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## **CONCEPTUAL BASES OF STRATEGIC COMMUNICATIONS: HOW TO PROVIDE UKRAINE'S MILITARY SECURITY**

Nowadays, information has become a valuable weapon. Modern wars are primarily waged in the information space. For coordination of the state activity and its individual institutions in the field of information security, the leading countries of the world use the tool of strategic communications. In Ukraine, the realization need of using the strategic communications mechanisms emerged with the launch of hybrid armed aggression in the Russian Federation in 2014. At that time, it turned out that Ukraine's security and defense sector institutions were not prepared for the current challenges and threats in the information field. The strategic communications system has been the only comprehensive tool to counteract Russian aggressive propaganda. However, until this time, Ukraine's defense forces have not acquired the necessary capabilities in strategic communications yet.

**Keywords:** strategic communications, military security, hybrid wars, Ukrainian defence forces.

*Formulation of the problem.* The modern information society is characterized by an increase in the role of information and knowledge in human life, the expansion of globalization and liberalization processes, the creation of international information infrastructures and new channels of communication.

On the one hand, the development of an information society provides effective communication of political and public actors, universal and equal access to information and satisfaction of communication needs of the public, and on the other hand, threatens the national and military security of states through the possibility of conducting information-psychological operations and manipulation.

Today, information weapons have become a full-fledged medium of influence, much larger and more effective than firearms. The latest information threats have caused the modernization of the means and methods of waging wars and military conflicts. In the leading countries of the world the development of mechanisms of protection against information and psychological operations of the enemy was begun by conducting effective information and communication campaigns to capture the information agenda. A strategic tool for implementing these mentioned measures has become a system of the strategic communication.

Taking into consideration, that in the field of military security of Ukraine the strategic communication system is still at the stage of emerging<sup>1</sup>, the study of the problems of the conceptual bases of strategic communications as a tool of ensuring the military security of Ukraine is quite relevant.

*State of the study.* An analysis of the problems of Strategic Communication in the security and defense sector of Ukraine is highlighted in the works of the following Ukrainian researchers: O.Akulshin, A.Barovskaya, D.Dubov, O.Zaruba, O.Kapstyk, O.Kuban, L.Kompantseva, V.Korol, V.Lipkan, L.Pelepeychenko, T.Popova, G.Pocheptsov, S.Solovyov, T.Chernenko.

The following Ukrainian researchers investigated topical aspects of the Strategic Communications implementation in other spheres: V.Bebyk, S.Danylenko, V.Kopiyka, E.Makarenko, O.Milchenko, M.Ozhevan, I.Sidorenko, E.Tikhomirova, M.Shklyaruk.

In addition to Ukrainian researchers, the following subjects were studied by the following scientists: D. Anderson, Y. Arendarskaya, T. Blakley, S. Bjord, D. Vercic, D. Jones, C. Johnson, B. Ruhler, K. Syramesh, K. York, P. Cornish, K.Lamb, J.Lindley-French, M.Linch, J.Mahoni, D.Murphy, H. Pang, K. Pol, D.Psaki, S.Tatom, F.Taylor, J.Farwell, K..Hallahan, D.Holzhausen, K.Hallahan, D. Holzhausen O. Horn, K.Huges, F.Schinho.

The purpose of the article is to determine the prerequisites for the formation, the main tendencies and the legal framework for the implementation of strategic communications as a tool of ensuring the military security of Ukraine.

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<sup>1</sup> Гарькавий, С.М. (2019). Генезис інституалізації стратегічних комунікацій сил оборони в умовах сучасного інформаційного протиборства. *Гілея: науковий вісник*, 146 (7), 3, 41-46.

*The presentation of the main material.* Wars and military conflicts have accompanied humanity throughout history. Up to 95% of all known societies have used military action to resolve external or internal conflicts. According to scientists' estimation over the past 56 centuries, about 14,500 wars were taken place, more than 3.5 billion people were killed. For achieving the most desirable results in wars, the means of their warfare, weapons and military equipment (WME), tactics, strategy, etc. have been constantly improved. An analysis of the nature of the armed struggle, especially in recent decades, indicates about the sharp increase of impacting on the WME on the course and results of hostilities. It can be claimed with confidence that the WMEs nowadays form the basis of the combat power of any state's armed forces and are a decisive factor for success in a potential war or armed conflict<sup>1</sup>.

Scientific-technical progress and the transformation of scientific paradigms are one way or another related to the war. Even today, military power is a reflection of the state's success, the development of its civil society, economy, technology and communication capabilities.

War is a full-fledged exam for the nation. Wars are as an X-ray expose all the public and political problems of society, revealing the effectiveness of a particular model of government and the maturity of civil society.

Wars are always won by strategists who can predict the public political and political situations and who had been planning their activities for many years ahead. Without a deep understanding of the essence of military conflict, it is impossible to win a war. It should be counted that it is not always the amount of victories in battles equals victory in war. It is crucial to formulate viable state goals, national and military security strategies which have to determine what the state should be at certain intervals and what it requires.

In the modern world, with limited political and economic resources, humanity has modernized approaches to the conduct of classic armed conflicts by inventing so-called «hybrid wars».

The term «hybrid war» in the broadest terms is defined as a set of pre-prepared and operationally implemented military, diplomatic, economic, informational actions aimed at achieving strategic goals. These components include traditional and non-standard threats, terrorism, subversion, when are used the latest or non-template technologies to counter the enemy's superiority in military strength<sup>2</sup>.

Hybrid wars are aimed to replace competition in the world market with political strategies and are based on strategies to compensate for the lack of resources through political agreements or open conflicts, including military ones. Hybrid war strategies can be divided into the following elements:

1. Identify and promote your own «natural roots» and interests in a chosen country.
2. Information processing of one's own population, replacement of generally recognized criteria of well-being with political goals, such as building a bright future, preparing the population for an «imminent» war or military conflict, shifting the emphasis from internal problems to external ones, applying public paths.
3. Mass propaganda, information processing of the population of other countries and regions to support their own goals; use of individual politicians, expatriates, various associations, etc.
4. Taking control of key businesses, which happens in various ways, including through market mechanisms.
5. Creating of military bases, groups as close as possible to the territory of the designated enemy (traditional strategy).
6. Identifying enemies and confrontation with countries in the world that «hold back the movement to a bright future and threaten or harm the country».
7. Violation of international treaties, their interpretation and disguise of non-compliance with «our own understanding».
8. Neglecting of interests of the population, including health, well-being, etc. At the same time, providing «humanitarian assistance» with the targeting of the population to the target enemy.
9. Creation and support of national, regional and international associations, groups, individuals with the purpose of using them for the reorientation of society and politicians for personal purposes, disruption of life «in their territory».
10. Blurring the boundaries of peace and war, order and chaos, creating a single risk zone where you can become a «guarantor» of order.
11. Using and supporting puppet governments, quasi-governments, which are directly or implicitly

<sup>1</sup> Горбулін, В.П. (2019). Забезпечення оборони та безпеки України: актуальні проблеми і шляхи їх вирішення. *Вісник НАН України*, 9, 3-18.

<sup>2</sup> Магда, С.М. *Гібридна війна: сутність та структура феномену*.

<[http://journals.iir.kiev.ua/index.php/pol\\_n/article/view/2489](http://journals.iir.kiev.ua/index.php/pol_n/article/view/2489)> (2020, January, 10).

influenced.

12. Using economy, territories of puppet countries, creation of a network structure of such countries as points of disorganization of normal life.

13. The use of power strategies (if there is a significant advantage) is made undercover.

14. Destruction of the economy and infrastructure of the selected country<sup>1</sup>.

The armed aggression of the Russian Federation against Ukraine since 2014 has proved the effectiveness of the hybrid war. In fact, all mentioned steps were implemented by the Russian Federation in the Crimea and the Donbass. In this regard, the issue of ensuring the military security of the state has become one of the main tasks of state authorities in Ukraine.

The Law of Ukraine «On National Security of Ukraine» treats the concept of «Military Security» as «the protection of state sovereignty, territorial integrity and democratic constitutional order and other vital national interests against military threats»<sup>2</sup>. Ukraine's Military Security Strategy is a document that sets out a system of views on the causes, nature of contemporary military conflicts, principles and ways of preventing them from occurring, preparing the state for a possible military conflict, as well as using military force to protect state sovereignty, territorial integrity, other vital national interests.

The main goals of ensuring the military security of Ukraine is the prevention, localization and neutralization of military threats. The strategic goal of ensuring Ukraine's military security is to create and maintain a political, international and military-strategic position of the country that would exclude the possibility for any state or union of states by any means of action to weaken Ukraine's role and importance as a subject of international relations, change the vector of its socio-economic development, to provide or create conditions for harming its national interests<sup>3</sup>.

Unfortunately, Ukraine's military security strategy has not been adopted to date.

The emergence of hybrid wars is first and foremost related to the strengthening of globalization processes and the formation of an information society. In the XXI century there are qualitative changes in the social space, which are caused by the growth of information, which, as a leading resource of the information society, dramatically changes the social structure. The evolution of the information society is regarded as a continuous process of social transformation of social relationships, caused by both the objective and historical laws of society's development and changes in the nature of social interaction caused by new high technologies<sup>4</sup>.

According to scientist T. Stonier, the national economic resources are the main economic value and the most powerful potential source of wealth for a post-industrial society: «Information is a strategic resource whose specific feature is the inexhaustible consumption. It enriches fundamental knowledge, organizes a global community, reduces entropy»<sup>5</sup>.

Scientist V. Izhboldin in the study «The Genesis of the Concept of Information Society» emphasizes that informatization has become a dominant factor in world history, it has now become a reality that influences the events in the world. It covers different spheres of social reality, spiritual and material culture, becoming one of the main factors of globalization<sup>6</sup>.

The concept of the information environment was put into scientific circulation by Y. Schroeder, who emphasized that the information environment is not only a conduit of information, but also actively influences on the participants of communication, provides an opportunity to obtain the necessary information for this, and the ability to receive information and transform it is acquired in the process improving knowledge. The researcher identifies three main aspects of the information environment: the first, is one of the aspects of human activity; the second one, is the system of historically formed forms of communication; the third, is

<sup>1</sup> Полумієнко, С.К. *Гібридна війна, її окремі передумови, стратегії та наслідки*.

<<http://dspace.nbuv.gov.ua/bitstream/handle/123456789/124878/11-Polumienko.pdf?sequence=1>> (2020, January, 10).

<sup>2</sup> *Закон про національну безпеку України 2018* (Верховна Рада України). *Офіційний веб-сайт Верховної Ради України*. <<https://zakon.rada.gov.ua/laws/show/2469-19>> (2020, January, 10).

<sup>3</sup> Ліпкан, В.А. *Національна безпека України: навчальний посібник*. <<http://politics.ellib.org.ua/pages-cat-154.html>> (2020, January, 10).

<sup>4</sup> Білан, Н.І. (2016). *Соціальні комунікації в інформаційному суспільстві: теорія, еволюція, моделі та прикладні аспекти*: дис. д-ра наук із соц. комунікацій. Київ: КНУ ім. Т.Шевченка, 15.

<sup>5</sup> Стоуньєр, Т. (1986). *Информационное богатство: Профиль постиндустриальной экономики*. Москва: Прогресс, 395-397.

<sup>6</sup> Ижболдин, В.А. *Генезис концепции информационного общества*: автореф. дисс. канд. филос. наук <[www.disserscat.com/content/genezis-kontseptsii-informatsionnogo-obshchestva](http://www.disserscat.com/content/genezis-kontseptsii-informatsionnogo-obshchestva)> (2020, January, 10).

information infrastructure<sup>1</sup>.

In a such way, the development of the information society has led to the evolution of the main instrument of interaction – communication.

Communication in the modern world is represented by various forms of interaction, which are defined as forms of production and dissemination of information that have historically developed and depend on social relations, the level of economic, technical and cultural development of society, the structure of government and forms of government, on the basis of which formed the directions of applied communication, which considers the peculiarities of the functioning of a phenomenon such as communication in the context of a particular activity when communication moves to the level of conscious use and becomes together important works<sup>2</sup>.

In the general sense, the term «communication» is derived from the Latin «communicatio» – message, transmission and «communicare» – to share, communicate, connect and mean the transfer of information from one system to another by means of special material carriers, signals<sup>3</sup>.

Domestic researcher V. Bebig points out that the term «communication» is interdisciplinary and is used at the level of interaction of social, biological, technical, political science disciplines, within which there is a comprehensive analysis of social communication. But in any case, communication involves at least three participants in this process: the transmitter – the message – the recipient. Communication is a form of interaction between certain subjects (transmitter, recipient) through a specific communicator (message)<sup>4</sup>.

There are four types of communication models:

1) the transmission model (communication is considered as a process of transmission of information);

2) the ritual model (communication means community support in time or public display of support for social ideas);

3) the model of attracting attention (communication means the mass influence of mass media processes, or establishing and maintaining the attention of communicators not on the message, but on the mode of communication itself;

4) the reception model (the consumer of information is regarded as the one who perceives the coded information and decodes its contents according to his picture of the world, to his social position<sup>5</sup>.

In government, the term «communication» is a tool for public relations, interaction between government, civil society and other actors in the governance process. In addition, it is defined as the process of acceptance, understanding, assimilation and dissemination of information. Through communication, it is possible to organize joint activities of individuals or to form competitive or conflictual relations<sup>6</sup>.

The development of communication has made it possible to expand the means of manipulative influence.

The notion of suggestion is the mental influence of the communicant on the communicator by asking, persuading, ordering, reasoning, etc. to change attitudes, values, beliefs, and human behavior. Suggestion efficiency is determined by the degree of unconscious imitation or reflection and self-regulation of the communicators based on the conscious imitation of the leader / social leader.

Suggestive influence can be perceived by communication, but it is not always able to counteract due to the lack of intellectual, mental and emotional forces. In addition, people often do what they want, in the interests of the collective, the community, the people, for the sake of peace. Thus, a person consciously compromises, recognizing conformism as a way of communication<sup>7</sup>.

The next evolution of communication processes was due to the development of the World Wide Web and the emergence of social networks. This has made it much more effective to track public sentiment,

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<sup>1</sup> Шрейдер, Ю. (1990). Социокультурные и технико-экономические аспекты развития информационной среды. *Информатика и культура*. 50-82.

<sup>2</sup> Піпченко, Н. (2014). *Соціальні медіа у структурі зовнішньої політики провідних міжнародних акторів*. Київ: Центр вільної преси, 28.

<sup>3</sup> Аберкромби, Н. (1997). *Социологический словарь*. Казань, 420.

<sup>4</sup> Бєбик, В.М. *Інформаційно-комунікаційний менеджмент у глобальному суспільстві*. <<http://studentbooks.com.ua/content/view/1028/42/>> (2020, January, 10).

<sup>5</sup> Богомаз, К.Ю. *Соціальні комунікації в управлінні*. <<http://www.dstu.dp.ua/Portal/Data/7/15/7-15-kl72.pdf>> (2020, January, 10).

<sup>6</sup> Джерелейко, І.В. *Комунікативні зв'язки установи*. <<http://dspace.tneu.edu.ua/bitstream/316497/17605/2/МАГ.%20ДЖЕРЕЛЕЙКО.pdf>> (2020, January, 10).

<sup>7</sup> Різун, В.В. *Теорія масової комунікації: підручник*. <[http://filelibsnu.at.ua/navchalno-metod/jurnalistika/Teoriya\\_mas\\_com.pdf](http://filelibsnu.at.ua/navchalno-metod/jurnalistika/Teoriya_mas_com.pdf)> (2020, January, 10).

coordinate efforts, and disseminate relevant information to a specific target audience.

Unfortunately, terrorist groups during the organization of acts of terrorism were adopted as one of the first tools of modern communication. The 2001 terrorist attacks revealed that the governments of the leading countries of the world are not prepared to the current challenges and threats in the information environment. These events initiated the institutionalization of strategic communications.

The awareness of the need to institutionalize the StratCom system in Ukraine began in 2014. Since then, a number of systematic steps have been taken by public authorities to build StratCom's capabilities. First of all, these changes took place in the field of military security.

American Researcher Paul Christopher notes that strategic communications is a systematic series of long-lasting and consistently interconnected actions across strategic, operational, and tactical levels through which you can understand target audiences and channels where messages can be communicated to establish the necessary types of behavior of the target audience<sup>1</sup>.

That is, strategic communications are interpreted as support for a national strategy, not its element. In his work *Strategic Communications: Origins, Concepts, Current Debates*, K. Paul outlines the link between strategic communications and national strategy. This link can only be strategically important if the national goals, consist of intermediate and ancillary goals, and also there is a clearly directed path to operational and tactical levels. This scheme allows you to predict which goals can be effective and which ones need to be supported. To achieve the goals, he recommends using a diverse range of means of influence.

Ukrainian scientists T. Popov and V. Lipkan outlined the features of the strategic communications system:

- are being formed and implemented by the subjects of the strategic communications system;
- represents the activity of state bodies and non-state institutions coordinated in terms of goals and strategic priorities in the field of information interaction on a strategic basis;
- consists of goals, ideas, tasks, functions, principles, methods; effective functioning mechanism of legal regulation in the information sphere, including the formation, implementation and control of the implementation of tasks unprofitable;
- scientifically grounded activity based on the application of information methods and methodological approaches to the study of contemporary media phenomena;
- strategic activities are aimed to public information relations, including their formation and development, regulation and security; it is carried out mainly by information means and methods, within the framework of information activity and in the information space;
- support for the implementation of tasks by the specific application of specific methods (information operations, information warfare, information warfare tools and methods, psychological operations, civil-military operations, public diplomacy measures, semiotic wars, etc.);
- has an external expression in terms of legal and organizational forms of its implementation;
- is based on the need to ensure information sovereignty and the formation of a high-tech information state with developed institutions of the information society in accordance with the realization of national information interests in the framework of creating information identity;
- advocates an information socio-political and value-ideological prerequisite for both information and national identity, preservation of the national, cultural and information identity of the Ukrainian autochthonous, political and information nation;
- forms a holistic dimension of information strategy for practical implementation; a multifunctional tool for the implementation of strata is the synthesis on the basis of interdisciplinary methodology of techniques and methods of each component of the system of strata, taking into account its specificity, but in accordance with the achievement of a common goal<sup>2</sup>.

The stratum system (principles) are fundamental ideas, foundations that are the basis for the behavior of all subjects of the stratum system and participants of information relations, whose activity is regulated by the legislation of Ukraine<sup>3</sup>.

Strategic communications are, first and foremost, mechanisms to persuade others to accept your ideas, policies, or actions, including:

<sup>1</sup> Paul, Ch. (2011). *Strategic Communication: Origins, Concept and Current Debates*. Sant Brbara, 3.

<sup>2</sup> Попова, Т.В., Ліпкан, В.А. (2016). *Стратегічні комунікації: словник*. Київ: ФОП О.С.Ліпкан, 330-331.

<sup>3</sup> Попова, Т.В., Ліпкан, В.А. (2016). *Стратегічні комунікації: словник*. Київ: ФОП О.С.Ліпкан, 332.

- to persuade allies and friends to stay with you;
- to persuade neutrals to take your side (or at least stay neutral);
- at the best, to persuade opponents that you have the power and will to dominate<sup>1</sup>.
- From a geopolitical point of view, the concept of strategic communications provides the following:
  - the presence of certain impulses of power, presented in the form of clear meanings, which must be conveyed to a specific population (target audience);
  - the certain physical presence in the territory where the power is directed;
  - the formation of a specific communication infrastructure capable of propagating power impulses and tracking feedback<sup>2</sup>.

In a such way, strategic communications in the security and defense sector of Ukraine are public relations, which are formed in the process of interaction and coordination of the activity of the system of state authorities, the Armed Forces of Ukraine, other military units, law enforcement and intelligence agencies, state bodies of special purpose established in accordance with the laws of Ukraine with law enforcement functions, civil defense forces, defense-industrial complex of Ukraine, whose activities are under democratic civil control and in accordance with the institutions and laws of Ukraine functionally designed to protect Ukraine's national interests from threats, as well as citizens and civic organizations voluntarily involved in ensuring national security of Ukraine, taking into account the experience of NATO Member States. As a result, it can be argued that strategic communications is a process which underlies the national security of Ukraine and involves not only strategic communications entities but also entities from other fields of activity.

Strategic communications are intended to ensure the policy of the state beyond national borders. The main target of influence is the target audience, whose role is, above all, the political (broader – economic, scientific, cultural, etc.) elite of the state in respect of which the respective actions are implemented. The result of such influence is the formation in the target audience of such a system of stable ideas about the actions of another state that would fully justify such actions. This ensures the loyalty of the political elite of the state to which this influence is directed, and, as a consequence, the formation of an effective system of geopolitical control over a given territory, which provides, firstly, a stable positive image of the influencer, and secondly, a stable system of cultural values adequate to that existing in the influencing country.

*Conclusion.* In the modern architecture of European and world security, strategic communications are a major tool for coordinating and planning communications in the field of military security.

In Ukraine, the potential of strategic communications as a tool for ensuring military security has not acquired adequate capabilities yet. The acquisition of the appropriate capabilities is expected by the end of 2020.

The implementation of strategic communications in the field of military security of Ukraine is based on the following legal acts:

The Partnership Roadmap for Strategic Communications between the NSDC and the NATO Secretariat (2015)<sup>3</sup>;

Strategic Objective G0021 «Strategic Communications» Matrixes for the achievement of strategic goals and the fulfillment of the key objectives of defense reform (2016)<sup>4</sup>;

Objectives 1.2.2. National Strategic Communications System and Objectives 2.2.5. Strategic Communications Defense Force Acquisition of the 2019 NATO-Ukraine Annual National Program<sup>5</sup>.

Ministry of Defense of Ukraine Order No. 612 of 22.11.2017 «On Approval of the Concept of Strategic

<sup>1</sup> Getting Better at Strategic Communication

<[https://www.rand.org/content/dam/rand/pubs/testimonies/2011/RAND\\_CT366.pdf](https://www.rand.org/content/dam/rand/pubs/testimonies/2011/RAND_CT366.pdf)> (2020, January, 10).

<sup>2</sup> Бурлако, В.А. *Стратегическая коммуникация как метод современной политики*. <<https://cyberleninka.ru/article/v/strategicheskaya-kommunikatsiya-kak-metod-sovremennoy-geopolitiki>> (2020, January, 10).

<sup>3</sup> Дорожня карта Партнерства у сфері стратегічних комунікацій між Радою національної безпеки і оборони України та Міжнародним секретаріатом НАТО. <[https://mfa.gov.ua/mediafiles/sites/nato/files/Roadmap\\_Ukr.pdf](https://mfa.gov.ua/mediafiles/sites/nato/files/Roadmap_Ukr.pdf)>

<sup>4</sup> Матриця досягнення стратегічних цілей і виконання основних завдань оборонної реформи. *Офіційний сайт Офісу Президента України*. <[https://www.president.gov.ua/storage/j-files-storage/00/29/41/d538f70a099702dc68bababd91e29169\\_1465215331.pdf](https://www.president.gov.ua/storage/j-files-storage/00/29/41/d538f70a099702dc68bababd91e29169_1465215331.pdf)> (2020, January, 10).

<sup>5</sup> Указ про Річну національну програму під егідою Комісії Україна – НАТО на 2019 рік 2019 (Президент України). *Офіційний сайт Верховної Ради України*. <<https://zakon.rada.gov.ua/laws/show/117/2019>> (2020, January, 10).

Communications of the Ministry of Defense of Ukraine and the Armed Forces of Ukraine»<sup>1</sup>.

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5. Burlakov, V.A. *Stratehicheskaia kommunykatsiia kak metod sovremennoi polytyky* [Strategic communications as a method of modern politics]. <<https://cyberleninka.ru/article/v/strategicheskaya-kommunikatsiya-kak-metod-sovremennoy-geopolitiki>> (2020, January, 10) [in Russian].
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