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APPLICATION OF COLOUR REVOLUTION METHODOLOGY IN CONTEMPORARY POLITICAL PRACTICE

Abstract

The author describes the methodology of colour revolutions in the 21st century. As a product of the fall of communism and the new international context, colour revolutions are connected to democracy promotion campaigns in post-communist societies. In research, colour revolutions are marked as forms of overthrow in which the methods of civil disobedience and nonviolent action are used for the destabilization of the political system with foreign interference. The paper analyzes the theory of civil disobedience and methods of nonviolent action. According to previous empirical and theoretical research of these processes in post-communist states, the Art. presents the phases in which colour revolutions are realized. The author concludes that colour revolutions will remain an actual phenomenon of political practice because of complex international relations and the struggle of great powers for influence in strategically important areas.

Keywords: *colour revolutions, overthrows, nonviolent action, civil disobedience, political violence, international relations*

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The end of the 20th and the beginning of the 21st century is marked by two important processes in politics: the fall of communism and the democratization of post-communist societies. After the Cold War, the United States of America was the only superpower capable of expanding its influence in any part of the world. American president Bill Clinton announced "democracy promotion" as one of America's foreign policy objectives.[2] Without an ideological opponent, liberal democracy and capitalism began to expand in former Warsaw Treaty Organization countries and Eastern Europe.

A key part of the United States' global geopolitical strategy is to expand their influence in Eurasia. Eurasia's geopolitical pivot areas are critical points for ensuring the stability and longevity of America's global supremacy. For American strategists, Eurasia is the source of foreign policy threats and global geopolitical instability.[3] American foreign policy's central goal towards Eurasia is to expand and consolidate a "democratic bridgehead".[4] America and its European allies achieved this with NATO's expansion towards Russian borders, and by politically supporting pro-Western politicians and groups during the colour revolutions events in Eastern Europe.

Promoting democracy has intensified since the 2000s. This project (supported by the European Union and America) includes promoting democratic principles, rule of law, human rights, good governance, social and political reforms and dealing with corruption and abuse of power. Taxpayers in Western democracies invest billions of dollars into promoting democracy in transitional and authoritarian societies around the globe.[5] In countries that refuse to comply, the spread of political actors

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[1] Kisindžer Henri (2016). *Diplomatija*, Kosmos izdavaštvo, Beograd, p. 849.

[3] Bžežinski Zbignjev (2013). *Amerika-Kina i sudbina sveta: strateška vizija*, Albatros plus, Fakultet bezbednosti, Beograd, p. 127.

[4] Brzezinski Zbigniew (1997). *The Grand Chessboard: American Primacy and Its Geostrategic Imperatives*, Basic Books, 1997, p. 195.

[5] Magen A., McFaul M. (2009). "Introduction: American and European Strategies to Promote Democracy – Shared Values, Common Challenges, Divergent Tools?", in: *Promoting De mocracy and the Rule of Law: American and European Strategies* (eds. Amichai Magen, Tomas Risse, Michael McFaul), Palgrave McMillan, pp. 3-7.

ors initiating and carrying out colour revolutions. States that resist obedience to economic and (geo)political interests are accused of violating human rights, authoritarianism, endangering regional and international security, lack of fair and democratic elections, lack of rule of law and other political and legal achievements. Western governments support opposition in various ways: political and financial support, education and training, offensive intelligence activity and covert actions, subversion acts, psychological and informational operations for creating pro-opposition public opinion and voter mobilization. According to Oleg Karpovch (Олег Карпович) and Andrey Manoylo (Андрей Манойло), United States of America used colour revolutions as a way to build the democratic world order.[6]

The realization of colour revolutions requires a strategic approach throughout. Economic pressures and interventions are used for causing political instability, social tensions, and political and security crises that are intensified through information campaigns and subversion. Guided by foreign special services, the opposition helps to shape public dissatisfaction. On election day, the opposition declares a victory regardless of the results. If the opposition does not win, they call the election process into question. Protests are organized until the opposition's election victory is recognised. Foreign parties also use non-government and international organizations for increasing pressure on the government.[7] Sergey Grinyaev and associates define colour revolution as: "a special form of struggle (in the form of political intervention) aimed at creating a conflict potential of changing the government and the basis of its legitimacy that leads to the geopolitical and geoeconomic reorientation of the state"[8].

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[6] Карпович О., Манойло А. (2015). *Цветные революции: теория и практика демонтажа современных политических режимов*, Юнити - Дана, p. 5.

[7] Parezanović M. (2013), *Politički prevrat: savremeni pristup*, NSPM, Beograd, p. 88-92.

[8] Гриняев С. et al. (2015). *Иррегулярные конфликты: «цветные революции» - Анализ и оценка форм, приемов и способов ведения операций по смене режимов в суверенных государствах*, Центр стратегических оценок и прогнозов, Москва, p. 199.

Colour revolution is a form of overthrow that uses civil disobedience and nonviolent action to destabilise the political system with foreign interference. Opposition groups employ these methods to create crisis potential. These political acts are based on Gene Sharp's theory and methods developed by "professional revolutionary" organizations such as the Centre for Applied Nonviolent Action and Strategies (CANVAS). An important role in these political processes have intelligence agencies and non-government organizations.

COLOUR REVOLUTION
AS A 21ST CENTURY FORM OF OVERTHROW

Every modern state protects political order with the law (constitution and criminal code) and repression (army, police and special services). Criminal law prevents attacks on the constitutional order and the state's security. Army, police and special services use specific methods and procedures to ensure public safety, national security and constitutional order. Despite law sanctions and repression, political history has many examples of overthrows (mostcommon form) being used to illegally seize political power.[9]

Overthrows are not just the result of complex internal factors (social, political, security and economical). They are related to international processes, geopolitical conditions and foreign policy strategies. Many governments encourage overthrows abroad to achieve their own political agenda and goals.[10] According to Richard M. Bissel's classification of secret actions, there is a wide range of covert activities for foreign intervention: 1) political advice and counsel; 2) subsidies to an individual; 3) financial support and technical assistance to political parties; 4) support to private

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[9] Simeunović D. (2009). *Uvod u političku teoriju*, Institut za političke studije, Beograd, pp. 107- 108.

[10] More about covert actions and interventions of the United States in Chapter 9 of: Snider Britt, *The Agency and the Hill:CIA's Relationship with Congress*, 1946–2004, The Center for the Study of Intelligence, Central Intelligence Agency, Washington, https://www.cia.gov/static/c2bbf1d2a5d7ee65af651f57ff784ac4/The-Agency-and-Hill.pdf, (05.02.2021).

organizations, including labour unions, business firms, cooperatives, etc.; 5) covert propaganda; 6) "private" training of individuals and exchange of staff; 7) economic operations; 8) paramilitary or political action operations designed to overthrow or support a regime; 9) attempted assassinations.[11] In colour revolutions, the most important covert actions are: political advice and counsel, support to political parties and organizations, propaganda and political actions. Funding an overthrow and installing cooperative politicians comes with minimum casualties and is far cheaper than war. Costs for supporting a colour revolution are less than the price of a single 5th generation fighter aircraft. The CIA spent USD$40 million in supporting Serbian opposition in the anti-Milošević campaign.[12]

The first colour revolution happened in Serbia. On 5th October 2000, the regime of Slobodan Milošević was overthrown by an oppositional alliance of political parties – the Democratic Opposition of Serbia. America and Britain provided advisory, financial, educational and logistical support to Serbian opposition politicians and independent media. The Serbian colour revolution became a template for successful overthrows in Georgia, Ukraine, Kyrgyzstan, and many similar political events around the world (in Belarus, Lebanon, Moldova and Hong Kong).[13] Youth movements and student organizations have a significant role in colour revolutions. In Serbia, it was the "Otpor!" (Resistance!) youth group (famous for its raised fist symbol) and its protest against the government. Leaders within the movement had contacts with foreign government officials, diplomats and intelligence agencies officers. "Otpor!" activists used a methodological framework based

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[11] *Speech by Richard M. Bissel, Jr., before the Discussion Group on Intelligence and Foreign Policy, run by the Council on Foreign Relations*, January 8, 1968, in: Bajagić Mladen (2010). *Metodika obaveštajnog rada*, Kriminalističko-policijska akademija, Beograd, p. 178.

[12] Shimer David, *When the CIA Interferes in Foreign Elections - A Modern-Day History of American Covert Action*, https://www.foreignaffairs.com/Art.s/united-states/2020-06-21/cia-interferes-foreign-elections (08.02.2021).

[13] Пономарева Е., Рябинин Е. (2015). "Цветные революции» в контексте стратегии управляемого хаоса", *Обозреватель–Observer*, No. 12(311), Москва, p. 43-44.

on Gene Sharp's theory.[14] The Serbian movement became a pattern for later youth organizations and their role in overthrows: Georgian "Kmara!" (Enough!), Ukrainian "Pora!" (It's Time!), Kyrgyz "KelKel!" (Renaissance!) and "Birge!" (Together!).

"Otpor!" evolved into a professional organization for applying nonviolent actions and strategies against authoritarian and non-democratic regimes. The founders of "Otpor!" (Srdja Popović and Slobodan Djinović) established Centre for Applied Nonviolent Actions and Strategies (CANVAS) to help democracy and pro-Western oriented activists in more than 50 countries. The centre published methodological publications for the usage of nonviolence and civil disobedience: *Handbook for Working with Activists*, *Nonviolent Struggle: 50 Crucial Points*, *CANVAS Core Curriculum: A Guide to Effective Nonviolent Struggle*, *Making Oppression Backfire*, *Blueprint for Revolution* and others.[15] "Professional revolutionaries" are not new in political theory. Leon Trotsky (Лев Троцкий) – the October Revolution's main strategist, noticed the importance of strategic planning and efficient political manipulation in revolutionary activities.[16] Political practice in colour revolutions reaffirm Lenin's position on the need for "professional revolutionaries" who could lead the people and bring about desired political goals.[17]

In the last few years, hybrid warfare is a term often used in security studies and political science. Najžer offers the following explanation of hybrid warfare: "Hybrid warfare is a distinct form of low-level conflict spanning the spectrum of capabilities. It is a deliberately opaque merger of conventional and unconventional warfare and conducted under a single

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[14] Naumović Slobodan (2006). „" Otpor!" kao postmoderni Faust: društveni pokret novog tipa, tradicija prosvećenog reformizma i „izbornih revolucija" u Srbiji", *Filozofija i društvo*, 3/2006, Beograd, pp. 149-151.

[15] More about CANVAS: (08.02.2021).

[16] Глазунов О. (2006). *Государственный переворот - Стратегия и технология*, Олма пресс, Москва, p. 6.

[17] More about "professional revolutionaries" in: Lenin Vladimir, *What is to be Done?*, 1902, https://www.marxists.org/archive/lenin/works/download/what-itd.pdf (08.02.2021).

gle central authority and direction of a state and/or state-like actor. The aim of hybrid warfare is to achieve political objectives that would not be achievable, or would incur too high a cost, through the use of either form individually. The blend of conventional and unconventional enables the actor to exploit an opponent's strategic or doctrinal weakness while maintaining deniability and strategic surprise".[18] Hybrid warfare's advantages include lower costs, easier justification to the people, and greater efficiency in achieving the desired goals. Hybrid warfare can include all segments of society and the state, which means that not only military targets are attacked, but all social, political, economics and security potentials of the targeted state are potential targets.[19]

The main instruments for achieving political goals in hybrid warfare are psychological and information campaigns, economic sanctions, political pressures, incitement to criminal activities, subversion, support for terrorist and separatist actions. Military actions are carried out covertly by irregular forces to influence political structures, state administration and local self-government, the economy, the morale of the population, and security services. Hybrid warfare is performed in four phases: 1) influence on the population's morale through psychological and information campaigns; 2) social destabilization; 3) causing and controlling social crises and 4) taking control of companies with the help of internal forces that are in coordination with the attacker. In their foreign policy maneuvers, geopolitical actors use colour revolutions in order to promote their security interests. Nonviolent regime change has its advantages over violent interference: [20] violence is used to a minimum, risks are reduced, the cost is lower than classical warfare, overthrow activities are successfully managed through parties not directly connected

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[18] Najžer B. (2020). *The Hybrid Age: International Security in the Era of Hybrid Warfare*, I.B. Taurus, London, New York, p. 29.

[19] Milošević D. (2018). Pojmovno određenje fenomena hibridnog ratovanja, *Vojno delo*, 3/2018, p. 301.

[20] Milenković M. (2017). Nasilna promena režima kao sadržaj hibridnog rata, *Vojno delo*, 6/2017, pp. 318-323.

with foreign govenment.

Colour revolutions include illegal acts against national law and constitutional order. Because of this, overthrow can be seen as a form of political conspiracy. Professor Dragan Simeunović offers one of the most accurate definitions of political conspiracy in contemporary political theory: "Political conspiracy is organized conspiratorial action which, with the aim of realizing a secretly agreed and carefully prepared plan, is secretly or publicly carried out by selected and firmly connected conspiracy actors in a conspiracy group or organization"[21]. Political conspiracy is important to the success of illegal regime change because it helps conceal intentions, actors and goals, and avoid detection by the national security services. The use of political conspiracy is indispensable during colour revolutions - secrecy is needed due to the fact that the contenders for political power do not have the government's resources. Any revelation of foreign intelligence connections and intent to illegally seize power and connections is punishable. It is especially important to keep secret foreign involvement in colour revolutions. Efforts to uncover conspiracy intentions, plans and goals are an important preventive activity for intelligence services. If the conspiratorial intent is discovered in time, the possibilities of a colour revolution are diminished.

Colour revolutions are often seen as nonviolent events. However, according to Parezanović's research, common forms of political violence in colour revolutions include: the threat of force, political murder, assassination, political suicide, subversion, repression, political protests, revolts, disorder, riots and demonstrations. Despite the image of colour revolutions as nonviolent events, political violence is used in this form of the overthrow, but only in the required amount to change the political regime.[22]

The phenomenon of colour revolutions matches with the concept of political revolution. The political revolution is not a method for the conquest

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[22] Parezanović M. (2013). *Op, cit.* pp. 133-134.

of political power. This type of revolution signals a welcome change in governance and increased progressiveness: for example, more democracy, human rights and freedom. The social revolution is portrayed as a wider phenomenon – it includes society's overall progressive transformation (comprehensive change of political, social, economics, culture, psychological and others relations in one society).[23]

Opposition political subjects in a nation can choose to apply the methodology of a colour revolution for many reasons. A key reason is a lack of organizational skills for effective participation in political life. Party infrastructure is a necessary element to communicate with citizens and voters. With an extensive party organizational network, political actors can successfully animate their supporters, gain new ones, spot citizens' problems at the local level and offer them political solutions, but also represent citizens at the local, regional and national levels. Party disorganization can be conditioned by both internal and external factors: legal restrictions directed against opposition entities, lack of financial resources for political activity, the government repression and others. By entering into a relationship with foreign governments, opposition political parties receive the necessary financial and logistical support they require as compensation for a lack of actionable and organizational abilities.

CIVIL DISOBEDIENCE AND NONVIOLENT ACTION AS METHODOLOGICAL CORE OF COLOUR REVOLUTIONS

Civil disobedience has roots in the medieval political thought. John of Salisbury, in his work *The Statesman*, considers that a state without the rule of law is tyranny. Believing that there should be no mercy for tyrants because they do not rule for the common good, John of Salisbury justified the assassination of tyrants and advocated the right to tyrannicide as a legitimate mean of political struggle.[24] Modern political and political practice

[23] Simeunović D. (2002). *Teorija politike – rider*, Nauka i društvo, Beograd, pp. 190-191.
[24] Đurić M. (2010). *Istorija političke filozofije*, Albatros plus, Beograd, p. 178.

are also influenced by theoretical works of Henry David Thoreau and his essay *Civil Disobedience*. Political practices of Mahatma Gandhi and Martin Luther King Jr. are the most known effective examples of civil disobedience and nonviolent actions in 20th century - Mahatma Gandhi for the political independence of India and Martin Luther King Jr. for advancing civil rights of the Afroamerican population in the United States of America. John Rawls, one of the most influential modern political philosophers, approves acts of civil disobedience and nonviolence if political regimes brake the principles of justice, but only if these acts are under a constitutional order and publicly recognized conception of justice.[25]

The methodological framework for colour revolutions is based on Gene Sharp's theory of nonviolent action. In 1983, he founded the Albert Einstein Institution, a nongovernment organization to research the strategic application of nonviolent action and to support pro-democracy groups around the world. His study *From Dictatorship to Democracy* is the "methodological Bible" of nonviolent action - it has been translated into 42 languages so far. "Nonviolent action may involve *acts of omission* - that is, people may refuse to perform acts that they usually perform, are expected by custom to perform, or are required by law of regulation to perform; *acts of commission* - that is, people may perform ads or regulation to perform; that they do not usually perform, are not expected by custom to perform, or are forbidden by law or regulation to perform; or a *combination of the two*"[26].

Before the application in colour revolutions, nonviolence had its role during the Cold War. In an atmosphere of constant fear of the Warsaw Pact, Sharp proposes the use of nonviolent resistance in the case of a Soviet invasion. The author points out the need to strengthen the national defense and distraction capabilities by unconventional methods

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[25] Rawls J. (1999). *A Theory of Justice: Revised Edition*, The Belknap University Press of Harvard Univesity, p. 339.

[26] Sharp G. (1990). *Civilian-Based Defence: A Post-Military Weapons System,* Princeton University Press, New Jersey, p. 40.

Providing nonviolent resistance has social, political, psychological, and economic methods that have had an impact in the past: Czechoslovakia 1968, Germany 1920 and 1923, Korea 1919–1922, countries under Nazi occupation 1939–1945, Poland 1981–1982. A country's defense strategy involves prior training and preparation of citizens in order to slow down or prevent a possible occupation. Training the population to use nonviolent resistance would increase the overall a country defense capacity. In this way, smaller states can compensate for the conventional weapons lack in the event of a conflict with a much larger enemy.[27]

The methods of nonviolent action (198 methods) are divided into six groups and 37 sections. The first group – *The methods of nonviolent protest and persuasion* includes Formal statements, Communications with a wider audience, Group representations, Symbolic public acts, Pressures on individuals, Drama and music, Processions, Honoring the dead, Public assemblies, Withdrawal and renunciation. The second group – *The methods of social noncooperation* includes Ostracism of persons, Noncooperation with social events, customs and institutions, Withdrawal from the social system. The third group – *Economic boycotts* include actions performed by consumers, workers, producers, middlemen, owners, management, holders of financial resources and governments. The third group – *The Strike* includes various types of strikes: symbolic, agricultural, by special groups, ordinary industrial, restricted, multi-industry and combinations of strikes and economic closures. *The Methods of Political Noncooperation* includes Rejection of authority, Citizens' noncooperation with government, Citizens' alternatives to obedience, Action by government personnel, Domestic action of government and International governmental action. And the last group – *The Methods of Nonviolent Intervention* includes various types of intervention: psychological, physical, social, economic and political.[28]

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[26] Sharp G. (1990). *Civilian-Based Defence: A Post-Military Weapons System,* Princeton University Press, New Jersey, p. 40.

[27] *Ibid.*, p. 35-36.

[28] Sharp G. (2010). From Dictatorship to Democracy: A Conceptual Framework for Liberation, The Albert Einstein Institution, pp. 79-86.

Strategic planning is an important segment of successful regime change. Opposition must find the "Achilles' heel" of political regimes in order for the successful overthrow. Sharp cites seventeen weaknesses of each dictatorship: "1. The cooperation of a multitude of people, groups, and institutions needed to operate the system may be restricted or withdrawn; 2. The requirements and effects of the regime's past policies will somewhat limit its present ability to adopt and implement conflicting policies; 3. The system may become routine in its operation, less able to adjust quickly to new situations; 4. Personnel and resources already allocated for existing tasks will not be easily available for new needs; 5. Subordinates fearful of displeasing their superiors may not report accurate or complete information needed by the dictators to make decisions; 6. The ideology may erode, and myths and symbols of the system may become unstable; 7. If a strong ideology is present that influences one's view of reality, firm adherence to it may cause inattention to actual conditions and needs; 8. Deteriorating efficiency and competency of the bureaucracy, or excessive controls and regulations, may make the system's policies and operation ineffective; 9. Internal institutional conflicts and personal rivalries and hostilities may harm, and even disrupt, the operation of the dictatorship; 10. Intellectuals and students may become restless in response to conditions, restrictions, doctrinalism, and repression; 11. The general public may over time become apathetic, skeptical, and even hostile to the regime; 12. Regional, class, cultural, or national differences may become acute; 13. The power hierarchy of the dictatorship is always unstable to some degree, and at times extremely so. Individuals do not only remain in the same position in the ranking, but may rise or fall to other ranks or be removed entirely and replaced by new persons; 14. Sections of the police or military forces may act to achieve their own objectives, even against the will of established dictators, including by coup d'état; 15. If the dictatorship is new, time is required for it to become well established; 16. With so many decisions made by so few people in the dictatorship, mistakes of judgment, policy, and action are likely to occur; 17. If the regime seeks to avoid these dangers and

decetralizes controls and decision making , its control over the central levers of power may be further eroded"[29].

PHASES OF COLOUR REVOLUTION

Colour revolutions are the products of internal crisis and international context. Dragan Simeunović points out that the political crisis is in most cases an expression of the economic crisis and it represents the state of the political system during which it is difficult to make or implement political decisions by the authorities. As possible causes of various forms of political violence, but also subversive activities, Simeunović states: 1) extreme political polarization and inability to express the interests of large social groups; 2) reduced possibility of affirmative organization and exercise of power; 3) dysfunction of the economic system; 4) significant social differences; 5) presence and semi-legality of corruption, nepotism and other negative phenomena; 6) tolerance of socially negative phenomena; 7) the presence of anti-system forces in the public for a longer period of time; 8) existence of influential anti-systemic organizations and institutions; 9) foreign support to anti-system forces in the country; 10) subversive actions directed towards the economic, political and military segment of society; 11) conflicts between members of the political elite and interest groups; 12) unreliable, uncontrolled and unattached military forces and security structures.[30]

The existence of an internal political crisis strongly affects the realization of the overthrow. Without political tensions in one society, it is not possible to make an illegal regime change. Every political crisis consequently reflects on the security system of a country, but also the security situation in society can cause a crisis of the political system. Marko Parezanović points out that the complex political and security events and processes can take the form of a crisis if there is: 1) long-term

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[29] *Ibid.*, pp. 26-27.

[30] Simeunović D (1989). *Političko nasilje,* Radnička štampa, Beograd, pp. 61-62.

strained political relations; 2) the emergence of significant scandals for political and security issues; 3) reduced control over the security system by the authorities; 4) inappropriate use of repression; 5) action of opposition forces from the position of extremism and militarism; 6) negative impacts of the economic situation; 7) foreign interference.[31]

Realization of colour revolutions implies the agreed application of civil disobedience, nonviolent and other methods that are coherently, spatially and temporally used in order to influence public opinion and mobilize citizens. The methods are applied by the action core and its supporters in order to disrupt the normal functioning of the government through social and political activities, cause a political, social and security crisis and carry out a change of government. Colour revolutions are methodologically performed in the following six phases: 1) preparation; 2) deployment of forces; 3) destabilization; 4) conflict resolution; 5) changes in the political system; 6) consolidation.[32]

The first phase begins with a strategic calculation and analysis of the current situation in the target state. The actors of the overthrow calculate the ratio of their own forces and the forces of the opponents and recruit actors whose political goals and values are identical to the requirements of the foreign factor. Before deciding to carry out a colour revolution and entering the first phase, an important role is played by the modeling process, which can last from few months to five years (depending on the projected goals, public opinion, political and security situation in the country, regional and global situation). The political, social and economic situation in the country and the region is taken into account; analysis of potential perpetrators of the color revolution; in-depth political analysis of the ruling elite, political parties, state structure, state administration and local self-government, companies.

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[31] Parezanović M (2013), *Op. cit.*, p. 183.

[32] Гриняев С. et al., *Ibid.*, p. 199.

Along with these analytical processes, potential leaders of the revolutionary process are being selected and trained. Analytical processes in the preparatory phase include assessing the relationship between political forces and the structure of political parties, as well as studying the psychological profiles of leaders in state and military administration to assess the possibility of influencing them through manipulation (including the intelligence method of discrediting). It is especially important to find a "weak link" in the political system - in crisis situations, it happens that people without competencies and experience in decision-making are appointed to important positions. Therefore, it is necessary to monitor all social and political processes in order to influence the making and execution of bad political decisions that would be promoted through the opposition media.[33]

Subversive actions are extremely important during the preparation. A subversion is a complex form of institutional political violence with the strategic goal of destabilization of a certain sociopolitical system from within. The most commonly used subversion technique is the "social cleavage technique": 1) causing a rift in the political, economic, security and scientific peaks of society, 2) creating a rift between social peaks (e.g. between security and political), 3) a rift between the appropriate top and base of society segment and 4) encouraging divisions in the social base (with the use of social antagonisms). Subversion is carried out through three directions: 1) ideological-cultural, 2) economic and 3) military-intelligence. The best protection from subversive actions is provided by the creation of own ideological identity, as well as the creation of independent economic and security resources of power.[34]

Modern technological development and social networks (Facebook, Twitter, Instagram) provide new opportunities in carrying out media and informational operations. The creation of media content is facilitated

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[33] *Ibid.*, pp. 201-202.

[34] Simeunović D. (1989), *Op. cit.*, p. 106, 137-138.

through a variety of software solutions. The costs of distributing media products are minimized in the Informational Age. In the era of universal availability of computers, smart phones and the Internet, society is more exposed than ever to misinformation and fake news, which achieves the tendency to present the situation in the country worse than reality in order to provoke desired processes and events through the emotional reaction of the citizens.[35]

Intelligence services provide support to their governments in political operations. The promotion of democracy by the United States was especially intensified during Ronald Reagan's presidency. The transfer of secret political actions to the National Endowment for Democracy (NED) began in 1983. This organization is more similar to the intelligence services in terms of organizational structure and activities than to apolitical and humanitarian organizations with a similar name. Prior to the establishment of the National Endowment for Democracy, the CIA provided support to political parties, media, organizations and companies abroad through secret political actions.[36]

Initially, the State Department, the National Endowment for Democracy, or some other quasi-independent organization funded by the U.S. government conducts research in the target country. Often teams from the National Democratic Institute and the International Republican Institute, consulting agencies, members of the "democratic network" come to the country and conduct field research: interviews and meetings with local leaders, democratic political parties, civil society and government officials. Following the development of the action strategy, projects of civil society, political parties and independent media in the target country are financed. Funding is mediated by the National Endowment for Democracy, the United States Agency for International Development and

[35] Parezanović M., Željski R. (2019). Uloga propagandnih aktivnosti u političkim prevratima, *Srpska politička misao*, 3/2019, p. 411.

[36] Robinson W. (1996). *Promoting Polyarchy: Globalization, US intervention and hegemony*, Cambridge University Press, 1996, p. 86.

the State Department, with the operational use of the diplomatic and consular infrastructure in that country. The organization and counseling of mass political parties and movements is a central component of the program activity. Most programs are focused on penetrating the media sector, supporting women and youth movements, and, in the case of industrialized countries, farmers' associations. Special attention of the instructor is paid to the youth movements that are recognized as the bearers of future political changes in the country.[37]

Through the organization of educational programs and scholarships, foreign non-government organizations are recruiting young activists from political parties and domestic NGOs, as well as promising students, primarily from the social sciences.[38] The youth target group is especially suitable to manipulative and indoctrinal actions if we keep in mind: lack of life experience, a youthful pursuit for social justice, emotionality, poor financial position, desire for progression and career development, lack of sovereignist and patriotic ideals. By participating in the activities of non-government organizations, young people are not even aware that they are the subject of psychological profiling and assessment of the possibilities for building a cooperative relationship with foreign intelligence services. By searching the Internet and accessing available biographies of officials, we can conclude that attending trainings organized by the non-government sector related to foreign countries is often an important step in career advancement and entering political positions in some post-communist countries.

Deployment of forces as the second phase has a goal to deploy political actors who will carry out a colour revolution (actors who will take political power and actors who will be used as a means). This period is characterized by the emergence of new leaders and political movements. Special importance is given to the analysis of the leader, his personal

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[37] *Ibid.*, pp. 101-103.

[38] Miljković M. (2016). *Posebnost informacionih operacija u radu savremenih obaveštajnih službi – doktorska disertacija*, Fakultet bezbednosti, Beograd, pp. 222-226.

characteristics, habits, abilities and inclinations. The foreign factor performs a guiding function and completes the personnel selection of the most capable actors at the end of the second phase, which lasts from several months to three years.[39]

Destabilization occurs if political pressures and diplomatic measures do not produce effects in line with international strategies. Conflict becomes inevitable and political and social contradictions come to the fore. The destabilization of the situation begins with one or several socio-politically active groups (usually workers and students). In the first stage, the socioeconomic requirements of these groups stand out (for example, an increase in the minimum wage, better study conditions, etc.). In the next stage of the third phase, political protests are organized in order to point out the demands, gain media publicity and influence public opinion. Through the media, specially trained politicians with political demands are brought to the stage in order for the situation to move from the socioeconomic to the political level. This period is crucial in the methodology of carrying out the colour revolution - attracting as many citizens as possible to the newly formed political movement. The driving force of these processes is the masses who are dissatisfied with their social and economic position. In order to animate the participants, the protest takes on the dimension of a spectacle. At this stage, financial support for the activities is provided by non-government organizations, funds and private companies. An indicator of the possibility of carrying out a colored revolution is the lobbying of opposition forces for the interests of the previously mentioned subjects in institutional politics. The third phase lasts from a few hours to a few weeks. According to Grinyaev[40] and his associates, 8% of the population is a necessary "critical mass" to destabilize the social and political situation in the country. However, Erica Chenoweth concludes that for political change, it is necessary to mobilize 3.5% of the population

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[39] Гриняев С. et al. (2015). *Ibid.*, p. 202.

[40] *Ibid.*, p. 202-203.

through nonviolent methods during key events.[41]

During the *conflict resolution,* opposition forces are beginning to violate the legal framework of political activism - organizing mass demonstrations, using nonviolent action, civil disobedience and sporadic excesses of political violence. The organizational potential of revolutionary actors is key to achieve the goals of this phase through mass demonstrations and the personal competencies of leaders. Conflict resolution takes from one to several days. Further development of the security situation can only be resolved through the coordinated use of military and police forces. During the planning and execution of these actions, a specially trained opposition "avant-garde" enters the scene, which organizationally and logistically (with foreign support) presents these processes and directs the development of the crisis situation.[42] Dynamic events are finished with the occupation of institutions that symbolize the regime (buildings of the state administration, parliament, public media service) by the opposition. Often, military and police forces are powerless (or intentionally badly coordinated) to suppress demonstrations due to numerical overruns by opposition forces brought in from all over the country. Unable to establish public order and safety or due to an established agreement with opposition leaders, the police and military forces withdraw. Leaders of color revolution tend to retain political power for more than seven days in order to gain international recognition. Recognition of the new government will always come first from countries that have given overt or covert support to actors of overthrow.[43]

Changes in the political system are characterized by the proclamation of a new government and recognition by relevant international subjects. This

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[41] More about the "3,5% Rule" in: Chenoweth E. (2020), *Questions, Answers, and Some Cautionary Updates Regarding the 3.5% Rule*, Carr Center for Human Rights Policy, Harvard Kennedy School, https://carrcenter.hks.harvard.edu/files/cchr/files/CCDP_005.pdf, 08.02.2021.

[42] Гриняев С. et al. (2015), *Op. cit.*, p. 204.

[43] Parezanović Marko, "Državni udar kao jedan od modaliteta nelegalne političke borbe", Vojno delo, jesen/2011, pp. 107-108.

phase is suitable for making changes while the population is in a phase of "emotional shock" and before the negative socioeconomic and political factors come to the fore. The time period in the fifth phase is acceptable for the formation of a "new way of life" according to the tastes of the new political elite. It is often the case that during the new changes in the political system, "revenge" is carried out on political opponents. *Consolidation* is taking place in the legislation: "the political elimination" of the former elite is taking place, positions in the state administration are being taken, a pyramid of political power is being built and the political system is being regulated according to new standards and requirements.[44]

CONCLUSION

Colour revolutions have significantly influenced the course of world politics in the last twenty years. Promoted as "events of the people" that aspired to democracy and freedom, they were in fact a means to achieve foreign policy goals of the most powerful countries. By promoting their nonviolent and democratic character, their basic purpose is often obscured - the installation of cooperative political elites in geopolitically important states. Countries that have seen illegal changes of government act as a kind of sociopolitical experiment where results are later used to inform foreign policy. It is enough to follow international news to notice the methodology of colored revolutions is still applied today. Citizens spurred on by democratic and liberal political ideals, which are truly the civilizational heritage of the modern world, are not aware of their own instrumentalization. The dissatisfied masses elect predetermined elites who, after coming to power, fulfill the political agenda of those countries that supported them in their subversive intentions. Expecting much from a regime change, the citizens receive nothing more than a political revolution. Unjust social relations and political injustices continue, despite

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[44] Гриняев Сергей and others, *Ibidem*, p. 205.

eagerly awaited 'democracy'.

Colour revolutions have shown that modern international relations are marked by public and secret intentions and processes. Secret intentions are obscured by publicly expressed demands for the well-being of citizens, who are said to lack freedom and democracy. Countries which have encountered these revolutions have seen impacts to their economy, political and national security systems. The use of subversive actions in order to destabilize the state has left far-reaching consequences on all segments of society. Drawn into the whirlpool of globalization, nations with a lower degree of sovereignty are less and less able to decide independently on the directions of their own development and realization of their national interests.

The 21st century is a century of hybrid conflicts. The great powers will continue to use the potential brought about by these conflicts to realize their interests and power. It is inevitable that the "non-military segment" of hybrid warfare will gain more and more importance with the development of technological achievements. The methodology of colour revolutions will be applied, with minor contextual changes, in order to install cooperative political elites and spread economic, political and cultural influences.

Every element of the social system can be the potential target of hybrid warfare. The response to these threats therefore needs to consider the reaction of all parts of society. The preservation of state independence and sovereignty must involve political elites who are aware of the international, political and security situation and who provide adequate answers and solutions to the most important social and political problems. The potentials of the entire society should ensure political independence and, with their awareness of the importance of the independent choice of strategic orientations, influence the reduction of the possibility of subversive action.

States in geo-strategically important locations must pay special attention to increasing their overall defense potentials. Most of the burden of protecting the state and national interests from hybrid threats is on national security systems. This specialized segment of society must first recognize and strategically respond to the challenges facing the modern state of the 21st century. An efficient and stable system of national security with competent members is an irreplaceable means of deterring any form of security threat. It must be cautioned that any preventive security measures which are taken must not be used to stifle party pluralism, disrupt political life and strengthen the current ruling elite. The abuse of these measures can only further worsen the situation in the country and lead to the creation of an even greater crisis potential that can be exploited.

Nation states in the era of globalization are facing many challenges and issues. One of the greatest concerns for any state leadership in a globalized world is how to realize the national interest in the multitude of conflicting interests of state and non-state actors. Weaker states are no longer simply struggling with the great powers and stronger states - today non-government organizations and international corporations have a notable influence on shaping world politics, representing their political and ideological ideals, but also the foreign policy of their home countries.

The emerging multipolar world will be an arena of struggle for the supremacy of great powers in certain regions. It is necessary to enrich foreign policy acrobatics with a wisely balanced policy that is accompanied by an awareness of current and future trends in international relations. The constant struggle for position of the hegemon in light of the strengthening influence of challengers will undoubtedly result in new attempts of colour revolutions. Some attempts will fail and some will succeed.

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ПРИМЕНА МЕТОДОЛОГИЈЕ ОБОЈЕНЕ РЕВОЛУЦИЈЕ У САВРЕМЕНОЈ ПОЛИТИЧКОЈ ПРАКСИ

Апстракт

Аутор износи дескрипцију методологије обојених револуција у 21. веку. Као производ пада комунизма и новог међународног контекста, обојене револуције су повезане са кампањама промоције демократије у посткомунистичким друштвима. Истраживач означава обојене револуције као форме преврата у коме се користе методе грађанске непослушности и ненасилне акције за дестабилизацију политичког система уз учешће иностраног фактора. Рад анализира најзначајније поставке теорије грађанске непослушности и методе ненасилне акције. Узимајући у обзир ранија емпиријска и теоријска истраживања ових процеса у посткомунистичким државама, чланак приказује фазе у којима се изводе обојене револуције. У закључку се износи оцена да ће обојене револуције остати актуелан феномен политичке праксе у светлу комплексности савремених међународних односа и борбе великих сила за остварење утицаја у интересним сферама.

Кључне речи: *обојене револуције, преврати, ненасилна акција, грађанска непослушност, политичко насиље, међународни односи*