Ukraine Bomber Decommissioning and Transfer Chronology

Last update: April 2005

This annotated chronology is based on the data sources that follow each entry. Public sources often provide conflicting information on classified military programs. In some cases we are unable to resolve these discrepancies, in others we have deliberately refrained from doing so to highlight the potential influence of false or misleading information as it appeared over time. In many cases, we are unable to independently verify claims. Hence in reviewing this chronology, readers should take into account the credibility of the sources employed here.

Inclusion in this chronology does not necessarily indicate that a particular development is of direct or indirect proliferation significance. Some entries provide international or domestic context for technological development and national policymaking. Moreover, some entries may refer to developments with positive consequences for nonproliferation.

2002-1994

14 October 2002
UKRAINE BEGINS TU-22, TU-22M BOMBER ELIMINATION
On 14 October 2002, Agentstvo voyennykh novostey reported that the Ukrainian Aviation Transport Company had begun work on eliminating Tu-22 [NATO name 'Blinder'] bombers, Tu-22M3 [NATO name 'Backfire'] bombers, and Kh-22 [NATO designation AS-4 'Kitchen'] cruise missiles under a contract issued by the US company Raytheon and funded by the US government. A total of 30 bombers and 230 missiles will be destroyed over a period of two and a half years. Bombers will be scrapped at Mykolayiv and Poltava air bases, their engines in Bila Tserkva and Khmelnytskyi, and the cruise missiles in Ozernyy (Zhytomyr Oblast). The first bomber will be eliminated on 12 November 2002. The results will be verified by US inspectors.


2 February 2001
UKRAINE DISMANTLES LAST TU-160
UNIAN reported on 2 February 2001 that the last Tu-160 [NATO name 'Blackjack'] heavy bomber in Ukraine was dismantled at Pryluky Air Base in accordance with START I requirements. Present at the dismantlement were Ukrainian Air Force Commander Colonel-General Viktor Strelnykov and US Department of Defense representative Brigadier General (Ret.) Thomas Kuenning. The remaining four Tu-95MS [NATO name 'Bear H'] heavy bombers in Ukraine are due to be dismantled in May 2001.

5-11 February 2001
US TO FUND TU-22 AND TU-22M BOMBER ELIMINATION
According to a 5-11 February 2001 UNIAN report, the US Department of Defense and Ukraine's Ministry of Defense are in the final stages of negotiations concerning US assistance for the elimination of Ukrainian Tu-22 [NATO designation 'Blinder'] and Tu-22M [NATO designation 'Backfire'] heavy bombers. Ukraine currently possesses approximately 22 Tu-22 and 60 Tu-22M bombers, about 40 of which have exhausted their service lives and would be scrapped. The dismantlement will be carried out by the Raytheon Technical Services Company and will be funded through the Cooperative Threat Reduction program. Tu-22 and Tu-22M eliminations are expected to begin following the dismantlement of the remaining Tu-95MS heavy bombers.

17 May 2001
UKRAINE DISMANTLES LAST TU-95MS, FULFILLS HEAVY BOMBER DISMANTLEMENT OBLIGATIONS
On 17 May 2001, Ukraine's last Tu-95MS [NATO name 'Bear-H'] heavy bomber was dismantled during a ceremony at the Uzyn Air Base in Kiev Oblast. The dismantlement was observed by officials from the US Defense Department. With this dismantlement, Ukraine has fulfilled its obligations under START I requiring the dismantlement of the strategic heavy bombers and their accompanying ALCMs that remained in Ukraine after the fall of the Soviet Union. Ukraine was obligated to dismantle 44 (29 Tu-95MS and 15 Tu-160 [NATO name 'Blackjack']) heavy bombers and 1068 Kh-55 [NATO name AS-15 'Kent'] ALCMs. Under an agreement with Russia, an additional five Russian TU-95MS bombers were dismantled in Ukraine. A total of 38 heavy bombers and 483 ALCMs were dismantled or converted from a nuclear role at a cost of $13 million in funding from the United States. Eleven heavy bombers (three Tu-95MSs and eight Tu-160s) and 581 Kh-55 ALCMs were transferred to Russia in exchange for $285 million in natural gas debt in 2000. Two bombers (one Tu-95MS and one Tu-160) were sent to a museum in Poltava, and two Tu-95 MS bombers were converted for environmental reconnaissance missions.

20-26 August 2001
NAFTOHAZ UKRAYINY REPAYMENT TO DEFENSE MINISTRY FOR BOMBERS TO FALL SHORT OF FULL AMOUNT THIS YEAR
Naftohaz Ukrayiny Chairman and First Deputy Minister of Fuel and Energy Vadym Kopylov announced that this year Naftohaz will not be able to finish repaying the full amount it owes the Ukrainian Defense Ministry as part of a three-party deal involving the transfer of 11 heavy bombers to Russia. The Ukrainian Defense Ministry transferred 11 bombers to Russia in exchange for forgiveness of $270 million of Naftohaz gas debt to Russia; in turn Naftohaz must pay the $270 million back to the Ukrainian Defense Ministry. Kopylov stated that Naftohaz had paid $45 million of the debt in 2000 and paid another $125 million on 1 July 2001. The Defense Ministry has threatened to take the issue to an arbitration court to recover the remaining $100 million, but is also considering the alternative possibility of forgiving the remaining amount in exchange for a reduction in utility service debt owed Naftohaz.

Related content is available on the website for the Nuclear Threat Initiative, www.nti.org.
4 November 2001

**US TO HELP UKRAINE ELIMINATE 47 TU-22 BOMBERS**

UNIAN reported on 4 November 2001 that the director of the US SOAE program in Ukraine, John Connell, announced that the US government will help Ukraine eliminate 47 Tu-22 bombers. Since Ukraine has only about 20 Tu-22 bombers [NATO designation 'Blinder'], most of the aircraft in question are likely to be the more advanced Tu-22M [NATO designation 'Backfire'] bombers. The US government had previously signed an agreement to eliminate seven of the bombers, after which the government of Ukraine requested assistance in eliminating an additional 40 aircraft. While Connell said elimination activities can start as soon as the bombers are delivered to the elimination facilities, this process has been delayed by the need to obtain technical assistance from Russia, where Tu-22 and Tu-22M design and manufacturing facilities are located.


21 February 2000

**FINAL STRATEGIC BOMBERS SENT TO RUSSIA**

4 April 2000

**TWO BOMBERS TO BECOME MUSEUM EXHIBITS, TWO OTHERS WILL BE USED AS "ENVIRONMENTAL RECONNAISSANCE" AIRCRAFT**

At a press conference on 4 April 2000, Oleksandr Kuzmuk, Ukraine's Minister of Defense, stated that two strategic bombers would be sent to a Poltava aviation and space museum while two others would serve as so-called "environmental reconnaissance" aircraft. Of the two bombers earmarked for the Poltava museum, one, a Tu-160 [NATO name 'Blackjack'], was formerly based at the Priluky Airbase in Poltava Oblast, and the other, a Tu-95MS [NATO name 'Bear'], was formerly based in at the Uzin airbase in Kyiv Oblast. The two so-called "reconnaissance" aircraft come from the Uzin airbase and will be based in Nikolayev Oblast. Kuzmuk also stated that by October 2001, the remaining 29 bombers located at the Uzin and Priluky airbases will be destroyed.

—"Na Ukraine strategicheskiy bombardirovshchik Tu-160 peredan v muzey aviatsii," Interfax, 4 April 2000.

25 May 2000

**UKRAINE TO SCRAP RUSSIAN BOMBERS**

The government of Ukraine has decided to scrap five Tu-95 strategic bombers belonging to the Russian Air Force. The aircraft were sent to a repair facility in Bila Tserkva, Kiev Oblast, in 1992-1993 for maintenance. They were impounded by Ukrainian authorities after Russia failed to pay the $14 million repair bill. The Russian Defense Ministry protested the decision, stating that the bombers are Russian property. A senior Russian Defense Ministry official expressed hope that the matter would be resolved through negotiations.

—Ivan Safronov, "Ukraine Intends to Destroy Russian Bombers," Kommersant, 27 May 2000, p.2; in "Russia Objects to Ukraine Plan to Scrap Tu95s over Debts," FBIS Document CEP20000529000096.
31 July 2000

TALKS ON TRANSFER OF ADDITIONAL BOMBERS TO RUSSIA PLANNED

On 31 July 2000 Interfax reported that the Russian Air Force will soon begin talks with the Ukrainian company Ukrspetsexport on transferring additional Tu-160 [NATO designation 'Blackjack'] and Tu-95MS [NATO designation 'Bear-H'] strategic bombers in return for canceling Ukraine's energy debts to Russia. The negotiations will concern three Tu-160 and seven Tu-95MS bombers which are believed to be in good repair. Ukraine also proposes transferring four disassembled Tu-95MS bombers and 80 cruise missiles.


11 August 2000

UKRAINE DENIES NEGOTIATING ADDITIONAL BOMBER TRANSFERS

On 11 August 2000 Ukrainian National Security and Defense Council representative Valeriy Ivashchenko denied media reports that talks took place between Ukraine and Russia on the transfer of additional strategic bombers in exchange for Russian gas debt relief.[1] Ivashchenko asserted that the talks never took place, and said that Kiev has made a political decision to scrap the bombers. The decision to dismantle the bombers may have been influenced by US reminders that aid for bomber dismantlement would be halted if the bombers were transferred.[2]


18 December 2000

UKRAINE TO DISMANTLE ALL OF ITS STRATEGIC BOMBERS BY MAY 2001

Interfax reported on 18 December 2000 that Ukraine plans to dismantle all of its remaining strategic bombers by May 2001. During an inspection of elimination facilities completed in December 2000, US observers confirmed that two Tu-160s and two Tu-95MSs were destroyed at their respective bases in Pryluky and Uzyn. US observers also confirmed that five Tu-95MS bombers were destroyed at Bila Tserkva. One Tu-160 had previously been reported dismantled at Pryluky in 1998. Two bombers (one Tu-95MS and one Tu-160) have been transferred to a museum and two Tu-95MSs have been refitted for environmental reconnaissance. The transfer of 11 bombers (eight Tu-160s and three Tu-95MSs) to Russia has allowed Ukrainian officials to accelerate the time schedule to dismantle the remaining bombers. According to Ukraine's START Implementation Support Center Chief Volodymyr Shapovalov, the remaining Tu-160s will be destroyed by early March 2001 at Pryluky, and the remaining Tu-95MSs will be destroyed at Uzyn by May 2001. US representatives expressed satisfaction that Ukraine is fulfilling its START commitment to eliminate all of its bombers by December 2001. The United States is also expected to fund another project to decommission Ukrainian Tu-22 bombers in the near future.


10 April 1999

UKRAINE HOPES TO SELL THREE TU-160S TO A US SATELLITE COMPANY

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Ukraine hopes to sign a $20 million contract with a US satellite company, Platforms International Corporation, under which three Tu-160 strategic bombers and their spare parts would be sold to be converted into satellite launching platforms. However, the START I Treaty, according to which all Ukrainian heavy bombers should be destroyed by 2001, reportedly does not allow such a conversion. Russia objects to the intended sale on this basis. According to the Head of the Department of Control over Armament and Disarmament of the Ukrainian Foreign Ministry Oleksiy Rybak, Ukraine will attempt to amend the Treaty to make the sale possible. If realized, the contract could initiate further cooperation between the US and Ukraine in the commercial space field.


29 April 1999
RUSSIA OFFERS UKRAINE MILITARY TRANSPORT PLANES IN EXCHANGE FOR STRATEGIC BOMBERS
At a Russian Security Council meeting on 29 April 1999, Russia decided to offer to exchange 11 An-22 and An-24 military transport planes for eight Tu-160 and three TU-95 Ukrainian strategic bombers. The Russian Ministry of Defense is considering equipping the bombers with cruise missiles with conventional warheads.


August 1999
UKRAINE OFFERS RUSSIA 10 STRATEGIC BOMBERS TO CANCEL GAS DEBT
Ukraine has offered Russia eight Tu-160 and two Tu-95 strategic bombers to pay off part of the $1.8 billion the Ukrainian government owes Russia for natural gas. Russia would then convert them to conventional bombers. According to Ukrainian First Deputy Minister of Foreign Affairs Oleksandr Chaliy, neither transfer nor conversion of the bombers would violate the START Treaty. The price for each bomber has yet to be negotiated, but according to Ukrainian Defense Minister Oleksandr Kuzmuk it could exceed $25 million. Ukraine’s Ministry of Defense added that Ukraine intends to retain several bombers for intelligence and exposition purposes and for the so-called "Take-off" program. The possible transfer was discussed by Russian Prime Minister Sergey Stepashin during his visit to Kiev in early August 1999. A final decision could be reached during a visit by Ukrainian Prime Minister Valeriy Pustovoytenko to Moscow scheduled for the end of August 1999.


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26 August 1999
AGREEMENT ON SALE OF 10 STRATEGIC BOMBERS COMPLETED

According to Anatoliy Kornukov, Russian Air Force Commander-In-Chief, who participated in the meeting of Ukrainian and Russian prime ministers Valeriy Pustovoytenko and Vladimir Putin in August 1999, an agreement on the transfer of 10 Ukrainian strategic bombers to Russia has been completed. Russian Prime Minister Putin, however, expressed doubts about whether or not Russia actually needs the bombers.

—"V. Pustovoytenko i V. Putin ne udalos dogovoritcya po probleme uregulirovaniya ukrainskoy zadolzhennosti za energonositeli," UNIAN, No. 34, 23 - 29 August 1999.

5 November 1999
UKRAINE SENDS RUSSIA FIRST TWO STRATEGIC BOMBERS

On 5 November 1999, Russia received the first two Tu-160 [NATO name 'Blackjack'] strategic bombers from Ukraine. Ukraine plans to supply a total of eight Tu-160s and three Tu-95MSs [NATO name 'Bear']. In addition, 144 Kh-55 [NATO name AS-15 'Kent'] cruise missiles will be attached to the bombers: 12 to each Tu-160 and 16 to each Tu-95MS. Ukrainian and Russian Prime Ministers Valeriy Pustovoytenko and Vladimir Putin, respectively, signed their governments' corresponding decrees on the transfer of the strategic bombers on 2 November 1999. The transfer of the strategic bombers from Ukraine to Russia is part of a gas debt settlement. While Ukraine had originally wanted $75 million for each bomber, the final agreement values each bomber at $25 million and the missiles at $10 million, for a total reduction of Ukraine's gas debt by $285 million. The 11 Tu-160s and 18 Tu-95MSs remaining in Ukraine after the above sale will be destroyed in accordance with international agreements.


29 April 1998
US WILL ASSIST IN ELIMINATION OF 44 STRATEGIC BOMBERS

The United States and Ukraine initiated talks on a cooperative project to dismantle 25 Tu-95MS "Bear" and up to 19 Tu-160 "Blackjack" strategic bombers. The project will be carried out under the CTR program. According to Ukrainian Security and Defense Council Secretary Volodymyr Horbulin, 40 of the 44 bombers will be destroyed, two will be converted, and two will be turned over to a museum.


May 1998
UKRAINE AND RUSSIA NEGOTIATE HEAVY BOMBER ISSUES

July 1998
DOD AMENDS CTR AGREEMENT WITH UKRAINE, FUNDS BOMBER DESTRUCTION

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16 November 1998
UKRAINIAN BOMBERS ARE BEING DESTROYED

On 16 November 1998, at the Priluky air force base, Ukraine demolished the first of 44 Tu-95 and Tu-160 strategic bombers. The United States financed the destruction, which falls under the Nunn-Lugar program. The remaining 43 strategic bombers are planned to be demolished by 2001 at an estimated cost of $8 million to the United States. All the secret equipment has to be taken away from the bombers prior to the destruction process, which involves cutting the aircraft into four parts. Ukraine plans to utilize the scrap metal for peaceful industrial purposes. More than a thousand cruise missiles that were specially designed for the heavy bombers will also be destroyed. Despite the fact that the destruction is being conducted under START I, Dmytro Shkurko, head of the Ukrainian Ministry of Defense press service, noted that "...the destruction does not mean that Ukraine has begun planned destruction of the bombers-this was just a test of the technology..."

19 January 1995
QUESTION OF HEAVY BOMBER SALES DISCUSSED WITH RUSSIA

Ukrainian Defense Ministry officials and a Russian military delegation have discussed the possibility of Ukraine selling to Russia a number of the TU-160 (Blackjack) and TU-95MS (Bear-H) bombers that Ukraine inherited from the Soviet Union. Russian and Ukrainian specialists are to inspect the aircraft and determine their condition and value.
—"Ukraine May Sell Strategic Bombers to Russia," OMRI DAILY DIGEST, Vol. 1, No. 14, Part II, 1/19/95.

14 March 1995
UKRAINE AGREED TO SELL STRATEGIC BOMBERS FOR $75 MILLION

Ukraine has agreed to sell the strategic bombers it inherited when the Soviet Union broke up to Russia for $75 million, which is the sum that the Russians offered, as opposed to the $800 million that Ukraine initially demanded. The bombers and some ALCMs are to be handed over to Russia in May.
—Doug Clarke, "Ukraine to Sell Bombers to Russia at Bargain Price," OMRI DAILY DIGEST, No. 54, Part II, 3/16/95.

28 March 1995
RUSSIA WILL FORGIVE UKRAINE'S GAS DEBT IN EXCHANGE FOR HEAVY BOMBERS

Russia will forgive Ukraine's $192.6 million natural gas debt in exchange for the 19 TU-160 supersonic jets and the 25 TU-95MS turbo-prop missile carrying aircraft that Ukraine has on its territory.

15 April 1995
ONLY 15% OF UKRAINIAN HEAVY BOMBERS ARE IN FLYING CONDITION

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According to a commission from the Russian Air Force Long Range Aviation Headquarters, only 15 percent of the TU-160s and TU-95MS bombers are in flying condition. Nineteen TU-160s were operational one year ago, but currently only four are capable of flying; of the 25 TU-95MS that are based at Uzin, four could fly back to Russia without repairs. These supersonic bombers came into service in 1988 and some of them may have been built as recently as 1991. The Russian Air Force has set a schedule for the return of these bombers, which will most likely go to the airfield at Engels. The are some spare parts that are in such short supply that once the planes land in Russia, the parts will be stripped off, sent to Ukraine, where they will be installed on the next set of bombers returning to Russia.

—Leonid Kostrov, "Ukraine's Strategic Bombers Still Can Be Fixed," Segodnya, 4/6/95, p. 3.

16 May 1995

UKRAINIAN FUEL DEBT COULD BE EXCHANGED FOR BOMBERS AND ALCMs

Russian Defense Minister Pavel Grachev stated that Russia has not decided if it is going to purchase the 44 strategic bombers on Ukrainian territory. A preliminary agreement in which Russia would forgive $190 million of Ukraine's fuel debt to Russia in exchange for the 19 Blackjack, 25 Bear bombers and 600 ALCMs has been reached. Apparently, this agreement is final but no transfers have been made yet. The implementation of the agreement is contingent upon a successful resolution of the Black Sea Fleet issue.


7 June 1995

FATE OF UKRAINIAN BOMBERS WILL DEPEND ON DIVISION OF BLACK SEA FLEET

An anonymous military source stated that Russia will not purchase the 44 former Soviet bombers and 600 ALCMs on Ukrainian territory until the problem of dividing the Black Sea Fleet is solved. Several months ago, Russia and Ukraine agreed that Ukraine would return the bombers and ALCMs to the Russian air force in return for a $190 million reduction in Ukraine's debt to Russia.


14 June 1995

RUSSIA WILL NOT USE UKRAINIAN BOMBERS

According to Defense Minister Valeriy Shmarov, Russia has no plans to use the strategic bombers, since they are no longer a priority for the Russian military and there are no buyers for them.

—Interfax, 6/14/95, in "Shmarov: Russia Not To Use Ukraine's Long-Range Bombers," FBIS-SOV-95-115, 6/14/95.

September-October 1995

RUSSIA NO LONGER INTERESTED IN UKRAINIAN BOMBERS

In 2/95, Russia reportedly agreed to pay Ukraine $190 million for 25 Tu-95M and 19 Tu-160. Now, the planes have deteriorated and have not flown for 5 years and Russia is no longer interested in purchasing them. In 4/95, a report said that only 4 of each type of heavy bomber was capable of flying.

—"Rossiya-Ukraina," Yadernyy Kontrol, 1/96, p. 9; Robert Norris and William Arkin, "Estimated Russian (C.I.S.)

25 November 1995
UKRAINIAN OFFICIALS AGREED TO SELL BOMBERS TO RUSSIA
In Sochi, Ukrainian officials agreed to sell 44 TU-160s and Tu-95s to Russia. In return, Ukraine reportedly will receive spare parts for equipment used in the Ukrainian armed forces. One source states that Ukraine will begin by handing over 25 bombers (type unspecified). UPRESA reported that Ukraine will hand over 23 TU-95s, which contradicts earlier reports of 25 TU-95s.

29 December 1995
FORMER SOVIET BOMBERS WILL BE RETURNED TO RUSSIA
It was reported that 19 TU-160s and 24 TU-95 strategic bombers will be transferred from Ukraine to Russia in return for spare parts, technical documentation, and technical aviation services for Ukraine. Earlier reports cited 24 TU-160s and suggested that this barter deal was worth $1.5 billion. Russian Air Force representatives said the first of two stages in this transfer would include 10 TU-160 bombers from Priluky, 15 TU-95MCs, and 300 cruise missiles.
— "Informatsiya," Yaderniy Kontrol, 1/96, p. 9. See also Bohdan Yaroshchinsky, "Hrabli, Yaki Hrebut Vid Cebe," Holos Ukrainy, 1/30/96, p. 12; "In Sochi Shmarov Gave Away The Kit Along With The Kaboodle," The Rukh Insider, The Institute Of Statehood and Democracy, 2/7/96; Oleksandr Pukhov, INTELNEWS, 12/30/95.

May 1994
UKRAINE WILLING TO TRANSFER HEAVY BOMBERS TO RUSSIA FOR $8 BILLION
Ukraine announced that it was willing to transfer its heavy strategic bombers to Russia for the sum of $8 billion. Russian Defense officials have dismissed the offer as unsatisfactory.
— Interfax (Moscow), 5/18/94, in "Ukrainian Readiness To Hand Over Bombers 'Gimmick,'" FBIS-SOV-94-097, 5/19/94, p. 15.

October 1994
RUSSIA REFUSED TO PURCHASE UKRAINIAN HEAVY BOMBERS
According to Ukrainian Defense Ministry officials, despite prior assurances that it would do so, Russia decided not to purchase the Tu-160 bombers located in Ukraine. Russia stated that a lack of funds was the reason behind the decision.
— UNIAN (Kyiv), 10/17/94, in "Russia Calls Off Purchase of Bombers," FBIS-SOV-94-201, 10/17/94.

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