

## Codebook | Russian Electoral Interventions, 1991-2017<sup>1</sup>

Year	Target Country	Target Event	Description	Likely Goals	Outcome	Outcome Favorable to Russia <sup>2</sup>	Evidence of Russian Impact
2017	Czech Republic	General Elections	Ahead of general elections in October 2017, Czech officials <a href="#">“are convinced the Kremlin is behind about 40 Czech-language websites presenting radical views, conspiracy theories and inaccurate reports. The officials believe the objective is to transform the Czech Republic’s current status as a western-aligned country.”</a> Russian support <a href="#">has also been alleged for the Czech President</a> who was elected in 2013 and <a href="#">has called for an ending to sanctions against Russia</a> , and a “foreign state” was alleged to be behind <a href="#">cyberattacks on the Czech foreign ministry</a> . The websites used for displaying Czech election results was hacked on October 21 <sup>st</sup> , but the Czech Statistical Office noted that <a href="#">“the vote count was not affected.”</a> In the Czech Republic, <a href="#">“sites with questionable content are now being read by about a fourth of all Czechs, according to estimates, and the current government is concerned that many of their owners are supporting the Kremlin in Moscow. There are viral anti-Muslim tirades, incidents are being declared terror attacks without evidence, and false rumors are circulating about NATO and the E.U.”</a>	Reduce pro-Brussels and pro-Washington alignment in Prague	Far right Freedom and Direct Democracy (SPD) party <a href="#">“performed surprisingly well”</a> winning around 10.7% of the vote. Billionaire Andrej Babis, the <a href="#">“Czech Trump”</a> won the election with nearly 30% of the vote going to his ANO party. Babis ran on an <a href="#">anti-immigration platform</a> (though not particularly anti-EU) and <a href="#">opposes sanctions against Moscow. It appears with the resignation of the center-left government</a> that Babis will <a href="#">govern a minority government</a> .	Yes  (victory of <a href="#">anti-immigrant PM</a> and <a href="#">pro-Moscow</a> President)	Low
	France	Presidential Elections	<a href="#">According to a cyber security firm</a> , Russian operatives targeted the campaign of candidate Emmanuel Macron and “there is already evidence of Russia using fake news, social media trolls, and other tactics to disrupt the election in France and other European countries.” Macron’s campaign manager stated that his campaign faced <a href="#">“hundreds, if not thousands”</a> of cyberattacks originating in Russia and targeting campaign databases as well as the <a href="#">leaking of stolen emails online</a> . Facebook <a href="#">has confirmed a Russian role</a> in using its platform in an attempt to influence the election in France. Ties between Marine Le Pen’s National Front (FN) and Russia <a href="#">stretched back to around 2011-2012</a> , and the FN received <a href="#">“a critical loan”</a> from a Russian bank in 2014 <a href="#">of \$11.7 million</a> .	Victory by the FN, discrediting French democracy	<a href="#">Historically good performance by FN</a> , but overwhelming victory by Macron.	Partial  (strong performance by FN)	Medium  (strong performance by FN)
	Germany	Federal Elections	Germany’s domestic intelligence agency <a href="#">“has accused Russia of cyberattacks and cyberspying”</a> as well as <a href="#">spreading a disinformation campaign</a> , using RT and Sputnik to spread fake news, <a href="#">such as a refugee rape story</a> . The Kremlin is linked to three key German-language <a href="#">“propaganda outlets”</a> which have been operating in Germany since 2013. Russia has also <a href="#">aided the far-right and pro-Russian Alternative for Germany (AfD)</a> . In January 2015, pro-Russian hackers <a href="#">undertook a distributed denial of service attack</a> on German government servers which coincided with the visit of Ukrainian PM Yatsenyuk. In the run-up to the federal elections of September, 2017, despite German <a href="#">expectations of Russian interference</a> , there was <a href="#">no evidence of Russian interference</a> either through <a href="#">fake news or bots</a> .	Victory or solid performance by AfD, discrediting German democracy	Merkel’s Christian Democrat party won the plurality of votes, <a href="#">but may face fresh elections</a> after its minority government coalition collapsed. The AfD cleared parliamentary threshold, <a href="#">capturing 12.6% of the vote</a> .	Partial	Medium  (Limited evidence of Russian interference directly before election)
	Malta	General Elections	Maltese Prime Minister <a href="#">“Muscat said that Malta’s security service have been alerted to possible Russian interference in local affairs. Relations between Russia and Malta have soured recently, mainly after Valletta’s refusal to allow Russian warships heading to Syria to refuel in Malta.”</a> The PM also accused	Undermine EU/NATO government	PM Muscat wins elections	No	Low

<sup>1</sup> This dataset is current as of December 15, 2017. As the full scope of Russian electoral interventions is not known to the public, and certain interventions have received more public attention than others, this data may change over time. This dataset was constructed using multiple, plausible accounts of Russian interference in foreign elections using news reports, policy reports, Congressional testimony, and scholarly sources.

2016			Russia of being <a href="#">behind a series of cyberattacks</a> which have increased 40% from “the normal level.”				
	Netherlands	General Election	During the election, Russia <a href="#">spread fake news</a> . To prevent Russian hacking, <a href="#">Dutch officials announced</a> the national election votes would be counted manually.	Aid <a href="#">anti-EU, anti-NATO PVV party</a> of Geert Wilders	<a href="#">Incumbent PM Mark Rutte and his VVD Liberal party retain control.</a>	Partial (though <a href="#">second place performance by PVV</a> )	Low
	Spain	Catalonia Independence Referendum	Spanish media reported that Russia has interfered in the unauthorized Catalonia referendum, with “ <a href="#">a combination of propaganda and social-media ‘bots’</a> ” and fake news dissemination as well as the <a href="#">misleading spread of images on Sputnik and RT</a> . These allegations “ <a href="#">suggest that Russia is seeking to meddle in support of Catalan independence and to discredit the Spanish central government’s position that the referendum is illegal.</a> ”	Undermine EU/NATO member, encourage separatism in other EU countries	Ongoing	-	-
	Austria	Presidential Elections	Prior to the presidential elections, a dossier prepared by US intelligence agencies stated that Austria was “ <a href="#">one of the countries in which Russia was attempting to interfere in national politics.</a> ” The FPÖ had signed a cooperation agreement with United Russia and there are <a href="#">allegations it receives funds from Moscow.</a>	Undermine EU/NATO government, far right (FPÖ) victory	<a href="#">The FPÖ lost the election by less than one percentage point to pro-EU Van der Bellen</a>	Partial (the FPÖ nearly won)	Low
	Bulgaria	Presidential Elections (2016), Parliamentary Elections (2017)	<a href="#">In the run-up to presidential elections</a> in November 2016, the opposition Socialist Party “received a secret strategy document proposing a road map to victory at the ballot box” which included recommendations to “plant fake news and promote exaggerated polling data,” and “The report recommended the party emphasize issues that dovetailed with Kremlin policy: calling for an end to Russian sanctions, criticizing NATO and talking up the U.K.’s vote to leave the EU.” Bulgarian security service officials allege that the dossier was produced by a Kremlin-connected think tank and delivered by a former Russian spy on a US sanctions list. After Radev and his Euroskeptic, pro-Moscow platform <a href="#">defeated Borisov’s GERB candidate Tsacheva</a> , Borisov resigned as PM until parliamentary elections in March 2017 elections which saw the center-right GERB party <a href="#">won a plurality</a> and Boyko Borisov became PM again in April, the results of which “ <a href="#">appeared to be a disappointment for President Vladimir V. Putin of Russia, who has sought to exploit divisions in the European Union to strengthen Russia’s influence – particularly in a country like Bulgaria, which was one of the Soviet Union’s closest allies</a> ” Russian economic <a href="#">integration with and leverage over Bulgaria is substantial</a> . In addition to the more recent intervention, Moscow has “ <a href="#">been accused of hacking the country’s Central Election Commission ahead of a referendum and local elections in 2015</a> ” as well as bankrolling “ <a href="#">protests in 2012 and 2013 that helped topple a pro-Western government</a> ” According to a CSIS report, Russia cultivated close ties to the far-right, anti-EU party Ataka (“Attack”) starting in the mid-2000s.	Promote anti-Brussels and anti-Washington sentiment in a NATO/EU member state, elect pro-Russian party in November elections	Rumen Radev won the presidential elections, but his Socialist Party lost parliamentary elections the following year.	Partial	Medium
	Italy	Constitutional Referendum	During a referendum on constitutional changes which would reform the powers of the parliament of Italy proposed by PM Matteo Renzi and opposed by the far right Five Star Movement (M5S) and Northern League (the former has <a href="#">met with senior United Russia officials and calls for the end of EU sanctions on Moscow</a> , and the latter of has <a href="#">long-standing ties to the Kremlin</a> ), the <a href="#">spread of fake news and disinformation was alleged to originate from Moscow</a> . Moreover, the Five Star Movement has itself widely disseminated fake stories, many of which are <a href="#">sourced to Kremlin-controlled sites</a> .	Weaken the pro-EU, pro-NATO Renzi government	The referendum was defeated, <a href="#">prompting the resignation of Renzi</a> . The outcome was seen as “ <a href="#">a major victory for the populist Five Star Movement, which led opposition to reform and the xenophobic Northern League.</a> ”	No (The Democratic Party remains in office)	Low

	Montenegro	Parliamentary Elections	After Montenegrin PM Djukanovic signed an accession protocol of NATO membership in May of 2016 which “ <a href="#">dashed Russian hopes of securing a naval foothold in the Adriatic</a> ,” two Russians initiated an <a href="#">ultimately failed plot to seize Montenegro’s parliament, kill the prime minister, and install a new government hostile to NATO</a> . The two Russians did visit Moscow and are alleged to be GRU operatives, but there <a href="#">no confirmed Russian government role</a> (though a Russian role <a href="#">is confirmed by British government officials</a> ). Contemporaneously with the coup attempt, Montenegro also “ <a href="#">suffered a series of coordinated cyberattacks</a> .”	<a href="#">Prevent Montenegro from joining NATO and electing pro-Moscow candidates in October elections</a>	PM Djukanovic <a href="#">stepped down after Russian interference uncovered</a> (for unclear reasons), handing power to his deputy in the Democratic Socialist Party.	No	Low
	Norway	Labour Party operations	The Norwegian Policy Security Service (PST) <a href="#">alerted the Labour Party</a> it had been attacked by a group PST <a href="#">determined had ties to Russian intelligence</a> .	Undermine NATO member, Norwegian electoral process	No change	No	Low
	Netherlands	Nonbinding Referendum, EU-Ukraine Association	Russia <a href="#">ran a disinformation campaign</a> through Sputnik and RT in an attempt to <a href="#">discredit the government of Ukraine</a> . The referendum saw very low turnout (32%) but nearly two thirds of voters rejected the EU-Ukraine Association Agreement. However, voters said “ <a href="#">they were opposing not only the treaty but wider European policymaking on matters ranging from the migrant crisis to economics</a> .” However, despite this outcome, <a href="#">Dutch parliament backed the association agreement</a> and the association agreement <a href="#">came into force</a> September 1, 2017.	Prevent EU-Ukraine association agreement	While the referendum failed, Dutch parliament passed the measure anyway; difficult to link referendum failure to Russian interference	Partial	Medium
	United Kingdom	Referendum on EU Membership	In the days leading up to the referendum on Brexit, researchers disclosed that “ <a href="#">150,000 Russian-language Twitter accounts posted tens of thousands of messages in English urging Britain to leave the European Union</a> .” In addition, Sputnik and RT “ <a href="#">pushed hard for Brexit</a> .”	Encourage UK to leave the EU	Brexit vote passes	Yes	Low
	United States	Presidential Elections	Russia interference in the US election is <a href="#">widely acknowledged</a> , with <a href="#">US consideration of retaliation</a> beginning under the Obama administration. Russian intelligence and Kremlin-connected hackers <a href="#">infiltrated voting systems, leaked Clinton campaign emails to Wikileaks, created fake documents leaked alongside real documents to Wikileaks</a> , used Facebook pages to <a href="#">spread anti-immigrant propaganda, paid for pro-Trump Facebook ads</a> , used Facebook to <a href="#">organize anti-immigrant protests in the US</a> .	<a href="#">Elect Donald Trump</a> , end US sanctions	Donald Trump wins US Presidency; but sanctions remain	Partial	Medium
2015	Germany	Christian Democratic Union Party operations	German officials claim “ <a href="#">a Russian hacking group was behind a major attack</a> ” on parliament in Berlin and <a href="#">also attacked the Christian Democratic Union party</a> of Angela Merkel.	Undermine pro-EU party of Merkel, German electoral process	No change	No	Low
	United Kingdom	General Elections	Former Labour minister, Chris Bryant, <a href="#">claims there is evidence of “direct” involvement by Russia</a> in the 2015 UK elections. Russia “ <a href="#">took an active interest in the Scottish referendum which threatened Britain’s Trident base at Faslane and which was given extensive coverage on Russia Today</a> . Afterwards, Russia claimed the count was flawed and suggested the result was rigged”	Discrediting UK democracy, victory for UKIP	Victory for David Cameron and the Conservative Party	No	Low
2014	Moldova	Parliamentary Elections	The Moldovan Central Election Commission disqualified the pro-Moscow Patria party days before the legislative elections for <a href="#">illegal use of foreign funds</a> and allegations that the head of the party admitted to being an FSB agent. In early November, Putin held a high-profile meeting with the head of the Socialist Party, Igor Dodon. After the election, the pro-Brussels government <a href="#">signed an EU-Moldova association agreement</a> .	Supporting pro-Moscow Patria Party and the PSRM	The pro-Russia PSRM won the most seats in parliament, but the Liberal Democrat Party of Moldova maintained control of government <sup>2</sup>	No	Low
	Ukraine	Presidential Elections	In the Ukrainian presidential elections of 2014, Russia “ <a href="#">launched a series of coordinated cyber-attacks</a> ” including “ <a href="#">attempts to fake vote totals</a> ” and	Disrupt elections, particularly Poroshenko	Poroshenko victory	No	Low

<sup>2</sup> Dodon would ultimately become President [after elections in 2016](#).

			used malware to “ <a href="#">infect the servers at Ukraine’s central election commission</a> .”				
2010	Ukraine	Presidential Elections	In the 2010 Ukrainian elections <a href="#">Russia criticized Yushchenko</a> and supported Yanukovych.	Yanukovych victory	Yanukovych and his Party of Regions wins	Yes	Low
2009	Moldova	Parliamentary Elections	In the 2009 parliamentary elections <a href="#">Russia provided election support</a> for Voronin and the PCRM, <a href="#">including</a> a high-profile meeting with Medvedev in March and a promise to distribute oil to Moldovan farmers prior to the elections to boost incumbent popularity.	PCRM victory	PCRM defeat  (PCRM cannot form a government; fresh elections held in July that result in victory for pro-Brussels Alliance for European Integration)	No	Low
2006	Belarus	Presidential Elections	<a href="#">In the March 2006 presidential elections</a> Russia gave favorable media coverage to Lukashenka, Kremlin advisers aided the campaign and directly provided funds, Moscow promised not to raise gas prices, and the FSB directly assisted the Belarusian KGB in targeting opposition.	Lukashenka victory	Lukashenka victory	Yes	Low
2005	Moldova	Parliamentary Elections	Russia <a href="#">interfered against Voronin and the PCRM</a> in the March 2005 parliamentary elections and Moldovan secret service expelled 21 Russians who were allegedly sent to spy on the president and other politicians prior to the election. Moscow also provided material support.	PCRM defeat	PCRM victory	No	Low
2004	Ukraine	Presidential Elections	In the 2004 Ukrainian presidential elections <a href="#">Russia interfered ‘massively’</a> on behalf of Kuchma’s chosen successor, Yanukovych, <a href="#">providing somewhere between \$50 and \$600 million</a> to his campaign from October-November. Putin also held high profile meetings with Yanukovych where he <a href="#">praised</a> the latter on Ukrainian national television.	Yanukovych victory	Yanukovych defeat (Yushchenko victory)	No	Low
2002	Ukraine	Parliamentary Elections	Russia <a href="#">provided support</a> for pro-Kuchma parties.	Pro-Kuchma party victories	Anti-Kuchma party (Our Ukraine Bloc) victory	No	Low
1996	Moldova	Presidential Elections	Russia <a href="#">provided election support</a> for Lucinschi.	Lucinschi victory	Lucinschi victory	Yes	Low
1994	Belarus	Presidential Elections	Russia <a href="#">provided election support</a> for Kebich against Lukashenka.	Kebich victory	Lukashenka victory	No	Low
	Ukraine	Presidential Elections	Russia <a href="#">provided election support</a> for Kuchma in his challenge against incumbent president Kravchuk.	Kuchma victory	Kuchma victory	Yes	Medium

VARIABLE	DESCRIPTION
year	year of event
target_state	target country
target_ccode	Correlates of War (COW) country code
target_event	1=national election; 2=referendum; 3=political party operations
event_sdate	Precise start date; mm/dd/yyyy
event_edate	Precise end date; mm/dd/yyyy
pro_incumbent	1=yes; 0=no
disinfo	evidence of a disinformation campaign (fake news, propaganda, etc.); 1=yes; 0=no
coup	evidence of a sponsored coup attempt; 1=yes; 0=no
cyberattack	evidence of cyberattacks (phishing; cyberespionage; DDOS, etc.); 1=yes; 0=no
mat_support	material (i.e., financial or logistical support) to candidates or parties; 1=yes; 0=no
outcome	1=incumbent victory; 2=incumbent loss; 3=referendum failure; 4=referendum success
outcome_favorable	0=no; 1=partially favorable; 2=yes
rus_impact	0=low evidence of Russian impact; 1=medium evidence; 2=high evidence