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RUSSIA'S MILITARY POSTURE:

GROUND FORCES ORDER OF BATTLE



Catherine Harris and Frederick W. Kagan

ISW
INSTITUTE FOR THE STUDY OF WAR

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Cover: A soldier in one of the Russian tanks approaching the Russian border holds their national flag as they drive through the northern part of breakaway South Ossetia August 24, 2008. REUTERS/Denis Sinyakov (GEORGIA)

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ABOUT THE INSTITUTE

ISW is a non-partisan, non-profit, public policy research organization. ISW advances an informed understanding of military affairs through reliable research, trusted analysis, and innovative education. ISW is committed to improving the nation's ability to execute military operations and respond to emerging threats in order to achieve U.S. strategic objectives.

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METHODOLOGY

This order of battle reflects the intended structure and disposition of the Russian ground forces discernible from the open source at the time of publication. The Kremlin is in the midst of restructuring some of its forces. Some of these units are likely in an ongoing transition phase from a former unit name and echelon to the unit name and echelon depicted in this order of battle. The authors developed this order of battle by using open source intelligence to confirm the existence and locations of the Russian conventional ground force units. The authors focused research and analysis on all combat units at the regiment-level echelon and larger, with the exception of a few significant battalion-level units. The authors conducted extensive research to confirm the existence of all maneuver units using Russian and Ukrainian media, individual social media accounts, and crowdsourcing platforms. All maneuver units are multi-sourced from open source data. This order of battle does not include all combat support and combat service units in the Russian ground forces. Some of the combat support and combat service support units in this order of battle do not have multiple sources. These units are single-sourced from *Milkavkaz.com*. This order of battle does not include complete data on the Russian Aerospace Forces, elite Airborne Troops, Special Forces (SPETSNAZ), Russian Navy, Strategic Rocket Forces, or the National Guard of the Russian Federation.

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ABOUT OUR TECHNOLOGY PARTNERS

ISW-CTP believes superior strategic insight derives from a fusion of traditional social science research and innovative technological methods. ISW and CTP recognizes that the analyst of the future must be able to process a wide variety of information, ranging from personal interviews and historical artifacts to high volume structured data. ISW and CTP thank its technology partner, Praescient Analytics, for their support in this innovative endeavor. In particular, their technology and implementation assistance has supported creating many maps and graphics.

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RUSSIA'S MILITARY POSTURE:
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EXECUTIVE SUMMARY

U.S. leaders and their European allies are unprepared for the ways in which Putin is poised to wage war in Ukraine and the Baltic. The Russian military is well-positioned to launch a conventional war in Ukraine and a hybrid war in the Baltic States, the opposite of what Western leaders seem to be expecting in each theater.

Western leaders are right to be concerned with the threat of a Russian conventional invasion in the Baltic region. Yet the Russian Armed Forces are much better postured for rapid mechanized intervention in Ukraine. Putin has positioned Russia's ground forces around Ukraine in ways which would enable him to accelerate a conventional maneuver war from the north and east with speed, if he desired. Their presence and capability also support Putin's efforts to coerce and cajole Kyiv.

Western leaders are also right to focus on the hybrid warfare tactics the Kremlin has used in Ukraine in the past, including the use of soldiers out of uniform, disinformation campaigns, and the infiltration and commandeering of vigilante groups. The Baltic States, however, are vulnerable to these same tactics. Their vulnerabilities include a disaffected Russian minority, Russia's ever-present cyber and information operations, and domestic law enforcement and intelligence apparatuses unprepared for large-scale destabilization.

U.S. leaders and American partners in Europe should re-evaluate Putin's current military positioning and the weaknesses in Ukraine and the Baltic region that leave these states vulnerable to various forms of attack. They must reconsider what military and non-military tools are required to defend NATO allies and Ukraine against potential Russian aggression in the likeliest forms it could take. Western leaders must then compose an approach to confront the multifarious threats Russia poses in Europe.

KEY FACTS:

- The Kremlin has re-established multiple division headquarters along the Russia-Ukraine border but has not restored any near the Baltics
- There are three mechanized divisions near the Ukrainian border compared to just one airborne division near the Baltic, which would not be optimal for large-scale mechanized offensives
- The Kremlin has deployed ground forces in pairs of regiments co-located under division headquarters along separate-but-converging lines of advance with well-secured rear areas, all within 50 miles of the Ukrainian border
- Soviet and Russian maneuver warfare doctrine supports the pattern of deployments along the Ukrainian border, but not along the Baltic States' borders, for the conduct of rapid, large-scale mechanized operations
- Russian military leadership, practice, and ad hoc deployment along the Baltic borders all suggest Putin is much more likely to pursue a hybrid approach in the Baltic over a conventional mechanized invasion, but is readier to conduct a conventional invasion of Ukraine

INTRODUCTION

U.S. leaders and their European allies are unprepared for the ways in which Putin is poised to wage war in Ukraine and the Baltic. The Russian military is well-positioned to launch a short-notice conventional war in Ukraine and a hybrid war in the Baltic States, the opposite of what Western leaders seem to expect in each theater. NATO leaders increasingly warn of the threat of a conventional invasion of the Baltic States (or even Western Europe).[1] But Russian ground forces are not deployed or organized to initiate a short-notice conventional war in that region. They have, however, redeployed and reorganized since 2014 in a way that would support a rapid mechanized invasion of Ukraine from both north and east, while remaining well-prepared to conduct a hybrid warfare intervention in the Baltics similar to what they did in Ukraine after the Maidan Revolution. The United States and its partners should re-evaluate the most likely Russian courses of action and reconsider the mix of military and non-military tools required to defend NATO allies and Ukraine from potential Russian aggression.

The current Western discourse about Russia's conventional threat to NATO fails to consider the perspective of Russian military planners and the broader Russian context. Several factors shape current Russian military thought. Both President Vladimir Putin and Chief of the Russian General Staff Valeriy Gerasimov prefer to use hybrid warfare rather than conventional invasion to accomplish their aims because of the lower cost and lower risk of escalation hybrid warfare offers. Gerasimov published a well-known article in 2013 laying out this preference and approach, which the Russian military has practiced repeatedly since 2008.[2] The ostensible justification for Russian intervention, moreover, is the mistreatment of Russian co-nationals in former Soviet states—a justification that lends itself much more naturally to pseudo-insurgency and hybrid intervention than to direct invasion. Russia remains at war with Ukraine, finally, and its military posture shows how central that fact is to its leadership. Approaching the examination of Russian intentions from this framework casts doubt on the likelihood of a short-notice conventional invasion of the Baltics in the short term, but instead highlights a number of worrisome threats and trends for which NATO is not adequately preparing.

Russia remains at war with Ukraine since it illegally annexed Crimea and launched a hybrid-war campaign to gain control of Eastern Ukraine in 2014. Russia conducted an unconventional operation to seize and secure the strategic peninsula of Crimea. This operation was a reaction to the unexpected collapse of the government of Russian puppet Viktor Yanukovych and the sudden exposure of the Russian naval base at Sevastopol to a pro-Western Ukrainian government.[3] Putin then deployed a combination of conventional forces and special operators to Eastern Ukraine, having secured Crimea, to undo the results of the Maidan Revolution by means short of full-scale conventional war. This effort proved only partially successful. Russian proxies control a portion of eastern Ukraine. The Ukrainian government in Kyiv remains weak and vulnerable, but is still in the hands of Ukrainians fighting to preserve their independence from Moscow. This ongoing war looms large in the eyes of the senior Russian military leadership. Russia's interests in Ukraine cannot be excluded from consideration in discussions about possible Russian threats to the Baltic States or the rest of NATO.

The deployment and organization of the Russian ground forces presented in this order of battle offers insight into how the General Staff is actually thinking about and preparing for future war. The Soviet and Russian militaries have historically placed great theoretical emphasis on the problems of properly deploying and organizing forces before a conflict. Soviet military literature on the "initial period of war" is extensive, as is the Soviet corpus of writing about correct organization of forces.[4] Gerasimov was a tank officer by background and a graduate of the Armed Forces General Staff Military Academy (formerly the Frunze General Staff Academy).[5] It is inconceivable that he did not have these theories and concerns drilled into him at an early age and throughout his career. He has been Chief of the General Staff since 2012, and has thus overseen all the reorganization and redeployment that has occurred since that time. Those changes, therefore, offer meaningful indications of Gerasimov's views of the nature of the current and future wars Russia might have to fight.

The Russian Armed Forces is attempting to transform itself into a capable military force optimized for large-scale combat as well as hybrid warfare. Russian officers are learning from experiences in Ukraine. They are cultivating the ability to subsume irregular proxy forces into Russian command-and-control structures in order to augment the strength and impact of the Russian Armed Forces.[6] Russia is testing new asymmetric capabilities on the Ukrainian battlefield and in Syria and subsequently incorporating them into conventional force structures.[7] The Kremlin is simultaneously undertaking a significant effort to reconfigure the Russian Armed Forces to improve management and coordination of forces during wartime. Russia recently resurrected division and corps echelons in the ground forces organizational structure in an effort to relieve Russian commanders of overwhelming responsibilities on a large-scale and fast-paced battlefield. This change likely indicates that Russia identified problems with the previous structure while commanding-and-controlling forces in Ukraine and is implementing improvements accordingly.[8]

Russia is testing new asymmetric capabilities on the Ukrainian battlefield and in Syria and subsequently incorporating them into conventional force structures.

Gerasimov and Defense Minister Sergei Shoigu are reversing a series of reforms that had reduced Russia's ability to conduct large scale warfare (either hybrid or conventional) in order to save money. Russia inherited an unsustainable Soviet military structure that manifested in the Russian Armed Forces poor performance in the 2008 invasion of Georgia. The Kremlin deployed a combination of elite airborne troops and conventional ground, air, and naval forces across the Russo-Georgian border to prevent Georgian integration with the West.[9] Russia subsequently occupied South Ossetia and Abkhazia.[10] These operations demonstrated significant failures that included command-and-control mistakes and logistical catastrophes that served as the basis for a large-scale reform initiative.[11] The 2008 global economic downturn also began to pressure the Russian economy, fueling a desire for cost-savings through reform of the bloated and inefficient Soviet-era military structure.

Russian Defense Minister Anatoly Serdyukov introduced comprehensive military reforms during his 2008-2012 tenure to address both the weaknesses evident in the Georgian war and the financial challenges. The Serdyukov reforms sought to transform the massive Soviet-legacy military organization into an agile, combat-ready force able to mobilize quickly and deploy expeditionary forces.[12] Serdyukov set out to decrease the size of the Russian Armed Forces from 1.3 million to 1 million by 2016 and reduce the officer cadre in order to decrease personnel expenses.[13] He centralized the six preexisting strategic commands into four joint strategic commands: the Western, Southern, Central, and Eastern Military Districts.[14] He flattened the military hierarchy by

eliminating almost all division echelons in the command structure.[I] He then rearranged Russian combat forces into brigade-level units reporting directly to an Army commander for the most part.[15] The Serdyukov Defense Ministry prioritized the increase in the number of separate brigades to function as the primary tactical units.[16] These units were organically equipped with sufficient combat support and combat service support elements to operate in combat without a higher echelon coordinating support.

Headquarters play a vital and under-appreciated role in the conduct of military operations. Often portrayed as useless "tail" taking money away from valuable "tooth" in Western militaries, headquarters can actually be the difference between effective military operations and ugly defeats. A given military commander can only effectively control between three and five direct subordinates as a general rule.[17] Outstanding commanders in history (like Napoleon Bonaparte) have controlled more, but not always successfully (as his failed invasion of Russia demonstrated). The Serdyukov reforms placed many more brigades directly under the control of army and military district commanders than they could have hoped to handle in combat. The elimination of intervening division and corps headquarters saved money, but at the cost of depriving the Russian ground forces of the ability to command and control large-scale operations.

The Russian military establishment resisted and criticized the Serdyukov reforms, providing support for the efforts by Shoigu and Gerasimov to undo them[II].[18] The Shoigu-Gerasimov reforms have restored the division headquarters in many areas, re-establishing in principle the ability to conduct major military operations.[19] The specific locations at which these headquarters were re-established provide insight into the nature of the war the Russian military thought it would most likely have to conduct. Unsurprisingly, divisions re-emerged on the Russia-Ukraine border as the war with Ukraine has continued.[20] It is noteworthy, on the other hand, that no ground forces division headquarters was established in the near vicinity of the Baltics. It is very easy to over-read this fact, of course, since the 76th Airborne Division headquarters remains at Pskov. The posture of the mechanized forces on the Baltic periphery, nevertheless, contrasts sharply with that of those deployed along the Ukrainian border and deserves serious consideration.

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An order of battle can only provide by itself insight into the general concepts and intentions of a military. The information and analysis presented below make no effort to determine the actual size of any of the units in the Russian military, either in personnel or equipment. Even knowing those sizes, moreover, would provide limited insight into the actual combat power of the forces, since combat power depends on many factors not discernible from such data. This report, therefore, makes no effort to evaluate the actual scale of the conventional or hybrid threat the Russian Armed Forces pose to their neighbors. It highlights only the fact that decisions about the disposition and organization of combat forces, especially ground forces, are taken consciously and carefully in all militaries, but especially in the Russian military, and should inform our assessments of the likely intentions of the Russian high command more than they appear thus far to have done.

I Serdyukov preserved the 18th Machine Gun Artillery Division in the Eastern Military District.

II Commander of the elite Russian Airborne Troops (VDV) Lieutenant-General Vladimir Shamanov refused to implement the Serdyukov reforms and preserved the division-regiment structure in the VDV.

["VDV: not to reduce but to strengthen"] Interfax. May 27, 2009. http://www.interfax.ru/russia/81948; McDermott, Roger. "Russia's Airborne Forces Await Fresh Reform." Jamestown Foundation. May 8, 2012. https://jamestown.org/program/russias-airborne-forces-await-fresh-reform/

FORCE POSTURE

Russia's Western Military District (WMD) is responsible for confronting NATO and maintaining Russian influence in former Soviet space, with a particular focus on Ukraine and protecting the Russian exclave of Kaliningrad between Poland and Lithuania. The WMD has the most combat units of any military district. It includes the 1st Guards Tank Army and the 20th and 6th Combined-Arms Armies concentrated near Moscow, Saint Petersburg, and the Ukrainian and Belarusian borders respectively. The WMD also commands the Russian ground forces in Transnistria, Moldova ostensibly performing a peace-keeping mission.[21] The Kremlin leverages this small force to sustain Russian influence in Moldova and threaten the southwestern border of Ukraine. The Kremlin also maintains significant military power in Kaliningrad. Russia recently deployed strategic air and sea weapons platforms to the exclave.[22] It aims to maintain sufficient ground forces to defend Kaliningrad in the event of a large-scale war in the European theater and to pose a threat to Lithuania or Poland.

The 20th Combined-Arms Army and its subordinate divisions are likely responsible for supporting Russia's efforts in Ukraine and Belarus. The headquarters of this army moved in 2015 from Nizhny Novgorod (over 480 miles from the nearest border) to Voronezh, roughly 120 miles from Ukraine.[23] This move was likely intended to facilitate logistical and combat support for Russia's ongoing invasion of Eastern Ukraine. The army controls two divisions. The 3rd Motorized Rifle Division is headquartered with one regiment at Boguchar, about 45 miles from the eastern Ukrainian border, and commands two other regiments at Valuiki, fewer than 20 miles from Ukraine. The 144th Motorized Rifle Division generally faces Belarus, with its headquarters and one regiment at Yelnya, about 60 miles from the Belarusian border, and two regiments at Klintsy, less than 30 miles from Ukraine. The 20th Combined-Arms Army thus controls six combat regiments within a short drive of Ukraine on axes that could lead rapidly toward Kyiv, Kharkiv, and into Luhansk. The Kremlin could also deploy two mechanized infantry battalions located in Transnistria, Moldova to attack Odessa, Ukraine from the northwest. The four regiments of the 150th Motorized Rifle Division of the 8th Combined-Arms Army at Rostov in the Southern Military District are also 20-30 miles from the Ukrainian border and could readily support still another axis of advance along the northern coast of the Sea of Azov. The separate reconnaissance brigade under the 22nd Corps in Crimea could also push north into central Ukraine to support. These forces together pose a significant conventional threat to Ukraine, disposed under multiple operational-level headquarters that could plan and conduct simultaneous mechanized thrusts along several axes. Such an attack would accord well with Soviet operational art, which emphasizes the imperative of presenting the enemy with multiple dilemmas simultaneously and in sequence.[24]

The Russian ground forces disposition near the Baltics suggests no such intent to conduct large-scale conventional mechanized operations. The General Staff did not resurrect any division formations in the 6th Combined-Arms Army during the counter-reform effort, although one division headquarters—the 76th Guards Air Assault Division—was never dissolved and remains in Pskov (about 20 miles from Estonia) with its three airborne regiments. The 6th Army includes two separate motorized rifle brigades, one at Luga (about 70 miles from Estonia) and the other at Kamenka (north of St. Petersburg and around 140 miles from Estonia). The Kaliningrad exclave has one motorized rifle regiment, one motorized rifle brigade, and a naval infantry brigade with a corps headquarters about 50 miles from the Lithuanian border.

Russian Armed Forces Deployed Around Ukraine





Key

- Russian Western Military District
- Russian Southern Military District
- Russian-Pro-Russian Separatist

BSF=Black Sea Fleet

The Russian Armed Forces clearly could concentrate significant combat power against the Baltic States if they chose to, but their forces are not currently well-arrayed for a major short-notice conventional attack. Current dispositions put three motorized rifle brigades, one motorized regiment, and three airborne regiments within close proximity to the Baltic States. These forces could attack along three axes (via northern Estonia, from Pskov toward Latvia or to the north, and from Kaliningrad into Lithuania) if the objective were the reconquest of all three Baltic states at once. Such an attack would leave the Kaliningrad exclave defended only by a naval infantry brigade and expose the two units attacking Lithuania to counter-attacks from their flanks and rear or isolation from their base. The large amount of strategically-important equipment in Kaliningrad makes it very unlikely that the General Staff would risk losing the exclave in this fashion. The command arrangements would leave the maneuver of two separate motorized rifle brigades under the direct control of the 6th Army, the maneuver of one motorized regiment and one motor rifle brigade under the control of the 11th Corps in Kaliningrad—while the 76th Air Assault Division falls under the separate command of the Air Assault Forces—a service distinct from the ground forces.[25] The 1st Tank Army near Moscow and elements of the 144th Motorized Rifle Division from the 20th Combined-Arms Army could certainly reinforce, but the command arrangements would be quite muddled—combat elements from as many as three armies and one separate corps could be operating in the area of responsibility of the 6th Combined-Arms Army. The movement of reinforcements from elsewhere in the Western Military District, moreover, would take time, giving NATO advanced warning of what might be coming[III].

The Russian Armed Forces could, therefore, conduct a conventional attack on the Baltics, but their posture suggests they are pursuing a hybrid approach. The ground forces deployments around the periphery of Ukraine give an indication of what preparations for a short-notice mechanized invasion might look like—pairs of regiments co-located under distinct headquarters along separate but converging lines of advance with well-secured rear-areas, all within 50 miles of the border. This disposition looks nothing like the ad hockery that would be required for a mechanized invasion of the Baltic States. The air assault division, separate motorized rifle brigades, and heavy SPETSNAZ presence near the Baltics, however, offers a much more suitable platform for hybrid warfare.[26] The initial operations in Ukraine were undertaken by SPETSNAZ and air assault forces, supplemented only later by regular motorized rifle units and tank units, and those sparingly.[27] The separate brigade near the Estonian border has a robust combat service support structure that would allow it to parcel out its troops and support them individually much better than a regiment functioning as part of a division would be able to do.[28] The absence of mechanized division headquarters, moreover, suggests that the General Staff is not contemplating a complex multi-axis conventional advance, which the 76th Air Assault Division headquarters would likely be unsuited to command-and-control.[IV] That division would be well-suited to oversee a hybrid campaign, however, coordinated with the 6th Combined-Arms Army headquarters just outside of St. Petersburg. For all these reasons, the disposition and organization of Russian ground forces in the Western Military District strongly suggest that the General Staff is thinking about possible conventional warfare in Ukraine, presumably if its hybrid warfare approach

III A major study produced by the RAND Corporation in 2016 played out a variation of this scenario, positing an agglomeration of individual battalions from many brigades across the Western Military District in a few weeks to stage a conventional mechanized attack on the Baltics. The command arrangements involved in any such undertaking would be breathtakingly contorted and in violation of all kinds of basic maneuver warfare principles of Russian and Soviet operational art. The General Staff may think of undertaking this approach, but it is very unlikely.

Shlapak, David A. and Johnson, Michael. "Reinforcing Deterrence on NATO's Eastern Flank." RAND Corporation. 2016. https://www.rand.org/pubs/research_reports/RR1253.html

IV A light infantry division generally prepares and trains for a different kind of operation from that on which a mechanized force focuses. Mechanized units generally think in terms of faster movement over greater distances than do light infantry, and also consider the problems of coordinating all arms (armor, infantry, and artillery) more comprehensively than forces (like airborne troops) that have limited amounts of armor. The 76th could be an exceptional formation with a staff committed to thinking through and preparing for the task of commanding-and-controlling large-scale mechanized warfare, but there is no evidence to suggest that it is—whereas it and its subordinate units have performed well in the traditional tasks and kind of combat for which an airborne unit is well-suited.

fails or it becomes necessary to accelerate Ukraine's defeat, and hybrid war in the Baltics.

Russia's Southern Military District (SMD) is likely responsible for supporting the ongoing war in Ukraine, intimidating Georgia and possibly Turkey, and containing instability in the Caucasus. The Southern Military District plays an important role in Russia's operations in Ukraine. It would likely share with the Western Military District responsibility for defeating Ukrainian forces in the event of significant escalation, as we have seen. The Russian Defense Ministry announced the creation of the 8th Combined-Arms Army in spring 2017 and established its headquarters in Rostov Oblast less than 70 miles from the Ukraine border.[29] The new army is configured to engage in conventional combat operations. It controls one separate motorized rifle brigade and the 150th Motorized Rifle Division with four combat-experienced regiments beneath it (two motorized rifle and two tank). The separate motorized rifle brigade is deployed well to the rear in Volgograd. The SMD commander is also responsible for integrating Russian forces with military proxies in South Ossetia and Abkhazia to expand the reach of the Russian military and sustain sufficient influence over Georgia. The SMD retains a significant presence in the historically unstable North Caucasus region, with two combined-arms armies (the 49th near Stavropol and the 58th in Vladikavkaz). The 49th Combined-Arms Army consists of two motorized rifle brigades and a separate SPETSNAZ regiment in the North Caucasus, which could swing west toward Crimea, northwest toward Rostov and eastern Ukraine, or south into the Caucasus as required. The 58th Combined-Arms Army controls the 42nd Motorized Rifle Division whose three regiments are deployed in ever-problematic Chechnya, as well as separate motorized rifle brigades in Vladikavkaz and Dagestan. The Kremlin announced in February 2018 plans to reform these separate motorized brigades into divisions throughout the year.[30] The 58th Army also oversees Russia's military base in the disputed territory of South Ossetia whose leadership commands a separate reconnaissance brigade in Russia's North Ossetia. The 58th Army's mission is most likely to threaten Georgia, support operations against Islamist insurgents throughout the region, and provide a rapid and crushing response to any new outbreak of rebellion. These two armies together, however, currently put nine regiments/brigades in or near the Caucasus—a force strong enough to daunt and possibly attack Georgia or Azerbaijan, or even Turkey if they were concentrated. They could be used in particular to deter hostile action against Russia's ally, Armenia, where a Russian airbase operates with little ground forces cover[V].

The initial operations in Ukraine were undertaken by SPETSNAZ and air assault forces, supplemented only later by regular motorized rifle units and tank units, and those sparingly.

The Central Military District (CMD) projects power into Central Asia and protects vital military industrial facilities. It is comprised of two Combined-Arms Armies, the 2nd and the 41st, positioned along the Kazakh border and near the tri-border area of Kazakhstan, China, and Mongolia, respectively. The 41st Combined-Arms Army controls the recently-resurrected 90th Guards Tank Division in Chebarkul, Chelyabinsk Oblast. This division likely serves to protect critical military infrastructure including underground nuclear facilities reported to exist in the Ural Mountains.[31] The 41st Army also commands maneuver regiments stationed in Tajikistan. The Kremlin disposed one of these regiments near the Afghanistan-Tajikistan border likely in response to increasing concerns of Central Asian militants crossing the border and threatening Russian domestic security. The Central

V Russia's 102nd base in Armenia contains three motor rifle battalions and a tank battalion.

["Southern Military District."]. Milkavkaz. June 6, 2017. http://milkavkaz.com/index.php/voorujonnie-cili-racii/vo-cv/u-vo

Military District can also supply reinforcements to the Eastern or the Western Military Districts in the event of a major war in either of these theaters, although the distances are daunting (a thousand miles to the eastern border of Ukraine and 1,200 miles to China). The Kremlin is engaged in an ongoing effort to build out infrastructure and transportation networks within the CMD to fulfill this requirement.[32]

The Eastern Military District (EMD) is responsible for protecting Russian security interests along its Chinese and Korean borders in addition to supporting Russian claims to disputed islands in the Pacific Ocean. The Eastern Military District commander oversees four combined-arms armies. Their deployment suggests that the Kremlin identifies the area near the Korean peninsula and Vladivostok as the Asian theater in which it must be prepared to fight a significant conventional war in the near term. The 5th Combined-Arms Army in Ussuriysk, Primorsky Krai, approximately 155 miles away from the Russia-North Korea 10 mile land border, commands four separate motor rifle brigades out of the nine total mechanized brigades in the military district. This army surely also has the responsibility of defending Vladivostok, by far the most important city in Russia's far east, against any possible Chinese attack (although its four brigades stand little chance on their own of stopping the People's Liberation Army). The other combined-arms armies in this district command at most two separate motor rifle brigades each. None is strong enough to withstand a Chinese attack in force or, in all likelihood, even to mount a meaningful counter-offensive to disrupt a Chinese attack on any of the others. The concentration of forces near Vladivostok places them in a salient exposed to isolation by a Chinese thrust toward the Pacific. It does not appear that the General Staff is seriously considering or preparing for a land war with China (with good reason). The Kremlin is instead managing the Chinese threat by equipping all the missile brigades in the Eastern Military District with nuclear-capable Iskander medium range ballistic missiles.[33] The Kremlin also placed the 68th Corps on the Sakhalin Islands to reinforce its claim to the territory amid ongoing territorial disputes with Japan.[34]

The Northern Fleet/Arctic District reflects Russia's ambitions to build out and militarize the Arctic region in the long-term. The Russian MoD created this joint strategic command in 2014 and tasked it with protecting Russian interests in the Arctic region.[35] The two separate motor rifle brigades under the 14th Corps constitute the primary striking force. The Kremlin retains few conventional ground forces in the Arctic. The Kremlin will likely position these forces to protect key infrastructure such as the joint Chinese-Russian Ice Silk Road project aimed at developing the Northern Sea Route as a shipping route.[36] Russia will likely continue to increase the number of ground forces in the Arctic region as such projects progress in the future.

RECOMMENDATIONS

U.S. policymakers must recognize that the Kremlin will not likely deploy conventional forces as its initial form of aggression in the Baltics. It will rather employ a combination of subversive tactics before it accepts the full costs associated with conventional combat. Russia demonstrated this timing and phasing during the initial irregular invasion of Eastern Ukraine and subsequent deployment of ground units to combat. The flurry of concern over the possibility of a Russian invasion of the Baltics launched by the 2016 RAND study generated a positive initial response—the stationing of mechanized battalions in the Baltic States. But the flurry is reaching a crescendo that threatens to drown out consideration of more likely and more dangerous Russian courses of action that additional conventional deployments in the Baltics would not adequately address.

Gerasimov's writings, Russian practice, and the deployment of Russian forces along the Baltic borders all suggest that Moscow is much more likely to pursue a hybrid-war approach than to launch a conventional mechanized invasion. The Ukraine playbook is available for all to see—Russian propaganda and agents play on disaffected Russian minorities sufficiently to cause unrest; "little green men" out of uniform but drawn from the SPETSNAZ and airborne forces show up in small numbers but with high-end equipment and skills; "volunteers" who are actually drawn from combat units blend into local "insurgent" and vigilante groups, turning them into militias more or less under Moscow's control; and only at the end, if needed, small numbers of mechanized troops enter to "defend" the "oppressed" Russian minority.

Putin and the General Staff are working hard to create options in all forms of warfare, while continuing to demonstrate a preference for low-cost approaches.

U.S. and NATO mechanized battalions will be insufficient to defend the Baltics against the hybrid threat. The Baltic States must focus, rather, on addressing the disaffection among their Russian minority, observing and countering Russian cyber and information operations, strengthening their domestic intelligence and law enforcement apparatus, preparing crowd-control and gendarme capabilities, and various other things needed to recognize the earliest signs of an escalation in Russia's hybrid war and divert or defuse it before it can destabilize the state. The increasing fixation on defending against a conventional invasion is more likely to obstruct than to assist with this effort because it reinforces a natural tendency in any state to want to see the threat as external rather than internal. The measures that would be required to defuse tensions within ethnic Russian minorities would also be politically unpopular in the Baltic States, so displacing the threat to Russian mechanized forces strengthens the arguments for refusing to undertake them.

The focus on a possible conventional invasion of the Baltics, moreover, may blind us to the risks of a conventional invasion of Ukraine and a hybrid invasion of the Baltics. Whereas all the talk about the threat to the Baltics has come to turn on conventional threats, discussions of Ukraine focus on the hybrid threat. Yet the Russian ground forces are well-positioned to conduct a very short-notice mechanized assault on Ukraine against which Kyiv's military likely stands little chance—particularly if the conventional invasion were accompanied by an escalation in the hybrid war in Ukraine's east, a distraction from the direction of Moldova, and Russian-fueled political unrest in Kyiv

itself. The U.S., NATO, and Kyiv must take this conventional threat seriously, yet none of the public discussions about the assistance Ukraine might need have addressed it.

Russian offensive conventional military operations remain unlikely in the near- to mid-term, nevertheless. Russia is a poor country—its economy is roughly the size of Italy's on a bigger population and a vast territory—and conventional warfare is exceedingly expensive. That is why Putin has opted for hybrid warfare whenever possible—it is the manner of fighting best suited to the brilliant poor.

The West would be foolish to over-focus on any one form of possible future war with Russia. Putin and the General Staff are working hard to create options in all forms of warfare, while continuing to demonstrate a preference for low-cost approaches. Over-investing in conventional deterrence and defense can lead to ignoring hybrid threats that could achieve equally devastating effects. Ignoring the conventional threat, on the other hand, could leave U.S. allies and partners open to rapid decisive thrusts. The U.S. and NATO must compose themselves to a balanced approach to dealing with the multifarious threats posed by Moscow and avoid the oscillations between confidence and fear that have hitherto characterized the discussion of Russian military power.

APPENDIX A

Western Military District

General-Colonel Andrei Valerievich Kartapolov – Saint Petersburg, Leningrad Oblast[37]

6th Combined Arms Army – General-Major Andrei Vladimirovich Kuzmenko – Agalatovo, Leningrad Oblast[38]

- 138th Separate Motor Rifle Brigade – Kamenka, Leningrad Oblast[39]
- 25th Separate Motor Rifle Brigade – Luga, Leningrad Oblast[40]
- 9th Separate Guards Artillery Brigade – Luga, Leningrad Oblast[41]
- 5th Anti-aircraft Missile Brigade – Lomonsov, Leningrad Oblast[42]
- 26th Missile Brigade – Luga, Leningrad Oblast[43]
- 95th Command Brigade – Gorelovo, Leningrad Oblast
- 132nd Signals Brigade – Agalatovo, Leningrad Oblast
- 51st Logistics Brigade – Saint Petersburg, Leningrad Oblast
- 30th Engineering Regiment – Kerro Village, Leningrad Oblast
- 6th Separate CBRN Regiment – Sapernoye, Leningrad Oblast

20th Guards Combined Arms Army – General-Major Alexander Peryazev – Voronezh, Voronezh Oblast[44]

- 3rd Motor Rifle Division – Boguchar, Voronezh Oblast[45]
  - 752nd Motor Rifle Regiment – Valuiki, Belgorod Oblast[46]
  - 252nd Motor Rifle Regiment – Boguchar, Voronezh Oblast[47]
  - 237th Guards Tank Regiment – Valuiki, Belgorod Oblast[48]
  - 99th Self-propelled Artillery Regiment – Boguchar, Voronezh Oblast[49]
  - 1143rd Anti-aircraft Missile Regiment – Belgorod Oblast[50]
  - 84th Separate Reconnaissance Battalion – Valuiki, Belgorod Oblast[51]

- 337th Separate Engineer Battalion – Boguchar, Voronezh Oblast[52]
- 692nd Separate Communications Battalion – Valuiki, Belgorod Oblast[53]
- 911th Separate Logistics Battalion – Boguchar, Voronezh Oblast[54]

- 144th Motor Rifle Division – Yelnya, Smolensk Oblast[55]
  - 488th Motor Rifle Regiment – Klintsy, Bryansk Oblast[56]
  - 182nd Motor Rifle Regiment – Klintsy, Bryansk Oblast[57]
  - 228th Tank Regiment – Yelnya, Smolensk Oblast[58]
  - 856th Self-propelled Artillery Regiment – Pochep, Bryansk Oblast[59]
  - 1259th Anti-aircraft Missile Regiment
  - 1281st Separate Anti-Tank Battalion – Yelnya, Smolensk Oblast[60]
  - 148th Separate Reconnaissance Battalion – Smolensk, Smolensk Oblast
  - 686th Separate Communications Battalion – Smolensk, Smolensk Oblast
  - 295th Separate Logistics Battalion – Yelnya, Smolensk Oblast
- 448th Missile Brigade – Kursk, Kursk Oblast[61]
- 9th Command Brigade – Voronezh, Voronezh Oblast

1st Guards Tank Army – Lieutenant-General Alexei Avdeev – Bakovka and Odintsovo, Moscow Oblast[62]

- 2nd Guards Motor Rifle Division – Kalininets, Moscow Oblast[63]
  - 1st Guards Motor Rifle Regiment – Kalininets, Moscow Oblast[64]
  - 15th Guards Motor Rifle Regiment – Kalininets, Moscow Oblast[65]
  - 1st Tank Regiment – Kalininets, Moscow Oblast[66]
  - 147th Guards Self-propelled Artillery Regiment – Kalininets, Moscow Oblast[67]
  - 1117th Anti-aircraft Missile Regiment – Golitsyno, Moscow Oblast[68]
  - 1174th Separate Antitank Battalion – Kalininets, Moscow Oblast[69]
  - 136th Separate Reconnaissance Battalion – Kalininets, Moscow Oblast[70]
  - 211th Separate Engineering Battalion – Kalininets, Moscow Oblast
  - 47th Separate Communications Battalion – Kalininets, Moscow Oblast
  - 1063rd Separate Logistics Battalion – Kalininets, Moscow Oblast
- 4th Guards Tank Division – Colonel Oleg Tulinov – Naro-Fominsk, Moscow Oblast[71]
  - 12th Guards Tank Regiment – Naro-Fominsk, Moscow Oblast[72]
  - 13th Guards Tank Regiment – Naro-Fominsk, Moscow Oblast[73]
  - 423rd Motor Rifle Regiment – Naro-Fominsk, Moscow Oblast[74]
  - 275th Self-propelled Artillery Regiment – Naro-Fominsk, Moscow Oblast[75]
  - 49th Anti-aircraft Missile Brigade – Smolensk, Smolensk Oblast[76]
  - 538th Guards Anti-aircraft Missile Regiment – Naro-Fominsk, Moscow Oblast
  - 137th Separate Reconnaissance Battalion – Naro-Fominsk, Moscow Oblast
  - 413th Separate Communications Battalion – Naro-Fominsk, Moscow Oblast
  - 330th Separate Engineering Battalion – Naro-Fominsk, Moscow Oblast
  - 1088th Separate Logistics Battalion – Naro-Fominsk, Moscow Oblast
  - 165th Separate Medical Battalion – Naro-Fominsk, Moscow Oblast
- 27th Separate Motor Rifle Brigade – Mosrentgen, Moscow Oblast[77]
- 6th Separate Tank Brigade – Dzerzhinsk, Nizhny Novgorod Oblast[78]
- 112th Missile Brigade – Shuya, Ivanovo Oblast[79]
- 288th Artillery Brigade – Mulino, Nizhny Novgorod Oblast[80]
- 53rd Anti-aircraft Missile Brigade – Marshala Zhukova, Kursk Oblast
- 96th Separate Reconnaissance Brigade – Sormovo, Nizhny Novgorod Oblast[81]
- 60th Command Intelligence Brigade – Naro-Fominsk, Moscow Oblast
- 69th Separate Logistics Brigade – Dzerzhinsk, Nizhny Novgorod Oblast

Baltic Sea Fleet – Vice-Admiral Aleksander Mikhailovich Nosatov – Kaliningrad Oblast[82]

- 11th Army Corps – General Major Yuri Yarovitsky – Kaliningrad, Kaliningrad Oblast[83]
  - 7th Guards Separate Motor Rifle Regiment – Kaliningrad, Kaliningrad Oblast[84]
  - 79th Guards Separate Motor Rifle Brigade – Gusev, Kaliningrad Oblast[85]
  - 244th Guards Artillery Brigade – Kaliningrad, Kaliningrad Oblast[86]
  - 152nd Guards Missile Brigade – Chernyakhovsk, Kaliningrad Oblast[87]
  - 22nd Anti-Aircraft Missile Regiment – Kaliningrad, Kaliningrad Oblast[88]
- 336th Naval Infantry Brigade – Baltiysk, Kaliningrad Oblast[89]
- 202nd Separate Anti-aircraft Missile Brigade – Naro-Fominsk, Moscow Oblast[90]
- 79th Guards Reactive Artillery Brigade – Tver, Tver Oblast[91]
- 45th Artillery Brigade – Tambov, Tambov Oblast[92]
- Operative Group of the Russian Armed Forces in Transnistria, Moldova – Tiraspol, Transnistria, Moldova[93]
  - 82nd Motor Rifle Battalion[94]
  - 113th Motor Rifle Battalion[95]
  - 540th Command Battalion

Southern Military District

Colonel-General Aleksandr Dvornikov – Rostov-on-Don, Rostov Oblast[96]

58th Combined Arms Army – General-Major Evgeny Nikiforov – Vladikavkaz, North Ossetia[97]

- 42nd Motor Rifle Division – Major General Sergei Minenkov – Chechnya[98]
  - 70th Guards Motor Rifle Regiment – Shali, Chechnya[99]
  - 71st Guards Motor Rifle Regiment – Kalinovskaya, Chechnya[100]
  - 291st Guards Motor Rifle Regiment – Borzoi, Chechnya[101]
  - 50th Guards Self-propelled Artillery Regiment – Shali, Chechnya[102]
  - 1203rd Anti-aircraft Missile Regiment – Chechnya
- 19th Separate Motor Rifle Brigade – Vladikavkaz, North Ossetia* [103]
- 136th Guards Motor Rifle Brigade – Buynaksk, Dagestan* [104]
- 4th Guards Base – Tskhinvali, South Ossetia, Georgia[105]
  - 100th Separate Reconnaissance Brigade – Mozdok, North Ossetia[106]
  - 12th Missile Brigade – Mozdok, North Ossetia[107]
  - 291st Artillery Brigade – Troistkaya, Ingusthetia[108]
  - 67th Anti-aircraft Missile Brigade – Vladikavkaz, North Ossetia[109]

49th Combined Arms Army – General-Major Sergei Mikhailovich Sevrukov – Stavropol, Stavropol Krai[110]

- 205th Motor Rifle Brigade – Budennovsk, Stavropol Krai[111]
- 34th Separate Motor Rifle Brigade (Mountain) – Storozhevaya, Karachaevo – Cherkess Republic[112]
- 25th Separate Spetsnaz Regiment – Stavropol, Stavropol Krai[113]
- 227th Artillery Brigade – Maikop, Republic of Adygea[114]
- 1st Guards Missile Brigade – Molkino, Kransodar Krai
- 90th Anti-aircraft Missile Brigade – Afipsky, Kransodar Krai
- 66th Command Brigade – Stavropol, Stavropol Krai[115]
- 7th Military Base – Gudauta, Abkhazia, Georgia[116]

8th Combined Arms Army – Major-General Sergei Kuzovlev – Novocherkassk, Rostov Oblast[117]

- 150th Motor Rifle Division – Novocherkassk, Rostov Oblast[118]

* The 19th and 136th Separate Motor Rifle Brigades will be reformed into divisions throughout 2018, according to a Russian MoD source.

- 102nd Motor Rifle Regiment – Persianovka, Rostov Oblast[119]
- 103rd Motor Rifle Regiment – Kadamovskiy, Rostov Oblast[120]
- 68th Tank Regiment – Persianovka, Rostov Oblast[121]
- 163rd Tank Regiment – Kuzminsky, Rostov Oblast[122]
- 933rd Anti-aircraft Missile Regiment – Millerovo, Rostov Oblast[123]
- 381st Self-propelled Artillery Regiment – Rostov on Don, Rostov Oblast[124]

- 20th Separate Guards Motor Rifle Brigade – Volgograd, Volgograd Oblast[125]
- 102nd Military Base – Yerevan and Gyumri, Armenia[126]
  - 988th Anti-aircraft Missile Regiment – Gyumri, Armenia[127]
- 439th Guards Reactive Artillery Brigade – Znamensk, Astrakhan Oblast[128]
- 77th Anti-aircraft Missile Brigade – Korenovsk, Kransodar Krai
- 28th Separate RBCN Brigade – Kamyshin, Volgograd Oblast
- 11th Separate Guards Engineering Brigade – Kamensk-Shakhtinsky, Rostov Oblast

Black Sea Fleet – Admiral Aleksandr Viktorovich Vitko – Sevastopol, Crimea, Ukraine[129]

- 22nd Army Corps – Simferopol, Crimea, Ukraine[130]
  - 127th Separate Reconnaissance Brigade – Sevastopol, Crimea, Ukraine[131]
  - 15th Separate Coastal Rocket Artillery Brigade – Sevastopol, Crimea, Ukraine[132]
  - 126th Separate Coastal Defense Brigade – Perevalne, Crimea, Ukraine[133]
  - 8th Artillery Regiment – Simferopol and Perevalne, Crimea, Ukraine[134]
- 810th Naval Infantry Brigade – Sevastopol, Crimea, Ukraine[135]

Caspian Flotilla – Rear-Admiral Sergei Mihailovich Pinchuk – Astrakhan, Astrakhan Oblast[136]

- 414th Naval Infantry Battalion – Kaspiysk, Republic of Dagestan[137]
- 727th Naval Infantry Battalion – Astrakhan, Astrakhan Oblast[138]

Central Military District

Lieutenant General Alexander Lapin – Yekaterinburg, Sverdlovsk Oblast[139]

2nd Guards Combined Arms Army – Major-General Gennady Zhidko – Samara, Samara Oblast[140]

- 30th Separate Motor Rifle Brigade – Roshchinsky, Samara Oblast[141]
- 15th Separate Motor Rifle Brigade – Roshchinsky, Samara Oblast[142]
- 21st Separate Guards Motor Rifle Brigade – Totskoye, Orenburg Oblast[143]
- 92nd Missile Brigade – Totskoye, Orenburg Oblast[144]
- 385th Guards Artillery Brigade – Totskoye, Orenburg Oblast[145]
- 950th Reactive Artillery Regiment – Totskoye-2, Orenburg Oblast[146]
- 297th Anti-aircraft Missile Brigade – Leonidovka, Penza Oblast[147]
- 2nd CBRN Brigade – Samara, Samara Oblast
- 91st Command Brigade – Samara, Samara Oblast
- 71st Communications Brigade – Kalinovka, Samara Oblast
- 105th Separate Logistics Brigade – Samara, Samara Oblast

41st Combined Arms Army – Major-General Aleksei Vladimirovich Zavizon – Novosibirsk, Novosibirsk Oblast[148]

- 90th Guards Tank Division – Chebarkul, Chelyabinsk Oblast[149]
  - 239th Tank Regiment – Cherbakul, Chelyabinsk Oblast[150]
  - 6th Tank Regiment – Cherbakul, Chelyabinsk Oblast[151]
  - 80th Tank Regiment – Cherbakul, Chelyabinsk Oblast[152]
  - 228th Motor Rifle Regiment – Yekaterinburg, Sverdlovsk Oblast[153]
  - 400th Self-propelled Artillery Regiment – Cherbakul, Chelyabinsk Oblast
  - 33rd Communications Brigade –

Cherbakul, Chelyabinsk Oblast

- 35th Separate Guards Motor Rifle Brigade – Aleisk, Alta Krai[154]
- 55th Separate Motor (Mountain) Rifle Brigade– Kyzyl, Tuva Republic[155]
- 74th Separate Guards Motor Rifle Brigade – Yurga, Kemerovo Oblast[156]
- 201st Military Base – Dushanbe, Tajikistan[157]
  - 149th Guards Motor Rifle Regiment – Dushanbe, Tajikistan[158]
  - 92nd Motor Rifle Regiment – Dushanbe, Tajikistan[159]
  - 191st Separate Motor Rifle Regiment – Qurghonteppa, Tajikistan[160]
- 119th Missile Brigade – Elanskiy, Sverdolovsk Oblast[161]
- 120th Guards Artillery Brigade – Yurga, Kemerovo Oblast[162]
- 61st Anti-aircraft Missile Brigade – Biysk, Altai Krai[163]
- 10th CBRN Regiment – Topchikha, Alta Krai[164]
- 35th Command Brigade – Kochenevo, Novosibirsk Oblast[165]
- 106th Separate Logistics Brigade – Yurga, Kemerovo Oblast[166]
- 28th Anti-aircraft Missile Brigade – Mirny, Kirovsk Oblast[167]
- 29th Separate CBRN Brigade – Yekaterinburg, Sverdlovsk Oblast
- 232nd Reactive Artillery Brigade – Shelekhov, Kurgansk Oblast
- 179th Command Brigade – Yekaterinburg, Sverdlovsk Oblast

Eastern Military District

Colonel-General Alexander Zhuravlev – Khabarovsk, Khabarovsk Krai[168]

5th Combined Arms Army – Ussuriysk, Primorsky Krai – Lieutenant General Aleksei Nikolaevich Salmin[169]

- 70th Separate Guards Motor Rifle Brigade – Barabash, Primorsky Krai[170]
- 59th Separate Motor Rifle Brigade – Sergeevka, Primorsky Krai[171]
- 57th Separate Guards Motor Rifle Brigade – Bikin, Khabarovsk Krai[172]
- 60th Separate Motor Rifle Brigade – Kamen-Rivolov, Primorsky Krai[173]
- 20th Guards Missile Brigade – Spassk-Dalny, Primorsky Krai[174]
- 305th Artillery Brigade – Ussuriysk, Primorsky Krai[175]
- 8th Anti-aircraft Missile Bridge – Ussuriysk, Primorsky Krai[176]
- 25th CBRN Regiment – Sergeevka, Primorsky Krai[177]
- 80th Command Brigade – Ussuriysk, Primorsky Krai
- 101st Separate Logistics Brigade – Ussuriysk, Primorsky Krai

35th Combined Arms Army – Major-General Sergei Cherbotaev – Belogorsk, Amur Oblast[178]

- 64th Separate Motor Rifle Brigade – Knyaze-Volonskoe, Khabarovsk Krai[179]
- 38th Separate Guards Motor Rifle Brigade – Belogorsk, Amur Oblast[180]
- 69th Separate Covering Brigade – Babstovo Village, Jewish Autonomous Oblast[181]
- 71st Anti-aircraft Missile Brigade – Srednebeloye, Amur Oblast[182]
- 107th Missile Brigade – Birobidzhan, Jewish Autonomous Oblast[183]
- 165th Artillery Brigade – Nikosolskoe Village, Amur Oblast[184]
- 35th CBRN Regiment – Belogorsk, Amur Oblast[185]
- 54th Command Brigade – Belogorsk, Amur Oblast[186]
- 103rd Separate Logistics Brigade – Belogorsk, Amur Oblast[187]

36th Combined Arms Army – Major-General Mikhail Nosulev – Ulan-Ude, Buryatia Republic[188]

- 5th Separate Guards Tank Brigade – Ulan-Ude, Buriyatia[189]
- 37th Separate Guards Motor Rifle Brigade – Kyakhta, Buriyatia[190]
- 30th Artillery Brigade – Ulan-Ude, Buriyatia[191]

- 35th Anti-aircraft Missile Brigade – Ulan-Ude, Buriyatia[192]
- 103rd Missile Brigade – Ulan-Ude, Buriyatia[193]
- 26th CRBN Regiment – Onokhoye Village, Buriyatia
- 75th Command Brigade – Sosnovii Bor, Ulan-Ude, Buriyatia[194]
- 102nd Separate Logistics Brigade – Sosnovy Bor, Buriyatia[195]

29th Combined Arms Army – Major-General Yevgeny Poplavsky – Chita, Zabaykalsky Krai[196]

- 36th Separate Guards Motor Rifle Brigade – Borzya, Zabaykalsky Krai[197]
- 200th Artillery Brigade – Gorny, Zabaykalsky Krai[198]
- 3rd Missile Brigade – Chita, Zabaykalsky Krai[199]
- 140th Anti-aircraft Missile Brigade – Domna Village, Zabaykalsky Krai[200]
- 19th CRBN Regiment – Gorny Village, Zabaykalsky Krai
- 104th Separate Logistics Brigade – Chita, Zabaykalsky Krai[201]

68th Army Corps – Major General Dmitry Glushenkov – Yuzhno-Sakhalinsk, Sakhalin Oblast[202]

- 18th Machine Gun Artillery Division – Iturup, Kuril Islands[203]
  - 46th Machine Gun Artillery Regiment – Kunashir, Kuril Islands[204]
  - 49th Machine Gun Artillery Regiment – Iturup, Kuril Islands[205]
- 39th Separate Motor Rifle Brigade – South Sakhalinsk, Sakhalin Oblast[206]

Pacific Fleet – Admiral Vladimir Ivanovich Korolev – Vladivostok, Primorsky Krai[207]

- 155th Separate Naval Infantry Brigade – Vladivostok, Primorsky Krai[208]
- 40th Separate Naval Infantry Brigade – Petropavlosk-Kamchatskiy, Kamchatka Krai[209]
- 520th Separate Coastal Missile Artillery Brigade – Petropavlosk-Kamchatskiy, Kamchatka Krai[210]
- 72nd Separate Coastal Missile Regiment – Petropavlosk-Kamchatskiy, Kamchatka Krai

Northern Fleet and Arctic Joint Strategic Command

Vice-Admiral Nikolay Yevmenov – Severomorsk, Murmansk Oblast[211]

Northern Fleet – Vice Admiral Nikolay Yevmenov – Severomorsk, Murmansk Oblast[212]

- 61st Separate Naval Infantry Brigade – Sputnik, Murmansk Oblast[213]
- 536th Separate Coastal Missile Brigade – Guba Olenya, Murmansk Oblast[214]
- 14th Army Corps – Murmansk, Murmansk Oblast[215]
  - 200th Separate Motor Rifle Brigade – Luostari, Murmansk Oblast[216]
  - 80th Separate Arctic Motor Rifle Brigade – Alakurtti, Murmansk Oblast[217]

APPENDIX B

Russian Military Districts




Eastern Military District

Russian Army Headquarters

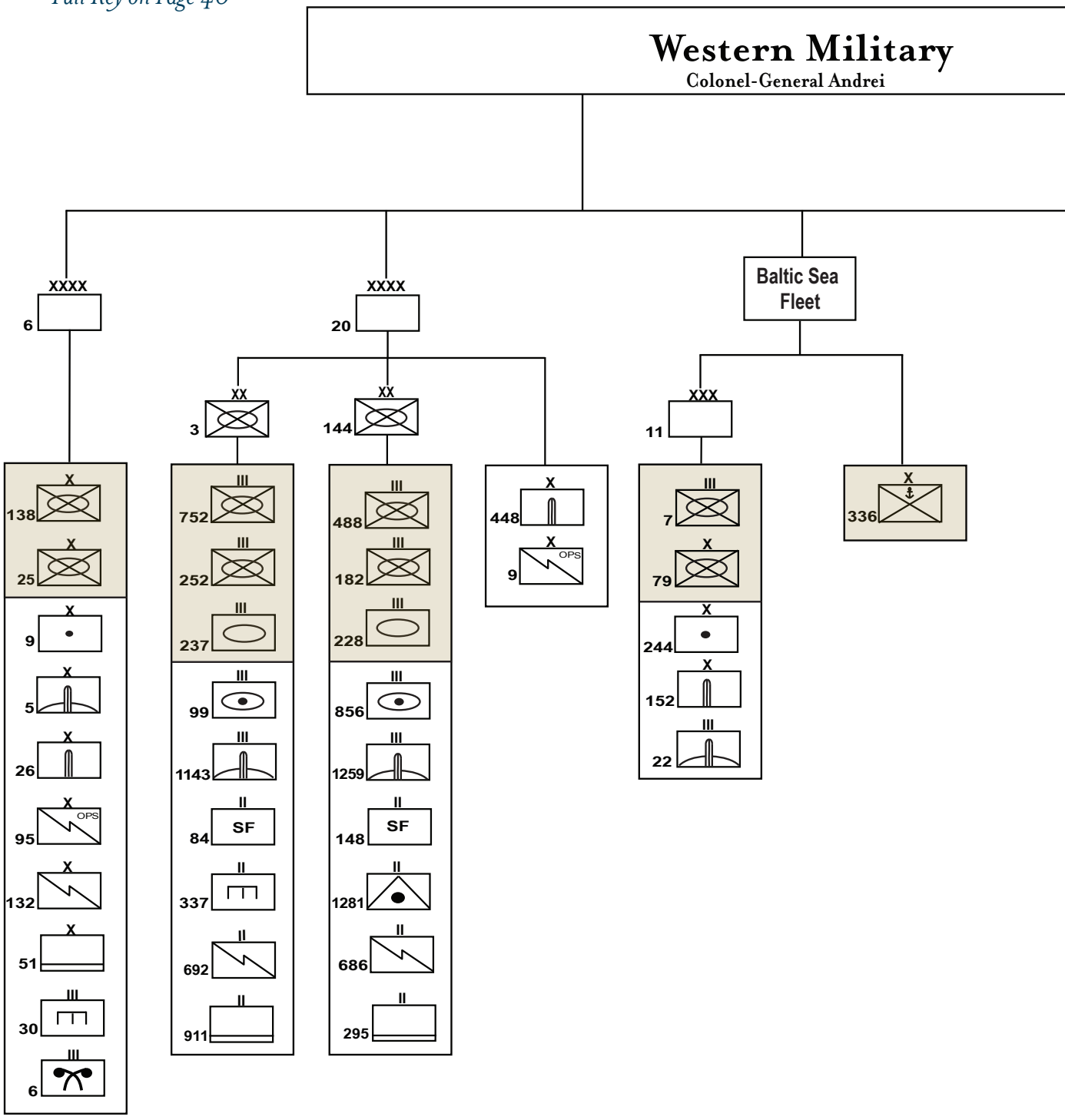


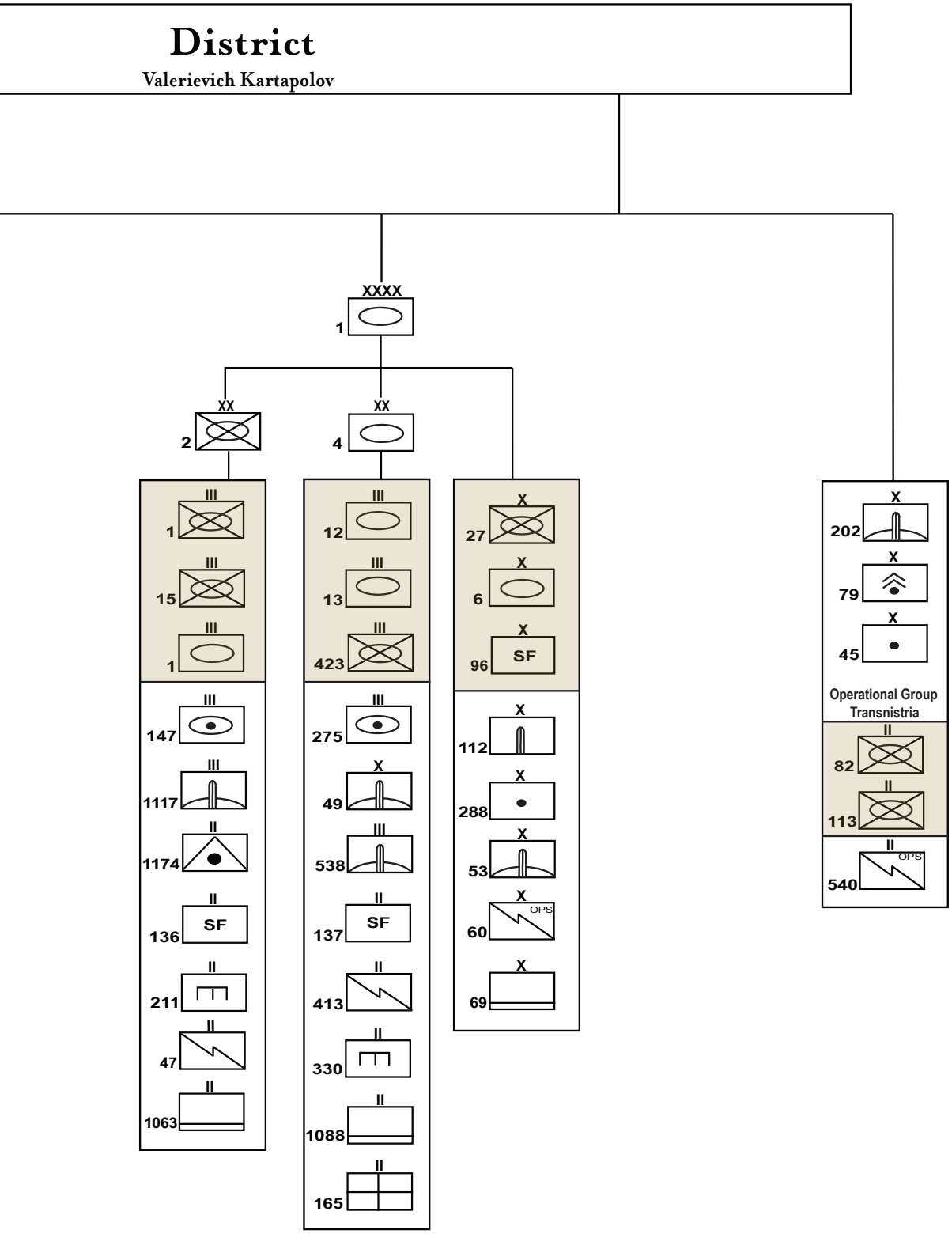


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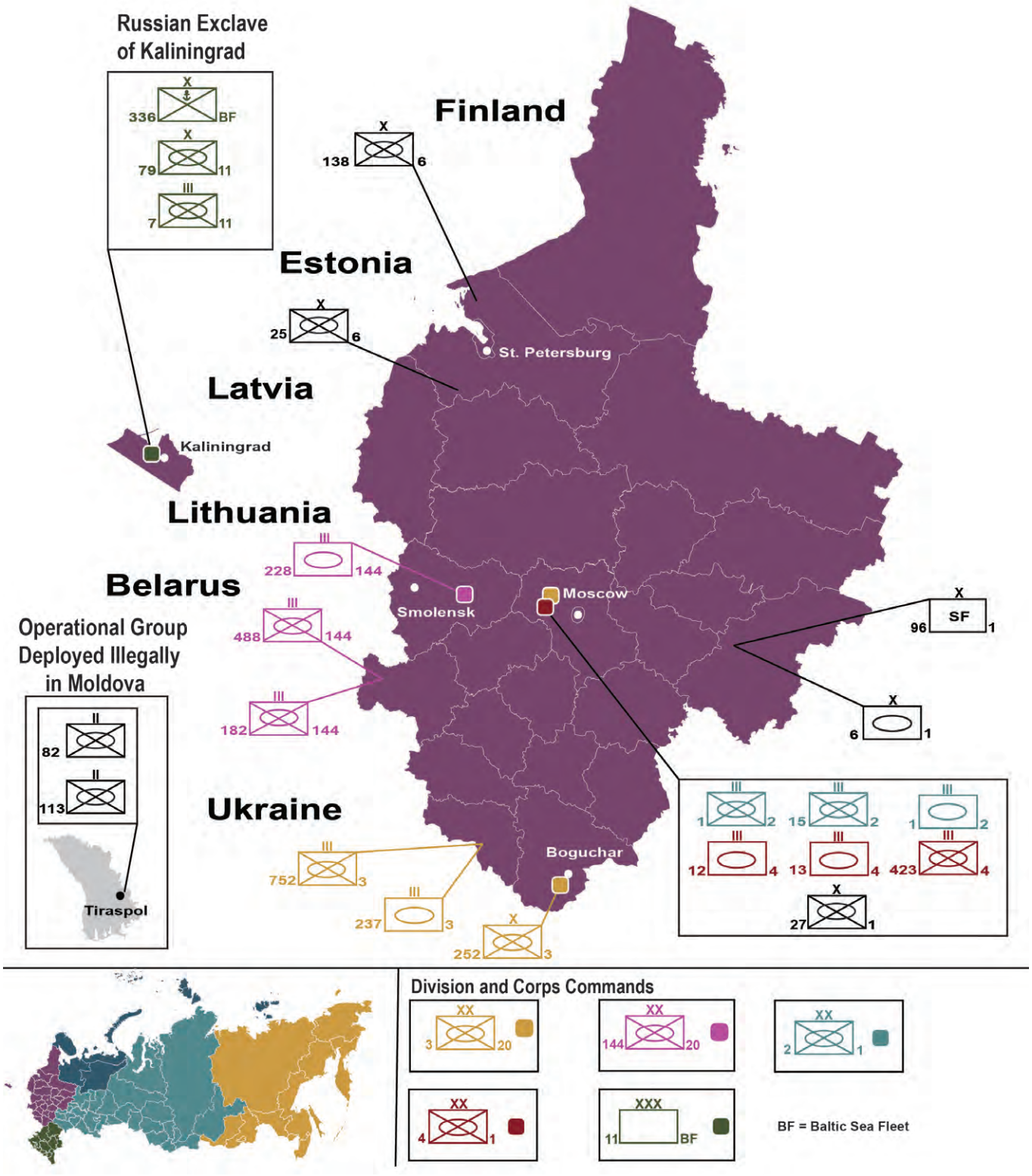
Russian Order of Battle

Full Key on Page 40



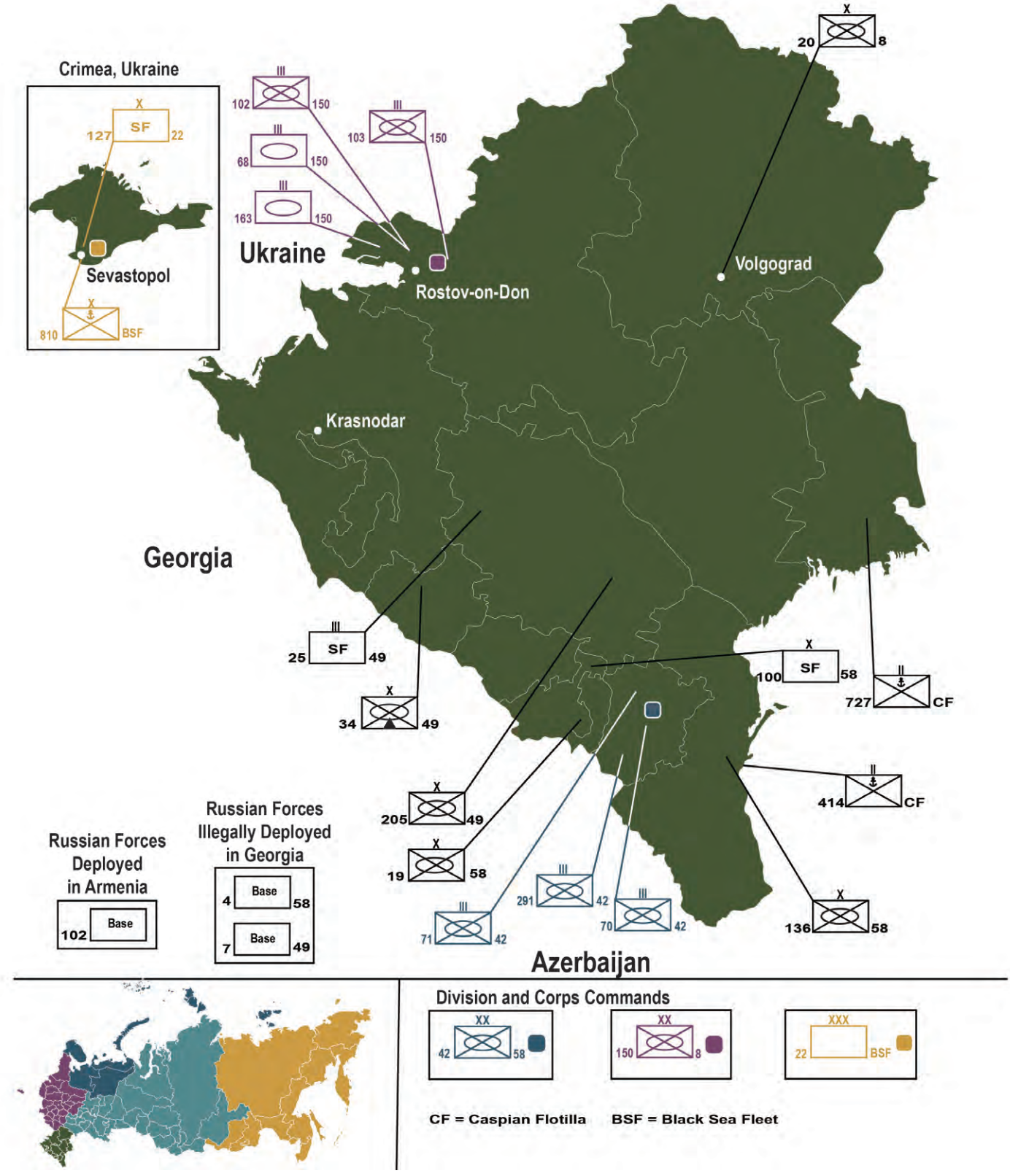

District
Valerievich Kartapolov
XXXX
1
XX
2
XX
4
III
1
III
15
III
1
III
147
III
1117
II
1174
II
136
SF
II
211
II
47
II
1063
III
12
III
13
III
423
III
275
X
49
III
538
II
137
SF
II
413
II
330
II
1088
II
165
X
27
X
6
X
96
SF
X
112
X
288
X
53
X
60
OPS
X
69
X
202
X
79
X
45
Operational Group
Transnistria
II
82
II
113
II
540
OPS

Western Military District



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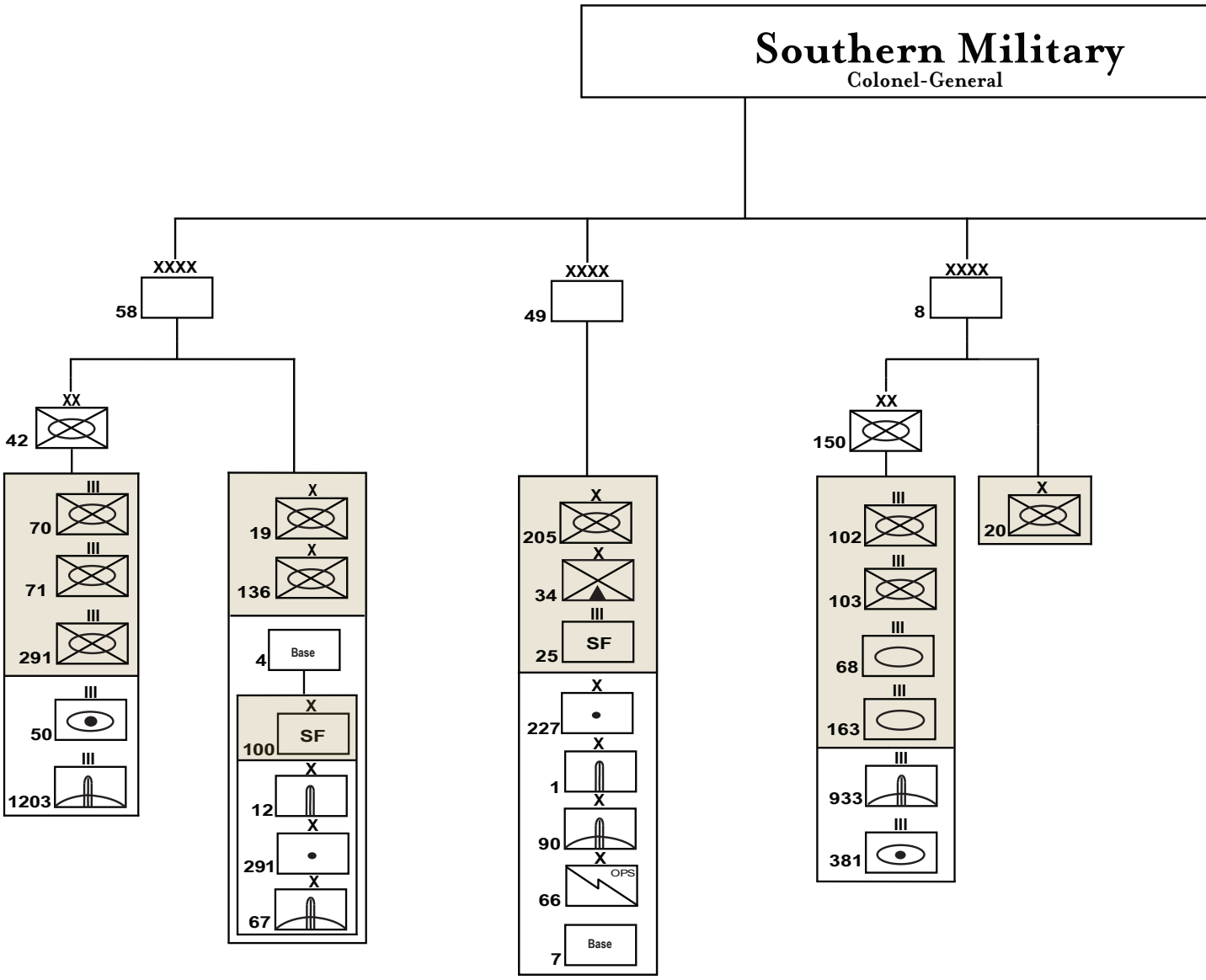
Southern Military District

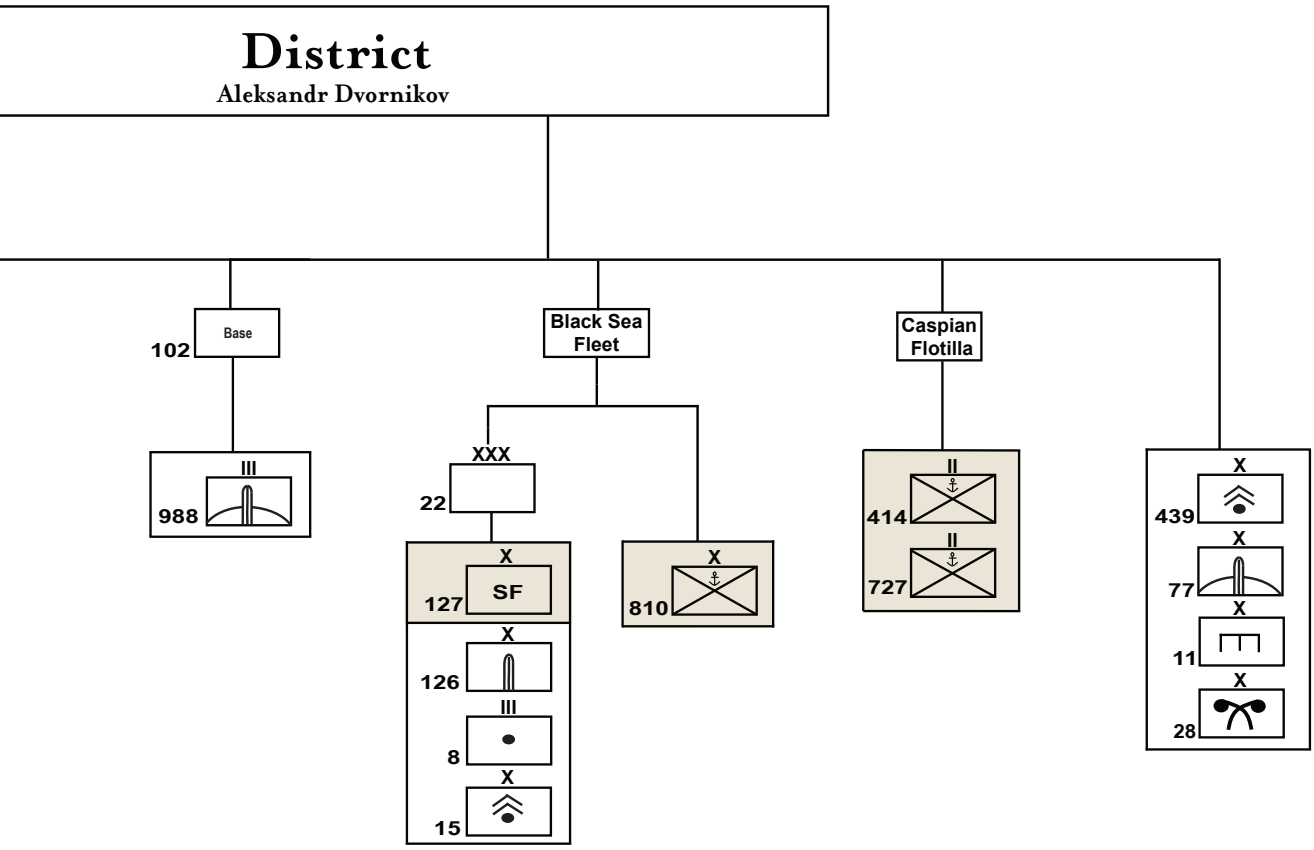


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Russian Order of Battle

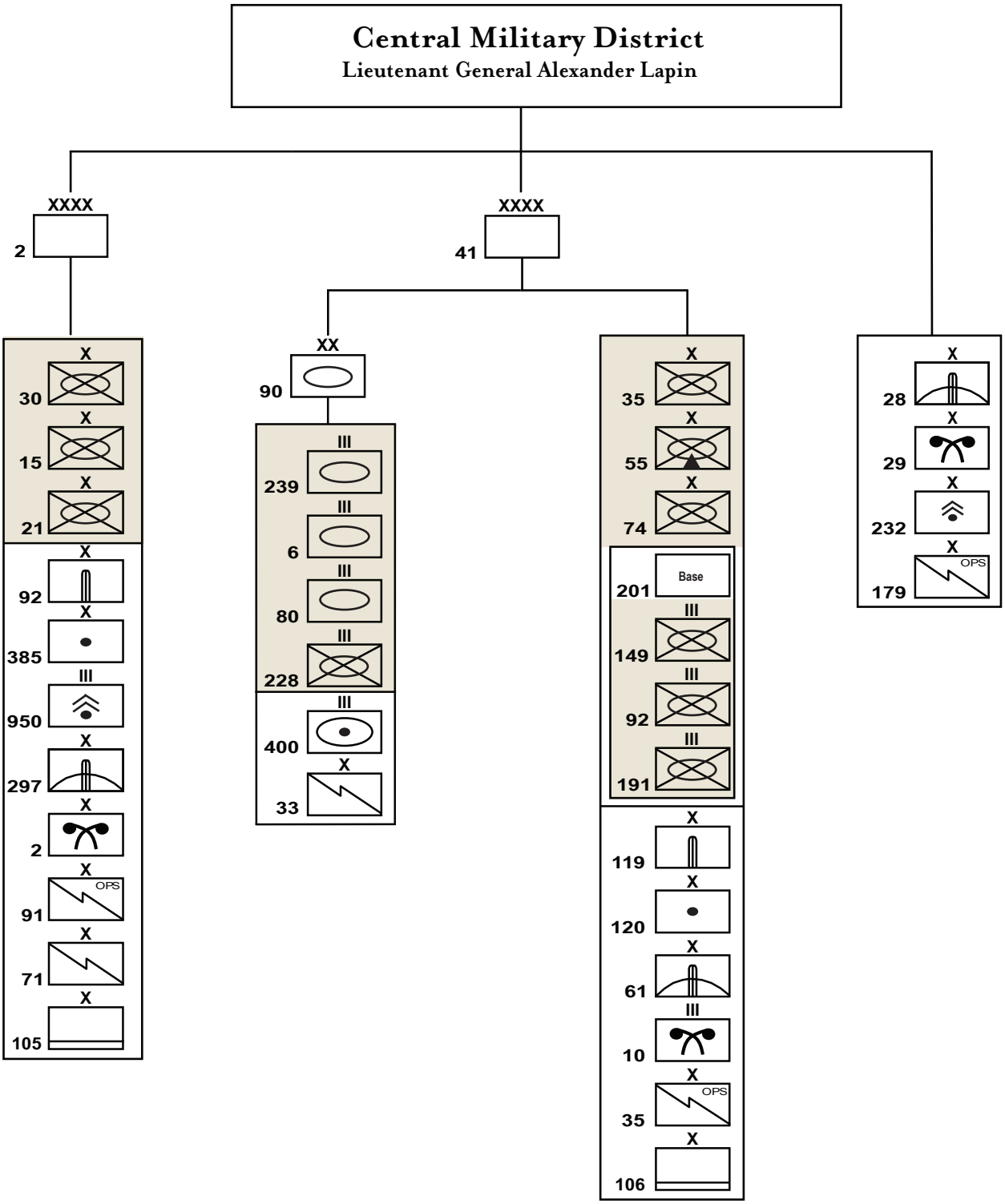
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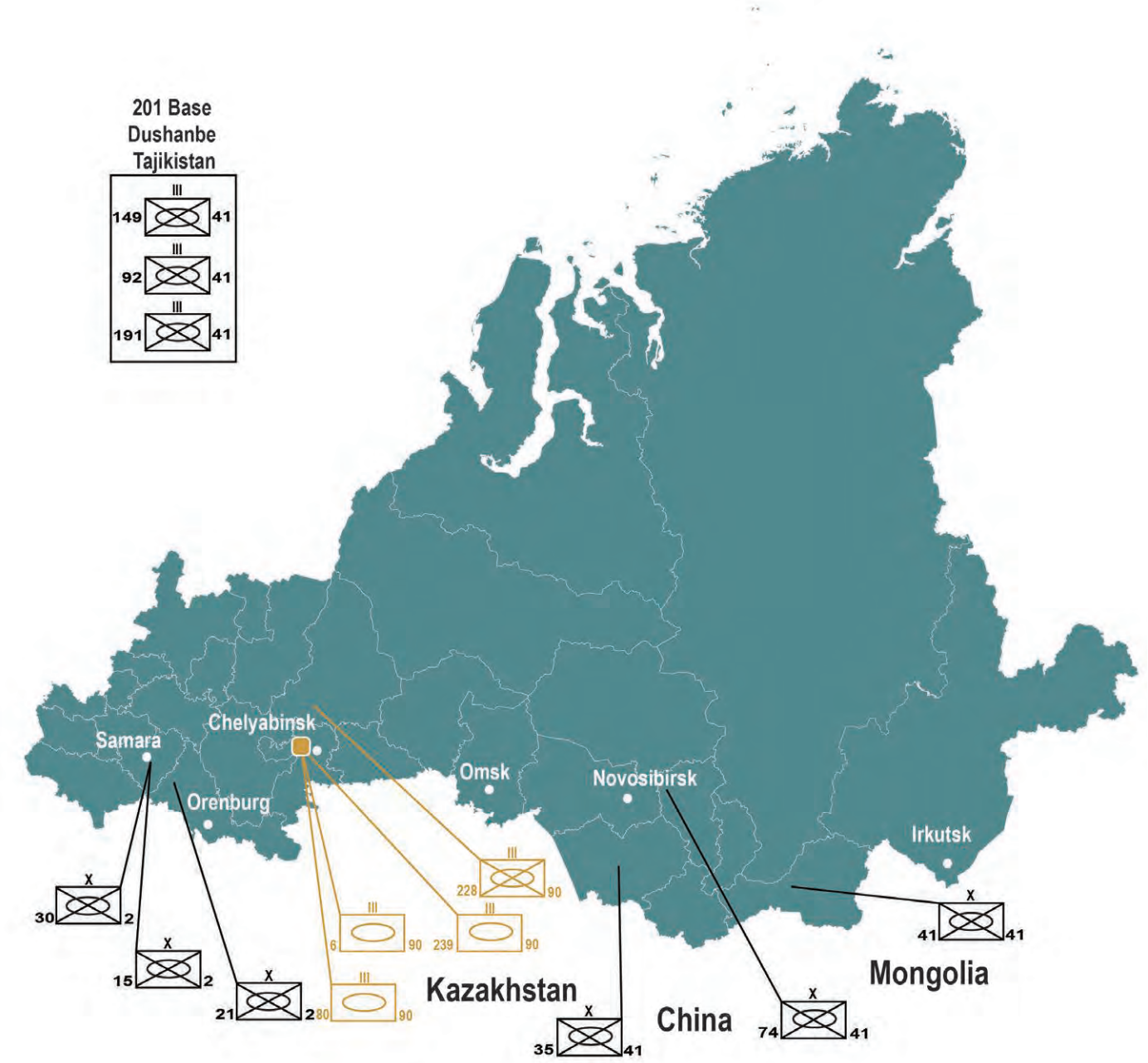

District
Aleksandr Dvornikov
102
Base
III
988
Black Sea Fleet
XXX
22
X
127
SF
X
126
III
8
X
15
X
810
Caspian Flotilla
II
414
II
727
X
439
X
77
X
11
X
28

Russian Order of Battle

Full Key on Page 40

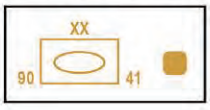


Central Military District





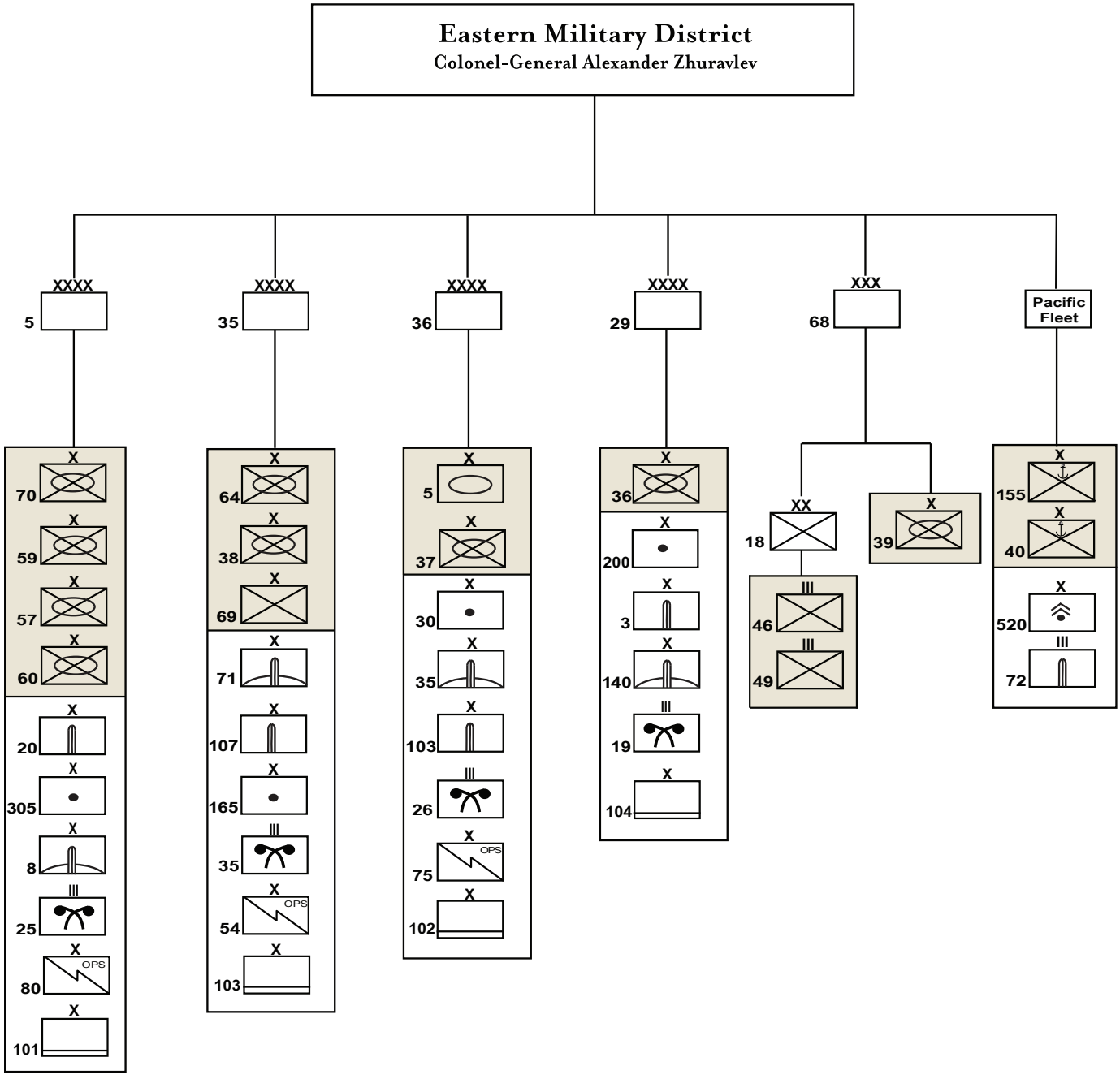
Division and Corps Commands



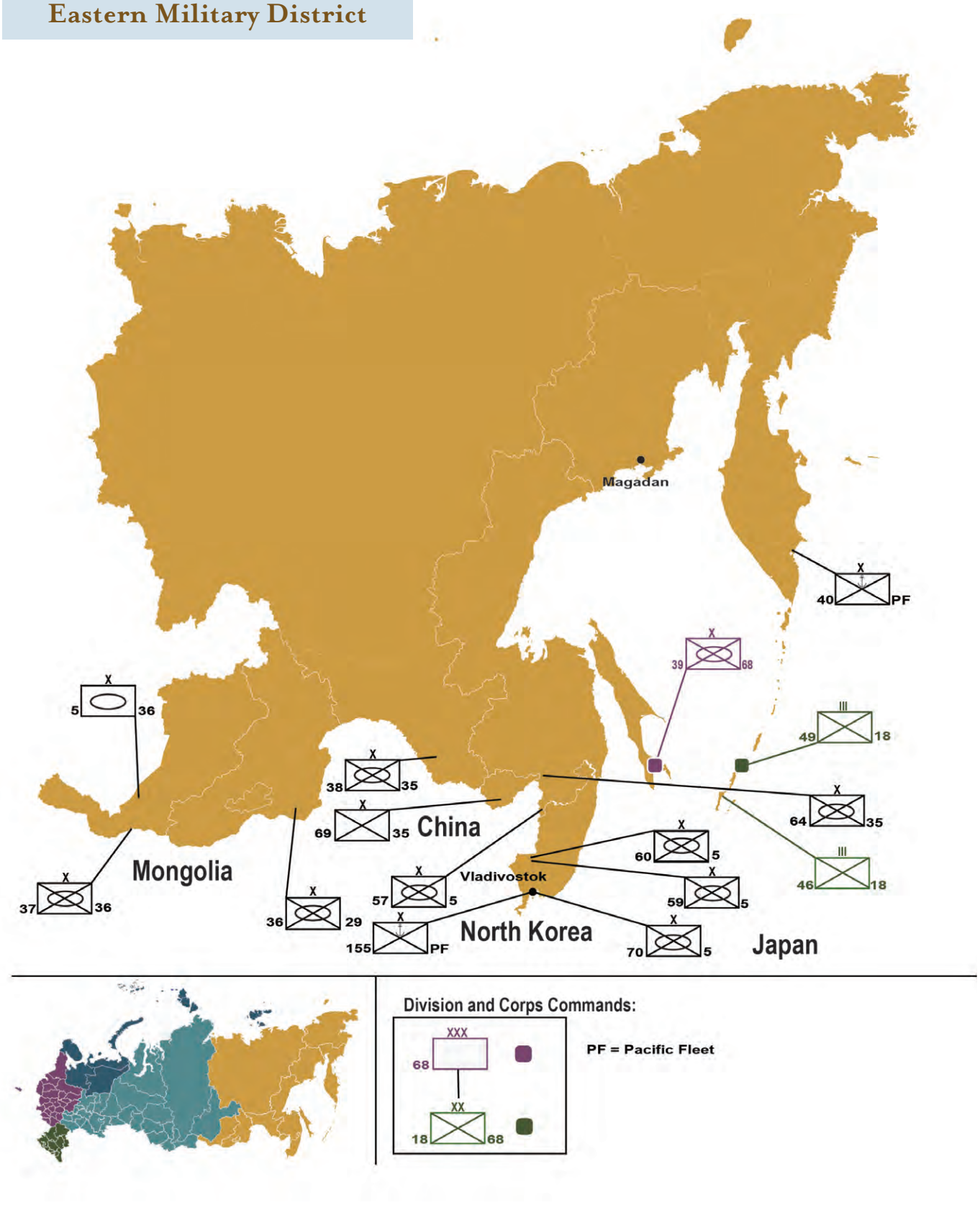
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Russian Order of Battle

Full Key on Page 40



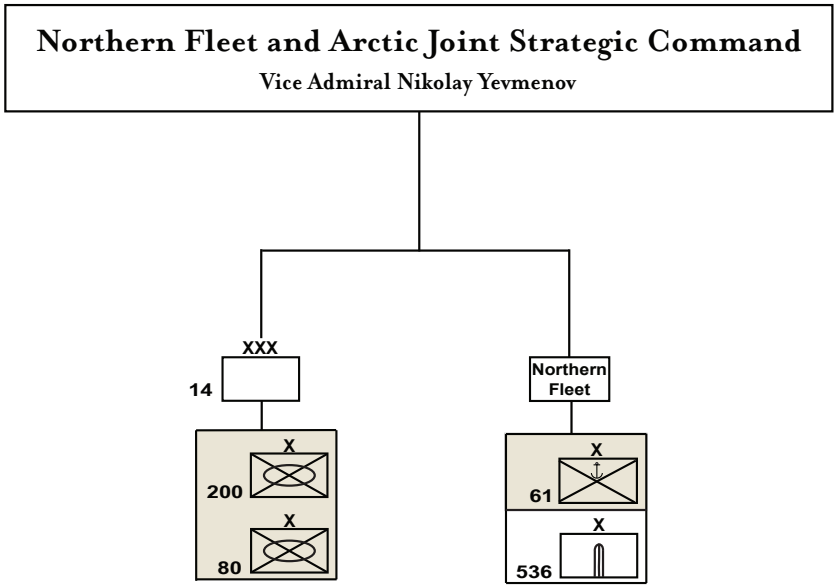
Eastern Military District



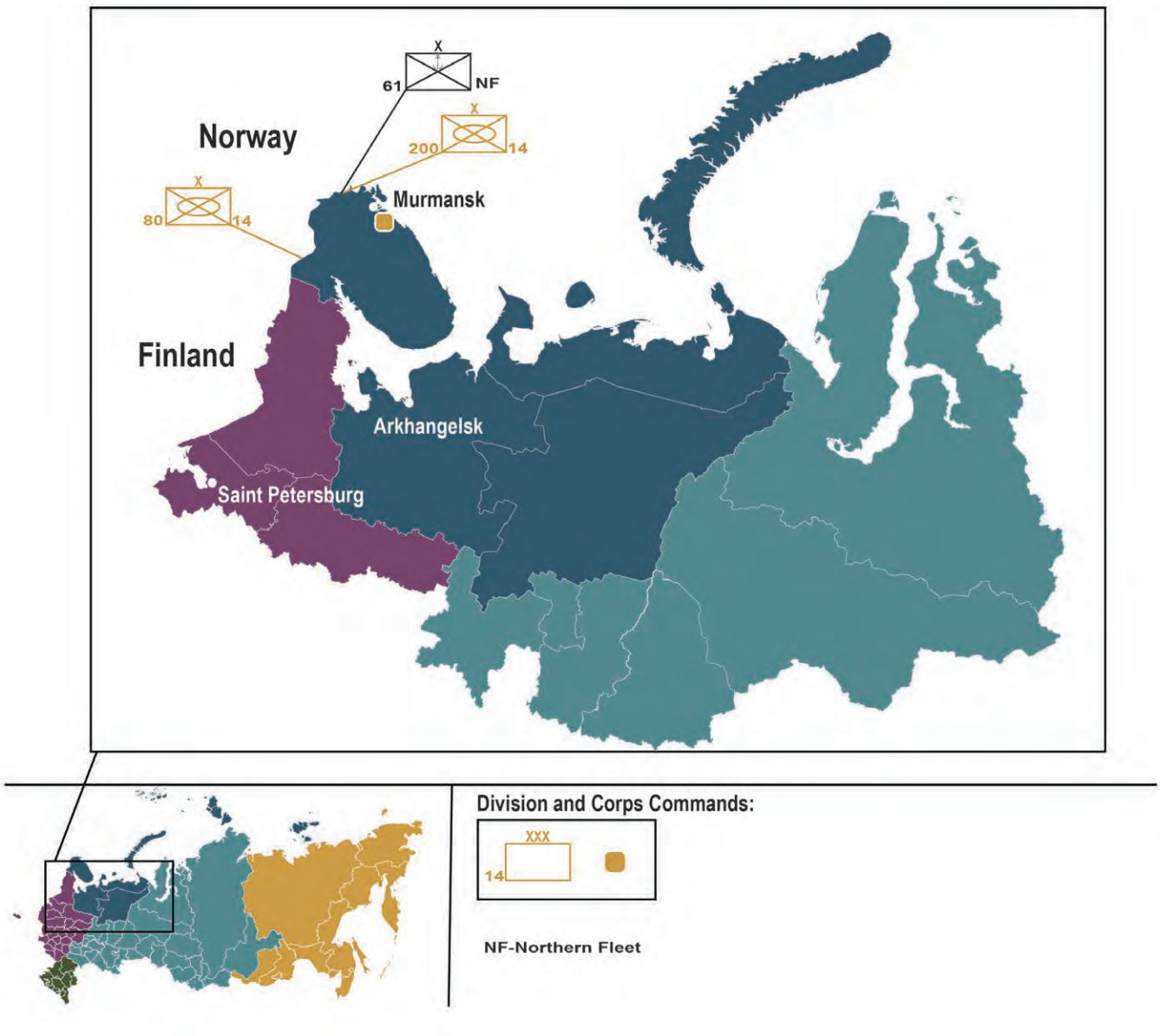
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Russian Order of Battle

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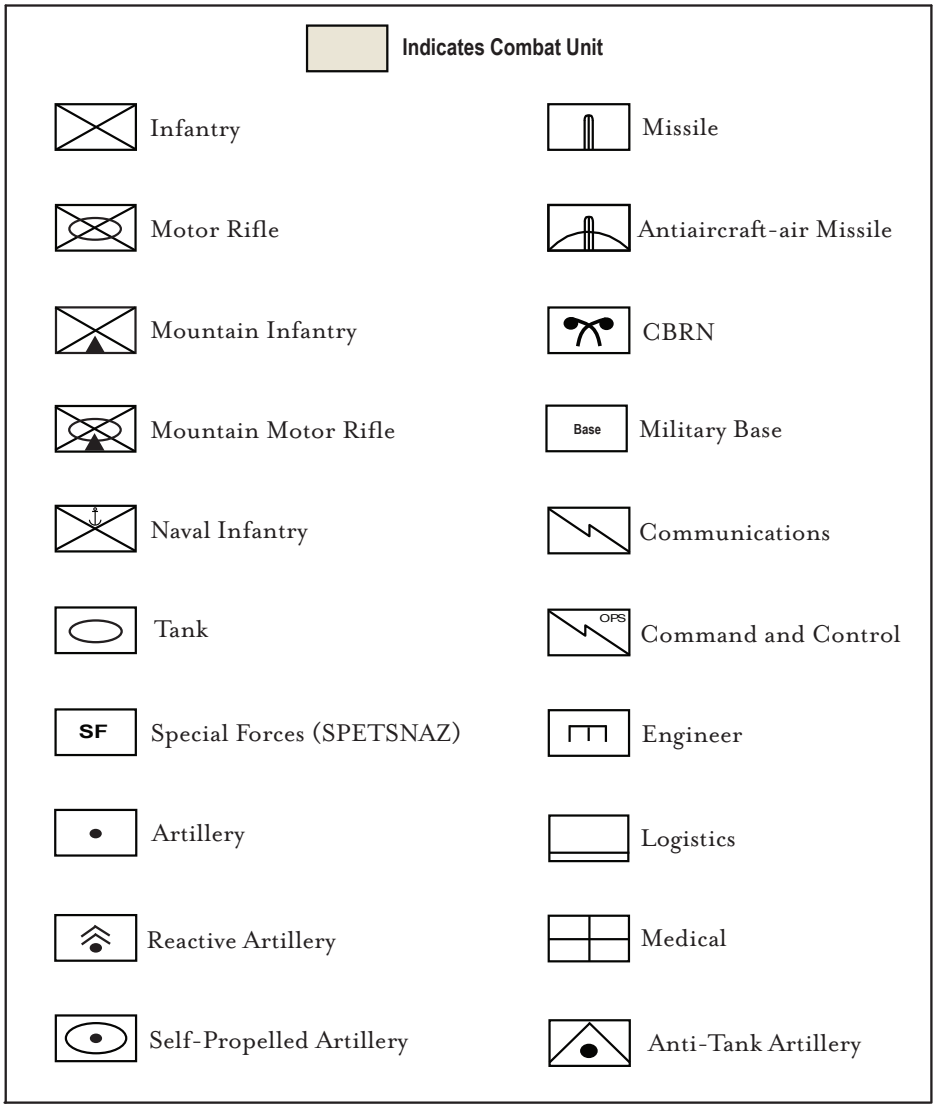
Northern Fleet and Arctic Joint Strategic Command



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Russian Order of Battle

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