SOCIAL MEDIA CAPABILITIES AND MILITARY AFFAIRS USING PROPAGANDA AND TABAYYUN IN THE DIGITAL WARFARE

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Abstract
This study explores the modern military theory to understand more regarding the revolution of social media in determining the narrative to win war in the digital warfare and the anticipation. What capabilities should the military hold to make sure the favorable outcome in the digital competitiveness environment. The anticipation of the narrative battle comes from the Islamic teaching *tabayyun*. The study used qualitative analysis as method, and collecting data through various text, video, sound and picture from the internet such as Facebook, Twitter, Youtube, Instagram and Tik Tok. The finding shows that propaganda is already in play in the traditional warfare. During this digital era, propaganda is used not only through main stream media, but also dominant in social media. Soldier should be battling not only in the physical battlefield but also in the virtual digital space. To answer those challenge, soldier should be equipped with a better tool, improving military tactics, techniques, and procedures in integrating social media capabilities. Also empowering individual soldiers and allowing small units to synchronize their action making every soldier a narrative agents and content creators.
Keywords: Social media capabilities, Military affairs, Digital warfare

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INTRODUCTION

The role of the war narrative is important to win wars. In modern military theory, war is won in the people's mind and not necessarily in the battle field (Kvernbekk & Bøe-Hansen, 2017). The revolution of the internet has placed social media as an additional element with in the operational environment. Social media can be looked as weapon to attack with, to spread narrative as offensive action. As to anticipate war narrative by means of defense, one should seek clarity about something until the real situation is clear and true. News needs to be clarified by any means in seeking the truth, and not to be taken lightly and as it is. The behavior of receiving news need to be cautious, wise and not in a rush to jump to conclusion mode, because conflicting parties' tent to told narrative in their favor, not by anyway necessarily the truth. This understanding comes from the Islamic teaching called *tabayyun*. Tabayyun literally means to clarified or to seek the truth (Zain, 2017).

Social media capabilities are key component in revolutionary military affairs. Social media content whether its truthful or hoax, can build narrative and put influence in to people's mind (Wille, 2012). It is similar to the top of the mind concept in marketing to spread and socialize taglines and awareness. Effort in increasing social media capabilities, can be seen as a strategy to win war narrative. Sophisticated digital platform, can spread content rapidly, faster adopting technology, manage large and complicated data, and can be targeted by demography and psychography. Champion with these capabilities, can easily wins war narrative.

By using social media, advance digital engine can be program to a specific individuals, community and also global society (Ulla et., al., 2012). Most likely, people decide and behave to what they used to see and hear. Even an untruth content can become reality truth if played over and over again. Setting the narrative is becoming crucial in to date digital warfare. Advance in social media capabilities is becoming a crucial competition in winning war narrative from a push of a button.

RESEARCH METHOD

By using qualitative analysis, this study is trying to seeks an in-depth understanding regarding the revolutionary social media during war and conflict. Literature review is carried out to seek the better understanding in respect of social media capabilities, military affair and digital affair towards digital propagandas and tabayyun. Overwhelmingly, modern military theory is drastically changes upon the digital era and digital battle.

Data collection through this study, is carried out outside the traditional text collection. The collection is not only in the form of text journal and books, but vastly in the form of video content, sound and picture collected through the digital network. Mostly news and dialogue from YouTube platform. After all the data is collected, through this qualitative method, it generates descriptive data to try creating and develop new concept using inductive method and produce conclusion.

RESULTS AND DISCUSSION
Social Media Capabilities

Social media is becoming more and more relevant and being used as primary tools to achieve goals in cyber warfare. It can reach people all over the world in no time though network connection, can targeted government not to mention business entities. Cyber warfare has the potential to disrupt power grids, cripple economies, and also can cause political unrest (Atrews, 2020). Cyber warfare is defined as series of strikes or cyberattack to target nation. It aims to accomplish thread to other nation interest. The danger varies from disinformation to espionage, several disruptions, major infrastructure disturbance, and can also result a loss of life within the populace of the targeted country (Willison, 2022).

Estimation in 2014, approximately 650% increase in the amount of SPAM received on digital platforms, about 15% of home computers is successfully infected and breach all over the world. Facebook for example, by 2011 released that it's been targeted of almost 600,000 cyberattacks daily. Social media is vulnerable easy access to targets and spreads misinformation. This condition will continue to be utilized in carrying out objectives in cyberwarfare (Bremmer 2015).

Social media capabilities are becoming a key component in revolutionary military affairs. Capabilities however, can be describe as a mixed of processes, tools and system, knowledge skill and behavior, and organization to allowed outcome. There are numbers of capabilities but what matters is what refers to or recognized as differentiating capabilities that meant to be developed in to the utmost potentials (Strategy & PWC, 2012). Resources are needed to be converted as capabilities to be fully function. Social media capabilities in the marketing field consist of four levels. It's the technological capability, operational capability, managing capability and strategic capability. Technological capability is to recognize the key features and categories of social media. Dynamically upgrading the recognition in response to the environmental change. The four-level social media capabilities will collectively transfer social media's technological capabilities to dynamic organizational capabilities (Wang, 2017). In this study, it is relevant to the dynamic military capability.

Social media content whether its truthful or hoax (toxic propaganda) are used to build narratives. It's a competing narrative situation, a digital battle field to put influence in people's mind (Wille, 2012). Influence can be carried out in a simple manner or using by, with and through. One can influence target by some somebody else to in turn might influence opponent like using proxy.

War narrative can refer to propaganda which is dissemination of information, facts, arguments, rumors, half-truths or lies, to influence peoples mind to developed public opinion. Propaganda from the perspective of neoliberalism, can be describe as influential rhetoric or simply advertising in the economic world. Neoliberalism has perfected propaganda that it isn't always about some bad country or ideology that you need to hate, rather it's diffuse propaganda about who we should be as people and society in every aspect of our life's. Neoliberalism create and led people to its image through a mix of both

rhetoric and economic policy design to change people's habits and believes inline with its own goals and objectives. Neoliberalism propaganda eventually will create neoliberalism subjects. Narrative doesn't need to be a lie to be propaganda, it doesn't need to come from the government, it doesn't need to be about war and conflict and the roots of all evil. There for, for some scholar, there is no such thing as bias media, simply serving its purpose. Modern public relation author Edward Bernays in the 1920s describe propaganda as the conscious and intelligent manipulation of organized habits and opinion of the masses. It's an important element in the democratic society. This understanding however, comes from the believe that democracy is from the invisible governor and not as a society where people govern themselves. The modern public relation by using psychoanalysis, can sell idea and shape behavior (Stiven, 2023). Social media has brought change from people in power in to the power of the people. The Arab Spring for example was started by Arab activists using social media as tools weaponized to start a revolution. Social media is becoming a powerful tool and much more in the long run.

Propaganda can be delivered by truthful value or toxic propaganda. If this is the case, then question emerge like is this legal to operate or is it meant to be a covert operation. Can these things fall in to category in the Budapest convention as cybercrime? The Budapest convention convinced that it is necessary to deter action directed against the confidentiality, integrity and availability of computer systems, networks and computer data. As well as the misuse and mis practice of such systems, networks and data by providing for the criminalization of such conduct, as described in this Convention, and the adoption of powers sufficient for effectively combating such criminal offences, by facilitating their detection, investigation and prosecution at both the domestic and international levels and by providing arrangements for fast and reliable international co-operation. This Convention believe that cybercrime need measure at national level as offences against the confidentiality, integrity, and availability of computer data and system. For instance, Illegal access, illegal interception, data interference, system interference, misuses of device, computer related forgery, computer related fraud and so on (Council of Europe, 2001). If propaganda can fall into one of those criteria as cybercrime, then the solution is convenient if it only falls into domestic law to be dealt with rather than the international law in the competing war narration.

Empirically, trace and evidence of propaganda is widely found and used in wars and conflicts. In today war and conflict, civilian can also contribute in the digital narrative battlefield. It can also emerge outside the conflicting parties or countries, for example from the Israelis-Hamas conflict, resulting a gen z civilian resistance from other non-conflicting countries such as the so called Julid Fisabillillah (CNN Indonesia, 2024). It targeted individual IDF account, news personnel, Israel civilian and government officials. Some are focusing on the propaganda resistant by spreading clarification and proof to encounter hoax, and some are actively spreading knowledge of the history of the conflict and the UpToDate ground condition to receive support and empathy.

In the recent Israelis-Hamas conflict, the narrative is to legalize attacking Gaza strip as a retaliation of the 7th October attack. IDF (Israel Defense force),

paid media and civilian are flooding social media canals to win support from the world digital societies. They build narrative about Hamas killing babies by burning them, sexual violence rampage and so on. One of the US media biases were reported by Schwartz who later on were known as an Aman agent of the Israel's military intelligence agency (The Online Citizen, 2024).

On the other side, narrative is developed to cement Israel action as a genocide war crime. What interesting is, in this conflict, Israel controls the mainstream media and Internet connection in Gaza. Effort are being made from the IDF to kill journalists and their family members by bombing their houses to spread thread, just to make sure news doesn't come out from Gaza. These goes while prompting death treats on social media (Reuters, 2023).

Eventually, narrative battle is not fought only between Israel and Hamas or the Palestinian. Global societies are attracted in to the narrative battle within the digital media using social media. The Palestinian, surely doesn't have the capabilities, the right tools and equipment nor the human resource to win the narrative war. It is always been like that in the past, since75 years ago. Truth is a relative thing, but the truth could be developed and produce from what people see and hear over and over again, until it become the ultimate truth. What change is that global societies are starting to dig deeper about the conflict and people gave their opinion and take sides, which is not to be in the wrong side of the history.

This behavior is triggered from the massive propaganda of the 7th October and an ongoing carpet bombing and body count of the Palestinian civilian which is sadly dominated by children, babies and old folks, not nearly combatant. The 7th of October triggered global attention, and the annihilation of Gaza triggered the change of heart. The Second Nakbah or force refugee to make the Palestinian leave their home willingly or by force displaying the total destruction of the north Gaza strip area (Agus, 2022). War doesn't always about right or wrong. It is to pursue the winning objective by any means, if necessary, yet it is debatable. Every party can be found faulty and doing an unthinkable action here and there. In an unsettle condition within the mind of people about who's right who's in the wrong, who's telling the truth and what is not, empathy in humanity can kick in and people change heart and side or merely speaking out loud to stop the war. Israel-Hamas conflict and tens of thousands Palestinian casualties have develop the sympathy and empathy from global society to voice ceasefire and to stop the war permanently.

Even in a very unclear narrative, since the Israelis is superior with the mainstream media and social media, but people tend to look and dig deeper to find some clarity because of the sympathy and empathy behavior towards war casualties. People stop being ignorance and starting pursuing *tabayyun* and scratch to the bottom. In other words, a trigger of sympathy and empathy can be developed from technological capability, operational capability, managing capability and strategic capability of social media for the narration to be more successful.

Military Affairs

Blitzkrieg aka lighting war is a concept used by the Germany military, a military tactic calculated to create psychological shock and resultant

disorganization in enemy forces. The understanding of the meaning is debatable among scholars but publicly means that it conducts by surprise, speed and equipped with firepower technology superiority. It can also refer to the German efforts to win a quick victory with self-sufficiency in food supplies. In simple words, it's a swift strategic knockout (Harris, 1995). In term of time consume, digital narrative can speed time to win war and minimizing casualties also minimizing infrastructure damage. In the second world war, beside blitzkrieg, Adolf Hitler consider propaganda as a tactical weapon that should be used in warfare (Kotze, 2012). Narrative preparation is sequential processes through engagement, testimonials, and commitment. Stories can make up narrative or narrative can include a lot of stories. Normally in the common behavior, being exposed with the same fact, data and information, people can radically come to a difference decision associated with the given information. Common people are not guaranteed immune to propaganda. People process and understood information differently based on how they incline to understand. There for tabayyun is proposed as the counter solution or the defensive act of war narrative. A narrative is the combination that gives meaning, identity, content and structure. An American might have a different story from the European or the middle east or the Asian. A structure means that narrative have a beginning, a middle and an end just like a story. A narrative can also create a different meaning based on time. One narrative can mean something in let say the 90's and it can mean another thing in the 20's. The narrative can change overtime. It doesn't necessarily generate by individuals, such as a particular president, religious figure or social activist and so on. Merely it changes because society change what their value over time. The for the identity or the content of narrative might change. Narrative doesn't necessarily win by defeating or countering enemies' narrative. Victory is construct of a shared narrative that leaves identity intact. Operating narrative must recognize the importance of the narrative itself, knowing the narrative of partner and opponent, and understanding how to generate the disruption in order to connect the strategic narrative with local master narratives, story, message or data or even memes in today's type of information (Maan, 2015).

The traditional military theory talks about maneuver to win war. The objective is to win from the enemy's army and it influences by concentration. For instant, the Napoleon Champaign in the 18th century and known as the age of battle. The old military theory, talks about firepower as the vocal point to win war. The objective is to defeat the state enemies and influence by targets. For example, the World War I and World War II and known as the age of combat. The modern military theory, speaks about the narrative. The objective is to won/defeat people or believes and influence by engagement. For example, the US-Iraq war, the Russian-Ukraine war, the Israel-Hamas war and so on and known as the age of conflict (Steed, 2020). During the world war, theory of war propaganda is played with in the military affairs using tools and technique from that era, basically print materials. It supports the national objectives which designed to influence of opinion, emotions, attitudes and behavior either directly or indirectly in the form of any communication. In the world war I, the US created the committee of public information (CPI) to perform propaganda (Murphy & White, 2007). Since the old days, war propaganda has becoming

more complex. The tools and techniques are evolving using marketing, public relations, social psychology, political theory, integrated lesson learn from previous war campaign and scholarship on propaganda (Stacey, 2015). War propaganda usually used to sway undecided mind in their own favor within neutral countries, not between parties in conflict. Propaganda helps diplomatic aims as part of foreign policy to keep in place policies as favorable as possible to their interest (Ponce, 2014). Conflict however, can also takes place in the non-state actor level or civilian (Sugara, 2021). Nevertheless, in today war and conflict, the digital phenomenon has created new meaning in military affairs. Soldier should be battling not only in the battlefield but also in the digital space by equipping soldier with a better tool and guidelines. In the Syrian conflict, the Syrian government deploy the Syrian electronic army and recognized as the first virtual Arab army. It hacks in to the opposition web site and social account and making social media in to a weapon in every Armory.

In today technology, people can receive news of war in real time, which is impossible in the old traditional war. Technology has evolved tremendously. It impacts complexity in propaganda to achieve various objectives. To answer those challenge, military needs to improve military tactics, techniques, and procedures and integrate those with social media capabilities. Also empowering individual soldiers and allowing small units to synchronize their action making every soldier a narrative agents and content creators in sort of social media platforms. The larger the number can be looked as strength of power since they can reach to a larger public and people tent to see and hear the similar thing repeatedly in an orderly manner and systemic. A large number of narrative agents can also drive to developed collective justification in the social media. In youtube platform for instant, with a large number of likes and comments, it will generate the content which is most likely to appear in the for you page (FYP) and reach more people. Civilian can also function and contribute as reserve unit in the digital warfare. Even an unintegrated individual can also join the function by tapping from the source content to share and distribute to help drive the narrative. By doing so, this study propose that it will produce more successful rate in achieving the objectives as offensive measure.

By defensive measure, military should also use social media to encourage *tabayyun* for their people and global society. *Tabayyun* will filter propaganda and hoax or toxic propaganda to anticipate war narrative attack. Judgement and action can be taken, only if it is clarified.

It is mention in the Holy book of Quran in Chapter 49 Surah Al Hujurat verse 6 says, Believers, if troublemaker brings you news, check it first, in case you wrong others unwittingly and later regret what you have done. This verse was sent down after Walid bin Uqbah bin Abi Muait comes back from the tribe of the Bani al-Mustaliq to collect the Zakat. When he arrived there, for some reason Walid became fearful to collected the Zakat and went back to Medina with an unfinished assignment. He then reports to the Prophet (peace be upon him) that the tribe had refused to pay the Zakat and even wanted to murder him. On hearing this, the Prophet (peace be upon him) was about to dispatch a contingent to punish those people. And it was then the chief of al-Mustaliq, Harith bin Dirar arrived and clarified that swearing by the name of Allah, they

the tribe did not see Walid come to their village nor they refusing to pay the Zakat, let alone wanting to kill him.

On this critical occasion when on account of believing in a baseless report, a grave blunder was about to be committed, Allah gave the Muslims this guiding principle to be followed on receptance of news. Whenever you receive important news bearing upon a vital matter, you should not accept it immediately as it is, but rather should first examine the man who has brought it. If he is an evil man whose report is not authentic normally, you should inquire into it carefully to ascertain the truth instead of accepting it and acting on it immediately (International Tafseer, 49:6). Imam Ash-Syatibi (d. 790 H) wrote in al-Muwafaqat, that not everything that is known can be disseminated (Shihab, 2009). Especially if it comes from a wrong doer or an evil man and for a crucial matter like war and conflict.

In this high technology era, implementing *tabayyun* will surely be challenging. Image and sound are easily fabricated, not to mention with the help of an advance Artificial Intelligence (AI). For a clear and better understanding, below is the propose model regarding the social media capabilities, military affairs and digital warfare with offensive and defensive measure.
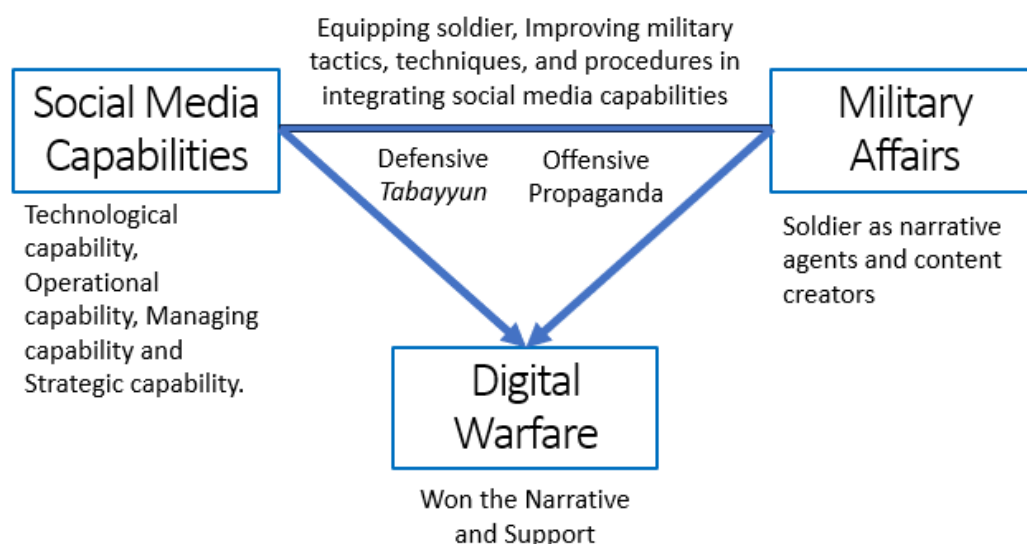
Social media capabilities consist of technological capability, operational capability, managing capability and strategic capability that are mixed and combine to make influence. Social media is a tool, the weaponized platform that carries strategic content. From the military affair perspective, this content can be used as an offensive attack in the form of propagandas. Government can manage and assemble soldiers as narrative agents. Soldiers are equipped, improve tactic, technics and procedures that works in the integration with the social media capabilities. The ultimate goal is to win the war narrative and the support with in the digital warfare. Social media on the other hand, can also be used as a defensive act of tabayyun. The functionality is to counter and clarified propaganda from the competing parties by using fact and evidence to reveal the truth to win narrative and support in the digital warfare. To some degree, the support is triggered from sympathy and empathy.

Offensive narrative is about positional advantage include legitimacy, ideas, and most popular perception. It talks about what is good verse bad, accepted versus opposed and a believe narrative. While defensive narrative is about destroying enemies' narrative by employing all means to affect the information environment to disprove, discredit, or make irrelevant of the enemies' narratives or to deny its delivery. By using tabayyun, the purpose is to destroy enemy narratives. In the World War, narrative have been destroyed such as the Nazi Germany and the imperial Japanese by the allies. Evidence of the destroyed narrative is simple because there is no more nazi Germany and imperial Japan in to date time.

Digital Warfare

Cyber is the fifth domain consist of maritime, land, space, air and cyber. It's been a shifted from traditional thinking regarding landscape. These domains merely not for military only, but also civilian. The internet is becoming the new battle field, so majority players tend to be proactive in offense rather than defense (Dawson, 2021).

To understand more about digital warfare, one need to acknowledge cyber warfare and electronic warfare. Cyber warfare primary operates in digital domain. Cyber warfare targeted computer system, network and digital infrastructure. Electronic warfare operates in the electromagnetic spectrum to target communication and radar system. Cyber warfare objective is to disrupt operation, steal/alter/ destroy data and socialized misinformation. Electronic warfare objective is to disrupt either intercept enemy communication and radar, while protect and defense own system. Cyber warfare used malware, ransomware, phishing distributed denial-of-service (DDos) attacks and so on. While electronic warfare used jammer tools, interceptor, decoys and detectors (Thomson, 2023). Military theory can be defined as a comprehensive analysis of all the aspect of warfare. Every age has its own kind of war, for example theories of land, maritime and air warfare are intended to explain the nature, character and characteristics of war in each physical medium (Vego, 2011). Modern military theory recognizes cyber as the fifth domain while the campaign knowns as the digital warfare campaign.

Digital warfare campaign is a campaign using computer and internet-based cyber weapons by one country to attack another country data system. The main purpose is to steal government information, disrupting or destroying its ability to function or to causing harm. These understanding, fall perfectly in to the military theory structure. Which is the teaching on war and army, military science, and military doctrine (Lider, 1980).

The teaching on war and army regarding the type of digital war in the cyber domain and using computer and internet as tools and weapon and philosophically to produce guideline. To be fully functional, this kind of war need military science as the second structure of the theory. The third structure is the military doctrine. This study stretches exactly about all the above discussion, but also specifically about the narrative of war. It is important to develop and produce the narrative from the military affairs tools, science and doctrine and to make optimal effort of integration with the social media capabilities to won the digital warfare objective. Surely the government and the media have their role

in war propaganda and need to pay more attention and readiness towards narrative attack from other country.

This study, opens a new door that by means of attacking in terms of digital warfare, can also mean to battle the narrative with the truth and won the war or conflict by receiving the global society support and eventually the international support and super state in the global environment. Government needs voter despite everything else, if the global digital society is on board, government eventually will come around with their policy direction. This statement needs to be said due to the condition of to date difficulties in finding a profound politician. Budget tent to be one of the crucial subject to win election, and it is obvious capital owners will likely involve. Bought politician tent to favor their budget supporters and tent to lose their freedom in decision making. This phenomenon can be seen as an obstacle in the digital warfare by the evidence of the majority, the civilian protesters to voice one conflicting parties and their government to echoed another in a different voice. In a democratic world, this phenomenon shown a conflicting interest and taking the power of the people into the capitalist minority.

It's crucial to win the narrative battle to win global supporters. In the early war between Russia and Ukraine, both countries battle the narrative within the cyber space in front of the global society. Ukraine used hospital casualties to grab global support only to get debunk by Russian countering image of actress post photo shooting behind the hospital scene. Social media have the role in this war, for instant roughly 236 million Tik Tok views and that is just from one platform (Alson & Webb, 2022). It is surely the battle of narrative in play by any means. Information reaches global digital society in a hyper speed through social media, and that is why government and military should pay their attention to develop own social media as strategic or to collaborate to secure the purpose.

China for example, separate Tik Tok for international user and Douyin only for domestic user, by domestic phone number and location and china homemade androids only. Tik Tok is a copy of Douyin from the same china's company called ByteDance. Tik Tok itself also bring us to a new understanding that digital warfare is not always militarily but can also be in the form of economic warfare such as the impact of Tik Tok shop. Tik Tok shop with Chinese product empirically, can have a market share outside their county is a thread to another country national market. That phenomenon however, is another topic and encourage to be analyzed for future analysis.

Lesson learns from the Russian by banning some of the social media and even international news like BBC as a war time measure amid the invasion of Ukraine. This policy may take in action due to the massif hacking by anonymous in 26th February 2022. The Hacking of Russian National TV network, 12,000 personal information of the Russian troops and the Russian central bank resulting in the data breach of 35,000 banking file. This even, proof that digital war is able to change the momentum in battle (Simplilearn, 2023). Country can acknowledge or not, the open cyber battle field. In the Russian case, their strategy seems to pull out their civilian to encounter cyber battle by using military affairs as one door opinion as a security measure to secure their own public opinion since Russia and Ukraine have a long tide relationship and basically the same

people with different idea. This action seems to make Russia a little lagging in the narrative war and come out as the bad side of the conflicting parties. They may win a lot of physical battle field, but global digital society saw the Russian as the invader which cause grief to the nice peoples of Ukraine.

In this war, the Russian are suspected launching a covert operation of anonymous internet commentator aka the Russian Web Brigades aka the Russian Troll aka the Kremlin Troll controlled by Russian government of the internet research agency (IRA) developed by Prigozhin of Wagner group. Much early on, IRA was also accused in interfering with the US Presidential election to favor Trump who successfully elected as the US president (Narasi Newsroom, 2023).

CONCLUSION

New battle field of the cyber domain in the digital space can be fought by soldier and civilian as integrated reserve unit or unintegrated and individually. By integrating the social media capability and military affairs, war narrative can be likely won support. Propaganda falls as offensive category. To anticipate war narrative, *tabayyun* can be implement and encourage as a defensive action. If one conflicting party is not ready to engage the cyber battle field, they most likely will lose the narrative and lose the support of the global digital society like the Russian in the Russian-Ukraine war.

Large amount of digital army or narrative agents, can be seen as a strength in using digital media as a tool to influence. There for, countries with large population such as China, India, America and Indonesia are potentially having the advantage in the digital influence and in making the digital global society opinion. Narrative is more then a story, strategic message, information operation and so on. Narrative warfare isn't always about truth or facts. Narrative war requires disruption. Lastly, narrative must be operated with commitment through consistency.

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