

# **HYBRID INFORMATION-IDEOLOGICAL PRACTICE OF THE KREMLIN REGIME – AS ONE OF THE PREREQUISITES FOR THE MODERN RUSSIAN-UKRAINIAN WAR**

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## **INTRODUCTION**

The hybrid information and ideological practice of the Kremlin regime at the beginning of the 21st century became one of the most significant prerequisites for the modern Russian-Ukrainian war. However, this tendency continued for several centuries – the period of existence of this regime. It especially intensified after the Bolsheviks came to power, who not only adopted all the worst features of the Russian autocracy, but also significantly strengthened them. And as a consequence of this: systemic terror against the population (especially the elite and the most “recalcitrant” nations, primarily Ukrainians), famines and the destruction of national and civil identity.

Bolshevik Russia could not exist without Ukraine, it did not have enough of its own resources. Ukrainian Bolsheviks, who were representatives of the Kremlin in Ukraine, did everything possible to preserve and extend the power of the Central Committee of the RCP(b). Consequently, the Communist Party and Soviet leadership of Ukraine consciously sacrificed the interests of the republic for the sake of preserving and expanding Bolshevik domination. This, among other things, became one of the main reasons for the famines of 1921–1923, 1932–1933 and 1946–1947, the main goal of which was the extermination of all those who could resist totalitarian power and the unconditional subjugation of the Communist Party system – the overwhelming majority of Ukrainians. The purpose of the study is to find out the nature and features of the hybrid information and ideological practice of the Kremlin regime as one of the most significant prerequisites for the modern Russian-Ukrainian war. The immediate objectives are to: characterize totalitarian power as the basis of the hybrid information and ideological policy of the Kremlin regime; trace the strengthening of the hybrid information and ideological practice by the Kremlin regime during the Cold War; determine the hybrid information and ideological practice of the Kremlin as the leading prerequisite for the modern Russian-Ukrainian war. The stated goals and objectives determine the relevance of our study.

## **1. Totalitarian power as the basis of the hybrid information-ideological policy of the Kremlin regime**

The monopoly position of the Communist Party and the fusion of the party and state apparatus led to the establishment of a regime of lawlessness, political terror and the strengthening of the command-administrative system of governance. At the same time, the Kremlin regime used the principle of the dominance of a single ideology (ideocracy). This totalitarian regime sought to explain every aspect of social life. Uniform social goals and agreed patterns of behavior were asserted<sup>1</sup>. Consequently, the task of ideology was to legitimize the totalitarian regime, which claimed to be the full embodiment of truth, the falsification of the historical past, the affirmation of new values subordinated to the interests of the state-party. The existing social order was proclaimed the highest form of democracy, and the regime was presented as the good of the people. Totalitarian ideology became an object of fanatical faith, inaccessible to criticism. The ideological monopoly was closely linked to the monopoly on information. After all, all mass media in the Soviet Union, and its very content and dosage for society, were under the strict control of the Communist Party<sup>2</sup>.

M. Berdyaev noted that totalitarian ideologies revived the most crude and primitive human instincts, thanks to which they predominantly achieved maximum power in society. At the same time, their doctrines were permeated with imperial chauvinism and racism. In particular, Bolshevism took advantage of the impotence of the liberal democratic system of power<sup>3</sup>. It should be noted that at the present stage the authorities of the Russian Federation, reviving the totalitarian tendencies of the Bolshevik era, have not invented anything fundamentally new. After all, perhaps its main task is to turn the

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<sup>1</sup> Ситник О. М. Формування та еволюція ідеологічних концепцій національно-державницького спрямування в Україні (від початку XIX ст. – до 1939 р.): монографія. Донецьк: «Нуолідж» (Донецька філія), 2009. С. 404.

<sup>2</sup> Україна: політична історія. XX – початок XXI ст. / Редрада: В. М. Литвин (голова) та ін. [редкол.: В. А. Смолій, Ю. А. Левенець (співголови) та ін.]. Київ: Парла-ментське вид-во, 2007. С. 517.

<sup>3</sup> Бердяев Н. А. Истоки и смысл русского коммунизма. НАН України. Інститут історії України. Інститут історії України НАН України. Е-ДЖЕРЕЛА: електронний корпус публікацій документів і пам'яток. На порталі з 23.03.2022. URL: [http://resource.history.org.ua/cgi-bin/eiu/history.exe?&I21DBN=ELIB&P21DBN=ELIB&S21STN=1&S21REF=10&S21FMT=elib\\_all&C21COM=S&S21CNR=20&S21P01=0&S21P02=0&S21P03=ID=&S21COLORTERMS=0&S21STR=0016386](http://resource.history.org.ua/cgi-bin/eiu/history.exe?&I21DBN=ELIB&P21DBN=ELIB&S21STN=1&S21REF=10&S21FMT=elib_all&C21COM=S&S21CNR=20&S21P01=0&S21P02=0&S21P03=ID=&S21COLORTERMS=0&S21STR=0016386)

weakness of democracy against states with a liberal democratic system of power. Consequently, by means of disinformation, propaganda, bribery, etc., to destroy these states from within.

At one time, the Bolshevik Party, thanks to the centralization of the political mechanism of power and the monopoly position and dominance in the socio-political life of the Soviet Union, first formed an authoritarian government, and then prepared the basis for the establishment of a totalitarian regime. At the same time, its main tool was the manipulation of the consciousness of the population in order to implant an artificial ideology and social doctrines that gave rise to the deformation of the information space<sup>4</sup>. Soviet ideologists paid special attention to the informational confrontation with the Western civilized world. Among other things, in the works of “critics of imperialism”, for example, under headings like “Their weapon is slander” there were manipulative propaganda clichés about how “In the West, the press, radio and other mass media have become an instrument of deception and spiritual enslavement of people”. That is, for tens of millions of Soviet citizens, Western free and open society was presented as a center of “bourgeois oppression and deception of people”. And this at a time when the USSR itself was the embodiment of closure, information vacuum and cynical attitude towards the human personality – but with a general abstract declarativeness of the observance of democratic rights and freedoms.

Totalitarian regimes are characterized by: an ideology that covers all spheres of public life with the proclamation of the task of achieving a “higher goal”; a single ruling party that has merged with the state apparatus; a monopoly of power over sources of information (mass media, science, education, art, etc.); total control over the life of society; the systematic use of terror methods against real and imaginary enemies, as well as to intimidate their own people; a centralized (state) and planned economy<sup>5</sup>. According to H. Arendt, the success of totalitarian regimes is primarily explained by the ability to conquer the masses not only through violence and terror, but also through massive propaganda. After all, wherever totalitarian power has an absolute advantage, it supplements propaganda with ideological processing of the population and uses violence not so much to intimidate people (this is done only in

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<sup>4</sup> Ситник О. М. Формування ідеології авторитаризму та її поширення в СРСР та УСРР протягом 1920-х років. *Схід*. 2009. № 9. С. 79.

<sup>5</sup> Friedrich C., Brzezinsky Z. *Totalitarian Dictatorship and Autocracy*. New York: Frederick A. Praeger, 1962. P. 10–11.

the initial stages, when political opposition still exists), but for the constant implementation of its ideological doctrines and its lies<sup>6</sup>. Yury Kaganov, using the example of the Soviet Union, also draws attention to the fact that for the intimidated and demoralized masses, surrounded everywhere by massive political propaganda (party meetings, the press, demonstrations, rallies, the education system, militarized sports, socialist realist art, censored scientific works, etc.) there was practically no choice. In the conditions of a sterilized ideological space filled with Soviet zombified mythology, almost without alternative sources of information (with the exception, perhaps, of hard-to-reach “hostile voices” and samizdat publications), guided by the instinct of self-survival, the average Soviet person was forced to perceive communist ideology as an axiom. At the same time, turning into “homo sovieticus”<sup>7</sup>.

The totalitarian regime existing in the Soviet Union was based entirely on communist ideology. The closed information space, blocked from the penetration of other beliefs and ideas, was under the complete control of the totalitarian system. The latter interfered in the sphere of scientific and social life, often penetrating even into the personal inner world of a person<sup>8</sup>. The quite natural enthusiasm of Soviet people towards the West was declared “worship of the West” or “rootless cosmopolitanism”. Thus, the authorities sought to suppress among Soviet citizens the desire to find out the nature and origin of two important phenomena that attracted people to the West: freedom and material living standards. As a kind of compensation for this ban, the Soviet people were offered the most vulgar chauvinism. In the post-war years, the Soviet ideological apparatus mobilized all resources to declare the superiority of the Soviet people over the entire world. These chauvinistic flattery, inspired by Agitprop, reflected the communist inferiority complex in the field of culture, which the party leadership in the post-war period tried to mechanically transfer to the entire Soviet population<sup>9</sup>.

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<sup>6</sup> Арендт Х. Джерела тоталітаризму / пер. з англ. В. Верлока, Д. Горчаков. [2-е вид.]. Київ: ДУХ І ЛІТЕРА, 2005. 584 с. URL: <https://booksonline.com.ua/view.php?book=113615&page=102>

<sup>7</sup> Каганов Ю. О. Конструювання “радянської людини” (1953–1991): українська версія. Запоріжжя: Інтер-М, 2019. С. 56–57.

<sup>8</sup> Смольц С. П. Інформаційна війна як чинник формування суспільного буття. *ВІСНИК НТУУ – КПІ. Філософія. Психологія. Педагогіка*. 2011. Вип. 3. С. 70.

<sup>9</sup> Рутыч Н. КПСС у власти. Очерки по истории коммунистической партии 1917–1957. Frankfurt am Main: ПОСЕВ 1960. С. 404.

## **2. The Kremlin Regime's Strengthening of Hybrid Information-Ideological Practices During the Cold War**

The beginning of the Cold War marked a new stage of confrontation between the totalitarian Soviet state and the Western civilized world. And despite the fact that the Soviet Union has long ceased to exist, this confrontation, with short breaks, is still observed today. And if at first it was of a military-political nature, then gradually it acquired new forms: informational and ideological. In place of the former Soviet state, the modern Russian Federation, using the ideological symbols and narratives of its predecessor, sought to preserve the status of a superpower at any cost. At the same time, the Russian Federation largely used the technological (including information and communication) potential of developed Western countries. And, spreading everywhere (again – through information and communication channels and networks) its propaganda aimed at distorting reality and political manipulation.

In a civilized society, the information space characterizes the state of development of society and ensures the proper functioning of the leading spheres of the state's life. For a closed society (totalitarian or authoritarian system), where a monopoly on information prevails, with a significant level of censorship and control, the information space actually becomes an appendage of this system. Yu. Kaganov draws attention to the fact that in the Soviet Union, significant efforts were made to form a powerful ideological system in which the information component should not be open, because in this case there were risks of losing control over the management of the system<sup>10</sup>. However, even this totalitarian system, despite its desire for total control, was forced to act within certain limitations conditioned by the objective laws of historical development. Consequently, the ideological confrontation of the Cold War era led to the identification of the vulnerabilities of the communist system, the affirmation of the advantages of democracy, market economy and pluralism<sup>11</sup>.

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<sup>10</sup> Каганов Ю. “Ворожі голоси”: ідеологічне протистояння на радіохвилях у Радянській Україні (друга половина XX ст.). 2013, October 17. *Historians*. URL: <https://www.historians.in.ua/index.php/en/doslidzhennya/891-yurii-kahanov-vorozhi-holosy-ideolohichne-protystoyannya-na-radiokhvylyakh-u-radyanskiy-ukrayini-druha-polovyna-xx-st>

<sup>11</sup> Каганов Ю. О. Конструювання «радянської людини»... С. 57.

G. Pocheptsov noted that the period of the Cold War was marked by the highest rise in ideological wars throughout the history of mankind<sup>12</sup>. This was an example of a semantic war, meaning a change in the enemy's thinking and behavior by imposing predetermined meanings, values, and values on him. While an information war is designed to distort existing facts and change understanding – in terms of beliefs and self-identification of an individual. The objects of attacks in an information war are usually the deep structures of thinking – matrices, patterns, frames, etc., with the help of which it is possible to determine the meaning (meanings) of current events. Accordingly, simulacra are created – the real is changed by a deformed virtual phantom copy<sup>13</sup>. Typical examples of simulacra are usually various kinds of ideologemes and artificial information fakes.

Almost immediately after the end of World War II, the ideological processing of Soviet people intensified. At first, propaganda campaigns, which represented the methodological basis of the information and ideological war, were of an all-Union nature. They were developed in accordance with the decrees and decisions of the Central Committee of the All-Union Communist Party (Bolsheviks), which were provided to the republican leadership.

During this period, Western radio stations began to operate, broadcasting in Russian and the languages of the peoples of the Soviet Union (Voice of America, Russian BBC Service, Radio Liberty, Deutsche Welle, etc.). Soviet people also began to have shortwave radio receivers, which could not be controlled by Soviet censorship. Therefore, in order to prevent pluralism of opinions among Soviet citizens, the Soviet Union began to use mass jamming of foreign radio stations using powerful electronic equipment (“jammers”). At the same time, the Soviet radio jamming network became almost the most powerful in the world<sup>14</sup>.

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<sup>12</sup> Почепцов Г. Контроль над разумом. Київ: Вид. дім “Києво-Могилянська академія”, 2012. С. 39.

<sup>13</sup> Почепцов Г. Г. Смыслові та інформаційні війни. *Інформаційне суспільство*. 2013. Вип. 18. С. 23, 25.

<sup>14</sup> Прохоренко О. “Інформаційна війна” в СРСР у другій половині XX ст. Військово-історичний меридіан. Електронний науковий фаховий журнал. Вип. 4 (6) / Меморіальний комплекс “Національний музей історії Великої Вітчизняної війни 1941–1945 років”, Ін-т історії України НАН України. Київ, 2014. С. 119.

The obsession with persecution – on the part of the regime, was fueled above all by the fear of the “poisonous” influence coming from beyond the borders of the USSR. With the beginning of the “Cold War” in 1946, this fear turned into a phobia. And, as usual, in order to overcome this phobia, the regime began to use terror. In August 1946, the Secretary of the Central Committee for Culture and Propaganda A. Zhdanov began a campaign organized by the center against “vulgarity” and “uselessness” in culture<sup>15</sup>. According to this course of the Communist Party in the sphere of culture and science, which went down in history as “Zhdanovshchina” (it lasted during 1946–1949), the world was divided into two antagonistic camps: “imperialist”, led by the United States, and “democratic”, led by the Soviet Union.

The propaganda apparatus of the USSR had already begun to form the image of the new enemy (in contrast to Nazi Germany) in the form of the United States since the end of the 1940s – as the personification of imperialist evil, which had once again become the main enemy of communism. At the same time, another harmful deviation was exposed – “cosmopolitanism”, which was proclaimed as a manifestation of “groveling before the West”. The implementation of this campaign was linked with another ideological and political action – an anti-Semitic campaign, which was also directed against “rootless cosmopolitans”. In the media, this campaign was carried out under the personal control of Stalin, with slogans such as: preventing the spread of pseudoscientific research in the Soviet Union, formalistic and other harmful manifestations in science, “groveling” on the part of the intelligentsia, etc. Gradually, criticism of cosmopolitanism acquired an anti-Semitic character<sup>16</sup>. Stalin sought to point the finger at the Jews as if they were the culprits of the difficulties of the difficult post-war years. Many Jews were dismissed from their positions without any reason. Beria, on Stalin’s orders, began to raise “cases” against Jewish writers, artists, and intellectuals under the slogan of eradicating “agents of imperialism – the Zionists”. Despite the provocative nature of the so-called “Doctors’ Plot” (which, as Khrushchev admitted at the 20th Congress, had no basis whatsoever) and others, Stalin failed to provoke a wave of anti-Semitism in the USSR, which he clearly counted on to distract the masses from the real causes of the grave situation<sup>17</sup>.

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<sup>15</sup> Баберовскі Й. Червоний терор. Історія сталінізму / Пер. з німецької. Київ: К.І.С., 2007. С. 206, 207.

<sup>16</sup> Прохоренко О. «Інформаційна війна» в СРСР ... С. 120.

<sup>17</sup> Рутыч Н. КПСС у власти. Очерки по истории... С. 403.

Using the slogan of eradicating “rootless cosmopolitanism” from Soviet society, Stalin initiated another wave of terror, which quickly acquired a mass character, covering almost all spheres and structures: political, socio-cultural, ideological, administrative, etc. The accusation of cosmopolitanism mainly concerned reproaches such as “anti-Russian preaching of national nihilism, servility to the West and assistance in inciting imperialist propaganda”. At the same time, representatives of Jewish national literature, art and public organizations were considered agents of foreign research associated with the world Jewish community and were accused by the authorities of subversive activities against the Soviet Union. Representatives of the Jewish cultural space were criticized for anti-patriotism, and, accordingly, could be subject to obstruction as state criminals and traitors. Thus, a rather paradoxical situation developed: “Jewish bourgeois nationalists” were persecuted by the Stalinist regime because of their desire to preserve their national-cultural, religious and linguistic identity, while “rootless cosmopolitans” were accused of the opposite – the desire to renounce their own national identity. among the “global universal unity of peoples”. Although the problem lay in the very essence of the Stalinist totalitarian regime, which was inhumane and terrorist by its nature. Applying the principle of “divide and rule”, the Soviet government used the slogan of eradicating cosmopolitanism also to persecute the Soviet intelligentsia with pro-Western, liberal sentiments. Against the background of chauvinistic, patriotic sentiments of a significant part of Soviet society, calls for persecution of the Jewish nationality were increasingly perceived. And already in early 1949, a large-scale attack began on representatives of the Jewish national-intellectual elite with accusations of espionage. The liquidation of Jewish cultural and scientific institutions began, and mass arrests of their employees were carried out. Moscow International Radio broadcasts in Yiddish ceased. And in order to legitimize the process of persecuting “Jewish nationalists”, a so-called “Zionist conspiracy” was fabricated. The “conspirators” included members of the Jewish Anti-Fascist Committee, the leaders of the Jewish Theater in Moscow, and the Soviet Information Bureau. They were accused of spying for the United States and of intending to implement “the plan of American capitalism to create a Jewish state in Crimea”<sup>18</sup>. As J. Boffa

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<sup>18</sup> Політичний терор і тероризм в Україні. XIX–XX ст.: Історичні нариси / Відп.



noted, after World War II, Stalinist chauvinism manifested itself to a greater extent in the form of anti-Semitism. During this period, a number of persecution campaigns were launched against the Jews<sup>19</sup>. And almost all of them were of an informational and ideological nature.

Soviet media during the Cold War systematically presented Zionism and Ukrainian “bourgeois” nationalism as harmful and hostile nationalist phenomena. But it should be taken into account that one of the main incentives for the development of Zionism was anti-Semitism, which in the form of a variety of xenophobia has always been inherent in those societies that were weakened by internal crises and troubles. The Kremlin regime’s xenophobia manifested itself not least in its new attitude toward Soviet Jews. After all, the Nazi terror, according to the official version, was a war against all the peoples of the USSR. There was no room in this history for genocide against Jews. The distrust of the political leadership grew as self-conscious Jews and their representatives behaved more openly<sup>20</sup>. Even after Stalin’s death and in the conditions of the transformation of the totalitarian regime into an authoritarian one, this kind of information and ideological policy in the Soviet Union continued to exist. And already in the modern period of history, the policy of the leadership of the Russian Federation remains anti-Semitic in its essence (support for terrorist groups such as Hamas, Hezbollah, etc.).

E. Magda noted that during the Cold War, the Soviet Union provided all kinds of support to various radical movements, usually of a national liberation or leftist nature. At the same time, the assistance was mainly of a material and military nature, with the involvement of a special contingent of military specialists (the so-called mission to fulfill an “international duty”). However, despite high salaries, usually the participants in these “missions” could not claim any benefits due to their secrecy. But such a practice also took place in the United States during the Cold War. And from the modern variety of hybrid

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ред. В. А. Смолій; НАН України. Інститут історії України. Київ: Наукова думка, 2002. С. 729–731.

<sup>19</sup> Боффа Дж. История Советского Союза: в 2-х тт. Т. 2. От Отечественной войны до положения второй мировой державы. Сталин и Хрущев. 1941–1964 гг. 2-е изд. Москва: Междунар. отношения, 1994. 632 с. URL: [https://scepsis.net/library/id\\_3196.html](https://scepsis.net/library/id_3196.html)

<sup>20</sup> Баберовскі Й. Червоний терор... С. 208.

information warfare, the situation differed primarily in that it was much easier to keep classified information in the 1950s–1980s than it is now<sup>21</sup>. In general, the information and ideological policy of the Soviet Union during this period used Marxist philosophy to criticize capitalism and “militaristic imperialism”.

At the beginning of the Cold War, the strategic goal of the United States was to enable the satellites of the Soviet Union to gradually free themselves from its control. This could be achieved not only through economic power, but also through targeted information activities. In particular, the priority tasks were to level the ideological myths on which international communism was based and to counter the destructive foreign influences of the Kremlin regime, which manifested themselves in the form of powerful intelligence and ideological-sabotage networks, with the wide use of the “fifth column”. It should be noted that in the first quarter of the 21st century, the situation did not change fundamentally. The successor of the Soviet Union, the Russian Federation, used virtually all former Soviet methods and means against the states of the civilized world.

### **3. The Kremlin’s Hybrid Information-Ideological Practice as a Prerequisite for the Modern Russian-Ukrainian War**

The period of the “Cold War”, among other things, was marked by the activation of significant resources of the Kremlin regime to manipulate public opinion in Western countries. Thus, thanks to its widely ramified network of agents, the authorities of the Soviet Union achieved quite significant success in terms of retransmission of their information and ideological narratives. Accordingly, the KGB and GUR officers – usually under diplomatic cover, systematically carried out a large number of hybrid-information special operations. In this case, Western media were often used for this. Beginning in the 2000s, the authorities and special agencies of the Russian Federation, already using cyberspace, have been even more active in weakening Western states and imposing their priorities in the sphere of politics, international relations, economics, etc. on Western liberal society. At the same time, they tried to destroy the existing world order by all possible means and methods (mainly of a hybrid-information nature).

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<sup>21</sup> Магда С. Гібридна агресія Росії: уроки для Європи. Київ: КАЛАМАР, 2017. С. 20.

The policy of hybrid civilizational expansion was chosen by the Kremlin regime for a reason, because the bitter feeling of national insult as a result of the defeat in the Cold War, the collapse of the USSR and the loss of superpower status has not yet disappeared in Russian society. Without risking an open military confrontation with NATO, the Russian Federation carries out hybrid attacks against the West in various directions, successfully exploiting the vulnerabilities of Western democracies. The US government considered its main task to be not only limiting the hegemony of Soviet armed might, but also reducing its ideological influence – both on the countries of the socialist camp and beyond.

During the stage of the large-scale invasion of the Russian Federation into the territory of Ukraine, the occupiers committed systematic crimes, including against the civilian population, with existing signs of “crimes against humanity”. All this was and remains the natural consequences of the policy of the Kremlin regime towards Ukraine, primarily aimed at terror and genocide<sup>22</sup>.

Among the main methods of Soviet (and now Russian) propaganda are: artificial demonstration of their own successes in the economic or technological sphere; total disinformation – against the background of certain real facts; in contradictory interpretations of facts – attempts to sow doubts among the majority of neutral (foreign) observers of the facts; inspired shifting of blame for their own crimes to the victim themselves, etc. At the same time, in the conditions of information and ideological confrontation with the Western civilized world, the Kremlin regime has always used hybrid methods such as information blackmail, political bluff, etc. At present, a striking example of such information blackmail and political bluff is the inspiring of the problem around the UOC MP. In fact, this is a completely pro-Moscow organization, which, instead of religion, has long been mainly engaged in zombifying the Ukrainian population, and now – in subversive, pro-Russian activities. But many Western politicians (including those in the US) are showing persistent concern about this problem, invented by the Kremlin. Even UN officials have criticized Ukraine for the lack of

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<sup>22</sup> Тельвак В. В., Ільницький В. І., Тельвак В. П. Повномасштабний етап російсько-української війни в аналітичному дзеркалі часопису “Komentarze Ośrodka Studiów Wschodnich”. *Сучасна російсько-українська війна: історіографічні, суспільнополітичні, соціально-економічні та культурно-духовні виміри. Наукова монографія*. Riga, Latvia: “Baltija Publishing”, 2024. С. 217, 218.

“sufficient justification” for the dissolution of religious organizations, in particular the UOC MP. However, the fact that this organization is deeply embedded in Ukrainian society by the Kremlin’s agent network is for some reason stubbornly ignored!

## CONCLUSIONS

The hybrid policy of Russian neo-imperialism of the Russian Federation has combined, at first glance, incompatible ideologies – Russian great-power monarchism and Soviet pseudo-democratic neo-Bolshevik authoritarianism. As a result, a hybrid mixture of post-Soviet totalitarianism was formed.

Foreign radio propaganda occupied one of the primary places among various channels (tourism, family ties, postal channels, foreign exhibitions, film screenings, illegal import of anti-communist publications, records, tape recordings, etc.) for the penetration of “anti-Soviet” information. The term “anti-Soviet” refers to any critical, non-complimentary information that exposes flaws and problems in the socio-political, economic, humanitarian spheres in the USSR as a whole and its republics in particular, or compares certain achievements with corresponding analogues in Western countries (not in favor of the USSR).

Considering that modern Ukrainian society is, to a large extent, a product of the Soviet ideological system with correspondingly implanted ideological and political archetypes, and also taking into account the latest attempts to use the media as manipulators of public opinion, a scientific analysis of the essence of the phenomenon of “enemy voices” and the mechanisms for counteracting them in Soviet Ukraine in the second half of the 20th century is relevant.

In addition to traditional Ukrainophobia, Stalinist chauvinism also manifested itself in the form of anti-Semitism. A number of persecution campaigns were launched against Jews. The confrontation with “world Zionism” in the USSR in the informational and ideological sense rose to the same level as the fight against Ukrainian “bourgeois nationalism”.

The establishment of totalitarian power in the USSR led not only to: collectivization, dispossession, famines and mass repressions, when the cream of the Ukrainian nation was exterminated. At the same time, the dominance of Bolshevik ideology in combination with the totalitarian

system of power and the cult of personality led to the emergence of a deformed political and legal regime. Now our society is still “reaping” the fruits sown in their time by Lenin, Stalin and other ideologists of Bolshevism, including Ukrainian supporters of socialism and national communism. The erasure of national features and the loss of spiritual traditions led to a significant deformation of the public morality of Soviet people. Deprived of national, cultural, moral and religious-spiritual foundations, already in the post-Soviet period such people became psychologically dependent on external influences. And this ultimately led to the dominance of the UOC MP and other pro-Russian factors in Ukraine and, consequently, to the modern Russian-Ukrainian war.

### **ABSTRACT**

The hybrid information and ideological practice of the Kremlin regime is analyzed as one of the most significant prerequisites for the modern Russian-Ukrainian war. An attempt is made to characterize the hybrid policy of Russian neo-imperialism of the Russian Federation – as a combination of Russian great-power monarchism and Soviet pseudo-democratic neo-Bolshevik authoritarianism, which resulted in the formation of a hybrid manifestation of post-Soviet totalitarianism. It is noted that the strengthening of the hybrid information and ideological practice of the Kremlin regime occurred during the Cold War. It is noted that in the conditions of information and ideological confrontation with the Western civilized world, the Kremlin regime has always applied hybrid methods. In the modern period, a striking example of this was the inspiring of the problem around the UOC MP, which, instead of religion, has long been engaged in zombifying the Ukrainian population, and now – subversive, pro-Russian activities.

### **АНОТАЦІЯ**

Проаналізовано гібридну інформаційно-ідеологічну практику Кремлівського режиму в якості однієї з найбільш суттєвих передумов сучасної російсько-української війни. Зроблено спробу дати характеристику гібридній політиці російського неоімперіалізму РФ – як поєднання російського великодержавного монархізму та радянського псевдodemократичного необільшовицького авторитаризму, наслідком чого було формування гібридного прояву пострадянського тоталітаризму. Відзначено, що посилення гібридної інформаційно-ідеологічної практики Кремлівського

режиму відбулося в період “Холодної війни”. Наголошено, що в умовах інформаційно-ідеологічного протиборства із західним цивілізованим світом Кремлівський режим завжди послуговувався гібридними методами. У сучасний період яскравим прикладом цього стало інспірування проблеми навколо УПЦ МП, котра замість релігії, тривалий час займалася зомбуванням українського населення, а нині – підривною, проросійською діяльністю.

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