



**Russian Propaganda as a Means of Forming  
the Image of the External Enemy**  
(on the Example of the Analysis  
of Electronic Resources of Nine Agencies of the World)

**Annotation**

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**Keywords:**

*Russian propaganda, electronic resources,  
international information agencies, image  
of the external enemy.*

*The purpose of the study is to analyze and generalize the specific aspects of the functioning of Russian propaganda as a tool for forming the image of the external enemy.*

*Methods and techniques involved in our study: Web monitoring to collect and analyze publications on websites in the field of scientific and technical expertise and information. Content analysis allowed us to carry out a systematic analysis of texts, videos, photos and other materials to identify the main themes, messages, tone, words and images used. Thanks to the content analysis, we determined which messages and images are used to create the image of the external enemy, and how often they are found in propaganda materials.*

*The research methodology involved the random selection of forty-five publications on the websites of nine international agencies of the world (five publications from each of the nine) and their further analysis to establish specific aspects of the functioning of Russian propaganda as a tool for forming the image of the external enemy. Agence France Press (France), Reuters agency (Great Britain), BBC (Great Britain), Deutsche Presse-Agentur (DPA; Germany), and Xinhua (China) were selected among the international agencies. , «Anadolu Agency» (Turkey), «Press Trust of India» (India), «Kyodo News» (Japan), «Agência Brasil» (Brazil).*

*The study's results proved that Russian propaganda during the analyzed period used typical standard and hybrid methods and technologies of formation.*

*Conclusions. Analysis of the content of electronic resources indicates that Russian propaganda effectively uses international media to create an image of the external enemy. Such influence can have serious consequences for*

*international relations and therefore requires attention and a critical approach to information from these sources.*

## Introduction

In today's world, information technologies are at the centre of global changes, influencing all spheres of social life. However, this progress sometimes becomes a source of dissemination and strengthening of specific informational events that influence mass perception, forming images of the world, distorting facts and creating an alternative reality. One of the key components of this phenomenon is Russian propaganda. It is characterized by the systematic and strategic dissemination of specific messages and views to influence the consciousness and persuasion of the audience.

Discussing the topic «Russian propaganda as a means of forming the image of the external enemy», we note the relevance of this study in the context of modern geopolitical realities. Geopolitical tensions and growing competition between countries in the international arena give special importance to methods and strategies of information influence. Russian propaganda acts not only as a means of internal political manipulation but also as a tool for forming the image of the external enemy, which is reflected in the worsening of international relations and affects the perception of real events.

The research on the problems of Russian propaganda is important for understanding modern challenges and threats facing the international community. The analysis of the principles and methods of functioning Russian propaganda will contribute to the formation of counter-strategies aimed at the stability of the information space and the values of democracy and human rights.

We chose Russian propaganda as a means of forming the image of the external enemy as the object of the study, and the subject was the analysis of the electronic resources of nine agencies of the world in the process of forming the image of the external enemy through Russian propaganda

We want to analyze and generalize the specific aspects of the functioning of Russian propaganda as a tool for forming the image of the external enemy.

## Research methods and procedures

Scientific and special methods we are in this study to achieve the set goal and solve specific tasks. Analysis and synthesis there are for studying and evaluating scientific publications on the topic. It allows you to analyze the content of publications, while synthesis helps to summarize the obtained results. Web monitoring – for collecting and analyzing information resources available in publications on various websites, submitted in particular in the field of scientific and technical expertise and information. This method allows you to get comprehensive information about the presented resources. Content analysis is a study of texts, videos, photos and other materials to identify the main themes, messages, tone, words and images used. This method makes it possible to determine exactly which messages and images we are to create the image of the external enemy, and how often they are found in propaganda materials. Comparative analysis is a comparison of various sources of information to identify differences and similarities in the presentation of events and facts, which make it possible to reveal how Russian mass media differ in covering events from international agencies, and which elements of propaganda, are used to create a certain image. Quantitative analysis – allows you to calculate the frequency of use of certain words, phrases or topics in propaganda materials. This

method helps to assess the intensity of propaganda influence and to determine the main accents in the coverage of events.

*Varieties and approaches  
to the conceptualization of the concepts «propaganda» and «Russian propaganda»*

В.О. Торічний and А.Г. Стадник put forward an interpretation of the concept of propaganda: «It is a conscious, systematic attempt to change perception, influence cognitive processes and manage social behaviour to achieve a reaction that is aimed at a propaganda goal» (Facebook, YouTube і Twitter махнули рукою на російську пропаганду, 2024; Васильєва, 2022). Propaganda does not impose but persuades and manipulates the motivational environment of human behaviour. Propaganda unites the thinking, evaluations and reactions of men, transforming society into a monolithic mass with a distorted consciousness and a totalitarian culture (Facebook, YouTube і Twitter махнули рукою на російську пропаганду, 2024).

In her article «Information warfare, propaganda and PR: so similar and so different...» the researcher С. Шпилик provides an alternative definition of propaganda: «Propaganda ... is a form of interaction through communication aimed at spreading facts, arguments, rumours and other information to influence public opinion in support of a specific social cause or position» (Високий рівень медіаграмотності..., 2024).

The concept of «Russian propaganda» has become quite popular in recent years. It is a term that reflects the influence of information campaigns aimed at spreading certain distorted or specific points of view, ideologies and informational messages promoted or supported by Russia. This concept can have different conceptual approaches and reflect various aspects of information influence, depending on the context and analytical paradigm.

Russian propaganda can manifest itself in various forms, aimed at forming a certain influence on public opinion. These forms are aimed at disinformation, which consists of spreading false information about events in Ukraine and the world; manipulation, when techniques are used to control the opinions of the audience, for example, a one-sided presentation of the conflict in Donbas; and propaganda aimed at supporting Russia through the use of propaganda methods, such as claims to protect the rights of Russian-speaking citizens in Ukraine (Звоздецька, 2021).

There are several approaches to the idea of »Russian propaganda.« The political approach considers it an instrument of state policy aimed at supporting Russian interests. The informational approach considers propaganda as a means of influencing public opinion for the dissemination of certain information. The cultural approach considers propaganda as a means of forming cultural values and identities, aimed at changing the perception of the world (Звоздецька, 2021).

Russian propaganda plays a significant role in shaping public opinion both in Ukraine and in other countries of the world. According to the results of scientific research conducted by Ukrainian and international scientific organizations, Russian propaganda contributes to the formation of a negative attitude towards Ukraine and its Western partners, as well as the spread of misinformation and manipulation. For example, a study conducted by the Kyiv International Institute of Sociology at the request of the public organization «Detector Media» indicates that a significant part of the interviewed Ukrainians receives information about internal events in Ukraine from unofficial sources, while trust in Russian TV channels is minimal (Канарська, Митко, 2018).

In the occupied territories of Ukraine, Russian propaganda has a significant impact on residents. According to RFE/RL, Russian occupation forces are actively disseminating their information resources, mostly through aggressive methods, while citizens are restricted in their

access to Ukrainian media. Undoubtedly, Russian propaganda can also cause the division of society and create the impression of disunity in the positions of the general opinion of the population, which complicates the conditions for influencing the mass consciousness. These factors are added to the general influence of Russian propaganda, which creates a negative attitude towards Ukraine and its Western partners, spreads misinformation and manipulation, and creates a threat of social division.

Propaganda mainly uses the means of mass communication and takes the form of persuasive influence, although it is mainly activated using the method of psychological suggestion, which means the direct introduction of specific mental information into the mental space and takes place during the transfer of information from one person to another without the active participation of the receiving person, and often even without her conscious understanding (Звоздецька, 2021).

The key components of the propaganda process include its subject (a social group that expresses its interests through propaganda), the content, forms, methods, means or channels of propaganda (such as radio, television, the press, lecture propaganda, etc.), as well as the object (purpose of propaganda for target audiences or social communities). The understanding of the propaganda process is determined by the social interests of its subject, their relationship to the interests of society in general and individual groups targeted by propaganda, which affects the content and determines the choice of forms, methods and means of propaganda (Довгань, 2019).

The main psychological goal of propaganda is to influence the system of ideological, social and political relations of people, which can be changed by forming new relations or strengthening (or weakening) existing relations.

Additionally, analyzing the work О.Г. Радзієвської, it is important to note the effectiveness of propaganda for children, which increases with age and emotional receptivity. It is necessary to assess the level of damage caused by the information as a direct negative impact on the child's consciousness, which is the result of an action determined by the period, affecting his psychophysical health, emotional state and personality formation. Therefore, countering the negative impact of information on a child should be considered as a component of the state's national security (Зосимчук, 2023).

Throughout its historical development, mankind has constantly improved various methods of influencing public opinion. At the same time, it is possible to single out several features that determined these changes. Depending on the level of development of communications, a certain channel of deep influence prevailed in society.

In the process of waging information wars, three main methods are used:

- propaganda;
- public relations (relations with the public);
- advertising (political advertising) (Війна сенсів: шляхи і напрями опору..., 2024).

In the modern information space, several types of propaganda are noted and considered from the point of view of their influence on public opinion and the goals they pursue. Black propaganda hides the true source of information, disguising it as something else, thereby misleading others. Grey propaganda spreads information without clearly identifying its source or authorship. Positive propaganda is aimed at promoting social harmony and the formation of appropriate values in society for its development, different from manipulative techniques. Negative propaganda aims to promote enmity and conflict in society by using disinformation to control citizens in totalitarian regimes or military conflicts (Волчек, 2021).

In today's information environment, there is also an increase in the influence of digital propaganda. It is based on the use of Internet platforms, social media and algorithms. This form of advocacy can effectively engage an audience and spread specific ideas based on users' data and prior preferences.

In addition, modern technologies make it possible to improve propaganda methods through the use of artificial intelligence, analytical algorithms and mental systems, which creates new opportunities for personalizing messages and adapting them to the specific needs and preferences of recipients.

In scientific literature, several types of propaganda are distinguished, including official, unofficial, direct, indirect, propaganda using art, scientific, ideological, true and axial propaganda. Each of the types has its characteristics and methods of influencing the audience, from announced official goals to the use of scientific concepts or ideological value systems to shape public opinion (Гаврилюк, 2012).

In modern conditions, it is impossible to fully describe the variety of methods of propagandistic manipulation, since they contain a wide range of specific methods. Among the most common, we can distinguish: the systematic dissemination of public myths, falsification of facts, dissemination of lies and speculations, manipulation of information processing and biased commenting on it, as well as the use of special methods to create an illusory perception of reality (for example, «half-truth», «involuntary influence», «foreign government», etc.). This complex also includes techniques such as showing politicians in an unfavourable light on television and using photomontage to distort reality to compromise opponents. One of the complex manipulative election techniques is the use of manipulations to influence voters (Гарій, 2018).

Propaganda is widely used as a method of political manipulation through mass media in society. This mass media propaganda is based on specific «values», social images, political myths and illusions, which are consolidated in people's minds in simplified standards of behaviour.

Russian state propaganda manifests itself as total, cynical and lying, based on the experience of other authoritarian and totalitarian regimes. Since the beginning of the 2000s, it has actively opposed Ukraine and Western countries through anti-Ukrainian and anti-Western propaganda. However, starting with the fourth phase of the Putin regime, especially after the start of the Revolution of Dignity in Ukraine in 2013–2014, Russian propaganda radically changed its character. It became openly chauvinistic, aggressively imperial and fascist, and moved to a full-fledged information war. Such actions are aimed at massive manipulation of public opinion, preparation of the Russian population to support external aggression and obtaining approval for measures against Ukraine. After the military aggression and occupation of Crimea, the methods and techniques of Russian propaganda became military, characterized by criminal and total disinformation, containing the spread of total lies.

Therefore, in various scientific literature, the formation of the image of the enemy is considered a significant aspect of political and socio-cultural dynamics. For further theoretical and practical research on this issue, it is important to establish the main mechanisms and strategies used by various subjects (states, political regimes, social groups, etc.) to create and assert the image of the enemy. At the same time, the main tasks are the analysis of historical contexts, political strategies and socio-cultural conditions that contribute to the formation and maintenance of such images. In addition, it is important to examine the impact of these images on society, including their impact on international relations, political stability, and sociocultural identity.

The main mechanisms and strategies used by various subjects (states, political regimes, social groups, etc.) to form and establish the image of the enemy are propaganda and media, political statements and actions, manipulation of historical facts, social campaigns and educational programs, economic sanctions and blockades, as well as political alliances and international relations. These mechanisms can be used individually or in combination, depending on the specific goals and context, to form a negative image of the chosen «enemy» to achieve various political or geopolitical goals.

Russian propaganda reveals several distinctive features, including multiple versions of the truth, flexibility and unprincipledness, and the constant injection of disinformation into the media. It is characterized by absolute falsehood, which creates a so-called «parallel reality», simultaneousness and contradiction of information for mixing cards. A crude and simple way of communication, manifestations of anti-Semitism and double standards are also characteristic features of Russian propaganda. Other methods of demagoguery and populism include an appeal to someone else's experience, an emotional approach, and an attempt to present oneself as a victim of circumstances.

Russian propaganda creates an image of the enemy, which is presented as an agent of external threat, acting against the national interests and stability of the country. This image of the enemy is characterized as untrustworthy, abusing its influence and seeking to undermine the sovereignty and security of Russia. Any force or group that criticizes the policies and actions of the Russian government or directs efforts to support alternative values and ideals becomes an enemy. This image of the enemy is strengthened by the emphasis on his criminality, dishonesty and efforts to destroy the Russian way of life.

*The study of Russian propaganda in various fields of knowledge:  
analysis of the results of domestic and foreign research*

Russian propaganda is one of the most relevant topics of modern politics and international relations. It affects various fields of knowledge, such as politics, economy, culture, science and others. Studying Russian propaganda is an important task for understanding its mechanisms and consequences.

Aggressive state propaganda, about a one-party system and the use of terror, is a sign of an authoritarian society. Usually, in totalitarian states, propagandists have a two-fold task: the first is to present the current economic and political situation in the country in the most favourable way for the authorities, and the second is to discredit any opponents of the regime.

In 2007, V. Putin's «Russian World» fund was launched in Latvia, which financed the activities of politicians and public organizations to spread Russian culture outside the country. This was interpreted as a manifestation of «soft power», similar to the approach chosen by some European countries. However, it soon became known that the fund did not adhere to transparency. The public fund indicated a focus on culture but financed the actions of politicians who promoted pro-Russian views, such as MEP Tetiana Zhdanok and former mayor of Riga, now MEP Nil Ushakov. Later, according to the European Parliament vote on Ukraine, it was clear that Zhdanok remained loyal to the Kremlin, while Ushakov took a firm stand in support of Ukraine. The influence on the local population in the Baltics was initially carried out through the propaganda programs of Russian state television channels, especially in the eastern part of Estonia and Latvia, where the share of the Russian-speaking population was the highest. In the Baltic countries, there were local publications that published materials giving the impression that life had become very difficult in Lithuania, Latvia and Estonia after the collapse of the Soviet Union. These publications emphasized that Europe imposes foreign values, which lead to the degradation of society (Пропаганда нинішня..., 2024).

The role of the Russian disinformation mechanism was not adequately assessed until some analysts began to point to Russia's attempts to influence the results of elections in various countries around the world. This marked the moment when the discussion about Russian foreign policy propaganda as a tool of informational pressure began. Since 2008, especially after the invasion of Georgia (perhaps even earlier), Russia's approach to propaganda has undergone a marked change. Real opportunities to demonstrate the effectiveness of new methods arose in 2014 during the annexation of the Crimean Peninsula. The current conflicts in Ukraine and

Syria, as well as the desire to achieve controversial goals in the «near abroad» and against NATO allies, are noted as a news area where we continue to see the impact of new propaganda (Озюменко, 2019).

RT, formerly known as «Russia Today» or «Russia Today», is one of the main multimedia news providers in Russia. With an annual budget of more than \$300 million, the media group broadcasts news in English, French, German, Spanish and Russian, as well as Eastern European languages. This channel is very popular on the Internet, where its pages receive more than a billion views. If this statement is true, then RT may be the most visited news source on the Internet. However, in addition to obvious contributors such as RT, several dozen news websites promote Russian propaganda without disclosing or disguising their affiliation with it. (Олексієнко, Андрощук, 2020).

During a visit to Moscow, the Chancellor of the Federal Republic of Germany, Angela Merkel, during a joint press conference with President, Vladimir Putin, in 2015, made an assessment of Russia's policy, expressing outrage over the annexation of Crimea and the military conflict in eastern Ukraine. She called these actions «criminal» and a violation of international law, which seriously damaged cooperation between Germany and Russia and violated the pan-European peace order. However, the word «criminal» was removed from the Russian translation of Merkel's statement, even in the full version of the press conference broadcast on Russian television, causing outrage in the world media and sparking discussions about censorship in Russia.

This example refers to the topic of studying Russian propaganda in the context of analyzing the results of both domestic and foreign research. It shows how Russian propaganda changes coverage of events and evaluations of political events depending on its goals and interests. The case demonstrates how the authorities in Russia manipulate information and use censorship to hide or distort facts to create a favourable image. Such an analysis of research allows for a better understanding of the functioning mechanisms of Russian propaganda and its impact on society in various fields of knowledge.

Analysis of the results of domestic and foreign research on Russian propaganda shows that it has a significant impact on various fields of knowledge. For example, research in the field of politics shows that Russian propaganda is used to change the geopolitical situation in the world and increase Russia's influence on international relations. Studies in the field of culture and science show that Russian propaganda is used to change the worldview and beliefs of people.

Propaganda of an aggressive war against Ukraine is one of the key aspects of the information war waged by the Russian Federation. It is used to justify and smear Russia's aggression against Ukraine, including the annexation of Crimea and military operations in eastern Ukraine. Russian propaganda tries to create the impression that the conflict in Ukraine arose solely because of the country's internal problems and the actions of local separatist formations, ignoring Russia's role in supporting and financing these formations.

In addition, Russian propaganda demonizes the Ukrainian leadership and political forces, using terms such as «junta» and «fascist junta», even though the legality and constitutionality of the Ukrainian government is recognized by the international community. The President of Russia, Vladimir Putin, periodically makes objections and fabricated information regarding the presence of the Russian military in military conflicts on the territory of Ukraine.

Russian propaganda, using various channels, including the state media and the president of the Russian Federation, influences public thinking in Russia and the world, creating a distorted understanding of the situation in Ukraine and contributing to the legitimization of Russia's aggressive policy.

Starting in September 2008, Oleksandr Dugin, a Russian politician known for his fascist views and referred to as «Putin's mastermind» publicly expressed his demands for an invasion of

Ukraine and other former Soviet republics. In his book *Fundamentals of Geopolitics: The Geopolitical Future of Russia*, he promoted the idea of annexation of Ukraine by the Russian Federation, arguing that Ukraine is irrelevant to Russia's geopolitical interests and should be a controlled country. This book influenced Putin's foreign policy and contributed to the escalation of the situation, which led to the Russian-Ukrainian conflict.

In April 2014, the rebroadcasting of four Russian TV channels in Ukraine was banned due to their role in inciting inter-ethnic enmity and propaganda for war. The NATO Secretary General also accused the Russian Federation of war propaganda and attempts to seize power in Ukraine.

Putin's Russian regime actively uses various propaganda channels, including even children's television programs, to spread the ideology of «ours» and «fascists» in Ukraine, where «ours» represents the Russian-speaking population, and «fascists» – the Ukrainian-speaking population. Thus, Russian propaganda tries to justify its aggressive policy and legitimize Russia's actions in Ukraine.

Employees of the TV channel "Zvezda", which belongs to the Ministry of Defense of Russia, Yevhen Davydov and Nikita Konashenkov, admitted their participation in distorting and fabricating information about the events in eastern Ukraine. They admitted that they transmitted false information about the use of phosphorus bombs and Grad rocket launchers by Ukrainian security forces, portraying them as a threat to the civilian population. At the same time, shelling carried out by pro-Russian terrorists and units of the armed forces of the Russian Federation, which operated both on the territory of Ukraine and from the side of Russia, was a real threat to the civilian population. Even after these facts were revealed, Russian state TV channels continued to spread disinformation about the Ukrainian shelling of populated areas.

Russian propaganda actively used various methods, including falsification of facts and distortion of events in eastern Ukraine. For example, she tried to create an image of "beasts" of the Ukrainian military to justify Russia's aggression. False stories about the shootings of civilians and the ill-treatment of prisoners were spread. Also, the Russian mass media invented stories about the heroic deeds of the separatists, which, were false. All these actions, including the distortion of facts, are aimed at creating a favourable image of Russia and justifying its aggressive policy towards Ukraine. Such behaviour is contrary to international norms and can be qualified as an action directed against the peace and security of humanity.

Analyzing the causes and consequences of studying Russian propaganda in various fields of knowledge, it can be determined that the main reasons include political motivations, cultural differences and threats to national security (Жанарська, Митко, 2018). (see Tables 1–2 below).

Tables 1

## Reasons for studying Russian propaganda in various fields of knowledge

Reasons for studying Russian propaganda	Description
Political motivations	Russian propaganda is used to influence public opinion and shape the worldview of the population. The study of propaganda helps reveal Russia's political motivations and goals.
Cultural differences	Russian propaganda has its own characteristics and differences from the propaganda of other countries. The study of propaganda helps to better understand the cultural differences and specificity of Russia.
Security of national interests	Russian propaganda can be aimed at undermining Ukraine's national security and interests. The study of propaganda makes it possible to identify threats and risks to national security.



Table 2

## Consequences of studying Russian propaganda in various fields of knowledge

Consequences of studying Russian propaganda	Description
Political consequences	Russian propaganda can have an impact on political processes in Ukraine and the world. The study of propaganda helps to understand Russia's goals and motivations and to respond to their influence on political processes.
Cultural implications	Russian propaganda can have an impact on cultural processes and the worldview of the population. The study of propaganda helps to understand the cultural differences and specificity of Russia and respond to their influence on cultural processes.
Security implications	Russian propaganda can pose a threat to Ukraine's national security and interests. The study of propaganda allows identifying threats and risks to national security and developing measures to prevent them.

First of all, the study of Russian propaganda allows us to reveal the political motivations and goals of Russia, which uses propaganda as a tool to influence public opinion and shape the worldview. In addition, the analysis helps to better understand the cultural differences and specificity of Russia.

Regarding the implications, the study of Russian propaganda identifies political, cultural, and security aspects. Influence on political processes in Ukraine and the world, interaction with cultural processes and potential threat to national security are the main consequences that the study of Russian propaganda helps to recognize and counteract. This approach makes it possible to understand and respond to the influence of Russia in various spheres, contributing to the preservation of national interests and the stability of society.

Therefore, Russian propaganda has actively evolved since the collapse of the USSR. Starting with a relatively mild version in the early 1990s, it turned into an aggressive propaganda system after the war broke out in 2014. The credibility lies in the fact that the events that have taken place in Ukraine since 2014 mark the extreme importance of the informational and psychological aspects of the conflict, especially in the hybrid war. Russia's aggression in the military-political sphere emphasized that informational influence in international relations can be used not only to achieve pragmatic goals of foreign policy but also to prepare a favourable environment for a real full-scale war. It was established that the informational and psychological influence began even before the start of hostilities in the preparation of the Russian Federation for war. Therefore, the lack of an adequate reaction to open anti-Ukrainian propaganda serves as a basis for the destruction of the state.

The study of Russian propaganda in various fields of knowledge is an urgent task determined by political, cultural and security aspects. The political motivations revealed in the context of Russia's activities emphasize the importance of understanding its goals and strategies for influencing public opinion. The analysis of cultural differences in the context of propaganda allows us to better understand the specifics and features of its influence, which is important in the context of intercultural relations. The security of national interests becomes a priority since Russian propaganda can pose a threat to the stability of society and its security. Analysis of the consequences of Russian propaganda shows that it can influence political and cultural processes, as well as have a potentially negative impact on national security. This approach contributes not

only to understanding the essence of propaganda but also to the development of effective strategies to prevent its negative consequences.

*Dynamics and peculiarities of the development  
of the Institute of Propaganda in the Russian Federation*

The Institute of Propaganda in the Russian Federation plays a significant role in shaping public opinion, influencing mass consciousness, and manipulating information. Propaganda in the Russian Federation is a complex system that includes various mass media, social networks, state structures and public organizations.

The Institute of Propaganda in the Russian Federation is characterized by strong centralization and significant influence of state management bodies. The central government determines information dissemination strategies and controls its content for political and ideological purposes. To achieve maximum impact on the public, propaganda uses various media platforms such as television, radio, newspapers, magazines, the Internet and social networks. By appealing to the emotional reactions of the audience and using symbolic images, propaganda creates a favourable environment for the formation of certain beliefs and the orientation of public opinion.

Analyzing Russian propaganda in various fields of knowledge, it can be noted that disinformation and manipulation of information is a common practices for achieving propaganda goals. These methods are aimed at forming a certain image in society, focusing on geopolitical influence, historical events and patriotic motives.

Propaganda in the Russian Federation actively uses the historical component to support national identity and the perception of modern politics. It combines the active use of historical events, symbols and heroic pages of history to encourage pride in one's country and support national unity. In particular, propaganda recalls past achievements and creates specific allusions and analogies that reinforce certain political or ideological views.

In addition, propaganda uses patriotic motives to strengthen support for the government and its policies. These motifs contain an emphasis on traditions, culture and national values to arouse pride in the country and support important state decisions.

In particular, propaganda in the Russian Federation uses geopolitical aspects to form a specific image picture of the world. This strategy is aimed at emphasizing the importance of Russia as a geopolitical player on the world stage and forming a favourable image of it in the international community.

The era of pre-media propaganda in the Russian Federation was defined by the introduction of total censorship, the initial act of which was the "Decree on the Press" by V.I. Lenin in 1917. The law closed publications that criticized the government, spread false information or called for protests. Propaganda in the USSR was based on the ideology of Marxism-Leninism and changed depending on historical conditions. She made extensive use of mass media, film, literature and visual arts to influence society. Propaganda activities focused on the creation of specific symbols and ideological images, as well as on monumental propaganda, which did not always use high-quality materials. In addition, great emphasis was placed on cinematography, which was considered the most important of all arts for the Soviet authorities, and was also used for agitation and propaganda.

The primary Putinism that has formed in the Russian Federation since the beginning of the 2000s was aimed at establishing an order for the country's development and strengthening its influence in the world. Its ideological basis was the growth of Russia's geopolitical status among developed countries and the realization of significant events on its territory. Modern Putinism is aimed at asserting Russia as the centre of the "multipolar world" and reviving its former political

influence, in particular, at the ideological level and through the use of military force. One of the important means of modern Putinism is cyber war, which manifests itself in cyberattacks on the information systems of various countries. Propaganda in Russia is also directed at domestic objects that contain Russian citizens, with a particular emphasis on educating the youth and using school programs to shape views on history and territorial issues.

In the summer of 2013, an office was opened in the Olhino district of St. Petersburg to carry out Russian propaganda via the Internet, which became one of the early organizations of systemic "trolling". Paid propagandists actively commented and published posts on social networks, blogs and under news in online publications, focusing on criticism of the opposition, Ukraine, the United States and the politicians of these countries, as well as on praising Russia and the Russian authorities. The propaganda campaign, which began in February 2014, caused a sudden change of mood in Russian society, which was associated with the totality and aggressiveness of the propaganda rhetoric. This effectiveness of propaganda is explained by the great depth and detail of information processing that Russian citizens received. This caused the creation of a system of perception of the surrounding world, which is separated from the real picture of events. Thus, the propaganda special forces managed to achieve an impressive victory, convincing a large part of the population.

In the context of the study of Russian propaganda in various fields of knowledge, the strategy of emphasizing the geopolitical influence, strategic importance and leadership role of Russia is studied. Propaganda efforts are aimed at forming a belief about the threat emanating from external forces, particularly Western countries. In this format, the political, economic, and cultural aspects of the activities of these countries are demonized, contributing to the establishment of national unity and the mobilization of citizens. Such a strategy is aimed at forming a defensive position among the population and readiness to act in the international arena.

Summarizing the above information, we can state that propaganda in the Russian Federation uses a complex approach to influence public opinion and form ideas in society. Its strategy includes elements of centralized control, the use of various media platforms, emotional and symbolic aspects, disinformation and information manipulation, as well as an emphasis on historical and patriotic motives and geopolitical aspects.

Centralization and state control guarantee the direction of propaganda efforts under the political and ideological goals of the authorities. A wide media network allows you to reach the audience as much as possible and use various methods of influence. The emotional and symbolic component creates certain ideas and stereotypes, influencing the emotional state and perception of information. Disinformation and information manipulation are aimed at distorting facts and steering public opinion in a favourable direction.

The use of historical and patriotic motives encourages pride in one's country and support for the government, while geopolitical aspects try to emphasize the importance of Russia as a player on the world stage and emphasize threats from other countries, especially the West. In general, propaganda uses this complex of strategies to strengthen its influence and form an optimized perception of events in society (Олексієнко, Андрощук, 2020).

Table 3

## The number of propaganda materials on the Internet

Year	The number of propaganda materials on the Internet
2022	10000
2021	5000
2020	2500

*Source: Today's Propaganda Unlike Yesterday's: From Direct Propaganda to Covert Propaganda ( Today's Propaganda..., 2024 ).*

Table 4

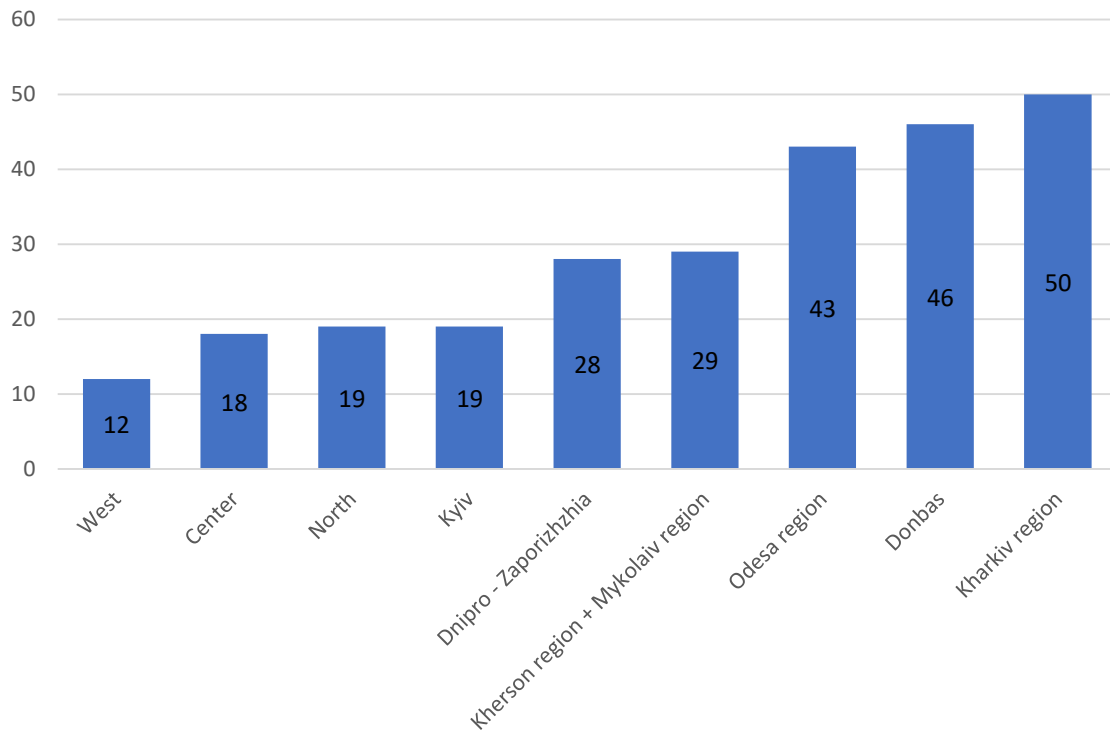
Number of propaganda programs on television

Year	The number of propaganda materials on the Internet
2022	500
2021	400
2020	350

*Source: Today's Propaganda Unlike Yesterday's: From Direct Propaganda to Covert Propaganda ( Today's Propaganda..., 2024 ).*

Over the past three years, the Institute of Propaganda in the Russian Federation has changed in connection with the political situation in the country and on the world stage. In particular, since the beginning of 2020, Russia has begun actively using social networks and other online resources to spread its propaganda. According to analysts, the number of propaganda materials distributed on the Internet doubled compared to 2018. It is also worth noting that since the beginning of 2022, Russia has been actively using television to spread its propaganda. According to the Ministry of Information and Mass Communications of the Russian Federation, the number of propaganda programs on television increased by 30% compared to 2021. A study of the index of the effectiveness of Russian propaganda on Ukrainian territory in 2015 and 2020 showed that Russian propaganda (except for Donbas) has the greatest impact on the residents of Kharkiv (RRP index = 50) and Odesa regions (RRP index = 43). The situation is much better in Kherson, Mykolaiv, Dnipropetrovsk and Zaporizhia regions (RRP index = 28-29). In Kyiv, the situation is no different from other territories of the North and the Center of Ukraine (RRP index = 19). Therefore, serious counter-propaganda work should be concentrated in the Kharkiv and Odesa regions (Озюменко, 2019). The results of the study of the index of the effectiveness of Russian propaganda in the regions of Ukraine (Fig.A.1). For a better understanding of the dynamics of the development of the Institute of Propaganda in the Russian Federation, we present tables with data for the last three years (Пропаганда нинішня..., 2024) (see Tables 3–4 earlier).

As can be seen from the indicators of fig. 1., tab. 2 and 3, the number of propaganda materials on the Internet has doubled in the last three years, and the number of propaganda programs on television has increased by 30% compared to 2020. The data show that the institution of propaganda in the Russian Federation continues to actively develop and change, as well as that Russia actively uses various media resources to spread its propaganda. In conclusion, we can conclude that the Institute of Propaganda in the Russian Federation has undergone significant changes over the past three years, which are reflected in the dynamics of its development. Russia continues to actively use various media resources to spread its propaganda, which indicates that this institution remains an important element of the country's political system.



*Figure 1 Index of the effectiveness of Russian propaganda in the regions of Ukraine (Озюменко, 2019).*

*Methodology and research methods of Russian propaganda as a means of forming the image of the external enemy*

One of the main elements of mass consciousness propaganda by the propagandist is the mechanism of formation of the image of the "enemy". Therefore, researchers study this topic using different methodologies.

In the article "Psychological features of the conflict in the system of modern relations between Russians and Ukrainians" by Ukrainian researcher S. Kharkavets, the psychological side of relations between Ukrainians and Russians is investigated. The main idea of the author is that Russian television plays an important role in shaping Ukrainians as "enemies". The author claims that the mass level of formation of the image of the "enemy" is established by an emotional background, which is accompanied by manifestations of rejection of other people's preferences. This process can have a symbolic or symbolic form and can generally be compared to the opposition of relatives or close people (Чеберяк, 2018).

In addition, the author of the study shows differences in the value orientations of Russians and Ukrainians. For example, Russians value security more, while Ukrainians value belonging to European integration more. Russians are more interested in preserving "Russian peace", while Ukrainians are more interested in preserving their national identity. Russians are more eager to return to the system of the USSR, while Ukrainians are more eager to preserve territorial integrity and freedom. The author of the study claims that this process of differences in value orientations is the result of mass media propaganda, which negatively affects mass consciousness by introducing a person into hypnosis, which leads to the fact that a person is not able to critically interpret information, and negative emotions can be excessive for him and can lead to the fact that a person does not perceive excess information truthfully. Thus, the author of

the study explains the mechanism of the formation of the image of the "enemy" among Russians from the point of view of the methodology of researching their differences and influence on mass consciousness (Чеберяк, 2018).

A. Cheberyak in his article "Mechanism of creating a negative image of Ukraine on the pages of the Russian mass media" using the methodology of content analysis, investigated the manipulative nature of the Russian-Ukrainian conflict formed by the Russian mass media regarding Ukraine. The author singled out two components of the image of the "enemy": external and internal. The external enemy is the USA in the form of NATO and Ukraine, and the internal enemy is dissidents or those who support Ukraine within the state. The author studied Russian articles published in the period 2014–2018 and concluded that Ukraine is portrayed in the Russian mass media as an "aggressor" and "occupier" characterized by "aggressiveness", "cruelty" and "cynicism". The main actions of Ukraine are "attack", "destruction", "murders" and "shelling". The author singled out the main mechanisms of formation of the image of the "enemy": the use of the opposition "we-they"; the difference between "own" and "others"; danger from the enemy and blaming him; symbolization and demystification with evil (Чернова, 2020).

A. Zakharchenko's article "Hate Language" requires detailed consideration, as it examines the problem of "hate speech" in the context of the Ukrainian-Russian conflict. The author emphasizes that the "language of enmity" can also refer to the image of the "enemy" since there is a difference between "own" and "alien", that is, enemies for the existence of the country. The author gives examples of lexemes — associations related to the image of Ukrainians from the point of view of Russians due to the influence of the Russian information space. They are "Banderivites", "fighters", "our smaller brothers", "punishers", "Kyiv terrorists", "Nazi junta", "inhumans", "racists", "Khokhls", "Russophobes", "extremists". The author also singles out three levels of manifestation of "hate speech" associated with the Ukrainian-Russian conflict.

Soft "hate speech": involves creating a negative image of a certain country or group by affirming its shortcomings in a derogatory context, contrasting one group with another. For example, the rhetoric of the Russian mass media in the West about Ukraine as an incomplete state that will fall apart without Russia's support.

Medium "hate speech": This involves justifying incidents of violence and discrimination by blaming a particular group for inferiority and criminality that negatively affects the country. For example, the destruction of the Ukrainian ethnic group, supported by cases of "crucifixion of boys in Donbas" or the murders of civilians in the DPR and LPR.

Harsh "hate speech": these are open calls for violence and discrimination, which does not allow the region to stabilize. For example, rhetoric in the Russian information space against representatives of "Azov" or "Right Sector" (Як працює російська пропаганда у Східній Європі, 2024).

During the formation of the research methodology, it is important to take into account the difference between the periods when Russian propaganda of the image of the "enemy" was carried out in the information space. Each period differs in completeness and volume of information depending on the audience. Author of the article "The Other/alien in the Russian Federation Strategic Communications during the Russian-Ukrainian Confrontation (2014–2021)" (Почепцов, 2018) investigated the informational and psychological influence of the Russian mass media for the effective promotion of the image of the "enemy" or "foreigner" in the period 2014–2021. In their research, the authors studied how media technologies are used by the Russian mass media against Ukraine. It is noted that the main media technologies for modelling the image of the "enemy" in the Russian-Ukrainian information war are the use of the concept of "enemy", which contains a threat.

For example, the Ukrainian Armed Forces were labelled with derogatory terms such as fascists, Nazis, security forces, punishers, Banderites, and occupiers. Visual images of the excessive force of the "enemy" were also used, accompanied by shots of destroyed houses, schools, and hospitals, as well as the story of the crucifixion of a boy in 2014 by the Ukrainian military near Slovyansk. In addition, manipulative techniques of fear were used, such as visual images of military equipment, images of prohibited weapons, and images of a "secret conspiracy", especially regarding the West and NATO forces. The authors of the study highlighted the trends of communication and content aggression from the "enemy", such as constant tension in relations between Russians and Ukrainians, the use of manipulative practices of cruelty in social networks and television, the use of social research data of public organizations as authoritative opinion and the use of other communication channels. such as books, films and specially produced television programmes (Як розвивалася російська пропаганда, 2024).

Recently, propaganda against Ukraine has been spreading in the Russian information space, using the history and formation of the image of the "enemy" through various instruments of influence. Most often, the Russian mass media use the victory in the Great Patriotic War and the commonality of traditions and culture of "our peoples". V. Topalskyi's article "Using the construct "Great Patriotic War" in Russian anti-Ukrainian propaganda" analyzed the use of this construct to create the image of the "enemy" of Ukraine, the state leadership, the Armed Forces of Ukraine and other power structures of the state. The ideological basis against Ukraine is justified by myths about the Second World War and appeals to the fascists, which have become entrenched in the memory of the older generation.

Propagandists often use the phrase "fascist regime". For example, they compare the "parade of shame" of prisoners of war in Donetsk on the Independence Day of Ukraine with the "parade of the defeated" in 1944 by the Germans in Moscow. Russian propaganda also uses TV channels, in particular the "First TV channel", which shows the stories of pseudo-witnesses of the Second World War and the events of 2014 in the Donetsk region. In addition, propagandists use the Internet to spread fake news about the brutal actions of the so-called "punishers" in 2014 and their subsequent execution. Russian propagandists talk about the Yarosh Land camp of the Right Sector, which can be compared to Hitler's Hitler Youth camp. The number of Russian propaganda fakes increases before major holidays related to the Second World War or the Soviet period (Як російська пропаганда..., 2024).

In his studies of Russian propaganda, Ihor Yakovenko draws parallels between the methodology of this propaganda and the plot of the Hollywood film "The Running Man". He points out that Russian propaganda is used to create a specific image of an external enemy, similar to the enemy depicted in the film. She tries to change the perception of the audience, convincing them of the need to fight against the fictional "fascist aggressor" to perceive events according to the benefit of propaganda tactics. This aspect of propaganda became an important influential factor in Russian society, changing the mentality and psyche of the majority of the population.

Additionally, propaganda shows such as Soldiers, which promote military service and show disdain for those who avoid it, are another example of the use of propaganda techniques in the mass media. The events are aimed at manipulating the audience and forming certain values and attitudes.

In the context of international events, propaganda interventions, such as incidents involving accredited journalists, indicate attempts to influence the perception of events and control the information space on an international scale.

According to the research presented, Russian propaganda has had a decisive influence on the information space from 2014 to the present. One of the examples of the use of a propaganda tool is the image of the enemy, which is used in the information space of Russia.

Russian propaganda is one of the most active and effective in the world. It is used to create the image of an external enemy, which allows the Russian government to strengthen its power and influence on national and international politics. In this regard, the methodology of studying Russian propaganda is important for understanding and countering its influence.

There are many methods of propaganda that journalists use to misinform and manipulate the masses. These include distorting and manipulating facts, playing with people's emotions and feelings, spreading rumours, imposing labels and stereotypes, and referring to authoritative sources. Pravda.ru is the first Russian information and analytical publication that appeared on the Russian-language network. As reported on the publication's website, it has a respectable reputation and high ratings. The Internet resource is visited daily by 250,000 users who view about 1.5 million web pages (Якуніна, 2023).

We analyzed several journalistic materials of this mass media for the presence of propaganda and discovered the methods used by the authors for propaganda purposes. On October 15, 2015, "Pravda.ru" published the article "Ukrainians are taught to "chow down Muscovites" with the help of the "insurgent alphabet", which refers to the new Ukrainian school textbooks, the main character of which is Adol' Fik and Alyarmik - to teach younger classes to kill "Poles " and "Moscovites (World Press Freedom Index: Journalism,..., 2021).

This article uses the method of distortion of facts. The prototype of the textbook on murder published by Russian journalists was the "Insurgent Alphabet", which tells about the events of the Second World War in an accessible illustrated form.

In the article "Steven Cohen: The idea of "two Ukraines" is not so bad", published on August 17, 2015, it is said that Ukrainian and American politicians seek to divide the Donetsk region, thus dividing the territory of the state into "two Ukraines". The method of ascertaining the facts is used here, and the subjective opinion of the American professor Steven Cohen is presented as the official position of politicians (Eskjaer, Hjarvard, & Mortensen, 2015).

On July 14, 2015, the article "Ukraine Kills Journalists: Mass Media Report New Shooting" was published about the murder of MIA "Russia Today" journalist Margarita Valenko in Kyiv. This person did not exist, and there is no mention of him - this is disinformation using fabricated facts (Brown, 1963).

On April 30, 2015, the website published the message "Poroshenko approved the Banderiv flag as a symbol of Victory Day" (Anadolu Agency, 2024).

Here again, the facts are distorted because Petro Poroshenko discussed with the heads of regional state administrations the red and black emblem in the form of a poppy flower, which is a symbol of memory of the victims of the Second World War.

To combat disinformation and Russian propaganda in the Internet media, it is necessary to ensure public awareness of this issue. Although it is impossible to completely protect against manipulative influence, checking information, clarifying information through other sources, knowing the methods of propagandistic influence and the ability to identify them in journalistic materials will help to detect manipulative techniques and technologies. Sometimes the process of verifying information can take a lot of time and information resources, which indicates the power of the Russian propaganda mechanism.

Analysis of the Russian online resource Pravda.ru confirmed the fact of active aggressive Russian propaganda, which is used as a weapon in the information war against Ukraine. The materials published on this site contain false information that is intended to manipulate the minds of a wide audience.



During the last phase of the conflict between Russia and Ukraine, which began on February 24, the Russian mass media, under the control of the authorities, continued to use the technique of creating fake news, which had been actively used since 2014. These news items contained both oral fabricated messages and staged fakes with video accompaniment.

In the initial phase of the invasion, telegram channels spread false information about the events of the war, including claims of Ukrainian intervention or even the signing of surrender treaties. Information was also spread about the fact that the population of the captured cities welcomes the Russian military as "liberators", as well as about the surveillance and wiretapping of citizens by the Ukrainian special services.

Some incidents, such as the arrival of propagandist journalists at the Zaporizhzhya Nuclear Power Plant to create a "positive" image of the military or cases of abduction of Ukrainian civilians by the Russian military, used to create "fake" accusations, have become the focus of international media attention.

An extremely illustrative example of the impact of Russian propaganda on the minds of citizens was a video shot in the city of Ryazan on April 4, 2022, where a man decided to break the windshield of a random driver's car, believing that it was necessary for his participation in the "war with Ukraine." These incidents and facts testify to the complexity and importance of researching Russian propaganda as a means of forming the image of the external enemy. The study of these methods allows a better understanding of the mechanisms of manipulation of public opinion and the influence on international relations.

In the context of the study of Russian propaganda as a tool for forming the image of the external enemy, it is important to consider various methods of media control in Russia. According to the report, the Russian Federation has strict restrictions on the use of the term "war" in materials related to Russia's "military operation" in Ukraine. Such restrictions confirm the tendency to control information, which is demonstrated in the decisions of the Russian legislation.

The consequence of this control is the adoption of amendments to the legislation, which provide for severe punishments, including fines and imprisonment, for the public dissemination of "knowingly false information about the use of the Armed Forces of the Russian Federation." Such amendments create an atmosphere of fear among the media and journalists and can limit the ability to express criticism or consider alternative views of events.

Additionally, the Russian Federal Service for Oversight in the Field of Communications, Information Technologies and Mass Communications actively appeals to the mass media to remove "unreliable information" about Russia's special military operation on the territory of Ukraine. Such measures of banning access to information resources, such as radio stations and TV channels, testify to the focus on discourse control and reflect the government's strategy in shaping public opinion.

In addition, measures to block access to Internet resources and interference with the content of Wikipedia indicate a wide range of measures that are used to control information on the network. Such actions create serious challenges for the study of the influence of Russian propaganda and the methodology of its study as a means of forming the image of the external enemy.

The President of Russia and Russian propaganda use the term "special military operation in Donbas" to describe Russia's aggressive activity against Ukraine, which includes invading the southern, eastern and northern borders of Ukraine with the aim of "demilitarizing and denazifying" the latter. However, the reality in Ukraine shows the absence of national socialist (Nazi) ideas and tendencies, as well as the opposition to anti-Semitism and xenophobia at the legislative level.

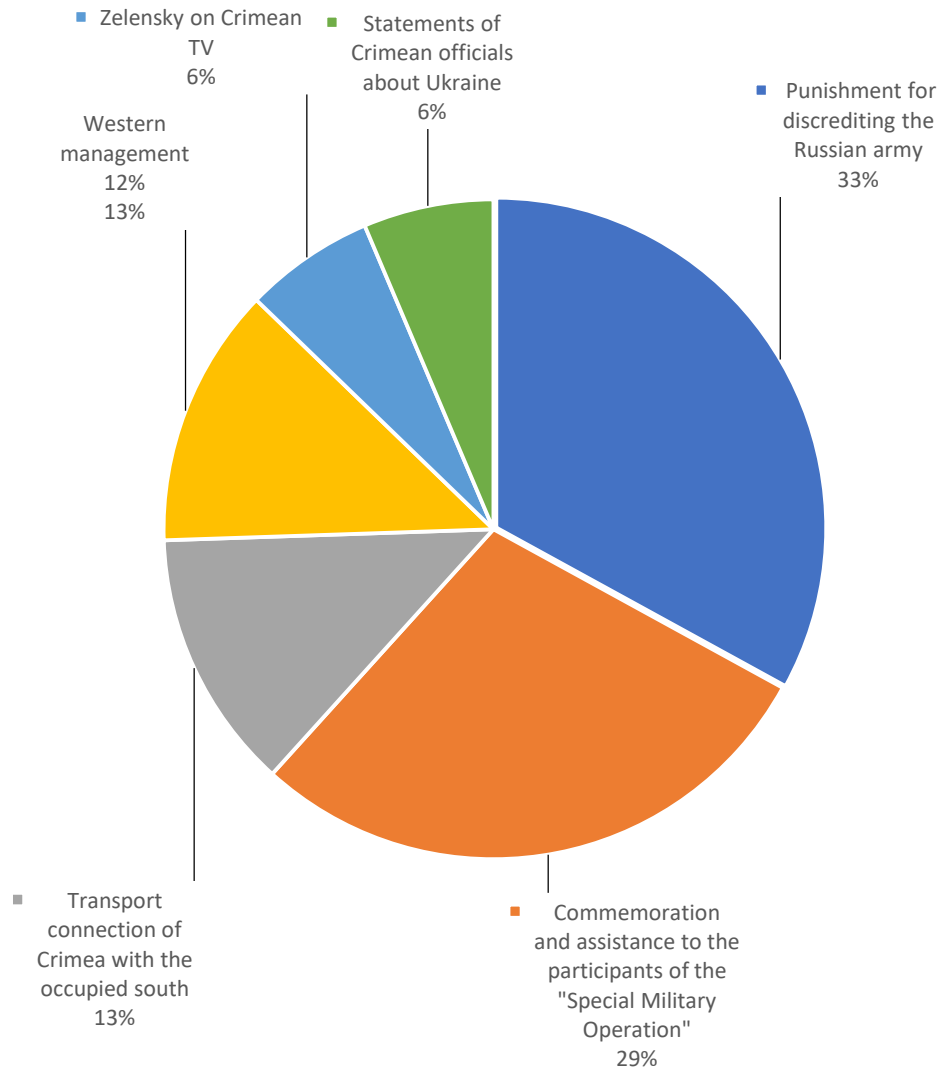
According to Ukrainian legislation, all forms of propaganda of communist and national socialist (Nazi) totalitarian regimes are prohibited, which emphasizes the anti-Nazi and anti-Semitic nature of Ukrainian society. The President of Ukraine, Volodymyr Zelensky, as a Russian-speaking Jew, is a living example of the absence of nationalist and neo-Nazi tendencies in the country's political leadership.

Despite attempts by Russian propaganda to paint Ukraine as a Nazi state, such claims have been rejected by leading politicians and researchers of Nazism and genocide. This is evidenced by the statements of the Chancellor of Germany, the Secretary General of the United Nations and other authoritative persons.

Russian propaganda uses a variety of methods, including the dissemination of false information and manipulation to influence public consciousness. In particular, in Russian schools and universities, lectures are held and methods are distributed, which are aimed at justifying Russia's war against Ukraine and forming the impression of the necessity of these actions.

Protests against the war did not receive adequate coverage in the pro-government media in Russia. More than 6,000 people were detained for participating in the protests. The study covered pro-Kremlin information resources operating in Crimea, such as RIA Novosti. Krym", "Kryminform", "Sevastopol Media", "Komsomolskaya Pravda Krym", "Crimean Information Agency".

Analysis of materials for the period January 25-27, 2023 showed that a third of them were devoted to military topics and the sources of the occupation of Crimea. In particular, 31% of the materials related to punishment for discrediting the Russian army, 27% to commemoration and assistance to the participants of the "SVO", 12% to transport connections between Crimea and the occupied south, 12% to Western administration, 6% to Zelensky's speeches on Crimean TV and statements of Crimean officials about Ukraine (see Fig. 2 below).



*Fig. 2 Materials with references to the Russian war and Ukraine for the period January 25–27, 2023.*

Interestingly, according to the occupation media, it was the residents of Crimea who were accused of discrediting the Russian military and Ukrainian subversive activities on the territory of the peninsula.

A study of the military-related materials of information resources in Crimea showed that 31% of them were devoted to the threat of discrediting the Russian military and Ukrainian subversive activities on the territory of the peninsula. The data indicate that it was the residents of Crimea, according to the occupation media, who became the instrument of this discrediting.

For example, one of the bloggers noted that the Russian authorities in Crimea are losing the information war, as pro-Ukrainian activity on the peninsula is growing. Target audiences such as journalists, political scientists and bloggers who have been supported by the Russian authorities are also considered losers in this struggle. Also, Israeli political scientist Yakov Kedmi, who was subject to personal EU sanctions for his justification of Russian aggression against Ukraine, gave lectures in Crimea.

In addition, Crimean woman and blogger Zarema Seitablayeva noted the attempts of Roskomnadzor to block access to the site "Crimea. Realii", and also provided an alternative way

of obtaining information through a mirror site and recommendations for using a VPN to bypass access to content.

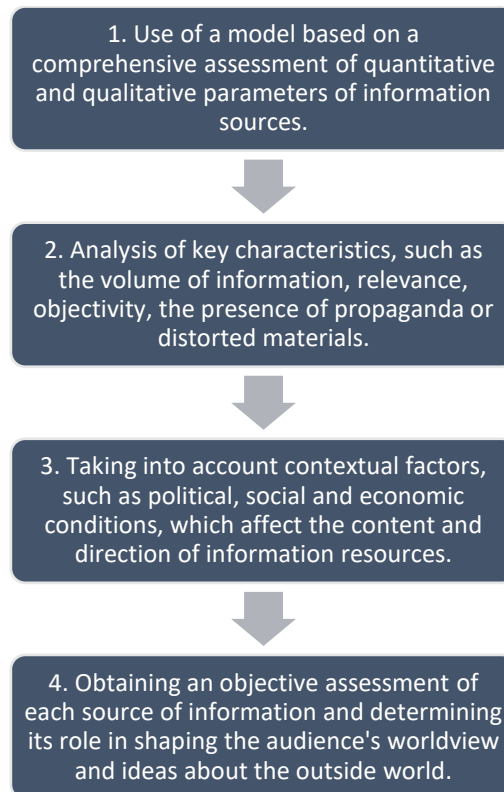
Dr Jade McGlynn, a research associate at the Department of Military Studies at King's College London, conducted a detailed study of the methods, narratives and stages of Russian propaganda in the occupied territories of Ukraine after 2022. She turned to consider how the occupiers plunged the population of these territories into a Russian "parallel imaginary reality", which is sometimes reproduced with the help of words such as Stalin: "Life [under the new government] has become better, comrades, life has become more fun."

McGlynn examines two main stages of Russian propaganda in the occupied territories. The first stage is related to propaganda narratives about the causes of the war and the expected improvements in the quality of life after the occupation. For example, residents of the occupied territories are forced to believe that the war in 2022 was provoked by Ukraine through the genocide of the population of Donbas. Propaganda tries to substantiate this thesis with the help of fake reports about the killing of the local population by Ukrainian forces and other manipulative techniques. Later, in the second stage, the war and the former belonging of the occupied territories to Ukraine are silenced. Propaganda increasingly appeals to Russian citizens, trying to present a positive image of the war and occupation. At the same time, propaganda narratives become more wary and demoralizing toward the local population, shifting their goals from persuasion to insurance and demoralization.

In the methodology of the study of Russian propaganda as a means of forming the image of the external enemy, a comprehensive analysis of propaganda narratives, methods and stages used to manipulate information in the occupied territories is carried out. The analysis involves a detailed examination of the narratives being promoted, their content and distribution, as well as uncovering the techniques and techniques used to reinforce these narratives. The study includes the study of the stages of the development of propaganda strategies from the beginning of the conflict to the modern period, which allows to the identification of changes in the approaches and trends of propaganda activity. The results of such an analysis are of strategic importance for the development of effective measures to counter propaganda and strengthen information security in the conditions of hybrid warfare.

It is important to understand that information warfare has become one of the most urgent problems in the modern world. Russian propaganda is one of the most aggressive and at the same time effective forms of information warfare. One of the key elements of Russian propaganda is creating the image of an external enemy. Various electronic resources such as websites, social networks, videos and others are used in this process.

A model based on a comprehensive assessment of quantitative and qualitative parameters of information sources was used to analyze the electronic resources of nine international agencies. The model involves the analysis of key characteristics: volume of information, relevance, objectivity, as well as the presence of propaganda or distorted materials. An important part of the analysis was the consideration of contextual factors, such as political, social and economic conditions, which may influence the content and direction of information resources. The results of such analysis made it possible to obtain an objective assessment of each source of information and to clarify its role in the formation of the worldview and ideas about the outside world for the audience (see Fig. 3 below).

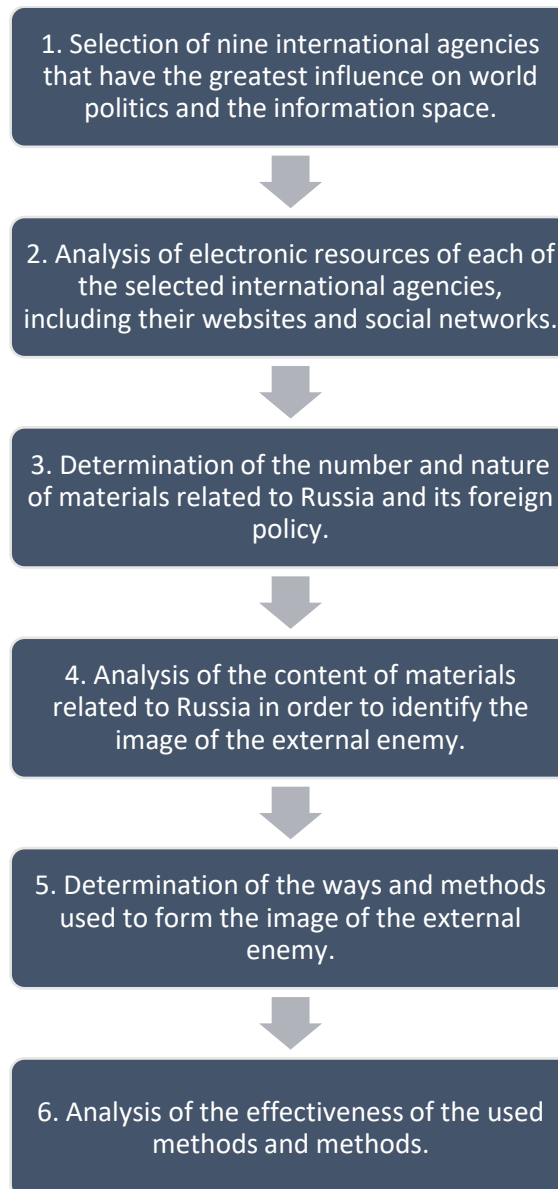


*Rice. 3 Complex model*

A comprehensive model containing several stages has been developed and applied to analyze the electronic resources of nine leading international agencies. The first stage is the identification of nine international agencies that have a great influence on world politics and the information space. The next step is to analyze the electronic resources of each selected agency, including their websites and social networks. Then an assessment of the number and nature of materials related to Russia and its foreign policy is carried out, followed by an analysis of the content of these materials to identify the image of the external enemy. The methods and techniques used to form this image are determined. The final stage is the evaluation of the effectiveness of the methods and techniques (see Fig. 4 below).

The main methods used for this are.

- use of negative headlines and information about Russia;
- use of negative images and videos related to Russia;
- use of negative comments and reviews about Russia;
- use of negative articles and information about Russia;
- using negative social networks and other electronic resources to spread negative information about Russia.



*Rice. 4 Stages of analysis*

So, the model of the analysis of electronic resources of nine international agencies in the process of formation of the image of the external enemy by Russian propaganda allows us to identify methods and methods that are used for further research.

We provided a detailed overview of the methodology and methods of studying Russian propaganda as a means of forming the image of the external enemy. The methodology of studying Russian propaganda turns out to be complex and multi-method, taking into account various factors that influence the process of forming an information image. The study method is considered in analyzing specific sources of information and determining their role in forming the image of the external enemy.

The specificity of the model of the analysis of electronic resources of nine international agencies in the process of formation of the image of the external enemy by Russian propaganda is revealed in its complexity and comprehensiveness. This model makes it possible to systematize and analyze information sources, determining their influence on ideas and attitudes

towards external actors. Such an approach is important for understanding the mechanisms of propagandistic influence and developing strategies for countering disinformation.

## Results and discussion

### Features of the formation of the image of the external enemy in the publications of the news agency "Agence France Press" (France)

In modern conditions, propaganda has become one of the key tools of influence on society, which is particularly effective in forming the image of an external enemy. Russian propaganda, in particular, is actively used for this purpose, influencing public opinion and perceptions of the outside world. Mass media, in particular, agencies with world names, play an important role in this process.

Agence France Presse (AFP) is a long-established French international news agency headquartered in Paris, France. Founded in 1835 as Havas, AFP is one of the oldest news agencies in the world. The agency covers news from all over the world, including a section devoted to events in Russia. AFP provides a wide range of information products, including text, photo, video, audio and graphic materials.

During the analysis of the content of the agency "Agence France Press" (France), it was found that Russian propaganda actively uses the image of an external enemy to construct its ideology. Specifically, the agency's texts highlighted the following topics related to the image of the external enemy.

1. Research has shown a significant number of references to the conflict in the East of Ukraine. Russian propaganda actively uses this conflict to create an image of Ukraine as an enemy of Russia.
2. A large number of references to sanctions against Russia were found. Russian propaganda uses these sanctions to reinforce the image of the West as an enemy of Russia.
3. In particular, terrorism is present in the texts of the agency. Russian propaganda uses this aspect to create an image of the West as an enemy of Russia.

Five analytical articles published on the Agence France Press (AFP) website are considered. The articles consider various aspects of global events, including conducting training projects on digital investigation for Ukrainian mass media, participation of journalists in prestigious international competitions, showing the works of photographers at major photojournalism festivals, the demand for a thorough investigation of the attack on journalists in Lebanon, as well as an analysis of the situation in Ukraine in the context of military events and population mobilization (see Table 5 below).

The text is based on an analysis of five analytical articles published on the Agence France Press (AFP) website. Key words are "Ukrainian mass media", "Albert-London prize", "photojournalism", "attack on journalists", "war in Ukraine", and "mobilization". The topic is the analysis of various aspects of global events through the prism of the work of journalists and photographers in different countries of the world (see Table 1 below).

The unifying elements are the active involvement of Agence France Press (AFP) in events related to Ukraine and regions facing conflict such as Russia and Lebanon. In addition, the articles examine the work of journalists and photographers in dangerous environments, particularly during times of war and tension in the Middle East, which is a common theme. The high level of professionalism and courage of the agency's employees in the performance of their duties is also noted.

Table 5

Results of content analysis of articles published on the electronic resource "Agence France Press" (AFP), based on the number of mentions of the conflict/support for Ukraine in journalistic materials

No s/p	Title of the article <i>1</i>	Topic <i>2</i>	Cases:	
			Number <i>3</i>	% <i>4</i>
1.	Training Ukrainian mass media in digital investigation [73]	Media education, information security	2	10.53
2.	Two AFP journalists pre-selected for Albert–London Prize [74]	Work of journalists, investigation, conflict in Eastern Ukraine	1	5.26
3.	From Ukraine to Mauritania, AFP is in the spotlight at the 35th Visa Festival pour l'Image in Perpignan [75]	Photojournalism, war in Ukraine, conflict in Eastern Ukraine	5	26.32
4.	AFP calls for in-depth investigation into attack on journalists in southern Lebanon [76]	Safety of journalists, investigations, international conflicts	1	5.26
5.	The war in Ukraine: these men are fleeing mobilization (repeated list) [77]	Military events, conflict in the East of Ukraine, mobilization of the population	10	52.63
6.	TOTAL:	–	19	100

During the analysis of the materials, it was established that there were no mentions or support of Ukraine in the published articles. Even on the date of 09.03.2024, at 9:33, it is indicated that Russia reported the destruction of 47 Ukrainian drones over the southern regions (see Fig. 5 below).

**Moscou (AFP) - 09/03/2024 - 09:33 La Russie affirme avoir détruit 47 drones ukrainiens survolant les régions du sud dans la nuit**

*Rice. 5 Moscow AFP "Russia said that overnight it destroyed 47 Ukrainian drones flying over the southern regions"*

However, no mention of support or expressions of sympathy for Ukraine was found in the mentioned publications. It is worth noting that some materials refer to other cities in different parts of the world, which indicates the wide-ranging nature of the events considered by the agency.

The articles published by Agence France Press (AFP) are diverse in their subject matter and cover various aspects of social and political life. However, several texts were found among them that directly or indirectly refer to the image of the external enemy that Russia creates. The first article deals with the training of Ukrainian mass media in digital investigation, which may be related to the detection of possible threats or negative influence from Russia. The second



article mentions the work of AFP journalists in Moscow and their investigations in the context of the conflict in eastern Ukraine, which may reinforce the image of Russia as a potential threat actor. The third article mentions the work of AFP photographers in Ukraine, which illustrates the consequences of the war and can form a negative image of Russia as a participant in the conflict. The fourth article examines the request by the AFP to investigate the attack on journalists in southern Lebanon, which could be an indicator of Russia's aggressive actions or influence in the region. The fifth article again talks about the military events in Ukraine and the reaction to them, which can also contribute to the formation of the image of an external enemy.

With the help of content analysis of the AFP agency, it can be concluded that Russian propaganda is actively forming the image of the external enemy. In particular, the news published by AFP often mentions conflicts involving Russia and accusations against neighbouring countries. For example, in the article "Russia Accuses Ukraine of 'Provocation' as US warship heads to the Black Sea", the author mentions Russia accusing Ukraine of provocation, which is a typical example of forming the image of an external enemy.

On the other hand, the AFP agency is not the only one that pays attention to the problem of Russian propaganda. In their articles, agencies from all over the world draw attention to forming the image of an external enemy through Russian propaganda. For example, in the article "Russia's propaganda machine amplifies conspiracy theories", the author draws attention to the fact that Russian propaganda actively uses conspiracy theories to create an image of an external enemy.

So, the content analysis of the AFP agency confirms that Russian propaganda actively creates the image of an external enemy. This is a serious problem that needs the attention and study of the international community.

*Features of the formation of the image of the external enemy  
in the publications of the news agency "Reuters" agency" (Great Britain)*

Reuters is a global news agency owned by the Thomson Reuters Corporation. Reuters is committed to acting honestly, independently and without bias, as outlined in the Reuters Trust Principles. The news agency covers news from and has a section dedicated to Russian news. In 2022, Reuters employees removed the Russian news agency TASS from its content market due to concerns about the spread of disinformation about the war in Ukraine.

The Reuters agency creates the image of an external enemy created by Russia by publishing analytical materials that emphasize Russia's aggressive actions and influence on the international situation. These articles highlight conflict situations, the economic and political consequences of Russia's actions, and its foreign policy strategies and propaganda actions aimed at undermining international order and stability, which contributes to the establishment of the image of Russia as an external enemy in the world community.

Five analytical articles published on the website of the "Reuters" agency were considered. The articles focus on the study and analysis of various aspects of the geopolitical situation in the world, economic trends, events in financial markets, international relations, and other key aspects of world business and political life. In addition, the selected articles carefully examine the influence of Russia on the international arena and also form an image of the external enemy, which is created by Russia itself (see Table 6 below).

Table 6

Results of content analysis of articles published on the electronic resource "Reuters agency" (Great Britain), based on the number of mentions of the conflict/support for Ukraine in journalistic materials

No s/p	Title of the article <i>1</i>	Topic <i>2</i>	Cases:	
			number <i>3</i>	% <i>4</i>
1.	Putin praises Russian women for motherhood, beauty [79]	Cultural attitudes and gender policy	1	12.5
2.	The Pope says that Ukraine should have the "white flag courage" of negotiations [80]	International relations	2	25
3.	The Polish government promises to reduce grain surpluses, farmers continue to protest [81]	Economy	1	12.5
4.	Turkey and the USA are discussing Ukraine, Gaza, ways to improve relations, said the Minister of Foreign Affairs [82]	International relations	3	37.5
5.	The US Embassy warned of an imminent attack on Moscow by "extremists" [83]	Politics and security	1	12.5
6.	TOTAL:	–	8	100

Reuters covers news about Russia in the Russia Headlines section of its website. The news agency employs about 2,500 journalists and 600 photojournalists in approximately 200 locations around the world.

The search results do not contain specific information about how Reuters covers news about Russia. However, the Reuters website has articles reporting Russia-related news, such as the Russian military thwarting Ukraine's attempt to establish a beachhead on the east bank of the Dnipro River.

Additionally, the Reuters Institute website has an article analyzing the influence of the Kremlin's Spanish-language propaganda with two fact-checkers and two experts explaining how Putin's propaganda thrives in Spanish on television and social media.

In general, Reuters is a reputable news agency that covers news about Russia and adheres to the principles of independence and objectivity.

*Features of the formation of the image of the external enemy  
in the publications of the BBC news agency (Great Britain)*

BBC" (British Broadcasting Corporation) is a British public television and radio company, the world's oldest national broadcaster and one of the largest media organizations in the world.

The BBC provides television, radio and online services to audiences in the UK and the world. It is known for its impartial and high-quality journalism, and its programs cover a wide range of topics, including news, entertainment, sports and culture.

The BBC agency actively covers events related to Russia and its foreign policy. Most of the articles contain critical remarks about the actions of Russia and its leaders. Many articles mention Russia's image as an external enemy. For example, in the article "Russia's propaganda war against Ukraine", the author notes that Russia uses propaganda to create an image of Ukraine as an enemy. In the article "Russia's propaganda machine: Same Old Tricks", the author notes that Russia uses the same propaganda techniques used in the Soviet era to create the image of an external enemy.

Analysis of the content of the BBC agencies regarding the formation of the image of the foreign enemy by Russian propaganda showed that this is a relevant topic for international media. "BBC" agencies actively cover events related to Russia and its foreign policy and point out that Russia is creating the image of an external enemy. This information indicates that the problem of propaganda and the formation of the image of the external enemy is relevant to the international community.

Five analytical articles published on the BBC website were considered. These articles focus on various events, political and economic processes in different countries, and social and cultural phenomena. "BVS" analysts predict the possible consequences of these events, reveal their impact on the international arena and society, and try to understand the deep reasons and factors that led to their occurrence (Appendix B, Table 3).

According to the results of the analysis of the content of the agencies "Agence France Press" (France), "Reuters" and "VVS", it can be concluded that Russian propaganda actively creates the image of an external enemy. In the texts of these agencies, a large number of references to the conflict in the East of Ukraine, sanctions against Russia, and terrorism were found, which indicates the active use of these topics by Russian propaganda to create the image of an external enemy. Agencies from all over the world are paying attention to the problem of forming the image of an external enemy through Russian propaganda, which indicates the seriousness of this problem and the need for its study by the international community. In their materials, agencies try to adhere to objectivity and impartiality, but some materials may contain elements of propaganda. First, it is important to pay attention to the sources of information and analyze their content with a critical approach.

Therefore, the BBC, through the use of various methods of journalistic analysis and information coverage, forms the image of an external enemy created by Russia. This process is based on investigations, factual reports, expert commentary, interviews with participants in the events and analysis of political actions. The BBC articles use data on Russia's military actions, its role in international conflicts and interference in political processes, supported by evidence and documents. Reports from the scene of the events, expert analysis and opinions of representatives of different countries help to form an objective picture of the events and reproduce the position of the BBC regarding the role of Russia in world politics and society.

3.2. Content of the agencies "Deutsche Presse-Agentur" (DPA; Germany), "Xinhua" (China), "Anadolu Agency" (Turkey): summary of the analysis

*Features of the formation of the image of the external enemy*

*in the publications of the news agency "Deutsche Presse-Agentur" (DPA; Germany)*

"Deutsche Presse-Agentur" (DPA) is a German news agency founded in 1949. It is the largest press agency in Germany with headquarters in Hamburg and a central editorial office in Berlin.

The agency has grown into a large international enterprise serving print media, radio, television, online, mobile phones and national news agencies. News is available in seven languages, including German, English, Spanish and Arabic.

In 2022, the agency had 697 employees, and the turnover amounted to 103.2 million euros. The agency belongs to more than 170 media companies, which ensures its independence. Journalists working for DPA are free and independent in their reporting and must not declare any preference or support for political parties, religious or cultural beliefs, or any industry or other interest groups.

DPA works closely with several news gathering and distribution agencies, including foreign companies such as the Austrian Press Agency and the Swiss Depeschagentur.

Since 2013, DPA has been working with the US-based Associated Press news agency, selling AP services in German-speaking countries. The agency is a reliable, accurate and independent news provider with digital and multimedia content to support the media at home and abroad.

At the beginning of 2023, Deutsche Presse-Agentur (DPA), one of the leading German content agencies, published a study devoted to forming the image of the external enemy through Russian propaganda.

The study was conducted based on analysing materials published by Russian mass media and social networks and revealed some interesting trends. According to the DPA study, Russian propaganda actively creates the image of an external enemy, which includes the countries of the West, in particular, the USA and the European Union (see Tables 7-8).

The main methods of forming this image are disinformation, manipulation and the use of stereotypes. One of the key methods of Russian propaganda is the use of disinformation. With the help of fake news and information that has no scientific basis, Russian propaganda tries to create an image of the West as an aggressive and dangerous enemy.

Table 7

Results of content analysis of articles published on the electronic resource "BVS" (British Broadcasting Corporation) (Great Britain), based on the number of mentions of the conflict/support for Ukraine in journalistic materials

No s/p	Title of the article <i>1</i>	Topic <i>2</i>	Cases:	
			number <i>3</i>	% <i>4</i>
1.	The war in Ukraine: residents of the East are preparing for the Russian offensive [83]	Preparation of residents of Eastern Ukraine for a possible Russian attack	12	40
2.	Dorset man raises funds for military equipment [84]	Public mobilization in support of Ukraine in the conflict	3	10
3.	War in Ukraine: explosions rang out in Odesa during Zelenskyi's meeting with the Prime Minister of Greece [85]	Events during official meetings in the context of the war in Ukraine	6	20
4.	Russian-Ukrainian war: Moscow ignores arrest	Russia's unofficial position on the arrest of suspected	5	16.67

	warrants for Putin's commanders [86]	commanders		
5.	War in Ukraine: India exposed human trafficking network to Russia [87]	Disclosure of the human trafficking network to Russia due to the conflict in Ukraine	4	13.33
6.	TOTAL:	–	30	100

One example cited by the DPA is the portrayal of the US and the European Union as aggressive adversaries of Russia seeking to destroy its economy and influence in world politics. This impression is supported by various historical and political arguments that try to show that Russia is a victim of Western aggression.

Another example is the depiction of the Russian army as peacekeepers and defenders of the world from terrorism and aggression. The mentioned form is supported by various military operations conducted by Russia in recent years, particularly in Syria and the Donbas.

In addition, Russian propaganda actively uses manipulation and stereotypes to create an image of the external enemy. For example, Russian media often use stereotypes about the West as a place of lawlessness and chaos to create an image of the West as a dangerous enemy. According to DPA research, Russian propaganda tries to create an image of an external enemy to attract public attention and distract it from domestic problems. (see table 8 below).

Table 8

Results of content analysis of articles published on the electronic resource "Deutsche Presse-Agentur" (DPA; Germany), based on the number of mentions of the conflict/support for Ukraine in journalistic materials

No	Title of the article	Topic	Cases:	
			number	%
	<i>1</i>	<i>2</i>	<i>3</i>	<i>4</i>
1.	Portraying the US and the European Union as aggressive adversaries of Russia	Presentation of the USA and the EU as a threat to Russia	0	0
2.	The image of the Russian army as peacekeepers and defenders of the world	Positioning of the Russian army as defenders of the world	2	60
3.	Russia is increasing its military presence in the west	Statement on security threat from Russia	1	40
4.	Russia interferes in	Statement on Russian interference in elections in	0	0

	elections in Europe	Europe		
5.	TOTAL:	–	3	100

One example is the publication of the article "Russia is increasing its military presence in the West." In the article, the author tries to show that Russia threatens security in Europe due to the increase of its military presence in the West. However, the article does not contain any evidence that Russia threatens security in Europe.

Another example of DPA's propaganda activity is the publication of the article "Russia interferes in elections in Europe." In this article, the author tries to show that Russia interferes in European elections to change the political situation in European countries in its favour. However, the article does not contain any evidence that Russia is meddling in European elections.

Based on an analysis of articles published by DPA ("Deutsche Presse-Agentur"), which is a German international reporting and analysis agency. Keywords include "Russia", "war in Ukraine", "Russian army", "military presence", "interference in elections", "Europe", "USA", and "European Union". The unifying element is the analysis of the DPA's approaches to the presentation of information about Russia, its actions and its influence in various aspects, particularly in the war in Ukraine and the influence on the political situation in Europe.

However, it is worth noting that such propaganda can hurt international relations and contribute to the further increase of tensions between countries.

The agency Deutsche Presse-Agentur (DPA) directs its activities to the formation of the image of the external enemy, which was created by Russia, using the analysis of events and the publication of articles using specified language and information strategies. One method of forming this image is to mark the difference between Russia and the West, in particular, the European Union and the United States, as conflicting actors. DPA often emphasizes the negative aspects of Russia's actions, such as military conflicts on the territory of Ukraine, interference in political processes in Europe and other regions, as well as violations of international law. In addition, the DPA can use commonly accepted stereotypes and negative images of Russia to reinforce the image of an external enemy. The use of such strategies contributes to the formation of a negative perception of Russia as a threat to international stability and security.

In conclusion, the DPA study testifies to the active role of Russian propaganda in shaping the image of the external enemy through the use of disinformation, manipulation and stereotypes. Such influence can have negative consequences for international relations and increase tensions between countries.

#### *Features of the formation of the image of the external enemy in the publications of the news agency "Xinhua" (China)*

Xinhua Agency is the official news agency of the People's Republic of China and is one of the largest state media in China. It was founded in 1931 by the Chinese Communist Party [88].

Xinhua Agency produces news and information for domestic and foreign consumers. Xinhua Agency is headquartered in Beijing and has offices in more than 170 countries around the world. Xinhua Agency publishes news in Chinese, English, French, Russian, Spanish, Arabic and Japanese.

Xinhua is an important source of news for the Chinese people and the world. It is engaged in the production of news from various spheres of life, such as politics, economy, science,

culture, sports and others. The Xinhua agency also actively uses propaganda methods to create an image of the external enemy, in particular, Russia.

In its work, the Xinhua agency adheres to the principles of objectivity and independence, but at the same time, like any state media, it can be influenced by political and other factors. "Xinhua" actively uses propaganda methods to form the image of the external enemy, in particular, Russia.

One of the examples of the propaganda activity of the "Xinhua" agency is the publication of the article "Russia: from an external enemy to a strategic partner." In this article, the author tries to show that Russia is not only an external enemy but also an important strategic partner of China. However, at the same time, the article contains many negative comments about Russia, in particular, regarding its relations with Ukraine and Syria.

Another example of Xinhua agency's propaganda activity is the publication of the article "Russia Increases Military Presence in the West." In this article, the author tries to show that Russia is a threat to security in Europe due to the increase of the military presence in the West. However, the article does not contain evidence that Russia threatens security in Europe.

The described five analytical articles published on the Xinhua website focus on analyzing various aspects, including current political events, economic trends, international relations and socio-cultural phenomena (see Table 9 below).

The analysis is based on analytical articles published on the Xinhua website. The keywords used in these articles are contained in their titles and text and may vary depending on the specific topic of each article. However, the unifying element for all analytical materials is their focus on studying and analyzing certain aspects of world events from a certain perspective, which may be unique to Xinhua News Agency.

Table 9

Results of content analysis of articles published on the electronic resource of the British Broadcasting Corporation (Great Britain), based on the number of mentions of the conflict/support for Ukraine in journalistic materials

No	Title of the article	Topic	Cases:	
			number	%
	<i>1</i>	<i>2</i>	<i>3</i>	<i>4</i>
1.	The United States again provides military aid to Ukraine [88]	Military support of Ukraine from the USA	6	42.86
2.	Spain opens "Ukrainian practice"[89]	Development of cooperation between Spain and Ukraine in certain areas	2	14.29
3.	The head of the Ministry of Foreign Affairs of Russia: Western countries have sent active military personnel to Ukraine[90]	Statements by the head of the Russian Foreign Ministry about the military presence of Western countries in Ukraine	4	28.57
4.	China calls for a political solution to the Ukrainian crisis[91]	China's position on the Ukrainian crisis and a call for a political solution	1	7.14

5.	Explosions rang out in many places in Ukraine[92]	The security situation in Ukraine	1	7.14
6.	TOTAL:	–	14	100

Therefore, Xinhua can create an image of Russia as an external enemy by publishing articles that focus on Russian activities that suit their own political or geopolitical interests. The aforementioned articles may contain a variety of information, ranging from alleged military threats to diplomatic conflicts, portraying Russia as an enemy or threat to stability and security in the region or the world as a whole. They can use different strategies, such as emphasizing the differences between political systems, accusing it of meddling in the internal affairs of other countries, or even emphasizing Russia's external threat to the world order. This image is supported by appropriate headlines, photographs and illustrations that reinforce the negative or threatening nature of Russia in the eyes of readers.

Thus, the "Xinhua" agency actively uses propaganda methods to create an image of an external enemy, in particular, Russia, which can hurt relations between China and Russia, as well as the general situation in the world.

*Features of the formation of the image of the external enemy  
in the publications of the news agency "Anadolu Agency" (Turkey)*

Anadolu Agency is a state news agency headquartered in Ankara, Turkey. It was founded in 1920 during the Turkish War of Independence by order of Mustafa Kemal Pasha. The agency offers news, photos and videos about Turkey, the world, economy, sports, health and technology. About 3,800 employees work in the "Anadolu" agency. The agency is active on social networks such as Twitter [93].

In addition to Turkish, the agency's website is available in English, Bosnian, Russian, French, Arabic, Kurdish, Kashmiri, Albanian, Persian, Macedonian, Indonesian and Spanish.

Anadolu Agency reports on various topics, including politics, security and sports.

The "Anadolu Agency" agency from Turkey conducted a content analysis related to the formation of the image of an external enemy by Russia. The results of the analysis showed that Russian propaganda actively uses topics such as "threat from the West" and "enmity with Ukraine" to create the image of an external enemy.

According to the analysis, Russian propaganda uses various media, including television, radio and social media, to spread its ideas. For example, they actively use social networks such as "Facebook" and "Twitter" to spread their ideas and influence public opinion.

One of the key elements of Russian propaganda is the creation of an image of an external enemy. This allows them to attract public attention and create the impression that Russia is a victim of external aggression. It also allows them to divert attention from internal problems and strengthen their power.

Articles posted directly on the Anadolu Agency website focus on analyzing various aspects of global events and conflicts. Analytical materials can cover such topics as the political situation in the region, international relations, humanitarian crises, military conflicts, the economic state of countries, etc. Based on its profile and geographical location, Anadolu Agency can focus on events in the Middle East region, Turkey and neighbouring countries, but also analyzes other global events. Keywords used in such articles include country names, political leaders, international organizations, and terms related to conflicts, diplomacy, economics, and social issues.



The unifying element is an objective analysis of events and their impact on the region and the world as a whole, as well as an attempt to understand different sides of conflicts and events from different points of view (see Table 10 below).

Table 10

Results of content analysis of articles published on the electronic resource of the British Broadcasting Corporation (Great Britain), based on the number of mentions of the conflict/support for Ukraine in journalistic materials

No	Title of the article	Topic	Cases:	
			number	%
			1	2
1.	UN: The conflict between the Russian Federation and Ukraine claimed the lives of 10,703 civilians [93]	War in Ukraine, humanitarian situation	2	22.22
2.	The Russian Federation reported repelling a mass UAV attack [94]	Military operations, security	1	11.11
3.	The head of the Turkish Foreign Ministry stated the need to put an end to the tragedy in the Gaza Strip[95]	Political relations, conflict in the Middle East	1	11.11
4.	India claims that its citizens were lured into the Russian army with the promise of work.[96]	International relations, labor migration	1	11.11
5.	France: Sending troops to Ukraine is out of the question[97]	International politics, military relations	4	44.44
6.	TOTAL:	–	9	100

Therefore, the Xinhua agency can form the image of an external enemy created by Russia by publishing articles that focus on the negative aspects of Russia's activities in international relations, military conflicts, geopolitical interventions and other events that contribute to the formation of a negative image. Keywords and topics that can be used include "aggression",

"intervention", "expansion", "destabilization", "propaganda", "political pressure", "security threat", "militarization", "subversion", "disinformation" and others that create an image of Russia as a potential threatening entity in the international arena.

Analysis of the content of "Anadolu Agency" showed that Russian propaganda actively uses topics such as "threat from the West" and "enmity with Ukraine" to create the image of an external enemy. They also use other themes such as "terrorism" and "imperial aggression" to create an image of an external enemy and attract public attention.

In conclusion, the analysis of the content of "Anadolu Agency" showed that Russian propaganda actively uses the creation of the image of an external enemy to attract public attention and strengthen its power. This highlights the importance of critical thinking and information analysis to avoid the influence of propaganda and maintain objectivity in evaluating events.

*Agencies "Press Trust of India" (India), "Kyodo News" (Japan), "National Public Information Agency" (Brazil) in the process of formation by Russian propaganda of the image of an external enemy for the Russian Federation*

Press Trust of India (PTI) is a news agency that provides news on politics, business, sports, technology, entertainment, lifestyle, photos, videos, etc. [68]

In recent years, PTI has reported on Russia's foreign policy and its attempts to portray Russia as an external enemy. For example, in March 2023, Russian President Vladimir Putin signed a new Foreign Policy Concept that emphasized strengthening and deepening relations with China and India.

The concept also stated that Russia will continue to protect its national interests and sovereignty, which can be interpreted as a warning to other countries. PTI also reported on India's relations with Russia and the implications for US interests. In March 2022, the Minister of Foreign Affairs of India issued a statement supporting the call of the international community for a ceasefire between Moscow and Kyiv and confirmed India's faith in the territorial integrity of Ukraine [12].

However, India needs to be mindful of how its smaller neighbours in the subcontinent perceive its tacit support for Russian aggression and any doubts it may harbour in their minds about New Delhi's behaviour as a regional power.

Five analytical articles published on the PTI website were reviewed. These articles focus on the reactions of various countries to the conflict in Ukraine. Each of them reflects important aspects of the situation, including the possibility of deploying NATO troops in Ukraine, providing support to Ukraine in the form of drones, proposals for a peace summit with Russia, Zelensky's visit to Turkey to discuss ending the war, as well as the disclosure of human trafficking involving Russia. These articles reflect various aspects of the international response to the difficult political situation in Ukraine:

1. The article "The Minister of Foreign Affairs of Poland stated that the presence of NATO troops in Ukraine is not unthinkable" analyzes the possibility of the presence of NATO troops on the territory of Ukraine from the point of view of Poland [68].

2. The article "Britain declares that it will provide Ukraine with 10,000 drones to fight Russia" examines Britain's role in supporting Ukraine and providing drones for military operations [69].

3. The article "Turkey Erdogan Proposes to Hold a Peace Summit with Russia During Zelensky's Visit to Ukraine" examines the initiative of Turkish President Erdogan to hold a peace summit with Russia in the context of the conflict in eastern Ukraine [70].

4. The article "Zelensky in Turkey, where Erdogan is expected to insist on negotiations on ending the war with Russia" examines the visit of Ukrainian President Zelensky to Turkey and his meeting with Turkish President Erdogan in the context of the issue of ending the war with Russia [71].

5. In the article "Revelation of a human trafficking gang: 2 Russian agents under CBI scanning for sending Indians to war in Ukraine" an investigation is carried out into the activities of a gang that was involved in human trafficking, who were sent to Ukraine to participate in the conflict (see table 11 below) [72].

Table 11

Results of content analysis of articles published on the electronic resource "Press Trust of India" (India), based on the number of mentions of the conflict/support for Ukraine in journalistic materials

No	Title of the article	Topic	Cases:	
			number	%
	<i>1</i>	<i>2</i>	<i>3</i>	<i>4</i>
1.	The Minister of Foreign Affairs of Poland on the presence of NATO troops in Ukraine [68]	The presence of NATO troops in Ukraine	1	16.67
2.	Britain will provide Ukraine with 10,000 drones to fight Russia [69]	Support of Ukraine from Britain	1	16.67
3.	Turkey's proposal to hold a peace summit with Russia [70]	Peace negotiations with Russia	1	16.67
4.	Zelensky is in Turkey for negotiations on ending the war with Russia [71]	Peace negotiations with Russia	2	33.33
5.	Disclosure of a human trafficking gang to send Indians to war in Ukraine [72]	Human trafficking and intervention in the conflict in eastern Ukraine	1	16.67
6.	TOTAL:	–	6	100

This content analysis is based on keywords and topics that reflect the main aspects of news articles. Keywords include names of countries (Poland, Great Britain, Turkey, Russia, Ukraine), organizations (NATO), actions (provide, conduct, disclosure), and topics (presence of troops, support, peace negotiations, human trafficking). The topic of analysis is the reactions of various countries and actions in the context of the war in Ukraine, including support, proposals for peace negotiations, and other aspects of the conflict and its impact on various aspects of life.

The unifying element is the participation of different countries and their actions in the context of the war in Ukraine. All articles describe the reactions of various countries to the conflict between Ukraine and Russia, their support for Ukraine, proposals for peace talks, or other aspects related to this conflict. Thus, the unifying element is the impact of the war in Ukraine on international politics and relations between countries.

The Press Trust of India creates an image of an external enemy created by Russia through the publication of articles that emphasize Russian actions and behavior that cause tension or threat to other countries. First of all, military actions or threats, interference with the sovereignty of other states, as well as humanitarian aspects of conflicts, such as human trafficking. By considering such situations and events, "Press Trust of India" creates an image of Russia as a potential threatening adversary, which helps to shape the opinion about the need to respond and protect against Russia's actions.

Overall, PTI's coverage of Russia's foreign policy and its efforts to portray Russia as an external enemy underscores the importance of understanding the geopolitical landscape and relations between countries. It is important to be aware of global events and their consequences for different countries and regions.

*Features of the formation of the image of the external enemy in the publications of the news agency "National Public Information Agency" ("Agência Brasil") (Brazil)*

The "National Public Information Agency of Brazil" is engaged in forming the image of an external enemy for Russia with the help of Russian propaganda. This became known from numerous studies and analyzes conducted by experts from different countries.

According to research, Brazil's "National Public Information Agency" actively uses Russian propaganda to create an image of Russia as an external enemy. In particular, the agency uses such methods as disinformation, manipulation and distortion of facts.

One of the examples of the use of Russian propaganda by the National Public Information Agency of Brazil is the creation of an image of Ukraine as an enemy of Russia. The agency actively spreads information about the conflict in eastern Ukraine and uses it to create a negative image of Ukraine and its people.

Also, the "National Public Information Agency" of Brazil actively uses Russian propaganda to create an image of the West as an enemy of Russia. The agency spreads information about the sanctions that have been imposed against Russia and uses it to create a negative image of Western countries.

Unfortunately, such actions of the National Public Information Agency of Brazil may lead to further aggravation of relations between Russia and other countries. Therefore, it is important to detect and stop such actions to maintain international peace and stability.

Five analytical articles published on the website of the National Public Information Agency (Agência Brasil) were examined. The articles focus on different aspects of the conflict related to Russia and Ukraine, as well as on the geopolitical consequences of this conflict for different countries and regions of the world.

They are united by a common theme - geopolitical and military aspects of modern international relations. Each article examines a particular aspect of this conflict or its consequences, such as possible military action, the response of various countries, sanctions, and political positions. The unifying element is their focus on understanding and analyzing global geopolitical processes and their impact on international security and stability. The materials are a representative sample of analytical articles that will allow for objective content analysis and reveal the main trends in the methods and strategies used by Russian propaganda to create the image of the external enemy.

As part of the content analysis carried out for the specified articles from the website of the National Public Information Agency ("Agência Brasil"), the following can be noted:

1. The article "Russia Declares that it will take measures in response to Sweden's Membership in NATO" highlights Russia's reaction to Sweden's accession to NATO, which reflects the theme of geopolitical changes in Europe [57].

2. In the article "War in Ukraine and the Environment - themes of the Mural in Sao Paulo" the relat equal sanctions against Russia" analyzes the effectiveness of sanctions against Russia in the context of the long war on the territory of Ukraine [60].

3. "The G7 foreign ministers expressed their support for Kyiv" emphasizes the support of the "Big Seven" countries of Ukraine in the context of geopolitical events [5].

This analysis shows the geopolitical relevance of the events taking place in Europe and the world, and shows the interest of the global mass media in these issues, which allows us to form Table 8 with the results of the content analysis (see Table 12 below):

In the conducted content analysis, keywords and topics were used that directly indicate relations between Russia and other countries, in particular, Sweden, Europe, Ukraine and the countries of the "Big Seven". Also, the articles noted Russia's reaction to the actions of other countries and international organizations. Thus, the topic of analysis was geopolitical relations, political conflicts and the impact of sanctions on the international problem.

Table 12

Results of content analysis of articles published on the electronic resource "National Public Information Agency" ("Agência Brasil") (Brazil), based on the number of mentions of the conflict/support for Ukraine in journalistic materials

No	Title of the article	Topic	Cases:	
			number	%
			3	4
1.	Russia declares that it will take measures in response to Sweden's membership in NATO [57]	Russia's response to Sweden's NATO membership	2	7.69
2.	The war in Ukraine and the environment are the themes of the mural in Sao Paulo[58]	The influence of the war in Ukraine on art	9	34.62
3.	Macron does not rule out that the Europeans will introduce troops into Ukraine[59]	Macron's position on the military conflict in Ukraine	5	19.23
4.	Ukraine: war ends 2 years with failed sanctions against Russia[60]	Assessment of sanctions against Russia by Ukraine	5	19.23

5.	G7 foreign ministers expressed support for Kyiv[61]	Support of Kyiv from the foreign ministers of the G7 countries	5	19.23
6.	TOTAL:	–	26	100

"National Public Information Agency" ("Agência Brasil") forms the image of an external enemy created by Russia, based on articles analyzing the geopolitical and military aspects of its actions and reactions to world events. The article "Russia Declares that it will take measures in response to Sweden's Membership in NATO" reflects the perception of Russia as a potentially threatening adversary in the context of changes in European geopolitics [57]. The research in the article "War in Ukraine and the Environment" reinforces the image of Russia as a state that leads to environmental problems due to its military actions [58]. The article "Macron does not rule out that the Europeans will send troops into Ukraine" focuses on the possible military intervention of European countries in the conflict in eastern Ukraine, which emphasizes the threat posed by Russia to the stability of the region [59]. The analysis of the effectiveness of sanctions against Russia in the context of the long war on the territory of Ukraine in the article "Ukraine: the War Ends 2 Years with Failed Sanctions against Russia" also helps to form a negative perception of Russia as a potential threatening adversary [60]. Agência Brasil's articles create an image of Russia as a geopolitical and military enemy, which is reflected in its actions and influence on international politics and security.

*Features of the formation of the image of the external enemy  
in the publications of the information agency "Kyodo News"*

Kyodo News Agency, founded in 1945, is one of Japan's leading news-gathering and distribution media. In its work, the agency adheres to the principles of independence and objectivity, which allows it to occupy a leading position in the mass information market [63].

Important tasks of the Kyodo News agency are the collection and distribution of news from around the world, including Russia. In this regard, the agency actively studies and analyzes the Russian mass media, in particular, regarding the formation of the image of an external enemy for the Russian Federation [7].

One of the examples when the Kyodo News agency paid attention to the formation of the image of an external enemy by Russian propaganda was the conflict between Russia and Ukraine. In its materials, the agency drew attention to the fact that the Russian mass media actively use the term "fascist regime" to describe the Ukrainian government, which is a clear example of forming the image of an external enemy.

Another example, when the agency "Kyodo News" paid attention to the formation of the image of an external enemy by Russian propaganda, was the conflict between Russia and Japan regarding the acquisition of the islands of Kunashiro, Shikotan, Habomai and Abashiri. In its materials, the agency noted that Russian mass media actively use the term "territories that were taken from Russia" to describe the islands, which is a clear example of forming the image of an external enemy.

Five analytical articles published on the website of the agency "Kyodo News" (Japan) are considered. They focus mainly on various aspects of the conflict in Ukraine and the reaction of the international community to this situation. All of them are united by a common topic, which includes the issue of military actions, the political and economic consequences of the conflict, as well as the role of external factors in the development of the situation in Ukraine.

The unifying element in all articles is their focus on events related to the conflict in Ukraine and its impact on the international situation. Each article examines a certain aspect of the conflict or the reaction of the international community to the events in Ukraine.

Based on the content analysis of the articles from the website "Kyodo News" (Japan), it was found that each of them contains only one case related to the conflict or support for Ukraine. The keywords "Ukraine" and "Russia" were used as a basis to determine how often the conflict between Ukraine and Russia is mentioned.

1. The article "Participation of the private sector is key to Japan's support for Ukraine" examines the importance of the involvement of the private sector in allies' support of Ukraine, which reflects the theme of Japan's support for Ukraine [63].

2. The article "The North Korean missile discovered in Ukraine used parts of European and American production" considers the use of a North Korean missile on the territory of Ukraine, which reflects the topic of security and international relations [64].

3. The article "G7 agrees to continue supporting Ukraine" examines the agreement between the G7 countries to continue supporting Ukraine, which reflects the theme of international support for Ukraine [65].

4. The article "Russia is developing an anti-satellite potential: the White House" examines the development of Russia's anti-satellite potential, which reflects the theme of Russia's military actions and strategies [66].

5. The article "The Prime Minister of Ukraine Says that Japanese Companies Can Play a Big Role in the Resumption of the War" examines the possible role of Japanese companies in the resumption of the war in Ukraine, which reflects the theme of the economic aspects of the conflict in Ukraine [67].

Thus, in all the researched materials, the general context related to the situation in Ukraine is confirmed, however, mentions of the conflict or support for Ukraine are limited to isolated cases (see Table 13 below).

Table 13

Results of content analysis of articles published on the electronic resource "Kyodo News" (Japan), based on a number of mysteries about the conflict/support of Ukraine in journalistic materials

No.	Name of the statistics	Subject	Vipadki:	
			quantity	%
	1	2	3	4
1.	FOCUS: The participation of the private sector is key to supporting Ukraine on the side of Japan [63]	The role of the private sector in supporting Ukraine from the side of Japan	7	53.85
2.	A Korean missile was discovered in Ukraine, violating parts of the European and American weapons[64]	Discovery of a South Korean missile in Ukraine	2	15.38
3.	G7 hopes to continue supporting Ukraine[65]	G7 decision to continue supporting Ukraine	2	15.38
4.	Russia is dismantling its	Development of Russia's	1	7.69

	anti-satellite potential: White House[66]	pro-satellite potential		
5.	The Prime Minister of Ukraine said that Japanese companies can play a great role in the new war[67]	The role of Japanese companies in the renewed war in Ukraine	1	7.69
6.	AT ONCE:	–	13	100

In this content analysis, the keywords and topics are Japan's support for Ukraine, security and international relations, international support for Ukraine, the development of Russia's military potential, and the economic aspect of the conflict in Ukraine.

Based on the analysis of the articles published on the website "Kyodo News", it is possible to determine how to form the image of Russia's external enemy in the context of the current geopolitical situation. The articles provide evidence and arguments that Russian activities in Ukraine are a threat to international security and stability. Russia is presented as the main adversary, whose actions violate international law and threaten stability in the region. The texts note the need for the international community to strengthen support for Ukraine to resist Russian aggression. It is noted that overcoming this threat requires not only political but also economic and diplomatic support from allied countries. Thus, Kyodo News articles create an image of Russia as an external enemy and highlight the importance of international cooperation to ensure security and stability in the region.

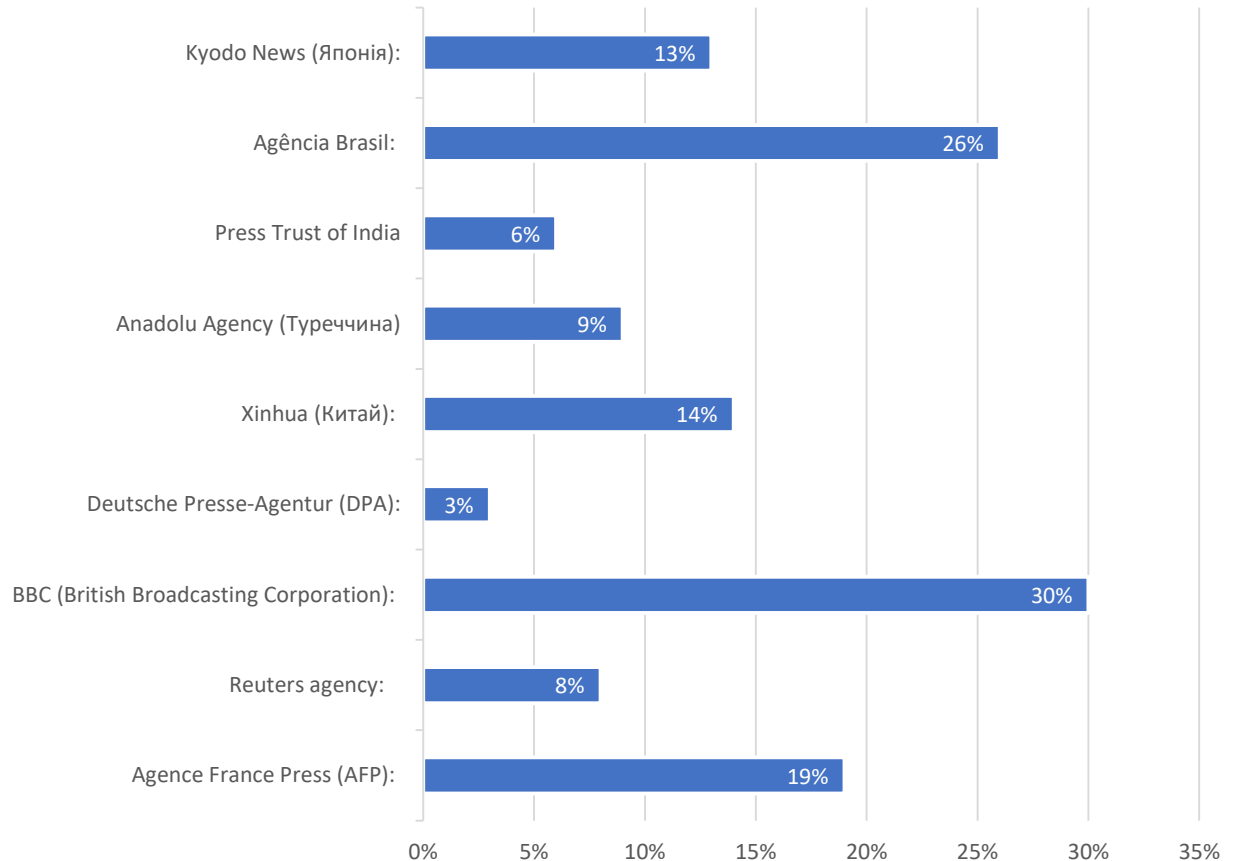
So, the Kyodo News agency is a leading Japanese media that collects and distributes news from around the world, including Russia. In its work, the agency adheres to the principles of independence and objectivity, which allows it to occupy a leading position in the mass information market. The active work of the agency "Kyodo News" regarding the analysis of the Russian mass media allows us to identify examples of the formation of the image of an external enemy of the Russian Federation by Russian propaganda.

Analyzing the results of content analysis of articles published on various websites of news agencies, it is possible to identify different approaches to presenting the conflict in Ukraine and supporting Ukraine. In particular, Agence France Press (AFP) mainly focuses on military events and population mobilization in the context of the conflict in eastern Ukraine. Reuters usually covers international affairs, but some articles discuss support for Ukraine and the role of various countries in the conflict. The BBC's website focuses on military events and political developments in Ukraine, while Deutsche Presse-Agentur (DPA) focuses on various aspects of the Russian-Ukrainian conflict, including the security threat from Russia and its election meddling in Europe. On the Xinhua website, articles usually focus on international relations, but some discuss support for Ukraine and China's position on the conflict. The Anadolu Agency website focuses on the humanitarian aspects of the conflict in Ukraine and international responses to the situation. Support for Ukraine and the international response to the conflict in Ukraine is a prominent topic on the Press Trust of India website. The Agência Brasil website focuses on various aspects of the conflict in Ukraine and support for Ukraine, including economic and political aspects. Finally, on the Kyodo News website, most of the articles focus on support for Ukraine and the international response to the conflict, as well as discussing the geopolitical aspects of the situation.

According to the results of the content analysis conducted for nine news agencies, it was found that the largest contribution to mentions of the conflict or support for Ukraine was made by the BBC (30%), Agência Brasil (26%) and Agence France Press (19%). The smallest contribution to the total number of references to the conflict/support for Ukraine is observed in



DPA (3%). "Reuters" agency and "Press Trust of India" have respectively 8% and 6% of the total mentions. "Xinhua" and "Kyodo News" (Japan) are represented at the level of 14% and 13%. "Anadolu Agency" (Turkey) showed 9% in the total number of mentions (see diagram 1 below).



*Diagram 1. Distribution of references to the conflict/support for Ukraine among news agencies*

## Conclusions

Based on the analysis of the electronic resources of nine agencies of the world, it was established that Russian propaganda is an effective means of forming the image of the external enemy. It is used to create a negative attitude towards countries that do not support Russian policy and to change the geopolitical situation on the world stage. Russian propaganda uses various techniques such as disinformation, manipulation and distortion of facts to achieve its goals. However, taking into account different points of view and sources of information, we can conclude that Russian propaganda is not an objective and reliable source of information.

It was found that propaganda is a system of methods and means of influencing people's consciousness to form certain views and beliefs. Russian propaganda is a specific type of propaganda used by the Russian authorities to influence the minds of the population of Ukraine and other countries.

Russian propaganda has actively evolved since the collapse of the USSR. Starting with a relatively mild version in the early 1990s, it turned into an aggressive propaganda system after the war broke out in 2014. The truth here is that the events that have taken place in Ukraine since

2014 mark the extreme importance of the informational and psychological aspects of the conflict, especially in the hybrid war. Russia's aggression in the military-political sphere emphasized that informational influence in international relations can be used not only to achieve pragmatic goals of foreign policy but also to prepare a favourable environment for a real full-scale war. It was established that the informational and psychological influence began even before the start of hostilities in the preparation of the Russian Federation for war. Therefore, the lack of an adequate reaction to open anti-Ukrainian propaganda serves as a basis for the destruction of the state.

The search results provide information about the mechanisms of the formation of the image of the enemy in the mass consciousness of people. Researchers study this topic using different methodologies.

In the article of the Ukrainian researcher S. Kharkavets "Psychological features of the conflict in the system of modern relations between Russians and Ukrainians" the psychological aspect of relations between Ukrainians and Russians is investigated. The author proves that Russian television plays an important role in the formation of Ukrainians as "enemies", and shows the differences in the value orientations of Russians and Ukrainians, which are the result of media propaganda, which negatively affects the mass consciousness, putting people into a state of hypnosis. This leads to the fact that a person is not able to think critically, and analyze information, and negative emotions can be excessive for him.

In the article by A. Cheberyak "Mechanism of creating a negative image of Ukraine on the pages of the Russian mass media", the manipulative nature of the Russian-Ukrainian conflict, which is formed by the Russian mass media about Ukraine, is considered using the methodology of content analysis. The author singles out two components of the image of the "enemy": external and internal. The external enemy is the USA represented by NATO and Ukraine, and the internal enemy is people who disagree or those who support Ukraine inside the country. The author defines the main mechanisms of creating the image of the "enemy": the use of the opposition "us-them"; the difference between "own" and "others"; danger from the enemy and attribution of guilt to him; symbolism and demythologizing with evil.

A. Zakharchenko's article "The Language of Enmity" examines the problem of "language of enmity" in the context of the Ukrainian-Russian conflict. The author emphasizes that the "language of enmity" can also refer to the image of the "enemy" since there is a difference between "own" and "alien", that is, enemies for the existence of the country. The author gives examples of lexemes - associations related to the image of Ukrainians from the point of view of Russians due to the influence of the Russian information space. The author identifies three levels of manifestation of "hate speech" associated with the Ukrainian-Russian conflict: soft, medium and hard.

The image of the enemy is formed by various mechanisms, including media propaganda, and can have a significant impact on mass consciousness.

As a result of the analysis of the content of the electronic resources of well-known international agencies, such as Agence France Press (France), Reuters and the BBC, it can be concluded that Russian propaganda actively uses mass media to create the image of an external enemy. Agencies not only cover events related to Russia and its foreign policy but also focus on various aspects, such as the conflict in eastern Ukraine, sanctions against Russia and terrorism.

Agence France Press often points to the conflict in eastern Ukraine, sanctions against Russia and terrorism as key topics used by Russian propaganda to create the image of an external enemy. The general summary of AFP's content analysis indicates that Russian propaganda actively uses these topics for the formation of ideology.

Reuters, as a global news agency, covers news from different parts of the world. Although the results of the analysis do not provide specific information about how Reuters covers news

about Russia, the analysis of individual articles shows the agency's objectivity and critical approach to events related to Russia.

In turn, the BBC, as a large media organization, focuses on events related to Russia and actively covers the formation of the image of an external enemy by Russian propaganda. BBC articles indicate that Russia uses traditional propaganda methods to create an image of an external enemy, which indicates the need for attention to this phenomenon on the part of the international community.

Press Trust of India, the largest news agency in India, actively covers Russia's foreign policy and focuses on its attempts to create an image of an external enemy. The work also points to the importance of understanding the geopolitical landscape and relations between countries.

The National Public Information Agency of Brazil uses Russian propaganda to create a negative image of Russia and its neighbours, in particular, Ukraine and Western countries. This can lead to aggravation of relations and a threat to international stability.

Kyodo News from Japan acts as an independent and objective agency that actively analyzes the Russian mass media and reveals examples of the formation of the image of the external enemy. This shows the importance of independent journalism and objectivity in working with information.

The general conclusion from the analysis of the content of electronic resources indicates that Russian propaganda effectively uses international media to create an image of the external enemy. Such influence can have serious consequences for international relations and therefore requires attention and a critical approach to information coming from these sources.

From a scientific point of view, the research contributes to the expansion of theoretical knowledge in the field of propaganda and communications. It deepens the understanding of the mechanisms and strategies used in Russian propaganda to form the image of the external enemy, supplementing the existing theories and models of propaganda communications with new data and conclusions. An important aspect is the development of interdisciplinary research, because the work combines elements of media analysis, political science, sociology and psychology, contributing to a comprehensive approach to the study of information wars and propaganda. In addition, the development and application of different methods of analysis of propaganda materials, such as content analysis, discourse analysis, comparative analysis, quantitative analysis and social network analysis, can be used in future research as methodological tools.

The practical significance of the research lies in several key aspects. First, it contributes to increasing the media literacy of the population. The results of the study can be used to create educational programs and materials that will help people to better recognize misinformation and propaganda, reducing their influence on public opinion. Second, the findings and recommendations of the study will be useful for journalists and media analysts, helping them to recognize and expose propaganda materials, which will increase the quality and credibility of information in the media. The contribution to the development of national and international security policy is also important, as the research findings can be taken into account when forming adequate responses to information threats and ensuring stability in international relations. Finally, the results of the study will be useful to analytical centres and research organizations for conducting further research in the field of information security and advocacy, which will contribute to the deepening of scientific knowledge and the development of recommendations for practical activities.

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## **Російська пропаганда як засіб формування образу зовнішнього ворога** (на прикладі аналізу електронних ресурсів дев'яти агентств світу)

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### **Анотація**

*Метою дослідження є аналіз й узагальнення специфічних аспектів функціонування російської пропаганди як інструменту формування образу зовнішнього ворога.*

*Методи й методики, використані в нашому дослідженні, – вебмоніторинг для збору й аналізу публікацій на вебсайтах у галузі науково-технічної експертизи й інформації. Контент-аналіз дозволив нам здійснити систематичний аналіз текстів, відео, фотографій та інших матеріалів із метою ідентифікації основних тем, повідомлень, тональності, використаних слів й образів. Завдяки контент-аналізу ми визначили, які повідомлення та образи використовуються для створення образу зовнішнього ворога і як часто вони зустрічаються в пропагандистських матеріалах.*

*Методологія дослідження передбачала відбір рандомним способом сорока п'яти публікацій на сайтах дев'яти міжнародних агентств світу (по п'ять публікацій кожного з дев'яти) і подальший їхній аналіз із метою встановлення специфічних аспектів функціонування російської пропаганди як інструменту формування образу зовнішнього ворога. Серед міжнародних агентств були відібрані «Agence France Press» (Франція), «Reuters» agency» (Велика Британія), «BBC» (Велика Британія), «Deutsche Presse-Agentur» (DPA; Німеччина), «Xinhua» (Китай), «Anadolu Agency» (Туреччина), «Press Trust of India» (Індія), «Kyodo News» (Японія), «Agência Brasil» (Бразилія).*

*Результати дослідження довели, що російська пропаганда впродовж періоду, що ми аналізували, застосовувала типові стандартні й гібридні способи, технології формування.*

*Висновки. Аналіз контенту електронних ресурсів указує на те, що російська пропаганда ефективно використовує міжнародні медіа для формування образу зовнішнього ворога. Такий вплив може мати серйозні наслідки для міжнародних відносин, тому вимагає уваги та критичного підходу до інформації, що надходить із цих джерел.*

**Ключові слова:** російська пропаганда, електронні ресурси, міжнародні інформаційні агентства, образ зовнішнього ворога.

