

Ключові слова: гуманний націоналізм, Український національний фронт, дисидентська організація, держава загального інтересу, ліберальна демократія, вільні вибори.

Охарактеризовано концепцію «гуманного націоналізму» Українського національного фронту. Показано, что важными ее составляющими являются развитие соборного государства общего интереса или общенационального Украинского государства, установление в нем либеральной демократии, проведения свободных выборов.

Ключевые слова: гуманный национализм, Украинский национальный фронт, диссидентская организация, государство всеобщего интереса, либеральная демократия, свободные выборы

UDK 355.01

BBK 66.061.41

Vasyl Marchuk

THE CONCEPT OF THE HYBRID WAR OF THE RUSSIAN FEDERATION AGAINST UKRAINE: INFORMATION CONTEXT

The article is devoted to the essence and distinctive features of informational war which is one of the components of the hybrid war and as a phenomenon has existed from ancient times. Methods and means of information struggle are an integral part of modern armed conflicts, which allow to attack without declaring war between the parties of the conflicts. Technologies of information warfare allow to fight without direct contact. The author argues that informational attacks against Ukraine have started long ago. Its actions impair the situation inside the country and create a negative image of Ukraine abroad. There were described the main directions and methods of informational and psychological influence on the consciousness of Ukrainians and the specifics of their application. Significant sources of information propaganda of the Russian Federation were revealed.

Key words: hybrid war, information warfare, propaganda, manipulative technologies, fake messages.

The Russian Federation during all period of Ukrainian independence prevented its Euro-integration aspirations. The main objective of the Russian Federation is to subordinate the Ukrainian state to its own geopolitical goals, to restore and expand control over the part of the world and to preserve the global hegemony lost with the collapse of the USSR and economic decline.

Revolution of dignity, the collapse of the pro-Russian government in Ukraine and the emergence of a pro-Western government have demonstrated the desire to reduce the influence of Moscow on both the domestic and foreign policy of Ukraine. The Maidan has shown the formation of energetic civil society committed to pressing for the implementation of serious reform measures and determined to draw closer to the EU. Russia responded to the change of government in Kyiv by seizing Ukraine's Crimea region and annexing it in March 2014. In April 2014, armed pro-Russian separatists supported by Moscow seized parts of the Donbas region of eastern Ukraine. In recent years, the character of Russia's hostile actions against Ukraine is determined as hybrid conflict or hybrid unannounced war.

The hybrid war does not reject military actions, but reinforces them by opposition on various dimensions - political, economic, humanitarian, cultural and other. In the context of the hybrid war, we can speak about an asymmetric warfare characterized by inequality of the forces in the conflict parties and an attempt to use disadvantages of each other; an irregular war, when non-state formations as a subject of conflict use methods uncharacteristic for state regular troops; economic, political, informational war, when non-military means are applied in the relevant fields to achieve the equivalent of military victory.

According to the V. Horbulin concept, “the goals of the hybrid warfare should be achieved through undermining enemy’s military and economic potential, applying information and psychological pressure, actively supporting domestic opposition, using guerilla and diversionary methods [1]. The main forms of hybrid strategy conduct are informational activities, psychological actions and cyber-attacks directed at components of state and its citizens. Hence, Russia is using multiple instruments of power and influence, with an emphasis on nonmilitary tools, to pursue its national interests outside its borders. Nonmilitary tools include a combination of economic sanctions, political destabilization, information warfare, financial pressures, cyber-attacks and so on.

One of the forms of the Russian hybrid war against Ukraine is the information struggle. With the development of new technologies in the 90s of XX century appeared a new methods of armed struggle. These new methods of informational struggle allow to attack without the declaration of war between sides of conflicts. Such methods give opportunities to fight without contact.

Polish researcher Mirosław Banasik in his article “Russia's hybrid war in the theory and practice” [2, p. 170] called such kind of warfare like “the war of the new generation”. He refers to the definition of the Chief of General Staff of the Russian Federation V. Gerasimov. In his article clearly indicated changes in the character of armed conflicts. For a better understanding of the essence of the information warfare, we present the figure of changes proposed by M. Banasik:

Traditional military methods	New military methods
<ol style="list-style-type: none"> 1. Military action starts when strategic forces are deployed (declaration of war) 2. Frontal clashes between large units comprised mostly of ground units. 3. Defeat of the forces (of enemy), firepower, taking control over regions and borders to gain territorial control. 4. Destruction of economic power and territorial annexation. 5. Combat operations on land, air and sea. 6. Management of troops by rigid hierarchy and discipline. 	<ol style="list-style-type: none"> 1. Military action starts by groups of troops/ action groups (battle groups) in time of peace (no declaration of war). 2. Non-contact clashes between varied manoeuvrable military groups. 3. Annihilation of the enemy’s military and economic power by precise short-lived strikes in strategic military and civilian infrastructure. 4. Massive use of highly precise weapons and special operations, robotics as well as weapons that use new physical principles (direct-energy weapons– lasers, shortwave radiation, etc.) 5. Use of armed civilians (4 civilian to 1 military). 6. Simultaneous strike on the enemy’s units and facilities all over of the territory. 7. Simultaneous battle on land, air, sea, and in the informational space. 8. Use of asymmetric and indirect methods. 9. Management of troops in a unified informational sphere.

Tab.1. [2 , p. 170].

Russia's information war began long before the aggression in the East of Ukraine. According to V. Horbulin, the information and media component of the hybrid war became recurrent for the entire Russian aggression in its active phase. Relying on many years of preparation in the informational and psychological brainwashing of Ukrainian citizens, Russia

managed to considerably disorganize Ukrainian society in the early stages of aggression, and play on the longstanding destructive topics, to decrease the support of the state authority activities by citizens. Russia's campaign included partial buying out of Ukrainian media (local and nationwide), use of strategic content (books, TV series, movies, pseudo-scientific and scientific research and studies, etc.), and an active campaign in social media. In addition, the enemy applied (and continues to apply) methods of electronic warfare, seizure of telecommunication equipment directly in the conflict zone, and also carry out partially successful cyber-attacks against the state authorities, or objects critical to the infrastructure [3, p.41].

The goal of the Russia's information war against Ukraine is the destruction of Ukrainian society from within, as well as the spread of the negative image of Ukraine abroad. The destruction of Ukrainian society through instigation of social discontent and separatist sentiment in the regions, promotion of the "Russian World" doctrine in Ukraine's cultural and information space is carried out by influence on public consciousness through media resources. Such type of war does not involve direct struggle, bloodshed, sacrifice, destruction of material values. The main task of information wars is to manipulate the masses.

Speaking about the methods of information warfare that Russia uses against Ukraine, it is expedient to submit a table "Top fake news of Russia's propaganda" formed by M. Pashkov, co-director of Foreign Policy and International Security Programmes of the Razumkov Centre. According to M. Pashkov, Russia's propaganda methods include outright lies, distortion of facts, insinuation, slander, information sabotage, provocations, distortion of historical events, etc.

Top fake news of Russia's propaganda

Source	Content
Russian MFA	In its statement on 20 April 2014, Russian MFA reported that "Right Sector" militants attacked Sloviansk checkpoint. According to Russian journalists, "militants" were setting on fire the vehicles of pro-Russian citizens, leaving a special token at the crime scene – the red-and-black business card of Dmytro Yarosh.
Channel One	According to Channel One, May 2014 elections in Ukraine resulted in the victory of the "Right Sector" leader D. Yarosh, who got 37.13% of votes. As evidence, they demonstrated a screenshot of the web-site that looked similar to the CEC web-site.
Channel One	On 12 July 2014, Channel One showed a news piece, in which H. Pyshniak (a "mother and a wife of a rebel from Western Ukraine") told a story about a three-year-old boy who was crucified on the newsboard in Sloviansk, and his mother, who also suffered abuse.
NTV	On 2 November 2014, NTV channel showed a video piece, which told a story of "Ukrainian army men beating up the parents of a boy, drugging him afterwards and sending him off to scout out pro-Russian fighters' checkpoint positions".
"Russia 1"	On 15 December 2014, TV channel told a story about teachers in Zaporizhzhia, who teach children to feed chickadees (yellow-and-blue, symbolising Ukraine) and to kill bullfinches (symbolising Russia).
"Rossiyskaya Gazeta"	In the interview on 8 September 2015, Director of the Investigative Committee of the Russian Federation, Alexander Bastrykin stated that A. Yatseniuk, being a member of punitive squads "Argo" and "Viking", took part in the torture and execution of captive Russian soldiers in January 1995 in Grozny and was awarded

	the “Honour of the Nation” medal by D. Dudayev.
RIA News	On 26 April 2016, the agency spread the information about the report by Russian Prosecutor General Yu. Chaika to the Federation Council, in which he claimed that supporters of the “Right Sector” were preparing a coup d’etat in Russia.

Tab. 2 [4].

One of the forms of information warfare of one state against the other is the technology of image creation. The image is a non-material, even virtual structure that is very vulnerable to any incoming information. In relation to Ukraine, the Russian Federation actively used this form of information struggle. Russian mass media explain events in Ukraine tendrilly and selectively, imposing the desired picture from appropriately selected real facts. Mass media arrange a variety of shows about horror and lawlessness in Ukraine. Our country is portrayed as a failed state, or a puppet of NATO and Western countries. Moscow propagandists use a number of different myths and narratives that are mostly related to the Second World War, Stepan Bandera, and other Ukrainian nationalists.

Russian information agencies are aimed at dividing Ukrainian society into two parts, isolating the eastern Ukraine from western. People from East Ukraine and Crimea, which are mostly Russian-speaking regions, are totally isolated from the information coming from the outer world. They can only listen to Russian radio or watch Russian television. Therefore they have very limited access to other forms of media and cannot forge other opinions than that provided by Russian media. On the other hand, people from the Western part of Ukraine, have limited access to Russian-speaking media [5]. In this way, Russia wants to divide the Ukrainians into two parts - eastern and western and also to control public opinion in Ukraine, indirectly influence on decision-making.

The information-psychological influence of the Russian Federation was carried out on the Armed Forces of Ukraine, which work in the zone of anti-terrorist operation in the east of Ukraine. Pressure is carried out through the interception of control over the work of telecommunication networks and the distribution of SMS messages that weaken the military spirit. There were cases of interception of mobile signal of Ukrainian soldiers by Russian agencies.

Among the Ukrainian population Russia uses different source of propaganda, in particular, traditional and electronic mass media, social networks, books, TV series, films, pseudoscientific research, etc. In the post-Soviet space the most numerous and popular social media are “Odnoklassniki” and “VKontakte”, where there various thematic or politicized groups and communities for spread pro-Russian messages. A lot of Ukrainians use email services provided by Russian companies. It is a negative fact. The foreign email services providers can easily read and save email discussions and information.

The greatest threat of a «hybrid war» is on a population located on the territory adjacent to the conflict zone. In relation to Ukraine, Russia uses tactics of balancing between military actions and peaceful coexistence. In western science, about this the concept of gray zone conflicts has developed. Grey-zone thinking is an evolving discussion about the space between peace and war, where the threshold for engaging an adversary is seen as too low, or the provocations occur covertly. Hoffman defines 'grey-zone' conflicts as those that include deliberate multidimensional activities by a state actor below the threshold of aggressive use of military force. Hoffman further denotes a grey-zone conflict as one that includes integration of traditional state institutions (such as the military and diplomacy) and other sub-national instruments of power, proxy forces, and information warfare, in an ambitious war to gain an advantage without engaging in overt conflict and maintaining deniability [6]. Russian operations break the line between war and peace by using disinformation tactics in the public opinion, as a part of a broader military strategy.

Ukrainian authorities in recent years have taken several important steps to counter the information aggression. In particular, were imposed restrictions on the broadcast of Russian TV channels. President of Ukraine by his Decree № 133 put into effect the decision of the National Security and Defense Council of Ukraine of April 28, 2017 "On the imposition of personal special economic and other restrictive measures (sanctions)" [7]. According to the decision, the list of sanctions on the territory of Ukraine included some Russian TV and radio companies, IT-companies and software makers, application of anti-virus Kaspersky Lab and Doctor Web, accounting software 1C. In addition, on the territory of Ukraine social network "VKontakte", "Odnoklassniki" and search engine "Yandex" with all its services were forbidden.

However, the measures taken by the Ukrainian authorities to counter Russia's information aggression are negligible in comparison with the threats posed by this information warfare. The negative consequences of Russia's information war around Ukraine are noticeable in various spheres. In particular, as a result of Russia's cybernetic and information war against Ukraine, the inhabitants of the occupied part of eastern Ukraine and annexed by Russia Ukrainian Crimea became completely isolated from information coming from the outside world, they only have access to Russian radio and television. Speaking about economic consequences, we want to add that Ukraine's victims of Russian cyber attacks are usually media websites, banks and government organizations. Information invasion negatively affects on the effective functioning of these structures. It also may lead to doubts about the ability of the Ukrainian government to protect its citizens. In addition, during the annexation of the Crimea and the deployment of hostilities in the east of Ukraine, Russia took all necessary measures to isolate these territories and to prevent foreign media from obtaining objective information about the events. This facts lead to a split in the Ukrainian state and discord in society.

Therefore, it is necessary to do everything possible for greater awareness of the Ukrainian population about what the information war really is and how it works. Despite the president's deception about banning Russian Internet resources, a significant number of Ukrainians are still use e-mail from Russian providers, Russian social networks or other Internet resources. For this purpose, various programs of anti-determinants of the place are used by them. Ukraine's countermeasures are largely situational, sector-specific and are far from fully matching the scale of Russian expansion. Clearly, measures that ban Russian presence in the Ukrainian informational space have to go hand in hand with active efforts to create high-quality competitive national information product.

1. Horbulin V. Hybrid war: it's just the beginning [Electronic resource] / V. Horbulin. - Available at: <http://en.niss.gov.ua/public/File/englishpublic/Horbulin%20article%20eng%20%20final%20version.pdf>
2. Banasik M. Russia's hybrid war in the theory and practice / M. Banasik // Journal on Baltic Security. – Vol. 2, Issue 1, 2016. – P. 157-182
3. The World Hybrid War: Ukrainian Forefront: monograph abridged and translated from ukrainian / Volodymyr Horbulin. — Kharkiv: Folio, 2017. — 158 p.
4. Pashkov M. Russia's information expansion: Ukrainian foothold [Electronic resource] / M. Pashkov // Information Warfare – New Security Challenge for Europe, ed. by Tomáš Čížik . – Available at: http://razumkov.org.ua/uploads/article/2017_Information_Warfare.pdf
5. Cyber and Information warfare in the Ukrainian conflict/ Center for Security Studies (CSS). – 2017. – 28 p. [Electronic resource] – Available at: <http://www.css.ethz.ch/content/dam/ethz/special-interest/gess/cis/center-for-securities-studies/pdfs/Cyber-Reports-2017-01.pdf>
6. Hammond-Errey M. Is Russia's Information Warfare Campaign a Success?. – 28.08.2017. – [Electronic resource]. – Available at: https://www.realcleardefense.com/articles/2017/09/28/is_russias_information_warfare_campaign_a_success_112389.html
7. Указ Президента України «Про рішення Ради національної безпеки і оборони України від 28 квітня 2017 року "Про застосування персональних спеціальних економічних та інших обмежувальних заходів (санкцій)"/ Офіційне інтернет представництво Президента України. - Available at: <http://www.president.gov.ua/documents/1332017-21850>

У статті розглянуто сутність та специфіку інформаційної війни, яка виступає однією із складових гібридної війни та як явище існує з давніх часів. Методи і засоби інформаційної боротьби є невід'ємною частиною сучасних збройних конфліктів, які дозволяють атакувати без оголошення війни між сторонами конфліктів. Технології інформаційної війни дозволяють боротись без безпосереднього контакту. Встановлено, що проти України вже давно здійснюються інформаційні атаки, які розхитують ситуацію всередині країни та створюють негативний імідж України за кордоном. Проаналізовано основні напрями та способи інформаційно-психологічного впливу на свідомість українців та специфіку їх застосування, виявлено вагомні джерела інформаційної пропаганди РФ.

Ключові слова: гібридна війна, інформаційна війна, пропаганда, маніпулятивні технології, фейкові повідомлення.

В статье рассмотрена сущность и специфика информационной войны, которая выступает одной из составляющих гибридной войны и как явление существует с древних времен. Методы и средства информационной борьбы являются неотъемлемой частью современных вооруженных конфликтов, которые позволяют атаковать без объявления войны между сторонами конфликтов. Технологии информационной войны позволяют бороться без непосредственного контакта. Установлено, что против Украины уже давно осуществляются информационные атаки, которые расшатывают ситуацию внутри страны и создают негативный имидж Украины за рубежом. Проанализированы основные направления и способы информационно-психологического влияния на сознание украинцев и специфику их приложения, выявлены весомые источники информационной пропаганды РФ.

Ключевые слова: гибридная война, информационная война, пропаганда, манипулятивные технологии, фейковые

UDC 321.7:316.75

ВБК 66.050

Svetlana Matvienkiv

FEATURES OF TRANSFORMATION OF NATIONAL POLITICAL CULTURE UNDER CONDITIONS OF A DEMOCRATIC POLITICAL REGIME