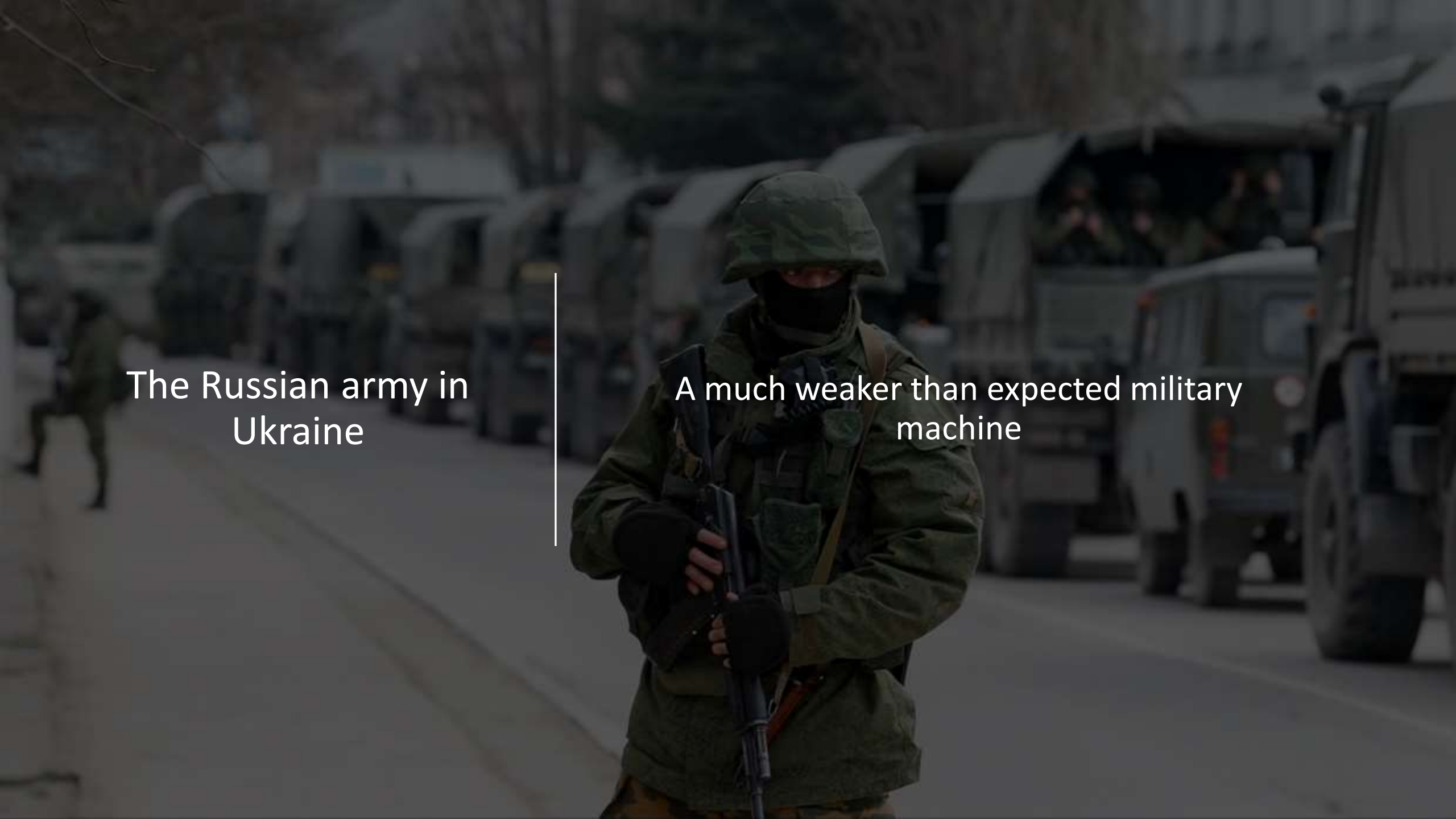




NO RUSSIAN “*BLITZKRIEG*” IN UKRAINE

China, India: time to decide...



The Russian army in
Ukraine

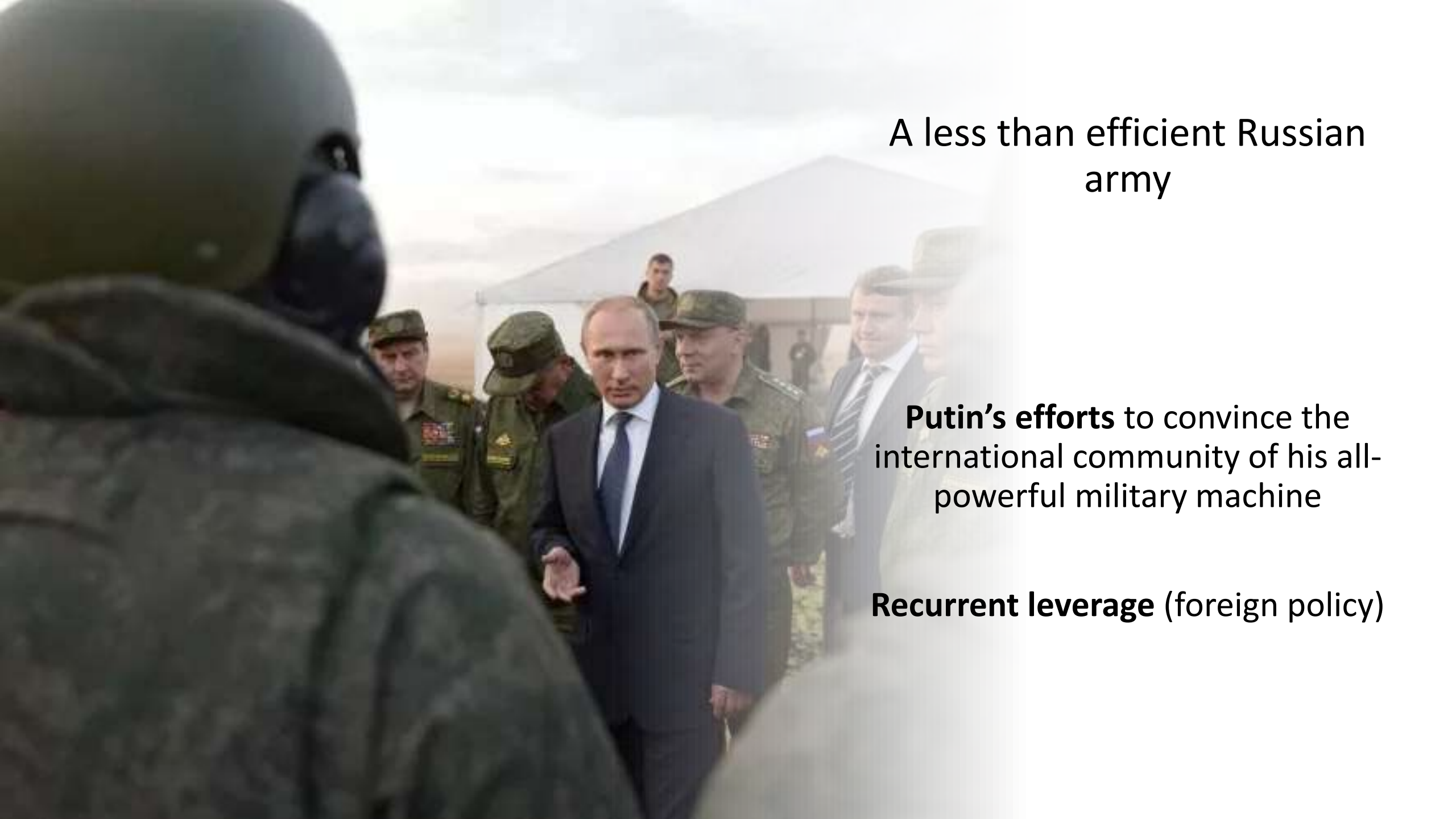
A much weaker than expected military
machine



A poorly planned “*special military operation*”

Vladimir Putin: a **distorted** political and strategic vision of Ukraine

An unexpected Ukrainian resistance (army & population)



A less than efficient Russian army

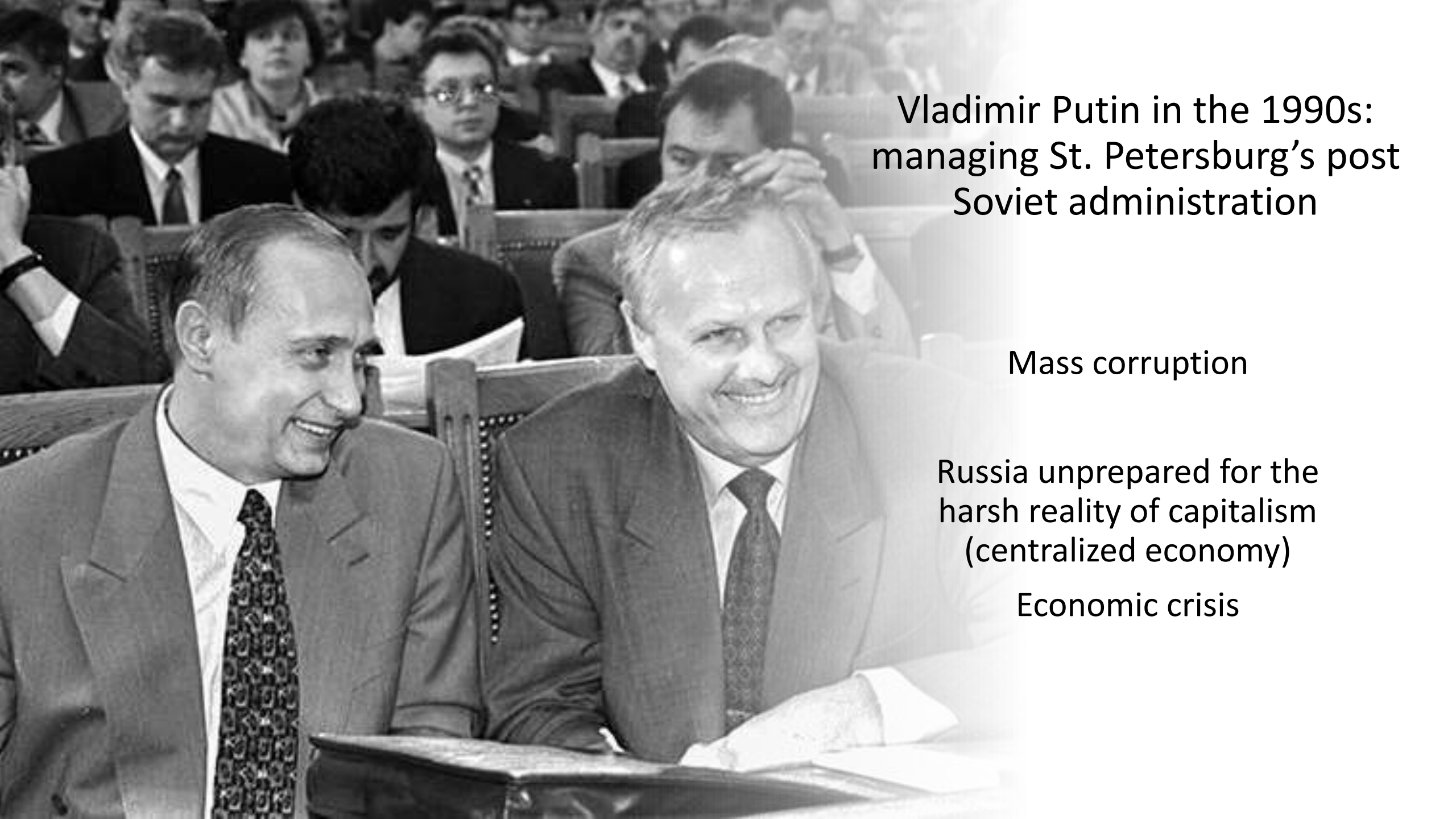
Putin's efforts to convince the international community of his all-powerful military machine

Recurrent leverage (foreign policy)



The Russian intervention in Syria since 2015

The image of an all-powerful
military & highly successful
military machine



Vladimir Putin in the 1990s:
managing St. Petersburg's post
Soviet administration

Mass corruption

Russia unprepared for the
harsh reality of capitalism
(centralized economy)

Economic crisis

1996: Boris Yeltsin re-elected

Putin joined the Yeltsin
administration as Deputy Chief of
Staff

Asian financial crisis (1998)

Sharp decline of demand for crude
oil + cost of war in Chechnya

Collapse of the ruble

Russia defaulted on its debt





July 1998

Sergey Kirienko appointed PM

Putin appointed **Director of the Federal Security Service (FSB)**

A chaotic period

Political instability

A severe economic crisis (except for a small minority)



26 March 2000

Putin elected president of
the Russian Federation
(52,9%)

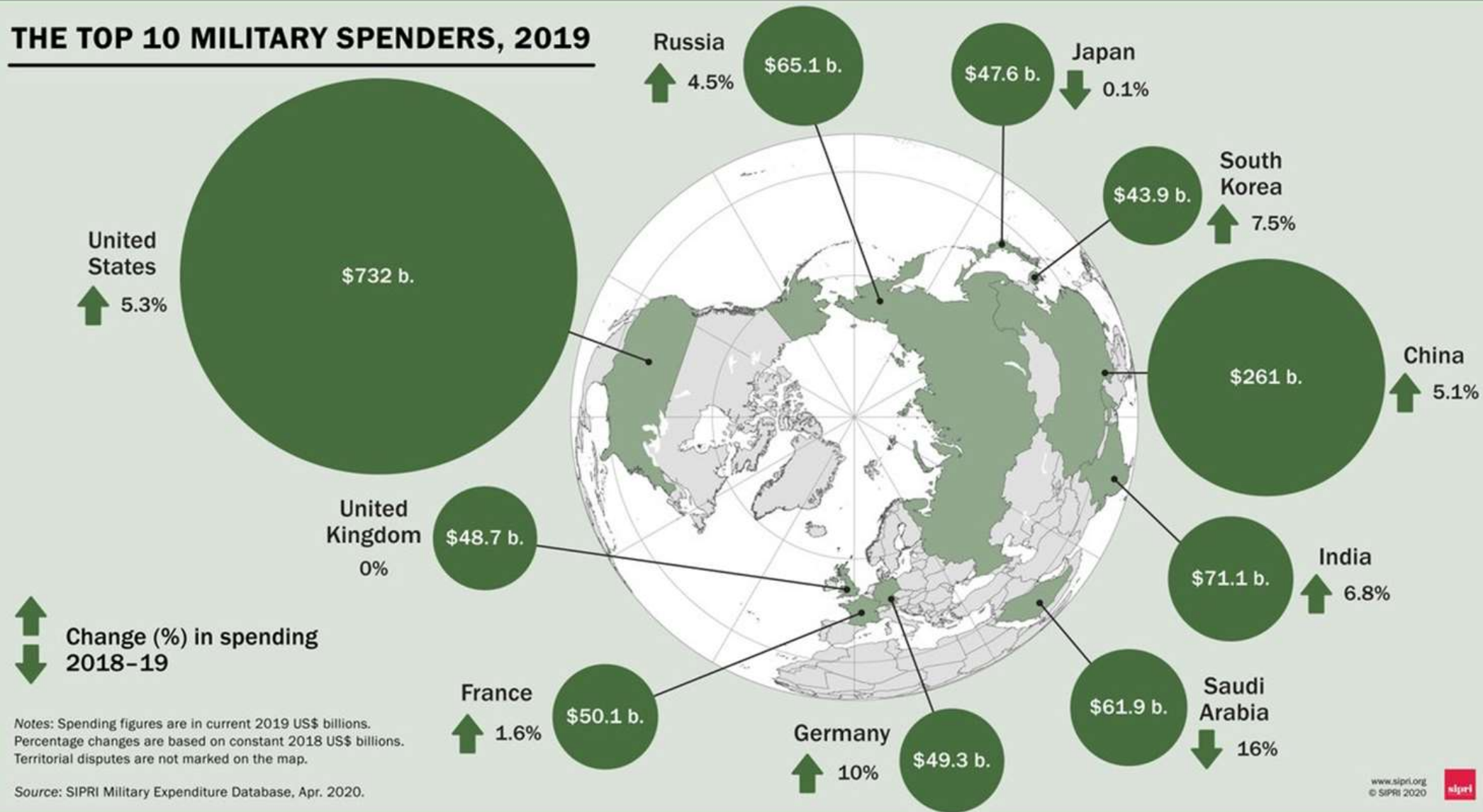
A different reality

Reforms launched in 2008 following
15 years of **under-funding**

A significant but progressive and
selective **military budget** (2010-2020)



THE TOP 10 MILITARY SPENDERS, 2019



Putin's claim of new weapons

New cutting-edge hypersonic & nuclear weapons developed by Russian armament industry (Russia as world's second arms exporter)

Reality or bluff?

Russia far behind in the field of new technologies (artificial intelligence)



Manpower

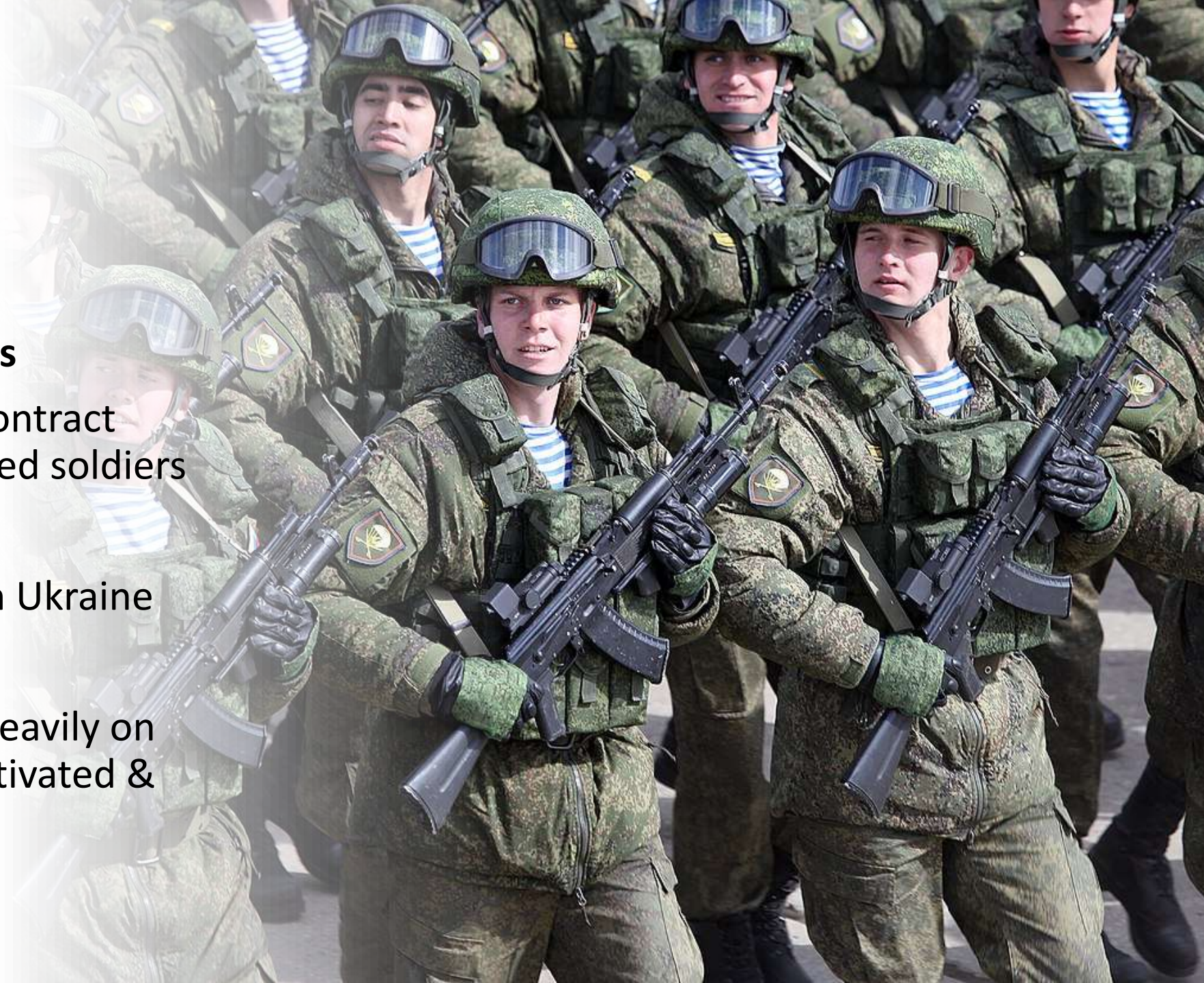
A chronic **weakness**

Twice as many (costly) contract
(*kontraktniki*) than conscripted soldiers

Need for reinforcements in Ukraine

BUT

Putin hesitant to rely too heavily on
conscripts (a less than motivated &
unpopular force)




Wagner's mercenary
organization

Chechen & "Syrian" volunteers

Efforts to get Belarus' army
involved in the conflict





A mirage of a short
'special military operation'

A motivated & well-informed Ukrainian army
fighting for the survival of the nation

What Putin wants...

Significant military successes before any serious negotiations

His problem: the Russian army can neither rely on high technologies nor the old “Russian steamroller” (limitless manpower)

A partially modernized army



Time to decide: China






Caught off guard

China appears to have been caught off guard by Russia's military offensive against Ukraine

Chinese Foreign Affairs
Minister **Wang Li**



“On the one hand, we respect territorial integrity and the sovereignty of Ukraine, but on the other hand, we must consider the historical process of the situation where Russia has been pushed into a corner and forced to counterattack”

No “invasion”, but a “special military operation”

A photograph of two men in suits, Wang Yi (left) and Sergey Lavrov (right), standing in front of a Russian flag. Wang Yi is looking towards Lavrov, who is gesturing with his right hand. The image has a semi-transparent white overlay on the left side where the text is located.

China-Russia's **propaganda
coordination**

Cooperation in **manipulating
information**

Information: a weapon

All warfare is based on *Deception*

兵

THE ART
OF WAR

SUN TZU

法

It is all about **intent**

Misinformation

Misinformation: spreading false information without the intent to mislead

Disinformation

Disinformation: false information disseminated in a hostile act of tactical political subversion

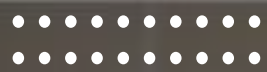


Russian propaganda
on the internet

Information warfare: to spread a message &
discredit the opponent

Military disinformation: a Russian speciality

To encourage divisions within western
societies & weaken opposition to Russia



Targeting and militarizing information

“One of the attributes of the future war will be the confrontation over the information, because the information is becoming a weapon like missiles, bombs...”

Vladimir Slipchenko (1998)



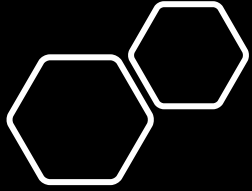
Information warfare: a weapon of
asymmetric subversion

The “hybrid wars” of the 21st
century

The Russian intervention in Ukraine

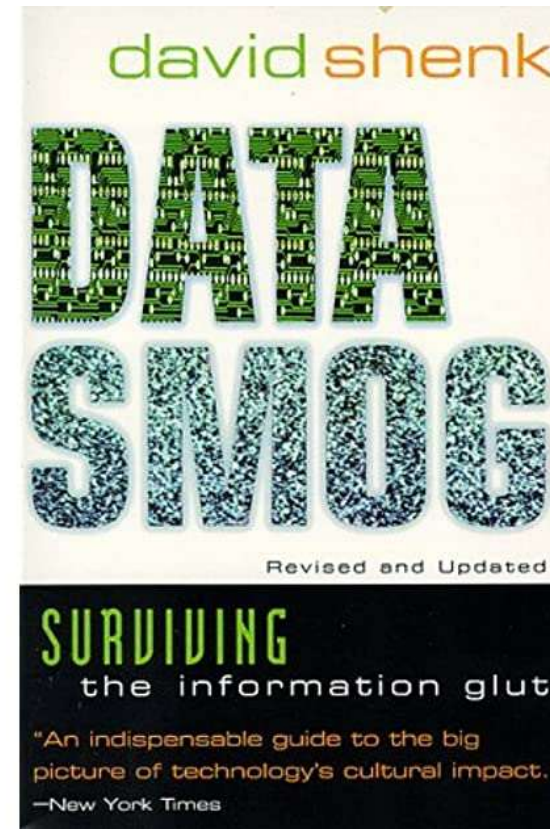
A control centre to coordinate both
military actions, intelligence
(espionage) & propaganda since
2012





Data smog

To saturate the Internet
with facts, information,
analyses, stats...



The image features a large, semi-transparent logo for 'Russia Today' on the left side. The logo consists of a green square with a large, white, stylized letter 'R' inside it. Below the green square is a black banner with the words 'RUSSIA TODAY' in white, bold, sans-serif capital letters. On the right side of the image is a portrait of Vladimir Putin, looking slightly to his left. The background is a dark blue gradient.

White propaganda

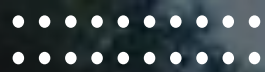
Propaganda that does not hide its origin or nature

Russian media and their foreign networks

Sputnik (multimedia platform) & TV network *Russia Today*

Generously financed by the Russian state

To spread Russia's point of view



Troll farms

Fake social media accounts

2013: a clandestine troll farm
near St. Petersburg

A thousand operators recruited
to disseminate comments
(under false identities) on social
media





China

450 million comments
favorable to China fabricated
each year on social media




How Chinese news outlet relay Russian disinformation

Global Times (Chinese nationalist news outlet controlled by the CCP) relayed Russian false information that President Volodymyr Zelensky had left Ukraine

Deepening coordination Russia-China






China bought ads on Facebook to help Russia bypass Western censorship of pro-Russia Russian media (*Sputnik* and *Russia Today*)

Pro-Russian and anti-NATO messages

The role of Russia in the war with Ukraine minimized

The U.S. accused of developing biological weapons in Ukraine (one of China's favorite disinformation operation)



Proof that *“the virus appeared in other countries before being detected in Wuhan”*

Infections noted in the U.S.
“several weeks before the epidemic was identified in China”

CHINA
DAILY

中國日報



2020-2021 campaign of
disinformation (Covid-19)

The U.S. accused of developing
the virus at a military lab



Chinese reporter embedded
with Russian troops

A veteran war reporter for a Chinese
news outlet, Phoenix TV

Exclusive access to Moscow's side of the
invasion of Ukraine

Claims of more than 1,000 people
(including 121 Chinese) held hostage as
human shields by Ukrainian militants

班車 批烏方忽略協議 和平遙遙無期

普京簽署法令承認烏東兩地獨立

04 內蒙古自治區累計報告184例本土確診病例均為德爾

Pro-Chinese TV network

Founded in 1996 by Liu Changle
(former officer of the People's
Liberation Army)

Ties with high ranking PLA's officials
(propaganda unit)

The logo for Phoenix TV features a stylized, swirling sunburst or phoenix tail design in shades of orange, red, and yellow. The word "Phoenix" is written in a large, bold, black sans-serif font, and "TV" is written in a smaller, bold, black sans-serif font to its right. The entire logo is set against a white background with the swirling design.

What to make of Russia-China's
cooperation in actions of
disinformation?



A photograph of two men in suits, Wang Yi (left) and Sergey Lavrov (right), standing in front of a Russian flag. Wang Yi is looking towards Lavrov, who is gesturing with his right hand. The image has a semi-transparent white overlay on the left side where the text is located.

China's blind alignment to Russia's position?

Internal motivations: Putin's failure in Ukraine could pave the way to criticisms of Xi Jinping's stance (a few months before the 20th Congress of the CCP)

A photograph of two men in suits, Wang Yi (left) and Sergey Lavrov (right), standing in front of a Russian flag. Wang Yi is looking towards Lavrov, who is gesturing with his right hand. The image is partially obscured by a semi-transparent white box containing text.

Campaigns of disinformation: a double objective

1. **To prove** the U.S. is responsible for the war in Ukraine
2. **To level off** possible criticisms of Xi Jinping



14 March

U.S. National Security Advisor Jake Sullivan's meeting with Senior Chinese diplomat Yang Jiechi in Rome

Key meeting as Moscow officially requested Beijing's military support



Time for strategic choices...

The U.S.: to convince Beijing not to openly support Russia (material or economic support)

Chinese Foreign Affairs
Minister **Wang Li**



Facts

13% of Russia's Central Bank foreign currencies reserves (\$US 77 billion) in Yuan

Russia's growing financial, economic and technological dependency



Facts

China: the only possible lifeline for Russia
(massive Western sanctions)

China's balancing act between its hostility
towards the U.S. and its reservations
(Russian invasion of Ukraine)



China's awkward position

The sacrosanct principles of
“sovereignty” & “territorial
integrity”

Chinese Foreign Affairs
Minister **Wang Li**

Donbas region
Line of conflict

100 km



Putin violated the principle of
“territorial integrity”

A man with short brown hair and light blue eyes, wearing a dark suit, white shirt, and a red patterned tie, is speaking. He is positioned in the center-left of the frame. The background is a blurred image of a large, white, classical-style building with many windows, likely the White House, set against a blue sky. The overall lighting is bright and even.

Did China know?

Washington convinced China knew of
Russia's plans but may not have
understood the full extent of what was
planned

Russia-China **military partnership**

Increased partnership since 2014
(annexation of Crimea)

2017-2018: \$US 5 billion (aircraft & air
defense system)

Russia denounced China's non-respect of
intellectual property





Precarious balancing act
but...

China unlikely to side by the West or
blame Russia for the war in Ukraine

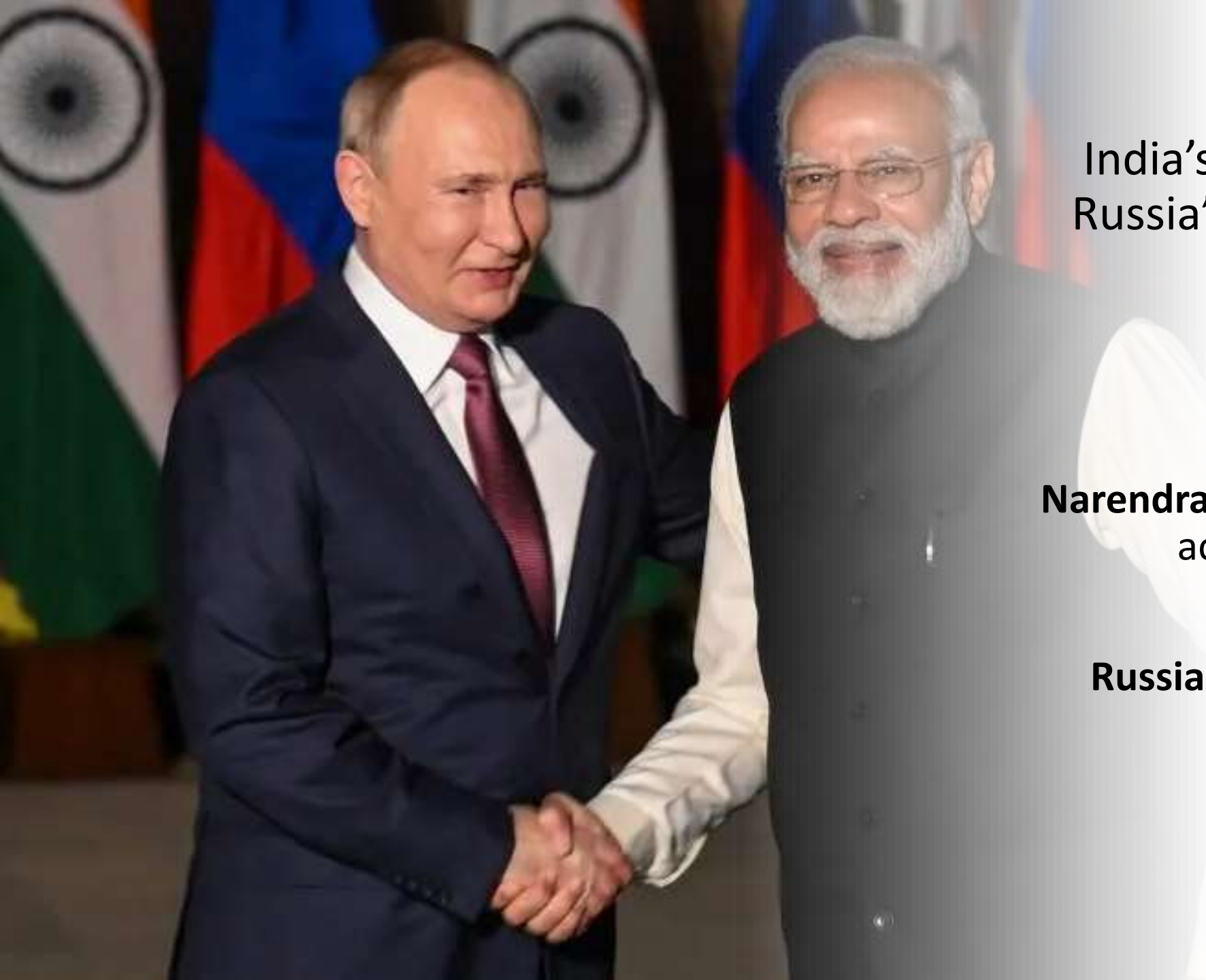
China: a potential “mediator”?

The U.S. and NATO accused of taking side
(supplying weapons and information to
Ukraine)



March 2021


“The United States does not have the qualification to say that it wants to speak to China from a position of strength”



India's refusal to condemn
Russia's invasion of Ukraine

Narendra Modi: a perilous balancing
act since 24 February

Russia: India's primary weapon
supplier

A large, olive-green, eight-wheeled military truck is the central focus, carrying a massive, rectangular radar unit on its flatbed. The radar unit is tilted at an angle. To the left of the truck, a tall, cylindrical missile launcher stands vertically. In the background, another similar truck is visible, and a tall antenna tower rises into the sky. The scene is set in an open, paved area under a clear blue sky with a few clouds.

Russia accounts for **70%** of
India's **military supplies**

2018: India bought US\$ 5.5 billion of Russian
made **S-400 Triumph air-defense system**
(deployed in the Himalaya)





India's refusal to condemn Russia's invasion of Ukraine

24 February: telephone call

Modi: call for an *“immediate cessation of violence”* and *“concerted efforts from all sides to return to the path of diplomatic negotiations and dialogue”*

India abstained from voting UN
resolution condemning Russia's
invasion



Modi ignoring pleas from the West to take a stand

India currently in negotiations with Moscow to buy cheaper oil

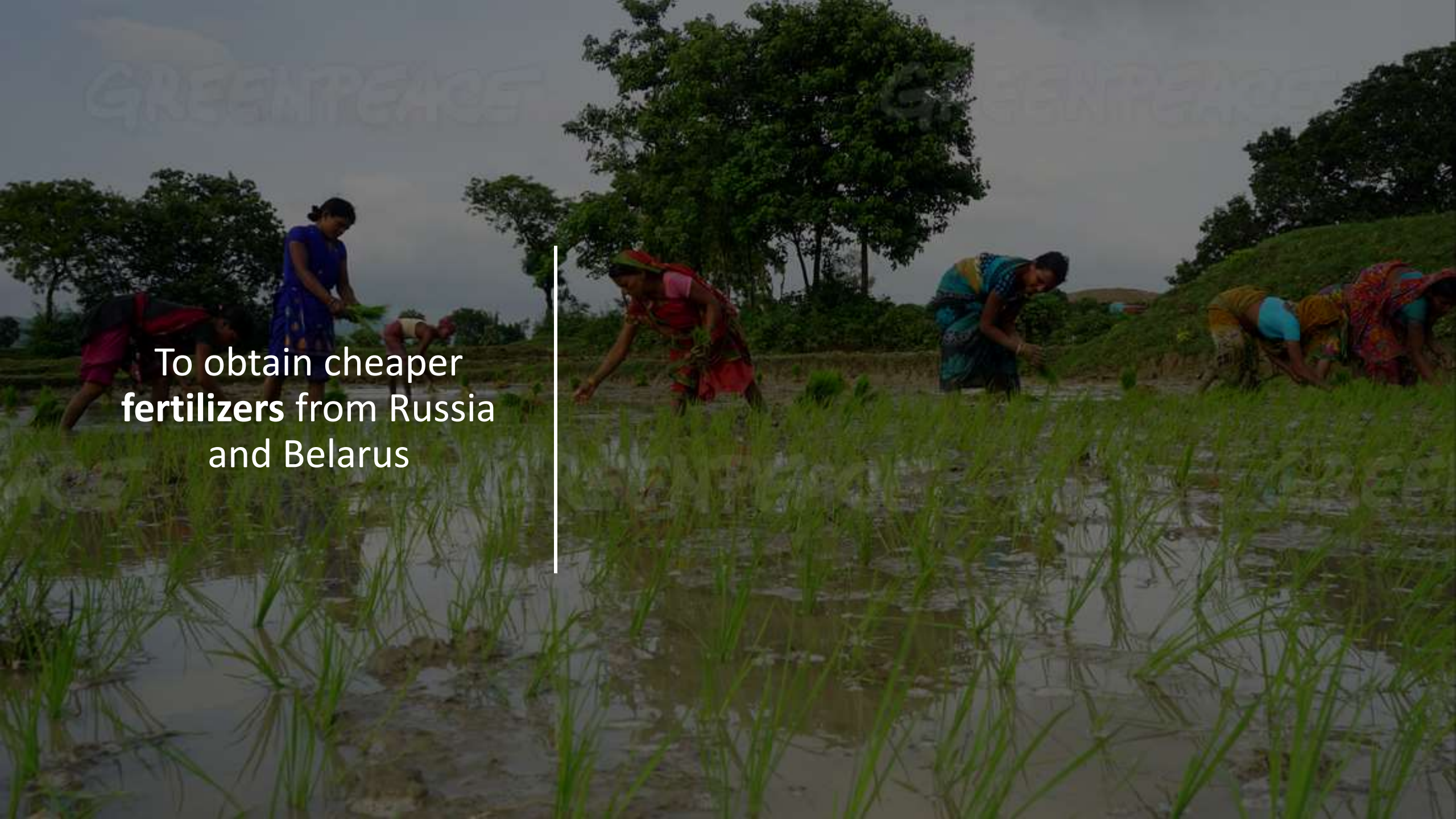
India: world's third largest oil consumer
Highly dependent on oil imports
(85% of its needs are imported)

Far-reaching impact of war in Ukraine and Western sanctions (U.S. decision to ban imports of Russian oil)

GREENPEACE


GREENPEACE

To obtain cheaper
fertilizers from Russia
and Belarus





Most precarious **balancing act**
Abandoning neutrality & not condemning Russia's
actions could have lasting consequences for India

The background of the slide features two flags waving against a clear blue sky. On the left is the United States flag, and on the right is the Indian flag. The text is overlaid on the left side of the image.

U.S. & India: distinct strategic priorities in the Indo-Pacific

The U.S.: a **power struggle** in the **South China Sea**
(perceived as the **strategic epicentre** in the Indo-Pacific)

India: power struggle in the **Indian Ocean**

U.S. approach

Does not cover the Indian Ocean, East African seashore & Persian Gulf

U.S. approach vs. Indian, French and Japanese definitions of Indo-Pacific



UNIFIED COMBATANT COMMAND'S AREA OF RESPONSIBILITY

U.S. EUROPEAN COMMAND

U.S. NORTHERN COMMAND

U.S. CENTRAL COMMAND

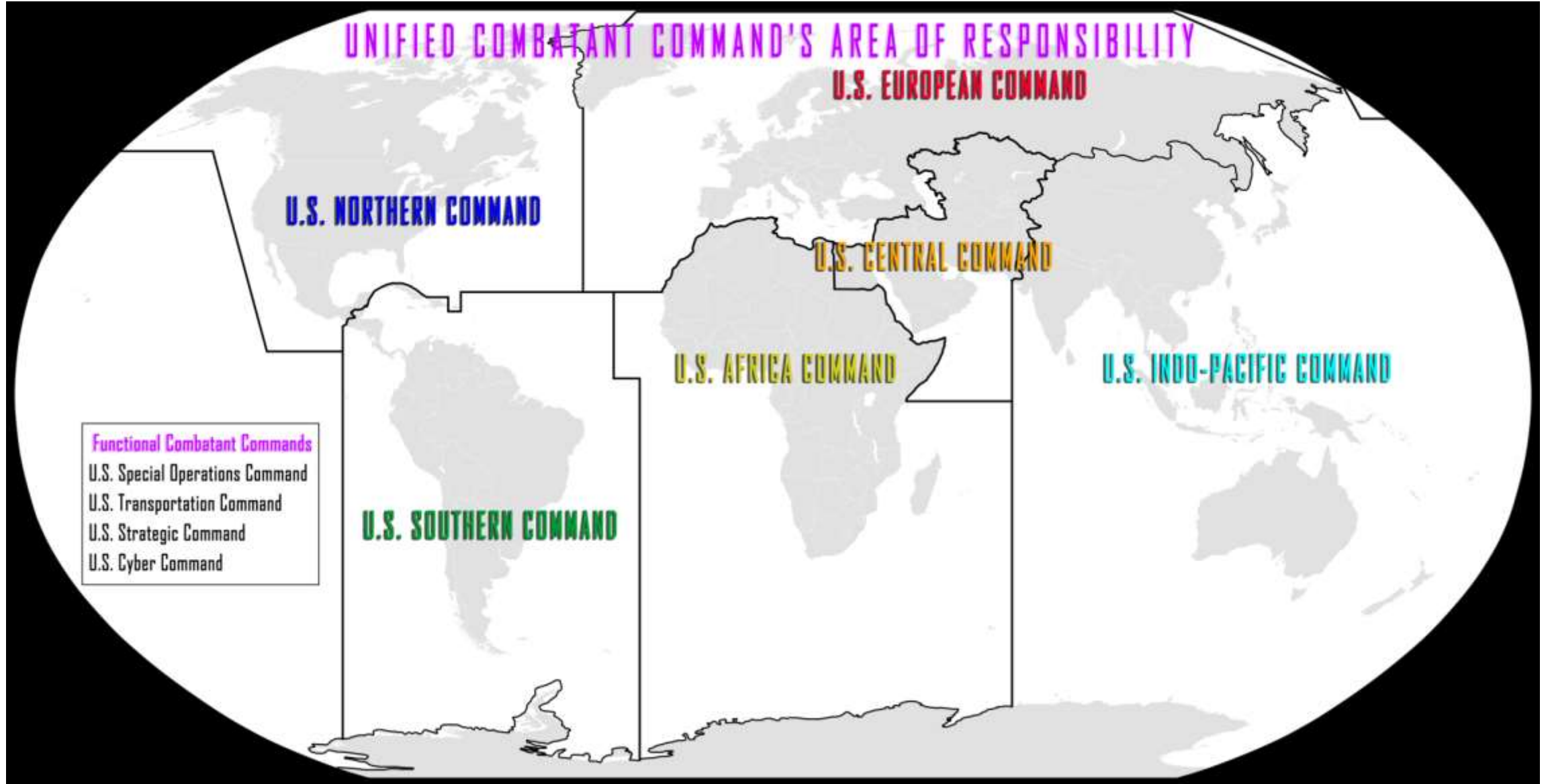
U.S. AFRICA COMMAND

U.S. INDO-PACIFIC COMMAND

U.S. SOUTHERN COMMAND

Functional Combatant Commands

U.S. Special Operations Command
U.S. Transportation Command
U.S. Strategic Command
U.S. Cyber Command



Indo-Pacific “*free and open*”

Freedom of navigation

**International rule of law (1982
UN Convention on the Law of
the Sea – UNCLOS)**

Peaceful resolution of conflicts

Similar preoccupations amongst
maritime great powers
(Australia, **India**, France, UK...)



The ***AUKUS*** Security Pact

A **trilateral security pact**
(Australia, the UK and the U.S.)

Australia to acquire nuclear-
powered submarines

Diplomatic spat with France (the
cancellation of a French-
Australian submarine deal)





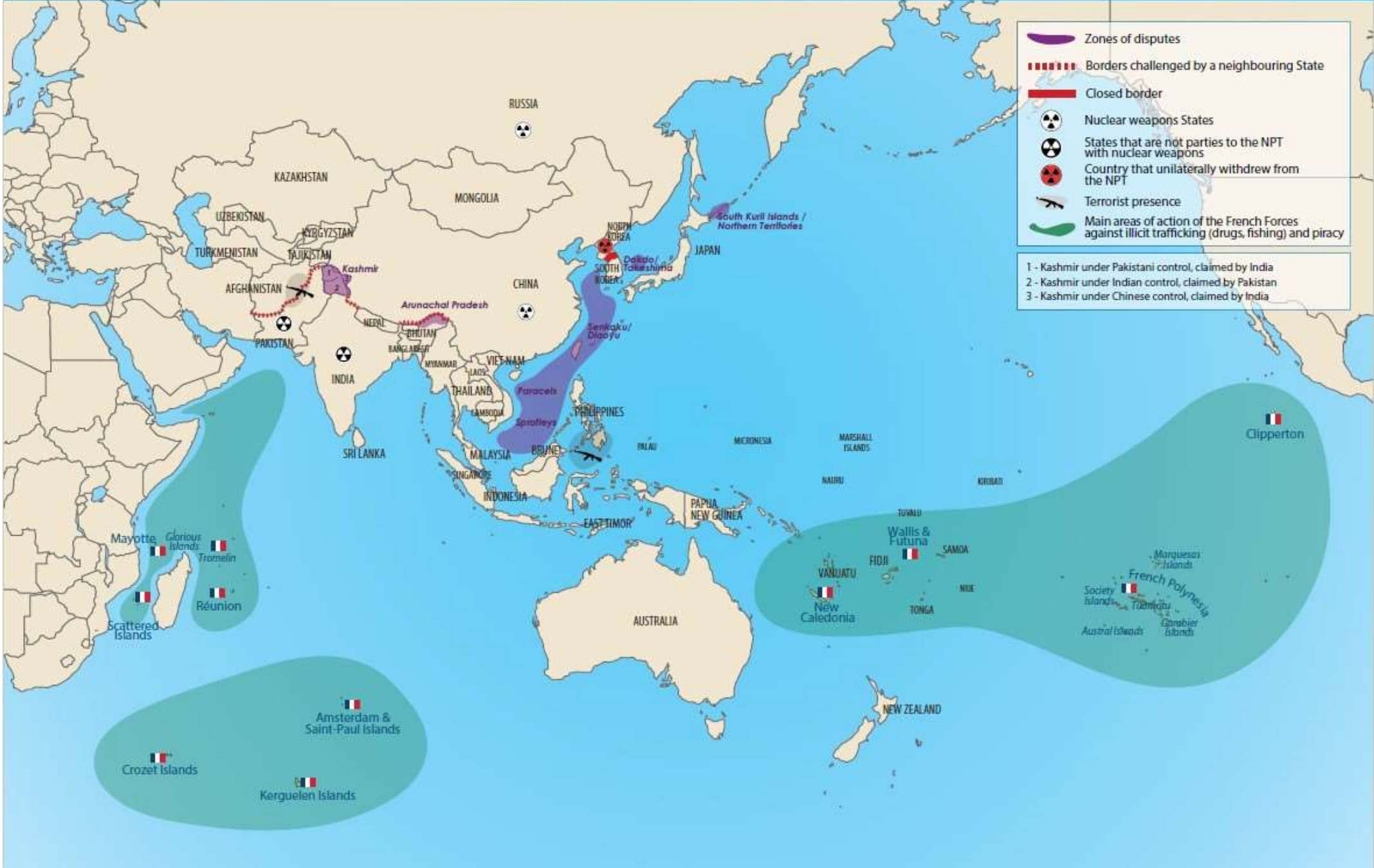
China: a *“cold-war mentality”*

AUKUS: another response to China’s perceived assertiveness as an emerging superpower

An “Anglo-Saxon” pact (India not invited to participate)

Chinese Foreign Affairs
Minister **Wang Li**

SECURITY ISSUES IN THE INDO-PACIFIC





The Indo-Pacific: a **priority** for France

- Zones of disputes
 - Borders challenged by a third party
 - Closed borders
 - States that are not parties to the NPT
 - Country that unilaterally withdrew from the NPT
 - Terrorist presence
 - Main areas of action of the French Navy against illicit trafficking
- 1 - Kashmir under Pakistani control, claimed by India
 - 2 - Kashmir under Indian control, claimed by Pakistan
 - 3 - Kashmir under Chinese control, claimed by India

1.6 million French nationals

200 000 French expats

A key zone for France's economy (a third of French exports outside the E.U & 40% of French imports)

Economic interdependence

The Indo-Pacific: a **priority** for France

The global economy's **center of gravity** has shifted from the Atlantic to the Pacific

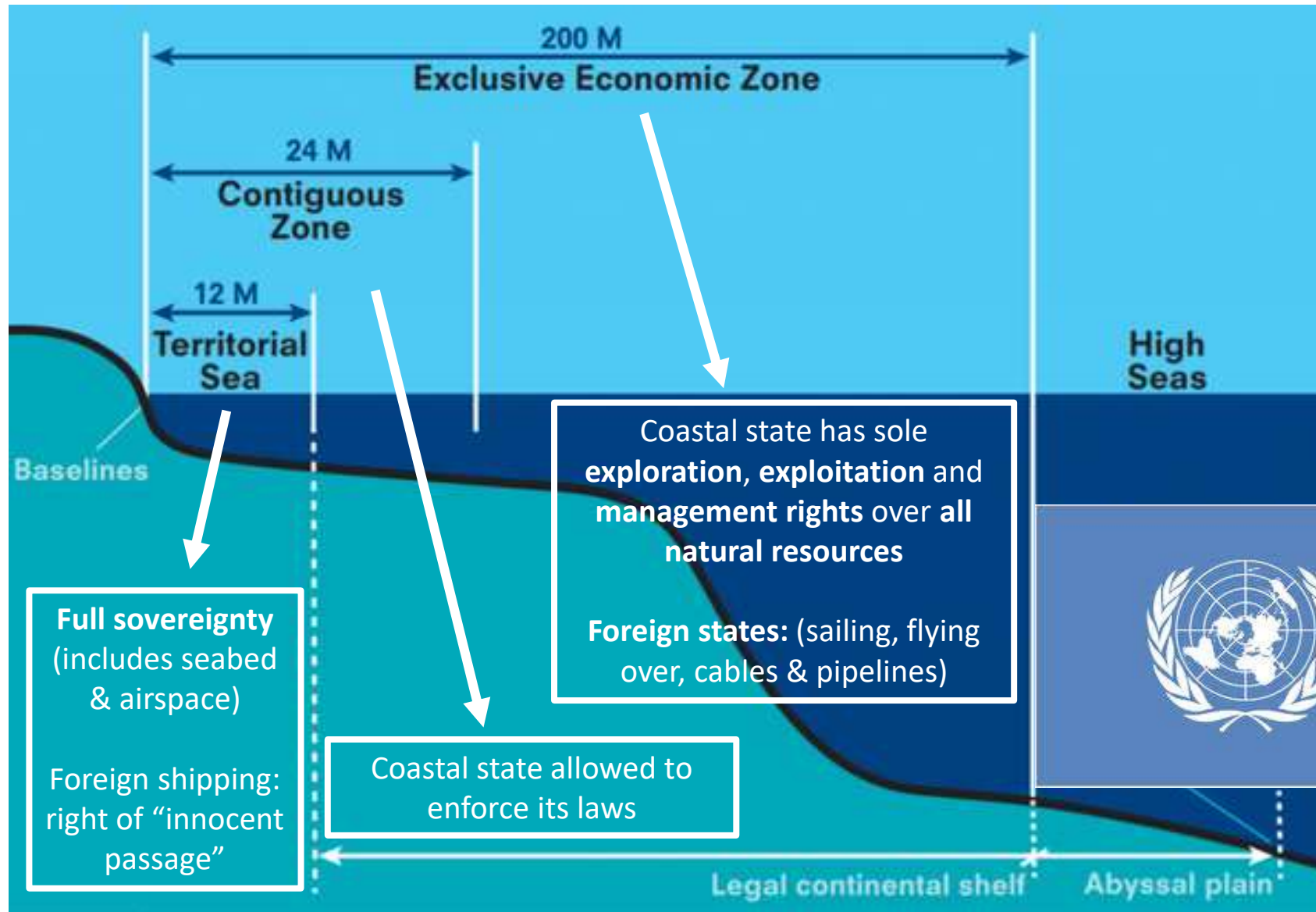
30% of trade with Europe transits via the South China Sea

93% of France Exclusive Economic Zone (EEZ) located in the Indo-Pacific

The 1982 United Nations Convention on the Law of the Sea (UNCLOS)

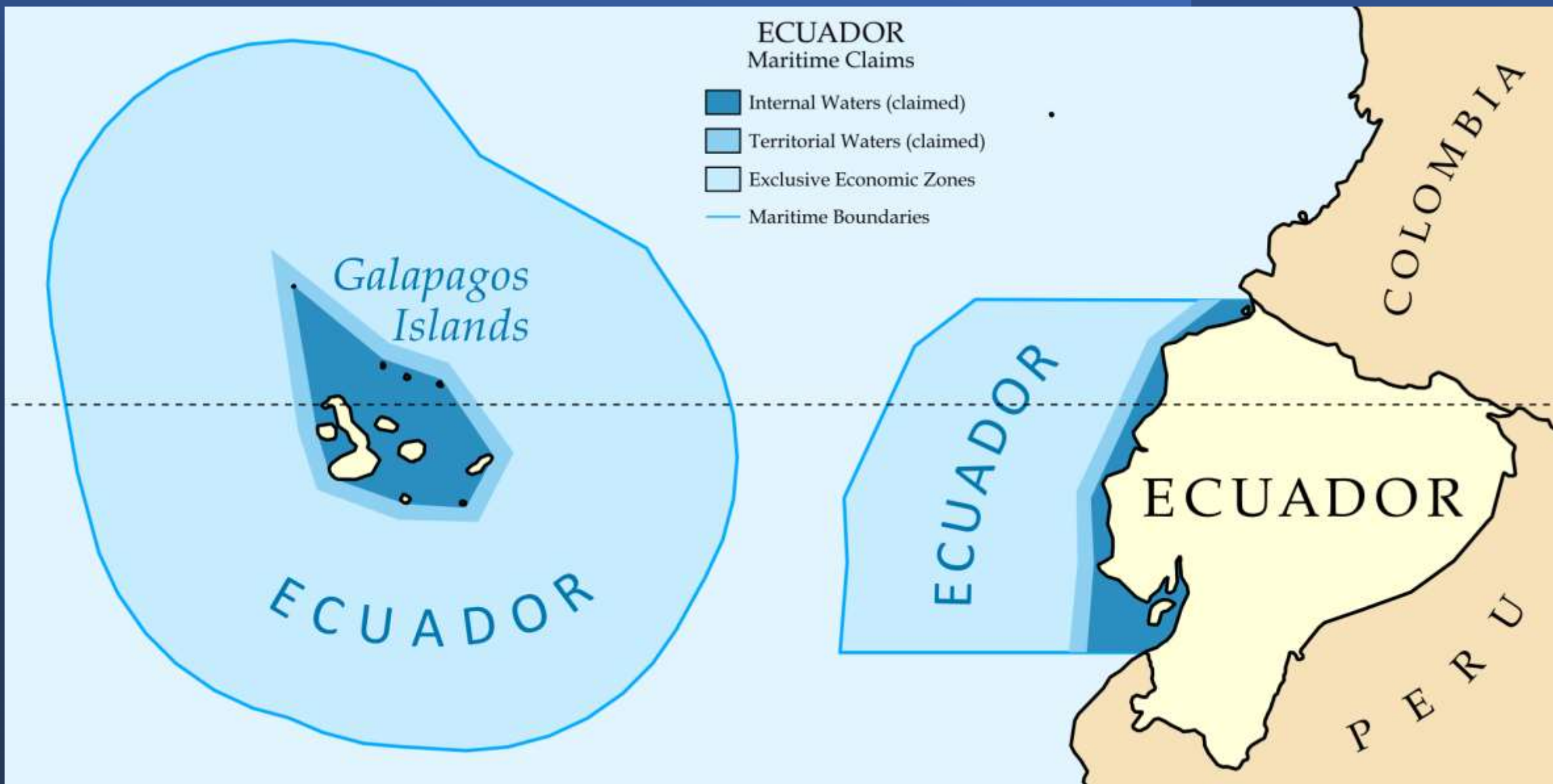
International agreement
establishing the **legal framework**
for all marine and maritime
activities



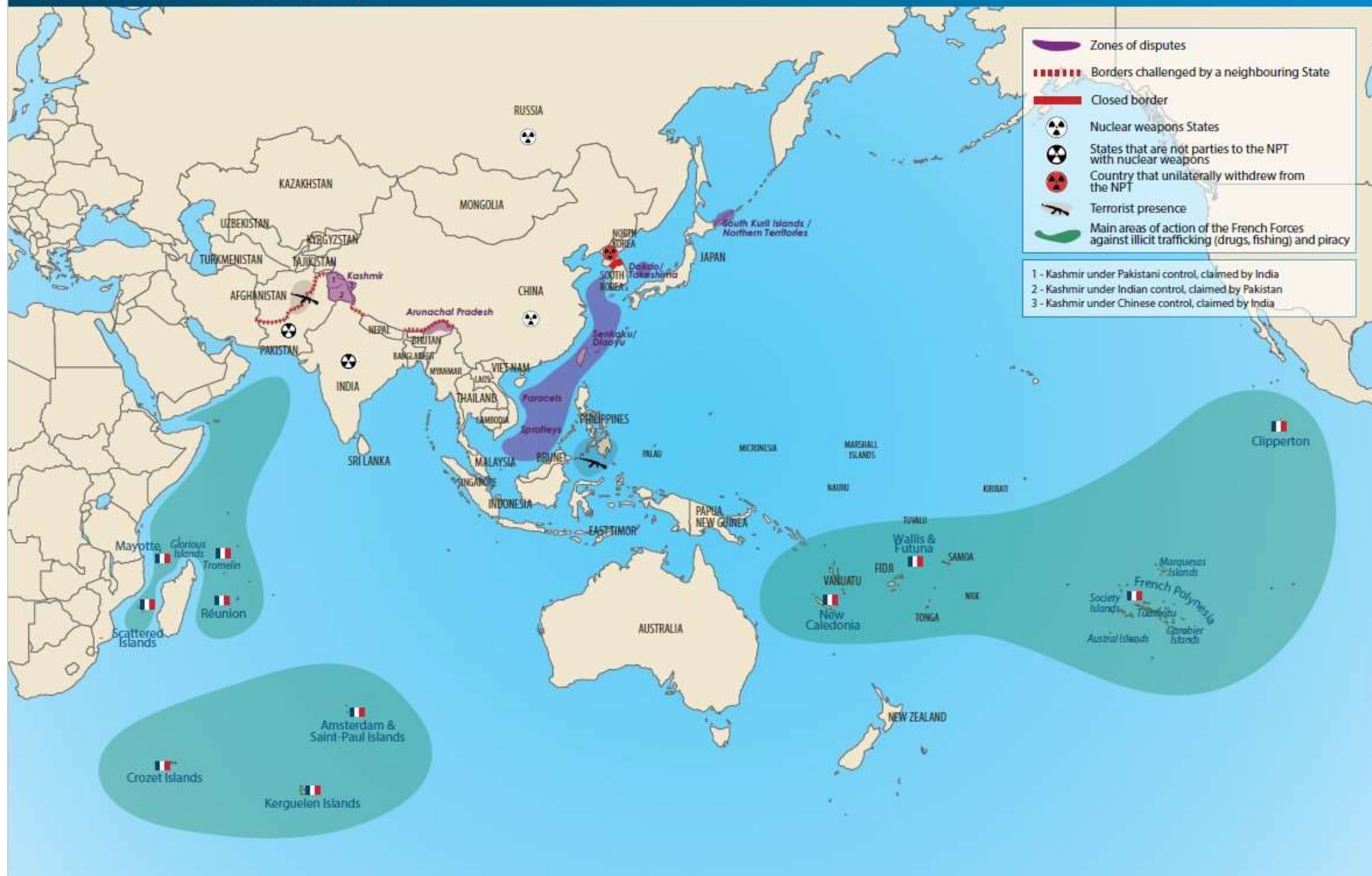


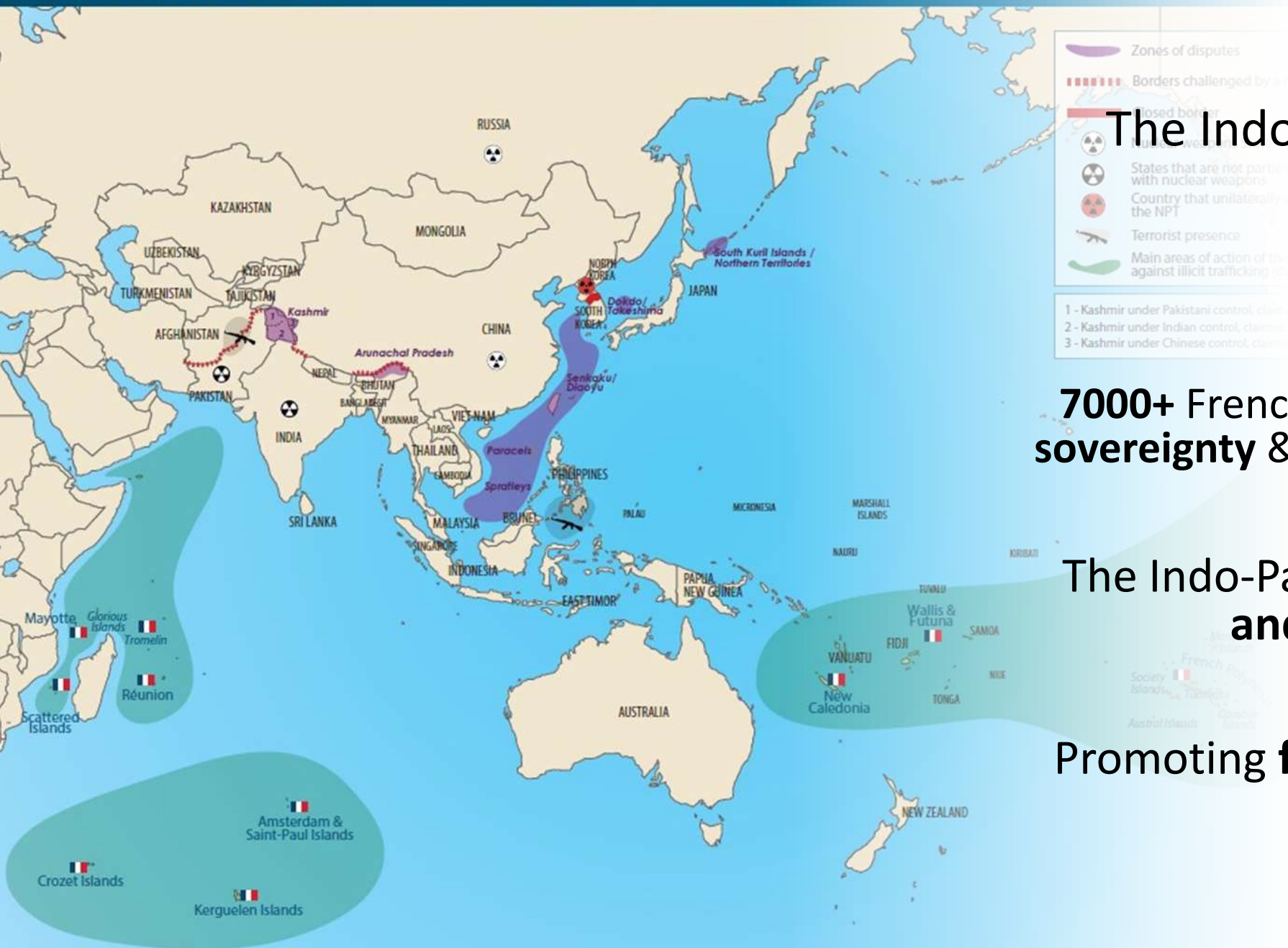
ECUADOR Maritime Claims

- Internal Waters (claimed)
- Territorial Waters (claimed)
- Exclusive Economic Zones
- Maritime Boundaries



SECURITY ISSUES IN THE INDO-PACIFIC





The Indo-Pacific: a **priority** for France

7000+ French troops to defend French sovereignty & promote regional security

The Indo-Pacific to remain an **open and inclusive area**

Promoting **freedom of the seas and rule of law.**

FRENCH MILITARY PRESENCE IN THE INDO-PACIFIC




A photograph of Indian Prime Minister Narendra Modi and French President Emmanuel Macron shaking hands. Modi is on the left, wearing a white shirt and a dark vest, with his hands clasped in front of him. Macron is on the right, wearing a blue suit and a white face mask, with his hands clasped in front of him. The background is a solid blue color.

Closer Franco-Indian relations

India: France's "***main partner***" in the Indo-Pacific area following the announcement in September 2021 of a secretly negotiated submarine deal between Australia, the U.S. and Britain (the **AUKUS Pact**)

China's aggressive policies and Belt & Road Initiative (BRI)

A photograph of two men in dark suits and white face masks shaking hands. The man on the left is Indian, and the man on the right is French. Behind them are the Indian and French national flags. The image has a dark overlay with white text.

22 February 2022

A road map for Indo-Pacific partnership:
economy and ocean governance



Scott Morrison

Australia

“The Indo-Pacific is where we live”

*“It is the region that will continue
to shape our prosperity, security
and destiny”*