

---

# NOOPOLITICAL ASPECT OF POLITICAL DEFAMATION

**Sergey Borisovich Nikonov<sup>\*</sup>, Anna Vitalievna Baichik,  
Anatoli Stepanovich Puiy and Nikolai Sergeevich Labush**

*Saint-Petersburg State University, Universitetskaya naberejnaya 7/9, 199034, St-Petersburg,  
Russia*

(Received 4 December 2014, revised 20 July 2015)

---

## Abstract

In conditions of changing world order, the leading states, represented by the political elite, faced the choice, to either participate independently in international processes management, or take the part of one of the states, expanding its influence far beyond the territory. The events of the last years brought home the significant role of the use of ‘soft power’ in achieving the goals of foreign politics and defending the national interests, what requires new understanding of information supports of state activities in the international arena.

There is the non-nonsense fight between the states. It is considered that with the breakup of the Soviet Union, one state - the USA - took the information field. However, weakening its attention and switching to the solution of its problems, the other political subjects came to this informational field. In order to consolidate themselves in this field, the states produce their own informational strategies. The article suggests determining noopolitics, as the informational strategy, with following possibilities to reveal real purposes of sides in information confrontation, as well as the methods, used in it. The notion of ‘political defamation’ is introduced into scientific use; it allows characterizing the orientation of actions of the mass media.

*Keywords:* noopolitics, mass media, informational strategy, political defamation

---

## 1. Introduction

The thesis of Francis Fukuyama [F. Fukuyama, *Political scientist*, <http://www.bbc.co.uk/programmes/b04j6gzp>], that the breakup of the USSR resulted in “the win of single right order, characterized by free market, liberal ideology, generally accepted human rights, developed democracy” [*Main contradictions of modern world order*, <http://polit-forum.ru/page/geopolitika/>] turned out to be a mistake. The question is, if this mistake was premeditated or it was a strategically planned action. The course of history showed that the presence of both national and global contradictions is being revealed more and more on modern geopolitical map; they include a lot of countries and even

---

<sup>\*</sup>E-mail: NikonovS@mail.ru

whole continents. If to consider problems of modern world from the perspective, that the 'cold war' is over, it is possible to get the mistakes in methodology of study of geopolitical processes. The end of the 'cold war' implied the stop of opposition of tellurocratic and thalassocratic states, the stop of geoeconomic rivalry, the lack of clash of civilizations. Actually, exactly the opposite happens. The number of tense points in one or other geopolitically important sectors of the Earth increased, as well as the number of unresolved and newly emerged conflicts. The politicians in the USA government backed the wrong horse, supposing that with the USSR breakup, Russia, as a geopolitical player, will not become the influencing factor in formation of new world order. We will not prove the scientific conclusion about the development of the society along the spiral [1]. The society is being developed, and it comes to a new level modified, enriched with knowledge, based on Science development. The knowledge is being enriched with the notion of such phenomenon, as the information technologies, where the Internet takes one of the leading positions today, based on which the whole World Wide Web and other data communication systems work. The information, located in the Internet, is not chaotic, but it is being formed and presented to the user purposefully. It was reached such a point that the first people of the largest states, namely Russia and the USA, see a threat to national security in it. A distance discussion between the President of Russia V.V. Putin and the U.S. Secretary of State John Kerry showed the significance of such position in modern politics. During mediaforum, held in April of 2014 in Saint Petersburg, "talking about the Internet and information security, the President mentioned, that the Internet was created as the special project of CIA (Central Intelligence Agency)" [*Putin revealed the invasion of West to the development of Yandex*, <http://www.interfax.ru/russia/373662>]. This utterance was immediately traced, analyzed and the U.S. Secretary of State used it the next day, but for another political purposes. In particular, to criticize the Russian foreign policy course in relation to the events, happening in the east of the Ukraine. "Russian leaders make more and more shocking statements to justify their actions: that the CIA invented the Internet to control the world, or that the forces, occupying the buildings, perfectly weaponed, dressed in new uniform and observing the army discipline, present the local activists, who defend their legal rights. It is absurdity. There are no other words to describe it." [*Kerry warned Moscow from the 'costly mistake' in the Ukraine*, <http://www.interfax.ru/world/373739>] Who can determine the significance of information, presented by the politicians to the society. Only the one who creates it. They are not the readers, listeners or users, presenting the object of informational influence. They are, firstly, the politicians. It is important, that the living conditions of the information consumer coincided with the style of his thinking. Modern period of study of the mass media role in formation of social relations requires understanding of their possibilities in formation of informational strategies of the states. At the same time we shouldn't forget that the modern information technologies, in conjunction with the mechanisms of media viral dissemination of information,

are able to cause unforeseen consequences. The authors' mistakes can trigger situations, when the perception of information by the society can create media viruses, which are beyond the control of their originators and are able to cause serious shifts in the public consciousness. To describe this phenomenon, Douglas Rushkoff cites the well-known example of the 'butterfly effect': an insignificant event in one part of a complex system can trigger unforeseen catastrophic changes in other part [2].

## **2. Main part**

The formation of thinking style of information consumers, as well as the information itself, as it was mentioned above, is not chaotic. It is necessary to elaborate the informational strategy. This informational strategy shall be the part of geopolitics of one or another state. A round table, devoted to the role of the mass media in modernization of Russia, was held on the July 15, 2010, at the Department of Journalism of the MSU named after M.V. Lomonosov. The speaker A.N. Arinin, the head editor of the magazine 'The Political Education', speaking about the modernization of modern society, stated: "It is necessary to define the notions. Modernization means effective self-update of economic, political and social life. At that, this self-update is obligatory in all these spheres. If we speak only about the economics, no modernization is worth mentioning... One of the aspects of modernization of our society and economics is connected with revelation of role of the mass media".

Let us consider the definition, given by American scientists J. Arquilla and D. Ronfeld, as a starting thesis, when formulating the notion of information strategy: "Noopolitics is the international political strategy in conditions of informational society, which is focused on the dominance of ideas, interests, norms, laws and moral; it will work through the 'soft power', rather than the 'rude' one" [3]. In its turn, we suggest to introduce the following definition of noopolitics into scientific use: "**Noopolitics** is the informational strategy on manipulation of international processes by means of formation in the society, through the mass media, of positive or negative relation to foreign or internal politics of the state or of the block of states in order to create positive or negative image of ideas and propagandized moral values" [4]. As you can see from this definition, a special role in noopolitics is given to the mass media. For historical reasons, the society cannot live without information. Information is both the 'engine for progress' and the condition to develop social relations. Consequently, managing the informational processes, it is possible to formulate particular orientations on the events that occur [5-8].

Accessing to noopolitics, in our opinion, is necessary to rethink the place of political processes and to understand the need for their regulation. Modern scientists, such as Gabriel Rockhill, explore historic aspects of globalization, trying to find in them the key to understand the political processes taking place today [9]. New Zealand scientist Robin Hankin and Norwegian scientist Audun Josan, in their research devoted to the interpretation of opinions in subjective

logic [10], offer opinion usage model in the theory of persuasion that is similar in nature to the political defamation in this article. Another aspect of understanding the need for the proposed term is the understanding the use of certain memes. It comes from the understanding that the modern world is in constant confrontation. And the results of intellectual activity are used by the military in various parts of the world. So, we are interested in the work of Brian Hankok regarding the 'Memetic war' [11].

In this article, we consider the possibility and the necessity to influence on the society through the mass media. The image of a politician or a country is formed by the mass media in the interests of certain social and political groups. We should forget about the independent journalism, as well as the independence on the society. The objective mass media are only those, which support the politics of their state or the owner. Probably, it should be in this way. The mass media shall provide the information, which is possible to check, as well as the one, which is impossible to check. It is possible to speak about the high role of the journalist, who is obliged to follow the ethic standards. The problem is that there are no single standards for all journalists, and any publication, being the juridical, but not the physical body, is created in order to get profit. Modern world politics has become a kind of business. Any political content can be monetized. The politicians serve the interests of separate groups or definite businessmen. It is called 'lobbyism' in some states and the 'corruption' in the other states. Thus, the researchers Valentina Cardo and John Strit studied the program 'Vote for Me: the Political Game', gone on TV screen of the UK in 2005. They note that the program itself was announced almost two years before its release, and the digital results of the participants were not published [[http://www.academia.edu/4571961/Vote\\_For\\_Me\\_playing\\_at\\_politics](http://www.academia.edu/4571961/Vote_For_Me_playing_at_politics)]. It is possible, that not the politician, who had to win, won. The researchers titled successfully their article 'Vote for Me: the Politician Game'. Actually, any state has the political game. At the same time, the researchers, from our point of view, did not include their own conclusion, presented in the text, to the summary. What is meant in the conclusion of their article is the failure of confidence; the failure of confidence to the politicians, to the system of democracy, the equality which was declared by F. Fukuyama [<http://www.bbc.co.uk/programmes/b04j6gzp>]. According to the research results, more and more people ignore the participation in elections, turning thus the power into a subject not necessary for them in ordinary life. It is a terrible and unpleasant tendency [12, 13]. The following consequences are possible. Firstly, government bodies cannot feel themselves legitimate, although, there is the impression, that, recently, few people are interested in the public opinion. Less than half of voters come for elections. The world community refuses to admit the referendum results, referring to the principles, mentioned in the UN Charter (for instance, inviolability of state borders) [United Nations, *Charter of the United Nations*, <http://www.un.org/en/documents/charter/index.shtml>]. At the same time, the principle of democracy gives evidence of the majority rule. The governance, even though elected by the electoral democratic path, is the one elected by the

minority, at that, it regulates the activity of the majority. Secondly, there appears the tendency to make people communicate with the governance virtually. The implementation of any electronic governments, under the pretence of public convenience, in reality, is convenient for the government. It excludes any human communication. Sooner or later, it will result in misunderstanding of governmental actions and self-organization of groups in virtual space, criticizing its activity. To prevent a possibility of creation of a group, who are dissatisfied with the government in any state, the mass media is used. Everything depends on the purposes, formulated for the publication.

In this article, we do not set the tasks to evaluate further described method well or bad. The aim of this article is to illustrate vividly, that this use can have the final result in noopolitics. Modern technologies in the epoch of globalization allow delivering information to other countries. However, it is important not to deliver information, but to solve the problem, if this information is obtained by the consumer, without any efforts or with minimum efforts. The first problem, connected with implementation of communicated information to the reader, user, listener, is the linguistic barrier. Hardly ever someone listen the news in an incomprehensible language. Consequently, the information distributor shall make everything possible for the consumer's convenience. For instance, how it is done in China today. A central everyday newspaper is issued in China, Russian, English, Japan, French, Spanish, Arabian, Mongolian, Tibetan, Uighur, Kazakh, Korean, Nosu and Zhuang languages. Thus, any native speaker of the enumerated languages can read about the events in China. For instance, the society gets the information about the position of Russia on one or another international event not from Russia itself, but from the information, coming from reliable sources, such as information agencies. A TV channel 'Russia Today' started its broadcast on 9<sup>th</sup> of October in 2014 in Argentina, in Spanish language. It is important for Russia, as the Spanish-speaking audience of the South America formed its opinion about the politics of Russia without considering the information, coming from Russia itself. The President of Argentina Fernández de Kirchner Cristina said: "We turn on the Russian channel in order to develop the informational exchange between nations. We do this due to the use of our own channels, without the participation of large channels and large international mass media, which usually communicate the news, using their own interests." [TV Channel Russia Today starts the broadcasting in Argentina, <http://kremlin.ru/news/46762>]

Nobody puts in doubt the data, coming to the news feed from the information agency Bloomberg. At the same time, during the open lecture in the Institute 'The Higher School of Journalism and Mass Communications' of the St. Petersburg State University, the representative of this respected agency informed the students of the fact that every news is prepared by the publication in advance following three scenarios. The neutral is when the solution of the event will not be solved. The positive - if the event has a positive shading. The negative - if the news will be negative. The experts' conclusions will be provided for all three directions. Immediately after the occasion, the reasoned

article, why this occasion happened in this way, appears in the news feed. The scenario is practically faultless.

A long period of time is required for the information consumer to trust you. It is necessary to teach the consumer. When the time comes, it will be possible to provide any information. The information consumer will not check it. At the same time, the mass media, for the sake of public peace of the state, shall use defamation. We understand defamation as the distribution of established facts in order to bring somebody image harm, in order to show, that the values, propagated in the society, are above the other communities. It is a method, aimed at goal achievement, determined by the noopolitics. In the politics, any community is presented by the media personalities, including the heads of state. Speaking in public, they provide a possibility to analyze their speeches and, sometimes, interpret them in one or another variant. The words of politicians can be taken from the context for confirmation or reasoned opponency. As an example, let us take the clip, widely spread in the Internet. The American comic broadcast of Jimmy Kimmel compared the USA and Russia Presidents [<http://www.youtube.com/watch?v=J-QIFMUV9T4>]. The President of the USA goes in for sports in the fitness centre and his movements correspond to the ones of the newer, who decided to go in for sports. However, the authors of the broadcast put the shots with Barak Obama together with the shots with athletic man - the President of Russia Vladimir Putin. Without doubts, this comparison is not in favour of the American President. On the formal side, there is nothing to find fault with. The shots are real. However, it is the essence of political defamation. This broadcast raised the honour of Russians for their President, and, on the contrary, caused unpleasant comments of the YouTube users, where the clip with this broadcast was placed, concerning the American President. This broadcast was reviewed more than half million times. There is the open question, if the distribution of this broadcast in the Internet was occasional. We assume that no. The broadcast, aimed at the American viewers, is advertised in the Internet to the Russians. If somebody believes into fortuity, it is not this case. Both prior to this shot and after it, Russians do not pay attention to this comic broadcast. Nobody speaks Russian there. However, this program can be watched without the translation.

We have already mentioned that the communication of definite information to the specific individuum is not a simple deed. It is necessary, that the consumer puts on the television, or tunes his radio to the definite band, or has the link to the definite resource, appeared on his screen, exactly in this period. It is informational logistics. We do not set the aim to consider the methods of informational logistics. The scientists, studying this segment of informational strategy, have not come to single understanding of methods, required to build the logical ways for information delivery.

One more sample of political defamation is the publication of statements of Jennifer Psaki, the representative of the State Department. She is the voice of official America in the small hall of the Capitol from Washington. This voice is spread as a voiced external politics of the USA. The phrase that if Byelorussia

makes an intrusion to Ukraine, then the sixth fleet of the USA immediately arrives at the shores of Byelorussia [<http://www.youtube.com/watch?v=DsZgNdoOtFU>] is the classics of Psaki's speeches. This information was reviewed by more than 2 million YouTube users. Making this statement, she was not confused by the lack of any maritime space in Byelorussia. The speech of the representative of the State Department in Russia got the nominal meaning and sounds as 'Psaking'. 'Psaking' means to express unchecked or silly statements. The matter is that they actually sound, thus presenting the political defamation.

It is one thing, when the words are taken from the context, and are printed by the mass media. They always have the argument, that it is impossible to print the full text because of the edition format. It is a different matter, when the words are taken from the context during the diplomatic talks or private talk of the country leaders, held with closed doors and implicating trust relationships. The Italian newspaper *Repubblica* wrote, that the head of European Commission José Manuel Barroso stated during the EU summit, that the Russian President Vladimir Putin, talking with him, threatened to take Kiev [*Ukraine, Putin's blackmail on the EU summit: "If I want to take Kiev in two weeks"*, [http://www.repubblica.it/esteri/2014/09/01/news/ucraina\\_il\\_ricatto\\_di\\_putin\\_sul\\_vertice\\_europeo\\_se\\_voglio\\_prendo\\_kiev\\_in\\_due\\_settimane-94791280/](http://www.repubblica.it/esteri/2014/09/01/news/ucraina_il_ricatto_di_putin_sul_vertice_europeo_se_voglio_prendo_kiev_in_due_settimane-94791280/)].

According to the publication, "Barroso told the summit participants, that prior to its beginning, he had a telephone talk with Putin and tried to ask him about the alleged invasion of Russian troops to the Ukraine, which was mentioned by Kiev before. Barroso states that Putin, in reply, started to threaten and said, that "if desired, he can take Kiev within two weeks" [<http://slon.ru/fast/world/barrozu-rasskazal-ob-ugrozakh-putina-vzyat-kiev-1150866.xhtml>]. A constant representative of Russia at the European Union Vladimir Chizhov stated, that the administration of the President is ready to make the telephone conversation between the Russian leader and the chairman of the European Commission fully public, in order "to take all misunderstanding off". In the opinion of Permanent Representative, disclosure of confidential conversations of such level is beyond the established diplomatic practice. After such suggestion of Russian side, the official representative of EC Piu Arenkilde-Hansen admitted that the words of Russian President about the alleged readiness to 'take' Kiev, quoted by Barroso, were taken out of context and had the different meaning. "After the negotiations with the President Putin, which were several times, the same as with the President of the Ukraine, in close meetings I inform my colleagues in European Council of the most important points of negotiations. I did in this way. Then, there was a leakage through no fault of mine, it was a distorted leakage about what I quoted from the negotiations with Putin. It was distorted and taken from context. The incident is considered to be closed, I do not want to come back to it" - told Barroso, as per RIA 'News' as quoted by Huffington Post [<http://oko-planet.su/politik/newsday/255999-barrozu-slova-ob-ugrozah-putina-vzyat-kiev-iskazheny.html>]. In this case, the publication of the newspaper *Reppublica* cannot be the political defamation, as the official text of negotiations of Barroso and Putin was not published.

Two principles of society management were historically formed: spontaneous and conscious. Spontaneous management presents the average result. Here is an example. On the 17<sup>th</sup> of October 2014 'The Voice of America' published the utterance of the president of Freedom House David Cramer: "Propaganda, which is coming from the Kreml and from the news organizations, controlled by the Kreml, causes the utmost concern. They do not simply distort the information, they try to create their own reality. They interpret everything incorrectly, they lie and present the situation in not that way, as it is in reality. The brightest example is the Ukraine." The representative of the US State Department, the deputy coordinator of the Bureau of International Informational Programs of the US State Department, Tania Chomiak-Salvi, evaluated the work of Russian specialists as follows: "We see this situation in the following way: while we were distracted to the other global challenges in the last several years, the President Putin created a large machine of disinformation, which has a global covering. We are shocked by its impudence and by the fact, how it influences on the population of countries, bordering with Russia, on Russian-speaking minorities in these countries." [<http://m.golos-ameriki.ru/a/ron-on-russian-desinformation/2487347.html>]

Conscious management requires constant apprehension of processes, happening in the society, directing of social information into socium and confidence, that the information is perceived by the consumer. Social information in this case is such information, which is processed by the human consciousness and is implemented in human activity. Acquisition of definite power and force by the mass media due to its concentration and monopolization results in the fact, that the mass media owners become interested in getting greater financial, than political profits. Political dividends can be easily monetized, at that, to any currency of the world on the condition that the owners of the publication can control the content of their mass media. This phenomenon proves the necessity to investigate the interrelations of such directions, as governance and international journalism. The tandem of governance and journalism can change the world politics, if to use your own possibilities correctly. One cannot ignore the fact, that in the XX<sup>th</sup> century, the world politics was admitted as an independent scientific and educational discipline, which is involved in the study of existing and newly formed political system of the world, its structure, institutes and processes. There is always the place for the mass media. The Russian scientists Potolokova and Kurysheva consider, that today the mass media do not explain what influences on their strategy, and what functions they lay on themselves, at that, several decades ago they declared it [14]. The mass media was the mediator between the governance and the society.

### **3. Conclusions**

In the modern world, the collection and processing of information takes the leading place in the life of any publication, especially of social-political character. The world has become united. Any information, any speech of the



politician or the simple citizen is the public domain. Public utterances result in the feedback. The citizens, supporting the politics of its state, can become *personas non grata* in another state. Thus, those Russians, who express their personal opinion about the national referendum of Crimea and its desire to join to the Russian federation, frequently can become the *personas non grata* to the countries of Western Europe. Iosif Kobzon, Oleg Gazmanov and Valeriya Perfilova are the Russian artist, alongside with civil servants and businessmen, shall not enter Latvia. It was decided by The Minister of Foreign Affairs Edgars Rinkevich in the relation to the situation in the Ukraine. “We consider them as not the artists, they deal with politics. We make a signal that we admit the culture, but cannot admit the unaccepted politics” - stated Edgars Rinkevich [A. Baldina, *Persona non-grata: Kobzon, Gazmanov and Valeria are declared as 'apologetic of aggression'*, <http://www.vesti.ru/doc.html?id=1820452>].

In our opinion, the introduction of such notions, as noopolitics and political defamation into terminological use provides an opportunity to evaluate, forecast, and form the political events in the world arena. From the beginning of 1990, Russia was the place, where the technologies of manipulation with public opinion were tested using the mass media by the foreign states. This phenomenon was apprehended and studied in Russia. We assume that in the nearing time, the experience of informational influence will be used in relation to other states. The president of Russia V. Putin, understanding the role of the mass media in the modern world, stated: “With accelerated development of electronic mass media, this sphere gained great significance and became a dangerous weapon, providing an opportunity to manipulate public consciousness. Rigid informational wars became the sign of the time, as well as the attempts of some countries to establish the monopoly on truth and to use it to their advantage.” [<http://kremlin.ru/news/46762>] Although this phrase is taken from the context, we consider it appropriate in current case.

This article is theoretical, and appeals to the scientists to take part in discussions on the formation of such a term as noopolitics. Testing of the suggest understanding of the term noopolitics was held on conferences in Oxford, New Zealand, People’s Republic of China and Russia. Publications with the suggested term were in Russia and Pakistan. The authors don’t rule out the possibility that some judgments can be disputable. However, there are plans to further develop this theme in future, to collect statistical material, to take into considerations the views of colleagues who are professionally engaged in this sphere, thereby providing a discussion environment.

## References

- [1] D.E. Beck and C. Cowan, *Spiral Dynamics: Mastering Values, Leadership and Change*, Blackwell Publishing, Oxford, 2005.
- [2] D. Rushkoff, *Media Virus! Hidden Agendas in Popular Culture*, Ballantine Books, New York, 1996, 368.
- [3] J. Arquilla and D. Ronfeldt, *The Emergence of Noopolitik: toward an American information strategy*, RAND, Santa Monica, 1999, 46.

- [4] S.B. Nikonov, *Middle-East Journal of Scientific Research*, **17(1)** (2013) 21-25.
- [5] R. Holiday, *Trust Me, I'm Lying: Confessions of a Media Manipulator*, Portfolio, New York, 2013.
- [6] L. Benton, *Manipulation - The Mind of a Con Man: The Psychology of Lying*, ePubWealth.com, 2013.
- [7] O. Johnson, *The art of manipulation: how to get anybody to do what you want*, Created Space Independent Publishing Platform, 2013.
- [8] W. Borges, *Mass Media and Politics*, in *International Encyclopedia of the Social & Behavioral Sciences*, 2<sup>nd</sup> edn., Elsevier, London, 2015, 712–718.
- [9] G. Rockhill, *A Specter is Haunting Globalization*, in *Cognitive Architecture: From Bio-politics to Noo-politics*, D. Hauptmann & W. Neidich (eds.), 010 Publishers, Rotterdam, 2010, 470-487.
- [10] A. Jøsang and R. Hankin, *Interpretation and Fusion of Hyper Opinions in Subjective Logic*, Proc. of the 15<sup>th</sup> International Conference on Information Fusion (FUSION 2012), ISIF, Singapore, 2012, 1225-1232, online at <http://folk.uio.no/josang/papers/JH2012-Fusion.pdf>.
- [11] B.J. Hancock, *Military Intelligence Professional Bulletin*, **April-June** (2010) 41-47, online at [http://fas.org/irp/agency/army/mipb/2010\\_02.pdf](http://fas.org/irp/agency/army/mipb/2010_02.pdf).
- [12] B. Geys, *Elect. Stud.*, **25(4)** (2006) 637-663.
- [13] A. Piolatto and F. Schuett, *J. Public Econ.*, in press (2015) doi:10.1016/j.jpubeco.2015.04.003.
- [14] M.O. Potolokova and Y.V. Kuryшева, *World Applied Sciences Journal (Education, Law, Economics, Language and Communication)*, **27** (2013) 266-269, online at <http://www.idosi.org/wasj/wasj27%28elelc%2913/55.pdf>.