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INFORMATION AND PSYCHOLOGICAL WARFARE IN THE CONTEXT OF THE WAR BETWEEN AZERBAIJAN AND ARMENIA

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ABSTRACT

The purpose of the paper is to highlight the development of information-psychological warfare, its history, concepts, technologies and methods, which are one of the most important areas of work in the field of international relations. The concept of 'information warfare' has concentrated a number of phenomena from the sphere of mass communications and during the 20th century was called various terms, such as 'disinformation', 'propaganda', 'psychological warfare', 'psychological operations'.

Within the scope of the study, the importance of psychological warfare in today's context has been examined using the example of Azerbaijan and Armenia. It has been emphasized how Armenia effectively employed psychological warfare tactics and propaganda to gain an advantageous position in the late 20th century. In the early 21st century, the significance of Azerbaijan gaining a superior position in psychological warfare and using propaganda effectively has been discussed. Additionally, the article delves into the importance of using white propaganda during psychological warfare and the drawbacks of black propaganda within the context of the psychological warfare between Azerbaijan and Armenia.

The novelty of the paper lies in a comprehensive analysis of information and psychological warfare and operations in the context of the Azerbaijan-Armenian conflict.

Conclusions. In the 20th century information and psychological warfare and operations became part of the military policy of states. Now, due to the current situation on the world stage, the methods and means of conducting information warfare are changing and every year they are reaching a higher level. It can also be stated that in the 21st century, information wars have become more widespread. In summary, the historical context and evolution of information warfare demonstrate its enduring significance as a tool for states to achieve their strategic and political goals. As technology and global politics continue to evolve, information warfare is likely to remain a key component of statecraft and international relations.

Keywords: information warfare, psychological warfare, information aggression, propaganda, information operations, media

ІНФОРМАЦІЙНО-ПСИХОЛОГІЧНА ВІЙНА У КОНТЕКСТІ АЗЕРБАЙДЖАНСЬКО-ВІРМЕНСЬКОЇ ВІЙНИ

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АНОТАЦІЯ

Метою роботи є висвітлення розвитку інформаційно-психологічної війни, її історії, концепцій, технологій і методів, які є одним із найважливіших напрямів роботи у сфері міжнародних відносин. Поняття «інформаційна війна» сконцентрувало низку явищ зі сфери масових комунікацій і протягом ХХ ст. називалося різними термінами, такими як «дезінформація», «пропаганда», «психологічна війна», «психологічні операції».

У рамках дослідження на прикладі Азербайджану та Вірменії розглядається важливість психологічної війни у сучасному контексті. Було підкреслено, як Вірменія ефективно використовувала тактику психологічної війни та пропаганду, щоб отримати вигідну позицію наприкінці 20 ст. На початку 21 ст. обговорювалося значення здобуття Азербайджаном переваги у психологічній війні та ефективного використання пропаганди. Крім того, у статті розглядається важливість використання білої пропаганди під час психологічної війни та недоліки чорної пропаганди у контексті психологічної війни між Азербайджаном та Вірменією.

Новизна роботи полягає у комплексному аналізі інформаційно-психологічних війн та операцій у контексті азербайджансько-вірменського конфлікту.

Висновки. У ХХ ст. інформаційно-психологічні війни та операції стали частиною військової політики держав. Зараз, у зв'язку зі сформованою ситуацією на світовій арені, методи та засоби ведення інформаційної війни змінюються і з кожним роком виходять на все більш високий рівень. Також можна констатувати, що у ХХІ ст. інформаційні війни набули все більшого розмаху. Таким чином, історичний контекст та еволюція інформаційної війни демонструють її незмінне значення як інструменту досягнення державами своїх стратегічних і політичних цілей. Оскільки технології та глобальна політика продовжують розвиватися, інформаційна війна, ймовірно, залишатиметься ключовим компонентом державного управління та міжнародних відносин.

Ключові слова: інформаційна війна, психологічна війна, інформаційна агресія, пропаганда, інформаційні операції, ЗМІ

INTRODUCTION

Currently, information problems are one of the most popular and frequently studied scientific problems. Information problems are of interest to specialists in almost all branches of science, and scientists of various specialties are engaged in its research. It should be noted that information is a global problem of our time, since the development of society depends on it. In addition, information interaction between different groups of humanity is the most important form of social interaction. Social progress depends on this. The information factor has caused serious revolutionary changes in recent years. Now the entire scientific world is included in a single information system, and it actually works in real time. The importance of information for humanity is not only a condition, but also an incentive for further action, and disinformation and information chaos cause a feeling of uncertainty and powerlessness.

The degree to which the need for information is satisfied also plays a major role in the well-being of society. In an unhealthy society, as a rule, there is a feeling of information hunger¹.

Today humanity lives in an information society. This is a new type of society in which the possession of information is the driving force of its transformation and development. Information rightfully changes humanity and influences the course of world events. The information space today is becoming an important system for conducting state policy. The significance of the state's ability and ability to conduct geostrategic information warfare to achieve geopolitical success is steadily increasing. Thus, the main axiom of the 21st century has become the long-known truth: "who owns the information, owns the world".

All this determines the relevance of studying the problem of information warfare within the framework of political science. Contradictions and conflicts between states in today's conditions have moved into the information space, and this has now become a reality. The importance of public information in resolving political issues has increased and, as a result, the regulation and publicity of the scope of policy has increased. The growing importance of information is a historical fact that is based on the ideas of the information society. Increasingly, information confrontation is a continuation of state policy. Thus, *the purpose of the paper* is to highlight the development of information-psychological warfare, its history, concepts, technologies and methods, which are one of the most important areas of work in the field of international relations.

LITERATURE REVIEW

The fundamental and very first work on the topic under study was the book of the American political scientist and psychologist Paul Linebarger, 'Psychological Warfare: International Propaganda and Communications' in which the author summarized the experience of his work in US propaganda institutions engaged in waging psychological wars. In the first edition of the book, published in 1948, the author explores the forms and methods of psychological warfare during the two world wars of 1914-1918 and 1939-1945. The second edition in 1954 was expanded to include an analysis of propaganda campaigns during the Korean War, 1950-1953².

It is noteworthy that in the work 'Psychological Warfare: International Propaganda and Communications' P. Linebarger analyzes methods of processing the enemy's mass consciousness using various historical examples – from wars in Ancient Greece to civil strife in Ancient China, from military conflicts in the medieval Europe to the epochal conquests of Genghis Khan, from the civil protests of the English Revolution to the anti-monarchist uprisings of the French Revolution.

It should be especially noted that in his work the author used hundreds of original documents (including secret ones) from the archives of the intelligence services, ministries of defense, various government agencies and departments of the United States and Great Britain, to which he had access during the years of his military service³.

¹ Тальшинский Э.Б. Современные информационные войны и Азербайджан. Баку: Мутарджим, 2016. С. 11.

² Linebarger Paul M.A. Psychological Warfare: International Propaganda and Communications, 1948. Revised second edition, Duell, Sloan and Pearce, 1954. 318 p.

³ Psychological Warfare Division – SHAEF, The: An Account of its Operations in the Western European Campaign, 1944-1945. Anon. U.S. Army, 1945. 48 p.

In the preface to the first edition, P. Linebarger wrote: "I discussed psychological warfare with a variety of people – from Mao Zedong in Yan'an and Ambassador Joseph Davis in Washington to a corporal in the Army Corps of Engineers in New Zealand and a janitor at American headquarters in Chongqing. I learned from all these people and tried to make this book a reflection of the collective experience... I also owe a lot to the officers of the General Staff of the Ministry of Defense, who introduced me to the details of psychological warfare. The circumstances for the United States were very fortunate – this work at the headquarters was led by intelligent, conscientious and gifted people, and I was very lucky that I served under their command from 1942 to 1947..."⁴. All this proved that almost all methods, forms and technologies of psychological warfare in the United States were developed by teams of military personnel and scientists who had specialized training in the field of human psychology, political psychology, applied psycholinguistics, psychology of propaganda and mass communications.

Some works by scientists highlight general and specific concepts of propaganda and psychological wars: among them we can note, for example, the historians Philip Taylor and Scot MacDonald. P. Taylor, in his work 'Munitions of the Mind: War propaganda from the ancient world to the nuclear age'⁵ emphasizes that the inextricable connection of propaganda with war determines its moral character. The scientist traces the beginning of the propaganda process to the stone steles of ancient Mesopotamia, depicting the power of warlike rulers. The author continues to explore the development of propaganda techniques in Ancient Greece, the Roman Empire and the Middle Ages, analyzing how the art of persuasion functioned in conflicts such as the Thirty Years' War and the English Civil War.

S. MacDonald's book 'Propaganda and Information Warfare in the Twenty-First Century'⁶ analyzes the history of the manipulation of visual means that were used in psychological warfare. The author provides an informative history of both psychological operations and military disinformation techniques and examines how images can be doctored and distorted to carry out such operations. For example, a number of examples show how staged photographs can lie or mislead. In the age of digital media, altered images can easily be distributed over the Internet and serve as tools for visual propaganda.

The topic of psychological warfare attracted dozens of researchers from different countries in the post-war period. Most of the works are devoted to the analysis of various operations of the countries of the anti-Hitler coalition against Nazi Germany during the World War II. Among them are the British scientist Ellick Paul Howe⁷; a former combat liaison officer in the Psychological Warfare Branch Edward Boehm⁸; English historian and civil servant Michael Balfour⁹, et al. Also important is scholar Allan Winkler's¹⁰, in which the author reveals issues of the organization of American propaganda.

⁴ Military Review. Geoeconomics by Col. *John F. Troxell* // The professional journal of the U.S. Army, 2018. Vol. 98. № 1. P. 9.

⁵ *Taylor Ph.M.* Munitions of the Mind: War propaganda from the ancient world to the nuclear age. Patrick Stephens Ltd., 1990. 224 p.

⁶ *MacDonald S.* Propaganda and Information Warfare in the Twenty-First Century. London: Routledge, 2007. 204 p.

⁷ *Howe E.* The Black Game: British Subversive Operations Against the Germans During the Second World War. London: Michael Joseph, 1982. 276 p.

⁸ *Boehm E.* Behind Enemy Lines: WWII Allied/Axis Propaganda. New York: Wellfleet Press, 1989. 203 p.

⁹ *Balfour M.* Propaganda in War 1939-1945: Organizations, Policies and Publics in Britain and Germany. London: Routledge & Kegan Paul, 1979. 520 p.

¹⁰ *Winkler A.M.* Politics of Propaganda, The Office of War information, 1942-1945. Yale University Press, 1978. 230 p.

Some Azerbaijani and Russian scientists touched upon the topic under study, namely the issue of information-psychological war between Azerbaijan and Armenia. For example, S. Fedorchenko analyzed “techniques of information warfare between political actors for dominance over representatives of the political identity of Karabakh. He comes to the conclusion that the largest political actors trying to influence the conflict are not only regional interests, but also Russia and the United States”¹¹. It should be noted that S. Fedorchenko in his work pays more attention to political identity, which acquires special weight for those territories whose fate is inextricably linked with recent military conflicts, controversial, unresolved international problems.

In turn, A. Gordievich examines the regional conflict in Nagorno-Karabakh, analyzing the key features and methods of information warfare as part of this conflict, based on an analysis of the events of 2020. In work ‘Information War as an integral part of the strategy of the parties to the Karabakh conflict’¹², he defines the methods of information warfare between the parties to the conflict for dominance over its intra-country, regional and global assessments.

The information actions of Armenia emanating from Azerbaijan were studied by the Azerbaijani scientist Chingiz Mamedov and divided them into special groups¹³. The expert noted that the Republic of Armenia, in order to manipulate public opinion, uses the media, the global information network Internet, as well as open information resources. He points out that the information that Armenia sends towards Azerbaijan, and Azerbaijan sends towards Armenia, acts as an information or physical domain.

Also worth mentioning is Nikolai Krylov, who in his article¹⁴ explores the role of the media in the information-psychological war of Azerbaijan and Armenia. The author especially notes that the Armenian-Azerbaijani war became a new step in the development of media technologies of confrontation. It should be noted that, unlike most military operations of the last 10 years, in this case there was not a rebel struggle against the central government or a civil war, as in Syria, Libya or other countries, but a full-fledged armed confrontation between two states. Therefore, almost exclusively state media resources were involved in the war, opposing each other, which is the uniqueness of this conflict.

Interest in the topic of information and psychological warfare in conditions of interstate conflict has recently intensified among Ukrainian researchers¹⁵. This is due to

¹¹ Федорченко С.Н. Нагорный Карабах в ракурсе информационных войн // Постсоветские исследования. 2018. Т. 1. № 2. С. 209.

¹² Гордиевич А.А. Информационная война как составная часть стратегии сторон Карабахского конфликта // 78-я научная конференция студентов и аспирантов Белорусского государственного университета: материалы конф. Ч. 2, Минск, 10-21 мая 2021 г. Минск: БГУ, 2021. С. 512-515.

¹³ Мамедов Ч. Информационная война Армении против Азербайджана // Интерфакс-Азербайджан: информационное агентство. 2016, 6 мая. URL: <https://interfax.az/view/671699>

¹⁴ Крылов Н. Информационное противоборство в нагорно-карабахском конфликте // Новости ВПК. 2020, 22 декабря. URL: <https://bit.ly/3ROA9Le>

¹⁵ Кучмій О., Фролова О. Використання соціальних медіа як інструменту сучасної гібридної війни // Acta De Historia & Politica: Saeculum XXI. 2023. Вип.: Special Issue. С. 93-104. DOI: 10.26693/ahpsxxi2023.si.093; Калнічева Г. Використання інформаційно-психологічної зброї в умовах російсько-української війни // Acta De Historia & Politica: Saeculum XXI. 2023. Вип. 6. С. 53-65. DOI: 10.26693/ahpsxxi2023.06.053; Звездова О. Психологічна війна як гібридна загроза сучасній системі міжнародної безпеки // Acta De Historia & Politica: Saeculum XXI. 2023. Вип. 5. С. 63-71. DOI: 10.26693/ahpsxxi2023.05.063; Кравченко Н. Інформаційна складова як ключовий аспект гібридної війни // Acta De Historia & Politica: Saeculum XXI. 2022. Вип. 4. С. 106-118. DOI: 10.26693/ahpsxxi2022.04.106

the Russian-Ukrainian war, and its hybrid nature. The theoretical developments of Ukrainian political scientists can be used in further studies of hybrid wars and the use of information and psychological warfare.

CONCEPTUAL APPROACHES TO THE CONTENT OF INFORMATION AND PSYCHOLOGICAL WARFARE

In almost all wars that have occurred from the past to the present, psychological warfare techniques have been used. Before examining these wars and the techniques used in them, it is necessary to explain what psychological warfare means as a concept.

An individual or group employs psychological warfare techniques to influence their enemy and sustain that influence. Throughout history, nearly all nations in conflict have used psychological warfare techniques. Taking a comprehensive look at psychological warfare in general complicates the understanding of this concept. In this context, Prof. Dr. Nevzat Tarhan, in his book 'Psychological warfare'¹⁶ categorizes the concept of psychological warfare into four headings. According to him, psychological warfare can be divided into four types: 'strategic psychological warfare', 'tactical psychological warfare', 'reinforcement psychological warfare', and 'provocation-type psychological warfare'. Examining psychological warfare within this framework will facilitate a clearer understanding of the concept.

Strategic psychological warfare is applied against everyone within the enemy's control and within the enemy's operational area. This type of psychological warfare is carried out taking into account the enemy's sphere of influence. The target here is not only the soldiers fighting on the enemy's front lines. Also, non-combatant soldiers, partisan or neutral communities, and civilians residing in that country are the targets.

During strategic psychological warfare, propaganda is used against the opposing side. The preferred type of propaganda here is 'white propaganda' because the source of white propaganda is clear, and it always provides the public with true information. In this type of propaganda, the source being officially known and reliable is important.¹⁷ Taking these considerations into account, the most logical type of propaganda to be used during strategic psychological warfare is white propaganda.

According to Tarhan, the propaganda used during strategic psychological warfare is crucial in reaching the target. According to him, if gray or black propaganda is used instead of white propaganda, individuals, groups, or states will not be able to achieve their desired outcome. Tarhan explains this situation in his book 'Psychological Warfare' as follows: "Friend, foe is directed at all communities. The rear of the battle lines is primarily planned. White propaganda is preferred. Credibility increases as the news turns out to be true. The public does not listen to the radio they do not believe in, does not read the newspaper they do not believe in, and if they do, they greet the information with skepticism. Hitler's use of black propaganda eventually failed and backfired; the public began listening to radios they believed in, and British and U.S. broadcasting organizations produced trustworthy broadcasts. As a result, the course of World War II changed. In the Korean War, UN forces conducted radio propaganda against the Mig 15-17 aircraft attack. The propaganda that \$100,000 in American dollars would be given to the Korean pilot who brought the Mig aircraft reduced the number of raids"¹⁸.

¹⁶ Tarhan N. Psikolojik Savaş. İstanbul: Timaş Yayınları, 1996. 352 s.

¹⁷ Erkiş I.U., Summak M.E. Propaganda ve Dış Politika // Selçuk Üniversitesi Sosyal Bilimler Meslek Yüksekokulu Dergisi. 2014. Vol. 14 (1-2). S. 301.

¹⁸ Tarhan N. Psikolojik Savaş... S. 25-26.

As Tarhan stated, other types of propaganda, other than white propaganda, are of little use during strategic psychological warfare.

Another type of psychological warfare is *tactical psychological warfare*. The purpose of tactical psychological warfare is to provide direct short-term support to military units fighting against the enemy¹⁹. The objectives of this type of psychological warfare can be described as increasing obedience within society and raising the fear factor to prevent negative reactions, directing and misleading the international public opinion, and creating a rift between the local government and the people. Generally, one of the goals of tactical psychological warfare is to deceive the enemy's military units both before and after the war. Many states in history have used tactical psychological warfare methods.

One of the types of psychological warfare used in wars is *reinforcing psychological warfare*. Reinforcing psychological warfare is typically planned for the post-war period. This type of psychological warfare is often used to reassure people after conflicts and make them feel secure. It is also employed to prevent any potential uprisings or rebellions. The scope of this psychological warfare type includes assisting in the protection of transportation lines and aiding military governments in establishing law in occupied or liberated areas. It also involves collaborating with civilians and assisting in post-war reconstruction efforts in war-torn areas, as well as helping establish places like newspapers, television, and printing presses, as well as local governance²⁰.

The examples provided by Tarhan, who is an expert on the subject, in his book on reinforcing psychological warfare are quite remarkable.

During the Russian-German war, the Germans treated the Soviet population very poorly. They took away herds of sheep and dismantled factories, earning the hatred of the people. Initially, the population harbored resentment primarily towards Stalin and his army. However, due to the Germans' harsh treatment, they were forced to assist Stalin's army. Before the war, the Russian people viewed the Germans as liberators. But as a result of the mistreatment they witnessed, they changed their views, cut off supply routes, and contributed to the defeat of the German army. The Germans, who considered themselves a pure, noble, and superior race, mistreated the Russian people, and they paid the price for it²¹.

In this example, Tarhan draws attention to the damage that a strategic mistake made by the Germans caused them. Another case given by Tarhan is about Turkey.

A similar application of psychological activities in peacetime can be observed in Turkey during the 1940s. Turkey, which had not entered the war, managed the significant task of staying out of it. However, during this period, the population was treated very poorly, and people were marginalized through a second-class citizen treatment. People wearing traditional clothing like 'potur' and 'çarık' were not allowed to enter the city by the governor of Ankara at the time, Nevzat Tandoğan. Even playing the saz (a traditional musical instrument) was prohibited, and practicing and teaching their beliefs were under pressure. People were even prohibited from entering the beaches. The oppression was so severe that on days when beach access was allowed, the public would storm the beaches. The next day's newspaper headlines would read,

¹⁹ Lord C. The Psychological Dimension in National Strategy // Frank L. Goldstein, Benjamin F. Findley (Eds.). Psychological Operations: Principles and Case Studies. Alabama: Air University Press, 1996. P. 77.

²⁰ Güneri Münir. Psikolojik Savaşın Önemi ve Yöntemi. İstanbul: K.K.K. Askerî Basımevi, 1967. S. 307.

²¹ Tarhan N. Psikolojik Savaş... S. 26-27.

'The public arrived, and citizens were left out'. In the free elections held in 1950, the Democratic Party surprisingly secured the majority, defying the pressure groups²².

When paying attention to the examples provided by Tarhan, it is clear how important a type of warfare supplementary psychological warfare is.

The last type of psychological warfare is *provocation-type psychological warfare*. This type of psychological warfare emerges suddenly and is carried out with the aim of attacking the opposing side. Individuals who want to provoke during rallies, funerals, and demonstrations blend into the crowd and make provocative statements on sensitive issues. Provocation-type psychological warfare generally affects uneducated, unhappy, unemployed, and impoverished groups. The statements of provocateurs who use this method are not only false but also have no basis.

The tension between Greece and Turkey, both on the international and national levels, has been turned into a form of provocation-type psychological warfare by Greece. In 1992, Greek Prime Minister Mitsotakis visited Turkey. Even the Greek Prime Minister's visit to Turkey was portrayed in the public eye by his political rival, the Pasok party, and the Greek media with the headline, 'Rise up, the Prime Minister is selling everything'²³.

Jean M. Domenach's definition of propaganda is quite explanatory. Propaganda is an initiative aimed at influencing the views and behaviors of people in the societal sphere to encourage them to adopt a particular view or behavior²⁴. Historically, states, political organizations, and other actors have used propaganda to steer society and gain their support. This can take various forms, involving media, communication tools, and the manipulation of information. Propaganda can be used to shape the perspective of society, support policies, or guide society in a specific direction.

Propaganda is a conscious form of communication aimed at influencing people's thoughts and behaviors. Unlike other forms of propaganda, white propaganda seeks to use accurate and reliable information. In this type of propaganda, the aim is for accurate information to create the desired effect²⁵. White propaganda always sources its information from specific, reliable, and official sources, which enhances its credibility. This type of propaganda aims to use real and accurate information, preventing the dissemination of false or misleading information to the public. White propaganda seeks to debunk the enemy's claims by informing the public with accurate and reliable information, thereby exposing the falsehood or deception of the opposing side.

White propaganda aims to guide the thoughts and behaviors of the target audience with accurate information, with the goal of consciously informing society. In white propaganda, false or suspicious information is not included. If such information is included, it can damage the reputation of the propagandist and diminish the effectiveness of the propaganda. White propaganda aims to assist people in making their own informed choices by presenting information openly and honestly. Unlike other forms of propaganda, white propaganda is based on a foundation of greater transparency and honesty. However, the concept of propaganda itself should be

²² Ibid. S. 27.

²³ Özsoy O. Propaganda ve Kamuoyu Oluşturma. İstanbul: Alfa Yayınları, 1998. S. 215.

²⁴ Domenach J.-M. Politika ve Propaganda. İstanbul: Varlık Yayınları, 2003. S. 17.

²⁵ Avcı Ö. Propaganda Çeşitleri // M. Karaca & C. Çakı (Eds.). İletişim ve Propaganda. Konya: Eğitim Yayınevi. 2018. S. 77.

handled carefully since it can have an influential impact on many people's thoughts and behaviors.

The type of propaganda that has the power to influence people's thoughts and behaviors and can steer society is gray propaganda. In this type of propaganda, the information source is not officially known. For this reason, it is not entirely clear whether the information provided is true or false. According to Nevzad Tarhan: "The goal of gray propaganda can be to present something flawed, incomplete, or ambiguous as complete and sufficient. Alternatively, it aims to cast doubt on something that is already complete, sufficient, and clear, thereby shadowing or devaluing it. All kinds of contradictions are skillfully employed in this method. Even if there is no contradiction, it is acted as if there were, thus arousing the desired questions in people's minds"²⁶.

Another type of propaganda that influences societal structure is black propaganda. In this type of propaganda, the source is entirely uncertain. However, those who use black propaganda attempt to make the source appear reliable. Furthermore, the target audience is directed to believe that the information is obtained from their own sources. The most important characteristic of black propaganda is that society is unaware that this information comes from the opposing side and is a form of propaganda. According to Nevzad Tarhan, in black propaganda; "It aims to alter the facts, shake beliefs, and stir up public opinion. When the source is understood, it loses its effect and rebounds. It leads to an increase in hostile feelings"²⁷.

THE CONTEMPORARY HISTORY OF PSYCHOLOGICAL WARFARE

In the 20th century, information wars became part of the military policy of states. During the First World War, the so-called War Propaganda Bureau was created in Great Britain (1914), which was later renamed the Office of War Information. In France, under the second department of the General Staff of the Ministry of Defense, a department of the Military Propaganda Service was created (1915). Thus, the main task of the military propaganda department was to influence the enemy with the help of leaflets. Each French army had an aircraft for distributing printed materials with information and psychological influence. Both institutions were engaged in disseminating propaganda among the military and civilians of other states.

In 1917, a psychological section was created in the United States at the intelligence service of the headquarters of the expeditionary forces. The main means of conducting information warfare at that time were leaflets, postcards, newspapers. The Russian army used loudspeakers as technical means²⁸. Other countries, to one degree or another, tried to exert information and psychological influence on the enemy troops and population, but the influence of this influence was significantly inferior to that of England and France.

In Germany, until August 1918, it was prohibited to publish and distribute leaflets, since, in the opinion of the country's leadership, this was contrary to the rules of war. Of the informational and psychological influence materials, only the newspaper 'Gazette des Ardennes', published in French for the population of the occupied areas, was allowed, which was distributed behind the front line using balloons.

²⁶ Tarhan N. Psikolojik Savaş... S. 37.

²⁷ Ibid. S. 38.

²⁸ Медовкина Л.Ю. Эволюция информационных войн от древности к современности // Известия Тульского государственного университета. Гуманитарные науки. № 3. С. 16.

When the ban was lifted and Germany began mass publishing leaflets on American, British and French troops, time was lost and it failed to achieve any tangible results before the end of the war.

During the World War I, informational and psychological influence was exerted through printed propaganda. The main types of printed propaganda materials were: leaflets, brochures, letters from prisoners of war, postcards, posters, fake ration cards, etc. These materials were distributed using aviation and balloons. One balloon was used to deliver 2 kg of printed materials (500 to 1000 copies of leaflets).

Immediately after the World War I, interest in information warfare increased. Works on psychological methods of warfare began to appear in many countries around the world²⁹. The generalized experience and accumulated theoretical knowledge in the field of military propaganda in the West were combined into a single theory, which the German scientist Fuller in 1921 called the theory of psychological warfare.

The English psychological warfare researcher P.G. Warburton wrote: "In modern times, the main task in war is not to destroy the enemy's armed forces, as it was before, but to undermine the morale of the population of the enemy country as a whole to such a level that it forces its government to make peace. An armed clash between armies is only one of the means to achieve this goal"³⁰.

Thus, the theory of information and psychological warfare began to be developed during and after the World War I. Before World War II, there was active propaganda of the regimes: in Germany 1933-1941 – Nazi propaganda, in the USSR – communist and anti-capitalist, in the USA and Great Britain – capitalist and anti-communist. During the World War II, the emphasis quickly shifted towards anti-Nazi propaganda. During World War II, state propaganda agencies were already functioning.

After World War II, the theory of psychological warfare was enriched. Against the backdrop of the confrontation between the USSR and the USA during the Cold War, as well as in the local wars that took place at that time, information wars began to take on new shapes. Thus, in 1950, the Department of Psychological Warfare was created in the United States, which conducted an active propaganda campaign (including with the help of so-called 'propaganda shells') during the Korean War. In turn, the propaganda organs of the Korean People's Army and the People's Liberation Army of China, with the support of the propaganda apparatus of the USSR Armed Forces, produced a large-scale psychological impact on the military of South Korea and the United States, and more successfully³¹. US propaganda agencies used new developments during the Korean War, Vietnam War, Gulf War in 1991, in Yugoslavia, etc³². Thus, information warfare in the 20th century often accompanied real military conflicts, being an integral part of them.

²⁹ Фролов Д.Б. Информационная война: эволюция форм, средств и методов // Социология власти. 2005. № 5. С. 132-133.

³⁰ Cit. for: Медовкина Л.Ю. Эволюция информационных войн... С. 16; Медовкина Л.Ю. История возникновения информационных войн // European journal of law and political sciences. 2016. № 3. С. 11.

³¹ Колесов Э.Е. Информационная война в военных конфликтах второй половины 20 столетия: исторический аспект. Киев: Национальная академия обороны Украины, 2007. С. 98-109.

³² See more details: Медовкина Л.Ю. Эволюция информационных войн...; Медовкина Л.Ю. История возникновения информационных войн...; Колесов Э.Е. Информационная война в военных конфликтах второй половины 20 столетия...; Волковский Н.Л. История информационных войн. Т. 2: XX век / Под ред. И. Петрова. Санкт-Петербург: Полигон, 2003.

According to L. Medovkina, "In the modern era, politics is an integral component of the dynamism of processes in society, which are expressed in a rapidly changing environment, in the ambiguity, unforeseenness and paradox of both social processes and their outcome. In turn, globalization, large-scale computerization, and the improvement of modern information technologies have served as a source of prosperity for information warfare in politics"³³.

In the 21st century, we can already talk about 'information confrontation', which is part of the political confrontation both in peacetime and against the backdrop of war. Information is a powerful tool that directly affects the mental state of people. Today, the role of information in manipulating human consciousness is very great. This process occurs mainly due to the media. The media influences the psyche of people, their personality and mass, introducing psychological techniques into the subconscious, which is reflected in their behavior. In accordance with the impact that the means of disseminating information, as subjects of electrical manipulation, limit society in obtaining current, objective and necessary information for normal existence³⁴.

New information systems and technologies – electronic media, the Internet, mobile communications, global navigation – have further increased the possibilities of information impact during the war. This allows such industrial states as the USA and Japan to significantly strengthen their political, economic and military advantage through leadership in the field of information, as well as to establish global information control over other countries of the world, thereby establishing their own rules in the real world. In addition, geocultural technologies play a significant role in propaganda, as they are a way of disseminating culture and values that are beneficial to the initiator³⁵. This fact worries less developed countries, because their identity, independence and sovereignty are under threat.

In the age of information wars, when the main task of any aggressor is not the physical destruction of the enemy, but his reprogramming, the media act as weapons of mass destruction. After all, the creation of specific media material is somewhat reminiscent of the design of a weapon of mass destruction. They try to make the number of fragments from each word, from each plot as large as possible, and the radius of destruction as wide as possible. This means that the effect of these messages is aimed at affecting as many elements and connections between them as possible in the information system, which is influenced by the media. But there is a significant obstacle to messages that are sent in all directions: the perception of a message requires the joint concepts and categories contained in it and the recipient of this message. Otherwise, the message will not reach its addressee, so the task of media personnel is to produce messages that cover the level of their target audience as widely as possible.

With the advancement of technology in today's world, the importance of psychological warfare has significantly increased. Technology serves as a crucial tool in achieving the goals of psychological warfare. Parties utilizing psychological warfare techniques have made significant progress through technological devices such as

³³ Медовкина Л.Ю. Эволюция информационных войн... С. 18-19.

³⁴ Talishinsky Bahruz E. Manipulation as a form of information-psychological war // Universidad Y Sociedad. 2023. Vol. 15 (5). P. 143-150. URL: <https://rus.ucf.edu.cu/index.php/rus/article/view/4060>

³⁵ Vysotskyi O., Holovko I. Vysotska O. Theory of geocultural technologies in international relations // Journal of Geology, Geography and Geoecology. 2023. Vol. 32 (2). P. 430. DOI: 10.15421/112338

newspapers, radio, television, and computers. This is because technology has made it easier to access information and disseminate it to people. Parties involved in psychological warfare employ various propaganda techniques and strategic maneuvers to achieve their objectives.

With the evolving world, the boundaries of psychological warfare have expanded. Starting from the 20th century, technological elements have taken a prominent role in psychological warfare. The emergence of the internet and social media has further widened the boundaries of psychological warfare. In today's world, people are exposed to a vast flow of information through various social media platforms. Among this information, there is a significant amount of false and provocative content. Propaganda is carried out on both national and international platforms on important issues. This situation not only increases information pollution but also manipulates people.

The influence of the media in society was quickly noticed by the United States. In addition to using various propaganda technologies in war-torn territories, military circles in the United States began to develop strategies for manipulating consciousness through the press, using rather crude methods: bribery, blackmail, threats, the use of various non-material incentives, etc.

It is also worth paying attention to the fact that the main goal of information warfare in politics is to discredit a political opponent, the political force that is most often in power in the state, by forming a 'convenient' public opinion. Whatever state wages an information war, it always aims to gain psychological superiority over the enemy. We often have to talk about how certain states win victories or suffer crushing defeats. In both cases, information warfare plays a significant role.

AZERBAIJAN AND ARMENIA: INFORMATION-PSYCHOLOGICAL WARFARE

The ongoing tensions between Azerbaijan and Armenia, which remain relevant today, contain many elements of psychological warfare. Each party uses all communication channels to continue their psychological warfare. This highlights how technology and the digital age have opened up new avenues for the use of psychological warfare techniques, making it even more crucial to critically evaluate the information we encounter and remain aware of the potential manipulative tactics employed in the information sphere.

The tension between Azerbaijan, an important country of the South Caucasus, and Armenia did not continue only in the form of a frontal war. Various propaganda techniques were used to conduct psychological warfare before and after the First and Second Nagorno-Karabakh wars. The historical roots of this tension date back to the late 19th and early 20th centuries.

The Armenian terrorist organizations that have emerged throughout history have carried out horrifying massacres against the Azerbaijani people. The Armenian terrorist organizations include the Armenakan Committee, Hunchak Committee, Dashnak Committee, and ASALA. The Armenakan Committee, Hunchak Committee, and Dashnak Committee, which were established in the late 19th and early 20th centuries, were responsible for numerous massacres. The ASALA (Armenian Secret Army for the Liberation of Armenia) terrorist organization, on the other hand, was founded on January 20, 1975, in Beirut³⁶. The general focus of these organizations' acts of terrorism

³⁶ Çanakçı D. Geçmişten Günümüze ASALA ve PKK Terör Örgütü Arasındaki İlişkinin İncelenmesi // Orta Doğu ve Orta Asya-Kafkaslar Araştırma ve Uygulama Merkezi Dergisi. 2022. sy. 2 (2) (Kasım). S. 6.

was directed against the Turks. Their objective was to establish a Greater Armenia. In particular, the Dashnak Committee considered the 'Greater Armenia' project to be its most important goal³⁷. One of the prominent members of the Dashnak Committee, Mikaelyan, delivered a significant speech at the Committee's inaugural congress. In his speech, Mikaelyan stated: "During such a time, personal interests should be set aside, and all Armenians should unite for the sake of national interests. Therefore, the 'Armenian Revolutionary Societies' should gather under one flag. All Armenians should come together to declare war against the Ottoman government and fight for their political and economic independence in Turkey, even if it means sacrificing their last drop of blood for freedom"³⁸. As can be understood from this speech, the Armenian terrorist organizations that they established targeted Turkish populations and resorted to all kinds of massacres in their efforts to create Greater Armenia.

The Armenians conducted terrorism activities against Azerbaijanis during 1903-1905, 1917-1920, and the First Karabakh War. As a result of the massacres committed by Armenians between 1903 and 1905, more than 10,000 people lost their lives, and approximately 100,000 people were forced to leave their homes³⁹. By March 1918, Armenians had destroyed 199 Azerbaijani villages in Erivan, and by 1919, they had ravaged 62 villages in the Echmiadzin district. Armenian terrorists killed 600 civilians in the village of Güzeldere near Erivan on March 20-21, 1918, and between August 17 and 31, they destroyed 50 villages. As a result of these terrorist acts, 50,000 civilians were displaced. Between December 1917 and March 1918, Armenian terrorists attacked 199 Azerbaijani villages, subjecting 135,000 people to brutal torture⁴⁰.

Armenians used these terrorist acts as propaganda material during and after the First Karabakh War. They portrayed these actions not as acts of terrorism but as a struggle for independence and utilized them as propaganda material both at the national and international levels.

The activities of the Armenians were not limited to these events alone. In the late 20th century, during the First Karabakh War, they occupied 20% of Azerbaijani territory and committed massacres against the civilian population. The First Karabakh War resulted in horrifying massacres in Nagorno-Karabakh and its surrounding seven districts, which were an essential part of Azerbaijan. Among these acts of terror against civilians, the most brutal was the massacre of Khojaly on February 26, 1992. During this massacre, Armenians subjected the civilian population, including women, children, the elderly, and the sick, to severe torture. Some of the victims' bodies were mutilated. As a result of this Armenian genocide against the Azerbaijani people, 613 people, including 63 children and 160 women, were killed, 1,275 people were taken captive, and 150 people went missing⁴¹.

The acts of terrorism carried out by Armenians against Azerbaijanis since the early 20th century have indeed generated a sense of defeat among the Azerbaijani population and, conversely, a sense of triumph among the Armenian population. Armenians have

³⁷ Uras E. Tarihte Ermeniler ve Ermeni Meselesi. İstanbul: Belge Yayınları, 1987. S. 445.

³⁸ Rzayev R. Azərbaycan'a Karşı Yönelmiş Ermeni Terörizminin Mahiyeti, Nedenleri ve Sonuçları. Yüksek Lisans tezi. İstanbul: İstanbul Aydın Üniversitesi Sosyal Bilimler Enstitüsü, 2019. S. 37.

³⁹ Nazim M. İrəvan quberniyasında azərbaycanlıların soyqırımı: 1918-1920. Bakü: Bilim Yayınları, 2017. S. 24.

⁴⁰ Rzayev R. Azərbaycan'a Karşı Yönelmiş Ermeni Terörizminin Mahiyeti... S. 64-65.

⁴¹ Allahverdiyev T. Azərbaycan və Ermənistan Arasındaki Karabağ Sorunu. Yüksek Lisans tezi. Bursa: Uludağ Üniversitesi Sosyal Bilimler Enstitüsü, 2010. S. 88.

used this situation as a psychological warfare tactic. Utilizing communication channels such as the media and social media, Armenians conducted both domestic and international black propaganda campaigns, achieving an advantage until the Second Nagorno-Karabakh War that began on September 27, 2020.

However, during the Second Nagorno-Karabakh War, the Armenians suffered defeat and lost a significant portion of the occupied territories, reversing this situation. The victorious Azerbaijani people have shaken off their sense of defeat and have become more resilient in facing their adversaries.

In the First Nagorno-Karabakh War, Armenia used Azerbaijan's defeat as a propaganda tool. This continued until the Second Nagorno-Karabakh War. Armenians presented themselves as a victorious people who had won the war, displaying a strong stance both to their own community and to Azerbaijanis. It's important to note that there were various factors contributing to Armenia's victory.

Indeed, Armenia received crucial support from Russia and didn't hesitate to employ various forms of terrorism to secure victory in the First Nagorno-Karabakh War. Furthermore, the weakness of Azerbaijan, a newly independent state following the dissolution of the Soviet Union, and its inability to receive support from any other country, worked in favor of Armenia. Up until the Second Nagorno-Karabakh War, Armenia used psychological warfare tactics to project itself as a stronger state than Azerbaijan, both on the national and international stage. They effectively utilized radio, television, newspapers, and the internet for this purpose. Their black propaganda efforts instilled confidence and courage among their own people.

Armenia did indeed use black propaganda effectively, not only leading up to the Second Nagorno-Karabakh War but also during the conflict itself. During the 44 days of the war, which ended with Azerbaijan's victory, Armenia continued to employ manipulation through various communication channels. During the Second Nagorno-Karabakh War, Armenia propagated misinformation about ethnic groups living in Azerbaijan, claiming that they did not want to fight and were deserting the army. They particularly spread false information regarding the Talish and Lezgian populations in Azerbaijan, alleging that they were eager to leave the military and didn't want to engage in conflict with Armenia. However, the Azerbaijani side swiftly intervened, clarifying that this information was disinformation⁴². Armenia indeed used propaganda tactics to spread many false news stories during the Second Nagorno-Karabakh War. Throughout the conflict, Armenia attempted to manipulate both its own population and the opposing side through psychological warfare tactics but ultimately failed to achieve its objectives. After officially losing the war on November 10, 2020, the Armenian people began to criticize Prime Minister Nikol Pashinyan harshly and demanded his resignation. Some Armenians even labeled Pashinyan as a traitor to the homeland⁴³.

During the First Karabakh War, Armenia had gained a superior position, but it lost it during the Second Karabakh War. The psychological warfare techniques it had used to influence both its own society and Azerbaijanis lost their effectiveness after the Second Karabakh War. Consequently, from the date of its defeat in the war, the Armenian people rose up, organized protests against the existing government, and called for the

⁴² *Salamoğlu E.* Ermənilərin iflasa uğrayan təxribatı – Talış zonasının ziyahlarından və ləzgi deputatdan sərt reaksiya // Yeni Müsavat. 04.11.2020. URL: <https://bit.ly/3S0DBUs>

⁴³ *Konular İ.* Ermenistan'da ordu Başbakan Paşinyan'ın istifasını istedi: Siyasi kriz bu noktaya nasıl geldi? // BBC. Turkece. 25 Şubat 2021. URL: <https://www.bbc.com/turkce/haberler-dunya-56193035>

prime minister to resign. This is because the propaganda techniques that had been used to influence their own people until the Second Karabakh War had lost their impact. The people had become aware of the black propaganda conducted by the government and rebelled against the existing regime.

As for Azerbaijan, thanks to the Second Karabakh War, Azerbaijanis they have overcome their sense of defeat and have begun to stand more firmly against the enemy. Azerbaijan's vulnerable position during the First Karabakh War disappeared with the Second Karabakh War. The main reason for this is Azerbaijan's surpassing its opponent in the crucial field of information-psychological warfare tactics, which is one of today's most significant issues. Compared to Armenia, Azerbaijan is not only better at utilizing information-psychological warfare tactics, but also more effectively controls communication channels and social media. Furthermore, one of Azerbaijan's major advantages is that they have never used gray or black propaganda during the war. Using white propaganda tactics in all circumstances, Azerbaijan has gained a significant advantage over Armenia.

CONCLUSIONS

Analyzing the above, we note that, over time, a transformation of information wars took place, but their main goal of the war remained to show the advantage of the army and the state through propaganda. It should be noted that in the 20th century, information-psychological wars became part of the military policy of states. Now, due to the current situation on the world stage, the methods and means of conducting information-psychological warfare are changing and every year they are reaching a higher level.

It can also be stated that in the 21st century, information-psychological wars have become more widespread. In summary, the historical context and evolution of information-psychological warfare demonstrate its enduring significance as a tool for states to achieve their strategic and political goals. As technology and global politics continue to evolve, information-psychological warfare is likely to remain a key component of statecraft and international relations.

Modern information warfare is an aggressive action of one country or a whole group of countries in relation to others using not only military power, but also a whole set of other resources (economic, informational, ideological, etc.) that make it possible to exert massive pressure in order to influence behavior enemy and achieving certain goals.

If the use of conventional weapons and means of warfare by countries in relation to each other is sufficiently fully regulated by international law (protection of individual rights; the right of parties to choose means and methods of war; prohibition of the use of weapons capable of causing unlawful destruction or excessive suffering to people; the need for respect and protection of the rights of the wounded, sick, prisoners and civilians; a ban on attacks on objects on which the survival of the civilian population depends; any types of torture and ill-treatment of people, hostage-taking, etc.), then modern information-psychological wars are conducted in the complete absence compliance with international legal (which have not yet been developed) and moral and ethical standards.

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