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USING OF NEW MEDIA IN INFORMATION WARFARE AS A PART OF MODERN POLITICAL CULTURE

Summary. *The article analyzes the significant role, place, and influence of the new media during information war, which is used as a modern political practice and tool for achieving political goals.*

The concept of "information war" within the Ukrainian legislation is defined and the peculiarities of its course are established. Since there are many definitions of information warfare, this article formulates this term clearly based on Ukrainian context. Information warfare is actions aimed at achieving information superiority support of national military strategy acting both, local information sources and information systems of the enemy while ensuring security and protection of the information owner. Information warfare is the most promising way to "continue politics by other means" now. We have considered five basic rules used in information campaigns: surveillance, exaggeration, and distortion, orchestration or silence, transfusion, and infection.

It was found that the concept of the informational influence of mass media on the person and, society follows from the analysis of these influences. Analysis of information warfare, its principles and methods allows us to understand the essence of these influences. It is very important in the context of Russian aggression in Ukraine in modern conditions. The article also presents and analyzes the most commonly used models of media influence on public opinion.

Information influence can be both, positive and negative. Moreover, positive information has an educational function. The purpose of negative information is to inflame social conflicts, exacerbate differences in society. The problems of information warfare should be solved by counteracting the manipulative media technologies and improving methods of counteraction, fight with fake news and misinformation in general. It is proved that the effectiveness of the applied technologies determines the further location of forces in the political arena.

Key words: *information war, information influence, mass media, new media, political culture.*

Introduction. Nowadays, confrontation in the information field is an important element of the political struggle, being used for various practices and tactics. War in its natural state stops being the only way to gain and spread influence. We observe the active influence on public consciousness through the media. The emergence and development of new media help to spread media influence in modern political society. The present significance of this problem around the world cannot be overstated.

Analysis of the recent research and publications. Issues regarding the role and position of media sources and communication nowadays are vital and multidisciplinary and as such garners a great deal of attention from journalists, politicians, and sociologists; notably Ukrainian scientists such as: Isakova, Lazorenko, Gorban, and Zavadskiy. As well as foreign-based scientists such as S. Morgan, A. Klimburg, Martin C. Libicki, Shapiro and others.

According to recent events such as military invasion and information aggression directed against Ukraine from the Russian Federation, the problem of both internal and external media influence on public opinion is important and relevant. The role of the media and public attitudes towards the media is one of the main factors for this study. It helps to investigate public and electoral

opinion, to develop governmental informational policy, and to find ways of dealing with information invasion and disinformation at the state level.

The goal of research. A robust analysis of the role of the media and communications during information war as a modern political practice in Ukraine.

Results of research. Throughout the second half of the 20th century, developed nations experienced a number of separate changes that significantly altered citizens' access to information; The adoption of modern educational practices and the widespread proliferation of Newspapers, Radio, and then later, Television.

With the beginning of the 21st century, it was the internet that began to take on a much more important role, with the biggest changes in the political space taking place via new media and social networks.

Due to these new developments in political communication fields and the formation of significantly large groups of users, the possibilities of competition for state power have been affected. Lipman believes that the media were lacking the ability "to broadcast the entire volume of public life in this kind of way to help every person to find a relevant opinion on each issue" [15, p. 362]. Moreover, information technologies have made their own contribution to the decline of social capital, since TV, video, audio, and other media have made people more satisfied with entertainment and having their emotional needs met, without the need to ever leave the home, promoting a passive perception of information, as well as a reduction in feedback resources, and so on.

As new information and communication technologies have become an active part of the political field; they have not only profoundly altered this area, but they have also replaced many old ideas, attitudes and stereotypes. What's more, they have also affected change in forms of behavior and models relationships between individuals and groups, political institutions and structures.

“At the same time, the statements that modern communication technologies help to establish new friendship between the people, who share cultural barriers, state borders and physical distances, masks the continuous struggle between the leaders of the developed and dominant world’s countries for establishing their own power in the information field and the right to the implementation of the necessary socio-political conceptions among the population of their country and another States around the world” (using the Internet in other countries in the interests of information wars) [5].

Former Vice President of the American Centre for the Study of Terrorism and Political Violence, former analyst of US department of Defense P. Probst, noted: ” During developing process, the state becomes more dependent on high technologies. Integrated national systems are potential danger, because they have essential nodes, attacking them, it can cause devastated consequences.

Modern media sources have a huge influence on the consciousness and actions of society. On the one hand, the media publish information that causes audience interest. On the another hand, they broadcast different values, attitudes and stereotypes for forming public opinion, being the main tool of mass change consciousness. Mind influence happens not through the direct contact, but through media, those create an illusion of objective information presentation and therefore have a high level of persuasiveness” [2].

It is a fact that “information warfare is actions based on the achievement of information advantage, also based on support of national military strategy within actions which influence information systems of your enemy, while ensuring security and protection of the owner of information” [3]. Such sentiment makes it clear that information warfare is now the most promising method for the continuation of political battle by other means. It is accurate to recognize it as an important component of the information struggle between different governments.

Ukrainian scientists J. Zharkov [5] and D. Kislov [8] note that information warfare can be used both against civil society and government elite through the same avenues. Whether it can be through diplomacy, propaganda, psychological campaigns, doing subversive work in political and cultural fields, through breaching information networks and databases, or the promotion of opposing ideas through social networks.

Political analysts posit that information warfare can also be waged by the government against illegal groups or organizations involved in terrorist activities, namely the proliferation of weapons of mass destruction, human trafficking or the transportation of illicit drugs. Conversely, it can be directed against the policies of a particular government; by supporters of political movements related to racial differences, religious beliefs, environmental crusades or human rights issues.

A. Monajlo defines information warfare as a political struggle expressed through information and the psychological impact of operations using such information as a weapon, which has become an indispensable part of modern political leadership.

The implementation of this increase as new conflicts arise, and it objectively exists within all different levels of government and social order. As a result, a surge can be observed at the outbreak of any new confrontation, whether it be internal or external, but with its level of intensity ruled by the government [10, p.125].

This leads to information warfare being innovated on and improved continuously – both in times of relative peace and in wartime. Among the main threats to society, one of the most significant is the “use of information and communication technologies for military and political purposes”, but others would include the use of information to influence the society, or for undermining the historical, spiritual and patriotic traditions” of the nation.

The basis of the media's actions to influence a potential recipient can include a number of different methods of psychological manipulation, to ensure they form the desired opinions and ideals. It is important to note that information warfare differs greatly depending on locality. Nowadays the emergence of concepts such as "information warfare", "media aggression", "cybersecurity" says a great deal, not only about the relationship between mass media and the military during conflicts, but also that war in the media space is no less important than literal military actions. In modern times, traditional warfare has affected the information sphere, in particular the field of journalism. An easily observable example of this can be found in the First World War with the emergence and development of American analytical journalism. Without this media, something as distant as the assassination of Archduke Ferdinand halfway across the globe would not be an understandable or relatable reason for the outbreak of a major international war. Today, however, we can see that connection between military actions and information feedback is opposite in all levels [11].

According to German philosopher Bolts, "the history of modern war is similar to the history of modern media". Manfred Schneider summarizes: "It is obvious that major military events (such as violent reorganization of political spaces) in the process of old and modern history were associated with destabilization of temporary and permanent institutions using new communication techniques, for example The First World War was connected with new communication source as a telephone, The Second World War was connected with using radio as information and communication source. Nowadays, the Internet can be called the most reliable support of all local information warfare. The last point of this development was today's unity of order, communication, control and knowledge" [1, p. 65].

The role of the mass media and mass communication in information warfare is executed through their ability to form the media narrative in daily

political discourse, and through this influence the opinions of the population. V. Evdokimov writes: "More often the media during information warfare use real and fictional data to embellish the role of different subjects in the political process. The bizarre mix of truthful information and clever lies is the result of these actions. The conduct of information war is very exhaustive for their participants, time and energy that they needed for this are better to spend for other purposes, such as the implementation of social economic development of the territories" [4, p. 104].

Today the media and these methods of mass communication have become the most powerful element of the ruling political order, which means it is necessary for government to control and maintain connections in regards to publicity in general. Information that we receive from the media is never neutral. The spread of information is always colored by the opinions of the author, the organization itself, or even the individual who own the particular media outlet (whether that be oligarchs, members of the elite or the government itself), and it is used in an attempt by these ruling elites to shape the perceived reality of the populace to one which is more preferable for them, and one that justifies their policies in forming a "normal" set of views that is beneficial to the authorities. More often than not, national and international news broadcasts give the public only a selected part of what is really happening.

F. Webster believes that in such situations as where the "enemy" has strictly limited access to channels of information dissemination (for example during a major emergency with its organizational, ethical and political challenges), when seeking for victory (as opposed to seeking the truth), many opportunities for distortion and misunderstandings will present themselves, and at the same time the motives for resorting to lies, and misrepresentation are easy to understand. In such a situation, both politicians and the military look at the media as a weapon of propaganda" [13, p. 268].

In the modern age, information exists in all fields of life. For the vast majority of the world's population the most important methods of communication are via internet, television, radio and print media. A small number of specialists and experts are brave enough to verbalise the fact that, during modern wars, this one "weapon" if utilized correctly, is enough to achieve victory. Or that it is entirely possible to lose despite possessing a superior military force if you fail to do so. According to Denis Bogush, vice president of the Ukrainian League of Public Relations: "60% of information attacks are conducted through TV, and in second place – is the Internet.

D. Martin and J. Shapiro report in their study "Trends in Online Foreign Influence Efforts", that Russia conducts the greatest volume of information warfare worldwide in order to influence opinions of nations whom they wish to support the Russian Federation's international policies [14]. The most significant of these actions being information warfare regarding the sovereignty of Ukraine.

By distributing certain messages and materials, the media can create a desired public opinion or mood, shaping the views and behavior of individuals, social groups and ultimately - the whole society. In other words, by reporting specific information to these readers, listeners and viewers, the media evokes certain feelings, which can lead the population towards certain patterns of behavior. Bearing in mind, that the consumer of the media is almost everyone, similar processes can be formed in the same way for the whole society, or at least a major part of it.

The current situation for the world is that the mass media no longer exists to show people reality and now instead themselves create images and simulacrums, which determine the reality, or using the terminology of J. Baudrillard, hyper-reality, which is more real than reality itself. War has now gained postmodernist meaning, because the media turns it into a hyper-real simulation for mass consumption. This is not achieved through the action of real

military technology and hardware, but through communication channels: scripts presented via TV screens, articles shared online, or printed in newspapers. They wage war with atypical tools, the very same tools they use to win electoral campaigns.

The increased effectiveness of the Internet as a tool for spreading information is easily confirmed by examining the level of captured audience. According to the latest data the amount of Internet users in Ukraine increased by 33% (2 million users) compared to the previous year of 2019. As of January 2021, the total users amount to 33 million, representing 67% of the total Ukrainian population [6].

Another important question for our article is in regards to the media credibility problem. A recent survey conducted by the Razumkov center concluded that people found the most credible institutions in the country to be the National Armed Forces with 70% approval and volunteers following at 65%. The lowest level of credibility listed was for Russian media, or media sponsored by the Russian government, at only 18% [13].

At the same time, the credibility of the Ukrainian media has continued to decline. As of the 2020 study, only 49% of the Ukrainian population continues to trust the Ukrainian media, a 5% drop compared to their 2019 result.

Conclusion. As the result of scientific and technological progress, the development of the modern media and communication fields have created unprecedented opportunities for aggressive informational impact on the population of developed nations by foreign interests. The goal of information warfare in these cases is to impose the principles of the external system upon society, aiming for the destruction of national spiritual values and the decline of economic and military potential of the target country by influencing mass consciousness.

Information warfare as an aggressive interaction of the warring sides within information fields, has a negative impact on political communication

within society in general. Using this style of campaign by politicians or business leaders correlates with increased risks, which can result in rapid change of status and standing in elite circles. Information war has a high density of arguments and debates, whether they be conducted via formal broadcasts, or through social media discussions, which is exactly why it is so difficult to manage and regulate. Achieving even one goal could potentially intensify political confrontation; reduce the level of desirable information being spread and absorbed into cultural consensus, and in turn undermine the stability of the whole society.

Because of the myriad of technical tools now available, propaganda can reach millions of people simultaneously. To add to this there are also now a number of organizations that can perpetrate unprecedented political performances, in the form of mass spectacles or bloody provocations, to be disseminated by the media machine. In the present day, the instigators of such events could be considered the most powerful "media monsters" on the planet (Hollywood, CNN).

Despite all of this, it is still possible for modern media to be instead utilized as a purveyor of truth, in a manner that is in the interest of the people it in fact serves, rather than external influences. And to ultimately operate as non-biased tool, working towards the protection of the public information space.

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