

Research Briefing

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Military assistance to Ukraine since the Russian invasion



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Summary

Defence and security links between Ukraine, NATO members and other allies and partners started soon after Ukraine's independence in 1991. They intensified when Russia annexed Crimea in 2014, but primarily took the form of training and the bilateral provision of non-lethal military equipment.

Since Russia's invasion of Ukraine in February 2022, bilateral military assistance has been stepped up, with many allies for the first time supplying lethal weapons to Ukraine. For some countries such as Germany, and historically neutral countries such as Sweden, this has represented a significant reversal of their previous defence policies which ruled out providing offensive weapons.

The US is the largest provider of military assistance to Ukraine, having committed \$37.6 billion since the start of the Biden administration in January 2021. \$36.9 billion of that assistance has been provided since Russia's invasion in February 2022.

As the second largest donor, the UK has committed £4.6 billion in military assistance to Ukraine so far (£2.3 billion in 2022 and a commitment to match that funding in 2023). The UK is also hosting a training programme (Operation Interflex), which is supported by several allies, with the aim of training 30,000 new and existing Ukrainian personnel by the end of 2023. The UK has recently committed to training Ukrainian fast jet pilots but has said that combat fighter aircraft will not be provided, at least in the short term. The UK is supplying long-range precision strike missiles.

NATO, as an alliance, has been clear in its political support of Ukraine and fully supports the provision of bilateral military assistance by individual allies. NATO is helping to coordinate requests for assistance from the Ukrainian government and is supporting the delivery of humanitarian and non-lethal aid. Ukraine is not a NATO member, however, and therefore isn't party to NATO's mutual defence clause under Article V of the North Atlantic Treaty. As such, NATO troops will not be deployed on the ground in Ukraine. Allies have also ruled out imposing a no-fly zone over Ukraine because it would bring Russia into direct conflict with NATO forces. At the Heads of State and Government summit in Madrid at the end of June 2022 NATO allies agreed a new package of assistance for Ukraine that will provide long term, sustained, support.

The European Union is also providing non-lethal and lethal arms through its <u>European Peace Facility</u> (EPF). This is the first time the bloc has, in its history, approved the supply of lethal weapons to a third country. To date, the EU has committed just over €4.6 billion, including €1 billion of funds to reimburse EPF countries who have provided urgently needed munitions. A further €1 billion of

EPF funds will be set aside for the joint EU procurement of artillery ammunition.

In October 2022, the EU also approved a new training mission for the Ukrainian armed forces.

As the conflict in Ukraine has evolved, so has the types of weaponry being provided. Ahead of an expected spring offensive, the focus has been on providing Ukraine, in the short window available, with the capability to both defend their territory and to enable them to retake ground currently under Russian control. There are, however, fears that the provision of increasingly more sophisticated weaponry could escalate the conflict.

1 Background – longstanding military assistance

The UK and other Western allies have worked on security cooperation initiatives with Ukraine since its independence in 1991, focused on defence reform, defence planning and capacity building.

In response to Russia's annexation of Crimea in 2014 and the ongoing crisis in Eastern Ukraine, and at the request of the Ukrainian Government, Western allies significantly stepped up their support. Reiterating their commitment to the sovereignty and territorial integrity of Ukraine, military assistance to the Ukrainian armed forces has been a key part of their overall approach.

This assistance, however, was largely in the form of training the Ukrainian military both through NATO-led programmes and bilateral programmes such as the UK's Operation Orbital, and through the bilateral provision of non-lethal equipment.

In 2018 the US became the first Ukrainian ally to provide major defensive lethal weaponry, when the Trump administration approved the provision of Javelin anti-tank missiles to Ukraine. In 2019, Ukraine purchased a number of Bayraktar drones from Turkey.

The build-up of Russian military forces in Crimea and on the eastern Ukrainian border over the course of 2021 and early 2022 put further pressure on Western nations to increase support to the country.

For the first time, several countries, including the UK and the Baltic nations started supplying defensive lethal weaponry to Ukraine.

Russia said Western military assistance to Ukraine was a provocation and accused the West of supporting Ukraine in militarising eastern Ukraine and dismantling the 2014 and 2015 Minsk Agreements, which had been the basis for a political solution to the conflict there.

Military assistance to Ukraine prior to the Russian invasion is examined in greater detail in House of Commons Library briefing, <u>Military assistance to Ukraine 2014-2021</u>.

¹ "<u>U.S. Confirms Delivery Of Javelin Antitank Missiles To Ukraine"</u>, Radio Free Europe, 3 April 2018

² <u>"Why Ukraine's Turkish-made drone became a flash point in tensions with Russia"</u>, Washington Post, 15 January 2022.

2 Military assistance following the Russian invasion

The predominantly bilateral nature of military assistance to Ukraine has continued following Russia's invasion of the country. International efforts are being coordinated by the UK, US and Poland through the International Donor Coordination Centre and the Ukraine Defense Contact Group.

NATO has been supportive of allies providing assistance, has helped coordinate efforts and has facilitated the delivery of humanitarian and non-lethal aid to the country. NATO does not, however, possess military assets of its own and has been clear that as a defensive alliance, bilateral defensive assistance by NATO allies is the more appropriate course of action. Ukraine is not a NATO member state and therefore NATO troops will not be deployed on the ground and NATO allies have ruled out imposing a no-fly zone as it would bring NATO forces into direct conflict with Russia.

The EU is providing military assistance, including lethal arms, through its new European Peace Facility. It is the first time that the EU has directly financed military assistance to a third country using EU funds.

As the conflict in Ukraine has evolved, so has the types of weaponry being provided. Ahead of an expected spring offensive, by both sides, the focus has been on providing Ukraine, in the short window available, with the capability to both defend their territory and to enable them to retake ground currently under Russian control.

2.1 Coordination of support

The UK, US and Poland have taken a leading role in coordinating international military assistance to Ukraine.

In February 2022, and again at the end of March, the UK held donor conferences, the latter involving more than 35 countries and representatives from NATO and the EU, to discuss Ukraine's requirements for lethal, and non-lethal aid and to "encourage further donations and support their delivery".³

³ Ministry of Defence, <u>Press release</u>, 7 April 2022

International Donor Coordination Centre

In April 2022 the UK, along with partner nations, established the <u>International Donor Coordination Centre</u> (IDCC) in Stuttgart, the Headquarters of US European Command, to "ensure the international community's military aid to Ukraine is as coordinated and effective as possible".⁴

The role of the IDCC, which comprises over a hundred troops from 30 countries, is to field Ukraine's requests for weaponry, coordinate the response of allies and ensure the delivery of equipment into Ukraine.

Further reading:

• "Inside the multinational logistics cell coordinating military assistance to Ukraine", Defense News, 21 July 2022

Ukraine Defense Contact Group

Since late April 2022 the coordination of military assistance by the IDCC has been supported by the establishment of the US-led Ukraine Defense Contact Group. The Group has been meeting on an almost monthly basis to discuss Ukraine's evolving military requirements and how best to respond. The eleventh, and latest, meeting of the group was held at Ramstein Air Force Base on 21 April 2023 and involved over 50 countries. Separately, the National Armament Directors of 45 nations have also met under the auspices of the Contact Group to discuss some of the defence industrial base challenges going forward.

Through the Contact Group, allies have collectively committed more than £55 billion in military assistance to Ukraine.⁵

Led by Ukrainian requirements

While allies are in discussion with Ukrainian officials on potential weapon systems and future requirements, it has been made clear that process is led by the requirements and priorities of the Ukrainian government.⁶ At a meeting of the Contact Group in June 2022, the US Chairman of the Joint Chiefs of Staff, General Mark Milley, said:

The Ukrainian security assistance program has been calculated, responsive and relevant to Ukrainian defense requirements.

Our close and ongoing relationship with Ukraine's military leaders has informed our process to provide a tailored timely assistance based on Ukrainian needs [...]

"The members of this Contact Group are standing up for a world where rules matter and where rights matter and where sovereignty is respected and where people can choose their own path, free from tyranny and aggression and I am confident that this group will remain united".

US Secretary of

Defense, Lloyd J Austin

III. 20 January 2023

⁴ Ministry of Defence, <u>Press release</u>, 7 April 2022

US Department of Defense, Opening Remarks, 21 April 2023

⁶ HC Deb 11 May 2022, c133

The speed that we have delivered security assistance is without comparison. From the time the requests are validated and authorized it is only a matter of days until the requirement is sourced, shipped, in the hands of Ukrainians.

In some cases, it may take a week, but most of the time it's measured in days. While more work is required, we could not have achieved this progress without the active assistance from the countries who are present today. We gather today, both in the defense of Ukraine and really in the defense of the world.⁷

At a meeting of the group in September 2022, participants agreed to use this mechanism to "support Ukraine's self defense over the long haul", including finding new and innovative ways to support the Ukrainian military.⁸

The debate over heavy weaponry

While allies agreed a significant package of military equipment at a meeting of the Defense Contact Group in Ramstein on 20 January 2023, the meeting was overshadowed by the debate over the provision of heavy weaponry to Ukraine, specifically the German-made Leopard 2 tank. Germany had been under pressure to both approve the re-export of Leopard 2 tanks which are operated by more than a dozen allies across Europe and to commit to providing its own.⁹

1 Why is the Leopard 2 tank important?

The <u>Leopard 2</u> was designed during the Cold War specifically to defend against the Russian T-72 tank which is currently being deployed by Russian forces in Ukraine.

It is operated by thirteen countries across Europe, ¹⁰ and compared to US and UK tanks is smaller, lighter and considered easier to operate and maintain. The large pool of existing capability in Europe also provides multiples sources of spare parts and maintenance experts, thereby simplifying logistical support.

The Ramstein meeting ended without a resolution, however, with the new German Defence Minister Boris Pistorius, saying that no consensus had yet been reached within the coalition German government. The government was reported to have ruled out the provision of tanks unless the US government committed to sending its own M1 Abram tanks to Ukraine, a linkage which the German Defence Minister subsequently denied. The US had resisted sending

US Department of Defense, <u>Transcript</u>, 15 June 2022

⁸ US Department of Defense, <u>Transcript of a press conference following a meeting of the Ukraine</u>
<u>Defense Contact Group</u>, 8 September 2022

⁹ Under German export controls approval must be given for the transfer of German manufactured arms and equipment from the inventories of third countries.

Austria, Denmark, Finland, Germany, Greece, Hungary, Norway, Poland, Portugal, Spain, Sweden, Switzerland and Turkey.

[&]quot;Germany snubs Ukraine's tank request", Politico, 20 January 2023 and US Department of Defense,
Press conference following Ukraine Defense Contact Group meeting, 20 January 2023

the Abrams tank, citing their unsuitability to the conditions in Ukraine, the difficulty in operating them and the prohibitive cost of maintaining them.¹²

The stand-off between allies has also been fuelled by differing opinions on the impact of providing such weaponry. While many believe that the provision of heavy armour capability will give fresh impetus to Ukraine's counteroffensive, enable it to retake territory and defend against any Russian spring offensive, some members of the German government, including Chancellor Scholz, expressed concern over the potential for escalating the conflict.¹⁴

"Rather than too little too late, this more deliberate process is best understood as smart incrementalism in the face of a nuclear armed adversary".

Jahara Matisek, Will Reno and Sam Rosenberg, <u>RUSI</u> <u>Commentary</u>, 8 February 2023 After days of indecision, in a speech to the Bundestag on 25 January 2023 Chancellor Scholz announced that Germany would send 14 Leopard 2A tanks to Ukraine and would also allow third countries to re-export theirs, if they choose to do so. ¹⁵ In his statement Chancellor Scholz defended the time taken to make a decision, saying "it was right and it keeps on being right not to have been pushed forward but to have waited for international cooperation to take place". ¹⁶ He went on to say:

With everything that we do, we must always make very clear that we will do what is necessary and possible to support Ukraine, but at the same time to prevent an escalation of the war to a war between Russia and NATO.¹⁷

Ahead of the German announcement it was widely reported that an agreement had been reached with the US for it to provide Ukraine with 30 M1A2 Abrams tanks. ¹⁸ In a subsequent White House press conference, President Biden confirmed that 31 Abrams tanks would sent to Ukraine, the equivalent of one Ukrainian battalion. The US will also provide parts and the equipment necessary for maintenance and sustainment. Training for Ukrainian personnel will begin as soon as possible. ¹⁹

Poland formally requested permission to re-export the Leopard 2 on 24 January 2023, 20 and welcomed Germany's decision. Poland called for a coalition of European allies that operate the Leopard 2 to come together in a package of assistance for Ukraine.

Are fighter jets next?

With the debate on the provision of tanks now resolved, attention has immediately shifted to the next capability in Ukraine's list of requirements: combat fighter aircraft.

[&]quot;Top US officials don't want to give Ukraine tanks despite German pressure", ABC News, 20 January 2023

See for example, Justin Bronk, @Justin_BrOnk, 16 January 2023

[&]quot;Olaf Scholz won't release the Leopards – here's why", The Daily Telegraph, 20 January 2023

[&]quot;Ukraine updates: Germany approves sending of Leopard 2 tanks", Deutsche Welle, 25 January 2023

¹⁶ <u>"Ukraine updates: Germany approves sending of Leopard 2 tanks"</u>, Deutsche Welle, 25 January 2023

¹⁷ <u>"Scholz defends decision to send battle tanks to Ukraine"</u>, Deutsche Welle, 25 January 2023

[&]quot;US finalising plans to send approximately 30 Abrams tanks to Ukraine, two US officials say", CNN, 25 January 2023

White House, <u>Remarks on continued support for Ukraine</u>, 25 January 2023

[&]quot;Poland requests German approval to send Leopard 2 tanks to Ukraine", CNN, 24 January 2023

The desire for Western combat aircraft has long been expressed by President Zelenskyy,²¹ which he reiterated during visits to the UK, France and Brussels at the beginning of February 2023. Speaking to the UK Parliament on 8 February 2023, President Zelenskyy said "I appeal to you and the world with simple and yet most important words: combat aircraft- for Ukraine. Wings – for freedom".²²

The UK has said that it will begin training Ukrainian pilots on NATO-standard aircraft, ²³ and that "nothing was off the table". ²⁴ However, the provision of Western combat aircraft is thought unlikely to happen in the short term. Defence Secretary, Ben Wallace reportedly said that it was "more realistic and more productive to envisage the UK providing Ukraine with aircraft in the long term to ensure its security after the war with Russia has ended". ²⁵

The US and German governments have also ruled out the provision of combat aircraft, for the time being.²⁶

Poland initially acknowledged that taking such a step was not easy due to the logistics, maintenance and training required for such aircraft.²⁷ On 16 March 2023, however, the Polish government announced that it would send an initial tranche of four Soviet-era MiG-29 aircraft to Ukraine, becoming the first NATO ally to do so.²⁸ Slovakia followed suit on 17 March, confirming that it would gradually transfer its fleet of 13 MiG-29 aircraft to Ukraine.²⁹ The Ukrainian armed forces already operates the MiG-29.

At the latest meeting of the Ukraine Defense Contact Group, the Chairman of the US Joint Chiefs of Staff, General Mark Milley, reiterated that the most important military task at present is to control Ukrainian airspace and that the "most cost effective" and "efficient" way to do that is through the provision of air defence capability. On the issue of combat aircraft, he said:

In terms of the aircraft themselves, there's a long lead time for — for training of pilots, et cetera, and the Russians have a significant amount of air power. And to take the Ukrainian Air Force from where it is today and to build it up to match the Russian Air Force, that's a significant level of effort by lots of countries, and those policy choices may or may not be made down the road and we'll see where that goes. 30

²¹ <u>"Zelenskiy demands Western nations give arms to Ukraine, asks if they're afraid of Moscow",</u> Reuters, 27 March 2022

²² President Zelensky speech in full, YouTube, 8 February 2023

Downing Street, <u>Press release</u>, 8 February 2023

²⁴ Sunak and Zelenskyy hold joint news conference, Sky News, 8 February 2023

²⁵ "Ukraine: No immediate transfer of UK fighter jets - Wallace", BBC News, 9 February 2023

²⁶ "Rishi Sunak lays down a marker with offer to train Ukraine pilots", The Guardian, 8 February 2023

²⁷ <u>"Jets to Ukraine decision 'not easy' says Poland"</u>, BBC News, 11 February 2023

[&]quot;Poland to delivery fighter jets to Ukraine in major escalation of military backing", The Guardian, 16
March 2023

[&]quot;Slovakia, after Poland, agrees to give Ukraine Soviet jets", Associated Press, 17 March 2023

³⁰ US Department of Defense, <u>Transcript of Press Conference</u>, 21 April 2023

There are fears of escalation and the potential to bring aircraft from NATO allies into direct confrontation with Russia. Kremlin spokesperson, Dmitry Peskov, has accused the UK and NATO allies of growing involvement in the conflict, saying that the provision of combat fighter aircraft would "lead to an escalation of tension, prolong the conflict and make the conflict more and more painful for Ukraine".³¹

The debate around the potential provision of UK aircraft is examined in House of Commons Library insight, Will the UK send combat aircraft to Ukraine?

International Fund for Ukraine

Alongside the International Donor Coordination Centre and the Contact Group, in April 2022 allies, led by the UK, established an <u>International Fund for Ukraine (IFU)</u> to coordinate the purchase and transport of military equipment to Ukraine from third countries and/or industry.³²

Expansion of the IFU

On 11 August 2022 an <u>international donor's conference was held in</u>
<u>Copenhagen</u>, with the aim of discussing how to strengthen the military assistance being provided to Ukraine, and sustain it in the longer term.

Hosted by Denmark, Ukraine and the UK, 26 countries participated in the conference with discussions focused on financing, weapons production, training and demining.

Among the <u>agreements reached at the conference</u> (PDF), was the expansion of the IFU in order to finance the purchase of military equipment for Ukraine, support Ukraine in the procurement process and to facilitate training. The longer-term intention is to facilitate a move away from donations by individual countries from their own stockpiles, to purchases directly from the defence industry.³³

To date, £520 million has been contributed to the IFU. The outcome of the first procurement round was announced in February 2023 and included ammunition, drones, air defence and electronic warfare capabilities.³⁴ The second procurement round is currently open, with expressions of interest invited in the areas of long-range strike, air defence and mobility support.³⁵

The UK MOD has confirmed that £250 million of the £1 billion committed at the NATO summit at the end of June 2022 (see below) would be put into the IFU.³⁶ The MOD stated:

³¹ <u>"Ukraine updates: Russia warns jets will prolong conflict"</u>, Deutsche Welle, 9 February 2023

Norwegian Ministry of Defence, <u>Press release</u>, 27 April 2022

Norwegian Ministry of Defence, <u>Press release</u> (in Norwegian), 11 August 2022

³⁴ Ministry of Defence, <u>Press release</u>, 16 February 2023

³⁵ Ministry of Defence, <u>International Fund for Ukraine</u> (accessed 2 May 2023)

³⁶ Ministry of Defence, <u>Press release</u>, 11 August 2022

The fund will ensure a steady flow of money not just for the provision of vital new weapons, but the essential maintenance and repair of existing kit, and training to maximise the Armed Forces of Ukraine's effectiveness on the battlefield.³⁷

2.2 UK military assistance to Ukraine

2 Headlines

- The UK continues to gift military aid to the Ukrainian armed forces.
- So far, the UK has committed a total of £4.6 billion in military assistance to Ukraine. £2.3 billion was provided in 2022 and the Government has said it will match, or exceed, that assistance in 2023/24. All that funding will be met from the Treasury Reserve and will not come from the MOD's budget.
- The UK is the second largest provider of military assistance after the United States which, to date, has provided \$36.9 billion since February 2022.
- Combined with economic and humanitarian assistance, the UK has committed a total of £6.5 billion to Ukraine since February 2022.
- The UK has provided lethal weaponry, including anti-tank missiles, artillery guns, air defence systems, armoured fighting vehicles, anti-structure munitions, and three M270 long-range multiple launch rocket systems. In January 2023 the UK announced a significant uplift in combat support, including the provision of 14 Challenger II main battle tanks. In May 2023, the Government announced that it would provide Ukraine with Storm Shadow missiles, which are a long-range precision strike capability. The UK is the first country to provide Ukraine with missiles with a range sufficient to strike targets anywhere in the country.
- The UK has also provided over 200,000 items of non-lethal aid, including unmanned aerial systems, body armour, helmets, night vision equipment, mine detection equipment, medical equipment and winter clothing. In November 2022, the MOD confirmed that the first of three retired Sea King search and rescue helicopters had been delivered to Ukraine.
- The UK has established a long-term training programme for the Ukrainian armed forces (Operation Interflex), with the aim of training 30,000 new and existing Ukrainian soldiers by the end of 2023. The

³⁷ Ministry of Defence, <u>Press release</u>, 11 August 2022

- Netherlands, Canada, Sweden, Finland, Norway, Denmark, Lithuania, New Zealand and Australia participate in the training programme.
- In February 2023, the Government confirmed that training would be expanded to include Ukrainian fast jet pilots and marines. At <u>a UK-</u> <u>France summit</u> on 10 March 2023, President Macron confirmed that French personnel would contribute to marines training.
- At the latest meeting of the Ukraine Defense Contact Group, the Defence Secretary said that the acceleration of military aid was a priority.

UK military assistance to Ukraine is longstanding.³⁸ In October 2014, and in response to Russia's annexation of Crimea and the destabilisation of the east of the country, the Government announced that bilateral military assistance would be expanded at the request of the Ukrainian Government. That support included the provision of a package of non-lethal military equipment.³⁹

In 2015 the UK launched Operation Orbital, a non-lethal training and capacity building operation. It provided guidance and training to the Ukrainian armed forces through several advisory and short-term training teams. This has been the main vehicle for providing training and assistance to Ukrainian forces. The UK also launched an initiative to enhance Ukraine's naval capacity and provide training for its naval forces.

For more detail on historic UK military assistance to Ukraine see Library briefing: Military assistance to Ukraine 2014-21.

Provision of defensive weaponry starts in late 2021

In early December 2021, and in light of new Russian military activity on Ukraine's borders, ⁴⁰ the Government said that the UK was "considering an extension of purely defensive support to Ukraine to help it defend itself". ⁴¹

In January 2022 the Ministry of Defence confirmed that, in addition to the existing support being provided, the UK would provide a new security assistance package "to increase Ukraine's defensive capabilities", including the provision of light, anti-armour weapons. A small contingent of British military personnel would also deploy to provide initial training for a short period of time, within the framework of Operation Orbital.

Announcing the decision, the Defence Secretary said:

In September 2014 the MOD gave an overview of the military assistance that has been provided to Ukraine in the previous six years (PQ 209093, Ukraine, 13 October 2014)

In July 2014 the <u>Council of the European Union</u> lifted the restrictive measures on export licenses to Ukraine that it had <u>previously imposed</u> in the February of that year in response to political violence in the country.

This is examined in greater detail in House of Commons Library, <u>Ukraine: Russia's "red line"</u>,

⁴¹ HC Deb 7 December 2021 [Ukraine], c188

Ukraine has every right to defend its borders, and this new package of aid further enhances its ability to do so. Let me be clear, this support is for short-range and clearly defensive weapon capabilities. They are not strategic weapons and pose no threat to Russia. They are to use in self-defence.⁴²

Although intended for defensive purposes, the decision represented the first time the UK supplied lethal weaponry to Ukraine. On 30 January 2022 the Government confirmed that 2,000 anti-armour missiles had been supplied.⁴³

On 10 February the MOD confirmed that additional defensive equipment, including body armour, helmets and combat boots would also be provided.⁴⁴

In response to concerns of an imminent Russian invasion the UK announced in mid-February 2022 that all UK military training personnel would withdraw from Ukraine.⁴⁵

⁴² HC Deb 17 January 2022, <u>Ukraine</u>, c62

Downing Street, <u>Press release</u>, 30 January 2022

⁴⁴ HCWS608, <u>Ukraine</u>, 10 February 2022

^{45 &}quot;Russia-Ukraine crisis: UK won't be able to fly people out – minister", BBC News (online), 12 February 2022.

Government announcements since Russian military operations in Ukraine started

Government will supply more weapons, but will not send forces to Ukraine

On 25 February in response to an Urgent Question on Ukraine in the House of Commons, the Minister for the Armed Forces, James Heappey, made clear that while the Government would look to provide further military support to Ukraine, he couldn't elaborate on the details because they are "operationally sensitive", and that there was no prospect of "active military support" in Ukraine by British or NATO forces:

[W]e will explore all that we can do to support the Ukrainians in the next few days. All hon. Members in this House must be clear that British and NATO troops should not—must not—play an active role in Ukraine. We must all be clear what the risks of miscalculation could be and how existential the situation could quickly become if people do miscalculate and things escalate unnecessarily.

The Government do not feel that they can share with the House the detail of the support that the UK will provide to the Ukrainians at this sensitive point in operations. We apologise for that. We will do our best to give the House as much as we can, but hon. Members will appreciate that the detail is operationally sensitive. 46

Pressed for further details of what additional military equipment and support the UK might be able to provide, the Minister said the Secretary of State has "instructed military officers in Defence to look across the full UK inventory for everything that we have right now that might be usable in the circumstances and to look at whether that could be sent forward and absorbed by the Ukrainians".

He warned, however of some of the difficulties involved, including that most systems require some degree of training, and all the countries that have intellectual property or that operate the system have to give their permission for it to be donated. He emphasised though that "we are leaving no stone unturned, and [...] we want to see as much British kit in the hands of the Ukrainians as we can manage".⁴⁷

UK Government does not support a no-fly zone

On 24 February, Sir Iain Duncan Smith MP asked the then Prime Minister in the House of Commons, about the request from the Ukrainian Ambassador to the UK for a no-fly zone over the country. Urging Mr Johnson to say, "he rules nothing out", ⁴⁸ the Prime Minister replied:

I understand the attractions of the no-fly zone. I remember the no-fly zone that was created in 1991, as I recall, in northern Iraq. However, the situation here is very different. We would face the risk of having to shoot down Russian planes,

"We have provided Ukraine with military aid on the understanding that it will be used in accordance with international humanitarian law. We liaise on a daily basis with the Ukrainian Government, and they are clear that equipment provided by the UK is intended for the

PQ54667, <u>Ukraine:</u>
<u>Military aid</u>, 11 October
2022

defence of Ukraine".

⁴⁶ HC Deb 25 February 2022, <u>Ukraine</u>, c623

⁴⁷ HC Deb 25 February 2022, <u>Ukraine</u>, c623

⁴⁸ HC Deb 24 February 2022, <u>Ukraine</u>, c577

and that is something that I think the House would want to contemplate with caution.⁴⁹

On 25 February James Heappey was also asked in the House about helping implement a no-fly zone over Ukraine:

As Members will appreciate, a no-fly zone is somewhat difficult to implement in a hostile airspace against a peer adversary. We need to have our eyes wide open to the reality that in such an event NATO jets would, not just possibly but most certainly probably, come into a combat situation with Russian jets, and the risk of miscalculation, escalation and the triggering of article 5 could not be understated in those circumstances.⁵⁰

On 11 October 2022 the Government confirmed that its position on implementing a no-fly zone had not changed. ⁵¹

Library briefing 'No-fly zones and Ukraine', gives further details of calls for a no-fly zone in Ukraine, the response of the UK and its allies, their legal basis and examples of when have they been used before.

Further package of military support promised

On 2 March, James Heappey told the House of Commons that "in the next hours and days, we will provide a further package of military support to Ukraine". This package will include "lethal aid in the form of defensive weapons and non-lethal aid such as body armour, medical supplies and other key equipment as requested by the Ukrainian Government". But the Minister said once again "it is not possible to share with the House more of the detail at this sensitive point in operations, but we will do our best to share it with hon. Members after the event as much as we can". ⁵²

On 9 March, the Defence Secretary Ben Wallace revealed some details of the military assistance the UK had provided so far. He said the UK had continued to supply next generation light anti-tank weapons (NLAWs), going beyond the 2,000 first announced on 17 January. He told the House, "As of today, we have delivered 3,615 NLAWs and continue to deliver more", and in addition "We will shortly be starting the delivery of a small consignment of anti-tank javelin missiles". 53

Mr Wallace added that, in response to Ukrainian requests, the Government have taken the decision "to explore the donation of Starstreak high-velocity, man-portable anti-aircraft missiles". He said that "we believe that this system will remain within the definition of defensive weapons, but will allow the Ukrainian forces to better defend their skies". ⁵⁴

⁴⁹ HC Deb 24 February 2022, <u>Ukraine</u>, c571

⁵⁰ HC Deb 25 February 2022, <u>Ukraine</u>, <u>c621</u>

HC Deb 11 October 2022, Ukraine, c33

HC Deb 2 March 2022, Support for Ukraine and Countering Threats from Russia, C1107

⁵³ HC Deb 9 March 2022, <u>Ukraine Update</u>, c325.

HC Deb 9 March 2022, Ukraine Update, c326.

He also announced the UK would be increasing supplies of rations, medical equipment, and other non-lethal military aid.

The Defence Secretary argued that the Government was exercising caution when deciding what military assistance to provide Ukraine saying, "everything we do is bound by the decision to supply defensive systems and is calibrated not to escalate to a strategic level".⁵⁵

A doubling of lethal aid

At the NATO and G7 leader's meeting on 24 March, the Prime Minister announced a major package of military support to Ukraine. A further 6,000 defensive missiles would be provided, including the Starstreak air defence system which had been under consideration. The amount of "defensive lethal aid" being provided would therefore more than double to in excess of 10,000 missiles.

The Prime Minister also announced £25 million in financial backing for the Ukrainian military. That financial support will come from the Conflict, Stability and Security Fund and will help to pay the salaries of Ukrainian soldiers, pilots and police and "ensure the armed forces are well equipped with high-quality equipment".⁵⁶

In early April the UK hosted a Ukrainian military delegation to discuss their equipment requirements and the options for further military support.

On 8 April the MOD confirmed that a further £100 million package of military aid would be provided to Ukraine. Additional equipment would include including more than 800 NLAW anti-tank missiles, more Javelin and Starstreak missiles, additional loitering munitions for precision strikes and additional non-lethal aid including body armour, ballistic helmets and night vision goggles.⁵⁷

Following a visit to Kyiv by the Prime Minister, Downing Street also confirmed on 9 April that the UK would provide Ukraine with 120 armoured vehicles and new Harpoon anti-ship missile systems.⁵⁸

At the end of April that was followed up with the gifting of a several "Stormer" armoured vehicles fitted with anti-air missile launchers. ⁵⁹

⁵⁵ HC Deb 9 March 2022, <u>Ukraine Update</u>, c325.

Downing Street, <u>Press release</u>, 24 March 2022

Ministry of Defence, Press release, 8 April 2022

Downing Street, <u>Press release</u>, 9 April 2022

⁵⁹ Ministry of Defence, <u>Defence Secretary Statement to the House of Commons</u>, 25 April 2022

A doubling of financial assistance

In May 2022 the Government announced that £1.3 billion of funding would be committed to military assistance to Ukraine. That funding will be provided from the Treasury's Special Reserve.⁶⁰

The funding includes the £300 million military assistance package that the Prime Minister announced on 3 May, and included electronic warfare equipment, a counter battery radar system, GPS jamming equipment and thousands of night vision goggles.⁶¹

Provision of long-range artillery

On 6 June 2022 the MOD confirmed that it would provide Ukraine with three M270 multiple-launch rocket systems, and associated munitions. The M270 can strike targets up to 80km away with precision and is expected to "offer a significant boost in capability for the Ukrainian forces". The decision came at the request of the Ukrainian government for longer range precision weapons to defend against Russian heavy artillery and was taken in tandem with the US which is providing Ukraine with the High Mobility Artillery Rocket System (see below). Ukrainian troops are receiving training on the new systems in the UK.⁶²

The MOD has also confirmed the purchase of 20 M-109 self-propelled artillery units from a Belgian arms company which the Army has refurbished before sending them to Ukraine.⁶³

A further £1 billion in military support

At the NATO Summit at the end of June 2022 the then Prime Minister announced a further £1 billion on military support to Ukraine as part of a "next phase" that will "enhance and sustain Ukraine's resistance to the Russian invasion". In answer to a Parliamentary Question on 5 September 2022, the MOD confirmed that all Government Departments had contributed toward this additional military aid from their 2022/23 budgets, along with contributions from the Scottish and Welsh Governments.⁶⁴

Specifically, that funding would help supply capabilities including anti-tank weapons, air defence systems, unmanned aerial vehicles (drones), electronic warfare equipment and thousands of pieces of kit for Ukrainian soldiers.

In a statement to the House on 21 July 2022, the Defence Secretary confirmed that "Future planned military support will also include more sophisticated defence systems across a range of capabilities". 65

"As Russia changes tactics, so must our support to Ukraine".

UK Defence Secretary, Ben Wallace, 6 June 2022

At the time of writing, the UK has committed £4.6 billion in military support to Ukraine since the Russian invasion in February 2022.

⁶⁰ HC Deb 20 June 2022, c559

Downing Street, <u>Press release</u>, 3 May 2022

Ministry of Defence, <u>Press release</u>, 6 June 2022

⁶³ PQ20208, Ukraine: Military aid, 22 June 2022

PQ40737, <u>Ukraine: Military aid.</u> 5 September 2022

⁶⁵ HCWS259, Military support to Ukraine, 21 July 2022

On 11 August the Ministry of Defence confirmed that additional M270 multiple launch rocket systems would be sent to Ukraine, along with "a significant number" of precision guided M31A1 missiles. Ben Wallace said the latest equipment would help Ukraine "continue to defend against Russian aggression and the indiscriminate use of long-range artillery". 66

On 5 September the Defence Secretary confirmed that UK military assistance continued to be gifted to the Ukrainian armed forces⁶⁷ and that the UK was "now working on an additional package of support".⁶⁸ Part of that package would include the provision of urgent non-lethal assistance such as clothing, shelters, generators, fuel trucks and ambulances, ahead of the winter.⁶⁹

Additional air defence systems

On 13 October 2022 the MOD confirmed that it would donate hundreds more air defence missiles to Ukraine to protect against Russian missile strikes and to protect critical national infrastructure after Russia launched a series of drone and missile attacks against civilian targets. ⁷⁰ In that package will be AMRAAM rockets, for use with the National Advanced Surface-to-Air Missile System (NASAMS) being provided by the United States (see below). The AMRAAM rockets are the first capability pledged by the UK capable of shooting down cruise missiles. As part of this latest package of assistance, a further 18 howitzer artillery guns and hundreds of additional aerial drones will also be donated. ⁷¹

During a visit to Kyiv on 19 November, the Prime Minister announced "a major new package" of air defence support. The UK will provide 125 anti-aircraft guns and counter-drone technology, including radars and anti-drone electronic warfare capability.⁷²

Provision of search and rescue helicopter capability

In November the MOD also confirmed that the first of three Sea King search and rescue/reconnaissance helicopters had been delivered to Ukraine. The Sea King retired from service with the RAF and Royal Navy in 2018.

The Royal Navy has provided training in the UK for Ukrainian personnel who will crew those helicopters, and associated engineers.⁷³

"Bolstering
Ukraine's air
defences has been
and remains a
priority for UK
military support".

Ministry of Defence, 13 October 2022

- ⁶⁶ Ministry of Defence, <u>Press release</u>, 11 August 2022
- 67 As opposed to a repayment basis.
- 68 HC Deb 5 September 2022, c28
- Ministry of Defence, <u>Press release</u>, 13 October 2022 and Ministry of Defence, <u>Press release</u>, 9 November 2022
- President Putin said the attacks were in retaliation for an earlier attack on a bridge across the Kerch Strait linking Russia and Crimea ("Vladimir Putin says missile strikes across Ukraine are in retaliation for Crimea bridge- 'terrorist' blast", Sky News, 10 October 2022
- Ministry of Defence, <u>Press release</u>, 13 October 2022
- ⁷² Ministry of Defence, <u>Press release.</u> 19 November 2022
- ⁷³ Ministry of Defence, <u>Press release</u>, 23 November 2022

A commitment to match funding in 2023

At a meeting of the UN General Assembly on 21-23 September, the then Prime Minister, Liz Truss, committed to match, or exceed, the £2.3 billion of military assistance to Ukraine, in 2023.

The precise nature of that support will depend upon the needs of the Ukrainian armed forces. It is expected, however, to include further multiple launch rocket systems⁷⁵ and more air defence missiles.

Provision of Challenger II main battle tanks

On 14 January 2023 the UK became one of the first allies to announce it would gift main battle tanks to Ukraine. Described as "the start of a gear change in the UK's support" a squadron of 14 Challenger II tanks, thousands of rounds of munitions, and associated armoured recovery and repair vehicles would be sent to Ukraine over the coming weeks. The UK has already been providing hundreds of armoured vehicles.

While the decision was welcomed by Ukraine and its allies, the UK Chief of the General Staff, General Sir Patrick Sanders, was reported to have expressed concern that such donations may leave the British Army "temporarily weaker".77

During a meeting of the Defence Select Committee on 11 January 2023, Committee member Kevan Jones MP called the decision a "PR story", questioning the ability to maintain the capability within Ukraine, including the longer-term provision of munitions which are not NATO standard.⁷⁸

At the end of March 2023, the MOD confirmed that Ukrainian tank crews had completed their training on the Challenger 2 and returned to Ukraine.⁷⁹ In a social media post on 27 March, the Ukrainian Ministry of Defence also confirmed that the Challenger 2 had been received in theatre.⁸⁰

A significant uplift in combat support

In addition to the Challenger II's, in January 2023 the UK also announced a significant uplift in combat support for Ukraine. Described by the MOD as "the most significant package of combat power to date", the UK will also provide Ukraine with:

• 30 AS-90 self-propelled guns.

"A long and static war only serves Russia's ends".

Downing Street, <u>Press</u> release, 14 January 2023

Ministry of Defence, <u>Press release</u>, 20 September 2022

Ministry of Defence, <u>Press release</u>, 20 September 2022

Downing Street, <u>Press release</u>, 14 January 2023

[&]quot;Ukraine: Military hardware donations weaken Army – UK chief", BBC News, 17 January 2023

Defence Select Committee, Oral evidence: Land Acquisition (PDF), HC978, 11 January 2023, Q.17

⁷⁹ Ministry of Defence, <u>Press release</u>, 27 March 2023

Ministry of Defense of Ukraine, <u>@DefenceU</u>, 27 March 2023

- Hundreds of additional armoured vehicles, including the Bulldog armoured personnel carrier.
- A manoeuvre support package including minefield breaching and bridge laying capabilities.
- Additional unmanned aerial systems to support Ukrainian artillery.
- Hundreds of additional missiles, including munitions for the M270 multiple launch rocket system, Starstreak air defence missiles, medium range air defence missiles and 600 Brimstone anti-tank missiles.
- A support package of equipment and spares to refurbish up to a hundred Ukrainian tanks and infantry fighting vehicles.⁸¹

The AS-90 and the Challenger II tanks will come from UK stocks, while other capabilities will be purchased from the open market, or from third countries.⁸²

Announcing the package of assistance, Defence Secretary Ben Wallace said:

Today's package is an important increase in Ukraine's capabilities. It means they can go from resisting to expelling Russian forces from Ukrainian soil.

President Putin cannot win but he is equally certain to continue inflicting this wanton violence and human suffering until his forces are ejected from their defensive positions and expelled from the country.

That requires a new level of support – the combat power only achieved by combinations of main battle tank squadrons, operating alongside divisional artillery groups, and further deep precision fires enabling targeting of Russian logistics and command nodes at greater distance [...]

The international community recognises that equipping Ukraine to push Russia out of its territory is as important as equipping them to defend what they already have.⁸³

The UK's commitments form part of the Tallinn Pledge, which was announced by the UK and eight other European allies on 19 January 2023. That pledge recognises the renewed effort that is now required to assist Ukraine in, not only defending Ukrainian territory, but in expelling Russian forces from the areas of Ukraine currently under Russian control. To that end, the signatories of the pledge "commit to collectively pursuing delivery of an unprecedented set of donations including main battle tanks, heavy artillery, air defence, ammunition, and infantry fighting vehicles to Ukraine's defence". The commitments of the UK's eight partners are set out below.

Ministry of Defence, <u>Press release</u>, 16 January 2023

⁸² Ministry of Defence, <u>Press release</u>, 16 January 2023

⁸³ HC Deb 16 January 2023, c36

On 21 April 2023, the MOD confirmed that the UK is set to provide more than 300,000 artillery shells to Ukraine during 2023.⁸⁴

On 8 February 2023 the UK announced an "acceleration" in the delivery of equipment, and that of its allies, to ensure support for any spring offensive.⁸⁵

Combat aircraft and long-range missiles?

On 8 February the Prime Minister confirmed that the UK will provide Ukraine with "longer range capabilities" in its next package of military assistance that will "disrupt Russia's ability to continually target Ukraine's civilian and critical national infrastructure and help relieve pressure on Ukraine's frontlines". 86

Precise details of those long-range capabilities were not provided at the time, although discussions within government were thought to be focused on the potential provision of <u>Storm Shadow air-launched cruise missiles</u>.⁸⁷

The UK's donation of Storm Shadow missiles was confirmed on 11 May 2023, although an exact number has not been disclosed for operational security reasons. The Defence Secretary said the decision had been taken in response to Russia's "continued aggression" and that:

The donation of those weapon systems gives Ukraine the best chance to defend itself against Russia's continued brutality, especially the deliberate targeting of Ukrainian civilian infrastructure against international law. Ukraine has a right to be able to defend itself against that.⁸⁸

With a range in excess of 250km, the Storm Shadow has a greater range than other capabilities donated so far, including the US HIMARS system, and will allow Ukraine to strike targets "within its sovereign territory". 89 This could include Crimea which is recognised as being within Ukraine's 1991 borders.

As outlined above, calls have also been made by President Zelenskyy for the provision of British combat aircraft. The Prime Minister has said that "nothing is off the table", although the provision of combat aircraft is thought unlikely in the short term. ⁹⁰

The debate in the UK on the provision of combat aircraft to Ukraine is examined in greater detail in Library insight: Will the UK send combat aircraft to Ukraine?

⁸⁴ Ministry of Defence, <u>Press release</u>, 21 April 2023

Downing Street, PM remarks at the press conference with President Zelenskyy of Ukraine, 8 February

Downing Street, <u>Press release</u>, 8 February 2023

⁸⁷ "Ukraine prepared to use British missiles to strike Crimea", The Times, 10 February 2023

⁸⁸ HC Deb 11 May 2023, c475

^{89 &}lt;u>HC Deb 11 May 2023</u>, c477

⁹⁰ Sunak and Zelenskyy hold joint news conference. Sky News, 8 February 2023

More than 11,000 Ukrainian personnel were trained in the UK during 2022.

Ministry of Defence, <u>Press release</u>, 30 December 2022

The UK is committed to training a further 20,000 Ukrainian soldiers in 2023.

A long-term training package for Ukrainian personnel

During a visit to Kyiv in mid-June 2022 the Prime Minister offered to launch a new training programme for Ukrainian armed forces personnel to develop their combat expertise and rebuild their forces.

Under the scheme (Operation Interflex), around 10,000 new and existing soldiers could be trained every 120 days at MOD locations around the UK. The training course will focus on frontline combat skills, basic medical training, patrol tactics, and the laws of armed conflict.⁹¹

The Government confirmed on 27 June that Ukraine had accepted the proposal and the first Ukrainian soldiers arrived in the UK in early July. 92

Approximately 1,050 UK service personnel have deployed to run the programme which will be led by 11 Security Force Assistance Brigade.

The UK has also gifted clothing and equipment to support Ukrainian personnel in their training and to deploy with back to Ukraine.

Separately to Operation Interflex, the MOD also confirmed in November 2022 that additional training assistance would be provided in the region, with the deployment of a number of army medical personnel and engineers.⁹³

International partners

The Netherlands was one of the first countries to offer assistance to the training programme, with troops deployed to the UK at the end of August 2022.⁹⁴

On 4 August the Canadian government announced that 225 Canadian military personnel would deploy to the UK, for an initial period of four months, to participate in the training programme. Prior to the Russian invasion of Ukraine, Canadian forces had been deployed in Ukraine since 2015 as part of its military training and capacity building mission (Operation Unifer). Those personnel have recently had their mandate extended until the end of 2023.

The Swedish government confirmed that it would deploy 120 instructors to the UK, with a maximum of 60 instructors involved in the training programme at any given time. 95

On 8 August the Finnish Ministry of Defence also confirmed that 20 personnel will take part in the training programme.⁹⁶

⁹¹ Ministry of Defence, <u>Press release</u>, 9 July 2022

⁹² Ministry of Defence, <u>Press release</u>, 9 July 2022

Ministry of Defence, Press release, 19 November 2022

The Netherlands Ministry of Defence, News release, 15 July 2022

⁹⁵ Government Offices of Sweden, <u>Press release</u>, 7 August 2022

⁹⁶ Finnish Ministry of Defence, <u>Press release</u>, 8 August 2022

Denmark also contributes 130 personnel to the UK programme. Denmark has provided longstanding training support to Ukraine, having participated in the UK's Operation Orbital training programme and Canada's Operation Unifier, since 2015. Penmark has also offered to host a training programme for Commanders and members of the Ukrainian Territorial Defence Force (see below).

At the <u>Copenhagen Conference</u> on 11 August, Norway also announced that it would also contribute personnel to the training programme, although the precise number is not clear.⁹⁸

The Government of New Zealand also announced on 15 August that it would deploy over a hundred personnel to the UK to participate in the training programme until 30 November 2022. 99 In mid-November the Government announced that 66 personnel would remain as part of the training mission until the end of July 2023.

Lithuania also joined the initiative at the beginning of September 2022, contributing 15 personnel.¹⁰⁰

Up to 70 Australian Defence Force personnel joined the training programme in January 2023.¹⁰¹

Expansion of training

On 8 February 2023 the Prime Minister announced plans to expand military training for the Ukrainian armed forces, to include fast jet pilots and marines. Pilots will be trained on NATO-standard aircraft with the aim of ensuring "Ukraine can defend its skies well into the future". 102

The provision of training for fast jet pilots has prompted wider discussions about the provision of British combat fighter aircraft to Ukraine (see above).

At the UK-France Summit on 10 March 2023, President Macron confirmed that French personnel would also contribute to the training programme for Ukrainian marines.¹⁰³

Replenishment of UK equipment and how will it be paid for?

Given the extent of UK military assistance to Ukraine, questions have been raised over the ability of the UK Government, and the defence industry, to

⁹⁷ Danish Ministry of Defence <u>Press release</u>, 10 August 2022

⁹⁸ Norwegian Ministry of Defence, <u>Press release</u> (in Norwegian), 11 August 2022

New Zealand Government, <u>Press release</u>, 15 August 2022

[&]quot;Interview with the Lithuanian Defence Minister", UKRINFORM, 24 August 2022

Australian Government, <u>Press release</u>, 27 October 2022 and <u>Press release</u>, 18 January 2023

Downing Street, <u>Press release</u>. 8 February 2023

¹⁰³ <u>UK-France Joint Leader's Declaration</u>, 10 March 2023

replenish the stocks of equipment that has been gifted and how it will be paid for.

On 22 April 2022, Lord Moonie asked the Government "in light of the conflict in Ukraine, what plans they have to increase the quantity of UK defensive war stocks?". Baroness Goldie responded:

The Ministry of Defence (MOD) keeps weapons stockpile levels and requirements under constant review, balancing current holdings against threats, availability, industrial capacity and evolving technology. This is especially true in light of the ongoing war in Ukraine, and these considerations have also informed the numbers of munitions granted in kind to the armed forces of Ukraine. The Department is fully engaged with industry, allies and partners to ensure that all munitions stocks granted in kind to the armed forces of Ukraine are replaced as expeditiously as possible. For reasons of safeguarding operational security, it would be inappropriate to discuss timelines or numbers at this stage in relation to any orders placed with industry. The MOD continuously reviews the capability required to counter threats and monitors the global security situation, including in Ukraine, to ensure appropriate levels of operational readiness.¹⁰⁴

On 8 November 2022 the MOD confirmed:

The UK is proud to be a leading provider of support to Ukraine. A wide variety of military equipment and munitions has been granted in kind to the Armed Forces of Ukraine, some provided directly from UK stocks and some procured rapidly from industry suppliers. The Ministry of Defence remains fully engaged with industry, allies and partners to ensure both the continuation of supply to Ukraine, and that all equipment and munitions granted in kind from UK stocks are replaced as expeditiously as possible. It is not possible to comment on the details of progress of establishing individual contracts, nor on the costs associated with those contracts, as this information is both commercially and operationally sensitive. 105

Baroness Goldie reiterated these points in a debate on Ukraine on 26 January 2023, saying "We are absolutely clear that we will never go below the safe line that we require for the security of our own nation". 106

The MOD has said that the replacement of military equipment donated to Ukraine will be funded from the Treasury reserve and will not come out of the MOD's procurement budget. ¹⁰⁷ In the 2022 Autumn statement the Treasury announced that £560 million would be earmarked for the replenishment of the UK's stockpile. ¹⁰⁸ A further £2 billion to replenish ammunition stocks and

¹⁰⁴ HL7885, <u>Defence equipment</u>, 28 April 2022

PQ75774, <u>Ukraine: Military aid.</u> 8 November 2022

¹⁰⁶ HL Deb 26 January 2023, c368

PQ74916, <u>Ukraine: Military aid.</u> 3 November 2022

PQ93479, Defence: Expenditure, 8 December 2022

improve the UK's munitions infrastructure was announced in the March 2023 Spring Budget, as part of a £5 billion uplift in the defence budget. 109

On 5 September 2022 the Defence Secretary confirmed that "letters of comfort" had been given to industry outlining the Government's intention to place orders and to encourage manufacturers to expand production.¹¹⁰

2.3 US military assistance to Ukraine

3 Headlines

- As of 9 May 2023, total US military assistance to Ukraine since the start of the Biden administration in January 2021 stands at \$37.6 billion (PDF).
 Approximately \$36.9 billion has been provided since Russia's invasion in February 2022.
- The US continues to provide lethal and non-lethal weaponry. Its most recent commitments are for the provision of hundreds of armoured vehicles, including Stryker armoured personnel carriers and Bradley infantry fighting vehicles, additional air defence systems and associated munitions, including a Patriot air defence battery, unmanned aerial systems and additional ammunition for the HIMARS long-range multiple launch rocket system. Combined, the Stryker APCs and Bradley IFVs will provide Ukraine with two brigades of armoured capability.
- On 25 January the US confirmed that it will send 31 Abrams tanks to
 Ukraine, along with parts and the equipment necessary for maintaining
 and sustaining that capability in the field.
- The Department of Defense also confirmed on 3 February 2023 that it would provide Ukraine with <u>Ground-Launched Small Diameter Bombs</u>, a long-range fires capability.

Ukraine has been a leading recipient of US foreign and military aid since the early 1990s. In the first decade after independence, Ukraine received almost \$2.6 billion in aid. In the years leading up to Russia's annexation of Crimea in 2014, Ukraine was receiving an estimated \$105 million per annum, including foreign military financing.

Downing Street, <u>Press release</u>, 13 March 2023. That £5 billion uplift forms part of an £11 billion increase in the defence budget that was announced two days later as part of the Spring Budget 2023 (HM Treasury, <u>Spring Budget Speech</u>, 15 March 2023)

HC Deb 5 September 2022, c31

From the onset of conflict in 2014 to the end of October 2021, the US Congressional Research Service estimates that the US had provided Ukraine with more than \$2.5 billion in security assistance across the board.¹¹¹

That figure includes several packages of military assistance announced by the Biden administration in its first six months of office, including defensive lethal weaponry "to enable Ukraine to more effectively defend itself against Russian aggression". ¹¹² For more on US military assistance to Ukraine before recent events see Library briefing Military assistance to Ukraine 2014-21.

Response to the Russian military build up

In December 2021 the US indicated that, in response to Russian aggression, it could provide additional defensive capabilities to Ukraine, above and beyond what it is already providing.¹¹³ A further \$200 million in military assistance was subsequently authorised by the US administration.¹¹⁴

On 26 January 2022 the US State Department confirmed additional Javelin missiles, other anti-armour systems, ammunition and non-lethal equipment have been delivered to Ukraine, with further deliveries planned. Among further assistance will be five US Mi-17 helicopters. The US has also granted authorisation to US allies to provide Ukraine with US-origin military equipment from their own inventories. ¹¹⁵ On 11 February, US National Security Adviser, Jake Sullivan, said:

We have made good on the commitment to get those deliveries into the hands of the Ukrainian armed forces. Those are defensive weapons intended to defend Ukraine against aggression. They are not meant for offensive purposes against any country.

The US ruled out, however, the deployment of US forces on the ground in Ukraine. 116

US Congressional Research Service, R45008, <u>Ukraine: Background, Conflict with Russia and US Policy</u>, October 2021 (accessed on 15 December 2021)

¹¹² US Department of Defense press release, 1 March 2021

White House, <u>Press briefing by Press Secretary Jen Psaki and National Security Adviser Jake Sullivan</u>, 7 December 2021

US Department of Defense, Pentagon Press Secretary John F. Kirby holds a press briefing, 27 January 2022

US Department of State, <u>Press briefing</u>, 27 January 2022

White House, <u>Remarks by President Biden before Marine One Departure.</u> 8 December 2021 (accessed on 10 December 2021)

At the time of writing, total US military assistance to Ukraine since February 2022 is \$36.9 billion.

Aid since Russian military action

In the first few days after Russia's invasion of Ukraine President Biden authorised "an additional \$350 million of military assistance from Department of Defense inventories, including anti-armour, small arms and various munitions, body armour, and related equipment". 117 At the time, that took the total security assistance the US had approved to Ukraine, since the start of the Biden administration, to \$1 billion. 118

Further significant traches of assistance have since been announced. At the time of writing, the total level of security assistance provided by the US since the start of the Biden administration stands at \$37.6 billion, \$36.9 billion of which has been provided since February 2022.¹¹⁹

On 9 May 2023, the US Department of Defense outlined the equipment that has been supplied thus far (PDF). Among that equipment are Stinger anti-aircraft systems, Javelin and other anti-armour systems, tactical unmanned aerial systems (UAS), counter-UAS systems, air surveillance radar, helicopters, self-propelled howitzers, coastal defence vessels, high mobility artillery rocket systems (HIMARS), national advanced surface-to-air missile systems (NASAMS), missiles for HAWK air defence systems, ¹²⁰ Avenger shortrange air defence systems, high speed anti-radiation missiles, armoured vehicles, tactical secure communications systems, a Patriot air defence battery, Bradley infantry fighting vehicles and non-lethal equipment such as helmets and body armour. ¹²¹

Training for Ukrainian personnel on the patriot air defence system began in the US in early January 2023. Brigade and battalion level arms and joint manoeuvre training has also begun at the US Combined Arms Manoeuvre Training Centre in Germany. 122

On 25 January 2023 President Biden announced that the US will also send 31 Abrams tanks to Ukraine, in a move widely viewed at resolving the impasse with Germany over the provision of Leopard 2 (see page 9 for further detail). Initially, no timeframe was provided for the delivery of that capability, with many commentators suggesting that it could be months due to the extensive training required and the maintenance and supply chain that would need to be established. Toward the end of March 2023, however, the Pentagon confirmed that delivery would be expedited by the decision to send

US Department of Defense, <u>Department of Defense Statement on Additional Military Assistance for Ukraine</u>, 26 February 2022.

US Department of Defense, <u>Department of Defense Statement on Additional Military Assistance for Ukraine</u>, 26 February 2022..

US Department of Defense, <u>Fact Sheet</u> (PDF), 19 April 2023

 $^{\,^{120}\,}$ Which will complement Spain's commitment to provide Hawk air defence launchers.

US Department of Defense, Factsheet on US security assistance to Ukraine (PDF), 19 April 2023

US Department of Defense, <u>Press conference following Ukraine Defense Contact Group meeting</u>, 20 January 2023

[&]quot;Despite concerns, US to send 31 Abrams tanks to Ukraine", Associated Press, 25 January 2023

refurbished M1A1 tanks already in the US inventory, as opposed to new M1A2 variants. The tanks are now expected to enter theatre in autumn 2023. 124

On 3 February the Department of Defense also confirmed that the Ground-Launched Small Diameter Bomb (GLSDB) would be among the latest package of assistance. A long-range fires capability, the Pentagon said the GLSDB will enable Ukraine "to conduct operations in defense of their country and to take back their sovereign territory in Russian-occupied areas". ¹²⁵

In early November 2022, the US Department of Defense also confirmed that funding would be provided for the <u>refurbishment of 45 Czech T-72 tanks which</u> is being conducted in conjunction with the Czech Republic and the <u>Netherlands</u> (PDF). ¹²⁶

The US is also working with allies to facilitate the transfer of further air defence systems to Ukraine from their own inventories. ¹²⁷ In early January 2023 the US announced \$682 million in Foreign Military Financing to incentivise and backfill donations of military equipment to Ukraine by its allies and partners. ¹²⁸

The US has also authorised third party transfers from 14 NATO allies and partner countries to Ukraine of US-origin equipment. That equipment includes almost anti-armour systems, anti-air missiles, radar, night vision devices, body armour, machine guns, rifles and ammunition. ¹²⁹

Following strikes on several Russian airfields at the end of 2022, the US Secretary of State, Antony Blinken, said "We have neither encouraged nor enabled the Ukrainians to strike inside of Russia". ¹³⁰

2.4 Other bilateral assistance to Ukraine

NATO countries

As outlined below, NATO has a longstanding relationship with Ukraine and is providing non-lethal and logistical support. Donations of weaponry are being conducted on a bilateral basis by individual NATO allies.

[&]quot;Ukraine to get US tanks by Fall", DoD News, 21 March 2023

US Department of Defense, <u>Press briefing</u>, 3 February 2023

¹²⁶ US Department of Defense, <u>Press release</u>, 4 November 2022

¹²⁷ US Department of Defense, <u>Press release</u>, 28 October 2022

US Department of Defense, <u>Press release</u>, 6 January 2023

US Department of State, <u>US Security Cooperation with Ukraine</u>, 23 June 2022

¹³⁰ US Department of State, <u>Joint Press Availability</u>, 6 December 2022

Albania

In March 2022 the Albanian government confirmed that it would send military equipment to Ukraine, although it did not provide details. 131

In January 2023 the Albanian Defence Minister, Niko Peleshi, confirmed that further military assistance would be provided, but, again, did not provide details. 132

Belgium

Has provided 2,000 machine guns and 3,800 tonnes of fuel to Ukraine. Additional arms packages of automatic weapons and anti-tank weapons have since been delivered. 134

In August 2022 Belgium announced it would provide a further package of nonlethal military assistance worth €8 million. That assistance will be channelled through the NATO Comprehensive Assistance Package Trust Fund (see below).¹³⁵

Additional assistance, worth €12 million, was announced in September 2022 and included heavy machine guns and ammunition, in addition to non-lethal equipment including helmets and winter clothing. Ambulances and medical evacuation vehicles were expected to be delivered in early 2023.¹³⁶

In November 2022 the Belgian government also confirmed that two portable CBRN laboratories and a number of unmanned underwater vehicles capable of detecting mines and underwater surveillance, would be provided.¹³⁷

At the end of January 2023, the Belgian government announced its largest package of military assistance to date. Worth €92 million, that assistance includes Lynx multi role vehicles, trucks, machine guns, air defence missiles and anti-tank missiles. No further information about specific capabilities has been provided.¹³⁸

This latest package of support takes <u>Belgium's overall military assistance to Ukraine to €240 million</u> (PDF). ¹³⁹

Bulgaria

The Bulgarian government had ruled out sending weaponry to Ukraine directly, saying that in terms of military-logistical support, "if something is

[&]quot;Albania sent military equipment to Ukraine", Exit News, 17 March 2022

¹³² <u>"Albania to offer humanitarian, military aid to Ukraine".</u> Albanian Daily News, 13 January 2023

¹³³ Twitter, <u>Alexander De Croo</u>: @alexanderdecroo, 26 February 2022 (in French)

¹³⁴ <u>"Belgium to send new weapons to Ukraine".</u> Flanders News, 22 April 2022

Minister of Foreign Affairs, <u>Press release</u>, 25 August 2022

¹³⁶ <u>"Belgium to give €12 million in military aid to Ukraine".</u> The Brussels Times, 17 September 2022

[&]quot;La Belgique va envoyer des Laboratoires mobiles et drones sous-marins en Ukraine", La Libre, 26 November 2022 (in French)

Prime Minister of Belgium, <u>Press release</u>, 28 January 2023

Prime Minister of Belgium, <u>Press release</u>, 28 January 2023

done, it will be at the level of the EU and NATO and will not be sent from Bulgaria to Ukraine". 140

At the beginning of May the Bulgarian Parliament did, however, approve the provision of technical support, including the repair of Ukrainian military equipment.¹⁴¹

The Bulgarian government reconfirmed its refusal to supply weaponry in early June when the Prime Minister said that the country had "done enough", highlighting that it had supported Ukrainian refugees, supplied humanitarian aid, was providing technical support and was in line with Western-led sanctions against Russia.¹⁴²

At the beginning of November, however, the Bulgarian Parliament voted in favour of providing lethal military aid to Ukraine and instructed the government to make proposals within the next month. One option put forward by the Parliament was for the transfer of Soviet-era equipment to Ukraine, in exchange for modernisation assistance from NATO allies.¹⁴³

On 9 December 2022 the Bulgarian Parliament approved a list of the first arms to be sent to Ukraine. That list is classified but is thought to include mainly light weaponry and ammunition. The Bulgarian defence minister reportedly said that the country could not "afford to send its Russian-made anti-aircraft missile systems or MiG-19 and Su-25 fighter jets, which Kyiv wants". 144

An article in German newspaper Die Welt in January 2023, however, alleged that the Bulgarian government had, from the outset of the war, been secretly providing Ukraine with arms, ammunition and fuel by allowing arms sales to intermediaries in third-party NATO countries. ¹⁴⁵ In an interview, former Bulgarian Prime Minister, Kiril Petkov, suggested that Bulgaria had provided "about a third of the ammunition needed by the Ukrainian army in the early phase of the war". ¹⁴⁶

¹⁴⁰ "Bulgaria will not send fighters, troops to Ukraine", Euractiv, 1 March 2022

¹⁴¹ "Bulgarian Parliament approves military-technical support for Ukraine", Army Technology, 5 May 2022

¹⁴² <u>"Bulgaria rejects Ukraine's plea for heavy weaponry"</u>, Balkan Insight, 7 June 2022

¹⁴³ "In U-turn Bulgarian Parliament tells Sofia to send weapons to Ukraine", Politico, 3 November 2022

¹⁴⁴ "Bulgaria to send its first military aid to Ukraine", Reuters, 9 December 2022

[&]quot;The country that secretly saved Ukraine", Die Welt, 20 January 2023

[&]quot;Bulgaria to the rescue: How the EU's poorest country secretly saved Ukraine", Politico, 18 January 2023

Since February 2022, Canada has committed over \$1 billion in military aid to Ukraine

Canada

Canada has been providing non-lethal military assistance to Ukraine on a bilateral basis for several years and since 2015 Canada has had a training and capacity building mission in Ukraine (Operation Unifier). At the end of January 2022, the Canadian government announced that the operation would be extended until March 2025, although the operation was suspended in February following Russia's invasion.¹⁴⁷

On 14 February 2022, Canada announced it would, for the first time, provide lethal weaponry, saying it would donate "\$7 million of lethal weapons and assorted support items to the Armed Forces of Ukraine. This equipment includes machine guns, pistols, carbines, 1.5 million rounds of ammunition, sniper rifles, and various related equipment". 148

The Canadian government has continued to provide both lethal and non-lethal assistance, including anti-armour weapon systems, armoured combat support vehicles and howitzers and their associated munitions.

\$500 million of those funds have been allocated for military aid to Ukraine in the 2022-23 budget. In October 2022 a further package of assistance, worth \$47 million, was announced, including artillery rounds, specialised drone cameras, half a million items of winter clothing and funding to support the provision of satellite communication services. Additional aid, announced in November 2022, includes the provision of satellite imagery, high-resolution drone cameras, winter gear, surveillance and communications equipment, fuel, and medical supplies. 150

In a series of announcements between January and March 2023, the Canadian government confirmed that it would also purchase a National Advanced Surface-to-Air Missile system (NASAMS), and associated munitions, from the US to donate to Ukraine. A further donation of 12 air defence missiles will be made from Canadian military stocks. 200 armoured personnel carriers will be purchased from industry in response to a specific request from the Ukrainian government; while the government will also provide Ukraine with an armoured recovery vehicle and eight Leopard 2 main battle tanks, associated ammunition and spare parts. A small contingent of 25 Canadian personnel have deployed to Poland to train Ukrainian forces. ¹⁵¹

To date, Canada has committed over \$1 billion in military assistance. 152

Canada has also been providing logistical support to allies and partners in Europe and since February 2022 "has transported over 6 million pounds of

Government of Canada, <u>Canada extends and expands military and other support for the security of Ukraine</u>, 26 January 2022 and Government of Canada, <u>Canadian military support to Ukraine</u>.

Government of Canada, <u>Canada commits lethal weapons and ammunition in support of Ukraine</u>, 14 February 2022.

¹⁴⁹ Government of Canada, Canadian military support to Ukraine, (accessed 12 October 2022)

¹⁵⁰ Canadian Armed Forces, <u>Canadian military support to Ukraine</u> (accessed 12 December 2022)

Canadian Armed Forces, <u>Canadian military support to Ukraine</u> (accessed 28 March 2023)

¹⁵² Canadian Armed Forces, <u>Canadian military support to Ukraine</u> (accessed 24 January 2023)

miliary donations from both Canada and on behalf of our allies and partners". 153

In early August 2022, Canada announced that it would deploy 225 military personnel to the UK to join the training programme for Ukrainian soldiers (see above). That deployment was recently extended until the end of 2023. S A further 45 personnel have also deployed to Poland to participate in a training programme for Ukrainian armed forces personnel that is focused on engineering skills and reconnaissance and demining.

Further reading:

Canadian military support to Ukraine - Canada.ca

Croatia

Croatia agreed to send infantry weapons and protective equipment sufficient to equip four brigades. The value of the weapons is €16.5 million. On 1 March 2022, Croatian Defence Minister Mario Banožić detailed that "we are talking about rifles and machine guns with the calibres requested by the Ukrainian side".¹⁵⁷

In December 2022 the Croatian Parliament rejected a government bill to enable Croatian military personnel to take part in the EU training mission for the Ukrainian armed forces. Croatian President, Zoran Milanovic had opposed the proposal saying Croatia should not be involved in the war, leading the Government to refer the issue to Parliament.¹⁵⁸

In January 2023 the Government confirmed that it would continue to give Ukraine military assistance but that it would not "publicise what we provide". 159

Czech Republic

In February 2022 the Czech Republic announced that it would deliver lethal aid consisting of 30,000 pistols, 7,000 assault rifles, 3,000 machine guns, several dozen sniper guns and about a million cartridges. ¹⁶⁰ The Czech Government had already agreed to donate some 4,000 pieces of artillery shells worth the equivalent of \$1.7 million to Ukraine. ¹⁶¹

In April 2022 the Government approved the delivery over £130 million worth of military equipment, making the Czech Republic among the largest donors of

Government of Canada, Canadian military support to Ukraine, (accessed 14 February 2023)

¹⁵⁴ Canadian Armed Forces, <u>News release</u>, 4 August 2022

¹⁵⁵ Canadian Armed Forces, <u>Canadian military support to Ukraine</u> (accessed 12 December 2022)

Government of Canada, Canadian military support to Ukraine, (accessed 28 March 2023)

¹⁵⁷ "Croatia to send weapons to Ukraine, provide health care to refugees", Euractiv, 1 March 2022.

[&]quot;Croatia rejects joining EU mission of Ukrainian military support", Reuters, 16 December 2022

[&]quot;Croatian PM: We will continue military support for Ukraine", Ukrinform, 13 January 2023

[&]quot;Too little too late? West finally coughs up arms for Ukraine", France 24, 26 February 2022.

[&]quot;Czech Republic, Netherlands To Ship More Military Aid To Ukraine", Radio Free Europe, 26 February 2022.

military aid to the country. That assistance includes rocket propelled grenades, surface-to-air missiles, self-propelled artillery, multiple rocket launchers, infantry fighting vehicles, Soviet-era T-72 tanks and combat helicopters. ¹⁶²

The Czech Republic subsequently became the first NATO country to supply tanks to Ukraine. Germany has in turn donated 15 tanks to the Czech armed forces to replenish its inventory. 163

A further \$26-30 million in military aid, including heavy weaponry, was announced at the end of May 2022.¹⁶⁴

A Czech crowdfunding campaign has also recently raised more than \$1.3 million to buy a modernised T-72 tank for the Ukrainian armed forces. A similar initiative in Lithuania earlier in the year purchased a Turkish Bayraktar drone for Ukraine. Bayraktar drone for Ukraine.

In November 2022 the United States, the Netherlands and the Czech Republic also announced a partnering agreement that will see the US and Netherlands jointly fund the refurbishment of 90 T-72 tanks (45 apiece) from the Czech defence industry. 167

As a signatory to <u>the Tallinn Pledge</u> in January 2023, the Czech government has said that it will continue to support Ukraine with the delivery of military equipment, and that a key component of future support would be the maintenance, repair and overhaul of already delivered equipment.¹⁶⁸

In February 2023, Defence Minister Jana Cernochova said that further military assistance had been agreed but did not provide details on the equipment being provided. ¹⁶⁹ In early April the Minister indicated that that equipment would comprise Soviet-era weaponry currently in storage and "not needed for the country's defense". ¹⁷⁰

Further reading:

• Government of the Czech Republic, <u>Support during the first year of the invasion</u>, 23 February 2023

¹⁶² <u>"Czechia has sent CZK3 billion in military aid to Ukraine so far".</u> Expats Cz, 25 April 2022

¹⁶³ "Czechs to get German tanks as it arms Ukraine", Deutsche Welle, 18 May 2022

¹⁶⁴ "Czech Republic, Poland set new rounds of military aid to Ukraine", Radio Free Europe, 29 May 2022

[&]quot;Ukraine war: Czech crowdfunding buys 'Tomas the tank' for Ukraine", BBC News (online), 4 October 2022

¹⁶⁶ "Lithuania shows off 'crowdfunded' military drone it's giving to Ukraine". Euronews, 7 July 2022

Joint Statement by the United States Department of Defense, the Ministry of Defence of the Netherlands and the Ministry of Defence of the Czech Republic (PDF), 4 November 2022

¹⁶⁸ Ministry of Defence, <u>Press release</u>, 19 January 2023

¹⁶⁹ <u>"Czech government approves more military aid for Ukraine"</u>, Reuters, 23 February 2023

¹⁷⁰ <u>"Czechia to send \$30 million worth of military aid to Ukraine".</u> Kyiv Independent, 5 April 2023

Denmark

At the end of January 2022, Danish Prime Minister Mette Frederiksen, said she was prepared to send to military aid to Ukraine, and that the Danish military were already providing advice to its Ukrainian counterparts in areas like cybersecurity. ¹⁷¹ Initially Denmark donated shoulder-launched anti-tank weapons, tactical protective vests and first aid kits. ¹⁷²

On 10 August the Danish Ministry of Defence confirmed that 130 personnel would deploy to the UK to participate in the basic training programme for Ukrainian personnel (see above). 173 It has also offered to host a training course in Denmark focused on educating Commanders and providing support to the Ukrainian Territorial Defence Force. Discussions are currently underway with Ukraine on implementing that proposal. 174

In October 2022, the Danish Government also announced a further DKK820 million package of assistance that will finance weapons procurement and support the training programme. ¹⁷⁵ Alongside Norway and Germany, Denmark is investing in Slovakia's indigenous production of howitzers. ¹⁷⁶

Ahead of the Defense Contact Group meeting in Ramstein in January 2023, and as part its contribution to <u>the Tallinn Pledge</u>, Denmark confirmed that it would donate all of its 19 CESAR artillery systems to Ukraine.¹⁷⁷

On 7 February, Denmark, Germany and the Netherlands announced the creation of the Leo 1 A5 initiative, that will provide Ukraine with 100 refurbished Leopard 1 A5 battle tanks, maintenance support and training.¹⁷⁸

In March 2023 further military assistance was agreed based on specific requests made by the Ukrainian government. That package of support includes ammunition, machine guns, air defence missiles, anti-tank mines, bomb disposal robots and non-lethal aid including clothing and tents.¹⁷⁹

Together with the Netherlands, Denmark will also provide 14 Leopard 2 tanks, which are expected to enter theatre in early 2024. 180

Military aid to Ukraine thus far totals €671 million (DKK 5 billion). 181

Further reading:

¹⁷¹ "<u>Denmark Prepared to Send Military Equipment to Ukraine"</u>, The Defense Post, 31 January 2022.

Danish government, <u>Denmark's contributions in support of Ukraine</u> (accessed 6 July 2022)

Danish Ministry of Defence <u>Press release</u>, 10 August 2022

Danish Ministry of Defence, <u>Press release</u>, 10 August 2022

Ministry of Foreign Affairs, <u>Denmark's contributions in support of Ukraine</u> (accessed 16 September 2022)

US Department of Defense, <u>Press release</u>, 14 October 2022

Ministry of Defence, Press release, 19 January 2023

Netherlands Ministry of Defense, <u>Press release</u>, 7 February 2023

Danish Ministry of Defence, <u>Press release</u> (in Danish), 15 March 2023

Netherlands Ministry of Defense, <u>Press release</u>, 20 April 2023

Danish Ministry of Defence, <u>Press release</u> (in Danish), 15 March 2023

Denmark's contributions | Kriseinformation

Estonia

In July 2020, Estonia sent a small shipment of 2400 Soviet-era Makarov semiautomatic pistols to Ukraine. 182 As the Russian military build-up around Ukraine began at the end of 2021, Estonia moved to provide more weapons with more firepower.

In January 2022, the Estonian government said it planned to send 122mm Howitzers and Javelin missiles to the Ukrainian army, however these shipments required the permission from the countries of origin, which are the US, Finland and Germany. The US approved Estonia's request to send Javelins to Ukraine that same month. ¹⁸³ Germany refused permission to Estonia to send Howitzers, ¹⁸⁴ and Finland said it would consider the request. ¹⁸⁵

Once Russian military operations started at the end of February 2022 both Germany and Finland approved the licences. ¹⁸⁶ Estonia then also announced additional military support, including additional javelin missiles and anti-aircraft munitions as well as 25,000 packages of dry food, medical equipment, personal equipment, and ammunition. ¹⁸⁷

In August the Estonian government confirmed that a further package of assistance, including mortars and anti-tanks weapons had been approved. Estonia will also provide a second field hospital in cooperation with Germany.¹⁸⁸

More recent aid includes air defence systems and armoured vehicles. 189

As a signatory to the Tallinn Pledge, in January 2023 the Estonian government confirmed that it would provide additional howitzers, associated artillery ammunition and support vehicles and hundreds of M2 anti-tank grenade launchers. Further donations of ammunition, rifles, patrol boats, thermal cameras and medical equipment has since been made. 191

Following this latest package of assistance, total military aid stands at nearly €400 million. ¹⁹² The government confirmed that it would apply to the EU's

¹⁸² "Estonia sends 2,400 Makarov pistols to Ukraine", ERR News, 7 July 2020.

¹⁸³ "<u>U.S. clears Baltic states to send U.S.-made weapons to Ukraine</u>", Reuters, 20 January 2022.

^{184 &}lt;u>"Why Germany refuses weapons deliveries to Ukraine"</u>, Deutsche Welle, 19 January 2022

¹⁸⁵ "Estonia plans to supply Ukraine with heavy weapons", Euractiv, 3 January 2022.

See Finnish Government, <u>Press release: Finland sends additional aid to Ukraine</u>, 27 February 2022; and "<u>Germany to send Ukraine weapons in historic shift on military aid</u>", Politico, 26 February 2022.

¹⁸⁷ "Estonia to provide Ukraine with additional batch of Javelins, ammunition – media", Interfax Ukraine, 25 February 2022.

¹⁸⁸ <u>"Estonia to boost military assistance for Ukraine",</u> Kyiv Post, 20 August 2022

^{189 &}quot;Estonia's total military aid to Ukraine to date approaching €300 million". ERR News, 18 November 2022

¹⁹⁰ Ministry of Defence<u>, Press release</u>, 19 January 2023

¹⁹¹ Estonian Ministry of Foreign Affairs, Estonia's aid to Ukraine (accessed 28 March 2023)

¹⁹² Estonian Ministry of Foreign Affairs, Estonia's aid to Ukraine (accessed 28 March 2023)

European Peace facility (EPF) for funding to help replace the equipment. ¹⁹³ The Estonian government has been criticised, however, for allegedly providing old equipment to Ukraine and replacing it with modern equipment, partly financed with EU money. ¹⁹⁴ The government has denied the allegations, saying it had followed EPF rules on reimbursement. In a statement issued by the Ministry of Defence, it said that supporting Ukraine "is not a competition and its core rationale is not about an EU reimbursement scheme". ¹⁹⁵

Further reading:

• Ministry of Foreign Affairs, Estonia's aid to Ukraine

France

Before Russia's military operations started in Ukraine France had only provided humanitarian aid and budgetary support.

On 25 February, France's President Macron told the French Parliament that the country will now provide defensive equipment to Ukraine, but did not detail what the equipment would be. 196 Ukraine's embassy in Paris said it had in particular requested anti-aircraft hardware. 197 Macron wrote that France will provide Ukraine with an "additional budgetary assistance of 300 million euros" and "will provide the defensive material they need". 198

Military assistance provided by France includes Javelin and Milan anti-tank missile systems, Mistral anti-aircraft missiles, and self-propelled howitzers. At the end of June 2022 President Macron confirmed that France would also provide six additional howitzers and "a significant number of armoured vehicles". 200

Separately, the French Defence Minister reportedly suggested that Exocet anti-ship missiles were among further tranches of assistance under consideration.²⁰¹

At the beginning of August, the Minister for Europe, Catherine Colonna, said that French assistance to Ukraine amounted to €2 billion thus far, including humanitarian as well as military assistance.²⁰²

In response to a wave of Russian drone and missile attacks against civilian targets in October 2022, President Macron said that France would supply radar and air defence systems to Ukraine to help protect against Russian

Government of the Republic of Estonia, Press release, 19 January 2023

 $^{^{194}\,\,}$ "Brussels playbook: Estonia games the system", Politico, 28 March 2023

¹⁹⁵ Estonian Ministry of Defence, <u>Statement on claims published in Politico</u>, 28 March 2023

¹⁹⁶ "France will provide defensive equipment to Ukraine", CNN, 25 February 2022.

¹⁹⁷ "<u>Too little too late? West finally coughs up arms for Ukraine</u>", France 24, 26 February 2022.

¹⁹⁸ "France will provide defensive equipment to Ukraine", CNN, 25 February 2022.

[&]quot;Arms for Ukraine: who has sent what?", France 24, 1 June 2022

²⁰⁰ Official Twitter account of Emmanuel Macron, 30 June 2022

²⁰¹ <u>"Sébastien Lecornu : «Il faut aider l'Ukraine à tenir dans la durée",</u> Le Parisien, 27 June 2022

²⁰² France in the United States, <u>Situation in Ukraine (</u>accessed 16 September 2022)

missile and drone strikes, although no further details on specific capabilities was provided.²⁰³

Ahead of the Ramstein meeting of the Defense Contact Group in January 2023, President Macron confirmed that France would send a number of AMX-10 armoured fighting vehicles, which the French government also describe as light tanks, to Ukraine.²⁰⁴

France has also announced a €200 million fund to allow Ukraine to purchase equipment directly from French manufacturers. ²⁰⁵ Part of that fund will be used for the procurement of Bastion armoured personnel carriers and will finance 12 additional Caesar howitzer guns. ²⁰⁶

On 24 January President Macron indicated that a proposal to send Leclerc main battle tanks to Ukraine was currently under discussion, although there has been little comment since.²⁰⁷

In March 2023, President Macron confirmed that French personnel would contribute to the UK training programme for Ukrainian marines.²⁰⁸

France has denied that it has military personnel in Ukraine after several leaked documents, purportedly by US intelligence, suggested that they were part of a small contingent of special forces personnel operating in the country.²⁰⁹

Further reading:

 French Embassy in Washington, <u>France's assistance to Ukraine</u> (PDF), February 2023

Germany

Germany stated in January 2022 that it would not meet a request from the Ukrainian government for the transfer of lethal weaponry amid concerns that it would provoke Russia and hamper the diplomatic process. ²¹⁰ Germany also refused to grant permits to other EU countries such Estonia to export Germanorigin weapons like artillery, ²¹¹ as well as vetoing Ukraine's purchase of anti-

^{203 &}quot;France to supply air defence systems to Ukraine after wave of Russian strikes", France 24, 12
October 2022

²⁰⁴ "France to send 'tank killer' armoured vehicles to Ukraine", The Financial Times, 4 January 2023

²⁰⁵ "French defence minister promises more military support for Ukraine", Euronews, 28 December 2022

²⁰⁶ "France to send 'tank killer' armoured vehicles to Ukraine", The Financial Times, 4 January 2023 and <u>"France organises long term military support for Ukraine"</u>, Le Monde, 1 February 2023

²⁰⁷ <u>"Minister: Germany won't block Poland giving Ukraine tanks"</u>, Associated Press, 22 January 2023

²⁰⁸ <u>UK-France Joint Leader's Declaration</u>, 10 March 2023

²⁰⁹ "France denies military presence in Ukraine", Politico, 9 April 2023

²¹⁰ <u>"Why Germany refuses weapons deliveries to Ukraine"</u>, Deutsche Welle, 19 January 2022.

[&]quot;Germany blocks Estonia from exporting German-origin weapons to Ukraine -WSJ", Reuters, 21 January 2022

drone rifles and anti-sniper systems via the NATO Support and Procurement Agency.²¹²

A spokesman for the Social Democratic Party highlighted France and Germany's position as mediators within the Normandy Format, which seeks to reach a political settlement to the conflict in eastern Ukraine, and suggested that it was not "appropriate for a mediator nation to send weapons to Ukraine, to one conflict party, because we are trying to promote a diplomatic solution".²¹³

Germany instead proposed providing a field hospital and other non-lethal equipment including military helmets.²¹⁴

After Russian military action

On 26 February, in an abrupt change of policy, the German Government announced it would supply lethal weapons to Ukraine, including 1,000 antitank weapons and 500 Stinger anti-aircraft defence systems.²¹⁵ In addition Germany would send 14 armoured vehicles and up to 10,000 tons of fuel.²¹⁶ The Government also authorised the Netherlands to send Ukraine 400 rocket-propelled grenade launchers and Estonia to ship nine howitzers, which had originally been sourced from Germany.²¹⁷

That assistance has steadily increased, in terms of both quantity and the weaponry provided. According to the German government, as of 26 April 2023, equipment delivered or committed to Ukraine so far has included antitank weapons, autonomous surface vessels, man-portable air defence systems (Iris-T), self-propelled howitzers, bunker buster missiles, armoured vehicles, multiple rocket launchers, mobile ground surveillance radar, reconnaissance drones, mine clearance vehicles, a field hospital, and over 22 million rounds of ammunition.

The Government has also committed to the provision of a Patriot air defence system and 40 Marder infantry fighting vehicles.²¹⁸

Germany announced its intention to supply the MARS multiple rocket launchers in mid-June 2022, in tandem with moves by the US and UK to provide Ukraine with a defensive long-range artillery capability.²¹⁹

The German government has also been working with allies in eastern and southern Europe to facilitate the delivery of their Soviet-era equipment to Ukraine, in exchange for German equipment (see Czech Republic and

 $^{^{212}}$ "Ukraine blames Germany for 'blocking' Nato weapons supply", Financial Times, 12 December 2021

²¹³ "Why Germany isn't sending weapons to Ukraine", BBC News, 29 January 2022.

²¹⁴ 'It's a joke': Germany's offer of 5,000 helmets to Ukraine is met with disdain amid Russia invasion fears, CNBC, 27 January 2022.

²¹⁵ "Germany to send Ukraine weapons in historic shift on military aid", Politico, 26 February 2022.

²¹⁶ "In a major shift, Germany will send weapons to Ukraine", AP News, 26 February 2022.

[&]quot;Germany to send Ukraine weapons in historic shift on military aid", Politico, 26 February 2022.

²¹⁸ German Ministry of Defence, <u>Military assistance to Ukraine</u>

Joint Statement by UK MOD, US DOD, and German Defence Ministry, 15 June 2022

Greece). Alongside Norway and Denmark, Germany is also investing in Slovakia's indigenous production of howitzers for transfer to Ukraine. ²²⁰

The total value of military assistance, to the end of 2023, is estimated at €4.2 billion. ²²¹

Provision of the Leopard 2 tank

The extent of Germany's military assistance to Ukraine, including recent decisions to provide a Patriot air defence system and Marder infantry fighting vehicles, has, to a certain extent, been overshadowed by the debate within the German government over whether to approve both the re-export of Leopard 2 tanks and to provide tanks of its own to Ukraine.

After days of indecision, on 25 January 2023 Chancellor Scholz announced that 14 Leopard 2A tanks would be sent to Ukraine from the German armed force's own inventory. He also confirmed that approval would be provided to third country allies wishing to do the same. That figure was subsequently increased to 18. The debate over the Leopard 2 is set out in detail above (p.9).

In addition to the Leopard 2, on 7 February, Denmark, Germany and the Netherlands announced the creation of the Leo 1 A5 initiative, that will provide Ukraine with 100 refurbished Leopard 1 A5 battle tanks, maintenance support and training.²²²

The first shipment of Leopard 2 tanks was received in theatre at the end of March 2023.²²³

Further reading:

Military support for Ukraine | Federal Government (bundesregierung.de)

Greece

On 27 February Greece announced it was sending military aid including ammunition, "Kalashnikov-type assault rifles" and missile launchers to Ukraine. No details were given on amounts. The Government said the aid had already been dispatched when the announcement was made.²²⁴

Despite stating in mid-April that <u>Greece was not planning on sending any</u> <u>more military equipment</u>, in late May the Greek Defence Minister said that a significant package of military assistance would be delivered to Ukraine,

 $^{^{220}}$ US Department of Defense, <u>Press release</u>, 14 October 2022

German Ministry of Defence, <u>Military assistance to Ukraine</u> (accessed 2 May 2023). €2 billion in 2022 and €2.2 billion in 2023.

²²² Netherlands Ministry of Defense, <u>Press release</u>, 7 February 2023

²²³ "Ukraine war: Germany sends much-awaited Leopard tanks". BBC News, 28 March 2023

²²⁴ "Greece sending military, civilian aid to Ukraine", Ekathimerini, 27 February 2022.

including over a hundred BMP-1 infantry fighting vehicles, assault rifles, Stinger surface-to-air missiles and rocket launched anti-tank grenades.²²⁵

Germany is reportedly discussing a deal with the Greek government to replace those infantry fighting vehicles with newer German variants. ²²⁶

The Greek government has ruled out sending any Leopard 2 tanks to Ukraine saying that they are necessary for Greece's own defence, ²²⁷ although has recently committed to the provision of additional BMP-1 infantry fighting vehicles. ²²⁸

Greece has also given the US priority access to the Port of Alexandrouplis to facilitate the US' provision of military assistance to Ukraine.²²⁹

Hungary

Hungary has said that it will not send weapons to Ukraine. Hungary, which borders Ukraine, has also said it will not allow lethal weapons to transit its territory "as such deliveries might become targets of hostile military action" and that Hungary should not get involved in the war between Ukraine and Russia.²³⁰

Iceland

Iceland does not have its own armed forces and is not, therefore in a position to donate equipment. It has however, been assisting in the delivery of equipment to Ukraine from other allies.²³¹

At the Copenhagen Conference on 11 August 2022, Iceland agreed to lead work on establishing a demining training and capacity building programme for Ukrainian personnel.²³² Norway has already indicated its interest in participating in that project.²³³

Italy

On 28 February the Italian Cabinet agreed to send a package of lethal weapons to Ukraine including, Stinger surface-to-air missiles, mortars and Milan, or Panzerfaust, anti-tank weapons. Also included were Browning heavy

²²⁵ "Greece announced large-scale supply of weapons to Ukraine", Ukrainian News, 6 June 2022

²²⁶ "Germany announces new deal with Greece to send tanks to Ukraine", Politico, 31 May 2022

²²⁷ <u>"PM: Greece won't send Leopard 2 tanks to Ukraine".</u> Kyiv Independent, 31 January 2023

²²⁸ Greek Ministry of National Defense, <u>Press release</u>, 14 February 2023

²²⁹ DoD news, "Strategic port access aid support to Ukraine, Austin tells Greek Defense Minister", 18 July 2022

^{230 &}quot;Hungary will not allow lethal weapons for Ukraine to transit its territory – FM", Reuters, 28 February 2022

²³¹ "Iceland charters freight aircraft for transporting equipment to Ukraine", Iceland Monitor, 1 March

²³² <u>"Western fund hits €1.5bn in pledges to boost Ukrainian defense".</u> Politico, 11 August 2022

²³³ Norwegian Ministry of Defence, <u>Press release</u> (in Norwegian), 11 August 2022

machine guns, MG-type light machine guns and counter-IED systems.²³⁴ The package has been estimated at €150 million.

A further package of assistance was agreed in May 2022 and is currently being delivered. Details are limited but is thought to include howitzers and multi-role armoured vehicles.²³⁵

Italy is also providing €12 million of non-lethal equipment to Ukraine.

Italy's new Prime Minister, Giorgia Meloni, has vowed to continue to providing support and military assistance to Ukraine, ²³⁶ and in January 2023 the Italian Parliament approved the provision of military assistance for the coming year.

The latest package of assistance includes the Italian/French SAMP-T air defence system, and associated training.²³⁷

Further reading:

 Italy support of Ukraine – Ministero degli Affari Esteri e della Cooperazione Internazionale

Latvia

Latvia began providing lethal weapons in January 2022, requesting permission from the US to provide Stinger anti-aircraft missiles to Ukraine, originally sourced from the States. ²³⁸ On 23 February the Latvian Ministry of Defence confirmed it had delivered the Stinger systems to Ukraine, it has also provided "individual equipment and dry food supplies". ²³⁹

Further support has included weapons, individual equipment, dry food rations, ammunition, anti-tank weapons, Stinger anti-aircraft missiles, unmanned aerial vehicles, self-propelled howitzers, helicopters and fuel.²⁴⁰

The Ministry of Defence has also been working in partnership with the NGO, Entrepreneurs for Peace, to provide Ukraine with further assistance over the winter, including the provision of military vehicles, body armour, armoured ambulances, and night vision equipment.²⁴¹

As a signatory to <u>the Tallinn Pledge</u>, in January 2023 the Latvian government confirmed that it was preparing to send additional Stinger man-portable air

²³⁴ "Italy joins growing list of weapon donors to help Ukraine's defense", Defense News, 28 February 2022

²³⁵ Center for European Policy Analysis, <u>"Italy's unwavering support for Ukraine"</u>, 22 June 2022

²³⁶ <u>"Italian rally calls for country to stop sending weapons to Ukraine"</u>, Euronews, 5 November 2022

[&]quot;Italy to join forces with France in supplying air defences to Ukraine", The Financial Times, 1
February 2023

²³⁸ "<u>U.S. clears Baltic states to send U.S.-made weapons to Ukraine"</u>, Reuters, 20 January 2022.

Latvian Ministry of Defence, <u>Latvia delivers "Stinger" anti-aircraft missile system to Ukraine</u>, 23 February 2022.

²⁴⁰ Latvian Ministry of Defence, <u>Press release</u>, 29 August 2022

²⁴¹ Latvian Ministry of Defence, <u>Press release</u>, 29 August 2022

defence systems, helicopters, machine guns, unmanned aerial vehicles and spare parts for M109 howitzers.²⁴²

The Ministry of Defence said that total military assistance was an estimated €370 million thus far. ²⁴³

Further reading:

• Support for Ukraine | Aizsardzības ministrija (mod.gov.lv)

Lithuania

Lithuania began providing lethal weapons to Ukraine in January 2022, gaining the approval of the US to send US-sourced weapons, believed to be Stinger anti-aircraft missiles.²⁴⁴ On 13 February the Ukrainian Defence Ministry confirmed it had received a shipment of ammunition and Stinger missiles from Lithuania.²⁴⁵

In addition to Stinger missiles, assistance has included anti-tank weapons, body armour vests, helmets, mortars, Kalashnikov rifles, ammunition, thermal imaging cameras, drones, anti-drones and surveillance radar. At the end of May 2022 the Lithuanian government announced that it would send 20 M113 armoured personnel carriers, 10 military trucks and 10 all-terrain mine clearance vehicles. The Government announced at the end of July that those vehicles would be supplemented by an additional 10 M113 armoured personnel carriers, along with explosives and smoke grenades. Further assistance has also included winter clothing and the repair of Ukrainian military equipment. 499

Ahead of the Ramstein meeting January 2023, and as part of the Tallinn Pledge, Lithuania announced that it would provide anti-aircraft guns and two Mi-8 helicopters. Further assistance over the course of the year is expected to include the provision of drones and thermos visual devices, along with €2 million for the international Fund (see above) that will allow for the purchase of artillery systems and armoured fighting vehicles. ²⁵⁰ That latest package of military assistance, worth €41 million, was announced in early April 2023.

Lithuania has also been providing training to Ukrainian military instructors in anti-tank weaponry. A further course on demining training is currently under

²⁴² Ministry of Defence, <u>Press release</u>, 19 January 2023

²⁴³ "Latvia has sent 1% of GDP in military aid to Ukraine", LSM, 23 January 2023

²⁴⁴ "U.S. clears Baltic states to send U.S.-made weapons to Ukraine", Reuters, 20 January 2022

²⁴⁵ "<u>Ukraine receives anti-aircraft missiles from Lithuania"</u>, Reuters, 13 February 2022.

Ministry of National Republic of Lithuania, <u>Lithuania renders military assistance to Ukraine</u>, 24 February 2022.

²⁴⁷ "Lithuania among top 15 of Ukraine's military donors", LRT, 25 May 2022

²⁴⁸ <u>"Lithuania to provide more military aid for Ukraine".</u> The Kyiv Independent, 31 July 2022

²⁴⁹ <u>"Lithuania has provided €200 million in military aid to war torn Ukraine",</u> LRT, 14 September 2022

²⁵⁰ Ministry of Defence, <u>Press release</u>, 19 January 2023

discussion.²⁵¹ At the beginning of September 2022, 15 Lithuanian military instructors deployed to the UK to participate in the basic training programme being hosted by the UK.

The total value of Lithuanian military assistance to Ukraine thus far is approximately €454 million.²⁵²

Luxembourg

On 28 February 2022, Luxembourg's Minister of Defence, François Bausch, announced that Luxembourg would supply 100 NLAWs to Ukraine, along with Jeep Wrangler 4x4 vehicles, and 15 military tents.²⁵³

Further equipment has included rocket propelled grenades, 600 rockets for the BM-21 multiple launch rocket system, Humvee light vehicles, unmanned aerial vehicles, machine guns and non-lethal protective equipment.

Over the course of 2022 Luxembourg provided €75 million in military assistance to Ukraine. ²⁵⁴ A further €13.2 million in military assistance has been identified for 2023, focused mainly on the provision of ammunition. ²⁵⁵

Montenegro

In March 2022 the Ministry of Defence announced that it would donate non-lethal equipment to Ukraine, primarily bulletproof vests and helmets.²⁵⁶

In early June the Government approved additional military assistance to Ukraine, although no details were provided.²⁵⁷

In December 2022 the Government confirmed that 11% of the defence budget for 2022 had been used to provide military assistance to Ukraine. ²⁵⁸

Netherlands

The week before Russian military operations began the Netherlands agreed to deliver weapons and military equipment to Ukraine, including 100 sniper rifles with 30,000 rounds of ammunition, combat vests, helmets as well as radar devices and landmine detectors.²⁵⁹

[&]quot;Lithuania among top 15 of Ukraine's military donors", LRT, 25 May 2022 and Ministry of National Defence, Press release, 8 June 2022

²⁵² Lithuanian Ministry of National Defence, <u>Press release</u>, 21 April 2023

Luxembourg Government, <u>Press release: François Bausch announces military assistance and support measures for Ukraine</u>, 28 February 2022.

[&]quot;List of military equipment and weapons delivered by Luxembourg to Ukraine worth €75 million", Army Recognition, 3 December 2022

²⁵⁵ <u>"Luxembourg to provide Ukraine more military aid",</u> The Luxembourg Times, 15 February 2023

²⁵⁶ "Montenegro joins EU sanctions against Russia, moves to send aid to Ukraine", N1, 2 March 2022

²⁵⁷ Government of Montenegro, <u>Press release</u>, 9 June 2022

Government of Montenegro, <u>Press release</u>, 5 December 2022

²⁵⁹ Government of the Netherlands, <u>Press release</u>, 18 February 2022

On 26 February, the Dutch Government said it would send 200 stinger anti-aircraft missiles, ²⁶⁰ as well as 50 Panzerfaust-3 anti-tank weapons and 400 rockets. ²⁶¹

Further tranches of assistance have also included self-propelled howitzers.²⁶²

In July 2022 the Dutch Prime Minister, confirmed that military assistance to Ukraine would continue, ²⁶³ and is thought to include further heavy weapons, armoured vehicles and howitzers. ²⁶⁴

In October, the Netherlands was one of a number of NATO allies to confirm that it would send air defence missiles to Ukraine in response to Russian attacks on civilian targets, including Ukraine's energy infrastructure.²⁶⁵

In November 2022 the United States, the Netherlands and the Czech Republic also announced a partnering agreement that will see the US and Netherlands jointly fund the refurbishment of 90 T-72 tanks (45 apiece) from the Czech defence industry.²⁶⁶

The Netherlands has also confirmed it will deploy 90 military instructors to the UK to participate in the basic training programme for Ukrainian personnel (see above). It is also currently in discussions with partner nations over the delivery of demining training to the Ukrainian armed forces. In November 2022 the Government confirmed a financial contribution of €100 million to the International Fund for Ukraine (see above).²⁶⁷

In January 2023 the Netherlands also signed <u>the Tallinn Pledge</u>. As part of that commitment the Netherlands will provide armoured personnel carriers, anti-aircraft guns and two Patriot air defence missile systems to Ukraine.

On 7 February, Denmark, Germany and the Netherlands announced the creation of the Leo 1 A5 initiative, that will provide Ukraine with 100 refurbished Leopard 1 A5 battle tanks, maintenance support and training.²⁶⁸

The Dutch Defence Minister also announced in March 2023 that the Netherlands intended to provide two Akmaar-class minehunters to Ukraine

²⁶⁰ "Czech Republic, Netherlands To Ship More Military Aid To Ukraine", Radio Free Europe, 5 26 February 2022.

^{261 &}quot;Netherlands to supply anti-tank weapons to Ukraine - DefenCe Ministry", Reuters, 26 February 2022

²⁶² <u>"Ukraine to get a dozen howitzers from Germany and the Netherlands".</u> Defense News, 6 May 2022

²⁶³ Official Twitter account of Mark Rutte, 28 July 2022

²⁶⁴ "Netherlands to provide Ukraine with modern heavy weapons - Rutte", Ukrinform, 11 July 2022

²⁶⁵ "Netherlands commit €70mil. To help Ukraine survive the winter, €15mil. In missiles", Netherlands Times, 12 October 2022

Joint Statement by the United States Department of Defense, the Ministry of Defence of the Netherlands and the Ministry of Defence of the Czech Republic (PDF), 4 November 2022

Government of the Netherlands, <u>Press release</u>, 10 November 2022

²⁶⁸ Netherlands Ministry of Defense, <u>Press release</u>, 7 February 2023

from 2025. In the shorter-term, drone detection radar systems and bridge laying capabilities will also be provided.²⁶⁹

Together with Denmark, the Netherlands will also provide 14 Leopard 2 tanks, which are expected to enter theatre in early 2024.²⁷⁰

The Netherlands has provided €1.2 billion in military aid to Ukraine since February 2022.²⁷¹

Further reading:

- Ministry of Defense, <u>Military support to Ukraine</u>
- Government of the Netherlands, <u>Dutch aid for Ukraine</u>.

North Macedonia

At the beginning of March 2022, the Government announced that it would donate military materiel and equipment to Ukraine. ²⁷² At the beginning of August, the Government said it had also donated several Soviet-era T-72 tanks, although did not confirm media reports that four fighter aircraft have also been sent to Ukraine. ²⁷³

In March 2023 the Macedonian Defence Minister confirmed that four non-airworthy Su-25 aircraft had been previously transferred to Ukraine, presumably for parts or refurbishment, and that, pending government approval, 12 Mi-24 attack helicopters which are due to reach the end of their service life shortly could also be transferred.²⁷⁴

Norway

Norway had a longstanding principle of not supplying weapons and ammunition to conflict zones, originating in a Parliamentary decision from 1959.²⁷⁵

On 28 February, however, and in a change of policy, Prime Minister Jonas Gahr Støre announced Norway would send both defensive and offensive weapons to Ukraine. While acknowledging Norway's "restrictive policy with

²⁶⁹ Netherlands Ministry of Defense, <u>Press release</u>, 14 March 2023

²⁷⁰ Netherlands Ministry of Defense, <u>Press release</u>, 20 April 2023

Ministry of Defense, <u>Press release</u>, 13 April 2023

²⁷² Government of North Macedonia, <u>Press release</u>, 2 March 2022

[&]quot;Ukrainians thank North Macedonia for supply of Soviet-era tanks", Radio Free Europe, 6 August 2022 and "North Macedonia maintains silence over jet donation to Ukraine", Balkan Insight, 4 August 2022

[&]quot;North Macedonia's military backs sending Mi-24 helicopters to Ukraine". Radio Free Europe, 26 March 2023 and "North Macedonia confirms transfer of Su-25s to Ukraine, Mi-24 attack helicopters may follow", Jane's Defence Weekly, 20 March 2023

Norwegian Church Aid & Amnesty & Amnesty International Norway, <u>Bullets Without Borders:</u>
<u>Improving control and oversight over Norwegian arms production, exports and investments</u> (pdf 2,38 MB), 2006, See Box 2.1.

regard to exporting defence-related products", he added "but Ukraine is now in a desperate and extraordinary situation". ²⁷⁶

To date, Norway has provided over 4,000 M72 anti-tank weapons, an air defence system, 22 self-propelled artillery (M109 howitzers), 14 armoured vehicles and non-lethal aid such as bulletproof vests, helmets and field rations.²⁷⁷

Alongside Denmark and Germany, Norway is investing in Slovakia's indigenous production of howitzers. Provision of long-range multiple launch rocket systems (MLRS) and Black Hornet micro-drones, and in early August confirmed that it would deploy personnel to the UK-led basic training programme for Ukrainian personnel (see above).

The Government will also donate 160 Hellfire missiles to the Ukrainian armed forces.²⁸⁰

The Norwegian government has announced that it will donate eight Leopard 2 main battle tanks, four support vehicles, and associated munitions and spares, after Germany approved their re-export on 25 January 2023.²⁸¹

Norway is also contributing NOK400 million to the International Fund for Ukraine, that is being coordinated by the International Donor Coordination Centre (see above), for the acquisition of military equipment for Ukraine.²⁸²

In February 2023 the Norwegian government approved a multi-year support programme for Ukraine. Of the NOK75 billion agreed over 5 years (NOK15 billion per year), approximately half will be used to provide military support, although exact allocations will be determined each year depending on the situation. For 2023, NOK7.5 billion has been allocated for military assistance. In addition to the Leopard 2 main battle tanks that Norway is providing, that funding will also finance two NASAMs air defence systems, in conjunction with the United States and 8,000 artillery rounds. In conjunction with the United States and 8,000 artillery rounds.

Further reading:

 Norwegian support to Ukraine and neighbouring countries regjeringen.no

Norwegian Government, <u>Press release: Norway to provide weapons to Ukraine</u>, 28 February 2022, accessed 21 March 2022.

Norwegian government, Norwegian support to Ukraine and neighbouring countries (accessed 20 September 2022)

²⁷⁸ US Department of Defense, <u>Press release</u>, 14 October 2022

²⁷⁹ Government of Norway, <u>Press release</u>, 29 June 2022 and <u>Press release</u>, 24 August 2022

²⁸⁰ Government of Norway, <u>Press release</u>. 8 September 2022

²⁸¹ "Norway to send eight Leopard tanks to Ukraine". The Local, 14 February 2023

²⁸² Government of Norway, <u>Press release</u>, 27 April 2022

²⁸³ Government of Norway, <u>Press release</u>, 16 February 2023

²⁸⁴ Government of Norway, Norwegian support to Ukraine (accessed 9 May 2023)

Poland

Poland has been supplying defensive lethal weaponry to Ukraine since the end of January 2022.

Poland is the main supplier of heavy weaponry to Ukraine, including 200 T-72 tanks, infantry fighting vehicles, and artillery (howitzers). Poland is also supplying anti-aircraft missiles, ammunition, grenades, mortars and reconnaissance drones.²⁸⁵

Discussions are underway with allies, including the UK and US, to backfill some of those Polish capabilities.

Poland is also acting as a logistical hub for the transfer of military equipment from other allies into the western part of Ukraine not yet occupied by Russian forces, ²⁸⁶ and is a main partner in the International Donor Coordination Centre (see above).

In January 2023, and as part of the Tallinn Pledge, Poland committed to further military assistance including anti-aircraft guns and over 70,000 pieces of ammunition. The government also confirmed that it was ready to supply a company of Leopard 2 tanks, pending approval by the German government. ²⁸⁷ A formal request for re-export was made on 24 January. Going forward, the Polish government has said that it will seek to form a coalition of nations that are willing to export this capability (see p.9 for further detail on the debate).

On 27 January 2023, the Polish government confirmed that, in addition to Leopard 2 tanks, it would also send a further 60 tanks, including 30 <u>PT-91-Twardy tanks</u>.²⁸⁸

In March 2023, Poland also indicated its intention to transfer four MiG-29 fighter jets to Ukraine, making it the first NATO country to provide combat aircraft (see above). Additional aircraft, up to a total of 14, which are currently undergoing maintenance are expected to be handed over gradually. Poland is thought to retain a fleet of 28 Soviet-era MiG-29 aircraft.

Notes from Poland, "Poland has given Ukraine military aid worth at least \$1.7bn, expects allies to fill the aaps". 15 June 2022

²⁸⁶ "Poland 'key' in Western weapons supplies to Ukraine", Euractiv, 1 March 2022.

²⁸⁷ Ministry of Defence, <u>Press release</u>, 19 January 2023

²⁸⁸ "Polish PM applauds West for sending tanks to Ukraine", CTV News, 27 January 2023

²⁸⁹ "Duda: Poland to provide Ukraine with at least 14 MiG-29 fighter jets", Kyiv Independent, 5 April

²⁹⁰ International Institute for Strategic Studies, Military Balance 2023, p.122

Portugal

In the early phases of the conflict Portugal sent non-lethal and lethal military aid to Ukraine, although no details were provided.²⁹¹ Assistance is thought to include armoured vehicles and artillery.

In May 2022 the Government confirmed that a further 160 tonnes of military aid would be provided, although, again, did not provide details.²⁹² The country has also offered to train Ukrainian personnel in demining and unexploded ordnance disposal.²⁹³

Additional assistance was announced in January 2023. Portugal will send a further 14 M113 armoured vehicles and will take part in the EU's training mission from February.²⁹⁴ Portugal will also send an unreported number of Leopard 2 main battle tanks to Ukraine.²⁹⁵

Romania

On 27 February, Romania announced it would send provisions and equipment worth €3 million to Ukraine and offered to care for the wounded in military and civilian hospitals. The aid included fuel, ammunition, bullet-proof vests, helmets, military equipment, food and water.²⁹⁶

In April 2022 amendments were made to the country's statute book to allow arms to be supplied not just to NATO allies, but also to partner countries.²⁹⁷ It is unclear, however, whether any weaponry has been supplied under these changes.

Romania is also acting as a transit country for military equipment and supplies from allies and has been assisting in training Ukrainian forces.²⁹⁸

In October 2022 Romania allocated \$400,000 to the NATO Trust Fund for Ukraine.

Slovakia

On 26 February the Slovakian Government approved military aid worth 11 million euros, including 120mm artillery ammunition and fuel.²⁹⁹

²⁹¹ "Portugal's to contribute €8-10 million to EU's arms package to Ukraine", Euractiv, 1 March 2022.

²⁹² "Portugal to send another 160 tonnes of military aid to Ukraine", Euractiv, 18 May 2022

²⁹³ Government of Portugal, <u>Press release</u>, <u>15</u> June 2022

²⁹⁴ <u>"Portugal sends armoured vehicles to Ukraine".</u> Portugal Resident, 21 January 2023

²⁹⁵ Republic of Portugal, <u>Press release</u>. 4 February 2023

²⁹⁶ "Romania to send fuel, ammunition to Ukraine", Reuters, 27 February 2022.

²⁹⁷ <u>"Romania to modify its laws to deliver weapons to Ukraine".</u> Prensa Latina, 19 April 2022

²⁹⁸ "Intel leak: Romania plays 'key role' in the war in Ukraine". The European Conservative, 16 April 2023

²⁹⁹ <u>"Czech, Slovak governments increase military aid to Ukraine"</u>, Reuters, 27 February 2022,

That initial package of assistance has been followed by further tranches, including the S-300 air defence system, anti-tank missiles, mortars, manportable surface-to-air missiles and howitzers.³⁰⁰

Slovakia is also repairing damaged Ukrainian and Russian military vehicles.

Slovakia made it clear however, that it was not possible to give away the S-300 missile defence systems that are currently protecting Slovakian airspace "without receiving adequate replacements". ³⁰¹ In April 2022 the US Department of Defense confirmed that a US Patriot missile system, manned by US service personnel would be deployed to Slovakia, while "a more permanent solution" was found. That deployment is also part of efforts to bolster NATO's eastern flank. ³⁰²

At the beginning of December 2022, the Slovakian government announced a new package of military aid, including ammunition, winter clothing and equipment.³⁰³

Slovakia also signed <u>the Tallinn Pledge</u> in January 2023. It committed to continuing discussions over possible donations of tanks, infantry fighting vehicles, howitzers and air defence systems.³⁰⁴

On 17 March 2023, Slovakia joined Poland in agreeing to transfer its fleet of 13 Soviet-era MiG-29 combat aircraft to Ukraine, becoming the second NATO country to do so. In making the announcement, Slovakian Prime Minister Eduard Heger said the country was "on the right side of history". ³⁰⁵ The country is reported to be receiving \$745 million in arms from the US to backfill those capabilities, including 12 attack helicopters, associated munitions and training. ³⁰⁶

Slovenia

Slovenia sent rifles, ammunition and helmets to Ukraine, the Slovenian Defence Minister announced on 28 February, saying the equipment had already been dispatched. The exact quantities are unknown.

In April 2022 it was reported that Slovenia would send a number of Soviet-era M-84 tanks to Ukraine, in exchange for German tanks and armoured personnel carriers. ³⁰⁷ That was followed in June 2022 by the provision of 35 infantry fighting vehicles from the Slovenian army reserve.

³⁰⁰ Slovak Spectator, "Zuzana howitzers off to Ukraine", 2 June 2022

³⁰¹ Slovakia Ministry of Defence, U.S. Secretary of Defense Lloyd J. Austin III visits Slovakia as a signal of friendship and alliance, 17 March 2022.

³⁰² See the House of Commons Library's <u>Crisis in Ukraine</u> page for more details on NATO's response.

³⁰³ <u>"Slovakia approves new military aid package for Ukraine"</u>, Ukrinform, 8 December 2022

Ministry of Defence, <u>Press release</u>, 19 January 2023

[&]quot;Slovakia, after Poland, agrees to give Ukraine Soviet jets", Associated Press, 17 March 2023

 $^{^{306}}$ "US offers helicopters to Slovakia for giving jets to Ukraine", Defense News, 22 March 2023

^{307 &}quot;Slovenia sending tanks to Ukraine in weapons swap with Germany", Slovenia News, 21 April 2022

In September 2022, the Slovenian Ministry of Defence confirmed that a further 28 M-55 tanks would be sent to Ukraine in exchange for 40 military transport vehicles from Germany. ³⁰⁸ The Government also said that it would begin to shift the focus of its assistance to Ukraine toward humanitarian aid.

Spain

On 28 February 2022, Spanish Prime Minister Pedro Sánchez said that Spain would be prepared to send defensive military equipment to Ukraine, but ruled out sending offensive weapons, in part due to opposition from his coalition partner the left-wing Unidas Podemos party. However, after criticism from opposition parties, Mr Sánchez changed course, saying on 2 March that Spain would now send offensive weapons.³⁰⁹

Spain has provided machine guns and ammunition, anti-tank grenade launchers and a number of military trucks.

Spanish newspaper El Pais reported in June 2022 that Spain was preparing to send Leopard battle tanks and anti-aircraft missiles to Ukraine, although no official comment was made at the time by the Spanish government.³¹⁰ At the end of August the Government subsequently confirmed that air defence systems, armoured vehicles, artillery munitions, fuel and 30,000 winter uniforms would be sent to Ukraine. Training has also reportedly been offered in the use of the air defence system.³¹¹

In October the NATO Secretary General welcomed Spain's decision to send an additional Hawk air defence system in response to recent Russian missile attacks on civilian targets in Ukraine.³¹²

In mid-November the Spanish government confirmed it would send a further two hawk air defence systems, taking the total to six.

Following the decision by Germany to approve the re-export of Leopard 2 main battle tanks, the Spanish government indicated that it was open to providing Ukraine with this capability "in coordination with Western allies". Spanish newspaper, El Pais, reported on 1 February 2023 that Spain will send between four and six Leopard 2 tanks, dependent upon their condition after a decade in storage. 314

Turkey

Until the Russian invasion of Ukraine in February 2022 Turkey was the only country other than the US to provide Ukraine with lethal arms.

³⁰⁸ "Slovenia to supply 28 M-55S tanks to Ukraine", TASS, 20 September 2022

³⁰⁹ "Spanish coalition split over decision to deliver weapons to Ukraine", Euractiv, 3 March 2022.

[&]quot;Spain to send tanks, missiles o Ukraine, El Pais reports", Politico, 5 June 2022

³¹¹ "Spain to send anti-aircraft battery, armoured vehicles to Ukraine", Kyiv Post, 25 August 2022

NATO, Press conference by the NATO Secretary General, 13 October 2022

[&]quot;Ukraine updates: Germany approves sending of Leopard 2 tanks", Deutsche Welle, 25 January 2023

[&]quot;Spain planning to send four to six Leopard tanks to Ukraine", El Pais, 1 February 2023

In 2019, Ukraine purchased a number of Bayraktar drones from Turkey. Used primarily for reconnaissance, in October 2021 Ukrainian armed forces used them for the first time to strike targets in the Donbas, which provoked severe criticism from Russia. 315

On 1 March 2022, giving evidence to the Foreign Affairs Committee, Ukrainian Ambassador to the UK, Vadym Prystaiko, confirmed that Ukraine needs more Bayraktar drones and "Turkey is supplying [them], but we are still far from being able to use them effectively", he also confirmed that more Ukrainian drone operators were being trained in Turkey itself.³¹⁶

The Turkish government has, however, referred to the drone shipments as "private sales" rather than military aid.³¹⁷

In August 2022, Turkey is also reported to have provided 50 mine-resistant armoured vehicles, with further deliveries expected.³¹⁸

Other European countries

Austria

In line with its long-standing neutrality policy,³¹⁹ Austria will not send lethal aid to the Ukrainian military. Austria has however provided non-lethal aid in the form of helmets, protective vests and fuel.

Cyprus

Cyprus will not send military aid to Ukraine, though it will be participating in the European Peace Facility (see below). ³²⁰ It's not clear if Cyprus like Ireland, has requested for its contribution to the Facility to only be put towards non-lethal aid.

Finland

On 27 February 2022 Finland announced it would provide "military protective equipment" to Ukraine. This will include 2,000 bulletproof vests, 2,000 composite helmets, 100 stretchers as well as equipment for two emergency medical care stations. ³²¹

³¹⁵ <u>"Putin criticises Ukraine's use of Turkish drones in Erdogan call"</u>, Alarabiya News, 3 December 2021

Foreign Affairs Committee, Oral evidence: Ukraine - 01 03 22, HC 1089, Q43.

³¹⁷ "Turkey, balancing Russia ties, says drones to Ukraine are sales not aid", Reuters, 3 March 2022

³¹⁸ "Turkey sends 50 mine-resistant vehicles to Ukraine", Defense News, 22 August 2022

In 1955 it passed a constitutional law on the neutrality of Austria, that bars Austria from joining any military alliances and from allowing any foreign military bases on its territory (New Austrian Information, Dr. Helmut Tichy, <u>Austria's Permanent Neutrality</u>, 2015-16)

³²⁰ "Cyprus to provide humanitarian aid to Ukraine, not military equipment", KNews, 28 February 2022.

Finnish Government, <u>Press release: Finland sends additional aid to Ukraine</u>, 27 February 2022.

The Government also granted Estonia a licence to re-export to Ukraine artillery guns and their ammunition, which Estonia had previously purchased from Finland.³²²

Finnish support has, however, evolved from purely non-lethal assistance to the provision of lethal aid. To date, the Government has provided €990 million of assistance. Fifteen packages of military aid have been approved so far, the latest on 21 April 2023, although details have largely been withheld for security reasons.³²³ The Finnish government has revealed, however, that six Leopard 2 main battle tanks have been committed to Ukraine.³²⁴ See page 9 for further detail on the Leopard 2 debate.

Finland is also deploying 20 personnel, until the end of 2023, to the training programme for Ukrainian personnel that is being hosted by the UK (see above).³²⁵

Further reading:

- Russian attack on Ukraine Puolustusministeriö (defmin.fi)
- Finland's support to Ukraine Ministry for Foreign Affairs (um.fi)

Ireland

In line with its traditional policy of military neutrality, Ireland's €9 million contributions to the EU's European Peace Facility (EPF) will go towards providing non-lethal materials such as medical supplies, fuel, helmets and vests. ³²⁶

When asked in February 2022 whether anti-tank missiles held by Ireland's Defence Forces could be sent to Ukraine, the then Irish Prime Minister Micheál Martin said he believed "what we're doing is sufficient", and that it wasn't an issue now the EPF was activated, as that was providing lethal weapons.³²⁷

Sweden

Sweden has had a longstanding policy of military non-alignment. Swedish Prime Minister Magdalena Andersson announced on 27 February, however, that "Sweden is now proposing direct support for Ukraine's armed forces. That initial package of support included 135,000 field rations, 5,000 helmets, 5,000 body shields and 5,000 anti-tank weapons". 328 In addition, Sweden

Finnish Government, Press release: Finland sends additional aid to Ukraine, 27 February 2022.

³²³ Finnish Ministry of Defence, <u>Press release</u>, 20 December 2022

Finnish Ministry of Defence, <u>Press release</u>, 23 March 2023

Finnish Ministry of Defence, Press release, 8 August 2022

³²⁶ "Irish PM: Non-lethal aid to Ukraine not against military neutrality", Euractiv, 1 March 2022.

[&]quot;Taoiseach says Ireland's non-lethal military support for Ukraine is 'sufficient' as EU members are sending weapons", The Journal, 28 February 2022.

³²⁸ "Sweden to send military aid to Ukraine - PM Andersson", Reuters, 27 February 2022.

would also provide 500 million Swedish Krona, (approximately €47 million) of financial support to Ukraine's Armed Forces.³²⁹

Further military assistance has included additional anti-tank weapons, personal protective equipment, infantry support weapons, mine clearance equipment, combat rations, small arms, and anti-ship missile systems.³³⁰ At the end of August the Swedish Prime Minister announced an additional military aid package worth SEK 500 million, although no precise details were revealed.³³¹

On 16 November 2022, the Swedish government announced a SEK 3 billion package of military support to Ukraine, including advanced air defence systems and ammunition, light all-terrain vehicles and personal equipment, including winter clothing and equipment. ³³²

Further assistance was announced in January 2023. The largest package of assistance to date at SEK 4.3 billion, capabilities include CV-90 infantry fighting vehicles, anti-tank missiles and the Archer artillery system.³³³

In February that package of assistance was supplemented with parts for the Hawk and Iris-T air defence systems. The Swedish government also confirmed that it would donate up to ten Leopard 2 main battle tanks.³³⁴

Sweden is also deploying a number of military instructors to the UK to participate in the basic training programme for Ukrainian personnel (see above) and has said that it will take part in the EU Assistance Mission in Ukraine (see below).³³⁵

Swedish military assistance, to date, totals SEK16.9 billion (approximately €1.5 billion). ³³⁶

Further reading:

Government Office of Sweden, <u>Russia's invasion of Ukraine</u>

Switzerland

Historically neutral Switzerland has offered to train Ukrainian specialists in the removal of landmines, cluster munitions and other explosives remnants of war as part of their established training course conducted in collaboration with the Geneva International Centre for Humanitarian Demining.³³⁷

³²⁹ Twitter, <u>Ann Linde @AnnLinde</u> (Swedish Foreign Minister), 27 February 2022.

³³⁰ Government of Sweden, Press release, 1 July 2022

³³¹ Government of Sweden, Press release, <u>Press release</u>, 30 August 2022

Government Office of Sweden, Press release, 16 November 2022

[&]quot;Sweden to send more weapons to Ukraine, including Archer system", Euractiv, 20 January 2023

³³⁴ Government Office of Sweden, <u>Press release</u>, 24 February 2023

³³⁵ Government Office of Sweden, <u>Press release</u>, 16 November 2022

³³⁶ Government Office of Sweden, <u>Sweden's support to Ukraine</u> (PDF), 24 March 2023

³³⁷ Swiss Government, <u>Press release</u> (in French), 18 July 2022

The Swiss Government has, however, come in for criticism over its refusal to allow Germany to re-export Swiss-made anti-aircraft ammunition to Ukraine. In May 2022 Switzerland also refused a request from Denmark to allow the reexport of 24 Swiss-made Piranha armoured personnel carriers to the Ukrainian armed forces. The Swiss government believes that the re-export of weaponry would jeopardise its political neutrality. 338

There have been calls for Switzerland to revisit its neutral status within the context of arming Ukraine.³³⁹

Non-European countries

Australia

Australia has provided over AUD \$475 million in military assistance to Ukraine since February 2022.³⁴⁰

That assistance includes Bushmaster protected mobility vehicles, de-mining equipment, and other armoured vehicles.

Australia will also donate AUD \$20 million to NATO's Comprehensive Assistance Package Trust Fund for Ukraine (see below).³⁴¹

At the end of October Prime Minister, Anthony Albanese, announced that up to 70 Australian Defence Force personnel will join the UK training programme for Ukrainian soldiers (Operation Interflex), from January 2023.³⁴²

Further reading:

• Invasion of Ukraine by Russia | Australian Government Department of Foreign Affairs and Trade (dfat.gov.au)

New Zealand

New Zealand has donated both non-lethal military equipment and \$15.7 million for the purchase of non-lethal military equipment for Ukraine.

A number of intelligence, logistics and liaison personnel have also deployed to the UK, Germany and Belgium to assist in the coordination of support.

An Air Force C130 transport aircraft which had deployed to Europe to assist allies with transport and logistics returned to New Zealand at the end of June 2022.

[&]quot;Swiss veto of weapons re-exports to Ukraine angers Germany", The Financial Times, 31 October

[&]quot;Switzerland rethinks neutrality, considers weapons exports amid Ukraine crisis", Politico, 2 February 2023

³⁴⁰ Australian Government, <u>Press release</u>, 27 October 2022

³⁴¹ Australian Government, <u>Press release</u>, 4 July 2022

³⁴² Australian Government, <u>Press release</u>, 27 October 2022

An artillery training team from the New Zealand Defence Force deployed in the UK, also returned in July 2022.³⁴³

In mid-August the New Zealand Government confirmed that 120 military personnel would deploy to the UK to participate in the basic training programme for the Ukrainian armed forces. Those personnel were initially deployed until 30 November 2022. In mid-November the Government confirmed that 66 military personnel would remain with the training programme until the end of July 2023.³⁴⁴

Further reading:

• Support to Ukraine - New Zealand Defence Force (nzdf.mil.nz)

Japan

On 8 March, it was announced that Japan had sent non-lethal military aid to Ukraine, including bulletproof vests and helmets. Other non-lethal items, including tents, winter clothing, emergency food items, hygiene products, cameras and power generators, followed soon after.

The Government said there were no plans to send lethal aid, but this step was still momentous for Japan, which has been tentatively <u>pushing the bounds of its pacifist constitution</u> over the last several years.

Former Prime Minister Abe Shinzo introduced looser restrictions on exporting military equipment abroad in 2014, 345 but there were questions as to whether the transfer of military equipment to Ukraine met even these more relaxed rules, as they are supposed to bar providing defence supplies to a country "party to a conflict". 346

The Japanese government has taken the view that the "party to a conflict" term which is defined in the export rules as "a country against which the UN Security Council is taking measures to maintain or restore international peace and security in the event of an armed attack," does not apply to Ukraine.³⁴⁷

2.5 NATO military assistance

NATO, as an alliance, has been clear in its political support of Ukraine and fully supports the provision of bilateral military assistance by individual allies to enable it to "uphold its right of self-defence".³⁴⁸ NATO is helping to

³⁴³ New Zealand Government, Press release. 28 June 2022

New Zealand Defence Force, <u>Press release</u>, 14 November 2022

³⁴⁵ "<u>UPDATE 2-Japan relaxes arms export regime to fortify defence"</u>, Reuters, 1 April 2014.

^{346 &}quot;Japan sends bulletproof vests from defense forces to Ukraine", Kyodo News, 8 March 2022.

³⁴⁷ "<u>Japan sends bulletproof vests from defense forces to Ukraine</u>", Kyodo News, 8 March 2022.

NATO, <u>Relations with Ukraine</u> and <u>NATO's response to Russia's invasion of Ukraine</u> (accessed 29 June 2022)

coordinate requests for assistance from the Ukrainian government (see above) and is supporting the delivery of humanitarian and non-lethal aid.³⁴⁹

Ukraine is not a NATO member, however, and therefore isn't party to NATO's mutual defence clause under Article V of the North Atlantic Treaty. As such, NATO troops will not be deployed on the ground in Ukraine. Allies have also ruled out imposing a no-fly zone over Ukraine because it would bring Russia into direct conflict with NATO forces.³⁵⁰

A new Comprehensive Assistance Package

NATO military support prior to the Russian invasion of Ukraine was primarily provided through a <u>Comprehensive Assistance Package that had been agreed in 2016</u>.

At the Heads of State and Government summit in Madrid at the end of June 2022 NATO allies agreed a new package of assistance for Ukraine that will provide long term, sustained, support. One of the longer terms aims of the alliance has been to assist Ukraine in moving away from Soviet-era equipment and bring Ukrainian forces and equipment up to NATO standards.

According to the Madrid Summit Declaration, the package will "accelerate the delivery of non-lethal defence equipment, improve Ukraine's cyber defences and resilience, and support modernising its defence sector in its transition to strengthen long-term interoperability". In the longer term, NATO will also assist Ukraine in any future post-war reconstruction and reform.³⁵¹

Speaking at a press conference on 29 June 2022, the NATO Secretary General provided further detail of the non-lethal equipment that will be provided:

Allies will continue to provide major military and financial help. And today, leaders agreed to strengthen our support by agreeing a Comprehensive Assistance Package for Ukraine.

This includes secure communications, fuel, medical supplies, and body armour. Equipment to counter mines and chemical and biological threats. And hundreds of portable anti-drone systems.

Over the longer-term, we will help Ukraine transition from Soviet-era equipment to modern NATO equipment. Boost interoperability. And further strengthen its defence and security institutions.

All of this shows our commitment to Ukraine's future, and that our commitment is unshakeable. A strong, independent Ukraine is vital for the stability of the Euro-Atlantic area. 352

"The Alliance will always maintain its full support for the territorial integrity and sovereignty of Ukraine within its internationally recognised borders".

NATO, Relations with Ukraine

NATO, NATO's response to Russia's invasion of Ukraine (accessed 29 June 2022)

NATO, NATO's response to Russia's invasion of Ukraine (accessed 29 June 2022)

NATO, Madrid Summit Declaration, 29 June 2022

NATO, Press conference by the NATO Secretary General, 29 June 2022

Following a meeting of NATO Foreign Ministers on 5 April 2023, the NATO Secretary General said that a new strategic multi-year assistance programme would now be developed to "assist Ukraine on its path to Euro-Atlantic integration". Further details are thought likely at the Vilnius Summit in July 2023.

Donations of lethal weaponry will continue on a bilateral basis.

2.6 EU military assistance to Ukraine

Historical support

Historically, the EU had only provided limited <u>support for civilian security</u> <u>sector reform</u>. Military reform has largely been the focus of NATO and bilateral cooperation with individual allies.

However, in December 2021 the EU announced a package of measures to help strengthen the capacity of the Ukrainian armed forces. Established under the EU's new <u>European Peace Facility</u>, ³⁵⁴ the package was worth €31 million over three years and will finance military medical units, including field hospitals, engineering, mobility and logistics units and support on cyber. ³⁵⁵

Discussions were also held over the possible establishment of an EU military training assistance mission to Ukraine, which would focus on military education reform. ³⁵⁶ This proposal never came to fruition however following Russia's invasion of Ukraine.

NATO, NATO Foreign Ministers wrap up meetings with focus on China and support to Ukraine, 5 April 2023

The <u>European Peace Facility (EPF)</u> was established in March 2021 as an "off budget" instrument that allows the EU to finance operational actions under the Common Foreign and Security Policy (CFSP) that have military or defence implications. It replaces the previous Athena Mechanism through which the common costs of EU military operations were financed.

³⁵⁵ Council on the European Union, <u>Press release</u>, 2 December 2021

EU External Action Service, Foreign Affairs Council: Press remarks by High Representative Josep Borrell, 24 January 2022

At the time of writing, EU military assistance to Ukraine through the European Peace Facility totals €4.6 billion.

Support since Russian military operations began

Following the Russian invasion of Ukraine, on 27 February 2022 EU High-Representative for foreign affairs, Josep Borrell, announced that the EU would directly finance lethal military assistance to Ukraine. The EPF will be used to fund two emergency assistance measures: "to finance the supply of lethal material to the Ukrainian army, as well as urgently needed fuel, protective equipment and emergency medical supplies".³⁵⁷

Mr Borell said that a "taboo has fallen", and that this will be the first time in history that the EU will be providing lethal equipment to a third country.³⁵⁸

This first lethal arms support package was worth €450 million, with a further €50 million for non-lethal supplies such as fuel and protective equipment. The Borrell also announced that Poland had agreed to serve as a logistics hub for the transfer of this assistance to Ukraine.

Irish Foreign and Defence Minister Simon Coveney said that under the EPF mechanism, countries uncomfortable with supplying lethal aid such as Ireland, would have the option of putting their contributions to the EPF towards alternative forms of assistance, such as medical supplies and protective armour. Austria and Malta are said to be following a similar approach.³⁶⁰

Further tranches of support

Six further tranches of military assistance to Ukraine have since been announced (seven in total). The latest package was announced on 23 January 2023.³⁶¹

The EU has confirmed that the scope of the equipment to be provided in the support package is "in line with the current priorities expressed by the Ukrainian government".³⁶²

The EU has previously stated that requests for fighter aircraft would not be met from EPF funds but would have to come through bilateral assistance.³⁶³

The EPF initially had a financial ceiling of €5 billion (in 2018 prices) for the multiannual financial framework 2021-27, equating to €5.692 billion in current

EU External Action Service, <u>Further measures to respond to the Russian invasion of Ukraine: Press</u> statement by High Representative/Vice-President Josep Borrell, 27 February 2022.

EU External Action Service, <u>Further measures to respond to the Russian invasion of Ukraine: Press statement by High Representative/Vice-President Josep Borrell</u>, 27 February 2022.

European External Action Service, <u>Informal videoconference of Foreign Affairs Ministers: Remarks by</u>
High Representative/Vice-President Josep Borrell at the press conference, 27 February 2022.

³⁶⁰ Irish PM: Non-lethal aid to Ukraine not against military neutrality, Euractiv, 1 March 2022.

Council of the European Union, <u>Press release</u>, 23 March 2022, <u>Press release</u> 13 April 2022, <u>Press release</u> 24 May 2022, <u>Press release</u>, 22 July 2022, <u>Press release</u>, 17 October 2022 and Foreign Affairs Council: Remarks by the High Representative, 23 January 2023

³⁶² Council of the European Union, <u>Press release</u>, 17 October 2022

EU Member Countries in Talks to Supply Ukraine With Jet Fighters, Wall Street Journal, 28 February 2022.

prices. Military assistance to Ukraine accounted for over 60% of that total budget by the end of 2022 (€3.6 billion). To ensure the financial sustainability of the EPF, in December 2022 the Council of Ministers agreed to increase its financial ceiling by €2.287 billion, to a total of €7.979 billion, and with the possibility of a further increase at a later stage. That decision was adopted on 14 March 2023. 365

Collective procurement of ammunition

In March 2023, EU Member States agreed several measures to help alleviate the urgent shortfalls in artillery ammunition required by Ukraine. 366

A three-pronged approach was adopted:

- €1 billion will be provided from the European Peace Facility to reimburse Member States who immediately supply ammunition, and missiles if requested, from national inventories, or from pre-existing orders. Approval of EPF funding to meet this first element of the EU package was given on 13 April 2023, taking total EPF funding for Ukraine, so far, to €4.6 billion.³⁶⁷
- 2. A further €1 billion will be set aside to reimburse joint procurement of ammunition, and missiles, from European industry and Norway³⁶⁸ to both replenish national stocks and to support Ukraine. Joint procurement projects will either be managed by the European Defence Agency or through a lead nation framework. So far 17 member states, plus Norway, have entered into administrative project arrangements with the EDA and hope was initially expressed that the first contracts could be placed with industry by the end of May 2023. By procuring jointly, the aim is to reduce unit price and delivery time. However, talks are ongoing over the role of non-EU companies in these joint procurement projects.
- 3. To increase the capacity of the European defence industrial base. On 3 May the European Commission adopted the Act in Support of Ammunition Production (ASAP). Under the proposed legislation, financial support (in the form of grants) will be provided to EU industry involved in the production of ammunition and missiles (including their supply chains), to increase production capacity and tackle identified bottlenecks. A mapping exercise will also be undertaken to identify and continuously monitor the availability of ammunition and missiles, and their components, to guarantee security of supply. The Commission also proposes to introduce measures that will temporarily allow Member States to prioritise certain orders and companies and speed up

"We are in war times, and we have to have – I am sorry to say – a war mentality".

EU High Representative Josep Borrell, 8 March 2023

³⁶⁴ Council of the European Union, <u>Press release</u>, 12 December 2022

³⁶⁵ Council of the European Union, <u>Press release.</u> 14 March 2023

EU External Action Service, Foreign Affairs Council: Remarks by High Representative Josep Borrell at the press conference, 20 March 2023 and European Council, <u>European Council meeting conclusions</u> (PDF), 23 March 2023

³⁶⁷ Council of the European Union, <u>Press release</u>, 13 April 2023

³⁶⁸ Norway is a <u>partner nation of the European Defence Agency</u>.

administrative processes at the national level. The Commission has called for the adoption of a regulation by the summer 2023.³⁶⁹ €500 million from the EU budget has been earmarked for these proposals.³⁷⁰

The aim is to provide one million munitions within one year. The recently agreed increase to the EPF will fund this procurement.³⁷¹

The EU High Representative has made clear that this joint procurement proposal does not preclude EU member states from also pursuing a national approach saying that "nothing excludes the other".³⁷²

The decision has been regarded by some commentators as another step toward an EU arms procurement policy and greater EU defence integration.³⁷³

A new EU training mission

At the end of August 2022 EU Defence Ministers agreed to begin preparatory work on a possible EU military training mission to Ukraine that will complement current bilateral and multilateral efforts.³⁷⁴

Approval for that training mission was given in October 2022 and it launched in November 2022.³⁷⁵ It will be initially mandated for two years and has the aim of providing specialised training to 30,000 Ukrainian armed forces personnel. Training will take place at various locations across the EU, and it will be open to participation by third states.³⁷⁶ €16 million will be provided to the training mission through the European Peace Facility.³⁷⁷

The UK Government welcomed the announcement and said that it will work with the EU to ensure the mission remains "complementary" to its own training programme in the UK (Operation Interflex).³⁷⁸

Further reading:

• European Union Assistance Mission Ukraine (EUMAM) | EEAS Website (europa.eu)

³⁶⁹ European Commission, <u>Act in Support of Ammunition Production</u>, 3 May 2023

³⁷⁰ European Commission, Press release, 3 May 2023

EU External Action Service, <u>Foreign Affairs Council: Remarks by High Representative Josep Borrell</u> at the press conference, 20 March 2023

EU External Action Service, <u>Foreign Affairs Council: Press remarks upon arrival</u>, 20 March 2023

[&]quot;EU will supply 1m artillery shells for Ukraine", The Times, 21 March 2023; "Arming Ukraine: How war forced the EU to rewrite defence policy", The Financial Times, 27 February 2023

EU External Action Service, Informal meeting of EU Defence Ministers: Press remarks by EU High Representative, 30 August 2022

³⁷⁵ Council of the European Union, <u>Press release</u>, 15 November 2022

³⁷⁶ Council of the European Union, <u>Press release</u>, 17 October 2022

³⁷⁷ Council of the European Union, <u>Press release</u>, 15 November 2022

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 November 2022
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- Center for Strategic and International Studies, <u>"Europe needs its own Ukraine assistance act"</u>, 24 June 2022
- Brookings Institution, "Is time on Ukraine's side?", 10 June 2022
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