



Solidarity for Ukraine – 01/12/2022- issue 10 - the shadow of a doubt

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The Institute for Research and Information on Volunteering (iriv) is associated to the international solidarity for Ukraine attacked by Russia on 24th February 2022. After a pandemic that has weakened democratic countries with the disturbing rise of conspiracy theories and hate speech on social networks, we do hope this war in Europe will be an opportunity to reflect on a new solidarity, among European and international allies. This newsletter is the 10th issue since March 1, 2022. We will publish a new issue every first day of the month as long as this brutal, total and illegal war lasts. Doubt is the main characteristic of scientific minds who should not take anything for granted and question their models and analyse which, faced with reality, can change. The doubt

did not touch the Russian president when he decided to attack Ukraine; he was certain of the result, his neighbour was going to capitulate after a maximum of three weeks, it was a done deal. His mistake comes from this certainty. A formidable weapon has been used since the beginning by the Western bloc: the transparency of information, collected, checked and updated, and widely disseminated to public opinion by American intelligence with the reinforcement of its allies. We will evoke the facets of this war of influence or psychological war by studying its different dimensions

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* the logo was designed by Caritas Canada in February 2022

Influence- from “hard” to « smart power »

The war in Ukraine showed that democracies had to defend themselves against aggression by authoritarian states or non-state groups. This is a vital national security issue – all European countries have increased their military budgets (even pacifist countries for historical reasons like Germany).

Hard power is the ability to compel that flows from a country’s military or economic power. Soft power is exercised by the culture and political ideals defended by a State; it is the capacity of a State to obtain what it wants from another State without even the State being aware of it. “Co-opt rather than coerce”. Public opinion is not forced but voluntarily adheres. The theory was developed by American researcher Joseph Nye (1), a Harvard University professor specializing in international relations - “hard power” and “soft power” are the strategies that 21st century democracies must combine. Another inspiring approach is “smart power”, where freedom of expression plays a key role. It is a decisive element of the "cyberwar" of democracies to fight against misinformation and false news spread by authoritarian regimes.

Theoretically, a state with a “soft power” without the ability to defend itself militarily cannot be considered powerful. Conversely, a State with a significant “hard power” can succeed in military operations, avoid certain conflicts, or impose its views on the international scene, but cannot capitalise politically on its “victories”. Faced with doubts about the concrete effectiveness of «soft power», Joseph Nye introduced a new concept: «smart power» which combines «hard power» and «soft power». The concept refers to «the methods of influence developed by a State that are not based on violence but on ideological or cultural elements in order to satisfy the interests of the nation implementing them».

States may combine brutal methods such as coercion, or finer means such as inducement or seduction. In all cases, they seek to influence political decisions by identifying certain choices as priorities, and gain credibility and legitimacy. Between allied countries, it is time for cooperation; together they must make fire of any wood- convince international and regional organizations, resort to bilateral or multilateral alliances but defending the same values, without appearing to contradict or compete.

The cultural influence allows the defence of values that are an integral part of the foreign policy of the great nations (America, Europe, etc.). There are many ways to become an “intelligent power”, such as openly siding with and defending an independent country under attack from an authoritarian regime – such as Ukraine.

Influencers- more and more efficient « intelligence services »

In the war in Ukraine, the role of intelligence has been paramount since the beginning of the conflict. If «spies» have always existed, the «intelligence» services have become professionalized and specialized. Their modus operandi is becoming increasingly well known, thanks to films and series, but also to the communication strategies of democratic countries, anxious to make their actions known, to show their legitimacy to convince, if necessary, new recruits. They are indeed an essential mechanism of democracies to defend themselves against authoritarian regimes and terrorist organizations very strong in disinformation and fake news.

Intelligence is a practice as old as war, attested to in the first military strategy treaty, which recognized the importance of having accurate and correct information about the enemy's intentions and capabilities to win. Long evoked through the notions of espionage and secrecy, it was surrounded by mystery, and ambivalent notions rather negative (betrayal, courage, or corruption). Faced with new political, military, and geopolitical demands, their activity has become professionalized. To be convincing, many intelligence services (in democratic countries, especially in France) had to make a clean slate considering the mistakes of the past, to radically change their mindset and give a different image of their services and especially of a functioning in accordance with a democratic society.

Ted Allbeury (2) spoke of the laborious beginnings of MI6 (then SIS) - *the information they collected was little more than gossip from travellers. Rarely significant and rarely supported by any evidence (.../...) These were useless chatter, unreliable sources.*” *But everything changed with the Second World War The war saved them in two ways. First, they had to recruit a lot of new people in a hurry. Some of them were very bright. Philby was one of them. (.../...) They were supposed to be masters of intelligence and counterintelligence.* The CIA models. The best medium of communication during the Cold War was the James Bond series, written by British writer Ian Fleming, whose novels were all adapted by Hollywood. The famous agent of His Majesty has aroused many vocations. The books written by other “spies” (John Le Carré, William Somerset Maugham, or Graham Greene) have documented the actions and modus operandi of British “intelligence service”.

In France, the series long directed and produced by Eric Rochant for French television Canal + “The Office of Legends” since 2015 (the very year of the terrorist attacks in France and the adoption of a law on military education) is an effective means of communication and information. The American and Israeli series (3) remain the absolute models of the genre. Their success is explained by the new spirit they have instilled. They gave authenticity to the intelligence and offered a fine and nuanced analysis of geopolitical conflicts, which often seem complicated and disjointed. They also explained the disciplines used, such as psychology and cognitive sciences, to understand human behaviour from authentic cases.

Influenced – « wanted », more and more diverse and complex profiles

In the first weeks of the Ukrainian conflict, the French intelligence service showed its limitations. They did not foresee the outbreak of war, unlike their American counterparts; and they symbolically fired the head of the military service.

The best way to combat terrorism or defuse the propaganda of authoritarian regimes is to recruit agents who respect the diversity of the population (by gender, culture, religion, sexual orientation, political convictions too..) and know how to understand the modes of action of terrorists, internal and external, and counter them on their lands.

Managing diversity is a crucial issue for the most “sensitive” public services (security, health, army, intelligence) as they must recruit and train staff with different profiles and sensitivities to respond to multifaceted threats and an increasingly diverse audience with topics that did not arise in a more «homogeneous» population.

Intelligence is supposed to be “ the profession of thugs that only gentlemen can exercise”. Therefore the qualities sought would be "an extraordinary moral sense" and "personal solidity" to "use without losing one’s soul methods that morals and laws disapprove of". The profile of «agents» has followed the evolution of the world with a feminization and very specialized professional profiles: linguists, engineers, economists, experts of the bank and finance (for the fight against money laundering and the financing of terrorism), and young “cyber warfare” talents. The profiles recruited are increasingly educated, aware of world affairs, speaking several foreign languages, knowing, or mastering communication technologies, and are above all highly reactive. As misinformation is the weapon of authoritarian regimes, information and communication skills are obviously very popular (knowing how to find relevant information, argue and express a message according to a given audience). The requirement for efficiency outweighs old biases

Given the complexity of the world, the recruitment processes for intelligence services have also become more complex. The winning trio in recruitment is – core skills (hard skills), cross-cutting skills (soft skills) and a newer form of skills “mad skills” (which can be translated into creative or resilience skills). Psychology and cognitive sciences are the main disciplines for selecting candidates and organizing a relevant selection process.

Sine qua non condition, they can also have limits. Some profiles are not reducible to an analysis and sometimes show themselves refractory to the image that is given of them by the “experts” among the intelligence services. The human factor can be surprising. There is always a personal dimension to a selection process. – “we’ve dug holes for him to fall in, but he’s never fallen in. If you like him, you say there’s the proof -he’s ours. If you don’t like him, you say it just shows how clever he is. It’s the same old syndrome.” (2).

Games of influence – the benefit of a doubt

In July 2022, during war, Ukrainian President Volodymyr Zelensky fired the chief of security services and the attorney general. He blamed them for their ineffectiveness in the fight against Russian spies; a «review of the cadres" within the Ukrainian security services was initiated after suspicions of high treason (7). In peacetime, the expectations of “recruiters” and “recruits” are built. The selection process is very specific-you don’t choose, you’re chosen. Selection requires a long process where conflicting opinions are carefully collected and analysed. It may also happen that the “targets” realize the process and shares their views. A “give and take” type of negotiation can then be engaged to find out what each one expects from the other, while respecting the sensitivities of each one.

Intelligence services are improving, and potential recruits are also becoming more and more informed. If we could have a romantic or idealized vision of the intelligence services, that is no longer the case. Positive examples such as the release of American hostages in Iran (8) are as numerous as the resounding fiascos of the Operation Rainbow Warrior (9) or the “Markovic” affair (10) in France or a spy sent to the North and arrested for treason in South Korea (11). In both cases intelligence services have been misused for purposes other than national security. (12). A negative image can also be created by unprofessional behaviour on the part of some agents- the sense of impunity or power that can come from acting clandestinely, having access to highly personal information about “targets” may lead to questionable use of this “knowledge” and lack of neutrality. Another pitfall is competition or disagreements within intelligence services about a strategy or about choosing a “target” that leads to confusion and misunderstanding. Examples of fratricidal service warfare have been documented in several films, sometimes in a funny and caricatural way such as the French movie inspired by a true story “The Tall Blond with a Black Shoe” (13).

This confusion and hesitation ultimately benefit the opposing camp- authoritarian regimes that have not the shadow of a doubt and use heavy artillery and expeditious methods (executions, poisonings, extortion, blackmail of all kinds, etc.) with profiles of agents who don’t have many moods. Dimitri Medvedev, chief falcon of the Kremlin, recently told Westerners “You are free, not because you are innocent but because we have worked badly” using a KGB expression. (14) The selection and relevant selection of recruits is a sensitive matter and requires undeniable expertise and experience, both individual and collective. The challenge for the intelligence services of democracies is to avoid mistakes so as not to take risks or to expose «recruits» who would not hold up the road. It is a shame, however, to deprive themselves of profiles that do not seem *a priori* «made for adventure» and may have raised some questions. If they were totally convinced by the cause and eager to share their skills, their profile could have been useful.

Are they given the benefit of the doubt ? “At least with doubt, there is still a form of hope, a line of flight to the horizon” (15)

- (1) Joseph S Nye (2005) “Soft Power: The Means to Success in World Politics” first published in 2004 in the review Public Affairs , New York then as a book « Soft Power - The Means To Success In World Politics”.
- (2) Ted Allbeury « The other side of silence”, 1981
- (3) **Fauda** (in Arabic: فوضى ; means « chaos », "anarchy") is an Israeli television series created by Lior Raz and Avi Issacharoff, broadcast since February 15, 2015 on Yes, and internationally since December 2, 2016 on Netflix. **Homeland** is a 96-episode American television series created by Howard Gordon and Alex Gansa, based on the Israeli television series, **Hatufim** (in Hebrew: "Kidnapped"), created by Gideon Raff. It has been broadcast since October 3, 2011 on Showtime in the United States and on Super Channel in Canada
- (4) Cousseran (Jean-Claude) et Hayez (Philippe) , 2017, « Nouvelles leçons sur le renseignement », Paris : Odile Jacob
- (5) Faligot (Roger), Guisnel (Jean), Kauffer, (Remi), « Histoire politique des services secrets français », Paris : La Découverte, 2012
- (6) in the words of British novelist John Le Carré, one of the “spy novelist” with Graham Greene, Somerset Maugham, Ian Fleming or Roal Dahl ,
- (7) France info- https://www.francetvinfo.fr/monde/europe/manifestations-en-ukraine/ukraine-le-parlement-vote-le-limogeage-du-chef-des-services-de-securite-et-de-la-procureure-generale_5265118.html
- (8) examples of succesful actions « Argo », Ben Afleck, USA, GK Films & Smokehouse, 2012 – the release of 6 American hostages in Iran
- (9) the sabotage of the flagship of the ecological organization Greenpeace, the Rainbow Warrior, by the French secret services on 10 July 1985, as well as its media, political and judicial follow-up- told in the film «Vanilla strawberry» directed by Gérard Oury, productors Alexandre Mnouchkine, Antoine de Clermont-Tonnerre, Christian Ferry , France, 1989
- (10) the private secretary of Alain Delon found dead on September 22, 1968 with photos rigged compromising against the wife of George Pompidou, operation of any piece to smear the reputation of the couple Pompidou
- (11) a South Korean spy sent north to investigate the nuclear program whose story was told in the film “The Spy Gone North” directed by Yoon Jong-Bin, South Korea, 2018
- (12) for electoral purposes in France against George Pompidou in the Markovic case and in South Korea against the opposition candidate
- (13) « Le grand blond avec une chaussure noire » , Yves Robert, France, 1972
- (14) Isabelle Mandraud « Dmitri Medvedev, le faucon de Poutine », Le Monde, vendredi 19 août 2022
- (15) Patrick Modiano (2010) « L’Horizon » , Paris : Gallimard

Contacts utiles

Pour aider l'Ukraine, voici une liste d'associations & ONG publiées sur le site [Support Ukraine](#)

Croix-Rouge Française - [Croix-Rouge française](#) pour des dons financiers, en soutien de la Croix-Rouge ukrainienne, au Comité International de la Croix-Rouge

Médecins sans frontières - [fonds d'urgence](#) dans les pays limitrophes de l'Ukraine et cherchent à faire entrer du matériel médical et du personnel.

Secours populaire - lance un appel aux [dons d'urgence à l'Ukraine](#) .

Protection civile - un appel aux dons pour financer d'autres besoins (défibrillateurs, respirateurs, groupes électrogènes, etc.) : <https://don.protection-civile.org/soutenir>

Fondation de France - lance un [appel à la générosité](#) pour soutenir les centaines de milliers de personnes affectées par le conflit en Pologne et en Roumanie

Agence des Nations Unies pour les réfugiés - situation d'urgence de niveau 3 pour la crise en Ukraine, le plus élevé. L'UNHCR a renforcé ses opérations en Ukraine et dans les pays voisins, pour la soutenir, vous pouvez faire un don : site Donner.unhcr.org

Unicef - un besoin urgent de financement pour répondre aux besoins essentiels des enfants Pour faire un [don sur le site Unicef.fr](#) .

ONG Care International - un [formulaire en ligne de dons d'urgence à l'Ukraine](#) pour apporter une aide d'urgence aux populations et aux réfugiés.

L'ONG française ACTED organise des convois humanitaires pour l'Ukraine

association Solidarités International – une [collecte des fonds](#) pour envoyer des convois de vivres et biens de première nécessité, distribuer de l'eau et des repas aux réfugiés

Plan International, en Pologne, Roumanie et Moldavie, pour apporter aide matérielle et psychosociale aux jeunes ukrainiens et à leur famille, et [sollicite des dons](#) pour ce faire.

L'Aide médicale et caritative France-Ukraine - envoi de convois d'aide humanitaire, des soins aux blessés, des échanges de savoir-faire médical, une aide psychologique et organise des colonies de vacances pour les enfants orphelins - [HelloAsso](#) ;

Le Comité d'aide médicale Ukraine - réfugiés en transit dans l'ouest du pays, et collecte fonds, médicaments et équipements pour l'hébergement et les soins [via ses partenaires français, l'association SAFE et l'organisation FONDEMOS.](#)

JeVeuxAider.gouv.fr est la plateforme publique du bénévolat, - une page dédiée [Mobilisons-nous pour l'Ukraine](#) .

Les Banques alimentaires - une [aide d'urgence à apporter aux frontières de l'Ukraine](#), dans les pays frontaliers accueillant des réfugiés.

La Protection Civile et l'Association des maires de France ont établi une [liste](#) (lits de camps, sacs de couchage, lingettes, conserves, pansements hémostatiques, solutions antiseptiques ...).

L'Association des maires de France a dressé les [lieux de collecte](#) à travers toute la France. Les Maires de France appellent à la [solidarité avec l'Ukraine](#) . De nombreuses villes de France organisent des collectes de produits de première nécessité

La plateforme officielle « [Je m'engage pour l'Ukraine](#) » lancée le 8 mars 2022 par le gouvernement pour accompagner les Français souhaitant héberger chez eux des Ukrainiens réfugiés et accueillis en France.

Les associations, fondations, entreprises et collectivités territoriales peuvent utiliser ce [formulaire en ligne](#) pour renseigner leur capacité d'hébergement.

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