Chapter 116

COLORED REVOLUTIONS'': let's overthrow the government, #allegriaalegria, from the "shadows" (no violence!) we strike democracy

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ABSTRACT
Beginning in the 2000s a series of mass demonstrations were recorded Eastern Europe, Central Asia, North Africa, and Latin America, these movements were credited with the changes in government that occurred in these regions. These large protests became known as the "color revolution. According to the mainstream press these actions were led by different social segments that were dissatisfied with their governments, as well as protesting against dictatorships. However, there are indications that the "color revolutions" are geopolitical tools that make use of the democratic system to change governments. Therefore, the purpose of this discussion is to reflect on aspects of the infrastructure that enables "color revolutions" to be prepared and then executed. We will demonstrate how some actors move on the "surface" and in the "shadows" of the international network that operates the "color revolutions". To do so, we conducted a literature search, as well as, theoretically support the theory of Hybrid Warfare.

Keywords: Color Revolution; Hybrid Warfare; Democracy; Coup d'état.

1 INTRODUCTION

Starting in the 2000s a series of mass demonstrations led to changes in governments in Eastern Europe, Central Asia, North Africa and Latin America (Fagundes, 2020; Engdahl, 2009). According to the mainstream media, especially the big media groups in different countries, the demonstrations are the result of popular organization and are analyzed as "spontaneous" demonstrations. These large mass movements became known as "color revolutions."

The demonstrations have in common the use of non-violent tactics (Sharp, 2010) and swarm techniques (groups moving in "cells", like a swarm of bees) and the use of technologies to act in networks (Ghengis Kahn's method of warfare) (Engdahl, 2009). According to mainstream media, the protests are led by students, middle-class workers, and other social segments unhappy with the structures of government and with pro-democracy characteristics , thus, the protests would have as motivation the fight against corruption, unemployment, and social injustices, as well as the struggle against tyranny and totalitarianisms.

The "color revolutions" were so named because protesters wear clothing of the same color and usually the participants are singing, smiling, and having fun, hence the name "colorful" of the demonstrations. For example, in Ukraine the color orange was predominant, in Georgia (2003) and Kyrgyzstan (2005) pink identified the mass in action, in Iran in 2009 the protests were marked by people wearing green clothing, in the Brazilian case - the Bolsonarist phase (from 2015) of "colorful revolutions"

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- was marked by protesters wearing yellow-green t-shirts[1] . Another symbol of this phenomenon is Otpor (meaning "resistance"), a group created in Serbia that led street demonstrations against the government of Milosevic, until then president of the country; its symbol (a closed fist) was seen in several demonstrations around the world.

However, beyond such coincidences, the "spontaneous" demonstrations were registered and caused changes in the political systems of countries that were allies (political and/or economic and/or strategic) of Russia or that were not aligned with the foreign policy of the United States. Moreover, the protests were registered in strategic regions and territories, especially near and rich in natural resources, especially oil and natural gas.

Thus, for some analysts the "color revolutions" are instruments that make use of the democratic system to alter governments in favor of an external agent, that is, they are geopolitical weapons that alter the political and social dynamics of a certain target state . For Andrew Korybko, the "colored revolutions" are soft blows, instruments of destabilization of governments that are within war tactics that make use of indirect approaches, that is, an external agent - through other agents in the domestic sphere - is the one who actually organizes and manipulates the masses against the political leaderships. Thus, in the context of the "color revolutions" there are actions that are on the "surface" - with characters that must appear - and commands and moves in the "shadows," which occur away from the viewers' eyes and are camouflaged by a series of discourses.

Engdahl (2009) states that the "color revolutions" are electoral revolutions, operations whose engineering instrumentalizes democracy and the ballot box, leading to the victory of the candidate aligned with the external agent. The common practice in these cases is the articulation of popular demonstrations coinciding with the manipulation of social networks and the dissemination of speeches that challenge the results of the polls. These procedures, for example, were present in Serbia (2000), Ukraine (2004), Venezuela (2004 and 2015), Brazil (2014 and 2022), Honduras (2009), and Bolivia (2019). Sussman and Krader (2008) share the same opinion, furthermore, they point out that the "colored" political articulations were "fabricated" to promote regime change, the authors explain that the external agent makes use of allies such as NGOs that assist in funding and training organizations (among which Otpor) to manipulate the elections and conduct the protests.

Engdahl (2009), Sussman and Krader (2008), Korybko (2015), and Fagundes (2020) are emphatic in stating that the "color revolutions" that have influenced and changed political regimes in Eastern Europe, Central Asia, the Americas, and North Africa are tools of geopolitical intervention by the United States of America in conjunction with the European Union/Otan. According to Nogueira (2009), the European Union

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[1] We will not delve into the topic now, but the pre-Bolsonaro phase of "color revolutions" in Brazil, which had its peak in the "June Days" of 2013, is closer to the techniques and strategies that we will discuss here; moreover, there are elements that show that external agents were involved in the process (Souza, 2020). From 2015 on, there was an appropriation of the techniques in the domestic sphere, in this context, the articulations were related to the military consortium that supported the candidacy of Jair Bolsonaro to the presidency of the Republic and that in fact governed Brazil between 2018 and 2022 (Leirner, 2020).

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had direct participation in the processes that influenced the elections in Georgia (2003), Ukraine (2005) and Kyrgyzstan (2005), there is no way to think of a U.S. intervention in the former territories of the Soviet Union without the participation of the EU, given the alliance with the North Atlantic Treaty Organization (NATO).

Thinking about the Latin American reality, the debate about "colored revolutions" seems to be distant, but in reality, such "pro-democratic" articulations are absolutely linked to the Latin American reality. First, because the "color revolutions" are related to a new type of confrontation between the West and Russia (Ortega, 2009), Russia is allied with China, whose economic projection is supplanting the place of the United States as an economic power and influential projects in the world, therefore, actions of the West (meaning the U.S. and the EU) against Russia directly affect the Chinese territory; Engdahl (2009) even reports that the demonstrations led by young people in Hong Kong are very similar to the movements of the Opposition in Serbia. Second, because Latin America is a historical zone of influence of the United States, especially South America; and taking into account that China is an economic partner of the two main economies of the region, it is of interest to the U.S.-EU axis that South American governments, especially Brazil, are pro-U.S. And third, the debate about "colored revolutions" is of utmost importance for Latin American societies, since there are signs of these phenomena in different countries of the continent. In Brazil for example, the then president of the republic Jair Bolsonaro, who was supported by a consortium of generals (Leirner, 2020), publicly disseminated at various times the idea that the 2022 elections would be fraudulent, assiduously made accusations against the Superior Electoral Court (TSE); a speech rectified after his defeat in the elections[2] . As we have already mentioned, the "revolutions" in Eastern Europe were based on this argument, as well as this discourse has already been used in Brazil, by the former presidential candidate Aécio Neves, right after the result of the 2014 presidential elections.

From such assumptions, the purpose of this discussion is to reflect on aspects of the infrastructure that provides the conditions for "color revolutions" to be prepared and then executed. To reflect means 1) to present some of the tactics and strategies used to promote revolutions from within the democratic system, and 2) to demonstrate how subjects move on the "surface" and in the "shadows" in the international network that is behind the phenomenon now discussed.

This is a theme that may seem like a conspiracy theory to the unaware, however, it is a debate that deals with a current phenomenon and that is present, with similar elements, in different societies, see the example of "fakes news" that helped elect presidents in Brazil and the United States, the famous fake news are one of the instruments of psychological operations (PsyOPs) that subsidize the articulations of swarm protests, as well as, are fundamental in the campaigns of manipulation of information that can decide the

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[2] After the victory of Luís Inácio Lula da Silva in the 2022 presidential elections, the defeated candidate Jair Bolsonaro - who was seeking reelection - intensified the discourse that the electronic ballot boxes were adulterated favoring the victory of his opponent; his position encouraged and led thousands of his supporters to begin protests against the election results; Barricades were set up on federal highways (with the support of some police officers), and Bolsonarists held vigils in front of army barracks; the slogan of the protests was military intervention.

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results of ballot boxes. Moreover, it is a debate that brings up important geopolitical theories, such as Halford Mackinder's one about the heartland. In his 1904 article, "The Geographical Pivot of History", Mackinder identified Russia and Central Asia as the "heartland" and asserted that whoever controlled these regions would dominate the "World-Island" of Eurasia.

At this very moment in history, we are witnessing a war on Ukrainian territory, the clash between Russia, Ukraine, NATO/European Union and the USA for control of the heartland is clear, especially since it is currently a strategic area in terms of natural resources that are important for the development of American, European, Russian and Chinese strategies, and that has a direct influence on the political and economic dynamics of various territories on the planet, including Brazil.

Moreover, it is necessary to inform that the "color revolutions" are part of the structure of Hybrid Warfare, which are initiated with the "spontaneous" demonstrations and progress to an unconventional war, as was the case in Syria (2011) and Ukraine (Dignity Revolution) in 2014 (Korybko, 2015), however, it is necessary to inform that Hybrid Warfare strategies are also used by Russia, but they are different from the US articulators, the Russians make use of strong informational and cyber component, make use of diplomatic and economic pressure, and launch their conventional military capabilities (Neuenfeld, 2021).

As an example, the Russian military offensive in Ukraine in 2022 is part of its Hybrid Warfare operations; the "special military operation" launched by Vladimir Putin was preceded by stages of psychological (PsyOPs) and cyber operations and indirect deterrence actions with military and non-military methods; after the Revolution of Dignity in Ukraine in 2014, articulated by the United States, the Russians put in place the tactics co-opting pro-Russian agents in Crimea, articulated psychological operations and support for separatists in the Donbass region, pressured the European Union in international fora with the issue of trade in natural resources not to support Ukraine's admission to NATO (Neuenfeld, 2021), and finally sent in their conventional troops. The US Hybrid War makes use of indirect approaches, they either finance disturbances or use NATO to mobilize invasions, in addition to offering logistical support; this explains John Biden's pressure to incorporate Ukraine into the organization and the sending of weapons and mercenaries to confront Russian troops. But we are not going to talk about the Ukrainian conjuncture, we are just pointing out that the greatest military powers on the planet, Russia and the United States, in the 21st century, use Hybrid Warfare strategies, so it is not a matter of taking sides, it is not about that, the goal here is to demonstrate the techniques and strategies of one of the geopolitical weapons of the American Hybrid Warfare school: the "color revolution".

Thus, in addition to this introduction, this text is divided into three more sections. In the second, we will present our methodology and some details about the theory that supports our debate, Andrew Korybko's Hybrid Warfare theory. In the third we will discuss the articulations, tactics, and techniques that enable the materialization of "colored revolutions," we will demonstrate some of the public and veiled stages of this geopolitical weapon promoting soft coups that use democracy. The fourth and last section is reserved for our concluding remarks.

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2 METHODOLOGY

It should be emphasized that this discussion reflects on politico-strategic issues related to the post-Soviet and unipolar world, and is also a topic that is on the agenda of official security and defense reports of different governments (Neuenfeld, 2021) . Moreover, our discussion approaches a significant body of research conducted in the last twenty years on fourth and fifth generation wars, such as Liang & Xiangsui (1999), Kuehl, 2002, Hammes (2004), Reed (2008) Van Niekerk & Maharaj (2012), Hatch (2019) and Lilly & Cheravitch (2020). These works specifically address the participation of non-state actors in conflict, adoption of asymmetric tactics against actors with superior war power, tactics of neutralizing the enemy without the use of violence (implosion tactics), and the use of informational strategies to wage war.

Reed (2008), for example, analyzes the techniques of incapacitating and demobilizing the enemy through impactful actions in the cognitive, social, and information domains; Kuehl (2002), on the other hand, discusses the temporalities of information warfare, battles occur in peacetime and wartime, hence the importance of so-called "fake news" in contemporary social debates, they are weapons of war, they are part of Psychological Operations (PsyOPs) inherent to fifth generation warfare; in military circles, "fakes news" are known as digital disinformation tools. Hatch (2019) and Lilly & Cheravitch (2020), meanwhile, reflect on military information and cyber operations, in the former are PsyOps and disinformation actions carried out in theaters of operations such as social media, the scope is to influence political positions and behaviors of a target audience to destabilize governments and national institutions. Cyber operations use, for example, Computer Network Operations (CNO) to corrupt information systems; this is an intelligence operation.

However, our debate is closer to the vision of a group of authors who discuss the processes of democratic transition in countries that were once under the influence of the Soviet Union, point to the interference of the West in areas of Russian influence, especially with the use of unconventional methods and techniques (of the fourth generation war), these authors do not converge in all directions, but assume that Western agents, especially the United States, are somehow involved in the "color revolutions"; in this sense, Mark MacKinnon (2007) in "The New Cold War", Sreeram Chaulia (2006) in "Democratization, NGOs and 'Color Revolutions'" and Vladimir Simonov (2005) in "Russia Devises Protection Against Color Revolutions" argue that the "color revolutions" are financed by the United States; However, there are researchers who acknowledge Western support for regime change, but claim that the aid was possible because there was already a previous organization of civil society. In this group are Michael McFaul (2005) (Transitions from Postcommunism), Bunce and Wolchik (2006) (Favorable Conditions and Electoral Revolutions), Henry Hale (2005) (Democracy, Autocracy and Revolution in Post-Soviet Eurasia).

Therefore, our study is related to and transits through the debates on fourth and fifth generation wars, but specifically discusses the relationship between information operations and unconventional indirect approaches, as is the case of "colored revolutions"; moreover, it converges with the considerations of MacKinnon (2007), Chaulia (2006), Simonov (2005). Furthermore, to support this reflection we will make use of Andrew Korybko's theory of Hybrid Warfare .

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For Korybko (2015), the United States has implemented a new model of warfare whose initial stage occurs with the implementation of a "color revolution" (a soft coup) and then a hard coup is put in place, through unconventional warfare, installed if the first stage fails. Korybko (2015) defines unconventional warfare as:

> [...] any type of unconventional force (i.e., unofficial armed groups) engaged in largely asymmetric combat against a traditional adversary. If considered together in a dual approach, color revolutions and unconventional warfare represent the two components that will give rise to hybrid warfare theory [...] (Korybko, 2015).

The author created the theory to explain a new method of indirect warfare perpetrated by the US. In this, the indirect approach is fundamental, since it does not require the direct participation of the external agent, who can act behind the stage through NGOs, political organizations, artists, businessmen, politicians, and, above all, using the democratic system, hence the importance of the "color revolutions" activated from a key event (a "virus", says Korybko) within the system itself; this event can be planted or taken advantage of by agents that are already operating in the territory of the target state (like the protest of the Free Pass Movement in Brazil or the act of the informal trader who set fire to his own body, triggering the protests that took over Tunisia in 2010/2011). The "color revolutions" are the instrument of the indirect approach that, when unleashed, in most cases achieve adherence from other sectors of the population.

Andrew Korybko explains that the adhesions to the demonstrations occur because different social segments were previously being prepared by Psychological Operations (PsyOPs), through social media, mainstream media, movies, television advertisements, music, communication applications, such as watsapp and twitter, efficient in spreading fake news, etc.; thus the target demographic is being sensitized and when the "virus" is released, the population begins to adhere to the movement "spontaneously" and the "color revolution" is installed. Its goal is to seize power and overthrow the government and to bring different social segments together in protests with swarming techniques. In theory, the swarm (bee) population is tasked with breaking through strategic layers of the state, which the author calls the five demographic rings (as is laid out in figure 1): 1) the population, 2) media (international), 3) national elite, 4) Armed Forces/Police, and 5) leadership.

The intention is to reach the inner ring, the scope is to unite layers of the population (first ring) and give the impression to other sectors of society that the union is en masse and is occurring throughout the national territory, hence the swarm action, taking over spaces en masse, with lots of noise, similar colors and the idea that different segments of society are united with the same goal, usually against general themes (corruption, politicians, etc.). The goal is to draw the attention of the national and international media, the reports help to intensify the demonstrations, it contributes to pass on the message of "spontaneous" revolt, so the second ring is reached. The third target is the elites, besides the media helping in the swarms, it can further inflame the population against the government through the behavior of the elites regarding the protests, the latter can influence the media and the population; the next target is the security forces (armed

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forces and police), which will come to the rescue of the core target, if they manage to repel the offensive, the stage is set for unconventional war (a process that occurred in Ukraine in 2014 - in low intensity - and in Syria, in larger proportions).

Korybko (2015) points out that this model varies according to the target state, but the pattern of the stabilizing agents is to adapt the "color revolution" according to the culture, so there is a thorough study of demographic aspects (what the author calls an adaptive process) and thus, each target state will experience unique situations. Furthermore, in the process of installing PsyOPs, the intention is to conquer the individual through the concept of family and belonging to the nation; without this factor, the "color revolution" is not successful.

Figure 1: Five strategic rings

Source: Korybko, 2015

For Korybko (2015), Hybrid Warfare has become a mechanism of US foreign policy as a result of the formation of a multipolar order in which there are clear signs of decline of its hegemony and as a result of Russia's reappearance on the international scene with nuclear parity with the US. Thus, Hybrid Warfare is a predominant mechanism in the strategy of "veiled leadership" of the Americans in relation to the areas they consider strategic. This policy consists in providing indirect support and indirect military assistance ("dirty work" behind the stage), instead of using the regular armed forces:

> It relies on the use of regional allies/"leaders" as proxies to further US geostrategic and geopolitical objectives through asymmetric fourth generation warfare [unconventional warfare] measures [...] Conventional strategies for (forced) regime change (Panama, Afghanistan, Iraq) were possible in a unipolar world, but with the unipolar moment fading, the U.S. is forced to revive the model of veiled leadership it first flirted with during the Soviet-Afghan war. The first official indication that the US was moving toward this strategy was the behavior during the 2011 Lebanon war, the first time in history that the nickname "veiled leadership" was used (Korybko, 2015).

Korybko (2015), states that the strategy of covert leadership can be applied in both "color revolution" and unconventional warfare. In relation to the color revolutions, the US acts (leads) from behind the stage, fabricating the destabilization using its allies in the target state to carry out the plan, moreover, in the strategy it is important that a pro-US government is bordering the state that is under attack through the "color revolution", It can also act as a logistical base for the organizers and participants of the demonstrations, as well as exert pressure on the target state not to react against the coup attempt, which sets

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precedents for unconventional (especially if the supporting state is a NATO member) and then conventional military interference (in the case of Syria, Jordan and Turkey fulfilled this role).

As the US can no longer use unilateral methods in the context of unipolarity, Andrew Korybko, states that the Pentagon started to instrumentalize destabilization processes in the Russian periphery, especially in the countries of the "Eurasian Balkans" (Zbigniew Brzezinski coined this name to point out the countries that are between the borders of Russia and China), thus, the objective of the United States became to finance geopolitical sabotage campaigns with the appearance of pro-democracy movements or civil confrontations supported from outside:

> [...] a combo of the two could knock out the heavyweights of Eurasia, especially Russia. The novelty of this approach is that to be successful, it only needs to sow chaos and create centripetal forces that by themselves threaten to tear a target society apart. It doesn't need to overthrow a government itself to be successful - it only needs to cause society to split, and large-scale uncertainty, the harbinger of social chaos, does the rest. This combination of vacuum and suction [...] creates a geopolitical impasse, which in turn poses a huge challenge for the indirectly targeted state [...] to take initiatives within the borders of the directly destabilized country. One way or another, the target state is forced to deal with this problem, whether it wants to or not, and this puts it on the strategic defensive. This is even more true if the target state directly borders the indirect target, as Ukraine does with Russia, for example (Korybko, 2015).

The theory in question, although intended to identify the Hybrid War promoted by the United States against Russia around its territorial borders, serves to analyze the projection of the US government in other parts of the planet, in Latin America, for example, there are several indications that such tactics of indirect approach are being used (Leirner, 2020; Fagundes, 2020; André, 2020; Souza, 2020; Escobar, 2016; Engdahl, 2020; Fernandes, 2022).

Based on the theory of Hybrid Warfare and in view of the object, we chose to conduct an exploratory research, since the objective of this type of research is to provide an overview of a certain fact and broaden knowledge about it, enabling a more precise formulation of the problem, which allows advancing to new hypotheses and conducting future more structured research (Gil, 1999). In this work, the scope is to provide another perspective on the so-called "color revolutions", clarifying some of its central points, in order to prepare the theoretical environment for future research on the subject. We also made use of qualitative description to capture the appearance of the phenomenon, but above all, to present its origins, the networks and alterations, thus the qualitative nature of the research allowed the formulation of hypotheses, in this way, the hypothetical-deductive approach is also present and related to the use of the comparative method, both were fundamental to make our conjectures and to present the similarities and distinctions between the "colored revolutions". As for the data collection technique, we carried out bibliographical research in secondary sources, that is, in books, course completion papers, dissertations, theses, and scientific articles in the area of international relations, geography, political science, and international economics.

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3 "COLOR REVOLUTIONS": INFRASTRUCTURE(S), METHODS, DISCOURSES AND DEMOCRACY

The "color revolutions" have the democratic system as a starting point, "technically" they are street demonstrations that have as a goal regime change, and by analyzing them in different territories one can observe similarities in the techniques of occupying spaces and in the actions against the authorities. In all cases, there is a great mobilization around an initial event (the "event") that gains uncontrollable proportions for the affected governments and gives rise to other claims, given the adhesion of people from different social segments and orientations to the movement. However, this is the part that is on the surface of the "color revolutions," the consensus in the Western world is that such uprisings are only popular in character and come from organized segments of civil society, in reality there is an infrastructure that is transnational and makes use of paradoxical actions and exploits democratic institutions, there is no "color revolution" without the instruments that are in the "shadows.

a) The event: starting a "revolution

The color revolutions are initiated after a key event (the "event") that is preceded by operations of a psychological nature (Korybko, 2015), which will prepare the population for mass adherence, are usually perpetrated through the discourse of the mainstream media (which in most "color revolutions" are involved in the process), social networks and through the action of public and private think tanks, NGOs, artists, intellectuals, journalists, independent media, etc., which finance and promote scientific events, advertising campaigns, and other activities to raise awareness and cross-check information about certain issues, as well as promote training for the organizations that will put into practice the swarm techniques and other ballot box manipulation strategies (Fagundes, 2020; Engdahl, 2009). Therefore, the articulators of the "revolution" are only able to capitalize on the "event":

> [if it has run a successful information campaign. The media infrastructure may or may not already be fully erected when the decision is made to exploit the event, since this step is closely linked to the event itself. It may be that the media infrastructure is not used until after the event itself, in order to set the stage and prepare the public psyche for the colorful revolution. It all depends on the situation at hand and the decision of the movement and its sponsors (Korybko, 2015).

The "event" can be manufactured or selectively exploited by the operators, so the key event must be controversial and polarizing, it must enable the articulators of the movement an opportunity for the most public demonstrations possible, releasing enough energy to release the physical infrastructure of the "revolution," this is the trigger, the public call. Therefore, the "event" can be an election fraud, arrest of an opposition leader, veto or passage of controversial law, declaration of support or involvement in unpopular war, government sanctions, and others (Korybko, 2015).

In Georgia in 2003, the "event" began as international observers and domestic organizations made allegations of election fraud and then began a series of protests that took over the country, while opposition

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leader Mikhail Saakashvili held public acts (Ortega, 2009), the process brought Mikhail to the presidency; In Venezuela the process was similar, the United States Agency for Development (USAID) and the National Endowment for Democracy (NED) created a series of "Initiatives for Transition" through the Office of Transition Initiatives (OTI)[3] and started a mobilization in different sectors of the "Venezuelan civil society" (meaning sectors of the Venezuelan elites) against possible actions of disrespect for human rights and antidemocratic acts, In addition, the NGO Súmate organized a referendum on whether or not Hugo Chaves should remain as president and oriented the most popular communities to vote against the government; as the result of the referendum was favorable to Chaves' permanence, a series of protests were held against the government (Fagundes, 2020; Engdahl, 2009).

In Brazil, several segments of society took to the streets after the protests of the Free Pass Movement (MPL), National Assembly of Students (ANEL), and anarchist collectives against the bus fare increase, these more leftist groups led the protests from June 6 to 11, after which the protests gained other proportions (André, 2020), therefore, the initial actions of the MPL, ANEL, and anarchist collectives were the trigger for the application of the "color revolution" (Engdahl, 2016); according to Engdahl (2020), in the United States, the horrific event that culminated in the murder of George Floyd (a black man) by a white police officer and that mobilized crowds in the United States and in several parts of the world was also used as a key event to promote demonstrations against the Trump administration. The author says that the demonstrations called by the Black Live Mather and Antifa movements, as in other territories, gained unimaginable proportions and various "color revolution" techniques were used. The observation is controversial, but should be taken into consideration, because like the other "colorful" demonstrations, the protests against Floyd's murder were legitimate (the fight against racism was the object) and like the other protests gained unmanageable dimensions and were instrumental in Trump's defeat, that is, there was an electoral outcome. In Nicaragua in 2018, the "event" was a supposed unilateral pension reform carried out via decree.

Moreover, it was common in most cases to spread discourse about electoral fraud (Sussman & Krader, 2008; Engdahl, 2009; Ortega, 2009; Fagundes, 2020) . This occurred in Serbia, Georgia, Kyrgyzstan, Brazil, Venezuela, and Honduras.

According to Andrew Korybko, it does not matter if the events are true or fabricated, what matters are the allegations and not the evidence, the goal is to portray and narrate them effectively so that the general public can perceive them. What matters most is to create a catalyst, moreover, the articulators can provoke a variety of "events," but above all, the false perception that they occurred (Korybko, 2015). In the case of Syria, for example, in the process of transition from "color revolution" to unconventional war, Al Jazeera TV fabricated fake news, produced in studios scenes of soldiers assaulting civilians, the productions were carried out in conjunction with American, French, and Israeli directors, Al Jazeera ordered to build

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[3] The Office of Transition Initiatives (OTI) supports U.S. foreign policy goals and objectives by working with local partners on issues related to democracy.

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scenarios, models of Syrian look-a-like cities to carry out the filming, the intention was to broadcast in Arab news to summon armed groups and attack the security forces (Flag, 2014).

b) The physical infrastructure and the swarm technique: #semviolence, let's occupy, record and smile

The psychological operations and the "events" are meaningless without the physical infrastructure of the "color revolutions", which is formed by two central components, the first is related to the engagement of the participants and organizing sectors of the demonstrations, the second concerns the physical objects, places and their positioning and strategies. This is the more traditional part, involving stages, megaphones, banners, communication equipment and other tools that support the first element.

According to Korybko (2015), the first component comes into play when the organisers and sympathisers decide to publicly and physically demonstrate support for the revolution, it occurs through:

1)   **Acts of occupation:** this is a movement to obtain a "symbolic" place, to be the public headquarters of the protesters (the Euromaidan in Ukraine, Tahrir Square in Egypt, and the Universities in Nicaragua are examples);

2)   **Forming crowds:** the "revolution" only works if many people join in, here two methods are fundamental: a) advertising the action using traditional and alternative media and b) appealing to the younger generation.

Therefore, the scope is to publicize the actions and expose them, and it is not enough to create an alternative information system (bloggers and youtubers); concomitantly with the first method, it is necessary to attract young people, which is of utmost importance, because it gives the idea that the "new" is asking for passage and disseminates the message that the youth are protesting against an outdated system and leaderships that have been in power for a long time, Hence the use of tactics that consist of advertising that the demonstrations are fun acts, with music, shows, artistic performances, dances, so it is possible to attract more young people, for this reason the occupations are important, because it is the young people who will be camped, in permanent exposure to the media (Korybko, 2015).

Srdja Popovic, founder of Otpor and articulator of dozens of "color revolutions" around the world, says that the "trick" is to make the people in the movement busy, because when they are doing something they don't have time to be afraid, he says that the way the form of struggle is created, group identity is created, the idea is that people feel the struggle, that they dress similarly, that they sing because music fosters working together, so it must have music, symbols, fun, the demonstrations must look like a "Love Parade"[4] . In other words, the "color revolution" must be attractive to people of different generations, give the idea that it is supra-partisan, that it is above class differences, that it is a light political movement (although it is serious), and it must attract the youth (in particular, because people who work daily hours usually participate in the acts during the night, so it is the younger people who work full time).

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[4]   The   Revolution   Business | The   Revolution   Business   subtitled.   Available   at:<
https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=y25RdS7MWvY>. Accessed 5/22/2022.

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Also in line with Korybko (2015), in addition to the 1) acts of occupation and 2) of agglomerations, the first component of infrastructure needs:

3) Demonstrations and protests with synchronized schedules of actions, thus, there is an advance definition of meeting places and routes, of the symbols for each act, of the days and times for mass adhesion, there is prior planning on the use of flags and events that will be part of the activities, and the choice of music. In this element, it is important that the marches are around the occupied places and that the protests and demonstrations are simultaneous, in this way making the police's work more difficult, so there is also a mapping of the police barricades. The prior planning and schedule are designed to disseminate the acts as an everyday activity, the intention is to attract families to the protests, especially children, the more children in the crowds and acts the better the image of the political movement[5] ; another important point is the attraction of "pro-opposition" political figures, fundamental to inhibit police action;

4) Using the demonstrators as a human shield for the organizers, so they are the ones who are usually prominently filmed or who are in the front line, not belonging to the organizing core;

5) Use of social media, in this way, in the protests and demonstrations the organizers use the media a) for security and b) for the promotion of the actions, that is; in the first set the security forces' actions are filmed, which helps to inhibit acts of arbitrary coercion by the State and serves to raise awareness of the actions among the external community; the media used to promote the protests serve to make uninterrupted recordings that are edited to convey a positive pro-opposition image.

Such engineering allows the core organization of the "color revolution" to convey the idea that the acts of protests and public demonstrations are "spontaneous", moreover, the use of hashtags on twitter, Facebook groups organizing the coverage of events and comments about the acts (promotional media actions) promote a chain reaction that attracts a network of supporters, so there is a viral movement about the acts, passing the message that the movement is positive and winning, hence the dissemination of the feeling that people can arrive at the time they want. Engdahl (2009), Korybko (2015) and Leirner (2020) are adamant that the media and psychological preparation of the "color revolutions" is designed for people to take it as their cause, even if they do not understand the real reason for the process. One must keep in mind that the articulators work with planted information, the goal is not to tell the truth, but to sensitize the mass, for this they use the collective consciousness of the territory.

Fagundes (2020), for example, explains that in Nicaragua in 2018, there was a "flood" of ads coming from Facebook, through fake profiles, together with millions of WhatsApp messages calling for demonstrations. The news about a possible unilateral pension reform, which was the "event," was joined by fake news about the killing, by police forces, of a student protesting at the Universidad Centroamericana

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[5] The impression that the demonstrations are calm and everyday arouses the feeling that it is welcoming, and as the social media work recording the actions uninterruptedly, they give the citizens the idea that they can join at any time, so people schedule themselves to participate in the acts, so they can fulfill a day's work and, after work, join the other demonstrators, as well as through their social and virtual media networks they circulate messages of support, calls, and the ideology of the articulators of the "colorful revolutions.

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(UCA). There was a series of shares about the student's death, mobilizing feelings of solidarity in society; in Nicaragua this type of narrative has strength due to the dictatorial regime that occurred in the country.

These dynamics enable and are fed back with the application of the swarm technique, that is, the engineering behind the "color revolutions" works with agglomerations and progressions of the block demonstrations (as we can see in figure 2), a hive mind is created, groups of people appear from all sides carrying placards, performing symbolic acts (bonfires, dances, percussion instruments, clothes of the same color, etc.), depending on the context, elderly people or women with children are positioned in the front line of the so-called "gangs" (operational cells) or only women (so the police are inhibited from dispersing the crowd) (Arquilla & Ronfeldt, 2000; 2000; Engdahl, 2009).

Figure 2: Colored revolutions - Brazil, Ukraine and China

Source: Floresti, 2018; Lit-Qi, 2018; Journal of Commerce, 2019.

The leaders, trained and camouflaged in the midst of the crowds, maneuver the masses into networked movements, some units of the "gangs" or operational cells clash with the security forces, others disperse and move toward a target with greater media repercussion, and the advances are programmed to be carried out as if the swarms were something amorphous, occupying the spaces, appearing to be disorganized (or that they are leaderless demonstrations, as the mainstream press claims), but are deliberately structured. For such operations information technologies are fundamental (Aequilla & Ronfeldt, 2000; Engdahl, 2009) . Points out Korybko (2015) that the social platforms Google Maps,

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YouTube, Facebook, and Twitter, all available on modern cell phones, are applied together to create chaos in the target society and help in the formation of the swarms:

> Facebook is the portal for gathering and advertising the color revolution movement. It recruits supporters and allows the creation of closed groups in which anti-government activists can meet and discuss their strategies virtually. Once the decision is made to start the color revolution, Google Maps is used to plan protest routes, locate public areas (typically parks) where activists can organize beforehand, and identify the best places for the swarm of protesters to gather ... During urban combat against security services, Google Maps can quickly display escape routes for combatants and help them strategize their attacks. This information, including the dissemination of messages of any nature to all members of the movement, can be transmitted instantly via Twitter. Finally, activists can film the proceedings with their cell phones and post videos favorable to the movement (and potentially misleading and/or edited) on Youtube. They can then use the same Twitter and Facebook accounts, or others, to advertise their videos on the Internet in an attempt to get as many views as possible. Hashtags help organize information so that it is possible to retrieve results quickly, as well as making it easier to search Google and other search algorithms (Korybko, 2015).

The goal is to "viralize" the demonstrations, generating international exposure, especially in the West, so that governments will hold public demonstrations, create consensus, and try to get involved in domestic and sovereign affairs of those under attack by the "color revolutions."

(Korybko, 2015). The first time such techniques were used was in Serbia, in the Milosevic deposition process; it was not necessarily the aforementioned platforms, but the technologies available at the time. According to Engdahl (2009), there was "... the use of the Internet - especially 'chat rooms,' instant messaging, and blogs - along with cell phones or cell phones, including SMS text messaging."

In the demonstrations in Egypt and Tunisia (in 2010/2011), Twitter played a key role, the organizers made use of the hashtags #algeria, #egypt, #feb14, #morocco, #sidibouzide, #yemen and managed to give a transnational character to the protests, protesters were called from other countries; a process that expanded the flows of sharing of information about the acts on social networks, as well as expanded the international repercussion of the movements (Bartkowiak et. al. , 2017).

In this way, regardless of which country he was in, the person who adhered to the narrative that justified the outbreak of the "color revolution" called on other supporters to compose groups of protesters, and the use of social networks drew the attention of actors in the West.

In Brazil, Facebook served to organize, combine the actions and spread the locations and demonstrations (Fidelis & Lopes, 2015), two Facebook features were of utmost importance: the events and the groups. The first, in addition to serving to convene, are the central tools for dissemination of images, videos and sites that deal with the actions of demonstration; in the groups occurs the maintenance of permanent environments of interaction and engagement of the common cause:

> ... the demonstrations that took to the streets of hundreds of Brazilian cities during the month of June 2013 ... were mostly coordinated through the creation of events on Facebook, and the groups - which function as a meeting point for the most engaged citizens, interested in following the collective organization of the movements, sharing information and discussing the actions conducted online and offline (Rossini, 2014, p. 315).

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In this way, in addition to organizing and calling for demonstrations, social networks also make it possible to hold debates about the narrative that foments the protest, allows virtual activism, which is key to reaching the collective consciousness and creating the hive mind of the "colorful revolutions."

In Bolivia in 2019, after the reports of electoral fraud, there was an insurgency of police and military who broadcast their actions through social media to call for further acts of uprising against the government, moreover, more than 68,000 fake Twitter accounts were created in the week of the coup and in the days after to disseminate false information against the governments, including, more than half of these accounts appeared as followers of the coup leaders. In addition: "Twitter bots even promoted 14 campaigns against Evo and denying the coup, such as #NoFueGolpeFueFraude ... both on Twitter and Facebook, fakes news that Morales had ties with drug trafficking were massively spread, reproduced by members of the Venezuelan opposition" (Penido & Stédile, 2021, p. 94).

These technologies have helped to network people together like swarms of bees. That is why protests must be simultaneous, the intention is to create a sense of chaos and disorient the police and give outsiders the idea that the movement is bigger than it really is, as Korybko (2015) states, everything is planned and even if the police manage to stop one of the operational units ("gangs") of protesters, others will reach the destination place, the established target.

It should also be noted that the protests that are based on swarm techniques stem from military strategies that have been adapted for the civilian and urban sphere. Arquilla & Ronfeldt (2000) explain that network warfare uses swarm formation as a method of warfare, in which the military maneuver units are mobilized on the ground through small, dispersed, and interconnected units, groups called "gangs" organized in clusters, the intention being that they can deliver attacks from all sides; in swarm formation, the components (the military) must be together and the enemy must think that there are several attacks, distinct, but with the same objective. This is how the demonstrations and protests of the "color revolutions" work.

Moreover, the swarms will be combined with non-violent methods, the responsible for the theory that deals with such methods is Gene Sharp, who is the guru of the "color revolutions" and his books "From Dictatorship to Democracy" (first published in 1993) and "There are realistic alternatives" (from the year 2003) are the "bibles" of the organizations that led the demonstrations, Their tactics have been taught and used in Serbia, Georgia, Kyrgyzstan, Ukraine, Egypt, Libya, Tunisia, Venezuela, Cuba, Nicaragua (Sussman & Krader, 2008; Engdahl, 2009; Ortega, 2009; Fagundes, 2020) and the groups leading the uprisings publicly admit that they have come into contact with the books; the first book, for example, has been translated into more than thirty languages.

In the works, Gene Sharp makes suggestions for organizing groups that will resist with nonviolent tactics with the goal of overthrowing dictatorships or centralized governments (which he does not define what they are), his observations are based on the analyses he also performs on the points of vulnerability of these governments, in this way, the author states, resistance by uniting the knowledge of the weak points

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of a structure, of the power relations that sustain it with the application of nonviolent methods has in hand a powerful weapon of deposition of dictators. Gene Sharp, explains that:

> Nonviolent struggle is a much more complex and varied form of struggle than violence. It draws on an arsenal of psychological, social, economic, and political weapons used by the population and social institutions, which are referred to as protests, strikes, noncooperation, boycotts, discontent, and people power [...] a government can govern only after securing the necessary sources of power, i.e., the cooperation, submission, and obedience of the population and social institutions. Political defiance, unlike violence, is particularly suited to the destruction of these sources of power (Sharp, 2010).

The proposal is interesting, it also suggests "paths" for the period after the fall, so in the book one comes into contact with ideas that go beyond the participation by protest, however, the ideas that please the articulators of the "colored revolutions" are only the techniques of mass disobedience. Korybko (2015) states that Gene Sharp's books have become manuals of the "colored revolutions," in reality, the public activities of these coups; which succeed because they are perpetrated from the manipulation of the democratic structure. Both in "From Dictatorship to Democracy" and in the work "There are realistic alternatives" it is possible to come into contact with the famous 198 methods of non-violent protest and persuasion, which are divided into 1) methods of non-violent persuasion; 2) methods of social, economic, political non-cooperation; 3) methods of non-violent intervention; among which are[6] :

1.   **FORMAL STATEMENTS:** 1. public speeches, 6. group or mass petitions;

2.   **COMMUNICATION WITH WIDER PUBLIC:** 7. slogans, cartoons and symbols, 11. Recordings, radio, television and video;

3.   **SYMBOLIC PUBLIC ACTS:** 18. Display of flags and symbolic colors, 22. Nudity as a form of protest, 23. Destruction of one's own property (houses, documents, etc.), 28. Symbolic sounds ("symbolic songs," use of whistles, bells, sirens, etc.), 30. Crude gestures;

4.   **PUBLIC ASSEMBLIES:** 48. Protest meetings, 50. Educational forums with various speakers (teach-in);

5.   **ALTERNATIVES TO OBEDIENCE AVAILABLE TO CITIZENS:** 136. Disobedience in disguise, 137. Refusal to disperse from a sit-in or meeting, 138. Sit-down occupation to take control of that place (sitdown), 141. Civil disobedience to "illegitimate" laws;

6.   **PHYSICAL INTERVENTION:** 162. sit-in protest, 163. Occupy standing (stand-in) from dictatorship to democracy, 164. Occupation of discriminatory means of transportation (ride-in), 166. Concentration of moving people in a symbolic place (mill-in), 169. Nonviolent incursions (e.g., with leaflets or food), 170. Nonviolent invasion, 172. Nonviolent obstruction (usually temporary), 173. Nonviolent occupation.

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[6] We will reproduce some of the actions in their entirety, without changes, the way they are in the version of the book we are using as a reference, as well as keeping the original numbering of the methods.

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The aforementioned actions, according to our research, are the most common, have been used in different "color revolutions" and applied in conjunction with swarm techniques. Such techniques could be perceived in the Euromaidan in Ukraine in 2014, in the Tahrir square in Egypt in the year 2011 and in the universities in Nicaragua in 2018, in addition, the methods were used in the "colored revolutions" of Serbia, Georgia, Kyrgyzstan, Ukraine, in Egypt, Libya, Tunisia and in the attempts in Venezuela and Cuba (Sussman & Krader, 2008; Engdahl, 2009; Ortega, 2009; Fagundes, 2020).

c) Sacred Victim" Technique: #progression to unconventional warfare

In the first stages of the "color revolutions" the actions avoid violent confrontations with the security forces; in these phases the participants perform acts and performances that pass on to the general public that there is no violence in the demonstrations, the goal at this point is to draw the attention of different segments of the population, manipulating the elements already disseminated in the Psychological Operations that preceded the demonstrations (Fernandes, 2022).

When the adhesion of various segments of the population is forceful, there is the stage in which during the protests will be inserted the techniques that will enable the progression to the future unconventional warfare, at this stage the element of the "sacred victim" comes into play; this technique is associated with the method of betrayal; the articulators of the demonstrations need a reason to start the most incisive confrontation, usually a tragedy occurs with a sympathizer or member of the movement, provoked by the very agents who implemented the color revolution (Stone, 2016).

The technique of mythifying the "sacred victim" is important to keep the "color revolution" alive and the manipulation on sympathizers around the cause. It is difficult to conduct protests for months on end, people get tired, tensions decrease, demonstrations can coincide with holidays and harsh winters, so the articulators of the "color revolutions" create an infrastructure with concerts, cultural events, and the occupation of a symbolic place always has a welcoming air (Korybko, 2015; Stone, 2016; Fernandes, 2022). Thus, when tempers cool down, it is necessary to create a discourse around a "sacred victim" to keep the demonstrations active and progress to the next phases.

In the Cedar Revolution in Lebanon in 2005, the "sacred victim" was Rafik Hariri, the politician was assassinated and the narratives about his death amplified the demonstrations; Viktor Yushchenko in 2004 in Ukraine took on this role after he was poisoned; the story carried in the press was that the Russians were responsible, thus the "Orange Revolution" gained momentum helping him win the election (Stone, 2016).

In Brazil, then-presidential candidate Jair Messias Bolsonaro was stabbed during the 2018 election campaign; we interpret the episode as an attempt to turn him into a "sacred victim" to sensitize voters; we reach this conclusion because around the event there are many suspicions; especially regarding the investigation processes conducted by the authorities, motivations and origin of the aggressor (Estadão, 2019), as well as the episode also served to create the narrative that the left in Brazil tried to assassinate

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him, in this case, the speeches were given by the sectors that supported the then candidate (Gilberto, 2019; Tv 247, 2021); but also because the instrumentalization of what happened, by the subjects that subsidized Bolsonaro's campaign, is very close to the strategies of schismogenesis (Bateson, 1936), that is, strategies of created and controlled polarizations. Fake news and schismogenesis were used during the then-candidate's campaign in the year 2018; and are part of the Hybrid Warfare strategies installed in Brazil by his supporters[7] (Leirner, 2020).

In Ukraine in 2013/14 an event that occurred around the Euromaidan (a square occupied by protesters in opposition to the president) changed the course of the "color revolution" installed in the country. On 11/30/2013, highly trained members of the Pravy Sektor infiltrated groups of protesters at the Euromaidan and began a series of provocations and assaults on the police, who reacted. However, the press did not report the part that falls to the neo-Nazi group; it was reported that the police officers used violence to disperse the protesters so that Kiev City Hall could install a Christmas tree (Stone, 2016).

Vitaliy Zakharchenko (Interior Minister and national police chief) points out that Kiev City Hall Chief of Staff Sherhiy Lyovochkin, together with opposition leader Arseniy Yatsenyuk articulated the

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[7]It should be noted that the actions of controlled polarization (schismogenesis) were used throughout the presidential election campaign in 2022 by the two favorite candidates, Lula and Bolsonaro, their speeches fed each other, Lula the candidate of the "left" and Bolsonaro the candidate of the "extreme right", both attacked each other in speeches, the latter said that Lula was a representative of international communism and had set up the Brazilian state to carry out acts of corruption; the Workers' Party (PT) candidate accused Bolsonaro of being fascist and corrupt, as a result of his irresponsible actions in the fight against Covid-19 and articulations that shielded and hid the way the public budget was being used, an episode known as "secret budget". However, Bolsonaro is not in fact the protagonist, as Leirner (2020) states, the former president is a para ray, he is just the public agent, who is behind the processes of his government is a consortium of military personnel and the Institutional Security Cabinet (GSI), including, the former vice-president Hamilton Mourão (elected in the 2022 ballot senator of the Republic) is, alongside General Augusto heleno (responsible for the GSI during Bolsonaro's administration), the main leadership of the consortium of generals in question. Apparently, Heleno and Mourão - and former judge Sergio Moro (also elected senator in 2022) - are the representatives of sectors linked to the US government. Likewise, Lula's victory occurred with the support of public names that supported the coup against the president Dilma in 2016. Rousseff suffered an *impeachment* process based on a false legal thesis (Proner, 2016), which became known as "pedaladas ficais"; her removal from office created the political climate for Lula's arrest in 2018 and helped elect Bolsonaro; politicians who are now part of the current government were responsible for the process, as an example, Senator Simone Tebet, who supported Lula in the second round and is currently Minister of Planning voted for the *impeachment of* Rousseff, supported the false thesis; as well as Geraldo Alckmin, vice-president of the Republic and Minister of Industry and Commerce, at the time publicly affirmed that the *impeachment* was legal (even with the false thesis against Rousseff), thus positioning himself, because at the time he was governor of São Paulo and one of the main leaders of the Social Democracy Party (PSDB), party that started the articulations against the Coup of Dilma and the former Presidential candidate and Senator of the Republic Aécio Neves, who in 2014 when he was defeated at the polls, began to make the speech that the elections were rigged; As well as the Lula/Alckmin slate had the support of Renan Calheiros, who voted for the impeachment when he was a senator and was contemplated with the nomination of his son to the Ministry of Transportation. Therefore, the coalition of the PT with Alkmin, Tebet and other supporters of the false thesis of crime of responsibility against Dilma, represents the return of old forces of the Brazilian political scene; apparently; relocated from the spheres of power with the rise of Bolsonaro. Thus, the polarization created and controlled in the 2022 elections, in our opinion is to camouflage the forces behind the process and the Hybrid War "battles" currently taking place in Brazil. As well, the climate of polarization will be maintained for the next four years, the first confirmation of this, are in the post-election demonstrations; thousands of Bolsonaro supporters protested against Lula's victory in various parts of Brazil, this maintains a climate that there is discontent from a portion of the Brazilian population, as well as continuing support for Bolsonaro; there is a maintenance of the sphere of polarization and of the discourses around the former president, so the media continues to talk about coup actions, that there is a possibility that Bolsonaro will be held responsible for the demonstrations, that this accusation may be added to the others related to him and that concern his irresponsible actions during the pandemic, In other words, the accusations are amplified only against Bolsonaro and there is a concealment of the other responsible parties; moreover, the position that the broad front - headed by Lula with the support of some of the articulators of the coup against Dilma - was the right choice to fight the Bolsonaro government is ratified. In short, both power groups cloak themselves with schismogenesis. Remembering that the subjects of both groups occupy elective and commission positions in the Brazilian political scene.

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event. Lyovochkin authorized the installation of the Christmas tree, even after being informed by Zakharchenko that it would not be possible; the permission was given because the press was on the Maidan, the action was arranged with members of the Pravy Sektor, who under Yatsenyuk's orders infiltrated among the peaceful protesters and initiated provocations to the police officers so that the reaction of the security forces would be recorded by the press (Stone, 2016).

On 11/30/2013, the peaceful demonstrators became the first "holy victims" of the Ukrainian "color revolution", the members of the Pravy Sektor provoked the police, but the ones who actually suffered the retaliations were subjects who did not know about the articulation. The Ukrainian secret service had already informed the Minister of the Interior that the trend was that the acts against the government would cool down, so there was no reason for a violent reaction by the state, however, the articulation of November 30 rekindled the mood and the practices of extreme right-wing groups began to be legitimized (Stone, 2016).

There is also the use of what Korybko calls the "lieutenant," the public agents (agglutinating symbol); usually an activist becomes the focus of attention at demonstrations, giving interviews, shouting slogans, and leading public performances such as building invasions, confrontations with police, etc.; the false leadership. In Ukraine, the other "sacred victim" was Tetiana Chornovol ; the activist became known for her acts of "bravery" against the Yanukovich government, appearing in

In Christmas 2013 she was brutally beaten in a traffic fight, and even after the perpetrators were arrested and confessed to their motives, the international and domestic media supporters of the "revolution" in Ukraine began to associate the episode with the protests; Tetiana, moreover, was a member of the Fatherland party and her mythification helped motivate supporters to continue protests over the Christmas period[8] (Stone, 2016).

Along with the "sacred victim" technique, there is the use of violent protest phases that precede the "guerrilla warfare" stage, which is a sub-stage of the next phase the "color revolution", the unconventional warfare (i.e. the rigid coup). According to Korybko (2015), in Hybrid Warfare demographic/social characteristics are taken into consideration to overthrow the government of the target state; thus, in some cases the regime is changed only by applying the "color revolutions"; in another context, it is necessary to operationalize the second stage, the unconventional warfare; this stage has three other sub-stages, a) the "incipient stage", 2) the "guerrilla war" and 3) the "movement war".

In the first sub-stage, the clandestine structure of support for the invasion is assembled, especially the infrastructure of information and military and psychological operations, this phase is confused with the

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[8] Between January 22 and February 20, 2014, the most violent and fatal clashes of the Ukrainian "color revolution" took place; in this context, another "sacred victim" was mythified; on the morning of January 22, 2014, a video with images of Sergei Nigoyan's body circulated on social networks, the causes of his death were not clarified, but the widespread discourse was that the police had murdered him. Sergei had become a symbol of the Maidan struggle, always with an air of hope and naivety, his videos were echoed on the networks, another "sacred victim" that was used to reinforce the sentiment against Yanukovich and give motivations to continue the demonstrations and start another phase of the unconventional war. Sergei Nigoyan became the first martyr of the Euromaidan, among those who became known as "the heavenly hundred" (because of the number of deaths in the Maidan clashes).

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protests of the "color revolution," especially to find out how the population will react to the application of violent methods in the midst of the demonstrations. In the "guerrilla war", a state of chaos is structured, if this phase has been initiated it is because the first confrontations of protesters with the security forces allowed the progression to the naturalization of paramilitary guerrilla tactics, terrorism, sabotage and fake news[9] , it is the moment of insurrection. The "war of movement" is the final phase, the process of seizing power, of ousting the government through military offensive; it may not happen if the governing system (usually through parliament) promotes the deposition of the chief executive, however, if it is operationalized and fails, a return to the "guerrilla war" phase may occur (Korybko, 2015).

Therefore, in the incipient stage violent methods are inserted that will produce or "holy victims" and to prepare the guerrilla forces; Besides Ukraine, in Venezuela, Brazil and Nicaragua such actions have been registered. In Venezuela, what became known as guarimbas were used, violent actions provoked by extreme right-wing groups. The guarimbas consisted of blocking roads, of barricades, the guarimbas promoted actions against police, attacked hospitals, government buildings, set fire to people (Iela, 2017); such actions were idealized and articulated by Leopoldo López , the same who supported the movement of self-proclamation of Juan Guaidó to the presidency in Venezuela, the guarimbas are responsible for hundreds of deaths, they were the main instruments of destabilization of the Maduro government; however, sectors of the international media portrayed the deaths and disturbances promoted by the guarimbas (who supported Guaidó's coup attempt) as actions of the Maduro government (Arkonada, 2019).

In Brazil in 2013, some extreme right-wing groups also promoted acts of violence against the police (André, 2020), as well as several records of undercover police infiltrating the demonstrators and initiating confrontational actions against the police itself[10] . There are numerous records of undercover police officers infiltrating the demonstrations and provoking confrontations. Moreover, in Brazil there are suspicions that plainclothes soldiers started the confrontations dressed in a way that resembled the blacks blocks.

The expression of violence in Nicaragua in 2018 were the tranques, barricades that had offensive and defensive functions, were used to block highways and streets and access to neighborhoods, demonstrations against the police and the population occurred with the support of the tranques (Fagundes, 2020); several coordinated actions based on these groups were used to assassinate segments of the Nicaraguan population. The actions of the tranques compare to that of the Pravy Sector in Ukraine in 2013/2014.

There are reports that hooded men threw Molotov cocktails at houses that were set on fire with people inside; the barricades were usually formed at the entrances to the neighborhood being attacked, so

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[9] These are used to internationalize the process and to recruit sympathizers (such as mercenaries, terrorist groups) and to attract public international funding (the "secret" funding comes from the government that articulated and put in place the operation), in addition, they serve to create the narratives for intervention by conventional forces. Fake news is possible because in the early stages the operational information network has been set up.
[10] State Vandalism - Infiltrated Cops Start Violence at Rio Protests #EagoraCabral? Available at: <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=xK9ZdV1Ao-4>. Accessed May 25, 2022.

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the police were prevented from entering and the population from escaping the perimeter (180 Grados, 2019). The barricades also served to attract police forces (the anti-disturbance division) and soon after were shot by snipers, so police and protesters were hit by the projectiles (Sefton, 2018; Lárcom, 2019).

In Cairo in 2011, groups of people mounted on horses suddenly appeared dispersing the peaceful demonstrations, at first thought to be the Egyptian government retaliating against the population, but in reality it was a planned act inside the physical infrastructure of the movement in order to draw the attention of the international community.

There is a synchrony in these events of violence amidst the swarms, in fact in all cases, the goal of the violent actions was to demonstrate to the international media that the territories experiencing the "color revolution" were in a state of chaos. Moreover, these are cases that demonstrate attempts and progressions toward unconventional warfare. In addition, it should be noted that in the midst of the demonstrations, the dissemination of fake videos and photos, usually of fake attacks received by protesters, also became a practice (Engdahl, 2009; Fagundes, 2020).

D) The colors are on the surface, but it is in the "shadows" that we must observe: watch out!

Another important issue is the international network that is behind the protests (as can be seen in Figure 3), Carvalho (2019) states that the "color revolutions" are supported by agencies and foundations linked to the United States of America that fund and oversee NGOs that work around issues of democracy, human rights, and the world of work, They are international in scope, and by the way, these organizations will dialogue with research institutes and philanthropic organizations that are responsible for funding, training, and providing logistical and media support to the groups that will articulate and lead the actions in the target state's territory.

At the top of the hierarchy is USAID and the CIA (Carvalho, 2019), the latter began to more assiduously support covert missions against the enemies of the United States from the 2000s, Engdahl (2009) and Ehret (2019), state that the American intelligence agency adopted such a posture, because coups using democracy cause less damage to the international image, as well as during the twentieth century, the CIA promoted operations that had negative repercussions in the American political environment. Thus, the CIA would work in the "shadows", while USAID and the NED act on the "surface" of operations promoting pro-US democratic regimes, the last two are the main actors in the processes of "democratic transition" around the world; in Serbia in 2000 they financed the training of groups like Otpor and the propaganda against Milosevic's government, USAID disbursed about $23 million dollars (Sussman & Krader, 2008).

The United States Agency for International Development (USAID) has also channeled funds to the "color revolutions" in Georgia and Ukraine, the procedures occur through commercial contracts via the National Endowment for Democracy (NED), which is second in the hierarchy and which acts through the institutions National Democratic Institute (NDI), Center for International Private Enterprise (CIPE), American Center for International Labor Solidarity (SC), International Republican Institute (IRI), these will

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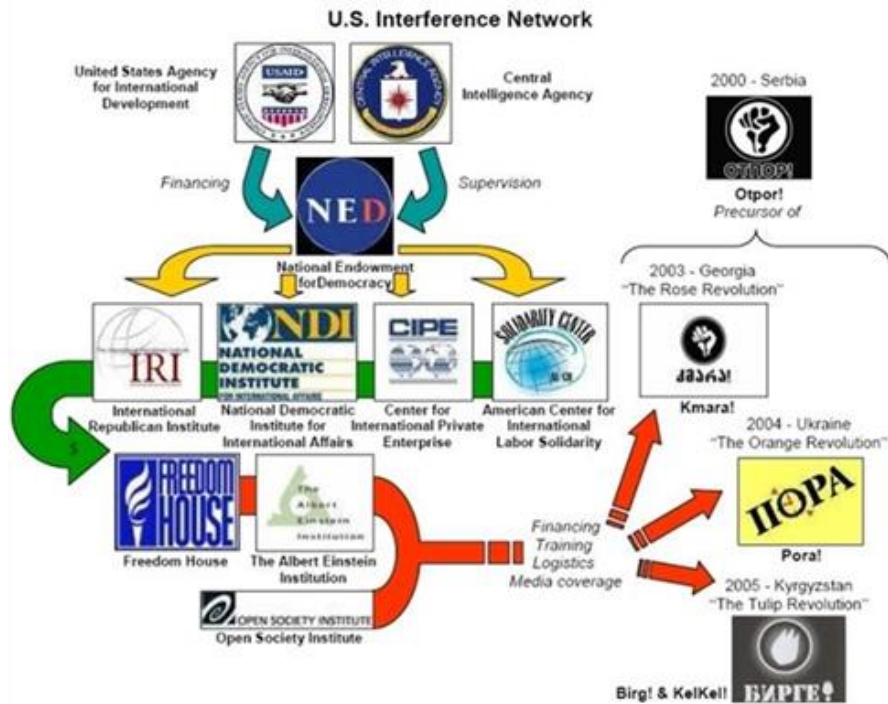*(no violence!) we strike democracy*

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act with the training and logistics sector according to the areas in which they are activists (Carvalho, 2019). NDI and IRI work directly with political organizations and NGOs and are instruments of the Democratic and Republican parties in international territory (both created the organizations). CIPE works closely with business and industry associations and think tanks (public and private) and SC is together with labor associations and unions (Barbosa, 2018).

NED, through NDI and IRI, was very active in the "colored revolutions" in Serbia; it was IRI, for example, that funded Otpor's training courses with Robert Helvey, a US Army colonel and Defense Intelligence Agency analyst, the courses trained Otpor leaders in the techniques of nonviolent action (Engdahl, 2009).

In this network, the actor of paramount importance is NED, it operates in over ninety countries through NDI, CIPE, SC and IRI , these depending on the relationships in the territories of the target states provide funding, training, training and assistance to local NGOs, media groups (traditional and alternative), political parties, trade unions, business associations and any kind of "pro-democracy and human rights" movement, in addition they fund youth-oriented programs aimed at training leaders to oppose governments (Carvalho, 2019; Fagundes, 2020).

Furthermore, it was present in several regime changes through "color revolutions" in Serbia, Ukraine, Georgia, Kyrgyzstan, Egypt, and Nicaragua (Sussman & Krader, 2008; Engdahl, 2009; Ortega, 2009; Fagundes, 2020), as well as acting in several recent political destabilization operations - known as "tension strategies" - in Venezuela, Kashmir, Hong Kong, and Tibet; the Open Society Institute was the link to the operations; the strategy is to fund operations of separatist groups, trade unions, student movements, and fake opinion makers, the discourse always revolves around democracy; and the insertion of institutions like Open Society is through key sectors, with philanthropic aid for health, education food (Ehret, 2019).

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Figure 3: International network of the "color revolution

Source: Carvalho, 2019

There is a pattern of operations in the coup/humanitarian aid/democracy relationship: the team responsible for humanitarian aid denounces the lack of respect for human rights, then there are pro-democracy protests, the government represses them, and the international media usually denounces them, the target state rejects the entry of humanitarian aid after the disturbances because it suspects that it is a strategy of external agents and is then stigmatized by the international community as an undemocratic country that disrespects human rights; movements that reinforce the discourse delivered in the international community about the target state being a "dictatorship", in Venezuela and Hong Kong this was the pattern between 2014 and 2017. In Hong Kong, the NED has gifted over $1.7 million in grants to coordinate protests, including the 2014 "Occupy HK" (Ehret, 2019).

It should be noted that the NED, although its creation occurred during the first Reagan administration (1981-89), is the result of articulation of the Trilateral Commission in the 1970s in communion with the U.S. government to erase the bad image of the CIA because of its sabotage operations and instabilities in other countries and on national territory (Engdahl, 2009; Ehret, 2019), the scope was to create a new agency to assume the functions of covert destabilization of governments and political regimes abroad. It is in this context that Samuel Huntington, Michel Crozier, and Joji Watanuki presented the report "The Crisis of Democracy" for Trilateral Commission, the document pointed out that Western democracies would collapse or not function properly in the process of controlled disintegration of the Western economy, Thus, a series of macroeconomic procedures were presented to favor the insertion of transnational groups in the world-economy that were related to the United States' breach of the Bretton Woods agreements, the process was operated by Paul Volcker, when he was chairman of the Federal Reserve. The report considered obtaining support and resources from foundations, unions, political parties, business associations, and when

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possible, funding from government agencies to create an institution designed to strengthen democratic institutions.

From this articulation was created the organization that became known as the American Political Foundation (APF), in 1979, during the Jimmy Carter administration. The foundation was created by a group of diverse actors and its constitution brought together representatives that would later make up the NED: members of the dominant classes and sectors of the United States. APF was made up of former national security advisors, such as Henry Kissinger, leaders of the Democratic and Republican parties, large business associations and unions, agents of the intelligence and security sector of the US government, among them people associated with the CIA. It was the APF that developed the study known as "The Democracy Program" which recommended the creation of a bipartisan, non-profit, non-governmental corporation under the supervision of the US Congress. The bipartisan corporation later became the NED and the "Democracy Program," approved by Congress in 1981, was attached to NED's functions in 1983 (Barbosa, 2018).

Thus, NED was founded in 1983, with an initial funding of $ 31 million coming from four organizations: The American Federation of Labor and Congress of Industrial Organizations (AFL-CIO), which controls the SC, the US Chamber of Commerce's CIPE, IRI, and NDI (Ehret, 2019). The operationalization of the NED was a major step by the stablishment toward a broad program of U.S. political assistance and foreign policy headed by the "Democracy Program," whose core components are diplomacy, economics, and the military, adding in the last two decades the building of new political actors in other countries, rather than simply influencing domestic actors (Carothers, 2010; Barbosa, 2018).

Thus, NED was created to replace the CIA's operations with civil society and political organizations, it is a private law foundation, but with ample government funding (especially from the US) and provides foreign assistance to the US government, having ties with the State Department (it is a kind of subagency of this Department) and acting through NDI, IRI, CIPE and SC, its objective is to "promote" democracy (in the American way) and the free market. NED manages to structure a network endowed with capillarity and capacity for creation and financial, technical and intellectual support among various actors; it acts at the grassroots and through its institutes and network that can exert influence on public policies (Barbosa, 2018), as well as - since it has the power to support different organizations and political forces - it can influence political regimes.

Barbosa (2018), says that the NED has great power of penetration in the territories and is an instrument of US foreign policy (soft power), narrates that in Ecuador the NED tried to break with the power of Rafael Correa, for being a progressive leftist government:

> ...starting in 2006, the presence of the NED in Ecuador drew attention for the violent increase of resources destined to this country, from an average of half a million dollars destined in 2005 to amounts that exceeded two million dollars the following year. In the confidential and secret diplomatic communication telegrams of 2006 the profiles of the candidates are reported, explaining who they are and presenting a summary of their campaign platforms, showing the risk it would be for the U.S. if Rafael Correa were to win the elections (Barbosa, 2018).

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However, the author adds:

> ... the period of greatest risk and political crisis in Ecuador was during a previous decade of Correa's government (1996- 2006), for example. A period of high corruption, demonstrations, coups, poverty, and social inequality. However, none of these difficulties that the country was in need of eliminating attracted NED's concern (Barbosa, 2018).

The issue in Ecuador was Rafael Correa, who would not align himself to the "democracy" proposed by the United States. Moreover, for Fagundes (2020), as well as USAID, the NED does the open work of the CIA, as it is responsible for exporting "democracy", its destabilization maneuvers do not need to be clandestine, through democratic symbols and values it acts in a "transparent" way, manipulating representative democracy. Another issue to be highlighted is the public positioning of the United States after the "color revolutions" of the first decade of the 21st century; Beinssinger (2007), reports that it became common place for President Bush and other representatives to visit the target countries after the regime change; just as the U.S. government spent $65 million in Ukraine in the years immediately after the Orange Revolution.

As Allen Weinstein, one of the founders of the NED, said, "A lot of what we do today was done covertly 25 years ago by the CIA" (Ballesteros, 2018). Indeed, as early as the 1980s, the CIA was responsible for operations to destabilize Soviet states and sparked the first "color revolution," the yellow revolution in the Philippines, this one helped overthrow Ferdinand Marcos.

However, as CIA actions were denounced in several regions of the world and caused public embarrassment to the U.S. government (such as the Iran-Contra Affair, in which a scheme of arms sales from the U.S. government to Iran in exchange for hostages was discovered), Sussman & Krader (2008); Engdahl (2009), Fangundes, (2020), claim that the "color revolutions," via NED, have become instruments for effecting (façade) change, which from the 2000s onwards have used the swarm techniques.

Such techniques are taught by the organizations that are at the base of the international network set up by the US government to boost the "color revolutions," the institutions responsible for training and capacitating the groups that on the ground will lead the protests and demonstrations are Fredoom House, The Albert Einstein Institute, and Open Society Fundations (Carvalho, 2019). According to Korybko (2015) at the grassroots, the institutions that make it up are in charge of(a):

1. Creation of the financial infrastructure, which consists of the creation of mechanisms that limit the impacts of any kind of interruption of foreign funding, the establishment of the domestic financial network to divert the attention of government surveillance of the transfer of international funds, the smuggling of illegal money across borders, the protection (camouflage) of the institutions/organizations that collect domestic funding;

2. Organization of the social infrastructure, which is made up of three levels, 1) the core (the vanguard), these are the people who control the organizations behind the "color revolution", they are highly trained and are the most powerful people in the target country, they are the command and the only ones

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who keep in touch with the external agent, 2) the lieutenants (assistants), usually organizations and/or people, are the recruiters, the ones who are going to expose themselves publicly, who receive the orders to promote the public acts and the ones who appear to the press (agglutinating symbols) and the "leaders" who are going to be arrested[11] . Their contact is with the core; 3) the civilians (sympathizers), are the citizens with whom the lieutenants come in contact, they are the main weapon of the "color revolution", the swarm technique depends on them;

3.   Training, here lieutenants learn 1) fundraising techniques, 2) swarm driving techniques and how to amplify the hive mind in the acts and gather more supporters, 3) how to create the best websites, craft efficient propaganda materials, and learn how to take advantage of social media and how to insert themselves into the formal instances of government;

4.   Creation of the information infrastructure, this sector is important to attract the lieutenants and civilians, two elements are part of it: 1) social media, this disseminates the ideology (liberal democracy) of the "color revolution" and summons the participants (lieutenants and sympathizers), 2) propaganda material, fundamental to disseminate the cause of the movement and appear that it is greater than it really is, here come in the graffiti, symbols, the slogans, the colors; it is the propaganda that will reach the citizen's psyche, pass the message that the "revolution" is inevitable, that it is about to happen.

In general, it is this structure that is responsible for causing the civil disobedience movements in the so-called "color revolutions", they are an integral part of the actions that will appear publicly and those that take place in the "shadows", therefore, the grassroots institutions can adapt the stages and the preparation will depend on the conjuncture, but regardless of the adaptations, organizations such as NED, Freedom House and Opon Society, through the location of the opposition groups, will always silently adopt confrontation methods in advance (Beinssinger, 2007). Generally, the actions of NGOs and government agencies occur months and even years before the "event" and demonstrations, occur in phases of preparation and support for the media sector, with funding of propaganda against the target state, use of humanitarian aid to minorities in order to carry out co-optation of social sectors against the government that will be hit, as well as actors such as Office of Transition Initiatives (OTI), use official programs to assist in the projects of deposition of presidents (Scherer, 2015). The "colorful" demonstrations are only the superficial part of the process.

In Ukraine, for example, opposition leaders received foreign investment, Dmytro Poteschin - leadership of the Pora (slogan of the opposition movement, meaning "It's time") - stated that at the end of

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[11] For example, Tetiana Chornovol in Ukraine in 2014; Kim Kataguiri and Fernando Holidey (who appeared in Brazil as members of the Movimento Brasil Livre - MBL and achieved elective positions, the former is a federal deputy and the latter was an alderman in São Paulo/SP); Sergio Moro, former judge and currently senator of the republic in Brazil; Juan Guaidó and Leopoldo López in Venezuela; even Jair Bolsonaro, former president of Brazil (who was elevated to leadership by the consortium of military men composed of Generals from the reserve army of the Academia Militar das Agulhas Negras - AMAN (Black Needles Military Academy) from the 1970s, among them Hamilton Mourão, Augusto Heleno, Eduardo Vilas Boas, and Sergio Etchegoyen, as stated by Piero Leirner and Rodrigo Pimentel. These and many others are the public agents, those who will appear and divert attention so that the core (that actually commands) is not perceived.

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2004 he managed a budget of $1 million dollars originating from the United States[12] . The Pora was the lieutenant of the "color revolution" and was supporting Viktor Yushchenko, former president of the Ukrainian Central Bank, whose wife Kateryna Yushchenko was part of the Reagan and George Bush administrations and at the time was a representative of the US-Ukraine Foundation, based in Washington D.C. (Engdahl, 2009).

In this way, the Pora was supporting a pro-United States candidate, which leads us to dispute the idea that it was a movement in the name of democracy as stated by Dmytro Poteschin, who said, "The US and European union take democracy very seriously."[13] . Democracy was already a fact in Ukraine, from a formal point of view the structure existed, it seems the Orange Revolution was a movement to remove a pro-Russian president. Thus:

> The same US government-backed NGOs that were in Georgia also produced results in Ukraine: the George Soros Open Society Institute; Freedom House; and the National Endowment for Democracy, along with its two subsidiaries, the National Republican Institute and the National Democratic Institute. According to Ukrainian reports, US NGOs, along with the conservative US-Ukraine Foundation, were active throughout Ukraine, fueling the Pora protest movement [...] and training election observers (Engdahl, 2009).

Sussman and Krader (2008) are adamant that Freedom House and the Open Society Institute (in addition to NED), for example, are the funders of Otpor's trips to various parts of the world to disseminate the techniques of nonviolence:

> Following the Serbian 'bulldozer revolution', several former foreign-trained members of the local Otpor student movement became traveling consultants on non-violent political tactics. The Serbians' trips to those countries were paid, respectively, by NED grantee Freedom House and Soros's Open Society Institute (Sussman & Krader, 2008).

Otpor is another element of the base of the international network created to promote the "color revolutions", the bulldozer revolution was the first in the current mold of "revolution" and the organization (formed supposedly by students) within the social infrastructure was a lieutenant; the organization was responsible for recruitment, training and the street demonstrations, the success of the "revolution" against Milosevic's government made it a kind of symbol for the other uprisings, soon Otpor became the international lieutenant who trains the other local lieutenants.

Egyptian activist Mohamed Adel (who was one of the lieutenants in the 2011 Cairo protests) explains that Otpor organized workshops on the outskirts of Cairo that taught Gene Sharp's techniques of nonviolence; Tunisian Amine Ghali, a member of Fredoom House in Tunisia, speaks openly that the lieutenants of the "color revolution" received training from a man coming from Belgrade who focused on the guidelines of the Serbian experience, although the "color" experience in Tunisia took place between

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[12]   The   Revolution   Business/The   Revolution   Business   subtitled.   Available   at:< https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=y25RdS7MWvY>.
[13]   The   Revolution   Business/The   Revolution   Business   subtitled.   Available   at:< https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=y25RdS7MWvY>.

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December 2010 and January 2011, Ghali confirms that since 2007, the international core had been dialoguing with the Tunisian lieutenants, a training process that began in Morocco through pro-democracy events in North Africa[14] .

It is important to say that the members of Otpor - whose symbol is a closed fist (figure 3) - are the lieutenants who move between different target states (the organization has been active in more than thirty-seven countries); apparently, this lieutenant leads the other lieutenants who also participate in actions related to social infrastructure, training, and information in other countries; we are referring to the organizations known as Kmara ("Enough!" in Georgia), Ukraine, and KelKel (which means "rebirth" in Kyrgyzstan).") from Georgia, Pora ("It is time") from Ukraine and KelKel (meaning "rebirth") from Kyrgyzstan, at various political junctures these organizations have had active participation, training lieutenants, attracting sympathizers and conducting operational infrastructures (Engdahl, 2009; Engdahl, 2016; Fagundes, 2020, Bandeira, 2013).

When the cadres of these movements appear in public they appear to be less than 40 years old, they talk about middle class apartments, and they always emphasize that the movements they led were a result of the will of the people. They are agglutinating symbols (lieutenants), it seems, within the international network of the "color revolution" they are the ones to appear. Otpor leaders, they are the ones best known to the Western public.

Figure 4: Otpor Symbol

Source:https://m.facebook.com/Novi-Otpor-166374593730851/?ref=page_internal&mt_nav=0

Srdja Popovic , founder of Otpor, is commonplace at seminars, business events, Western universities and other public activities around the world since 2011, by typing his name in online search engines and video sharing platforms it is possible to find phrases of his authorship, photos and videos, in which he speaks openly about the "color revolutions," says that they are not spontaneous acts, that there is planning, that the people are the ones who have the power - especially the youth - and that the "revolutions" have succeeded because they have used nonviolent tactics.

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[14] The Revolution Business/The Revolution Business subtitled. Available at:< https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=y25RdS7MWvY>.

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There is a talk by Popovic in the TEDx Program (shared on youtube), in which he quickly exposes some tactics and rules applied in the "color revolutions" in Eastern Europe, the Middle East and North Africa, according to the speech, it was the young people who realized how obsolete and oppressive were the regimes in which they were living, Therefore, they surprised the world by rebelling, breaking with the western perception that they were submissive (as in the Middle East, he says, they accepted military dictatorships or theocratic governments), the "people's power" was the one that overthrew the regimes, but with organization and non-violent methods[15]. Such methods are the hallmarks of the "color revolutions," so there are numerous records of the protests being held with humor, dancing, jokes, etc. (they become a big draw for people's adherence to the demonstrations), Otpor's leadership said: "You have 100,000 people in a non-violent march, one idiot or agent-provocateur throwing a stone, guess what gets all the cameras? That one guy. One single act of violence can literally destroy your moment"[16] .

Popovic's speech expresses the basis of Gene Sharp's philosophy that suggests non-violent methods to overthrow dictatorships, according to the author, violent methods work, but dictators are for this kind of struggle ready for coercion, therefore, the use of resistance without the use of violence destabilizes with the authorities. Sharp (2010) takes Martin Luther King and Ghandi's political moves as examples. Indeed, it comes as a surprise to security forces to find people dancing, carrying flowers and handing them out, performing theatrical reenactments, playing music or sitting on the ground, rather than confronting angry protesters, shouting slogans or turning over cars and throwing homemade explosives at their heads. Without a doubt, it is efficient, the state is left not knowing how to react. The training courses of organizations like Otpor or Kmara, for example, teach lieutenants how to guide sympathizers to co-opt police officers. Moreover, the discourse on the use of non-violent resistance is apparently intended to point out that it was the organized people (and only them), endowed with peaceful tactics, who were responsible for the defeat of violent and oppressive regimes.

But it seems that the public speeches Srdja Popovic are as planned as the demonstrations that she helped to promote, there is something suspicious, it seems like a mantra, as if she were pointing out that such tactics are the only ones, there is an attempt to establish the "correct" way to rebel. We know that there are groups that use other methods, the impression we get is that any other kind of action that is not the one adopted by the "color revolutions" is illicit; but why? We believe that in this way it is possible to criminalize other social movements, groups with more progressive agendas, and minorities that carry out historical domestic struggles that have nothing to do with the agenda of the external agents in the target territory. We cannot forget that the "color revolutions" are a weapon of war - of Hybrid War - and serve the interests of imperialist nations and more, the model of democracy defended is the bourgeois-liberal one. Moreover, apparently there is a marketing strategy, the intention is to tell the world that the "color revolutions" are only the result of civil society organizing itself against tyrannical governments.

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[15] TEDxKrakow - Srdja Popovic - How to topple a dictator. Available at:< https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=Z3Cd-oEvEog>.
[16] TEDxKrakow - Srdja Popovic - How to topple a dictator. Available at:< https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=Z3Cd-oEvEog>.

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Srdja Popovic has become a kind of public relations officer for the "color revolutions," and we believe that these public performances serve to conceal the support structure, that is, actors linked to the U.S. government and the European Union. It could be another action of public registration of the core (that is acting in the "shadows"), so the impression is also given that they are talking openly with Western governments to join future "revolutionary" causes, as well as, when they talk about the "revolutions", they transmit the idea of vanguard, naturalizing the processes, creating consensus to attract future sympathizers. This is one of the psychological operations inherent to the "color revolutions". We believe that the people have power, we do not want to underestimate such power, but we are demonstrating that there are other factors behind the "surface" (the demonstrations and protests) of the "color revolutions". In his public speeches there is no mention of organizations that have funded his cause, on the contrary Popovic denies any kind of funding. Why?

Last but not least, the base is composed of The Albert Einstein Institute, responsible for the theory that deals with non-violent methods. Here, it is necessary to say that such methods have an institutional and practical origin, and are what have been linked in the last ten years in TV programs, movies, lectures, and others.

The institutional origin comes from Gene Sharp's performance as a professor and researcher at Harvard University, the first ideas about the method mentioned were discussed in the program that the author taught at Harvard on non-violent actions, and it was at this institution that the author met Robert Helvey , a colonel in the US army and veteran of the Vietnam War. Helvey says that the origin of the book is related to the struggle, during the 1990s, of the National League for Democracy (LDN) against the dictatorship in Burma (now Myammar), Sharp was invited by the US military (who was a consultant to the LDN) and smuggled into the country to teach non-violent techniques to the democratic opposition, and the resistance asked him to write some material that would teach them how to move from dictatorship to democracy in a non-violent way, and this was the practice that inspired Gene Sharp to write the book[17] .

However, the researcher and Harvard professor says that he could not write something specific about Burma because he did not know the country, but decided to produce a book whose theories could be applied against any dictatorship, he also says that the work was published in English and Burmese, the book was criminalized in Burma and became an underground work, Sharp also says that a student in Indonesia bought a copy and took it to Jakarta and generated distribution of the work with the support of Muslims and contributed to democratization in Indonesia, which was also under the rule of a dictatorship, but the author does not know how the book spread around the world .

In this way, the book "From Dictatorship to Democracy" was "born" from the Burmese situation and from there it was distributed to other countries. This is the official story told in the documentary "How to Start a Revolution," directed by Scottish journalist Ruaridh Arrow. According to Korybko (2015), the

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[17] How to Start a Revolution. Available at:< https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=jqtTc_CMlJg&t=777s>.

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documentary in question is one more of the "products" produced by government agencies (and sectors of the mainstream media) to present "official" versions of the "color revolutions." Since 2011, the Voice of America (VOA), the official international broadcasting service linked to the U.S. government - and operating exclusively abroad - began to credit Sharp's theory, pointing out that the tactics he describes were key to the success of the "revolutions" in North Africa, the news was then replicated by CNN and the New York Times.

In this context, Srdja Popovic and Otpor began to speak at different public events, reinforcing the importance of the theory and pointing out that the joining of Sharp's teachings and the actions of the youth, under the guidance of Otpor, is the central element of the "color revolutions." Could this be a coincidence? As in the speeches of Srdja Popovic , in the documentary in question there is an emphasis that through non-violent methods it was and is possible to overthrow different dictatorships, although there are statements about the United States having an interest in the "revolutions", the emphasis is on the book and Otpor. Even in the documentary Robert Helvey reports that he met in Budapest with members of the National Republican Institute that was assisting the opposition movement in Serbia, at this meeting he met the Otpor people (which according to Helvey was part of the institute) and the leader Srdja. This was to be the beginning of it all, and it was from this moment on that Otpor came into contact with Sharp's books and began to practice the techniques.

We believe it is false propaganda, with only Sharp's techniques and the actions of lieutenants like Otpor it is not possible to promote governmental change, there are "pieces" missing from the puzzle. The "color revolutions" are endowed with complex infrastructure. Looking at some aspects of the Serbian "revolution" one notes the mobilization of numerous actors, including USAID, IRI, Open Society Fundations , the Konrad-Adenauer-Stiftung (KAS) and Office of Transition Initiatives (OTI), the latter of which provided support in the preparation and execution of procedures (Spoerri, 2015; Scherer, 2015).

The OTI , USAID's arm, was dynamic in the deposition process, its activities taking place between July 1997 and October 2000. USAID's documents show that the objective was to remove Milosevic from the presidency and prepared the fall of the president in four phases, the first one consisted in supporting the opposition forces, strengthening the media and giving support to NGOs, the role of the media was fundamental in preventing the president from winning a majority in the parliament in 1998; The third phase, between August 1999 and June 2000, put into practice actions of information infrastructure, directly supported civic organizations and the press in the distribution of newspapers magazines, pamphlets, produced radio and television programs, organized forums and demonstrations against the government and gave legal support to their supporters, in the fourth stage (between June and October 2000) gave direct support to political leaders in the municipalities, political parties and other groups in society, instructing them not to enter into direct conflict with the government (Scherer, 2015). In the last two phases, the tactics of the "color revolution" were already being applied.

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USAID, according to Scherer (2015), worked with the Albanian ethnic minorities in an attempt to win the sympathy of this population for foreign aid and reduce the credibility of the government; it fostered a decentralized network of US NGOs that began to operate outside the capitals, thus, the presence of international aid was all over Serbia. There was massive funding from the European Union and USAID in anti-Milosevic radio companies in the eighteen months before the president's fall, disbursing almost $80 million (Bandeira, 2013). NED funded media groups and associations, including Radio B92, Association of Independent Electronic Media, which received funding to run the "Rock for Change, Rock the Vote" campaign and the Belgrade Center for Human Rights which acted by convening academics, journalists and activists to participate directly in policy making for the opposition (Sussman & Krader, 2008).

Since 1998, there was funding for political parties willing to oppose Milosevic, creating cohesion against the regime that became known as the Democratic Opposition in Serbia, a process that facilitated the parliamentary articulation against the president, which was key to the accusations of electoral fraud and to stir the population, as well as to call them to the streets so that the media structure created by external agents could record the mass demonstrations against the government (Spoerri, 2015). The NGO called "Center for Free Elections and Democracy (CeSid) worked hand in hand with the multi-party alliance of the Democratic Opposition in Serbia, CeSid was funded by the Open Society Fundations (Sussman & Krader, 2008). Therefore,

> The mass demonstrations witnessed in 2000 were only the beginning of a process of organizing the opposition to the regime that had started in Serbia in 1997. The Otpor [...] relied on extensive media, technical, intelligence, and financial support from external agents in order to organize activities against the regime, such as mass protests, pamphleting, street agitation, etc. (Scherer, 2015).

Thus, it is a fallacy to believe that the "color revolutions" were promoted solely on the basis of people power, pulled by organized youth and using Sharp's non-violent methods, as Srdja Popovic says in his presentations and speeches to the media. Otpor, Kamara, Pora and KelKel occupy the position of lieutenants in the organizational structure of the fake revolutions, they are the public subjects, they are the ones who will "speak out", their members are the ones who will be arrested and targeted by governments, they are the agglutinating symbols, they are the visible agents. There is a public movement of Otpor carrying out a loud promotion and defense of the non-violent method as if this were the whole of the process, because the intention is to hide the engineering behind a weapon of war ("color revolutions") and especially to camouflage the core.

The core is the one in charge, as Korybko (2015) points out, when they decide to start a "color revolution" they can appear making motivational speeches in favor of the revolution or they can continue organizing the movement in the shadows. We have nothing against people power or organizing young people for democracy, but we are trying to say that "color revolutions" are geopolitical weapons, there is a complex infrastructure.

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Generally it is known that the US government has an interest in them, as does the European Union, but who specifically is interested? The US government is made up of many different branches of power. Which member of the European Union? The aspects of the international network of "revolutions" that we are demonstrating here have North American state agencies (USAID and CIA) at the top, but whose interests do they serve? Which fractions of the dominant classes in the United States? Which sectors of the American government or the EU? Which congressmen and/or senators are involved? What networks exist between these subjects in the target countries?

The funders, apparently, are the organizations and institutes linked to the West and the US government, that is, the NED (through its founding institutions: NDI, CIPE, SC and IRI), Freedom House and the Open Society Institute , which also carry out the humanitarian aid activities, which is the motto to start the support stages in the target state's territory; So, apparently, they accomplish what they propose to do, they welcome minorities, sectors of society that are on the margins, they protect the rights of human beings, they promote development actions, but the activities are paradoxical, dubious, as we reported throughout the text, as well as act to overthrow the government through official programs, as the OTI did. As far as Otpor and its versions are concerned, these organizations are not nuclei, Otpor and Sharp's techniques, are the media instrument of the "color revolutions" and not the infrastructure of the process. The non-violent methods and the mobilization of lieutenants are associated with the swarm techniques (developed in the 1960s by the RAND Corporation with CIA support) and consist of the public stage that precedes the overthrow of the government; The demonstrations and protests are linked to the preparation process that precedes them and the networks created to break with the order, when the cells (or "gangs") take the streets, sectors of the media, congressmen, sectors of the security forces have already been co-opted, the international press already has the discourse prepared and millions of dollars have already been spent. Therefore, the "color revolution" cannot be reduced to the methods and the action of the lieutenants leading the civilians (sympathizers).

4 FINAL CONSIDERATIONS

The phenomenon known as the "color revolution" is complex and involves a network of actors that move around the international system and domestic environments, but there is one unifying element between these scales, and that is democracy. At first there is an international network whose members are instrumentalizing democratic institutions to depose governments; this process, in its current form, was commonplace in the first two decades of the 21st century, with indications of its occurrence in Eastern Europe, Central Asia, North Africa, and the Americas, and is related to changes in the world order.

It was not our intention to defend or accuse actors or political regimes, however, our research shows that directly and indirectly institutions and organizations linked to the United States and the European Union participated in the regime changes in the target states affected by the "color revolutions. This leads us to conclude that such events are part of a covert war strategy in key territories of the world geopolitical

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chessboard. We do not analyze the cases individually, but it is visible that the changes of government and the attempts coincide with important regions for the maintenance of an order with Western values, especially the (Western) bourgeois representative democracy, but above all, the capitalist order ruled by the United States.

The investigation, by analyzing some of the aspects of the structure of the "colored revolutions", showed us that the governments affected by the "democratic" swarms were either in territories rich in natural resources or were governments that did not support U.S./EU foreign policy or were articulating toward other hegemonic axes.

However, these "coincidences" were not the focus of our analysis, although they appear directly and indirectly in the discussion, our intention was to demonstrate the infrastructure that generated the conditions for the development and execution of the "color revolutions", therefore, these "democratic" events of popular uprising that occurred around the world were not necessarily revolts organized by sectors of civil society dissatisfied with governments considered oppressive, old, and dictatorial.

Behind the "color revolutions" there is a set of governmental and non-governmental institutions giving financial and logistical support in the execution of coups, soft coups. Actors such as USAID, NED, OTI, Freedom House, and the Open Society Institute, Otpor (and its national versions) participate in an international network that instrumentalizes values and institutions linked to democracy in order to overthrow governments considered not aligned to the US/EU axis or strategically important to them.

We have shown that in the "color revolutions" Gene Sharp's nonviolent tactics were used, combined with swarm techniques, methods that were thought to overthrow dictatorships, however, protests with such characteristics were registered in governments democratically elected by the people, as an example, in Brazil the demonstrations of June 2013 have numerous elements of uprising to the model "color revolution", they were responsible for the fall in popularity of the president Dilma, these events enabled the consolidation of the scenario for her impeachment in 2016; Nicaragua went through a similar process, Daniel Ortega also elected democratically suffered a coup attempt along the lines of a "color revolution"; in Venezuela there were also articulations to trigger a "color revolution", at the time Chavez denounced Otpor, he was also elected by the people; in Bolivia, Evo Morales had to give up his position, international observers denounced a supposed fraud in the elections he had just won, this discourse was used in Serbia, Georgia, and other territories affected by such revolutions. So, what is a Dictatorship? Why did elected democratic governments go through such processes? Our survey shows that US state agencies were involved in the processes.

It is necessary to be alert for the discourse that has been sold for more than ten years about these "revolutions", Otpor or other groups internationally pointed as vanguards in the struggle on behalf of democracy are not carrying out these changes alone, there is heavy financing from external agents interested in the processes, there is sabotage, there is sabotage, buying of sectors of the media, co-optation of parliamentarians, use of official humanitarian aid programs to promote "shadow" operations in order to

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interfere in domestic affairs, and most dangerous, the hegemonic powers are trying to establish the democratic structure that is in their interest.

In short, there is a war going on whose central actors are using democracy to put it into practice, so the main weapon is coups in the guise of "color revolutions. The "screams come from the surface, but the danger comes from the "shadows". Watch out!

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