

# *Теоретико-методологічні засади забезпечення інформаційної безпеки людини, суспільства, держави*

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## **TERRORISM SERVING GEOPOLITICS. THE RUSSIAN-UKRAINIAN CONFLICT AS AN EXAMPLE OF THE IMPLEMENTATION OF ALEKSANDR DUGIN'S GEOPOLITICAL DOCTRINE AND EVGENY MESSNER'S CONCEPT OF «REBEL WAR»**

*Without geopolitics it is not possible to understand the events in Ukraine – every attitude excluding that is doomed to an immediate failure*<sup>1</sup>.  
Aleksandr Dugin (1962–)

*Every man, whether a serviceman or a civilian, takes part in the information warfare no matter of its form*<sup>2</sup>.  
Gen. Vladimir Markomienko (1939–)

Defining the interests of the state in reference to its geographical location is the key element to understanding political actions being taken by the Rus-

sian Federation in an international domain. The essence of this reliance is precisely reflected in the views of an orthodox philosopher Nikolai Berdyaev (1874–1947), who coined the statement of «the power of space over the Russian soul». As he wrote *the Russians do not possess the narrowness of the Europeans, who concentrate their energy on a little space of their souls, neither do they possess the wariness, the economy of time and space, intensity of culture*<sup>3</sup>. Geographical location of Russia for centuries have been influencing the way of perceiving the world by the Moscow leadership elites. Starting in the 16th century they have been forced to pursue their policy in three main directions: the western one (from the Baltic Sea to the Carpathian Mountains), the southern one (from the Danube River to Persia) and the eastern one (from the Volga River to the Altai Mountains). That is why they have always tried to stay active in all three areas at the same time, which demands both consolidation of the country and centralization of its authorities<sup>4</sup>. Furthermore, existence in the

<sup>1</sup> Quoted after: A. G. Dugin, *Geopolityka znaczenia. Semantyczna wojna wokół Ukrainy* [online], <http://xportal.pl/?p=13003> [availability: 20 VI 2014].

<sup>2</sup> *Каждый человек, военный или гражданский, участвует в информационной войне в той или иной ее форме.* Quoted after: Г. Почепцов, *Информационные войны. Основы военно-коммуникативных исследований*, Москва 2000, р. 2. Vladimir Markomienko (Russian: Владимир Игнатьевич Маркоменко) – General Lieutenant, between 1995 and 1996 serving as the I Deputy Director General of the Federal Agency for Government Communication and Information providing support to the President of the Russian Federation (Russian: Федеральное агентство правительственной связи и информации при Президенте РФ, ФАПСИ). See: А. Колпакиди, *Энциклопедия секретных служб России*, Москва 2003, р. 616. Compare: А. Soldatov, I. Borogan, *The New Nobility. The Restoration of Russia's Security State and the Enduring Legacy of the KGB*, New York 2010, pp. 20, 282, 292.

<sup>3</sup> Н. А. Бердяев, *Судьба России. Опыты по психологии войны и национальности. Репринтное воспроизведение издания 1918 г.*, Москва 1990, р. 64.

<sup>4</sup> J. P. Le Donne, *The Grand Strategy of the Russian Empire, 1650–1831*, Oxford 2004,

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open geographical spaces resulted in constant fear of the outer threat, which implied the tendency to guarantee safety through applying preventive and offensive activities. It is worth underlying that the present foreign policy of Russia shows an increased activity in the following geostrategic areas: from the Balkans, through the Black Sea Basin (Transnistria, Crimea), then through the Caucasus, the Caspian Sea Basin, the whole Central Asia, and then as far as Sakhalin and the Arctic<sup>5</sup>. According to some of the Russian elites the new border layout, being the result of the collapse of the Soviet Russia, is unfavourable when comparing to previous periods. The reflection over geopolitical consequences of that event is still vivid in the minds of representatives of not only the Russian political class, but also the majority of the Russian society. Hence the slogans referring to the reconstruction of the lost empire have been gaining a significant impact on the shape of the foreign policy applied by the Russian Federation, which means that probability of violating international order for geopolitical and geostrategic reasons

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pp. 15–38; A. Nowak, *History and Geopolitics. A Contest of Eastern Europe*, Warsaw 2008, pp. 13–24.

<sup>5</sup> *Russia between East and West: Russian Foreign Policy on the Threshold of the Twenty-First Century*, G. Gorodetsky (ed.), London 2003; A. Grachev, *Putin's Foreign Policy Choices*, w: *Leading Russia: Putin in Perspective Essays in Honour of Archie Brown*, A. Pravda (ed.), Oxford 2005, pp. 255–275; R. Wiśniewski, *Przemiany terytorialne państwa rosyjskiego – aspekt historyczno-polityczny*, in: *Studia nad geopolityką XX wieku*, P. Eberhardt (ed.), Warszawa 2013, pp. 365–385.

is relatively high<sup>6</sup>. The involvement of Russia in the armed conflicts which took place after 1991 can only confirm that thesis. It is worth underlying that the conflicts were conditioned by, inter alia, geographical locations neighbouring the territories of the post-Soviet areas, especially those with diverse ethnic, social and religious structures, which is particularly meaningful in case of the annexation of Crimea and the events in the West of Ukraine<sup>7</sup>.

Hence it is not surprising that geopolitics in Russia is understood as a political strategy applied also to international relations<sup>8</sup>. What is more, geopolitics in present Russia has gained the status of a general world view, a universal concept which helps to build the world view and one's own attitude towards it<sup>9</sup>. A good example confirming

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<sup>6</sup> T. W. Grabowski, *Rosyjska siła. Siły Zbrojne i główne problemy polityki obronnej Federacji Rosyjskiej w latach 1991–2010*, Częstochowa 2011, pp. 21–22; В. В. Кириллов, Ю. Н. Крючков, *Влияние войны на развитие и международное значение России в мире*, «Военная мысль» 2008, issue 2, pp. 10–21.

<sup>7</sup> T. W. Grabowski, *Rosyjska siła...*, p. 38. For more see: P. Эллисон, *Россия, региональные конфликты и применение военной силы*, in: *Вооруженные силы России: власть и политика*, С. Э. Миллер, Д. Тренин (red.), Кембридж–Лондон 2005, pp. 147–191.

<sup>8</sup> В. А. Колосов, *Российская геополитика: традиционные концепции и современные вызовы*, «Общественные науки и современность» 1996, issue 3, p. 86. Compare: В. А. Колосов, Н. С. Мироненко, *Геополитика и политическая география: Учебник для вузов*, Москва 2001, pp. 9–29.

<sup>9</sup> Н. А. Косолапой, *Геополитика как теория и диагноз (метаморфозы геополитики в России)*, «Бизнес и Политика» 1996, issue 4, pp. 57–61; W. Marciniak, *Przestrzeń jako kategoria dyskursu politycznego w Rosji współczesnej*, Warsaw 2004, pp. 4–13; S. Mäkinen,

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that opinion are the views of Valery Korovin – the Director of the Centre for Geopolitical Expertise providing support to the Head of the State Duma and a prominent activist for the neo- Eurasian movement. His statement published in «Izvestija» (Russian: «Известия») journal contained precise information about the aims and methods of the Russian policy towards Ukraine as well as its global context. Valery Korovin distanced himself from the ideological heritage of the Soviet Russia, criticising its leaders for *ideologisation of the foreign policy*. He underlined that *the geopolitical method* applied in order to stop Russia's collapse was recognized as the basis of state security strategy only after Vladimir Putin's rise to power in the Russian Federation. According to Korovin the basic aim of the Russian foreign policy should be restricting the influence of the «Atlantic Block» (the USA and the European Union) through creating a global, regional and subregional security model. This aim should be achieved by absorbing the countries and the nations belonging in the past to *the Russian space* (close to Russia in civilization and culture) to *the orbit of Eurasian geopoliti-*

*cal pole*. According to Korovin it should be done in the way similar to the annexation of Crimea, which he interpreted as *supporting the regional and local conflicts solving through keeping the peace*. What is more, in Korovin's opinion *the geopolitical method* should be treated as the basis for all actions taken in the Ministry of Defense, the Ministry of Interior and the Federal Security Service in order to neutralize any threats to security of the state<sup>10</sup>. The quoted statement reveals that the Russian–Ukrainian conflict is one of the stages in the implementation of the broader political doctrine aiming at strategic reintegration of the post-Soviet space, and in the further perspective – building of the so-called multipolar world. The author of that concept is Aleksandr Dugin – an influential intellectualist and a theoretician of the Russian geopolitics and Eurasianism. The basis of the Eurasian movement, reborn thanks to Dugin, is a constant thought of rivalry for the power over the space between countries, political-military blocks, international organisations and civilizations<sup>11</sup>. Ale-

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*Russian Geopolitical Visions and Argumentation. Parties of Power, Democratic and Communist Opposition on Chechnia and NATO, 1994–2003*, Tampere 2008, pp. 34–49; I. Isakova, *Russian Governance in 21<sup>st</sup> Century. Geostrategy, Geopolitics and Governance*, London–New York 2005, pp. 10–23. For more about genesis of the Russian geopolitics see: R. Ištok, D. Plavčanová, *Russian Geopolitics and Geopolitics of Russia. Phenomenon of Space*, «European Journal of Geopolitics» 2013, issue 1, pp. 61–94; L. Sykulski, *Geneza rosyjskiej geopolityki*, w: *Studia nad rosyjską geopolityką*, L. Sykulski (ed.), Częstochowa 2014, pp. 7–24.

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<sup>10</sup> В. Коровин, *Геополитика вместо идеологии*, «Известия» dated 24 IV 2014 [online], <http://izvestia.ru/news/569829> [availability: 20 VI 2014]. For more information concerning the Soviet leadership's attitude towards geopolitics see: В. В. Пустошкин, *Геополитические теории войны*, in: *Советская военная энциклопедия. Том 2: Вавилон – Гражданская война в Северной Америке*, А. А. Гречко (red.), Москва 1976, pp. 521–522; K. Grygajtis, *Józef Stalin oraz sowiecka geopolityka i geostrategia lat 1924–1953*, Nysa 2011, pp. 10–18.

<sup>11</sup> For more see: D. Kerr, *The New Eurasianism: The Rise of Geopolitics in Russia's Foreign Policy*, «Europe-Asia Studies» 1995, issue 47, pp. 977–988; G. Smith, *The Masks of*

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Aleksandr Dugin has always claimed that anti-western Eurasian ideology and academic geopolitics serve substantial, far-reaching Russian imperialistic aims. In his opinion geopolitics is:

(...) the worldview of power, education about power and for the power (...). Geopolitics is the discipline of political elites, both the real ones and the alternative ones; its history proves that it is dealt with exclusively by people actively engaged in ruling over nations and countries or preparing to that role (...). In the present world it is the book of power, which should be taken into account while taking global (important) decisions, such as alliances, starting wars, making reforms, restructuring societies, applying economic and political sanctions on a large scale<sup>12</sup>.

The interpretation of the above definition by Dugin shows that geopolitics is a subjective vision of space, rooted in the consciousness of a given society or political environment. It is the result of a rational and subjective calculation of the interests and political goals, as well as cultural factors (historical experience, national myths etc.). Those factors significantly affect the activity of a given subject, which in

this particular case is a political practice<sup>13</sup>.

According to contemporary researchers, Aleksandr Dugin is a representative of political environments close to the idea of the Russian Empire restoration. This idea became the leading motive of his long political, scientific and journalistic activity. His high position in the narrow circle of the group of people close to president Vladimir Putin is widely known. Dugin officially states that he prepared a lot of geopolitical projects commissioned by the authorities<sup>14</sup>. He is often presented

<sup>13</sup> J. Potulski, *Współczesne kierunki rosyjskiej myśli geopolitycznej: między nauką, ideologicznym dyskursem a praktyką*, Gdańsk 2010, pp. 9–10; G. Ó. Tuathail, *Postmodern Geopolitics? The Modern Geopolitical Imagination and Beyond*, w: *Rethinking Geopolitics*, Ó Tuathail, S. Dalby (ed.), London–New York 1998, pp. 16–39; E. Lashchenova, *National Archetypes of Russia's Foreign Policy*, «International Affairs. A Russian Journal of World Politics, Diplomacy and International Relations» 2013, issue 2, pp. 110–118; T. Ambrosio, G. Vandrovec, *Mapping the Geopolitics of the Russian Federation: The Federal Assembly Addresses of Putin and Medvedev*, «Geopolitics» 2013, issue 18, no. 2, pp. 435–466.

<sup>14</sup> А. Г. Дугин, *Стратегические выводы Прямой Линии Путина* [online], <http://evrazia.org/article/2505> [availability: 20 VI 2014]: *На теоретическом уровне эта идеология, в центре которой стоит Народ, развита в работе, которую я подготовил по просьбе Кремля ещё в 2007 году, под названием «Общественное мнение для граждан Новой России» (...). На практическом уровне в 2011 году эта идея – взять Народ в качестве основы идеологии – была как политический проект предложена мной Администрации Президента, в результате чего появился проект Общероссийского Народного Фронта. Я полагал, что эта идеология могла бы стать мировоззренческим ядром «Единой России», но Путин решил иначе. Сравнение: В. Иванов, Дугин – политический Мерлин России*

*Proteus: Russia, Geopolitical Shift and the New Eurasianism*, «Transactions of the Institute of British Geographers. New Series» 1999, issue 24, pp. 481–494; J. O'Loughlin, G. Toal, V. Kolossov, *Russian Geopolitical Culture and Public Opinion: The Masks of Proteus Revisited*, «Transactions of the Institute of British Geographers. New Series» 2005, issue 30, pp. 322–335.

<sup>12</sup> А. Г. Дугин, *Основы геополитики. Геополитическое будущее России*, Москва 1997, pp. 13–14.

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in mass media as an expert or a commentator of current political events. An important factor in the biography of Aleksandr Dugin is his relations with high rank representatives of the Russian law and order institutions. It seems obvious that those relations highly influenced his brilliant career. What is more, his initiative has led to creating such political and social organisations as: the International Eurasian Movement (Russian: Международное Евразийское движение, МЕД), the Eurasian Youth Union (Russian: Евразийский союз молодёжи, ЕСМ) and «Izborski Club» (Russian: Изборский клуб). These organisations gather experts from different areas as well as most noticeable people from the Russian political and cultural world sharing his ideas<sup>15</sup>.

The main purpose of this research is presenting the assumptions of the Russian doctrine in relation to Ukraine and specifying the methods of its realisation. First of all, it is necessary to show the relation between Aleksandr Dugin's geopolitical doctrine and some aspects of

the Kremlin's foreign policy – both global and regional. This is the subject of the first part of this article. Secondly, it is crucial to define the ways of realisation of foreign policy, which, having in mind Korovin's opinions, may be referred to as «geopolitical method». Basing on his statements it can be said that geopolitical method should be understood as diverse activities helping to achieve a given political doctrine. As it was said before, Korovin suggests that the «geopolitical method» should be mainly applied by law and order institutions. Therefore a thesis should be advanced here, according to which a «geopolitical method» is also, apart from standard forms of military activities, a wide spectrum of asymmetrical activities. This definition refers to unconventional methods of warfare, such as terrorist activities, information, psychological and economic warfare<sup>16</sup>. The intention of the author of this article is therefore to present the Russian concept of asymmetrical activities, to which one should definitely include the so-called «rebel war» (Russian: мятежевойна) being right now an element of a wide concept of the Russian «information warfare» (Russian: информационная война). A question should be raised to what extent has Russia, fulfilling its geopolitical goals in Ukraine, used the possibilities advanced by such activities. In order to evaluate

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[online], <http://www.evrazia.info/article/4377> [availability: 20 VI 2014].

<sup>15</sup> J. B. Dunlop, *Aleksandr Dugin's «Neo-Eurasian» Textbook and Dmitrii Trenin's Ambivalent Response*, «Harvard Ukrainian Studies» 2001, issue 25, pp. 91–127; A. Umland, *Aleksandr Dugin's Transformation from a Lunatic Fringe Figure into a Mainstream Political Publicist, 1980–1998: A Case Study in the Rise of Late and Post-Soviet Russian Fascism*, «Journal of Eurasian Studies» 2010, issue 1, pp. 144–152; M. Wojnowski, *Aleksandr Dugin a resorty siłowe Federacji Rosyjskiej. Przyczynek do badań nad wykorzystaniem geopolityki przez cywilne i wojskowe służby specjalne we współczesnej Rosji*, «Przegląd Bezpieczeństwa Wewnętrznego» 2014, issue 10, pp. 11–38.

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<sup>16</sup> A. Wejksznier, *Wojny XXI wieku. Istota współczesnych konfliktów asymetrycznych*, in: *Zagrożenia asymetryczne współczesnego świata*, S. Wojciechowski, R. Fiedler (ed.), Poznań 2009, pp. 120–121; I. Arreguin-Toft, *How the Weak Win Wars: A Theory of Asymmetric Conflict*, Cambridge 2005, pp. 1–48; D. J. Katz, *Waging Financial War*, «Parameters» 2013, issue 43, pp. 77–85.

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that it is necessary to show the analogy between theoretical aspects of such activities and practice, which is the subject of the second part of this article.

### **The territory of Ukraine in the geopolitical doctrine of Aleksandr Dugin and his supporters**

The starting point for considering the meaning of Ukraine in Aleksandr Dugin's geopolitical doctrine is his fundamental masterpiece titled *The Basics of Geopolitics. Geopolitical Future of Russia*. This outstanding book, both in form and content, was released in 1997. It is worth underlying that generals and strategists from the Military Academy of the Russian Federation Armed Forces Headquarters (Russian: Военная академия Генерального штаба Вооружённых сил Российской Федерации) participated in its origin. The book presents geopolitical doctrine, which is supposed to help the rebuilding of the lost empire comparable with the Soviet Russia. Nowadays this book is the basic position devoted to geopolitics, obligatory in universities and military academies. It gained huge popularity both in Russia and abroad, so it cannot be neglected. The author's ideas are supported by many Russians. What is more, the content of the book constitutes the basis for Dugin's other written works, as well as programs for the political parties and organisations established from his initiative<sup>17</sup>.

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<sup>17</sup> J. B. Dunlop, *Aleksandr Dugin's «Neo-Eurasian» Textbook...*, pp. 93–94; P. Eberhardt, *Koncepcje geopolityczne Aleksandra Dugina*, «Przegląd Geograficzny» 2010, issue 82, p. 236. See also other books by A. Dugin containing neoimperial ideas: А. Г. Дугин, *Геополитика:*

The most important task set by Dugin for the Russian nation is the creation of powerful continental empire. The first step on the way to the world's supremacy should be the strategic integration of the post-soviet space and creation of the Eurasian Union, which would be the geopolitical equivalent of the Soviet Russia<sup>18</sup>. One of the basic conditions to reach that goal is, inter alia, spreading the strategic control over the part of the globe described by Dugin as the «Russian South» (Russian: русский Юг), namely the territories located in the northern part of the Balkan Peninsula from Serbia to Bulgaria, Moldova, southern and eastern Ukraine, Rostov, Krasnodar Krai, the Caucasus, eastern and northern coast of the Caspian Sea, the Central Asia (Kazakhstan, Uzbekistan, Kyrgyzstan and Tajikistan) as well as Mongolia, Tibet and Manchuria. Ruling over those territories is just a temporary stage for further expansion to the South and the «warm seas». According to Dugin taking such an action is crucial for securing the Russian borders. In his opinion, leaving those territories in the «geopolitical vacuum» would create a possibility to include them into the «Atlan-

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*Учебное пособие для вузов*, Москва 2011; idem, *Геополитика России: Учебное пособие для вузов*, Москва 2012.

<sup>18</sup> А. Г. Дугин, *Основы геополитики...*, pp. 170–175. Compare: *Политсовет ОПОД «Евразия», Евразия превыше всего (манифест Евразийского движения)*, in: *Евразийский взгляд. Основные принципы доктринальной евразийской платформы*, Н. Мелентьева (ed.), Москва 2001, p. 14; А. Г. Дугин, *Россия может быть или великой, или никакой*, in: *Основы евразийства*, А. Г. Дугин (ed.), Москва 2002, pp. 781–787.

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tic» influence zone. The territory of the «Russian South» is treated by Dugin as the main platform of confrontation between the Russian Federation and the «Atlantic» world, the place where the fate of the future empire will be decided of <sup>19</sup>. However, as he claims, setting the new geopolitical order in this part of the world is not possible without regulating the status of the Ukrainian statehood. In his opinion, taking control over Ukraine would allow Moscow for continuous expansion to the West and to the South. The control over the south-eastern part of Ukraine would assure Russia an inviolable border, which would be the northern coast of the Black Sea. This would restrict the influence of the «Atlantic» Turkey, whose main purpose, according to Dugin, is the realization of the «Turanism-related geopolitical project» – the idea of assembling the Turkish nations, especially the ones living in Kazakhstan, Tatarstan and The Sakha (Yakutia) Republic, which would obviously threaten the Eurasian Union <sup>20</sup>.

Gaining control over the Western Ukraine would be the first step to decomposing the so-called «dressing station» (Russian: санитарный кордон).

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<sup>19</sup> А. Г. Дугин, *Основы геополитики...*, pp. 340–345.

<sup>20</sup> Ibidem, pp. 347–349, 356. Compare: А. А. Сотниченко, *Турция: геополитическая ось Евразии*, in: *Геополитика. Информационно-аналитическое издание. Вып. IX: Турция*, Л. В. Савин (ed.), Москва 2011, pp. 4–14; idem, *Геополитика Турции*, w: *Левифан: Материалы семинаров по проблемам геополитики и многополярности*, А. Г. Дугин (ed.), Москва 2011, pp. 141–149; A. Telkin, P. A. Williams, *Geo-Politics of the Euro-Asia Energy Nexus. The European Union, Russia and Turkey*, London 2011, pp. 145–186.

This definition, according to Dugin, refers to countries located in the eastern part of a little European peninsula between the Baltic Sea, the Adriatic Sea and the Black Sea. This area has the strategic meaning for the security of the Russian Federation. On one side of this border area the western peripheries of the Eurasian continent are located, on the other side, according to Dugin, there is a bridgehead of the «Atlantic world» subordinate to the Atlantic empire – the USA. Cultural differences multiply geopolitical diversity of that region, since «the dressing station» is the very place of ethnical-religious longitudinal demarcation between the countries of the Latin civilization and the Byzantine Empire heritage <sup>21</sup>. The «dressing station» include, most of all, Poland, but also Lithuania, Latvia, Estonia, the Western Ukraine, Hungary, Romania, Moldova, the Czech Republic and Slovakia. Dugin underlines that the characteristic feature of foreign policies of the countries located in this region is hostility towards Russia and Germany and servility towards the USA. The existence of the «dressing station», which in Dugin's opinion is the product of the Atlantic geopoliticians implemented after World War I, is the source of conflicts between Germany and Russia. What is more, this product prevents the union between the Eurasian Empire and the so-called continental Europe, identified by the geopolitician as being under the German influence. Furthermore, the diversified cultural character of the coun-

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<sup>21</sup> P. Eberhardt, *Koncepcja granicy między cywilizacją zachodniego chrześcijaństwa a bizantyńską na kontynencie europejskim*, «Przegląd Geograficzny» 2010, issue 76, pp. 167–187.

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tries of the «dressing station» hampers their full integration with both the East and the West. That is why it is necessary for Russia to liquidate the «dressing station» through a total reorganization of the Central-Eastern European countries' borders. The new geopolitical order should not be reached through territorial annexation. Instead Dugin suggests creating several federations of the regions characterized by the uniform geopolitical orientation, which means the ability to integrate in religious, cultural, ethnic and economic aspects with the Eurasian empire or the continental Europe staying under the German control<sup>22</sup>. Taking the religious background under consideration (the dominance of the Catholic and Protestant influences) the Russian geopolitician claims that the following countries stay under the German influence: Poland, Lithuania, Latvia, Estonia, the Czech Republic, Slovakia, Hungary, Romania, Slovenia, Croatia, Bosnia and Herzegovina and the part of Ukraine where Greek-Catholic and strong Ukrainian nationalism dominate. The remaining part of Ukraine should be integrated with the Russian Federation. Other countries of the south-eastern Europe, where the Orthodox Church believers dominate, such as Serbia, Macedonia, Romania, Bulgaria, Moldova, Greece as well as mostly Muslim Albania should be, in his opinion, included into the Rus-

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<sup>22</sup> Dugin claims that Belarus, because of Catholic minority with an unfavourable attitude towards the Eurasian Empire, also belongs to the «dressing station». See: А. Г. Дугин, *Основы геополитики...*, pp. 368–370. Compare: Л. В. Савин, *Россия–Украина–Польша: геополитические императивы*, in: *К геополитике*, Л. В. Савин (red.), Москва 2011, pp. 225–235.

sian influence zone reaching as far as the Ionian Sea<sup>23</sup>.

The division of Ukraine, suggested by Dugin, is closely related to the above geopolitical scenario. In his opinion the existence of Ukraine is unexplainable in the geopolitical sense and its fate is determined by the country's name, which is the synonym of the border region, the buffer zone between the East and the West. He also underlines that no unique civilization has been formed in the territory of Ukraine. According to Dugin, the Dniester River and the Dnieper River, two biggest

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<sup>23</sup> А. Г. Дугин, *Основы геополитики...*, pp. 219–228. Compare: А. Л. Бовдунов, *Политико-географические образы Центральной и Восточной Европы и геополитическая организация региона*, in: *Геополитика. Информационно-аналитическое издание. Выпуск X: Восточная Европа*, Л. В. Савин (ed.), Москва 2011, pp. 4–18; P. Eberhardt, *Koncepcje geopolityczne Aleksandra Dugina...*, pp. 228–232. It should be underlined that in Dugin's geopolitical arrangement both allied countries, namely Germany and Russia, should cooperate and fight against any aspects of Russophobia in Central Europe and anti-German movements in Russia. Partnership and cooperation of both countries should be confirmed by the project involving liquidation of all mutual agreements and substituting them with tripartite ones – the idea strongly postulated by Dugin. For example, German-Polish or German-Ukrainian, relatively Russian-Polish or Russian-Ukrainian, relations and alignments should be changed into agreements of three countries. Russia should become one of the parties in the first case, whereas Germany in the latter one. In result, several countries located between Russia and Germany shall lose any aspects of sovereignty and their future will be decided upon by joined authorities from Moscow and Berlin. See: А. Г. Дугин, *Основы геополитики...*, pp. 224–226. Compare: P. Eberhardt, *Koncepcje geopolityczne Aleksandra Dugina...*, p. 232.



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rivers flowing in the territory of Ukraine, have for ages efficiently restricted the integrative possibilities of this country. He claims that a huge Ukrainian space is inhabited by different «ethnos» (Russian: этнос – meaning «society») who have diverse geopolitical goals. The ethnic inhabitants of Great Russia and having the same roots (in terms of civilization) inhabitants of Little Russia are both Russia-oriented, whereas different in culture «ethnos» of the Western Ukraine are becoming a part of the Western-European cultural zone<sup>24</sup>. This is why the presently exist-

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<sup>24</sup> А. Г. Дугин, *Основы геополитики...*, pp. 376–377. It is worth underlying that Dugin uses the word etnos (Russian: этнос, from the Greek: ethnos) while discussing geopolitical situation of the «dressing station». In his works it means societies strictly bound with the territory they inhabit, possessing a number of special qualities such as: history, language, legislation regulating interpersonal relations, customs and morality. According to his concept this idea is subordinate to the idea of nation, which is identified with a country and consists of many ethnos. See: А. Г. Дугин, *Этносоциология*, Москва 2011, pp. 8–25; В. Э. Багдасарян, *Этнос и проблема цивилизационной идентичности*, в: *Этноцентрум: Сборник материалов по проблемам этносоциологии и социальной антропологии*, А. Г. Дугин, А. Л. Бовдунов (ed.) Москва 2012, pp. 138–143. Hereby Dugin, referring to the theory of Lev Gumilev, creates a scientific legitimization of the process of including different ethnic groups and even national minorities to the «Russian nation». In case of Ukraine this theory leads to the conclusion that Ukraine is nor inhabited by one Ukrainian nation but individual ethnos which leads to the conclusion that Ukraine is not a country and the Ukrainians are not a nation. The Russian geopolitician strongly supported his view in the interview given to the Polish magazine «Fronда» in 1998: «Russians and Germans perceive the world in terms of expansion and we will never change that. We are not interested in just keeping our

ting Ukraine cannot fully unite with the Eurasian block or the Central Europe, which is under the German influence. In such a geopolitical arrangement Ukraine – a puppet in the hands of the American politicians – can only exist as a part of the «dressing station», being the source of destabilization of the Eastern Europe and the seed for a potential armed conflict. These are the reasons why a sovereign Ukraine, as it is today, poses a threat to the interests of Russia and is a serious danger to its security, which Dugin identifies with as much as invading the territory of the Russian Federation<sup>25</sup>. That is why, similarly to other countries belonging to the «dressing station», it is necessary to divide Ukraine into four parts of homogeneous geopolitical background, i.e.:

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own country or nation. We are interested in absorbing, by exerting pressure, a maximum number of categories that would complete us. We are not interested in colonization like the British, but in setting our strategic geopolitical borders, even without russification, though some russification sometimes is necessary. In its sacred-geographical evolution Russia is not interested in the existence of independent Poland in any form. Neither Ukraine. And it is not because we dislike the Polish or the Ukrainians – it is because the rights of sacred geography and geopolitics tell so (...) I am convinced that there will be a place for the Germans, the Polish, the French and the Italians in our common Eurasian home. The Russians will only impose the barbarian, sacred lifestyle to the whole Eurasia. The way it works will only depend on a given nation's predispositions. For example, I see the Polish as defenders of the Slavic racism». Quoted after: *Czekam na Iwana Groźnego. Rozmowa z Aleksandrem Duginem. Rozmawiał Grzegorz Górny*, Moscow 1998, «Fronда. Pismo poświęcone» 1998, issue 11–12, pp. 133, 139.

<sup>25</sup> А. Г. Дугин, *Основы геополитики...*, pp. 347–349; 378–379.

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- the Eastern Ukraine, the region on the right bank of the Dnieper River, from Chernihiv to the Sea of Azov, which for ages has been close to Russia in a political, religious and ethnic sense. Dugin does not exclude giving a wide autonomy to that region, but he does not specify its range. In the future, as Dugin claims, that region should be annexed to the Russian Federation,

- the Crimean Peninsula, which should be under the strategic control of Russia. Because of the complex ethnical character of that part of Ukraine, it should be given autonomy taking into account the interests of all «ethnos» living there, namely inhabitants of Great Russia, Little Russia and the Crimean Tatars,

- the Central Ukraine spreading from Chernihiv to Odessa (including Kiev). The Central Ukraine is close to the Eastern Ukraine because of the same cultural background and that is why it should be under the Eurasian influence,

- the Western Ukraine, including: Volhynia, Galicia, Transcarpathia and the eastern part of Bessarabia. This part of Ukraine has the main impact on politics in the whole country, being the support for the anti-Russian and pro-Western forces. That is why the purpose of Russia should be not the annexation, but the permanent control over that region through the establishment of the «Western Ukrainian Federation», integrity of which could be regulated depending on the needs. The strategic Russian border should be moved westwards as far as possible (the eastern part of the Central Europe). The cultural-religious border, on the other

hand, should be located between the Central Ukraine and the Western Ukraine. Such a solution should help to protect the Orthodox Russia against the influence of Catholicism as well as the United and Uniting Churches <sup>26</sup>.

In order to eliminate Ukraine as an American policy's tool in the Central-Eastern Europe it is necessary to execute its political decomposition. A successful realisation of that process in the forthcoming years (take into account that the concept derives from the book published in 1997) should be the main imperative of the Russian foreign policy in this part of the world. The Russian Federation cannot become a strategic, political and demographic empire without integration with Belarus and Ukraine <sup>27</sup>.

The «orange revolution» was the main reason for the radicalisation of Dugin's and his intellectual followers' ideas concerning Ukraine. The revolution was perceived as artificially planned and supported by the USA with only one aim – to create the government in Kiev whose purpose will be to break off all Ukrainian relations with

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<sup>26</sup> Developed on the basis of: А. Г. Дугин, *Основы геополитики...*, pp. 376–383. Compare: А. А. Коваленко, *Перспективы федерализации Украины*, в: *Геополитика. Информационно-аналитическое издание. Выпуск II: Украина*, Л. В. Савин (ed.), Москва 2010, pp. 15–22; А. Ю. Корнев, *Государственно-правовые аспекты развития крымского регионализма*, в: *Геополитика. Информационно-аналитическое издание...*, pp. 25–32; Л. В. Савин, *Национально-политическая идентификация в Украине и формы репрезентации власти*, в: *К геополитике*, Л. В. Савин (ed.), Москва 2011, pp. 51–64.

<sup>27</sup> А. Г. Дугин, *Основы геополитики...*, pp. 382–383.

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Russia. That is why the success of the «orange revolution» was treated, for obvious reasons, as a threat to the eurasian empire<sup>28</sup>. It is worth underlying that one of the consequences of that event was setting the concept of not only a close integration of Ukraine with Russia, but also the methods of reaching that goal. For example, stirring an armed uprising in some parts of Ukraine was postulated, which in case of present events has a significant meaning. On 26 April 2006 in the Russian Exhibition Centre, located in the north-eastern administrative part of Moscow, the second convention of the Eurasian Youth Union took place. The society was established by Dugin and it is active both in Russia and in the countries associated within the the Commonwealth of Independent States. During the convention it was decided that Russia and Ukraine belong to a uniform geopolitical space. It was underlined that the Russian Federation deprived of its relations with Ukraine will lose the status of the Eurasian empire, becoming an Asian country. On the other hand, Ukraine without close connections to Russia is predestined to political and economic marginalization. Pro-Western Ukrainian government, established as a result of the «orange revolution», was recognized as a regime occupying the country. Leonid Savin – the moderator of the Ukrainian

fraction of the Eurasian Youth Union, and Valery Korovin – the leader of the organization at that time, who both took part in the convention, postulated establishing the Eurasian Movement and the Eurasian Uprising Army in Ukraine. The basis for that undertaking would be the Eurasian Youth Union, which is active in many Ukrainian cities and regional structures of the National Bolshevik Party (Russian: Национал-большевистская партия, НБП). The main task of the uprising army would be conducting a guerrilla warfare and *getting rid of the invaders in the occupied territory*<sup>29</sup>.

In the following years Aleksandr Dugin consequently proclaimed his views, treating Ukraine as a deteriorating country suspended in geopolitical vacuum between the West and the East.

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<sup>28</sup> И. В. Максимов, *Цветная революция – социальный процесс или сетевая технология?* Москва 2010, pp. 19–23; 27–43; 86–104. Compare: К. Черемных, М. Восканян, *Анонимная война*, «Изборский клуб» 2013, issue 6, pp. 60–94; Н. Стариков, «*Оранжевая кровь*», «Изборский клуб» 2013, issue 10, pp. 88–94.

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<sup>29</sup> Публичная интернет-библиотека Владимира Прибыловского, Съезд ЕСМ объявил повстанческую войну Украине [online], <http://www.anticompromat.org/esm/esm02.html> [availability: 29 VII 2014]: «Перед членами нового союза выступил координатор ЕСМ Украины Леонид Савин, который пригрозил вновь возрождающемуся оранжевому режиму Украины, что «если оранжевое марионеточное правление на Украине восстановится, то мы начнём сопротивление оранжевой власти, создав Евразийскую повстанческую армию на Украине, а так же евразийский рух» (...) А в условиях, когда Украина захвачена «оранжевой» прозападной марионеточной властью, ЕСМ не видит иных способов очистить оккупированную территорию от захватчиков, кроме как путём создания повстанческого движения – евразийского фронта на Украине. Сегодня ячейки ЕСМ – узлы будущей повстанческой армии находятся во всех городах и населённых пунктах Украины. Как только «оранжевые» вновь объединятся – мы откроем партизанское сопротивление, создав Евразийский Рух и Евразийскую повстанческую армию».

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He also postulated, on numerous occasions, the idea of dividing Ukraine as he suggested in his book *The Basics of Geopolitics*<sup>30</sup>. Interpretation of the

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<sup>30</sup> It is worth to quote some of Dugin's opinions concerning geopolitical future of Ukraine as an example. On 13 August 2008, commenting on the Russian-Ukrainian relationships, Dugin said: «Ukraine acts as if it was a NATO member state, as if its security was guaranteed by a country possessing nuclear weapon. Russia won't accept that. Please, split Ukraine into two parts: Crimea, Kharkov, Donetsk, Kiev will be yours. Volhynia and Ivano-Frankivsk may as well become the NATO members (...) This may end with a war. An armed conflict with Russia about Crimea may lead to a civil war in Ukraine. Who sows the wind, will reap the whirlwind» – quoted after P. Eberhardt, *Koncepcje geopolityczne Aleksandra Dugina...*, p. 236. Compare: A. G. Dugin, *The fate of Ukraine is settled. An interview given to the Russian state television in 2009* [online], <http://geopolityka.net/prof-dugin-kwestia-podzialu-ukrainy-jest-juz-przesadzona/> [availability: 29 VII 2014]. In 2013 Aleksandr Dugin formulated three options of solving the problem of Ukraine. The first one assumed the division of Ukraine into two parts: the western and the south-eastern ones. This could prevent a potential civil war, which was to endanger Ukraine. The second option involved a complicated wheeling and dealing with pragmatic Ukrainian authorities in order to make them accept the eurasian integration project under the pressure of circumstances or promises of political, economic and energy advantages. In Dugin's opinion this would be a peaceful scenario, possible to be implemented in case of a social-economic crisis in Ukraine. In order to reach that goal one should reach for the «network-centric warfare» arsenal, aiming at subjugating the Ukrainian elites – using both open and clandestine methods – and convincing them to the rightfulness of the eurasian integration through the use of economic, energy, information and scientific instruments. The third option, according to Dugin the most avant-garde one, assumes the use of the western-Ukrainian nationalists. In his opinion they do not share the ideas of liberalism,

events that occurred in Euromaidan led to Dugin reaching for the geopolitical and eschatological-philosophical arguments. In his opinion the world has been witnessing for ages a planetary struggle between the «Supercivilization of the Sea» (embodied by the USA, the UK, Australia and their allies) and the «Supercivilization of the Land» (embodied by Russia, Continental Europe excluding the UK, the Arabian countries, middle-Asian countries, China, India and Japan). Dugin associates the «Supercivilization of the Sea» with individualism, conformism, materialism, modernism and capital, whereas the «Supercivilization of the Land» with tradition, hierarchy, personalism and collectivism. In mythology it symbolizes the struggle of Leviathan, i.e. the USA, with Behemoth, i.e. the eurasian civilization<sup>31</sup>. Nowadays this confron-

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individualism, tolerance, multicultural aspects, human rights and other postmodernist standards, which became dominant in the present western society. Dugin underlines that the Ukrainian nationalism is the main obstacle on the path to the realisation of the eurasian integration project. However, it is worth trying to «convert the poison into the cure» and the enemy into an ally, because the eurasian empire assumes keeping the tradition and the characteristic cultural features of the «ethnos» and nations, including the Ukrainian ones. See: A. G. Дугин, *Евразийский проект и его украинская проблема* [online], <http://www.odnako.org/magazine/material/evrazijskiy-proekt-i-ego-ukrainskaya-problema/> [availability: 29 VII 2014]; J. Darczewska, *Anatomia rosyjskiej wojny informacyjnej. Operacja krymska – studium przypadku*, Warsaw 2014, pp. 20–22.

<sup>31</sup> А. Г. Дугин, *Геостратегический контекст противоборства морских и континентальных держав*, in: *Геополитика. Информационно-аналитическое издание. Выпуск XIV: Евразийский Союз*, Л. В. Савин (ed.),

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tation takes place both in the ideological and information, as well as in the economic, military and political spheres<sup>32</sup>. The place of the geopolitical rivalry, apart from Transnistria, Cauca-

sus, Abkhazia, the South Ossetia and Georgia, is also Ukraine. According to Dugin, the main goal of the USA is the realisation of the strategy developed by Zbigniew Brzezinski, which assumes separation of Ukraine from the eurasian civilization, at the same time reducing Russia to the role of a regional superpower. In his opinion the first step of that strategy execution was the overthrow of the legal authorities in Kiev with the help of Ukrainian nationalists supported by the USA and establishing the anti-Russian government, which started extermination of the Russians living in Ukraine. This is how Russia was made to give a «symmetrical response» to the «Atlantic provocation in Kiev» in the form of the annexation of the Crimean Peninsula, fulfilled with the help of its inhabitants supported by the Russian army. What is more, the Ukrainian crisis being the result of the events in Euromaidan was treated by Dugin as a reason for the revision of Ukrainian integrity. The next step taken in order to «protect the Russian borders» was applying the Crimean scenario in the eastern parts of Ukraine<sup>33</sup>. It is worth underlying that Aleksandr Dugin, for whom the situation in Ukraine is also a personal matter (his mother was Ukrainian), became actively engaged in

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Москва 2012, pp. 15–22; idem, *Основы геополитики...*, pp. 14–19, 466–471.

<sup>32</sup> It is worth underlying that cyberspace is also the place of the struggle between the two «supercivilizations». Aleksandr Dugin postulates the development of the eurasian, multipolar cybergeopolitics based on the use of the Internet. Thanks to that it will be possible to create virtual, network-centric civilizations that will constitute an opposition block against the Atlantic globalisation, which hostile towards Russia. Virtual civilization should be attached to a given geographical area. They should also possess their own cultural codes, which Dugin understands as paradigm of the activities of numerous, supranational organisations such as religious, political and ecological associations, which thanks to the Internet tools could effectively promote their ideas. Diverting the vector of the Internet use from a homogenous instrument to a platforms placed in given language systems will cause the rise of the virtual equivalent of the multipolar world. Such virtual platforms, like the Chinese Internet or the Runet, can, in Dugin's opinion, create the basis for a true opposition against the civilization and political monopoly of the USA, which is popularized in the form of globalization. He also claims that the potential of the Internet as a «Global Network» – geopolitical instrument of the West – should be used consciously and with political craftiness in order to reintegrate the post-Soviet space. Dugin suggests creating the project called «Virtual Eurasia» (Russian: Виртуальная Евразия), whose existence will amount to occupying the broadest possible Internet sector and building its own virtual space. According to him Eurasia exists not only in the physical, economic and political space, but also in the virtual one. See: А. Г. Дугин, *Поп-культура и знаки времени*, Санкт-Петербург 2005, pp. 486–493; B. Gołabek, *Runet jako extra territorium byłego ZSRR – wokół rosyjskiej cybergeopolityki*, in: *Studia nad rosyjską geopolityką*, L. Sykulski (ed.), Częstochowa 2014, pp. 95–100.

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<sup>33</sup> А. Г. Дугин, *О Новороссии и вводе войск. Геополитический анализ* [online], <http://novorossia.su/ru/node/3321> [availability: 29 VII 2014]. Compare: Группа экспертов во главе с Сергеем Глазьевым, *Украина: между Западом и Россией*, «Изборский клуб» 2014, issue 4, pp. 6–28; Z. Brzezinski, *The Grand Chessboard. American Primacy and Its Geostrategic Imperatives*, New York 1997, pp. 30–48; 87–118.

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the conflict<sup>34</sup>. His role in the Russian-Ukrainian confrontation seems to be much broader than just coordination of information, finance and logistic support given to the separatists by his organizations. Aleksandr Dugin is supposed to be one of the authors of the final solution of the Ukrainian problem and the creator of the geopolitical model of the actions taken, which is establishing of the pro-Russian state bodies in the territory of Ukraine. There is evidence for such an assumption. During the Russian-Georgian war he was in the South Ossetia, advising the seizure of Tbilisi and overthrowing of president Mikheil Saakashvili. The next step was to be taking over the Crimean Peninsula, which, as Dugin put it, *is a part of Russia anyway*<sup>35</sup>. In an interview he admitted that the leaders of the Donetsk People's Republic and the Luhansk People's Republic are his close friends, who in the 90s of the last century took part in his geopolitical courses. He underlined that they took a thorough training and strongly support the idea of neoeurasianism. He also confirmed that he stays in touch with them. What is more, Dugin claims that the Donetsk People's Republic is the final stage of a political project, which was conceived as a response to the «orange revolution» during a training meeting of the

International Eurasian Movement near Volodymyr in 2006<sup>36</sup>. In the context of Dugin's statements it is worth remembering that in 2006 within the neoeurasian school of geopolitics and idea of creating the Eurasian Uprising Army in Ukraine was born. Apart from that he also revealed that his son Artur, a prominent activist of the Eurasian Youth Union, took part in the Crimean operation, as many other activists of the neo-eurasian movement joining the «Crimean Self-Defence». During the operation he performed tasks involving blocking of the Ukrainian government buildings in order to prevent the leaks of sensitive information (he is also said to have taken part in blocking the Ukrainian party from giving information to the outside world or manipulating the information that was to be given out in the way favourable to the

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<sup>34</sup> А. Г. Дугин, *Украинцев я очень люблю, я сам – украинец* [online], <http://evrazia.org/article/2469>, [availability: 29 VII 2014].

<sup>35</sup> Д. Ньюман, *Кто придумал аннексировать украинский Крым? Многие россияне симпатизируют новому виду милитаристского патриотизма авторства Александра Дугина* [online], <http://evrazia.info/article/4839> [availability: 31 VII 2014].

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<sup>36</sup> А. Г. Дугин, *Вводить войска в Новороссию* [online], <http://dynacon.ru/content/articles/3314/> [availability: 31 VII 2014]: «Да, я многих из них знаю, донецких лидеров практически всех лично, и они действительно мои единомышленники, они патриоты, они с моим участием изучали геополитику, некоторые из них, россияне, вместе со мной ещё с 90-х годов прошли путь патриотической оппозиции. Некоторые из них были в наших лагерях ещё в 2006 году и, кстати, Донецкая республика как виртуальный проект была создана в нашем евразийском лагере под Владимиром в 2006 году. Я нахожусь с ними в постоянном контакте. Таким образом, лидеры ДНР и ЛНР, да и всё движение в Новороссии является частью проекта возрождения России, за которую мы многие десятилетия бьёмся, бьюсь я лично, мои соратники по Евразийскому движению, такие, как Александр Проханов и другие. На самом деле в Новороссию вложили своё сердце, душу, всё, что мы имели, все патриоты России, имеющие какое-то влияние».

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Russian party). Next he decided to become a journalist of Russia Today to take part in the information warfare<sup>37</sup>. One of the long-term activists of the Eurasian Youth Union was also Aleksandr Prosiolkov, who until his death on 31 July 2014 was the Deputy Minister of Foreign Affairs of the Donetsk People's Republic<sup>38</sup>. It is worth underlying that the main leaders of state administration in the self-appointed republics and their armed forces – Denis Puszylin, Igor Strielkov, Aleksandr Borodaj, Pawel Gubariev and Valery Bolotov – took part in a special gathering of the «Izborski Club» in Donetsk. It is to

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<sup>37</sup> А. Г. Дугин, *Это моя война!* [online], <http://dynacon.ru/content/articles/3274/> [availability: 31 VII 2014]: «И я послал своего сына в Крым, когда здесь ещё не было активной фазы событий. Он, мой сын, приехал в Крым и потом участвовал в блокаде правительственных зданий, в информационном обеспечении. Потом ещё наши ребята в Крым приехали, записались в батальоны самообороны. И фактически я сделал то, что я обещал. Я сказал, что это моя война, и я в ней участвовал». See: А. Г. Дугин, *В Крыму надо вести духовную цензуру...* [online], <http://crimea.mk.ru/articles/2014/06/04/aleksandr-dugin-v-krymu-nado-vvesti-dukhovnyu-cenzuru.html> [availability: 31 VII 2014]: «И вот, мой сын Артур, услышав это, приехал в Крым. Он был готов записаться в самооборону, установил с ними контакты. Он приехал сюда воевать в полном смысле этого слова. Но поскольку на полуострове появились более подготовленные «вежливые люди», то он, работая на Russia Today, решил заниматься информационной войной. Артур уехал отсюда только после того, как побывал на Перекопе и убедился, что Крым это уже наша земля».

<sup>38</sup> Евразийский союз молодёжи, *Убит лидер ЕСМ по ЮФО Александр Просёлков* [online], <http://rossia3.ru/proselkov3107> [availability: 31 VII 2014].

pointed that the organisation itself gathers the most influential people from the Russian political scene and constitutes an intellectual background for the Kremlin. Aleksandr Prochanov – a writer, politician and the chairman of the «Izborski Club», together with Aleksandr Dugin, Valery Korovin and other experts prepared the project of a new country located in the south-eastern part of «ex-Ukraine». The new geopolitical phenomenon, including the Luhansk People's Republic and the Donetsk People's Republic, was proclaimed on 12 May 2014. This is how a new country, the Federal State of Novorossiya (Russian: Федеративное государство Новороссия, Ukrainian: Федеративна держава Новоросія) was created<sup>39</sup>. The name of the country is not accidental – it is supposed to indicate that the territory in the past belonged to the Russian Empire and the Russian Federation as its successor has the right to annex it<sup>40</sup>. Dugin underlines that the

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<sup>39</sup> Александр Проханов *разработает идеологию Новороссии* [online], <http://novorossia.su/ru/node/2386>, [availability: 31 VII 2014]; *В Донецке состоялось первое заседание филиала Изборского клуба – Новороссия*, <http://novorossia.su/ru/node/2783> [availability: 31 VII 2014]; *Идеология Новороссии. Изборцы предлагают своё видение идейной основы для нарождающегося на юго-западных рубежах РФ государства*, «Изборский клуб» 2014, issue 5, pp. 6–32.

<sup>40</sup> The term «Novorossiya» was used between XVIII and XX century in the Russian Empire and meant the «wild steppe» – the territories located north of the Black Sea and the Azov Sea and south of the borders of the Republic of Poland (before 1793). Nowadays it is the area of the southern part of Ukraine, annexed to Russia in 1774 after the war with Turkey. Between 1764 and 1783 as well as between 1796 and 1802 that territory was the Novorossiya Pro-

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Donetsk District and the Luhansk District have always been an integral part of Russia and the people living there, who have always been strongly connected to the Orthodox Catholic Church, should be treated as the south-western part of the Eurasian civilization. Those people have always declared their strong connection to Russia. The lands of Novorossiia became a part of Ukraine by accident – in 1991 after the collapse of the Soviet Russia. Those territories may be a part of Ukraine only when Ukraine integrates with Russia. In Dugin's opinion the historical identity of the «ethnos» from Novorossiia derives from the Russian-Soviet past influenced by Kievan Rus', the Russian Empire, the Orthodox Catholic Church and the Great Patriotic War. According to the authors of Novorossiia that country is to be subordinate to «sovereign authorities» and free from the influences of the oligarchs, whose wealth should be nationalized<sup>41</sup>.

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vince divided in 1802 into: Yekaterynoslavskaya Province, Chersonskaya Province (1802–1803 – Mikolayovskaya Province) and Taurydzkaya Province. Bessarabia (from 1812 a district and from 1873 the Bessarabia Province) and the The Province (Oblast) of the Don Cossack Host (Rostov-on-Don, Taganrog) were also part of Novorossiia. Source: *Россия. Географическое описание Российской Империи по губерниям и областям с географическими картами*, Санкт-Петербург 1913, pp. 58–64. Compare: Н. Краснов, *Материалы для географии и статистики России, собранные офицерами Генерального штаба. Земли Войска Донского*, Санкт-Петербург 1863, pp. 1–596.

<sup>41</sup> А. Г. Дугин, *Время Новороссии* [online], <http://dynacon.ru/content/articles/3309/> [availability: 31 VII 2014]; idem, *Крым в России. Что дальше?* [online], <http://dynacon.ru/content/articles/2864/> [availability: 31 VII 2014]; idem, *Новороссия часть Русского мира*

Those ideas were also reflected in the political programme of the Social-Political Movement the Party of Novorossiia (Russian: Общественно-политическое движение «Партия Новороссии»), established on 13 May 2014 by Pawel Gubariev<sup>42</sup>.

It should be underlined that some geopolitical concepts proclaimed by Dugin and connected to him the neo-Eurasian environment are clearly visible in the Kremlin's activity and president Vladimir Putin's statements. First of all, the key element of the Russian policy towards the new Ukrainian authorities is the demand of the constitutional reforms, which would divert the country from unitary to federal, with a significant privilege of the eastern and southern regions. This can be confirmed by the statement of the Russian Ministry of Foreign Affairs dated 17 March 2014 in which Moscow demanded that the Verkhovna Rada of Ukraine establish a constitutional assembly with the equal representation of all regions belonging to Ukraine. This body would prepare and approve the project of the new constitution. According to the Russian concept Ukraine is to be a «democratic federal state» whose separate regions will have the right to choose independent legislative and executive authorities and will be given broad powers reflecting their historical-cultural specific characters. Extorting such solutions would guarantee

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[online], <http://dynacon.ru/content/articles/3419/> [availability: 31 VII 2014].

<sup>42</sup> *Программа Общественно-политического движения «Партия Новороссии»* [online], <http://novorossia.su/ru/node/1753> [availability: 31 VII 2014].



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Russia the control over the Kiev policy through controlling the policy of the eastern regions of Ukraine. That would mean diverting Ukraine into a loose assembly of federal regions without uniform economic, cultural and social policy and the regions with their legislative authorities would not have to follow the central authorities, which would in particular concern the eastern regions<sup>43</sup>. What is more, the president's statements concerning far-reaching geopolitical projects reflect the concept of neo- Eurasianism. In one of his statements Vladimir Putin underlined that Russia is becoming the centre of the Russian World consisting of the Russian-Ukrainian-Belorussian core. Its main space will consist of the post-Soviet space inhabited by the Russian-speakers. Belonging to the Russian World will be guaranteed by cultural aspects such as language, the Orthodox Church and common values no matter of nationality or ethnic origin<sup>44</sup>. Thus president Putin's views are equal to the definition of Valery Korovin's *eurasian*

*geopolitical pole* being a part of so called multipolar world<sup>45</sup>.

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<sup>45</sup> After the collapse of the Soviet Russia the country applied an idealistic vision of creating an international order based on the common interests of all great world powers. In the middle of the 90s of the last century this idea changed into a realistic vision based on multipolarity. The starting point for that concept became the theory of multipolar world formulated by Aleksandr Dugin. The theory assumes creating a configuration of many centres of power and influence having both contradictory and common interests. See: S. Bieleń, *Erozja monocentryzmu w stosunkach międzynarodowych*, w: *Studia nad geopolityką XX wieku*, P. Eberhardt (ed.), Warszawa 2013, p. 110. Building the eurasian empire as well as geopolitical reorganization of Europe is a necessary response to the USA's victory in the cold war and the collapse of the Soviet Russia. On the ruins of that communist empire a new, stronger superpower reflecting traditional values of Eastern-Slavic, Turanian and Finn-Ugrian people is to be built. This requires elimination of the unipolar Western World dominated by the power of the USA and substitute it with the bi- or multipolar system. This will enable an expansive policy of the eurasian empire. The supporters of neo- Eurasianism advocate leaving the unipolar world dominated by the USA behind, since in the present world order Russia is no more than a «black whole» placed between the Euro-Atlantic World and the Third World. One of the main goals postulated by the eurasian policy supporters is mobilization of the resources of the peripheral countries (of the Third World). This in turn is reflected in Dugin's philosophical views who indicates that postliberalism has blurred the differences between the left and the right. Communism stood against capitalism from the left side and fascism from the right one. He claims that one can stand in the middle, which means accepting the present order, or in the peripheries, which means standing against it. Thus the main Dugin's idea is to mobilize the peripheries, which means mobilizing what has been rejected. In practice it means metaphysical and political activation of the postindustrial society margins. See: А. Г. Дугин, *Четвертая политическая теория. Россия и политические идеи XXI века*, Санкт-Петербург

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<sup>43</sup> T. A. Olszański, *Ukraina: suwerenna decentralizacja czy niesuwerenny federalizm?*, «Komentarze OSW» 2014, issue 134, pp. 1–2; A. Moshes, *More Stick, Less Carrot: Russia's Policy Towards Ukraine Following Recent Events*, «Russian Analytical Digest» 2014, issue 146, pp. 2–3.

<sup>44</sup> M. Menkiszak, *Doktryna Putina: Tworzenie koncepcyjnych podstaw rosyjskiej dominacji na obszarze postradzieckim*, «Komentarze OSW» 2014, issue 131, pp. 1–7; P. Panov, *Nation-building in Post-Soviet Russia: What Kind of Nationalism is Produced by the Kremlin?* «Journal of Eurasian Studies» 2010, issue 1, pp. 85–94.

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Thus the annexation of Crimea to Russia and the activities of the separatists in the south-eastern part of Ukraine should not be treated as an authentic freedom-related aspiration of its inhabitants described by the Kremlin propaganda as the «Russian

Spring». It appeared to be an artificially created geopolitical project implemented with the help of technological social control as well as information and military aggression. The project was created by the Russian geopoliticians supported by the Kremlin and connected with the eurasian environment identified by Aleksandr Dugin. The true goal, supported by the realization of Dugin's geopolitical doctrine, is most of all a close attachment of the south-eastern areas of Ukraine with Russia, which in the further perspective will deprive the Ukrainian nation of its sovereignty. The real possibility of realizing such a scenario is indicated in the analyses of the main Russian geopoliticians, who draw the vision of the future development of that situation. In that context a prognosis by Gen. Col. Leonid Iwaszov seems to be particularly interesting. In his opinion the Euro-maidan events started the process of Ukraine collapse. In the perspective of one or two years new referendums – similar to the one that took place in Crimea on 16 March 2014 – are more than probable. Russia should actively support the activities which aim at returning the south-eastern regions to their home country. After «stabilizing» the socio-political situation in those regions, a step further should be taken in the form of a «rebel war» (Russian: мятежевойна). It should affect the western regions of Ukraine, especially where the religious-cultural border goes, which means the line between the Central Ukraine and the Western Ukraine. Thus it is necessary to provoke strong protests. It can be achieved by the use of, inter alia, disputes on

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2009, pp. 16–17. Next Russia should aim at a close, strategic union with most important European powers (mainly Germany and France). Geopolitical expansion and unions with regional powers such as China, India or Iran shall constitute the basis for consolidation of the potential of the countries belonging to the eurasian continent. New multipolar world order, in the eurasian theory supporters' opinion, should be based on creating four main spheres: Anglo-American, Pan-Eurasian, Euro-African and Pacific. The first one would include Anglo-sphere (USA, Canada, the UK, Australia and a part of Polynesia) and the Latin America. The Euro-African sphere would include the European Union and Africa. The areas of the Soviet Russia, Turkey, Iran and India would constitute the Pan-Eurasian sphere, whereas the areas of the East Asia and the South-East Asia would form the Pacific sphere. In further perspective, in the frames of the four mentioned spheres, the neo- Eurasian theorists draw a more detailed division: twelve «enormous spheres» as a backward «ideal model» of the future. The twelve spheres include: North-American (USA, Canada, the UK, Australia and a part of Polynesia), Middle-American (the whole continent of the South America), European (the European Union and the European countries associated with the EU: Switzerland, Island and Norway), Arabian-Islamic (the countries of the Maghreb, Sudan the Arabian Peninsula), Transsaharian (the countries of the Transsaharian Africa), Islamic-Continental (mainly Turkey, Iran, Afghanistan and Syria), Indian, Chinese, Japanese and the area of the «new Pacific» (South-Eastern Asia). See: Zob. А. Г. Дугин, *Теория многополярного мира*, Москва 2013, pp. 276–337; L. Sykulski, *Integracja polityczna Eurazji we współczesnej rosyjskiej myśli geopolitycznej*, in: *Studia nad geopolityką XX wieku*, P. Eberhardt (ed.), Warsaw 2013, pp. 349–365.

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a religious ground, repressive activities of the new authorities and lowering the standard of living of the local inhabitants in comparison with the inhabitants of Novorossiia annexed to the Russian Federation. Thanks to such operations, through the process of the federalization of Ukraine, it will be possible to get the situation «stabilized». Four federal republics would then be established: the Western one with the capital in Lvov, the Central one with the capital in Kiev, the Eastern one with the capital in Kharkiv and the Southern one with the capital in Dnipropetrovsk. According to the general another scenario is also possible: the mentioned state bodies can be independent, however the economic crisis and the disputes between desiring power and influence oligarchs will lead to a crisis situation. In such circumstances some «independent countries» may aspire to a close integration with Russia. The Western Ukraine (Lvov) should be deprived of such a possibility. According to Iwaszov, in order to get this idea implemented strong activity of the Russian institutions and social organizations is necessary. That enigmatic statement should be of course understood as the «information warfare»<sup>46</sup>.

Aleksandr Dugin considers a similar scenario for Ukraine. In his opinion the left part of Ukraine and the regions neighbouring the Black Sea should stay under Russian control. Thanks to that it will be possible to support the resistance centres against «junta», i.e. the government in Kiev,

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<sup>46</sup> Л. Г. Ивашов, *Будущее Украины и Россия*, «Изборский клуб» 2014, issue 5, p. 11.

without the necessity of a direct military intervention<sup>47</sup>. Valery Korovin also does not consider the existence of Ukraine, as he predicts that it will be split between the Atlantic and Eurasian blocks<sup>48</sup>.

The geopolitical plan that Russia has in reference to Ukraine seems to be obvious – it is about a permanent subordination of Ukraine through gaining control over its foreign policy, internal policy, security and economic processes. Thus keeping an unstable situation in Donbass is just an instrument applied in order to keep control over the whole Ukraine.

### **Evgeny Messner's «rebel war» as an element of the Russian «information warfare» on the example of the Russian-Ukrainian conflict**

According to Gen. Leonid Iwaszov, the main method of the realization of the Russian geopolitical goals in the territory of Ukraine is so-called «rebel war». Theoretical basics of that phenomenon were described by Colo-

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<sup>47</sup> А. Г. Дугин, *Крым в России. Что дальше?* [online], <http://dynacon.ru/content/articles/2864/> [availability: 31 VII 2014]: *Вся территория Украины вряд ли будет дружественной России, точка невозврата пройдена. Поэтому задача теперь запереть хунту в Правобережье (граница – русло Днепра, а на Юге к России отходит вся полоса Причерноморья – это необходимо, чтобы прервать черноморско-балтийский санитарный кордон). Параллельно естественно кошмару, который начнётся на Правобережье, в этой Киевской-галицкой державе, можно будет поддержать очаги сопротивления хунте и на Западе, но на сей раз точно без прямого участия войск.*

<sup>48</sup> В. Коровин, *Гибель Украины*, «Изборский клуб» 2014, issue 5, pp. 19–21.

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nel of the General Headquarters of the Tsarist Army and veteran of both world wars, who spent the last years of his life as a scientist of military academies in Argentina – Evgeny Messner (1891–1974). As early as in the 60s of the last century he warned the world against the era of unconventional wars, today referred to as asymmetrical or irregular<sup>49</sup>. Messner's scientific interests concerned psychological aspects of the art of war, soldiers' and officers' morale and different forms of conflicts<sup>50</sup>. Basing on his personal experience and erudite knowledge supported by knowledge of a few foreign languages, Messner published numerous monographs, articles and research, among which special attention should be paid to *World Rebel War* (Russian: *Всемирная Мятежевойна*) published in Buenos Aires in 1971. Its integral part constitutes a study titled «Mutiny, or the name of the Third World War» (Russian: *Мятеж – имя Третьей Все-*

*мирной*) published in 1960 in the capital of Argentina as a separate study<sup>51</sup>.

Revolution in Russia, philosophy of the Sun Tzu art of war, both world wars and numerous regional conflicts are said to be the inspirations of Evgeny Messner's search for the genesis of a new way of waging war. Taking precise observation Messner concluded that regular soldiers' fight is often entwined with riots of political, social and economic backgrounds or with terror attacks and activities carried by secret organizations, sabotage groups and individuals. These activities are difficult to classify. It is also hard to point to their origin. He called the new phenomenon «fighting with a rebellion» (Russian: *борба мятежом*), shortly «rebel war» (*мятежевойна*, from Russian *мятеж* – rebellion, riots). In Messner's opinion psychological aspect was barely used in the past wars, but in «rebel war» it is to be the main tool. That is why «rebel war» is to be the psychological warfare. Messner underlines that in the future this will be the prevailing way of waging wars and his abovementioned study is just an ex-

<sup>49</sup> Compare footnote 16 of this article.

<sup>50</sup> Е. Э. Месснер, *Лик современной войны*, in: *Военная мысль в изгнании. Творчество русской военной эмиграции*, И. В. Домнин (ed.), Москва 1999, pp. 363–404. Detailed biography of Evgeny Messner can be found in: И. В. Домнин, *От Первой мировой до «Третьей Всемирной». Жизненный путь Генерального штаба полковника Е. Э. Месснера*, w: *Хочешь мира, победи мятежевойну! Творческое наследие Е. Э. Месснера*, И. В. Домнин (ed.), Москва 2005, pp. 18–51; К. Александров, *Армия генерала Власова 1944–1945*, Москва 2006, pp. 26, 41–42, 182, 248, 507; И. В. Домнин, *Краткий очерк военной мысли Русского Зарубежья*, in: *Военная мысль в изгнании. Творчество русской военной эмиграции*, И. В. Домнин (ed.), Москва 1999, pp. 448–527.

<sup>51</sup> Neither Polish nor Western researches have recognised Evgeny Messner's academic works. It is worth remembering that his leading monographs have not been translated into English so far. A scientist who has recently taken an interest in that issue in our country is Kazimierz Kraj. See: K. Kraj, *Wojny asymetryczne czy miatieżewojna Jewgienija Messnera zagrożeniem dla bezpieczeństwa w XXI wieku*, «Bezpieczeństwo. Teoria i praktyka» 2012, issue 3, pp. 33–41; idem, *Мятежевойна Jewgienija Messnera*, «E-Terroryzm» 2012, issue 2, pp. 16–18.

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iguous one, not covering the whole problem<sup>52</sup>.

The main rule of waging a «rebel war» is using national movements, rebellion etc. as the subjects of revolution<sup>53</sup>. According to Messner revolution is most of all a psychological phenomenon, which should be understood as a quick and radical change in people's consciousness. The art of revolution is based on creating and separating an active group led by revolutionary leaders from the society or a nation. Revolution is characterized by psychological processes taking place in masses stimulated by active groups. It bases on law instincts and psychology of the masses, as result of which a civilized man becomes a barbarian. According to Messner's concept, psychology of the «rebellious masses» is the main

tool leading to victory or failure. The aim of a war is not only neutralization of the enemy's armed forces, but also destabilization of the whole country with the use of psychological factors: demoralization, fear and the feeling of uncertainty being the result of guerrilla and terrorist groups activities<sup>54</sup>. That is why a «rebel war» is often described by Messner as a «half-war», which should be understood as a transitional stage between peace and conventional war activities. «Rebel war» is also characterized by the impossibility of precise determination of the conflict parts, hidden behind and carrying out activities using irregular «non-state» groups<sup>55</sup>. It is also hard to point the exact starting point and the end of such a war, in case of which there are no such terms as theatre of war or the front line in their standard meaning. The main goal of a «rebel war» – according to Messner – is *gaining control over the enemy's soul*. That is why in order to be successful it is necessary to make a psychological profile of not only people, but most of all the whole group, society or nation. That implies huge challenges for the new form of intelligence – the so-called psychological intelligence (Russian: психоразведка)<sup>56</sup>. Activities are carried out not only in traditional space (land, sea, air), but also (most of all, in fact) in the human psyche. The concept of the front line in case of a «rebel war» refers to individual spheres of society's

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<sup>52</sup> It should be noted that waging wars using asymmetrical activities was the subject of deep study of the Nazi philosopher Carl Schmitt. In one of his works he suggested that such activities should be legally legitimized in international law. See: C. Schmitt, *Theorie des Partisanen Zwischenbemerkung zum Begriff des Politischen*, Berlin 1975; T. Kochi, *The Partisan: Carl Schmitt and Terrorism*, «Law Critique» 2006, issue 17, pp. 267–295. Schmitt's views became the basis of Dugin's statements, who claims that guerilla groups using terrorist methods of fight constitute the main tool in the conflict between the «Supercivilization of the Sea» and the «Supercivilization of the Land» and Russia, because of its traditions of the Napoleonic Wars and the Great Patriotic War, is an *enormous guerrilla empire*. Dugin's opinions are thus a trial (though only ideological one for the time being) to legitimize the asymmetrical activities applied in the Russian policy. See: А. Г. Дугин, *Философия войны*, Москва 2004, pp. 96–100.

<sup>53</sup> Е. Э. Месснер, *Всемирная мятеже-война*, Москва 2004, pp. 15–23, 332–340.

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<sup>54</sup> A. Schmid, *Terrorism as Psychological Warfare*, «Democracy and Security» 2005, issue 1, pp. 137–146.

<sup>55</sup> Е. Э. Месснер, *Всемирная мятеже-война...*, pp. 46–59.

<sup>56</sup> Ibidem, pp. 105–116.

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activities such as economy, politics, culture etc. An important goal of a «rebel war» is the process of your own nation's integration and winning a part of the enemy's nation over to your side. That is the task for journalists, saboteurs, provocateurs and propagandists. All social groups of the enemy should be put under psychological pressure. According to Messner, an important role in that activity have political parties and social organizations. The secret of keeping psychological control over the rebelled masses is based on defining their needs and shaping their new consciousness (neoconsciousness) in a way that they treat as expressing their own will <sup>57</sup>.

After general description of genesis, definition and aims of a «rebel war» Messner presents its main participants. He divides them into four groups:

1. «rebel masses» (Russian: мятежные массы) meaning disobedient citizens or revolting crowds, constituting the biggest in number and the most disorganised group taking part in a conflict. This group is characterized by unpredictability and radicalism of atti-

tude passing from activity to passivity and vice versa, which is a big challenge for the operational command, in traditional art of war comparable to commanding coalition troops.

2. «rebel columns» (Russian: мятежные колонны), described also as «cryptoarmy» or «secret police», meaning individuals or groups chosen from the «rebel masses» whose main tasks concern terrorist and subversive activities. Members of such groups can be described as ideologists serving the idea they fight for. «Rebel columns» are mainly saboteurs, terrorists and provocateurs.

3. «rebel militia» (Russian: мятежное ополчение) meaning irregular, voluntary guerrilla groups or insurgent army. This group is strictly bound to the nation or ethnic group it comes from. «Rebel militia» is territorial, which means it stays active in the area its members come from and is usually supported by local population.

4. «army in a rebel war» (Russian: войско в мятежевойне) which constitutes an equally important element during a conflict. Activities of «rebel masses», «rebel columns» and guerrilla groups should be coordinated with the task of a regular army. In Messner's concept regular army plays only a supportive role to guerrilla groups, «citizen militia», revolting social groups or national minorities <sup>58</sup>.

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<sup>57</sup> Е. Э. Месснер, *Всемирная мятежевойна...*, pp. 59–64. Compare: С. А. Зелинский, *Информационно-психологическое воздействие на массовое сознание. Средства массовой коммуникации, информации и пропаганды – как проводник манипулятивных методик воздействия на подсознание и моделирования поступков индивида и масс*, Санкт-Петербург 2008; А. В. Кириллов, *Информационно-психологическое воздействие на массовое сознание посредством СМИ (на примере операций по информационному обеспечению «MISO» военных конфликтов начала XXI в.)*, «Армия и общество» 2012, issue 2, pp. 71–74.

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<sup>58</sup> Е. Э. Месснер, *Всемирная мятежевойна...*, pp. 65–73. Compare: I. F. Beckett, *Modern Insurgencies and Counter-Insurgencies: Guerrillas and Their Opponents since 1750*, London–New York 2001; J. Arquilla, *Insurgents, Raiders, and Bandits: How Masters of Irregular Warfare Have Shaped Our World*, Lanham 2011; M. Kennard, *Irregular Army:*

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Cooperation of the four above-mentioned groups should aim at reaching precisely defined goals, which Messner defined as:

- disintegration of the hostile nation's morale,
- disintegration of active parts of the country (army, guerrilla groups, social movements),
- taking over or deactivating objects of psychological value,
- taking over or deactivating objects of material value,
- implementing activities aiming at winning allies or weakening the enemy's allies,
- protection of your own nation's morale,
- saving your own armed forces,
- securing your own objects of psychological and material value,
- neutralising the factors that could potentially lead to neutral countries' reaction (it should be taken into consideration that not only governments, but also social groups may react) <sup>59</sup>.

It should be mentioned that Evgeny Messner's concept of a «rebel war» was reflected in the early 90s of the last century during the creation of

the Russian asymmetrical activities doctrine, incorporated in the broad concept of «information warfare». The operation in Crimea and escalation of the Russian-Ukrainian conflict gave the possibility to evaluate the concept of Russian «information warfare», which became the subject of a thorough study by Jolanta Darczewska <sup>60</sup>. She acknowledged that the Russian theorists understand the concept of information warfare as influencing the consciousness of the masses in the international rivalry of the civilisation systems in the information space, which can be achieved by the use of special ways of control over information resources, used as «information weapon». The Russian concept of «information warfare» refers to psychological warfare and specpropaganda used during the times of the Soviet Russia. The author underlined that the technological dimension of information warfare in Russia has been marginalized and pushed out from the public space, at the same time giving place to cultural and ideological factors. The main task of «information warfare» is reaching precise aims in foreign, regional and internal policy, as well as securing geopolitical advantage. Nowadays in Russia there are two schools of «information warfare» established by Igor Panarin and Aleksandr Dugin – the main representatives of the concept of geopolitics and leaders of the public opinion, having connection with special services. The author claims that they try to sensitise

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*How the US Military Recruited Neo-Nazis, Gang Members, and Criminals to Fight the War on Terror*, New York 2012; E. V. Larson, D. Eaton, B. Nichiporuk, T. S. Szayna, *Assessing Irregular Warfare. A Framework for Intelligence Analysis*, Santa Monica 2008; U. Svete, *Asymmetrical Warfare and Modern Digital Media: An Old Concept Changed by New Technology? w: The Moral Dimension of Asymmetrical Warfare, Counter-terrorism, Democratic Values and Military Ethics*, Th.A. van Baarda, D.E.M. Verweij (ed.), Leiden–Boston 2009, pp. 381–399.

<sup>59</sup> Е. Э. Месснер, *Всемирная мятежевойна...*, pp. 110–116, 212.

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<sup>60</sup> J. Darczewska, *Anatomia rosyjskiej wojny informacyjnej. Operacja krymska – studium przypadku*, Warsaw 2014.

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their own society to information threats from the outside, at the same time formulating the Russian system of information counteracting. They deal with the concept of «information warfare» both in theory and in practice <sup>61</sup>.

It is worth pointing to numerous studies by Igor Panarin, Aleksandr Dugin, Valery Korovin or Leonid Savin, which have popularizing, disinformation and propaganda function, discussing in detail mainly the American concept of information warfare. Its aim, as the authors claim, is disintegration of Russia and destabilization of the post-Soviet space. They also point to the alleged weakness of Russia and the necessity to build their own concept of «information warfare» in order to oppose the aggression from the West, which previously caused the Soviet Union collapse <sup>62</sup>. Comparing studies of the abovementioned authors with theses of the American theorists lead to the conclusion that the definitions and methods of implementation of «information warfare», allegedly Russian, have been taken from the American works (not far from the abovementio-

ned definitions) and have been adjusted to the Russian propaganda purposes. This could be confirmed by Dugin's journalistic activity, in which he recognized the American concept of waging Network Centric Warfare and being its integral part the C4ISR (Command, Control, Communications, Computers, Intelligence, Surveillance and Reconnaissance) formula as main tools of stirring «flower revolutions» in the post-Soviet territories. Basing on the American literature he created the model of «eurasian network», which is supposed to be a response to the American «Network Centric Warfare challenge» <sup>63</sup>. A similar concept was also formulated by Igor Panarin, who adopted the American theory called noopolitik into the Russian grounds <sup>64</sup>.

Thus the concept of «information warfare» by the abovementioned authors, which is strictly related to the American original, is hard to be recog-

<sup>61</sup> J. Darczewska, *Anatomia rosyjskiej wojny informacyjnej. Operacja krymska – studium przypadku*, Warsaw 2014, pp. 11–18.

<sup>62</sup> See for example: А. Г. Дугин, *Геополитика постмодерна. Времена новых империй. Очерки геополитики XXI века*, Санкт-Петербург 2007, pp. 321–347; Л. В. Савин, *Сетецентричная и сетевая война. Введение в концепцию*, Москва 2011; idem, *От шерифа до террориста. Очерки о геополитике США*, Москва 2012; В. М. Коровин, *Третья мировая сетевая война*, Санкт-Петербург 2014, pp. 177–309; idem, *Главная военная тайна США. Сетевые войны*, Москва 2009; И. Н. Панарин, *Первая мировая информационная война. Развал СССР*, Санкт-Петербург 2010.

<sup>63</sup> А. Г. Дугин, *Геополитика постмодерна...*, pp. 333–347; idem, *Теоретические основы сетевых войн, «Информационные войны»* 2008, issue 1, pp. 2–10; idem, *Сетевые войны (аналитический доклад)*, «Изборский клуб» 2013, issue 10, pp. 38–68. Compare: J. Ferris, *Netcentric Warfare, C4ISR and Information Operations: Towards a Revolution in Military Intelligence? «Intelligence and National Security»* 2004, issue 19, pp. 199–225; J. W. Kipp, 'Smart' Defense From New Threats: Future War From a Russian Perspective. Back to the Future After the War on Terror, «Journal of Slavic Military Studies» 2014, issue 27, p. 36. Compare: А. В. Бедрицкий, *Информационная война: концепции и их реализация в США*, Москва 2008, pp. 54–86.

<sup>64</sup> И. Н. Панарин, *Информационная война и геополитика*, Москва 2006, pp. 163–172. Compare: J. Arquilla, D.R. Ronfeldt, *The Emergence of Noopolitik: Toward an American Information Strategy*, Santa Monica 1999.



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nized as a real reflection of the practice applied in the Russian Federation. It is then worth to ask a question about the authentic theoretical assumptions of the Russian information warfare and its realization. While analyzing this problem it is also worth to pay attention to the achievements of the army in the subject matter. Theoretical and practical aspects of this kind of war have been studied by the armed forces of the Russian Federation from the beginning of the 90s of the last century. These activities were stimulated by the American achievements in the area of operations conducted on the basis of information during the war in the Persian Gulf, no matter how close they were to Evgeny Messner's concept of a rebel war based on the information-sociological factors<sup>65</sup>. Definitions of «rebel war» formulated by the Russian servicemen are quite universal and refer to activities conducted both during wartime and peacetime. It is to be pointed that they are not to be found in the studied by geopoliticians, political scientists and leaders of the public opinion. In the military nomenclature the term «information warfare» is not used. In Russia it is reserved for publicists, scientists and

civil analysts. In the military environment the terms «information confrontation» (Russian: информационное противоборство) or «information fight» (Russian: информационная борьба) are preferred. Both terms are used interchangeably and the difference between them is not clear enough<sup>66</sup>. It is then worth to mention a few chosen definition as examples. In the 90s of the last century one of the pioneer theoreticians of this form of conflicts, Col. Sergey Komov, defined information warfare as information counteracting as well as protection of your own sources with the use information according to a uniform plan aimed at winning and keeping advantage over your enemy. He claims that should be just one of many diverse actions taken against your enemy<sup>67</sup>. Anonymous officer of the Military Academy of the Russian Federation Armed Forces Headquarters, quoted by Timothy Loyd Thomas, comes up with a similar definition of information confrontation. In his opinion it is just one of many forms of resolving conflicts between the parties, whose goal is to win and keep information advantage over your opponent. This can be achieved by applying information-technical and in-

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<sup>65</sup> L. W. Grau, T. L. Thomas, *A Russian View of Future War: Theory and Direction*, «The Journal of Slavic Military Studies» 1996, issue 9, pp. 508–511; T. L. Thomas, *Deterring Information Warfare: A New Strategic Challenge*, «Parameters» 1996–1997, issue 26, pp. 81–91; R. Heickerö, *Emerging Cyber Threats and Russian Views on Information Warfare and Information Operations*, Stockholm 2010, pp. 13–15; Ю. В. Лебедев, И. С. Лютов, В. А. Назаренко, *Война в зоне Персидского залива: уроки и выводы*, «Военная мысль» 1991, issue 11–12, p. 14.

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<sup>66</sup> L. W. Grau, T. L. Thomas, *A Russian View of Future War...*, pp. 516–517. Compare: Л. В. Воронцова, Д. Б. Фролов, *История и современность информационного противоборства*, Москва 2006, pp. 3–5.

<sup>67</sup> С. А. Комов, *Информационная борьба в современной войне: вопросы теории*, «Военная мысль» 1996, issue 3, pp. 76–80. Compare: idem, *О концепции информационной безопасности страны*, «Военная мысль» 1994, issue 4, pp. 16–17; idem, *О способах и формах ведения информационной борьбы*, «Военная мысль» 1997, issue 4, pp. 18–22.

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formation-psychological means, through affecting the decision-makers, command and control system, people and information sources of a given country<sup>68</sup>. The opinion of Vladimir Cymbal – an analyst in the Russian Ministry of Defence, who considers the definition of information warfare in both broad and narrow senses, is equally meaningful. In his opinion information warfare in the broad sense is a set of activities applied by one country against the citizens of another country or group of countries during peacetime. These activities concern the influence on the society's consciousness through education, art, culture, education system, administration etc., which should be carried out by civil special services – the Federal Security Service and the Foreign Intelligence Service. The latter one's main task should be getting control over the information sources of other countries, sabotage of information technologies development in the countries treated as hostile and neutralizing communication systems and information networks of the enemy. An important task of that service is also building and implementing the systems guaranteeing the information security of Russia. On the other hand, «information warfare» in the narrow sense means military activities aiming at getting information advantage over the en-

emy in the scope of information spreading, use and processing as well as implementing effective decisions allowing for getting advantage in the battlefield. The realization of this sphere of information warfare should be the responsibility of the Ministry of Defence and the armed forces<sup>69</sup>. The definitions presented here imply that the Russian «information warfare» is a set of diverse, coordinated in time activities carried out by both military forces and civil special services in many areas in order to neutralize the enemy with the

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<sup>68</sup> T. L. Thomas, *Information Warfare in the Second (1999–) Chechen War: Motivator for Military Reform?*, in: *Russian Military Reform 1992–2002*, A. C. Aldis, R.N. Mc Dermott (ed.), London–Portland 2003, pp. 208–210. Compare: R. Clogg, *Disinformation in Chechnya: An Anatomy of a Deception*, «Central Asian Survey» 1997, issue 16, pp. 425–430.

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<sup>69</sup> T. L. Thomas, *The Russian View of Information War*, in: *The Russian Armed Forces at Dawn of the Millennium 7–9 February 2000*, M. H. Crutcher (ed.), Carlisle 2000, pp. 338, 342–343; S. Blank, *Russian Information Warfare as Domestic Counterinsurgency*, «American Foreign Policy Interests: The Journal of the National Committee on American Foreign Policy» 2013, issue 35, no. 1, p. 41; K. Giles, «Information Troops» – a Russian Cyber Command?, w: *Third International Conference on Cyber Conflict*, C. Czosseck, E. Tyugu, T. Wingfield (ed.), Tallinn 2011, pp. 45–60. It should be underlined that the first of the definitions given by V. Cymbal refers to the Russian concept of the «ideological sabotage» or «ideological rebellion». See: *Контрразведывательный словарь*, Москва 1972, pp. 90–91. A lot of information concerning the «ideological sabotage» was revealed by the KGB officer and correspondent of RIA Novosti Jurij Bezmienov, vel Thomas Schuman. In his opinion the «ideological sabotage», which he associated with psychological warfare, ideological aggression and propaganda warfare, is a long-term process (lasting for the last 15-25 years) divided into four stages: «Demoralization», «Destabilization», «Crisis» and «Normalization». The goal of that process is to subjugate a given country without the need for starting an open armed conflict. See: T. D. Schuman (J. Bezmienov), *Love Letter to America*, Los Angeles 1984, pp. 17–46. Compare: idem, *No «Novosti» is Good News*, Los Angeles 1985; idem, *World Thought Police*, Los Angeles 1986.

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use of information-technological and information-psychological tools. An American Col. Timothy Loyd Thomas, dealing with the subject matter for two decades, has tried to classify those activities. Basing on an extensive material confronted with the statements (which he knew from his own experience) of representatives the Russian military environment, taking part in conferences in Washington and Moscow as long ago as in 1996, he created a precise structure of the Russian «information warfare», radically different from the one promoted by the Russian military technologists. According to T. L. Thomas the Russian «information warfare» is characterized by a diversity of means and flexibility of activities in many distant spheres, which is valid even today. It takes the following elements:

- philosophical aspect of «information warfare»,
- information security as an aspect of national and global security,
- information sources as government potential,
- the definition of information warfare,
- computerization of armed conflicts:
  - electronic tools of armed conflicts,
  - automation of armed conflicts,
  - application of robots in armed conflicts,
  - intellectual tools of armed conflicts (intelligent weapon allowing for precise strikes),
- fight computerization (operation preparation),

- battlefield computerization (battlefield digitalization),

- information-psychological warfare:

- military-patriotic education of your homeland citizens,

- moral-psychological preparation of the military staff,

- psychological operations against civilians and military staff of the hostile country,

- information-technical warfare:

- applying communication and control systems in a confrontation,

- the role and place of intelligence in information warfare,

- the use of special programmes aiming at:

- 1) destroying information sources,

- 2) redistribution of information sources,

- 3) protection of information sources,

- preparation of the personnel meant to take part in information warfare,

- aspects of the international law concerning information warfare <sup>70</sup>.

It should be mentioned that in the beginning of the 90s of the last century a net structure consisting of civil spe-

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<sup>70</sup> Source: T. L. Thomas, *Russian Views on Information – Based Warfare*, «Air and Space Power Journal» 1996, issue 115, p. 34. Compare: idem, *Dialectical Versus Empirical Thinking: Ten Key Elements of the Russian Understanding of Information Operations*, «Journal of Slavic Military Studies» 1998, issue 11, pp. 40–62; idem, *Nation-state Cyber Strategies: Examples from China and Russia*, in: *Cyberpower and National Security*, F. D. Kramer, S. H. Starr, L. K. Wentz (ed.), Washington 2009, pp. 465–491.

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cial services (FAPSI, FSB, SWZ) and a part of the armed forces was created. It was responsible for information warfare and perfecting its methods, which include both psychological and technical elements<sup>71</sup>. They refer to the Russian pattern of the «ideological sabotage» and Evgeny Messner's concept of «rebel war». Thus it should be concluded that promoting the image of the Russian Federation as a victim of the aggression from the West and a country completely unprepared to face «information warfare» is just disinformation aiming at justifying the «war against «information warfare» carried out against Russia». The Russian concept of «information warfare» is evolving and is constantly adjusted to a current geopolitical situation<sup>72</sup>. It could be confirmed by deliberations of two distinguished theoreticians associated with the Centre of War-Strategic Studies of the Russian Federation Armed Forces Headquarters (Russian: Центр военно-стратегических исследований Генерального штаба Вооружённых Сил Российской Федерации): Col. Sergey Czekinov and (retired) Gen. Lt. Sergey Bog-

danov<sup>73</sup>. They have applied the term «asymmetrical activities» (Russian: асимметричные действия) into the Russian grounds defining it as complex and systematic activities of political, diplomatic, economic, information and military character. They show that the information confrontation should play an important role in the process of a given country's management system and control disorganization. It should also influence public opinion, resulting e.g. in anti-government demonstrations and destabilization of a given country or other entity being the target of those operations, whose essence is to be the use of intellectual advantage. In that context operating with the systems of presenting the world, the people, the essence of civilisation and directions of its development as well as the most important values, should be recognized as the contemporary «information warfare» (Russian: информационное оружие). Apart from the information-technical and information-psychological factors, scientific-technical and political-psychological instruments should also be used. These technologies help to influence the subjects of «information warfare». The main goal of that type of war is to manipulate the consciousness of a society or a nation with false

<sup>71</sup> For more see: T. L. Thomas, *Russia's Information Warfare Structure: Understanding the Roles of the Security Council, FAPSI, the State Technical Commission and the Military*, «European Security» 1998, issue 7, pp. 156–172.

<sup>72</sup> T. L. Thomas, *Russian Information Warfare Theory: The Consequences of August 2008*, in: *The Russian Military Today and Tomorrow. Essays in Memory of Marry Fitzgerald*, S. J. Blank, R. Weitz (ed.) Carlisle 2010, pp. 265–301; P.A. Goble, *Defining Victory and Defeat: The Information War Between Russia and Georgia*, in: *The Guns of August 2008: Russia's War in Georgia*, S.E. Cornell, S. Frederick Starr (ed.), New York – London 2009, M. E. Sharpe, pp. 181–196.

<sup>73</sup> S. J. Main, *The 'Brain' of the Russian Army: The Centre for Military-Strategic Research, General Staff (TsVSI GSh), 1985–2000*, «Journal of Slavic Military Studies» 2000, issue 13, pp. 47–62; С. Г. Чекинов, *Центр военно-стратегических исследований Генерального штаба Вооружённых Сил Российской Федерации. История и современность*, «Военная мысль» 2010, issue 1, pp. 3–5; K. Giles, A. Monaghan, *Russian Military Transformation. Goal in Sight?*, Carlisle 2014, p. 21.

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visions of the surrounding world and thus directing and stimulating their activities. The subject of information confrontation is then the system of traditional values, ideals and myths constituting the basis of a given nation's culture and its self-identification. The ultimate goal is making the victim to accept the aggression and treating the imposed way of thinking and actions as their own. That is why geopolitics is so important in case of «information warfare» since it provides scientific argumentation serving as a weapon I waging this type of war. On the other hand, the meaning of asymmetrical activities in the military sphere should be reaching the goal without an armed struggle. This is to be reached through intimidating the enemy and making him realize, by demonstrating the military readiness in a strategic territory or destroying his most dangerous entities, that a potential armed struggle is useless <sup>74</sup>.

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<sup>74</sup> С. Г. Чекинов, С. А. Богданов, *Асимметричные действия по обеспечению военной безопасности России*, «Военная мысль» 2010, issue 3, pp. 13–22; Т. L. Thomas, *Russia's Information Warfare Strategy: Can the Nation Cope in Future Conflicts?»* Journal of Slavic Military Studies» 2014, issue 27, pp. 105–106; Я. Д. Короход, *Информационно-психологические войны – оружие XXI века*, «Актуальні проблеми політики» 2013, issue 50, p. 302; С. Н. Бухарин, В. В. Цыганов, Ю. Г. Бочкарева, *Провокации в информационном противоборстве*, «Информационные войны» 2013, issue 1, pp. 14–21; В. В. Цыганов, В. В. Васин, С. Н. Бухарин, *Интеллектуальные механизмы информационных войн*, «Проблемы управления» 2007, issue 1, pp. 25–30; С. Н. Бухарин, Ю. А. Матвиенко, *Информационно-психологическая война как одна из форм разрешения социально-политических противоречий в современном обществе*, «Информационные войны» 2008, issue 4, pp. 2–9.

The events taking currently place in Ukraine are a model example of the use of theoretical aspects of the Russian asymmetrical activities presented above. It is then worth to study every single stage of the conflict in comparison with the theory. On 28 February 2014 and operation was launched in Crimea aiming at taking the military control over the peninsula by Russia. The operation was participated by the local troops of «Crimean Self-Defence» supported by unidentified formations of the Russian army. They took control over most of the strategic facilities such as airports, communication junctions and passages as well as the buildings belonging to the Ukrainian army and the Security Service of Ukraine. Within a week the whole peninsula was under control. Though some buildings stayed under the Ukrainian army control, the were blocked and deprived of any ability to conduct military activities through cutting off energy, water and other supplies. The most significant fact is that the whole operation was conducted without an open fight between the parties of the conflict. Self-appointed authorities from Simferopol started forming the autonomous armed forces on the basis of the local self-defence troops and the buildings taken away from the Ukrainian army. Armed soldiers with hidden faces wearing uniforms without any emblems, called «green people» or «gentle people» surprised the world

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Compare: H. S. Rothstein, *Strategy and Psychological Operations*, w: *Information Strategy and Warfare. A Guide to Theory and Practices*, J. Arquilla, D. A. Borer (ed.), New York 2007, pp. 160–187; П. Лайнбарджер, *Психологическая война. Теория и практика обработки массового сознания*, Москва 2013.

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media and analysts ironically commenting the conflict. They took over the airport in Sevastopol claiming that they had come to defend it against the «Bandera troops from Kiev». However, they did not inform anyone who they were and what country they come from. When it was clear that the alleged troops did not pose any threat to the airport, they were withdrawn. At the very moment the information was publicized they came back and took the airport over again<sup>75</sup>. These activities are evident enough to be referred to as the so-called psychological special operations (Russian: психологические специальные операции) being within the competence of special operations troops GRU. One of that formation's ex-members Col. Vladimir Kvaczkov explains that their goal is to manipulate people's (both servicemen and civilians) consciousness and emotions, by means of confusion and demoralization, in order to make them feel friendly towards the Russian army<sup>76</sup>. This

<sup>75</sup> Because of the information warfare going on in both Russian and Ukrainian media, the primary source allowing for the reconstruction of actual events of the conflict are the analyses prepared by the experts of the Centre for Eastern Studies in Warsaw. See: A. Wilk, *Rosyjska interwencja wojskowa na Krymie* [online], <http://www.osw.waw.pl/pl/publikacje/analizy/2014-03-05/rosyjska-interwencja-wojskowa-na-krymie> [availability: 16 VIII 2014]; T. Iwański, W. Rodkiewicz, A. Wierzbowska-Miazga, A. Wilk, *Rosja wobec Ukrainy: nie tylko Krym* [online], <http://www.osw.waw.pl/pl/publikacje/analizy/2014-03-12/rosja-wobec-ukrainy-nie-tylko-krym> [availability: 16 VIII 2014].

<sup>76</sup> В. В. Квачков, *Применение Войск Специального Назначения в современных условиях*, in: *Спецназ ГРУ. Очерки истории. Книга V: Новейшая история 1999–2010 гг.*, С. В. Козлов и др. (ed.), Москва 2010, p. 376. For more information about the theories

was reached by removing all the emblems from the soldiers' uniforms, making it unable to identify the country (so-called crypto-operation) and the formation they serve for, as well as by forbidding to communicate, in any form, with the civilians. All this led to many contradictory interpretations of «green people», «soldiers in uniforms» or «gentle people» and inability to define the enemy and taking the right actions. What is more, the effect of surprise was achieved, which allowed Russia for its own interpretations of events: during the peaceful demonstration in Maidan over one hundred people died, whereas during the military intervention in Crimea no one was hurt. This operation was also described as strategic provocative information-driven operation (Russian: стратегическая наступательная информационная операция) aimed at preceding the military intervention with preparations based on the use of information<sup>77</sup>.

concerning contemporary special operations carried out by the troops of the Russian Federation armed forces see: idem, *Некоторые положения теории специальной операции и необходимость Сил Специального назначения в составе ВДВ*, in: *Спецназ ГРУ. Очерки истории. Кн. V: Новейшая история 1999–2010 гг.*, С. В. Козлов и др. (ed.), Москва 2010, pp. 393–404. Compare: И. Н. Воробьев, *Информационно-ударная операция*, «Военная мысль» 2007, issue 6, pp. 14–21.

<sup>77</sup> Г. Почепцов, *Информационные операции и Крым: базовые причины для манипуляций* [online], [http://psyfactor.org/psyops/infowar\\_krym.htm](http://psyfactor.org/psyops/infowar_krym.htm) [availability: 16 VIII 2014]; idem, *Информационные операции и Крым: причины и следствия. Часть 2* [online], [http://psyfactor.org/psyops/infowar\\_krym2.htm](http://psyfactor.org/psyops/infowar_krym2.htm) [availability: 16 VIII 2014]. For regulations concerning the international law on wearing uniforms and emblems during armed conflicts see: W. Hays Parks, *Special Forces' Wear of*

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Thus the Russian activities in Crimea confirm one of the rules of a «rebel war» – the one concerning the use of rebelling masses put over the years under the adequate psychological-information pressure (so-called intoxication)<sup>78</sup> supported by regular army. To reach that goal multidirectional and mass activities were initiated: federal TV and radio channels, newspapers and the Internet sources. This was supported by diplomats, politicians, political scientists, experts as well as the elites of science and culture. The arguments were given that the real threat to Crimea comes from the «Bandera troops invading the peninsula», «the NATO troops taking control over the Black Sea Fleet» or «derussification of the Ukrainian citizens». It was also said that the government in Kiev was established by foreign special services, especially American and Polish ones, whose espionage network (being the property of the Military Information Services, WSI) had been for years the tool of the American interests in Ukraine, especially in the petrol-energetic sector<sup>79</sup>. As it was mentioned before, participation of activists from the Eurasian Youth Union in the Crimean operation was also confirmed, which complies with the definition of the

«rebel columns». As Evgeny Messner predicted, the army was played a secondary role. The first line belonged to the «rebel masses» and the «rebel columns» taking over individual buildings and facilities. The goals were reached by the information-psychological pressure, sabotage and economic sanctions, without any armed struggle, taking over an intact infrastructure and avoiding casualties among soldiers and activists, as well as among the inhabitants of the peninsula. An important element was also president Vladimir Putin's attitude, who stayed calm and misinformed the western leaders<sup>80</sup>.

The Crimean scenario was repeated in the next months. On 6 April 2014 in Donetsk, Kharkiv and Luhansk groups consisting of several hundred to two thousand pro-Russian activists rebelled, which ended with taking over government buildings. In Kharkiv and Donetsk local government buildings and the buildings of SBU were also taken over. The activists made similar political demands, which confirms that the action had been planned before and it was coordinated by and consequently directed from Russia. On the Eurasian Youth Union's website one could find the instructions on «self-organization»

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*Non-Standard Uniform*, w: *International Law Studies. Issues in International Law and Military Operations*, J. B. Jaques (ed.), Newport 2006, pp. 69–121.

<sup>78</sup> J. Darczewska, *Anatomia rosyjskiej wojny informacyjnej...*, p. 20; P. Nord, *L'intoxication par une intoxicateur*, w: *La désinformation: Arme de guerre*, V. Volkoff (ed.), Lausanne 2004, pp. 87–111.

<sup>79</sup> Л. В. Савин, *Украина в сетевой войне*, «Информационные войны» 2008, issue 3, pp. 50–51.

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<sup>80</sup> S. J. Cimbala, *Sun Tzu and Salami Tactics? Vladimir Putin and Military Persuasion in Ukraine, 21 February – 18 March 2014*, «Journal of Slavic Military Studies» 2014, issue 27, pp. 359–379; J. Berzins, *Russia's New Generation Warfare in Ukraine: Implications for Latvian Defense Policy*, Riga 2014, pp. 1–7; J. Darczewska, *Anatomia rosyjskiej wojny informacyjnej...*, pp. 5–6; 31–32. Compare: M. Vázquez Liñán, *Putin's Propaganda Legacy*, «Post Soviet Affairs» 2009, issue 25, pp. 137–159.

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and taking buildings over by crowds<sup>81</sup>. The establishment of the Donetsk People's Republic and the Kharkiv People's Republic were proclaimed and in Luhansk people refused obedience to the government of Ukraine. On 11 May 2014 a referendum on sovereignty of the Donetsk and Luhansk Districts was organized. On 12 May 2014 a resolution on the Luhansk People's Republic and the Donetsk People's Republic sovereignty was passed and negotiations on establishing Novorossiia were started. This was a breaking moment and passing to another stage of the conflict when the authorities of the self-appointed republics established armed militia with an important role of instructors from Russia<sup>82</sup>. The example of Igor Strelkov vel Girkin is quite significant in that context. On 15 April 2014 the SBU Press Service announced that one of the leaders of the subversive group of separatists occupying government buildings in Sloviansk was indentified. It appeared to be the abovementioned Igor Strelkov who, according to the SBU, was a soldier of the GRU Spetsnaz, which made it obvious that the separatists were instructed and supported by the Russian military intelligence. Strelkov soon became the subject of information warfare between the parties of the conflict:

<sup>81</sup> Молот Правды. Жителям Юго-Востока: инструкция по самоорганизации [online], <http://rossia3.ru/quotes/all/9007> [availability: 16 VIII 2014].

<sup>82</sup> T. Iwański, M. Menkiszak, *Prorosyjski «separatyzm» narzędziem przymuszenia Ukrainy do federalizacji* [online:], <http://www.osw.waw.pl/pl/publikacje/analizy/2014-04-09/prorosyjski-separatyzm-narzedziem-przymuszenia-ukrainy-do> [availability: 16 VIII 2014].

Ukraine exposed his connections to the Russian special services in order to prove the engagement of those services in the separatist activities, whereas the Russian propaganda made Strelkov a hero of national fight for freedom. Thus a historian and historical reenactments enthusiast was to become a soldier in the fight for the freedom of Novorossiia – voluntarily, as a patriot<sup>83</sup>. Strelkov himself admits that has never been a member of the GRU, but the FSB. His real name is Girkin and «Strelkov» is his false name<sup>84</sup>. Aleksandr Czerkasov, the President of the Foundation of Human Rights «Memorial», exposed interesting details concerning true activities of Igor Girkin. Basing on relations of the witnesses he revealed that in 2001 Girkin participated in murders and kidnapping of the Chechen citizens, at that time serving for the 45 Independent Regiment for Special Operations of the Airborne of the Russian Federation Armed Forces (Russian: 45-й Отдельный полк специального назначения Воздушно-десантных войск Вооружённых Сил

<sup>83</sup> Р. Скомогохов, *Портреты века: Игорь Стрелков*, «Военное обозрение» dated 20 V 2014 [online], <http://topwar.ru/48026-portrety-veka-igor-strelkov.html> [availability: 16 VIII 2014].

<sup>84</sup> Д. Виноградов, *Боевые заслуги: кто научил воевать Игоря Стрелкова*, «Свободная Пресса» dated 5 VII 2014 [online], <http://svpressa.ru/society/article/89194/?rss=1> [availability: 16 VIII 2014]: Я – Игорь Гиркин. Стрелковым я стал по документам прикрытия для работы. Я никогда не служил в ГПУ, я был сотрудником ФСБ. Сейчас в отставке – рассказывает о себе глава донецкой обороны. За этими скупыми словами – судьба человека, прошедшего три жестокие военные кампании и много раз рисковавшего собственной жизнью.



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Российской Федерации)<sup>85</sup>. The main task of the military formations of that type was special intelligence (Russian: специальная разведка) with all available means – from observation, through combat actions aiming at the seizure of the demanded persons or facilities, to radio-technical intelligence<sup>86</sup>. An important part of their activity is also *special operations concerning formation, support and combat use of irregular forces* (Russian: специальные операции по формированию, поддержке и боевому применению иррегулярных сил). According to Kvaczkov such operations aim at establishing irregular formations performing the tasks of armed forces, which Russia is vividly interested in. They include intelligence tasks for the guerrilla groups and insurgent troops, as well as for the organizations involved or likely to get involved in a given conflict. It also includes any kind of help, especially in the area of training and logistics, as well as the use of numerous means of operational protection with the help of the espionage network available<sup>87</sup>. So it can be concluded that the example of Strielkov is a vivid confirmation of the Russian support for the Luhansk and Donetsk militia and separatists, both during preparations and during the conflict itself. The SBU accused Strielkov of directing the operational activities in Crimea aiming

at preparation of the invasion and liquidation of the Ukrainian espionage network in Sloviansk and Kramatorsk<sup>88</sup>. It should however be underlined that the front line of armed activities belongs to the militia, the Russian special forces playing a supportive role. An interesting example of that is a telegram from Strielkov in which he reports that his personal source of information from Kiev informed him about an attempt of making a reportage by the Ukrainian TV station. The reportage was to be about «the alleged crimes of the Russian soldiers». Next Strielkov asks Dugin to publicize that information in the Internet, which is supposed to give the Russians advance and discredit the Ukrainian attempt<sup>89</sup>. So here we have a vivid example of providing the separatists with information support by the Russian special forces. The militia consists of several-people groups carrying out guerrilla activities. Their leaders come from the military environment, very often from Russia or having been trained in that country. It should be considered that they had precise knowledge about the theatre of armed activities and its character, since many veterans of special forces serving in Ukraine left to Russia after the collapse of the Soviet Russia<sup>90</sup>. After starting an open fire with the Ukrainian army those troops very

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<sup>85</sup> А. Черкасов, *Игорь Стрелков в Чечне. 2001 год, Веденский р-н*, Радиостанция «Эхо Москвы» от 21 мая 2014 [online], <http://www.echo.msk.ru/blog/shalommani/1324504-echo/> [availability: 16 VIII 2014].

<sup>86</sup> Министерство обороны РФ, *Разведывательная Подготовка Подразделений ВДВ*, Москва 1995, pp. 5–10, 56–71.

<sup>87</sup> В. В. Квачков, *Применение Войск Специального Назначения...*, p. 376.

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<sup>88</sup> Р. Скоморохов, *Портреты века: Игорь Стрелков...* [availability: 16 VIII 2014].

<sup>89</sup> *Сводки от Стрелкова Игоря Ивановича. Сообщение от ополчения* [online], [http://vk.com/strelkov\\_info?w=wall-57424472\\_5439](http://vk.com/strelkov_info?w=wall-57424472_5439) [availability: 16 VIII 2014].

<sup>90</sup> Compare: С. В. Козлов, *Противостояние, w: Спецназ ГРУ. Очерки истории. Кн. IV: Безвременье. 1989–1999 гг.*, С. В. Козлов и др. (ed.), Москва 2010, pp. 151–161.

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often withdrew trying to drag them into the street fight. They also organized traps which were very effective. A good example and confirmation of that could be the operation carried out on 22 May 2014 under the town of Wolnovacha, in which separatists shattered the 55 Mechanical Brigade of the Ukrainian Armed Forces killing 18 and injuring 32 soldiers, which was the biggest loss for the Ukrainian army in its 23-year history. The separatists were supported by civilians who blocked the Ukrainian columns. So here we have a clear example of cooperation between «rebel masses» and «rebel militia» described by Evgeny Messner <sup>91</sup>.

Equally important element of a «rebel war» is activating the «rebel columns». The definition that Messner came up with may be referred to the groups of mercenaries and volunteers not only from Russia, but from the whole post-Soviet territory and even from the Balkans. It is widely known that among the «Novorossiya defenders» there is a Serbian troop of about 250 people called «Jowan Szewicz». The ascending number of mercenaries is accompanied by the delivery of military equipment and any other supplies from the territory of the Russian Federation.

It appears that supported by Moscow mercenaries took control over local separatists groups <sup>92</sup>.

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<sup>91</sup> P. Żochowski, A. Wilk, P. Konończuk, *Konflikt w Donbasie – wymuszona deeskalacja?* [online], <http://www.osw.waw.pl/pl/publikacje/analizy/2014-06-11/konflikt-w-donbasie-wymuszona-deeskalacja> [availability: 16 VIII 2014]; *Noworosja: «Jowan Szewicz» rośnie w siłę* [online], <http://xportal.pl/?p=15319> [availability: 16 VIII 2014].

<sup>92</sup> Aleskandr Matjuszyn nickname «Warjag», one of the leaders of the Donetsk People's

Russian activities in the territory of Ukraine revealed the effectiveness of organizations of a new kind. One vivid example can be the Eurasian Youth Union, whose activists evidently supported separatists by organizing referenda in Moscow and ensuring

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Republic's armed forces, can be an excellent example of ideological attitude characterized by Messner in his definition of «rebel columns». He gave an interview in which he revealed the backstage of his activities in Ukraine, where his main goal was to prepare an uprising. After graduating from university he started his political activity in the ranks of the Moscow skinheads, taking part in riots and street fights. Next he joined Dugin's National Bolshevik Party (NBP) LED by Eduard Limonov. After returning from Moscow he dealt with establishing the party structures in the Donetsk district. However, he left the party after «Limonov's selling himself to the liberals». During the «orange revolution» he was one of the founders of the campaign called «Ukraine without Yushchenko». After leaving the party he joined a new movement called the Donetsk Republic (Russian: движение «Донецкая Республика»). He directed its activities in the town of Makiejevka. He got arrested by the SBU. Since he dealt with training the youth groups of the Donetsk Republic in 2007 he was accused of leading illegal armed troops. Aleskandr Matjuszyn underlines a huge role of his cooperation with Dugin's eurasian movement supporters and the Russian nationalists at that time. He said that the establishment of the Donetsk People's Republic was not accidental – it was a long-time plan of the activists. His statements make it clear that they were supported by Moscow. After declaring the independence of the Donetsk People's Republic he was appointed as the commander of the Volunteer Battalion «Warjag» (Russian: Добровольческий батальон «Варяг»), subordinated to the Ministry of State Security of that republic. The main goal of that battalion, apart from the front fight, is also fighting and getting rid of «saboteurs» and «thieves». М. Учитель, *Александр «Варяг» Матюшин: нам нужна республика нового типа* [online], [http://rossia3.ru/politics/vatjag\\_matyushi](http://rossia3.ru/politics/vatjag_matyushi) [availability: 31 VII 2014].

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information support, but most of all by coordinating humanitarian help<sup>93</sup>. On 14 May 2014 on the organization's official website one could spot an announcement about the recruitment to *the volunteer squads fighting the Nazi American mercenaries and oligarchs in the territory of Novorossiya*<sup>94</sup>. Pavel Karnishev, the present leader of the organization, informed that a group of about one thousand volunteers was formed. Paramilitary organization called the Eurasian Youth Union is a youth fraction of International Eurasian Movement. The Eurasian Youth Union was established during the convention that took place on 26 January 2005 in which about 600 participants took part. The present number of its members is unknown. The union's structures are active not only in Russia, but also in other countries belonging to the Commonwealth of Independent States as well as in Germany, Italy and Romania. Its strict leadership include Pavel Karnishev, Dmitri Jefremov, Arthur Dugin and Aleksey Bielajev-Gintovt – the organization's «stylist». The union has military-like organized structures, both

centrally and locally<sup>95</sup>. The main leaders are called moderators. The idealistic profile of the union is characterized by radical anti-American attitude and the hostile attitude towards the West. However, the idealistic profile created by Aleksandr Dugin is also shaped by the occult references<sup>96</sup>. The main goal of the union is to establish eurasian army and carry out eurasian revolution. The Eurasian Youth Union has a network structure; it tries to influence the widely understood youth environment, using the arsenal characteristic for information warfare. The most important role here has the Information-Analytical Division, the so-called information cell of the KGB, which was directed by Valery Ko-

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<sup>93</sup> Публичная интернет-библиотека Владимира Прибыловского, *Евразийский Союз Молодежи* [online], [http://www.anticompromat.org/esm/esm\\_spr.html](http://www.anticompromat.org/esm/esm_spr.html) [availability: 31 VII 2014].

<sup>94</sup> Евразийский Союз Молодежи, *Помощь Донбассу, записаться добровольцем!* [online], <http://rossia3.ru/news/2014/05/14/12:37:24> [availability: 31 VIII 2014]: *Евразийский Союз Молодежи официально объявляет о формировании добровольческих бригад для борьбы с фашиствующими американскими наймитами и олигархами на территории Новороссии! Сограждане! Россия в опасности! Это не просто слова (...). Для того, чтобы записаться в бригады отправьте информацию о себе на адрес [esm@rossia3.ru](mailto:esm@rossia3.ru).*

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<sup>95</sup> Публичная интернет-библиотека Владимира Прибыловского, *Евразийский Союз Молодежи...* [availability: 31 VIII 2014].

<sup>96</sup> It is Worth mentioning that the emblem of the Eurasian Youth Union is a stylized «Chaos Star», the symbol of magical rebirth in the West. The symbol, taken by Dugin from the works of an occultist Aleister Crowley, refers to the «magic of chaos». Since for Dugin the term «chaos» is a synonym of a different, opposite to the western culture term «order», creating new possibilities of action and reaching political goals. Dugin had a positive attitude towards Crowley's works (who, by the way, was an MI-6 agent) and wrote that *radical revolutionary trends were perceived by Crowley as the realization of the equinox storm with the help of the powers of chaos in order to wipe out the remains of the rotten civilizations, getting closer to the logical and cyclical end*. See: L. Sykulski, *Koncepcja Radykalnego Podmiotu i «czwarta teoria polityczna» Aleksandra Dugina w kontekście bezpieczeństwa Polski i Unii Europejskiej*, «Przegląd Geopolityczny» 2014, issue 8, p. 236; A. G. Dugin, *The Multipolar World and the Postmodern*, «Journal of Eurasian Affairs» 2014, issue 2, pp. 11–12.

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rovin<sup>97</sup>. Without any doubts that organization is an information support to the Kremlin. Its members deal with information warfare in a scientific dimension. In 2007 the union's activists carried out a cyber-attack on the Ukrainian president's website. After that incident the Ukrainian structures of the organization were strictly controlled by the SBU, which led to many of its members leaving the union<sup>98</sup>. It is however worth underlying that the Eurasian Youth Union is only one of many «rebel columns». Aleksandr Dugin and his supporters very quickly adopted the idea of «information warfare». Its concept was borrowed by Dugin from the ideologists of the so-called New Right movement. Getting political power (in the region, country or the whole continent) should be accompanied by imposing one's culture, the way of thinking and the system of values. In order to reach that one should carry out a cultural-ideological invigilation of university environments and representatives of such professions as doctors or lawyers, who influence the public opinion. Such an idea was postulated by Alain de Benoist, who is widely respected among the eurasianists and strongly supports the

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<sup>97</sup> Публичная интернет-библиотека Владимира Прибыловского, *Коровин Валерий Михайлович* [online], <http://www.anticomromat.org/esm/korovbio.html> [availability: 31 VIII 2014]; *Катехизис члена Евразийского Союза Молодежи* [online], <http://www.rossia3.ru/katehizis.html> [availability: 31 VIII 2014]. For more about the network organizations see: J. Arquilla, D. Ronfeldt, *The Advent of Netwar (Revisited)*, in: *Networks and Netwars: The Future of Terror, Crime, and Militancy*, J. Arquilla, D. Ronfeldt (ed.), Santa Monica 2001, pp. 1–25.

<sup>98</sup> *Евразийские боевики из Восточного Казахстана?* [online], <http://z001.kz/news/view?id=1700> [availability: 31 VIII 2014].

«Fourth Political Theory» by Aleksandr Dugin. The Eurasian Youth Union is just a part of a bigger organization of a network character, which is a «conveyor belt» of ideology coming directly from Moscow<sup>99</sup>.

To sum up it should be underlined that Russia has presented its own concept of «information warfare» to the whole world. In this particular case we can talk about diversification and synchronization of many activities. Their common feature is the use of information and its processing as the main weapon based on the psychological factors supported by the use of modern technological solutions. Information warfare takes asymmetrical activities, which are skilfully directed. All the factors mentioned above create a unique, Russian concept of «hybrid warfare», which constitutes a serious threat for the security of the widely understood West.

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<sup>99</sup> An example of the network is another organization called the Global Revolutionary Alliance, GRA, established by Dugin. This is a new type organization not officially bound to the centre it works for. Such organizations realize the so-called strategy of non-directed resistance. See: L. Sykulski, *Koncepcja Radykalnego Podmiotu...*, p. 238. Compare: J. Tomaszewicz, *Strategia oporu niekierowanego w wojnie asymetrycznej*, «Przegląd Geopolityczny» 2009, issue 1, pp. 161–191.

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С. Пунь

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**Аннотация:** Автор обработал результаты исследований А. Дугина и Е. Месснера и пришел к выводу, что отголоски геополитических последствий установки новых границ все еще живы в умах не только представителей российского политического класса, но и большинства российского общества.

Доказано, что российско-украинский конфликт является одним из этапов внедрения более широкой политической доктрины, направленной на стратегическую реинтеграцию постсоветского пространства, а в дальнейшей перспективе – на построение так называемого многополярного мира. Основной целью этого исследования было предоставить предположения по поводу Российской доктрины в отношении Украины и определить методов ее реализации.

Автор утверждает, что роль А. Дугина в российско-украинской конфронтации значительно шире, чем просто координация информации, финансовая и логистическая поддержка, предоставляемая сепаратистам его организацией. Предполагается, что А. Дугин – один из авторов окончательного решения украинской проблемы и создатель геополитической модели, принятой в действие, которая создает пророссийские государственные учреждения на территории Украины. Сделан вывод, что Россия представляет собственную концепцию «информационной войны» со всем миром посредством разнообразия и синхронизации различных видов деятельности.

**Ключевые слова:** геополитика, геополитическое пространство, геополитические методы, информационная война, мятежевойна.

**Abstract:** The author worked out the results of A. Dugin and E. Messener's investigations and made a conclusion the reflection over geopolitical consequences of new border layout is still vivid in the minds of representatives of not only the Russian political class, but also the majority of the Russian society.

It was proved that the Russian-Ukrainian conflict is one of the stages in the implementation of the broader political doctrine aiming at strategic reintegration of the post-Soviet space, and in the further perspective – building of the so-called multipolar world. The main purpose of this research was presenting the assumptions of the Russian doctrine in relation to Ukraine and specifying the methods of its realisation.

The author claimed the A. Dugin's role in the Russian-Ukrainian confrontation seems to be much broader than just coordination of information, finance and logistic support given to the separatists by his organizations. A. Dugin is supposed to be one of the authors of the final solution of the Ukrainian problem and the creator of the geopolitical model of the actions taken, which is establishing of the pro-Russian state bodies in the territory of Ukraine. To sum up it should be underlined that Russia has presented its own concept of «information warfare» to the whole world by diversification and synchronization of many activities.

**Key words:** geopolitics, geopolitical space, geopolitical method; information warfare; rebel war.