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

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- *THEME ANALYSIS: NATO demonstrates its helplessness in restoring security order in Europe*



*Photo: NATO-Ukraine Council meeting
Source: NATO*

At the NATO summit in Vilnius, Ukraine did not receive a clear timeline for its accession to the North Atlantic Alliance. Instead, the country was offered an alternative that suits the interests of Ukraine's partner countries. The option that is currently being implemented is actually the implementation of the principles proposed in the Kyiv Security Treaty.

Since the beginning of the full-scale invasion of the Russian Federation, Ukraine has received significant economic and military support. Most of the countries providing this support are democracies, which makes government decisions dependent on public and political opinion. As the Russian-Ukrainian war progresses, war fatigue may grow in democratic societies, fueled by the economic consequences of Russia's invasion and Russian propaganda. Under such conditions, Ukraine's ability to resist may be jeopardized, as military, technical and economic support for Ukraine is crucial for the security of the state and the entire Central and Eastern Europe.

One of the mechanisms to prevent a scenario in which Ukraine is left without the support of its partners is to institutionalize such assistance and sign a legally binding agreement. A draft of the relevant document, "the Kyiv Security Treaty", was developed within the framework of the Group on International Security Guarantees for Ukraine, also called the Yermak-Rasmussen Group.

At the summit in Vilnius, the partner countries took a step towards the implementation of this document. In particular, the Group of Seven countries issued a statement on Ukraine. The countries of the format emphasized their readiness to work with Ukraine on specific, bilateral, long-term security commitments and arrangements towards:

- Ensuring a sustainable force capable of defending Ukraine now and deterring Russian aggression in the future

- strengthening Ukraine's economic stability and resilience. Providing technical and financial support to meet Ukraine's immediate needs caused by the war waged by Russia and to enable Ukraine to continue implementing reforms.

In the event of a future armed Russian attack, the G7 states have committed to immediately consult with Ukraine to determine appropriate next steps. They also indicated their intention to provide Ukraine with rapid and sustained security assistance, modern military equipment on land, sea and air, as well as economic assistance, to impose economic and other costs on Russia, and to consult with Ukraine on its needs in the exercise of its **right to self-defense**, as enshrined in Article 51 of the United Nations Charter. Other countries including Finland, Denmark, Iceland, Norway, Sweden, the Netherlands, Portugal, joined the Group of Seven statement.

This document is aimed at providing practical support to Ukraine, but its security-related components actually repeat the content of the Budapest Memorandum. The countries of the format, for example, noted that in case of a threat to Ukraine, **they would only hold consultations**. The G7 countries confirmed their intention to support Ukraine, which is an important step in the short term. But in the long run, this document does not carry much weight. The text of the statement is an interpretation of the political commitments of Ukraine's partner states. However, it does not legally bind these countries to anything, and they will be able to ignore the document if they wish.

An important point is that the countries of the format emphasized their readiness to work with Ukraine on specific, bilateral, long-term commitments and agreements in the security sector. On the one hand, the work in this direction is in line with the desire of the Ukrainian leadership to receive security guarantees for the period before full accession to the North Atlantic Alliance. On the other hand, the wording used indicates an agreement to negotiate further. Consequently, the countries have not yet made significant progress on this issue.

At the Vilnius summit, the partner countries tried to compensate for the lack of progress in Ukraine's accession to NATO by providing practical assistance in the form of defense aid packages. In particular, Germany announced the provision of two Patriot launchers, 40 Marder infantry fighting vehicles, 25 Leopard 1 A5 main battle tanks, five Bergepanzer 2s and additional ammunition; Australia pledged to provide 30 Bushmaster

armored personnel carriers; Norway allocated 1000 Black Hornet microdrones, a NASAMS support package (2 additional fire control centers, two launchers and spare parts). Norway has also increased its military aid budget to Ukraine from \$240 million to \$930 million, and there are agreements to strengthen the capabilities of Ukrainian air defense and artillery; the UK will provide more than 70 combat vehicles and thousands of rounds of ammunition for tanks; France will provide SCALP missiles and additional engineering equipment for demining; The Netherlands will contribute to the training of F-16 pilots in August and to strengthening air defense and artillery capabilities; Canada has allocated \$410 million in new funding and projects to support Ukraine and strengthen transatlantic security. In particular, it will provide armored vehicles for the Armed Forces of Ukraine.¹ The United States announced a military aid package on July 7, which included cluster munitions.

Military assistance packages remain extremely important for the capabilities of the Ukrainian Armed Forces. This approach to strengthening Ukraine's self-defense capabilities is often called the "Israeli model". However, there is a fundamental difference between what is being offered to Ukraine and the conditions in which Israel exists. The hot phases of the Arab-Israeli wars ended only after the Jewish state developed its own nuclear weapons. That is, military support for Ukraine without restoring the country's nuclear status cannot be called an "Israeli model."

The United States has signed numerous bilateral security agreements. "The South Korean model" is also mentioned as a potential option for Ukraine. However, "the South Korean model" is not applicable to Ukraine, because in this case the United States would have to deploy its own military contingent in Ukraine. The physical presence of U.S. troops has become a key factor in South Korea's security.

Thus, **Ukraine is currently being offered a separate model, according to which partners provide military and financial assistance, weaken Russia, and turn Ukraine into an outpost in Eastern Europe.**

This model allows Ukrainians to continue to resist the Russian aggressor. However, in the long run, this option exhausts Ukraine, negatively affecting the country's economy and demographic potential. Ukraine needs allies in its fight against the Russian Federation. Therefore, while the North Atlantic Alliance led by the United States is not ready to provide the state with clear security guarantees, the best strategy would be **the building of a regional security belt with the states of Central and Eastern Europe** and other countries whose perception of threats is as close as possible to that of Ukraine. First and foremost, this means deepening defense cooperation with Poland and the United Kingdom, as well as other interested countries.

¹ Vilnius Summit Communiqué, 11.07.2023,
URL: https://www.nato.int/cps/en/natohq/official_texts_217320.htm

- *THEME ANALYSIS: A separate model is offered to Ukraine, according to which partners provide it with military and financial assistance, weaken Russia, and turn Ukraine into an outpost in Eastern Europe*



*Photo: A Ukrainian soldier in front of a tank firing at Russian positions
Source: AP Photo*

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¹ За підсумками саміту у Вільнюсі Україна отримає пакети військової допомоги на понад 1,5 млрд євро, - Резніков, 13.07.2023,
URL: https://lb.ua/society/2023/07/13/565168_pidsumkami_samitu_vilnyusi.html



Source: Army FM

■ *Changes at the front*

A strategic balance has been established at the front: the chances of success in an offensive operation are becoming quite shaky for both warring parties.

In the Svatove direction, Russian occupation forces succeeded south of Masiutivka and continue to put pressure towards Kupyansk. The enemy also continues assault operations near Novoselivske.

In the Bakhmut direction, fighting continues north and west of Klishchivka and near Yahidne. The Ukrainian Armed Forces entered Klishchivka and continue fighting for the town.

In the Avdiivka direction, fighting continues in the area of Pervomaiske. Russian troops had a partial success near Vesele.

In the Berdiansk direction, fighting continues for Staromayorske.

There were no significant changes in the Zaporizhzhya direction, fighting continues near Robotyne.

■ *Military assistance*

In the first half of July, Ukraine received assurances of a significant level of military aid. Most of the promised aid packages were announced during the NATO Summit in Vilnius.

During this period, it became known that the following weapons were transferred to Ukraine:

From Poland:

- About ten Mi-24 combat helicopters.

From France:

- Scalp cruise missiles (50 units)

From Germany:

- 20 Marder infantry fighting vehicles;
- 30 Leopard tanks;
- 4 IRIS-T-SLM air defense systems (12 launchers and hundreds of missiles to them);
- 200 reconnaissance UAVs;
- 100 armored vehicles;
- 100 logistics vehicles;
- 6 Gepard systems and 6000 rounds of ammunition
- A large amount of ammunition

From Norway:

- 1000 Black Hornet UAVs

From the United States:

- 155-mm cluster munitions.

The US Department of Defense has announced a new security assistance package for Ukraine. The assistance package includes: additional ammunition for Patriot air defense systems; AIM-7 missiles; Stinger man-portable air defense systems; additional ammunition for HIMARS; 31 155-mm howitzers; 155-mm artillery rounds, including cluster munitions (DPICM) and 105-mm artillery rounds; 32 Bradley infantry fighting vehicles; 32 Stryker armored personnel carriers; and mine action equipment; Missiles for Tow ATGMs; Javelin and other anti-tank systems and missiles; Precision aerial munitions; Penguin unmanned aerial systems; 27 vehicles for evacuation of equipment; 10 vehicles for towing and transportation of equipment; explosive ordnance and demining systems;

Finland announced a new military aid package. It will include anti-aircraft weapons and ammunition. The Czech Republic is providing Ukraine with attack helicopters and another 100,000 rounds of large-caliber ammunition. Germany's Budget Committee approves the Ministry of Defense's project to purchase ammunition worth €783.3 million by 2026. Almost 60% of the purchases are intended for the Ukrainian military or to replace the ammunition they have already received. Germany also ordered modern armor-piercing sub-caliber DM73 ammunition for the Ukrainian military. Jonas Gahr Støre, Prime Minister of Norway, said that his government is increasing support for Ukraine by \$239 million under the

Nansen program to reach the \$960 million ceiling in 2023. Also, the Norwegian government intends to transfer elements of the NASAMS anti-aircraft missile system to Ukraine as part of a new defense assistance package.

The Australian government will provide a new defense assistance package to Ukraine, which will include Bushmaster armored vehicles (30 units). Japan will provide Ukraine with radar stations. At the NATO summit in Vilnius, Canadian Prime Minister Justin Trudeau announces new funding and projects worth C\$541 million (\$410 million) to support Ukraine. This contribution will support NATO's non-lethal, practical assistance to Ukraine through the transfer of materiel, including fuel, bridge equipment, rations, and first aid supplies.

Source: *Mil.ua*

■ *Russia: External and internal challenges*

The decision of the Vilnius NATO summit as another diplomatic victory for Russia.

The outcome of the NATO summit was less ambitious than expected in Ukraine. In Russia, this was positively noted, although Russian propaganda also emphasizes negative aspects for aggressor state. First of all, since the issue of Sweden's accession was actually resolved, Russians emphasize the threat posed by the expansion of the border with NATO in the north.

Another negative factor is the commitment of partner countries to continue military support for Ukraine. This decision, however, was not surprising and was the minimum that Ukraine expected.

The main positive factor highlighted by Russian propaganda is that **Russia's veto in NATO-Ukraine relations has been preserved.** NATO did not dare to go beyond the existing partnership, which satisfied Russia. Russian propaganda claims that the decisions of the Vilnius summit demonstrate the intention of the North Atlantic Alliance to continue to fight against Russia with the help of Ukraine by supplying weapons, and it is claimed that **«NATO has bargained with Russia over Ukraine before and will continue to do so in the future».**

The official website of the Russian Ministry of Foreign Affairs published the reaction of the Russian leadership to the summit and emphasized in a mocking manner that "the countries of the North Atlantic Alliance once again confirmed that Ukraine will be in NATO, but again did not specify when exactly this would happen".

The tone of Russian propaganda suggests that NATO's decisions on Ukraine have fully satisfied the aggressor state. This is one of the indicators that the North Atlantic Alliance was not decisive enough at the summit in Lithuania.