

Interaction between civil society and the state under the hybrid wars (the experience of Ukraine)

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Abstract:

As social and political practice shows, the resources and efforts of public authorities are not enough to form an effective answer to the modern threats to national security. This is due to many reasons: bureaucratic state apparatus; system of subordination and hierarchy of government institutions; shortage of human resources (experts, specialists, analysts), and so on. For this reason, the search for alternative methods to improve the functioning of an informative security system is expedient, and can explain the attraction of non-state institutes to these processes. Western democracies are directed toward the participating of non-state institutes in organizational and administrative processes and civil society is a valuable participant in the political process.

In general, it is possible to distinguish two basic and mutually conditioned factors regarding the attraction of civil society institutes to the provision of informative security. Firstly, it promotes the efficiency of functioning of the informative security system. Secondly, it demonstrates the orientation of the state towards western liberal democratic principles of management.

In this scientific article, the theoretical bases of participation of civil society elements in counteraction to the informative threats to national security are analyzed. The objective necessity of co-operation between non-state institutes and the state in the security sector took into consideration the modern geopolitical conditions that Ukraine became embroiled in. A theoretical comprehension of a range of problems was also proved and determines the actuality of this article.

Its primary purpose is an integral analysis of the theoretical bases of participation of civil society institutes in counteraction to modern informative threats, based on the experience of Ukraine.

The following *tasks* appear in accordance with this purpose: to theoretically justify the need to involve civil society to ensure national security in the information sphere; determine the list of institutions that have the necessary capacity to participate effectively in ensuring national security in the information sphere; identifying key problems that exist in the mechanism of interaction between civil society and the state.

For the realization of the above-mentioned aim and tasks of the research, the expediency was proved and basic directions of the involvement of non-state institutes in the process of informative security provision are determined, and the mechanisms of this process are systematized.

It was necessary to apply different scientific methods because of the complication of the topic analysis. First of all, the use of system method should be mentioned. Thus, civil society was examined as an integral system that consists of connected elements. An institutional method, that gave an opportunity to analyze integrally the institutes of civil society, was also applied. In addition, induction, deduction, analysis, synthesis, generalization and others were used.

The non-state subjects of the informative security provision in Ukraine found themselves as a focus of scientific analysis. The aim of the research is not only to study the examples of the activity of non-state institutes but also the interaction routes between them and the state. While analyzing the involvement of the native civil society to the counteraction to the informative threats, the decision was drawn that Ukraine owns sufficient "non-state potential" to conduct an effective protection policy concerning the national interests in the informative field. In spite of all this, the question is about both voluntary and organizational (public associations) and professionally expert (analytical centers) and informative (mass media) activity as well. It confirms the expediency of the involvement of Ukrainian civil society institutes in security policy.

Public associations in this article are considered as a group of individuals that is voluntarily united, based on general social and political, economic, cultural, religious or other interests; a kind of mediator between society and the state. The Possibility for public structures to decide definite tasks in the spheres of life protection, safety and property of ordinary citizens, and to put the energy of citizens into creative activity and to reduce the level of social tension in society, especially in a society in the transitional (crisis) stage of its development – is one of the conditions for the sustainable development of the country.

Given the theme of this article, attention is focused on the process of ensuring security in the information sphere. An example is the activities of the public associations «Center for Military-Political Studies» and their project «The Informative resistance». Its effective counteraction to Russian propaganda is presented in the article as evidence of the need to involve non-governmental organizations in security policy in the information sphere. The special role in the provision of informative safety of the state is performed by non-governmental analytical centers or «think tanks» that belong to the second group of institutes.

Think tanks are a source of expertise and intellectual resources needed in information security. This is exemplified here by the Ukrainian Centre for Economic and Political Studies, named after Olexander Razumkov, which is offers information and analytical support to the Ukrainian government in the sector of information security.

In addition, this paper looks at a third group of institutions; namely the mass media, which on the one hand is a representative of the social and political process, and on the other hand helps form public opinion, as one of the basic sources of information. It acts as a valuable subject who between the informative space of the state and society and can play a dual role in helping the state in the provision of informative safety and acting as a basic informative threat.

This article looks at the following regarding the media in providing information security: the rendering of objective and clear information that will base itself on the facts from reliable sources, the dissemination of counter-propaganda and protection of public opinion from the manipulative influences of external subjects, and the positive influence it can draw on social consciousness.

In accordance with the aim and tasks, these exhaustive conclusions were drawn:

Firstly, during the research the necessity of establishing an exact communicative connection between the civil society and the state in the sphere of national security was determined.

Secondly, three groups of institutes that possess the necessary potential for the effective participation in national security provided in the informative sphere can be distinguished.

Thirdly, in the process of co-operation between the civil society and the state there are a number of problems that hinder the national security provision in the informative sphere.

Key words: Information security. Hybrid warfare. Information. Information threats. Think tank. Mass media. Civil society.

General description

Today it is possible to confidently say that a high level of development of civil society is one of the characteristic features of the modern democratic legal state, and the protection of its values and principles are on the list of key national interests. At the same time, the public sector is a basic block of a non-state segment of national security, and it has a direct influence on the formation of an effective system of counteraction to external and internal threats and challenges, in particular in the informative sphere. From this point of view, civil society, on the one hand, appears as an object (as an institute that shapes the national interests of a democratic state), and on the other hand, as an instrument (as a resource and skilled potentiate of the state, and reliable ally) of politics of national security.

Many Ukrainian scientists have investigated the problems the involvement of civil society as a counterthreat to national security: O. Korniyevsky, D. Gorelov, I. Zalewski, V. Lipkan, O. Sydorчук, V. Krutov, I. Binko among others. It is particularly important to emphasize the studies of the Ukrainian scientist Olexander Korniyevsky; particularly worth mentioning is his article «Non-governmental system of national security: a conceptual basis»¹, which presents a

¹ KORNIYEVSKY, O. Non-governmental system of the national security: conceptual bases. In *Scientific notes of I. F. Kuras Institute of Political and Ethnic Studies of the National Academy of Sciences of Ukraine*. 2008, Vol. 42, pp. 231-240.

detailed and comprehensive analysis of the involvement of non-governmental institutions (as elements of civil society) in the system of national security. However, at the same time an important scientific question regarding the involvement of non-governmental institutions in the fight against modern information threats within ukrainian science remains open, and thus actualizes scientific research in this direction.

It should be noted that this subject has been more promoted in publications by US and European scientists, including researchers such as A. Hinz, S. Baber, M. Carey-Smith, L. Mey, G. Seneca, A. Sela, P. Williams and others. In particular, it is worth mentioning the article by American Scientists M. Carey-Smith and L. May «*Information Security and Civil Society Organisations*»², in which the authors have focused their study on the role of individual elements of civil society in the system of information security, and cooperation with the state apparatus. However, it should be noted that the research and publication of foreign authors are dedicated more on the technological aspect of information security (Internet security, combating cyberthreads, protection of computer systems and so on). Socio-political and value aspects of this issue mostly remain unexplored.

During recent years in Ukraine, the role of civil society in providing national security and counteraction to the external and internal threats has grown substantially; a tendency shown especially in the information sphere. The effective policy of safety and counteraction to information threats is one of the basic constituents of the state's national safety system and at the same time testifies to the correct character of connection between the public organs and society. Under conditions of unrestrained progress in information technology and general informatization in all sectors of people's lives (in politics, economy, defense, energy, etc.), it has become a much more difficult task to control and defend the information space of a country³.

Modern Ukrainian realities show convincingly that Ukraine is in an extremely difficult political situation affecting all spheres of Ukrainian life. The key reason for such a situation is the military-informative aggression against Ukraine coming from Russia; the waging of a «hybrid war». This type of war combines the application of both classic soldiery instruments (military technique, firearms, regular troops) and methods of informative influence (cyber-attack, informative diversions, aggressive propaganda, impact on public opinion). For this reason, the problems of the functioning of the system of informative security and counteraction to the external informative threats become relevant in the modern rhetoric of political figures and scientists.

In this situation, the institutes of civil society appear as reliable partners of the state. The state gets the additional source of resources (skilled, expert, intellectual etc.), due to a dialogue with society. However, at the same time, the state has to protect the interests of this society. Thus, the constructing of an effective mechanism of cooperation between these subjects is an important element of national security⁴.

While investigating the theoretical aspect of relations between the state and civil society in the context of informative security, it is necessary to clarify and classify the institutes of civil society which are actually part of informative security in Ukraine. While putting aside all the institutes of civil society and paying attention to those that participate in providing of informative safety, the following groups should be distinguished:

² CAREY-SMITH, M. – MAY, L. Information security and civil society organizations. In *OAI (Recent advances in security technology)*, 2007, pp. 314-327.

³ ACEITUNO, V. On Information Security Paradigms. In *ISSA Journal*, September 2005. Available at: <http://www.slideshare.net/vaceituno/aceituno-canal-on-information-security-paradigms>

⁴ HERASINA, L. *Legal awareness and legal culture as the basic factors of statehood building in Ukraine*. Kharkiv : Pravo, 2009. 352 p.

Public associations should be referred to in the first group. Such examples include: «The Academy of national security» (ukr. «Академія національної безпеки»), the Allukrainian association «Informative security and information technologies» (ukr. Всеукраїнська асоціація «Інформаційна безпека та інформаційні технології»), The Center of military-political research (ukr. Центр військово-політичних досліджень), wider known due to the project «The Informative resistance» (ukr. «Інформаційний опір»).

The second group consists of non-governmental analytical centers, such as non-state experts and scientific establishments. The Ukrainian center of economic and political research / Razumkov Center (ukr. Український центр економічних і політичних досліджень ім. Олександра Разумкова), Ukrainian institute of public politics (ukr. Український інститут публічної політики), The Center of political legal reforms (ukr. Центр політико-правових реформ);

The third group unites all non-state mass medias that work on Ukrainian territory, such as some printed sources (magazines, newspapers), television channels, radio stations, and Internet resources. For example: «News-letter» (ukr. газета «Інформаційний бюлетень»), the internet publishing «Ukrainian Truth» (ukr. інтернет-видання «Українська правда»), the televisional channels «112.ua», «First Ukrainian information 5th channel» (ukr. «Перший український інформаційний – 5 канал»), «television channel 24» (ukr. «телевізійний канал 24») etc.

Taking into account the fact that this article is devoted to the research of the Ukrainian experience, concrete examples will be examined within the limits of the Ukrainian political system. As a consequence, we face the complication of the location and the role of civil society institutes in the system of national security provision which is conditioned by the fact that the general background is of a low level of political power legitimacy, oligarchy and informative pressure coming from an external aggressor. As a result, civil society is in a condition of permanent tension.

It leads to both intensification of organizational and social transformation and the appearance of new tendencies in their development.

Public associations

Regarding the first group of institutes, or public associations, it should be noted, they unite generally, socially and politically, economically, culturally, religiously or through other interests. The absence of direct threats of external aggression gives them the real potential of influence on a situation in the field of information.

It is the question for public structures to determine the tasks in the spheres of protection of life, safety and property of ordinary citizens, to put the energy of citizens into creative activity, and to reduce the level of social tension in society, especially in a society at the transitional (crisis) stage of its development. The most striking example of this is the activity of a non-governmental organization named «Center of military-political research» (Kyiv). At the same time, it should be mentioned, that this organization is not so known as its project named «Informative Resistance». As it was remarked on the official website of «sprotyv.info», this non-governmental initiative is created with the aim of counteraction in the informative field to the external threats that Ukraine faces in its military, economic and energy spheres, as well as in the sphere of informative safety.

For effective educational work within the population, and general counteraction to the informative threats, official groups like «Informative Resistance» were registered in the most popular social networks, namely «VK», «Facebook», «Twitter», and an official channel is also created on the popular videohosting of YouTube. The beginning of the project was at the initial stage of Russian aggression against Ukraine, on March 2nd, 2014.

The work of «Informative Resistance» is based on, first of all, the objective of publicising different events or processes. As the official web-site says, information that comes to the employees of «Informative Resistance» is checked for at least two unconnected sources; although, generally, three sources are usually used. If information is extremely resonant, «Informative Resistance» alludes to the eyewitnesses and participants of the events.

In most cases, illumination of one or other questions is realized not only on the basis of information collected by the employees of «Informative Resistance», but also with the use of materials that come from other sources (media, internet sources, eyewitnesses etc.) that are tested before publication. A project is sent not only to illustrate the events, but also to publish some analytical materials that were prepared by the experts from the Center of military-political research and invited for collaboration of Ukrainian and foreign experts from other non-governmental organizations, public authorities and international organizations.

Non-governmental analytical centers / think tanks

The special role in providing informative security of the state is played by non-governmental analytical centers or think tanks which belong to the second group of institutes. These public research establishments carry out consultations with state structures and specialize, as a rule, in humanities such as politics, economics, law etc. These organizations produce such work as applied political examination, analytical research, estimation and prognostication of economic and sociocultural consequences of political decisions. A non-governmental analytical center is an element of civil society which helps to concentrate the intellectual potential of experts and scientists, who are able to generate significant ideas and, by means of communication channels and state institutes, provide their practical realization. Many foreign political scientists consider that many modern states pose questions particularly in regard to security, requiring from the political direction of the country the extended search for facilities of programme development for the effective protection of national interests in the field of information. The example of this activity is the «Ukrainian center of economic and political researches» (Razumkov Center) – it is a non-state analytical center, founded in 1994, that carries out research in public policy in such spheres, as national security and defense, international and regional security, internal, foreign policy, economic politics, state administration and energy.

Currently, many scientists, experts and public figures, consider The Razumkov Center a leading non-governmental analytical center that has a status not only within Ukraine, but also at an international level. This think tanks unites the experts of different industries (political science, international relations, energy, military business, sociology etc.). The Razumkov Center has a staff of 35 employees on a permanent basis and another 100 workers. An all-Ukrainian opinion poll at the sociological office of The Razumkov Center has carried out over 300 interviews.

Due to its significant potential, the Razumkov Center has the opportunity for expert and analytical support for the state in questions of informative security. First of all has been the question about the presentation of the results of sociological research and their analytic geometry to the corresponding structures that gives a clear vision to the situation in this sphere. Similar research concerns the detection of influence on public opinion, analysis of the basic filling in of MASS-MEDIA materials, and exposure of sources of negative influence on the informative environment. Sociological research on the study of dynamics of trust level in Ukraine, Russian and western Mass media (2000-2013); the level of the inhabitants erudition about EU and NATO; the level of trust to the basic state institutes; the attitude of Ukrainian citizens toward Russian aggression can also be given as other examples.

Other important works of The Razumkov Center are the publications of socially important materials both in the magazine «National safety and defense», and in the analytical lectures

that the experts of center present. The articles clear up the important problems in the sector of security and present the methods for their decisions. One of the most important was in the magazine «National safety and defense» called the «Russian-Ukrainian conflict: situation, consequences, future prospects» (in 2014). The opinions of national and foreign experts about the future relations of Ukraine and Russia, the analysis of the situation on the Russian direction, such as results of the expert and national public opinion poll of The Razumkov Center were presented there.

Mass media

The third group is the mass media that, on the one hand, is the representative of social and political processes, and on the other hand forms public opinion - as one of the basic information sources. They act as a valuable agent which shapes the information space of the state and society and can play a dual role: both helping the state in providing informative security and acting as a basic information threat⁵.

Taking into account the total influence of mass media on all spheres of life, from politics to the economy, it is necessary to talk of the correct legal state regulation of their activity. Unlike Ukraine, where the potential of mass media is often used for social and political mood manipulation, and is combined with election propaganda and black PR, in western democracies they are an element of non-government and an expression of the basic values of the legal state and civil society. The state acquires an independent mass media as a valuable player in the «information market» and forms conditions for their free and, at the same time, transparent (especially in the question of sourcing, sponsorship, legality of information obtaining) working, without too much impediment..

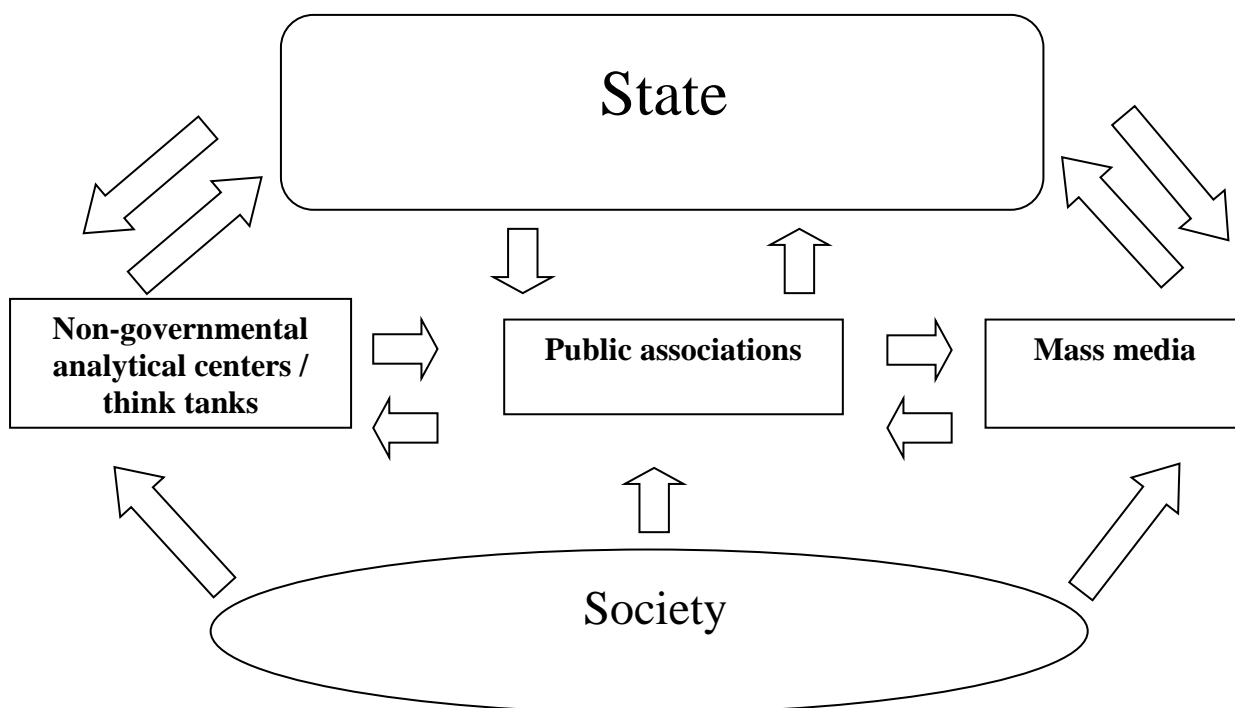
There are many examples of mass media participation in the process of information security provision. Because of their considerable quantity and variety (print, television, radio) only a few examples will be presented without too detailed consideration. In the conditions of the hybrid war, the main aims of mass media in the sphere of information security comes in the rendering of objective and clear information that will base itself on the facts from reliable sources (for example, truthful coverage of hostility in Donbas as an answer to the Russian propagandists' fake coverage), the dissemination of counter-propaganda and protection of public opinion from the manipulative influences of external subjects (other states, political parties, terrorist and unconstitutional groupings and other similar ones) and from a positive influence on social consciousness (strengthening of patriotic sentiment, solidarity and humanism as an answer to the anti-Ukrainian and misanthropic slogans of pro-Russian mass media).

Cooperation between the state and civil society

A practical realization of tasks concerning the protection of informative space requires from all subjects (both state and non-state) the active cooperation and general co-ordination of efforts, resources and possibilities in counteraction to modern threats and challenges. Through the mediation of the above-listed institutes, specific control sticks in providing of informative safety are available in the society.

⁵ HOLOVKA, A. *The activities of modern media in the context of information security Ukraine* [Scientific Conference "Actual problems of the humanities and natural sciences", 8. – 9. 04. 2016]. (Conference materials). Uzhorod, 2016, pp. 85-87.

Figure 1: Interaction between state and society in the field of information security



Such co-operation is possible in the presence of effective mechanisms. The question is about the construction of such communication channels between the state authority and society when the protection of interests in the information field will be most effective. It should be mentioned that it is not a one-sided process, which is merely a state task or a task of society. Such a system of mutual relations can exist only on condition that the actions of both subjects of information security will be combined. It requires the presence of the political culture of civil society in the country and high political ethics of the state operating in mutual responsibility.

In the conditions of hybrid war, such relations are especially necessary, as they allow the public and state institutes to perform as a united front against an external enemy. At the same time, social and political practice of Ukraine proves that it is hardly ever possible to build such a model of collaboration because of a number of objective (technological and organizational aspects) and subjective (human factor) circumstances. At the same time, the movement to this ideal and permanent continuous progress in this segment of safety policy are necessary.

Structural descriptions of such co-operation are difficult enough because of so many different nuances that have an influence on the functioning of the information security system. The main scientific interest forms the analysis of key ways of cooperation between the civil society and the state:

Creation and further work of public councils attached to the state structures, namely ministries, separate departments, military and safety structures (this method is usually typical for a collaboration between public associations and the state). Conclusions of a treaty between the state and institutes of civil society. The signing of a tripartite memorandum about collaboration between the Ministry of information politics, the PO «Institute of informative safety" (Ukraine) and PO «Together» (USA), can be considered as examples. The aim of the

conclusions is general protection of information space in Ukraine and the extension of citizens' knowledge in the field of the media.

The realization of united administration, research, information-analytic and other projects. For example, the development and practical application of information policy by the Ministry of Information policy and by the volunteers of the project «Informational forces» and «Informational Shield»;

The realization of general scientific and educational measures, namely; conferences, seminars, round tables dedicated to informative safety with the organs of public administration and the public; public listening, consultations and realization of public initiatives.

The main problems

At the same time, today a number of problems are seen in the co-operation between civilians and the state. The effective functioning of the state information security system depends on their solution. A part of these problems is seen not only in Ukraine but also in other countries. It stimulates interest in the problem. Thus, in the basic problems of collaboration between the institutes of civil society and the state in the field of informative safety we should refer to:

- Unprocessed normative base (imperfection of the legislative base in the questions of the safety policy and the informative space protection;
- Organizational and institutional weakness in the sector of safety and defense;
- Bureaucratization of the governmental staff that makes a dialogue difficult between society and the power;
- Poor development of the network of expert non-governmental organizations that solve the problems of national safety and yield noticeably to their foreign analogues.
- Citizens have a low level of political culture in Ukrainian society and do not have activist thinking;
- Low level of political ethics of civil servants, their unwillingness to attract public organizations to realization of safety policy;
- Absence of clear understanding of all modern threats and risks in the informative sphere. It can be conditioned by the rapid rates of the information technology development (especially cybernetics).

Conclusion

Thus, in modern terms civil society institutions are full subjects of information security in Ukraine. In social and political practice, government efforts are usually not enough to effectively counter threats to information. This in turn causes the above state leadership to form a dialogue with civil society, who act as reliable allies of the state. The main institutions that can provide necessary assistance to the state of information security are associations, non-governmental think tanks and the media. Basic ways of interaction between civil society and the state in this area is the work of community councils, the conclusion of appropriate agreements, implementation of joint projects and programs, joint scientific and educational activities, and implementation of community initiatives. Such cooperation, on the one hand, can improve the quality of operation of the entire system of information security in Ukraine, on the other, ensure the implementation of democratic principles and values in practice. Today we can identify a number of problems that are characteristic of the modern mechanism of interaction between civil society and state. From their solution depends the further development of the entire national security system.

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