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розвитку людини і суспільства**

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### **ПОЛЕМОЛОГІЧНА ПАРАДИГМА ОСМИСЛЕННЯ СУТІ ГІБРИДНОЇ ВІЙНИ**

*Стаття присвячена методологічним проблемам і маніпулятивним механізмам гібридної війни, проаналізованих у колективній монографії «Гібридна війна: in verbo et in praxi». Завдяки зверненню до полемологічного підходу її авторам вдалося систематизувати та узагальнити теорії війни і миру, проаналізувати сучасні західні концепції війни, позначити специфіку російського погляду на концепцію гібридної війни, оцінити значимість інформаційних і маніпуляційних технологій для гібридних воєн, проаналізувати низку геополітичних і соціокультурних аспектів сучасних гібридних воєн. Полемологія вивчає універсальні риси збройних конфліктів, їх роль у часі і просторі, цикли, інтенсивність, масштаб і причинно-наслідкові зв'язки та їхню класифікацію. Гібридні війни припускають використання наявних військових засобів, регулярних та нерегулярних, включаючи зброю масового знищення, а також інформацію, психологічну та пропагандистську війну з використанням новітніх комунікаційних і медійних технологій. Відповідно до класичного підходу, держава є єдиним суб'єктом військових дій, але сьогодні її роль різко змінилася під впливом інших політичних і економічних наднаціональних і транскордонних факторів. Для вивчення війн і збройних конфліктів з полемологічної точки зору необхідно зосередитися на соціальних змінах у всіх сферах людського життя, включаючи політичні, економічні, технологічні чинники, які впливають на війну як соціальний феномен.*

**Ключові слова:** полемологія, конфлікт, філософія війни, гібридна війна, інформаційно-маніпулятивні технології, масова свідомість, міфологія, ідеологема, трансгресія.

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**POLEMOLOGICAL PARADIGM OF COMPREHENSION  
OF ESSENCE OF HYBRID WAR**

*The article is devoted to the methodological problems and manipulative mechanisms of hybrid warfare, analyzed in the collective monograph "Hybrid War: in verbo et in praxi". Due to the appeal to the polemical approach, its authors have managed to systematize and generalize the theory of war and peace, analyze the modern Western concepts of war, to indicate the specifics of the Russian viewpoint on the concept of hybrid war, to evaluate the importance of information and manipulation technologies for hybrid wars, to analyze a number of geopolitical and socio-cultural aspects of modern hybrid wars. Polemology examines the universal features of armed conflicts, their role in time and space, cycles, and classification. Hybrid warfare involves the use of existing military assets, regular and irregular, including weapons of mass destruction, as well as information, psychological and advocacy wars with the use of emerging communications and media technologies. According to the classical approach, the state is the sole subject of hostilities, but today its role has changed dramatically under the influence of other political and economic, supranational and transboundary factors. To study wars and armed conflicts from a polemical point of view, this means the need to focus on social changes in all areas of human life, including political, economic, and technological factors that influence war as a social phenomenon.*

**Key words:** *polemology, conflict, philosophy of war, hybrid war, informational-manipulative technologies, mass consciousness, mythology, ideologema, transgression.*

The Events in the East of Ukraine have significantly updated the research discourse of war and peace, informational confrontation, social construction, civilizational conflicts. There are interesting scientific intelligence devoted to the analysis of manipulative means of "hybrid warfare". Particular attention deserves the monographies by V.P. Gorbulina (1), O.O. Bazaluka (2), R.O. Dodonova (3), E.V. Magdi (4) and so on. In 2017, the Ukrainian-Polish collective monograph entitled "Hybrid War: in verbo et in praxi" (5) was published, the authors of which - mostly representatives of the Donetsk University - considered their duty to note the process of maturation of a specific expectation of citizens, the evolution of which has modified the motives of their behavior and led to the beginning of hostilities. This study continues



the tradition of understanding the nature and evolution of wars in modern conditions, starting with, in particular, the edits of Martin van Creveld (6), Alvin and Hedy Toffler (7), Gilles Deleuze and Felix Guattari (8), Mary Kaldor (9), Manuel DeLanda (10), Arti Pabriks and Andis Kudors (11) and others.

The product of the 21st century is the so-called "hybrid wars", which are symbiosis of the destruction of the military-political system of the enemy by blackmail, bribery, sabotage, discredit, information pressure, manipulation of the mass consciousness. A combination of military and non-military methods involving the protest potential of the population is the essence of the wars of the new generation. Considering the hybrid war as a kind of armed conflict, the authors of this work focus on the polemological (from the ancient Greek words of πόλεμος - war and λόγος - doctrine) paradigm of studying wars. In this context, polemology refers to the direction of science which studies war, violence, conflicts. This term refers to the general theory of war, the task of which is to identify hidden sources of human aggression and social structures that contribute to the emergence of wars.

Thus, the *purpose* of this article is to acquaint the reader with the basic principles of the polemical approach, which is indicated in the monograph "Hybrid War: in verbo et in praxi".

The book begins with an excursion to the basics of polemology, which is carried out by Polish scholars Lukash Roman and Kateryna Novikova. The latest hybrid wars are modern wars, which are conducted using all available tactics of struggle, whether regular or non-regular, as well as cybernetic with the possibility of using weapons of mass destruction, as well as informational, psychological and advocacy wars using the latest information and medial technologies. Nathan Freyer from Center for Strategic and International Studies defined a hybrid war on the basis of four types of struggle: traditional contradictions of regular troops, guerrilla warfare, "catastrophic terrorism" and fighter jets that undermine the military superiority of regular troops.

Polemological considerations over the essence of the hybrid conflict lie not only in affirming the weight of this threat to the international environment or the need for deep, detailed, comprehensive research. As the territorial dimension of the war was replaced by the multi-dimensional, multilevel complex of military and non-military actions aimed at the simultaneous achievement of various goals, the polemologists claim that all previous classifications of wars have lost their scientific value.

Among the additional factors that have come to the fore and require not only a cursory account but also a corresponding analysis, it is worth noting not only the globalization or the obvious impact of the latest technologies, but their coexistence with the remnants of the "old" wars. "Hybridization" in this way can be regarded as the coexistence of many non-connecting elements, since, along with military super technology, primitive methods of struggle and weapons are still used, and the "postmodern" war coexists with the struggle not only for territoriality, but also for thoughts, identities, and values.

According to the classical approach, the state is considered the sole subject of hostilities, but for today its role has changed significantly under the influence of political and economic over-state and transboundary factors. In the study of wars and

armed conflicts in the polemological perspective, this means the need to focus on social changes in all spheres of human life, taking into account the various elements of the political, economic or even technological context that influence the war as a social phenomenon.

The scientific and philosophical basis for the creation of a general theory of war and peace, according to prof. O.O. Bazaluk, is the history of the creation of "civilization loci", the direction of their development and the change of their boundaries. In most cases, the term the locus of civilization is used to refer to a certain political or social community (ethnos, nation, state). The infinite localization is considered to be the types of civilizations (M. Danilevsky, O. Spengler, A. Toynbee, D. Bel, E. Toffler) and their collisions (S. Huntington, F. Braudel). Political and social organizations, various variants of their interactions are only a visible part of social constructs created by the human mind. They reveal the peculiarities of the formation of the civilization locus and the process of infinite localization, but in fact they are only external manifestations of content, but not the content of a single locus of civilization. From the standpoint of geophilosophy, war and peace are continuous and non-linear interactions between psychospheres, which appear on the surface of the Earth in an infinite change in the boundaries between locations. At the same time, the war is a violent penetration of one psychosphere into the locus of another psychosphere, which causes significant changes in its manifestations. Conversely, the world is a co-ordinated interaction between psychospheres, which leads, at least, to respect, at most, to enriching the interaction of both loci-civilizations.

The empirical basis of the theory of world peace is made up of facts and patterns: from the field of neuroscience, psychology and social philosophy; from geophilosophy; from military history and history of military art. The basis of the general theory of war and peace through the methodology of geo-philosophy O.O. Bazaluk sets the axioms:

- a separate locus of civilization and man have a single rhizome - the evolving psyche;

- evolution - is a continuous and nonlinear complication of the structure of matter, types of interaction and environment of existence, which is subject to three factors and two reasons, universal for any material organization in the scale of the universe;

- the complexity of the psychosphere is carried out: continuously, by blocks and according to the principle of dominance; nonlinear, as directed and hierarchical process; depending on spatial, temporal and reproductive isolation; under the influence of the active first-degree, originally laid in the basis of the neural structures of the psychosphere; in conditions of natural selection.

The basis of the theory of war and peace is formed by five postulates: 1) the rhizome of aggressive manifestations of psychosphere consists in pathologies constitute as the that result from the continuous and nonlinear complication of the structure and function of the neural ensembles of the subconscious and consciousness; 2) the aggressive manifestations of psychosphere are influenced by physical and chemical (favorable, provocative and supporting) factors of the environment; 3) if in the perception of the psychosphere the locus of civilization from the geographic territory

has become a state of the world of historical ideas, it becomes a sacramental and invincible; 4) modern wars - this is the struggle of ideas, the disintegration and integration of civilizational loci directly related to the actualization and deactivation of the world of historical ideas; 5) the nature of the psychosphere continuously and non-linearly inclines it to creating the most comfortable conditions for the full realization of internal creative potentials.

The evolution of psychosphere is the history of its manifestations in the locus and beyond. The basis of the evolution of the psychosphere and its manifestations constitute a continuous and non-linear complication of the structure and functions of the neural subconscious ensembles and factors of the environment. The complexity of the psychosphere is determined by the universal factors and the causes of evolution evolution. The war and peace in this continuous and non-linear complication is a manifestation of the psychosphere, through which a regulatory compromise between the opposing forces is achieved: the active principle and natural selection (or the complicated structure of the neural ensembles of the subconscious and consciousness and the conditions of the environment). War and peace are ways to achieve a compromise between the needs of the psychosphere and the possibilities of their satisfaction, between the proclaimed idea that combines psychosphere, and the possibility of its realization.

The concept of hemostasis in the classical sense of Walter Cannon, as the ability of the open system to maintain the constancy of its internal state with the help of coordinated reactions, aimed at maintaining a dynamic equilibrium, is identical to the concept of regulatory compromise, but only has a narrower field of application. War and peace are coordinated reactions aimed at supporting the homeostasis of the psychosphere of the Earth (5, pp. 55-57).

Having outlined the methodological foundations of the polemological view of the hybrid war, the authors of the monograph pass to the review of modern Western concepts of warfare. So, in Section 1.3, which is written by prof. V.A. Mandragel, the concept of hybrid war is considered in the context of the evolution of ideas about the strategy of conducting hostilities. He recalls that during the past twentieth century, such concepts as "strategic bombing", "centric warfare or a military revolution", "fourth generation wars", "sixth generation wars", "counterinsurgency military", "asymmetric military actions had gained popularity", and finally the concept of " hybrid war " appeared (5, p.63).

One of the most successful definitions of hybrid warfare belongs to Robert Nevsson – it is a combination of conventional, irregular and asymmetric means, including constant manipulation of political and ideological conflict, as well as the involvement of special operation forces and conventional forces, intelligence agents, political provocateurs, media representatives, economic blackmail; cyber attacks; proxy servers and surrogates, paramilitary, terrorist and criminal elements.

The Russian military science has been critically redefined the theoretical positions of a number of western editions, but in the specialist literature, Russian exerts avoid using the term "hybrid war", although they actually work in the relevant conceptual framework. In the most comprehensive way, the principles of the Russian invariant

concept of the hybrid warfare have been embodied in the "doctrine of Gerasimov." It is characterized by recognition of the role of non-military means in achieving strategic goals, no less effective than military violence; displacement of emphasis in the direction of political, economic, informational, humanitarian actions implemented with the involvement of the protest potential of the population; aggressive technological impact on the mass consciousness of the population, including information, in particular, cyber attacks. The transition to an open use of military force usually takes place at the final stage of the conflict, to consolidate success. Certain elements of this doctrine, of course, functioned even earlier. We tried to demonstrate that the existence of a historical experience in the struggle of the Russian Empire for the psychosphere of the surrounding territories does not allow us to conclude on the fundamental novelty of the concepts of the hybrid war. At the same time, the latter points to the transformation of the war in the conditions of the informational society of the XXI century (5, p.131).

Theoretical conclusions of the specialists of the Russian Academy of Military Sciences have found an immediate practical testing and appropriate correction in the course of conflicts in the post-Soviet space and the Middle East. Practice has demonstrated the effectiveness of information combat tactics used by Russia, which are constantly being modified and improved. The intensity of the information influence from the Russian media on the enemy's psychosphere provides grounds for the unjustified absolutisation of this aspect and even the desire to identify the hybrid war with information al war only.

More information on the role of informational influence is given in the second part of the monograph. According to GE Kovalsky, the lack of a real assessment of the situation in Ukraine, the consolidation of this reality in the legal plane does not allow the rapid solution of social contradictions heated by external forces, the rapid solution of the military aspect of the problem, the rapid overcoming of the consequences in the ecological, economic, cultural, social and other spheres of the existence of the Ukrainian society. The use of individual terms also became an information component of the hybrid war. The difference between the concepts of "conflict" and "war" extends into the scale of conflict, understaunding by outside entities and participants in international legal constraints. Therefore, in relation to these events, the term "war" should be used.

Clarification of the definitions of these concepts will enable actual, rather than ephemeral, understanding of the opposition, methods of counteraction, means of defeat, driving forces and direct participants of these destructive actions not only for Ukraine, but also for the world security space, for the processes. Today, the world community remains at the position of the concept of the invariability of the boundaries of national states, enshrined by the Yalta-Potsdam system of international relations. With the signing of the Association Agreement with the EU, Ukraine made a cultural and ideological choice for the civilization of the development of Ukrainian society. The new geopolitical reality of the post-Soviet space is Ukraine as the center of consolidation and a source of European values for the western Eurasian territory.

External values of orientation are the other side of the military events and help understand the causes of the conflict, bring it to the level of inter-civilizational

confrontation. The rapid development of world society, the emergence of a large and differentiated world of values, the complication of value relationships "man-man", "man-state", "state-state" became a catalyst for the crisis of value orientations not only in Ukraine, but throughout Eastern Europe. Somewhere, the crisis reveals its ugly manifestations, such as the indocrymation of criminal ethics, experiments on planting false and non-peculiar values to the modern Ukrainian values society. Deformed information is a tool for re-encoding new meanings in relevant electoral groups. Change in the connotation of terms, events, and phenomena brought social discourse from a rational plane to emotional, thus depriving it of a critical assessment.

Associate professor V.V. Beletsky this topic continues and unfolds, and analyzes the aggressive technological influence on the mass consciousness against the background of the East-Ukrainian conflict. The main means of manipulating mass consciousness is the desire to build and as powerful as possible broadcast relative to a holistic information creature - the "mythology of the hybrid war." It consists of five basic interconnected components and forms both a false or a mysterious image of the opposition forces as well as a social background. In this case mythology can dynamically change and assimilate into itself any fact, event, politician's statement, etc. This means of manipulation is broadcasted and invoked in a number of ways, among which there are both channels of delivery of political myths, as well as technical instruments of influence on the mass consciousness. Channels are distorted to the dysfunctional political propaganda of social institutions of education, religion and art.

But the main information channel of the modern world is the media, which does not provide for independent information search. Its normal function is also disfigured, because instead of pluralistic information, there is a fabrication of non-existent "news", commenting on these simulators, and suggesting the given mythology. Such a suggestion pursues two main principles – with the necessary manipulator way, but generally depressingly, to influence the language and thinking and the sphere of emotions of the masses. Such a destruction of the cultural core is addressed to several communities: the society of the victum state must, after manipulation, either significantly weaken the state, or loyally accept the seizure of its lands, or at least impose minimal resistance. To implement these principles, channels of manipulation broadcasted a wide range of means: rhetorical-linguistic, including the original associative instruments, whose constant and invasive influence is synergetically intensified, and the fields of action intersect.

The use of discourse as a tool for warfare on the example of Donbass is considered by prof. V.I. Dodonova, who distinguishes the main messages of the inhabitants of the occupied territories of Ukraine in the discourse of confrontation. They can be reduced to the following claims:

- legal voluntarism of the Ukrainian authorities and decision-making on the basis of revolutionary expediency;
- unacceptable organization of the Ukrainian political space and encroachment upon the value constants of the "Russian Peace";
- violation of the basic human right - the right to life: shelling of cities, restrictions on freedom of movement and the introduction of a transit regime in the ATO zone;

- non-compliance by Ukraine of the clauses of the Minsk Agreements;
- "falsification" of historical memories, including encroachment on sacred, mythologized events of the past;
- economic blockade of LNR / DNR, including non-payment of pensions on the territory of the republics.

The study of the claims of the Donbas to Ukraine, the analysis of their actual grounds does not deny the fact of aggression against Ukraine, the fact of interference in the internal affairs of an independent state, the fact of the supply of weapons and military equipment to the territory of the formed republics, which constantly "pushes" this conflict. But in the political actions of the Ukrainian leadership there is a lot that does not contribute to a quick resolution of the conflict. Rationalization of these claims will prevent their displacement in the collective unconscious, will help to build relationships on sound principles in the future (5, p. 271-272).

The O.A. Stock object of study of is a modern Russian myth about the Great Victory and its manipulative potential. As a means of manipulating mass consciousness, modern attributes of mythology are considered. A prominent place in anti-Ukrainian propaganda is the discourse associated with the Second World War, or rather, with that segment, called the Great Patriotic War. Different types of characteristics of the Kiev authorities, as "fascist junta", the idea that the Donbas today is Spain of the 36 th year, a comparison of fighters with interbreeding, fighting against fascism, finally, the Georgian ribbon as an indispensable attribute, such are the "antifascists" - all this rhetoric clearly indicates that the discourse of the "Great Patriotic War" is actively involved in this struggle. The aggressor mentally attacks Ukraine, using a comprehensive system of manipulating mass consciousness using artificially recreated myths, including the Great Victory. In the temporarily occupied territories, it transforms Ukrainians into easily controlled political power, chaotizes political vectors within Ukraine, and disinforms its own citizens and the world community by electronic means (5, p.317-319).

Following the principle of «in verbo et in praxi», consistently considering the theoretical component of the military conflict in the East of Ukraine, the authors of the monograph in the third part turn to the description of global polemological dimensions of the hybrid forms of war of the XXI century. The article by R. Kh. Halikov is devoted to the specifics of the geopolitical peculiarities of the hybrid war in the Middle East, with the creation of religious and political coalitions, involving informational and manipulative tools. In particular, the confrontation in Syria and Iraq, the scientist suggests to consider as a struggle for leadership in the Islamic globalist project between Sunni, but secularized Turkey, and Shiite, but secularized Iran. However, all existing projects of global development (Western, Russian, Chinese, Islamic) to some extent ignore the principle of non-interference in the internal affairs of a particular state, that is why they easy enough decided to intervene in the Syrian conflict and turn it into a platform for global transformations, not taking into account the desire of the local population. It should be noted that, in spite of the anti-Western orientation of both Russian and Islamic projects, they have not united to fight the West, but defend each of their prospects, while trying to take the West into a coalition. This may indicate the

inability of each of the alternative projects to fight against the Western world alone, as well as the reluctance to have allies in this struggle, which would be to split the fame in case of victory. Instead, the West has enough power to realize its goals in any of its former colonies, although it is not possible to fully control their actions (5, p.336-338).

The V.S. Gurzhi material of is dedicated to the study of the ideology of the "Russian works" in modern hybrid wars. In his opinion, the so-called "Russian spring" remains an extremely painful fact of the recent past, not only in the political, but even in the scientific discourse. The worldview and value potential of the "Russian world" can be used to mobilize anti-Western movements, providing them with the basis for the theoretical justify its own convictions and non-utilitarian landmarks of development. At present, Russia is dominated by the idea that imitation of the Western model of development does not justify itself, implementation of such meanings will not ensure sustainable development of the state, since many Western values may change in the coming years. Russian researchers and ideologues came to the conclusion that Russia has its own history, however terrible it was, at times, and it gives Russia the opportunity to realize itself and its civilization role in the global world.

The concept of the "Russian world", in some form or another over several centuries, played the role of self-identification of the Moscow and Russian states in its relations with the West, today acquired a new form. Reborn after the devaluation of communist ideology, this ideology retorted on the instrument of competitive competition in the global game. Was this project, in its latest non-incarnation, conceived as an ideological weapon and just wars, whether it matured as the means of preserving Russian identity and culture, but today it has become an active religiously motivated alternative to the global development project that was created by the West? It is safe to expect that, in any event, the prospect of thinking that opens within the framework of the "Russian world" paradigm, taking into account its demanded in modern Russian consolidated resource and the influence on contemporary perceptions and the interpretation of historical events, will remain a weighting factor in the formation of Russia's policy in the coming years.

As the historical experience of recent years testifies, hybrid wars, despite the tangible value-information component are capable of reaching the goals and results expected from conducting traditional combat. The annexation and occupation, the active interference in the democratic process of other countries in order to bring them loyal political forces to power, terror and seizure of hostages, massive human rights violations, the emergence of refugees and displaced persons – that are just some of the real consequences of hybrid wars. Exactly on the last of the mentioned problems associate professor. Kolinko M.V. focuses his attention, studying the life experience of settlers in terms of transgression of everyday life.

The researcher emphasizes the fundamental difference between a forced migrant and a refugee: it is a lack or presence of foreign citizenship. A forced migrant from the Donbas is a citizen of Ukraine, while a foreigner can receive a refugee status in Ukraine. A refugee is a subject of international law, and a forced migrant is the subject of a state migration legal relationship.

Under the transgression in this context is meant "one of the forms of the implementation of humanity," as "the realization of human experience on the verge of being." As civilized people, we deny xenophobia by definition, but sometimes we conceal our intolerance of another by interpreting "pragmatism", "rationalism" or "realism", which in fact is a dubious tactic, from which losses are greater than expected benefits. The modern person should learn to balance on the thin edge of friendship and autonomy, aware of the benefits and risks of communication, but not to fall into the extreme of self-isolation, "closing the door" before any Other (5, p. 379).

Transgression as a form of denial of some givenness, fulfills an important social function. It draws attention to the disagreement of the cultural subject to follow the norms that restrict his freedom. Everyday consciousness refers to transgression to marginal practices along with immorality and violation of the law, while transgression derives from society into a class of asocial elements, but it is a false, simplistic interpretation of the phenomenon. The transgressor seeks to escape from the limits of his cultural circle to the general, towards a holistic, unconstrained monocultural rules of life, which is inaccessible within the framework of "home culture". The greatest danger from the confinement of the home world arises at a time when the transgressor, shrouded by the propaganda network of the external aggressor, is exposed to active information processing.

The transgressive experience of resettlement as the implementation of an alternative way of its everyday life opens up to a person the understanding of the authenticity of his being. The social significance of the transgressive experience of migrants is also that the mechanism of the violation becomes a form of renewal of the socio-cultural system. Resettlement movement encourages the democratization of legislation, leads to changes in the social structure. However, the destructive impact of transgressors on the host culture is possible: the growth of crime, increasing the level of poverty, if as a result of hostilities social outsiders are forced to resettle.

Summing up the above review, we note that the authors of the monograph using the field polemical methodology covered various sections of the complex and multifaceted phenomenon of the hybrid war. The hybrid form of aggression against Ukraine chosen by the leadership of the Russian Federation is not accidental, because in Russian society, the feeling of national image as a result of defeat in the Cold War, the collapse of the USSR and the loss of the status of a superpower have not disappeared in Russian society. Its purpose was to destroy the ability of the state system of Ukraine to defend by widespread use of the initiated protest sentiments of the population, introduction of an "information virus" in the value-axiological component of the mass consciousness, discrediting the military-political leadership of the country, etc. The principles of the Russian invariant concept of the hybrid warfare found its conceptual consolidation in the "doctrine of Gerasimov." A strategy outlined in the doctrine involves recognizing the leading role of non-military means in achieving strategic goals; displacement of emphasis in the direction of political, economic, informational, humanitarian actions implemented with the use of the real potential of the population; aggressive technological impact on the mass consciousness of the population, including information, in particular, the implementation of cyber attacks. And the transition to



open-use military force takes place at the final stage of the conflict, usually in the face of peacekeeping.

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