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Strategies of indirect actions, "soft power" and technologies of "operated chaos" as the tools for formatting of political spaces

Abstract. *The article is devoted to analysis of formatting of political spaces instrumentations by means of strategies of indirect actions and technologies of "operated chaos" for organization of "colored revolutions" in the post-Soviet space and in the Near East region. Characteristic feature of the beginning of the XXI century is a critical dependence of state institutes stability on application of information-network technologies for destruction of bases of statehood which allow to solve political problems in a mode of transformation of social-political system of the country without application of armed forces and destruction of its economic potential only by means of influences on a moral and psychological condition of its population. Methodological basis of the research constitute systematic, structural-functional, comparative historical, comparative political, geopolitical, cultural and civilizational approaches, methods of analysis, synthesis, induction, deduction, modeling, observation. The main feature of globalization is fast development and distribution of information technologies and social networks that become favorable environment for distribution of different information among the people and play an important role in initiation of protest movements in countries with severe economical and political problems*

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Thus in global information space, strategies of indirect actions and "soft power" became the most effective means of geopolitical struggle on international scene which are used by international political actors. Despite the rich history of application of given strategies, since antique times and up to now, during an epoch of a postmodern they have got new realization in the forms of "colored revolutions" on the post-Soviet space and protest actions in Northern Africa and in the Near East during last decades.

The term "strategy of indirect actions" was entered into scientific lexicon by the known English military theorist and his-

torian Liddell Hart. The given concept was formulated by him in the book —"Strategy of indirect actions" that was published in 1946. In the USA this book was published as "Strategy" in 1954. In Liddell Hart's conception, the strategy of indirect actions has extended to the sphere of armed struggle which he considered as the most effective way to solve international problems. During war, in his opinion, in order to achieve victory it is necessary to concentrate forces for attacking mainly enemy's rear objects and communications which destroys material resources and transport infrastructure of rear of the enemy. It deprives the army of the enemy an opportunity to struggle effectively and resist over a long period. Thus unlike Clausewitz opinion Liddell Hart sees objectives of war not as utter annihilation of enemy armed forces and economic potential of the enemy state, but as compulsion of ruling circles of the "hostile" country (or even several opponent states) to accept such conditions which would be completely equitable to political, economic, military interests of the winner state[1].

Subsequently conception of indirect action strategy transformed into the so-called strategy of "soft power". Its author was an American political scientist and expert-system analyst J. S. Nye who has expanded sphere of action of indirect actions strategy on political, diplomatic, economic, psychological and information fields for undermining bases of a political system of the country which is subjected to political transformation. At the same time, it is necessary to note, that now in the American political lexicon there is one more close synonym of the given strategy — strategy of "smart power"[2].

Russian scientific community paid attention to the strategy of indirect actions

and "soft power" in the end of 1980th which has been designated as "the organizational weapon", fixed in the Russian political lexicon by the known domestic writer, publicist and public figure A. A. Prokhanov.

The analysis of works of Anglo-American[3] and domestic researchers[4] concerning the conceptual maintenance of modern strategy of geopolitical struggle shows that strategy of indirect actions and the "soft power" are specific technologies of geopolitical struggle realization which focused on establishing comprehensive and latent control over mechanisms of formation and practical realization of internal and foreign policy of the country.

According to the given strategy, pressure of an aggressor upon the object of influence can be carried out both in the absence of direct confrontation and in preservation of partner and friendly relations with the given country, and in conditions of force confrontation. Thus it is supposed, that aggressor solves all complex of the above-stated problems by control over administrative-political system of the country-object of influence. Therefore the main object of the concentrated geopolitical attack from aggressor during realization of geopolitical struggle according to the given conceptual model is the ruling elite of the victim country and power structures of the state. It is carried out by latent manipulation of behavior of certain people and social groups directly related to defining the political course of the state.

The technology of destruction of the "hostile" states by means of strategy of in-

[1] Г. Б. Лиддел. Стратегия непрямых действий. Пер. с англ. Москва, 2012, С. 476–478.

[2] Дж. Най. Современный мировой беспорядок. "США: экономика, политика, идеология". 1993, № 2.

[3] П. Швейцер Победа. Роль тайной стратегии США в распаде Советского союза и социалистического лагеря. Минск. 1995; Richard N. Haas. Think tanks and U. S. Foreign Policy. "A Policy — Maker's Perspective" http://usinfo.state.gov/journals/itps/1102/ijpe/pj73haass.htm (доступ 25.10.2012)

[4] Л. А. Цымбал. Синергетика информационных процессов. Москва 1995.; Ю. П. Давыдов. Понятие "жесткой" и "мягкой" силы в теории международных отношений. "Международные процессы". Январь-апрель, 2004, Т. 2, № 1 (4)

direct actions and "soft power" is performed on the basis of the following common ideas and approaches:

- Use of the latent forms and methods of influence, avoiding open confrontation and direct power collision with the opponent with the purpose of destruction of the state institutes of the opponent;

- Maintenance of absolute domination of the aggressor state over the state system of the attacked country and deprivation of its major geopolitical factors such as economic, resource self-sufficiency and ability to steady development. It can be reached by an artificial creation by aggressor in the state system of the victim country a special spatially-organizational mechanism of maintenance so-called "external management" which would allow to establish constant total but mediated and latent control over processes of desirable transformation of political system of the victim state according to the interests and purposes of external actors. Thus, according to the given model, strategy of indirect actions gives us an opportunity to achieve victory in geopolitical struggle. It should mean physical destruction of the statehood of the victim country with changing the civilization, cultural, religious and national identification of its population. Thus it is necessary to emphasize, that such victory in geopolitical struggle unlike war victory is absolutely irreversible owing to disappearing of population that was a kernel of the state system from historical arena;

- The main objects of transformation are political and administrative components of attacked state system in which ruling elites are crucial parts. Constructing a new state system of the "hostile" country finally would allow for aggressor to destroy completely this country as the independent center of force on the international scene and achieve total control over processes of functioning of state system and mechanisms of its development.

Thus transformation of the state system by means of specified tools is built upon principles of network influences of hostile forces. It means drawing to the victim country both on the international scene and inside a set of sudden, exhausting and thus imperceptible, interconnected in place and time, externally insignificant but painful pointed strikes on the crucial, vulnerable and poorly protected elements of the state system of the attacked country[1].

The general strategy of the concentrated attack of "aggressor-state" against "victim-state" which has been developed by experts in many respects under influence of those scientific results which have been received by synergy scientists should be conceptually focused on depriving for quite a long period the hostile state system of an opportunity constantly and consistently to support steady development in conformity with national interests with the purpose to create sociopolitical chaos as the main condition for "aggressor" to realize the subsequent destruction and transformation of the state system according to principles which would be completely equitable to its geopolitical interests.

"Colored revolutions" of the last decades show that realization of indirect actions and "soft power" strategies is carried out in the following sequence[2]:

— At the first stage the basic efforts of aggressors concentrate on destabilization of sociopolitical and economic systems

[1] И.В. Шамин. Концептуальные особенности "стратегии непрямых геополитических действий" как "непрямой технологии" осуществления межгосударственного противоборства. "Нижегородский журнал международных исследований". Осень-зима, 2010.

[2] И.В. Шамин. "Цветная (бархатная) революция" как технология осуществления геополитического противоборства в условиях постбиполярного мира. "Материалы межрегиональной научной конференции". Н. Новгород. 2008.

of the victim country by creation of scale economic and sociopolitical crisis and immersion of the country in condition of "operated chaos" that makes ruling elite of the "hostile" country and its political regime instable and vulnerable. Thus overall goals of destabilizing actions is to bring the victim country of aggression under control of "the center of influence" as presented by the oppositional forces, organizing the protest movement and preparing conditions for armed struggle (Libya, Egypt). To solve the given problem the aggressor finds supporters in the ruling elite of the "hostile" country which become executors of transformation of political system;

- At the second stage the mainstream of geopolitical influence of aggressor consists in creation of conditions for "operated chaos" inside of the transformed political system with the purpose to form an attractor representing the oppositional center of force, capable to incur management of the country and eliminate corrupted regime (Egypt, Syria, Ukraine);

- At the third stage of geopolitical confrontation aggressor concentrates efforts on creation of new state system in the victim country with a support of oppositional political forces as a basis of new state system. An example of this are attempts of the USA and their allies to construct state system in the territories of former Yugoslavia, Georgia, Iraq, Afghanistan and Ukraine.

- On the final, the fourth stage of geopolitical capture of the territory, aggressor solves a problem of consolidation of new state institutes of the country under control due to formation, training and equipment of power and administrative structures of transformed state (Afghanistan).

It provides fastening the defeated country under the control of so-called "external system links" which means its inclusion into economic, financial, political, military, scientific and technical spheres globalization as the subordinated element.

Thus the general productivity of "attacking" and "destroying" influence of an aggressor on sociopolitical systems of the state by means of indirect actions and "soft power" strategies, certainly, is more effective than military operation on the following key parameters:

- From the point of view of "cost-efficiency" criterion it allows to optimize expenses for carrying out the given geopolitical operation due to achievement of optimum balance between "profit — risks";

- The aggressor has an opportunity to adjust scales of destruction of economic system of the hostile country and also to limit losses of its manpower resources with a view of their further use in its own interests (Yugoslavia, Iraq, and Libya);

- Strategy of indirect actions allows the aggressor state to avoid future attempts of the victim state to revise the results of aggression in the view of disappearance of defeated country from historical arena which, as a rule, disintegrates to a number of small state formations (Yugoslavia, Iraq, Libya, it can concern also for Afghanistan and Ukraine).

As to specifics of application of strategy of "soft power" it is necessary to note that sphere of its action is information, confessional and cultural spaces by means mass media, public charitable and religious organizations, nongovernmental organizations and funds and also public and political movements. Within the limits of the given strategy it is also possible to solve the problem of undermining of bases of a political system by means of formatting of mental space of a human being in a certain country which is carried out by means of so-called "distributed attack" by drawing numerous, dot destroying influences on mental sphere of population.

Effective tools of the information technologies used in the strategy of "soft power" are so-called "information bombs" and "information mines". The first are used as detonators of avalanche increase of protest movement in society and the second are pawned in advance and are put in action during the necessary moment for finishing sociopolitical process up to desirable result, and "outflow" of the information from such sites as "WikiLeaks" and publications in mass-media of compromising materials on public persons and politicians.

The favorable environment for conducting "colored revolutions" is occurrence of significant public groups in modern societies with not harmonized inner world which can be named as "new lumpiness". These are people with lost social and religious roots, with no strong moral principles, political guidelines and historical memory. Such people in searches for place in life become participants of protest movements which took place in Cairo, Moscow, Bishkek, Kishinev and Kiev.

"Colored revolutions" that took place on post-Soviet space and in the Near East are consequence of the theory of "operated chaos" (or as it is still it named —"controllable instability") developed in the United States by G. Sharp (the author of the book "From Dictatorship to Democracy") and S. R. Mann (the author of the book "The Theory of Chaos and Strategic Thought") which became the basis for technology of political regimes transformation, based on the following principles[1]:

• Association at the necessary moment and in the certain places all political forces opposing the existing lawful governments;

• Undermining confidence of the country leaders in possibility of stabilization of sociopolitical situation and loyalty of security agencies;

• Consecutive work on destabilization of conditions in the country by initiation and support of the protest moods in marginal groups with the purpose of undermining legitimacy of the existing political regime;

• Initiation of replacement of authority as a result of elections (frequently even before their end), the organizations of civil disobedience, tent small towns and "marches of millions".

Practically in all countries involved in chaos of mass disorders,"spontaneous" flesh-mob crowds have been organized by means of sending messages about meetings and protest actions through mobile phones, social networks and e-mail.

Events of last years relative to "colored revolutions" on the post-Soviet space and in the Near East should be qualified not as revolutions but as "chaos revolts", disguised as spontaneous performances of people in the interests of external forces that press towards removal of existing political regime.

In the background of internal social and economic problems which cannot find resolution in the given country a new form of external aggression against the independent state can be realized with use of the strategy of "soft power" by supporting internal opposition and manipulation of public moods. For example it was carried out in Yugoslavia, Ukraine, Georgia, Kirghizia, Libya, now it is carried out in Syria and is planned to be realized in Russia. Thus it is necessary to admit, that forces organizing given actions find its support among certain groups of population which are used as the tools of political struggle.

Events reported by mass-media and information in social networks create conditions for

[1] S. R. Mann. Chaos Theory in Strategic Thought. "Parameters". Vol. XXII. Autumn 1992. p. 54–68; Дж. Шарп. От диктатуры к демократии. Концептуальные основы освобождения. "Институт им. А. Эйнштейна". http://www.aeinstein.org/organizations/org/FDTD_Russian.pdf (доступ 12.12.2012); Дж. Шарп. Роль силы в ненасильственной борьбе. "Вопросы философии", 1992, № 8.

mass psychosis. The "direct" reports recorded with cellular telephones no one knows by whom and where, messages about numerous victims, as if suffered from hands of the governmental forces, but not shown for humane reasons, reports from the cities ostensibly grasped by insurgents, chaotic shooting from machine guns for demonstration in front of television cameras, stories about "transition" representatives of the top management of the country to the opposition. However when looking closer, it is clear, that it is virtual war that is being performed on TV screens both retouched on computers and thrown in virtual space for substantiation of sanctions of Security Council of the United Nations, introduction of "no fly" zones that leads to intervention of external forces in the country.

Whereas Tunis and Egypt were the first tests of western producers of this pseudo revolutionary performance, Libya was the first real operation of information-network war of the West against rogue regime. On the Balkans, in Afghanistan and in Iraq, Washington mainly used power means and methods of fragmentation of the world. West has tried to use the factor of social discontent and chaos to replace the leaders of pervious generation which got education in the USSR with the leaders of new generation — technocrats with the western mentality which should force out China and Russia from post-Soviet and Middle East regions.

History testifies that the countries in which "colored revolutions" have been organized in accordance with "soft poser" and indirect actions strategies have appeared unable to construct independent state. Examples to that are Afghanistan, Iraq, Kosovo, Egypt, Libya, Kirghizia and Ukraine whose political institutes are still now in a stage of formation. This is the very purpose of organizers of "colored revolutions" when the country of the won opposition is compelled to force of external political and economic management.

Especially vulnerable to technology of "operated chaos" are young people exposed to massed information attack from mass-media and educational establishments which has been unfairly increased in number due to different kinds of universities, institutes, colleges, programs of training in numerous nongovernmental organizations, funds financially supported from abroad. The primary goal of the given pseudo-educational organizations is not preparation of specialists but destruction of traditional social identification of young people on the basis of transformation of world outlook bases during the education process. Alongside with it there is a stimulation growth of a level of expectations, personal ambitions, and the claims which have been not supported not only by real opportunities of a national economy but which are frequently beyond reasonable limits.

Prominent French politician and historian Alexis de Tocqueville in 1856 in his work "The Old Regime and Revolution" formulated major laws of revolutionary development. First of all he ascertains that "with the growth of a well-being the level of social claims also increases". Validity of a given statement is confirmed by sociological researches that poverty itself rarely becomes the reason of sociopolitical protest movements. Discontent of people often derives not from deterioration of their financial position but, on the contrary, from its improvement which is smaller than expected or smaller in comparison to that in other social groups or other countries. As A. de Tocqueville marked, when there are less injustice in society, less cruelties and repressions from authorities, people desire full freedom and the civil rights.

Second law of A. de Tocqueville is the statement that in the countries, where processes of democratization take place but where there is no tradition of democracy and the population adheres to traditional

political culture, political reforms lead to sharp polarization of social forces with the subsequent destabilization of political system. "As a result, instead of democratic institutes and values in these countries there can be established even worse form of tyrannical authority"[1].

Undoubtedly, any mass protest movement arises on the background of a sharp dissatisfaction of a significant part of the population that do not believe in an opportunity to improve its existing state. The modern theory of "relative deterioration of position of social groups" (or relative deprivation theory) says that in the poorest countries revolutions, as a rule, don't occur. They occur in the countries that already made successes in economic development but lag behind advancing growth of corresponding expectations of population. It is confirmed by events in Egypt and Libya.

Counteraction of authorities to subversive activities of opposition consists in necessity to restrict its activity within the social networks and Internet the users of which are waiting immediate reaction to actions of authorities. At the same time authority does not allow opposition to leave the outlined circle which is quite convenient for ruling elite which de facto defines the forms of activity for opposition in absence of charismatic leaders and the program that does not allow opposition to break off outlined circle and overcome dependence from constituted authorities. The authority, in turn, could preserve a wide field for maneuver and counteraction to opposition.

Strategy of authorities on counteraction to information technologies of strategy of "soft power" consists in wide and operative distribution of trustworthy information about situation in the country. An important point here is a transition from external language of images and symbols to traditional language of interpretation of events within the frames of one's own ideological, cultural and religious systems of terms and concepts. In is important also to set one's own game rules and to defend own interpretation of events within global information field.

At the same time authorities should understand, that revolutions, revolts and conflicts are displays of social chaos which creates conditions for self-organizing of political system. The chaos is the generator of new information, new knowledge and birthplace of social reforms and political innovations which should be realized by authority with the purpose to form a policy that would be adequate to future country development. The political elite should understand that social chaos arising during social war of the population against the existing regime expressed in aspiration of leaders of opposition by all accessible ways to destroy ruling regime, starts as a result of stagnation as it was in Tunis, Egypt, Libya, Syria, Yemen, Kirghizia and Ukraine. At this time the sociopolitical system of the country becomes extremely sensitive to any influences testing its durability.

"Colored revolutions" of the last decades show, that information technologies that exert influence on consciousness and mood of people, became an important factor of management of sociopolitical processes in which each social individual connecting to social networks, cellular communication and Internet has an opportunity to directly participate in political processes. So mass media and social networks became the environment for carrying out information-network operations.

A special role in destruction of statehood belongs to mass-media which provides stabilizing and destructive influence on sociopolitical environment in society. Such destruction of social system consists in spreading negative information, exaggerating social problems and dissemination of mental phobias that lead to neurotically

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[1] А. М. Мигранян. Россия в поисках идентичности. Москва.1997. С. 40.

behavior of public and distortion of people's perceptions of surrounding world. People begin to live in the world of illusions and myths created by mass media to which the authority is not capable to give timely and adequate reaction.

American adherents of chaos theory project its principles on political practice in the following way[1]:

- Possibility of maintenance of sociopolitical stability in problem regions is an illusion and it cannot be the purpose of USA policy in the view of excessive economic and military expenses for its maintenance;
- It is possible to provide the American national interests more economically at smaller expenses by carrying out flexible policy of "floating between islands of the order in the world of political chaos";
- The United States should encourage changes on the post-Soviet space and in the Arabic world without interfering in increase of crisis phenomena;
- Bifurcation points arising in condition of "controlled instability" during transformation of sociopolitical system of the countries could be used for destruction and reforming important state institutes.

The aforesaid is proved by the policy of Washington during last decades. It is American politician's opinion that sociopolitical stability and the international security in the world are inadmissible luxury which requires significant resources of America. Conditions of "operated chaos" and "war all against all" in problem regions of a planet is equitable to national interests of the United States and allows it to spread westernized sociopolitical models.

Having realized inevitability of revolutionary shocks and limited volume of western resources for supporting international safety and stability in Post-soviet region and in Middle East, Washington encourages growth of social entropy and disorder in political systems of these regions which gave an advantage to define rules on a geopolitical chessboard and provide American global leadership.

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