

Política Internacional e Geopolítica a policrise do mundo globalizado

**INSTITUTO CULTURAL
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SESSÃO N°7
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PARTE I – TEMA PRINCIPAL

O caso Nexperia e a competição geoeconómica China vs Ocidente (1) [FONTE:

Marianne Schneider-Petsinger / Chatham House, 9/12/2016]

Geoeconomics explained

Chatham House experts answer your questions



O caso Nexperia e a competição geoeconómica China vs Ocidente (2) [FONTE:

Marianne Schneider-Petsinger / Chatham House, 9/12/2016]

The term geoeconomics has become popular but it lacks an agreed definition. Most commonly, it is understood as the use of economic tools to advance geopolitical objectives. Other definitions reverse the ends and means, emphasizing how flexing geopolitical muscle is used for economic results. Broadly, one can think of geoeconomics as the interplay of international economics, geopolitics and strategy.

Geoeconomics entered the lexicon in 1990 with an article by Edward Luttwak, which argued that following the Cold War, the importance of military power was giving way to geoeconomic power.

O caso Nexperia e a competição geoeconómica China vs Ocidente (3) [FONTE:

Marianne Schneider-Petsinger / Chatham House, 9/12/2016]

In *War by Other Means*, Robert Blackwill and Jennifer Harris explore today's leading geoeconomic instruments: trade policy, investment policy, economic and financial sanctions, financial and monetary policy, energy and commodities, aid and cyber. While some function as they have in the past (aid), others are new (cyber) or operate in a different environment (energy).

China is arguably the world's most prominent practitioner of geoeconomics, but Russia and the US are also major players. Beijing has repeatedly cut car imports from Japan or withheld exports of Chinese rare earths to Japan in efforts to weaken Tokyo's resolve over territory and sovereignty in the East China Sea. In providing aid to Africa, China rewards those countries that vote with it at the United Nations.

O caso Nexperia e a competição geoeconómica China vs Ocidente (4) [FONTE: ECR-European Council on Foreign Relations]



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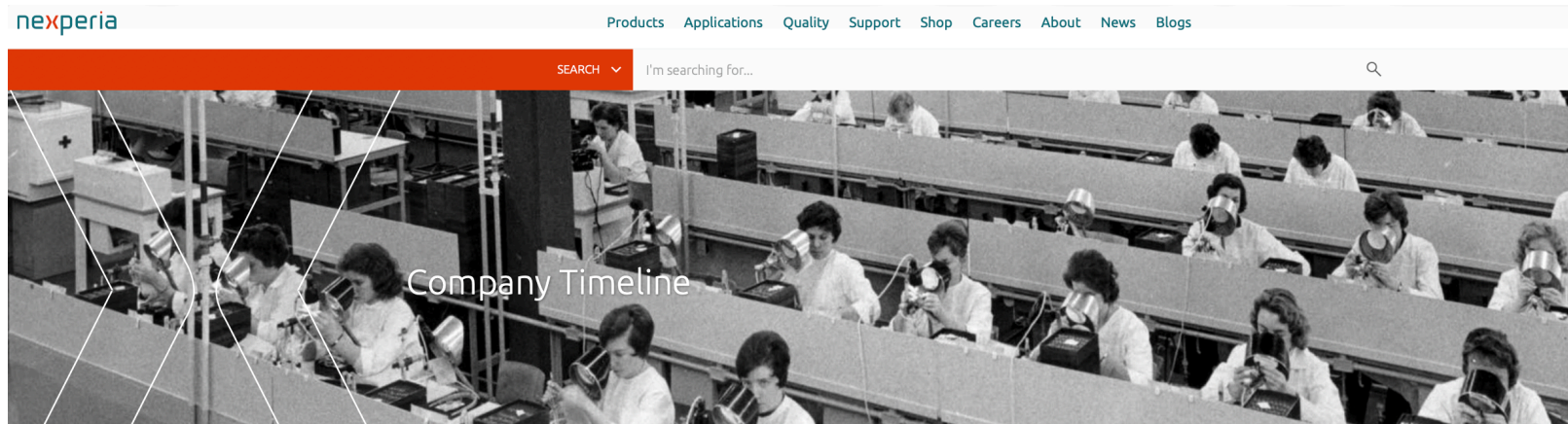
GEOECONOMICS AND TRADE



Any attempt to understand the evolution of the global order would be futile without acknowledging the impact of economic, financial and technological shifts. Diplomatic and military power derives from economic strength. Additionally, globalisation has created a web of supply chains and thus dependencies across economies.

Geoeconomics is an emerging field that seeks to understand the interplay of economics and geopolitics, for example in trade, technology, finance, infrastructure, energy and in access to critical raw materials. ECFR's research in geoeconomics explores the impact of global economic fragmentation, Western strategies to de-risk industries from China and the future of economic statecraft tools.

O caso Nexperia e a competição geoeconómica China vs Ocidente (5) [FONTE: Nexperia]



From our rich history...

1920s

Mullard Radio Valve Company "Ltd."
founded in London

RRF GmbH formed in Hamburg, later
renamed Valvo

Philips completes purchase of Valvo and
Mullard



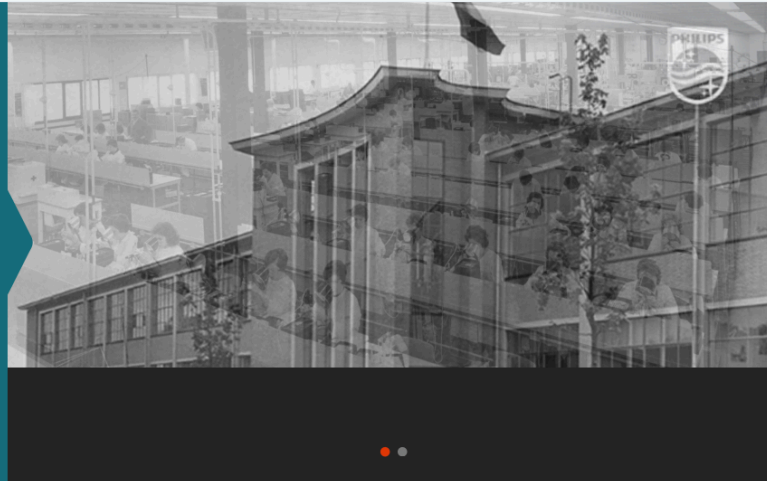
O caso Nexperia e a competição geoeconómica China vs Ocidente (6) [FONTE:

Nexperia]

1950s

Philips starts the development and manufacturing of Semiconductors in Nijmegen mid '50s

First transistor production line in Hamburg producing OC70 and OC71 diodes



1960s

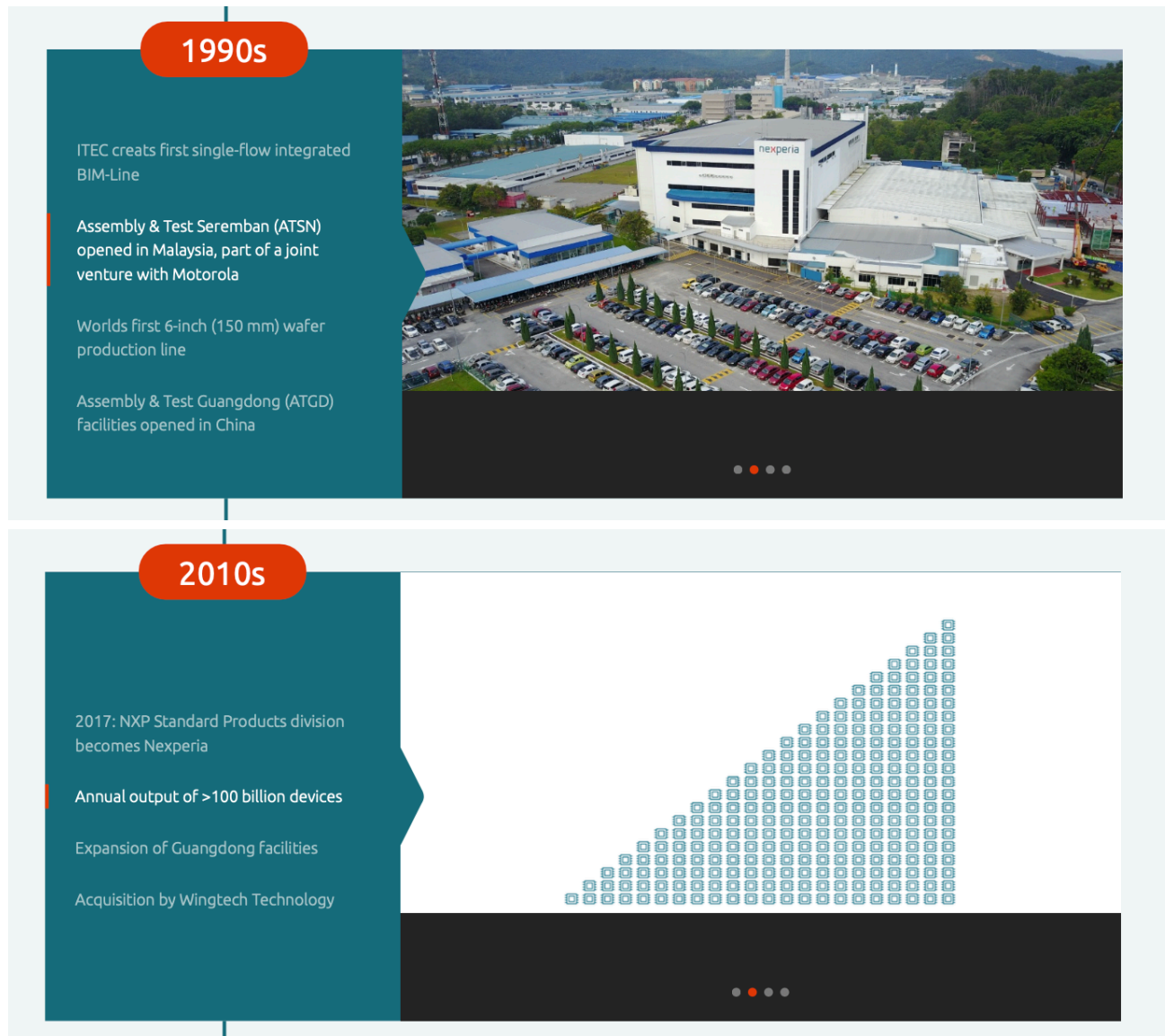
Signetics founded and quickly becomes the largest logic manufacturer in Silicon Valley

Industry's favorite SMD package SOT23. Developed by Philips in the late 60s and production started in 1969. A star was born.

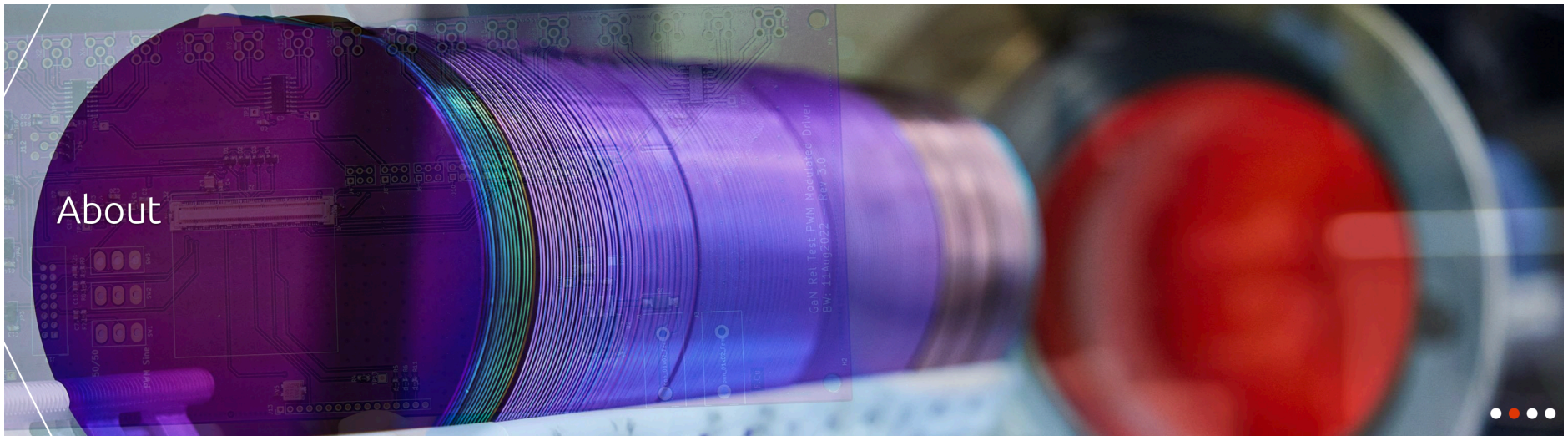


O caso Nexperia e a competição geoeconómica China vs Ocidente (7) [FONTE:

Nexperia]



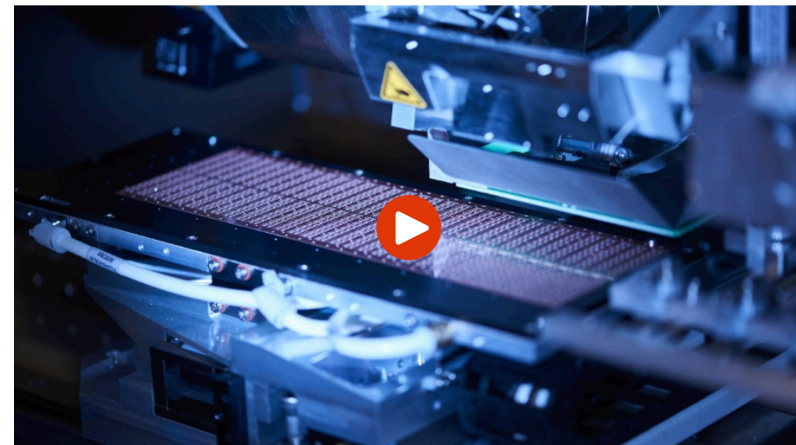
O caso Nexperia e a competição geoeconómica China vs Ocidente (8) [FONTE: Nexperia]



Who we are

Headquartered in the Netherlands, Nexperia is a global semiconductor company with a rich European history and over 12,500 employees across Europe, Asia, and the United States. As a leading expert in the development and production of essential semiconductors, Nexperia's components enable the basic functionality of virtually every electronic design in the world – from automotive and industrial to mobile and consumer applications.

The company serves a global customer base, shipping more than 110 billion products annually. These products are recognized as benchmarks in efficiency – in process, size, power and performance. Nexperia's commitment to innovation, efficiency and stringent industry requirements is evident in its extensive IP portfolio, its expanding product range and its certification to IATF 16949, ISO 9001, ISO 14001 and ISO 45001 standards.



O caso Nexperia e a competição geoeconómica China vs Ocidente (9) [FONTE: Nexperia]

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🛒 Buy newest products from Nexperia

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Parametrics

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Package

Search 6,000 automotive products



🛒 Mini game



6,000+

Automotive qualified products



300+

Packages



21,000+

Documents



100+

Jobs



Bipolar transistors



Diodes



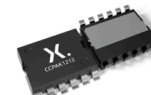
ESD protection, TVS, signal conditioning



MOSFETS



SiC MOSFETS



GaN FETs



IGBTs



Analog & Logic ICs



O caso Nexperia e a competição geoeconómica China vs Ocidente (10) [FONTE: PwC

Strategy& | Semicon in NL, 2024]

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1.3 The unique Dutch supplier ecosystem is built up through close collaboration and 'co-opetition' over more than 40 years	16
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strategy&

O caso Nexperia e a competição geoeconómica China vs Ocidente (11) [FONTE: PwC

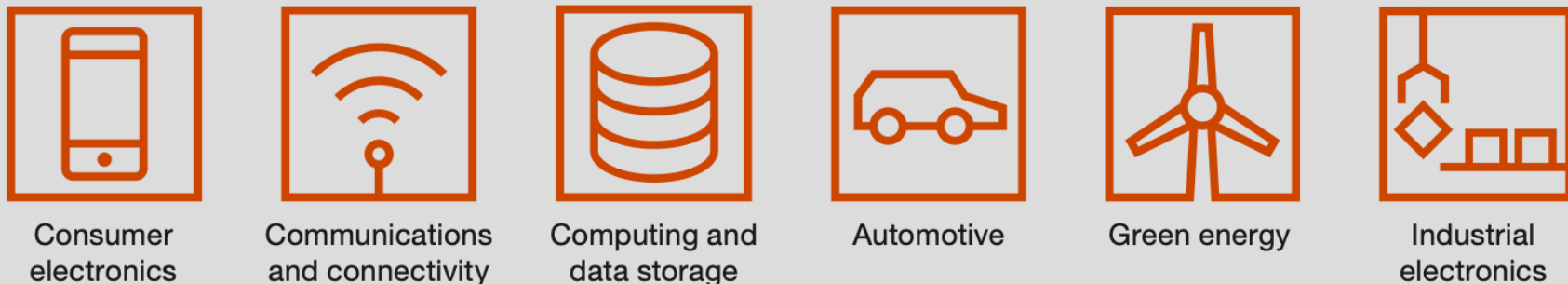
Strategy& | Semicon in NL, 2024]

The growing importance of semicon

In an increasingly interconnected and technology-driven world, the importance of semiconductors as a foundational pillar of innovation cannot be overstated. Technological disruptive developments such as GenAI are further merging the digital and physical universes. Semicon is at the heart of these megatrends, unremittingly pushing the limits of connectivity, automation, and intelligence.

The application of, and hence demand for semiconductors is broadening, ranging from consumer electronics (phones and wearables), communications and connectivity (5G/6G, IoT), computing and data storage (data centers, cloud computing, AI), automotive (electric vehicles, autonomous driving), green energy (solar, wind power) and industrial electronics (power converters, industrial robots). Innovations across all these various sectors are driving the continuous demand for more, smaller, more powerful, and more energy efficient chips. Given its strategic value, semiconductors have essentially become the 'oil' of the 21st century and, as an unintended consequence subject to increasing geopolitical tensions.

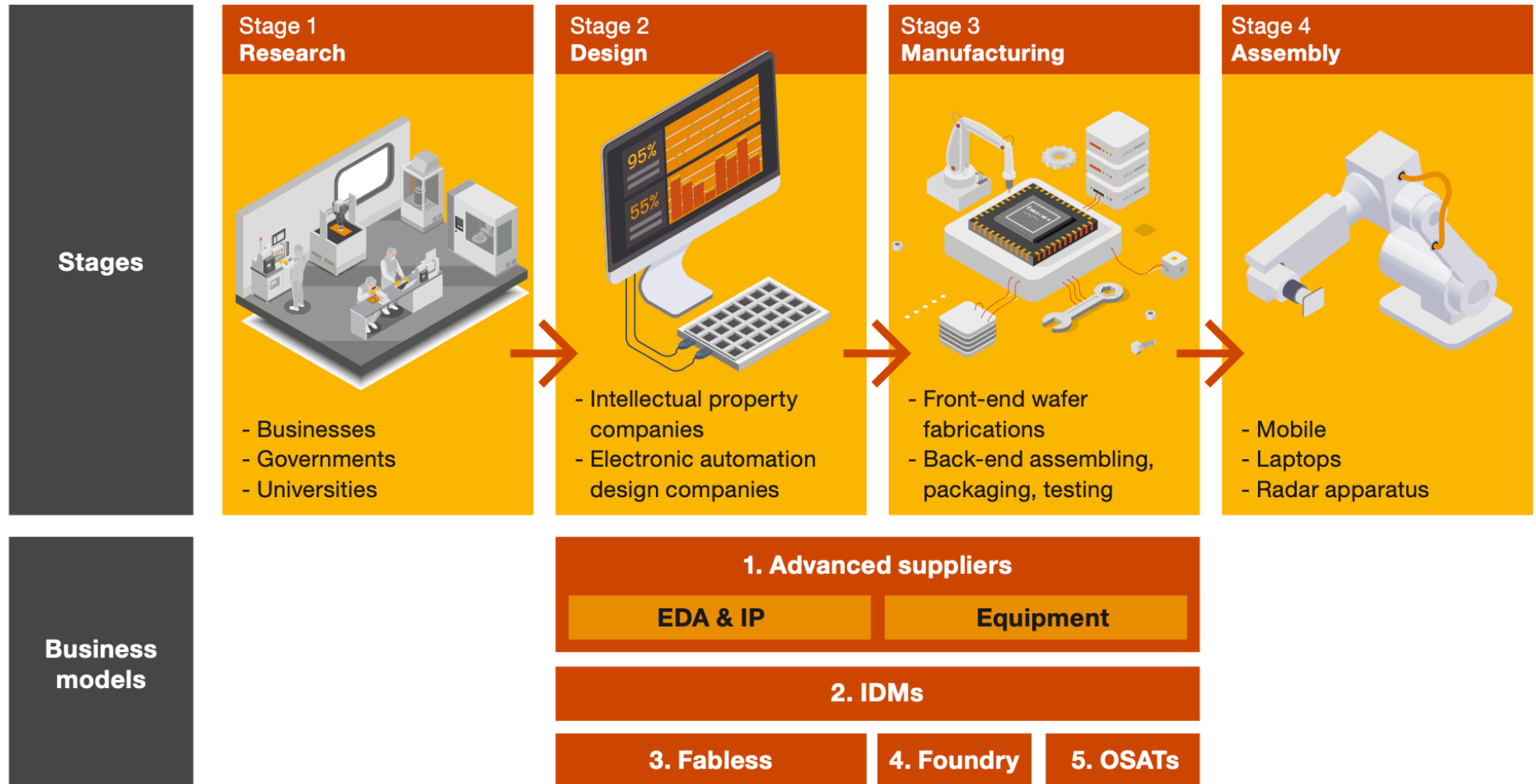
Figure 1 Key semicon end-markets



O caso Nexperia e a competição geoeconómica China vs Ocidente (12) [FONTE: PwC

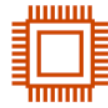
Strategy& | Semicon in NL, 2024]

Figure 3 Global semicon value chain and five main types of business models



O caso Nexperia e a competição geoeconómica China vs Ocidente (13) [FONTE: PwC

Strategy& | Semicon in NL, 2024]

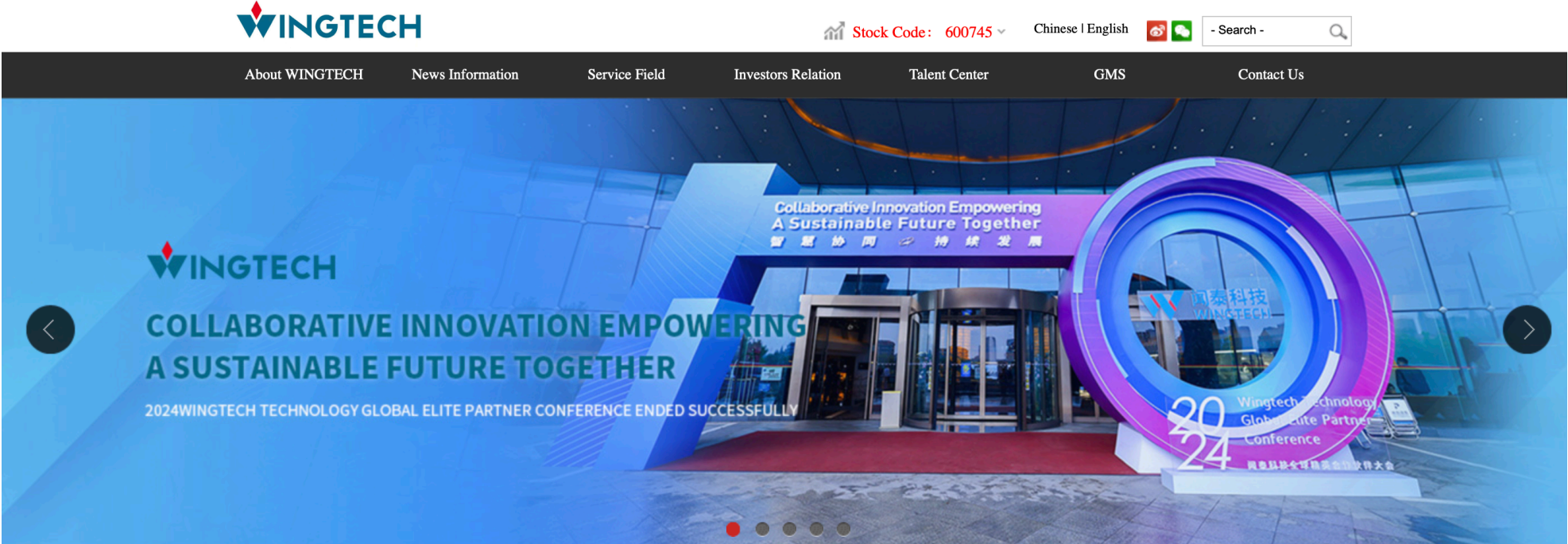


Specialty IDMs

Current status

- **NXP** generated over 50% of its revenues in 2022 from the automotive market and ~20% from industrial and internet of things (IoT) applications. NXP is also strong in communication infrastructure (including security and authentication) and mobile markets.
- **Nexperia** is a global leader in Discretes, Logic, and MOSFETs devices. They address power efficiency, protection and filtering and miniaturization trends. Nexperia is a leader in the automotive sector, serving a global customer base and shipping over 100 billion products annually. Nexperia is an NXP spin-off.
- **Ampleon** is a leading global partner in RF (radio frequency) power, offering a broad portfolio of LDMOS and GaN (gallium nitride) technologies. The company is active in market segments such as wireless infrastructure (4G LTE and 5G NR), navigation and safety radio, broadcast, and industrial, scientific and medical. Ampleon is an NXP spin-off.

O caso Nexperia e a competição geoeconómica China vs Ocidente (14) [FONTE: Wingtech]



O caso Nexperia e a competição geoeconómica China vs Ocidente (15) [FONTE:

Wingtech]

Wingtech Technology Co.,Ltd.

WINGTECH

Wingtech's semiconductor business adopt IDM (Integrated Device Manufacturer) model, integrating chip design, wafer manufacturing, packaging and testing, and other links in the entire industry chain.

The company's semiconductor business has multiple research and development centers, wafer fabs, and packaging and testing plants worldwide, continuesly providing efficient products and services to high-quality companies around the world.

The semiconductor business has 15,000 employees worldwide and more than 25,000 customers, including well-known international companies in the fields of automobiles, communications, consumption, and industry. The company has more than 15,000 types of products, and more than 800 new products are added every year. Most of the products meet the strict standards of vehicle regulations. The production scale is world-leading, and the total annual production exceeds 100 billion pieces.



Wing (Xuezheng Zhang)

Chairman and CEO of Wingtech Technology

O caso Nexperia e a competição geoeconómica China vs Ocidente (16) [FONTE:

Governo dos Países Baixos / Ministério dos Assuntos Económicos, 12/10/2025]



Government of the Netherlands

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Minister of Economic Affairs invokes Goods Availability Act

News item | 12-10-2025 | 21:30

On Tuesday, 30 September 2025, the Dutch Minister of Economic Affairs invoked the Goods Availability Act (*Wet beschikbaarheid goederen*) due to serious governance shortcomings at semiconductor manufacturer Nexperia. The company's headquarters are located in Nijmegen, with additional subsidiaries in various countries around the world. The decision aims to prevent a situation in which the goods produced by Nexperia (finished and semi-finished products) would become unavailable in an emergency. The company's regular production process can continue.

O caso Nexperia e a competição geoeconómica China vs Ocidente (17) [FONTE:

Governo dos Países Baixos / Ministério dos Assuntos Económicos, 12/10/2025]

Reason for intervention under the Goods Availability Act

The Act has been invoked following recent and acute signals of serious governance shortcomings and actions within Nexperia. These signals posed a threat to the continuity and safeguarding on Dutch and European soil of crucial technological knowledge and capabilities. Losing these capabilities could pose a risk to Dutch and European economic security. Nexperia produces, among other things, chips used in the European automotive industry and in consumer electronics.

This measure is intended to mitigate that risk. On the basis of the order, company decisions may be blocked or reversed by the minister of Economic Affairs if they are (potentially) harmful to the interests of the company, to its future as a Dutch and European enterprise, and/or to the preservation of this critical value chain for Europe. The company's regular production process can continue.

Invoking the *Goods Availability Act* by the Minister is highly exceptional. Only due to the significant scale and urgency of the governance deficiencies at Nexperia has the decision been made to apply the Act. This is a measure the government uses only when absolutely necessary. The application of this Act in this case is solely intended to prevent governance shortcomings at the specific company concerned and is not directed at other companies, the sector, or other countries. Parties may lodge an objection to this decision before the courts.

O caso Nexperia e a competição geoeconómica China vs Ocidente (18) [FONTE: The

Nexperia Chip Crisis, Explained - Z2Data, 23/10/2025]

Z2DATA

The Nexperia Chip Crisis Timeline



- Feb. 2017** Nexperia spins out of NXP Semiconductors.
- Dec. 2019** China-based Wingtech Technologies completes majority acquisition of Nexperia.
- Dec. 2024** The U.S. adds Wingtech to the BIS Entity List.
- Apr. 2025** BIS signals that export restrictions may soon extend to entities that are at least 50% owned by one or more entities on the Entity List.
- Sep. 2025** BIS formally enacts the 50% Affiliates Rule.
- Sep. 2025** The Dutch government moves to take control of Nexperia.
- Oct. 2025** China's MOFCOM bans Nexperia's Chinese unit from exporting components made in China.

O caso Nexperia e a competição geoeconómica China vs Ocidente (19) [FONTE: The

Nexperia Chip Crisis, Explained - Z2Data, 23/10/2025]

Nexperia was acquired by Chinese firm Wingtech Technology in 2019, and the technology company was placed on the BIS Entity List in December 2024. Therefore, based on the BIS's new "Affiliates Rule," as of September 29 Nexperia itself fell into the scope of the Entity List, becoming subject to the same export controls as its Chinese parent company. Just a day later, on September 30, the Dutch government scrambled to take control of Nexperia by invoking an obscure, Cold War-era law known as the Goods Availability Act. According to the [Dutch government](#), this measure was carried out "following recent and acute signals" that "posed a threat to the continuity and safeguarding on Dutch and European soil of crucial technological knowledge and capabilities." Some reporting has suggested that the Dutch government's actions were a response to mounting pressure from the U.S. over the past few months. As of now, the Netherlands has denied these claims.

O caso Nexperia e a competição geoeconómica China vs Ocidente (20) [FONTE: The Nexperia Chip Crisis, Explained - Z2Data, 23/10/2025]

Less than a week later, on October 4, the Chinese Ministry of Commerce [issued](#) its own export controls. MOFCOM prohibited Nexperia's Chinese unit and its subcontractors from exporting finished components and sub-assemblies manufactured in China to foreign countries. About two weeks later, Nexperia's Chinese management instructed its staff to ignore orders coming from the company's Dutch headquarters in Nijmegen, Netherlands. A letter written by the company's Chinese management and obtained by the media on October 19 asserted that Nexperia is a "Chinese company with operations rooted in China" and therefore has a priority to adhere to Chinese regulations. The letter further implored employees to "disregard external interference," a clear reference to the Dutch government's attempts to seize control of Nexperia.

O caso Nexperia e a competição geoeconómica China vs Ocidente (21) [FONTE: The

Nexperia Chip Crisis, Explained - Z2Data, 23/10/2025]

Following the directive from Nexperia's Chinese management, the Dutch economy minister and his Chinese counterpart initiated efforts to reach some kind of resolution that would satisfy both sides and allow Nexperia to continue supplying chips to foreign customers. As of October 22, however, no such resolution had been reached. In the wake of these conversations, Chinese Commerce Minister Wang Wentao released a statement positioning the blame on the Netherlands for the impending supply chain fallout. "Measures taken by the Dutch side regarding Nexperia Semiconductor have seriously affected the stability of global industrial and supply chains," he said. "China urges the Dutch side to proceed from the overall perspective of maintaining the security and stability of global industry and supply chains."

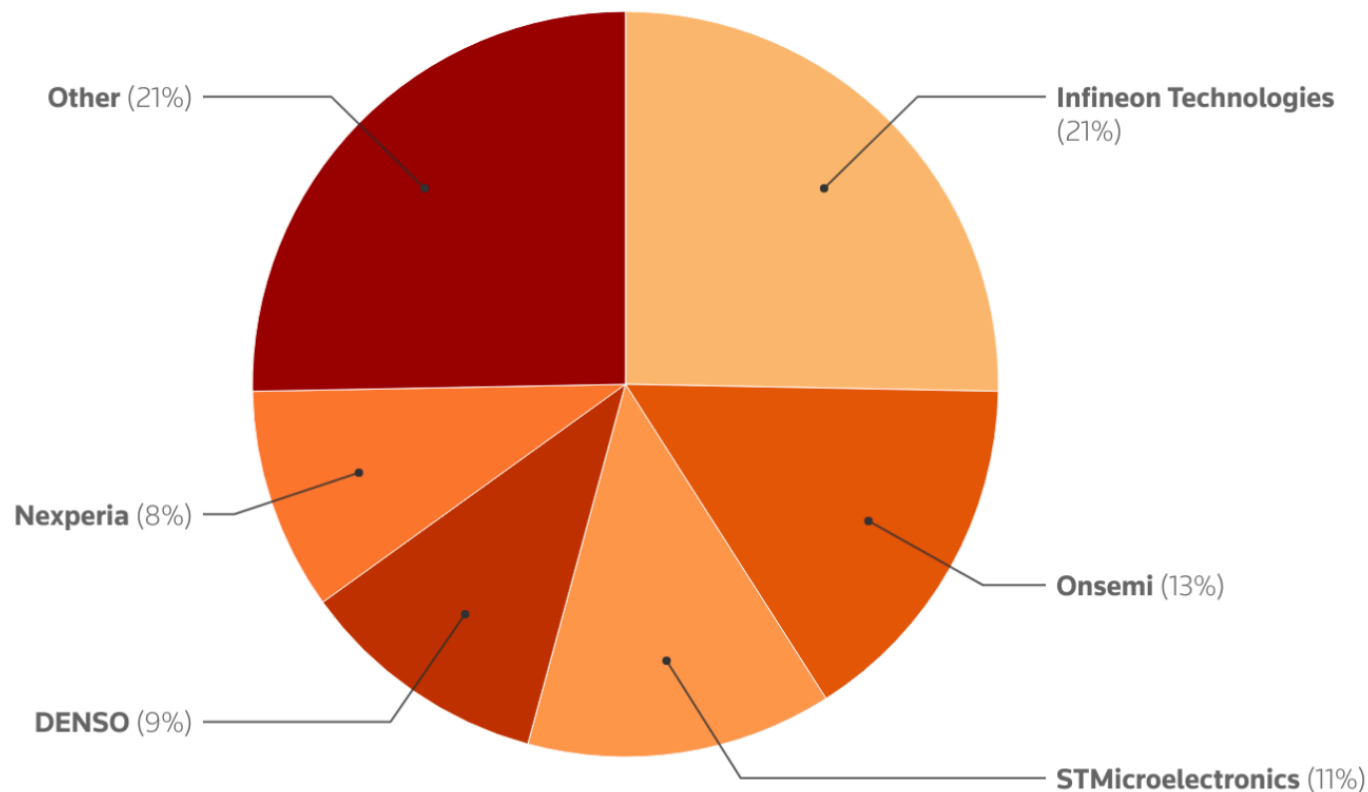
Nexperia is currently working with Chinese authorities to secure an exemption and is engaged in discussions with both national and local government bodies to address the existing Chinese export restrictions.

O caso Nexperia e a competição geoeconómica China vs Ocidente (22) [FONTE:

Reuters, 29/10/2025]

Nexperia: Key Player in Auto Chip Market

Netherlands-based Nexperia is one of the top five global suppliers of "discrete" chips for automakers, a \$13.5 billion market. The Chinese-owned firm is at the center of a supply crunch.



Note: Data is 2024 market share of the global automotive discrete market.

Source: Gartner, Bernstein | Adam Jourdan

O caso Nexperia e a competição geoeconómica China vs Ocidente (23) [FONTE: The

Nexperia Chip Crisis, Explained - Z2Data, 23/10/2025]

Nexperia's Role in the Automotive Supply Chain

Nexperia punches above its weight in terms of the number of chips it supplies to the global auto industry. With revenue of around \$2 billion in 2024, the chipmaker sells roughly 60% of its products to auto manufacturers like Volkswagen, Toyota, BMW, and Mercedes-Benz. The company doesn't manufacture the most cutting-edge chips for its automotive customers. It does, however, play a disproportionately large role in supplying basic chips like transistors and diodes, over which it controls a 40% market share.

As the European Automobile Manufacturers Association (ACEA) recently explained in a statement, Nexperia is a high-volume supplier of fundamental chips essential to the electronic control units used in vehicle electrical systems. "Without these chips, European automotive suppliers cannot build the parts and components needed to supply vehicle manufacturers," the trade group said.

O caso Nexperia e a competição geoeconómica China vs Ocidente (24) [FONTE: ECR-

European Council on Foreign Relations, 21/10/2025]

When the chips are down: Nexperia, Europe and the US-China trade and tech war



Employees of Nexperia GmbH walk through the so-called clean rooms of the semiconductor manufacturer 08-25-2025

picture alliance/dpa | David Hammersen

O caso Nexperia e a competição geoeconómica China vs Ocidente (25) [FONTE: ECR-

European Council on Foreign Relations, 21/10/2025]

Problem

Caught in the middle of the reinvigorated US-China trade and tech war, the Dutch government is seeking economic security. And after the shock of extraterritorial US pressure urging export controls on ASML (also based in the Netherlands) in 2022 and 2023, it is likely that the Dutch government was under pressure from across the Atlantic in the case of Nexperia. (This has been repeatedly denied by the Dutch economic affairs minister.)

But this move exposes the limitations of such policies. Many European companies rely on both the US and Chinese markets and will be asking: what if we too are forced to choose between America and China? Indeed, this case calls for broader assessments, including understanding what the Europe-wide implications are of either losing access to the US market or facing the wrath of Chinese retaliation. But, as with ASML, the EU and its member states are mainly playing defence.

O caso Nexperia e a competição geoeconómica China vs Ocidente (26) [FONTE: ECR-

European Council on Foreign Relations, 21/10/2025]

Solution

Both Nexperia and the Dutch government have tried to calm the situation by saying talks with China will secure exemptions from countermeasures. Pressure from American carmakers on their own government might also result in some flexibility towards applying the entity list requirements. A week into this crisis, a swift resolution is not on the horizon. But even if this happens, the road ahead is not straightforward.

Earlier this year, the Dutch government, supported by its relatively strong chips sector, initiated an EU member-state coalition of the willing to push for a much stronger and more sovereign European ecosystem. The European Chips Act 2.0 is in the making. But the Nexperia case shows time is short.

A new Dutch coalition government that comes in after the general election on 29 October should think in a clear-eyed way about the implications of such a European industrial policy. The new government programme should reflect the view, which has increasingly gained ground in the Netherlands, that economic and job security are not for free but come at a European budgetary price.

O caso Nexperia e a competição geoeconómica China vs Ocidente (27) [FONTE:

Global Times, 5/11/2025]



Don't let the Nexperia incident become a stain on Europe's market economy: Global Times editorial

By Global Times

On the afternoon of November 4, a spokesperson for China's Ministry of Commerce commented on recent issues related to Nexperia Semiconductor. The spokesperson stated that the Dutch government had improperly interfered in the internal corporate affairs of Nexperia, while the Dutch Enterprise Court had issued an erroneous ruling depriving the Chinese enterprise of its equity, seriously infringing on the legitimate rights and interests of the Chinese enterprise. Despite repeated reasonable requests raised by China during consultations, the Dutch government persisted in its course, ultimately causing turbulence and disruption in the global semiconductor production and supply chain. In this regard, the Dutch side should bear full responsibility.

O caso Nexperia e a competição geoeconómica China vs Ocidente (28) [FONTE:

Global Times, 5/11/2025]

Dutch government has successively placed Nexperia under de facto control, bypassed the rights of Chinese shareholders in corporate governance, and unilaterally halted wafer supplies to Nexperia China. While claiming "national security" as its justification, the move is in reality an improper intervention in the company's internal affairs. It severely undermines the legitimate rights and interests of Chinese enterprises, and has also put a "question mark" on Europe's market economy system among global capital. Frankly, this was a "robbery" that took place in front of the whole world.

Business environments and institutional credibility are hard-won assets, accumulated over time as precious scarce resources. The Dutch government's actions have almost destroyed the protection of property rights - the very bedrock of the Dutch and European market economy system. Not only does it show a complete lack of contractual integrity, but it also raises doubts about its motives.

 Global Times

O caso Nexperia e a competição geoeconómica China vs Ocidente (29) [FONTE:

Global Times, 5/11/2025]



According to classical economics, when public power arbitrarily rewrites equity structures and corporate governance rules, market players have no choice but to include a higher "institutional risk premium" in their decisions. Uncertainty surrounding property rights will notably raise both transaction costs and risk premiums, deterring long-term capital.

Should the belief that "companies may be seized at will" become established, Chinese investors will rethink their presence in the Netherlands and Europe, and businesses worldwide will also ask: "If it's Nexperia today, who's next tomorrow?"

The global production and supply chain constitutes a highly intricate, interdependent network where a single disruption can paralyze the entire chain. Nexperia Netherlands' abrupt cessation of wafer supplies to Nexperia China has amplified systemic risks throughout the chain. Such single-point failures, propagating through order delays, cost escalations, and supply substitution difficulties, will cascade into multiple sectors including automotive electronics and industrial control systems.

O caso Nexperia e a competição geoeconómica China vs Ocidente (30) [FONTE:

Reuters, 7/11/2025]

Netherlands ready to drop control of Nexperia if chip supply resumes, Bloomberg News reports



The logo of computer chipmaker Nexperia is seen in Nijmegen, Netherlands April 12, 2024. REUTERS/Piroschka van de Wouw/File Photo [Purchase Licensing Rights](#)

Nov 7 (Reuters) - The Dutch government is ready to shelve the order that gave it power to block or change key corporate decisions at chipmaker Nexperia if China resumes exports of critical chips, Bloomberg News reported on Friday, citing people familiar with the matter.

O caso Nexperia e a competição geoeconómica China vs Ocidente (31) [FONTE:

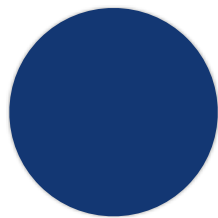
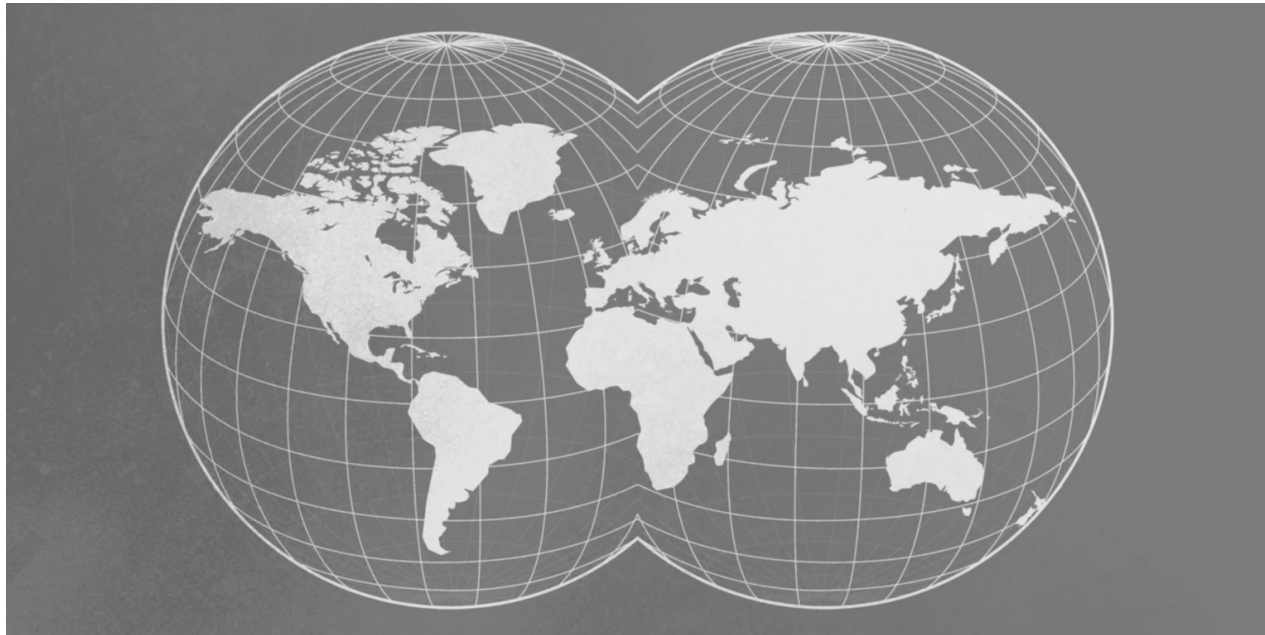
Reuters, 7/11/2025]

Dutch economy minister Vincent Karremans said on Thursday [he believes computer chips](#) made by Nexperia will reach customers in Europe and the rest of the world in the coming days. He added that the Netherlands would "support these developments, and will take the appropriate steps on our part where necessary."

Advertisement · Scroll to continue

A spokesperson for Karremans' office said on Friday that the Dutch government would not comment on whether that would include ending the intervention, which gave the government veto rights over corporate decisions for one year from September 30.

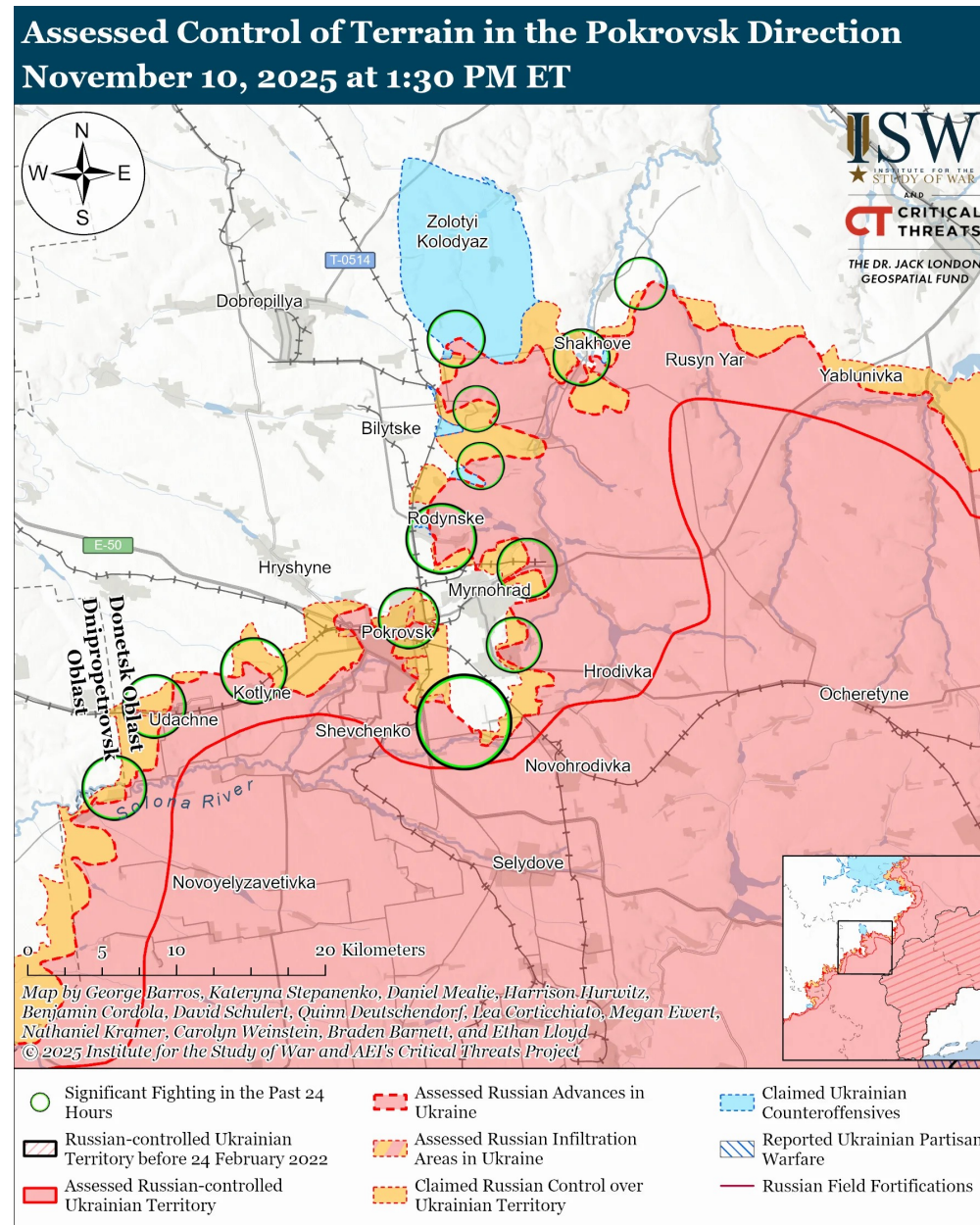
The Bloomberg report said Dutch authorities are willing to suspend the ministerial order as soon as next week, if the shipment of supplies resumes and is verified in the coming days.



PARTE II – NOTAS BREVES

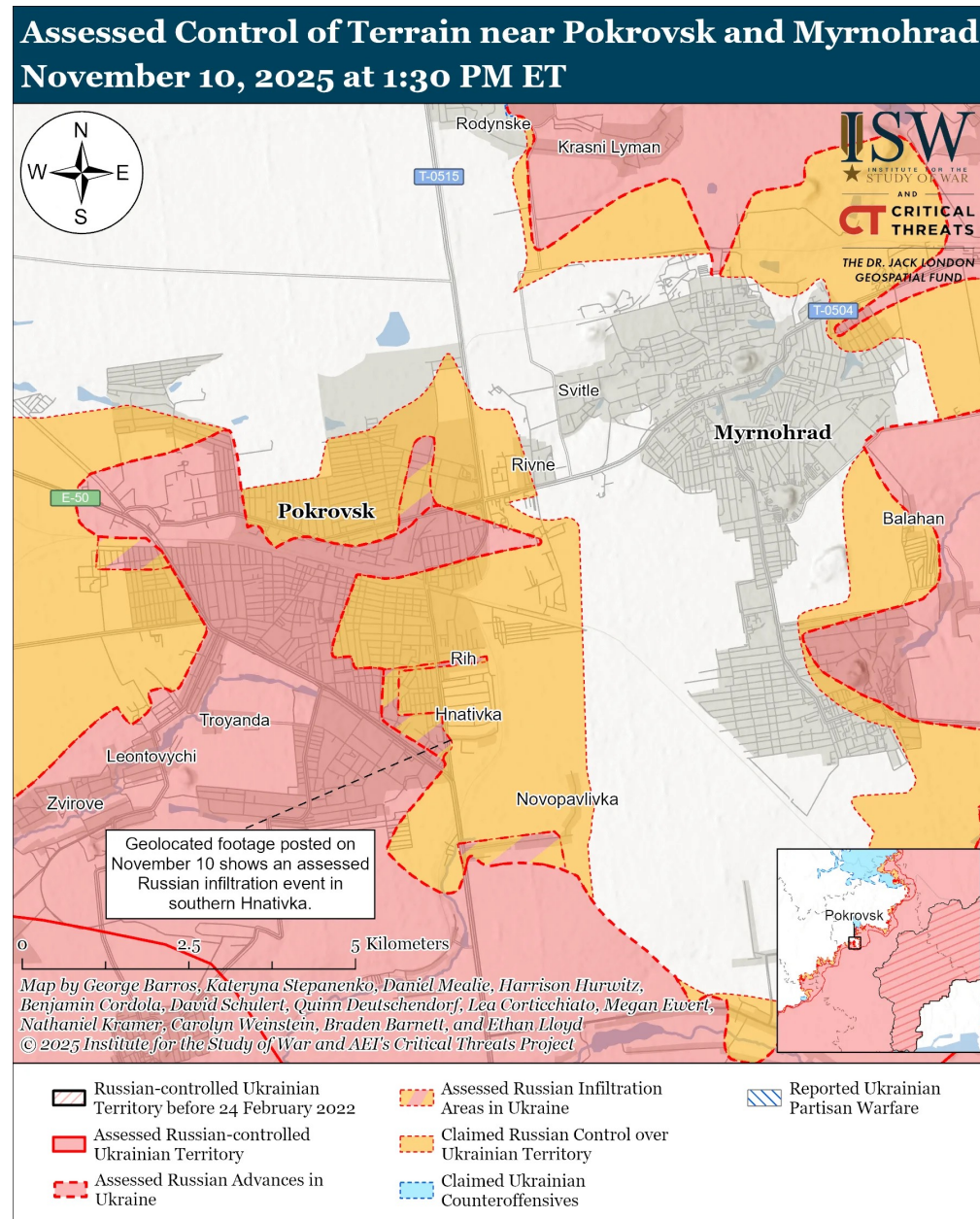
A guerra interminável na Ucrânia (1)

[FONTE: ISW, 10/11/2015]



A guerra interminável na Ucrânia (2)

[FONTE: ISW, 10/11/2015]



A guerra interminável na Ucrânia (3)

[FONTE: ISW, 10/11/2015]

Key Takeaways

1. The situation in the Pokrovsk-Myrnohrad area remains difficult as Ukrainian forces fight to hold the shoulders of the pocket and Russian forces continue to advance in the area.
2. Both Ukrainian and Russian forces recently advanced in the Pokrovsk direction.
3. The Kremlin continues to publicly and clearly reiterate its maximalist demands and unwillingness to engage in negotiations that result in anything less than full Ukrainian capitulation.
4. The Kremlin has begun involuntary partial reserve call-ups as part of its wider initiative to build out its active reserve, likely for use in combat in Ukraine.
5. The head of a major Russian bank acknowledged Russia's economic struggles in a high-level meeting with Russian President Vladimir Putin.
6. Officials continue to report aerial incursions in Belgian airspace.
7. Ukrainian forces recently advanced near Pokrovsk. Russian forces recently advanced near Pokrovsk and Hulyaipole and in the Dobropillya tactical area.

A guerra interminável na Ucrânia (4)

[FONTE: Telegraph, 11/11/2015]

'We are losing Pokrovsk': Russia nears biggest gain since 2023

Ukrainian military says 300 of Putin's soldiers are inside the city

"We are losing Pokrovsk," came the warning call of a Ukrainian MP on Tuesday morning.

"The Russians have broken into the city," Oleksiy Goncharenko, wrote on Telegram alongside an unverified video showing Russian forces under the cover of the fog entering the city piled on an odd assortment of motorcycles, buggies and cars.

It followed days of Russian claims that its [forces were advancing on the city's centre](#) in a pincer movement, encircling the Ukrainian troops inside; their defences finally crumbling.

Ukraine has repeatedly denied such reports, [characterising the fighting as "difficult"](#), but far from over.

Yet, the footage only adds to the mounting fears that the key supply and rail hub in southeastern Ukraine is on the brink of capture.

A guerra interminável na Ucrânia (5)

[FONTE: Telegraph, 11/11/2015]



Russian troops move closer to Pokrovsk Credit: Telegram / @oleksiihoncharenko

Like in Bakhmut, Russia has thrown endless infantry into costly and slow advances, with its commanders willing to take on huge casualties for incremental gains, often as little as a bunker or a treeline.

In October alone, Russian troops are estimated to have suffered a record 25,000 killed and wounded in the area. With winter settling in, advancing becomes more difficult without the cover of foliage to hide from a sky full of drones.

According to [accounts from Ukrainian soldiers](#), Russian troops numbers inside the city now outnumber their own.

A guerra interminável na Ucrânia (6)

[FONTE: Telegraph, 11/11/2015]

There are growing calls for Ukraine to withdraw its troops from the city. In the past, Ukrainian generals have faced criticism for waiting too long and risking lives.

Mr Stupak argued that it is time for Ukraine to begin withdrawing from its defensive pocket in the south to avoid unnecessary casualties and the risk of a heavy tactical defeat.

"It is very important that military operations are not ruled by politicians," he said.

Just to Pokrovsk's east is the town of Myrnohrad, which Russian forces have enveloped from almost all sides. On Monday, both Russia and Ukraine issued conflicting accounts of the fighting.

"Ukrainian units are confidently holding their positions and destroying the occupiers on the approaches to the town," the Ukrainian military said.

"Logistics to the town are complicated, but are being carried out," it added.

Russia's defence ministry said its forces were pressing an advance on the town, claiming to have captured two of the town's districts.

A guerra interminável na Ucrânia (7)

[FONTE: FT, 11/11/2015]

Ukraine's shortage of manpower leaves frontline city on the brink

Pokrovsk at risk as Kyiv unable to spare troops for defence, say fighters and experts



A guerra interminável na Ucrânia (8)

[FONTE: FT, 11/11/2015]

Russian infantry squads managed to slip through Ukrainian defences in October and secure positions in the basements of high-rise buildings, despite near-constant Ukrainian drone strikes.

Ukrainian President Volodymyr Zelenskyy told reporters last week that 314 Russian soldiers had made it into the city. He had put the figure at about 200 in late October.

Ukraine has long struggled to replenish its frontline brigades through conscription targeting able-bodied men aged 25 to 60. Each kilometre of the frontline is on average guarded by just four to seven Ukrainian infantrymen, Maria Berlinska, a Ukrainian volunteer with close ties to the military, claimed in October.

Kyiv has also wrestled with a rise in desertions. Nearly 20,000 cases for absence without leave and desertion were opened in October, the highest monthly figure this year, according to Ukraine's prosecutor's office.

How many men actually desert is unclear, as Ukrainian soldiers have routinely left units led by commanders seen as reckless in order to join a better one — with brigades competing to attract the former deserters.

A guerra interminável na Ucrânia (9)

[FONTE: FT, 11/11/2015]

Zelenskyy also said the forces would offer new short-term military contracts to all soldiers, ranging from one to five years — a long-standing demand from soldiers whose mobilisation period is indefinite — and who have, in some cases, been fighting since 2022.

But the measures have either failed to deliver the expected results or have not yet started. Defence minister Denys Shmyhal said the new contracts would be available at the start of next year.

There are also fears that Kyiv's insistence on trying to hold on to Pokrovsk, despite the deteriorating situation, would end in the fate of previous Ukrainian strongholds lost to Russia: with a chaotic, bloody retreat under fire.

"I have this concern that, if not managed correctly, the battle for Pokrovsk may have an impact on the perception of the armed forces," said Rochan Consulting's Muzyka.

"If people see [that] we're seeing Bakhmut all over again, or Avdiivka, or Vuhledar, people will have no incentive to join, out of fear of ending up in the same situation."

A guerra interminável na Ucrânia (10)

[FONTE: United 24Media /Illya Kabachynskyi, 7/11/2025]

WAR IN UKRAINE

Russia Sends 170,000 Troops—More Than Most European Armies—to Capture One Ukrainian City

Pokrovsk is the Kremlin's top military objective through the end of the year. Nearly a third of all Russian forces stationed in Ukraine have been redeployed to this front.

A guerra interminável na Ucrânia (11)

[FONTE: United 24Media /Illya Kabachynskyi, 7/11/2025]

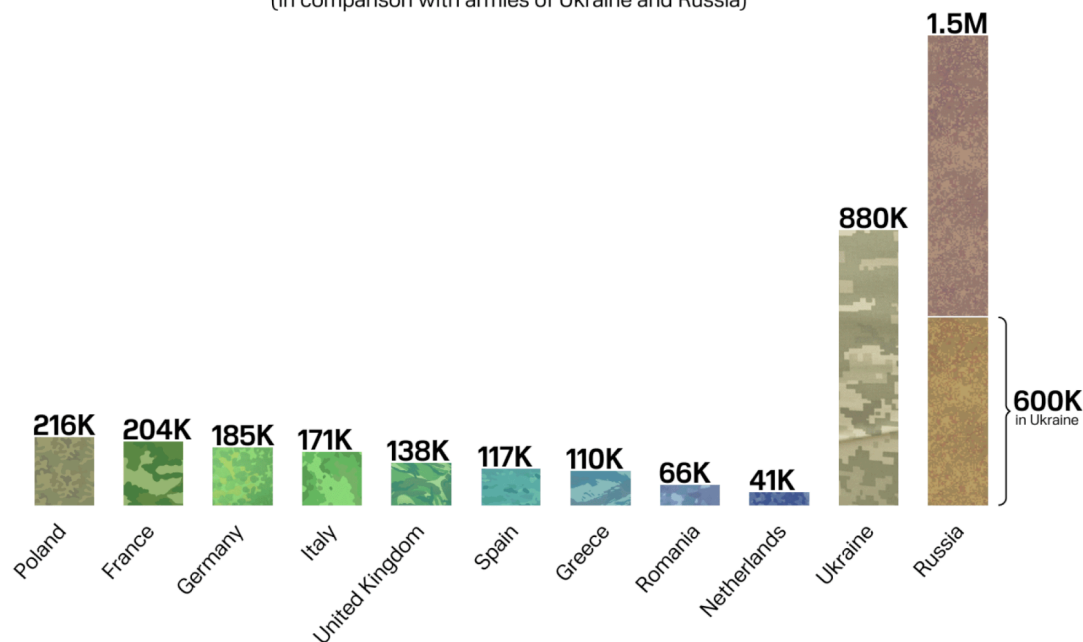
A massive force outside Pokrovsk

To grasp the magnitude of Russia's offensive, comparisons are essential: just how large is 170,000 troops?

Ahead of the full-scale invasion in 2022, Moscow had deployed between 160,000 and 200,000 soldiers to Ukraine's borders. In other words, Russia is now attempting to take a single city with an army comparable in size to the one originally intended to seize all of Right-Bank Ukraine.

Currently, there are about 600,000 Russian troops on occupied Ukrainian territory. One-third of them are now concentrated on a single target—Pokrovsk.

Military personnel of EU Armies in 2024
(in comparison with armies of Ukraine and Russia)



A guerra interminável na Ucrânia (12)

[FONTE: United 24Media /Illya Kabachynskyi, 7/11/2025]

Each new major Russian offensive has grown more difficult. It took Moscow months and an estimated 120,000 troops to capture Avdiivka in early 2024—at the cost of roughly one-third of that force, killed or wounded. Pokrovsk has held since the summer of 2024 and continues to resist, though the defense grows more grueling by the day.

Only a few European armies are bigger

Only a handful of European countries have standing armies (excluding reservists) that **exceed the size of the Russian force** near Pokrovsk:

- Poland—216,000 active personnel
- France—204,000
- Germany—185,000
- Italy—171,000

Within NATO, only the United States and Türkiye maintain larger active forces—over 1.2 million and roughly 380,000, respectively.

To put this into perspective: the Russian force outside Pokrovsk is larger than the combined standing armies of 10 European countries, excluding reservists.

A guerra interminável na Ucrânia (13)

[FONTE: WSJ / Matthew Luxmoore, 30/07/2025]

Inside Ukraine's Effort to Fortify Hundreds of Miles of Defensive Lines



Soldiers work on the construction of a bunker in eastern Ukraine.

KRAMATORSK, Ukraine—A line of antitank ditches and barbed wire cuts through the sunflower fields all the way to the horizon here in Ukraine's battle-scarred east, fortifications the country bets it can lay fast and far enough to halt Russia's summer offensive. But the defensive gamble is facing increasingly long odds.

A guerra interminável na Ucrânia (14)

[FONTE: WSJ / Matthew Luxmoore, 30/07/2025]



"The army that digs deeper is the army that survives," said Col. Oleh Rezunenko, a military engineer overseeing a nearly 200-mile section of the mammoth project.

Well into its second year, the wider front-line program has been beset by delays, attacks and arrests for alleged corruption. It now faces being overrun by the enemy it is trying to repel.

Rezunenko's entrenchments, including miles of waist-high concrete pyramids, start from the Kharkiv region in the north and reach as far south as Zaporizhzhia. "Our main task is to dig as quickly and as deeply as we can."

A guerra interminável na Ucrânia (15)

[FONTE: WSJ / Matthew Luxmoore, 30/07/2025]



Ukraine is now hoping that installing a triple row of fortifications will prevent similar breakthroughs in the east, where Russia is pushing to capture the key cities of Pokrovsk and Kostyantynivka. But gaps in the entrenchments have prompted some soldiers to warn that a patchy defensive belt could end up like the Maginot Line, the ambitious French fortifications that were bypassed by the Germans in World War II.

Erecting the new defenses is also proving to be like building an airplane while flying it.

A guerra interminável na Ucrânia (16)

[FONTE: WSJ / Matthew Luxmoore, 30/07/2025]

Ukraine knows all about being [bogged down by enemy defenses](#). Its troops and their Western-supplied arms got caught in Russia's own multilayered trench lines and antitank ditches during Kyiv's major counteroffensive in the summer of 2023.

The setback spurred Ukraine's current fortification effort. At the time, President Volodymyr Zelensky called for accelerated construction, and urged private companies and donors to get involved.

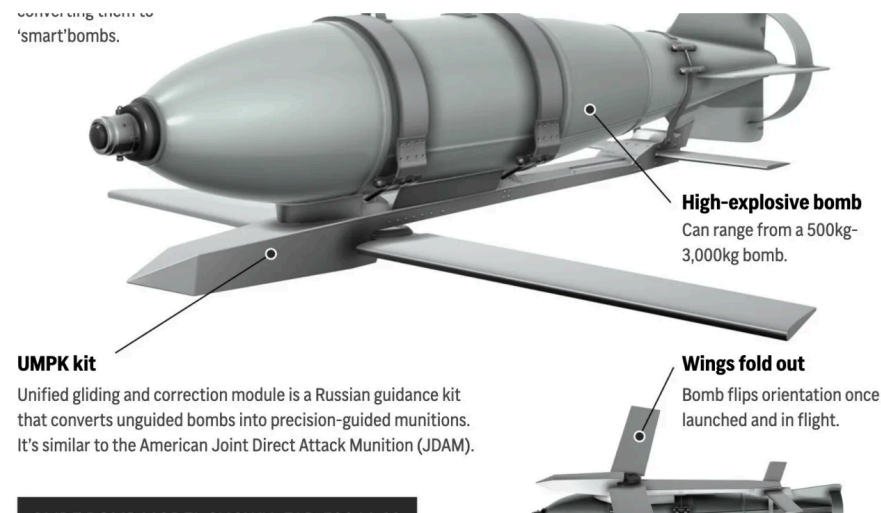
But it wasn't sufficient to hold back Russian forces whose tanks and troops poured across a badly defended stretch of Ukraine's northern border near Kharkiv the following spring. Ukraine's antitank obstacles—often called dragon's teeth—were overturned, littering the landscape, according to images posted online by local journalists. Soldiers criticized Ukraine's military command for a lack of adequate preparation.

A guerra interminável na Ucrânia (17)

[FONTE: The Conversation / Gerald Hughes, 11/04/2025. IMAGEM: AP]

Ukraine war: Russia's devastating use of Soviet-era 'glide bombs' shows how urgently Kyiv needs air defence systems

Gerald Hughes • Published: April 11, 2024 6.33pm CEST



The graphic above illustrates specifications and features of a Russian glide bomb. (AP Digital Embed)

A guerra interminável na Ucrânia (18)

[FONTE: The Conversation / Gerald Hughes, 11/04/2025. IMAGEM: AP]

Much has been written about Russia's use of "glide bombs" in Ukraine. These munitions represent a manifestation of what is known as "stand-off" weaponry, an important facet of modern warfare.

Stand-off weaponry allows attackers to bombard an enemy while remaining outside the range at which they can be expected to be vulnerable to defensive countermeasures. After the second world war demonstrated the decisive role of air power, the need to reduce casualties for attacking forces led to a demand for munitions that could attack targets from aircraft, ships, submarines or ground-based launchers positioned well away from the battlefield.

Basically, glide munitions are standard ("free-fall" or "iron") bombs that have been modified by the addition of stabilising wings and navigation aids, so as to facilitate the elimination of a designated target. The technology for glide munitions was largely pioneered by Nazi Germany during the second world war. In November 1943, for example, an Allied troopship was sunk with the loss of 1,000 men by an air-launched Hs-293 missile.

This encouraged the Allies to adopt similar technologies after 1945. This included adapting existing munitions – not least air-dropped "iron" bombs that were basically unchanged from those used in the second world war. One example of the Russian upgrades of these iron bombs is the FAB-500 (the "500" indicates its weight in kilograms), a Soviet air-dropped bomb originally introduced in 1954. The FAB-500 – which was deployed in Afghanistan and, more recently, in Syria – demonstrates how Moscow has been able to give vintage munitions a new lease of life.

A guerra interminável na Ucrânia (19)

[FONTE: The Conversation / Gerald Hughes, 11/04/2025. IMAGEM: AP]

Recent [Russian advances](#) have multiple causes – but weapons including Moscow’s modified [FAB-1500](#) are inflicting [severe damage to Kharkiv](#), Ukraine’s second-biggest city, as well as frontline towns such as Sumy, which has taken a [heavy pounding](#) in recent weeks.

The FAB-1500 is the largest glide munition weapon currently deployed by Russia against Ukraine. According to military expert [David Hambling](#): “The current version has an accuracy of better than 10 metres, which pretty much guarantees destruction with a weapon as big as the FAB-1500.”

Of course, Ukraine also uses guided munitions, such as the US-manufactured [Joint Direct Attack Munition system \(JDAM\)](#) – but the supply of these is limited. John Foreman, a former UK defence attaché to Russia, observes that FABs are [inferior to the JDAM](#), but they are also much cheaper and far more numerous.

Justin Bronk, a senior research fellow at the Royal United Services Institute (RUSI), [believes that](#): “Russia certainly has the capacity to produce more glide bomb kits for older FAB series bombs than Ukraine has to resupply its [SAM] systems ... [and] shooting them down directly isn’t a sustainable strategy.”

A guerra interminável na Ucrânia (20)

[FONTE: The Kyiv Independent, 4/14/2025]

'Air terror' — Russia drops record number of aerial guided bombs on Ukraine in October, Defense Ministry says

Russia has dropped a record number of aerial guided bombs on Ukraine in October, Ukraine's Defense Ministry said on Nov. 4.

Russia significantly [increased](#) its use of guided aerial bombs (KAB) against Ukraine in October, dropping over 5,328 munitions on Ukrainian military positions and cities near the front line.

According to the [ministry](#), this represents the highest number of guided bomb strikes recorded in a month since the beginning of 2025.

In total, during the first ten months of 2025, [Russian forces](#) have dropped approximately 40,000 aerial bombs on Ukraine, roughly the same amount that was dropped throughout all of 2024.

A guerra interminável na Ucrânia (21)

[FONTE: Chatham House / John Lough, 10/11/2025]



Ukraine's best defence against Putin's energy war is more attacks on Russia's oil refining sector

Moscow is attempting to break Ukraine's will to fight with more frequent mass drone and missile attacks on its power sector. To counter this pressure, Kyiv needs to increase its attacks on Russia's oil industry.

EXPERT COMMENT

PUBLISHED 10 NOVEMBER 2025 — 4 MINUTE READ



Image — A darkened street amid ongoing emergency power outages on 5 November 2025 in Kyiv, Ukraine.(Photo by Danylo Dubchak/Frontliner/Getty Images)

A guerra interminável na Ucrânia (22)

[FONTE: Chatham House / John Lough, 10/11/2025]

Since this summer, the war in Ukraine has taken on a new dimension. Russia has intensified attacks on Ukrainian energy infrastructure, launching nine massed attacks since early October. The latest on Friday and Saturday, using a combination of drones and ballistic missiles, led to long power cuts around the country, affecting the supply of heat and water in several cities.

Advancing at a snail's pace on the battlefield, Russia is again dramatically increasing its efforts to win the war ahead of the winter by destroying Ukraine's energy infrastructure and increasing the hardship for the population. Its hope is that this psychological pressure will lead to a collapse in popular support for continuing the war.

But this year Russian strikes have met a more powerful Ukrainian response. Ukraine has ramped up its attacks on Russia's energy infrastructure, using a combination of drones and domestically produced missiles – assisted by Western targeting support.

Ukrainian attacks have struck oil refineries as far afield as Ryazan, Saratov and Volgograd in the west of the country and even Tyumen in Siberia, as well as fuel depots, pumping stations and other logistical hubs.

According to one Russian source, by late October, Ukrainian drone strikes had hit **more than 50 per cent** of Russia's 38 major refineries more than once.

A guerra interminável na Ucrânia (23)

[FONTE: Chatham House / John Lough, 10/11/2025]

An unequal fight?

Russia still has greater firepower in the energy war. It has upgraded its main Shahed-type attack drone, doubling the size of its warhead and increasing its range and speed. Production is now at a level over five times higher than a year ago and set to more than double. In June 2024, around 330 drones of this type were launched against targets in Ukraine. A year later, the figure was [over 5400](#).

Russia is also significantly expanding its production of ballistic and cruise missiles used against [Ukraine](#). A Ukrainian military intelligence estimate suggests that Russia may have increased its output of ballistic missiles by [66 per cent](#) in the past year. This poses a very serious challenge for Ukraine's air defences. The availability of missile interceptor systems is limited. And reliance on munitions supplied by Western allies gives Russia a cost advantage: a Russian-produced ballistic missile is far cheaper than a Western interceptor missile.

In line with these increased capabilities, Russian attacks on Ukraine's energy infrastructure have intensified.

Ahead of the coming winter, Russia has turned its firepower on Ukraine's gas production facilities, destroying around 60 per cent of its capacity in a single set of strikes in early October. Other attacks targeted thermal power plants across the country, leading to power interruptions in several regions.

However, even following the most recent attacks, Russia has not so far been able to achieve a country-wide collapse of the grid. That is because of Ukraine's investment in the hardening of generating assets, its ability to repair damage and the use of imports and rolling outages.

A guerra interminável na Ucrânia (24)

[FONTE: Chatham House / John Lough, 10/11/2025]

Domestic pressure in Russia

On the other side of the war, Ukraine's ability to strike targets deeper inside Russia on an increasingly consistent basis is significant because it is raising the cost of the war for Moscow. Estimates of how much refining capacity has been disabled vary considerably, but is likely to be no more than 10-15 per cent. The impact is far from negligible.

By October, Russian petrol prices had [risen over 10 per cent](#), partly because of the Ukrainian strikes. Notably, demand for fuel had already risen, with Russians making more car journeys, partly due to the disruption to air travel caused by Ukrainian attacks on other targets.

If Ukraine can accelerate the tempo of its attacks...it will pressure the Kremlin to come to the table and at least agree an energy ceasefire.

In Crimea and a small number of other regions, there have been reports of petrol shortages. The government is under pressure to keep prices stable, to limit public dissatisfaction and broader questioning of the purpose of the war. This involves Moscow paying subsidies to oil companies to compensate them for diverting production intended for export to the domestic market.

A guerra interminável na Ucrânia (25)

[FONTE: Foreign Affairs / Jack Watling, 11/11/2025]

Ukraine's Hardest Winter

With the Donbas in Peril, Europe Must Pressure
Russia Now

BY JACK WATLING

November 11, 2025

JACK WATLING is Senior Research Fellow for Land Warfare at the Royal United Services Institute in London.

Russia had planned to seize the Ukrainian town of Pokrovsk, a logistical hub in the Donetsk region, by November 2024. Its forces are a year behind schedule. Ukrainian defenders, although vastly outnumbered, have fought tenaciously to hold on to the Donbas defense line, killing over 20,000 Russian troops a month in the process. Now, Russia appears to be on the cusp of consolidating control over the ruins of the town as it pushes more and more troops into Pokrovsk's shattered buildings, and Russian drones cut off Ukrainian defenders from resupply.

A guerra interminável na Ucrânia (26)

[FONTE: Foreign Affairs / Jack Watling, 11/11/2025]

PUTIN'S PROSPECTS

Russia now sees its strategic objective of subjugating Ukraine unfolding in three phases, only the first of which involves actual fighting. First, Moscow seeks to occupy or destroy sufficient Ukrainian territory to ensure that what remains is economically viable only with Russia's acquiescence. Russian planners assess that this could be accomplished if Russia holds the four oblasts it has already annexed and adds Kharkiv, Mykolaiv, and Odesa, which would effectively cut Ukraine off from the Black Sea. Under these conditions, the Kremlin would seek a cease-fire in the belief that it could pursue a second phase in which it uses economic leverage and political warfare, underpinned by the threat of reinvasion, to exert control over Kyiv. In the third phase, Russia would absorb Ukraine into its orbit in a manner akin to Belarus.

A guerra interminável na Ucrânia (27)

[FONTE: Foreign Affairs / Jack Watling, 11/11/2025]

At the same time, the capacity of the Russian state to continue pursuing offensive operations is determined by its available working capital. As long as Russia can sell oil, gas, and other raw materials, it has the means to generate ready money to fund armaments and recruitment. But the decline in oil prices in 2025 has depleted Russian reserves. Meanwhile, Ukraine's stepped-up campaign of long-range strikes on oil refineries has begun to have a significant effect on domestic oil refining and the availability of fuel. The question is the extent to which the combination of sanctions and strikes will create a cashflow problem for the Kremlin in 2026.

A guerra interminável na Ucrânia (28)

[FONTE: Foreign Affairs / Jack Watling, 11/11/2025]

COLD FRONT

This winter could be pivotal. Russia is producing more missiles than ever before, while Ukraine's damaged energy grid is already unable to power the entire country. Even central Kyiv is without power for hours every day. Heating currently works, but temperatures are falling, and Ukraine must prepare for significant disruption to utilities through the cold months. If Russia is able to accelerate its gains—perhaps through the combination of the hollowing of Ukraine's defensive lines and the depopulation of major centers near the front—it could set a course to coerce Ukraine into submission in 2026.

But that is hardly a foregone conclusion. If Ukraine can combine with Western powers to apply real pressure on Russia's economy and energy infrastructure, a cease-fire could be achievable by the end of next year. Stalled by a bolstered Ukrainian training system and facing collapsing export revenues as Ukraine continues to damage its oil refineries and shipping infrastructure, Russia may finally see that it is approaching the end of the runway without sufficient lift.

A guerra interminável na Ucrânia (29)

[FONTE: Sputnik Global, 11/11/2025]

Failed MiG-31 Hijack Plot: Ukrainian Intel Stuck to Western Political Directives

First and foremost, Ukrainian intelligence planned to capture Russia's advanced weapon system, military expert **Sergey Gorbachev** told *Sputnik*, commenting on the botched Ukraine-UK attempt to hijack a Russian MiG-31 jet armed with a Kinzhal hypersonic missile.

He didn't rule out that the perpetrators planned a provocation involving the MiG-31 to simulate an attack on Romania or Bulgaria, both NATO members. Gorbachev also pointed to a possible media effect related to the scenario of a Russian pilot becoming a traitor and being used for nefarious purposes.



A guerra interminável na Ucrânia (30)

[FONTE: Sputnik Global, 11/11/2025]



"The FSB exposed everything in great detail, and I do not know how the British will wash their hands of it," Lavrov said in a hybrid interview with Russian media.

The UK has now lost its empire, economic and military power, but is trying to compensate for this, the foreign minister added.

Earlier in the day, the Russian Federal Security Service (FSB) said that it had thwarted an operation by Ukrainian military intelligence and its UK handlers to hijack a Russian MiG-31 fighter jet armed with a Kinzhal hypersonic missile.

A guerra interminável na Ucrânia (31)

[FONTE: Sputnik Global, 11/11/2025]

Russia Hits Ukraine's Main Electronic Intel Center in Response to MiG-31 Provocation

The Russian aerospace forces launched a strike using the Kinzhal missile system against Ukraine's main electronic intelligence center and the Starokostiantyniv airfield in response to a provocation by Kiev, whose intelligence services planned to hijack a MiG-31 fighter jet armed with a Kinzhal missile, the Russian Federal Security Service (FSB) said on Tuesday.



Bibliografia

