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OVERVIEW OF EVENTS AND PROCESSES IN EU COUNTRIES AND U.K. in Q1 2022

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Changes in EU countries' and U.K. security policy in the wake of Russia's war in Ukraine

Summary

- In April 2022, it was announced that part of the US funding for military infrastructure development would be allocated to the UK. Britain has also announced that it will freeze the assets of Russia's largest bank and stop all planned investments in Russia¹. It will block all coal and oil imports from Russia by 2022. In addition, the UK will reinforce its defence assistance to Ukraine with a new support package worth £100 million.
- The German Chancellor has announced his intention to create a special fund of €100 billion for the Bundeswehr, to be enshrined in the Constitution. The government will increase defence spending to €2 billion in 2022. Germany will also increase its foreign military assistance funding to €2 billion, mainly for Ukraine to help it acquire weapons. The German Finance Ministry has announced that it has allocated almost €3 billion to purchase floating LNG import terminals. However, Germany does not yet support the European Union's ban on Russian oil imports and does not support ruble payments for Russian energy.



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- During the French presidential elections, the country's focus on defence was significantly reduced. In the wake of the war in Ukraine, the government led by Jean Castex has decided to cut €300 million from the armed forces' budget, of which more than €200 million was to be spent on the purchase of military equipment. Although France does not publish details of the military aid, it is reported that the total cost of the aid to France was worth €120 million. This is half the amount of Estonia's assistance to Ukraine.
- The head of the Polish Ministry of Defence approves a contract for the supply of short-range air defence elements under the Narew programme. More and more British troops are deployed on NATO's eastern flank, including Poland. The UK will temporarily deploy its most advanced mobile air defence system, Sky Sabre, to Poland to help protect NATO's eastern flank. In Poland, parties with different political affiliations also agree that sanctions against Russia should be stricter. Poland has also agreed to be one of the guarantors of a possible agreement to end the war between Russia and Ukraine. It will also include UN Security Council permanent members, as well as Turkey and Germany.

Major EU countries' and U.K. approach to financing their defence

United Kingdom

In April 2022, it was announced that part of the US funding for military infrastructure development would be allocated to the UK. This is evident from the US Department of Defence's budget request to NATO, which indicates that the military alliance has included the UK in the list of countries that will receive a \$384 million investment in special weapons storage². This is primarily about the UK's ability to store nuclear weapons on its territory. Belgium, Germany, Italy, the Netherlands, Turkey and Germany will receive similar funding. The US is storing some 150 American B-61 gravity nuclear bombs as part of the NATO nuclear sharing programme.

In addition, UK Defence Secretary Ben Wallace announced a new UK defence strategy for the Arctic³. Plans to protect underwater infrastructure and ensure freedom of navigation in international seas and exclusive economic zones in the Arctic are made public. The Strategy sets out the UK's commitments to NATO, such as increasing UK training and operations in the region with allies and international partners. The UK will also invest in research and development to build sustainable and modernised defence capabilities in the area. As part of the new strategy, the United Kingdom will continue to con-

duct regular Royal Navy activities in the High North. The Strategy also focuses on increasing support to Arctic allies to preserve the stability and security of the Arctic.

Germany

On 27 February, the German Chancellor announced the intention to create a special fund of €100 billion for the Bundeswehr, enshrined in the Constitution. This will exempt this amount from the so-called budget brake. In addition, defence spending, including this fund, must not be less than the 2% of GDP declared by NATO countries in future years. This is projected at around €75 billion, making Germany's defence spending the highest in Europe and the third highest globally (after the US and China)⁴. However, it should not be forgotten that the Special Fund is an *ad hoc* and one-off project to restore the operational capability of the German Armed Forces.

Also, German Finance Minister Christian Lindner has confirmed that the government will increase defence spending to €2 billion in 2022⁵. Germany launched its Capability Initiative defence programme in 2016, but it has not only been used to fund the military but also the police and disaster control agencies. The Fund will be significantly larger because of the war in Ukraine, reportedly amounting to more than €1 billion. The decision was taken under pressure from Kyiv for Berlin to accelerate the delivery of heavy weapons in preparation for an expected large-scale Russian offensive in the east of the

country. Germany has supplied Ukraine with military supplies, including grenades, anti-aircraft missiles, machine guns and ammunition, but not heavy weapons such as tanks, helicopters and fighter jets.

The German government has announced that its officials are considering whether to buy Israel's Arrow 3 anti-missile system⁶. The report adds that Germany needs to reconsider the threats posed by Russia due to the war in Ukraine. However, for the time being, according to government spokesman Steffen Hebestreit, Chancellor Olaf Scholz's government is only at a "preliminary stage of discussions". Scholz said that acquiring an anti-missile system "is one of the things we are discussing, and there is a good reason".

France

In the wake of the war in Ukraine, the government led by Jean Castex has decided to cut €300 million from the armed forces' budget, of which more than €200 million was to be spent on the purchase of military equipment⁷. This decision has impacted all ministries, but most of all on the Armed Forces Ministry, which has seen a significant reduction in its funding. The government assures that these budget cuts are only a temporary measure and that the savings will be used to finance a new resilience plan to compensate for the economic consequences of the Ukraine conflict.

Of the two European countries with the most significant defence budgets, the UK and France, the latter has not announced whether it plans to increase its defence budget⁸. The presidential election campaign dominated French political life in the first quarter of 2022. The current President, Emmanuel Macron, has said he will increase the defence budget if he wins a second term. Under his leadership, defence spending has increased by €1.7 billion every year since 2017, reaching €40.9 billion this year⁹. During Macron's time in office, French defence spending has increased by €7 billion overall, with plans to raise it to 2% of GDP. Observers say that Macron's re-election will mean a real chance of increased cooperation and investment in European security and defence, especially with a new

pro-European German government. Macron will almost certainly seek to forge a common European response to Russia's actions and secure Ukraine's aid in his second term.

During the election campaign, far-right presidential candidate Marine Le Pen warned against sending more weapons to Ukraine and called for closer relations between NATO and Russia to be re-established as soon as the war in Ukraine is over. Asked about military aid to Ukraine, Le Pen said she would continue to support defence and intelligence but was more reticent about direct arms supplies: "The line between helping and becoming a co-operating country is thin." Le Pen has expressed concern about escalating this conflict as it could involve many countries¹⁰.

Poland

The head of the Polish Ministry of Defence approves a contract for the supply of short-range air defence elements under the Narew programme¹¹. The Polish Treasury signed the agreement, represented by the Armed Forces Agency and the PGZ-Narew consortium. In cooperation with the national and foreign defence industry, a decision was taken to purchase CAMM effector system elements for further integration into the Polish infrastructure. The contract will procure two Short Range Air Defence System (SRAS) fire units, the first to be delivered to the Polish Armed Forces as early as September this year and the second in 2022–2023. The contract provides for the acquisition of a training and logistics package together with air defence systems and contractor support for the use of military equipment.

A significant innovation in Polish law is the newly introduced law on "Homeland Defence". It will extend the package of labour rights for members of the Polish Armed Forces and Territorial Defence Forces and their families. Under the law, conscripts will be given greater rights to protect them from dismissal¹². Some of these provisions will also apply to their spouses. However, the main idea behind the "Homeland Defence" law, which entered into force on 23 April 2022, is to increase the size of the Polish army and its defence budget.

More and more British troops are deployed on NATO's eastern flank, including Poland. In February this year, when Minister Mariusz Błaszczak visited London, it was decided to send another 350 British troops¹³. UK army engineers are also helping Polish troops guard the border with Belarus, repair damaged fences, and maintain access roads along the border. The British troops stationed in Poland are also part of the international battalion "eFP" (*Enhanced Forward Presence*). In addition, 250 US Abrams tanks are expected to arrive in Poland. This will give the Polish Armed Forces one of the largest NATO armoured heavy equipment capacities in Europe (Greece has a similar number). The Poles will have more than 1,100 tanks, but a third of them are outdated T-72s, which could reportedly be handed over to Ukraine.

According to *Gazeta Prawna*, the UK will temporarily deploy its most advanced mobile air defence system, Sky Sabre, to Poland to help protect NATO's eastern flank¹⁴. The Sky Sabre system, which replaced the Rapier system developed in the 1970s, only entered service with the British Army at the end of last year and has been used only to defend the Falkland Islands. The Royal Navy has successfully used a similar system for the sea for four years.

Attitudes towards sanctions against Russia

United Kingdom

The UK government has announced that it will freeze the assets of Russia's largest bank and stop all planned investments in Russia¹⁵. It has also been reported that the UK will stop all coal and oil imports from Russia by 2022. London favours tougher sanctions and promises to take action against the oligarchs and Russia's strategic industries.

On 14 April 2022, a new tranche of trade sanctions against Russia was imposed. The new measures cover goods and technologies related to oil refining, quantum computing and advanced materials¹⁶. They are now prohibited

from being exported, supplied or transferred to Russia, or used in Russia or by a person associated with Russia, and the provision of related technical assistance, financial and brokering services. The sanctions also cover certain luxury goods, which are currently prohibited from being exported, supplied or transferred to or used in Russia or by a person associated with Russia. The ban also applies to iron and steel products originating from Russia.

Regarding personal sanctions, the UK's Office of Financial Sanctions Implementation (OFSI) has published information on a further 206 individuals on the UK's Russia-related asset freeze list¹⁷. According to an FCO press release, the list includes 178 separatists from the Donetsk and Luhansk regions, 6 oligarchs, their close associates and employees, as well as 22 others listed under the UK's "fast track procedure" because they are subject to asset freezes imposed by the EU, the US or other allies.

Germany

The German Finance Ministry has announced that it has allocated almost €3 billion to purchase floating LNG import terminals¹⁸. This amount is earmarked for the next decade, and at least 4 LNG floating terminals will be leased or bought. After the Kremlin's military invasion of Ukraine, Germany promised to reduce its dependence on Russian natural gas. Berlin is therefore seeking to increase gas supplies from its leading exporters - Qatar, the United States and Australia. However, the country does not have import terminals to receive the gas that arrives by ships. Permanent facilities are likely to be available only in 2026, while floating terminals could be built in ports in the North Sea or the Baltic Sea much sooner, in time for the upcoming winter season.

Germany does not yet support the European Union's ban on imports of Russian oil and does not support payments in roubles for Russian energy, Reuters reports, citing a German government spokesperson¹⁹. Mr Lindner suggested that instead of a blanket ban on all energy imports from Russia, the EU could deal separately

with oil, coal and gas, as alternative suppliers for each fossil fuel would be found individually. The search for substitutes can proceed at its own pace, so it is not desirable to immediately abandon all energy sources purchased from the Russians. Germany's trade relations with Russia go beyond gas and oil to areas not directly related to energy. The trade covers areas "from Mercedes to cereals," to quote POLITICO. Last year, total trade with Russia amounted to €60 billion, making it the Germans' largest trading partner outside the European Union from the former Soviet bloc²⁰. This confirms the criticism that the Western sanctions imposed since 2014 have hardly changed the trade trend between Russia and Germany.

France

France is not particularly dependent on Russian gas and oil compared to other major European economies. For example, Germany and Italy import around 40–50% of their gas from Russia, while France's share of Russian gas is only 25%. It's a leading supplier in Norway²¹. The French government has expressed its willingness to ban Russian oil imports, with Finance Minister Bruno Le Maire stating that France "is ready to go further and decide to ban oil imports". He added that he was "deeply convinced that the next steps and the next discussions will focus on this issue of the Russian oil ban".

Le Mer also noted that France considers that the sanctions imposed as a result of the Kremlin's war in Ukraine are damaging to the Russian economy and President Vladimir Putin himself, adding that a ban on imports of Russian oil and gas into the European Union remains an option for Paris and the EU as a whole. Especially since Macron said at the beginning of April that a new round of sanctions against Russia was needed, in his view, there are already clear indications that the Russian military is responsible for the massacre of civilians in the Ukrainian city of Bucha. "What happened in Bucha calls for a new round of sanctions and evident measures," said Macron²².

Poland

In Poland, parties with different political affiliations agree that sanctions against Russia should be more rigid²³. Polish MP Radoslaw Fogiel of the Law and Justice Party pointed out that the way sanctions are applied is important. He believes it is essential to put pressure on Russia through increasingly targeted and, above all, effective sanctions. If the sanctions measures were taken jointly, both within the European Union and across Western countries, this would be the case. MEP Pavel Kowal of the Citizens' Platform said Poland should be at the forefront of the sanctions policy. Polish politicians are divided on sanctions, calling for a Russian gas and oil ban. In Kovalev's view, "this is about our security, the security of every Polish family in 2-3 years. We need to keep imposing sanctions, even if others don't want to." However, Szymon Szykowski, deputy head of the Polish foreign ministry, said it could impose an embargo on coal from Russia, but the effect would be symbolic. The sanctions are not being set to be a "shot in the foot" but to cause severe damage to the Russian economy²⁴. This is why Poland will insist that decisions on sanctions be taken at the EU level.

The Polish Association of Entrepreneurs and Employers believes that Poland's transport sector will be able to operate without major problems without trips to Russia and Belarus. The Association believes that the EU's further package of sanctions against Russia, introduced in April and including a ban on transporting goods using Russian and Belarusian trucks, is a step in the right direction. However, the organisation sees no obstacle to the transport blockade working the other way round, i.e. preventing European, including Polish, transport companies from transporting goods to Russia and Belarus.

An important aspect is the sale of Russian arms. Although a complete halt to Russian arms sales seems impossible, Poland may propose that EU Member States open a discussion on this issue and suggest that the EU Council legal services be tasked with examining the introduction of secondary sanctions based on the US CAATSA law. PISM argues that, pending the adoption of

these emergency measures, the EU can cooperate fully with the US in the broad implementation of US restrictions on Russian arms sales, increasing political pressure on third countries, and helping to combat smuggling.²⁵ This action should make it more difficult for Russia to export arms to its political and economic detriment.

Military and political support for Ukraine

United Kingdom

The UK will reinforce its defence assistance to Ukraine with a new £100 million aid package. The new package includes more anti-tank missiles, air defence systems, and non-lethal munitions such as helmets, body armour, and night vision goggles²⁶. In detail, the support will consist of more than 800 NLAW anti-tank missiles, additional Javelin anti-tank systems, anti-tank munitions, and Starstreak air defence systems. The package has been developed in consultation with the Armed Forces of Ukraine to ensure that it meets their military needs. This will be in addition to the UK's previous assistance to Ukraine: £350 million in military aid and around £400 million in economic and humanitarian aid. According to the UK Treasury, London facilitates Ukraine's support in its defence capabilities through export financing of up to £3.5 billion²⁷.

British Defence Secretary Ben Wallace also revealed that Western countries had agreed to send armoured personnel carriers and long-range artillery systems to Ukraine at a special donors' conference²⁸. Representatives from more than 35 countries, including the US, attended the meeting. Wallace, who organised the event, said that "more lethal weapons" would be sent to Ukraine but that they would not include tanks or some of the other weapons that Ukrainian President Volodymyr Zelensky had requested. He said that Ukraine needs longer-range artillery to counter Russian attacks on Ukrainian cities, including Mariupol, which is still under fire.

Germany

Germany will increase its foreign military assistance funding to €2 billion, mainly for Ukraine to help it acquire weapons²⁹. Finance Minister Kristian Lindner announced that Germany would increase its Ertüchtigungshilfe, a financial assistance instrument to strengthen partner countries' military and security forces. He added that "the bulk of these funds will go to Ukraine". Last year, the Fund was worth €225 million. Increased foreign military aid will be included in this year's German supplementary budget.

However, German Defence Minister Christine Lambrecht has stated that she sees little prospect of supplying Ukraine with arms and equipment directly from German military stocks. To maintain Germany's defence capability, it will increasingly be necessary in future to provide Ukraine directly through the arms industry. "We are coordinating directly with Ukraine on this issue, but I have to be honest when it comes to the supply of weapons from Bundeswehr stocks, we have now reached the limit," the Minister said; "the German Armed Forces must remain capable of providing national and alliance defence."³⁰

France

French Defence Minister Florence Parly announced that since the beginning of the conflict, France has transferred more than €100 million worth of military equipment to Ukraine and promises to continue to do so.³¹ However, despite media enquiries, the Elysée and the Armed Forces Ministry have still not published precise data detailing arms supplies to Ukraine. As to the nature of the equipment delivered, the Ministry of the Armed Forces stated that it is "security equipment, optical equipment, weapons and ammunition and weapon systems that meet the needs of Ukraine".

There is a stark contrast with other European countries. Although France does not publish detailed information on the military aid, the daily *L'Opinion* reported that the total cost to France was €120 million, which included the transfer of missiles, the taking of satellite photos and the training of Ukrainian soldiers.³² This is half the

amount of Estonia's \$240 million aid to Ukraine. Estonia's economy is almost 100 times smaller than France's.

Poland

Together with the UK Armed Forces, the US and other international partners, Poland established the International Donor Coordination Centre in Stuttgart in April 2022.³³ It will coordinate each country's support for the Ukrainian Armed Forces, including the provision of aircraft. To maintain support, including humanitarian aid, even after the end of the intense military clashes in Ukraine, it is necessary to understand that Poland plays a unique role as a logistical hub in this effort.

Poland has also agreed to be one of the guarantors of a possible agreement to end the war between Russia and Ukraine. *Gazeta Prawna* reports that the group will also include UN Security Council members, Turkey and Germany³⁴. This information was confirmed by Andriy Sybiha, Deputy Head of Volodymyr Zelensky's Administration. The EU-Ukraine Investigative Task Force, an initiative of Lithuania, Poland and Ukraine, also investigates war crimes and crimes against humanity³⁵.

In March, Polish Prime Minister Mateusz Morawiecki announced a 10-point plan to save Ukraine, drawn up with Slovenia and the Czech Republic³⁶. Some of the proposals have recently been implemented. First, he said, all Russian banks should be disconnected from the SWIFT international payment system. Otherwise, the Russian economy will be able to adapt too quickly to the new conditions. Second, a common asylum policy must be implemented for Russian soldiers who refuse to serve the criminal Moscow regime. Third, it proposes a complete halt to Russian propaganda in Europe. Fourth, Morawiecki has actively proposed to block Russian ships from entering EU ports (this was decided in the Fifth Sanctions Package). Fifth, the same blockade must be imposed on road transport to and from Russia. Sixth, sanctions must be applied to the oligarchs and their entire business environment. Seventh, it proposes to suspend the issuance of visas to all Russian citizens wishing to enter the EU. Eighth, sanctions must also be imposed on all Putin's United Russia party members. The ninth point refers to a total ban on exporting technology that could be used for war against Russia. The list concludes with a proposal to exclude Russia from all international organisations.

Endnotes

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