



Solidarity for Ukraine – 01/06/2022- issue 4- New Deal

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The Institute for Research and Information on Volunteering (iriv) is associated with the international solidarity in favor of Ukraine attacked by Russia on 24 February 2022. After a pandemic that has weakened democratic countries with the disturbing rise of conspiracy theories with its hate speech on social networks, we hope that this war in Europe will be an opportunity to reflect on a new solidarity, in Europe and with our international allies.. This newsletter is the 4th issue after 3 previous issues - March 1, April 1 and May 1, 2022. We are committed to publishing a new issue every first day of the month as long as this brutal, total and illegal war lasts.

After three months of war, the conflict in Ukraine revealed some confusion in both camps of democracies and

authoritarian regimes. After a unanimous solidarity at the beginning, contradictory national logics appeared in the West- doubts were expressed about the effectiveness of the sanctions, about the help to be given. Some European countries have been more reserved in favour of Ukraine or more measured about its entry into NATO or the European Union fearing a Russian escalation. The bureaucratic argument invoked may seem surprising in the face of urgency. In the pro-Russia camp, some supporters may have surprised, other friendly countries proved more cautious. Globalization is put to the test, a new international chessboard is set up, uncertain but which gives reasons for hope. Everyone plays their cards in the new international situation.

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* the logo was designed for Caritas Canada in February 2022

Allies of Ukraine- an unexpected rebirth of the Atlantic Alliance

At the beginning of the war, everything seemed clear: the aggressor, Russia, was well identified and the aggressed, Ukraine, already attacked in 2014 in Donbass and Crimea, was also clearly named and unanimously defended in the Western camp.

U.S. President Joe Biden immediately made a public commitment that Russia, its president and the Russian army would be “international outcasts” (1). The financial commitment of the United States is massive to support Ukraine – since the beginning of the war they have devoted 3.4 billion dollars (3.2 billion euros) to their military assistance mobilized in a record time (2). The President appointed a “dream team” – a Secretary of State, Anthony Blinken, a diplomat, a Secretary of Defense, a formerly 4-star General who, used to be American Central Command in Chief in Middle East, Lloyd Austin, and Jake Sullivan, a veteran of the Obama administration, marked by the presidential failure of Hillary Clinton, who has learned from the mistakes of the past. This trio has all the confidence of the President and has made a return to the classic and transatlantic current of American diplomacy. Ukraine is also the way to regain political and military credibility for the United States, after the Afghan army broke out after the American withdrawal in August 2021. If they did not hire soldiers in Ukraine, the number of American soldiers in Europe has increased to 100,000, including some under NATO command. Patriot missile systems were also deployed in Poland in March 2022 (3).

A counterpart of the American reinvestment in Europe is the increase in military spending with a stronger mobilization of the Western camp alongside the United States. In particular, a new NATO strategic concept now lists the Chinese threat as one of the Alliance’s new challenges. NATO’s target of spending at least 2% of its GDP on defence materializes – according to a Kantar survey conducted at the end of 2021 among 28,909 citizens in NATO countries, a third of them say they don’t feel safe in their country (down from 19% in 2019, before the pandemic and the war in Ukraine). (4) In the countries of East Asia (Japan, South Korea, etc.) and Oceania (Australia), considerable efforts have been made. In Europe, the three leading countries in the field - United Kingdom (68.4 billion), France (56 billion) and Germany (56 billion) will further increase their investments by 2025. For the American expert in international relations, Fareed Zakaria, Europe must not be satisfied with increasing its military spending but must engage in strategic reflection on a continental scale (5). It needs to stop having a national approach but to stand together. The Russian threat is in the Eastern part of the continent, and the entry requested by Finland and Sweden marks a radical change, the end of their neutrality. The Trojan Horse of Victor Orban’s Hungary, supported by both Russia and China, must also be neutralized. On the other hand, there has been a very positive development, with Poland breaking away from European authoritarian regimes by providing remarkable aid to Ukraine, despite a history of

conflict between countries; neither was exemplary during the Second World War (6). According to Fareed Zakaria (5), Central Europe, which has aroused some fears, could show that liberal democracy is capable of mobilising itself. Europe, an economic giant but «political dwarf» could wake up with a strange reversal where Western Europe seems to be dragging its feet while Eastern Europe is much more offensive to defend democracy. For the American essayist, the war in Ukraine is also a resounding failure of European diplomacy, which did not support President George Bush's 2008 proposal to integrate Georgia and Ukraine into NATO. Russia began its “nibbling” of Georgia (as early as 2008) and Ukraine (as early as 2014). Some European countries are still chilly. France did not convince the Ukrainian president by suggesting that Ukraine would join a “European political community”, an antechamber of the European Union. In Germany, political leaders who had shown their support for Russia, anxious to preserve the Nord Stream 2 pipeline project, were not welcome in Kiev. In Italy, some public opinion is in favour of Russia, with Moscow propaganda relays well received on the Italian talk shows (7).

Pro-Russia support - a preoccupying anti-West spirit

A Tribune published in French Newspaper Le Monde on 19 April 2022 by more than 80 writers and academics from countries whose population is favourable to Vladimir Putin, including Indian writer Arundhati Roy and Nigerian Nobel Prize for Literature Wole Soyinka, showed their support alongside the Ukrainians. They explain that in most of their countries (in Latin America, North Africa, sub-Saharan Africa, the Middle East, Asia, etc.) too much opinion has sided with the Russian dictator who is “waging a war of conquest against Ukraine” as he had done in Chechnya and Syria, in the name of an “anti-imperialism that has turned over the years into passionate hatred” that leads to applaud anyone opposing the West. The authors of the Tribune recognize a responsibility of the West which may have contributed to a «devastation of our world» for example by perpetuating a «domination over vast regions», by defending» indefensible dictatorships to protect their interests», or “leaving refugees from the South to die on their doorstep” while accepting “theirs” with open arms. But the authors of the Tribune insist on the need to fully support the Ukrainians for “all those who demand freedom for them, who believe in the right of citizens to choose their leaders and refuse tyranny.”

Gilles Paris (1) gave some illustrations in his article published the following month (in May) on the “gap between the West and the rest of the planet” during the war in Ukraine. Former Brazilian President Luiz Ignacio Lula da Silva fired “back to back the aggressor and the assailant” and accused “Westerners of inciting hatred against Putin.” Before him, the President of South Africa, Cyril Ramaphosa, pointed out in March 2022 the «responsibility of NATO». The same position is defended by Indian President Narendra Modi or Mexican President Andres Manuel Lopez Obrador (AMLO) or Indonesian President Joko Widodo. The reasons for these unexpected

supports are also more prosaically explained by economic reasons – their countries are affected by the energy crisis or the food crisis (cereals from Ukraine are no longer arriving) after having been weakened by the pandemic for two years.

If China's support was expected after President Xi Jinping's posting at the Beijing Games in February 2022 alongside Russian President Vladimir Putin, it is not as unconditional as one might have thought. The war in Ukraine with the economic crisis that it aggravates thwarts the projects of the Silk Roads of the Chinese leader, already undermined by the blockade imposed by the Covid pandemic. In terms of image of strength, the Russian ally disappointed. Chinese experts on military issues are very silent on the war in Ukraine (8). According to Marc Julienne, expert on China from the French Institute of International Relations (IFRI), the China-Russia relationship has always been marked by a form of condescension exacerbated by the war in Ukraine. For China, Russia is a colossus with feet of clay. The army of the future is not Russian. If Russia has been able to score points in the wars in Syria, and if their equipment is of quality (anti-aircraft systems and combat aircraft), the performances of the American portable anti-aircraft and anti-tank missiles (Stinger and Javelin) have inflicted great damages to the Russian army. Another learning, the destruction of the Russian cruiser Moskva, the first of this importance sunk in forty years (the last one was during the Falklands War in 1982 opposing UK to Argentina) is an event in the maritime tactics according to French expert Mathieu Duchâtel of the Institut Montaigne. The war in Ukraine also confirmed the strategic analyses of Chinese experts- the crucial importance of command and control as well as information control. The military intelligence provided by the allies to the Ukrainian army brought a decisive advantage to Kiev against Moscow.

The Information War was won by the Ukrainian President , Volodymyr Zelensky who carried out an offensive and very effective campaign every day since the first day of the attack. The transparency of the American military intelligence, which kept the operations up to date almost every hour, always verified, has pulled the rug out from under the feet of Russian officers. This very original strategy of transparency of the United States – gradual and very offensive disclosures of intelligence on Russian intentions, has also provoked a radical rethinking of service practices in France with the dismissal of the head of military intelligence. (9)

Geopolitics disrupted – fragmentation and European “third way”

The main challenges facing the Atlantic Alliance, in addition to the new strategic concept that includes the Chinese threat, are nuclear proliferation, cyber-attacks, climate change and terrorism (3). The war in Ukraine has put a forgotten issue on the agenda: NATO’s resources and its ability to respond. According to Julien Nocetti, a French researcher at the Military Academy of Saint Cyr and at IFRI, the conflict has also brought the camps together technologically, accelerating the process of regionalization and technological separation of the planet by «ideological» affinity (10).

If the war is conducted more with artillery and aviation, the digital has become decisive according to Julien Nocetti. An original technological dimension has been identified which can be explained by several factors. The first is the embargo on the delivery of semiconductors to Russia. Another factor was the position taken by the Big Tech (GAFA- Google, Apple, Facebook, Amazon) which withdrew from the Russian market and made available tools for detecting cyberattacks. These American digital giants have thus «militarized» the technological interdependencies. The support provided by Elon Musk, boss of SpaceX, who delivered web reception systems through its Starlink satellites in record time has made a difference in the face of inertia or the slowness of states. Power is an important symbolic element in wartime to impress your opponent.

The war in Ukraine has also accentuated China’s hand over Russia in a desire to “de-institutionalize” the technological field - Chinese investment funds have established themselves in Russia to create ecosystems in artificial intelligence and algorithms. The subject is very sensitive. The consequence has been a Russian brain drain since the beginning of the conflict with 50,000 to 70,000 Russian programmers who have gone abroad to escape this Chinese hand-down. This consequence is the most paradoxical one: initiated for nationalist reasons to restore a Russian Empire, Russia lost an essential part of its national sovereignty in an area (cyberwar) in which it was feared.

Another dimension identified by Julien Nocetti, the invasion of Ukraine has reinforced a logic of regionalization that he calls «fragmentation of the digital space». Russia has banned Western platforms on its territory and launched alternatives to Google Play and Instagram. Conversely Western entities have also excluded Russian platforms such as the Firefox browser with the search engine Yandex which is no longer part of its choices.

The most positive consequence of the conflict was Europe’s realization, even at a late stage, that digital technology was a powerful factor with the risk of dependence on American or Chinese

ecosystems. The European Union is working towards a “third way” that is equidistant from the American ultraliberal model and the Chinese authoritarian model. The European model emphasizes the defence of our values – respect for fundamental freedoms and the primacy of ethics. Law is the backbone of the European model, which will be based on data protection and the Digital Services Act. Europeans will thus be able to contribute to the creation of a new «digital geopolitical map» according to Julien Nocetti.

A strategic rapprochement is also taking place, thanks to the Ukrainian crisis, between the United States and Europe. It takes the form of the agreement announced in March 2022 during the venue of the US President in Brussels on the transatlantic transfer of personal data. The discussion is more open and friendly among allies. At the same time, a new role is given to Big Tech, which aims to “show that they are part of the solution, not the problem”. They are neither the ideal solution to the pinnacle in 2011 during the «Arab Spring» nor the worst recourse as during the Cambridge Analytica scandal. They showed a conciliatory attitude during the war of Ukraine by always supporting the lines proposed by Washington or Brussels- they thus acquired a «status of geopolitical actors».

A new deal is taking place thanks to the war in Ukraine with a redistribution of cards on all fronts: on the ground but also in the digital space.

- (1) Gilles Paris « Le rétrécissement du camp occidental », Le Monde, jeudi 12 mai 2022
- (2) Piotr Smolar « La guerre américaine de Joe Biden », Le Monde, vendredi 6 mai 2022
- (3) Jean-Pierre Stroobants et Elise Vincent « Guerre en Ukraine- Vladimir Poutine ressuscite l’OTAN », Le Monde, 15 & 16 mai 2022
- (4) Jean-Michel Bezat « La course en avant des dépenses militaires », Le Monde, mardi 26 avril 2022
- (5) Fareed Zakaria « Nous assistons à la fin de la pax americana », Le Monde, mardi 3 mai 2022
- (6) Documentaire diffusé sur Arte le mardi 22 mai 2022 , Lech Kowalski (2022) « Ukraine-Pologne : la frontière de la solidarité »
- (7) Jérôme Gautheret « Guerre en Ukraine : la petite musique prorusse de la télévision italienne », vendredi 27 mai 2022
- (8) Nathalie Guibert « Premières leçons militaires de l’échec russe en Ukraine pour Pékin », Le Monde, 15 & 16 mai 2022
- (9) Elise Vincent « Les leçons de la guerre en Ukraine pour le renseignement français », Le Monde, jeudi 14 avril 2022
- (10) Vincent Fagot et Alexandre Picquard « La guerre en Ukraine renforce la fragmentation du web », Le Monde, vendredi 29 avril 2022

Useful contacts

A list of associations and NGOs mobilized is published on the French website «[Support Ukraine](#)».

French Red cross - [Croix-Rouge française](#) for financial donations, in support of the Ukrainian Red Cross, to the International Committee of the Red Cross

Médecins sans frontières – [emergency funds](#) in countries bordering Ukraine and seeking to bring in medical equipment and personnel.

Secours populaire - appeals to the [emergency donation for Ukraine](#) .

Protection civile - a call for donations to finance other needs (defibrillators, respirators, generators, etc.): <https://don.protection-civile.org/soutenir>

Fondation de France – has published a [call for generosity](#) to support the hundreds of thousands of people affected by the conflict in Poland and Romania

United Nation High Committee for Refugees - Level 3 emergency situation for the crisis in Ukraine, the highest. UNHCR has strengthened its operations in Ukraine and neighbouring countries, to support it, you can donate: site [Donner.unhcr.org](#)

Unicef - an urgent need for funding to meet the basic needs of children [donation on the Unicef.fr](#)

ONG Care International - a [form online for Ukraine](#) to provide emergency assistance to populations and refugees.

L'ONG française ACTED organizes humanitarian convoys for Ukraine

association Solidarités International – a [fundraising](#) to send convoys of food and basic necessities, to distribute water and meals to refugees

Plan International, in Poland, Romania and Moldova, to provide material and psychosocial assistance to young Ukrainians and their families, and [call for dination](#)

L'Aide médicale et caritative France-Ukraine - sending convoys of humanitarian aid, care for the wounded, exchanges of medical know-how, psychological assistance and organizing summer camps for orphan children - [HelloAsso](#) ;

Le Comité d'aide médicale Ukraine - refugees in transit in the west of the country, and collecting funds, medicines and equipment for accommodation and care [association SAFE and FONDEMOS](#).

JeVeuxAider.gouv.fr the French platform for volunteering for Ukraine [Mobilisons-nous pour l'Ukraine](#) .

Les Banques alimentaires - an [emergency support to the borders of Ukraine](#), in neighbouring countries

La Protection Civile et l'Association des maires de France has published a [list](#) for first aid support and material

L'Association des maires de France published [locations for the collection of material support](#) in France in the framework of [solidarity with Ukraine](#) .

The French official platform « [Je m'engage pour l'Ukraine](#) » launched in March 2022 by the government to accompany the French who want to host Ukrainians refugees and welcomed in France.

Source : <https://www.service-public.fr/particuliers/actualites/A15542>