



The Kremlin Playbook: Understanding Russia's New Generation Warfare

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New Generation Warfare

“War is the continuation of politics by other means.”
– *Carl von Clausewitz*

“... Primarily a strategy of influence, not of brute force...breaking the internal coherence of the enemy system – and not about its integral annihilation.”



“Little green men”: Russian-speaking soldiers in unmarked uniforms appearing in Crimea in March 2014

New Generation Warfare: Examples



2007 Bronze Night riots in Estonia

- **Estonia (2007):** Launched waves of cyber attacks and economic sanctions against Estonia after its relocation of Bronze Soldier statue. Ethnic Russians in Tallinn rioted, as well.
- **Ukraine (2014):** “Little Green Men” in the Donbass.
- **United States (2016):** Hacking of DNC e-mail server.
- **Montenegro (2016):** Coup d'état and assassination plot against Prime Minister Djukanovic.
- **France (2017):** Cyber attack against Macron campaign; spread of disinformation.

Russian Objectives

“... weaken democratic institutions, erode European unity and discredit the Western model of democratic governance ... once this outcome is achieved and NATO collapses, a new European security architecture can be negotiated.” The Kremlin Playbook 2016

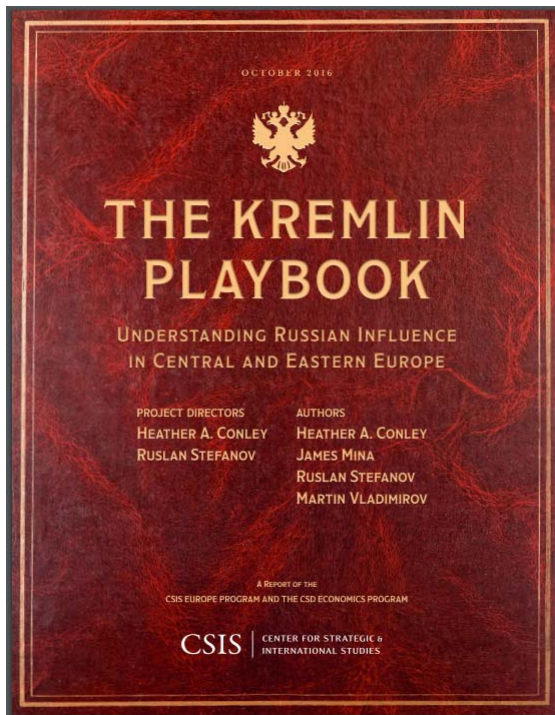
- Regime survival during extended period of decline: *“There is no Russia today if there is no Putin.”* - Deputy Chief of Staff Volodin, 2014
- Restore Russia’s historical role as great power and be viewed as military and political equal to U.S.
- Return to great power spheres of influence and reduce global credibility of the U.S. and Europe to stave off decline.



Medvedev speaks at the 2016 Munich Security Conference.

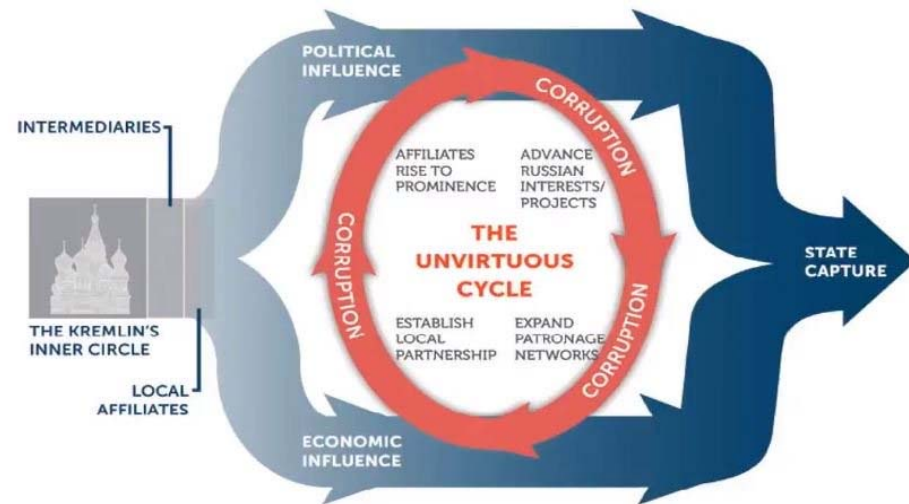
The Kremlin Playbook:

Understanding Russian Influence in Central and Eastern Europe



Key Political Findings

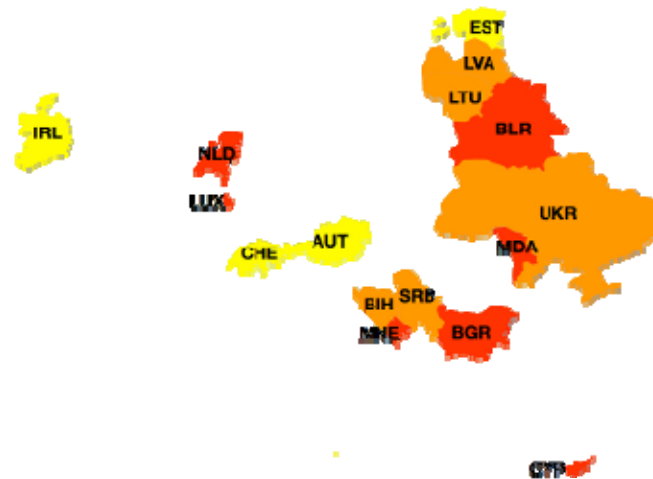
The Unvirtuous Cycle of Russian Influence



New Generation Warfare Tactics in Europe: *Economic Influence*

FDI from Russia

% share of recipient
country's GDP, 2012



Source: OECD, IP, and country authorities

Source: Vox <http://www.voxeu.org/article/europe-s-russian-connections>

New Generation Warfare Tactics in Europe: *Economic Influence*



New Generation Warfare Tactics in Europe: *Military Modernization*



New Generation Warfare Tactics in Europe: *Nuclear Posture*



New Generation Warfare Tactics in Europe: *Proxy Groups*



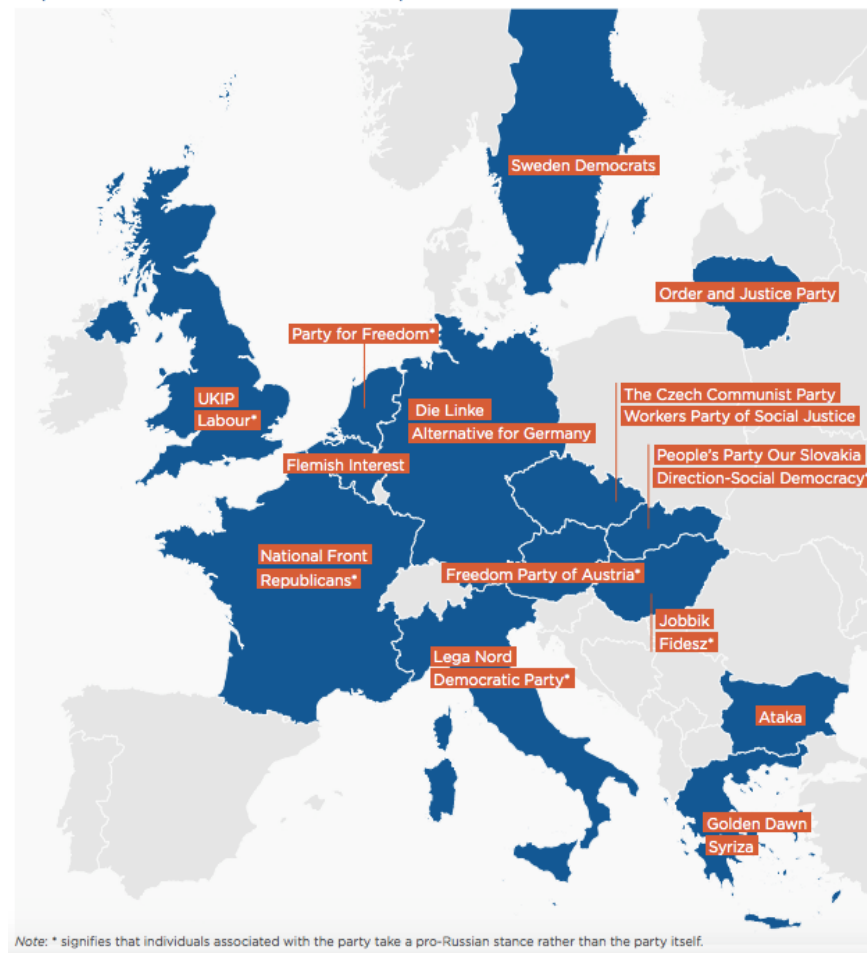
A pro-Russian separatist fighting in the trenches in the Donbas. The separatists have consistently violated the terms of the Minsk II ceasefire agreement, killing more than 1,000 Ukrainian soldiers.

New Generation Warfare Tactics in Europe: *Cyber Activities*



New Generation Warfare Tactics in Europe: *Political Patronage*

Map 1. Pro-Kremlin Political Parties in Europe



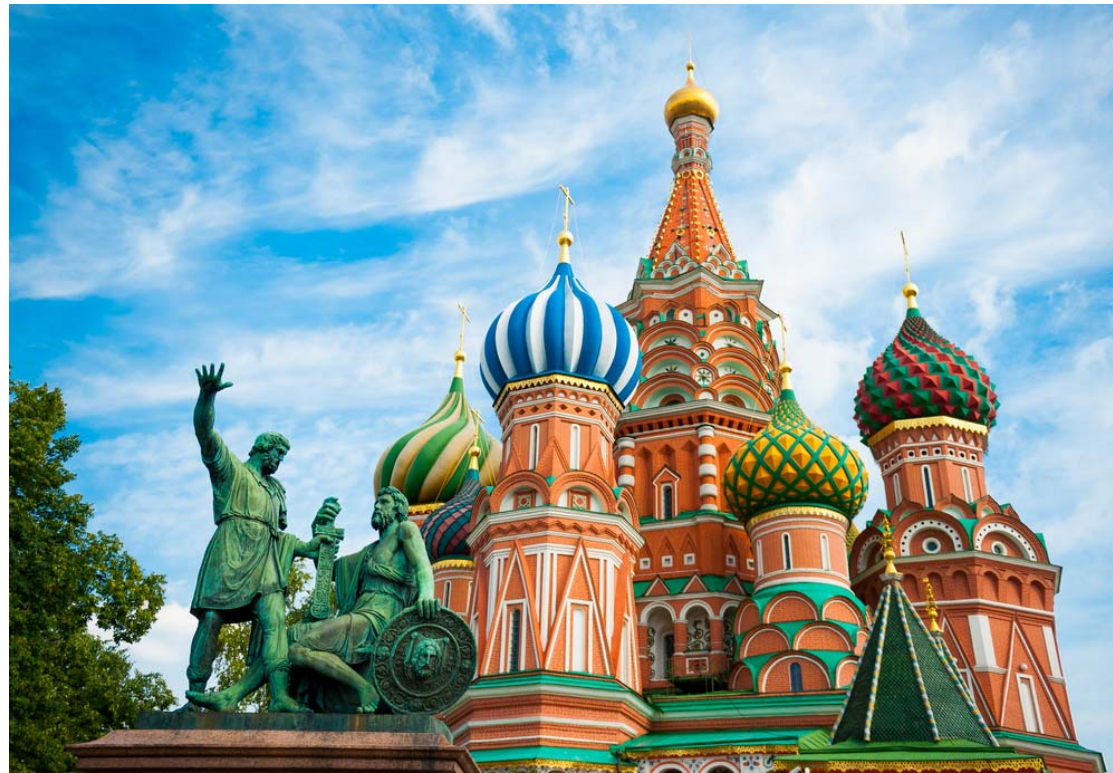
Russia's Historic Counter-Narrative



New Generation Warfare Tactics in Europe: *Russkiy Mir Foundation*



Russia as *The Third Rome*



For more information:

<https://www.csis.org/regions/europe>

The Kremlin Playbook:

<https://www.csis.org/analysis/kremlin-playbook>