

норм міжнародного права, ведення воєнних дії із численними жертвами та інфраструктурними руйнаціями із боку РФ, консолідація міжнародної спільноти у коаліційній підтримки України, чіткий державний курс на відновлення територіальної цілісності та суверенітету – призвели до більш радикальної та послідовної класифікації колабораційної діяльності. З формуванням національної ідеї та небаченої до того консолідацією українського суспільства стало чітко вимальовуватись діяльність, яка не входить до цієї концепції. Державні інституції разом із суспільством почали демонструвати відсутність толерантності до проявів посягання на національну безпеку та територіальну цілісність. Еволюція правової класифікації, дієвість та невідворотність покарання фактів скоєння злочинів проти державної безпеки, свідчить про завершення етапу процесу українського державотворення. Перед нами постала українська державність із з чітко визначеними національними пріоритетами, з сформованою державницькою ідентичністю, національними інтересами та можливостями їх захищати.

Ключові слова: *радянська ментальність, СРСР, україно-російська війна, колаборант, колабораційна діяльність.*

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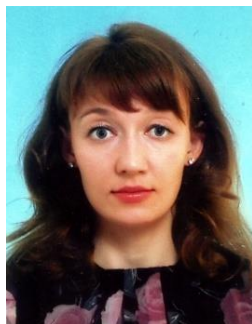
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PHILOSOPHICAL ASPECT OF INFORMATION WARFARE

Abstract. The purpose of the article is to determine the philosophical aspect of the current state of information warfare. The set goal determined the solution of the following tasks: 1) to substantiate the expediency of using the terms information warfare and information warfare discourse; 2) to improve the definition of information warfare; 3) to analyse the threats

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and reasons for Ukraine's insufficient response to information attacks by the Russian Federation.

The reliability of the obtained results and conclusions was ensured by the use of linguistic methods: the functional and stylistic method (to distinguish the semantic and constructive elements in the structure of information warfare texts); semantic and differential analysis (to trace changes, to distinguish the semantics of language units).

Analysis of the narratives' content aspect is an important tool for decision-making and strategy development after the invasion of an aggressor country. The study of narratives allows us to identify the strengths and weaknesses of different approaches and methods and to formulate recommendations for success in the further restoration and protection of territorial sovereignty. Highlighting the true picture changes society's perception and builds support for countermeasures.

The prevalence of positivism in Ukraine's domestic and foreign information field is complicated and often depends on political interests and context. Positivism can be traced in media clichés and narratives, including the description of Ukraine as a strong adversary, a reliable partner, and a supporter of democratic values. Negativism was found in the transmission of anti-Russian narratives and in the portrayal of the terrorist country.

Keywords: *discourse, information, information warfare, communication, media clichés, narratives.*

Introduction. Modern war is built around a number of information tasks. Their significance is so high that we can speak of hybrid warfare as a hybrid and information war, especially since military operations are muted, while information operations, on the contrary, are sharply intensified. Informational status grows because it needs to disguise physical actions. The material goal in hybrid warfare is achieved by active actions not only in the physical space, but also in the information and virtual spaces. It is conducted in such a way as to prevent the attacked party from taking adequate actions in response. And this is the main task of the hybrid tool kit, which seeks to influence the enemy's decision-making centers: both military and civilian.

Ukraine is experiencing an extremely difficult period of its own state formation, which is marked not only by profound problems of socio-economic development, but also by the need to resist external hybrid aggression from the RF, which threatens the existence of Ukrainian Independence. To resist the urge to Russia's hybrid aggression is a complex and lengthy process (Mahda), which requires the coordinated action of all subjects of society. This threat can be overcome and a stable future for Ukraine secured only by joining forces and mobilising resources.

A conflict situation, especially if it is prolonged and violent, can cause emotional stress. It is difficult to distinguish between a friend and a foe, an enemy and a defender, good and bad. A general state of mistrust, a sense of threat and fear lead to a distorted perception and assessment of the situation. Such disorientation can have serious consequences for mutual understanding and communication between people.

Information war redistributes activity from a purely physical space, as it was in the wars of the past, to work in information and virtual spaces. Accordingly, it is also possible to win in it by conducting work in all three spaces, because it is impossible to repel attacks in the informational and virtual planes in the physical space. The only instrument of this physical type is censorship as a physical overlap of informational and virtual messages. But in today's oversaturated world of connectivity, this is very difficult to do. Even in the Soviet times, censorship rather restrained the circulation of certain

messages, which still reached consumers in other ways, for example, through foreign radio voices.

There is a great responsibility in society to inform speakers adequately about the social, political and economic complexity of the world in order to promote understanding and appreciation of different views and positions. It is gaining relevance nowadays, the study of the philosophical state of the information war, the identification of the mechanisms of language influence on the cognitive structure of the speaker.

Analysis of recent research and publications. The scientific works of researchers, namely: O. Kyryliuk (Kyryliuk, 2021), V. Kulzhenko (Kulzhenko, 2023), E. Mahda (Mahda, n.d.), L. Strilchuk (Strilchuk, n.d.), L. Shevtsova (Shevtsova, n.d.) are devoted to the problems of forming and implementing the national security policy of Ukraine in the modern conditions of conducting information and hybrid wars, developing and planning measures of information warfare and ensuring information security. The problem of information wars in politics has been studied by prominent Ukrainian researchers H. Karpenko, V. Lipkan, V. Ostroukhov, Y. Korokhod and others. The trends of recent publications in foreign scientific literature (R. Ortega-del-Cerro, E. Levine, F. de Vivo, M. Viceglia) clearly outline the danger of information influence, which demonstrates the urgency of the problem of proper legal protection of the interests of society. It is important to establish the peculiarities of creating the image of the enemy and shaping ideological narratives.

The purpose of the article is to determine the philosophical aspect of the current state of information warfare. The set goal determined the solution of the following tasks:

- 1) to substantiate the expediency of using the terms information warfare and information warfare discourse;
- 2) to improve the definition of information warfare;
- 3) to analyse the threats and reasons for Ukraine's insufficient response to information attacks by the Russian Federation

The reliability of the obtaining results and conclusions was ensured by the use of linguistic methods: the functional and stylistic method (to distinguish the semantic and constructive elements in the structure of information warfare texts); semantic and differential analysis (to trace changes, to distinguish the semantics of language units).

Formulation of the main material. Russia's armed aggression against Ukraine took place in 2014. It is not at all surprising that it started after Ukraine began to get closer to the European Union and NATO. During this time, the discourse of the Russian-Ukrainian confrontation has repeatedly been the subject of research by Ukrainian and foreign scholars. The current state of Russian aggression against Ukraine, as Y. Polovynchak and A. Berehelskyi rightly point out, is not the first conflict of the social media era, but it is definitely unprecedented in terms of the scale of the confrontation and, at the same time, information support.

The level of produced content is of very different quality (from amateur, which accidentally captures unique phenomena or events at a key moment in a certain place, to highly professional and that which has significant artistic value); purpose (documentation of everyday war or combat operations, recording of war crimes; entertainment or propaganda materials); values (from

informational noise to unique evidence or influential iconic symbols of the era), (Polovynchak & Berehelskyi, 2022, p. 24).

There are three main objectives of information warfare:

1) Control over information space, its use in defense of own military information functions against enemy actions (counter-information);

2) Use of control over information to conduct information attacks on the enemy;

3) Increasing the overall effectiveness of the armed forces through the universal use of military information functions.

Information and communication are the basic concepts for the studying modern information confrontations. As to the information, it is understood as information or data about the environment surrounding a person. In terms of communication, it is the process of transferring or exchanging information. In different eras, information processes bore the imprint of those technologies that were invented at a certain stage. This affected the peculiarities of the relevant information confrontations. Each of these inventions can be defined either as an information explosion or as an information revolution based on their historical significance and technical characteristics. By the concept of information revolution, we understand a fundamental change in the methods of creating, accumulating, storing, searching and distributing information. Such phenomena include the emergence of speech, writing, and computer technology. All these inventions were the beginning of a fundamentally new direction in the development of information and communication technologies.

Successfully used linguistic units (words, phrases, terms) can significantly affect society, in particular:

Changing the world picture. Language describes the world around us, and we perceive it. Expressions used to describe objects, events or ideas can influence society's perception and understanding of this world. The introduction of new terms or words can indicate the discovery of new concepts or technologies and change the way we can see the world. With the start of the full-scale invasion, the largest broadcasters (1+1, UA: Pershyi, Rada, ICTV, STB and Ukraina 24) united together in the joint telethon called United News to voice the official position of the state openly and promptly. The transition of society to the state of daily monitoring of news has changed not only the choice of communication method, but also the style of communication at the household level, especially at the state level. These are narratives such as "the russian army is an army of homeless people and looters", "the second army of the world": "Their soldiers did the best they could, stole a warehouse with Ukrainian military uniforms and changed into our boots. And they boast that they are the "second army of the world?". In short, they are "bums" and "looters" ("PIK").

Change of value orientations. Language influences our values and beliefs. Rhetorical appeal, visual illustrations, coherent phrases can persuade the audience to adopt new views. Politicians, activists and media figures manage to use language to change the value orientations of society. The narrative "the president of russia is a bunker grandfather" not only demeans the status of the head of the country, but also forms a contemptuous attitude towards russia, because increasingly the name of the aggressor country is written with a lowercase letter by the mass media and representatives of

various levels of government (Kyrylenko, 2021): "He played around, overlooted, became arrogant . This is the bunker grandfather. He really lives in his painful world, and two options will befall him: either the dock in The Hague, or an inglorious death somewhere in a bunker in Altai" ("1+1" Channel, Ukraine); "By demonstrating that he is not a bunker president, Zelensky shows us all that he is a leader of the nation who deserves long-term support" (BBC NEWS Ukraine).

Creation of a common identity. The use of a common language, slang or code words strengthens the sense of unity and builds relationships between people. Language can be used to create a common identity for a group of people, which leads to the formation of a unified social image. However, not all wartime narratives have a negative tone. There are a number of positive narratives to raise morale, increase the level of public trust in the actions of the Armed Forces of Ukraine, and to position Ukraine on the international arena: "Ukraine will win, and russia will lose" or its variation "Ukraine is an invincible country": "russia will lose and disintegrate, and Ukraine will win" ("Narodnyi Ohladach"), "Happy to live on the same land with you, indomitable and invincible in an independent state!" (Olexandr Starukh), "We are beautiful, strong, brave, intelligent, talented people. Invincible" (Volodymyr Zelenskyi); "When we say that Ukraine must win, it means that russia must lose" (Olexandra Matviychuk); "Ukraine is invincible. Ukrainian bravery changes the world" (Prime Minister of Lithuania Ingrid Šimonite); "russia must lose this war, and Ukraine must win. And even in the darkest time there is hope...Ukraine will win, and evil will be defeated" ("Hlavkom").

Taking into account the controversy over the results of the work of special monitoring missions, the information war preceded the real war and accompanies it. The experience of russia's war against Ukraine provides grounds for asserting that the object of informational attacks was primarily the mass consciousness of various population groups such as the population of both Ukraine and russia; the population and political elite of the post-soviet states; the political elite of the citizens of the European Union.

Communicative situations convey an important message that is to raise the spirit of Ukrainian society. In this case, the actual text-narrative about the peculiarities of life in the conditions of war is of primary importance, but the illustrative material recedes into the background. The successful use of linguistic units can have a significant impact on society changing its worldview and value orientations.

1. Microcontext. In order to understand correctly the communicative meaning of statements, it is necessary to take into account the details of information about the speaker, the listener, the place of communication, the contextual situation and other factors that affect the perception of the message. A common means of influence is "linking technique". It consists in artificially placing a concept in the required context (most often within the binary opposition of positive – negative). As a result of the associative interaction of language units, their seme's variation occurs. The most popular type of seme's variation is the introduction of seme, which consists in introducing a contextual seme that is not present in the system meaning of the word (Kyrylenko, 2021).

Of course, the authorities have a significant influence on blocking access to certain Internet resources that are dangerous or hostile. This is done to

prevent the spread of disinformation, mobilization or coordination of hostile actions. However, it is not always possible to control this, because there are citizens' own accounts where they post posts containing dangerous data. In this case, either explanatory work should be carried out or special services should intervene. We can learn from the European Union's experience in organizing communication. The EU has a well-developed system of communication technologies used to communicate with citizens, inform them about political decisions and government services, and ensure transparency and interaction between the government and citizens. One example of a successful practice is an electronic government communication system. Many EU countries are implementing electronic platforms and web portals that allow citizens to access information about government services, legislation, programs and other resources. These platforms also allow citizens to express their opinions, leave comments and contact the government with questions or complaints.

In an interview with Fabio Belafatti, a lecturer at Vilnius University emphasized that pro-russian commentators in the West resort to stereotypes about russia and its neighbors and outdated colonial thinking: "This is racism, according to which there are one people, one nation – russians, maybe even Poles – and all others are considered second class, a mistake of history, and not real nations that deserve the same respect as russians" ("Voice of America" page 11/02/2014) the opposition of russians – normal brings this "abnormality" to the meaning of the word "russian". So, it is precisely under the influence of the microcontext that the semantic features of various linguistic units are varied in order to influence the recipient.

The pragmatic impact on the addressee is determined by various factors: the content of the information expressed; the nature of the signs that form the discourse, because the speaker chooses specific linguistic means to construct the statement in order to exert a certain influence on the addressee and the addressee's personality traits. Thus, it is under the influence of the microcontext that the semantic features of different linguistic units vary in order to influence the recipient.

Propaganda is characterized by the use of several communication channels simultaneously. Today you will read this in a Telegram channel, tomorrow it will be shown to you on TikTok, and the day after tomorrow the same narrative will be imposed in an interview with a "good russian". And so information gets into your brain in pieces from different sources. Propaganda shifts the responsibility for the war from russia to Ukraine.

The language of Ukrainians has changed. In our everyday use, we all began to use the names of military equipment (tanks, armored personnel carriers, drones, Grads, kamikaze drones, Bayraktars), equipment (body armor, helmets, radios), weapons and ammunition (assault rifles, grenade launchers, mines, Javelins, bombs, missiles, etc.). Especially during active hostilities, people used the phrases "from us" (exit) and "on us" (arrival) to mean the movement of shells.

2. *Euphemisms*. "Special operation" but not "war"; "bang" but not "explosion"; "regrouping" but not "retreat"; "gesture of goodwill" but not "loss of control of Zmeinyi Island"; "humanitarian missile strike", "missiles of good" instead of "terrorism" – all these and many other words and phrases are used by the russian propaganda media. This distortion of meaning is called "new

speech".

The media of totalitarian states use the new language because it is required by their regime. The leadership needs, for example, to refer to death camps as "concentration camps" in the language, and the media will not question the leadership's demand. Journalists are either influenced by ideology or dependent on the regime and cannot go against it, or both. It is the media and the political elite that make the new language very familiar. They are the first to use the necessary vocabulary to inform the public and to define certain phenomena. Over time, the audience begins to use the same words used in the media to retell and explain information. Completely invented words (neologisms), unlike neosemes, can give a sense of distance, because the reader is not involved in their creation. The understanding of such words does not depend on a social change in usage, but on the word's ability to draw attention to perceived differences in culture and consciousness. Modern neologisms are created by analogy with foreign words in natural languages that ordinary people encounter.

The Kremlin and pro-russian media are trying to influence not only their domestic audience, but also foreign audiences, including Ukrainians, with the help of the new language. MediaSapiens explains what the novovaya language is, how its use affects thinking, whether novovaya can be considered a restriction on freedom of speech, and what propaganda messages russia is spreading with its help. However, the success of russian propaganda has significantly decreased after the introduction of the so-called "special military opera". The enemy was disoriented because the residents of the affected territories did not understand the postwar future.

3. *Truisms. Obvious statements.* That is, those phrases with which any person will automatically agree. These phrases are used to elicit a "Yes" response. Then you express your desire. And since the partner has already agreed with you several times, there is a high probability that he will easily agree with the last statement. The use of phrases that model information as an indisputable fact. This is not a restriction on free speech if the interchange of terms is voluntary. Manipulation of legal concepts (such as stories about the genocide of kussian-speakers in Ukraine, the illusory fulfillment of the "duty to protect", the replacement of war with the vague concept of special operations), the spread of false information about the circumstances and those responsible for the commission of war crimes – all this is part of a coordinated kussian disinformation campaign, which is aimed not only at the internal, but also at the external audience (Kulzhenko). In particular, the message mentions obvious facts, which helps to cause a positive reaction of the recipient, to make him agree with the other by the information provided. For example: "everything has changed, although *not everyone* realizes it yet"; "russian soldiers did not only drink a lot and rob houses and shops, but also killed a large number of civilians". Such formulations are intended, if not to convince immediately, at least to sow doubts at the initial stage. But the media, by not writing from a human-centered perspective, are robbing themselves in the same way as by avoiding coverage of human rights. Treating the topic of human rights with disdain, considering it "ordinary" social issues, journalists ignore many silenced topics. For example, the prohibition of torture and the inadmissibility of inhumane treatment in prisons, the prevention of

discrimination based on property status, or the problem of bullying at school, domestic violence, or self-government in communities.

4. *Illocution of appeal.* The illocutionary component of the call can be expressed by incomplete sentences with the semantics of the urge and indication of the direction of the action or the desired consequence. Slogans are usually placed at the end of the appeal (sometimes at the beginning) in order to emphasize the main idea of what is being communicated, or express the ultimate goal of the entire appeal (Los, 2009: 72): "It's time to unite!", "The time has come – it's time to act!", "Only the people have the right to decide their fate!", "Kharkiv is a free city!", "No one but us!", "There are many of us and our power is in our hands! The truth is with us!".

In addition to direct means of expressing an appeal, there are numerous linguistic techniques for disguising them. This is primarily the presentation of the relevant speech acts in the form of semantic implications, which are used, on the one hand, as elements of the most effective method of speech manipulation – hidden speech influence on consciousness, and on the other hand, are associated with an attempt to avoid responsibility for violating the law.

Calls can take direct and indirect forms. A direct appeal is the most radical, explicit form of verbal influence on the behavior of a subject, containing a verb in the imperative voice. In texts containing indirect appeals, the main external feature of a direct appeal, the imperative form of the verb, is absent. In order for such indirect forms of inducement to qualify as public appeals, it is necessary to establish that the relevant statements, images, etc. are purposeful, specific and understandable to the recipient of the information.

5. *Conceptual metaphor.* The metaphors representing the concept of war (war as a diagnosis of partnership; war as a game; war as a litmus; war as an agreement; war as a way of making money; war as a catastrophe; war as an inner experience) have been recorded: "War, like a downpour, washes away everything alien" ("Holos Ukrainy").

War is always associated with destruction, ruins, material damage, losses and devastation. The analyzed articles contain the conceptual metaphor WAR IS DAMAGE, and here is how the scene after the missile strike was depicted by The Washington Post: "A quarter-mile away at the recreational facilities struck in the attack, images showed a pile of debris and mangled railings strewn across the ground among the ruins of the building's bright pink facade. A mountain of debris covered what had previously been a large swimming pool" (The Washington Post, July 1, 2022). This conceptual metaphor is paragraph-structured (according to M. Fabishak's classification), as it depicts the entire atmosphere at the scene. The target domain DAMAGE is expressed by the nouns debris, ruins and the adjective mangled. The stylistic metaphor "mountain of debris" adds expressiveness, and the details of the facade color add drama to the description.

Conclusions. Information warfare is a complex technology of social manipulation carried out with the help of mass media. It exists within specific states (information struggle between different political parties, ideological, religious organizations, etc.), at the international level it expresses the conflict of interests of different states. The information warfare between individual states within the global information environment is a way of constructing a

global media picture of the world rather than a local one.

The analysis of linguistic influence in modern communication after the full-scale invasion of the aggressor country allowed us to identify two vectors of message modality. The negative semantics such as "the russian army is an army of homeless people and looters", "the second army of the world", "the president of russia is a bunker grandfather", "they promised to take Kyiv in three days", "russia is a terrorist country" cause contempt for the enemy and ridicule the military threat posed by russia. These narratives are usually accompanied not only by storytelling, but also by photographs, which are confirmation of the facts of war crimes. The positive semantics such as "Ukraine will win and russia will lose" (and its variant "Ukraine is an invincible country"), "The West is Ukraine's partner and helper", "Glory to the Armed Forces!", "Glory to the heroes!", "Ukraine is the only one" work to boost morale, spread pro-Ukrainian sentiment among the population and form a renewed nation of heroes who have something to be proud of within their country.

Cheap and effective, and the main thing, practically unrefusable information weapons have a much wider range of applications than any other weapon. The object of impression in the information attacks is the consciousness and will of the society that is subject to aggression, and therefore it is extremely important to have countermeasures in the arsenal – a media-literate society that is resistant to information attacks (Strilchuk).

In the context of information warfare, in order not to accept the enemy's propaganda, you need to stop watching videos made by the enemy. The war in Ukraine is not a TV show, it is a terrible aspect of our common life. We need to limit our consumption of news consumption, because our Ukrainian news media, due to their inexperience, often pick up sensationalism and sensationalism and fried (literally) facts, some of which are russian propaganda. The Ukrainian media are still learning how to protect themselves from how to protect themselves from hostile influence. The prospect of studying this topic is to investigate other aspects of the concept of information warfare discourse and to trace changes in the construction of media space in diachrony or synchrony.

Conflict of Interest and other Ethics Statements

The authors declare no conflict of interest.

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Ірина ЦАРЬОВА, Ольга МАКСИМЕНКО, Рита КАЛЬКО
ФІЛОСОФСЬКИЙ АСПЕКТ ІНФОРМАЦІЙНОЇ ВІЙНИ

Анотація. Мета статті – визначити філософський аспект сучасного стану інформаційної війни. Поставлена мета зумовила розв'язання завдань: 1) обґрунтування доцільності використання термінів інформаційна війна, дискурс інформаційної війни; 2) удосконалення дефініції інформаційна війна; 3) аналіз загроз і причин недо- статнього супротиву України на інформаційні атаки з боку російської федерації.

Достовірність отримання результатів і висновків забезпечило використання лінгвістичних методів: функційно-стилістичного методу (для виокремлення змістово-конструктивних елементів у структурі текстів інформаційної війни); семантико-диференційного аналізу (для простеження змін, розрізнення семантики мовних одиниць). Аналіз змістового аспекту наративів є важливим інструментом для прийняття рішень та формування стратегій після вторгнення країни-агресора. Вивчення наративів дозволяє виявити сильні та слабкі сторони різних підходів та методів і сформулювати рекомендації для досягнення успіху в подальшому відновленні та захисті територіального суверенітету. Висвітлення правдивої картини змінює уявлення суспільства та формує підтримку для контрзаходів.

Превалювання позитивізму на внутрішньому й зовнішньому інформаційному полі України має складний характер і часто залежить від політичних інтересів та контексту. Позитивізм простежено в медіамовних кліше, наративах, зокрема опис України як сильного супротивника, надійного партнера, прихильника демократичних цінностей. Негативізм виявлено в передачі антиросійських наративів, при зображенні країни-терориста.

Ключові слова: дискурс, інформація, інформаційна війна, комунікація, медіамовні кліше, наративи.

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