

Modern trends in the functioning of media studies in informational, scientific and educational discourse

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SECTION V. THE RUSSIAN-UKRAINIAN HYBRID CONFLICT IN THE EAST OF UKRAINE. THE CLASSIFICATION FROM THE CONFLICT RESOLUTION VIEWPOINT (2014-2021 years)

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5.1 Reasons, run and results of the Russian military aggression against Ukraine

As the result of the last three years, Ukraine gained the national dignity and defined its future. That was the time of radical changes, though they seemed to be impossible. The Yanukovich regime left behind as the Revolution of Dignity overwhelmed it. The aggression of Russia caused the annexation of Crimea. Thus why, the military conflict in the east of Ukraine started.

The war of 2014 in the territory of Ukraine will come to the history of Independent Ukraine with different titles: «modern Ukrainian-Russian», «undeclared», «hybrid», «nonlinear», «the controlled chaos war», «the first oligarchic». Such war combines military, informational, terroristic and other aggressive actions directed to

achieve the strategic aim. The aim of this war is the full control under the Ukraine made by the expansionary neo-imperial Kremlin plans. The content, character and features of this war differ from the traditional models of previous wars. The experts say about so-called hybrid war caused by the controlled chaos.

What is the meaning of hybrid? Hybrid war is the desire of one nation to reign over the other one with a help of economic, political and informational tools [11]. Thus why, the military actions are almost additional in the conditions of hybrid war. The first place is taken by the informational deeds and other sources of influence. The meaning of this term can be found in the striving of one nation to act aggressively on the conscience of the other's habitants. In the geopolitical system, it means that there is a full geopolitical destruction of a victim-country as well as the neutralization of its geopolitical aspects. They can be described as the shape of the territory, the number of residents, the nations' world status, economic possibilities, military powers and overall potential. It is a desire to frighten and demoralize the millions of people. Due to the rapid informational spreading, this war became not only the good, but weapon. The War can be described in the wish of a one country to make an aggressive influence on the citizens of the other one. The real role, place, interests and aims of the aggressive country can be found in the sphere of social attention. They are also hidden with a help of «informational garbage» and demagoguery.

The controlled chaos war has three stages:

- Undermining the situation and inspiration of the internal conflict in the victim-country with a help of crisis;
- Degradation, devastation and disintegration of the country to turn it into a so-called «incapacitated» state;
- Changes in political power into the entirely controlled by the aggressor.

Ukraine firstly faced this phenomenon closely. However, the military experts in this type of hostilities are known for a long time. The problem in its modern sense began to develop back in 1960-70 years in the works of the «stab-war» Yevgeny Messner who was the former colonel of the General Staff of the Russian imperial army.

In particular, he wrote: «The invasion of the territories was important in the previous wars. The invasion of the souls of the enemy nation will be important soon. There will be neither wars in the two-dimensional space, nor wars in the three-dimensional space, as it was, but in the four-dimensional where the nations' conscience appears to be the fourth dimension; the wars of rebels, saboteurs, propagandists will take a new stand». «Evidently, that was taken to the mind in Kremlin when the instability of Eastern and Southern regions of the country was set in motion.

The Russian military aggression against Ukraine has become a long-term factor influencing Ukrainian political, economic, military and social reality. As a result of actions of the Russian Federation in 2014, the system of global and regional security, as well as the current system of international law was distorted. Almost all international security guarantees for Ukraine (including within the Budapest Memorandum) were incompetent in a situation where the aggressor was chosen to be one of the guarantors - Russian Federation. Russia used the concept of «hybrid warfare» that is largely unique against Ukraine. It is a «hybrid» and «asymmetric» war.

If it is necessary to make a brief historical overview, we can mention that hostile actions of Russia concerning Ukraine were recorded in autumn 2003 near the island of Tuzla in the Azov Sea in the days of Leonid Kuchma's presidency. Since 2005, after the Orange Revolution, Russian officials have constantly reminded the West that Ukraine is a failed nation (country that never took place). The gas war in 2006 and 2009, to demonstrate the unreliability of Ukraine as a gas transit country, can also be called hybrid elements of war against our country. A notable factor of a so-called «third force» in the Euromaidan, was the Russian annexation in spring 2014 in the Autonomous Republic of Crimea. However, there was local and support radical elements and the full invasion of the Russian troops to the eastern regions. It was a continuation, not the beginning of the hybrid Russian war against Ukraine, though every aspect of this war can't be described as a brand new. The informational aspect seems to be an independent feature in some cases and stays as important as the military one.

However many scientists and researches indicate the «hybrid» war character, the conceptualization in this sense is ambiguous and incomplete. Thus, in the western scientific thought there is the concept of «hybrid war» roughly since the mid-2000s but in many cases it appears to be interpreted in other terms and concepts than it seems to be now. Such concepts as «unconventional warfare» (unconventional warfare), «irregular warfare» (irregular warfare) or «Mixed War» (compound warfare), or state-sponsored «hybrid war» (State-Sponsored Hybrid) can be taken to characterize the modern conflict between Ukraine and Russia. In all these facts, the «blur» of the outlines of military conflict and involvement of non-military can be found.

What are the reasons of the beginning of the hybrid war? Hybrid war against Ukraine reveals the Russian trying to resolve the actual number of geopolitical problems. The first - is to get rid of a competitor in the influence of the former Soviet Union, because our country has a potential for the only post-Soviet countries to compete with Russia on this issue. The second – is a hypothetical defeat of Ukraine that demoralizes the significant number of Central and Eastern Europe’s countries. The third - is that Ukraine inefficiently used the opportunities received since independence. The domestic national elite didn’t use properly neither unique transit capacity nor the Soviet legacy in the economy, or even energy events on the Maidan in 2004. Moreover, the foreign policy was inconsistent, resulting in early 2014, and official Kyiv had the best relationship with Moscow thus why there were no alternative agreements on military-technical cooperation. And there was an influence of the frustration of inefficiency Budapest Memorandum. As a result, Ukraine was seen as easy prey by Russian government, which tried to deal with two trained shocks – with amputation of the destabilized Crimea and Donbas.

There is a rhetorical question – did Russia prepare to this hybrid war? Despite the statements of Vladimir Putin, that the annexation of the Crimea was a reaction to the events of Maidan, the analysis of military coordination, information and diplomatic operations in the first quarter of 2014 and further tells us about the extensive preparation to destabilize the situation in Ukraine. There is a reason to believe that the

active phase was passed in 2010, with the arrival of Viktor Yanukovich. The only comment – the Kremlin planned to start the mechanism of aggression during the presidential campaign of 2015, which by definition is a period of crisis and instability for the country's transition to democracy.

I think, it is naively to believe that Kremlin seeks to achieve its actions in the formal liquidation of Ukrainian sovereignty. In the current international situation, this scenario is not possible. For Russia and its current leadership, it is more important to reach the demoralization of the Ukrainian society and the collapse of the Ukrainian state project from inside.

The head front of the hybrid war is mainly informational. It is concentrated on the public-private partnership actively used with Russia. The media aspect plays one of the main roles in the forming of «right» victim's silhouette from the aggressor's viewpoint. It is more important than the victory.

The murdering of alien soldiers comes to be an additional aim. It is enough to kill own people and provide the relative informational accompaniment in such kind of war. The aggressor usually attributes the victim with what he makes. Orwell converts a victim in the eyes of informational consumers converted into the aggressor, and the aggressor – into avenger. In fact, it is a so-called «informational exposure». Objectives and methods of this war – is to encourage citizens to betray their own nation and support aggressor. In fact, the Kremlin realizes three interrelated objectives: creates favorable to its actions background information in Russia, carries out carpet disinformation bombing and enables the formation of an informational environment in the West. The power front looks important and the Kremlin uses energy as a tool of political influence in Europe for a long. In the case of Ukraine, it is important to note the use of pro-Russian lobby and representatives of radical political forces in the Old World, the history rewriting and intense influence of Russian Orthodox Church to the events in the post.

Thus, why the following question arises: is it the local hybrid war? The Russian-Ukrainian conflict can't be unnoticed by the international community.

It is evident that the military actions in Donbass will pay attention again. We agree with the statement that Vladimir Putin is fighting with Barack Obama and Ukrainian Donbass appears to be the field of this fighting. It is also important that the EU, despite the strong position of the pro-Russian lobby in some of them, managed to impose sanctions against Russia.

An important characteristic of hybrid warfare is the use of asymmetric active hostilities, characterized by significant differences in military power and strategy and tactics of the participating parties. This pattern of warfare is extremely difficult to deal with because there is no formal grounds to fight against the aggressor country, which only unofficially (but overactive) supports militants and terrorists. So there are the extensive secret service agents, Russian saboteurs and mercenaries in the East of Ukraine. Russia supplies them with weapons and new fighters to shell our positions from its territory. In an undeclared war against Ukraine, Russia actively uses methods of informational and psychological war, expecting to destroy the morale of the soldiers and civilians of our country.

So-called «journalists» of Russian channels LifeNews, Russia Today and some similar act the formation of the «right image» for propaganda purposes and intelligence-subversive function as agents of special services of Russia. The Russian military experts and scientists develop the theme of informational and informational-psychological war.

In my opinion, we should give more common determinations that are connected with the informational war as the integral part of a hybrid one:

Informational warfare – is a complex of targeted steps to ensure information superiority through the injury information, information processes and information systems of the enemy while ensuring the protection of proprietary information, information processes and information systems. The components of the information war are also «information-psychological» (information and psychological warfare) and «cyber war» (cybernetic warfare) [17].

Information-psychological war is directed to make an influence on the military and civilian population – that is the receptor prepared by spreading information in the informational and psychological operations.

Cyber war – is a part of the informational war aimed at causing harm or destruction of enemy informational infrastructure (including software and hardware) by access operations to the infrastructure, including unauthorized manner.

Informational weapon – is a set of technical and other methods and technologies, defined not only with their own properties. Informational weapon – is a concept that integrates all methods of influence based on any society that is presented with information [17].

I think that the current situation is unique and virtually unprecedented. This is manifested primarily in military and military-technical terms. Acquired priority actions of the Russian reconnaissance, sabotage groups of terrorist acts, and use guerrilla methods of struggle with the involvement of the so-called militia of local people and criminals and Russian mercenaries. Used against Ukrainian army and battalion tactical group of Russian troops. In particular, it was observed in the battles of Ilovaisky in the second half of August. The threat of opening a «second front» in the south of Ukraine (including the south of Rostov region) in the western direction in order to form a land corridor to Crimea, and under favorable conditions - even to enter the connection Transnistrian Moldavian Republic is quite high. Russia uses the conflict in eastern Ukraine for testing new weapons and modern warfare tactics. Thus, Russia is using Eastern Ukraine as a large range, which hones in practice new methods of warfare. It is difficult to disagree with the expresident of Lithuania D.Hribauskyte that «Ukraine is struggling for the sake of the world, for all of us. If the aggressive nation is not stopped, it will spread to Europe and beyond. «In addition to purely military classical methods within Russia «hybrid war», the concept of «war three quarters» is used for the first time.

A modern soldier should be ready to fight in the one quarter, to perform police functions in the second and to carry out humanitarian missions in the third. In 1991

Israeli scientist M. von Creveld defined the characteristic nowadays «postmodern» war period as «neutral» because they do not fit into a triple scheme: Government - Army - Population». F. von Kappen said about the paradigm shift of the «hybrid warfare» as about the mix of classical type of war using irregular military formations. The state, which is «hybrid war», realizes deal with non-performers - militants groups of local people, organizations. This type of communication is completely denied. These artists can deal with things that the nation has no possibility to do ... The whole dirty work can be shifted to the shoulders of non-state actors. The concept of three quarters war», implemented by Russia in Ukraine demonstrates the validity of these concerns. This became especially apparent during the annexation of Crimea. But the concept was realized neither in «space» nor in «time» specter, but in «reverse». Firstly, «green men» appeared in Crimea with quasi «humanitarian» mission to ensure «the rights of Russian / Russian-speaking population». But they gradually shifted to perform the functions of quasi «police» to ensure the right of Moscow «referendum». Soon, they performed so-called quasi «war» functions to impose the results of the «referendum» [19].

However, the Russian «military crime» campaign held in Crimea was almost bloodless the eastern regions faced a real tragedy. The trying to repeat the success of the Crimean awash faced the armed confrontation. Accordingly, Russia was forced to return to the classic scenario of «frozen conflicts» such as Transnistria or Karabakh.

The energy component of «hybrid warfare» is an important aspect of the «hybrid warfare» that was demonstrated by the Russian aggression. There is an influence on the livelihoods of society. This energy infrastructure has become a subject of special attention from aggressors' viewpoint, because its capture (or destruction) causes not only significant economic losses, but also threatens the sustainable operation of the system of society in general.

Later, this aspect in accordance to the «hybrid war» was used by the aggressor with even greater scope in the parts of Luhansk and Donetsk regions. Many coal mines as well as transport infrastructure were actually destroyed by the purposeful actions.

Thus why, it caused the problems with the supplying of coal, in particular to the thermal powerplants. It was a challenge for the stable functioning of the unified energy system of Ukraine. As a result, there was a worsening of socio-economic situation not only in the East but also in general among Ukraine. In addition, it formed a long-term challenge of energy security of the state as a whole. The further work was made by the informational component of the «hybrid warfare»: The anti-crisis solutions taken by the Ukrainian government in the energy sector were actively used to form a negative attitude to the government officials and to the rulers of the country. The same information was actively used to form a negative image of Ukraine among the neighboring countries and partners of Ukraine.

In accordance to the large number of domestic and foreign politicians and experts, Ukraine and Russia are on the verge of full-scale military conflict that can become an expected trigger for the World War III. There is a great background to provide this conflict, there are a lot of causes and effects, but the circumstances that force the confrontation sides to continue the confrontation and transfer it into a full-scale military is the essential part of this situation.

On my opinion, the Russian-Ukrainian conflict has all the necessary conditions for its solution. Firstly, the conflict is sufficiently mature, thus why the warring parties are aware of the contradictions that objectively exist between them and see the differences and counteracting that require surgery to remove them. Secondly, there is a necessity and interest of each of the parties to the continuation of the conflict to overcome the contradictions that arise. Thirdly, it is possible, including mediation of the third parties, to resolve the conflict that took place between them.

An armed attack of Russia became a surprise for Ukrainian politicians and the public, and the international community. However, objectively war was caused by the imperatives of Ukrainian policy. Prominent military theorist Carl von Clausewitz in his classic work «On War» (1832-1834 years), the fundamental tenets which are relevant today, said: «War is the continuation of politics by other hands». Thus, the revival of Ukraine's independence is inevitable due to the restoration of national

memory and exceptional national history. Therefore, Russian understand that without the return of Ukraine (with its territories, resources and human potential) in the bosom of any attempts to restore its imperial status is futile.

Behind the facade of relations inherent in a civilized relations between sovereign states, Russia prepares a special operation in Ukraine, which is dominant in three main imperatives:

1) In resistance to the integration policy of Ukraine in the west as its membership in NATO and the EU makes the idea of the revival of Russia (under the guise Eurasian) neo-empire absolutely impossible;

2) In elimination of the Ukrainian within and outside of Russia, as only the destruction of Ukrainian identity can be a precondition and guarantee of the existence of such an empire;

3) In maintaining, the constant controlled chaos state to provoke separatist movements aimed at weakening national institutions, dismemberment and destruction of the country's statehood.

The realization of these imperatives is put on the special services, diplomacy and in the armed forces. The main methods in their arsenal is the subversion of agents and agents of misinformation and blackmail, threats and pressure, bribery and involvement in special operations of criminal elements, involving mercenaries units of the regular army unmarked and etc. An important factor influencing the contents, methods and ways of realization of Ukrainian politics is identity of Russian President Vladimir Putin. It is indiscriminate in choosing the ways to achieve the goal, acting cunningly and cynically, claiming the role of lifelong national leader, called history perform high mission the revival of empire, with barely concealed arrogance belongs to the leaders of Western democracies and demonstrates the paranoid hatred and contempt for the Ukrainian and Ukraine. Every accident on his election in 2000 as president of the Kremlin Ukrainian policy has become tougher, bigger and more systematic. Along with the opposition of Ukraine's European and Euro-Atlantic integration of Russia on the path of expanding humanitarian aggression against our

country, exercised through its agents and the fifth column in the information, linguistic, cultural, historical and religious spheres. Thus northern neighbor sought and seeks to destroy the Ukrainian identity, which is a backbone component of the Ukrainian nationality, and provide «final solution of the Ukrainian question» in the context of traditional Russian imperial ambitions. The collapse of the Yanukovych regime and removing him from power in February 2014 opened a perspective for the termination of the devastating destruction of statehood Ukraine's national identity and restoration of the course to European and Euro-Atlantic integration. Feeling a loss of control over Ukraine, Putin has resorted to military aggression, not only as for the revenge for the Ukrainian Maidan but also as planned way to quickly quell the power of our country forever. In the political and information spheres, the attack made by Russia was called by different terms. Perhaps this approach is an attempt to reflect the specific verbal war waged by Russia, which by means of their driving is different from traditional classical wars. Perhaps, the only way to avoid the use of accurate and legally calibrated term «war of aggression». The use of euphemisms is consistent with the infamous «do not irritate Russia policy», that policy «not to irritate Russia», which mingled much as Western and Ukrainian politicians and intellectuals.

However, on the other hand, there are also some attempts to describe the situation caused by the Russian armed attack on Ukraine as «internal crisis», «civil war», «Ukrainian-Ukrainian war». In fact, such attempts to deny the power seizing Crimea and Russia look at the war on the Eastern Ukraine both internationally and as the internal conflict, responsibility for which lies on the Ukrainian government. A striking example of such course is the position paper of 30 June 2014 and the first report of 24 July 2014 based in New York, Human Rights Watch. The legal analysis of the situation proposed by this human rights organization is based on a selective use of facts, has a manipulation. It is essentially imitating the official line of the Russian ruling establishment that tries to mislead the international community to justify its illegal behavior, to deny Russia's participation in the aggression.

Russia's military aggression has more far-reaching aim than just getting rid

Ukraine of its territory. The Kremlin's attempt to impose his devastating for Ukrainian independent statehood plan «peaceful» settlement and its implementation to involve Western powers is a particular proof. In the 5 of March, 2014 Minister of Foreign Affairs Sergey Lavrov during talks with US Secretary of State John Kerry outlined the main elements of the plan, namely Ukraine not sign an Association Agreement with the EU; refusal of entry into NATO; postponement of the presidential elections on May 25, 2014 at a later date; development of new Ukrainian Constitution; federalization of Ukraine; Russian language as the second state language.

It is obvious that Lavrov plan is a program of international isolation of Ukraine, its fragmentation and reckoning, russification and destruction of identity of the Ukrainian nation, and hence the elimination of state. Soon more expanded and slightly modified form Lavrov plan was outlined in a statement the Foreign Ministry of Ukraine for a support group, published in March 17, 2013. The content and direction he intended to deprive our country the right to participate in the Euro-Atlantic security leave her alone with Russia and create a basis for the Kremlin interference in internal Ukrainian affairs.

As Lavrov rejected the plan, the new Ukrainian government, and the Western democracies, the Russian side no longer insists on its immediate and full-scale implementation for tactical reasons. However, it has not abandoned it, while striving to implement in phases, focusing first on building in Donetsk and Lugansk regions of the frozen zone, but rather glow like Transnistria conflict to destabilize the situation in Ukraine and blocking its European and Euro-Atlantic course.

However, Russian aggression has another and less visible purpose that is to verify the readiness and ability of Western democracies to resist by force the implementation of plans of Russia aimed at returning the territories that the Russian Empire had in the past. At the same time there are messages that are included to the informational space intended to call into question the legitimacy of the US title. This overtones text is reinforced with active discussion of the issues relating to the modernization of the Armed Forces, equipping them with new systems.

The most important and unrelenting challenge for Ukraine is the providing of national security. Neither annexed Crimea nor Donbass temporarily occupied territories can not be considered as a «thing in itself». Ukraine expected to get freedom by choosing European way, but faced with thinking and perceptions of security at the household level that can be associated with the words «We want the stability.» Cherished «stability» is now taken by those who (consciously or forced) live in Donbass and Crimea. Are they safe? In their mind - yes. Do they have freedom? This question is both rhetorical and problematic.

So, now the «price of return» depends closely on the quickness of «defusing» the people's conscience to solve the problem of national identity, which should meet the economic and social interest of Ukrainian citizens. We can not claim the «demining» of the consciousness of residents of Crimea and Donbas, without «spoiling» the brains of the inhabitants of other Ukrainian regions. This, of course, takes time. But it is worth recalling the words of VP Horbulin: «... in Ukraine at the turn of 2020-2025 years there will be only two ways: either to become a strong nation or to find the real danger of absorption» [10]

It seems that the countdown has begun five years earlier. Ukraine's national security depends almost entirely on the results of solving the problems of Donbass and Crimea. It will remain like a camel passing through the eye of a needle for long without this.

The Russian aggression against Ukraine, the annexation of the Crimea and the actual occupation of the certain areas of Donbass began a new era of stimulated international conflicts, intensified action of the negative factors available in the international security environment and launched more destructive trends, violating international legal principles of world order. In case of return in terms of globalization to the «law of force» in international relations (as Russia is trying to do through its policy) there is a risk of collapse of the international system, which will cause the disintegration further uncontrolled multiplication of threats.

The Ukraine's position on the world stage over the past year has undergone dramatic changes that require understanding and definition of the main principles of

foreign policy. Ukraine needs a clear foreign policy doctrine, subordinated to the task of preserving sovereignty and strategically aimed at restoring territorial integrity, impaired due to the annexation of the Crimea and the military actions on the territory of Donbass. The invasion of Russian troops on the territory of Ukraine and annexation of the part of its territory force us to reconsider strategic NATO policy acted over the past decades.

It became evident that the security of NATO countries was guaranteed more with confidence in the strength of the concluded agreements than military causes. Russia has destroyed this trust. NATO countries in response to the illegal invasion of the territory of Ukraine and Crimea occupation had to stop any kind of military and civilian cooperation with it. The transformation of the partner to the enemy pushes NATO to refuse voluntarily assumed obligations due to the urgent need to create the conditions for the implementation of security guarantees for the countries of Central and Eastern Europe and the Baltic States. Rejection of the principle of «three no» is strategically necessary to correct the imbalance of power that emerged in the Eastern Europe. It follows far-reaching consequences for the overall balance of power in the region and the world and for the future of the Alliance.

New challenges to the international security have cross-border nature and require the joint efforts of the international community to overcome them. The task of building a flexible and differentiated system of Ukraine's relations with main international actors that will meet the challenges of the globalized world and contribute to strengthening the role of our country in the world takes the first place. It is a prime way for Ukraine to find the appropriate international and national security model.

The Ukraine's relations with its strategic partners are one of the main principles of its foreign policy. The inclusion of Ukraine into the strategic relations with leading countries of the world demonstrates the importance of our country as an international actor. However, prime question is to bring its own ability to be an effective partner adequately engaging the scheme of distribution functions in international relations and security.

But today, the main task of the mechanisms of strategic partnership is the Ukraine's international assistance to counter the main threat to its national security. It means that we need to counter the Russian aggression. In countering an aggression Ukraine wants to build on some existing agreements with the United States, in particular the Charter of Strategic Partnership and full use of the tools prepared to intensify the intergovernmental dialogue and actively offer new ways of cooperation, aimed at Ukraine's involvement in global processes as a full actor.

The strategic format of bilateral relations between Ukraine and the United States was launched by the presidential statement on April 4, Section 55 [1]. The armed conflict in Ukraine in terms of geopolitics 2005 and further enshrined in the Charter on Strategic Partnership of 19 December 2008. This document affirmed the principles of bilateral relations, confirmed the importance of security guarantees to Ukraine from 1994 and identified ways to strengthen defense and security cooperation, particularly in energy, economy and trade, democracy, human contacts and cultural exchanges, and contains provisions regarding the program enhanced security cooperation. Nowadays USA is the main partner of Ukraine in confronting to the Russia's armed aggression.

With this in mind, our country as priority foreign policy objectives in the near future should put the goal of achieving a new level of partnership with the US and the empowerment of bilateral cooperation in the military sphere, including the Principal US ally outside NATO. During the undeclared war, Ukraine has lost at least 20% of economic potential. For the real sector, as well as for the overall economy, 2014-2015 years were a period of stress tests: They checked the strength of Ukraine's entire structure - industrial and agricultural complex infrastructure, logistics transportation etc.

The real sector felt the crushing blow during the armed conflict. located in the eastern regions of The power sectors of coal, metallurgical, machine-building, chemical industry, located in the eastern regions that provided a significant part of domestic industrial production and export have suffered enormous losses, as well as the number of transport and logistics facilities was destroyed. As a result of the fighting

in the Luhansk and Donetsk regions as well as the destruction of transport and energy infrastructure, many companies were forced to suspend or terminate production processes. Substantially damaged machinery, heavy and mining, including coal industry. Most of them are located in the area of ATO.

Destruction and damage suffered major enterprises in industries that form the region's budget; activity stopped a significant number of town-forming enterprises. SMEs have reduced economic activity on the 90% and almost 40 thousand. According to the Ministry of Economic Development and Trade of Ukraine, the economic activity on temporarily uncontrolled territories of Ukraine has decreased by five times.

There is the disappointing situation in the agricultural sector. Major damage to the agriculture in the region caused the loss of land, material and labor resources. Partial loss of the agricultural sector in the Ukrainian government controlled areas was caused by military actions (attack, mining, etc.). As a result of the fighting in the Donetsk and Luhansk regions and a large number of transport infrastructure has suffered damage and destruction. The airport named «Donetsk» was completely destroyed (though it was prepared for Euro 2012. There was spent more than 1.5 billion dollars) and Airport «Lugansk». Damage or destruction suffered 28 air traffic control facilities. Fully assess the value of destroyed infrastructure facilities transport- term can access after all destroyed objects. Many of them now remain under the control of militants. The latest continue systematically and deliberately destroy transport infrastructure of Donbass, which directly affects the performance of the transport sector. The deliberate destruction caused by terrorists under the number of objects of industrial infrastructure in the Donbass significantly worsened the socio-economic situation in the eastern regions and attacked the entire economy of Ukraine. The budget losses caused by the military aggression are counted by the billions of hryvnias. The liquidation of the factories caused the decreasing in revenue at all the levels, rising unemployment, increasing social tension in the region.

Ex-president Poroshenko in his speech at the UN summit on the sustainable development of Ukraine noted that «War costs \$5 million per day in Donbass that would have been invested into the development of the country.

The finding of the budgets of all levels in Donetsk and Lugansk regions decreased because of hostilities. This is due the destruction and/or damage to fixed assets, business downtime, reduction in staff number of employees, reduction of wages with the moving of taxes to the other regions. It should be noted that as a result of military aggression the number of taxpayers significantly decreased. The warfare in Donbass caused further deterioration of the environment because of falling shells and numerous emergency malfunction of mining, chemical, power, metallurgical industries. There is damage and destruction of production infrastructure and equipment. The lack of the raw material, energy and electricity resulted in discharges and accidental releases of hazardous substances. As a result of the fighting in the Donetsk and Lugansk regions the number of environmentally dangerous factories in Slavyansk, Luhansk and Kurakhovskaya TPP JSC «Azot», Horlivka «Styrene», Yasynivka, Avdeyevka, Yenakiyevko Coke Plant, Yenakiyevko Steel plant, refinery Lisichanskiy Donetsk national factory of chemical products was damaged. The destruction of industrial infrastructure and harmful emissions were repeatedly recorded. The numerous range of disconnection of electricity in coal mining companies was observed.

The destructive Ukraine's wastes caused the shock impacts to the national economy, which had already entered into a recession. It significantly worsened the state of economic security, exacerbated macroeconomic imbalances and critically reduced dynamic socio-economic development. Military threats, macroeconomic instability, sudden loss of purchasing power and the public and corporate sector are basic factors curtailing investment activity.

The significant deterioration in forecasts of economic development of Ukraine by international and national professional organizations indicates a significant decline in economic security. Its current state is determined by the total impact of the economic

recession, which began before the Russian aggression and annexation of Crimea and the consequences of military conflict in the Donbass. Obviously, the loss of the national economy spread between these components is not possible, so we can consider their cumulative effect, due mainly Russian military aggression in Donbas.

The social consequences of annexation, aggression, war is no less significant than the political and economic, but perhaps painful, those relating to any and all residents of Ukraine, and those who are in occupied territory or directly involved in the ATO, and those who continue to live a normal life away from the combat zone.

Today Ukraine is bleeding, the yesterday students receive summons while women - the coffins with the bodies of their children and men. People give their lives for the freedom, as this is the most precious thing. To prevent the enormous opportunities that opened with the fall of the tyranny for Ukraine's European modernization, there is a real war, planned and unleashed on the Ukrainian Donbass. The acute social problems that currently face the citizens of Ukraine, doesn't appear right now and are not the direct consequence of war. They accumulated over the years, but the war and the economic crisis that accompanied it greatly strengthened. In the conditions of a significant financial, organizational, human resources combat diverted to protect the sovereignty and integrity, virtually impossible to measures to improve the socio-economic status.

In addition, the foreign aggression led to the emergence of new, very pressing problems in the social sphere imposed on existing. Thus, the social consequences of military aggression of Russia against Ukraine include both direct losses and destruction caused to residents and industrial and social infrastructure of the region covered by the fighting and the consequences for Ukraine in general, the most significant of which relates to large-scale forced displacement, and mobilization and social situation of citizens who are directly involved in the ATO. The social and demographic risks in Ukraine related to the involuntary movements of hundreds of thousands of Ukrainian citizens forcing to leave their places of residence because of the annexation of Crimea

and military operations in the east are the major contemporary social-demographical risks.

The forced migrations are fundamentally different from voluntary that are prepared to improve the financial and social situation, as they, on the contrary, lead to loss of social status and welfare of the settlers destroy the settlers' welfare. The emigration mood of the population that becomes an additional challenge for the nation is significantly increasing in Donbass under the influence of the military conflict.

The difficult political and economic situation in Ukraine has a negative influence on the immigration to the country. Apparently, there is no reason to expect a noticeable repatriation flows, the return of the migrant workers will be as fell as the Ukraine's attractiveness for foreigners, including foreign students, will fall. However, illegal migration due to the weak control of the eastern border may even intensify.

As a result of military Russian's aggression the demographic Ukraine suffered losses caused by increased morbidity, mortality and migration. The resulting destruction of the economic crisis and job losses deprive labor sources of income for many people. Significantly reduced the level of social welfare is significantly reduced; the risks of poverty are increasing. The public accesses to the educational and health services are deteriorated. After the destruction of social infrastructures that covered military actions, there is also a difficult situation were the children, elderly and disabled are the most vulnerable population. There are new categories of Ukrainian citizens in need of social support, including those who are internally forced to live their lands. There are acute problems of social security of citizens who are directly involved in the ATO. In addition to the direct damage, the war worsened economic conditions for the implementation of social policy pushed to the unpopular steps to reduce benefits, raise fares, and increase taxes on salaries to make the pensions frozen. Appropriate response to the social challenges might find only if lasting peace and economic crisis, because first of all it is necessary to remove the causes of the situation. However, despite the reality of war, it is necessary today to strengthen the social orientation of the nation.

The fact that the current crisis has coincided with a strong public demand for

change, gives grounds for optimistic hopes for further development. Indeed, despite a sharp decline in living standards and the enemy attempts to use social ills to destabilize the situation in Ukraine where the peace is still preserved. The progressive social development, however, will be possible only if the concerted and coordinated efforts of government and civil society are aimed at effective spending of limited funds and fight against corruption and abuse.

The response to the challenges and threats of social security has become an effective reform of social security and health care, so-called «optimization» of the labor market, proper social protection of servicemen and their families, to support internally displaced persons, aimed at meeting the needs of this group of citizens and interests of local communities of their stay.

Looking at the lack of resources to prevent further aggravation of social problems it is necessary to intensify the international cooperation, to actively attract the foreign aid using organizational and financial capacity of international organizations to provide the effective and transparent development funds received under the constant supervision of the public.

5.2 The features of the highlighting materials of the military conflict in Ukrainian and Russian media (2014-2021 years)

The truth is always the first victim of the war. These words were said by the English pacifist Lord Arthur Ponsonby. Today, in order to become a true victim, it is not necessarily to start a war. However, if you already took up arms, and the count reaches thousands killed, the media must understand that they bear the same responsibility for human lives as the military leadership of the country. The Ukrainian media, unlike Russian, were not ready for war. By 2014, the discourse of war existed only in the context of international events that occupied a small share of media space.

Kremlin tightly controlled the latest war in the territories of Ukraine – The Second World War II - in media.

Today, the Ukrainian media have different owners and therefore different goals - from business to politics. Authorities have virtually no effect on information policy in the media, but only in the event, that media owners do not have the mandate or the deputy presidential powers. However, even coverage of the armed conflict occurs in a variety of formats and pro-national (Channel 5, 1 + 1, Radio «Era» magazine «New time»), and with the pro-Russian bias (radio «News» newspaper «Vesti» magazine «Reporter»). A completely different situation with the media in its northern neighbor, whose troops researched by the international human rights organizations participated in the hostilities in Donbas [1]. The Russian media continue to cover the events in the Ukraine-style «invent himself - himself believe». The Kremlin's skill to spin the reality is manifested not in the statements, but in the information provided to the citizens. In fact, The Russian TV news began to curve a reflection of reality.

It is worth to recall one of the funniest curiosities of Kremlin propaganda. The discourse of war in the Russian media independence there throughout the Russian Federation. Chechnya, Dagestan, numerous attacks. Thus, why, the Russian journalists were prepared for the horrors of war and violence of terrorism. In addition, all major Russian media still control the Kremlin that clearly indicates who appears to be the enemy, and who is a friend. It is important to understand how the Ukrainian-Russian conflict in the media and, therefore, in the minds of Ukrainian and Russians is displayed. Especially, when the conflict is still ongoing.

The object of our study is not just the image of the war in the media, but the war propaganda made by the audience' informing dividing the correctness of such opinions or other, forming attitudes to «the enemy», explained in the right perspective or that of the government. The notion that during the armed conflict, war highlights as well as other events, subject to traditional journalistic standards, is very controversial. After the war journalism is not only the «fourth estate», but also «the fourth weapon».

If there is a war in the country, it begins in the media. But the media patriotism

is questionable, because the audience influenced by its powers is left without critical information. [2] The research of propaganda war in the media is important for the citizens of the country in which it occurs, first to see whether all the views are presented. The studying of areas such as the media of other countries party gives the opportunity to see a display field where the citizens of the country stay. Thus, the informational war vector will be seen (or not). Propaganda, according to the traditional understanding is useful for creating power of messages that apply across government and through independent media. [19]

Media that is filled with the «correct» media reports during the war – is the main strategy for any government and any country involved in the conflict. Taylor Ph. M. who investigated the activities of the media in war, said that «following the policy of the state, the media often acts as accomplices in spreading propaganda during the war than they admit this, and may even play a role in fueling conflict». The war propaganda, displaying the «right image» was noticed by the British pacifist Arthur Ponsonby. In his book, he explored the Allied propaganda during the World War II. The author has identified several dozen ideas that were directed against the enemy and circled during the war. Arthur Ponsonby tried to warn readers that during the war the authorities are forced to lie primarily depicting criminal enemy, the devil, to justify all military operations, and secondly to heroize war and provide the required number of voluntaries to continue the struggle. [19]

In particular, the military component of the conflict objectively remains the major factor in its deployment, and the scope of the informational component becomes larger. The informational war against Ukraine was deployed by Russia, said most accurately European Allied Commander F.Bridlav: «This is the most amazing blitzkrieg information that we have ever seen in the history of informational warfare.» Media Front «hybrid war» takes on multiple fronts. Above: (1) the population in the conflict zone; (2) among the population against any aggression carried out, but the area, which is not covered by the conflict; (3) among the citizens of the aggressor and (4) of the international community. Although the informational component of the truly

crosscutting theme was the «hybrid warfare», but it is not really independent and supportive role, mostly escorting military phase of the operation. However, in the Ukrainian case we are dealing not just with enemy propaganda, described by the specialists as the «war meanings / senses». The whole set of channels to deliver information is involved for retransmission.

The basic structural element in this war are simulacra-images of what in reality does not exist. Examples of such simulacra are: «Nazis in Kiev», «atrocities punitive battalions», «crucified boys», Ukraine banned the use of weapons. The strategic goal of the operation of simulacra is to replace the objective representations of target groups about the nature of those «phantom informational conflicts» required by the aggressor. The active phase of military confrontation that began with the end of February - beginning of March 2014, was accompanied with the tactical information support that also used the techniques of construction and operation of simulacra. Ukraine was able to adapt and respond quickly to the challenge. «The Crimean campaign» showed the weakness of the Russian informational component of its version of «hybrid warfare» does not maintain a permanent thorough media view. Accordingly, almost the first thing that made various «militias» and «green men» in the occupied territories - is disconnected Ukrainian TV channels. Forming a unified and fully controlled information space is an obvious strategy of deployment information component of the conflict with the aggressor. It is not surprising that during the events in different cities of Donetsk and Lugansk militants were searching pro-Ukrainian streamers to stop their activities (for instance, the situation with Luhansk streamers and Internet TV journalists).

It is important to notice that the Russian Federation launched one of the fronts of «hybrid warfare» against the citizens of Ukraine forming a pattern of behavior is respectable before the Federal Press (more than 60% of Russians trust in it). The reluctance of a significant number of Russian citizens to look at things from a different angle and fear caused by the occurrence of cognitive dissonance between reality molded by Russian media, and real events. So much for the Russians can be really said

as about the people who «firstly fell under the pressure of their own television». For example, with the Oleksandr Turchynov's announcement the anti-terrorist operation in the East, Russian media the frequent use of the phrase «civil war» by the Russian media has increased.

Accordingly, the journalists started their artificial inflation of the topic. Most of the airtime given to coverage of Donetsk and Lugansk regions. «The great barricades grow in front of the buildings. It seems that the Kiev government does not provide a second exit «- the Russian journalists often tell. The continuous news attribute is a live broadcast from the scene. The Russian television correspondents speak from Slavyansk, Gorlovka, Kramatorsk, Yenakiyev, Donetsk and Luhansk. They show the men armed with guns and barricades as well as Russian flags over the women shouting «Russia» and Soviet patriotic songs against the background of the theater of the absurd. «We are ready to fight to the last. The authorities can not hear us, but we will fight», - says the emotional guy in a mask with St. George ribbon on the sleeve.

An essential aspect of such reports is presented with pictures of the military in the region as well as with armored vehicles and flying fighters; however there are the comments about the militaries in schools, hospitals and sanatoriums.

«The current Ukrainian leadership does not trust conventional army units and especially the police of the eastern regions, because they are afraid of their transition to the side of protesters. In this regard, the authorities are betting on special forces and national guard» – the propagandists claim.

By the way, the National Guard is called Maidan by the Russians. They say these are the hundreds that were in Euromaidan. As if they received the weapons and special clothes to be taken to kill the «damned Russians». However, in recent days media heroically reports that the Ukrainian military move in their direction.

In Slovyansk, the military refused to shoot at people, and even partially switched sides. Now, the locals have 6 combat vehicles and small arms in the location. This outcome of events was called «military cunning» in Kiev.

The footages are accompanied by women's applauses as well as with mothers

and children who give the flowers to the military and take photographs against the backdrop of tanks - in short, peace and harmony.

Media began promoting the topic of poor military, which hardly makes the new government to go to Donetsk and Lugansk to kill the separatists. «People peacefully came to prepare against the enemy power that sends the soldiers, threatening us to be prisoned from 3 to 6 years» - said a male voice from the railway station.

The outside front is important too. The scope of «funds», «cultural communities», «think tanks» and simply «experts» of pro-Russian Europe are truly significant. However, even here the general concept of «hybrid warfare» «in Russian» is felt itself: part of these experts is fictional and published on their behalf necessary comments and conclusions - the last such case was a fictional German expert. Now anxiety scale Russian news show penetration and Europe. In 2014 Latvia was the Center for NATO Strategic Communications (NATO Strategic Communications Centre of Excellence), among whose tasks is to provide an adequate response to the attempts of other countries to influence the information environment NATO. The importance of strategic communications was underlined after the NATO summit in Wales. In particular, it explicitly stated that the Centre should take care of issues of «hybrid war». Some countries including Poland and the Baltic States hope in the force of the Centre to counter Russian propaganda. An important space for driving confrontation was the Internet. A variety of real and imaginary «activists» «cyberpartisans» «cybertroops» as well as special units of the various security agencies to conduct confrontation in cyberspace was provided as an important aspect of cyber attacks and special psychological operations in the social networks and the Internet in general (For example, the Russian special services protests at the presidential Administration in October, 2014).

However, the space prepared for the confrontation informational aspects failed - many advocacy statements by the Russian television on Ukrainian subjects quickly refuted and most Internet users are increasingly becoming «ordinary informational warfare».

In 1975 a British scientist of international affairs E.Makk made an important conclusion: in most contemporary conflicts strong country doesn't suffer military defeat, they are defeated politically - not able to impose its will on the enemy. Political victory the weak side was that it - with asymmetric means of warfare (mostly partisan) - would deplete powerful enemy to continue the war and achieve goals. Accordingly, the dual task of Ukraine in the current asymmetric confrontation is two-dimensional. In the external dimension - not succumb to external imposition, we obviously destructive to our state, the political will of the Kremlin, but in this case to exhaust the enemy. And it is necessary to provide the dominating of our political power in the problematic regions in the inside dimension. However, the current priority task – is to give an effective and meaningful response to the primarily military, as well as information aggression against our country. In the military sphere will depend on external factors (including - international assistance). Rather, Ukraine will continue to require significant support from its partners in the military sphere and will be ready to repel the military in case of further escalation of military components of «hybrid war». The task of forming a system of Hazard Analysis and Critical Infrastructure Protection is required too. Thus, it is obvious that the protection of energy infrastructure (especially in the area close to the ATO) has become a priority for the nation. Given the importance of energy infrastructure of society, its protection system must have the appropriate level. Most entities in the energy sector and individuals responsible for the protection of critical infrastructure must be held as relevant public authorities and the private sector (operators of energy infrastructure). However, other stakeholders, including local authorities and the public should also be involved in activities in this field. A holistic response should be informative and aggression. The series of measures is already taken, however unlikely this may be the complete answer to these challenges. Much will depend on the media sector and civil society activists, since the lion's share of Russian state propaganda often doesn't restrict. However, we have to create the conditions to replace all national quality information product. The realization of the national informational politics should be implemented on the occupied regions. Not

fully used the potential of information resistance in the international arena is not fully used: Foreign Minister of Ukraine does though many, but it is unlikely to close all problem areas. Accelerated implementation requires the creation of effective broadcasting - we must recognize that today it exists more de jure than de facto. The tools of public diplomacy should be used more likely. We cease to ignore the difficulties of the Russian information space, although the latter Russia actively closes any third party participants. An example of this - the last legal decision to limit the share of foreign ownership in the media.

However, despite this, the Ukrainian nation should find mechanisms for information exchange with the Russian audience. The confrontation with Russia in «hybrid warfare» will be difficult. The enemy was preparing for this confrontation for years and knows exactly what it wants. However, the country should resist the challenges of «hybrid warfare». If this conflict is not won, we always have to deal with immortal hydra that appears on the site of the supposedly defeated enemy. It should be added that the Russian cinematography was uncomfortable in the Ukrainian air. During the last two years, the State Agency of Ukraine for Cinema denied the state registration or canceled rental license of more than 500 TV series and films. This is a new and uncomfortable reality for television that the middle of last decade used to fill your stream Russian product. In the autumn of 2014, the Russian content in the air of Ukrainian TV channels was the same as Ukrainian - 41%. According to the monitoring community, «Boycott Russian cinema» channel «Ukraine» showed 87% of Russian product, NTN - 71%, «Inter» - 67%. Many films that were broadcasted on the radio, praised the virtues of the Russian secret services and the military - those that are currently killing Ukrainian Donbas.

Finally, in the 5 February, 2015 Parliament adopted the Law «On amendments to some laws of Ukraine on protection of information television and radio space of Ukraine», which prohibits distribution in Ukraine movies made in Russia, as well as films that promote the police, armed forces and other military or power formation. Adapting to new realities, the channel previously showed mostly Russian product,

rebuilt broadcasting network and launched a number of series. The part is relieved with the own production Media Group, while the other part with the independent production at its request. Dissatisfied restrictions on the display of Russian content broadcasters are trying to circumvent the rule of law through the so-called co-production which involves both Ukrainian and Russian companies. These tapes are not considered as Russian, so the limit on them doesn't work.

The informational warfare that accompanies conflict in Donbas isn't fundamentally new. The technologies of media exposure, allowing to click on hot spots of social consciousness, arousing feelings such as fear, anger, resentment and hatred are not only used by those engaged in propaganda, manipulation and black PR. These techniques are gradually becoming an integral part of journalistic tools and all active Internet users.

Let's select some of the most popular in the current information war media technologies of injection of fear and hatred that are used by both parties of the conflict. Using tokens alarm tone. Russian media against the Ukrainian security forces in the area ATO actively use tokens «punitive», «fascists», «Neo-Nazis», «foreign mercenaries». Ukrainian media instead use the term «terrorists», «gang», «pro-Russian mercenaries». Remarkably, that the enemies can be only destroyed whilst own soldiers dramatically killed in the language of military propaganda. For example: «About fifty terrorists were killed today. Two of our soldiers were killed. «Such method of informational war has started widely with the beginning of the First World War and continues accompanying any military conflict. The images of destruction of residential areas, schools, hospitals, high-rise burnt accompany almost every story about the conflict in Donbas. Often the same footage of destruction is used by both Russian and Ukrainian media – only the culprits of the disaster changed. Almost every day you can hear the message from artillery shelling residential areas. Depending on the media, bias blame for this rests with the Ukrainian military or pro-Russian separatists. Particularly acute is a reaction to reports of the use of ballistic missiles «Point U», which is indeed armed with Ukraine, but the facts whose use is quite controversial. The images of the

movement of military equipment as the escalation of the conflict are used too. This media reception was used in winter 2014, when in the media from time to time there were reports about the tanks moving to disperse the protesters on the Maidan. During the conflict in Donbas, photos and video footage movement of armored columns become regular. Ukrainian media repeatedly showed footage of the Russian column of T-72, allegedly sent to Ukraine. (In fact, these pictures were dated 2008 and concerned the Russian-Georgian conflict). There is a using of the image of a foreign (Western) technology, which supposedly comes to Ukraine in the Russian media. The most remarkable here can be called the photo of column of German tanks «Leopard», which in September 2014 circled the entire Russian sector of the Internet with an emphasis that Germany sends his technique to help Ukrainian troops (in fact German tanks «Leopard» took part in military exercises «Rapid Trident 2014» in the west of Ukraine).

There is the using of images of prohibited weapons. Examples of such weapons are cluster munitions, the use of which Ukrainian and Russian sides blamed each other. In addition, Russian media often accuse Ukrainian law enforcers to use phosphorus bombs (this rather demonized especially weapons of Soviet propaganda, and then the appropriate media virus has a background in the minds of older people). One such example was allegedly recorded on camera bombing aircraft Ukrainian Donetsk phosphorus bombs. As Ukrainian media was indicative of the incident in charge of tactical nuclear attack on the Lugansk airport).

The using images of the consequences of war crimes. This range of media techniques are the most exploited, the most effective in excitement emotion. This footage killings of civilians and killings of dissidents, and reports of torture and abuse, which are widely used in the media in all sides of the conflict. This message about the mass graves under Slavyansk and Donetsk, the mines littered with corpses, the death of children, cut skin patriotic tattoo of Ukrainian prisoners and burned soldering iron tridents in the chests of the detained supporters of the New Russia. The fall of the Malaysian «Boeing» was the most exploited media event in this context because

civilians were killed, including women and children from neutral countries. There is the using of images of «collusion» Conspiracy, a popular pseudoscience that is simple explanation of complex phenomena, is especially popular during military conflicts. Russian media reports constantly reproduce conspiracy of the West against Russia, the NATO forces that secretly fighting in Donbass that in fact is the US is waging war against the hands of Ukraine. In popular Ukrainian media, we can find the claim about the conspiracy of Ukrainian and Russian presidents as well as about the secret agreement between Russia, West and the Ukrainian elite of Ukraine on redistribution, deliberate destruction of the Ukrainian authority's volunteer battalions by sending them straight into hell etc.

In the context of the influence of these media images on the human mind does not matter whether they are real or fake facts (after all, taken separately realistic media image is not a reflection of reality - it reflects only a fragment of reality, but it is not a complete picture). This is the kind of propaganda techniques, in which the emotional component is much stronger than rational. In other words, if a user believes the media or if he saw that the video or photo is fake, it will not change his point of view and will not affect its perception. The argument is as follows: «Yes, this particular video - fake, but this does not mean that such facts doesn't take place». Or: «Yes, this photo tells about the dead girl in Syria, not in Donbass, but this does not mean that the Ukrainian children don't die».

So, the active use of video-shocking in the current period of video-shocking photos and messages is dictated not by what they reveal a «truth» about the war, but because they are the most effective ways of propaganda for political purposes. The Shock Technology propaganda is constantly fed with not just fresh media materials from the combat zone. They need constant increase in degree of severity of these materials, as proven during regular viewing audience each time violence less responsive to violence, seen on the screen and become less sensitive to it (in media psychology there is the term «desensitization»).

In my opinion, society cannot be characterized with a shocking number of media

technologies and media reaction to these technologies. And this statement raises a range of issues. Why do so many media users are exposed to the primitive propaganda raid in the stage of World War I? Why, with the vast opportunities of the thoughts and senses plurality that enable Internet space, man becomes easy prey for manipulators? Why do the conspiracy versions seen in the mass consciousness are perceived like a strong case? Psychology can partly answer. It is told about the certain feature of the human's conscience that is called the selective perception in this scientific branch. It is the possibility of men to pay attention to the aspects of the environment that are similar with the expectations and to ignore the other. In such way, the person chooses only the news and statements connected with viewpoint. As a result, this person easily forgets about the contrary ones. For example, an internet user searches the network only those messages and arguments to support his opinion or his responsible position. If such a person attends resource that covers the opposite point of view, it is only with a strong bias. Staunch supporter of the New Russia can not believe that separatists kidnapped and tortured innocent people. In his opinion, that is made by the National Guard in the form of DNR / LNR to discredit the New Russia. As a staunch supporter of Ukraine can not believe that Ukrainian army shelled residential neighborhoods. The argument is similar – the prepared pro-Russian fighters to discredit the Ukrainian authorities do that.

The biggest problem in the current information war is that any arguments are powerless against the prevailing propaganda labels and stereotypes. Even the most convincing and logical arguments miss the target reflexively rejected twist and turn on the accusation of lying and cause irritation, anger, resentment, which in turn forces defend their case more aggressive. Image and self-esteem building completely absurd semantic structures to support themselves that any forces to avoid cognitive dissonance.

In the current period, the total selective perception of information on the conflict in Donbass to objective journalism is incredibly important task difficult, which actually sounds simple – just observe journalistic standards. That is, at least, avoiding of media

techniques that reinforce the emotional impact and distort the objective reality and cause fear, frustration, anger, hatred, etc. As a maximum, to inform the public about what is really going on, not to distribute a default set of stereotypes and labels that inevitably accompanies any military conflict and contributes to its escalation. Prohibition of independent broadcasting Russian TV channel «rain» undermines press freedom in Ukraine. It is noticed in the statement of the international NGO Freedom House, «Ban authorities broadcast channel» rain «- censorship that limits access to the Ukrainian selection point of view,» - said Robert Herman, vice president of Freedom House of international programs. At a time when Russian troops occupy the territory of Ukraine it is necessary for Ukrainians to receive the access to the independent coverage of events in Russia and one of the few remaining independent Russian media, «- he said. As you know, January 12 National Council on television and Radio seized Russian TV channel «rain» from the list of foreign programs content which meets the requirements of the European Convention on Transfrontier television and laws of Ukraine.

TV «Rain» was removed from the list due to the banned advertising broadcast (law prohibits advertising in the broadcast of Russian TV channels retransmitted in Ukraine) and through broadcast media that infringe the territorial integrity of Ukraine («Rain» depicting Crimea as the territory of the Russian Federation). A decision on withdrawal shall take effect one month after publication. The owner and director of the channel «rain» Natalia Sindeeva informed the National Council that «Rain» created a special online version to Ukraine without advertising. But the National Council has not received the «Rain» of documents for entering the Ukrainian version of the List of foreign channels, and the channel has not decided the question of Ukrainian providers of retransmission of their separate versions - relay providers currently satellite version of «rain», which is advertising. Sergei Kostynsky, the member of the National Council Sergei also told that there is a system politics in the TV «Rain» in the connection with the Crimea. Journalists of «Rain» visit Crimea violating the Ukrainian law and calling the administrative border between Crimea and Kherson region, «Russian-Ukrainian

border». Crimea is shown in the broadcast maps as the territory of Russian Federation.

Under the information, war is necessary to understand the complex information of management influence on mass consciousness in terms of information openness to change behavior and thoughts planting them outside of their area of interest and even opposing them. It is the synonymous with the term «information confrontation». This is also trying to engage the Kremlin - the consciousness of its own population, Russians, though has long been modified and changed, but the «finishing touches» on the formation of the «correct image» Russian mass media do not stop. The situation in Ukraine was more complicated, but, in fact, during the entire period of independence in our minds «poured» the thought of his older brother - Russia, in 2014 it grew into 'all for your own good «by» return» «ancient land» through highlighting the position of «helping the country's population».

The Russian aggression against Ukraine that began in February 2014 with the annexation of Crimea continues today in Donbass and it discovered a critical vulnerability of the Western world to power «hybrid» policy of the Kremlin. The fragmented and burdened with internal problems West («migration crisis», Brexit) as well as with the external challenges (D.Thramp's Phenomenon, war in Syria), experiencing a critical shortage of unity and coordinating action with Russia, public awareness of the nature and purposes of the Putin regime, fear of nuclear confrontation with Russia. The processes of national radicalism, Euroscepticism, populism, isolationism, so-called «LePenizatsiya» of Europe can be improved by the elective results in France and Germany (There were the elections in Bulgaria and Moldova and the pro-Russian socialist policies won). This happens on the background of total devaluation of global and regional safety structures and influences not only the escalation of continental conflicts but destruction of the European Union. The West doesn't form the adequate and effective tools and ways to stop the Russian hybrid expansion. Vice versa, the danger of destruction of the sole «sanction front» increases and it will be understood by Kremlin as the impunity and encourage to the active deeds.

So that is why the conflict in Syria made it clear that the emperor's Kremlin

politics doesn't limit with only the post-Soviet space and Ukraine seems to be only the intermediate point, such kind of springboard for the following expansion. There was a chain of analytical researches published during the last years presented by national and foreign experts where the aims, functioning and technologies of Russian hybrid war in Ukraine and Europe are noticed. The strategical tasks of the Russian hybrid aggression are the gradual discretization of European valuables that granted the union of the EU countries. There can be found the disorientation of public thought, the forming of leading pro-Russian lobby in the European establishment and the promotion of deepen in the sphere of differences between the European countries and EES institutions. That is now the question not about the resistance to European influence in the post-Soviet zone of privileged Kremlin interests but about the proceeding of full hybrid expansion on the EU territories. The aim is to provide the weakening or fragmentation (collapse) of the European Union, minimizing moment in American presence on the continent and reformatting established European political system according to the Russian scenario.

5.3 The Ukraine's image and the highlighting of the military conflict in the world's mass media.

The West wasn't ready to the Russian expansion. First of all, because the number of internal problems, however there was a refusal to believe in the perspective of mass confrontation with Russia, insertion of the previous hopes to liberalize and democratize the society, belief in the immutability of comfort, prosperity and security on the continent. Quite popular is the idea that «you can not drive Russia into a corner», «should give Putin to save face» and so on. In the European business establishment, there is a common «purely pragmatic» approach to the effect that the confrontation

with Russia (including sanctions) unprofitable, inexpedient, as is the financial and economic losses.

Naive approach of US ex-president Obama to geopolitics, which led to incorrect assessment of the intentions of the Kremlin's power and ill-conceived policy of Moscow».

For example, in June 2016. Polish media reported the prospect of a new paramilitary force against the «hybrid» Russian aggression. A.Matserevych Defense Minister noted that it was planned to start the new set of volunteer militias. Their task - to repel an aggressor attempts to solve the «hybrid» war like the one organized by Russia against Ukraine in the Crimea and Donbas. 20 October 2016 Polish Sejm supported the Declaration memory and solidarity on the events of World War II Russian aggression. The paper noted, «The conduct of Russian foreign policy includes an aggressive information about the hybrid war threatening peace and security in the whole of Europe».

There is reason to talk about the lack of adequate assessments connected with European establishment of geopolitical situation in Europe. Overall unfounded is the idea that Europe, while in «postmodern complacency» itself is «demobilized and disarmed, despite clear signs that Russia, the successor to the Soviet Union, is extremely nationalist and revisionist.» On the other hand, if we speak about the weaknesses of the West, «points of vulnerability», experts often say that the Russian side very effectively uses the typical Western democracies «man-centered» features - wide political pluralism, liberal freedom of speech and association, respect for individual rights, law-abiding tolerance, political correctness. All this makes the vulnerability of the EU to hybrid «special operations» carried out outside the rules, regulations and ethics. The authors of the study «Trojan horse Kremlin»: «think that Moscow views Western values, pluralism and openness, a vulnerability for use. Its tactics are asymmetric, subversive, it is not so easy to resist». Russian hybrid aggression is the result of internal processes in Russia that the West could not see and do not understand. So create an authoritarian state with elements of personality cult

with totalitarian internal and aggressive foreign policy, with disdain, cynicism and hypocrisy respect of international rules and regulations. With this event the state, coexist in the short term. One should not underestimate the fact that Moscow is using its own media and intelligence services actively creating «favorable image» - using the political corruption of the elite western, buying media and some opinion leaders.

Obviously, the main challenge for the EU is presented with primarily internal problems, conflicts and contradictions (economic crisis, «migration crisis», Brexit, GROWTH populist sentiment, conflicts between the EU underperforms bureaucratic mechanisms and institutions of official Brussels, etc.). This difficult situation, as well as openness and liberalism European community actively uses the Russian side to strengthen their own positions and influence in Europe. The political processes in the EU (national isolationism, xenophobia, increased activity of right-wing forces) threaten weakening and corrosion of the unity of the European Community. This situation gives rise to talk about the real threat to adjust policy towards Russia after the elections in the main European countries - the Netherlands, Italy, France and Germany. On the other hand, after the elections in the US occurred uncertainty of future relations on US-Europe axis, in particular, the position of the new Administration of the White House concerns relations with NATO and the EU. This has raised concerns of European policy makers. Clearly, at least in the near future we should not expect the democratic changes in the political situation in Russia and the corresponding changes for the better in the Kremlin's policy towards Europe. Vice versa, the Russian side will continue (and possibly strengthen) the impact on European policy for the purpose of the disintegration of the EU, minimizing the continent to the presence of European and US reformat the current system for the Russian scenario. And Russian «hybrid» expansion takes place against the background of total devaluation of global and regional security structures (OSCE is in a crisis situation trying to resolve the Russian-Ukrainian conflict that is blocked by Russia).

Thus, in the medium term the West will have to coexist with Putin's Russia - a country with a totalitarian internal aggression and external policies and disregard for

international rules and regulations. In this situation, the EU is extremely important to maintain solidarity course of action on Russia, in particular to keep «sanction front» in the Russian direction for themselves and address, and sectoral sanctions are crucial deterrent politico-economic and psychological effect. Their cancellation (weakening) in the current situation will be perceived by the Kremlin as a weakness of the West and encourage action. Obviously, maintaining the unity of the European Community and its democratic system largely depends on the successful overcoming internal problems, and on the effectiveness and coordination of actions in opposition to the Russian hybrid expansion on the continent.

The course of the armed conflict in Donbas strengthened the conviction of the international community about the futility of solving the crisis by force, caused the spread of skeptical assessments concerning the ability of the Armed Forces of Ukraine withstand regular units of the Armed Forces, especially in the case of a military conflict with Russia. According to many experts, the US, Belgium, Great Britain, Italy, Poland successes illegal armed groups changed the situation in the East of Ukraine in favor of the consolidated loss of control over Kyiv large territories in the East. However, growing awareness of what such developments have contributed to the refusal of the US and NATO military assistance to Ukraine. Currently, the citations of rapid de-escalation in eastern Ukraine are missing. The conventional wisdom is that Moscow has a course on frozen Transnistrian conflict scenario. Remained quite high expectations of military intervention in Ukraine.

Politicians and experts completed a reassessment of the role of events in Eastern Ukraine among Western media in September. The Russian Federation now clearly perceived in the West as a direct participant and initiator of the conflict, which has a decisive influence on its course. Common Vision promotes the consolidation and convergence of positions of countries - EU members, and accordingly, the EU and US against Russia and programs continued hard line regarding Russia and intensification in the direction of Russia - EU. Quite clearly observed in the context of the implementation of the Association Agreement, where there is a direct contact and

conflict of interests of Moscow and Brussels. Accordingly, the question of revision of the Association Agreement by the EU to pressure Russia is unlikely to achieve the desired result for it. Noteworthy is the significant growth in journalistic and expert community of Great Britain and the United States of expectations from the management of Ukraine in the implementation of real political and economic reforms and fighting corruption. This may explain the appearance of publications that indicate that on the background of absence of significant progress in mine reforming, judicial and law enforcement systems Ukraine into a «bottomless barrel» for financial investments of the West. The perception of Ukraine as a «not successful», while European-oriented state is still very common in the West.

The analysis of the information space of the United States shows a marked increase of domestic pressure on the White House, particularly from Congress, the issue of armed assistance to Ukraine. Probability that if further aggression of Russia in Ukraine and critical deterioration such aid will still be provided, is one of the factors of deterring Russia's actions in Ukraine. The American press continues criticizing «inert» and the fence the US in the application of more stringent sanctions against Russia because of her violation of international law and a threat to both Ukraine and international order. In the context of the new round of sanctions, the EU and the USA noted that in the case of real assistance Russia to end the conflict in Ukraine, the sanctions are lifted. That was made in 12 September against Moscow. Splash of attention to issues observed in the Ukrainian media Britain before and during the NATO Summit in Wales. British journalists favored the production within the Alliance tough response to security threats to member countries emerging from, and providing effective assistance to Ukraine, including armed. The number of messages observed after criticism of Obama not tough on Russia and NATO due to the inability of the organization to contain Russian aggression. According to the British experts, Ukraine has not shown significant progress in reforming of the main sectors, judicial and law enforcement systems in the future may exacerbate social tensions in the country. In the British political science, community tries to spread the urgent need of qualitative

reforms in Ukraine, even in the conflict with Russia.

In Italy, neutral materials on Ukraine dominated the media space, while there was a tendency to increase the number of positive publications. A powerful source of pro-content media was associated with former Prime Minister S. Berlusconi. Publications were related to the content of anti-Ukrainian activities. There were representatives of business circles of Italy, popular in Russia artists who express support for the Kremlin's policy towards Ukraine and called for the lifting of sanctions against the EU.

The leading Spanish publications support Ukraine in the confrontation with Russia. According to the journalists, the Western powers try to provide Ukraine with financial resources, military-technical assistance to strengthen security mechanisms for its allies - Russia's neighbors. Was discussed the impact of Western sanctions on the behavior of Russia. Spanish experts are convinced of the need for more active involvement of the EU in resolving the situation in Ukraine. Instead, expert circles consider Estonia a war waged by Russia against Ukraine as the first war against the West. Analysts believe unrealistic return Crimea to Ukraine. Among other topics raised in the media, there was a thought to increase the number of applications for Ukrainian citizen's refugee status and treatment of Ukrainian service members in hospitals Estonia.

German media generally support the position of the German government to resolve the situation in Ukraine political and diplomatic means. According to the journalists, Ukraine can not be the «gray zone» between Russia and the EU and its future can not be seen in terms of «spheres of influence». In editions, the economic direction has increased the number of publications in which the negative effect or denied Western sanctions for the Russian economy, or notes in favor of the inclusion of Russia into the global economy.

His political situation in Ukraine was highlighted by the media in the context of approaching elections. The public opinion in Germany is marked with mainly positive attitude to Ukraine. The situation around Ukraine continues to be one of the most

discussed topics of the Polish media market. Local media are paying attention to the analysis of the geopolitical aspects of Ukrainian-Russian conflict, including the impact of the current situation in eastern Ukraine on security and foreign policy of Poland. A notable intensification of anti-Ukrainian sentiment in September was characterized by media space in Hungary, although most publications and reports about Ukraine had a positive or neutral.

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