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УДК 32.019.5

## ПОЛИТИЧЕСКАЯ ПРОПАГАНДА КАК ИДЕЙНАЯ СОСТАВЛЯЮЩАЯ КОММУНИКАТИВНОГО ПРОЦЕССА: ТЕОРЕТИЧЕСКИЕ АСПЕКТЫ

### POLITICAL PROPAGANDA AS AN IDEOLOGICAL COMPONENT OF THE COMMUNICATION PROCESS: THEORETICAL ASPECT

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**Аннотация.** Политическая пропаганда соотносится с областью взаимодействия субъектов политического процесса при формировании новых установок, влияющих на социальное или политическое поведение социума. Целью пропаганды является осуществление передачи общественности политической информации и влияние на ее восприятие, которое обеспечит общее направление мыслей и поступков, позитивного или негативного отношения к определенному объекту или определенной ценности.

**Ключевые слова:** политическая пропаганда, политические коммуникации, манипуляция сознанием, информационное общество.

**Abstract.** Political propaganda correlates with the interaction of subjects of the political process in the formation of new attitudes that affect the social or political society behavior. The purpose of propaganda is to transmit political information to the public and influence on its perception, which will provide a general direction of thoughts and actions, a positive or negative attitude to a particular object or certain value.

**Key words:** political propaganda, political communications, manipulation by the social consciousness, information society.

The political process does not exist without the circulation of political information as a connecting thread of the institution of the political system, and at the end of the 20th century a new direction has emerged in foreign sciences, the subject of study of which is public relations from the perspective of political communication. The development of macro-level models that conceptually represent the trends in the development of political propaganda and its place in political relations was comprehended. This direction is presented in the works of such famous researchers as E. Fromm [11],

M. Horkheimer and T. Adorno [12], G. Marcuse [6] and others. But the growing influence of information technology on the minds and hearts of citizens continues to cause scientific interest.

It is assumed that the term "political propaganda" was used by scientists in the middle of the last century, when the study of the information society and the role of information began. Of course, all studies were conducted by sociological schools, political science and communication analysis has not been presented properly. Gradually, by the end of the last century, political communication, as a scientific and applied discipline, attracted the attention of scientists, and political propaganda began to be seen as a process of communicative technology.

In modern society, the role of political communication has sharply increased, since it is vital to have an interchange between political structures, political entities, groups and individuals, and social structures [14:87]. Political communication is the deliberately used political information whose task is to circulate between the components of the political and social system. This is a peculiar process of submission effective information by powerful political structures, as well as social groups and individuals [18]. Therefore, we agree with the researchers that political propaganda is a part of political communication, as it serves for spreading information while encouraging participation in any political activity, and formation of certain values, etc. [5].

As Kh.I. Saykhanova rightly suggests, modern propaganda in the communication process has the following characteristics [8: 196]:

- a growing influence on human consciousness, his preferences and tastes;
- an increase in the amount of unfairly information and propaganda based on politically incorrect and biased information;
- the growth of the ability to manipulate the consciousness of an individual, as well as entire social groups, classes;
- transformation of manipulation types, subjects and objects, etc.

G. Lasswell, the founder of propaganda study, defines mass propaganda as the new "hammer and anvil of social solidarity." The researcher comes to the conclusion that there is an individualized mass community where mass communication depends on social connections that can be destroyed or, on the contrary, firmly soldered, performing

various functions - replacement or compensation. The scientist defined propaganda as "control of public opinion using special characters." The task of such control is to cause the consolidation and mobilization of the masses in line with a single goal (in the case of a military situation - the goal of victory), when the masses rally on the basis of general hatred of the enemy, whose image is created by propaganda [20: 14].

Continuing to work in this direction, G. Lasswell later proposed the theory of the "magic bullet", which is based on the postulate that among the individuals of the society surrounding us, the role of mass communication is to compensate and replace broken social and other connections and, therefore, determines each individual an isolated subject has no change in influence, which for psychological reasons they cannot resist [20]. Following this theory, in the process of mass communication, each individual member of society receives a pre-measured "dose" of exposure that falls into it like a bullet. According to G. Lasswell, like a magic bullet, which always accurately finds its addressee, political propaganda operates in the same exact and faultless manner in society. A single system of incentives gives rise to a single system of reactions, and mass communication completely subjugates the social organism [20: 16].

The ultimate goal of propaganda is to convey the main ideological values and theoretical knowledge about something to the perception of a wide audience and turn it into personal beliefs, personal thoughts. As Ian Cooke writes in the article "Propaganda as weapons? Influencing international opinion", all parties to the international conflict use propaganda to form international opinion [18]. Therefore, we are interested in the study of propaganda through the prism of mechanisms of influence on a person, which involves the consideration of the psychological model of communication presented by the German emigrant Serge Chakotin. He argued, on the basis of personal experience in conducting propaganda during the Hitler regime, that Hitler propaganda was based on psychological influence, the basis of which was borrowed in the I.P. Pavlov's theory of the conditioned reflex of animals. According to S. Chakotin, four human reflexes (aggressive, protective, sexual and food) are the four whales on which propaganda rests [22: 18]. Here you can see that the model of S. Chakotin is related to the idea of the ancient Greek philosopher Plato that the word serves as a conviction, and a competently persuader at the same time pleases the listener, as it touches the hidden strings of the soul.

According to S. Chakotin, ideological principles can be closely linked with the internal reflexes of a person, since a person is a creature that is completely subordinate to the categories of instinct than the mind. Propaganda bases on the repetition of slogans affecting certain feelings and instincts of a person, make him completely obedient, subject to the influence of propaganda. It turns out that the communicative process can be brought into a unipolar form and thus create a kind of model of society and man, directing political propaganda to large masses of people. Dose information, impose ideological slogans, reinforce all this with life reflexes and human feelings, and get the result by making the masses "the right audience" [22: 176].

In the sixties of the last century, S. Chakotin's theory was further continued in the model, justified by the postulate that the basic human instincts, in particular, the desire of the consumer, play a role in the development of marketing, including political marketing [7: 287]. As evidence, it was argued that people do not buy furniture, but a climate of prosperity and comfort, do not buy powder, but family values, they choose not politics or a party functionary, but democracy and welfare [3: 36].

Despite the fact that political propaganda in mass communication is a relatively new phenomenon, nevertheless, we have a rich experience of its studies which rely on two main approaches that directly depend on the stages of the development of the phenomenon, on the conditions of existence of the principles of production and consumption of information. In the aims of our study, we will consider both models based on the works of American researchers: in the 1940s, American scientists divided their research into two related fields, the study of atomism and opinion leaders. According to the first concept, the concept of atomism, the audience consists of the smallest subjects - individuals independent from each other, conditionally called atoms. But they all independently perceive information, in a single-order, mass version [16: 187]. As we can assume, there are basic instincts that can unite large masses of people, and the greater the stratification shift and the level of crisis in society, the more effective will be any massive propaganda aimed at large masses in critical periods.

At the same time, there are examples in political practice when the behavior of a mass audience differs from the course outlined by propaganda, when after quite professional actions groups of specialists in political propaganda received an unexpected opposite effect. The problem was the discovery of new phenomena in the communication system, which potentially and kinetically contain a devastating effect on propaganda. This served to the birth of new theoretical and methodological foundations of the study in the sociology of mass communication and allowed to expand ideas about the features and structure of political propaganda. As a result, a second concept appeared - the concept of "opinion leaders", which was released after a series of unsuccessful propaganda actions in election campaigns. During the 1940 election campaign for the presidency of America, most newspapers and radio conducted a massive propaganda campaign against Roosevelt, but he passed by a significant majority. The massive propaganda campaign directed against Truman also ended unsuccessfully. Less than 15% of newspapers came out in support of Truman, however, almost half of America voted for him - 49.5% of the total number of votes. P. Lazarsfeld explained the phenomenon of such voter behavior by the fact that the one who had not yet decided whom to vote for, was determined at the last moment under "personal influence" (under the influence of someone whom he personally trusted), and not under the influence of propaganda ideology. And mass communication is called upon to show or consolidate preferences that an indi-

vidual already has at a conscious level, or to actualize latent preferences, which leads to a strengthening of initially existing beliefs [21: 87-91].

Subsequently, P. Lazarsfeld in the book "The People's Choice" presented the theory of the existence of a two-stage model of communication in political propaganda. The essence of P. Lazarsfeld's theoretical model was that mass communication does not directly affect an individual, but needs a microgroup that can mediate the influence of propaganda. Moreover, there should be a "leader of public opinion" in the microgroup, a person who enjoys a certain authority, who is able to bring the opinion to the majority who are interested in this topic. Only few people at first were interested in the scientist's idea of transferring ideas through radio and newspapers to the leader, and from him to the mass consumer. But after a series of failures in the election campaigns, the idea has become attractive and was positively received by the scientific community. Later M. Yanovich and E. Shills came to the conclusion that political propaganda does not directly affect the individual, that the effect itself is mediated by a microgroup. Scientists tried to convincingly prove that public opinion leaders (people who are respected in this microgroup) are needed for effective propaganda, [19: 403].

As we have already noted, the sources of propaganda are political actors, it is implemented through the media, and the target of political propaganda (the object) is the mass consciousness of a wide audience. The subject of political propaganda can be any subject with political interests, including the opposition interested in promoting their ideas. However, some researchers do not identify belief with propaganda, considering propaganda a negative phenomenon [15: 43-65]. Another part of the authors considers political propaganda more widely and suggests that "the escalation of the sentiments of nationalism, militant clericalism, separatism, extremism in the territories of other states, as well as indirect or open aggression (usually under the pretext of fighting terrorism) and "latent" types of wars that neither they are not recognized as forms of war or forms of terrorism" - these are methods of state terrorism that cannot be implemented without political propaganda [1: 408].

We assume that the process of persuasion, which remains the basic foundation of the process of political communication, and with it the tools used by it, are almost identical to the methods and tools of propaganda. But there is one difference that does not allow confusing these two concepts: unlike persuasion, propaganda is a one-way communication process [17: 78]. In the conceptual aspect, propaganda is understood as "the dissemination and suggestion of views, ideas, opinions in order to positively or negatively tune the audience (of any composition - from a few people to the masses and even society as a whole) and stimulate its reactions in the desired direction" [10: 539].

The following types of propaganda are determined by their focus on the target audience: [13: 50-51]

- propaganda of a positive outlook, a positive arrangement of something;
- propaganda of courage and patriotism;
- promotion of health or education;
- propaganda of the separation and destruction of something established;
- propaganda of aggression and intimidation;
- propaganda of detachment and despair, etc.

As for propaganda methods, there are many of them. As the leading methods of propaganda influence on human consciousness, scientists call: "chattering", anonymous authority, emotional resonance, "everyday story", boomerang effect, halo effect, primary effect, etc. [4: 69].

Note that the mechanism of influence on human consciousness occurs due to logical substitutions and emotional experiences occurring in the human mind. It turns out that the mechanisms of influence on a person with a propaganda goal are based on the psychological effect on the consciousness and affect the entire psychological and emotional sphere of the person. From here, the "way of life prevailing in the current type of society and the corresponding" moral (or rather, immoral) attitudes [2: 227] are quite clear. Moreover, the media is only one of many factors involved in the mechanism of influence on the consciousness of individuals. The impact is also carried out through mass communication (radio, internet, smartphones, etc.), printed matter (newspapers, books, magazines, posters, leaflets, etc.), as well as through cultural and entertainment events (cinema, theater, amateur performances). For example, for propaganda purposes a feature film may be shot or a performance staged (which, incidentally, was widely used in the Soviet years). And, as A.I. Soloviev, "It is clear that the degree of stability and effectiveness of political communications, based on the above methods of organizing discourses (local or affecting the whole society), is far from the same" [7: 17].

It should be noted that such types of political influence as political agitation, political advertising, political PR, etc. after the election campaign are completely indifferent to the remaining views or behavior of individuals. Political propaganda, on the contrary, expects a lasting effect, expects profound changes in political consciousness. Therefore, political propaganda is designed for a longer period of time, and manipulates abstract categories, which are characterized by blurring the boundaries between fiction and truth. Manipulation is the main companion of political propaganda, because the formation of a certain picture of the world should be facilitated by a game with the consciousness of man and the masses, since the imposition of certain political views and projects should go unnoticed. Due to the logical substitutions and emotional experiences occurring in the human mind, the formation of new attitudes is produced that affect the social or political behavior of the individual. It turns out that the impact affects the entire psychological and emotional sphere of personality [17: 197]. Therefore, propaganda is more often demanded in political communication, where it is relevant to introduce ideological guidelines into the human mind.

Thus, we can conclude that propaganda, as a component of the science of public relations, is a synthesis of the everyday levels of consciousness of the audience with a specific way of presenting information for the propagandist's specific purpose. Political propaganda as a communicative technology is deliberately used political information, the task of which is to circulate between the components of the political and social system. Propaganda is a peculiar process of presenting information by powerful political structures, as well as public groups and individuals for a specific purpose. Therefore, it is logical to make the system of political communication and political propaganda dependent on the political regime of the state, since both communication and propaganda are products of the political system of a given state. Accordingly, under a democratic, totalitarian or authoritarian political regime there will be different degrees of relevance of political propaganda.

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Дата поступления в редакцию: 15.02.2020

После рецензирования: 24.02.2020

Дата принятия к публикации: 03.03.2020