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DIFFUSED WAR AS A KIND OF NON-LINEAR WAR

Abstrakt:

The classical linear war is nowadays changing into rebel, mutinous, non-linear warfare, without apparent fronts and clearly determined opponents. Its three main factors are understood differently: strength (power), time and space. The main determinant of a country's power is no longer the population, territory, or even the strength of the economy. The most important factor is the social morale, the identity and integrity of societies and nations, and the ability to impose its vision of political order on other societies. Public diplomacy (including cultural diplomacy) becomes more important than classical diplomacy. The leading form of realization of political goals becomes an information war, understood as a mass impact on the sphere of consciousness of whole societies, aimed at the exchange of their views in a specific area of life. Diffused war is a strategic concept assuming a dispersed, simultaneous attack on many directions and planes of organization of political and social life of the opponent, bypassing the existing legal order (national and international).

Słowa kluczowe: diffused war, hybrid war, non-linear war, asymmetric conflicts, geopolitics.

From Linear War to Non-linear War

In the course of civilization development, the subject and objectives of the waged wars underwent far-reaching changes. In the phase of domination of agrarian civilization, the most important (in those parts of the world where this phase of technological development still dominates) was and still is competition for the ground. Therefore, the soil is the main material goal of the competition. Wars waged by states of industrial civilization concentrate on obtaining means of production and all the elements they need, such as natural resources. The information civilization, which is currently achieving hegemony in the world, has diametrically changed the most important goals of the conflicts. First of all, it has determined their global character. Secondly, it completely changed the hierarchy and stake of the main game. The most important accents of the competition were shifted from the fight for material resources to the fight for

spiritual-intellectual resources. The main rivalry is therefore about human consciousness. It is a war without fronts. In fact, with their infinite number. The battlefield becomes the human mind, and the contemporary area of strategy is the human soul (Sykulski, 2019).

In the contemporary Russian theoretical reflections on political-military conflicts, the concept of nonlinear war (occupies a special place, which is a contradiction of the classic Clausewitz's rules of warfare. It departs from the doctrine of strongly concentrated forces in a given section, which allow the front line to be broken. The classic concepts of front and battlefield are no longer relevant. They are replaced by the concept of combat space. In this concept, only a small fraction of military physical strength is actually involved in combat at a certain point in time.

One of the features of geopolitics is its constant expansion of the fields of rivalry between the superpowers into new areas of human activity and political competition. An example of such a transfer is virtual space – cyberspace. The analysis of space in terms of strength and rivalry, and sometimes also geographical determinism, is transferred into a non-physical, non-material dimension. Terms that are carbon copies of classical geopolitical rhetoric are created. Thus, we are dealing with talking about cyber powers, cyber-war or cyber-power. Urbanization and privatization of wars are becoming a characteristic factor. Stephen Graham stresses the importance of the urbanization of war and the growing importance of sub-state spaces (Graham, 2004, p. 165-170).

The change in technological realities entailed a change in the very definition of war. As the researchers of the subject emphasize: "It becomes clear that the days when the Clausewitz definition of war, as a symmetrical clash between armies of states in the open field, are numbered. The war has re-entered the cities, the everyday sphere, the private sphere, the homes" (Misselwitz, Weizman, 2003, p. 272).

Diffused war

Diffused war is a strategic concept assuming a dispersed, simultaneous attack on many directions and planes of organization of political and social life of the opponent, bypassing the existing legal order (national and international). Activities aimed at political, military and economic effects are difficult to detect. The difficulty lies in linking specific events with the aggressor's main strategic goal, as well as proving and sometimes even detecting the inspiration of a specific country. Non-linear actions are calculated for decades, and events in areas that often differ significantly from the strategic areas of security may bring measurable results in the long-term process. One of the most important objectives of dispersed activities is to bring about a deep crisis in a hostile society and a kind of controlled chaos. Conflict from a single event or several

events becomes a long-term process whose classic war can only be a short-term element.

The concept of diffusional war has been visually presented in a short story written by Vladislav Surkov, writing under the pseudonym Natan Dubovitsky, the grey eminence of the Kremlin, advisor to Vladimir Putin, one of the architects of Russia's strategy towards Ukraine. Surkov emphasizes that in the classical wars of the 19th and 20th century two sides, two states or two coalitions fought. According to Putin's advisor, the 21st century is a departure from the elegance of dichotomous division. This is the time of everyone's struggle against everyone. Participation of the whole state in the war is to become a rarity. Several provinces, some cities, the professional community and even gender can sometimes take part in the conflict. Once they can stand on one side, sometimes on the other side, then they can change the situation by moving to any camp, sometimes in conflict itself (Assa, Ya'ari, 2007, p. 18-22).

Among the tasks of the participants in the diffusion conflict we can mention: proclaiming specific views, organization of opinion-forming centers (including the creation of opinion leaders), causing social tensions (emotional and physical), sabotage activity and sabotage activity. Surkov extrapolated to the world of politics the ideas of avant-garde art, precisely the conceptual current. The aim of this procedure is to create a mechanism for undermining people's perception of the world, so that they never know what is happening in reality. Putin's advisor created methods that allowed to turn Russian politics into a kind of constantly changing, confusing theatre. The Russian authorities have been able and still are able to sponsor diametrically different political circles, from the far right to the far left, from fascist to radically liberal political formations. In this political game, Surkov himself often even supported the opposition. Although it should be emphasized here - a licensed position, being a part of the illusion of the democratic political scene (Assa, Ya'ari, 2007).

The linear approach to international relations, especially in a realistic (geopolitical) paradigm, points to the participants of international politics as homogeneous actors, monolithic state structures, subjects of international law, homogeneous centers of power. While the non-linear approach undermines this ontological system and already on the normative level, related to the legitimacy of participation in contemporary world politics, it points to diffusion, dispersion of centers of power within the entities of international law, multiplication of public entities within the existing state structures.

The main feature of diffused conflict is unpredictability. Therefore, there is a need to change the toolbox that would somehow explain the unpredictability of non-linearity. A conflict of this kind has changed the role of the regular army and the civilian population. Terrorist attacks as a form of kinetic attack are becoming an equivalent weapon to classical military action. This is because of their social resonance and psychological effect on the

behavior of society as a whole, both directly and indirectly. The postmodern world has changed the environment and the language of conflict itself, including war, with an emphasis on information and communication technologies, marketing and public relations in political and social activities. This in a way forces the use of new forms of analysis of potential opponent's actions, adequate to contemporary threats. Diffusional war puts civilians at the center of conflict, unlike in a standard war, where own army is directed against hostile armed forces (Assa, Ya'ari, 2007).

One of the key elements of a non-linear conflict is the activity of civilians on the internal and external "front" of the information fight. Influence on shaping public opinion, social attitudes and reactions of political circles. In the era when a significant part of the public debate moves to the Internet, there is a widening of the combat space. The environment of virtual reality becomes a kind of "extra territorium". The non-linear dimension of the conflict assumes the existence of many possible models of the world, often differentiating the observer from reality, which assumes an indirect or direct possibility of influencing the perception of the recipient and participant. Understanding the surrounding reality through analysis of its individual components becomes incomprehensible and brings conflict to a higher level of complexity. An integral element of this type of conflict is the role of narration in the mass media, which transforms the perception of reality into images, stories and stories. This results in frequent paradoxes. Non-linear conflict management and analysis must be aimed at establishing the conditions in which the possibility of a crisis (e.g. the appearance of a particular narrative in cyberspace) can pass into reality beyond the virtual. It should be assumed that crisis conditions are not always associated with processes unfavorable for a given community or institution (Goląbek, 2014, p. 11-14).

Mutinous war

The concept of diffused conflict (war) has its origins in colonel Yevgeny Messner's thought and the theory of rebel war. In this concept, the traditional opponent (including the enemy armed forces) is blurred, the enemy becomes the society, the nation. The meaning of traditional understanding of space is lowered in favor of mental space, the sphere of people's consciousness and their ideas about space. Messner predicted an increase in the importance of the "electronic brain" and modern technologies allowing to limit the number of staff members, even with an increasing number of participants in conflicts and the number of fighting soldiers/rebels. In rebel wars, the difference between legal, from the point of view of international law, military action and illegal means of combat is blurred. This is due, among other things, to the blurring of differences between the military and society. In rebel wars, irregular troops made up of dissatisfied members of social groups (e.g. armed members of trade

unions) are a real force in urban areas. Such blurring of differences between regular and irregular armies also causes degradation of war ethics. Messner stressed that the new character of war results in the work of the staffs focused on development: strategy, operations (operations) and tactics of terror, deceit and betrayal (Messner, 2004, s. 134-138).

Messner mentioned four types of warfare: war, semi-war, aggression – diplomacy (otherwise: "cold war" or "hot diplomacy") and diplomacy. At the same time, he emphasized that the border between the formal state of peace and war is blurring. One can remain in a state of war without taking any action, even in a situation where there is no social awareness of this fact. An example is the state of war between Andorra and Germany, which began in 1916 and ended only in 1958. For more than half a century the society of this small country lived in ignorance of the formal state of war. This was also overlooked by the signing of the Treaty of Versailles, where Andorra was omitted. The conflict between North Korea and South Korea is an example of the modern state of war without military action. There have been instances of war pronouncements that have not been accepted by the other side and no acts of war have taken place. There are also numerous conflicts in which the war was not officially declared, and bloody battles were or are being fought, such as the aggression of the Third Reich, Slovakia and the USSR against Poland in 1939, or more contemporary examples: the Russian-Georgian war of 2008 or the Russian-Ukrainian war of 2014 (as of August 2014) (Lamb, 2013, p. 165-170).

One of the basic principles of rebel wars is the violation of Article 1 of the 1907 Hague Convention III: "The Contracting Powers recognize that warfare between them should not begin without prior and unambiguous notification, which will take the form of either a reasoned declaration of war or an ultimatum with conditional declaration of war"[1].

Through a rebel war, Messner understood a conflict dominated by military action by civilians. He quoted Mao Zedong, who said that war is not an extension of politics by other means, but a form of politics. The main factor influencing the course of such conflicts are psychological and informational actions. The Russian strategist believed that the most important task in a rebel war is, first of all, to unite one's own nation and to drag a part of the nation of an enemy state to one's side. The main element of a rebel war is "psychological treatment" of all social strata. It is important to evoke feelings of fear in the hostile society up to the level of panic. One of the most important elements of psychological activities is undermining trust and respect for state authority and

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[1] W oryg. *The Contracting Powers recognize that hostilities between themselves must not commence without previous and explicit warning, in the form either of a reasoned declaration of war or of an ultimatum with conditional declaration of war*. http://avalon.law.yale.edu/20th_century/hague03.asp [03.02.2018]

faith in the strength of one's own country and nation, including defensive capabilities. As the Russian colonel wrote: "a rebellious war is a war of all against everything, with the enemy being a compatriot and a foreign ally" (Sykulski, 2015)[2].

In the preparation of actions characteristic of a rebel war, the most crucial element is a good intelligence reconnaissance, focused on both the political (surveillance of political circles, proper reconnaissance of social moods), economic and military directions. The development of rebel war plans covers both ideological (informational) diversion as well as classical diversion and sabotage. Therefore, it is important to properly identify early warning and crisis response systems. In addition to information about the financial system of the state and its defense system, the collection of detailed information on critical infrastructure remains an important element. More important elements are here: Information and communication systems of the state, transport system, energy supply system (gas pipelines, oil pipelines, heat and power plants), deposits of energy resources and fuels, food and water supply systems, health care system (Messner, 2004, p. 210-214).

Mutinous war is based on a network structure, a system of formally unrelated social groups and organizations. It uses a Leaderless Resistance strategy, in which there is no central management center that controls all organizational units. Individual groups have a high level of autonomy. Additionally, in indirect actions (e.g. street fights, riots in cities) and direct actions (lowering trust in the state) are used – mostly unconsciously – dissatisfied social groups of a given country. This is intended to give the impression of chaos and lack of control over events. The groups used come from different backgrounds: marginalized politicians, radical political and social groups, national and ethnic minorities, registered and unregistered NGOs, trade unions, entrepreneurs and their associations, industry organizations, any discriminated groups, and even charities (Tomasiewicz, 2009).

Information warfare in diffused war

At present there is no single generally accepted definition of information war, although most of them are linked to a mass, structured impact on the psychological sphere of society and the infrastructure associated with the provision of information for specific political, military and economic purposes. An information war can be waged both during a classical armed conflict (war in the sense of international law) and during a period of peace. Some selected definitions are set out below.

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[2] *Khochesh' mira, pobedi myatezhevoynu. Tvorcheskoye naslediye Ye. E. Messnera,* Moskva 2005, s. 110.

According to the authors of the popular in Russia collective monograph titled "The World Wars in Russia", the following definitions are presented below. According to the authors of the popular in Russia collective monograph "War and peace in terms and definitions" edited by Dmitry Rogozin, the information war is: "intensive confrontation in the information space, aimed at gaining information, psychological and ideological advantage, causing damage to information systems, processes and resources, critical structures and communication (information and technical, network-centric and cyber-war), undermining political and social systems, and also mass psychological impact on the army and society (information and psychological war)" (Rogozin, 2004, p. 91) [3].

The Russian theory of information struggle distinguishes between two areas of application of the term "information war". In a broad sense, it refers to the confrontation in the information space in order to achieve political goals. Narrower to military confrontation in order to achieve an advantage on the battlefield (in space). The ability to weaken social structures, weaken the morale of society and army, and impose one's own information matrix is emphasized above all. It is also the ability to disrupt command systems and the circulation of information in the army, lowering the morale of the army, weakening the defense capabilities, combat readiness, undermining the authority of the civil and military leadership, striving for moral disintegration. A special role is played by the long-term planning of "controlled crises", using the potential for protest. It is based on the discrediting of the political and military leadership of the opponent, the initiation of dissatisfaction, anxiety, panic and even civil war among the population of the hostile state. This type of action assumes simultaneous defensive actions among their own society. First of all, it is about hiding the aims and possible scale of the war. This is intended to weaken anti-war sentiments and lower the morale of one's own society (Rogozin, 2004, p. 92-93).

The principles of information fight are based on the concept of non-linear war. Characteristic features of this type of action is their dispersion and the large degree of use of information space for political and military purposes. The information space includes the psychological and physical plane. The psychological plane in the information struggle is the noosphere, from the Greek *noos* – the mind. It is a mental, cognitive sphere, responsible for the

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[3] W oryg. *Informatsionnaya voyna – intensivnoye protivoborstvo v informatsionnom prostranstve s tsel'yu dostizheniya informatsionnogo, psikhologicheskogo i ideologicheskogo prevoskhodstva, naneseniya ushcherba informatsionnym sistemam, protsessam i resursam, kriticheski vazhnym strukturam i sredstvam kommunikatsiy (informatsionno-tekhnicheskaya, setetsentricheskaya i kibervoyna), podryva politicheskoy i sotsial'noy sistem, a takzhe massirovannoy psikhologicheskoy obrabotki lichnogo sostava voysk i naseleniya (informatsionno-psikhologicheskaya voyna.*

perception of the external and internal world. It covers both the sphere of an individual man and the image of the world in his mind, as well as more broadly - social groups, nation, states. On a global scale we can speak of the "mantle of the Earth". Struggle aimed at the noosphere can take place with the use of classical tools, e.g. influence of opinion leaders through traditional channels such as lectures, press articles, radio broadcasts, as well as with the use of tools offered by Web 2.0, services where content is generated by its participants, allowing for the use of artificial intelligence (e.g. trolling phenomenon) (Savin, 2011, p. 10-28).

The space that can connect the noosphere with the physical world is cyberspace. It is a virtual world, created with the use of ICT tools. Today, the main generator of the virtual world is the global network - the Internet. It is worth mentioning that cyberspace also functions within local networks (e.g. intranet). Cyberspace is now becoming as important as the informational plane as physical space. Apart from psychological impact on the noosphere, it also enables physical attacks on critical infrastructure of the opponent, e.g. paralysis of command and control systems. The fight in cyberspace therefore involves not only a „soft" impact on the mental sphere of the opponent, but also physical attacks in the network and outside the network - on the infrastructure enabling the transmission of information and the functioning of the network, e.g. optical fibres, servers, etc. The fight in cyberspace also involves physical attacks in the network and outside the network – on the infrastructure enabling the transmission of information and the functioning of the network, e.g. optical fibres, servers, etc. The fight in the information space also includes all kinds of military instruments of electronic combat, disrupting the technical actions of the opponent by means of electromagnetic emissions. It is also an area related to cryptology (Panarin, 2003).

In the area of information fight, a number of methods and tools are used in the sphere of ideological influence, directed at the cognitive sphere of the opponent, which is sometimes referred to as ideological or political diversion. The aim of this diversion is to lower the morale of society, political elites, uniformed services. Unlike classic diversion, which consists in hidden actions behind the front line, aimed at hurting the critical infrastructure of the enemy, ideological diversion does not carry out acts of terror (murders, blowing up objects, etc.), but leads to a long-term (often calculated for decades) intoxification of the hostile society. An important element of informational struggle within political (ideological) diversion is the fragmentation of society, and thus public opinion, which allows the majority to be controlled by a disciplined, well-organized and determined minority. Activities carried out by dispersed small groups, or even individual leaders, able to expand information, allow to impose the desired perception of the world of the majority of larger social groups. Thanks to the fragmentation of the reception group, it is possible

to achieve the "crowd effect" and the effect of "collective wisdom", in which the recipient more easily accepts the imposed message thanks to the willingness to identify with the "majority". An important role of the narrative is its emotional dimension, which is intended to intentional, often irrational behavior of objects of informational influence. It is based on common patterns, clichés, myths, superstitions, stereotypes, social sympathies and antipathies. All kinds of associations are used, using the principle of universal acceptance, belief in the obviousness of given views. Often, information is fabricated, based on a cluster of partially true, partially falsified information (so called fake news). The narration is based on the polarization of concepts, judgments and opinions, the presented image of reality is bipolar, positive or negative, black or white. The most important emotion on which the narrative of the information fight is based is fear. The key area of influence is the ego, both in the individual and group sense. It is based on the notion of national pride, honor, debt of gratitude, willingness to increase the importance of the person, group, society, nation, state (Schuman, 1984, p. 35-38; Pocheptsov, 2000, p. 34-42).

The effectiveness of the information struggle strategy is based on an in-depth analysis, preceded by studies on history and broadly understood culture, which allow to identify the strengths and weaknesses of the informational influence object. A theoretical construction concerning the national character is formulated. It consists of relatively permanent features, properties contained in repetitive behaviors in the space of the information object.

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Wojna rozproszona jako rodzaj wojny nieliniowej

Klasyczna wojna liniowa zmienia się obecnie w „buntowniczą", nieliniową wojnę, bez widocznych frontów i wyraźnie zdefiniowanych stron konfliktu. Głównym wyznacznikiem potęgi państwa nie jest już liczba ludności, wielkość terytorium, ani nawet potencjał gospodarczy. Najważniejszym czynnikiem jest społeczne morale, poczucie tożsamości i integralność społeczeństw i państw, oraz zdolność narzucania swojej wizji porządku politycznego innym społeczeństwom. Dyplomacja publiczna (w tym dyplomacja kulturalna) staje się ważniejsza niż dyplomacja klasyczna. Wiodącą formą realizacji celów politycznych staje się wojna informacyjna, rozumiana jako masowy wpływ na sferę świadomości całych społeczeństw, mająca na celu zmianę ich poglądów w określonej dziedzinie życia. Rozproszona wojna jest strategiczną koncepcją zakładającą rozproszony, jednoczesny atak na wiele kierunków i płaszczyzn organizacji życia politycznego i społecznego przeciwnika, z pominięciem istniejącego porządku prawnego (krajowego i międzynarodowego).

Key words: wojna rozproszona, wojna hybrydowa, wojna nieliniowa, konflikty asymetryczne, geopolityka.