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Russia and the “Color Revolution”

***A Russian Military View of a World Destabilized by the US
and the West (Full Report)***

By: Anthony H. Cordesman

CSIS

CENTER FOR STRATEGIC &
INTERNATIONAL STUDIES

Burke Chair
In Strategy

May 28, 2014

csis.org

Introduction

The British strategist, Liddell Hart, stressed the need to understand rival views of grand strategy and military developments, or “the other side of the hill.” A range of Russian and Belorussian military and civil experts presented a very different view of global security and the forces behind it at the Russian Ministry of Defense’s third Moscow Conference on International Security on May 23, 2014.

The first session of the Conference presented an overview of the security situation, focusing on what Russian experts called the “Color Revolution.” Russian analysts have used this term since the “Rose Revolution” in Georgia in 2004, in discussing the “Orange Revolution” in Ukraine in 2004, and the “Tulip Revolution” that took place in Kyrgyzstan in 2005.

Russian military officers now tied the term “Color Revolution” to the crisis in the Ukraine and to what they saw as a new US and European approach to warfare that focuses on creating destabilizing revolutions in other states as a means of serving their security interests at low cost and with minimal casualties. It was seen as posing a potential threat to Russia in the near abroad, to China and Asia states not aligned with the US, and as a means of destabilizing states in the Middle East, Africa, Central Asia, and South Asia.

The second session repeated these themes, focusing on the instability in the Middle East, and the final session addressed the war in Afghanistan and South Asia.

Many of the speakers at the meeting from other countries touched on very different themes, but the Russian and Belorussian military speakers provided a consistent and carefully orchestrated picture of the “Color Revolution” – backed by detailed PowerPoint presentations, some of which came from the audience during what would normally have been the question period.

Key Russian officers and officials presented a view of the US and the West as deliberately destabilizing nations in North Africa, the Middle East, and the rest of the world for their own ends. They describe such actions as having failed, and been a key source of terrorism. They see the West as rejecting partnership with the West as a threatening Russia along all of its borders with Europe.

Senior Russian officials are also using the term “Color Revolution” in ways that are far more critical than in the past. For example, the Russian Foreign Minister, Sergei Lavrov, has accused the United States and the European Union of an attempt to stage yet another “color revolution” in Ukraine, and said during the Conference that, “Attempts to impose homemade recipes for internal changes on other nations, without taking into account their own traditions and national characteristics, to engage in the ‘export of democracy,’ have a destructive impact on international relations and result in an increase of the number of hot spots on the world map.” (RIA Novosti, May 23, 2014 ‘Color Revolutions’ Cause Apparent Damage to International Stability – Lavrov, <http://rickrozoff.wordpress.com/2014/05/26/color-revolutions-upset-global-stability-russian-foreign-minister/>.)

The end result is a radically different reading of modern history, of US and European strategy, their use of force, and US and European goals and actions from any issued in the West and in prior Russian literature.

Western experts can argue the degree to which this represents Russian anger over the West’s reaction to events in Ukraine, Russian efforts at persuading developing nations and Asia to back Russia in a reassertion of its strategic role in the world, propaganda to cloak the character Russian actions in the Ukraine and near abroad, an effort to justify Russian action in Syria, very real Russian concern over US and European actions that have destabilized key MENA and Central Asian states, and a host of other possible motives and intentions.

What is critical is that the US and Europe listen to what Russian military leaders and strategists are saying. These are not Russian views the US and Europe can afford to ignore.

The Burke Chair has prepared two versions of a briefing that presents the key points raised by Russian speakers in note form. It should be stressed that the summaries in these briefs have to be made using quick personal notes taken during the actual speeches, and are not quotes. They are only a very rough indication of what the speakers said, and lack important nuances.

Most speakers spoke in Russian and translation may have also have used wording the speakers did not fully intend.

These notes are, however, backed by photos of many of the “slides” used in the PowerPoints during the meeting – many of which were kindly provided to me by colleagues. These slides do clearly do present the views of the speakers in the form they chose.



MCIS

III Moscow Conference
on International Security

23-24 May, 2014

Moscow, Radisson Royal Hotel



/ FRIDAY, MAY 23

**09.00-09.45 / REGISTRATION OF CONFERENCE ATTENDEES,
HAND-OUT OF TRANSLATION HEADSETS AT THE ENTRANCE
TO THE CONFERENCE HALL (2-ND FLOOR)**

09.45-10.00 / SEATING IN THE CONFERENCE HALL

10.00-13.15 / PLENARY SESSION:

GLOBAL SECURITY AND REGIONAL STABILITY

- > Current state of global security. Challenges and threats.
Factors influencing global security
- > Role of international military community in strengthening global security
- > Ability of international organizations to mitigate challenges and threats
to global and regional security
- > Global security and regional conflicts
- > Military and non-military measures to enhance security of the nations bordering
Afghanistan and conflict zones in the Middle East and North Africa
- > Implications of "colored revolutions" for regional and global security



SPEAKERS

SERGEY SHOYGU

*Army General, Minister of Defence
of the Russian Federation*

SERGEY LAVROV

Minister of Foreign Affairs of the Russian Federation

VALERY GERASIMOV

*Army General, Chief of the General Staff
of the Armed Forces of the Russian Federation —
First Deputy Minister of Defence of the Russian Federation*

YURY ZHADOBIN

*Lieutenant General, Minister of Defence
of the Republic of Belarus*

ASIF KHAWAJA

Minister of Defence of Pakistan

HÖSSIEN DEGHAN

*Brigadier General, Minister of Defence
and Armed Forces Logistics of Islamic Republic of Iran*

NIKOLAY BORDUZHA

Secretary General, CSTO

LI CHANGCAI

*General, Political Commissioner of Lanzhou
Military District, Chinese People's Liberation Army*

MOHAMED SAID ELASSAR

*Major General, Deputy Defence Minister
of Arab Republic of Egypt for Armament and External Affairs*

ANUJ KUMAR BISHNOI

Deputy Minister of Defence of the Republic of India



Sergey Lavrov

**Minister of Foreign Affairs of the
Russian Republic**

- **Europe and US have missed a key opportunity to work with Russia as a partner. They have sought to expand NATO and not to create a common space of cooperation and harmonize a set of policies to deal with Asia.**
- **This polarization helped trigger the crisis in the Ukraine, and created a zero sum approach which has given new power to nationalists and neo-Nazis.**
- **NATO's support to threat to Qaddafi empowered the forces of terrorism the West claims to fight.**
- **The US and Europe use the "Color Revolution" to serve their own interests, impose their own values, and end in creating new global tensions.**
- **The end result of the intervention in Afghanistan has been to breed terrorism in Central Asia.**
- **There is a need for Security Council action to stabilize Afghanistan and Central Asia. The SCVO should work to bring stability to Afghanistan and not the US. It should work with the Afghans to bring that stability on their terms and not those of outside states.**
- **There should be a collective approach to security in Iran and Syria. The West keeps seeking to use the UN to interfere in Syria as it did in Libya.**
- **Russia wants to resume the Geneva talks, to fight terrorism with a common eight country resolution.**
- **Western colleagues and some countries in the region still seek a military solution, Russian feels a peaceful approach like that in Homs is the right one. Military action in Libya ended in making it a permanent source of support for terrorism.**
- **Egypt is now playing a key role in stabilizing the region against terrorism.**
- **We need a collective approach to an Arab-Israeli peace settlement. The US unilateral approach has failed.**
- **Trying to isolate Russian is a recipe for failure. It breeds terrorism, threatens new sources of proliferation, can create a new kind of Cold War, and threatens the global economy.**

- **What is needed is a new poly centric approach to cooperation like the OSCE and to expand the role of the UN.**
- **Cooperation must respect all civilizations and values.**



Valery Gerasimov

**Army General, Chief of General Staff
of the Armed Forces of the Russian
Federation – First Deputy Minister of
Defense of the Russian Federation**

- **DETAILED POWERPOINT FOLLOWS**
- **The break up of the FSU has led the US to act as if it were the only superpower and for its own ends using a mix of force and sanctions using its NATO allies.**
- **The US military interventions in Iraq in 1991, in Yugoslavia in 1999, in Afghanistan, and then again in Iraq in 2003 used pretexts to allow aggression that violated international norms and law.**
- **Color revolutions have led to civil wars and threats to civil populations that only make things worse and leave major parts of the state under militant control and become training areas for terrorists.**
- **Afghanistan has seen more than 10 years of war, and a 30-fold increase in drug production. There has been no concern for the civil population, drones have killed some 2,500 in Afghanistan, Pakistan, and Yemen. Color revolutions so can use military forces.**
- **Crisis in Libya, Egypt, Sudan, Somalia, Yemen, Georgia, Ukraine. Tensions in many other areas like Algeria and Mauritania.**
- **Use transfers of arms, SOF, mercenaries, and foreign fighters.**
- **Claim to protect civilians and deal with WMD, but use to change regimes and force support of the US and NATO.**
- **Syria sees influx of foreign troops, US double standards. Use of SOF and weapons supplies, threat of military operations like cruise missiles, and constant use of information warfare.**
- **The adaptive approach to Color Revolutions allows the US and Europe to fight low cost wars at the expense of local populations.**
- **Libya is a warning of the costs: terrorism, migration, fragmentation, suffering, spread of SHORADS to Mali, Tunisia, etc. Then left Libyans to themselves without assuming any responsibility for order.**
- **Russia favors collective action to bring stability and unity.**

- **The Ukraine is another case in point:**
 - **Pressed to change the regime.**
 - **Overtured the legitimate power.**
 - **Suppress protests,**
 - **Operations by private military groups.**
 - **Use anti-government demonstrations.**
 - **Army used against the people.**
 - **Makes legitimate economic development impossible.**
 - **Increasing use of force.**
 - **Threaten European security.**
 - **See NATO build-up in Baltic, Poland, areas near Russia.**
 - **Sanctions end European and Russian cooperation.**
 - **Entire region sees growth in mercenaries, terrorism, extremism, transnational crime.**
 - **All in the guise of a Color Revolution.**

Main Development Trends of the Current Politico-Military Situation

1

More acute competitiveness for geostrategic space, economic and natural resources

Deeper differences between states, nationalities and confessions

US aspiration towards global domination in the conditions, when multipolar system of international relations is taking shape

US-led NATO expansion and Alliance's aspiration to replace existing international security mechanisms

Expansion of means for resolving differences, with military force maintaining its key role

"Traditional" Approach for Achieving Politico-Military Goals

Search for a pretext to launch a military operation



Iraq
1991, 1998, 2003

Yugoslavia
1999

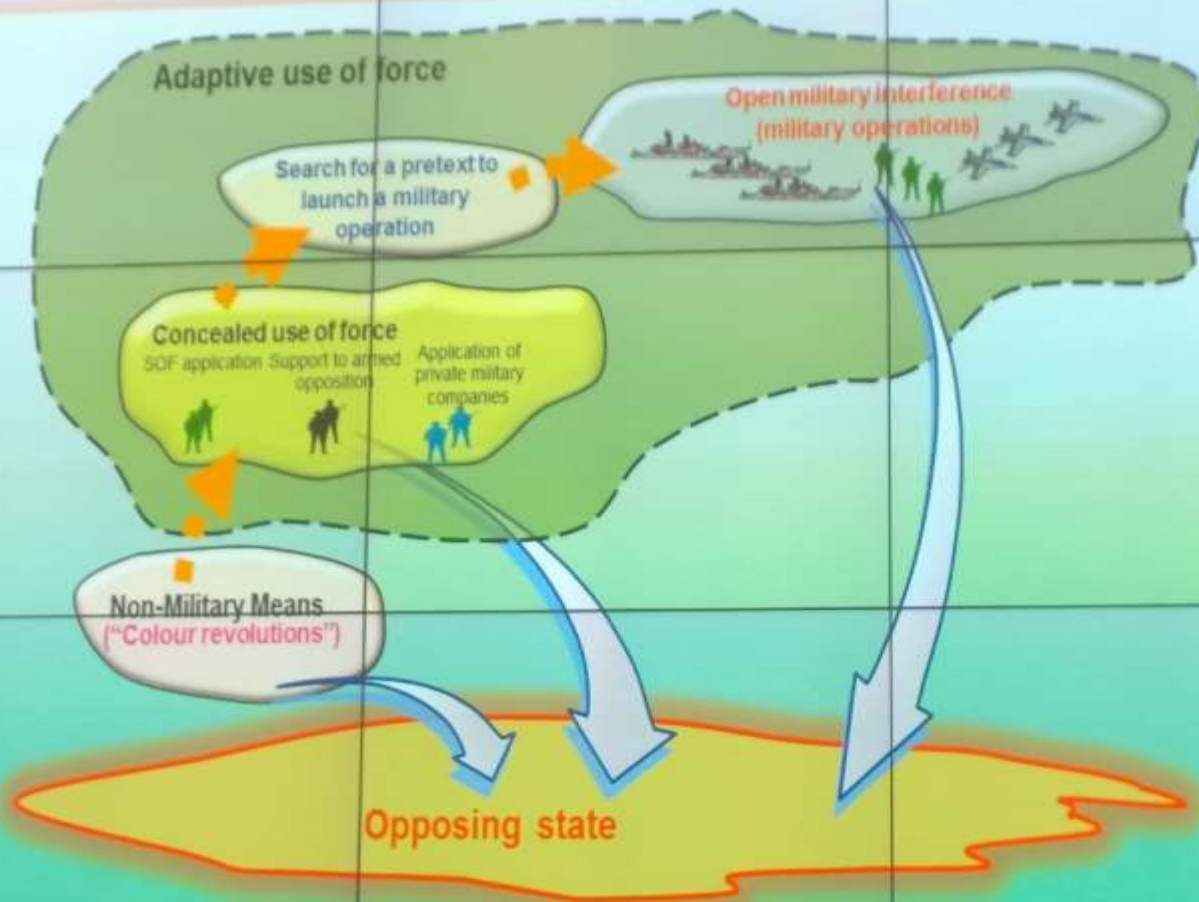
Haiti
1994, 2004

Afghanistan
2001

Opposing state

"New" Approach for Achieving Politico-Military Goals

4



"Colour Revolutions"

"Colour Revolutions" is a form of non-violent change of power in a country by outside manipulation of the protest potential of the population in conjunction with political, economic, humanitarian and other non-military measures



Adaptive Approach to the Use of Military Force

Concealed use of military force



Military training of rebels by foreign instructors



Supply of weapons and resources to the anti-government forces



Application of SOF and private military companies



Reinforcement of opposition units with foreign fighters

Search for (creation of) pretext for a military operation



Protection of civilians and foreign citizens



Accusing a conflicting party of using weapons of mass destruction

No

Has the resistance of the opposing side been suppressed?

Yes

Military Operation



Change of political regime

Armed Conflict in Syria



Influx of foreign mercenaries and radical fighters



Double Standards policy



Participation of foreign SOF and private military companies in the conflict



Open military interference under the pretext of protecting civilians is not excluded



Large weapons supplies to opposition

Assessment of Adaptive Approach to Use of Military Force

Adaptive Approach to Use of Military Force



Provides for maintaining positive image in the international community



Avoids substantial costs for military operations



Gives an opportunity to prevent numerous casualties



What is the influence of such an approach on the international security ?

Post-Conflict Situation in Libya



Division of the country into the spheres of influence by military tribe formations and their confrontation



Safety threat to foreign citizens



Legalization of illegal armed formations



Uncontrolled migration



Increase in extremism and crime



Spread of terrorism to other regions



Uncontrolled weapons proliferation



Crisis in Ukraine



Change of political regime



Overturn of legitimate power by using fighters from extremists organizations






Suppression of protests by using national armed forces



Anti-governmental demonstrations



Legend

-  - Regions where the situation is under the control of the new regime
-  - Regions where there are still protests against the new regime
-  - Regions where the punitive operation is under way against those who do not recognize the new regime



Operations by private military companies

Changes in Politico-Military Situation in Europe due to the Events in Ukraine



Suspension of Russia's cooperation with NATO, including on ensuring regional and global security



NATO

Higher intensity of operational and combat training of NATO forces

Build-up of NATO forces in the Baltic states, Poland, Rumania

Higher combat readiness of NATO Response Forces

NATO increased military presence in the Baltic, Mediterranean and Black Seas

Russia

Belarus

Ukraine

Sanctions against the Russian Federation

Turkey

Germany

Poland

Czech Rep.

Slovakia

Rumania

France

Spain

Italy

U.S.

Canada

UK

Japan

South Korea

Australia

New Zealand

Consequences for International Security of Implementing New Approaches to Use of Military Force

Colour Revolutions

Military support to anti-governmental forces,
open military intervention

Increase in uncontrolled force



Mercenarism



Terrorism



Extremism



Transborder crime

Expanded range of threats
to international security

Consequences for International Security of Implementing New Approaches to Use of Military Force

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Yury Zhadobin

**Lieutenant General, Minister of
Defense of the Republic of Belarus**

- **DETAILED POWERPOINT FOLLOWS**
- **The influence of Color Revolutions affects both regional and global security.**
- **These are not real internal conflicts. They are driven by outside power and intervention in the MENA region. Mali, Egypt, Syria all see this foreign pressure.**
- **History goes further. Czechoslovakia in 89-93, Belarus in 2006, Ukraine in 2004 and 2014, Yugoslavia in 2000, Moldova in 2005, Georgia in 2003, Uzbekistan in 2005, Kyrgyzstan in 2005 and 2010.**
- **What the world needs is participation in international organizations, joint defense and security. Russia and Belarus Regional Military Cooperation Group, integrated air defense system, collective power projection, cooperative special forces.**
- **Color Revolutions come from the outside and are disastrous for states, their victims and global stability.**
- **“Gunpowder can be smelled in Europe.”**
- **The UN fails to halt this. UN Resolutions are used to support it. They demarcate sides, and then see mercenaries, non-state actors, and other foreign elements intervene.**
 - **Examples are Yugoslavia in 1991-2001, Libya in 2011, Syria since 2001, Ukraine since 2014.**
- **Belarus is building up its forces to gain security against this.**
- **Ukraine poses a threat along a 1,084 KM border with Belarus, and 1,222 KM border with Moldova.**
- **Baltic states have become grey zones as a threat to Russia, outside arms control and role of CFE. No limits to NATO’s concentration of force.**
- **US and NATO have positioned militant to be a threat to Central Asia.**
- **Neo-Nazism, nationalism, and xenophobia are rising in Europe.**
- **We lost 25% of our population in WWII.**
- **“Information Confrontation” is a key weapon in Color Revolutions.**

- **The US and NATO are revving the Cold War.**
- **Again, the Answer is international cooperation, arms control non-interference, and preserving the unity of the European security space.**
- **If not, then Russia and Belarus must find a regional solution to anti-Color Revolutions**
 - **Joint exercises.**
 - **Joint basing and stockpiles,**
 - **Interoperability**
 - **Strong government pressure, Low level of a corruption.**
 - **Effective internal security.**
- **The UN needs to focus on the war crimes inherent in Color revolutions.**



**INFLUENCE OF “COLOUR
REVOLUTIONS” ON REGIONAL
AND GLOBAL MILITARY SECURITY**

**Minister of Defence
Republic of Belarus**

Lieutenant General Yuri Zhadobin

AFTERMATH OF "COLOUR REVOLUTIONS"



Mali



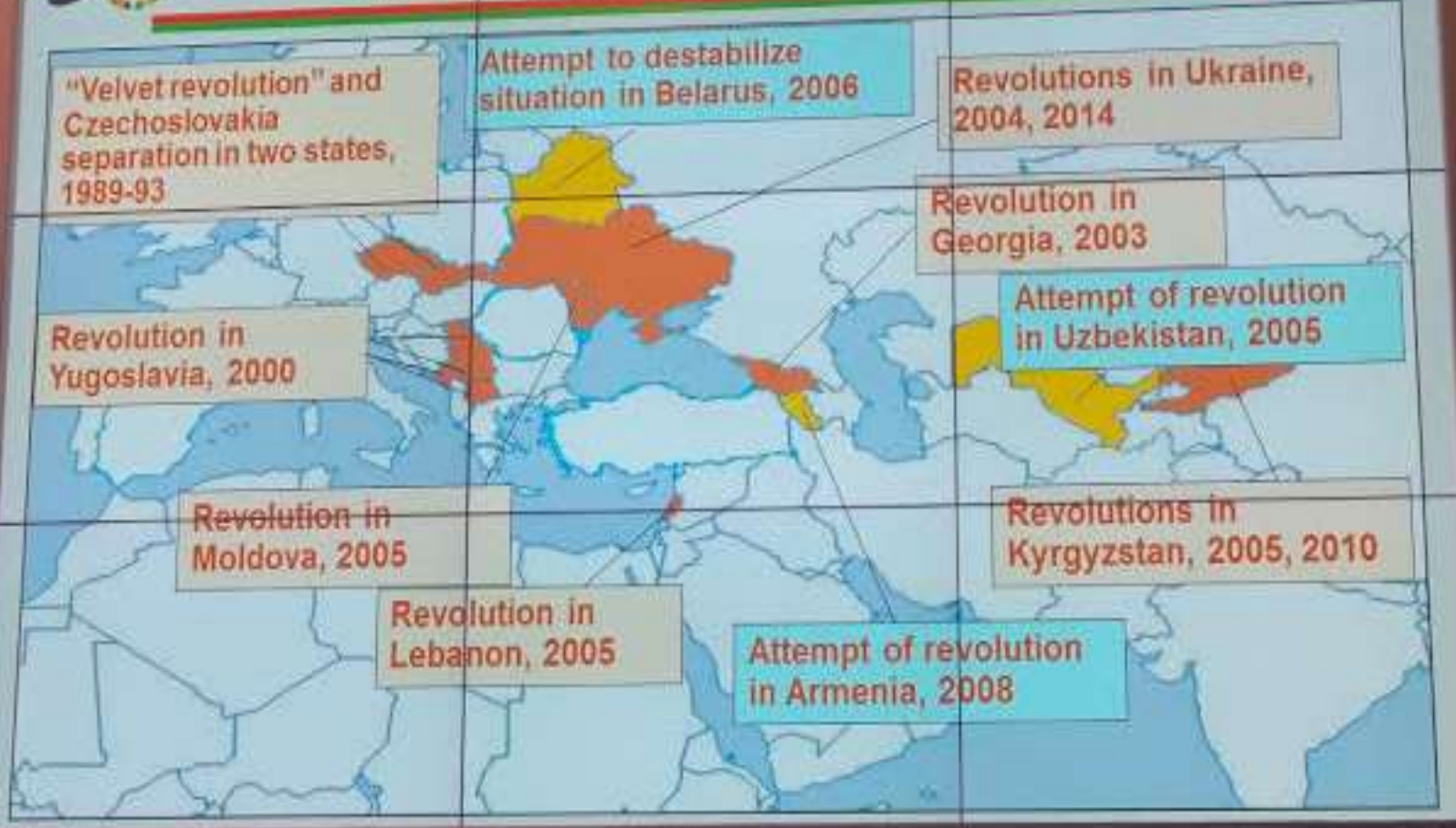
Egypt



Syria



"COLOUR REVOLUTIONS" AS CATALYSER OF MILITARY CONFLICTS



OBJECTIVE LAWS OF COLOUR REVOLUTIONS



Those nations are more exposed to destructive centrifugal forces, which lack strong power, information link between the government and the people, where corruption is flourishing and state interests are substituted by personal benefit

Key factors for successful countering "colour revolutions":

- Participation in international organizations;
- Establishing joint defence and security structures;
- Effective functioning of Russia-Belarus Regional Military Group and Joint Regional Air Defence System;



osce



INCITEMENT OF "COLOUR REVOLUTIONS"



"Colour revolutions" are prepared from outside, but their aftermath is disastrous both for states-victims and globally





CONFLICTING PARTIES IN "COLOUR REVOLUTIONS"



State

Conflicting parties

International irregular forces



"Traditional" types of peace-keeping operations tend to be ineffective in the absence of clearly-defined boundaries between the opposing parties.

LOW EFFICIENCY OF THE UN ACTIONS IN PREVENTION OF MILITARY CONFLICTS



Yugoslavia
(1991 - 2001)



Libya
(2011)



Syria
(since 2011)



Ukraine
(since 2014)





SIGNIFICANCE OF ARMAMENTS SAFETY CONTROL



in the Republic of Belarus

Project in improving safety of SALW storage sites is being implemented. It will enable to reduce the risk of its proliferation and illegal use.

Major tasks of the project:

- > Equipping weapons storage sites with lighting and alarm systems;
- > Replacement of inner and outer fencing of weapons storage sites;
- > Weapons record automation;
- > Procurement of needed equipment and material supplies;
- > Renovation of weapons storage facilities

The total project's budget is about US \$3.7 million. OSCE and EU member states currently have allocated more than US \$2.8 million.



in Ukraine



As a result of situation destabilization illegal armed groups have seized SALW and now use it to resist the authorities and for further conflict escalation.

Moreover, spread of these weapons on the surrounding territories is not excluded



Ukraine has common borders with:

- Belarus – 1,084 km.
- Russia – 2,295 km.
- Moldova – 1,222 km.
- EU (Romania, Hungary, Slovakia and Poland) – 1,391 km.



COLLAPSE OF INTERNATIONAL MILITARY ACTIVITY CONTROL SYSTEM

9



"Grey zones" on the map of Europe



Activity of private military companies



Functioning of militants training bases

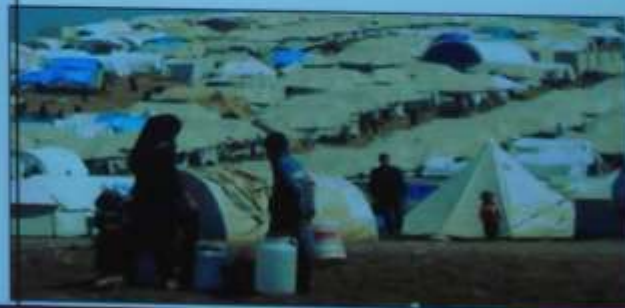


AFTERMATH OF "COLOUR REVOLUTIONS"

10



Use of military force during "colour revolutions" results in humanitarian disasters fostering human trafficking, cross-border criminality and drug cartels activities





INFORMATION CONFRONTATION DURING "COLOUR REVOLUTIONS"

During "colour revolutions" information confrontation rises to unprecedented levels, provoking nationalism and xenophobia

Nazism in Europe, 1939-1945



Neo-Nazism in contemporary Europe



CONSEQUENCES OF INFORMATION CONFRONTATION

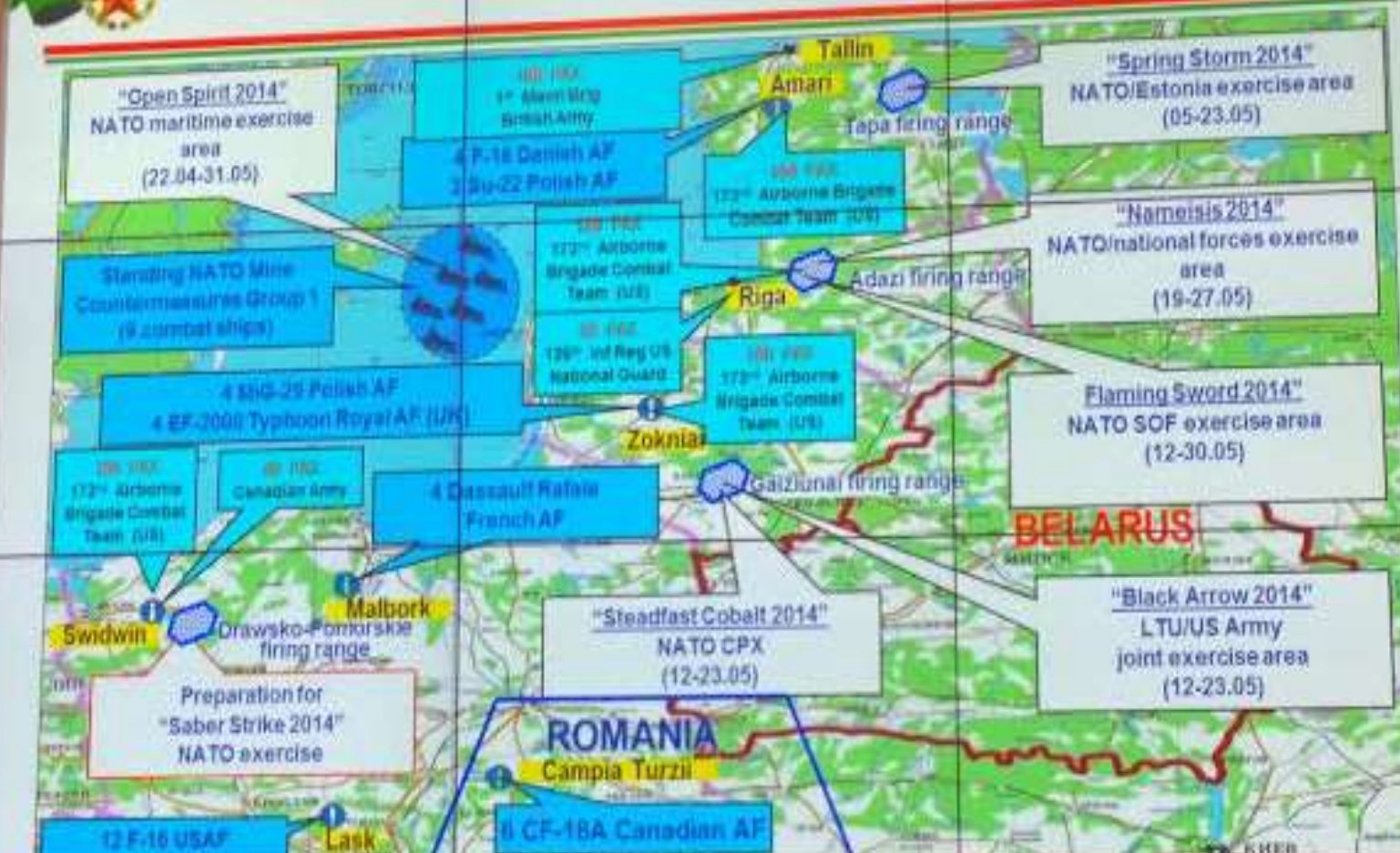


On a global scale information confrontation during "colour revolution" leads to military and political confrontation

Escalation of information confrontation leads to a significant increase in the military budget, activation of defence industry and strengthening of power method for problem solving as a priority vector of foreign policy



NATO MILITARY PRESENCE BUILDUP IN BALTIC REGION



RUSSIA-BELARUS INITIATIVE, AIMED AT STRENGTHENING EUROPEAN SECURITY



2011

Statements of Russian and Belarusian military leadership



"... in order to demonstrate transparency, peace-loving policy of the Union State ... "Union Shield 2011" joint operational exercise is conducted in the territory of the Russian Federation. It clearly confirms commitment to take real measures to strengthen European security"



"The decision to conduct "Union Shield 2011" exercise away from NATO borders has been adopted to demonstrate transparency, peace-loving policy of the Union State and in conformation of Regional Military Group' defensive nature."

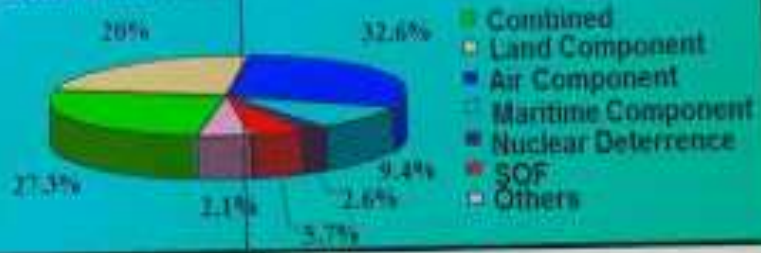
2011-2013

In 2012, the Union State did not conduct any large-scale military activity near NATO borders

Increase in number of NATO exercises in Baltic Region



Distribution of combat training events in 2013



“Colour revolutions” aftermath carries a significant destructive power to the existing global and regional military security structure. It may generate a number of threats, plunging the world into a new round of military confrontation in the form of the “cold war”



"COLOUR REVOLUTIONS" PREVENTION

16

World community assistance to the actions of legal government

Intensification of international cooperation, forging relationships and reaching compromises



If it is impossible to reach a consensus in a wide format of international security organizations, it is essential to search for an acceptable solution at a regional level



"COLOUR REVOLUTIONS" PREVENTION

Joint exercises enable development of appropriate forms and methods of the armed forces employment in conflicts, generated by "colour revolutions". They are the viable tool to strengthen international mechanisms of ensuring military security



Countering color revolutions assumes:

- > presence of strong government;
- > low level of corruption;
- > ability to counteract information influence;





Asif Khawaja

Minister of Defense of Pakistan

- **South Asia at a crossroads. NATO/ISAF leave in December**
 - Terrorism growing
 - But new economic focus on South Asia.
 - Energy resources
- **Stability of Global Importance**
- **But no stable option in Afghanistan. ANSF weak and divided, and insurgents stepping up attacks. Doubt Transition will work.**
- **Political transition unstable although election seems to have worked.**
- **Hope get effective order and governance, but post-2014 uncertain. Militants may be on the rise. Arms proliferating.**
- **3 million afghan refugees in Pakistan,**
- **India and Pakistan still have issues, Kashmir, rising Indian military spending. Nuclearization of region that outside powers ignore.**
- **Hope the Pakistan now has stable civilian government.**
- **Region faces real problems at time seek economic stability and must deal with refugee problem.**
 - Piracy
 - Refugees
 - Horn security
 - Gun running, narcotics, human trafficking
 - Security of energy chokepoint at Hormuz, Bab el Mandab, Malacca.
 - Role of Outside sea powers.
- **US continues to exert a dominant role in Indian Ocean, but Russia and China are becoming a counterbalance and their growing role in Iran and Syria is a precedent.**
 - Role of ASAEAN, etc.,

- **Pakistan's fight against terrorism has cost 30,000 lives, 5,000 of which troops. \$100 million in fighting terrorism, 120,000 troops now deployed.**
- **Pakistan will have constructive engagement with Afghanistan. Work to bring stability through trade and economic partnership.**
- **Expanding role in Central Asia and economic ties to central Asia and Russia.**
- **Normalize relations with India.**
- **Expand trade. Increase access to Central Asia.**
- **Want to see an end to outside interference in Afghanistan, to bring stability, focus on economic development. Economic progress is only real way forward, and Pakistan will support.**



Hossien Dehgahn

**Brigadier General, Minister of
Defense and Armed Forces, Logistics
of Islamic republic of Iran**

- **Focused on development, peaceful relations with neighbors, defending against aggression.**
- **Reject nuclear weapons, focus on conventional defense.**
- **Victim of blind terrorism from US and other states who claim to be opponents of terrorism.**
- **Victims of despotism and terrorism.**
- **Lies from those who think they can get to heaven over the dead bodies of Syrians, Libyans, Iraqis.**
- **See Clinton threatened use of nuclear weapons. US invaded Iraq after false claims had WMD.**
- **Iranian were victims of chemical weapons, would never use nuclear weapons.**
- **Proliferation is our nightmare.**
- **Fully support P5+1 dialogue and end to sanctions.**
- **US and allies interfere in our internal relations. Oppress us, misuse terms like independence and democracy. We support in their real form and not “inhuman goals.”**
- **The UN fails to support us and other bodies support escalation of tensions and threats. They rely on the logic of force and not social logic.**
- **NATO has failed in Afghanistan and the Taliban and drugs are a growing threat.**
- **Iraqi terrorism is growing but only regional states can help Iraq control this.**
- **Need to adhere to international law – world ignore the role of outside powers and threat to Iran: spy tools, use of computers.**
- **Iran is constantly be treated with double standards.**
- **The Islamic Republic will continue to seek regional and international security**



Nikolay Borduzha

**Secretary General, Collective Security
Treaty Organization (CSTO)**

- **The crisis in the Ukraine is the product of illegitimate interference by non-state groups. Those who support this ignore the principles of the UN and are blackmailing other states with sanctions.**
 - **The US now sanctions more than 70 countries with populations equal to more than half the world total.**
 - **The US uses disinformation and information warfare in the global information space.**
 - **foreign mercenaries are used in Libya, Syria, and the Ukraine,**
- **The US manipulates arms control agreements to expand its role and that of NATO in the East and is expanding NATO to admit anyone regardless of standards.**
- **The Color Revolution serves its interests under the cloak of humanitarian intervention.**
- **The US and Europe try to enforce their own vector of development and isolate Russia and Asia.**
 - **The Ukraine is a copy of events in Yugoslavia and Croatia.**
 - **The US seeks to divide and create conflicts in the region and Asia.**
- **See problems rising in Turkestan triggered by camps in Afghanistan where also train FSU extremists.**
- **The US has failed to the point where 1/3 of all the drugs in the world come out of Afghanistan**
- **Russia seeks a comprehensive agreement for European security— solve all issues through comprehensive security agreements.**



Anji Kumar Bishnoi

Deputy Minister of Defense of the Republic of India

- **Focus on the threat of terrorism**
- **India seeks global action and unity.**
- **Afghanistan remains a problems. Mentions sanctuaries but not Pakistan.**
- **Support denuclearization of North Korean and 6 party talks**



Mohamed Said Elassaer

**Major General, Deputy Defense
Minister of Arab Republic of Egypt for
Armament and External Affairs**

- **Egypt now faces two revolutions: The failed one of 2011 and the new one of 2014.**
- **We all have common goals in fighting terrorism.**
- **Islamist groups are attacking Egypt as a state, its social structure and its economy.**
- **They are spreading to other states.**
- **The lack of outside aid is hurting stability, the people, and the economy.**
- **Need support from outside investors, transnational companies.**
- **The world needs a dialogue of civilizations.**
- **It needs global cooperation in fighting terrorism.**
- **It needs to fight illegal occupation.**
- **It needs to treat security in terms of social and economic needs.**
- **It also needs stronger security agreements.**

14.30-16.30 / PANEL DISCUSSION:

FINDING WAYS OF STABILIZATION IN THE MIDDLE EAST AND NORTH AFRICA

- > Lessons of the "Arab spring"
- > Prospects for peaceful reconciliation of crisis phenomena
- > Possible scenarios for evolving politico-military environment in the region
- > Setting up the WMD-free zone in the Middle East
- > Counter-terrorism

MODERATOR

VITALY NAUMKIN

Director of the Institute of Oriental Studies, Russian Academy of Sciences

SPEAKERS

MICHAIL BOGDANOV

*Deputy Minister of Foreign Affairs
of the Russian Federation*

VLADIMIR ZARUDNITSKY

*General, Chief, Main Operational Directorate
of the General Staff of the Russian Armed Forces*

MAHMOUD ABDUL WAHAB SHAWA

*Corps General, Deputy Chief
of the General Staff of Syrian Arab Republic*

UDI DEKEL

Deputy Director of the Institute for National Security, Israel

FADEL EDMOND

*Brigadier General, Chief, Military Intelligence
and Counterintelligence of Lebanese Army*

SERGEY BURUTIN

*Head of the Executive Committee Chairman's
office — CIS Executive Secretary*

KAYHAN BARZEGAR

*Director of the Institute for Middle East
Strategic Studies, Iran*



Vladimir Zarudnitsky

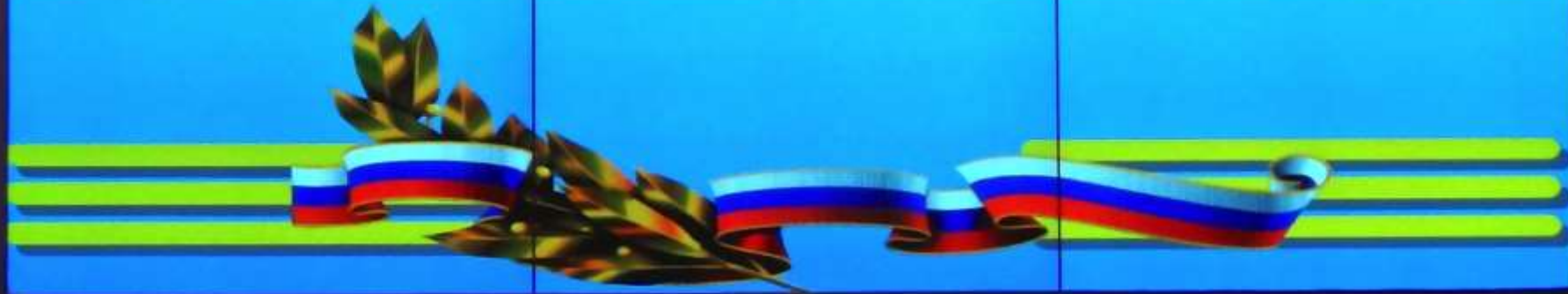
**General, chief, Main Operational
Directorate of the General Staff of the
Russian Armed Forces**

A KEY POWERPOINT ON THE COLOR REVOLUTION FOLLOWS

- **The use of force is a constant part of the Color Revolution's effort to overthrow regimes.**
- **Syria is the scene of militant formations and mercenaries.**
- **A coalition of countries is trying to overthrow the legitimate government.**
- **The rebels are back for economic reasons**
- **The countries where they operate are all very much the same.**
- **Coup d'états have become unstable developments along with the globalization of covert aggression to exploit internal conflicts. Opposition to governments leads to armed conflict. Development and unity halt as part of the population joins the enemy.**
- **See loss of 15-20 years of development.**
- **Libya saw traditional military operations tied to destabilizing – coordinating outside forces with rebels and private armies.**
- **The Color Revolution is:**
 - **Delegitimizing war**
 - **Urban areas are targets**
 - **Use of human shields.**
 - **Go beyond boundaries of humanitarian behavior and international law.**
 - **Criminalizing war.**
 - **Seize and use religious values as weapons.**
 - **Use private military units, SOF disguised as rebels, forces like Blackwater**
 - **“Most disgusting” medieval methods of violence.**
- **Can wage War with with minimal resources and costs.**
- **Outside power use this to serve their own interest in weak and divided states.**

MILITARY ASPECTS OF "COLOUR REVOLUTIONS"

**Chief, Main Operational Directorate
General Staff of the Russian Armed Forces
Colonel General Vladimir ZARUDNITSKIY**





Aims of Aggression



Classical
aggression

Aims of aggression

1. To change of the politico-military leadership of the target country and to involve it into the intended sphere of influence.
2. To decrease its economic and military potential.
3. To impose the aggressor's military presence.
4. To gain access to the resources of the defeated country.

Aggression in the
form of a "colour
revolution"

Outcome

1. Never-ending civil war, terrorism.
2. Decreased status of the country in the region and the world.
3. Partial loss of control over the territory.
4. Ruined economy, lost control over the economic resources.
5. 15-20-year kickback in the development of the country.





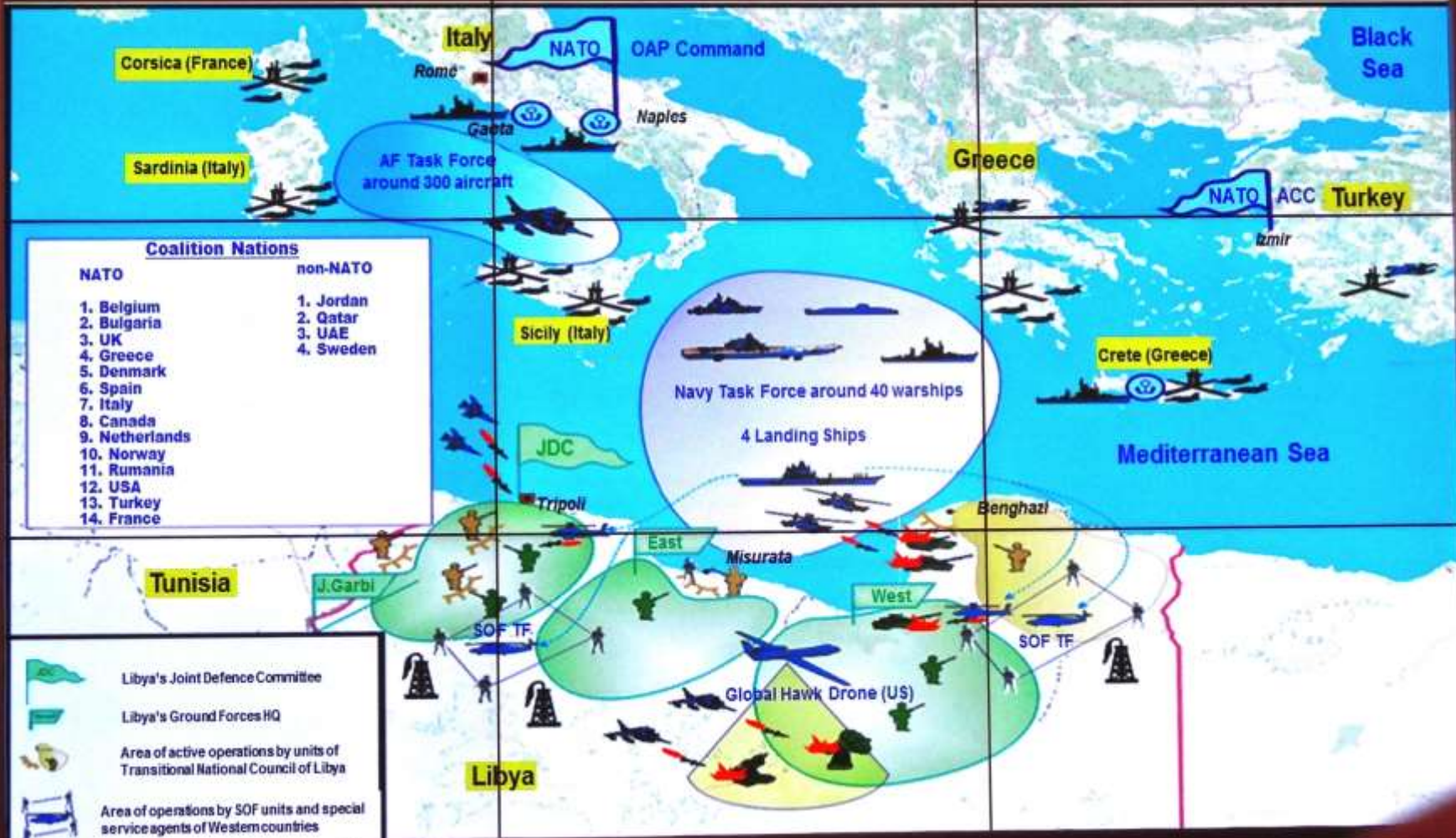
Comparative Analysis



	Classical aggression	Aggression in the form of a "colour revolution"
Subjects of Confrontation	Armed forces of the belligerent states	Government forces against the opposition forces backed by foreign armed forces
Enemy Identity	Adversary (aggressor) is <i>evident</i>	Adversary (aggressor) is <i>not evident</i> ; sides one of the parties to the conflict
Scope of Hostilities	Front and rear areas are existent, hostilities along the directions	Front and rear areas are non-existent, hostilities over the entire territory of the country
Actions of the nation suffering aggression	Consolidation in the face of the external aggression	Split and mutual destruction
Resources spent by aggressor to achieve its aims	Relatively high	Relatively low



Military Operation of Multinational Forces in Libya





Features of Hostilities



1. Lift of boundaries between defensive and offensive operations, strategy and tactics, front and rear.
Network-like hostilities over the entire territory of the country.

3. Hostilities are held mainly in the populated areas.

2. Total delegitimacy of hostilities.
Delegitimacy of war makes it much more ruthless and brutal, brings it beyond the prohibitions imposed by the humanitarian law with regard to the prisoners-of-war, wounded and civilians.

Features of hostilities during "colour revolutions"

4. Criminalization of war.
Impunity and permissiveness lead to criminal and terrorist tactics prevailing in the hostilities. Terror becomes widespread.



5. Wide application of private military companies.
Their hostilities are characterized by indiscriminate means, great number of killed and wounded among civilians.





Michael Bogdanov

**Deputy Minister of Foreign Affairs of
the Russian Federation**

- **Many economic, demographic and other factors are creating a crisis in the region.**
- **Tunisia saw new impacts from the Internet, new communications methods by religious elements.**
- **See no improvement coming in conditions of life.**
- **Growing threat from mobile warriors,**
- **Sunnis versus Shi'ites, and worst extremist are movements like Al Nusra and ISIL.**
- **Russia is fighting against the negative consequences – it used the chemical weapons incident in Syria to stop the use of foreign intervention.**
- **Russia is leading the US to serious negotiations. The Syrian government is ready, but the opposition delegations won't come. Outside nations keep supplying arms.**
- **Russia played a key role in the aid agreement in Homs, backed the presidential election on June 3rd.**
- **It supports Egypt – stabilize the Islamic world and region fight terrorism and stabilize the Sinai.**
- **The West helped destroy Syria's government, security, and unity. Russia seeks to assist it in creating a stable government.**
- **The Arab-Israel negotiations did not address key solutions for issues like water, refugees, west Bank, settlements, and Jerusalem.**
- **The Palestinians will move towards peace, but Israel must change its posture. Russia will push for this peace.**
- **President Putin is deeply concerned about the plight of Christians in the Middle East. Russia tries to protect Syrian Christians.**



Mahmoud Abdul Wahab Shawa

**Corps General, Deputy Chief of the
General Staff of the Syrian Arab
Republic**

- **The Arab spring is a region wide issue.**
 - **Shaped by the growing role of the masses in the Arab world. The Arab streets reshape the realities on ground once dominated by elites and foreign actors.**
 - **Western states support terrorism to bring down different regimes.**
 - **The spread of terrorists and extremists is a group that wants all power for ideological reasons without regard to .**
- **Syria is an ideal example of efforts to destroy national unity**
- **American and Zionist aggression. States use dirty oil money. Criminal volunteers commit crimes of terrorism.**
- **1,000s of rounds fired against monuments, mass killings of civilians.**
- **Syrian government constantly tries to settle the fight. Problem is criminal bands, not citizens but people with no motherland. The same threat that Russia faces.**
- **The West does not support peace or the fight against terrorism. It Destroyed the former Yugoslavia and not is doing this in the Ukraine.**
- **The Russian give us necessary aid, Intelligence show the West sends mercenaries.**
- **The world must punish countries that support terrorism. Seal borders to stop their movement.**
- **Suppress media that incites terrorism,**
- **Thanks Iran, Venezuela, Russia, and China. Russia and China veto UN Resolutions that try to destroy Syria.**
- **The goal must be global victory.**



Kayan Barzegar

**Director of the Institute for Middle
East Strategic Studies, Iran**

- **The Arab spring is a regional issue:**
 - **Reflects the growing role of the masses in the Arab world – the Arab streets are reshaping the realities on the ground and a world dominated by elites and foreign actors.**
 - **Governments are reacting by giving new status to state-centric security and stability. There is a growing focus on keeping state-centric systems. They realize foreign centers cannot support them in this task.**
 - **There also is a spreading mix of terrorists and extremists who want all power for ideological reasons without regard to the state system.**
- **There are tensions between the states in the region, but also a move towards regional cooperation. The US cannot provide development or unity. States must deal with this. Egypt is moving in the right direction.**
- **Iran and other states are becoming regional actors. Iran will help lead to regional stability and cooperation in the Middle East.**



Dr. Vladimir A. Orlov

**Director of the Institute for Middle
East Strategic Studies, Iran**

**Security threats in the Middle East and
Northern Africa: the problem of weapons
of mass destruction proliferation**

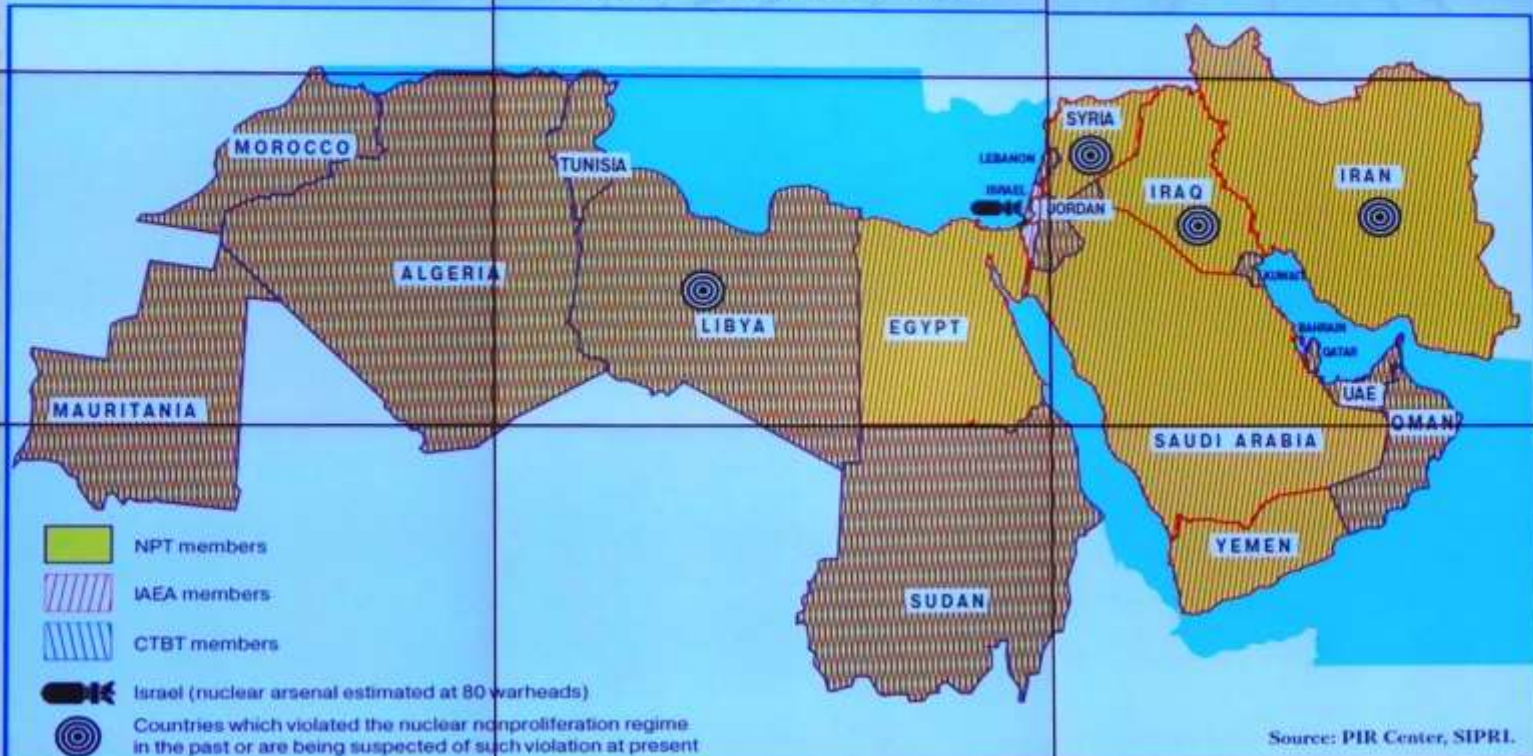
**Dr. Vladimir A. Orlov
President, PIR Center**

**MCIS
Moscow, May 23, 2014**

Nuclear Nonproliferation in the Middle East



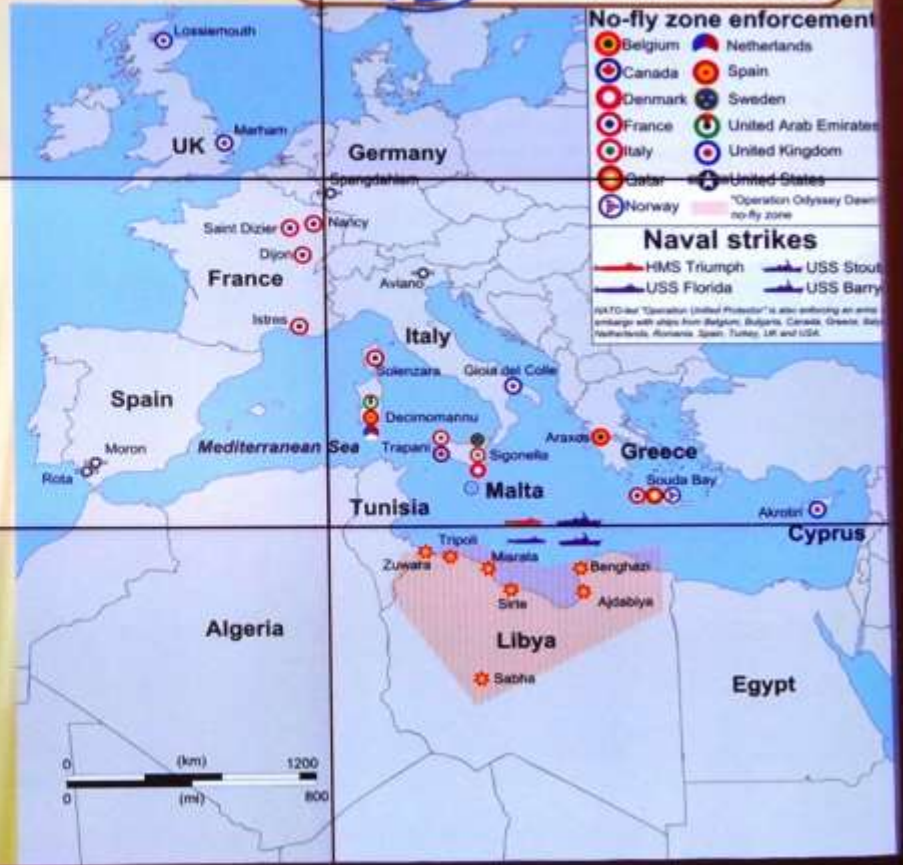
Nuclear nonproliferation

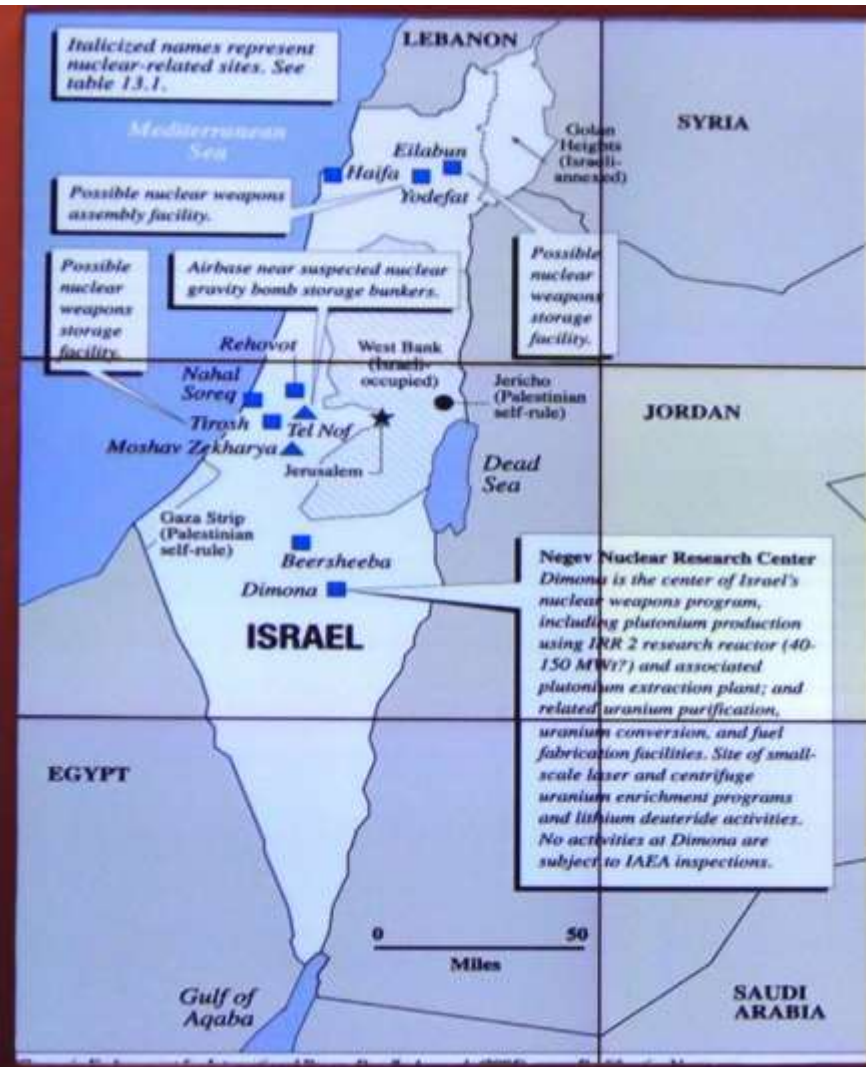


Source: PIR Center, SIPRI.



"After more than 18 months, the WMD investigation and debriefing of the WMD-related detainees has been exhausted. As matters now stand, the WMD investigation has gone as far as feasible" – Charles Duelfer, head of the Iraq Survey Group (an addendum to the CIA's final report, 2004).





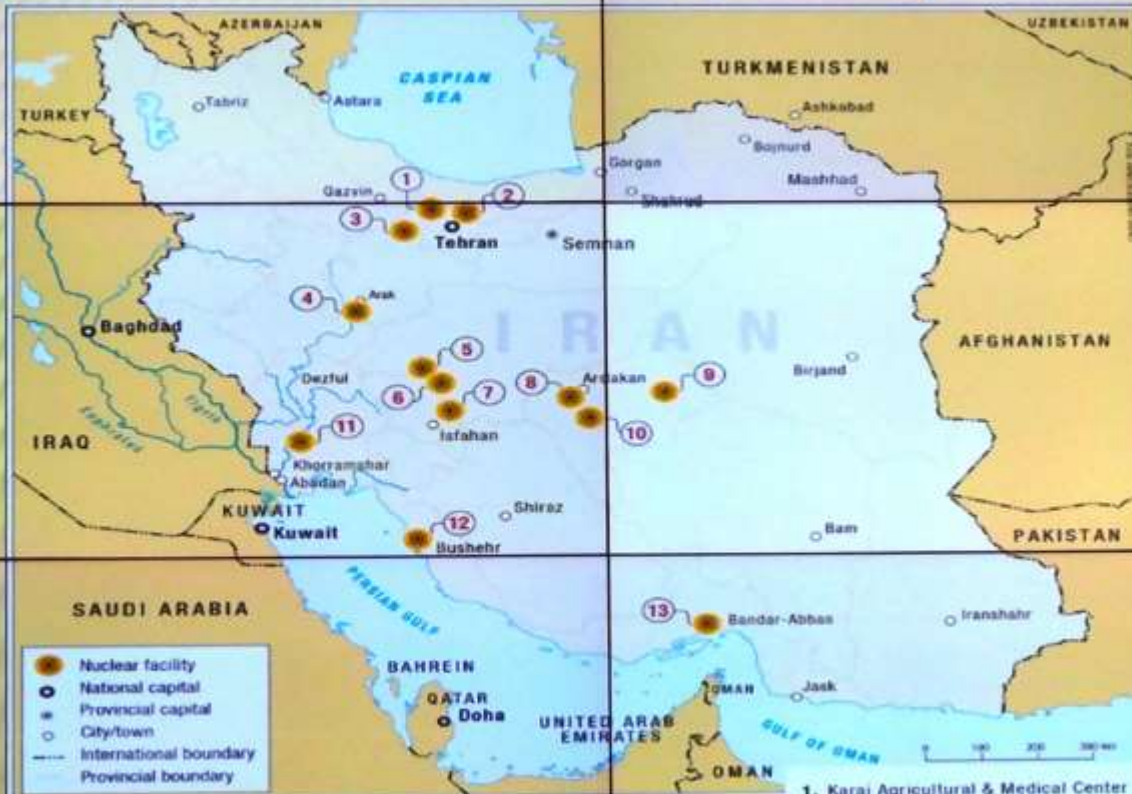
Israeli nuclear program

Iranian nuclear program



PIR CENTER

The Russian Center for Policy Studies



Source: International Crisis Group

- | | | |
|--|--|-----------------------------------|
| 1. Karaj Agricultural & Medical Center | 6. Isfahan Uranium Conversion Facility | 11. Darkhovin Nuclear Power Plant |
| 2. Tehran Research Reactor | 7. Fuel Manufacturing Plant | 12. Bushehr Nuclear Power Plant |
| 3. Fordow Fuel Enrichment Plant | 8. Natanz Fuel Enrichment Plant | 13. Gchine Mine |
| 4. Arak Heavy-Water Reactor | 9. Saghand Mine | |
| 5. Isfahan Nuclear Research Center | 10. Yellow Cake Production Plant | |

**PIR Center's recommendations
for the comprehensive solution
to the Iranian nuclear issue**



Future of the Iranian Nuclear Program

Modify Arak heavy-water reactor to produce less plutonium

Apply Additional protocol to the IAEA safeguards agreement and modified code 3.1

Ratify conventions on nuclear safety, liability for nuclear damage, physical protection

Ratify CTBT

Cap on the stock of the LEU, limitation on SWU

Clarification of past activities only for technical purposes

Limitations on the program should be temporally

Removing sanctions

UN Security Council Resolution on sanctions should be passed prior to agreement

First suspension – then removal

Chemical weapons destruction in Syria



Most of Syria's "priority" chemical weapons material will be destroyed on board the MV Cape Ray, which has been fitted with twin hydrolysis systems



The multinational mission overseen by the United Nations Security Council and the Organisation for the Prohibition of Chemical Weapons (OPCW) is due to be completed by 30 June 2014.

Syria is moving its chemical materials to Latakia (2), where they are being loaded on to a Danish ship and taken to Gioia Tauro in Italy (3). There they will be loaded on to the MV Cape Ray and destroyed at sea (4).

Ten Steps toward the WMD-Free Zone in the Middle East



PIR CENTER
The Russian Center for Policy Studies

1) All participants in the talks to establish a WMD-free zone should make joint statements in which they commit themselves to refrain from attacks (including cyberattacks), or threats of attacks, against each other's declared nuclear facilities placed under IAEA Safeguards.



2) As part of the negotiations, the participants should draw a Road Map for gradually placing all nuclear infrastructure facilities in the region under the IAEA safeguards.



3) During the talks, all the states in the region should reach an understanding on the need to ratify without any further delay the Additional Protocol to the IAEA Safeguards Agreement.



IAEA

International Atomic Energy Agency

Ten Steps toward the WMD-Free Zone in the Middle East

10) Decision to set up an intergovernmental commission to draft the text of the treaty establishing a WMD-free zone in the Middle East. This should be done with the understanding that during the work on the text of the treaty all countries in the region will join the Chemical Weapons Convention (CWC) and the Biological and Toxin Weapons Convention (BTWC). The treaty should also establish verification mechanisms.



17.00-19.00 / PANEL DISCUSSION:

AFGHANISTAN AND REGIONAL SECURITY

- > Situation in Afghanistan after withdrawal of International Security Assistance Forces
- > Impact of the situation in Afghanistan on state of affairs of neighboring countries
- > Role of military and military-technical cooperation in stabilization of situation in Afghanistan
- > Format of a new international mission in Afghanistan
- > Risk for Afghanistan to become a training ground for terrorists
- > Possible spheres of NATO-CSTO cooperation
- > Role of SCO in ensuring security inside and around Afghanistan

MODERATOR

ANATOLY ANTONOV

Deputy Minister of Defence of the Russian Federation

SPEAKERS

IGOR SERGUN

*Lieutenant General, Chief, Main Directorate
of the General Staff of the Russian Armed Forces*

ZAMIR KABULOV

*Special Representative of the President of the Russian
Federation for Afghanistan, Director
of Second Asia Department, Ministry of Foreign Affairs*

ZARIF BOBOKALONOV

*Major General, Chief of the General Staff —
First Deputy Minister of Defence of the Republic
of Tajikistan*

ZAMIR SUERKYLOV

*Colonel, First Deputy Minister of Defence
of the Kyrgyz Republic*

KENESHBEK DUSHEBAEV

*Deputy Secretary General
of the Shanghai Cooperation Organization*

SOHAIL AMIN

*President of the Islamabad Policy
Research Institute, Pakistan*

PHUNCHOK STOB DAN

*Senior fellow, Institute for Defence Studies
and Analysis, India*



Zamir Kabulov

**Special Representative of the
President of the Russian Federation
for Afghanistan, Director of Second
Asia Department, Ministry of Foreign
Affairs**

- **Afghanistan is a test of US and European Assistance, and the performance has been poor:**
 - **Not do well in countering drugs.**
 - **Military success of ANSF uncertain.**
 - **Taliban has shadow governments in 10 provinces.**
 - **There also is a spreading mix of terrorists and extremists who want all power for ideological reasons without regard to the state system.**
- **Taliban propaganda effective in portraying them as crusaders.**
- **Feel Taliban will get control of 10 provinces after 2014. The ANSF is that weak.**
- **Taliban has some 5,000 fighters in the north. Taliban and free Uzbekistan fighters beginning to gain influence in the center.**
- **Ethnic struggles coming over Presidency and his status as Tajik. Campaign will take place a key point in campaign season, and near start of Ramadan.**
- **International community needs to act, but to expand and focus on the Shanghai Cooperation Organization.**
- **Unclear UN will authorize US bases after 2014. Doubt US and ISAF can get 9-10 secure bases or that 12,000 men can do as advisors what 120,000 could not do in combat.**
- **The debates over the BSA show the has failed to win Afghan support and bring stability to Afghanistan and the region.**



Igor Sergun

**Lieutenant General, Chief Main
Directorate of the General Staff of the
Russian Armed forces**

KEY POWERPOINT PRESENTATION FOLLOWS

- **ANSF cannot hold – weak in every area and lack the proper equipment.**
- **The BSA will not solve the tensions between the US and outside advisors and Afghan people and ANSF.**
- **US cannot withdraw by 2014, Cannot get all of its equipment out by that time. PowerPoint shows this would take till 2017 and up to 2022 if key exit routes blocked.**
- **Russian contingency studies show that:**
 - **Only 39% probability that Afghans can hold with a limited foreign presence. Insurgent presence and political influence far stronger than US and ISAF estimate.**
 - **27% probability that Taliban will take over. Will see Northern Alliance or factions hold in North but most of south, Kabul, and key population centers will come under insurgent control.**
 - **31% chance country will splinter and collapse into national enclaves. Pashtuns will split, Uzbeks will have an Emirate. Rest of country will split into ethnic factions and local alliances.**

The Main Intelligence Directorate of the General
Staff of the Armed Forces of the Russian Federation



REPORT
made by Lieutenant General
Igor Sergun

SUBJECT:

**"Probable scenario of further developments in Afghanistan
after foreign military withdrawal"**



Major contingencies in Afghanistan after 2014

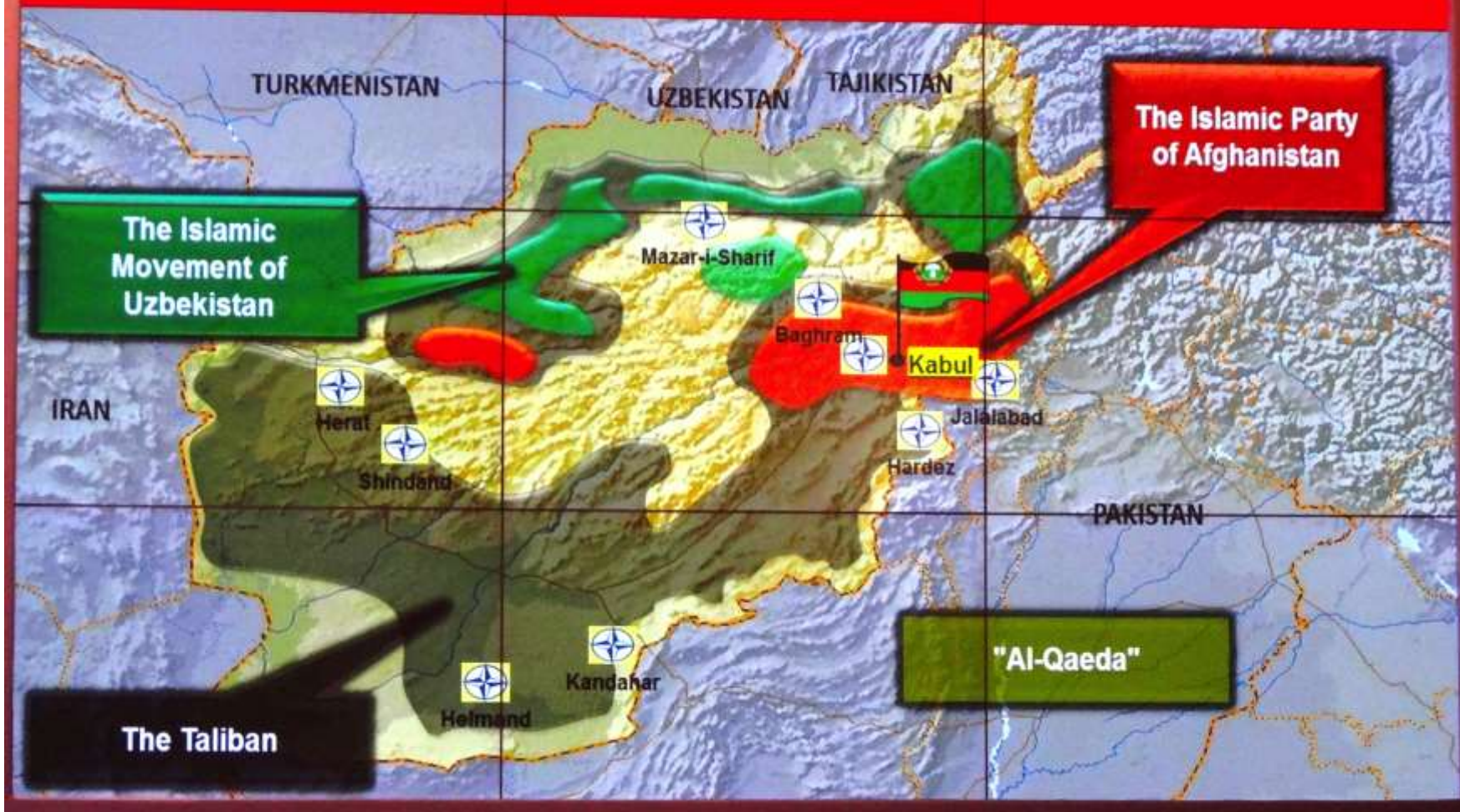


Preserving the status quo in limited foreign military presence

Seizure of power by the Taliban

Collapse of Afghanistan into national enclave

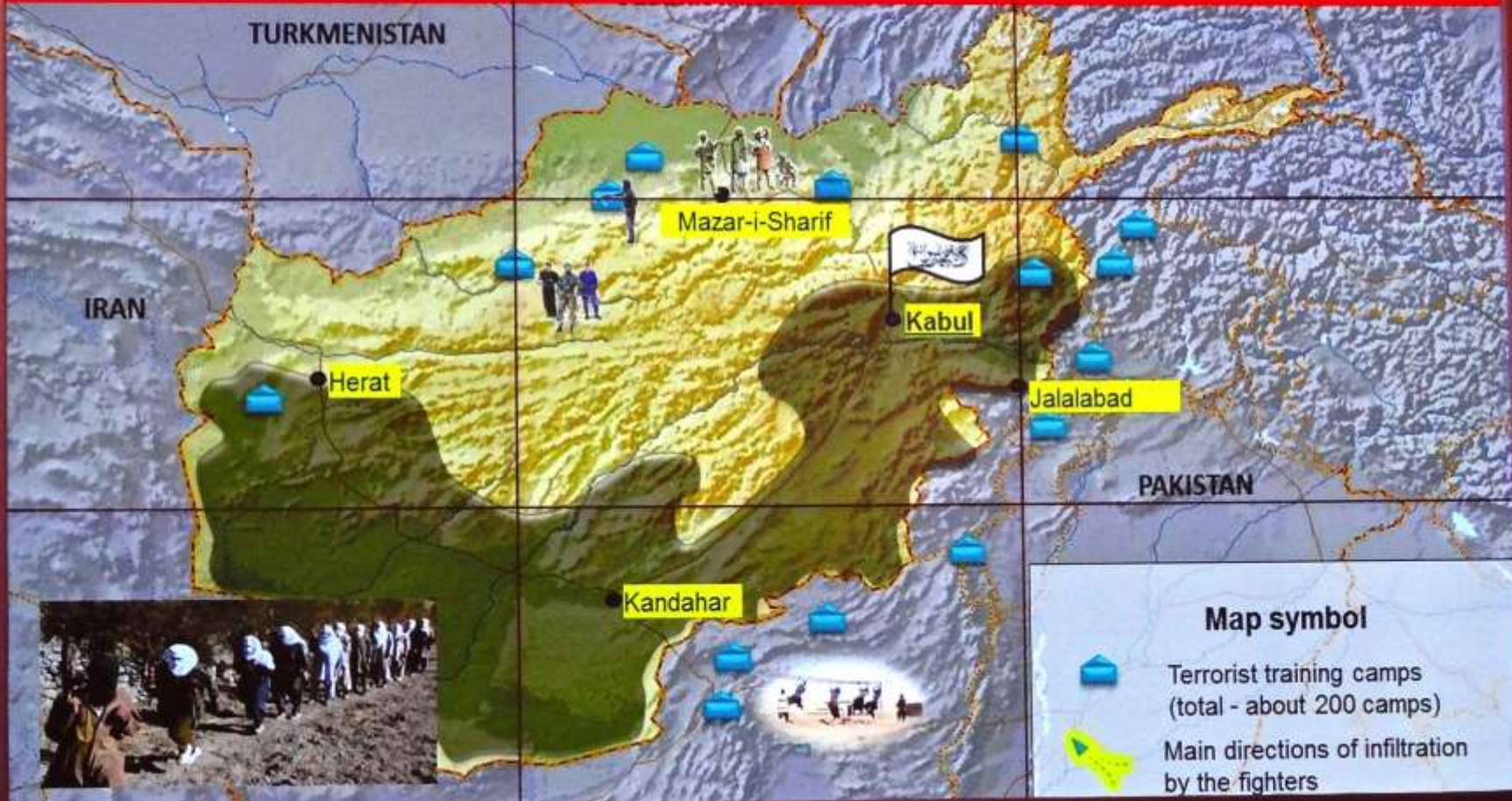
Preserving the status quo in limited foreign military presence



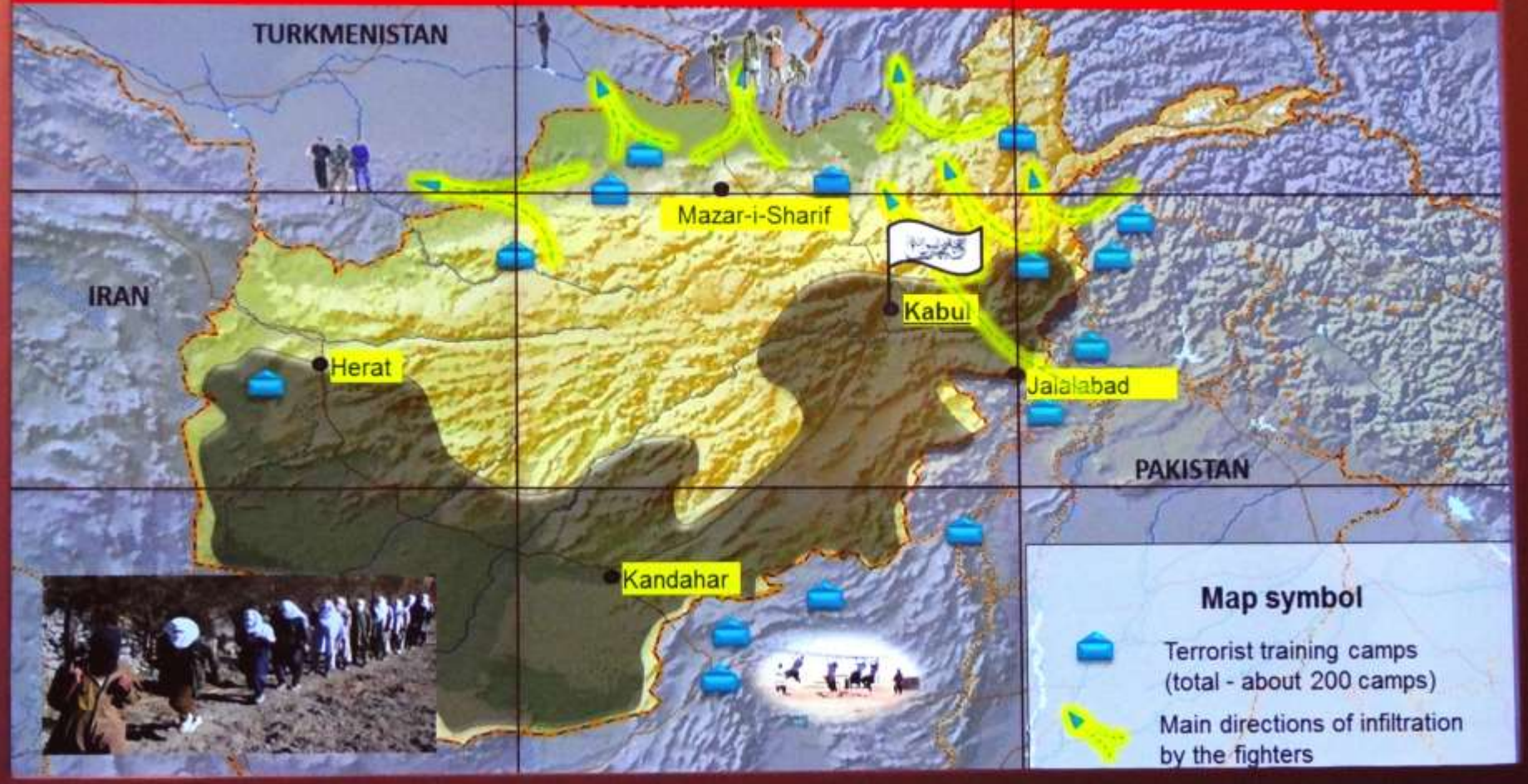
Preserving the status quo in limited foreign military presence



Seizure of power by the Taliban



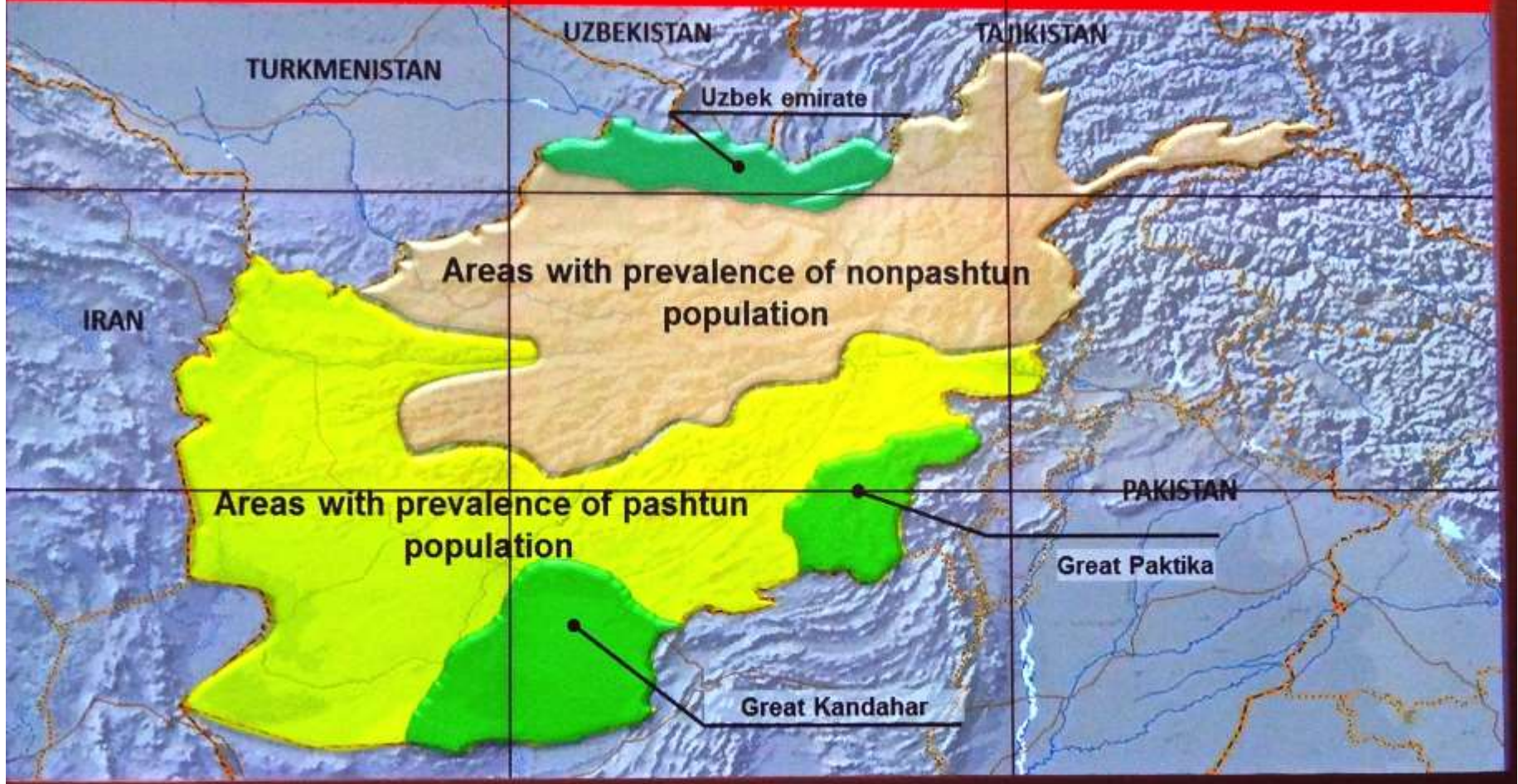
Seizure of power by the Taliban



Seizure of power by the Taliban



Collapse of Afghanistan into national enclaves



Collapse of Afghanistan into national enclaves



ISAF withdrawal

To withdraw before 2015:



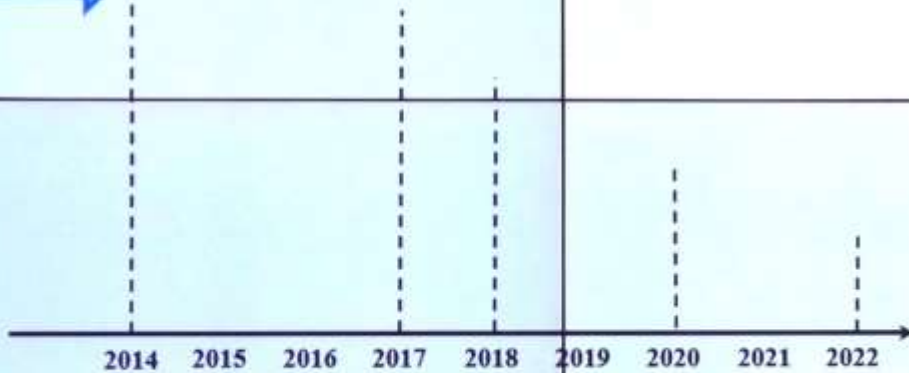
about 40000 of personnel;



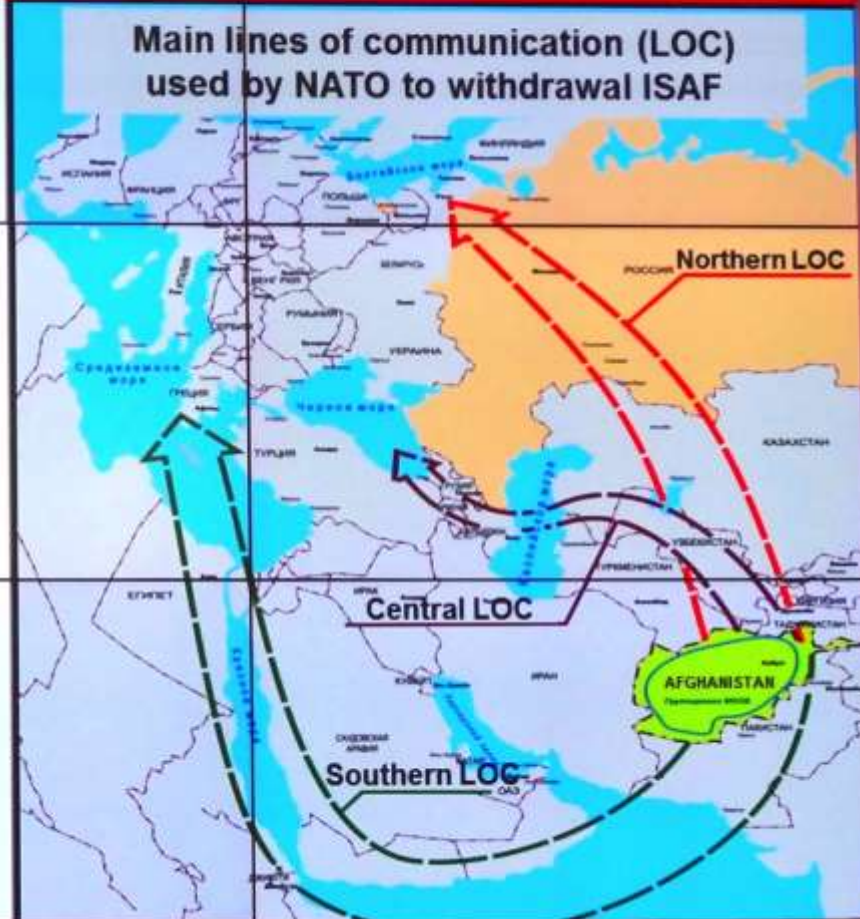
over 40000 units of materiel incl. armored vehicles and transport;



over 300 helicopters



Main lines of communication (LOC) used by NATO to withdrawal ISAF



ISAF withdrawal

To withdraw before 2015:



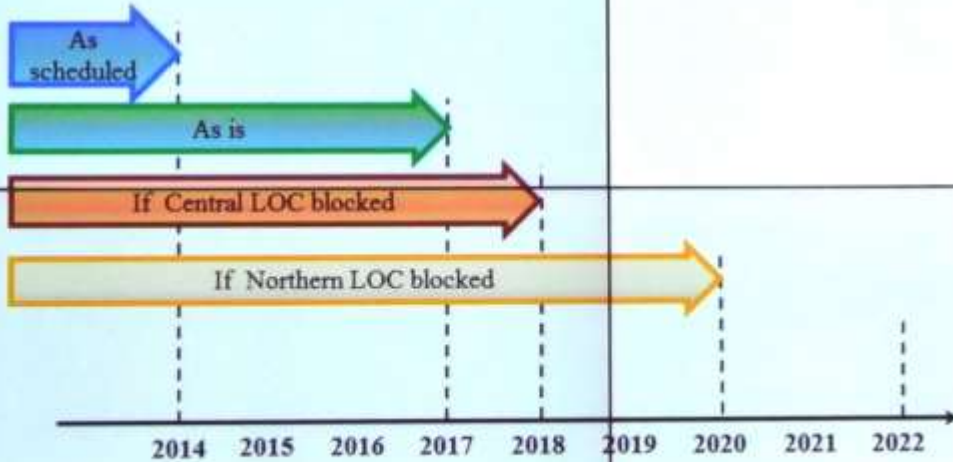
about 40000 of personnel;



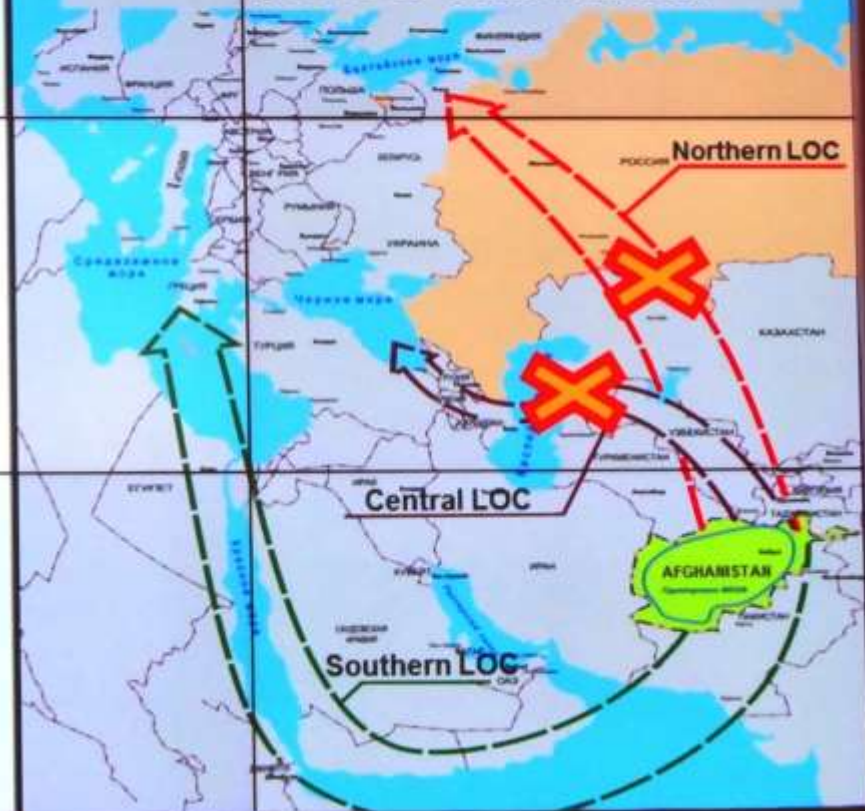
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Main lines of communication (LOC) used by NATO to withdrawal ISAF



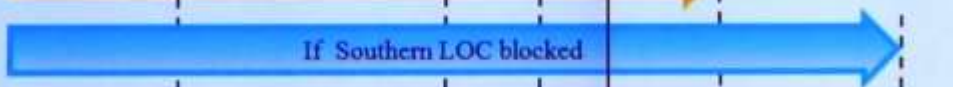
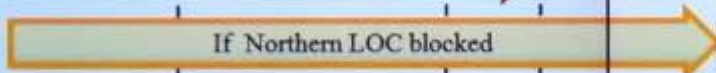
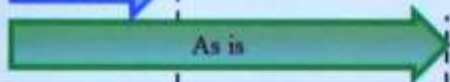
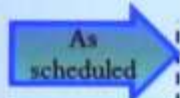
ISAF withdrawal

To withdraw before 2015:

about 40000 of personnel;

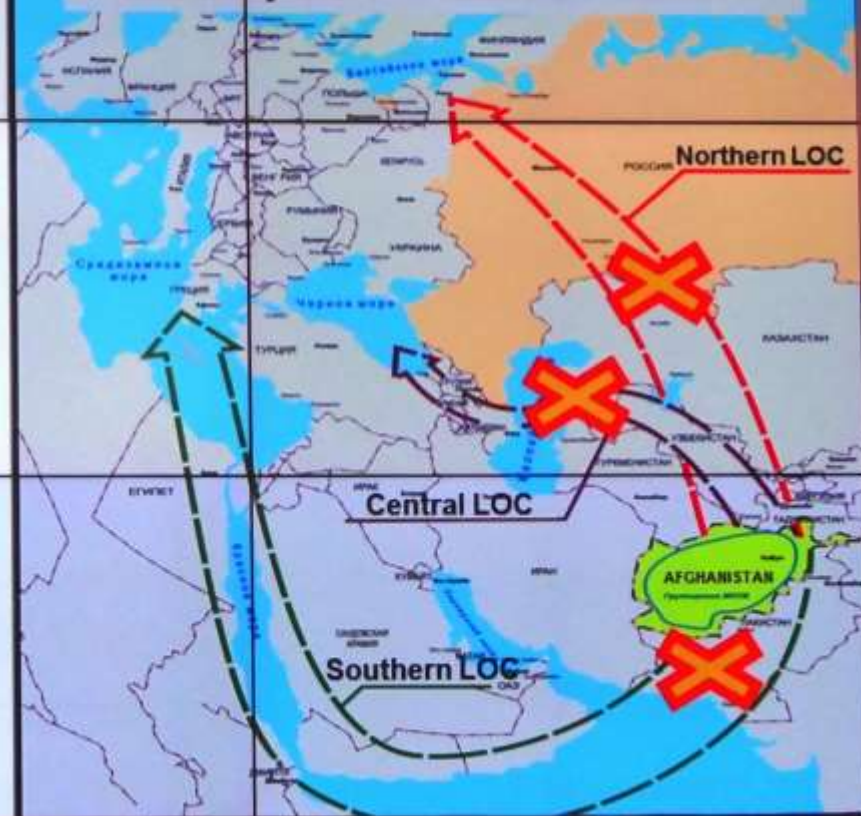
over 40000 units of materiel incl.
armored vehicles and transport;

over 300 helicopters



2014 2015 2016 2017 2018 2019 2020 2021 2022

Main lines of communication (LOC) used by NATO to withdrawal ISAF





Zamir Suerkylov

**Colonel, First Deputy Minister of
Defense of the Kyrgyz Republic**

- **We are growing steadily stronger thanks to Russian aid and training.**
- **Have long followed Afghan War, working with SCO.**
- **In 2013 the CSTO/SCO looked at the situation in Afghanistan and found that:**
 - **Expansion of international terrorism, drug exports,**
 - **Need to deal with border demarcation problems, energy and security issues.**
 - **Must integrate and speed up counterterrorism training.**
 - **Need broader security cooperation and training.**
- **Forecast that after 2014:**
 - **Afghanistan will be unstable, ANSF weak, volunteers will still come from central Asia. Pakistan will still offer insurgents sanctuaries.**
 - **Drugs and drug barons will play a much larger role.**
 - **LOCs will be attacked, possibly force withdrawal of ANSF elements and outside advisors in key areas.**
- **Outcome of election and quality of governance that follows will be critical.**
- **We need to take preemptive steps to control the borders and stop immigration.**
- **Will provide forces, training for emergencies, reorganize General staff, focus on areas of cooperation, reequip with modern equipment.**
- **Have prepared contingency plans.**



Keneshbek Dushebaev

**Deputy Secretary General of the
Shanghai Cooperation Organization**

- **SCO is growing success, unique in scale of multilateral cooperation.**
- **Face 3 critical evils: Separatism, terrorism, extremism (and also drugs and transnational crime.)**
- **2012 Beijing Summit gave Afghanistan special status in SCO, but saw a coming threat.**
- **SCO stands for a independent, peaceful, and stable Afghanistan.**
- **SCO cooperates with the UN in trying to build a social contract, fight drugs and reach a peaceful settlement to the Afghan conflict.**
- **Next year, Russia is President of the SCO.**



Sohail Amin

**President of the Islamabad Policy
Research Institute Pakistan**

- **Afghanistan is our immediate neighbor and we have 3 million Afghan refugees.**
- **Pakistan is the key to regional security but its security is dependent on what happens in Afghanistan.**
- **Three critical transitions are coming: security, political, economic.**
- **Much depends on Transition in 2014.**
- **We can only help bring peace from behind the scenes, Afghan leaders and people are the key.**
 - **Success requires all ethnic groups to be onboard.**
 - **All stakeholders must be involved.**
- **Pakistan welcomes transfer from ISAF to ANSF but feels result is very uncertain.**
- **Key question is who will fund and support the ANSF. Cannot let disintegrate.**
 - **Russia pledges training and equipment.**
 - **Pakistan has 1,000 posts along the border.**
 - **International community must fulfill its pledges.**
 - **Must also support fragile Afghan economy.**
- **Hope peace will allow gas to come through Kazakhstan,**
- **Help make power arrangements with Kirsten.**
- **Hope BJP victory will mean a new chance for India-Pakistan peace.**



Phunchok Stobdan

**Senior Fellow, Institute for Defense
Studies and Analysis, India**

Ten Key Points:

- 1. Afghanistan needs a clear cut winner to the election with proper power sharing. One a President, one a Prime Minister.**
- 2. Ukraine may strain cooperation. West prepare for regime change in Central Asia, US seek its own interests.**
- 3. Middle East has come to Afghanistan. See Iranian vs. Saudi training camps in Pakistan and Chechnya affects Pakistan and not vice versa.**
- 4. 100 million Muslims creating a religious crisis.**
- 5. The West now knows Afghanistan , May mean will keep its role for the stakes.**
- 6. Outside nations will have interest: Minerals, Petroleum.**
- 7. Options**
 - No regional security forces. India will not support.**
 - India will back ANSF, has supported since 2011.**
 - Are outsourcing Russian weapons for the Afghan Army.**
- 8. Afghanistan is a global as well as a regional issue.**
- 9. Optimistic on reconstruction. \$2 billion in Indian aid. Play soft power role, Hope Russia and China will join in.**
- 10. Much more opportunity for cooperation than tension.**



Other Russian Comments from the Floor

Ambassador Alexander Brushkov, (Former?) SRep in NATO

- **Shocked when ISAF cancelled helicopter and support deal with Russia.**
- **NATO does not seek common interest now. “Threw away the child with the water.”**
- **ANSF needs an air component. Loss of helicopters weakens ANSF.**
- **Also suspend 3,000 man anti-drug program for Central Asia and Pakistan.**
- **Suspend Russian willingness to train afghan mine engineers.**
- **NATO no longer talks about Afghanistan being a test of NATO. Is simply handing over to others.**

Alexi Arbatov

- **Conflict is now unsupported. Russia played a critical role in Transit, support of North alliance.**
- **Russia key route.**
- **US role is Iraq destroyed international coalition, led to rise of much of today’s terrorism.**
- **Russia now faces a dangerous terrorist enemy.**
- **Terrorism can get money and materials, does not count losses or collateral damage.**
- **Terrorism has unlimited time, all the money it needs.**

What to do?

- **CSTO/SCOI must help plan and coordinate, bring Afghans in.**
- **Invite NATO to attend.**
- **Russia must prepare for afghans to go north, Put troops on Russian-Tajik border.**
- **Need to plan for armament in terms of money and technical needs through 2025.**
- **Give Afghanistan money and arms.**

