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Topics:

- Ukraine – European Union
- Foreign and Defense Policy of Ukraine
- The course of the Russian-Ukrainian war



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■ *THEME ANALYSIS: Will Russia be recognized as a state sponsor of terrorism?*



*Photo: Anthony Blinken listens to Dmitry Kuleba's address
Source: MSN*

According to Volodymyr Zelensky, during the full-scale invasion, more than 60% of Russian missiles were fired at civilian objects in Ukraine.¹ Official representatives of the Russian authorities no longer hide the real motives for such actions. If in the first stages of the war, the Russian leadership declared that the Russian soldiers strike only at military facilities, now they openly admit that strikes on civilian infrastructure are an element of the Russian strategy. The spokesman of the President of the Russian Federation, Peskov, said that the lack of light and heat in many areas of Ukraine is "the consequence of the actions of the Kyiv authorities, which, in particular, refuse to negotiate." Vladimir Putin, in turn, declared that it was a revenge. "Yes, we do it. But who started it?² Who hit the Crimean bridge, who blew up power lines of the Kursk nuclear power plant, who does not supply water to Donetsk? Stopping water supply to a city of a million people is an act of genocide. No one said a word about it anywhere," Putin said in his interview.

From the point of view of the Russian leadership, such actions will allow the Russian Federation to destabilize the situation inside Ukraine and use it in the future to put pressure

¹ Понад 60% російських ракет були випущені по цивільних об'єктах України — Зеленський, 09.12.2022, URL: <https://suspilne.media/335096-ponad-60-rosijskih-raket-rf-buli-vipuseni-po-civilnih-obektah-ukraini-zelenskij/>

² Кремль визнав: ударами по інфраструктурі України намагається схилити Зеленського до переговорів, 17.11.2022, URL: <https://www.pravda.com.ua/news/2022/11/17/7376792/>

on the Ukrainian government and achieve military and political goals. This is not the first time Russian leadership uses terrorist methods. It has become a common practice for the Russian army: to kill, kidnap civilians, use torture, destroy infrastructure and entire cities. This time, however, the answer will be different and the Ukrainian authorities have already launched the process of bringing Russia to justice. One of the most important directions in this regard is the recognition of the Russian Federation as a terrorist state. It is already possible to observe significant progress in this direction.

At the initial stage, Ukraine and the partner countries experienced a certain pause due to political and legal nuances. In the foreign policy practice of the United States of America, there is such an experience of declaring certain actors as state sponsors of terrorism. This status implies a ban on American aid to such countries, exports, loans, guarantees, other financial assistance, export licensing and general supplies of ammunition. This status entails legal, economic and diplomatic consequences. The country is turning into an outcast in the main international arenas, and most states will avoid cooperation with this state because of the risk of worsening relations with the United States.³

US Secretary of State Anthony Blinken has not yet recognized Russia as a state sponsor of terrorism in accordance with his authority. Probably, the main reason is the potential impossibility of further dialogue with the Russian Federation on other strategic issues. Moscow threatened to imply sever diplomatic relations towards the US if this status were to be introduced. ***The current government in Washington is still trying to avoid such situation and maintain a strategic dialogue.*** In addition, the Biden administration probably believes that it will be possible to have a constructive dialogue with Putin's successor. Also, such a step will make it difficult for European companies that have not left the Russian market to do business in the Russian Federation, which can complicate relations between the United States and partner countries. The set of possible consequences, according to the current American leadership, may have negative consequences. At the same time, both chambers of the US Congress called on the Secretary of State to recognize the Russian Federation as a state sponsor of terrorism in the summer.⁴ According to Politico, Nancy Pelosi told Secretary of State Antony Blinken to designate Russia as a state sponsor of terrorism — otherwise, Congress will. In the future, an option is possible, according to which the State Department will find a consensus with Congress and secure a similar status for Russia, however, it will avoid the inclusion of the Russian Federation in the list of state sponsors of terrorism. Anthony Blinken announced an alternative option that would avoid "unintended consequences " in December.⁵

³ СПЕЦПРОЄКТ: РОСІЯ — ДЕРЖАВА-ТЕРОРИСТ Все, що ви хотіли знати про статус держави-спонсора тероризму, Дата звернення: 13.12.2022, URL: <https://www.pravda.com.ua/cdn/cd1/terroriststate/>

⁴ Євгенія Луценко, Сенат США закликає Держдеп визнати росію країною-спонсором тероризму, 28.07.2022, URL: <https://hromadske.ua/posts/senat-ssha-zaklikaye-derzhdep-viznati-rosiyu-krayinoyu-sponsorom-terorizm>

⁵ Конгрес США працює над альтернативою визнання РФ країною-спонсором тероризму – Блінкен, 04.12.2022, URL: <https://www.radiosvoboda.org/a/news-derzhasa-sponsor-teroryzmu-rosiya-blinken/32161329.html>

In Europe, there was no practice at all to recognize other countries as terrorist or sponsors of terrorism, as in the United States. However, the initiative of the Ukrainian leadership and the willingness of European countries to express solidarity with Ukraine have made adjustments to the diplomatic practice of European partners. First, the Eastern and Central European states: Lithuania, Latvia, Estonia, the Czech Republic and Poland adopted documents in which they recognized Russia as a state supporting or committing acts of terrorism. After that, a similar resolution on the recognition of the Russian regime as a terrorist one was adopted by PACE. PACE thus became the first organization to make such a decision. After PACE, the European Parliament recognized Russia as a state sponsor of terrorism. An important point is that MPs called on the EU and member states to develop a legal system within the EU that would punish the Russian regime.⁶ The decision of the European Parliament prompted the government of the Netherlands to assign to the Russian Federation a similar status at the national level, which does not carry significant legal consequences, but creates a precedent in Western Europe. This example was also followed by the Baltic countries. The Sejm of Poland and the Parliament of the Czech Republic.

Thus, the initiative to recognize the Russian Federation as a state sponsor of terrorism has been rapidly developing. This process was especially facilitated by the gradual destruction of the Ukrainian energy system by a aggressor state. Russia, by its own example, demonstrates a simple truth - terrorist methods rarely lead to political gains.

The recognition of Russia as a state sponsor of terrorism in the EU and the possible assigning of this or an alternative status in the USA may have serious consequences for Russia. ***Firstly***, measures that are symbolic at first glance are a powerful tool for countering Russian propaganda. No matter what narratives the Russian propaganda, together with its agencies abroad, will promote in the future, the actions of the Russian Federation at the official level were recognized as terrorism, and the Russian Federation will keep its legacy in any way. ***Secondly***, these steps are a blow to the authority and reputation of the Russian Federation. Even without legal restrictions on cooperation with the Russian Federation, Russian companies and organizations, the status of a terrorist country can reduce the willingness of foreign companies to work with Russia. ***Thirdly***, the current Russian government is being delegitimized. After the invasion, the Russian Federation keeps losing credibility on the international stage, and Vladimir Putin is increasingly turning from a powerful dictator into an unwelcome guest and, at the official level, is effectively equated with a war criminal. This aspect is related to the ***fourth*** consequence - the recognition of Russia as a terrorist state often includes a call to bring Russian criminals to justice. In particular, the NATO Parliamentary Assembly not only recognized the Russian Federation as a terrorist state, but also called for the creation of a special international tribunal regarding Russian aggression. Thus, the initiative of the Ukrainian authorities, which at the initial stage seemed to be only symbolic, lays the groundwork for the creation and conduct of a tribunal against Russian criminals, in particular, its top authorities.

⁶ Європарламент визнав Росію державою-спонсором тероризму, 23.11.2022, URL: <https://www.radiosvoboda.org/a/news-ievroparlament-rosiia-sponsor-teroryzmu/32145224.html>

- *THEME ANALYSIS: Russia's actions are genocide, which the Russian military-political leadership dubbed as "denazification"*



*Photo: Nuremberg trial
Source: Deutsche Welle*

During the 8 years of war, the Russian Federation brought a lot of sufferings to the Ukrainian people. After the February 24 invasion, the number of crimes committed by the Russians reached a colossal scale. From the first minutes of the invasion, the Russians violated international humanitarian law and the rules of warfare, starting with attacks on civilian objects, continuing with deliberate murders, "safari" on Ukrainian citizens, kidnappings, rapes, and the destruction of entire cities and villages. In the first months of the war, it became clear that **the actions of the Russians were genocide, which the Russian military-political leadership dubbed as "denazification."**

With each new crime committed, the Russians believed that they were getting closer to breaking the morale of the Ukrainians, but in fact strengthened their willingness to resist and the willingness of their partners to help Ukraine. As of the end of 2022, Ukraine's partners have united more than ever around its support. Official Kyiv is getting the latest air defense systems, the 9th package of sanctions is being prepared to be introduced against the Russian Federation, and more and more European institutions are recognizing Russia as a terrorist state. In addition, legal mechanisms for the confiscation of Russian property in favor of Ukraine and the organization of a tribunal that will punish Russians guilty of crimes in Ukraine are already being discussed. Progress in the creation of

the tribunal is a revolutionary process, and the president of Ukraine emphasizes its necessity in almost every his speech.

Today, not only representatives of Ukraine advocate the need to punish the Russian leadership for crimes, but also some high-ranking officials of European countries. In particular, the Minister of Foreign Affairs of the Czech Republic stated in an interview for Radio Liberty that he is convincing partners to join this initiative and more and more countries agree that the tribunal is needed. Among the countries that have already expressed their support for the creation of the tribunal, in addition to the Czech Republic, we can name France, the Netherlands, Canada and Great Britain, the Baltic states, as well as Germany represented by President Steinmeier. The creation of such a tribunal was also supported by the Parliamentary Assembly of the Council of Europe, the European Parliament, the NATO Parliamentary Assembly, and the OSCE Parliamentary Assembly. The President of the European Commission, Ursula von der Leyen, plays a special role in promoting this idea. There is already a working group in Ukraine that will work on the issue of creating a special international tribunal to bring to justice those guilty of aggression against Ukraine.

Currently, the mechanism for prosecuting Russians for crimes against Ukraine is under development. Experts are trying to decide how it would be possible to punish the Russian leadership together with military personnel within the framework of international law. The option with the International Criminal Court (ICC) seems unlikely. The International Criminal Court in The Hague, which investigates Russia's crimes against Ukraine, can prosecute for genocide, crimes against humanity and war crimes. But establishing a legal link between specific crimes and instructions from the Kremlin is quite difficult, and therefore it will be difficult to prove the direct guilt of Putin and Russia's political leaders.¹ In addition, currently the ICC can only consider the crime of aggression through a request of the UN Security Council, where Russia has the right of veto, or if both the aggressor and the victim state have ratified the Kampala Amendments to the Rome Statute, which neither Russia nor Ukraine have done.²

One of the possible ways is to create a special tribunal through a vote of the UN General Assembly. Such a decision would require the political will of the majority of United Nations member states. During the war, the required number of votes each time was collected for votes related to Russian aggression. However, the issue of creating a special tribunal will require more determination from the international community. Among the states, there are different views on ways to resolve Russian aggression. In addition, states may be afraid of worsening relations with the Russian Federation. The greater the losses suffered by the Russian Federation, the greater the probability that non-Western countries will support the initiative to create a tribunal against Russia. There were precedents in history when court processes concerned the leadership of great powers: the Nuremberg and Tokyo trials. However, this happened already after the capitulation of these countries in the war. Another

¹ Andrii Smyrnov, We Need a Special Tribunal to Put Putin and His Regime on Trial, 23.09.2022, URL: <https://time.com/6216040/putin-war-crimes-tribunals/>

² Пітер Дікінсон, Покарати Путіна та Ко. Чи є шанс створити трибунал для Росії, 14.12.2022, URL: <https://nv.ua/ukr/opinion/zelenskiy-zaklikav-stvoriti-tribunal-dlya-putina-viyna-rosiji-ostanni-novini-50290686.html>

option is to create a tribunal based on an international treaty with the largest possible number of parties.

The question arises of who is responsible for crimes in Ukraine and ways of implementing the decisions of a potential tribunal. Doctor of Law, Chairman of the Verkhovna Rada Committee on Foreign Policy and Interparliamentary Cooperation, Oleksandr Merezhko, believes that Russian President Putin, Foreign Minister Lavrov, Defense Minister Shoigu, and Russian Prime Minister Mishustin should be subjects of the tribunal. "The subjects of the crime of aggression should also include the ministers of economy, finance, information, leaders of the ruling political party, the leadership of the Russian Duma, economic leaders of the country, thanks to whom the Russian military machine functioned, propagandists, and perhaps even those Russian religious leaders, who fanned anti-Ukrainian propaganda," the scientist writes. Importantly, Merezhko singles out not only individuals, but also Russian organizations, drawing parallels with the trial of Nazi Germany. Thus, it is proposed to include such criminal repressive bodies as the FSB, Russian political parties and such propagandist television companies as Russia Today as subjects of the tribunal.

Even if the tribunal finds high-ranking Russian officials guilty, the issue of enforcing the sentence will arise.³ A possible version of the development of events is a change of rulers in Russia, which would agree to extradite the former leaders of the Russian Federation. However, in a more realistic scenario, Vladimir Putin will remain in power and partner countries will have to develop mechanisms to isolate the Russian dictator. Thus, states that support the tribunal will need to convince other states to abandon cooperation with Putin's Russia and be ready to implement restrictive measures against countries that maintained such cooperation.

The creation of a special tribunal for the prosecution of the political and military leadership of Russia and the implementation of its future decision is a difficult task. However, this process has already been launched, despite all the skepticism at the initial stage. Ukrainian diplomacy is actively promoting this initiative, which is an integral part of Ukraine's peace plan. The implementation of the idea of creating a tribunal will have a significant impact on the further development of international relations in the 21st century. **The war crimes committed by the Russians must not be repeated, so other potential aggressors should know that war crimes will necessarily lead to punishment and the trial over the Russian leadership should become not only an element of restoring justice, but also an important deterrent.**

³ Олександр Мережко, Міжнародний трибунал для Путіна і його поплічників: як можна їх покарати, 01.06.2022, URL: <https://zn.ua/ukr/LAW/mizhnarodnij-tribunal-dlja-putina-i-joho-poplichnikov-jak-mozhna-jikh-pokarati.html>



Source: Army FM

■ *Changes at the front*

Fierce positional battles continue in the East of Ukraine. Russian troops continue the construction of defensive fortifications on the Svatove-Kreminna line. In this area, the counteroffensive of the Armed Forces was suspended. The Russians are even carrying out counterattacks. Ukraine continues to strike at concentrations of manpower, headquarters, warehouses and oil depots of the occupiers.

In the Bakhmut and Avdiivka directions, the enemy has concentrated its main efforts on offensive operations and had limited success. The Russians are suffering colossal losses in the Donetsk region, but the Armed Forces of Ukraine are also paying a high price. 250 wounded soldiers and civilians are brought to the Bakhmut hospital daily.¹ To the south of Bakhmut, the Russians captured the village of Kurdyumivka, and to the north of Bakhmut, Russian troops were stopped in front of Soledar. Between Soledar and Bakhmut, the Armed Forces pushed the enemy back several kilometers.

The enemy continues to shell settlements ***in the South of the country, in the Zaporizhzhia region and on the right bank of the Kherson region***. During the month, Ukrainian forces continued to shell Russian logistics routes, as well as headquarters and locations of Russian servicemen in the Kherson and Zaporizhzhia regions.

¹ Володимир Даценко, Битва за Бахмут перетворилася на безжальну окопну війну. Бахмут стане новим Сєверодонецьком чи у ЗСУ тут є шанси? 12.12.2022, URL: <https://forbes.ua/war-in-ukraine/bitva-za-bakhmut-peretvorilasya-na-bezzhalnu-okopnu-viynu-prote-zsu-mayut-shansi-na-uspikh-chomu-bakhmut-ne-stane-severodonetskom-12122022-10416>

In the last month, the media actively discussed the possibility of opening a new front on the Belarusian border. Joint exercises with the Russians are being held in Belarus, statements are being made public about the expansion of the joint grouping of troops, and combat readiness checks. In the future, Vladimir Putin will continue to put pressure on the Lukashenka regime with the aim of involving the Belarusian Armed Forces in hostilities, re-opening the front in the north or west of Ukraine. Such a step will have the purpose of cutting off material and technical support and diverting the Defense Forces of Ukraine from the eastern direction.

■ *Military assistance*

In the last month, in the period from 15.11.2022 to 15.12.2022, it became known about the transfer of the following weapons to Ukraine:

From Germany:

- ammunition for Mars 2;
- 3 heavy tank tractors M1070 Oshkosh;
- 17 off-road vehicles for the border guard;
- spare parts for M2 machine guns;
- 24 MG3 machine guns for armored repair and evacuation vehicles;
- 116 field heaters;
- 10 devices of detecting and countering UAVs;
- 20 range extenders for devices of combating drones;
- forklift;
- 20 Dingo armored vehicles;
- 14 THemIS ground drones;
- rockets for IRIS-T;
- 2 units of BREM Bergepanzer;
- 30,000 shells for 40-mm grenade launchers;
- 5,000 155-mm artillery ammunition;
- 4 ambulances;
- 18 8X8 trucks with a special loading system (Wechseladesystem);

From Spain:

- two additional HAWK systems and missiles for them;

From Greece:

- 155 mm shells;

From the USA:

- armored repair and evacuation vehicles M1089A1P2;
- radar simulators;
- reactive ammunition for HIMARS;
- 155-mm shells for barrel artillery;
- Humvee multi-purpose army vehicles;
- electric generators;

From Poland:

- ammunition for artillery and tanks, as well as short-range air defense systems;
- S-125 "Neva SC" anti-aircraft missile systems;

From Romania:

- TAB-71M armored personnel carriers;

From Finland:

- Finnish Sisu XA-180 wheeled armored personnel carriers;

From Slovakia:

- ACS Zuzana 2 (1 unit);
- 30 BMP-1;

From Belgium:

- underwater vehicles R7 (10 units);

From Lithuania:

- M101 howitzers;
- 155 mm ammunition;

From France:

- two Crotale air defense batteries;
- MLRS LRU (2 units);
- MO-120-RT61 mortars;
- 6 TRF1 howitzers of 155-mm caliber;

From Luxembourg:

- 102 NLAW anti-tank complexes;
- 20,000 cartridges for 12.7 mm machine guns;
- 12,500 shots to the RPG-7;

- 600 rockets for the 122-mm Grad rocket system;
- 22,400 Avon C50 gas masks;
- 44,800 filters; 5,000 bulletproof vests of the 4th class;
- 5000 helmets;
- 7 Jeep Wranglers;
- 15 large tents;
- 50 communication terminals;
- 358 arctic sleeping bags;
- 6 heaters;
- 800 radios;
- 470 means of night vision;
- 6 Primoco One 150 drones;
- 4 pickups;
- 4 trailers;
- 30 3D scanners;
- 18 generators;
- 10 sets of light poles;
- 28 HMMWVs and 20 12.7 mm machine guns for them;

From Bulgaria:

- small arms and ammunition;

From Great Britain:

- Brimstone 2 rockets;
- three "Sea King" helicopters;
- anti-aircraft guns and short-range air defense missiles;

From Romania:

- large-caliber machine guns DShKM.

Several aid packages were also announced. From Sweden for 3 billion crowns (\$287 million), which includes air defense systems, as well as ammunition and other weapons that Ukraine requested. Finland has announced a military aid package worth 55.6 million euros. Canada allocates additional military aid to Ukraine in the amount of about 34 million dollars. This new military aid package includes, among other things: approximately \$5 million to continue providing satellite imagery to the Armed Forces of Ukraine (AFU); more than \$18 million for additional high-resolution cameras for drones; up to \$10 million to provide additional winter equipment to support the Armed Forces, including portable heaters, thermal

blankets, and sleeping bags. Canada has since announced another \$500 million defense support package.

Britain plans to provide a £50 million defense aid package that includes 125 anti-aircraft weapons and technology to counter drones supplied by Iran, including dozens of radars and anti-drone equipment.

The United States approved a package of 400 million dollars. It includes missiles for NASAMS air defense systems; 150 large-caliber machine guns of an unnamed type with thermal imaging sights to counter drones; missiles for M142 HIMARS rocket systems; 200 high-precision 155 mm artillery shells (probably M982 Excalibur); 10,000 120-mm mortar shells; high-speed anti-radar missiles HARM for fighters; 150 high-mobility multi-purpose wheeled vehicles (HMMWV); over 100 light tactical vehicles of an unnamed type; 20,000,000 cartridges for small arms; 200 generators; spare parts for 105-mm howitzers and other equipment. In addition, the United States will transfer 80,000 155 mm shells. Germany announced the transfer of 7 more Gepard air defense systems and 18 RCH 155 self-propelled guns.

Morocco agreed to transfer spare parts for T-72 tanks to Ukraine. Slovakia also announced an additional aid package. It will include ammunition, large calibers, in particular for fighters, warm clothes, other equipment. The Ministry of Defense of Croatia, in turn, expressed plans to transfer 14 Mi-8 and Mi-8 MTV helicopters to Ukraine. Sweden also announced a new aid package. It includes air defense systems, components for another air defense system, and winter ammunition for the Ukrainian military.

Source: Mil.ua

■ *Russia: internal and external challenges*

By the end of 2022, Ukraine managed to liberate more than 50% of the territory lost since the beginning of a full-scale invasion. However, the Armed Forces of Ukraine enter the new year, albeit with a high morale, the issue of providing the Ukrainian army with the means necessary for successful counteroffensive remains open. The Ukrainian counter-offensive in recent months was actually stopped at the expense of the mobilized Russians. Lend-Lease of the United States of America did not work and Ukraine continues to receive limited amounts of weapons. At the current stage, the transfer of "Abrams" tanks and F-16 fighters to Ukraine is not considered, despite the fact that Ukrainian pilots began training on American aircraft back in the summer. Also, the current American administration does not transfer ATACMS missiles to Ukraine, which have a range of about 300 km.

Russia, in turn, is receiving more and more support from China. According to Chinese statistics, in the first eight months of 2022, China's investment in Russia amounted to \$450 million, an increase of 150% compared to the same period last year. The Russian Federation and China agreed to invest in joint projects proposed by the Russian Federation for 1.3 billion

dollars.² In recent months, Russian cargo planes have been flying at least ten times a week to Chinese cities where defense enterprises are located.³ Aircraft often turn off their transponders for camouflage. Thus, the People's Republic of China helps the Russian Federation with the material and technical support of the army. In particular, China is likely to supply dual-use goods, chips, and electronic equipment needed by the military industry.

At the beginning of his term, Joe Biden announced a course to fight authoritarianism. However, **currently the USA does not have sufficient resources and political will to confront the Russian Federation and the PRC at the same time.** At a meeting of the leaders of the US and China before the G-20 summit, Joe Biden and Xi Jinping agreed that the use of nuclear weapons by the Russian Federation is unacceptable. For China's curbing of Russia's nuclear rhetoric, Joe Biden, for his part, could promise not to transfer tanks, aircraft and long-range missile systems to Ukraine.

Artificial self-restrictions of developed democratic countries on the transfer of modern weapons to Ukraine are prolonging the war and delaying the liberation of the occupied territories. In the conditions of high-intensity fighting in the east of Ukraine, the state's arsenals are being depleted, which puts Ukraine in difficult conditions. According to General Zaluzhnyi, Russia has a reserve of 1.2 - 1.5 million people. "The Russians are training about 200,000 new soldiers. I have no doubts that they will go to Kyiv again," Zaluzhny said in The Economist. The Russians can try to go to Kyiv, or to the western regions of Ukraine, with the aim of two tasks: **first**, to draw Ukrainian forces away from the East. **Second**, cut supply routes. The latest missile strikes have affected rail traffic. It is quite possible that this is not a coincidence and some of the missiles were intended to destroy the logistics of the Ukrainian army. Also, the development of events will depend on Iran's decision regarding the transfer of missiles and drones to the Russian Federation. The Ukrainian air defense system is being exhausted, which threatens to lose dominance in the Ukrainian airspace.

Therefore, Ukraine needs an increase in the supply of means to counter the Russian Federation and the ability to advance. In particular, this applies to American aircraft, tanks and armored personnel carriers, as well as missiles capable of destroying targets in the rear of the occupier. Despite the difficulties, the Russian regime maintains its viability and the ability to continue fighting. The duration of this war, security in Europe and the reputation of the US and NATO countries depend on the increase in military aid. ***If Ukraine's independence and territorial integrity are not preserved, the axis of authoritarian countries will continue to expand existing borders and provide support to each other during hostilities.***

² Олексій Павлиш, РФ і Китай домовилися проінвестувати спільні проєкти на 1,3 мільярда доларів, 08.11.2022, URL: <https://www.epravda.com.ua/news/2022/11/8/693597/>

³ Російські вантажні Ан-124 літають до Китаю по десять разів на тиждень – Defence Express, 27.11.2022, URL: <https://zn.ua/ukr/WORLD/rosijski-vantazhni-an-124-litajut-do-kitaju-po-desjat-raziv-na-tizhden-defence-express-.html>