to work co-operatively toward ratification and entry into force of the adapted CFE Treaty"	NATO (2003b)
03.04.2004	-3,4	Denounce; denigrate, abuse	NATO stationed air fleet near Russian border	"Russia's lower house of Parliament overwhelmingly adopted a resolution on Wednesday denouncing NATO's expansion generally and the deployment of the F-16's specifically."	Myers (2004)

09.04.2004	6,5	Make substantive agreement	Meeting between Russian president Putin and NATO Secretary General de Hoop Scheffer	"Mr. de Joop Scheffer signed an agreement with the Russian defense minister, Sergei B. Ivanov, to improve communications by setting up a Russian liaison office at NATO's military headquarters in Mons, Belgium"	Mydans (2004)
29.06.2004 Second Round of NATO enlargement officially ratified at Istanbul Summit					
09.12.2004	4,5	Promise other future support	NATO-Russia Action Plan on Terrorism as a response to the ongoing terrorist attack in Istanbul 2003 and Madrid 2004	"We are encouraged by the progress that has been made in developing NRC Co-operation in the fight against terrorism and are determined that the Council can and should make an even more direct and substantial contribution to this global struggle , in cooperation, as appropriate, with partners. NRC co-operation against the terrorist threat should be pragmatic and goal-oriented, complementing and enhancing efforts underway in other fora."	NATO (2004)
21.04.2005	8,3	Extend military assistance	Discussed ongoing cooperation and extension of these cooperation in the fight against terrorism and counter narcotics missions	"We noted with satisfaction Russia's signature of the Partnership for Peace Status of Forces Agreement , which will provide a legal foundation for increased practical and operational cooperation and looked forward to its prompt ratification."	NATO (2005a; 2005b), NYT (2005)
09.05.2005	3	Agree to future action or procedure, to meet, or to negotiate	Statement Meeting of the NATO-Russia Council at the level of Ministers of Defense	"We endorsed the Political-Military Guidance towards Enhanced Interoperability between Forces of Russia and NATO Nations, which, together with the early entry into force of the SOFA, will facilitate enhanced interoperability among our forces. We welcomed the progress made in military-to-military cooperation, in particular the implementation of the NRC Military Representatives Work Plan 2005"	NATO (2005b)

22.05.2006	-0,2	Comment on situation	US plans on building missile system in eastern Europe	"The installation of 10 interceptors in Eastern Europe would have no significant ability to defend against Russia's sizable nuclear arsenal. American officials say [...] The development of an antimissile site in Poland would have a "negative impact on the whole Euro-Atlantic security system," Sergei Ivanov, the Russian defense minister, told a Belarus newspaper. "The choice of location for the deployment of those systems is dubious, to put it mildly."	Gordon (2006)	
18.08.2007	-4,4	Threat specific sanction stated	without negative	Russian Air Force begins drills on nuclear capable bombers over the oceans. E.g. near American air bases in the pacific	"Mr. Putin suggested Friday that the decision was a response to military threats to Russia"	Kramer (2007)
20.11.2007	-7	Threat specified	with force	Putin denounced NATO stocking up on military personnel in NATO member countries along Russian border	"Putin "said strategic nuclear forces, which control Russia's long-range nuclear missiles, should be ready "to deliver a swift and adequate response to any aggressor.""	NYT (2007)
07.12.2007	-4	Refuse; oppose, refuse to allow		Moratorium of the CFE Treaty. Opposing the declaration passed in Nov 1990	"Russia has suspended the arms accord - known as the Treaty on Conventional Armed Forces in Europe - but Lavrov said his country was willing to try to negotiate a compromise with NATO."	Bilefsky & Wood (2007), Dempsey (2007)
27.05.2008	-3	Give warning		Putin warns of NATO offering Georgia a MAP	"The appearance of a powerful military bloc on our borders will be taken by Russia as a direct threat to the security of our country" - Putin	Dempsey (2008)
27.05.2008	-3	Give warning		Lavrov states that NATO does not plan on adding any members out of security reason	"We are convinced that the geographical enlargement of NATO was not seriously motivated by security. It will not lead to a single security space. On the contrary, it will lead to fragmentation and new dividing lines" - Lavrov	Dempsey (2008)
07.08.2008		Russo-Georgian War				
14.08.2008	-5,2	Nonmilitary demonstration, walk out on	walk	NATO cut ties with Russia after the Russo-Georgian War	"NATO cut off formal ties with Moscow in the aftermath of the August war and said there would be no "business as usual" until Russia agreed to pull its troops back to their prewar positions and cancel its recognition of the independence of South Ossetia and Abkhazia, which are a part of Georgia."	Erlanger (2008)
19.12.2008	1,5	Offer proposal		Offer to reengage in talks	"The secretary general of NATO had lunch Friday with the Russian ambassador to the organization, beginning the "conditional and graduated reengagement" with Moscow that NATO foreign ministers approved earlier this month"	Erlanger (2008)

05.03.2009	3	Agree to future action or procedure, to meet, or to negotiate	NATO and Russia agreed to meet again NRC after the Russo-Georgian War in Aug. 2008	"North Atlantic Treaty Organization agreed on Thursday to resume high-level consultations with Russia, six months after they had been suspended following Moscow's military offensive against Georgia in August"	Landler (2009)
30.04.2009	-5	Order person or personnel out of country	Expelled diplomats over accusations of espionage	"NATO has expelled two Russian diplomats from its headquarters in Brussels over accusations of espionage , officials said Thursday, threatening a new rift between the two sides just as relations were beginning to improve."	Levy (2009a), Vinocur (2009)
05.05.2009	-3,4	Denounce; denigrate, abuse	NATO is holding military exercises with 19 countries in Georgia	"Medvedev described these "provocative". [...]. Russia turned down an invitation to participate in them"	Vinocur (2009)
27.06.2009	-5	Order person or personnel out of country	Russia expelled two diplomats as a reaction to NATO		Levy (2009b)
27.06.2009	-3	Cancel or postpone planned event	After NATO held an exercise in Georgia, Russia withdrew its generals from a planned meeting with NATO		Levy (2009b)
27.06.2009	1	Meet with; send note	NATO and Russia meet again in NRC after a year pause following the Russo-Georgian War	"And I think as NRC Chairman, I can conclude that after the meeting which just ended, we... I have achieved that aim because there was clearly a sense in the meeting that the NRC, which has been in the neutral stand for almost a year, is now back in gear."	NATO (2009)
27.06.2009	3	Agree to future action or procedure, to meet, or to negotiate	Both parties agreed to keep cooperation open in NRC	"NATO SG Japp de Hoop Scheefer "But we agreed that is the very positive conclusion of the meeting not to let those disagreements bring the whole NATO-Russia Council train to a halt. "	Levy (2009b)
27.06.2009	6,5	Give other assistance	Russia kept support NATO logistically in Afghanistan		Levy (2009b)
29.04.2010	3	Agree to future action or procedure, to meet, or to negotiate	NATO opens up a proposal for a mutual Treaty on conventional weapons	"The effort will form one of three parts of a plan intended to revamp NATO's relationship with Russia. The plan also includes inviting Russia to join the ballistic missile shield that the United States and NATO plan to deploy across Europe"	Dempsey (2010a)

19.10.2010	1,9	Visit, go to		NATO summit in Lisbon	"I will go to the Russia-NATO summit," - President Medvedev	Bennhold (2010)
21.11.2010	5,2	Promise support	material	Join mutual military mission (on a logistical level)	"Russia also agreed to allow more NATO supplies, including equipment, to travel across Russian territory to Afghanistan , increasingly important for NATO after the recent attacks on its equipment and convoys that use neighboring Pakistan as a base"	Dempsey (2010b)
21.11.2010	6,5	Make agreement	substantive	NATO summit in Lisbon	"We agreed to cooperate on missile defense, which turns a source of past tension into a source of potential cooperation against a shared threat," - Obama. "We have large plans, we will be working in all areas, including European missile defense" - Medvedev	Dempsey (2010b)
05.02.2011	6,5	Make agreement	substantive	Russia and USA sign New START (Strategic Arms Reduction Treaty) to reduce nuclear arms	"It cuts -- by about a third -- the nuclear weapons that the United States and Russia will deploy. It significantly reduces missiles and launchers. "	The White House 2013
11.03.2011	3,6	Endorse other's policy or position, give verbal support		Suggest cooperation over missile defense system	"we will invite Russia to cooperate, and then, of course, we have to work out how to cooperate" - Rasmussen	Erlanger (2010)
15.04.2011	5,2	Promise support	material	Russia promises to support NATO mission in Afghanistan	"Russia and NATO agreed that Moscow would supply helicopters to Afghanistan and help assist the transit of military equipment"	Dempsey (2011)
16.04.2011	-3	Give warning		NATO mission in Libya on UN Mandate	"Russia has strongly opposed the NATO mission in Libya"	Dempsey (2011)
30.05.2011	8,3	Extend assistance	military	Joint military exercise	First joint military venture since the cold war. Quickly followed by a second on June 6. 2011	The Telegraph (2011)
01.06.2011	6,5	Give other assistance		Joint military funding to support ISAF Forces in Afghanistan	"NRC agreed to launch a Helicopter Maintenance Trust Fund, which provides maintenance and repair capacity, including the provision of spare parts and technician training, to the Afghan Air Force (AAF) helicopter fleet"	NATO (2013a)
23.11.2011	-7	Threat with force specified		Threat by Russian President Medvedev on NATO missile defense system	"secure the destruction of the European component of the U.S. missile defense system." - Dimitri Medvedev, Russian President	Guttermann (2013)

06.12.2011	-3	Give warning	NATO missile defense system.	"Russia has also said it needs legal guarantees that NATO missile defenses are not a threat". NATO states that there is no reason to give additional assurances as the use of force against one another is already forbidden by the Founding Act of 97 (and international law)"	Rasmussen (2011)
06.12.2011	2,5	Give state invitation	NATO missile defense system	"offered transparency on missile defense programs through exchanges at the NATO-Russia Council"	Rasmussen (2011)
06.12.2011	4,5	Promise other future support	NATO missile defense system	"suggested establishing two joint missile defense centers, one for sharing data and the other for supporting planning"	Rasmussen (2011)
19.04.2012	6,5	Give other assistance	Joint military training & logistics to support ISAF	"they welcomed that the NRC has trained 2,000 counter-narcotics personnel from Afghanistan and its neighbors, and that Afghan helicopter technicians are being trained and spare parts will be provided in support of the Afghan Air Force"	NATO (2012a)
19.04.2012	4,5	Promise other future support	NRC made a common statement reaffirming their shared principles of the Rome Declaration and Russia Founding Act. Further they declared their interest in further cooperation	"The Cooperative Airspace Initiative, a joint system for air traffic coordination , is ready for operations. Interoperability between NATO and Russian ships off the Horn of Africa has improved. With the aim of further building confidence, Ministers agreed to conduct discussions and plan, as appropriate, activities related to defense reform, nuclear doctrines and strategies, and force development and posture. They also exchanged views on improving transparency, including on military exercises. "	NATO (2012b)
19.04.2012	8,3	Extend assistance	military Cooperative Airspace Initiative	"The Cooperative Airspace Initiative, a joint system for air traffic coordination, is ready for operations. Interoperability between NATO and Russian ships off the Horn of Africa has improved"	NATO (2012a)
03.05.2012	-7	Threat with force specified	Threat by Russian General "Nikolai Makarov" on a pre-emptive strike in eastern Europe because of NATO's plans for a missile-defense system in Europe	He stated that ""taking into account a missile-defense system's destabilizing nature, that is, the creation of an illusion that a disarming strike can be launched with impunity, a decision on pre-emptive use of the attack weapons available will be made when the situation worsens" - General Makarov	Kramer (2012)

20.05.2012	2,8	Assure; reassure	Chicago Summit Declaration in the meeting of the North Atlantic Council	"36. NATO-Russia cooperation is of strategic importance as it contributes to creating a common space of peace, stability and security. We remain determined to build a lasting and inclusive peace, together with Russia, in the Euro-Atlantic area , based upon the goals, principles and commitments of the NATO-Russia Founding Act and the Rome Declaration. We want to see a true strategic partnership between NATO and Russia, and we will act accordingly with the expectation of reciprocity from Russia."	NATO (2012c)
06.07.2012	-4	Turn down proposal, reject protest, demand, threat	Results of Chicago Summit on Missile Defense System in Europe. Korchunov, a permanent representative to NATO for Russia expresses regret of NATO's decision to not implemented a shared missile defense system in Europe	"That is why President Dmitri Medvedev proposed at the NATO-Russia Council summit in Lisbon in 2010 developing a joint missile-defense system in Europe. [...] Regrettably, NATO was not prepared to accept this proposal [...] result[...] in a BMD architecture that at its advanced stages poses a threat to the national security of Russia. "	Korchunov (2012)
06.07.2012	2,8	Assure; reassure	Results of Chicago Summit on Missile Defense System in Europe	"NATO missile defense is not oriented against Russia, nor does it have the capability to undermine Russia's strategic deterrent."	Korchunov (2012)
26.02.2013	6,5	Give other assistance	Joint military exercise	"NATO flag ship to Operation Ocean Shield, maneuvers on the port side of the Russian Federation ship Severomorsk during a joint counter piracy exercise on 26 February 2013 in the Gulf of Aden."	NATO (2013a)
29.03.2013	3	Agree to future action or procedure, to meet, or to negotiate	Russian defense minister, Sergei Shoigu on negotiations about missile defense system in Europe	"agreed to resume consultations on missile defense."	Pifer (2013)
23.04.2013	6,5	Give other assistance	Joint military training to support ISAF Forces in Afghanistan	"provide training to technicians on more types of helicopters and in developing the Afghan Air Force's medical evacuation capabilities"	NATO (2013a)
19.06.2013	3	Agree to future action or procedure, to meet, or to negotiate	Obama expresses interests in mutual agreement on reducing nuclear arms	"After a comprehensive review, I've determined that we can ensure the security of America and our allies [...]while reducing our deployed strategic nuclear weapons][...] And I intend to seek negotiated cuts with Russia to move beyond cold war nuclear postures." Obama	Calmes (2013)

04.12.2013	3,6	Endorse other's policy or position, give verbal support	NATO-Russia Council Statement of Support for the Organization for the Prohibition of Chemical Weapons of the United Nations (OPCW-UN) Joint Mission	"Meeting in Brussels on 4 December 2013, we, the Foreign Ministers of the NATO-Russia Council affirm our support for the full implementation of the United Nations Security Council Resolution 2118 (UNSCR 2118), the Framework for the Elimination of Syrian Chemical Weapons between the Russian Federation and the United States of America and the decision adopted by the Executive Council of the Organization for the Prohibition of Chemical Weapons (OPCW-UN) "	NATO (2013b)
16.12.2013	-4,4	Threat without specific negative sanction stated	Russia deployed short range missiles as an answer on European defense missile system	"The deployment of the Iskander missiles, which have a maximum range of about 250 miles and are capable of carrying conventional or nuclear payloads, has often been threatened by Russia as a response to proposed extensions of an American missile defense shield in Eastern Europe"	Roth (2013)
29.01.2014	-4,1	Reduce routine international activity; recall officials	Russia tested cruise missile breaking a Treaty of 1987 according to US intelligence	"Russia had tested a new ground-launched cruise missile, [...] Such tests are prohibited by the treaty banning medium-range missiles that was signed in 1987"	Gordon (2014)
25.02.2014	-3,4	Denounce; denigrate, abuse	Russia accused NATO and EU to have escalated situation in Ukraine over government throughout and protests	"not by a concern for the fate of Ukraine but by unilateral geopolitical calculations" - MAF Russia	Myers (2014)
27.02.2014	-3	Give warning	NATO SG Anders Fogh Rasmussen gives warning on Crimea	"I urge Russia not to take any action that can escalate tension or create misunderstanding," Mr. Rasmussen wrote on Twitter. "I'm concerned about developments in Crimea." In a news conference later in the day, Mr. Rasmussen called the Crimea events "dangerous and irresponsible."	Cooper (2014)
27.02.2014	-2,2	Charge; blame; disapprove	US Secretary of Defense Chuck Hagel on the situation in Crimea	"respect Ukraine's sovereignty and avoid provocative actions"	NYT (2014a)
27.02.2014			Russia declared the Annexation of Crimea		
01.03.2014	-5,8	Threat with specific negative nonmilitary sanction	President Obama on Annexation of Crimea	"there will be costs for a military intervention in Ukraine." "Russia's continued violation of international law will lead to greater political and economic isolation. "	Baker (2014)
08.03.2014	-4,4	Threat without specific negative sanction stated	US Secretary of State John Kerry threaten to break diplomatic relations about annexing Crimea	"continued military escalation and provocation in Crimea or elsewhere in Ukraine, along with steps to annex Crimea to Russia, would close any available space for diplomacy"	Erlanger & Meyers (2014)

08.03.2014	-4,1	Reduce international activity; recall officials	routine activity;	Annexation of Crimea. Russia claimed the suspension was justified as NATO has threatened Russia. Therefore, it would undermine their security efforts	"In Moscow, an unidentified military official told Russian news agencies that Russia was considering suspending inspections of its strategic nuclear arsenal required by the arms reduction treaties , as well as other military cooperation accords meant to build confidence and avoid confrontations"	Erlanger & Meyers (2014)
01.04.2014	-5,2	Nonmilitary demonstration, walk out on	walk out on	Suspension of all practical cooperation in the NRC	"In April 2014, following Russia's illegal and illegitimate annexation of Crimea, the Alliance suspended all practical cooperation between NATO and Russia . However, the Alliance agreed to keep channels of communication open in the NRC and the Euro-Atlantic Partnership Council at the Ambassadorial level and above, to allow the exchange of views, first and foremost on the crisis in Ukraine."	NATO (2022b), BBC 2014
04.07.2014	-4,4	Threat specific sanction stated	without negative	Warning as a consequence of Russia's Annexation of Crimea	"Should you even think of attacking one ally, you will be facing the whole alliance," he declared as a two-day summit meeting in southern Wales drew to a close.	Erlanger, Davis & Castle (2014)
04.07.2014	-4,4	Threat specific sanction stated	without negative	Wales Summit Declaration as a response to Russia's Annexation of Crimea	"In order to ensure that our Alliance is ready to respond swiftly and firmly to the new security challenges, today we have approved the NATO Readiness Action Plan . It provides a coherent and comprehensive package of necessary measures to respond to the changes in the security environment on NATO's borders and further afield that are of concern to Allies. It responds to the challenges posed by Russia and their strategic implications . [...] We will significantly enhance the responsiveness of our NATO Response Force (NRF) by developing force packages that are able to move rapidly and respond to potential challenges and threats. As part of it, we will establish a Very High Readiness Joint Task Force (VJTF) , a new Allied joint force that will be able to deploy within a few days to respond to challenges that arise, particularly at the periphery of NATO's territory"	NATO (2014),
08.09.2014	-3	Give warning		Obama expresses his support for eastern European countries amid situation in Ukraine	"You lost your independence once before. With NATO, you will never lose it again."	Kozłowska (2014)

28.09.2014	-3,4	Denounce; denigrate, abuse	Speech at UN General Assembly by Vladimir Putin	"First, they continued their policy of expanding NATO – [...]post-Soviet states were forced to face a false choice [...] this logic of confrontation was bound to spark off a major geopolitical crisis"	Putin (2015)
24.10.2014	-2,2	Charge; criticize; blame; disapprove	Putin blamed Western countries for situation in Crimea at the meeting of the Valdai International Discussion Club	"The people of Crimea feared for their and their children's future following a coup d'état carried out with the support of our Western partners and decided to make use of the right to self-determination enshrined in international law."	Putin (2014)
24.10.2014	-2,2	Charge; criticize; blame; disapprove	Putin blamed Western countries for terrorist attack in Russia at the meeting of the Valdai International Discussion Club	"They once sponsored Islamic extremist movements to fight the Soviet Union. Those groups got their battle experience in Afghanistan and later gave birth to the Taliban and Al-Qaeda. The West if not supported, at least closed its eyes, and, I would say, gave information, political and financial support to international terrorists' invasion of Russia (we have not forgotten this)"	Putin (2014)
26.12.2014	-3,4	Denounce; denigrate, abuse	Russia removes "cooperation" from its new military doctrine in regard to NATO. Only mentions the possibility of "dialogue of equals". Calls NATO expansion a violation of international law	"Doctrine also mentions NATO's expansion and its "desire to endow the force potential" of the Alliance with "global functions" in violation of international law. [...] At the same time the opportunities for military cooperation with Russia are evaporating. All that the new Doctrine mentions is a "dialogue of equals" with NATO and the United States "	SWP (2015)
06.02.2015	-3,4	Denounce; denigrate, abuse	Munich Security Conference 2015	"we see a dangerous pattern of Russian behaviour: annexation, aggressive actions and intimidation . The conflict in Ukraine is deepening, with a horrific cost to civilians. The causes are clear and cannot be denied . Russia continues to provide training, equipment, and forces in support of the separatists, and it continues to destabilize Ukraine in utter disregard for the country's sovereignty and territorial integrity. " Russia bears the responsibility for the dangerous situation in which we find ourselves. Nobody forced Russia to annex Crimea. And nobody is forcing Russia to destabilize Ukraine.""	Stoltenberg (2015)
07.02.2015	-4,4	Threat without specific sanction stated	Speech of Vice President Biden at Munich Security Conference 2015	"But President Putin has to make a simple, stark choice: Get out of Ukraine or face continued isolation and growing economic costs at home. "	Biden, (2015)

07.02.2015	-3,4	Denounce; denigrate, abuse	Speech of Vice President Biden at Munich Security Conference 2015	"contempt for the rights of Russia's neighbors to choose their own future; disrespect for the sovereign, territorial integrity of Ukraine , but I might add also Georgia and Moldova; disregard for Russia's own commitments made in Helsinki, Paris, Budapest. "	Biden, (2015)
22.03.2015	-7	Threat with force specified	Threatening of NATO member if it joins NATO's missile defense program	"if it happens, then Danish warships will be targets for Russia's nuclear weapons"	Herszenhorn (2015)
16.06.2015	-7,6	Armed force mobilization, exercise, display; military buildup	Putin announces increase of nuclear arsenal to due anti-missile defense system	"We will be forced to aim our armed forces ... at those territories from where the threat comes. [...]More than 40 new intercontinental ballistic missiles able to overcome even the most technically advanced anti-missile defense systems will be added to the make-up of the nuclear arsenal this year" -Putin	Tsvetkova (2015)
23.06.2015	-7,6	Armed force mobilization, exercise, display; military buildup	Military Buildup by the US in eastern Europe as a response to Russian aggression in Ukraine	"We intend to move those equipment sets around as exercises move around," he said. "They're not static." According to a fact-sheet provided by the US military, the deployment would include 250 tanks, Bradley fighting vehicles and self-propelled howitzer artillery guns."	BBC (2015)

05.10.2015	-4,4	Threat specific sanction stated	without negative	Statement by the North Atlantic Council on incursions into Turkey's airspace by Russian aircraft	"Allies strongly protest these violations of Turkish sovereign airspace and condemn these incursions into and violations of NATO airspace. Allies also note the extreme danger of such irresponsible behaviour. They call on the Russian Federation to cease and desist, and immediately explain these violations. Allies call on the Russian side to take all necessary measures to ensure that such violations do not take place in the future. "	NATO (2015a)
02.12.2015	-10	Military attack; clash; assault		NATO member Turkey shot down Russian Fighter	"entering Turkish airspace to bomb Turkmen tribesmen in Syria"	Erlanger (2015)
02.12.2015	-2,4	Issue complaint of protest	formal	Statement by NATO Foreign Ministers on Open Door Policy	"We call on Russia to reverse its recognition of the South Ossetia and Abkhazia regions of Georgia as independent states and to withdraw its forces from Georgia.	NATO (2015b)
13.02.2016	-3,4	Denounce; denigrate, abuse		Munich Security Conference 2016	"joint efforts are being hindered by artificial restrictions, much like NATO and the EU's refusing full cooperation with Russia , creating the image of an enemy,"	Lavrov (2016)
16.03.2016	-7,6	Armed mobilization, exercise, display; buildup	force military	Military Exercise by Russia	"The image that Russian official sources convey is that they're preparing for large-scale interstate war," said Johan Norberg of the Swedish Defense Research Agency. "This is not about peacekeeping or counterinsurgency."	Einhorn, Fairfield & Wallace, 2015
20.04.2016	1	Meet with; send note		Meeting in the NRC		NATO (2022b)
19.05.2016	-3,4	Denounce; denigrate, abuse		Statement by Russian Parliaments Chairman of defense committee on Montenegro joining NATO	"They are ready to admit even the North Pole to NATO just for the sake of encircling Russia. " "was and remains an adversary of Russia."	Erlanger (2015)
13.06.2016	1	Meet with; send note		Meeting in the NRC		NATO (2022b)
19.12.2016	1	Meet with; send note		Meeting in the NRC		NATO (2022b)
28.03.2017	1	Meet with; send note		Meeting in the NRC		NATO (2022b)

31.07.2017	-3,4	Denounce; denigrate, abuse	NATO SG Stoltenberg on planned Russian military exercise "Zapad 2017" in Belarus	"We have every reason to believe that it may be substantially more troops participating than the official reported numbers,"	Schmitt & Gordon (2017)
13.09.2017	-3,4	Denounce; denigrate, abuse	NATO SG Stoltenberg on Zapad 2017 military exercise	"“pattern of a more assertive Russia that is exercising more aggressively [...] is willing to use military force against its neighbors.” - Jens Stoltenberg NATO SG	Higgins (2017)
26.10.2017	1	Meet with; send note	Meeting in the NRC	"Ukraine, Afghanistan and transparency and risk reduction."	NATO (2022b)
31.05.2018	1	Meet with; send note	Meeting in the NRC at Ambassadorial level		NATO (2022b)
11.07.2018	-3,4	Denounce; denigrate, abuse	NATO statement on Ukraine	"strongly condemn Russia's illegal and illegitimate annexation of Crimea, which we do not and will not recognize."	Davis (2018)
31.10.2018	1	Meet with; send note	Meeting in the NRC	"including the situation in and around Ukraine; issues related to military activities , reciprocal transparency and risk reduction; Afghanistan; and hybrid challenges."	NATO (2022b)
31.10.2018	-2,2	Charge; criticize; blame; disapprove	Russian General on Trident Juncture exercise. It was the largest exercise since 1991	"Even if NATO says otherwise, Trident Juncture is really preparation for a large-scale armed conflict in regions bordering with the Russian Federation"	Cooper (2018)
04.12.2018	-6,9	Ultimatum; threat with negative sanction and time limit	US sets Deadline of 60 days for Russia to comply with INF Treaty	"if Russia does not come back into compliance by the deadline, the Trump administration will begin a formal, six-month process to end the treaty, Mr. Pompeo said. During those months, the United States will still not test or deploy missiles that would abrogate the pact, known as the I.N.F. Treaty, he said."	Erlanger & Harris (2018)
05.12.2018	-5,8	Threat with specific negative nonmilitary sanction	Putin threatens the US over leaving the INF Treaty. Both parties accuse the other party of violating the treaty.	"“First, the American side said that it intended to withdraw from the Intermediate-Range Nuclear Forces Treaty, and only then did it start looking for reasons they should do so, “We do not agree with the destruction of this deal [...]. But if this happens, we will react accordingly. ”"	MacFarquhar (2018), Kramer (2018a)
25.01.2019	-1,1	Deny an attributed policy, action, role or position	Meeting in the NRC	"Ukraine and the Intermediate-Range Nuclear Forces Treaty. “On both of these issues, Allies and Russia fundamentally disagree, but that is exactly why it is important to talk – to address concerns, "	NATO (2022b)

15.02.2019	-4	Turn down proposal, reject protest, demand, threat	NATO SG Stoltenberg on INF Treaty at Munich Security Conference	"So, Russia still has a window of opportunity to return to compliance. We call on Russia to take that opportunity. And to verifiably destroy its intermediate range missiles. The clock is ticking. We want Russia to return to compliance. But we are also preparing for a world without the INF Treaty."	Stoltenberg (2019b)
03.04.2019	-3	Give warning	NATO SG Stoltenberg addresses US Congress on threat by Russia	"a more assertive Russia"	Stoltenberg (2019a)
05.07.2019	1	Meet with; send note	Meeting in the NRC	"Allies and Russia hold fundamentally different views but we are committed to continuing our dialogue."	NATO (2022b)
04.09.2020	-3	Give warning	Statement by North Atlantic Council on the poisoning of Alex Navalny	"united in our call on Russia, as a matter of urgency, to be fully transparent and to bring those responsible to justice, bearing in mind Russia's commitments under the Chemical Weapons Convention. In this context, as part of a joint international response, Allies support the important role of the OPCW-UN and urge Russia to immediately disclose any information relevant for its work."	NATO (2020b)
06.10.2021	-5	Order person or personnel out of country	NATO expelled eight Russians over espionage charges	"NATO said on Oct. 6 it had expelled eight members of Russia's mission to the alliance who it said were "undeclared Russian intelligence officers"	Reuters (2021)
06.10.2021	-5	Order person or personnel out of country	NATO and Russia call their diplomats home"	"We can confirm that we have withdrawn the accreditation of eight members of the Russian Mission to NATO, who were undeclared Russian intelligence officers"	Sky News (2021)
18.10.2021	-4,9	Expel organization or group	"Russia would halt the activities of its diplomatic mission to NATO"	"Foreign Minister Sergei Lavrov also said staff at NATO's military mission in Moscow would be stripped of their accreditation from Nov. 1, and the alliance's information office in the Russian capital would be shuttered."	Reuters (2021)
07.01.2022	-7,6	Armed force mobilization, exercise, display; military buildup	Russian troop buildup around Ukraine	"Russia currently has about 100,000 troops on the Ukraine border, according to Ukrainian and Western officials. U.S. intelligence agencies have assessed that the Kremlin has drawn up plans for a military operation involving up to 175,000 troops that could begin in the coming weeks"	Schwartz & Reinhard (2022)
07.01.2022	-4	Refuse; oppose, refuse to allow	NATO refuses Russian Veto on new alliance membership	"NATO allies reaffirmed their refusal to accept Russian demands to stop further enlargement with countries that wished to join the alliance"	Schwartz & Reinhard (2022)

12.01.2022	1	Meet with; send note	Meeting in the NRC for the first time in the past two years	"But it is a positive sign that all NATO Allies and Russia sat down around the same table and engaged on substantive topics. After two years where such meetings were not possible to convene". - Jens Stoltenberg	NATO (2022a), NATO (2022b)
24.01.2022	-7,6	Armed force mobilization, exercise, display; military buildup	NATO stocks up troops as response to military buildup around Ukraine	"The NATO announcement on Monday [...] an offer by France to send troops to Romania under NATO command; Denmark sending F-16 jets to Lithuania; the Netherlands sending two F-35 jets to Bulgaria to help with air policing; and Spain sending a frigate to the Black Sea."	Schwartz & Erlanger (2022)
24.02.2022			Russia invaded Ukraine		
29.06.2022	-3,4	Denounce; denigrate, abuse	Russia cannot be considered a partner anymore	"In the Strategic Concept agreed at the Madrid Summit in June 2022, Allies agreed that while NATO cannot consider Russia to be a partner , the Alliance remains willing to keep open channels of communication with Moscow to manage and mitigate risks, prevent escalation and increase transparency."	NATO (2022d)