

Russian Security Cooperation Agreements Post-2014

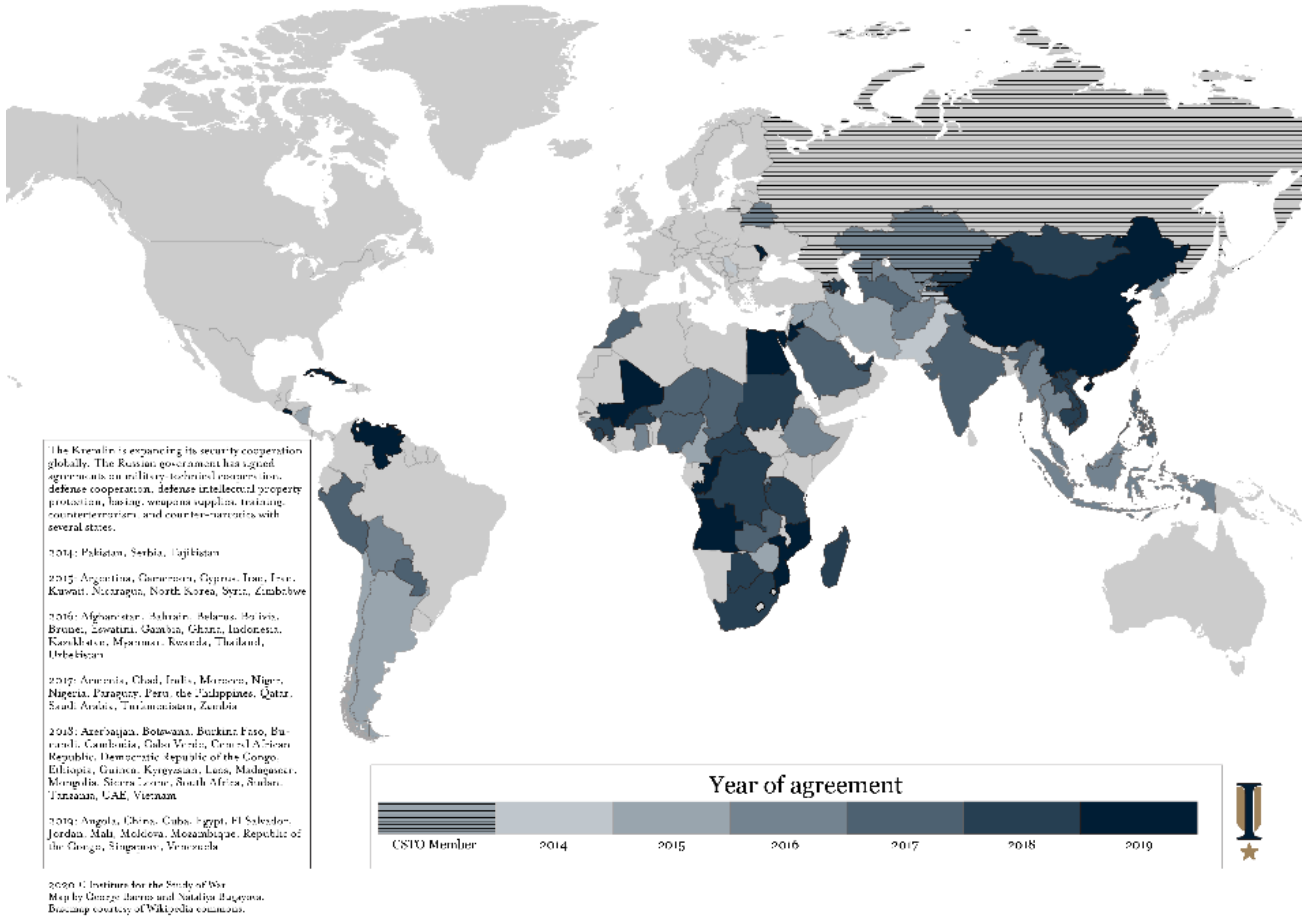
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This assessment and map are part of ISW's upcoming report on Putin's geopolitical thinking.

Key Takeaway: The COVID-19 crisis has impeded some of the Kremlin's efforts but has not changed its objectives, one of which is expanding Russia's power projection capabilities internationally. Russia's military footprint and basing opportunities are expanding but remain limited. Putin is thus using coalitions and partnerships to amplify Russia's security space - as ISW will analyze in its upcoming major report on Putin's geopolitical thinking.

The Kremlin has signed over 90 agreements with 73 different countries and international organizations since 2014 - ranging from basic memorandums of understanding (MoU) to comprehensive strategic partnerships. The Kremlin classifies many of these agreements as either "military cooperation," focused on joint training and educational exchanges, or "military-technical cooperation," focused on expanding arms sales and equipment maintenance.

Most of the Kremlin's agreements have limited substance and serve as non-binding calls to increase cooperation. Even basic agreements provide the Kremlin opportunities to participate in security conversations, cultivate global human networks, and develop potential avenues for future arms sales or the deployment of Russian personnel. The Kremlin has additionally signed numerous issue-specific agreements with individual countries. These security agreements focus on cooperation in counterterrorism, counter-narcotics, and anti-piracy operations, primarily as a stepping stone to an increased Russian presence and a way to engage other countries in the Kremlin's geopolitical agenda. These agreements also include joint intellectual property (IP) protection, port visitation rights that increase the Russian Navy's power projection capabilities, military deconfliction agreements, and cooperation between internal security services and civilian national security agencies. Finally, the Kremlin has signed several high-level strategic partnerships, primarily with states in the former Soviet Union.



The List of Agreements

The following chart of agreements includes all confirmed agreements the Kremlin has signed with other states since 2014. Prominent arms sales are also included. Only verifiably signed deals are included; agreements still under negotiation or agreements between sub-government entities are not included.

Asia

Country	Date	Cooperation Agreement
Afghanistan ¹	May 2016	Russia and Afghanistan sign a military-technical partnership agreement on counterterrorism and counter-narcotics cooperation. The Russian ambassador to Afghanistan claimed Afghanistan sent a first group of 49 Afghan cadets to study at Russian military universities in February 2016.
Armenia ²	October 2017	Russia and Armenia agree to create a joint military force.
	October 2019	Russia and Armenia sign an agreement to develop joint combat training, operational planning, and military education; they additionally agree to strengthen the 102nd Russian military base in Gyumri, Armenia.

Azerbaijan ³	August 2018	Russia and Azerbaijan sign the 2018 Convention on the Legal Status of the Caspian Sea along with Kazakhstan, Iran, and Turkmenistan. The agreement prevents Caspian states from opening their borders to third-party aggressors – such as NATO – or allowing any foreign military presence on Caspian waters.
Bahrain ⁴	September 2016	Russia and Bahrain sign a cooperation agreement on joint military exercises and anti-piracy efforts.
Brunei ⁵	April 2017	Russia and Brunei sign a bilateral understanding on military cooperation.
	April 2018	Russia and Brunei sign an agreement on protecting intellectual property in the framework of military-technical cooperation.
Cambodia ⁶	August 2018	Russia and Cambodia sign a military cooperation agreement.
China ⁷	June 2019	Russia and China make a joint statement on building strategic contacts between their defense departments and armed forces. The statement calls for deepening military-technical confidence and cooperation, conducting joint military exercises, improving cooperation mechanisms at all levels and areas, and increasing relations between the armed forces of the two states. Russia and China also agree to increase coordination in counterterrorism, counter-narcotics, and border security. The two countries launch an ongoing dialogue in July 2019 to negotiate an agreement to renew and expand their existing 1993 agreement on military cooperation.
Cyprus ⁸	February 2015	Russia and Cyprus sign a cooperation agreement simplifying procedures for warship port calls.
India ⁹	June 2017	Russia and India sign a military cooperation agreement.
	October 2018	Russia and India sign a \$5 billion air-defense deal.
	March 2019	India signs a \$3 billion contract for a 10-year lease on a Russian Akula-I class nuclear-powered attack submarine.
Indonesia ¹⁰	May 2016	Russia and Indonesia sign a cooperation agreement on joint training, exercises, officer exchanges, and technological cooperation.
Iran ¹¹	January 2015	Russia and the Islamic Revolutionary Guard Corps (IRGC) sign a cooperation agreement on exchanging delegations, staff meetings, joint observation of exercises, military training, counterterrorism cooperation, exchanging peacekeeping experience, and increasing the frequency of warship port calls.
	August 2018	Russia and Iran sign the 2018 Convention on the Legal Status of the Caspian Sea along with Azerbaijan, Kazakhstan, and Turkmenistan.
	July 2019	The Russian and Iranian navies sign a memorandum of understanding on expanding naval cooperation.
Iraq ¹²	July 2015	Russia and Iraq sign a memorandum of understanding on military-technical cooperation on counterterrorism.
Jordan ¹³	September	Russia and Jordan sign a memorandum of understanding on military-technical

	2019	cooperation.
Kazakhstan ¹⁴	February 2016	Russia and Kazakhstan ratify additions to their agreement on Russian use of the Sary-Shagan anti-ballistic missile testing range in Kazakhstan.
	August 2016	Russia and Kazakhstan sign a cooperation agreement defining new conditions for the use of the Balkhash Node missile attack early warning system, including its management under a Kazakh-Russian joint operation. The Kremlin likely prioritizes retaining Kazakhstan for its strategic missile forces.
	August 2018	Russia and Kazakhstan sign the 2018 Convention on the Legal Status of the Caspian Sea along with Azerbaijan, Iran, and Turkmenistan.
Kuwait ¹⁵	November 2015	Russia and Kuwait sign a memorandum of intent on weapon supplies.
Kyrgyzstan ¹⁶	January 2018	Russia and Kyrgyzstan sign an agreement on developing military-technical cooperation on weapons supplies.
	February 2018	Kyrgyzstan signs agreements with CIS and CSTO member states on developing military-technical cooperation programs on weapons supplies.
Laos ¹⁷	May 2018	Russia and Laos sign a military cooperation agreement creating a permanent Russian Ministry of Defense mission to Laos. This agreement facilitates Russia and Laos' first-ever joint military exercise in December 2019.
Mongolia ¹⁸	October 2018	Russia and Mongolia sign a military cooperation agreement on joint exercises and military education.
	September 2019	Russia and Mongolia sign a comprehensive strategic partnership on counterterrorism cooperation.
Myanmar ¹⁹	June 2016	Russia and Myanmar sign a military-technical cooperation agreement on military education and naval cooperation.
North Korea ²⁰	November 2015	Russia and North Korea sign a deconfliction agreement to prevent accidental military provocations near the Russia-North Korea border.
Pakistan ²¹	November 2014	Russia and Pakistan sign a cooperation agreement on joint naval exercises, military officer exchanges, arms supplies, and counter-narcotics and counterterrorism cooperation.
Philippines ²²	October 2017	Russia and the Philippines sign a military-technical cooperation agreement on weapon supplies and training.
Qatar ²³	October 2017	Russia and Qatar sign a cooperation agreement and memorandum of understanding on weapon supplies.
	February 2020	Russia and Qatar sign a memorandum of understanding promoting cooperation on counterterrorism and Middle East security issues.

Saudi Arabia ²⁴	October 2017	Russia and Saudi Arabia sign a memorandum of understanding to manufacture Russian military equipment in Saudi Arabia.
Singapore ²⁵	August 2019	Russia and Singapore sign a memorandum of cooperation on joint security and law enforcement.
Syria ²⁶	August 2015	Russia and Syria sign an agreement granting Russia free use of the Hmeimim airport for an unlimited time. The Kremlin uses this agreement to additionally station Russian air forces in Qamishli in October 2019.
	December 2016	Russia and Syria sign an agreement to lease the naval port of Tartus.
	January 2017	Russia and Syria sign an agreement expanding Tartus lease allowing the simultaneous presence of up to 11 Russian warships, including warships armed with nuclear weapons, free-of-charge in the Tartus port until 2066, with an option for Russia to extend the agreement until 2091.
Tajikistan ²⁷	July 2014	Russia and Tajikistan sign a joint military modernization program. Russia sends free weaponry to Tajikistan under this agreement, including arms and weaponry worth 320 million rubles (approximately \$5 million), in 2019.
Thailand ²⁸	May 2016	Russia and Thailand sign a military cooperation agreement on joint training and officer exchanges.
Turkmenistan ²⁹	October 2017	Russia and Turkmenistan sign a strategic partnership agreement.
	August 2018	Russia and Turkmenistan sign the 2018 Convention on the Legal Status of the Caspian Sea along with Azerbaijan, Kazakhstan, and Iran.
United Arab Emirates (UAE) ³⁰	June 2018	Russia and the UAE sign a declaration of strategic partnership on counterterrorism. The declaration calls for the creation of a broad international counterterrorism coalition based on respect for state sovereignty.
Uzbekistan ³¹	November 2016	Russia and Uzbekistan sign a treaty on developing military-technical cooperation on joint training and weapon supplies.
	October 2018	Russia and Uzbekistan sign a cooperation agreement on the shared use of military airspace.
Vietnam ³²	April 2018	Russia and Vietnam sign a military cooperation roadmap for the 2018-2020 period.
Association of Southeast Asian Nations (ASEAN) ³³	May 2016	Russia and ASEAN – including Brunei, Cambodia, Indonesia, Laos, Malaysia, Myanmar, Philippines, Singapore, Thailand, and Vietnam - sign a cooperation agreement to expand Russia's military-technical cooperation with ASEAN member states in the five-year period from 2016-2020.

South America

Country	Date	Cooperation Agreement
Argentina ³⁴	April 2015	Russia and Argentina sign a military cooperation agreement on weapon supplies and joint training.
	December 2017	Russia and Argentina sign a memorandum of understanding on constant consultation on strategic issues of mutual interest.
Bolivia ³⁵	September 2016	Russia and Bolivia sign a military-technical cooperation agreement.
Paraguay ³⁶	April 2017	Russia and Paraguay sign a military cooperation agreement on counterterrorism, military information sharing, joint training, exchanging peacekeeping experience, and increasing interaction in UN peacekeeping operations.
Peru ³⁷	January 2017	Russia and Peru sign a cooperation agreement on protecting secret information in the framework of their bilateral military-technical cooperation.
	December 2018	Helicentro Peru and the Peruvian Air Force's Maintenance Service sign a deal with the Russian Helicopters company to open a Russian helicopter repair center in Peru.
Venezuela ³⁸	March 2019	Russia and Venezuela open a helicopter pilot training center in Venezuela.
	August 2019	Russia and Venezuela signed an agreement simplifying the procedure for warship port calls.
	October 2019	Russia and Venezuela renew their previous military and military-technical cooperation agreements. The renewed agreements emphasize military advising services, likely aimed at enabling Russian military advisers to intensify their work in Venezuela.

North America

Country	Date	Cooperation Agreement
Cuba ³⁹	February 2019	Russia lends Cuba \$38 million to purchase Russian weaponry.
	October 2019	Russia and Cuba sign a memorandum of cooperation calling for consultations on Russian and Cuban strategic priorities, counterterrorism cooperation, and cooperation against transnational crime.
El Salvador ⁴⁰	May 2019	Russia and El Salvador sign a cooperation agreement on countering organized crime. The agreement provides a legal base for joint law enforcement action to counter terrorism, extremism, drug trafficking, illegal immigration, and crime in the information technology sphere.
Nicaragua ⁴¹	February	Russia and Nicaragua sign an agreement simplifying the procedure for warship

	2015	port calls.
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Africa

Country	Date	Cooperation Agreement
Botswana ⁴²	August 2018	Russia and Botswana sign a cooperation agreement on joint peacekeeping operations and joint military training.
Burkina Faso ⁴³	August 2018	Russia and Burkina Faso sign a cooperation agreement on counterterrorism cooperation and exchanging peacekeeping experience.
Burundi ⁴⁴	August 2018	Russia and Burundi sign a cooperation agreement on counterterrorism and joint training. Russia provides annual training support to members of the Burundian military and police.
Cabo Verde ⁴⁵	June 2018	Russia and Cabo Verde sign an agreement simplifying the procedure for warship port calls.
Cameroon ⁴⁶	April 2015	Russia and Cameroon sign a military-technical cooperation agreement.
Central African Republic (CAR) ⁴⁷	August 2018	Russia and the Central African Republic sign an agreement on joint training.
Chad ⁴⁸	August 2017	Russia and Chad sign a cooperation agreement on anti-terrorism cooperation and joint training exercises.
Democratic Republic of The Congo (DRC) ⁴⁹	July 2018	Russia and the Democratic Republic of the Congo sign a cooperation agreement. The agreement revitalized their previous military-technical cooperation agreement from 1999.
Republic of the Congo ⁵⁰	May 2019	Russia and the Republic of the Congo sign a military cooperation agreement for Russia to send military specialists to the Congo to service Russian military hardware. The agreement stipulates Russia will support the Congo with weapon supplies, maintenance, and technical training.
Egypt ⁵¹	October 2019	Russia and Egypt sign an agreement on strategic cooperation.
Eswatini (aka Swaziland) ⁵²	October 2016	Russia and Eswatini sign a cooperation agreement for weapons supplies, maintenance, and other military assistance.
Ethiopia ⁵³	April 2018	Russia and Ethiopia sign a cooperation agreement on joint training, peacekeeping, counterterrorism, and anti-piracy operations.
Gambia ⁵⁴	September 2016	Russia and Gambia sign a cooperation agreement.

Ghana ⁵⁵	June 2016	Russia and Ghana sign a military-technical cooperation agreement for weapon supplies and joint training.
Guinea ⁵⁶	April 2018	Russia and Guinea sign a cooperation agreement on peacekeeping, counterterrorism, and search and rescue operations at sea.
Libya (Khalifa Haftar's Libyan National Army, not recognized by the UN) ⁵⁷	Likely since 2017	Russia provides covert military support to Khalifa Haftar's LNA but has not signed any formal agreements. The Russian private military company Wagner likely deployed to east Libya via Egypt in 2017. Russia's negotiations with Haftar on opening a Russian military base in Libya have not been realized because Haftar's April 2019 offensive disrupted Russian plans. It is unclear if Russian basing goals for Libya remain viable.
Madagascar ⁵⁸	September 2018	Russia and Madagascar sign an agreement on joint information exchanges, training, counterterrorism, anti-piracy operations, and cooperation in UN peacekeeping missions.
Mali ⁵⁹	June 2019	Russia and Mali sign a cooperation agreement.
Morocco ⁶⁰	October 2017	Russia and Morocco sign an agreement on intellectual property protection in the framework of bilateral military-technical cooperation.
Mozambique ⁶¹	August 2019	Russia and Mozambique sign an agreement on the mutual protection of classified information.
Niger ⁶²	August 2017	Russia and Niger sign a military-technical cooperation agreement for weapon supplies, training, and counterterrorism experience exchanges.
Nigeria ⁶³	August 2017	Russia and Nigeria sign a cooperation agreement on military training, peacekeeping, counterterrorism, and anti-piracy operations.
	October 2019	Russia and Nigeria sign a contract for 12 Mi-35 attack helicopters to fight the Boko Haram terrorist group.
Rwanda ⁶⁴	October 2016	Russia and Rwanda sign a military-technical cooperation agreement for weapon supplies, military specialist exchanges, joint training, joint development and production of military equipment, and other military-technical assistance.
Sierra Leone ⁶⁵	August 2018	Russia and Sierra Leone sign a military-technical cooperation agreement for weapon supplies, military equipment, and other military-technical assistance.
South Africa ⁶⁶	July 2018	Russia and South Africa sign a joint declaration on strategic partnership and call for greater cooperation on counterterrorism and counter weapon-of-mass-destruction proliferation.
Sudan ⁶⁷	February 2018	Russia and Sudan sign an agreement on joint information exchange, training, counterterrorism, anti-piracy operations, and UN peacekeeping missions.
Tanzania ⁶⁸	January 2018	Russia and Tanzania sign an agreement on arms shipments, joint training, and military research and development.

Zambia ⁶⁹	April 2017	Russia and Zambia sign an agreement on supplying weapons and spare parts.
Zimbabwe ⁷⁰	October 2015	Russia and Zimbabwe sign an agreement on supplying weapons and joint military production.

Europe

Country	Date	Cooperation Agreement
Belarus ⁷¹	November 2016	Russia and Belarus sign an agreement on joint technical support for Russian troops in Belarus.
Moldova ⁷²	November 2019	The Russian and Moldovan Security Councils sign a cooperation plan. This agreement is a component of Russia's effort to regain control over Moldova's security structures.
Serbia ⁷³	October 2014	Russia and Serbia sign a military-technical cooperation agreement
	October 2015	Russia and Serbia sign a follow-up military-technical cooperation agreement and an agreement on the mutual protection of classified information.

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