

#### **Research Briefing**

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By Claire Mills

# 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 military operations against Ukraine began on 24 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 \$19.3 billion since the start of the Biden administration. \$18.6 billion of that assistance has been provided since February 2022.

As the second largest donor, the UK has committed £2.3 billion in military assistance to Ukraine so far and has pledged to match that assistance in 2023. The UK is also hosting a training programme, supported by several allies, with the aim of training 10,000 new and existing Ukrainian personnel within 120 days.

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 European Peace Facility (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 €3.1 billion.

## 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>.

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

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>2</sup> <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, 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.

## 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".

#### **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".<sup>4</sup>

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>3</sup> Ministry of Defence, <u>Press release</u>, 7 April 2022

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>4</sup> Ministry of Defence, <u>Press release</u>, 7 April 2022

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:

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

### **Ukraine Defense Contact Group**

Since late April 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 sixth, and latest, meeting of the group was held on 12 October in Brussels and involved 50 countries. <sup>5</sup> Separately, the National Armament Directors of 45 nations also met under the auspices of the Contact Group on 28 September to discuss some of the defence industrial base challenges going forward.

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.<sup>6</sup> 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 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.<sup>7</sup>

At the latest meeting of the group, 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.<sup>8</sup>

US Department of Defense, <u>Transcript of a press conference following a meeting of the Ukraine</u>
<u>Defense Contact Group</u>, 12 October 2022

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>6</sup> HC Deb 11 May 2022, c133

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

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

#### International Fund for Ukraine

Alongside the International Donor Coordination Centre and the Contact Group, in April 2022 allies, led by the UK, established an International Fund for Ukraine (IFU) to coordinate the purchase and transport of military equipment to Ukraine from third countries or industry.<sup>9</sup>

#### **Expansion of the IFU**

On 11 August an <u>international donor's conference was held in 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.<sup>10</sup>

To date, £600 million in pledges to the IFU have been received.  $^{11}$ 

The UK MOD has confirmed that £250 million of the £1 billion committed at the NATO summit at the end of June (see below) would be put into the IFU. 12 The MOD stated:

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.<sup>13</sup>

<sup>9</sup> Norwegian Ministry of Defence, <u>Press release</u>, 27 April 2022

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

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>11</sup> HC Deb 20 October 2022, c860

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>12</sup> Ministry of Defence, <u>Press release</u>, 11 August 2022

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>13</sup> Ministry of Defence, <u>Press release</u>, 11 August 2022

## 2.2 UK military assistance to Ukraine

#### 1 Headlines

- The UK continues to gift military aid to the Ukrainian armed forces.
- The UK has committed £2.3 billion in military assistance to Ukraine for the 2022/23 financial year. £250 million of that money has been committed to the International Fund for Ukraine. The UK is the second largest provider of military assistance after the United States.
- Combined with economic and humanitarian assistance, the UK has committed a total of £3.8 billion to Ukraine since February 2022.
- The UK has provided defensive lethal weaponry, including over 10,000 anti-tank missiles, six air defence systems, 200 armoured fighting vehicles, 2,600 anti-structure munitions, 4.5 tonnes of plastic explosives and 3 million rounds of small arms ammunition.
- At the beginning of June 2022, the MOD confirmed that it would provide long range artillery capabilities, comprising three M270 multiple launch rocket systems, associated munitions and requisite training.
- The UK has sent over 200,000 items of non-lethal aid, including body armour, helmets, night vision equipment and medical equipment.
- The UK has established a long-term training programme for the
  Ukrainian armed forces (Operation Interflex), with the potential to train
  up to 10,000 new and existing Ukrainian soldiers every 120 days. The
  Netherlands, Canada, Sweden, Finland, Norway, Denmark, Lithuania and
  New Zealand have announced their participation. Australia is expected
  to join the training programme in January 2023.
- At the end of September 2022, the then Prime Minister committed to matching, or exceeding, that £2.3 billion of military assistance in 2023.
- On 13 October 2022 the MOD confirmed that it would donate additional air defence missiles to Ukraine, including AMRAAM rockets capable of shooting down cruise missiles, to help it defend against Russian missile strikes and protect critical national infrastructure.

UK military assistance to Ukraine is longstanding.<sup>14</sup> 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.<sup>15</sup>

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, <sup>16</sup> the Government said that the UK was "considering an extension of purely defensive support to Ukraine to help it defend itself". <sup>17</sup>

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:

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. <sup>18</sup>

Although intended for defensive purposes, the decision represented the first time the UK has supplied lethal weaponry to Ukraine. On 30 January 2022 the Government confirmed that 2,000 anti-armour missiles had been supplied.<sup>19</sup>

In September 2014 the MOD gave an overview of the military assistance that has been provided to Ukraine in the previous six years (<u>PQ 209093</u>, 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

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>16</sup> This is examined in greater detail in House of Commons Library, <u>Ukraine: Russia's "red line"</u>,

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>17</sup> HC Deb 7 December 2021 [Ukraine], c188

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

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

On 10 February the MOD confirmed that additional defensive equipment, including body armour, helmets and combat boots would also be provided.<sup>20</sup>

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.<sup>21</sup>

## 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. <sup>22</sup>

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".<sup>23</sup>

"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".

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>20</sup> HCWS608, <u>Ukraine</u>, 10 February 2022

<sup>&</sup>quot;Russia-Ukraine crisis: UK won't be able to fly people out - minister", BBC News (online), 12 February 2022.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>22</sup> HC Deb 25 February 2022, <u>Ukraine</u>, c623

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>23</sup> HC Deb 25 February 2022, <u>Ukraine</u>, c623

#### 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", <sup>24</sup> 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, and that is something that I think the House would want to contemplate with caution.<sup>25</sup>

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. <sup>26</sup>

On 11 October 2022 the Government confirmed that its position on implementing a no-fly zone had not changed. <sup>27</sup>

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". <sup>28</sup>

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

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>24</sup> HC Deb 24 February 2022, <u>Ukraine</u>, c577

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>25</sup> HC Deb 24 February 2022, <u>Ukraine</u>, c571

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>26</sup> HC Deb 25 February 2022, Ukraine, c621

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>27</sup> HC Deb 11 October 2022, <u>Ukraine</u>, c33

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>28</sup> HC Deb 2 March 2022, <u>Support for Ukraine and Countering Threats from Russia</u>, C1107

"We will shortly be starting the delivery of a small consignment of anti-tank javelin missiles".<sup>29</sup>

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". <sup>30</sup>

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".<sup>31</sup>

#### 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".<sup>32</sup>

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.<sup>33</sup>

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>29</sup> HC Deb 9 March 2022, <u>Ukraine Update</u>, c325.

HC Deb 9 March 2022, Ukraine Update, c326.

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

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

<sup>33</sup> Ministry of Defence, Press release, 8 April 2022

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.<sup>34</sup>

At the end of April that was followed up with the gifting of a several "Stormer" armoured vehicles fitted with anti-air missile launchers.<sup>35</sup>

#### 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. $^{36}$ 

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.<sup>37</sup>

#### 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.<sup>38</sup>

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.<sup>39</sup>

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

UK Defence Secretary, Ben Wallace, 6 June 2022

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

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

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>36</sup> HC Deb 20 June 2022, c559

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

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>38</sup> Ministry of Defence, <u>Press release</u>, 6 June 2022

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>39</sup> PQ20208, Ukraine: Military aid, 22 June 2022

At the time of writing, the UK has committed £2.3 billion in military support to Ukraine since the Russian invasion in February 2022.

#### A further £1 billion in military support

At the NATO Summit at the end of June 2022 the 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.<sup>40</sup>

Specifically, that funding will 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".<sup>41</sup>

On 11 August the Ministry of Defence confirmed that additional M270 multiple launch rocket systems will 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". 42

On 5 September the Defence Secretary confirmed that UK military assistance continued to be gifted to the Ukrainian armed forces<sup>43</sup> and that the UK was "now working on an additional package of support".<sup>44</sup> Part of that package will include the provision of urgent non-lethal assistance such as clothing, shelters, generators, fuel trucks and ambulances, ahead of the winter.<sup>45</sup>

#### 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

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

Ministry of Defence, 13 October 2022

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>40</sup> PQ40737, <u>Ukraine: Military aid</u>, 5 September 2022

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>41</sup> HCWS259, <u>Military support to Ukraine</u>, 21 July 2022

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>2</sup> Ministry of Defence, <u>Press release</u>, 11 August 2022

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>43</sup> As opposed to a repayment basis.

<sup>44</sup> 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

drone and missile attacks against civilian targets. <sup>46</sup> 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 that is 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. <sup>47</sup>

#### 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 systems<sup>49</sup> and, in light of recent events, more air defence missiles.

At the time of writing, more than 7,000 Ukrainian personnel have been trained under the new programme.

HC Deb 20 October 2022, c860

## 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, 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.<sup>50</sup>

The Government confirmed on 27 June that Ukraine had accepted the proposal and the first Ukrainian soldiers arrived in the UK in early July.<sup>51</sup>

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.

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

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>47</sup> Ministry of Defence, <u>Press release</u>, 13 October 2022

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

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>49</sup> Ministry of Defence, <u>Press release</u>, 20 September 2022

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>50</sup> Ministry of Defence, <u>Press release</u>, 9 July 2022

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>51</sup> Ministry of Defence, <u>Press release</u>, 9 July 2022

#### **International partners**

Discussions are being held with international partners on support for delivery of the programme.<sup>52</sup>

The Netherlands was one of the first countries to offer assistance, with troops expected to deploy to the UK at the end of August.<sup>53</sup>

On 4 August the Canadian government announced that 225 Canadian military personnel will 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).

The Swedish government has confirmed that it will deploy 120 instructors to the UK until the end of 2022, with a maximum of 60 instructors involved in the training programme at any given time.<sup>54</sup>

On 8 August the Finnish Ministry of Defence also confirmed that 20 personnel will take part in the training programme over the course of this year. 55

Denmark will also contribute 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. Denmark 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 yet clear.<sup>57</sup>

The Government of New Zealand also announced on 15 August that it would deploy 120 personnel to the UK to participate in the training programme. Those personnel will deploy until 30 November 2022. 58

Lithuania also joined the initiative at the beginning of September 2022, contributing 15 personnel.<sup>59</sup>

Up to 70 Australian Defence Force personnel are also expected to join the training programme in January 2023.<sup>60</sup>

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>52</sup> HC Deb 18 July 2022, c685

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>53</sup> The Netherlands Ministry of Defence, News release, 15 July 2022

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>54</sup> Government Offices of Sweden, <u>Press release</u>, 7 August 2022

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>55</sup> Finnish Ministry of Defence, <u>Press release</u>, 8 August 2022

Danish Ministry of Defence Press release, 10 August 2022

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

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

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>59</sup> "Interview with the Lithuanian Defence Minister", UKRINFORM, 24 August 2022

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>60</sup> Australian Government, <u>Press release</u>, 27 October 2022

#### Replenishment of UK equipment

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 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. <sup>61</sup>

#### 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. <sup>62</sup>

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. 63

On 5 September 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.<sup>64</sup>

<sup>61</sup> HL7885, Defence equipment, 28 April 2022

PQ75774, Ukraine: Military aid, 8 November 2022

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

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>64</sup> HC Deb 5 September 2022, c31

## 2.3 US military assistance to Ukraine

#### 2 Headlines

- As of 10 November 2022, total US military assistance to Ukraine since the start of the Biden administration stands at \$19.3 billion, of which approximately \$18.6 billion has been provided since February 2022.
- The US continues to provide lethal and non-lethal weaponry. Its most recent commitment is to the provision of a number of long-range Multiple Launch Rocket Systems and air defence systems. Both are regarded as crucial for repelling the Russian assault in the Donbas\_and on Ukraine's critical national infrastructure, and for supporting Ukraine's current counter-offensive.

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.

From the onset of conflict in 2014 to the end of October 2021, the US Congressional Research Service estimates that the US has provided Ukraine with more than \$2.5 billion in security assistance across the board. 65

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". <sup>66</sup> 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. <sup>67</sup> A further \$200 million in military assistance was subsequently authorised by the US administration. <sup>68</sup>

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

 $<sup>^{66}</sup>$  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

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. <sup>69</sup> 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.<sup>70</sup>

## 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". 71 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. 72

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 \$19.3 billion, \$18.6 billion of which has been provided since February 2022.<sup>73</sup>

On 10 November 2022 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), high speed anti-radiation missiles, armoured vehicles, tactical secure communications systems, and non-lethal equipment such as helmets and body armour.<sup>74</sup>

In its most recent tranches of assistance, announced on 4 and 10 November, the US Department of Defense confirmed that funding would be provided for

At the time of writing, total US military assistance to Ukraine since

February 2022 is \$18.6 billion.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>69</sup> US Department of State, <u>Press briefing</u>, 27 January 2022

White House, Remarks by President Biden before Marine One Departure, 8 December 2021 (accessed on 10 December 2021)

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>Press release</u>, 4 November 2022

US Department of Defense, Factsheet on US security assistance to Ukraine (PDF), 10 November 2022

the refurbishment of Hawk air defence missiles, which will complement Spain's recent commitment to provide Hawk air defence launchers, and for the refurbishment of 45 Czech T-72 tanks which is being conducted in conjunction with the Czech Republic and the Netherlands (PDF). The US will also provide Avenger short-range air defence systems, which the DoD has said will "provide Ukraine with capability to protect Ukrainian troops and critical infrastructure against unmanned aerial systems and helicopters".

The US is also working with allies to facilitate the transfer of further air defence systems to Ukraine from their own inventories.<sup>77</sup>

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 12,000 anti-armour systems, more than 1,550 anti-air missiles, radar, night vision devices, body armour, machine guns, rifles and ammunition. <sup>78</sup>

### 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.

#### **Albania**

In March 2022 the Albanian government confirmed that it would send military equipment to Ukraine, although it did not provide details.<sup>79</sup>

#### Belgium

Has provided 2,000 machine guns and 3,800 tonnes of fuel to Ukraine.<sup>80</sup> Additional arms packages of automatic weapons and anti-tank weapons have since been delivered.<sup>81</sup>

In August 2022 Belgium announced it would provide a further package of non-lethal military assistance worth €8 million. That assistance will be channelled through the NATO Comprehensive Assistance Package Trust Fund (see below).<sup>82</sup>

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

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>76</sup> US Department of Defense, <u>Press release</u>, 10 November 2022

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

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

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>79</sup> "Albania sent military equipment to Ukraine", Exit News, 17 March 2022

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>80</sup> Twitter, <u>Alexander De Croo</u>: @alexanderdecroo, 26 February 2022 (in French)

<sup>81 &</sup>lt;u>"Belgium to send new weapons to Ukraine",</u> Flanders News, 22 April 2022

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>82</sup> Minister of Foreign Affairs, <u>Press release</u>, 25 August 2022

#### Bulgaria

The Bulgarian government had ruled out sending weaponry to Ukraine directly, saying that in terms of military-logistical support, "if something is done, it will be at the level of the EU and NATO and will not be sent from Bulgaria to Ukraine".<sup>83</sup>

At the beginning of May the Bulgarian Parliament did, however, approve the provision of technical support, including the repair of Ukrainian military equipment.<sup>84</sup>

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.<sup>85</sup>

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 is for the transfer of Soviet-era equipment to Ukraine, in exchange for modernisation assistance from NATO allies.<sup>86</sup>

#### 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.<sup>87</sup>

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".<sup>88</sup>

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

<sup>83 &</sup>quot;Bulgaria will not send fighters, troops to Ukraine", Euractiv, 1 March 2022

<sup>84 &</sup>quot;Bulgarian Parliament approves military-technical support for Ukraine", Army Technology, 5 May 2022

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>85</sup> <u>"Bulgaria rejects Ukraine's plea for heavy weaponry"</u>, Balkan Insight, 7 June 2022

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>86</sup> "In U-turn Bulgarian Parliament tells Sofia to send weapons to Ukraine", Politico, 3 November 2022

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.

Canada has committed or delivered \$626 million in military assistance. \$9 \$500 million of those funds have been allocated for military aid to Ukraine in the 2022-23 budget. In October 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. 90

Canada has also been providing logistical support to allies and partners in Europe and since February "has made over 100 flights and transported over 2.3 million pounds of military donations on behalf of our Allies and partners".<sup>91</sup>

In early August, Canada announced that it would deploy 225 military personnel to the UK to join the training programme for Ukrainian soldiers (see above). <sup>92</sup> A further 40 combat engineers will also deploy to Poland to participate in a training programme for Ukrainian armed forces personnel that is focused on engineering skills and reconnaissance and demining. <sup>93</sup>

#### 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, Croatian Defence Minister Mario Banožić detailed that "we are talking about rifles and machine guns with the calibres requested by the Ukrainian side". <sup>94</sup>

#### **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. 95 The Czech Government had already agreed to donate some 4,000 pieces of artillery shells worth the equivalent of \$1.7 million to Ukraine. 96

In April the Government approved the delivery over £130 million worth of military equipment, making the Czech Republic among the largest donors of military aid to the country. That assistance includes rocket propelled grenades, surface-to-air missiles, self-propelled artillery, multiple rocket

<sup>89</sup> Canadian Armed Forces, News release, 4 August 2022

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>90</sup> Government of Canada, <u>Canadian military support to Ukraine</u>, 12 October 2022

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>91</sup> Government of Canada, <u>Canadian military support to Ukraine</u>, (accessed 6 July 2022)

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>92</sup> Canadian Armed Forces, <u>News release</u>, 4 August 2022

Government of Canada, Canadian military support to Ukraine, 11 October 2022

<sup>94 &</sup>quot;Croatia to send weapons to Ukraine, provide health care to refugees", Euractiv, 1 March 2022.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>95</sup> "<u>Too little too late? West finally coughs up arms for Ukraine"</u>, France 24, 26 February 2022.

<sup>&</sup>quot;Czech Republic, Netherlands To Ship More Military Aid To Ukraine", Radio Free Europe, 26 February 2022.

launchers, infantry fighting vehicles, Soviet-era T-72 tanks and combat helicopters.<sup>97</sup>

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. 98

A further \$26-30 million in military aid, including heavy weaponry, was announced at the end of May 2022. 99

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. On the similar initiative in Lithuania earlier in the year purchased a Turkish 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. 102

#### 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.<sup>103</sup>

To date, Denmark has donated:

- 2,700 shoulder-launched anti-tank weapons
- 2,000 tactical protective vests
- 700 first aid kits.<sup>104</sup>

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). 105 It has also offered to host a training course in Denmark focused on educating Commanders and providing support

<sup>&</sup>quot;Czechia has sent CZK3 billion in military aid to Ukraine so far", Expats Cz, 25 April 2022

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>98</sup> <u>"Czechs to get German tanks as it arms Ukraine"</u>, Deutsche Welle, 18 May 2022

<sup>99 &</sup>lt;u>"Czech Republic, Poland set new rounds of military aid to Ukraine"</u>, Radio Free Europe, 29 May 2022

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

<sup>&</sup>quot;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

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>103</sup> "Denmark Prepared to Send Military Equipment to Ukraine", 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

to the Ukrainian Territorial Defence Force. Discussions are currently underway with Ukraine on implementing that proposal.<sup>106</sup>

The Danish Government also announced a further DKK820 million package of assistance that will finance weapons procurement and support the training programme.<sup>107</sup> Alongside Norway and Germany, Denmark is investing in Slovakia's indigenous production of howitzers.<sup>108</sup>

#### Further reading:

Denmark's contributions | Kriseinformation

#### **Estonia**

In July 2020, Estonia sent a small shipment of 2400 Soviet-era Makarov semiautomatic pistols to Ukraine. 109 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 122-millimetre 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. Germany refused permission to Estonia to send Howitzers, and Finland said it would consider the request.

Once Russian military operations started at the end of February both Germany and Finland approved the licences. <sup>113</sup> 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. <sup>114</sup>

Approximately €240 million in military assistance has been provided thus far. More recent aid also includes armoured vehicles.<sup>115</sup>

In August the Estonian government confirmed that a further package of assistance, including mortars and anti-tanks weapons had been approved.

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)

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>108</sup> US Department of Defense, <u>Press release</u>, 14 October 2022

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>109</sup> "Estonia sends 2,400 Makarov pistols to Ukraine", ERR News, 7 July 2020.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>110</sup> "U.S. clears Baltic states to send U.S.-made weapons to Ukraine", Reuters, 20 January 2022.

<sup>&</sup>quot;Why Germany refuses weapons deliveries to Ukraine", Deutsche Welle, 19 January 2022

<sup>112 &</sup>quot;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.

<sup>&</sup>quot;Estonia to provide Ukraine with additional batch of Javelins, ammunition – media", Interfax Ukraine, 25 February 2022.

<sup>115 &</sup>lt;u>"Estonia has provided €240 million in military aid to Ukraine".</u> Ukrinform, 7 June 2022

Estonia will also provide a second field hospital in cooperation with Germany.<sup>116</sup>

#### **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. 117 Ukraine's embassy in Paris said it had in particular requested anti-aircraft hardware. 118 Macron wrote that France will provide Ukraine with an "additional budgetary assistance of 300 million euros" and "will provide the defensive material they need". 119

Detail of the military assistance provided by France is limited, but is reported to include, Javelin and Milan anti-tank missile systems, Mistral anti-aircraft missiles, and self-propelled howitzers. At the end of June President Macron confirmed that France would also provide six additional howitzers and a significant number of armoured vehicles. 121

Separately, the French Defence Minister reportedly suggested that Exocet anti-ship missiles were among further tranches of assistance under consideration.<sup>122</sup>

At the beginning of August, the Minister for Europe, Catherine Colonna, suggested that French assistance to Ukraine amounted to €2 billion thus far, including humanitarian as well as military assistance. <sup>123</sup>

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 missile and drone strikes, although no further details on specific capabilities was provided.<sup>124</sup>

#### 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. <sup>125</sup> Germany also refused to grant permits to other EU countries such Estonia to export German-

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<sup>116</sup> <u>"Estonia to boost military assistance for Ukraine",</u> Kyiv Post, 20 August 2022
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<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>117</sup> "France will provide defensive equipment to Ukraine", CNN, 25 February 2022.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>118</sup> "Too little too late? West finally coughs up arms for Ukraine", France 24, 26 February 2022.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>119</sup> "France will provide defensive equipment to Ukraine", CNN, 25 February 2022.

<sup>&</sup>quot;Arms for Ukraine: who has sent what?", France 24, 1 June 2022

Official Twitter account of Emmanuel Macron, 30 June 2022

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

France in the United States, Situation in Ukraine (accessed 16 September 2022)

<sup>&</sup>quot;France to supply air defence systems to Ukraine after wave of Russian strikes", France 24, 12
October 2022

<sup>125 &</sup>lt;u>"Why Germany refuses weapons deliveries to Ukraine"</u>, Deutsche Welle, 19 January 2022.

origin weapons like artillery, 126 as well as vetoing Ukraine's purchase of antidrone rifles and anti-sniper systems via the NATO Support and Procurement Agency. 127

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". 128

Germany instead proposed providing a field hospital and other non-lethal equipment including military helmets.<sup>129</sup>

#### 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. <sup>130</sup> In addition Germany would send 14 armoured vehicles and up to 10,000 tons of fuel. <sup>131</sup> 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. <sup>132</sup>

That assistance has steadily increased, in terms of both quantity and the weaponry provided. According to the German government, as of 9 November 2022, equipment delivered to Ukraine so far has included anti-tank weapons, man-portable air defence systems (Iris-T), self-propelled howitzers, bunker buster missiles, armoured vehicles, multiple rocket launchers, mobile ground surveillance radar, anti-aircraft tanks, a field hospital, and over 22 million rounds of ammunition. The Government has also committed to the delivery of autonomous surface vessels, reconnaissance drones, armoured recovery vehicles, reconnaissance drones, mine clearance vehicles, air defence missiles and three further Iris-T air defence systems. 133

Germany announced its intention to supply the MARS multiple rocket launchers in mid-June, in tandem with moves by the US and UK to provide Ukraine with a defensive long-range artillery capability.<sup>134</sup>

<sup>&</sup>quot;Germany blocks Estonia from exporting German-origin weapons to Ukraine -WSJ", Reuters, 21 January 2022

 $<sup>^{127}</sup>$  "Ukraine blames Germany for 'blocking' Nato weapons supply", Financial Times, 12 December 2021

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>128</sup> "Why Germany isn't sending weapons to Ukraine", BBC News, 29 January 2022.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>129</sup> <u>'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.</u>

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>130</sup> "Germany to send Ukraine weapons in historic shift on military aid", Politico, 26 February 2022.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>131</sup> "In a major shift, Germany will send weapons to Ukraine", AP News, 26 February 2022.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>132</sup> "Germany to send Ukraine weapons in historic shift on military aid", Politico, 26 February 2022.

German Ministry of Defence, Military assistance to Ukraine (in German), accessed 9 November 2022

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>134</sup> Joint Statement by UK MOD, US DOD, and German Defence Ministry, 15 June 2022

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 Greece). Alongside Norway and Denmark, Germany is also investing in Slovakia's indigenous production of howitzers for transfer to Ukraine. 135

#### Further reading:

 Militärische Unterstützungsleistungen für die Ukraine | Bundesregierung (in German)

#### 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. 136

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, including over a hundred BMP-1 infantry fighting vehicles, assault rifles, Stinger surface-to-air missiles and rocket launched anti-tank grenades.<sup>137</sup>

Germany is reportedly discussing a deal with the Greek government to replace those infantry fighting vehicles with newer German variants. <sup>138</sup>

Greece has also given the US priority access to the Port of Alexandrouplis to facilitate the US' provision of military assistance to Ukraine. 139

#### 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", Foreign Minister Péter Szijjártó said on 28 February, stressing that Hungary should not get involved in the war between Ukraine and Russia. 140

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

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>136</sup> "Greece sending military, civilian aid to Ukraine", Ekathimerini, 27 February 2022.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>137</sup> "Greece announced large-scale supply of weapons to Ukraine", Ukrainian News, 6 June 2022

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>138</sup> "Germany announces new deal with Greece to send tanks to Ukraine", Politico, 31 May 2022

DoD news, <u>"Strategic port access aid support to Ukraine, Austin tells Greek Defense Minister"</u>, 18

<sup>&</sup>quot;Hungary will not allow lethal weapons for Ukraine to transit its territory – FM", Reuters, 28 February 2022.

#### **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. 141

At the Copenhagen Conference on 11 August, Iceland agreed to lead work on establishing a demining training and capacity building programme for Ukrainian personnel.<sup>142</sup> Norway has already indicated its interest in participating in that project.<sup>143</sup>

#### 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 machine guns, MG-type light machine guns and counter-IED systems. <sup>144</sup> 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. 145

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. 146

#### Further reading:

• <u>Italy support of Ukraine – Ministero degli Affari Esteri e della</u> <u>Cooperazione Internazionale</u>

#### 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. 147 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". 148

<sup>&</sup>quot;Iceland charters freight aircraft for transporting equipment to Ukraine", Iceland Monitor, 1 March 2022

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>142</sup> <u>"Western fund hits €1.5bn in pledges to boost Ukrainian defense"</u>, Politico, 11 August 2022

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

<sup>&</sup>quot;Italy joins growing list of weapon donors to help Ukraine's defense", Defense News, 28 February

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>145</sup> Center for European Policy Analysis, <u>"Italy's unwavering support for Ukraine"</u>, 22 June 2022

<sup>146</sup> \_\_"Italian rally calls for country to stop sending weapons to Ukraine", Euronews, 5 November 2022

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>147</sup> "U.S. clears Baltic states to send U.S.-made weapons to Ukraine", Reuters, 20 January 2022.

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

At the end of August 2022, the Ministry of Defence said that total military assistance was an estimated €300 million thus far. 149 Support provided includes weapons, individual equipment, dry food rations, ammunition, antitank weapons, Stinger anti-aircraft missiles, unmanned aerial vehicles, self-propelled howitzers, helicopters and fuel. 150

The Ministry of Defence is currently working in partnership with the NGO, Entrepreneurs for Peace, to provide Ukraine with further assistance ahead of the winter, including military vehicles, body armour, armoured ambulances, and night vision equipment.<sup>151</sup>

#### 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. <sup>152</sup> On 13 February the Ukrainian Defence Ministry confirmed it had received a shipment of ammunition and Stinger missiles from Lithuania. <sup>153</sup>

The total value of military assistance to Ukraine thus far is approximately €200 million. <sup>154</sup> In addition to Stinger missiles, assistance includes anti-tank weapons, body armour vests, helmets, mortars, Kalashnikov rifles, ammunition, thermal imaging cameras, drones, anti-drones and surveillance radar. <sup>155</sup> At the end of May the Lithuanian government announced that it would send 20 M113 armoured personnel carriers, 10 military trucks and 10 all-terrain mine clearance vehicles. <sup>156</sup> The Government announced at the end of July that those vehicles will be supplemented by an additional 10 M113 armoured personnel carriers, along with explosives and smoke grenades. <sup>157</sup>

Further assistance is expected to include winter clothing and the repair of Ukrainian military equipment.<sup>158</sup>

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

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

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>152</sup> "U.S. clears Baltic states to send U.S.-made weapons to Ukraine", Reuters, 20 January 2022

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>153</sup> "<u>Ukraine receives anti-aircraft missiles from Lithuania"</u>, Reuters, 13 February 2022.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>154</sup> <u>"Lithuania has provided €200 million in military aid to war torn Ukraine",</u> LRT, 14 September 2022

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

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>156</sup> <u>"Lithuania among top 15 of Ukraine's military donors"</u>, LRT, 25 May 2022

<sup>157 &</sup>lt;u>"Lithuania to provide more military aid for Ukraine".</u> The Kyiv Independent, 31 July 2022

<sup>158 &</sup>lt;u>"Lithuania has provided €200 million in military aid to war torn Ukraine",</u> LRT, 14 September 2022

Lithuania has also been providing training to Ukrainian military instructors in anti-tank weaponry. A further course on demining training is currently under discussion. <sup>159</sup>

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

#### Luxembourg

On 28 February, 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. 160

Total military assistance has been estimated at €50 million.161

#### Montenegro

In March 2022 the Ministry of Defence announced that it would donate non-lethal equipment to Ukraine, primarily bulletproof vests and helmets. 162

In early June the Government approved additional military assistance to Ukraine, although no details have been provided. 163

#### **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. 164

On 26 February, the Dutch Government said it would send 200 stinger anti-aircraft missiles, <sup>165</sup> as well as 50 Panzerfaust-3 anti-tank weapons and 400 rockets. <sup>166</sup>

Further tranches of assistance have also included self-propelled howitzers.<sup>167</sup>

In July 2022 the Dutch Prime Minister, confirmed that military assistance to Ukraine would continue, 168 and is thought to include further heavy weapons,

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

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

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>161</sup> "Luxembourg gives €50 million in military aid to Ukraine", Delano, 25 April 2022

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>162</sup> "Montenegro joins EU sanctions against Russia, moves to send aid to Ukraine", N1, 2 March 2022

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>163</sup> Government of Montenegro, <u>Press release</u>, 9 June 2022

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

<sup>&</sup>quot;Czech Republic, Netherlands To Ship More Military Aid To Ukraine", Radio Free Europe, 5 26 February 2022.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>166</sup> "Netherlands to supply anti-tank weapons to Ukraine - DefenCe Ministry", Reuters, 26 February

<sup>&</sup>quot;Ukraine to get a dozen howitzers from Germany and the Netherlands", Defense News, 6 May 2022

Official Twitter account of Mark Rutte, 28 July 2022

armoured vehicles and howitzers. 169 At the end of August total military assistance, thus far, was estimated at €210 million. 170

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.<sup>171</sup>

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.<sup>172</sup>

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 and longer term support to Ukraine, including a financial contribution to the International Fund for Ukraine (see above).<sup>173</sup>

#### **North Macedonia**

At the beginning of March 2022, the Government announced that it would donate military materiel and equipment to Ukraine. <sup>174</sup> At the beginning of August, the Government said it had also donated a number of Soviet-era T-72 tanks, although has not confirmed media reports that four fighter aircraft have also been sent to Ukraine. <sup>175</sup>

#### **Norway**

Norway had a longstanding principle of not supplying weapons and ammunition to conflict zones, originating in a Parliamentary decision from 1959.<sup>176</sup>

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

<sup>169 &</sup>lt;u>"Netherlands to provide Ukraine with modern heavy weapons – Rutte".</u> Ukrinform, 11 July 2022

 $<sup>^{170}</sup>$  Government of the Netherlands, <u>Press release</u>, 22 August 2022

<sup>&</sup>quot;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>, 22 August 2022

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

<sup>&</sup>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

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".<sup>177</sup>

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. <sup>178</sup>

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.<sup>179</sup>

Alongside Denmark and Germany, Norway is investing in Slovakia's indigenous production of howitzers. Norway is also co-operating with the UK in the 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. 182

#### Further reading:

 Norwegian support to Ukraine and neighbouring countries regjeringen.no

#### **Poland**

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

Total military aid, thus far, is estimated at \$1.7 billion. <sup>183</sup> 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. <sup>184</sup>

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

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)

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

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

Government of Norway, Press release, 29 June 2022 and Press release, 24 August 2022

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

Ministry of National Defence, <u>Press release</u>, 12 July 2022

Notes from Poland, <u>"Poland has given Ukraine military aid worth at least \$1.7bn, expects allies to fill the gaps"</u>, 15 June 2022

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, <sup>185</sup> and is a main partner in the International Donor Coordination Centre (see above).

#### **Portugal**

In the early phases of the conflict Portugal sent non-lethal and lethal military aid to Ukraine, although no details were provided. <sup>186</sup> 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. The country has also offered to train Ukrainian personnel in demining and unexploded ordnance disposal. 188

#### 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. <sup>189</sup>

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. <sup>190</sup> 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.

#### Slovakia

On 26 February the Slovakian Government approved military aid worth 11 million euros, including 120mm artillery ammunition and fuel.<sup>191</sup>

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. 192

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

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>185</sup> "Poland 'key' in Western weapons supplies to Ukraine", Euractiv, 1 March 2022.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>186</sup> "Portugal's to contribute €8-10 million to EU's arms package to Ukraine", Euractiv, 1 March 2022.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>187</sup> <u>"Portugal to send another 160 tonnes of military aid to Ukraine".</u> Euractiv, 18 May 2022

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>188</sup> Government of Portugal, <u>Press release</u>, <u>15</u> June 2022

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>189</sup> "Romania to send fuel, ammunition to Ukraine", Reuters, 27 February 2022.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>190</sup> <u>"Romania to modify its laws to deliver weapons to Ukraine",</u> Prensa Latina, 19 April 2022

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>191</sup> <u>"Czech, Slovak governments increase military aid to Ukraine"</u>, Reuters, 27 February 2022,

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>192</sup> Slovak Spectator, <u>"Zuzana howitzers off to Ukraine"</u>, 2 June 2022

"without receiving adequate replacements". <sup>193</sup> 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. <sup>194</sup>

#### 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. <sup>195</sup> That was followed in June 2022 by the provision of 35 infantry fighting vehicles from the Slovenian army reserve.

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.<sup>196</sup>

#### **Spain**

On 28 February, 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. 197

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. 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.

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.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>194</sup> See the House of Commons Library's <u>Crisis in Ukraine</u> page for more details on NATO's response.

<sup>195 &</sup>lt;u>"Slovenia sending tanks to Ukraine in weapons swap with Germany".</u> Slovenia News, 21 April 2022

<sup>&</sup>quot;Slovenia to supply 28 M-55S tanks to Ukraine", TASS, 20 September 2022

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>197</sup> "Spanish coalition split over decision to deliver weapons to Ukraine", Euractiv, 3 March 2022.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>198</sup> <u>"Spain to send tanks, missiles o Ukraine, El Pais reports",</u> Politico, 5 June 2022

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>199</sup> <u>"Spain to send anti-aircraft battery, armoured vehicles to Ukraine",</u> Kyiv Post, 25 August 2022

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.<sup>200</sup>

#### **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.

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.<sup>201</sup>

On 1 March, 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.<sup>202</sup>

The Turkish government has, however, referred to the drone shipments as "private sales" rather than military aid.<sup>203</sup>

In August, Turkey is also reported to have provided 50 mine-resistant armoured vehicles, with further deliveries expected.<sup>204</sup>

#### Other European countries

#### **Austria**

In line with its long-standing neutrality policy,<sup>205</sup> 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). 206 It's not clear if Cyprus like Ireland, will request for its contribution to the Facility to only be put towards non-lethal aid.

 $<sup>^{\</sup>rm 200}$  NATO, Press conference by the NATO Secretary General, 13 October 2022

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>201</sup> "Putin criticises Ukraine's use of Turkish drones in Erdogan call", Alarabiya News, 3 December 2021

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>202</sup> Foreign Affairs Committee, Oral evidence: Ukraine - 01 03 22, HC 1089, Q43.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>203</sup> <u>"Turkey, balancing Russia ties, says drones to Ukraine are sales not aid"</u>, Reuters, 3 March 2022

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>204</sup> <u>"Turkey sends 50 mine-resistant vehicles to Ukraine",</u> Defense News, 22 August 2022

In 1955 it passed a <u>constitutional law on the neutrality of Austria</u>, 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)

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>206</sup> "Cyprus to provide humanitarian aid to Ukraine, not military equipment", KNews, 28 February 2022.

#### **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. <sup>207</sup>

The Government also granted Estonia a licence to re-export to Ukraine artillery guns and their ammunition, which Estonia had previously purchased from Finland.<sup>208</sup>

Finnish support has, however, evolved from purely non-lethal assistance to the provision of lethal aid. To date, the Government has provided €88 million of assistance, including assault rifles and associated ammunition and antitank weapons. At the beginning of September, the Finnish Government announced that it would provide further military assistance, although details have been withheld for security reasons. <sup>209</sup>

Finland is also deploying 20 personnel to the training programme for Ukrainian personnel that is being hosted by the UK (see above).<sup>210</sup>

Further reading:

Russian attack on Ukraine - Puolustusministeriö (defmin.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.<sup>211</sup>

When asked about whether anti-tank missiles held by Ireland's Defence Forces could be sent to Ukraine, 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.<sup>212</sup>

#### **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". <sup>213</sup> In addition, Sweden

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>207</sup> Finnish Government, <u>Press release: Finland sends additional aid to Ukraine</u>, 27 February 2022.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>208</sup> Finnish Government, <u>Press release: Finland sends additional aid to Ukraine</u>, 27 February 2022.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>209</sup> Finnish Ministry of Defence, <u>Press release</u>, 1 September 2022

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

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>211</sup> "Irish PM: Non-lethal aid to Ukraine not against military neutrality", Euractiv, 1 March 2022.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>212</sup> "Taoiseach says Ireland's non-lethal military support for Ukraine is 'sufficient' as EU members are sending weapons", The Journal, 28 February 2022.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>213</sup> "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. 214

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.<sup>215</sup> 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.<sup>216</sup>

Sweden is also deploying a number of military instructors to the UK to participate in the basic training programme for Ukrainian personnel (see above).

#### **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.<sup>217</sup>

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 re-export 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. 218

## Non-European countries

#### **Australia**

Australia has provided over AUD \$475 million in military assistance to Ukraine since February 2022.<sup>219</sup>

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). 220

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>214</sup> Twitter, <u>Ann Linde @AnnLinde</u> (Swedish Foreign Minister), 27 February 2022.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>215</sup> Government of Sweden, <u>Press release</u>, 1 July 2022

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

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>217</sup> Swiss Government, <u>Press release</u> (in French), 18 July 2022

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>218</sup> "Swiss veto of weapons re-exports to Ukraine angers Germany", The Financial Times, 31 October

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>219</sup> Australian Government, <u>Press release</u>, 27 October 2022

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>220</sup> Australian Government, <u>Press release</u>, 4 July 2022

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. <sup>221</sup>

#### 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.

An artillery training team from the New Zealand Defence Force deployed in the UK, also returned in July 2022. 222

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 will be deployed until 30 November 2022.

#### 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, will follow soon.

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, <sup>223</sup> but there were questions as to whether the transfer of military equipment to Ukraine met even these more relaxed

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>221</sup> Australian Government, <u>Press release</u>, 27 October 2022

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>222</sup> New Zealand Government, <u>Press release</u>, 28 June 2022

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>223</sup> "UPDATE 2-Japan relaxes arms export regime to fortify defence", Reuters, 1 April 2014.

rules, as they are supposed to bar providing defence supplies to a country "party to a conflict". <sup>224</sup>

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. <sup>225</sup>

## 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". NATO is helping to coordinate requests for assistance from the Ukrainian government (see above) and is supporting the delivery of humanitarian and non-lethal aid. 227

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. <sup>228</sup>

## 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

"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

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>224</sup> "Japan sends bulletproof vests from defense forces to Ukraine", Kyodo News, 8 March 2022.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>225</sup> "Japan sends bulletproof vests from defense forces to Ukraine", 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)

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

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>228</sup> NATO, NATO's response to Russia's invasion of Ukraine (accessed 29 June 2022)

transition to strengthen long-term interoperability". In the longer term, NATO will also assist Ukraine in any future post-war reconstruction and reform. <sup>229</sup>

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.<sup>230</sup>

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>, <sup>231</sup> 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. <sup>232</sup>

Discussions were also held over the possible establishment of an EU military training assistance mission to Ukraine, which would focus on military

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>229</sup> NATO, Madrid Summit Declaration, 29 June 2022

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

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.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>232</sup> Council on the European Union, <u>Press release</u>, 2 December 2021

education reform.<sup>233</sup> This proposal never came to fruition however following Russia's invasion of Ukraine.

## Support since Russian military operations began

At the time of writing, EU military assistance to Ukraine through the European Peace Facility totals €3.1

billion.

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".<sup>234</sup>

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. <sup>235</sup>

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. <sup>236</sup> Mr 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.<sup>237</sup>

#### **Further tranches of support**

Five further tranches of military assistance to Ukraine have since been announced, taking the total funds provided through the European Peace Facility for both lethal and non-lethal weaponry, to €3.1 billion.<sup>238</sup>

In the latest package announced in mid-October 2022 the EU confirmed that the scope of the equipment to be provided in the new support package is "in line with the current priorities expressed by the Ukrainian government". <sup>239</sup> Of that €500 million package, €490 million will fund lethal military equipment, while the remaining €10 million will cover the provision of equipment and supplies such as personal protective equipment, fuel and first aid kits. Both

EU External Action Service, <u>Foreign Affairs Council: Press remarks by High Representative Josep</u>
<u>Borrell</u>, 24 January 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.

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

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

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>237</sup> Euractiv, Irish PM: Non-lethal aid to Ukraine not against military neutrality, 1 March 2022.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>238</sup> 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 and <u>Press release</u>, 17 October 2022

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>239</sup> Council of the European Union, <u>Press release</u>, 17 October 2022

sets of funding will also provide for the maintenance and repair of military equipment already donated to Ukraine by EU countries under the EPF mechanism.<sup>240</sup>

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.<sup>241</sup>

The EPF has a financial ceiling of €5 billion for the multiannual financial framework 2021-27. Military assistance to Ukraine currently accounts for over 60% of that total budget.

#### A new EU training mission

At the end of August 2022 EU Defence Ministers also agreed to begin preparatory work on a possible EU military training mission to Ukraine that will complement current bilateral and multilateral efforts.<sup>242</sup>

Approval for that training mission was given in October 2022.<sup>243</sup> It will be initially mandated for two years. Training will take place within the EU, and it will be open to participation by third states.<sup>244</sup>

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).<sup>245</sup>

## 3 Further reading: Is military assistance making a difference?

RUSI, <u>The Russian air war and Ukrainian requirements for air defence</u>, 7 November 2022

US Department of Defense, <u>Press briefing after the Ukraine Defense Contact</u>
<u>Group Meetina</u>, 8 September 2022

RUSI, "The Ukrainian offensive must come in stages". 2 September 2022

RUSI, "Ukraine at war: Paving the road from survival to victory", 4 July 2022

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>240</sup> Council of the European Union, <u>Press release.</u> 17 October 2022

<sup>241</sup> Wall Street Journal, <u>EU Member Countries in Talks to Supply Ukraine With Jet Fighters</u>, 28 February 2022.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>242</sup> EU External Action Service, <u>Informal meeting of EU Defence Ministers: Press remarks by EU High</u>
Representative, 30 August 2022

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>243</sup> Council of the European Union, <u>Press release</u>, 17 October 2022 and European Council, <u>Conclusions</u> (<u>PDF</u>), 20-21 October 2022

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>244</sup> Council of the European Union, <u>Press release</u>, 17 October 2022

PQ65592. <u>Ukraine: Armed forces</u>, 25 October 2022

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

Center for Strategic and International Studies, <u>"What does \$40 billion in aid to Ukraine buy?"</u>, 23 May 2022

Economist Intelligence Unit, <u>"Russia-Ukraine: A war without end?"</u>, 12 May 2022

Angus Roxburgh, "Further arming Ukraine will only destroy it", 27 April 2022

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