

For a deeper understanding of the war in Ukraine

ONE YEAR AFTER



No-Commercial electronic Edition for SIHR's Students

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Introduction

In a cry of pain, Jamil Matar wrote in the Egyptian “Al-Shorouk” about his follow-up to what is said and published on the subject of Ukraine: “I came to the conviction that most of everything I read heard and watched on the subject of Ukraine was far from true. All parties to this conflict have begun to exchange accusations of lying. The West finds nothing in Russia's statements but lies, Russia accuses the West and the Ukrainians of lying, and China questions the validity of the two sides' positions, even if it has revealed little, and this in itself is a position that does not stray far from the state of lying prevailing in the world. The prevailing discourse between the immediate parties to the war”.

Perhaps it is this aching cry, inherent in the depths of everyone who participated in this collective work, which brought us together in the ambition of a joint research struggle to confront hypocrisy and falsehood, as an essential part of the struggle against the devastating war in Ukraine.

Europe had hardly regained some of its routine problems before the Corona pandemic, to reveal the rise of a hostile rhetoric between the Russian Federation and the United States of America on the one hand, and the intractability of Russian-Ukrainian negotiations under French-German auspices on the other hand.

The Joe Biden administration did not have the least degree of "affection" to the Russian president and his administration, and had a "certain" conviction of Russia's interference in the 2016 elections that removed the Democratic Party candidate and brought President Donald Trump to power. In August 2021, it came out of "Afghanistan" in a humiliating manner. And its internal popularity is at its worst for a president's term in the first year of his assumption of responsibility. The idea of the "**enemy**", and the war on terrorism was shaken by two defeats in Iraq and Afghanistan; the German-Russian rapprochement is taking place at the expense of NATO and American interests in Europe... It was remarkable that Biden approved large military aid to Ukraine in 2021 and Biden appointed Victoria Nuland, one of the hawks of NATO expansion in Eastern Europe and Ukraine, May 3, 2021 Under Secretary of State Blinken for Ukraine and Eastern European Affairs.

On the Russian side, there is Russian dissatisfaction with the Ukrainian-American military and security cooperation, and with the delay in responding to any proposals regarding US-Russian security arrangements regulating the relationship between Russia and NATO in Eastern Europe. With the promotion of security information that talks about a Ukrainian attack on the remaining lands of the Donbass under the control of the "separatists".

The atmosphere of mistrust did not give the latest attempts at «political settlement» chances of continuation, and Russian President Vladimir Putin decided, after a meeting with the Supreme Security Committee, to launch a "special military operation" according to the official Russian expression. The Donbas war, which has been going on for eight years, turned into a full-scale hybrid war that reached the outskirts of Kyiv.

The first conclusion that came out of the research team, which was formed at the end of February 2022 from a number of researchers by The Scandinavian Institute for Human Rights/Haytham Manna Foundation and other researchers, is **that the opportunities for a political solution had not yet been exhausted, and that the Russian leadership had established a self-conviction**

that time was not in its favour and that it had to choose military escalation, to have lunch in the Ukrainian army. Before his dinner he took back the rest of Gdansk and Donetsk. All data indicates that the administration of President Joe Biden, who personally handled the Ukrainian file during the Obama years, is not innocent, says American journalist Thomas Friedman, but Biden has not succeeded within years in persuading Chancellor Angela Merkel not to consolidate her economic relations with the Russian Federation. France and Germany have well-known reservations about Ukraine's admission to the North Atlantic Treaty Organization (NATO), so the Russian military option was an excellent service to the US administration and NATO hawks, who are seeking a confrontation aimed at creating a political and economic rupture with Russia. In this sense, President Putin, with his military escalation, served his worst enemy to realize a « Perfect War » as an important ex-member of NATO described it, because the Russian decision constitutes a Russian military attack on an independent republic and a member of the United Nations on the basis of "suspected information", while reminding us of the war on Iraq and the pretext of eliminating "weapons of mass destruction".

The second conclusion was the Russian leadership's miscalculation of the ability of NATO, which was in a

state of "clinical death", to borrow the description of President Emmanuel Macron, to achieve a consensus on a unified policy to confront Russian military intervention.

Third, the success of the lobbying for comprehensive confrontation with the new-old enemy in the United States of America, consisting of gun lobbies, the neo-conservatives and the old generation in the Democratic Party, the success of this lobbying in making Russia: the enemy, and the formation of the largest international military-economic-media alliance since the end of the Cold War, in less than a week to confront this enemy, and the success of this alliance in obscuring the catastrophic humanitarian, economic, social and cultural consequences of the military war from the scene, as the natural tax of solidarity with a resisting country that was attacked, whatever the cost.

In psychoanalysis, when a person repeats something he is lying about, he realizes that he himself is unable to believe what he claims. No matter how the White House repeats that what is happening in Ukraine is a confrontation between Russian aggression and Ukrainian resistance, "the United States and NATO are not innocent bystanders."

Today, the world is experiencing an "indirect" confrontation, sometimes by proxy or authenticity at

other times, with open possibilities between Russia and NATO, a confrontation that necessarily has a global dimension. As the late American thinker Immanuel Wallerstein said seven years ago: *"Let me suggest that Ukraine is merely a convenient excuse or proxy for a larger geopolitical divide that has absolutely nothing to do with its own internal division."*

The team that bore the name "la magie de comprendre/Magic of Understanding" was formed from a number of researchers in issues of peace and non-violence, from more than one research and brainstorming institute from the global front that rejects war, at the end of February 2022, after The extensive Russian military attack on Ukrainian territory, which was accompanied by a spectacle/media war within the alignments produced by the military escalation, which relied on various fronts, on the employment and investment of information and facts rather than knowledge of the facts, their causes and their implications for the future of world peace.

Since its formation, the team has worked on building a data bank that collects the most important geopolitical, economic and human rights analyses that can help the citizens of the world to gain a deeper understanding of the history, background and process of the Ukrainian

war that began in 2014, and the Russian President decided on February 24, 2022, a major escalation in it through what he called “the process.” Private military”, which sparked a large-scale and hybrid military war, one of its first consequences was the launch of the largest economic and media war against NATO and the European Union against one country, since the two institutions were formed.

The Scandinavian Institute for Human Rights/Haytham Manna Foundation, the International Institute for Peace, Justice and Human Rights (Geneva), and the Educational Center for Human Rights (Germany) have placed a number of researchers in this ambitious project, and communication and coordination with a number of Specialists throughout Europe and the Arab countries, as well as the team asked a number of writers to allow the publication of a translation of their articles into and from Arabic, or to write on the topics of their specialization for the team.

As we believe necessary, this scholarly and reflective material helps to place the conflict in the broader context of relations and confrontations between Russia and the West. Topics and research frameworks date back to 2014, and we have sought and sought to include basic topics such as: the myth of military “inevitability,”

military strategy and balances, geopolitical dimensions of conflict, history and geography, the fall of the “end of history” and “clash of civilizations” myths, the effectiveness of economic sanctions and their intractability, Comprehensive sanctions and the risks of their repercussions, the direct and indirect effects of the war in the process of Deglobalization, the near and far consequences for the European Union and the countries of the south, cyber war, energy, means of de-escalation, possible diplomatic solutions, a peaceful negotiated solution or the flood...

This first publication includes a collection of topics completed during **eighty days** that shook the world. In some of them, however, they certainly go back to the beginning of the conflict in 2014 or the end of 2022. It is difficult to understand many of the current manifestations of escalation without going back to the roots of this conflict. Some studies, originally in English and French, are not published here, and some reflexions are added to the English edition.

Everything that allows for a more accurate understanding of the Ukrainian problem has been gathered away from emotions and, above all, from **propaganda**, which has desecrated human consciousness and created alignments based on political

hatred, chauvinistic mobilization, the dualism of “good” and “evil” and even more than that, the stupid thesis of the American president Former George W. Bush: "He who is not with us is necessarily against us."

Our obsession with objectivity, knowledge and accuracy, because **we believe that human wisdom, by its instinct, logic and life experiences in all its diversity, agree that war, any war, is necessarily dirty, so it is not important to measure the degree of filth and savagery, to talk about war crimes. In a war like this, there is no winner or loser, but rather a loser and loser...**

Behind the scenes, and since the early days, war merchants celebrated their spoils... As for talking about war crimes and accountability, human memory is not that short, and it is difficult to forget to say Out of only 100 criminals, who were tried after a world war that claimed more than 50 million lives?

When will peoples realize that war itself is a crime against humanity?

Research and translation team- Geneva

Ukraine

Beyond the "End of History"

Haytham Manna

When Francis Fukuyama famously said "The End of History," an aging Yugoslav painter stood in front of one of her paintings in her old studio in Paris and said to me: *"The American cultural establishment wants to expropriate the struggles of entire peoples and declare the futility of thought, but that is not possible, because what happened The decline of the Western liberal model that is in a state of chronic turmoil will not slow down, perhaps the means of dealing with crises and major problems will change by returning to traditional wars, or new forms of violence. Crises, not opportunities for progress and development, are what remain for Mr. Fukuyama's economic and geopolitical system"*.

This elderly painter refused to put her name on her paintings and only signed: anonymous

Why go back to a functional "ideology" that became bare by the facts before it collapsed by the critical pens?

Because Mr. Fukuyama, seven months after the servile withdrawal of the U.S. military from Afghanistan, returns with a new prophecy: *"Russia will lose the war, perhaps spectacularly, and this defeat will help the West get out*

of “our funk about the declining state of global democracy. The spirit of 1989 will live on, thanks to a bunch of brave Ukrainians.”¹.

Remarkably, after retracting the theses of the last century and acknowledging that he did not appreciate well the subject of the dissolution/regression of liberalism in his recent book, “Liberalism and its Discontents.” For Mr. Fukuyama to consider proxy wars, or hybrid wars as part of his concept of the end of history, but what is “frustrating” and unexpected, within this “struggle outburst” he tells us in the same hadith: that his “ultimate nightmare”, *is a world in which China and Russia work in harness with one another, perhaps with China bolstering Russia’s war and Beijing launching its own invasion – of Taiwan. If that were to happen, and be successful, Fukuyama said, “then you would really be living in a world that was being dominated by these non-democratic powers. If the United States and the rest of the West couldn’t stop that from happening, then that really is the end of the end of history.”²*

At the Kennedy Museum in Boston, during the screening of an old movie in which Nikita Khrushchev picked up his shoe and hit the table at the United Nations, a young Afro-American could not help but comment: "If an

¹ <https://www.newstatesman.com/encounter/2022/03/francis-fukuyama-on-the-end-of-the-end-of-history>

² Ibid.

African president had done it, he would surely be accused of madness..."

Naturally, in our world today, the strong/western has the right to analyze, philosophize, say, and do... It is the logic of force, in the military, economic, and cyber sense, which grants the "right" in speech, and it is he who defines good and evil, right and wrong, permitted and prohibited. It is he who distributes certificates of "knowledge" and awards for peace and human rights. It is he who prevents, from punishing or admonishing the occupier, when he is an Israeli, and declaring it a fierce war against the occupier, if he is in the wrong place from the end of history: that is, from the axis of evil. This Manichaeism, did not return humanity only to the pre-ideologies and philosophies that produced it the era of the "Western" enlightenment, but rather to the era of the first totalitarian beliefs, every time you are sure of it, that it has completed its vision for peoples, completed its blessing on them, and approved its beliefs for them as a religion until the Day of Resurrection.

War in Ukraine did not start, except for the naive novices on February 24, 2022. The war began in 2014, and even French President Emmanuel Macron avoided this mistake when he called it in his debate with Marine Le Pen, "the military escalation in Ukraine" ... since the trilogy (Al Maidan, Russia's annexation of Crimea and the war in the Donbas) eight years ago, Ukraine is in war. There are many factors, the most important and most prominent of which are the failure of the "Minsk

Accords", and the agreement on rules governing the relationship between NATO (or rather the USA administration) and the Russian leadership on Eastern Europe. Which made the "special military operation", as the Russian side likes to call it, the actual turning point in the Ukrainian issue from a local war to an international confrontation, between the Russian Federation on the one hand, and NATO on the other.

The intellectual background of this introduction, which the research team at the Scandinavian Institute of Human Rights/FHM has enriched with research and translation of important topics on the Ukrainian issue, is based on the refutation of an idea that wanted to make of a "phase of the liberal world order" a moment of proclamation, a final victory for what Immanuel Wallerstein calls: World-System. And to remind you, there is an **original sin** of this system: it is the legitimization and legalization of war.

Non-violence... a necessity for survival or just a dream!

Since the nineties of the last century, our struggle in the human rights movement and the global civil society has been based on the rejection of the imperialist idea, as old as the first empires, in written human history, which considers violence the engine of history, and reduces the theses and the role of global peace and non-violence movements, with premeditation and determination, in Acts of kindness and charity, and at best: utopia. I still remember the harsh sentences of

Omar's friends from the struggle: "If you want a role in public affairs, you have to put this exemplary speech aside." Mahatma Gandhi did not receive the Nobel Peace Prize, which was generously given to Menachem Begin, founder of the Irgun militia who described The mass crimes committed by his organization against the Palestinians with his pen (the rebellion... the story of the Irgun ארגון etc." However, I also witnessed with my own eyes, in field investigation missions, and not in public libraries and intellectual seminars, which makes me believe more and more, in what Albert Einstein said, The common triumphal phrase after the end of the Second World War, Never again, is meaningless, "as long as the war is legitimate and legal in international laws." Because war is necessarily dirty, and it involves humans in its logic, Human being is the first victim, regardless of his color, religion or belief Or language. The hawks of the war staff compete for the role of the victim and the oppressed, in search of an innocence that would classify them in the camp of good, but in the field the matter is different: there are the "chosen" people and the "lumpen-people", the gypsy refugee and the five-star refugee, the possible corpse Sell it or barter it and the corpse that only deserves to be cremated... All war is always a revealer of all the double standards and latent racist instincts to which humans' resort to in their struggle with humans... In short, war, as journalist Rob Grams puts it, "is a situation in which only 'bad solutions' are available."

From the filth of war, to bring out all the parasites of the swamp to the surface. This mobilizes decision-makers and "brainstorming" centers to explain, justify, and interpret every missile or artillery strike, while the numbers of the dead become mere indicators of victory and defeat, and at best, evidence of the other's barbarism. The issue of changing the 'balance of power', 'specific weapons' and the necessary sanctions becomes the first concern of the parties to the conflict.

From Damascus to Donbas

It is not only the "citizen of the world" who speaks in this approach, but the one born in Daraa in southern Syria, who has shouted "No to violence, no to militarism, sectarianism and external interference" since April 2011. To avoid the assassination, of the largest peaceful civil movement in the history of Syria and the region.

Marginalization and contempt, even the **war** that we were subjected to, from the various parties to the conflict in/and on Syria, and the open support, rather the systematic transfer, of the parties that chose militarization and welcomed more than 120,000 "jihadi volunteers" from different countries of the world" were a clear example that the choice of Militarization is an essential part of the strategies of the various parties to the conflict over Syria. Despite giving the Syrian case, the clear and crystal-clear example, that violence is the best way to triumph of death over life, injustice over justice, demolition over construction, and authoritarian

mentalities over the aspirations of freedom and emancipation... And just as the Afghan war ended with the handing over of power to those who closed girls' schools and forced every government employee He should grow his beard, even if his name was Sayyid Qutb or Recep Tayyip Erdogan. Only armed gangs and legions of intervening countries remained for very "humanitarian" reasons, which gives them the "right" to do the dirtiest of jobs. The bloody dictatorship still rules the capital and metamorphic "dictatorships" rule the parties. This announces the victory of a bloody regime over the "cosmic conspiracy," another proclaims the steadfastness of "liberator" territories" and a third announces the establishment of "the first real democracy in the world"... No one put his head down. In the mud, as an essential partner in the destruction of the country and the people...³

Cold War... Hot Wars

From the cunning of history, the "exiles" from the Yalta Agreement, signed by US President Franklin Roosevelt,

³ The European philosopher Slavoy Zizek wrote in September 2019: "As it was in the cases of Libya and Syria, destroying an entire country is obviously not a game-changer – just part and parcel of a very normal geopolitical game".

British Prime Minister Winston Churchill and Soviet (Georgian) leader Joseph Stalin (4-11 February 1945), in one of the most beautiful cities of Crimea, are who will put an end to it. It is the peaceful movements of change in Eastern Europe that will announce the death of the Warsaw Pact and the end of a long period known as the Cold War.

Liberal "brainstorming" centers in their globalized dress are robbing the train of the "historic defeat" of the Soviet Union, for their own bank account, to talk about the end of ideological conflicts and even the "end of history" and the launch of a neo-liberal world order led by the United States of America. With the exit of the common suffix in most Western languages: Post (postmodernity, post-politics, post-truth...) as an obligatory condition, to remain in the space of philosophical, intellectual and political contemplation.

The events that erupted in Eastern Europe between 1989 and 1991 radically altered the geopolitical architecture of the world, and in contrast to the collapses that occurred, the Western camp celebrated the New World Order as the definitive victory of the liberal paradigm as the final form of the economic management of human life and the "rational" management of good-governance. Didn't Daniel Bell, since 1962, consider that ideas, not just ideologies, had exhausted their potential as a mobilizing force as humans stopped dreaming of a better future, to enjoy

this infinite-blooming present⁴, followed by Fukuyama in 1989 with his thesis on "The End of History"⁵?

This post-ideological "ideology," espoused by conservatives and neoliberals in the United States, constituted the geopolitical contemplative compass for making policies and strategies. Which positioned countries, outside the world-system at their predetermined place and time from the "new world board of directors?" ".

September 11, 2001 came to put an end to the prevailing confusion in the search for an "enemy"... The "war on terror" came to the fore in the US military strategy abroad. American forces launched two devastating wars, with the *ad hoc* ally of the moment and the situation (Britain in Iraq and NATO in Afghanistan). During the first decade of this century, **the American mismanagement of the world's leadership became clear to the world**. In Iraq, it put an end to Saddam Hussein's authority so that the Islamic Republic of Iran would reap the fruits of war, and life gave us the opportunity to watch the American forces leave Afghanistan in a way that combines tragedy with farce, and handed over power to the Taliban, who removed

⁴ Bell, Daniel. (1962). *The end of ideology: On the exhaustion of political ideas in the fifties*. Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, pp. 370–372.

⁵ Fukuyama, Francis. (1989). *The end of history? The National Interest*. Summer 1989, 3–18.

them from Kabul twenty years ago. Of course, no one, until today, has dared talk about the *de facto* American defeat in Afghanistan. Or about US President Biden's decision to confiscate this country's bank reserves, to distribute half of it to the victims of September 11 (sic!) in a financial fraud in broad daylight, or even to "follow up" the International Criminal Court's study of the war crimes file in this country that is devastated by foreign interventions. For more than four decades.

Is it necessary to recall, that the myth of the "war on terror", which was exploited to the greatest extent by those who launched it, the process of investing in it was not limited to the Yankees, as the Russian / Iranian / Turkish military interventions in Syria was part of the "war on terror", the military presence of USA, in east of the Euphrates, also falls within the framework of this war, as well as demolition and displacement from the cities of Aleppo, Raqqqa, and Afrin... Even the Ukrainian government invested in this issue by announcing the formation of the ATO zone (area of operations for the war on terror) in the Donbas war in 2014. The post-ideological cover was ready and Muslims in various countries of the world have paid the heaviest price by presenting "Islam" as the last trench to defend the totalitarian "enemy", and the biggest manufacturer of terrorism. For the progressive critical mind to fight a new compelling battle, against the theses of the clash of

civilizations and its sisters, which were found in Samuel Huntington, as a "sober" ideologist and advocate⁶.

The world order bled the beginning of the twenty-first century with futile wars, and it did not have the desire to achieve a fundamental shift in its vision of itself and the world. Today he has completed our life order for us, and completed his grace upon us, declaring the eternal victory of the liberal model in its globalized dress...

The Donbas war was not the first return of violence as a means to redraw borders and relations between countries "since the end of World War II"!! It is funny that such a discourse comes out from people who witnessed and participated, in one way or another, in the wars in Yugoslavia, in which crimes were committed. War and genocide is what was committed in the heart of Europe. Were they not there on the day of the Srebrenica crimes, did they not witness the air bombardment of NATO forces on March 24, 1999, which lasted for 78 days until an agreement was reached with the withdrawal of Serbian forces on June 9 of the same year, a process that was considered at the time by the Secretary General of NATO: The first war in history that the alliance succeeded in with zero casualties in its ranks.

⁶ Huntington, Samuel. The clash of civilizations and the remaking of world order. New York: Simon & Schuster, 1996.

They want to write history their way, well, in this case, how can the heavy human cost of the wars of the United States of America be forgotten in the periphery countries? Or are these masses of people considered trivial numbers in the stock market and the geo-strategic balance of forces?

Is it necessary to recall that the so-called “war on terror”, was a declaration of the practical halt of all development and anti-hunger projects in the world, and the defeat of civil pressures for the democratization of the United Nations and the progress made by human beings in the field of international justice, brought us back to the era of secret prisons and blacklists and the legalization of collective punishment with the horizontal spread of the concept of Ms. Madeleine Albright, “Collaterals damages,” which brought us back to the pre-international humanitarian law.

Despite the demonstrations of February 15, 2003 against the war in Iraq, the global civil resistance front was systematically fragmented. Twenty years after the launch of this war, and despite the humiliating defeat suffered by the United States in Iraq and Afghanistan, we do not find an official, not even a single Atlantic "researcher", who dares to talk about the end of the "war on terror" or present an assessment of its catastrophic results, which allows for extrapolation. The beginning of a new era.

The general scenario that was drawn up for the reality and future of the planet was not so simple, but rather more complex, as reality replaced the simplified "postulates" even the naive. Forms of geopolitical opposition emerged that transcended borders of Europe. The United States can no longer reduce the image of Latin America to the image of the "back garden" or repeat the tragedy of the "Pinochet coup"! .. In Venezuela, "many liberal parties" failed to prevent the adoption of a constitution ahead of that of many very liberal countries, or the election of Hugo Chavez as president in "Free and Fair Democratic Elections" (December 2006). The South African reading, after the end of the apartheid regime, was not in any way to the liking of the board of directors of the World-System, the Chinese giant penetrated this system according to its rules of engagement, and the geo-economic center of gravity moved to the shores of the (Atlantic-Pacific) oceans, despite the tremendous rise of national and religious ideologies, remained Political economy is the master of the situation.

"Old Europe" did not succeed in reaping the fruits of the fall of the Berlin Wall, and Russia was also unable to stop the expansion of NATO to the east at the expense of what was considered for more than seventy years "the vital space of Moscow". Old alliances and friendships crumbled. Great Britain preferred subordination to the strongest (the United States) to bet on the "losing horse." To get out of the European Union at a time when

several European countries are lining up in the queue to join it.

In her study (in Russian), the Ukrainian researcher Valeriya Korablyova, in early 2018, reviewed the crisis of the liberal system. And how the triumphal mood of the early 1990s, which was captured by the famous concept of "the end of history," *which considered Western liberalism as a major reference point*, and formal democracy (as the Frankfurt Critical School calls it), turned as the pinnacle of intellectual thought. To the disastrous mentality we live in today: *"This disastrous mentality is the result of a series of crises that shook the "civilized world": "the economic instability exacerbated by the 2008 financial crisis; natural disasters and the risk of an environmental disaster; Terrorist attacks in the United States of America and Western Europe and unrestrained violence; The crisis of liberal democracy and the values of an open society is manifested in the growth of widespread populism and the panic of an influx of refugees. So the triumphalism of the 1990s was replaced by the catastrophe of the 2000s. This situation, which I have traditionally described as "the end of the end of history," requires a revision of the methods and models of the world."*⁷

⁷ Валерия Кораблева, КОНЕЦ «КОНЦА ИСТОРИИ»: КОНТУРЫ НОВОГО МИРА В УСЛОВИЯХ «ГИБРИДНОЙ ВОЙНЫ»

Valeriya Korablyova warns the blind world of the war that her country has been experiencing since 2014 by saying: *"It has been proven that any local conflict, within globalized work spaces, has a global dimension and global repercussions; the modernity of contemporary war must be re-evaluated in post-Clausewitz conditions, that is, as a new social and human condition."* : ***"It is important to understand that modern wars are waged against the civilian population and against the universal values of coexistence, openness and human rights. These are not modern State wars for territory and sovereignty, not ideological wars of the twentieth century for the most competitive version of modernization, not even guerrilla wars. For the "minds and hearts" of the people.***

It is difficult for our generation to forget the story of US Defense Secretary Colin Powell at the United Nations providing evidence of Iraqi President Saddam Hussein's weapons of mass destruction... and how Bernard Kushner, one of the pioneers of "humanitarian intervention" and "humanitarian corridors", was alone among all Personalities and political, civil and legal forces in France, talking about the "legitimacy of the war on Iraq"?

(Valeriya Korablyova, The end of «the end of history»: Outlines of a new world amidst a «hybrid warfare, January 2018).

The post-Cold War era revived the various pre-civilian structures (Vergemeinschaftung), from the old ethnic, sectarian and tribal fanatics to the small and large mobilized grudges and expressions of hatred, which returned in a new hybrid form, in their composition and external ideological⁸ bases. In its conceptual arsenal, it includes re-tradition, de-modernity, neo-tribalism, xenophobia, etc. These new hybrid formulas give birth to new myths by creating sets of basic myths on the basis of which they combine with each other and allow themselves to coordinate with respect to a variety of political situations and 'geopolitical' visions.

At the level of the logic of resorting to force, or declaring war, states and armed groups do not lack the means and do not lack pretexts or "theorists"... The State can use a "historical" approach to justify its actions and try to legitimize its behavior, claiming that its actions were carried out by Survival, self-defense, national security, or the "supreme national interest", regional or international peace, resistance to terrorism and extremism, Islamic terrorism and neo-Nazism, and last but not least: **humanitarian peacekeeping missions.**

⁸ In "The Decline of Political Islam", I dealt with the butcher's marriage in new ideologies/myths: the concept of totalitarianism between Stalin and Mawduidi, the Revolutionary Party between Sayed Kutb and Lenin, building the Ukrainian state / glorifying the heritage of the early nationalists, post-Zionism and building the myth of the Jewish State...) ... Haytham Manna, The Decline of Political Islam, Hachette-Antoine, Beirut 2021.

One can engage in mental sports to refute or filter out the direct or indirect reasons for considering a country to have exhausted all diplomatic and peaceful means before zero hour of military operations. However, the first epistemological problem lies in asking a simple question: “Can the militarization of any conflict be considered an inevitable issue if other avenues are blocked?” It is this question that brings us back to the central starting point: the legitimacy of war in human existence. Because human experiences clearly show, that the word “blockade of other paths” is nothing but a hellish innovation that aims to give an instrument of forgiveness for the **crime of aggression**, as it is an inevitable matter.

Voices out in the open...

A number of searchers in Eastern Europe commented years ago on the catastrophic results of the Donbas war, which began in 2004. We find an advanced critical analysis of Bortnov⁹ and Turkova¹⁰ (2016), and the total of participants in the symposium “**Logos and Pathos**.”

⁹ Portnov, A. (2016) “Donbas” kak *Drugoi*. Ukrayinskie intellektual’nye discursy do i vo vremya voiny [“Donbas” as *The Other*. Ukrainian intellectual discourses before and during the war].

¹⁰ Turkova, K. (2016) Words and war: Russian and Ukrainian linguists struggle to find common ground. *Open Democracy Russia*. Available from: <https://opendemocracy.net/od-russia/ksenia-turkova/words-and-warrussian-and-ukrainian-linguists-struggle-to-find-common-groun> . [Accessed 7 February 2017].

Humanities in the Condition of War¹¹ (2017) For discourse, humanities, and political science in Russia and Ukraine: How the language used to describe these events in university studies became a defining marker of political affiliation, even beyond the borders of Eastern Europe. Emotional and ideological tension prevailed over contemplation and academic effort. Often the "facts" are chosen to fit predetermined conclusions; Verification of information sources is no longer a general rule but rather an exception; Some phrases and terms are out of context, but putting them into question is a kind of unnecessary luxury.. How did descriptions of the dynamic socio-political situation turn into static data and constants that are subject to basic categories of "identity"; Serious cross-national and cross-regional comparisons are rare.¹² Turkova reviews the impact of the war on professional links between Russian and Ukrainian linguists, concluding that "scholars find it impossible to rise above the conflict and engage in pure and impartial analysis," resulting in the mutual isolation of the research communities. The powerful influence of confrontational approaches and the transformation of the humanities into a war front is evident on relations in the field of Ukrainian studies and beyond. Indeed, on local and transnational contacts. Politics has infiltrated research communities, universities and conferences. Increasingly hard language is used to describe the

¹¹ **Logos and Pathos. Humanities in the Condition of War**, organized in Minsk in October 28-29, 2017.

¹² ¹² Portnov, A, P. 103.

impact of Conflict over academic relations. Against the backdrop of an armed conflict, predictably, “issues of treason, loyalty, patriotism and treason are at the forefront of the discourse of [Ukrainian] intellectuals.”¹³ Scholars are no exception.

In 2017; Before Joe Biden reached the presidency and Vladimir Putin decided to escalate the military in his own process, a group of researchers gathered in Minsk posed the real problematic of their own mission: *“To resist propaganda, its normalization of war and militarization of the Eastern European Life-Worlds. Our mission is especially significant because discussions of new military conflicts among our countries play a central role in the mass media and public discourse. The war as political instrument and threatening future has turned into some sort of idée fixe of our public discussions. In this context, intellectual efforts that can offer an alternative to **militarist propaganda** are highly needed.”*¹⁴ The war machine has turned into a political tool and the threat to the future is a kind of defining idea for our public discussions. In this context, there is an urgent need for intellectual efforts that can provide an alternative to

¹³ Yurchuk, Y., and Marchenko, A. (2018) Intellectuals in Times of Troubles: Between Empowerment and Disenchantment During the Orange Revolution and Euromaidan. In: G. Grinchenko and E. Narvselius, eds. *Traitors, Collaborators and Deserters in Contemporary European Politics of Memory*. Palgrave Macmillan Memory Studies, pp. 142.

¹⁴ Logos and Pathos. Humanities in the Condition of War, Tatiana Shchytsova & Mykhailo Minako, INTRODUCTORY REMARKS P.6

military propaganda and the inevitability of armed conflict to address the problems at hand.

Propaganda first, propaganda last

In its contemporary edition, the "human tragedy" lies in the fact that the emperors of economic and military power, in the global system, are the kings of "propaganda", and that the cyber world has captured artistic, literary, philosophical, political and cognitive productions. The cyber revolution succeeded in flattening knowledge, desecrating awareness and making Political rationality oscillates between open relativism and gray haze. Objectivity, professionalism, or information verification is no longer the obsession of any participant in the spectacle war, and the question has become: How can you win the propaganda battle with faster steps than planes, tanks, and high-speed missiles?

Today's politicians and "competent analysts" mock their every hand gesture, smile, tear, statement or "in-depth analysis," as Jean-Claude Milner wrote in *Rereading the Revolution* (2016): "Never make the inaccurate the preferred means to the effects of truth. Never turn these into the byproducts of a lie. Never make the true a tool for conquering reality." In the spectacle war that shook the world, the starting point is not to differentiate between Show, accuracy and truth, but to redefine and fabricate events, to focus in it. facts don't matter, then, automatically categorize them as the most profound, correct and accurate: The president Biden has twice

repeated the expression “genocide.” The Norwegian Secretary General of NATO, Jans Stoltenberg, is in a state of euphoria. How many Western officials have visited Brussels and have not met with him since taking office in 2014? It does not matter to Comrade Jans, if the number of Ukrainian refugees exceeds the population of Norway, as far as the arrival of the largest consignments of arms to the Ukrainian resistance means... All become military experts, Putin cannot be an exception...

Demonization of Putin or Russia-phobia?

No one knows how the founder of the far-right Eurasia Party, Aleksandr Dugin, became “le philosophe de cour de Poutine”. More than twenty Western articles cite him as official Russian statements: *“Post-modernity shows that every so-called truth is a matter of believing. So we believe in what we do, we believe in what we say. And that is the only way to define the truth. So we have our special Russian truth that you need to accept. If the United States does not want to start a war, you should recognize that United States is not anymore a unique master.”*

We have to search, with light and wick, for an intelligent or critical statement issued on Russian soil in the Western media. But how that comes from a country where “there is no public opinion”, “there is no opposition”, in which there are no natural people who love and hate, rather they raise dogs and cats like the

French, the British and the Germans? Rather than Russia, is also a part of Europe?

The Ukrainian war ended the myth of **neutrality** in sports, artistic and cultural institutions. It included Western and allied sanctions, FIFA, archery, swimming, horse riding, beauty and ugliness competitions, art and literature exhibitions, and cats and other animal competitions did not escape its consequences. The current war is based on severing all bridges between peoples, not just governments. In this sense, le **toutisme** must triumph: ALL Jews, all Arabs, all Russians, all Ukrainians...ARE... (tous les .. sont).

Poor Russian anti-war scholars, activists, and jurists, they will find only a Slovakian philosopher out of system / Slavoj Zizek, to remind them, to speak about their existence of their existence: *“You, war protesters in Russia, are not just an internationalist abstraction, you are the real Russian patriots. The patriot is the one who He really loves his country, he is the one who feels very ashamed when this country does something wrong or we go wrong. There is no saying more disgusting than he who says “my country, right or wrong.” And what I say, applies to Russia, Ukraine and Europe. We have to communicate with each other more than ever. At this moment, I cannot imagine my life without you.”*¹⁵

¹⁵ Slavoj Zizek's address to Russians protesting Ukraine war:

But the tragic *guerre du spectacle* continues even if the actors differ: Western governments, which refuse to take back their “citizens” from Ghweran prison and al-Hol in Syria, are the same ones that welcome the Western Volunteer Corps, whose formation is announced by the Ukrainian president. There are just causes and evil cases. And there are villains without borders, heroes without borders... The Russian president personally, enters the arena on the other shore, welcoming all the "volunteers" from the Middle East... The issue of fighters without borders, whether jihadists, or white supremacists, is no longer forbidden, secret or limited. The definition of the first protocol of the four Geneva Conventions for mercenaries is no longer valid, the masses can now watch the “Wali” sniper from Quebec, Canada, and the ‘sniper’ Muhammad Ali from Syria, talking about their heroism in the field on the media in the countries allied to the front on which they are fighting, and on government television channels that lives from taxpayers?... Here we are simply going back to the French popular proverb that preceded international humanitarian law:

A la guerre comme à la guerre

https://www.reddit.com/r/zizek/comments/t8njnm/slavoj_zizeks_address_to_russians_protesting/

Dictionaries explain this French proverb by saying: “You have to be fatalistic and adapt with time, with circumstances, however unfortunate they may be...” In frank war, anything is permissible.

The hero of "Servant of the People" Zelensky moves, like dancers on New Year's Eve, from one parliament of one allied country to another, and conference to another, to tell us about the heroic steadfastness of the Ukrainian people and his very special resistance for a very special democracy : “We will become a ‘big Israel’ with its own face. We will not be surprised if we have representatives of the Armed Forces or the National Guard in cinemas, supermarkets, and people with weapons. I am confident that the question of security will be the issue number one for the next 10 years. I am sure of it,”¹⁶

of course, in all global languages and on Direct, and tirelessly repeated, the statements of eighteen officials from NATO countries.

Today, propaganda, with its main representatives and their assistants, relies on the latest methods of psycho-emotional influence to monopolize and implant opinion in hearts and minds. The first weeks pass and it becomes clear that the “Western camp” has won the media battle over the military-bureaucratic general who reads his army’s “achievements” from Moscow, in the manner of

¹⁶ [President Zelensky, one Israel is enough \(msn.com\)](https://www.msn.com)

the caricatured spokesman for the army and armed forces in Syria, or the Russian president who failed to copy Joseph Stalin, and lost his gait.

Weeks in which boredom and boredom appear on the face of the "viewer/negative receiver/supporter", he searches desperately on his television for a police or comedy movie, he finds the series "The Servant of the People." ... He cries: *Trop c'est trop*, the boring and uncreative repetition of the process of controlling people's minds loses its value, propaganda turns into an **overdose** of the media opium whose elaborate blows on people's consciousness bounce back.

The obscure and disappointed, on the opposite Russian front, discovered that the talk about "extracting Nazism from its roots in Ukraine and liberating Ukrainians from their Ukraine" makes them stars and great figures, many times more than simply pleasing the Russian authorities... This tactic succeeded tremendously, productively. Modest producer before March 2022 with no personal biography, he enters Wikipedia and major Western newspapers, which found in his article, material to expose Russian politics and its project in Ukraine... Timofey Sergeytsev's article enters Wikipedia before its owner, and Timofey is honored by "critical studies" from european analysts and philosophers .. Like the head of the far-right Eurasia Party, Aleksandr Dugin, who won the title of Putin's philosopher in the Kremlin, everyone who wrote about Sergetsev's article donated to him honorary titles and many roles he never had in Russia,

who needed to be cited, to indicate that the main objective of the Kremlin is to wipe Ukraine off the map. No major Western newspaper or "widespread" television channel will take the statement of 7,000 thousand scientists in Russia against the war, or talk about feminist, socialist and democratic statements made from within Russian soil that are more radical in their criticism of the "Putin regime's war" on Ukraine than the rhetoric of Western analysts and officials ... the manifesto of the "Coalition of Socialists against the War in Russia" was sent in various languages to Western news agencies and in its place was a trash can. All the free anti-war voices in the Russian lands consider, as soon as they exist, the denunciation of the racist decisions taken against everything that is Russian by the NATO countries, decisions that put the Russian oppressor and the oppressed in one basket. Didn't Joe Biden break all the sanctions records in history? I don't know why he hasn't entered the Guinness World Records yet?

The surrealist poet Benjamin Péret made a mark in "The Scandal of Poets" when he wrote in 1945: "Wars, like the one we are in conflict with, are only possible thanks to the convergence of all the forces of regression. It means, inter alia, the cessation of cultural progress which is thwarted by these regressive forces that are threatened by culture"

Women who issued the statement "Feminist Resistance to War" hit: "Behind the slogan of no to war, there is no

naive attitude. The only way to peace is to de-escalate the war. We demand a radical diplomatic way to reorient this situation and break with the military maelstrom opened by Russia and perpetuated by NATO. ... We are many who say no to war, imperialism, the patriarchal system, tyranny and militarism.

In a word, devastating wars will not necessarily force us to choose between cholera and plague.

LA SITUATION MILITAIRE EN UKRAINE

JACQUES BAUD

Ancien colonel d'État-major général, ex-membre du renseignement stratégique suisse, spécialiste des pays de l'Est.

PREMIÈRE PARTIE : EN ROUTE VERS LA GUERRE

Pendant des années, du Mali à l'Afghanistan, j'ai travaillé pour la paix et ai risqué ma vie pour elle. Il ne s'agit donc pas de justifier la guerre, mais de comprendre ce qui nous y a conduit. Je constate que les « experts » qui se relaient sur les plateaux de télévision analysent la situation à partir d'informations douteuses, le plus souvent des hypothèses érigées en faits, et dès lors on ne parvient plus à comprendre ce qui se passe. C'est comme ça que l'on crée des paniques.

Le problème n'est pas tant de savoir qui a raison dans ce conflit, mais de s'interroger sur la manière dont nos dirigeants prennent leurs décisions.

Essayons d'examiner les racines du conflit. Cela commence par ceux qui durant les huit dernières années nous parlaient de « séparatistes » ou des « indépendantistes » du Donbass. C'est faux. Les

référendums menés par les deux républiques auto-proclamées de Donetsk et de Lougansk en mai 2014, n'étaient pas des référendums d'« *indépendance* » (независимость), comme l'ont affirmé certains journalistes peu scrupuleux, mais de référendums d'« *auto-détermination* » ou d'« *autonomie* » (самостоятельность). Le qualificatif « pro-russes » suggère que la Russie était partie au conflit, ce qui n'était pas le cas, et le terme « russophones » aurait été plus honnête. D'ailleurs, ces référendums ont été conduits contre l'avis de Vladimir Poutine.

En fait, ces Républiques ne cherchaient pas à se séparer de l'Ukraine, mais à avoir un statut d'autonomie leur garantissant l'usage de la langue russe comme langue officielle. Car le premier acte législatif du nouveau gouvernement issu du renversement du président Ianoukovitch, a été l'abolition, le 23 février 2014, de la loi Kivalov-Kolesnichenko de 2012 qui faisait du russe une langue officielle. Un peu comme si des putschistes décidaient que le français et l'italien ne seraient désormais plus des langues officielles en Suisse.

Cette décision provoque une tempête dans la population russophone. Il en résulte une répression féroce contre les régions russophones (Odessa, Dniepropetrovsk, Kharkov, Lougansk et Donetsk) qui s'exerce dès février 2014 et conduit à une militarisation de la situation et à quelques massacres

(à Odessa et à Marioupol, pour les plus importants). À la fin de l'été 2014, ne restent que les Républiques auto-proclamées de Donetsk et de Lougansk.

A ce stade, trop rigides et engoncés dans une approche doctrinaire de l'art opératif, les états-majors ukrainiens, subissent l'ennemi sans parvenir s'imposer. L'examen du déroulement des combats en 2014-2016 dans le Donbass montre que l'état-major ukrainien a systématiquement et mécaniquement appliqué les mêmes schémas opératifs. Or, la guerre menée par les autonomistes est alors très proche de ce que l'on observe dans le Sahel : des opérations très mobiles menées avec des moyens légers. Avec une approche plus flexible et moins doctrinaire, les rebelles ont su exploiter l'inertie des forces ukrainienne pour les « piéger » de manière répétée.

En 2014, je suis à l'OTAN, responsable de la lutte contre la prolifération des armes légères, et nous tentons de détecter des livraisons d'armes russes aux rebelles afin de voir si Moscou est impliqué. Les informations que nous recevons viennent alors pratiquement toutes des services de renseignement polonais et ne « collent pas » avec les informations en provenance de l'OSCE : en dépit d'allégations assez grossières, on n'observe aucune livraison d'armes et de matériels militaire de Russie.

Les rebelles sont armés grâce aux défections d'unités ukrainiennes russophones qui passent du côté rebelle.

Au fur et à mesure des échecs ukrainiens, les bataillons de chars, d'artillerie ou anti-aériens au complet viennent grossir les rangs des autonomistes. C'est ce qui pousse les Ukrainiens à s'engager dans les Accords de Minsk.

Mais, juste après avoir signé les Accords de Minsk 1, le président ukrainien Petro Porochenko lance une vaste opération antiterroriste (АТО/Антитерористична операція) contre le Donbass. *Bis repetita placent* : mal conseillés par des officiers de l'OTAN, les Ukrainiens subissent une cuisante défaite à Debaltsevo qui les oblige à s'engager dans les Accords de Minsk 2...

Il est essentiel de rappeler ici que les Accords de Minsk 1 (septembre 2014) et Minsk 2 (février 2015), ne prévoyaient ni la séparation, ni l'indépendance des Républiques, mais leur autonomie *dans le cadre* de l'Ukraine. Ceux qui ont lu les Accords (ils sont très, très, très peu nombreux) constateront qu'il est écrit en toutes lettres que le statut des républiques devait être négocié entre Kiev et les représentants des républiques, pour une *solution interne* à l'Ukraine.

C'est pourquoi depuis 2014, la Russie a systématiquement demandé leur application tout en refusant d'être partie aux négociations, car il s'agissait d'une affaire intérieure à l'Ukraine. De l'autre côté, les Occidentaux – France en tête – ont systématiquement tenté de substituer aux Accords de Minsk le « format Normandie », qui mettait face à face Russes et Ukrainiens. Or, rappelons-le, il n'y a *jamais* eu de

troupes russes dans le Donbass avant le 23-24 février 2022. D'ailleurs, les observateurs de l'OSCE n'ont jamais observé la moindre trace d'unités russes opérant dans le Donbass. Ainsi, la carte des services de renseignements américains publiée par le Washington Post le 3 décembre 2021 ne montre pas de troupes russes dans le Donbass.

En octobre 2015, Vasyl Hrytsak, directeur du Service de sécurité ukrainien (SBU), confessait que l'on avait seulement observé 56 combattants russes dans le Donbass. C'était un même comparable à celui des Suisses allaient combattre en Bosnie durant les week-ends, dans les années 1990, ou des Français qui vont combattre en Ukraine aujourd'hui.

L'armée ukrainienne est alors dans un état déplorable. En octobre 2018, après quatre ans de guerre, le procureur militaire ukrainien en chef Anatoly Matios déclarait que l'Ukraine avait perdu 2 700 hommes dans le Donbass : 891 de maladies, 318 d'accidents de la route, 177 d'autres accidents, 175 d'empoisonnements (alcool, drogue), 172 suite à des manipulations imprudentes d'armes, 101 d'infractions aux règles de sécurité, 228 de meurtres et 615 de suicides.

En fait, l'armée est minée par la corruption de ses cadres et ne jouit plus du soutien de la population. Selon un rapport du ministère de l'Intérieur britannique, lors du rappel des réservistes de mars-avril 2014, 70 % ne se sont *pas* présentés à la première session, 80 % à la deuxième, 90 % à la

troisième et 95 % à la quatrième. En octobre/novembre 2017, 70 % des appelés ne se sont pas présentés lors de la campagne de rappel « *Automne 2017* ». Ceci sans compter les suicides et les désertions (souvent au profit des autonomistes) qui atteignent jusqu'à 30 % des effectifs dans la zone de l'ATO. Les jeunes Ukrainiens refusent d'aller combattre dans le Donbass et préfèrent l'émigration, ce qui explique aussi, partiellement au moins, le déficit démographique du pays.

Le ministère de la Défense ukrainien s'adresse alors à l'OTAN pour l'aider à rendre ses forces armées plus « attractives ». Ayant déjà travaillé à des projets similaires dans le cadre des Nations Unies, j'ai été sollicité par l'OTAN pour participer à un programme destiné à restaurer l'image des forces armées ukrainiennes. Mais c'est un processus de longue haleine et les Ukrainiens veulent aller vite.

Ainsi, pour compenser le manque de soldats, le gouvernement ukrainien recourt alors à des milices paramilitaires. Elles sont essentiellement composées de mercenaires étrangers, souvent militants d'extrême-droite. En 2020, elles constituent environ 40% des forces ukrainiennes et comptent environ 102 000 hommes selon Reuters. Elles sont armées, financées et formées par les États-Unis, la Grande-Bretagne, le Canada et la France. On y trouve plus de 19 nationalités – dont des Suisses.

Les pays occidentaux ont donc clairement créé et soutenu des milices d'extrême droite ukrainiennes. En octobre 2021, le *Jerusalem Post* sonnait l'alarme en dénonçant le projet Centuria. Ces milices opèrent dans le Donbass depuis 2014, avec le soutien des Occidentaux. Même si on peut discuter le terme « nazi », il n'en demeure pas moins que ces milices sont violentes, véhiculent une idéologie nauséabonde et sont virulemment antisémites. Leur antisémitisme est plus culturel que politique, c'est pourquoi le qualificatif « nazi » n'est pas vraiment adapté. Leur haine du juif vient des grandes famines des années 1920-1930 en Ukraine, résultant de la confiscation des récoltes par Staline afin de financer la modernisation de l'Armée Rouge. Or, ce génocide – connu en Ukraine sous le nom d'*Holodomor* – a été perpétré par le NKVD (ancêtre du KGB) dont les échelons supérieurs de conduite étaient principalement composés de juifs. C'est pourquoi, aujourd'hui, les extrémistes ukrainiens demandent à Israël de s'excuser pour les crimes du communisme, comme le relève le *Jerusalem Post*. On est donc bien loin d'une « réécriture de l'Histoire » par Vladimir Poutine. Ces milices, issues des groupes d'extrême-droite qui ont animé la révolution de l'Euromaïdan en 2014, sont composées d'individus fanatisés et brutaux. La plus connue d'entre elles est le régiment Azov, dont l'emblème rappelle celui de la 2^e Panzerdivision SS *Das Reich*, qui fait l'objet d'une véritable vénération en Ukraine, pour avoir libéré Kharkov des Soviétiques en

1943, avant de perpétrer le massacre d'Oradour-sur-Glane en 1944, en France.

Parmi les figures célèbres du régiment Azov, on trouvait l'opposant Roman Protassevitch, arrêté en 2021 par les autorités biélorusses à la suite de l'affaire du vol RyanAir FR4978. Le 23 mai 2021, on évoque le détournement délibéré d'un avion de ligne par un MiG-29 – avec l'accord de Poutine, bien évidemment – pour arrêter Protassevitch, bien que les informations alors disponibles ne confirment absolument pas ce scénario.

Mais il faut alors montrer que le président Loukachenko est un voyou et Protassevitch un « journaliste » épris de démocratie. Pourtant, une enquête assez édifiante produite par une ONG américaine en 2020, mettait en évidence les activités militantes d'extrême-droite de Protassevitch. Le complotisme occidental se met alors en marche et des médias peu scrupuleux « toilent » sa biographie. Finalement, en janvier 2022, le rapport de l'OACI est publié et montre que malgré quelques erreurs de procédure, le Bélarus a agi conformément aux règles en vigueur et que le MiG-29 a décollé 15 minutes après que le pilote de RyanAir a décidé d'aller atterrir à Minsk. Donc pas de complot biélorus et encore moins avec Poutine. Ah !... Encore un détail : Protassevitch, cruellement torturé par la police biélorusse, est aujourd'hui libre. Ceux qui voudraient correspondre avec lui, peuvent aller sur son compte Twitter.

La qualification de « nazi » ou « néo-nazi » donnée aux paramilitaires ukrainiens est considérée comme de la propagande russe. Peut-être ; mais ce n'est pas l'avis du Times of Israel, du Centre Simon Wiesenthal ou du Centre de Lutte contre le Terrorisme de l'académie de West Point. Mais cela reste discutable, car, en 2014, le magazine Newsweek semblait plutôt les associer à... l'État Islamique. Au choix !

Donc, l'Occident soutient et continue d'armer des milices qui se sont rendues coupables de nombreux crimes contre les populations civiles depuis 2014 : viols, torture et massacres. Mais alors que le gouvernement suisse a été très prompt à prendre des sanctions contre la Russie, il n'en n'a adopté aucune contre l'Ukraine qui massacre sa propre population depuis 2014. En fait, ceux qui défendent les droits de l'homme en Ukraine ont depuis longtemps condamné les agissements de ces groupes, mais n'ont pas été suivis par nos gouvernements. Car, en réalité, on ne cherche pas à aider l'Ukraine, mais à combattre la Russie.

L'intégration de ces forces paramilitaires dans la Garde Nationale ne s'est pas du tout accompagnée d'une « dénazification », comme certains le prétendent. Parmi les multiples exemples, celui de l'insigne du Régiment Azov est édifiant :

Symbolique nazie des milices ukrainiennes



Insigne de la **2^e PANZERDIVISION SS « DAS REICH »**

En 1943, la 2^e SS Panzerdivision « Das Reich » a combattu en Ukraine et repris Kharkov à l'Armée Rouge. Elle est responsable du massacre d'Oradour sur Glane en France, le 30 juin 1944.



Logo du parti **SVOBODA** (1^{ère} version)

Le parti social-nationaliste SVOBODA est l'un des moteurs de la révolution de la place Maidan en novembre 2013-février 2014. Il est qualifié de néo-nazi par le Congrès Juif Mondial, et est jugé contraire aux valeurs européennes par le Parlement européen.



Insigne du groupe **PATRIOT UKRAÏNE**

La milice nationaliste PATRIOT UKRAÏNE est issue du parti SVOBODA. Ses cadres ont fourni l'ossature des cadres du bataillon AZOV.



Insigne du **Bataillon AZOV**

Unité paramilitaire créée par des cadres de la milice PATRIOT UKRAÏNE. Le bataillon AZOV a été officiellement le 5 mai 2014. En septembre 2014, il est élevé au niveau de régiment et intégré aux troupes du ministère de l'Intérieur. Sa désignation officielle est : Détachement de Forces Spéciales « AZOV ».

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En 2022, très schématiquement, les forces armées ukrainiennes qui combattent l'offensive russe s'articulent en :

- Armée de terre, subordonnée au ministère de la Défense : elle est articulée en 3 corps d'armée et composée de formations de manœuvre (chars, artillerie lourde, missiles, etc.).

- Garde Nationale, qui dépend du ministère de l'Intérieur et est articulée en 5 commandements territoriaux.

La Garde Nationale est donc une force de défense territoriale qui ne fait pas partie de l'armée ukrainienne. Elle comprend les milices paramilitaires, appelées « bataillons de volontaires » (добровольчі

батальйони), également connues sous le nom évocateur de « *bataillons de représailles* », composés d'infanterie. Principalement formés pour le combat urbain, ceux-ci assurent aujourd'hui la défense de villes comme Kharkov, Marioupol, Odessa, Kiev, etc.

DEUXIÈME PARTIE : LA GUERRE

Ancien responsable des forces du Pacte de Varsovie au service de renseignement stratégique helvétique, j'observe avec tristesse – mais sans étonnement – que nos services ne sont plus en mesure de comprendre la situation militaire en Ukraine. Les « experts » auto-proclamés qui défilent sur nos écrans relaient inlassablement les mêmes informations modulées par l'affirmation que la Russie – et Vladimir Poutine – est irrationnel. Prenons un peu de recul.

LE DÉCLENCHEMENT DE LA GUERRE

Depuis le mois de novembre 2021, les Américains ne cessent de brandir la menace d'une invasion russe contre l'Ukraine. Pourtant, les Ukrainiens ne semblent pas du même avis. Pourquoi ?

Il faut remonter au 24 mars 2021. Ce jour-là, Volodymyr Zelensky promulgue un décret pour la reconquête de la Crimée et commence à déployer ses forces vers le sud du pays. Simultanément, a lieu la conduite de plusieurs exercices de l'OTAN entre la

mer Noire et la mer Baltique, accompagnés d'un accroissement important des vols de reconnaissance le long de la frontière russe. La Russie, mène alors quelques exercices, afin de tester la disponibilité opérationnelle de ses troupes et montrer qu'elle suit l'évolution de la situation.

Les choses se calment jusqu'en octobre-novembre avec la fin des exercices ZAPAD 21, dont les mouvements de troupes sont interprétés comme un renforcement en vue d'une offensive contre l'Ukraine. Pourtant, même les autorités ukrainiennes réfutent l'idée de préparatifs russes pour une guerre et Oleksiy Reznikov, ministre de la Défense ukrainien déclare qu'il n'y a pas de changement à sa frontière depuis le printemps.

En violation des Accords de Minsk, l'Ukraine mène des opérations aériennes au Donbass à l'aide de drones, dont au moins exécute une frappe contre un dépôt de carburant à Donetsk en octobre 2021. La presse américaine le relève, mais pas les Européens et personne ne condamne ces violations.

En février 2022, les événements se précipitent. Le 7 février, lors de sa visite à Moscou, Emmanuel Macron réaffirme à Vladimir Poutine son attachement aux Accords de Minsk, un engagement qu'il répétera à l'issue de son entrevue avec Volodymyr Zelensky, le lendemain. Mais le 11 février, à Berlin, après 9 heures de travail, la réunion des conseillers politiques des dirigeants du « *format Normandie* » s'achève, sans résultat concret : les Ukrainiens refusent encore et

toujours d'appliquer les Accords de Minsk, apparemment sous la pression des États-Unis. Vladimir Poutine constate alors que Macron lui a fait des promesses en l'air et que les Occidentaux ne sont pas prêts à faire appliquer les Accords, comme ils le font depuis huit ans.

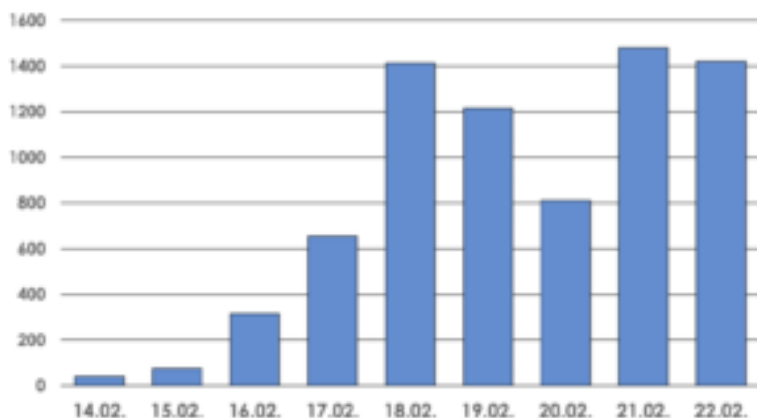
Les préparatifs ukrainiens dans la zone de contact continuent. Le Parlement russe s'alarme et le 15 février demande à Vladimir Poutine de reconnaître l'indépendance des Républiques, ce qu'il refuse.

Le 17 février, le président Joe Biden annonce que la Russie va attaquer l'Ukraine dans les prochains jours. Comment le sait-il ? Mystère... Mais depuis le 16, le pilonnage d'artillerie sur les populations du Donbass augmente de manière dramatique, comme le montrent les rapports journaliers des observateurs de l'OSCE. Naturellement, ni les médias, ni l'Union européenne, ni l'OTAN, ni aucun gouvernement occidental ne réagit et n'intervient. On dira plus tard, qu'il s'agit de désinformation russe. En fait, il semble que l'Union européenne et certains pays ont à *dessein* passé sous silence le massacre des populations du Donbass, sachant que cela provoquerait une intervention russe.

Simultanément, on signale des actes de sabotages dans le Donbass. Le 18 janvier, les combattants du Donbass interceptent des saboteurs équipés de matériel occidental et parlant polonais cherchant à créer des incidents chimiques à Gorlivka. Il pourrait s'agir de mercenaires de la CIA, conduits ou

« conseillés » par des Américains et composés de combattants ukrainiens ou européens, pour mener des actions de sabotage dans les Républiques du Donbass.

Nombre d'explosions enregistrées au Donbass (14-22 février 2022)



L'augmentation massive des tirs contre la population du Donbass dès le 16 février indique aux Russes qu'une offensive majeure est imminente. C'est ce qui conduit Vladimir Poutine à reconnaître l'indépendance des Républiques et à envisager une intervention dans le cadre de l'article 51 de la Charte des Nations Unies.

[Source: OSCE SMM Daily Reports]



Organization for Security and
Co-operation in Europe
Special Monitoring Mission to Ukraine

Ceasefire violations observed by the SMM 19-20 February 2022



En fait, dès le 16 février, Joe Biden sait que les Ukrainiens ont commencé à pilonner les populations civiles du Donbass, mettant Vladimir Poutine devant un choix difficile : aider le Donbass militairement et créer un problème international ou rester sans rien faire et regarder les russophones du Donbass se faire écraser.

S'il décide d'intervenir, Vladimir Poutine peut invoquer l'obligation internationale de « *Responsibility To Protect* » (R2P). Mais il sait que quelle que soit sa nature ou son ampleur, l'intervention déclenchera une pluie de sanctions. Dès lors, que son intervention soit limitée au Donbass ou qu'elle aille plus loin pour faire pression sur les Occidentaux pour le statut de l'Ukraine, le prix à payer sera le même. C'est d'ailleurs ce qu'il explique lors de son allocution du 21 février.

Ce jour-là, il accède à la demande de la Douma et reconnaît l'indépendance des deux Républiques du Donbass et, dans la foulée, il signe avec elles des traités d'amitié et d'assistance.

Les bombardements de l'artillerie ukrainienne sur les populations du Donbass se poursuivent et, le 23 février, les deux Républiques demandent l'aide militaire de la Russie. Le 24, Vladimir Poutine invoque l'article 51 de la Charte des Nations Unies qui prévoit l'entraide militaire dans le cadre d'une alliance défensive.

Afin de rendre l'intervention russe totalement illégale aux yeux du public nous occultons *délibérément* le fait que la guerre a effectivement commencé le 16 février. L'armée ukrainienne s'apprêtait à attaquer le Donbass dès 2021, comme le savaient pertinemment certains services de renseignement russes et européens... Les juristes jugeront.

Dans son allocution du 24 février, Vladimir Poutine a énoncé les deux objectifs de son opération : « démilitariser » et « dénazifier » l'Ukraine. Il ne s'agit donc pas de s'emparer de l'Ukraine, ni même, vraisemblablement de l'occuper et certainement pas de la détruire.

À partir de là, notre visibilité sur le déroulement de l'opération est limitée : les Russes ont une excellente sécurité des opérations (OPSEC) et le détail de leur planification n'est pas connue. Mais assez rapidement, le déroulement des opérations permet de comprendre comment les objectifs stratégiques se sont traduits sur le plan opératif.

– *Démilitarisation* :

. destruction au sol de l'aviation, des systèmes de défense aérienne et des moyens de reconnaissance ukrainiens ;

. neutralisation des structures de commandement et de renseignement (C3I), ainsi que des principales voies logistiques dans la profondeur du territoire ;

. encerclement du gros de l'armée ukrainienne massée dans le sud-est du pays.

– *Dénazification* :

. destruction ou neutralisation des bataillons de volontaires qui opèrent dans les villes d'Odessa, Kharkov et Marioupol, ainsi que dans diverses installations sur le territoire.

LA « DÉMILITARISATION »

L'offensive russe se déroule de manière très « classique ». Dans un premier temps – comme l'avaient fait les Israéliens en 1967 – avec la destruction au sol des forces aériennes dans les toutes premières heures. Puis, on assiste à une progression simultanée sur plusieurs axes selon le principe de « l'eau qui coule » : on avance partout où la résistance est faible et on laisse les villes (très voraces en troupes) pour plus tard. Au nord, la centrale de Tchernobyl est occupée immédiatement afin de prévenir des actes de sabotage. Les images de soldats ukrainiens et russes assurant ensemble la surveillance de la centrale ne sont naturellement pas montrées...

L'idée que la Russie cherche à s'emparer de Kiev, la capitale pour éliminer Zelensky, vient typiquement des Occidentaux : c'est ce qu'ils ont fait en Afghanistan, en Irak, en Libye et ce qu'ils voulaient faire en Syrie avec l'aide de l'État islamique. Mais Vladimir Poutine n'a jamais eu l'intention d'abattre ou

de renverser Zelensky. La Russie cherche au contraire à le maintenir au pouvoir en le poussant à négocier en encerclant Kiev. Il avait refusé de faire jusque-là pour appliquer les Accords de Minsk, mais maintenant les Russes veulent obtenir la neutralité de l'Ukraine.

Beaucoup de commentateurs occidentaux se sont étonnés que les Russes aient continué à chercher une solution négociée tout en menant des opérations militaires. L'explication est dans la conception stratégique russe, depuis l'époque soviétique. Pour les Occidentaux, la guerre commence lorsque la politique cesse. Or, l'approche russe suit une inspiration clausewitzienne : la guerre est la continuité de la politique et on peut passer de manière fluide de l'une à l'autre, même au cours des combats. Cela permet de créer une pression sur l'adversaire et le pousser à négocier.

Du point de vue opératif, l'offensive russe a été un exemple du genre : en six jours, les Russes se sont emparés d'un territoire aussi vaste que le Royaume-Uni, avec une vitesse de progression plus grande que ce que la Wehrmacht avait réalisé en 1940.

Le gros de l'armée ukrainienne était déployé au sud du pays en vue d'une opération majeure contre le Donbass. C'est pourquoi, les forces russes ont pu l'encercler dès le début mars dans le « chaudron » compris entre Slavyansk, Kramatorsk et Severodonetsk, par une poussée venant de l'est par

Kharkov et une autres venant du sud depuis la Crimée. Les troupes des Républiques de Donetsk (RPD) et de Lougansk (RPL) complètent l'action des forces russes par une poussée venant de l'Est.

A ce stade, les forces russes resserrent lentement l'étau, mais ne sont plus sous pression du temps. Leur objectif de démilitarisation est pratiquement atteint et les forces ukrainiennes résiduelles n'ont plus de structure de commandement opératif et stratégique.

Le « ralentissement » que nos « experts » attribuent à une mauvaise logistique, n'est que la conséquence d'avoir atteint les objectifs fixés. La Russie ne semble pas vouloir s'engager dans une occupation de l'ensemble du territoire ukrainien. En fait, il semble plutôt que la Russie cherche à limiter son avance à la frontière linguistique du pays.

Nos médias parlent de bombardements indiscriminés contre les populations civiles, notamment à Kharkov et des images dantesques sont diffusées en boucle. Pourtant, Gonzalo Lira, un latino-américain qui y vit, nous présente une ville calme le 10 mars, et le 11 mars. Certes c'est une grande ville et on ne voit pas tout, mais cela semble indiquer que l'on n'est pas dans la guerre totale qu'on nous sert en continu sur nos écrans.

Quant aux Républiques du Donbass, elles ont « libéré » leurs propres territoires et combattent dans la ville de Marioupol.

LA « DÉNAZIFICATION »

Dans les villes comme Kharkov, Marioupol et Odessa, la défense est assurée par les milices paramilitaires. Elles savent que l'objectif de « dénazification » les vise au premier chef.

Pour un attaquant en zone urbanisée, les civils sont un problème. C'est pourquoi la Russie cherche à créer des couloirs humanitaires pour vider les villes des civils et ne laisser que les milices afin de les combattre plus facilement.

À l'inverse, ces milices cherchent à garder les civils dans les villes afin de dissuader l'armée russe de venir y combattre. C'est pourquoi elles sont réticentes à mettre en œuvre ces couloirs et font tout pour que les efforts russes soient vains : ils peuvent ainsi utiliser la population civile comme « boucliers humains ». Les vidéos montrant des civils cherchant à quitter Marioupol et tabassés par les combattants du régiment Azov sont naturellement soigneusement censurées chez nous.

Sur Facebook, le groupe Azov était considéré dans la même catégorie que l'État islamique et soumis à la « *politique sur les individus et organisations dangereuses* » de la plate-forme. Il était donc interdit de le glorifier, et les « posts » qui lui étaient favorables étaient systématiquement bannis. Mais le 24 février, Facebook modifie sa politique et autorise les posts favorables à la milice. Dans le même esprit,

en mars, la plate-forme autorise, dans les ex-pays de l'Est, les appels au meurtre de militaires et de dirigeants russes. Voilà pour les valeurs qui inspirent nos dirigeants, comme nous le verrons.

Nos médias propagent une image romanesque de la résistance populaire. C'est cette image qui a conduit l'Union européenne à financer la distribution d'armes à la population civile. C'est un acte criminel. Dans mes fonctions de chef de la doctrine des opérations de maintien de la paix à l'ONU, j'ai travaillé sur la question de la protection des civils. Nous avons alors constaté que les violences contre les civils avaient lieu dans des contextes très précis. En particulier lorsque les armes foisonnent et qu'il n'y pas de structures de commandement.

Or, ces structures de conduite sont l'essence des armées : elles ont pour fonction de canaliser l'emploi de la force en fonction d'un objectif. En armant des citoyens de manière désordonnée comme c'est le cas actuellement, l'UE les transforme en combattants, avec les conséquences qui en découlent : des cibles potentielles. En outre, sans commandement, sans buts opératifs, la distribution d'armes conduit inéluctablement à des règlements de compte, du banditisme et à des actions plus meurtrières qu'efficaces. La guerre devient une affaire d'émotions. La force devient violence. C'est ce qui s'est passé à Tawarga (Libye) du 11 au 13 août 2011, où 30 000 africains noirs ont été massacrés avec des armes parachutées (illégalement) par la France.

D'ailleurs, l'Institut royal d'étude stratégique britannique (RUSI) ne voit pas de valeur ajoutée à ces livraisons d'armes.

De plus, en livrant des armes à un pays en guerre, on s'expose à être considéré comme un belligérant. Les frappes russes du 13 mars 2022, contre la base aérienne de Mykolaïv suivent les avertissements russes que les transports d'armes seraient traités comme des cibles hostiles.

L'UE répète la désastreuse expérience du IIIe Reich dans les dernières heures de la bataille de Berlin. La guerre doit être laissée aux militaires et lorsqu'un camp a perdu, il faut l'admettre. Et s'il doit y avoir une résistance, elle doit impérativement être conduite et structurée. Or, nous faisons exactement l'inverse : on pousse des citoyens à aller se battre et simultanément, Facebook autorise les appels au meurtre de militaires et de dirigeants russes. Voilà pour les valeurs qui nous inspirent.

Dans certains services de renseignement, on voit cette décision irresponsable comme une manière d'utiliser la population ukrainienne comme chair à canon pour combattre la Russie de Vladimir Poutine. Il fallait laisser ce genre de décision meurtrière aux collègues du grand-père de d'Ursula von der Leyen. Il aurait été plus judicieux d'engager des négociations et ainsi obtenir des garanties pour les populations civiles que d'ajouter de l'huile sur le feu. Il est facile d'être combatif avec le sang des autres...

LA MATERNITÉ DE MARIOUPOL

Il est important de comprendre au préalable que ce n'est pas l'armée ukrainienne qui assure la défense de Marioupol, mais la milice Azov, composée de mercenaires étrangers.

Dans son résumé de la situation du 7 mars 2022, la mission russe de l'ONU à New York déclare que « *Les habitants rapportent que les forces armées ukrainiennes ont expulsé le personnel de l'hôpital natal n°1 de la ville de Marioupol et ont installé un poste de tir à l'intérieur de l'établissement.* »

Le 8 mars, le média indépendant russe Lenta.ru, publie le témoignage de civils de Marioupol qui racontent que la maternité a été prise par les milices du régiment Azov, et en ont chassé les occupants civils en les menaçant de leurs armes. Ils confirment ainsi les déclarations de l'ambassadeur russe quelques heures plus tôt.

L'hôpital de Marioupol occupe une position dominante, parfaitement adéquate pour y installer des armes antichars et pour l'observation. Le 9 mars, les forces russes frappent le bâtiment. Selon CNN, il y aurait 17 blessés, mais les images ne montrent aucune victime dans les locaux et rien ne montre que les victimes dont on parle sont liées à cette frappe. On parle d'enfants, mais en réalité, on ne voit rien. C'est peut-être vrai, mais c'est peut-être faux... Ce qui n'empêche pas les dirigeants de l'UE d'y voir un crime de guerre... Ce qui permet, juste après, à Zelensky de

réclamer une zone d'interdiction de vol au-dessus de l'Ukraine...

En réalité, on ne sait pas exactement ce qui s'est passé. Mais la séquence des événements tend à confirmer que les forces russes ont frappé une position du régiment Azov et que la maternité était alors libre de tout civils.

Le problème est que les milices paramilitaires qui assurent la défense des villes sont encouragées par la communauté internationale à ne pas respecter les usages de la guerre. Il semble que les Ukrainiens ont rejoué le scénario de la maternité de Koweït City en 1990, qui avait été totalement mise en scène par la firme Hill & Knowlton pour un montant de 10,7 millions de dollars afin de convaincre le Conseil de Sécurité des Nations Unies d'intervenir en Irak pour l'opération *Desert Shield/Storm*.

Les politiciens occidentaux ont d'ailleurs accepté les frappes contre civils du Donbass pendant huit ans, sans adopter aucune sanction contre le gouvernement ukrainien. Nous sommes depuis longtemps entrés dans une dynamique où les politiques occidentaux ont accepté de sacrifier le droit international à leur objectif d'affaiblir la Russie.

TROISIÈME PARTIE : CONCLUSIONS

En tant qu'ex-professionnel du renseignement, la première chose qui me frappe est l'absence totale des

services de renseignement occidentaux dans la représentation de la situation depuis une année. En Suisse, on a reproché aux services de ne pas avoir fourni une image correcte de la situation. En fait, il semble que dans tout le monde occidental, les services aient été débordés par les politiques. Le problème est que ce sont les politiques qui décident : le meilleur service de renseignement du monde est inutile si le décideur ne l'écoute pas. C'est ce qui s'est passé lors de cette crise.

Cela étant, si certains services de renseignement avaient une image très précise et rationnelle de la situation, d'autres avaient manifestement la même image que celle propagée par nos médias. Dans cette crise, les services des pays de la « nouvelle Europe » ont joué un rôle important. Le problème est que, par expérience, j'ai constaté qu'ils étaient extrêmement mauvais sur le plan analytique : doctrinaires, ils n'ont pas l'indépendance intellectuelle et politique nécessaire pour apprécier une situation avec une « qualité » militaire. Il vaut mieux les avoir comme ennemis que comme amis.

Ensuite, il semble que dans certains pays européens, les politiques ont délibérément ignoré leurs services pour répondre de manière idéologique à la situation. C'est pourquoi, cette crise a été irrationnelle dès le début. On observera, que tous les documents qui ont été présentés au public lors de cette crise l'ont été par des politiques sur la base de sources commerciales...

Certains politiciens occidentaux voulaient manifestement qu'il y ait un conflit. Aux États-Unis, les scénarios d'attaque présentés par Anthony Blinken au Conseil de Sécurité n'étaient que le fruit de l'imagination d'un Tiger Team travaillant pour lui : il a fait exactement comme Donald Rumsfeld en 2002, qui avait ainsi « contourné » la CIA et les autres services de renseignement qui étaient beaucoup moins affirmatifs sur les armes chimiques irakiennes.

Les développements dramatiques dont nous sommes les témoins aujourd'hui ont des causes que nous connaissions, mais que nous avons refusés de voir :

- sur le plan stratégique, l'expansion de l'OTAN (que nous n'avons pas traité ici) ;
- sur le plan politique, le refus occidental de mettre en œuvre les Accords de Minsk ;
- et sur le plan opératif, les attaques continues et répétées des populations civiles du Donbass depuis ans et la dramatique augmentation de la fin février 2022.

En d'autres termes, nous pouvons naturellement déplorer et condamner l'attaque russe. Mais NOUS (c'est-à-dire : les États-Unis, la France et l'Union européenne en tête) avons *créé* les conditions pour qu'un conflit éclate. Nous témoignons de la compassion pour le peuple ukrainien et les deux millions de réfugiés. C'est bien. Mais si nous avons eu

un minimum de compassion pour le même nombre de réfugiés des populations ukrainiennes du Donbass massacrées par leur propre gouvernement et qui se sont accumulés en Russie durant huit ans, rien de cela ne serait probablement passé.

Victimes civiles dans le Donbass (2018-2021)					
	Sur le territoire des Républiques auto-proclamées	Sur le territoire contrôlé par le gouvernement	Dans le « no man's land »	Total	Evolution par rapport à l'année précédente
2018	128	27	7	162	-41.9%
2019	85	18	2	105	-35.2%
2020	61	9	0	70	-33.3%
2021	36	8	0	44	-37.1%
Total	310	62	9	381	
%	81.4	16.3	2.3	100.0	

Comme on le constate, plus 80% des victimes du Donbass proviennent des tirs de l'armée ukrainienne. Durant des années, les Occidentaux sont restés silencieux devant le massacre d'ukrainiens russophones par le gouvernement de Kiev, sans jamais tenter de prendre influence sur Kiev. C'est ce silence qui a contraint la Russie à agir.

[Source : « Conflict related civilian casualties in Ukraine », United Nations Human Rights Monitoring Mission in Ukraine, Haut-commissariat aux Droits de l'Homme, 31 décembre 2021 (mis à jour 27 janvier 2022)]

Que le terme de « génocide » s'applique aux exactions subies par les populations du Donbass est une question ouverte. On réserve généralement ce terme à des cas de plus grande ampleur (Holocauste, etc.), néanmoins, la définition qu'en donne la Convention sur le génocide, est probablement suffisamment large pour s'y appliquer. Les juristes apprécieront.

Clairement, ce conflit nous a conduit dans l'hystérie. Les sanctions semblent être devenues l'outil privilégié de nos politiques étrangères. Si nous avons insisté pour que l'Ukraine respecte les Accords de Minsk, que nous avons négocié et cautionné, tout cela ne serait

pas arrivé. La condamnation de Vladimir Poutine est aussi la nôtre. Rien ne sert de pleurnicher après coup, il fallait agir avant. Or, ni Emmanuel Macron (comme garant et comme membre du Conseil de Sécurité de l'ONU), ni Olaf Scholz, ni Volodymyr Zelensky n'ont respecté leurs engagements. En définitive, la vraie défaite est celle de ceux qui n'ont pas de parole.

L'Union européenne a été incapable de promouvoir la mise en œuvre des accords de Minsk, au contraire, elle n'a pas réagi lorsque l'Ukraine bombardait sa propre population dans le Donbass. L'eût-elle fait, Vladimir Poutine n'aurait pas eu besoin de réagir. Absente de la phase diplomatique, l'UE s'est distinguée en alimentant le conflit. Le 27 février, le gouvernement ukrainien est d'accord d'entamer des négociations avec la Russie. Mais quelques heures plus tard, l'Union européenne vote un budget de 450 millions d'euros pour fournir des armes à l'Ukraine, remettant de l'huile sur le feu. A partir de là, les Ukrainiens sentent qu'ils n'auront pas besoin d'arriver à un accord. La résistance des milices Azov à Marioupol provoquera même une relance de 500 millions d'euros pour des armes.

En Ukraine, avec la bénédiction des pays occidentaux, ceux qui sont en faveur d'une négociation sont éliminés. C'est le cas de Denis Kireyev, un des négociateurs ukrainiens, assassiné le 5 mars par le service secret ukrainien (SBU) car il est trop favorable à la Russie et est considéré comme traître. Le même sort est réservé à Dmitry Demyanenko, ex-chef

adjoint de la direction principale du SBU pour Kiev et sa région, assassiné le 10 mars, car trop favorable à un accord avec la Russie : il est abattu par la milice *Mirotvorets* (« *Pacificateur* »). Cette milice est associée au site web *Mirotvorets* qui liste les « *ennemis de l'Ukraine* », avec leurs données personnelles, leur adresse et numéros de téléphone, afin qu'ils puissent être harcelés, voire éliminés ; une pratique punissable dans de nombreux pays, mais pas en Ukraine. L'ONU et quelques pays européens en ont exigé la fermeture... refusée par la Rada.

Finalement, le prix sera élevé, mais Vladimir Poutine atteindra vraisemblablement les objectifs qu'il s'était fixés. Ses liens avec Pékin se sont solidifiés. La Chine émerge comme médiatrice du conflit, tandis que la Suisse fait son entrée dans la liste des ennemis de la Russie. Les Américains doivent demander du pétrole au Venezuela et à l'Iran pour se sortir de l'impasse énergétique dans laquelle ils se sont mis : Juan Guaido quitte définitivement la scène et les Etats-Unis doivent revenir piteusement sur les sanctions imposées à leurs ennemis.

Des ministres occidentaux qui cherchent à faire s'effondrer l'économie russe et faire en sorte que le peuple russe en souffre, voire appellent à assassiner Poutine, montrent (même s'ils sont partiellement revenus sur la forme de leurs propos, mais pas sur le fond !) que nos dirigeants ne valent pas mieux que ceux que nous détestons. Car, sanctionner des athlètes russes des jeux para-

olympiques ou des artistes russes n'a strictement rien à voir avec une lutte contre Poutine.

Ainsi, nous reconnaissons donc que la Russie est une démocratie puisque nous considérons que le peuple russe est responsable de la guerre. Si ce n'est pas le cas, alors pourquoi cherchons-nous à punir toute une population pour la faute d'un seul ? Rappelons que la punition collective est interdite par les Conventions de Genève...

La leçon à tirer de ce conflit est notre sens de l'humanité géométrie variable. Si nous tenions tellement à la paix et à l'Ukraine, pourquoi ne l'avons-nous pas plus encouragée à respecter les accords qu'elle avait signés et que les membres du Conseil de Sécurité avaient approuvés ?

L'intégrité de médias se mesure à leur volonté à travailler selon les termes de la Charte de Munich. Ils avaient réussi à propager la haine des Chinois lors de la crise de la Covid et leur message polarisé conduit aux mêmes effets contre les Russes. Le journalisme se dépouille de plus en plus du professionnalisme pour devenir militant...

Comme disait Goethe : « *Plus grande est la lumière, plus noire est l'ombre* ». Plus les sanctions contre la Russie sont démesurées, plus les cas où nous n'avons rien fait mettent en évidence notre racisme et notre servilité. Pourquoi aucun politicien occidental n'a-t-il réagi aux frappes contre les populations civiles du Donbass durant huit ans ?

Car finalement, qu'est-ce qui rend le conflit en Ukraine plus blâmable que la guerre en Irak, en Afghanistan ou en Libye ? Quelles sanctions avons-nous adopté contre ceux qui ont délibérément menti devant la communauté internationale pour mener des guerres injustes, injustifiées, injustifiables et meurtrières ? A-t-on cherché à « faire souffrir » le peuple américain qui nous avait menti (car c'est une démocratie !) avant la guerre en Irak ? Avons-nous seulement adopté une seule sanction contre les pays, les entreprises ou les politiciens qui alimentent en armes le conflit du Yémen, considéré comme la « pire catastrophe humanitaire au monde » ? Avons-nous sanctionné les pays de l'Union européenne qui pratiquent la torture la plus abjecte sur leur territoire au profit des États-Unis ?

Poser la question c'est y répondre... et la réponse n'est pas glorieuse.

Jacques Baud est un ancien colonel d'État-major général, ex-membre du renseignement stratégique suisse, spécialiste des pays de l'Est. Il a été formé dans les services de renseignement américain et britannique. Il a été chef de la doctrine des opérations de la paix des Nations Unies. Expert des Nations Unies pour l'État de droit et les institutions de sécurité, il a conçu et dirigé le premier service de

renseignement multidimensionnel des Nations Unies au Soudan. Il a travaillé pour l'Union africaine et a été durant 5 ans responsable de la lutte contre la prolifération des armes légères à l'OTAN. Il a été engagé dans des discussions avec les plus hauts responsables militaires et du renseignement russes juste après la chute de l'URSS. Au sein de l'OTAN, il a suivi la crise ukrainienne de 2014, puis a participé à des programmes d'assistance à l'Ukraine. Il est l'auteur de plusieurs livres sur le renseignement, la guerre et le terrorisme, et en particulier Le Détournement aux éditions SIGEST, Gouverner par les fake news, L'affaire Navalny, et Poutine, maître du jeu ? aux éditions Max Milo.

Son dernier ouvrage « Poutine, maître du jeu ? », éditions Max Milo, paraît le 16 mars 2022.

NATO and the European Union:

Two poles or one?

Since 1991, and the emergence of the idea of NATO expansion as a political, economic and military tool for global hegemony, several trends have emerged in the United States of America and Europe, the most important of which is the Atlantic trend, which considered the opportunity appropriate for the alliance to be a force of unification and gathering of its components, under American leadership, that constitutes the largest intervention force in various regions. Tension on the one hand, and the united front in the face of any attempts to affect the geopolitical map that followed the collapse of the Soviet Union and allowed the establishment of a unipolar system. While there were European resistances to such hegemony/subordination of the European continent to the United States of America, especially within France and Germany, refusing to dissolve in an environment that necessarily marginalizes both countries, economically, militarily and politically. Was the Ukrainian war able to strike the independence trends of Europe? And how will the results of the war be reflected on both trends, which stand together on one front today?

NATO after the fall of the Berlin Wall?

After the death of the Warsaw camp, as a natural result of the great peaceful transformations that took place in the countries of Eastern Europe, only one military alliance remained in the world, the North Atlantic Treaty Organization (NATO).

It is necessary to return to the work of the American strategic research centers, intelligence services, and those working on the production of the "national security concept" in the last ten years of the twentieth century. And what the last generation of "Soviet Union" diplomats concluded, to understand the internal American debates/disagreements in the process of building alliances necessary for the globalization of American sovereignty on the one hand, or to consider the promotion of national security as an "exclusive industry of the strongest."

The words of Alexander Arbatov, the diplomatic advisor to President Mikhail Gorbachev, have come true: "We will render you the worst service, for we will deprive you of the 'enemy'."¹⁷ In other words, you will go with the Soviet Union, the Cold War era, and the world will not be rebuilt on the same rules of the game. that have prevailed since the end of World War II.

As the American thinker Immanuel Wallerstein summed up: "1989 "ended" the Cold War and the bipolar opposition since 1945, to a certain extent. But

¹⁷ Voir : Pierre Conesa, La fabrication de l'ennemi, Robert Laffont - Paris- 2012

that is exactly why this history was so tragic for the United States. The Cold War was intended to last forever. Remember, it remained cold to the end. That is, there was no serious military confrontation between the two complicit partners, the United States and the Soviet Union. The United States has struggled ever since to create an alternative "enemy. Without success."¹⁸

Thus, the process of building conflict strategies, in the military, economic and cultural sense of the successive American administrations, took place in the "American Home" first, and the strategies of the research centres and the deep American state depended on four fulcrums, which changed in importance and arrangement, but remained at the forefront of American foreign policy:

- 1- Redrawing the European map under the wing of NATO
- 2- Building a different Middle East and an ally
- 3- Containing the Ukrainian situation in the NATO ceiling
- 4- Develop strategies to deal with the rising Chinese dragon¹⁹

The eastward expansion of NATO was not the subject of unanimity along the line, and the American statements about old and new Europe will not be

¹⁸ <https://lefteast.org/immanuel-wallerstein-the-geopolitics-of-ukraines-schism/>

¹⁹ Haytham Manna, It the War, Amigo... Raialyoum, 1 of March 2022.

forgotten, but rather the pejorative phrases used by a number of Pentagon officials. Prior to the war on Iraq: a visiting academic spoke at a symposium on NATO about the importance of the Baltic states in entering the alliance. The comment of the American general was insulting: “You mean the non-united Baltic Emirates, without gas, oil or Dubai” (sic) .. In the world of missiles in the intercontinental, the American military did not stop at the number of kilometers away from the Baltic cities from St. Petersburg, as much as it sees in the small Russian neighboring countries, an economic and military burden, so it focuses its eyes on Poland, Ukraine and Britain, as possible transatlantic fulcrums. Reliance on it in the future. This idea was reinforced during the invasion of Iraq, when the French position deprived the United States of an international cover for the occupation of Iraq. Which has strengthened the position of the neo-conservative current based on the aphorisms of Donald Rumsfeld, the former Secretary of Defense of President George W. Bush, it is not the alliance that determines the mission, but the mission that determines the alliance,

Thus, the leader of NATO, the United States of America, did not rely on him in the various armed conflicts that took place or participated in them after the fall of the Berlin Wall, as much as successive American administrations resorted to the principle of ad hoc alliance, that is, the “most appropriate” alliance in each specific case and issue. We saw this

clearly in the Iraqi wars, as each time it formed a completely different alliance in its components, and while France participated in the liberation of Kuwait, it stood against giving international cover to the American-British occupation of Iraq.

NATO and the European Union:

From NATO signed in 1949, the North Atlantic Treaty Organization (NATO) is in its seventies. Like the United Nations (UN), and like Building Europe, its creation dates back to the reorganization of international relations after World War II. The United Nations carries out the collective self-defense of its members stipulated in Article 51 of the Charter, European construction because it is primarily concerned with the security of Western Europe, in the face of potential dangers from the USSR and the socialist camp. However, NATO departs from the ideals of the United Nations and collective security with a global dimension, which was based on a close agreement between the United States and the Soviet Union, the Yalta Conference (1945) being the synthesis. The rapid failure of this project after the end of the war, the Iron Curtain between Western and Eastern Europe, and the birth of the two opposing blocs led to the creation of a defensive military alliance to unify the strategies of the United States and European nations threatened by Soviet expansion. NATO has allowed European construction to develop without being hampered by concerns about the military security of the founding nations, because the United States is

called upon to provide it. As was the case with the Warsaw Pact, which Moscow undertook to structure. Indeed, the European countries emerging from a global war were most interested in and demanding such protection. However, the initial participation in NATO and in NATO only partially covers the participation of the nascent European construction. The Federal Republic of Germany (FRG) was not initially part of it, while in addition to the United States and Canada, there are countries outside the initial European treaty, the European Coal and Steel Community (ECSC, 1951), such as Denmark, Iceland, Norway, Portugal and the United Kingdom. From the outset, the first NATO Secretary General made this composition clear: The purpose of the agreement was to keep the United States in Europe, to keep the Soviet Union at bay, and to leave the Federal Republic of Germany in check²⁰.

Before the decisive turning point for the organization of the disappearance of the Berlin Wall in 1989 and then the disappearance of the socialist camp and the USSR in 1991, NATO had experienced some extensions: Greece and Turkey in 1952, the Federal Republic of Germany in 1955 and Spain in 1982 to the founding members twelve. It cannot be compared, however, with the massive expansion that, in a few

²⁰ See Serge Sur's excellent study on the subject, which he wrote at the end of last year and is on a French government website: <https://www.vie-publique.fr/parole-dexpert/284209-quoi-sert-lotan-par-serge-sur>

years at the beginning of the twenty-first century, the number of members has almost doubled, today thirty, waiting for the accession of a few in the future, perhaps the Balkan states that hitherto remained separate - Serbia, Bosnia, Kosovo.

Thus, NATO lived, as the French researcher Serge Sur summarizes, at least two lives, the first in the framework of the policies of the Atlantic bloc until the disappearance of the Soviet Union, and the second during the three decades that followed to this day. During the first, the situation was clear and decided. Above all, anti-Soviet, NATO was a shield in Europe against the supposed aggressive intentions of the Soviet Union, and it enjoyed significant political acceptance. As a preventive organization in nature, the organization did not have to intervene militarily, and its function does not exceed deterrence.

The second life, the thirty years that followed, is much more complex and mysterious. On November 7, 2019 in *The Economist*, President Emmanuel Macron declared that NATO was in a state of "brain death", a formula that was ignored rather than debated. The statement from the organization and its members was met with silence and inertia, especially since it came during the era of President Ronald Trump, who had not put "NATO" in his priority program, but it is clear that NATO did not specify its role in the current international chaos. If it has been an effective shield for forty years, has it not become an ineffective strategic shutter in the face of new security threats

such as international terrorism, societal conflicts, mass migrations, and cyber security in particular? On this last point, the Tallinn Manual, drawn up by a group of experts commissioned by NATO in 2013, makes only a very limited contribution to us.

The strategic concepts that define NATO's priorities and objectives always seem to be under the weight of events, while its practices, reactive; do not respond to any organized purpose. The massive expansions that it witnessed towards Central and Eastern Europe, towards the Balkans, and the merger of most of the former socialist countries, including the breakaway Soviet republics, did not weaken their cohesion and obscure its goals without increasing its capabilities? These, at least, are the criticisms repeated by a significant number of policy-assessment and strategy-building analysts.

It should be noted, however, that NATO's survival stems from the inability of Europeans to organize their security system after the Cold War: the double failure of the "common house" advocated by Mikhail Gorbachev and the European Union proposed by François Mitterrand, and the weakness of the Conference on Security and Cooperation in Europe (CSCE). And cooperation in Europe, which became the Organization for Security and Cooperation in Europe in 1994), and the shortcomings and the absence of a common action strategy in European countries, in the face of the disintegration of Yugoslavia, which left the field open to NATO. Likewise, the subordination to

American policies in the “war on terror”, after the absence of rational resistances that reached their climax on February 14, 2003 with Dominique de Villepin’s historic speech at the United Nations against the occupation of Iraq²¹, and has not regressed since then, from here we share the French researcher Serge Sur, The importance of grouping the various questions today around three files: the distinction between NATO and NATO; hesitation between concepts and practices; Relations between NATO and the European Union.

NATO and NATO

NATO was first, in 1949, a treaty consisting of two basic elements, Article 5, which provides for solidarity between countries.

The Atlantic Alliance, which founded the alliance on the one hand, and the North Atlantic Treaty Organization (NATO) on the other hand are both related and distinct.

²¹ In a speech delivered on behalf of French President Jacques Chirac before the Security Council, De Villepin responded to the "theme of the war on terror" and the statements of Defence Secretary Rumsfeld about "old Europe" and the US decision to occupy Iraq in a historic speech in which he stated: "The war option may seem the most obvious. But Let us not forget that after winning the war, we must build peace. And let's face it: it will be long and difficult, because it will be necessary to preserve the unity of Iraq, to restore permanently stability in a country and region so badly affected by the use of force. (...) " "An ancient country, France, from an old continent like my country, Europe, says this to you today, a country that has known wars, occupation and barbarism."

As for the Atlantic alliance, it is a kind of traditional pluralism. It illustrates this observation that pluralism is a combat sport: it accommodates rather than overcomes differences in interests, even differences between the parties. It risks becoming the closed field of their contradictions. Simply, because it is based on firm solidarity, it includes in principle the means to settle their differences, at least to contain them.

Thus, the Alliance brings together very different visions of security according to the countries involved. In general, it prides itself on being associated with Western-style democracy, but it recognizes and preserves within it countries that stray from it in one way or another: Portugal Salazar, Greece the generals, Turkey a state of coups in the Cold War era, authoritarian democracies in the twenty-first century. In addition, confrontations between NATO member states can arise without the Alliance being able to prevent them, with the exception of indirect confrontations as, for example, in the Cyprus case, none of them led to an armed conflict, but the Alliance has not established a structural peace relationship between its partners, unlike what has been achieved in European construction.

This is the case of the recurring rivalries between Greece and Turkey in the eastern Mediterranean. Moreover, the United States, the sponsor of the coalition, has an intermittent interest and loyalty towards it. Also, in the occupation of Iraq, the AKP government did not allow the Incirlik base to be used

in the attack on Iraq, and last but not least, the American administration did not bother to inform the countries that participated in its intervention in Afghanistan after 2001 with the withdrawal, twenty years later.

The Atlantic Alliance, which established the alliance on the one hand, and the North Atlantic Treaty Organization on the other hand, are both related and distinct. As for NATO, the armed arm of the Alliance, which aims to create a powerful and effective military tool within it, it cannot hide the limits of cohesion between the armed forces of its member states and their profound disparities, lest we speak. in inequality. Of the 30 members, how many armies can fight in long-running, high-intensity conflicts?

Interoperability between forces, which assumes they have the same training, the same combat instructions and rules of engagement, and interchangeable equipment, is a goal favoured by NATO standards, especially those of American origin. Rather, they go beyond the military dimension specifically to focus on a number of industrial products, given the dual-use products.

This does not hinder, fail, or affect the fact that the United States prefers exporting arms, which is an important general policy of the United States, in competition with other member states of the organization. Large industry tends to replace the large conventional army, even if the latter remains one of NATO's goals.

At this level, in addition to the asymmetry of forces, the decisions to fight differ greatly. Germany is reluctant to use force, other countries can provide only limited support, and all have the ability to issue warnings, i.e. reserve the right to refuse certain actions or forms of combat. Finally, some, including France and the United States, maintain forces that remain independent of NATO, particularly with regard to nuclear deterrence. In short, to say that NATO is doing well is more than optimistic judgment and needs scrutiny.

Concepts and practices

This is not about the strategic concepts defined by NATO itself that permeate its history. The last one dates from 2011 and the next should be adopted in 2022. Its purpose is to analyse the risks and threats facing the organization and the types of actions envisaged to respond to them. This is not operational planning, but an analysis of the conditions of insecurity affecting Member States and the priorities that require them. The discourse remains very general and even complex. It can also be adapted all the way through data from NATO summits, if circumstances warrant.

Suspicion of the collective defence of Western Europe existed even before the disappearance of the Soviet Union, and has no reason to exist after that. Nevertheless, NATO has survived, it has been said, and finds itself in a kind of conceptual wanderings as

evidenced by a multifaceted practice that has made it a tool, if not for everything, at least a multi-purpose, in what constitutes an "argument" in the face of the dissolution of military alliances today.

It was clear in the last two decades that the United States of America refused to turn NATO into a collective security organization, and to expand its compass and its goals. The collective security of Europe, through partnerships with the former socialist countries, and even with Russia, as suggested by the presidents of the Russian Federation. Or a broader formula for collective security in the service of the United Nations, for which the expanded coalition could have become its armed arm... However, successive US administrations, perhaps the least enthusiastic of Ronald Trump, have sought to make NATO a controlled organization that gives the United States of America a broad umbrella to achieve its military policies.

The two organizations overlap only partially, since not all members of the European Union are members of NATO, while NATO includes non-EU member states. However, more than two-thirds of NATO members are members of the Union, and only six of these members do not participate in NATO (Austria, Cyprus, Finland, Ireland, Malta, Sweden) their number may be reduced to four, depending on the course of the Ukrainian war.

Thus, this organization is largely responsible for the security of Western Europe - even non-member states

have privileged connections with it. The new members of NATO, the former socialist republics, are strengthening the weight of the United States. They succeeded in parallel with entering the European Union and the organization. Frustrated with the Marshall Plan they did not benefit from at the time, and the incurable short-term Soviet-era *névrose* neurosis, today translated as Russian danger, they expect from this affiliation: European prosperity and American security and protection.

In this situation, and within the clear hierarchical hierarchy in NATO, the main dilemma of the founders of the European Union appears: the American dam in the face of a powerful and influential Europe, whose ambition is considered a challenge to American hegemony as a central pole in drawing global geopolitical strategies. NATO is not a democratic or multilateral institution whose policies are determined by joint projects that can be proposed according to the principle of "common and intersecting interests". While the visions and aspirations differ between the European Union and American policies on fundamental issues, the state of American hegemony prevails, which is hardly concerned with a balanced division of roles, and which has moved from protection to security protection. And like any hegemonic relationship, it depends in the end on unilateral decisions in which the partners' role does not exceed beautification and rounding corners.

Despite this "leading" role, there are many voices that argue that the US interest in NATO is limited. Even President Donald Trump was considering a possible withdrawal if he could serve a second term. The Joe Biden administration is not going this way. Where we are witnessing a "unity of situation and perception", between neo-conservatives, NATO hawks, American arms lobbies and the Biden administration, its features began since Obama's vice president (Biden) received the Ukrainian file, and reached its peak on February 25, 2022.

President Joe Biden intersects with the policy of George W. Bush and his Defence Secretary Rumsfeld, that NATO is an effective strategic weapon that it is necessary to invest in, and when there is a problem or necessity for unique American decisions, who will be held accountable / even reprimanded, "the leadership" for ignoring the presence of NATO in Decision and terms of the US withdrawal from Afghanistan? Can France raise its voice too much if the United States breaks its contract with Australia on the construction of submarines? Who will stand from the old continent in the face of accelerating the strategic turn of the United States towards China, or concluding the Australia-US-UK (AUKUS) alliance behind the back of the European Union???

It is clear that a global confrontation with China is taking shape on the American shore, and it does not take extra prudence to realize that neither the European Union nor its member states have any

interest in participating in it. With the exception of France, which is an island and naval power in the region, the European Union has only economic interests, especially Germany, and does not intend in any way to sacrifice it or submit to American temptations. Faced with these developments, European countries are justified in searching for an alternative that could be a suitable European defence. The European Union could be the framework for this. Since the return of President Charles de Gaulle to the presidency of France until today, the idea of European defence has faced two main obstacles: 1- The concern of the United States and not allowing the development of real independence for its partners, which may frustrate its strategic and economic plans. 2- The absence of a common European perception and the great division in attitudes that did not help limit it, or overcome it, neither the collective affiliations of Eastern European countries "very comfortable with NATO", nor the British withdrawal from the European Union.

It is necessary, in the moments of political and media frenzy that we are living in today, to return to a pause by the American thinker Immanuel Wallerstein in his talk about the geopolitical dimension of what he called "Ukrainian schism" and his important dialogue also with the French researcher Alain Jokes, on the European Union and the conflict of the new axes. : "YouTube is now not expected to show a tape in which US Assistant Secretary of State for European

and Eurasian Affairs victoria Nuland discusses US political strategy toward Ukraine with the US ambassador. In this tape, Ms. Nuland presents the issue as a geopolitical conflict between The United States and Europe (especially Germany). She was pictured red-handed in a sermon saying "Damn the Europeans" - the Europeans, not the Russians.

Wallerstein continues: "Now, remember what exactly was the neoconservative line in Europe during the Bush days. Then-US Secretary of Defence Donald Rumsfeld spoke of France and Germany as 'Old Europe' as opposed to what he saw as 'New Europe' - that is, countries that share Rumsfeld's views on the imminent invasion of Iraq at the time Rumsfeld's new Europe was Great Britain in particular and Eastern Central Europe, countries formerly part of the Soviet bloc Mrs. Nuland seems to have the same perception of Europe. So let me suggest that Ukraine is merely a convenient excuse or proxy for a larger geopolitical divide that has absolutely nothing to do with its own internal division. What haunts Noland in this world is not a supposed "absorption" of Ukraine by Russia - it is a possibility she can live with. What haunts her and those who share her views, is A geopolitical alliance between Germany/France and Russia. .

The hero of the series "The Servant of the People", Ukrainian President Zelensky, reminded us of this snapshot of the late American thinker, when, at a moment of calamity, he attacked the positions of President Nicolas Sarkozy and Chancellor Angela

Merkel on the need to maintain bridges of cooperation with the Russian Federation. Likewise, the speech of the former German Minister of Defence Ursula von der Leyen (the President of the European Commission today), seven years ago at the Munich Security Conference, when she said: "Germany in a situation of conflict, has an opportunity to prove that in the twenty-first century, the developed countries must compromise disputes through negotiations. *"Providing the Ukrainian authorities with weapons to help them defend themselves could have unexpected and deadly consequences,"* she added. *"Handing over the weapons would be accelerating the fires. This may give the Kremlin an excuse to openly intervene in this conflict."*²²

Since the issue of Ukraine's inclusion in NATO was raised by the administration of George W. Bush, the approach and approach have been subject to the same logic that prevailed in Afghanistan and Iraq: to intervene wherever the situation can be changed or at least contained. The tape of events can be retrieved, by the pens of American and Ukrainian researchers, in order to avoid any useless discussions about the development and fluctuations of the Ukrainian position on the issue of the relationship with NATO:

²² <https://www.afrique-asie.fr/kla-guerre-du-spectacle-en-ukraine/>

Ukraine: Land of Blood.. Bloodlands

In a dissertation defended by Lieven²³, Andrey Levytsky²⁴ at DePaul University in Chicago/Illinois, in 2011, titled *Misreading Security, A Critical Analysis of the Ukrainian Dialogue on NATO*, the up-and-coming scholar preceded the events of Maidan and Ukrainian politicians of all kinds in sketching out a turbulent future scenario For Ukraine if things go well with NATO: “Further expansion of NATO without Russia would not only harm Russian-Ukrainian relations, but could threaten the whole structure of European security, Russia and any other member of the alliance, as the territory of Ukraine becomes the main theatre of military confrontation. I tend to agree with the view that Ukraine's membership in NATO, excluding Russia, increases the most important potential threat to Ukraine, which is an internal threat. It leads to resource depletion, which in turn can have the greatest impact on the economic and cultural fate of the country. Moreover With Ukraine divided culturally between eastern and central regions that enjoy stronger Russian influence, and western regions that follow a strong Western tendency, turning Ukraine into a Western military ally would inflame nationalist sentiments, further increasing the The division of Ukrainian society. Ukraine's accession to NATO

²³ Lieven, “The NATO-Russia Accord: An Illusory Solution,”P. 4

²⁴ Andriy Levytsky, *Security misread: A critical analysis of Ukraine's debate on NATO* Security misread: A critical analysis of Ukraine's debate on NATO,2011, P.61-62

reinforces Ukraine's cultural and ideological division. Under these circumstances, open conflict between pro-Western and eastern Ukraine is likely. In this case, there is no doubt that Russia will stand by its interests and will not leave the Russian diaspora without support. Moreover, as Lieven predicts, such a scenario will provide an opportunity to incorporate Crimea and eastern Ukraine into the Russian state.

A significant number of American critical scholars, Emmanuel Warllestien and Noam Chomsky, as well as from Ukraine and Eastern Europe, Valeria Korablyova, Tatiana Shchytsova and Mykhailo Minakov rang the bells early to warn of policies that would make Ukraine the Bloodlands in a battle for points during the transition from a unipolar geopolitical world into a multipolar world.

As the Ukrainian researcher Valeria Korablyova²⁵ and researcher Andrey Levytsky²⁶ mentioned, these fears were held by the majority of Ukrainians, so the political programs of the various political parties and the first candidates for the presidency of the Ukrainian Republic did not put forward the idea of joining NATO.

The Democratic Party intersects with neoconservatives in the US on the "Ukrainian

²⁵ Valeria Korablyova, EUROPE AS AN OBJECT OF DESIRE: UKRAINE BETWEEN "PSYCHOLOGICAL EUROPE" AND THE "SOVIET MENTALITY" P 82

²⁶ Andriy Levytsky, Security misread: A critical analysis of Ukraine's debate on NATO Security misread: A critical analysis of Ukraine's debate on NATO, P1 and after

Question” and NATO (one Democrat asked us to be more precise: Biden's team and the party's old stooges). During Obama's term, Biden was entrusted with the Ukrainian file. Biden's return to the White House represented an opportunity for a broad consensus between the "NATO" lobby, the neo-conservatives and the Democratic Party, on the central role that Ukraine can play in stopping Russia's economic expansion to the west through the "energy supplies" that were reinforced by the extension of the Stream 2 pipeline. Military aid to the Ukrainian army escalated in a way that made Ukraine the fourth beneficiary of US military aid in the world in 2021, and the forms of military cooperation clearly varied to include training, armament, ammunition and specific weapons.

In recent years, the NATO hawks have sought broad support for a military operation by the Ukrainian army to take full control of the Donbas region, and their biggest fear was that such an operation would form a deep rift between "old Europe", which rejects an open and comprehensive war with the Russian Federation. For the Biden administration, “defeated” in the Afghanistan war, and resentful of the birth of a multipolar world, it is necessary to thwart Franco-German attempts to advance the implementation of the Minsk Accords, and to stop German-Russian energy cooperation, which he found in the Ukrainian government an ally, “more proprietary than the king”. Therefore, he refused to provide any security

guarantees to the Russian Federation, which would prevent the expansion and strengthening of NATO's role on the western Russian borders.

The diplomatic solution got in the way, and the "special military operation" or "the war on Ukraine" (the name no longer matters), established the broadest alliance and coordination between the European Union and NATO since their founding. An alliance that differs, in which the accounts, the outcomes, and the interests. But it is certain in it that the European Union, at the geopolitical, economic, social and cultural level and "the possibility of global action and role", is the first loser... even if this "alliance" does not have long-term prospects.

Geopolitics and the New World Order

Robert D. Kaplan

This isn't what the 21st century was supposed to look like. The visceral reaction of many pundits, academics and Obama Administration officials to Russian President Vladimir Putin's virtual annexation of Crimea has been disbelief bordering on disorientation. As Secretary of State John Kerry said, "It's really 19th century behavior in the 21st century." Well, the "19th century," as Kerry calls it, lives on and always will. Forget about the world being flat. Forget technology as the great democratizer. Forget the niceties of international law. Territory and the bonds of blood that go with it are central to what makes us human.

Geography hasn't gone away. The global elite—leading academics, intellectuals, foreign policy analysts, foundation heads and corporate power brokers, as well as many Western leaders—may largely have forgotten about it. But what we're witnessing now is geography's revenge: in the East-West struggle for control of the buffer state of Ukraine, in the post-Arab Spring fracturing of artificial Middle Eastern states into ethnic and sectarian fiefs and in the unprecedented arms race being undertaken by East Asian states as they dispute potentially resource-rich waters. Technology hasn't

negated geography; it has only made it more precious and claustrophobic.

Whereas the West has come to think about international relations in terms of laws and multinational agreements, most of the rest of the world still thinks in terms of deserts, mountain ranges, all-weather ports and tracts of land and water. The world is back to the maps of elementary school as a starting point for an understanding of history, culture, religion and ethnicity—not to mention power struggles over trade routes and natural resources.

The post–Cold War era was supposed to be about economics, interdependence and universal values trumping the instincts of nationalism and nationalism’s related obsession with the domination of geographic space. But Putin’s actions betray a singular truth, one that the U.S. should remember as it looks outward and around the globe: international relations are still about who can do what to whom.

Putin’s Power Play

So what has Putin done? The Russian leader has used geography to his advantage. He has acted, in other words, according to geopolitics, the battle for space and power played out in a geographical setting—a concept that has not changed since antiquity (and yet one to which many Western diplomats and academics have lately seemed deaf).

Europe's modern era is supposed to be about the European Union triumphing over the bonds of blood and ethnicity, building a system of laws from Iberia to the Black Sea—and eventually from Lisbon to Moscow. But the E.U.'s long financial crisis has weakened its political influence in Central and Eastern Europe. And while its democratic ideals have been appealing to many in Ukraine, the dictates of geography make it nearly impossible for that nation to reorient itself entirely toward the West.

Russia is still big, and Russia is still autocratic—after all, it remains a sprawling and insecure land power that has enjoyed no cartographic impediments to invasion from French, Germans, Swedes, Lithuanians and Poles over the course of its history. The southern Crimean Peninsula is still heavily ethnic Russian, and it is the home of Russia's Black Sea fleet, providing Russia's only outlet to the Mediterranean.

Seeing that he could no longer control Ukraine by manipulating its democracy through President Viktor Yanukovich's neo-czardom, Putin opted for a more direct and mechanical approach. He took de facto control of pro-Russian Crimea, which for all intents and purposes was already within his sphere of influence. Besides, the home of Russia's warm-water fleet could never be allowed to fall under the sway of a pro-Western government in Kiev.

Next, Putin ordered military maneuvers in the part of Russia adjoining eastern Ukraine, involving more than 10,000 troops, in order to demonstrate Russia's geographical supremacy over the half of Ukraine that is pro-Russian as well as the part of Ukraine blessed with large shale-gas reserves. Putin knows—as does the West—that a flat topography along the long border between Russia and Ukraine grants Moscow an overwhelming advantage not only militarily but also in terms of disrupting trade and energy flows to Kiev. While Ukraine has natural gas of its own, it relies on Russia's far vaster reserves to fuel its domestic economy.

Putin is not likely to invade eastern Ukraine in a conventional way. In order to exercise dominance, he doesn't need to. Instead he will send in secessionists, instigate disturbances, probe the frontier with Russian troops and in other ways use the porous border with Ukraine to undermine both eastern Ukraine's sovereignty and its links to western Ukraine.

In short, he will use every geographical and linguistic advantage to weaken Ukraine as a state. Ukraine is simply located too far east, and is too spatially exposed to Russia, for it ever to be in the interests of any government in Moscow—democratic or not—to allow Ukraine's complete alignment with the West.

Back to a Zero-Sum Middle East

Another way to describe what is going on around the world now is old-fashioned zero-sum power politics. It is easy to forget that many Western policymakers and thinkers have grown up in conditions of unprecedented security and prosperity, and they have been intellectually formed by the post-Cold War world, in which it was widely believed that a new set of coolly rational rules would drive foreign policy. But leaders beyond America and Europe tend to be highly territorial in their thinking. For them, international relations are a struggle for survival. As a result, Western leaders often think in universal terms, while rulers in places like Russia, the Middle East and East Asia think in narrower terms: those that provide advantage to their nations or their ethnic groups only.

We can see this disconnect in the Middle East, which is unraveling in ways that would be familiar to a 19th century geographer but less intuitive to a Washington policy wonk. The Arab Spring was hailed for months as the birth pangs of a new kind of regional democracy. It quickly became a crisis in central authority, producing not democracy but religious war in Syria, chaos in Yemen and Libya and renewed dictatorship in Egypt as a popular reaction to incipient chaos and Islamic extremism. Tunisia, seen by some as the lone success story of the Arab Spring, is a mere fledgling democracy with land borders it can no longer adequately control, especially in the southern desert areas where its frontiers meet those of Algeria and Libya—a situation aggravated by Libya's collapse.

Meanwhile, Tripoli is no longer the capital of Libya but instead the central dispatch point for negotiations among tribes, militias and gangs for control of territory. Damascus is not the capital of Syria but only that of Syria's most powerful warlord, Bashar Assad. Baghdad totters on as the capital of a tribalized Shi'ite Mesopotamia dominated by adjacent Iran—with a virtually independent Kurdish entity to its mountainous north and a jihadist Sunnistan to its west, the latter of which has joined a chaotic void populated by literally hundreds of war bands extending deep across a flat desert terrain into Syria as far as the Mediterranean.

Hovering above this devolution of Middle Eastern states into anarchic war boredoms is the epic geographic struggle between a great Shi'ite state occupying the Iranian Plateau and a medieval-style Sunni monarchy occupying much of the Arabian Peninsula. The interminable violence and repression in eastern Saudi Arabia, Bahrain and Sunnistan (covering both western Iraq and Syria) are fueled by this Saudi-Iranian proxy war. Because Iran is developing the technological and scientific base with which to assemble nuclear weapons, Israel finds itself in a de facto alliance with Saudi Arabia. Israeli Prime Minister Benjamin Netanyahu can be defined by his zero-sum geographic fears, including that of the tyranny of distance: the difficulty of his relatively small air force to travel a thousand miles eastward, which bedevils his search for an acceptable military option against Iran. This helps make him what he is: an

obstinate negotiating partner for both the Palestinians and the Americans.

Pacific Projection

Then there is the most important part of the world for the U.S., the part with two of the three largest economies (China and Japan) and the home of critical American treaty allies: the Asia-Pacific region. This region too is undeniably far less stable now than at the start of the 21st century, and for reasons that can best be explained by geography.

In the early Cold War decades, Asian countries were preoccupied with their internal affairs. China, under Mao Zedong's depredations and Deng Xiaoping's economic reforms, was inwardly focused. Vietnam, the current territory of Malaysia and to a lesser extent the Philippines were overwhelmed by internal wars and rebellions. Singapore was building a viable city-state from scratch. And South Korea and Japan were recovering from major wars.

Now these states have consolidated their domestic affairs and built strong institutions. They have all, with the exception of the poverty-racked Philippines, benefited from many years of capitalist-style growth. But strong institutions and capitalist prosperity lead to military ambitions, and so all of these states since the 1990s have been enlarging or modernizing their navies

and air forces—a staggering military buildup to which the American media have paid relatively scant attention.

Since the 1990s, Asia's share of military imports has risen from 15% to 41% of the world total, and its overall military spending has risen from 11% to 20% of all global military expenditures. And what are these countries doing with all of these new submarines, warships, fighter jets, ballistic missiles and cyberwarfare capabilities? They are contesting with one another lines on the map in the blue water of the South China and East China seas: Who controls what island, atoll or other geographical feature above or below water—for reserves of oil and natural gas might lie nearby? Nationalism, especially that based on race and ethnicity, fired up by territorial claims, may be frowned upon in the modern West, but it is alive and well throughout prosperous East Asia.

Notice that all these disputes are, once again, not about ideas or economics or politics even but rather about territory. The various claims between China and Japan in the East China Sea, and between China and all the other pleaders in the South China Sea (principally Vietnam and the Philippines), are so complex that while theoretically solvable through negotiation, they are more likely to be held in check by a stable balance-of-power system agreed to by the U.S. and Chinese navies and air forces. The 21st century map of the Pacific Basin, clogged as it is with warships, is like a map of conflict-prone Europe from previous centuries. Though war may ultimately be

avoided in East Asia, the Pacific will show us a more anxious, complicated world order, explained best by such familiar factors as physical terrain, clashing peoples, natural resources and contested trade routes.

India and China, because of the high wall of the Himalayas, have developed for most of history as two great world civilizations having relatively little to do with each other. But the collapse of distance in the past 50 years has turned them into strategic competitors in the Indian Ocean and the South China Sea. (This is how technology abets rather than alleviates conflict.) And if Narendra Modi of the Hindu-nationalist Bharatiya Janata Party is elected by a significant majority in elections in April and May, as is expected by many, India will likely pursue a fiercely geopolitical foreign policy, aligning even more strongly with Japan against China.

China, meanwhile, faces profound economic troubles in the coming years. The upshot will be more regime-stoked nationalism directed at the territorial disputes in the South China and East China seas and more rebellions at home from regionally based ethnic groups such as the Turkic Muslim Uighurs, in the west abutting Central Asia, and the Tibetans, in the southwest close to India. Can the Han Chinese, who inhabit the arable cradle of China and make up 90% of the country's population, keep the minorities on the upland peripheries under control during a sustained period of economic and social unrest? The great existential question about China's future is about control of its borderlands, not its currency.

Practically anywhere you look around the globe, geography confounds. Burma is slowly being liberated from benighted military dictatorship only to see its Muslim minority Rohingya suffer murder and rape at the hands of Burmese nationalist groups. The decline of authoritarianism in Burma reveals a country undermined by geographically based ethnic groups with their own armies and militias. Similarly, sub-Saharan African economies have been growing dramatically as middle classes emerge across that continent. Yet at the same time, absolute population growth and resource scarcity have aggravated ethnic and religious conflicts over territory, as in the adjoining Central African Republic and South Sudan in the heart of the continent, which have dissolved into religious and tribal war.

What's New Is Old Again

Of course, civil society of the kind Western elites pine for is the only answer for most of these problems. The rule of law, combined with decentralization in the cases of sprawling countries such as Russia and Burma, alone can provide for stability—as it has over the centuries in Europe and the Americas. But working toward that goal requires undiluted realism about the unpleasant facts on the ground.

To live in a world where geography is respected and not ignored is to understand the constraints under which political leaders labor. Many obstacles simply cannot be overcome. That is why the greatest statesmen work near

the edges of what is possible. Geography establishes the broad parameters—only within its bounds does human agency have a chance to succeed.

Thus, Ukraine can become a prosperous civil society, but because of its location it will always require a strong and stable relationship with Russia. The Arab world can eventually stabilize, but Western militaries cannot set complex and highly populous Islamic societies to rights except at great cost to themselves. East Asia can avoid war but only by working with the forces of ethnic nationalism at play there.

If there is good news here, it is that most of the borders that are being redrawn—or just rounder lined—exist within states rather than between them. A profound level of upheaval is occurring that, in many cases, precludes military intervention. The vast human cataclysms of the 20th century will not likely repeat themselves. But the worldwide civil society that the elites thought they could engineer is a chimera. The geographical forces at work will not be easily tamed.

While our foreign policy must be morally based, the analysis behind it must be cold-blooded, with geography as its starting point. In geopolitics, the past never dies and there is no modern world.

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Reconstruction de l'Ukraine :

L'aide financière occidentale face au trou noir de la corruption

Ana Pouvreau

La reconstruction de l'Ukraine nécessitera du temps et de l'argent. La corruption ancienne du pays sera un obstacle à surmonter pour assurer cette reconstruction.

L'idée d'une aide financière massive au profit de la reconstruction de l'Ukraine n'est pas nouvelle. Dès mars 2015, l'écrivain Bernard-Henri Lévy, soutenu par plusieurs personnalités politiques européennes, dont l'ancien ministre des Affaires étrangères Bernard Kouchner, et par les oligarques les plus riches d'Ukraine à savoir, Dmytro Firtash, Victor Pntchouk, Rinat Akhmetov, avait présenté un « Plan Marshall pour l'Ukraine ». Son objectif était de mettre sur pied l'Agence pour la modernisation de l'Ukraine (AMU), un organisme devant être alimenté par un fonds spécial d'investissement de 300 milliards € récoltés auprès de l'Union européenne (UE), du Fonds monétaire international (FMI), mais également de différents fonds

souverains[1]. Ce projet s'avéra vite controversé en raison notamment de graves accusations de corruption autour des trois oligarques ukrainiens susmentionnés[2]. L'idée a cependant ressurgi avec plus de vigueur à la faveur de la guerre en Ukraine. Le 23 mai 2022, lors du Forum économique de Davos, le président ukrainien Volodymyr Zelensky a réclamé une aide mensuelle de 5 milliards € aux dirigeants occidentaux pour reconstruire le pays[3]. Des États et des institutions internationales rivalisent désormais dans l'annonce de sommes colossales dédiées à la reconstruction de l'Ukraine dans le cadre d'« un nouveau Plan Marshall pour l'Ukraine »[4]. Et ce, au vu des destructions causées par la guerre et estimées à des « *centaines de milliards d'euros, dont plus de 100 milliards pour les seules infrastructures physiques* »[5].

Pourtant, le fléau de la corruption endémique, qui grève les perspectives de développement du pays depuis son indépendance en 1991, conduit à s'interroger sur le risque élevé de détournement de cette aide financière

massive au profit d'individus corrompus et de puissants réseaux criminels.

Le constat unanime du fléau de la corruption à grande échelle

Peu avant la guerre, la communauté internationale, tout comme le peuple ukrainien, étaient unanimes dans leur condamnation de la corruption en Ukraine. En 2020, selon l'ONG Transparency International, l'Ukraine partageait le même indice de perception de la corruption que la Zambie ou la Sierra Leone[6]. Pour sa part, en 2021, la Cour des comptes européenne (CCE), qui se veut être la « gardienne des finances de l'UE », avait déploré, dans un rapport intitulé *Réduire la grande corruption en Ukraine*[7], que l'action de l'UE en faveur des réformes en Ukraine était inefficace en matière de lutte contre ce fléau. Elle ajoutait que des dizaines de milliards d'euros étaient perdus chaque année à cause de la corruption, des flux financiers illicites et du blanchiment de capitaux. Force était de constater le caractère endémique de ce fléau, qui avait pour conséquence d'entraver la concurrence et la croissance

et de nuire au processus démocratique dans le pays. La CCE se disait alors « *consciente, depuis longtemps, des accointances entre oligarques, hauts fonctionnaires, responsables politiques, système judiciaire et entreprises publiques* » en Ukraine, et regrettait vivement l'échec de l'Union européenne à élaborer « *une véritable stratégie ciblant la grande corruption[8]* ».

L'octroi d'une aide financière colossale par les Occidentaux

Sans aucune garantie que les fonds débloqués seront utilisés comme prévu, les Occidentaux – outre l'aide militaire qu'ils fournissent massivement à l'Ukraine – lui ont octroyé une aide financière d'une ampleur inégalée depuis la Seconde Guerre mondiale : États-Unis (40 Mds\$, soit plus que le PIB du Cameroun selon *Le Figaro[9]*) ; G7 (19,8 Mds\$) ; UE (10 Mds pour les réfugiés en avril 2022 et 6 Mds € pour l'aide à la reconstruction en mai 2022) ; France (300 millions €) ; FMI (1,4 Mds d'aide d'urgence), sans compter une

myriade d'autres initiatives de la part d'autres pays, d'institutions ou de personnes privées, comme l'illustre la collecte de 36 millions \$ dans le cadre de la nouvelle plateforme de financement participatif « United 24 » du président Zelensky[10]. Le 18 mai 2022, la présidente de la Commission européenne Ursula Von Der Leyen a annoncé son projet d'emprunt commun auprès des États de l'UE – inspiré du plan de relance post-Covid – pour financer la reconstruction de l'Ukraine et la mise en place d'un nouvel instrument financier intitulé *RebuildUkraine*, adossé au budget européen[11]. À cet égard, il est utile de rappeler que, dans les années 1990, une partie importante de l'argent injecté par les institutions internationales (FMI et Banque mondiale) pour sauver la Russie des dégâts causés par la « thérapie de choc », avait été massivement détournée et investie hors de Russie[12].

L'Ukraine à la traîne des pays européens en dépit de ses richesses naturelles

Ce pays de 44 millions d'habitants et d'une superficie comparable à celle de la France occupe les premières places mondiales dans la production agricole (tournesol, blé, maïs, sarrasin, pommes de terre, etc.) et détient 5% des ressources minérales de la planète. Paradoxalement, le PIB par habitant de ce pays européen ne dépasse pas 3 726 dollars, soit légèrement supérieur à celui de l'Algérie, de la Tunisie ou des Philippines, bien loin derrière les USA (63 000 \$), l'Allemagne (47 000 \$), la France (38 000 \$), la Russie ou la Chine (10 000 \$) ou la Turquie (8 738 \$). Le salaire mensuel moyen en Ukraine ne dépasse pas 485 €. Quant aux pensions de retraite, près de 70% des retraités ukrainiens perçoivent une pension inférieure à 116 euros par mois^[13]. À noter que selon le UNHCR, par décision du gouvernement ukrainien, à compter de décembre 2014, 560 000 retraités vivant dans les républiques séparatistes pro-russes du Donbass n'ont plus perçu leur pension de retraite et ont été réduits à un état de misère, se nourrissant de pain et de thé^[14]. Comment expliquer un tel décalage entre les immenses richesses naturelles

du pays et le niveau de vie préoccupant de ses habitants ?

Un pays mis en coupe réglée par les oligarques depuis l'indépendance en 1991

À l'instar de la Russie et d'autres anciennes républiques soviétiques, l'Ukraine a été l'objet de vastes prédatations de la part d'une poignée d'individus qui, dès le début des années 1990, se sont accaparé frauduleusement les matières premières et les industries du pays, dans le cadre du processus de privatisation des biens publics. Le criminologue Alain Bauer a analysé le phénomène de cette captation des richesses de l'État par une poignée de proches du pouvoir en Russie. « *Ces nouveaux barons voleurs sont connus sous le nom d'oligarques* » écrivait-il en 2012[15]. Ce constat s'applique de la même manière à l'Ukraine. La journaliste Sophie Lambroschini écrit dans un article sur le système oligarchique ukrainien que « *la stabilité du régime politique ukrainien repose sur un équilibre précaire : les rapports de force entre quelques clans politico-économiques puissants, nés de la faiblesse*

du nouvel État ukrainien après l'éclatement de l'URSS en 1991 ». « *Pendant de nombreuses années, ajoute-t-elle, ils ont assuré la défense et la multiplication de leurs fortunes par le biais de privatisations à prix cassés, l'octroi préférentiel de licences d'exploitation et de subventions publiques, l'impunité accordée à des pratiques d'extorsion par la force, parfois en lien avec des réseaux criminels***[16]** ». Depuis l'indépendance, les dirigeants ukrainiens sont souvent eux-mêmes des oligarques, tel l'ancien président Petro Porochenko, à la tête d'un empire commercial, dont la fortune est estimée à 1,7 milliard de dollars. Impliqué dans de nombreux scandales financiers, il est accusé de haute trahison pour avoir entretenu des liens commerciaux avec les séparatistes pro-russes du Donbass en 2014-2015**[17]**.

Des oligarques tout-puissants à la tête du pays

Le quotidien d'investigation le *Kyiv Post*, qui a fait face, depuis 1995, à de nombreuses menaces, a publié, avant la guerre de 2022, une série d'enquêtes sur les

oligarques ukrainiens, montrant leur rôle toxique pour l'économie du pays. Parmi eux, certains soutiennent le pouvoir en place par le biais de parlementaires acquis à leur cause et membres du parti présidentiel « Serviteur du peuple » de Volodymyr Zelensky à la Rada ukrainienne. Le nom du président est apparu dans les Pandora Papers[18], une enquête internationale menée par 600 journalistes du Consortium international des journalistes d'investigation (CIJI), sur la fraude et l'évasion fiscales à l'échelle globale. À l'instar de Petro Porochenko, son rival du scrutin présidentiel de 2019, Zelensky aurait également dissimulé sa grande fortune dans plusieurs paradis fiscaux, avant de transférer ses parts à son conseiller, Serhiy Shefir[19].

Le prévisible retour en grâce des oligarques

Peu avant le déclenchement de la guerre, des oligarques ukrainiens et leur famille se sont enfuis à l'étranger, où ils possèdent de nombreux biens immobiliers, à bord de leurs avions privés[20]. Certains d'entre eux détiennent un passeport de l'UE. Ils ne sont pas revenus en Ukraine

en dépit de l'ordre de mobilisation générale qui oblige les hommes ukrainiens âgés de 18 à 60 ans à servir leur patrie et leur interdit de quitter le territoire national. On a vu, sur la Côte d'Azur, pendant ce conflit meurtrier, des Ukrainiens, pourtant en âge de combattre, au volant de voitures de luxe, loin du théâtre de la guerre[21].

Pour rappel, Rinat Akhmetov a fait l'acquisition en 2019 de la propriété la plus chère du monde, à savoir la villa « Les Cèdres », estimée à 418 millions \$. Elle est située sur la Côte d'Azur, sur la « presqu'île des milliardaires », au Cap Ferrat. Au même endroit, Pintchouk est propriétaire de la villa « Sorentina » payée 137 millions \$, tandis que Firtash a acquis la « Villa mauresque » pour une cinquantaine de millions \$. Dans leur proximité vivent l'oligarque ukrainien Pavel Fuks (Villa « Anastasia », 176 millions \$), les députés ukrainiens prorusses Serhiy Lyovochkin et Igor Abramovitch. Non loin, l'homme d'affaires américain originaire d'Odessa, Léonide Blavatnik, est propriétaire du Grand Hôtel du Cap-Ferrat (150 millions \$)[22].

En septembre 2021, confronté au mécontentement croissant de la population qui, descendue dans la rue, exigeait du gouvernement des mesures contre l'influence abusive et délétère des oligarques sur la vie économique et politique du pays, Volodymyr Zelensky avait fait voter une loi sur les oligarques[23]. Celle-ci devait entrer en vigueur le 7 mai 2022. Entretemps, les individus concernés ont une fois de plus tenté par tous les moyens d'assurer leur survie politique, voire à se positionner comme des acteurs incontournables de la reconstruction du pays dans l'après-guerre, à l'instar de Victor Pntchouk[24]. Au fil des trente dernières années, certains ont défendu des positions tour à tour pro-russes et pro-occidentales en fonction de leurs seuls intérêts privés. Plusieurs d'entre eux font l'objet de poursuite judiciaire et ont entretenu des liens avec des organisations criminelles, mais la lutte anticorruption n'est manifestement plus une priorité en temps de guerre en Ukraine[25]. C'est ainsi que leur influence internationale leur assurera certainement un avenir

serein dans le futur ordre mondial issu des récents bouleversements géopolitiques.

En conclusion, les fonds colossaux mis à la disposition de l'Ukraine par les dirigeants occidentaux au mépris de la corruption rampante qui y sévit depuis plusieurs décennies a pour effet de renforcer la position de certains oligarques pourtant responsables de la faillite du pays, ainsi que celle des réseaux criminels, grevant ainsi définitivement l'avenir du peuple ukrainien. Dans un tel contexte, les timides déclarations des décideurs européens concernant leur volonté de lutter contre la corruption en Ukraine ne paraissent pas crédibles. Alors même que les pays occidentaux se trouvent confrontés à une crise économique d'une ampleur inédite et qu'une grave crise alimentaire mondiale se profile en raison de la guerre en Ukraine, la guerre devrait au contraire être l'occasion d'améliorer la gouvernance et la transparence dans ce pays.

L'État ukrainien et les oligarques

Les exemples suivants illustrent la collusion entre l'État et les oligarques en Ukraine et les conséquences néfastes qui en découlent pour le pays.

Ihor Kolomoïsky, à la tête d'un empire médiatique, est le mentor du président Volodymyr Zelensky. Il a été gouverneur de Dnipropetrovsk. Selon le *Kyiv Post*, l'accession au pouvoir de Zelensky lui a permis de prendre le contrôle de l'entreprise pétrolière d'État Ukrnafta. Jusqu'à ses ennuis judiciaires aux États-Unis, il contrôlait également Centrenergo, entreprise nationalisée, qui assure 15 % de la production d'énergie de l'Ukraine. Il aurait obtenu le limogeage du Premier ministre réformateur Aleksiy Hontcharuk, qui s'opposait à son emprise sur le secteur de l'énergie. Kolomoïsky est poursuivi aux États-Unis – où il a acquis de nombreux biens immobiliers – pour corruption et blanchiment d'argent. Les fonds détournés en Ukraine (5,5 milliards de dollars) proviendraient de la banque ukrainienne Privatbank, qu'il a fondée et qui a été nationalisée en

2016. Il est également accusé de détournement de fonds provenant de Centrenergo. Il a financé plusieurs unités paramilitaires – dont le bataillon Azov – pour combattre contre les séparatistes pro-russes du Donbass[26].

Le magnat Dmytro Firtash contrôle une part substantielle du marché du titane en Ukraine et du secteur de la chimie. Il détient le monopole du secteur des engrais azotés et il est propriétaire de la plupart des sociétés gazières régionales. Il a longtemps maintenu une influence politique en Ukraine par le biais de ses chaînes de TV et de députés pro-Kremlin à la Rada. Il est accusé d'avoir détourné 360 millions de dollars de fonds publics dans le secteur gazier. Les États-Unis ont tenté, il y a quelques années, d'obtenir son extradition, car il est accusé d'avoir versé 19,5 millions de dollars de pots-de-
vin à des responsables indiens dans une vente de titane à l'entreprise américaine Boeing. Le département de la justice américaine l'a accusé d'entretenir des liens étroits avec le crime organisé russe. Son influence politique dépasse les frontières ukrainiennes. En Autriche, où il a été jugé, il a pu mettre à profit ses liens

avec le Parti populaire autrichien (ÖVP) et sa proximité avec l'ancien vice-chancelier et ministre des Finances Michael Spindelegger, employant même l'ancien ministre de la Justice dans son équipe d'avocats. En 2021, Firtash a fait l'objet de sanctions économiques ukrainiennes pour la vente de titane à des entreprises russes du secteur de la défense.

Le plus riche des oligarques ukrainiens, Rinat Akhmetov, a fait fortune dans l'industrie sidérurgique et minière et la production d'électricité. Il est le propriétaire de l'aciérie de Marioupol, la plus grande d'Europe, qui a été assiégée par les forces russes. Ses entreprises contrôlent plus de 50 % du marché ukrainien du minerai de fer et extraient près de 70 % du charbon en Ukraine. Akhmetov a bénéficié des prix très bas de l'extraction fixés par les gouvernements successifs. Il a utilisé le réseau ferroviaire, qui appartient à l'État, pour transporter le charbon et le minerai de fer, notamment vers l'étranger, à un prix si dérisoire, que l'entreprise ferroviaire nationale Ukrzaliznytsya a travaillé à perte. Avec la hausse des prix du minerai de fer, Akhmetov

s'est enrichi au fil des ans, sa fortune passant de 2,8 milliards \$ à 7,6 milliards \$ en 2021. Il exerce une influence sur une cinquantaine de parlementaires ukrainiens et sur l'opinion publique, par le biais de ses chaînes TV. Il assure la production de 25% de l'électricité du pays, ce qui lui confère un véritable levier en matière d'influence politique. Il a fait l'objet d'une enquête sur le programme « Rotterdam plus », qui obligeait les Ukrainiens à payer un supplément pour la fourniture d'électricité afin de couvrir le coût de livraisons imaginaires de charbon depuis Rotterdam. Il a financé pendant plusieurs années le Parti des régions de l'ancien président prorusse Victor Ianoukovitch. En 2021, il a été accusé de fomenter un coup d'État contre le président Zelensky. Ayant dénoncé vigoureusement l'invasion russe en 2022, il est de retour en grâce auprès du pouvoir ukrainien.

L'oligarque Victor Pintchouk est le gendre de l'ancien président Léonid Koutchma qui a été embourbé dans de nombreux scandales de corruption. Il détient le monopole de la production de tuyaux métalliques. Il

exerce une influence politique importante en Ukraine, en particulier grâce à son groupe de médias Starlight, et à l'étranger, grâce à sa présence chaque année au Forum économique de Davos, où il organise les « Ukrainian Breakfasts ». Par le biais de sa fondation : The Pinchuk Foundation, il est très actif dans les think tanks américains. Il fait don de sommes importantes à la Brookings Institution et à l'Atlantic Council. Comme d'autres oligarques, Pintchouk a également financé des initiatives à travers l'ensemble du spectre politique américain, de Donald Trump jusqu'à la Fondation Clinton[27]. Il est le mentor de nombreux jeunes perçus comme de futurs décideurs politiques, dont il couvre les frais de scolarité dans des universités prestigieuses en Occident. En 2004, il a créé l'organisation Yalta European Strategy (YES) pour promouvoir l'adhésion de l'Ukraine à l'UE, puis il a préconisé en 2016 que l'Ukraine abandonne temporairement la perspective d'une adhésion à l'UE, exclue l'adhésion à l'OTAN et négocie avec la Russie en vue de garantir la paix. Il s'est affronté

à l'oligarque Kolomoïsky dans le cadre de plusieurs procès pour corruption.

<https://www.revueconflits.com/reconstruction-de-lukraine-laide-financiere-occidentale-face-au-trou-noir-de-la-corruption/>

La guerre du spectacle en Ukraine

Haytham Manna

André Vitcek, l'analyste politique, écrivait ceci avant sa mort tragique, en 2020:

De Londres à Washington, d'habiles propagandistes veillent à « protéger » les populations du monde entier contre les « vérités qui dérangent ». L'opinion publique, l'idéologie et les perceptions sont fabriquées. Comme les voitures et les smartphones produits en série, elles sont commercialisées par l'entremise de la publicité et de la propagande ».

« Le rôle propagandiste des médias de masse a inspiré à Noam Chomsky plusieurs livres, dont la lecture est essentielle pour comprendre comment le monde est dirigé.

« J'ai aussi écrit d'innombrables articles illustrant des cas de manipulation idéologique par les puissances occidentales et leurs institutions, et traitant souvent de questions comme la propagande à laquelle se livrent les grands médias... La peur et le nihilisme ont gagné toute la planète. « La peur d'être la cible d'une « punition » de

la part des maîtres occidentaux du monde. La peur d'être étiqueté, mis de côté, stigmatisé.

« Le nihilisme est aussi véhiculé par les propagandistes bien établis dans les médias et les universités d'Occident, des apparatchiks embauchés pour s'en prendre à toute idée progressiste et indépendante, quelle que soit sa forme ou sa provenance ».

« L'optimisme, la ferveur militante et les rêves d'un monde meilleur sont attaqués, dénaturés, discrédités, au mieux ridiculisés...²⁷

Mais depuis la Slovaquie, le philosophe slovaque Slavoj Žižek, auteur de «Dans la tempête virale», a élevé la voix en réponse aux manifestations racistes qui ont accompagné la guerre en Ukraine dès ses premiers instants:

«J'ai honte de mon pays, la Slovaquie, qui ferme la porte aux réfugiés non européens'. Sur la fièvre de la surenchère et de la démagogie, il répond : "Quelle Europe voulez-vous que nous défendions, la vieille Europe nationaliste, représentée par la Hongrie, la Pologne, etc.? Dans ce cas, ce serait une catastrophe... La façon dont L'idée que la solidarité avec le peuple

²⁷ André Vitchek, *L'Occident terroriste. D'Hiroshima à la guerre des drones*, Montréal, Eco société, 2015).

ukrainien est investie, employée et monopolisée est dégoûtante, abordé objectivement la question, c'est défendre Poutine. Si les choses continuent comme ça, c'est un désastre".

Une photo du président américain Joe Biden, apparu « en direct » sur les chaînes du monde entier accompagnant la signature d'un document des propos suivants s'est imposée à moi : « En une semaine, nous avons fourni à l'Ukraine 100 milliards de dollars d'aide militaire », assurait triomphalement le président américain.

Ce sont pourtant les mêmes États-Unis, qui ont mis sur pied la coalition "des amis du peuple syrien" pour mener la guerre contre la Syrie. Ce sont les États-Unis qui ont dirigé les postes de commandement militaires MOC et MOM²⁸, avant de soutenir les FDS (Forces Démocratiques syriennes – kurdes). Mais les États Unis n'ont pas fourni à leurs alliés militaires syriens respectifs,

²⁸ **MOC et MOM sont des structures de coordination en même temps que des chambres d'opérations aménagées des deux côtés de la frontière de la Syrie, à la manière de la « situation room » des états-majors occidentaux : Au sud, le MOC pour la Jordanie (Military Opération Center); Au nord, pour la MOM (Musterek Operasyon Merkezi).**

en 11 ans, qu'environ 1% de ce qu'ils ont fourni à l'Ukraine en une semaine.

Il n'a pas fallu plus d'un mois de combats en Ukraine pour révéler à l'observateur les secrets de l'intervention militaire russe en Ukraine, et même les responsables européens les plus prudents omettent ouvertement d'auto censurer les déclarations de leurs responsables.

Ainsi Josep Borrell, le diplomate hispano-européen, a peut-être été l'un des premiers à répondre aux accusations du président ukrainien de laisser l'Ukraine seule dans la guerre en disant : "L'Europe a rempli tous les engagements que nous avons pris envers les Ukrainiens".

De quelles obligations parlait-il ? Et qu'a donc promis l'Union européenne aux responsables ukrainiens ? Le conseiller politique de l'ambassade d'Ukraine au Caire, humble de culture et d'expérience, a déclaré que son pays était en guerre contre la Russie depuis 2014 et que l'opération en cours est une escalade dangereuse dans cette guerre.

Le secrétaire d'État américain Anthony Blinken est lui aussi tombé dans le piège en tenant des propos excessifs, déclarant notamment : « Nous devrions faire appel à une direction ukrainienne alternative au cas où le président ukrainien serait assassiné » ? Bien sûr, le

journaliste ne lui a pas demandé : pourquoi avez-vous le droit de choisir une nouvelle direction ukrainienne, et Poutine n'a pas le droit de le faire

Sergueï Lavrov, ministre russe des Affaires étrangères, qui a une longue expérience diplomatique, a éprouvé ainsi un malin plaisir à rafraîchir la mémoire de ses interlocuteurs occidentaux énumérant le bombardement de la Serbie, l'Afghanistan, l'Irak et la Libye, en omettant la Syrie, soulignant que le terme «dommages collatéraux» est une invention américaine, et occidentale, et qu'il n'y avait aucune raison de ne pas la mondialiser pour y inclure l'armée russe, s'inspirant de l'adage selon lequel "Que celui d'entre vous qui n'a pas péché, jette sur le soldat russe une pierre."

En d'autres termes : Ce que fait l'armée russe aujourd'hui en Ukraine est un aspect de la mondialisation que les forces de l'OTAN ont commis hier... avec toutefois une légère différence : l'impunité occidentale : "Vous étiez au-dessus des peines et de la responsabilité judiciaire, alors pourquoi nous mettez-vous au-dessous ?».

Si la propagande russe évoque dans notre esprit la blague folklorique syrienne (l'ours s'est levé pour danser et a mangé six sept âmes), la propagande occidentale nous rappelle à propos de l'Ukraine l'image imaginaire du poète-philosophe Omar Khayyam d'un dialogue entre une prostituée et un clerc.

Après que l'ecclésiastique ait décrit la prostituée avec tous les maux, la prostituée lui a répondu en disant : *Tout ce que vous avez dit est vrai. Mais es-tu vraiment tel que tu te présentes aux gens ?*

"Nous devons nous concentrer sur l'image de l'innocence ukrainienne pour contrecarrer l'invasion russe", a déclaré un responsable de l'Otan, oubliant que lui-même, en personne, avait mis en garde en 2014 contre l'armement aveugle de l'Ukraine et la participation d'Européens étrangers d'extrême droite au nom de la « guerre contre le terrorisme » ?

Comment la présidente de la commission européenne Ursula van der Leyen s'est-elle détournée de son discours à la conférence de Munich sur la sécurité, lorsqu'elle était ministre allemande de la Défense : « L'Allemagne perçoit la situation conflictuelle comme une occasion de démontrer qu'au XXI^e siècle, les pays développés doivent régler leurs conflits par la négociation. Pour elle, fournir des armes aux autorités ukrainiennes afin de les aider à se défendre pourrait avoir des conséquences imprévues et fatales: «La livraison d'armes serait un accélérateur de feu. Cela pourrait donner un prétexte au Kremlin d'intervenir ouvertement dans ce conflit». Pour parler en chef de guerre et de l'aide militaire nécessaire aux Ukrainiens pour combattre l'agression russe ?

La chancelière allemande Angela Merkel a été parmi les premières à souligner les dangers des extrémistes dans l'est de l'Ukraine lorsqu'elle a "exhorté le président Petro Porochenko à maintenir un sens des proportions dans ses actions légitimes contre les séparatistes et à protéger la population civile" lors de ses "opérations antiterroristes". Les deuxièmes accords de Minsk, auxquels l'Allemagne était partie, en vigueur depuis février 2015, n'ont-ils pas « retiré tous les groupes armés étrangers, les équipements militaires et les mercenaires du territoire ukrainien » ?

Est-il besoin de rappeler la déclaration de Mme Anne-Marie Lizin, présidente d'honneur du Sénat belge, au retour d'une réunion du Conseil européen de sécurité et de coopération à Paris lors d'un symposium de solidarité avec l'Ukraine:

«La présence d'Azov et des combattants étrangers dans le pays est l'une des difficultés qui empêche le gouvernement de respecter les accords de Minsk » ?

Les chaînes d'information recherchent un titre pour tous ceux qui paraissent parler de l'Ukraine: un expert stratégique, un expert des affaires de sécurité européennes, un expert du Centre d'études géostratégiques...

Qu'ils étaient risibles les qualificatifs attribués ces vingt dernières années à la même personne dans quatre zones de conflit armé ? : La même personne était présentée, selon les besoins de la démonstration, tour à tour, un expert des affaires afghanes, puis un expert de l'Irak et du Moyen-Orient, ensuite un expert du dossier syrien, enfin, un expert des organisations terroristes et de l'État islamique ..

La même personne devient par miracle : un expert des affaires ukrainiennes... On peut, à la limite, accepter ces titres d'honneur, en écoutant le vétéran des conflits, Gérard Chaliand, par exemple, mais les délivrer gracieusement aux poussins de "guerre de spectacle", suscite le dégoût.

La mission du journaliste, ainsi que je le soulignais, lors d'un colloque à Doha tenu il y a 15 ans et portant sur le «Code d'honneur professionnel» est la suivante:

« Un journaliste est un historien du moment, de la paix et de la guerre. Son métier se résume à démasquer le mensonge ; de dénoncer le versement du sang humain dans les guerres chaudes, ou à sucer le sang des gens par la corruption et l'arbitraire dans les guerres froides, dont souffrent la plupart des gens...

Je n'imaginai pas un instant que nombre d'amis qui avaient dénoncé les crimes américains en Afghanistan et

en Irak, devenir subitement du jour au lendemain des partisans de « l'OTAN ».

La Russie et l'Ukraine partagent le fait qu'ils sont gangrenés, à une phase avancée, du cancer de la corruption. Dans chacun de ces deux pays, une oligarchie a donné naissance à une société à deux niveaux : au-dessus des riches/en dessous de la pauvreté. Mais curieuse coïncidence, les présidents Vladimir Poutine (Russie) et Volodymyr Zelensky (Ukraine) ont lancé leur plan de anti-corruption, simultanément, au même de leur élections.

Le premier ministre britannique Boris Johnson tente de convaincre le monde que l'oligarchie russe est "l'arme de destruction massive de Poutine"... Mais il est certain que le président américain Joe Biden ne touchera pas un cheveu de la tête de l'oligarchie ukrainienne, qui a mis son fils Hunter au conseil d'administration d'une des entreprises les plus corrompues d'Ukraine...

Que pèse le président ukrainien, face au milliardaire chypriote ukrainien Ihor Kolomoisky, qui fut le principal bailleur de fonds du Bataillon Azov, avant de devenir l'un des plus importants bailleurs de fonds de la campagne électorale de Volodymyr Zelensky. De quelle intégrité et transparence est-il question ?? Pourquoi rabaisser nos esprits à ce point ?

La guerre est sale par définition, mais l'une de ses saletés est de faire remonter à la surface tous les parasites du marais. Le président ukrainien, serviteur du peuple, décide d'interdire 11 partis politiques ukrainiens d'opposition. On n'entend pas une seule objection ni même un "léger reproche" de la part des protecteurs atlantiques de la démocratie qui l'ont précédé avec des listes de blocage des médias et de censure, et davantage, dans une campagne totalitaire (totalitaire) contre tout ce qui est RUSSE: Le mathématicien, les sportifs, le sculpteur, l'artiste, même Tchaïkovski dans sa tombe...

Le président George W. Bush avait mis dans l'évangile de ses guerres perdues : "Celui qui n'est pas avec nous est contre nous." Mais pour l'honnêteté et l'histoire, il n'a pas élargi sa définition pour inclure les tombes et les morts !

Afin de compléter le tableau, il est nécessaire d'invoquer la paix et les droits de l'homme, dans la guerre mondiale pour la démocratie :

Dans un article du Washington Times du 9 mars 2022, *The Director of the Program on Peacebuilding and Human Rights - Columbia University*, conseille au président ukrainien, de ne pas rechercher une solution pacifique négociée à la situation dans son pays, mais comme il le dit textuellement : "*M. Zelensky devrait tenir le plus longtemps possible et les États-Unis devraient soutenir au maximum les défenseurs ukrainiens.*"

Cependant, alors que les troupes russes se rapprochent, M. Zelensky devrait envisager de se mettre à l'abri du danger. Le gouvernement en exil pourrait être établi en Pologne, en Roumanie ou dans les États baltes, où il serait protégé par l'article 5 de la Charte de l'Atlantique Nord, qui stipule : "Une attaque contre l'un est une attaque contre tous. Le gouvernement en exil aura besoin à la fois de protection et de financement pour sa diplomatie et ses opérations. La plupart des 44 millions de citoyens ukrainiens resteront en Ukraine et rejoindront l'insurrection. Ils auront besoin de renseignements et d'équipements meurtriers pour affronter les Russes. Le ministre français de l'Économie a déclaré que l'objectif des sanctions économiques était "d'effondrer l'économie russe". Les dirigeants de l'OTAN devraient être tout aussi ouverts. Déstabiliser la Russie et provoquer un changement de régime devraient être déclarés comme l'objectif de l'OTAN.

Bien que les opposants avertissent que l'approbation d'un changement de régime pourrait entraîner des représailles russes, il est difficile d'envisager des actions plus destructrices de la part de la Russie".

Que signifie cette option ??

J'ai vérifié l'article que David m'a envoyé, plus d'une fois, pour voir s'il s'agissait de M. Phillips ou du 'Lindsay

Graham Propaganda Club', malheureusement l'auteur de l'article est : David Phillips...

Au défenseur de la paix et des droits de l'homme "American Atlantic", nous disons amèrement :

Allaho Akbar.

Can nations be built with hatred and malice?

Or Russia-Phobia as collateral damage

Haytham Manna

On a visit to Vilnius (the capital of Lithuania) in August 1973, I met Rima, a political science student, who gave me a list of four students arrested for their “nationalist liberation tendencies” and asked me to send the names and a letter to Amnesty International from Syria, because it does not guarantee that it will not be confiscated by censorship if it is sent by local mail. I asked her: What are the demands of the detained students? She replied: “This communist regime denies our national identity and considers us numbers. We consider him a colonialist who occupied the Baltic countries in 1940 and wants us to be Bolsheviks by force.”

For many years this talk stuck in my mind and was argued by a number of comrades in the Marxist circles in the 1970s, some of whom adopted the theme of “Stalin’s solution to the national problem in the Soviet Union,” and others said: “It was the Baltic states that asked to join the Soviet Union.” protect it from Nazism. I remember that the late Dr. Maan Mualla said in one of the discussions: “Uncle, they asked for the protection of the Soviet Union from Hitler. When Hitler was killed,

they nullified. It is not a Catholic marriage?" ... Despite our young age, we were discussing matters at Damascus University, with knowledge and depth, much more than the tragic scene of insignificance, which we have been living in Europe for three months.

Since the entry of Russian forces into Ukrainian territory after February 24, 2022, I have heard officials in the Baltic countries, from the Fast Food generation, expressing their fears of a new Russian occupation, "which will bring us back to the Russian colonialism that we have suffered for half a century." As I spent my youth studying the totalitarian phenomenon, or the totalitarian project of government, Nazi, communist or Islamist, I feel a kind of misery of history and geography among the post-Soviet generations, especially in Eastern Europe, which was deprived of the "Soviet" enemy, and only found The "Russian" is an alternative to making him an enemy, albeit by rehabilitating the Nazi allies, or installing Stepan Bandera as a hero for Ukraine and glorifying the legendary resistance of the Azov Brigade, who previously called on US Congresswoman Elissa Slotkin, head of the Intelligence and Counter-Terrorism Subcommittee, Secretary of State Anthony Blinken to classify it as: "Foreign terrorist organization". (In 2019, forty members of Congress demanded that before?).

Any nationalist propaganda needs to build its myths, and in crises and wars, it will not have recourse to historians, jurists and anthropologists. It is enough to read the "Master of Populism" when he says: "The nature of the masses is emotional and their moods are always colored by the colors of feeling and emotion. Successful propaganda is that which is presented to the masses in easy and palatable ways. One of the characteristics of the masses is that they are poorly understood, weak in intelligence, but quickly forgotten. in every lie. What aspect can be believable and the mentality of the masses believes the big lie before the small one. Most readers do not bother themselves to examine and scrutinize what they read of news and they believe everything. (From: My Struggle!)

Watching Ukraine's President Volodymyr Zelensky say "I hate them" and repeat, "Russia made Ukraine hate it, lost it forever." One feels the pain, not on the Russians, but on the Ukrainians who have given their trust to a comedian, who does not think that he is on stage, but that he thinks that he is the theater, as the psychiatrist Lucian Israel says in his book "Hysterical, Sex and the Doctor." Zelensky is sure that what he says will not be debated, and that the parliaments of the "very free" world will applaud, no matter what he says and no matter how serious what he says. Does Zelensky know

that before him, a decade-old war, which claimed a million and a half lives, did not succeed in creating an eternal rupture between the Iraqi and Iranian peoples? Even before him, Nazism, which caused the deaths of nearly six million Poles, failed to create a rupture between the German and Polish peoples. And that he could divorce his wife with a few legal papers, but wouldn't change his neighbor even with a nuclear tsunami? Does he not imagine for a moment that, with his hateful rhetoric, he gave his enemy Putin, consciously or unconsciously, the right to speak of a neo-Nazi nationalist mentality? And before the Russian tanks, he set a new Ukrainian border that does not include an essential part of the territory of the Ukrainian Republic?

In an article protesting the 2014 demolition of Lenin's statues by Ukrainian nationalists in Ukraine, the Slovakian philosopher Slavoj Žižek recalled:

“For the golden era of Ukrainian national identity was not tsarist Russia – where Ukrainian national self-assertion was thwarted – but the first decade of the Soviet Union, when Soviet policy in a Ukraine exhausted by war and famine was “indigenization”. Ukrainian culture and language were revived and rights to

*healthcare, education and social security introduced*²⁹.
In the Ukrainian Socialist Republic.

It is funny to change the names of streets and landmarks in campaigns that began eight years ago, including the names of scientific, cultural and artistic symbols, and it is even more funny, that “Europeans” solidarity with Kyiv to boycott the living and the dead if it is Russian, but can anyone, after the storm calm, He says, "This was necessary to resist the invasion"? In this case, how can all those who lost their parents and grandparents in the Holocaust explain the picture of Zelensky in December 2021, before the invasion, presenting the “Hero of Ukraine” award to a leader of the fascist “right sector” at a ceremony in the Verkhovna Rada? ...

Ruse of the history, the various national projects in most Eastern European countries were inspired by the model of the first President of the Russian Federation (Boris Yeltsin). Who put an end to the monopoly of state capitalism and opened market capitalism to its comfort, and that it was his era that created the so-called “Russian oligarchy” and the “Russian Mafia” two decades ago, which spawned the “Ukrainian oligarchy” and its sisters? And that what he called radical economic

²⁹ <https://www.theguardian.com/world/2014/jun/10/ukraine-slavoj-zizek-lenin>

reforms were behind the destruction of the living standards of most of the population in Russia. It led to a sharp deterioration in services and the standard of living and a significant increase in unemployment, corruption and inflation rates... Also, from the cunning of history, Boris Yeltsin was one of the few "Russian" officials who ruled the Soviet Union. And that he was the first popularly elected president of the RSFSR in history with a majority of 57% of the vote. Before it became the official name: Russian Federation.

After the October Revolution of 1917, Vladimir Ulyanov Lenin, born in the Russian city of Simbirsk (posthumously renamed Ulyanovsk), was the most powerful figure in the party and the state, and one of his most important decisions was to give the right of self-determination to the peoples of the Russian Empire, including political separation and building their own nation at the forefront. Ukraine Republic. Stalin and a number of the leadership of the Bolshevik Party were against this decision.

On August 30, 1918, Fanny Kaplan, as a militant in the Russian Socialist Party, and not as an Ukrainian Jew, approached Lenin and shot him three times, seriously wounding him. He lived three years later, did not fully recover, and the bullet that hit his neck had the greatest

impact on the collapse of his health and his departure from power. Loseb Jughashvili (Joseph Stalin), a Georgian, took over the General Secretariat of the Soviet Communist Party for thirty years 1922-1952.

After a short transition period, Nikita Khrushchev, from an Ukrainian family, ruled the Soviet Union from 1953 to 1964. Born in Kalinovka on the border between Russia and Ukraine, Nikita Khrushchev rose to his party responsibilities until he became General Secretary of the Ukrainian Communist Party/ Ukrainian and not Russian?/. In 1954 Khrushchev annexed Crimea for the first time in history into the Ukrainian Socialist Republic. The majority of the population of Crimea was Tatars, then Russians, with a minority from Ukraine. Does the leader of the Ukrainian Communist Party, who expanded the territory of Ukraine by a political decision, deserve at least that his name not disappear from history and geography?

Ukrainian Leonid Brezhnev was born on December 19, 1906 in the city of Kamianske (Ukraine). He led the Communist Party and the Soviet State from 1964 to 1982.

Yuri Andropov, who took office from 1982-1984, was born in Nagotskoye, with a Turkmen majority, his mother Yevgeniya Faynshtein was Jewish and

considered himself agnostic when he joined the Communist Party in his youth.

Even Mikhail Gorbachev, the last head of the Soviet Union and the Communist Party of the Soviet Union, we find in his biography: Born in the village of Privolnoys, Stavropol Krai into a Russian-Ukrainian family, Gorbachev's paternal family was ethnic Russians; his maternal family was of ethnic Ukrainian?

This is a real history, which no one, by changing the name of an arena or preventing the learning of the Russian language, can erase. This intertwined history of mixed marriages to mutual migrations to coexistence and political, social and cultural overlap... cannot be erased with populist theatrical performances in which the "Politics dwarves" applaud with cleverness, or shortsightedness.

This is what we fought for, brotherhood between the peoples of our region, Arabs, Kurds, Assyrians, Iranians, and Turks... We did not, and will not, carry the burdens of their rulers on any of the peoples of the eastern Mediterranean. This is what we wish for all the peoples of the world...

Sooner or later the dark scene will end, and Putin and Zelensky will step down from the lead. On that day, it

will stand up to all the nationalist extremists, whoever emphasizes the basic solidarity between Ukrainians, Russians and the rest of the peoples... Because otherwise, as Žižek noted: *“we will be left with a conflict of nationalist passions manipulated by oligarchs. Such geopolitical games are of no interest whatever to authentic emancipatory politics”*.

Before World War III

Haytham Manna

The end of the Second World War was a historical turning point on the planet, not only on the level of the victorious or defeated parties in the war. Just as alliances were formed during the war and confrontations took place that transcended the political nature of the socio-economic systems and formations of their components. The UN was the son of a bastard of the victors' camp. Those who were able, through a charter ahead of its era, to open doors that not only brought about the end of an era, but also paved the way for national liberation and decolonization movements, building an international moral-legal system to protect human and peoples' rights. And setting controls, albeit limited, to protect world peace.

However, the end of the war did not culminate in its prohibition, and the war alliances did not prevent new confrontations. The decision of the major Western countries (the United States, Britain, France...) a year after the issuance of the Universal Declaration of Human Rights to form a military alliance for common defence, against any external aggression (meaning aggression from the Soviet Union against one of them), was the first

return to the logic of military alliances According to the outcomes of the global war.

The 1960s and the Bay of Pigs Crisis saw the first attempt to break out of the bipolar world into a multipolar one, and as Immanuel Wallerstein chronicled, *"the upheavals came from two events. First, de Gaulle came to power in France, who aspired to build a fairly independent Europe What about the U.S. Then the development of the economic power of Europe that could claim, for the first time since the war, to rival the U.S. But since then, the U.S. has made a complete coup: suddenly and covertly opposed to Europe. They could not publicly presume, But they did everything to prevent the building of Europe."*

With the beginning of the neoliberal era, the structural defect in the European project was revealed through the alienation of Britain, which is no longer great except in Google, and the doubts and hesitation of the European left, fearful of the social gains of struggles for more than a century... However, strategies for building policies do not know vacuum or hesitation. The failure of the European countries, after the fall of the Berlin Walls, to build an independent economic, military and political power, was to hand over the world's leadership to the United States of America, which is able to rely on

conservative forces in eastern Europe, to establish its feet, at least in the military sense, in the old European Union countries. And its new.

Parallel to its *de facto* leadership of the largest military alliance after World War II, the United States built an American capitalist system that decided the globalization of space. All financial institutions are subject not only to strict American control, but also to the supremacy of the American decision, and in the most important of these institutions, such as the International Monetary Fund and the World Bank, for example, the United States gained the upper hand through the treaty establishing these institutions (Bretton Woods Treaty), so that it is difficult to Contrary to her last word, it is the only country with a veto, whether on decisions, public policies, or even proposed amendments and reforms.

It is funny to talk about the democratization of decisions in major financial institutions. In periods of the Cold War, the American administrations resorted to coaxing and luring the softies. As for periods of war and confrontation, it is sufficient, for example, to remind the Tunisian government, that it “did not attend the April 25, 2022 NATO meeting” to support Ukraine. In its war against the imperialist aggression of Russia" at the

Ramstein base, the headquarters of the air force in Germany, does it mean that it must look for an alternative to the World Bank to help it?

How we watched such scenes in the Human Rights Council and the General Assembly of the United Nations.

The fall of the Warsaw camp and the disintegration of the Soviet Union gave America's unipolarity an opportunity to impose imperial influence on an unprecedented scale; As the United States transitioned, almost smoothly, from the realm of the Cold War, where it faced some limitations, to a world in which it found itself almost entirely as the world's dominant power, and as such, it defines friend and foe, the camp of good and the camp of evil, The "just" war and the unjust wars... The most dangerous of all of this, is not only granting or withdrawing the spirit of democracy from the hearts of human beings, "but not allowing any democratic experiment in the world to succeed, unless it is loyal to the West and fulfils its exploitative and accessory interests." As notes, Moroccan Abdel Ali Hami El Din.

The mentality of the "super-powerful" leadership of the world, which decided the borders of Serbia with NATO missiles, invaded Afghanistan by a UN decision when it was able to do so, and did not wait for a UN decision to

occupy Iraq when that was not possible. The state of emergency has been globalized, secret prisons and blacklists have returned to the European continent and the world, its strategists have classified the International Criminal Court as “modern inquisitions” and its administrations have signed more than sixty agreements with member states of the ICC preventing them from attacking any American citizen, regardless of the gravity of his crimes. It has protected Israeli settlement expansion for more than half a century, and participated very actively in the last apartheid regime building on our planet and the most powerful military arsenal in the Middle East.

In an article in “Al-Quds Al-Arabi” about the New World Order (1993), I pointed out that *“the dissolution of the Soviet Union is not a victory for the United States, but rather a temporary installation for it in the leadership of the world, because the coming countries of influence in the world, such as Russia, China and India, will work to build a multipolar world, so that it does not become the new backyard of the United States, in the economic and geopolitical sense of the word.”* To be honest, I did not expect that the adventures of the neo-conservatives and the rule of “arrogance of power” would be at the forefront of the reasons for this transformation, and that the US military failure in the “war on terror” would be

one of the most important elements of the return of the most heavily armed state, the Russian Federation, to the international arena, not as A force of liberation or protection for peoples, but simply, a great power that refuses to single out one country in controlling the world.

From their cold wars to their hot ones, the major powers worked together to develop their destructive capabilities as the other and "necessary" aspect of the growth of their productive capacities, their economy and their capitalism. Parallel to the race for production, industrialization and control of the financial and commodity markets, there was the race for nuclear, chemical, biological weapons, etc., but also, the massive increase in the production and consumption of oil, gas, iron, steel, electricity, timber, animal fodder... that is, the depreciation of nature and resources. Parallel to the demographic explosion accompanying the crushing of development projects in poor countries, which led us to environmental degradation, climatic changes, desertification, water shortage, the extinction of plants and animals, and massive human migrations.

The prevailing world-system has succeeded in imposing the rules of the economic game on most of its opponents. Even the countries that are far from it are

looking, if they are large, for a seat on the world board of directors with them, or a good loan through which they modify whatever contradicts their structures with it. However, its "successes" themselves formed the shovels of digging its grave. The quiet Chinese entry into the global economic system, practically paving the way for the end of the West's monopoly on economic decision, and the Russian policy based on military-industrial progress as a way to restore a central place in building a multipolar world, created a state of general phobia. On the European continent, it has put on the shelf all the "environmental survival" projects that the environmental movements have carried out for more than three decades.

The nature of the political system, whether liberal or authoritarian, is not the motive for the expansion of NATO or the Russian military movement, and the fact that the logic of militarism is the highest common denominator for the two poles of the conflict. On the level of human and peoples' rights or collective environmental protection.

People's Republic of China, India, South Africa, Brazil, Turkey, Iran, and the Gulf countries... seek to pay the lowest possible bill, while the poor countries will turn into human tanks for large migrations and mini-states of

warlords... It would have been wise for many countries to stand away from voluntary or forced alignment in the war. It is also wise for those who believe that there is a chance for peace in the face of American-Russian arrogance, whose short-sightedness no longer allows us to see beyond the battlefield. Especially after NATO countries, on both sides of the Atlantic, deliberately destabilized the global civil front, stifled defenders of peace, human rights and the environment, and stifled anti-war voices on various fronts.

The Ukrainian problem, which began in 2014, combined what Europe has experienced since the fall of the Berlin Wall in an intense scene: the Maidan uprising against an elected president, the annexation of lands by force, and the Donbas civil war, par excellence. NATO pushed with all its might to invest in this scene, and President Putin pushed with his entire military arsenal to open confrontation. Since February 24, 2022, no one can say that what we are witnessing is a cyber-political and military confrontation between Ukraine and Russia, but in all senses, a confrontation between a Russian imperial project with the United States of America and the board of directors that it has chosen to hold the global system, and which this war has put in front of new options .

Three issues that it is necessary to consider, so as not to lose our right to hope in this world which today has risen to what Slavoj Žižek calls: **beyond madness**:

The first issue, it is true, throughout written history, is that there is no empire that rose and prevailed without war and wars, that is, without a process of waste, demolition and humiliation of human dignity. But it is also true that the cost of wars today exceeds the human capacity to bear it. Accordingly, the refusal to jointly invest in bloodshed and destruction became a losing trade for the various parties to any armed conflict.

It is not possible to build popular resistance or the sovereignty of a people by bullying one superpower over another. All models of bullying did not give a sovereign state, good governance or a model of democracy. Perhaps the successful comedian Zelensky, who knows this better, is with the smallness of his tongue. He does not see the future Ukraine as a democratic state on the European style, but rather heralds the establishment of a "Big Israel."

Last but not least, the era of military "victories" is over. Victory celebrations will not be repeated after today, for any adventurer who thinks that his intercontinental missiles are enough to change the map of the world or the "balance of forces" in it, because the brightest and

most qualitative weapon is the one capable of turning the globe into a dead planet, devoid of historians, journalists and revellers. Thus, "Victory".

Peace is no longer a poetic song, but rather the necessary condition for the continuation of life on our planet.

Ukraine and NATO

Mohammad Said

Since Ukraine's independence in 1991, the subject of NATO membership has not been absent from Ukraine's internal political combats and debates. Indeed, many contemporary historians of Eastern Europe reckon that the consensus on Ukrainian nuclear disarmament would not have happened as quickly as it did, had it not been for a hesitant but concerned Russian concord; and was associated with an American contentment at the time, that nuclear disarmament would be an elemental aid in NATO expansion. Yet, despite the well-established dialogue and cooperation between NATO and Ukraine since early 1990s, "we could not find a single electoral program of any political force nor of presidential candidate that declared NATO membership as their goal", over more than 13 years. Even the pro-Western former president, Viktor Yushchenko, in his program for the 2004 presidential elections, avoided speaking about

Ukraine's aspirations toward NATO; in addition, this issue was not on the list of priorities of his government's agenda, contrasting the "European Union's" file, which he defended vigorously.

By the time of Mr. Yushchenko's inauguration, Ukraine's foreign policy was, consciously, directed to maintain its neutrality, and to seek integral gradual inclusion into European institutions. In view of Ukraine's strategic geographical location, the first two presidents of Ukraine, Leonid Kravchuk and Leonid Kuchma, **stressed the necessity of adopting a multi-vector foreign policy** considering that the country had not been completely freed yet from Russian influence.

It is possible to state that “the built strategy based on successfully dealing with Russia whilst being extremely cautious regarding Ukraine’s membership in a Western military alliance and prospective membership in the European Union; can achieve economic and social revival that stops the bleeding of economic struggles and corruption and opens the door to mutually

beneficial international relations. Ones that are not only with the two Russian and European neighbors, but also with Asia and Latin American countries". The strategy was vastly popular in opinion polls that a plethora of Ukrainian diplomats at the commencement of the century, linked the NATO with an alliance's transformation **"from a collective defense organization into a security organization, which possibly could concern Ukraine and Russia."**

Having secured harmonious and friendly relations with Russia, during Yeltsin's presidency in the second half of the 1990s, distinct interest-groups began to emerge. Since the beginning of the "war against terrorism" that accompanied raising President Vladimir Putin's to power, Ukrainian right-wing nationalist currents have considered "NATO membership as a steppingstone towards European Union membership." Moreover, a segment of Ukrainian political elite declared that **Ukraine's neutrality is temporary rather than a final condition.**

Officially speaking, during the first decade of this century, we note the keenness of several Ukrainian officials to consider joining the NATO as a **long-term goal** for a country that is caught between its desires for stronger relations with the West and the increasing pressure from the Russian Federation. However, nationalist Ukrainian politicians repeatedly stated that the deterioration of the Russian-Ukrainian relations leave no choice to "Ukraine but to seek NATO membership."

The 2004 presidential election was significant for Ukraine as the conflict between two poles of the Ukrainian political community came to the fore. Yet unfortunately, **in the world of interferences and interventions**, this very conflict shaped the **local understanding of the geopolitical struggle between Russia and the Western world over the new Ukrainian state.**

The extent of Western and Russian interference in the 2004 Ukrainian elections is no secret. And the reflection

of the Moscow-backed candidate's fiasco, was interpreted by many, in the East and West, as a loss for Russia and a victory for the United States in Russia's backyard. Furthermore, there were clear indications that Moscow would not accept losing control and hegemony over the last country in the post-Soviet European sphere. During this presidential election, there was clear evidence of the US government's support for the pro-West candidate. E.g., the significant support from the National Endowment for Democracy, Freedom House, and private "philanthropists" such as George Soros that helped opposition and democracy groups to overthrow the government using mass protests.

Slightly looking back, it can be said that before Yushchenko came to power, the majority of the population preferred to maintain close relations with the Russian Federation and supported the idea of constructive neutrality. Even if it came at the expense of close relations with the United States. Since the most liberal of politicians finds Ukraine's interest in open and

advanced relations with the European Union but fears the consequences of turning their country into a front-base for the United States in Eastern Europe.

Three years into Yushchenko's presidency, Ukraine's accession to the World Trade Organization was approved, a strong US support was received, and a progression was made towards Ukraine's membership in the European Union. But despite the existence of numerous vitally significant agreements in many areas of cooperation, the EU was crystal clear not to draw up plans for Ukraine's membership. Instead, the EU proposed closer economic and political relations, including greater cooperation on energy policy, and a free trade agreement.

Ukraine-Western rapprochement together with the gas disputes with Russia and the problem of, one of the largest, the Russian naval military bases in Crimea, all, contributed to the deterioration of Russian-Ukrainian relations. Amidst a period of great political instability in Ukraine against the backdrop of intimidation and mutual

political blackmailing between two neighbouring countries, the Government of Ukraine found an opportunity to break out of the murky rhetoric by taking concrete action: submitting an application for membership to NATO.

The first and essential intersection with "NATO" progress in dealing with the Ukrainian demand was embodied in achieving a breakthrough that should provide the alliance with a greater influential role in the Black Sea region. On April 3rd, 2008, in the "**Bucharest Summit Declaration**" of the heads of states and government members of NATO. In the 23rd paragraph of this declaration came in:

“NATO welcomes Ukraine’s and Georgia’s Euro-Atlantic aspirations for membership in NATO. We agreed today that these countries will become members of NATO. Both nations have made valuable contributions to Alliance operations. We welcome the democratic reforms in Ukraine and Georgia and look forward to free and fair parliamentary elections in Georgia in May. MAP

is the next step for Ukraine and Georgia on their direct way to membership. Today we make clear that we support these countries' applications for MAP. Therefore we will now begin a period of intensive engagement with both at a high political level to address the questions still outstanding pertaining to their MAP applications. We have asked Foreign Ministers to make a first assessment of progress at their December 2008 meeting. Foreign Ministers have the authority to decide on the MAP applications of Ukraine and Georgia."³⁰

Since the Bucharest summit, two different views became clear, between what US Defence Secretary Donald Rumsfeld called "old Europe" on the one hand, and the so-called neoconservatives and NATO hawks in Washington on the other. It is noticeable that US President George W. Bush attended the summit and defended Ukraine's membership, while the French and

³⁰ Source:

https://www.nato.int/cps/en/natolive/official_texts_8443.htm

German position broke and soothed the American-Atlantic dash.

Ukraine was not the first-clash arena after Bucharest decisions, but Georgia. Four months later, on August 8th, 2008, the Georgian forces launched an attack on the opposing South Ossetia to President Saakashvili's policy towards the region; a day later, the Russian attack on Georgia took place, which was not terminated until Georgia lost Abkhazia and Ossetia in the north.

There is no doubt that the blitzkrieg in Georgia had an influence over the meeting of foreign ministers of NATO countries, which were more cautious in talking about practical steps for Ukraine's entry into NATO; as they suspended the possibility of fulfilling membership conditions for many years. French and German policy, since then, pursued that of Turkey's membership in the European Union. The accession of Viktor Yanukovych to the presidency in 2010 reinforced this persuasion, and NATO dropped Ukraine's membership application from the agenda until the Maidan Revolution in 2014. Inside

Ukraine, after Russia's annexation of Crimea, and the outbreak of war in the Donbass, NATO supporters came back in force to speak about membership as the only way to defend the Ukrainian homeland from the Russian threat. Indeed, the percentage of Ukrainian supporters of NATO membership had been increasing, both in political and popular circles, especially in the west of the country. However, this did not change much in the German and French position. It is of a significant mention to recall, in this regard, what the President of the European Commission Jean-Claude Juncker said in March 2016, "it will take at least 20 to 25 years for Ukraine to join the European Union and NATO."

Practical cooperation between Ukraine and NATO

The "membership" of NATO cannot be considered as a single and decisive indicator in the Ukraine-Atlantic relations. Because the relations between Ukraine and NATO began coinciding with the presidency of Leonid Kravchuk (1991-1994) in 1992, when Ukraine joined the North Atlantic Cooperation Council after restoring its

independence, which was later renamed the Euro-Atlantic Partnership Council. On February 22nd-23rd, 1992, NATO Secretary General Werner paid an official visit to Kyiv, formally inviting Ukraine to join the RPAS (Ukraine became a member of the organization on March 10, 1992), and on July 8th, 1992, President Kravchuk visited NATO Brussels headquarters. One of the important events in the development of relations between Ukraine and NATO was the opening of the Ukrainian Embassy in Brussels in September 1992, which served as a link in the contacts between Ukraine and NATO.

Few years fast-forward, in February 1994, Ukraine was the first post-Soviet country to conclude **a framework agreement with NATO under the Partnership for Peace initiative**, supporting the initiative of Central and Eastern European countries to join NATO.

In 2002, relations with the US government and other NATO countries deteriorated after one of the recorded tapes, during the scandal (unverified) revealed a transfer

of an advanced Ukrainian defence system to President Saddam Hussein in Iraq. At the NATO “expansion” Summit in November 2002, the NATO-Ukraine Commission adopted an action Plan between Ukraine and NATO. President Kuchma announced that Ukraine wants to join NATO and send Ukrainian forces to Iraq. To strengthen the bonds of confidence, the Verkhovna Rada (the Ukrainian parliament) adopted on April 6th, 2004, a law on the free access of NATO forces to the territory of Ukraine. During the presidency of Leonid Kuchma (1994-2005), the Ukrainian President met with US Secretary of Defence Donald Rumsfeld, in the then Autonomous Republic of Crimea. On August 13th, 2004, the two officials used the term "partners" to describe the relations of the two countries.

The accession of Viktor Yushchenko (2005-2010) to the presidency marked a quantum leap in the US-Ukrainian trust relations. And Defence Secretary Donald Rumsfeld and Victoria Nuland, personally, participated in the

NATO-Ukraine consultations in Vilnius, the capital of Lithuania, October 24th, 2005.

After the Orange Revolution of 2004 Kuchma terminated his term on January 23rd, 2005, and was replaced by President Viktor Yushchenko. He, too, was a staunch supporter of Ukraine's membership in NATO. On January 27th, 2008, his second Prime Minister Yulia Tymoshenko's proposal for Ukraine to join the NATO Membership Action Plan encountered objection. Afterwards, a petition was launched with more than two million signatures for a referendum on the proposed Ukraine's NATO membership. The opposition called for a national plebiscite on any move towards further involvement with NATO. In February 2008, 57.8% of Ukrainians supported the idea of holding a national referendum on NATO membership, compared to 38.6% in February 2007.

During President Viktor Yushchenko's first state visit to the United States, President George W. Bush declared: "it's in our interest for Ukraine to join", "United States

strongly supports your request”³¹ ³² In a joint official statement issued by the Presidents of Ukraine and the United States, it was stated that Washington supports the proposal to start an intensive dialogue on Ukraine's accession to membership in the NATO Action Plan.

In April 2005, Viktor Yushchenko re-affirmed the "Ukrainian Military Doctrine" stressing that Ukraine's strategic goal is a "full membership in NATO and the European Union". The new text read: "Based on the fact that NATO and the European Union are the guarantors of security and stability in Europe, Ukraine is preparing to become a full member of these organizations". As in the previous version, the task of “in-depth reform of the state defence sphere according to European standards” was called “one of the most important priorities of domestic and foreign policy”.

³¹ In joining Nato

³² Source: <https://georgewbush-whitehouse.archives.gov/news/releases/2008/04/20080401-1.html>

The term of Viktor Yanukovich's presidency (2010-2014) was a brake on the "reckless" approach, as he put it, of President Yushchenko. In addition, he built his policy assuming that Ukraine's current level of cooperation with NATO was sufficient and that the issue of the country's accession to the alliance was not urgent.

Presidency of Petro Poroshenko (2014-2019)

Yanukovich fled Ukraine amid the Euromaidan uprising on February 6th, 2014. The provisional government of Yatsenyuk came to power in Ukraine. Initially, Yatsenyuk's government stated that Ukrainians wanted to join the European Union, so his government had no intention of making Ukraine a member of NATO.

On August 29th, 2014, following reports reveal that the Russian military was operating in Ukraine, Ukrainian Prime Minister Arseny Yatsenyuk announced that he would ask the Verkhovna Rada to put Ukraine on the path to membership in NATO. The government has also stated that it hopes to achieve the status of a major non-

NATO ally with the United States, the largest military power and contributor to NATO.

On December 23rd, 2014, the Verkhovna Rada renounced Ukraine's neutral status; it was a move strongly condemned by Russia. The new law stated that Ukraine's previous state of non-alignment "proved ineffective in ensuring the security of Ukraine and protecting the country from external aggression and pressure". It also aimed to deepen Ukraine's cooperation with NATO "in order to achieve the required criteria for Ukraine's membership of the alliance." On December 29th, 2014, Ukrainian President Petro Poroshenko (elected on May 25th, 2014) pledged to organize a referendum on NATO membership.

The pivoting of the US Vice President Joe Biden and ... Victoria Nuland (who remained in the Obama administration despite being a neoconservative hawk and returned as Undersecretary of the State Department at the request of President Joe Biden on May 3rd, 2021), since the Maidan events, regarding Ukraine's status of

joining NATO alongside the European Union, as the first guarantees the second, is remarkable. Not only that but also his attempt to pass this idea on in his first meeting with Ukrainian President Petro Poroshenko in the presence of German Chancellor Angela Merkel in February 2015.

A number of military exercises were carried out between NATO members and Ukraine in 2015. Among them was Operation Fearless Guardian (total 2,200 participants, including 1,000 US military). Initial personnel and equipment from the 173rd Airborne Brigade arrived in Yavoriv, Lviv Oblast on April 10th, 2015. The Fearless Guardian trained the newly formed Ukrainian National Guard under the Global Emergency Security Fund approved by the US Congress. Upon the program, the United States trained three battalions of Ukrainian forces over a six-month period starting in April 2015. Other exercises include the 2015 Sea Breeze exercise (total 2,500 personnel including 1,000 US soldiers and 500 NATO military personnel or "Partnership for Peace

Countries").), "Sabre Guardian / Rapid Trident - 2015" (total 2,100 personnel, including 500 US military and 600 personnel from NATO / Partnership for Peace), as well as the Ukrainian-Polish air exercise "Safe Skies - 2015" (a total of 350 Participants, including 100 Polish military) and Military Police "Law and Order - 2015" (a total of 100 participants, including 50 Polish military).

In September 2015, NATO launched five trust funds worth €5.4 million for the Ukrainian army. 2 million euros were sent for the modernization of communication systems, 1.2 million euros - for the maintenance of logistics and standardization systems, 845,000 euros - for physical rehabilitation and prosthetics, 815,000 euros for cyber defense and 410,000 euros for re-conversion and resettlement.

Soldiers, from the US Army's 6th Squadron 8th Cavalry Regiment 2nd Infantry Brigade Combat Team 3rd Infantry Division, conducted training for Ukrainian soldiers during the 2016 exercise.

On June 8th, 2017, the Verkhovna Rada passed a law placing NATO integration as a priority in foreign policy. In July 2017, Poroshenko announced that he would request the opening of negotiations on an Action Plan for NATO membership. During the same month, President Poroshenko began to propose a "sponsorship system", linking individual regions with European countries.

On February 7th, 2019, the Verkhovna Rada of Ukraine voted by 334 out of 385 to amend the Ukrainian Constitution in order to help Ukraine join NATO and the European Union. After the vote, Ukrainian President Poroshenko said: "This is the day Ukraine moved towards the European Union and NATO."

Presidency of Volodymyr Zelensky (as of 2019)

On June 12th, 2020, Ukraine joined the Enhanced Interoperability Program of NATO Partners. According to one official, in a NATO statement, the new status "does not pre-empt decisions on NATO membership."

On October 8th, 2020, during a meeting with Prime Minister Boris Johnson in London, President Volodymyr Zelensky said that Ukraine needed a NATO Membership Action Plan because NATO membership would contribute to Ukraine's security and defence.

On April 7th, 2021, after the beginning of the Russian forces' reinforcement on the Ukrainian frontier, Lithuanian Foreign Minister Gabrielius Landsbergis said during a press conference with his Spanish counterpart Arancha Gonzalez Laya that Lithuania intends proposing to its NATO allies to provide Ukraine again with a Membership Action Plan (MAP): At the Brussels Summit in June 2021, NATO leaders reiterated the decision made at the 2008 Bucharest Summit about Ukraine becoming a member of the Alliance with the Membership Action Plan (MAP) as an integral part of the process and Ukraine's right to determine its own future, its foreign policy, of course without outside interference. NATO Secretary-General Jens Stoltenberg also stressed that Russia would not be able to veto Ukraine's membership

in NATO, because we would not go back to the era of areas of concern, when the big countries decided what smaller countries should do. As Noam Chomsky notes: “In September 2021 the United States came out with a strong policy statement, calling for enhanced military cooperation with Ukraine, further sending of advanced military weapons, all part of the enhancement programme of Ukraine joining NATO”³³.

In December 2021, several American newspapers and a Russian news agency revealed that the military support of President Joe Biden's administration to Ukraine had reached an unprecedented level for any eastern European country.

After the Russian military attack on Ukraine, within less than two months, NATO led the largest operation in contemporary history to impose economic sanctions on the Russian Federation. These sanctions exceeded six

³³ <https://www.newstatesman.com/encounter/2022/04/noam-chomsky-were-approaching-the-most-dangerous-point-in-human-history>

thousand, and Japan, Australia and other countries outside NATO have joined these sanctions. With executive military decisions to strengthen the US military presence and the rest of the alliance countries in the member states of Eastern Europe. Ensuring the provision of all possible military assistance to the Ukrainian armed forces through neighbouring countries to enable them in confronting and repelling the Russian forces.

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Dr. Mohammad Said, the International Institute for Peace Justice and Human Rights research team, and a researcher at the Scandinavian Institute for Human Rights supervised the framing of the text. He joined the research team formed at the end of February 2022: Magic of Understanding: Ukraine, and he follows up on the relations between Ukraine and NATO, the European Union, and NATO.

Ukraine: The Big Test for Western Human Rights Organizations

Haytham Manna

The 1990s represented a significant global shock regarding civil society and human rights movements. Civil movements, the spontaneous or the primitively organized, with their non-violent-related innovation, succeeded in confronting the totalitarian regime that arose in the Soviet Union and the Warsaw Pact countries. In addition, North and South organizations converged on fundamental issues such as the institutionalization of international criminal justice, and opposition to unilateral economic sanctions due to their disastrous impact on vulnerable groups in the sanctioned countries; developing the concept of human security, in the face of “national security” strategies and the supreme national interest, strengthening the role and importance of mediation and negotiation in acute conflicts and civil resistance in the face of arbitrariness and tyranny; reforming and democratizing the United Nations system calling for the dissolution of military alliances, reconsidering the concept of development and the US-dominated, policies, and work mechanisms, of the International Monetary Fund and the World Bank; invent possible

practical forms to achieve a minimum level of respect for social, economic, and cultural rights in the poorest countries...

These movements were not naive to believe that global system leaders would offer them roses. Recent events stood firmly against the focal points of neoliberal globalization, whose theorists declared the "end of history" and confiscated the achievements of people, considering it a victory for the magic of the market over the magic of planning; also, the correctness of the neoliberal model, not only on the authoritarian and totalitarian forms of states' administration but on the "democratic socialism" and Western progressive currents that put economic, social, and environmental rights in their programs, to one degree or another, as a necessary protective arsenal in the face of the huge disparity in the distribution of wealth and privileges in the global system 'World-System'...

Since the fifties, the United States of America rejected the five rights system (political, civil, social, economic, and cultural), and it has not yet ratified the Covenant on Social, Economic, and Cultural Rights; solely, with Somalia, did not ratify the Convention on the Rights of the Child, and stood firmly in face to confront any binding international charter regarding the right to development; It voted against the Declaration on the Right to Development with Britain and Japan;

Its position was also negative in the field of international criminal justice, as it insisted, with the Russian Federation, People's China, and Britain, on a centralized role for the Security Council in initiating criminal prosecutions and stopping them after a year; yet three Security-Council-member-states (the United States, People's China and the Russian Federation) refused the affiliation with a court that gave the Security Council the role of a "squat, lurking arbitrator", in a heresy of the global judicial system, which is based on the principle of the standing judiciary and the seated judiciary; i.e, the litigation judiciary that guarantees the right of defense. France on the other hand, delaying the entry into Rome convention by seven years, guaranteeing the natural death of the last criminals of the colonial era in an exception not raised by any member state of the Court. As for the United States of America, it signed 64 bilateral agreements with countries that signed the Rome statute, guaranteeing the protection of the "American citizen" from any legal prosecution for war crimes or crimes against humanity and genocide. In terms of the battle for "environmental rights", it was no less intense and ferocious; nor was the period of the "Trumpism war" too, and the absence of Chinese and Russian commitment alone; in confronting the struggle of defenders of stopping environmental degradation on the level of our planet. Since President Joe Biden pursued a policy of securing market needs for gas and oil through traditional

means to besiege Russia's traditional energy resources in the Ukrainian war, NATO countries no longer pay any practical attention to vital and urgent environmental issues.

Returning, to begin

The indirect attack on the global society of human and civil rights began, through the historical fragile core of Western human rights organizations: Israel and Kosovo. NATO's bombing of Serbia was the first war without casualties or deaths among the aggressors, and as one of the Western generals told us at the time: "There will be no burial ceremonies and protests from the families of our soldiers ... This is the first clean war." In the psychological-social sense, the NATO general meant what he said. The rapid military victory achieved by NATO brought the idea of 'the' "necessary war" and "just war" back to life. As for Israel, Benjamin Netanyahu's success in forming a right-wing government in 1996 constituted a fatal blow to the Oslo Accords. After the northern civil and human rights organizations bet on these agreements for the success of segmenting both states; they found themselves encountering an enemy of this project that calls the occupied Palestinian territories "Judea and Samaria" and considers them part of Israel. Since that year, quite a few Western civil jurists published a thesis saying: "We have no right to interfere in the politics of a democratically elected government"?

Then these organizations began to work, individually, and with whom they attracted, on a new issue linking criticism of the State of Israel and its policies with anti-Semitism. It is unhidden for the reader what they had "achieved" on the legal level in the United States and Europe in countering organizations defending Palestinian rights. These two events had a significant impact on the penetration of more than one front of struggle: firstly, against racism and racial discrimination, and secondly, against war and violence. We no longer see joint statements between LICRA and MRAP. We have failed to expel the Israeli Association for Civil Rights from the International Federation for Human Rights. It was sufficient for the executive office to only freeze its membership for a year until it changes its president (who prosecuted the children of the intifada). In a miracle, well-funded professional "non-governmental" organizations were born that received consultative status in the Economic and Social Council of the United Nations, with a mission to fight all those who fight for Palestinian rights, etc.

September 11th, 2001 events constituted a major pivoting point in terms of rights and freedoms. All drafted human rights conventions were frozen for years; the state of emergency was globalized; and it was printed with words that almost became extinct in the European continent (secret prisons, blacklists, enemy combatants, the camp of good, and the camp

of evil, torture, security first..., and security last...). Also, it opened a vast highway for wars, as "they are the ideal path to peace and security." In order for the American and Western public to swallow the new narcotic pills, the expression "war on terrorism" became a necessary prerequisite for striking human gains in terms of human rights and the rights of peoples at the core.

The international civil and human rights societies did not acquiesce to the armed attack of "neoconservatives". Although it was difficult to build a wide front against the military attack on Afghanistan, we were able to build a broad front against the war in Iraq. And how great our happiness was on the historic day when progressive human rights, civil and political organizations succeeded in organizing demonstrations against the war on February 15, 2003; in which a quarter of a million people participated in Paris alone and 11 million people around the world. These demonstrations of millions did not prevent the US-British coalition from invading Iraq; but the first party, unfortunately, that realized the danger of global civil societies to the war "bulldozer on terrorism" were the strategists of the US deep state and the supporters of NATO in Brussels. Since the Durban Anti-Racism Conference in the summer of 2003, the "market" has flooded with funded organizations on demand, and the "trade of misery" has begun to enter civil circles strongly; the entrance was through single-employee

organizations and easy financing, “struggle” professionalism and the shattering of civil society from within. In the largest invisible and elitist attack on NGOs, the very one that soon grabbed the necks of many of them and obstructed forms of alliance and networking between them... I still remember that moment when we sat discussing the Goldstone report in the Human Rights Council, and US Under Secretary of State Michael Posner (the founder of two US NGOs Human Rights First, and Lawyers for Human Rights). He became an advocate for US and Israeli policy in his new position. Hence, post-February 23rd, 2003, the European Union together with the American administrations succeeded in disrupting and destabilizing the largest global automatic force for peace and human rights; and there is no doubt that the budgets allocated for this were much more than a billion.

When I received a draft statement from my friend Nizam Assaf about the "Ukrainian crisis", I was very happy that someone still carried the "spirit of 15/2". It was a statement devoid of the necessary calculations and scrutiny to "do not disturb". I was even happier when 99 NGOs agreed to sign it. I contacted, without illusions, a number of international news agencies, and as soon as they read the first lines, they realized that the matter does not concern them or their news stream, ... As for the "friendly" Western organizations,

they apologized politely, an apology the least that can be said in it is "brusque".

Tremendous pressure has been imposed on northern organizations during the past sixty days, due to lining up and harmonizing with NATO and the European Union political positions. Including thwarting initiatives to gather some Russian and Ukrainian civil society figures; even the attempt by the World Council of Churches to gather the patriarchs of the two Orthodox churches in Ukraine and Russia in Geneva was aborted by "Swiss neutrality" who refused to give a visa to the Russian delegation.

The war in Ukraine dropped many masks, and I think it is an opportunity not only **to distinguish between those who live 'from' human rights and those who live 'for' human rights. Between those who, only, employ human rights and the victims of their violations, and between those who consider human and peoples' rights as a supreme value; also, between an unjust world order, that crushes us when its adults agree, and crushes us again, in its internal inter-conflicts.**

Color blindness and double standards

In a terrifying but honest sentence, lawyer Daniel Jacoby, who was president of the International Federation for Human Rights, told me before I

participated in an investigative mission in Azad Kashmir in 1992: “The first thing you will discover in this mission is the power of influence and action of international organizations; we work on violations in all countries of the world, and you have a weekly newsletter and a report or two per month, meaning that the decision-makers in the organization are the ones who determine, in quiet times, the **policy of directing the spotlight and setting priorities**. Being humans and having different political backgrounds, these priorities differ. Any country that fails to transform its problem into an international issue will inevitably be subject to being distant from the limelight and thus from our priorities... What has proven to me from my long experience is that we are not an opposing international authority 'contre pouvoir', but unfortunately, and in many cases, to the laws of political action and reaction and is being behind it”. Despite my initial disagreement with the late Jacobi on fundamental issues, I respected his honesty in evaluating the performance of the "International Human Rights Organization" in Northern countries. I always emphasized that this problem is "not destiny" and that a good diagnosis of a disease allows for treating it. So I was not embarrassed by how Odile Sidem-Poulain, Secretary General of the International Federation for Human Rights, described me as a fundamentalist of human rights.

Despite the fact that Amnesty International has defined its field of competence within four articles of the Universal Declaration of Human Rights; this includes articles dealing with issues that were initially resolved in Western Europe (e.g., arbitrary detention, enforced disappearance, torture, and the death penalty), and that Human Rights Watch is the illegitimate daughter of Helsinki Watch. The one that had a specific role and mission during the Cold War. Furthermore, despite that 90 percent of the investigative missions carried out by the International Federation for Human Rights were related to judicial control until 1992. We were convinced that these northern organizations would not succeed in surviving and playing a role, after the fall of the Berlin Wall, unless, sooner or later, they expand their competence to include the International Bill of Human Rights. For this reason, we accepted the invitation, alongside numerous progressive intellectuals, from Eastern Europe, Africa, the Middle East, Asia, and Latin America; to engage in these transition battles, as well as to strongly contribute to the activity of emerging centers interested in economic, social and cultural rights. Among the end-of-last century's successes was the restoration of the concept of "civil society" and "counter-authority" and the birth of the global civil society reformer GCS; yet these battles, which left scars and ulcers in the body of the new-old world order, **were sufficiently struck by what was not fatal, but by, unfortunately, what was not strengthening**

either. This, in the Arab world, is more evident than anywhere else on our planet. Although we all refuse to talk about "victimization", just as we refuse to build a wailing wall. How difficult was it to publish the Arab Development Report? To what extent was the report of 32 non-governmental organizations on the "war and occupation in Iraq" attacked? How much pressure we were subjected to when forming the "international coalition against economic sanctions"? 'Which' resulted in the withdrawal of the most important northern organizations'. How much did the "respect of human rights campaigns during the war on terrorism" face harassment and marginalization; how difficult was it to pass the Goldstone report at the Human Rights Council? How did António Guterres fail to adopt two of the most important reports of the UN: "Injustice in the Arab Region and the Path to Justice", and the report "Israeli Practices towards the Palestinian People and the Question of Apartheid?". These two reports added up to the honorable record of the Jerusalem-born striver, Dr. Rima Khalaf, Under-Secretary-General of the United Nations and Executive Secretary of ESCWA; who resigned from her post in protest of the cowardice of the Secretary-General in placing the United Nations' fingerprint on them. However, Rima Khalaf, alongside a number of international activists, founded the "International Organization for the Elimination of Discrimination and Apartheid" (ARDI) in Geneva. And, human rights organizations could no longer remain silent about the

apartheid regime in Israel, so reports followed from Amnesty International, Human Rights Watch, B'Tselem, etc. to emphasize the racist nature of the Israeli regime.

I stop at this example, to say that the northern organizations, despite being subject to the tsunami of war in Ukraine today, are facing a historic test: Either they can carry out their tasks, in complete independence, from NATO and Western pressure centers, which will return Human Rights Watch to "Helsinki Watch" replica after thirty years; or will it fight the battle of rights, freedoms, and peace, away from the great pressures it is exposed to? Similar to how the battle of "beautifying the image of the Israeli extreme right a quarter of a century ago" which caused the first major rift between independent decision-making organizations and those that are dependent on decision-makers. We expect these organizations not to become color-blind and lose their human-rights compass. Especially since the war in Ukraine, has brought up a topic that affects the entire human society, by highlighting the issue of double standards at all levels. At a time when junior political leaders make "electoral" decisions, the government of Emmanuel Macron grants Francis Kalifat, president of CRIF and former member of the far-right BETAR group, the Chevalier de la Légion d'Honneur; while in a decision made by the Council of Ministers two Palestinian associations, in France, are getting

prosecuted and are getting dissolved; namely, The “Palestine Will Win Gathering” and the “Palestinian Action Committee”. They are accused of calling for “hatred, violence, and discrimination”. The Israeli army carries out collective punishments in the Jenin camp under the pretext of “fighting terrorism.” As Zuha Hassan mentioned in a report issued by Malcolm h. Kerr Carnegie Middle East Center” on the Ukrainian war and its meanings in the Middle East: “The United States has actively opposed the BDS campaigns) led by civil society in support of Palestinian human rights as well as diplomatic and legal initiatives at the United Nations and the International Criminal Court to end the Israeli occupation of the Palestinian territories. The lack of coherence in US policy was recently demonstrated at the United Nations Human Rights Council while US Secretary of State Antony Blinken called on the council to end "**unacceptable bias against Israel**", and to leave Israel alone; he called for Russia to be held accountable. And just a few days after the beginning of the Russian invasion, the United States restricted the exports of Russian oil refineries; closed its airspace to Russian airlines; hatched plans to seize the assets of Russian oligarchs; and supported the International Criminal Court's action against Russian officials. Some members of Congress also wanted to take away visas from Russian students. Nevertheless, President Joe Biden's administration continues to import goods that are produced in illegal Israeli settlements -which is a practice that effectively

amounts to smuggling, but rather duty-free, and these products are labeled "Made in Israel". The United States also grants waiving taxes to NGOs that support settlements in the occupied West Bank and is reportedly pressuring the Palestinians to back down from efforts to push for trialing Israelis' war-crimes-suspects before the International Criminal Court. In addition to opposing boycott, divestment, and sanctions against Israel, the Biden administration has also adopted a definition of anti-Semitism that views criticism of Israeli occupation policies as a form of hate speech (France passed a similar law in 2019).

The politicization of criminal legal accountability, which was manifested in the overt and continuous pressures to close war crimes files in Afghanistan by NATO countries; in making Israel's character an 'exception', and in the procrastination in examining complaints against it to the International Criminal Court. That is coinciding with apartheid being entrenched day after day, they will challenge the credibility of the investigations and prosecutions in any case involving Ukraine. This discriminatory attitude is likely to challenge the EU's stated efforts to "restore respect for the rules-based international order and the normative framework on which it is built".

Western human rights organizations need to stand firm in the face of the prevailing racist mobilization

towards all that is Russian, Russophobia; also, against the hysterical collective punishment of Russian athletes, academics, and artists. They also have to loudly criticize the refugee discrimination policies that we witness so bitterly on a daily basis; These actions are to provide these organizations with a minimum modicum of credibility in their condemnation of the Russian government's violations in the Ukrainian war and its endeavor to activate forms of legal accountability in everything related to war crimes. And to be at the forefront of the daily grave violations experienced by our peoples in Palestine, Iraq, Syria, and Yemen...

The policy of double standards is as old as imperialism and conquest in the world of empires; and any acceptance of this policy, by those who describe themselves as the counter-authority in this unjust world, is a betrayal of their identity and the very reason for their existence.

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