
Civil War Branding For Global Economy Stability? (Propaganda Review on Russian – Ukrainan War)

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Abstract: McCombs and Shaw's political agenda theory explains Civil War Branding by claiming that concerns in the media and public are part of the authorities' agenda-setting. The paper investigates the branding of civil wars in the global political economy agenda. The study has looked at numerous viewpoints and sciences, but as it nears its conclusion, it will focus on the concept of agenda-setting from the standpoint of political communication science. The study employs Brian McNair's idea on the government's use of the concept of the enemy to influence public opinion in order to persuade people to support the government's agenda against the enemy. Data was gathered by conducting an analysis on <https://search.mediacloud.org/> using the keywords civil war Russia Ukraine. Data was gathered by conducting an analysis on <https://search.mediacloud.org/> using the keywords civil war Russia Ukraine. The data covers the period from January 12, 2022 to December 31, 2023. The results show that the Russia-Ukraine war peaked in March and July 2023, with the majority of news accessible from yahoo.com, and the most commonly used language is English (91%), followed by French (3%), and Danish (2%). The study's findings reveal that the media has control over giving information about the conflict; any policy changes that occurred throughout the war were reported as a reference, which had an impact not only on the state system's policies, but also on the economy.

INTRODUCTION

Civil War branding can be described using McCombs and Shaw's (1972) political agenda theory, which claims that issues in the media and public are part of those in power's agenda-setting process. This is demonstrated by the media directing public debate (McCombs & Shaw, 1972) . According to Waterman and St. Clair (1999), the president's responsibilities include ensuring economic stability, settling social difficulties, dealing with interstate disputes, and countering terrorism (Waterman & St. Clair, 1999) . As a result, when a civil war is deemed to have economic potential, the head of state can choose to fulfill his duty to the public by achieving economic success. This is where the head of state (or heads of state) sets a political war plan and then expresses it to the public through a Civil War Branding.

According to the Council on Foreign Relations (CFR) of America, Russia's invasion of Ukrainian territory in December 2021 signaled the start of the 2022 conflict between the two countries. Because the dispute has been ongoing since 1991 (CFR, 2022) and has never resulted in war, researchers debate the motivations underlying the two countries' political combat. During the month of the invasion, the majority of countries worldwide were planning for economic recovery following the impact of the pandemic that began in 2020 (CFR, 2022).

In his official TikTok account, Sandiaga Uno suggested that the Russia-Ukraine war will last a long time because it was economically beneficial, estimating Russia's daily profits at \$6 billion due to increased crude oil prices (Uno, 2022)¹. The Center for Research on Energy and Clean Air (CREA) reported that Russia earned US\$93 billion in revenue during the first 100 days following its invasion of Ukraine (February 24-June 3), with EU countries accounting for 61% of that, or 57 billion euros (CREA, 2022). This research highlights the potential for severe economic consequences from agenda-setting civil conflicts (CREA, 2022).

Some academics think that civil conflicts can be beneficial, while others question the consequences of destruction and depopulation. According to Vernon W. Ruttan, global and American technology would not have evolved without the input of military development, including participation in civil war operations (Ruttan, 2006). Meanwhile, James C. Murdoch and Todd Sandler contend that civil war has a negative influence on development and per capita performance, though macroeconomics differ amongst war-affected regions (Murdoch & Sandler, 2002). According to the Institute for Economics and Peace, civil conflict causes breakthroughs in military technology, which has an impact on industrial growth, resources, demand, and the labor market. However, prolonged battles might result in enormous tax burdens, causing inflation. In this case, the Institute for Economics & Peace concludes that determining the benefits and costs of civil war is difficult because the consequences of war are based not only on quantitative economic calculations, but also on psychological effects that can last a long time, as in the case of the Great Depression after World War II (Institute for Economics & Peace, 2011).

Civil conflict Branding, or conceptualizing the political agenda of conflict, was established because it was thought to have potential benefits for the economies of the participating countries as well as the global economy. This study aims to investigate civil war branding in connection to the global political economy agenda. The study will look at numerous perspectives and disciplines, but as it draws findings, it will eventually center on the concept of agenda-setting from a political communication standpoint. This research focuses on the economic agenda-setting impact of civil wars. As a result, earlier investigations were combined with comparable formulations, despite diverse scientific perspectives.

Clifford F. Thies and Christopher F. Baum's paper, "The Effect of War on Economic Growth," published in the *Cato Journal*, Vol. 40, No. 1 (Winter 2020), investigates the influence of civil war on the economy through an econometric examination of war on GDP per capita. This study focuses on the economic impact, specifically GDP, of wars fought in Islamic nations, with the political goal of preventing terrorism (Thies & Baum, 2020). David Malone and Mats Berdal's study, *Greed and Grievance: Economic Agendas in Civil Wars*, published in the *Canadian Journal of African Studies/Revue Canadienne des Études Africaines* on July 10, 2013, uses literature research methods to examine the political agendas of war in various countries. The

¹ Presented in the 6th CEO Mastermind forum, in 25-27 Maret 2022, at Aston Kartika Hotel, Grogol, Jakarta, Indonesia.

study suggests that modern war goals might be referred to be "wars of the tie" because they take into account global economics and international organizations (Malone & Berdal, 2013). Stig Jarle Hansen's study, "Civil War Economies, The Hunt for Profit, and The Incentives for Peace (The Case of Somalia)," published by The University of Bath, investigates enterprises and sectors that benefit from the Somali war (Hansen, 2007). The similarities between stem from the examination of the economic benefits of the war's political agenda. The distinctions are in the study methodology and aims.

LITERATURE REVIEW

War are not new, nor is the necessity to explain the use of violence, persuade people to fight in battles, or legitimize the outcomes of victory (i.e. peace). However, three developments did influence warfare and how persuasion and propaganda were conducted: Industrialization; the advent of mass media; and the rise of mass democracies. Although these phenomena arose in the nineteenth century, it was not until the twentieth century that they gave rise to new forms of combat and propaganda, which were first observed in World War I. During the twentieth century, the link between conflict, media portrayals of wars, and attempts to establish mass consent for political violence progressed through three stages: The advent of mass killing machines that need mass consent and cannon fodder; Vietnam makes warfare unpopular. Re-legitimizing war through public relations. (Louw, 2005, pp. 210-232).

Industrialization transformed warfare by creating highly powerful killing technologies. Killing might be mass-produced. The initial consequences of this, namely large casualties, were observed during the American Civil War. However, World War I was the first totally industrialized conflict. Kill rates were quite high, necessitating an ongoing resupply of personnel. This necessitated the use of propaganda machines to instill patriotism, maintain morale, and keep the flow of volunteers going: in order for the war to continue, the people had to be prepared to make additional sacrifices, which could not be done unless the complete story of what was going on on the Western Front was known. And thus began the big conspiracy. During this time, there were more deliberate lies than ever before, and the state used its entire infrastructure to suppress the truth. The newspaper proprietors' willingness to accept this control and cooperation in distributing propaganda resulted in benefits of social standing and political influence (Knightley, 1982: 64).

The United States conducted an equally successful propaganda operation. According to Knightly, propaganda is as old as The Art of War, a classic strategy treatise authored 2400 years ago by the Chinese General Sun-Tzu. The first deliberately organized mass-propaganda machinery, however, appeared during World War I. The British pioneered the path. The emergence of systematic mass propaganda lies in the rise of liberal democracy. Once vast populations had been enfranchised, waging war required public approval. Building World War I propaganda machines was part of the overall rise of early twentieth-century public relations as a mechanism to manage and direct the enfranchised masses. (Ewen 1996: 60–5). Essentially, in mass democracies, executing warfare necessitates instilling widespread popular support for war, so that citizens will sacrifice their lives and pay taxes to fund it. This was the foundation for government-directed mass-propaganda techniques, which used the media to rally the populace during World War I. However, World War I was not the first time mass media were used to stir up popular support for war. The US press was used to produce mass war hysteria during the 1898

Spanish-American War, and the first phony propaganda film dated back to the 1899-1902 Boer War (Young and Jesser, 1997: 28).

William Randolph Hearst's 'private' use of his newspapers in 1898 to rally public support for war with Spain proved the mass media's warmongering potential in large democracies. During World War I, the government's propaganda machines adopted Hearst's strategy for supporting war among the general population. The propaganda machines of World War I were preoccupied with agenda setting; the information made available to the masses was carefully curated, and 'acceptable' discourses were distributed. The masses were interpellated with worldviews that prepared them to give their lives. This information management consisted of three components: suppressing unfavorable news, exaggerating positive news, and presenting the populace with both heroes and storylines that created us-versus-them binary oppositions and sparked patriotism. The systems created regulated information flows and suppressed anything deemed detrimental to the military effort. Simultaneously, positive information was purposefully created. Although some of this information was obvious lies, much of it was merely accentuating positive issues (such as ensuring that 'good news' was widely reported) or putting a favorable perspective on stories. Journalists were effectively fed 'a line'. This was an early kind of public relations in which the mass (print) media collaborated in distributing news that the military desired the general public to hear. The propaganda apparatus also created pro-war newsreels; offered heroes (a type of celebrity) and role models for the public to connect with; and distributed stories demonizing the enemy, 'showing' they were a threat and wicked (Louw, 2005).

The PR-ized war after Vietnam, the US military (and NATO) were concerned about the media's role in waging war. As a result, warfare became media and public relations-ized. Since Vietnam, each Anglo-American war - the Falklands (1982), Grenada (1983), Panama (1989), the Persian Gulf (1990), Somalia (1992-3), Bosnia (1992-5), Haiti (1994), Kosovo (1999), Timor (1999), Afghanistan (2001), and Iraq (2003) - has seen the military become increasingly sophisticated hegemonic agents capable of both killing people and using the media (particularly television) as powerful weapons of war.

Young and Jesser (1997: 292-4) define these new media-ized war as the following. Long-term ahead planning now involves extensive media and political/hegemonic strategy. Warfare planning incorporates media issues at its core. As the war approaches, opposition leaders are maligned. In fact, demonization is a good indicator of impending war. Given the strong 'individualist thread' in Anglo-Saxon thinking, such demonization often involves the creation of identifiable villains, such as Saddam Hussein and Slobodan Milosevic. This villainization process frequently involves linking the person with Hitler as a folk-devil, a practice that began with Noriega's fall from power. Demonization is frequently accompanied by the identification and promotion of refugee and exile organizations as potential alternative administrations.

Information ranged from highly regulated briefings that bypassed journalists on the spot to carefully sanitized television coverage of high-tech weaponry in action (Young and Jesser, 1997: 280). Military spokespersons were selected based on their 'media presence'. The media was stage-managed, manipulated, and lied to, and they bought the lies (Taylor, 1992: 220-1). The media became a channel through which 'the government and the military made direct contacts to the public through the immediacy of television' (Young and Jesser, 1997: 191). Television became a weapon for legitimizing violence. The Gulf War was a major victory for the US military, since it established US hegemony in the Gulf region. established new networked ('coalition') command structures; and not only turned the media into propaganda tools (by

deploying PR/psy-ops), but it appears that journalists love being co-opted by the military (MacArthur, 1992: 227-9). The military's perspective of media-ized combat includes the staging of media events that appear as bloodless as possible in order to make war 'usable'. This is predicated on the assumption that television images of blood (during the Vietnam War) shifted American public sentiment against the war.

In settling these conflicts, governments use not only traditional instruments of power (such as economic pressure and military force), but also domestic and international public opinion. Prior to widespread communication, international interactions were conducted behind closed doors, with intrigue and other ways. Scholars could learn about the government's political agenda from newspapers, but the common population was unaware of it. Diplomatic contacts are still covert and fraught with intrigue, but they are paying more regard to public opinion.

Foreign policy has become a popular concern as mass media has evolved and the distance between events and news coverage has narrowed. This is where governments and politicians utilize the media to sway public opinion to support their foreign policy goals. In this environment, self-image is critical, both for policies, policymakers, political leaders, and so on. Building public opinion has been a critical component of foreign policy development for governments around the world, especially since the beginning of the war on terrorism. Since the early twentieth century, governments, political elites, entrepreneurs, the military, and the media have used rivals' symbols and images for domestic political gain. The term "enemy of the state" has come to represent the agenda of the ruling government. This concept of the adversary is taught and transmitted to the public in order to bend public opinion towards the government's objective against the enemy (McNair B. , 2011).

According to Michael Parenti, Western media has used this sort of propaganda throughout the nineteenth century, but it has decreased in frequency since the Bolshevik Revolution. This propaganda was carried out in three ways: creating a backdrop and limiting workers' mobility; diverting public attention from the recession and crisis of capitalism to feelings of grief and the presence of foreign powers; and soliciting public support for military spending, underpinning Cold War policies and preventing a Third World War, in order to secure investment and profits for specific industries (Parenti, 1986). Meanwhile Levin claimed that newspapers had a similar role in depicting revolution as mass murder, personal revenge, rape, pillage, and carnage. Typical media misinformation included stories of nuns being raped, institutions of worship being burnt, and so on. At least, this story originated during the Bolshevik wartime agenda. (Levin, 1971).

Additionally, official propaganda through movies was carried undertaken. For example, in the 1920s and 1930s, the US government used the films *Comrade X* and *Ninotchka* to promote the belief that Russia was America's enemy. In these films, the Bolsheviks were shown as frigid and with weird ideals. Meanwhile, in other films, such as *Greta Garbo*, capitalism was portrayed as a positive thing in the US (McNair B. , 1988). Meanwhile, the adversary of terrorism emerged in propaganda films about the 1983 Korean Airlines hijacking, which the Reagan administration used as proof of Soviet operations such as terrorism and massacres (Herman & Broadhead, 1986; McNair B. , 1988). During the Cold War, the media also spread propaganda about the use of nuclear weapons (McNair B. , 1988; Edelman, 1988). Since the turn of the twentieth century, the Cold War has been depicted in a new way, with anti-communist media activity and tensions over the enemy's image (Parenti, 1986).

RESEARCH METHOD

1. Determine the agenda-setting Civil War branding of Rusia-Ukraina war

Analysis had been done by using <https://search.mediacloud.org/>. containing the following keywords: civil war Russia Ukraine. This is one of the websites that provide tools for analyzing news conversation and structuring it using keywords. The website will present their data in the form of graphs, statistics, frequently appearing terms, and other elements that describe keywords. The scope of sampling mentioned on this website demonstrates data accuracy. As a result, the analytical results shown on the website can be used as data for this study.

2. Potensi perekonomian agenda-setting perang sipil

The data was obtained from scientific literature and statistical data as well as secondary and tertiary literature from news reports on political communication and the political economy of the Russian-Ukrainian war.

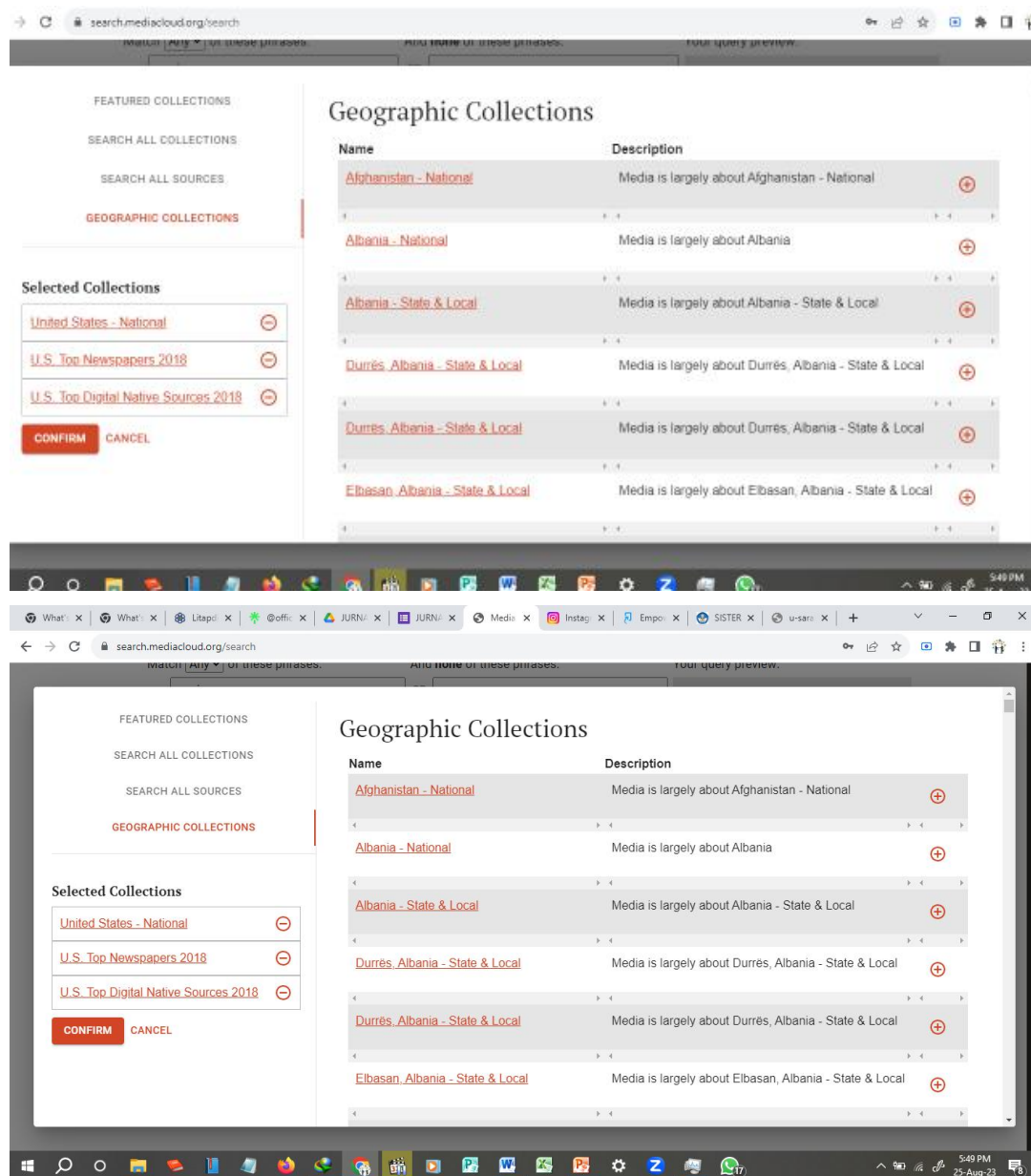
RESULT AND DISCUSSION

To find news on the war between Russia and Ukraine by searching social media for keywords such to those listed in the image. The war between the two countries is widely covered in international and national media. Choose the "Online News" option from the menu and then input keywords. "Russian war", "ukraina war" dan "economy" (Figure 1).

The screenshot displays the search.mediacloud.org website interface. At the top, there are navigation tabs for 'ONLINE NEWS (MEDIA CLOUD)', 'ONLINE NEWS (WAYBACK MACHINE)', and 'YOUTUBE (YOUTUBE API)'. Below these, a 'QUERY 1' section is visible with a '+ ADD QUERY' button. The main search area is divided into three numbered steps: 1. 'Enter search phrases', 2. 'Pick collections and sources', and 3. 'Pick dates'. In step 1, the 'Match' dropdown is set to 'Any', and the search phrases 'russian war', 'ukraina war', and 'economy' are entered in separate boxes. Step 2 shows 'United States - National' selected under 'Pick collections and sources'. Step 3 shows a warning message: 'Your dates have been limited to the range of available data. We are still working with the Wayback Machine to ingest the historical data.' The bottom of the screen shows a Windows taskbar with various application icons and a system clock indicating 6:12 PM on 25-Aug-23.

Figure 1. Setting Pencarian di Laman <https://search.mediacloud.org/>

On the “Pick collection and sources” menu we wrote keywords “national” to choose all national press publications, include Indonesia, as the news database (Figure 2).



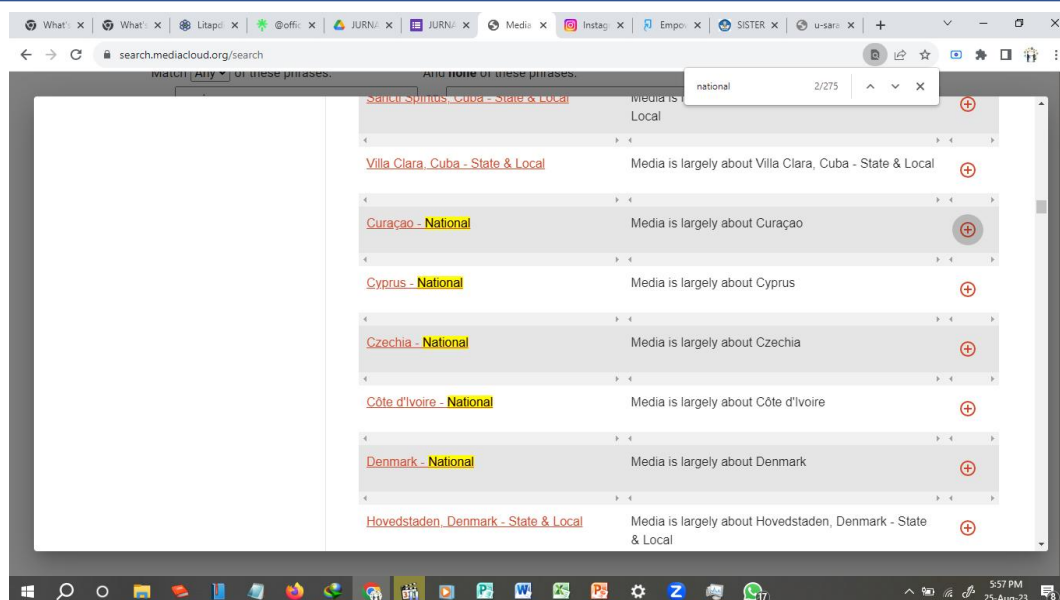
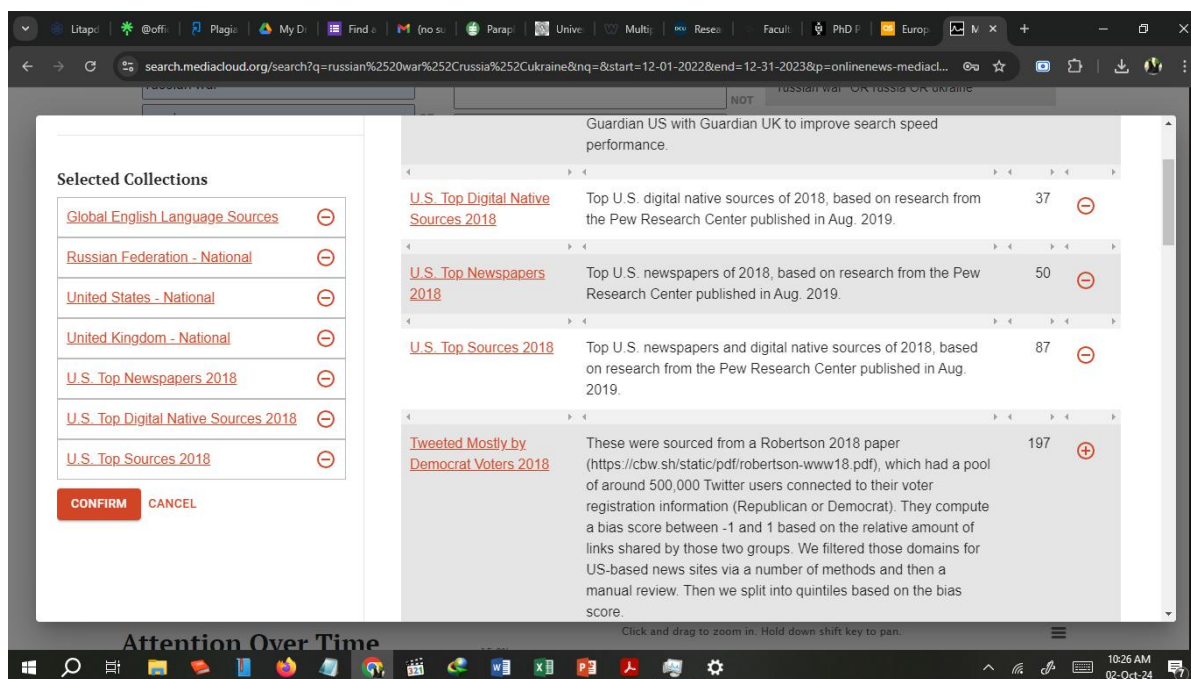


Figure 2. Pick Collection and Sources Menu of Nations-Based News



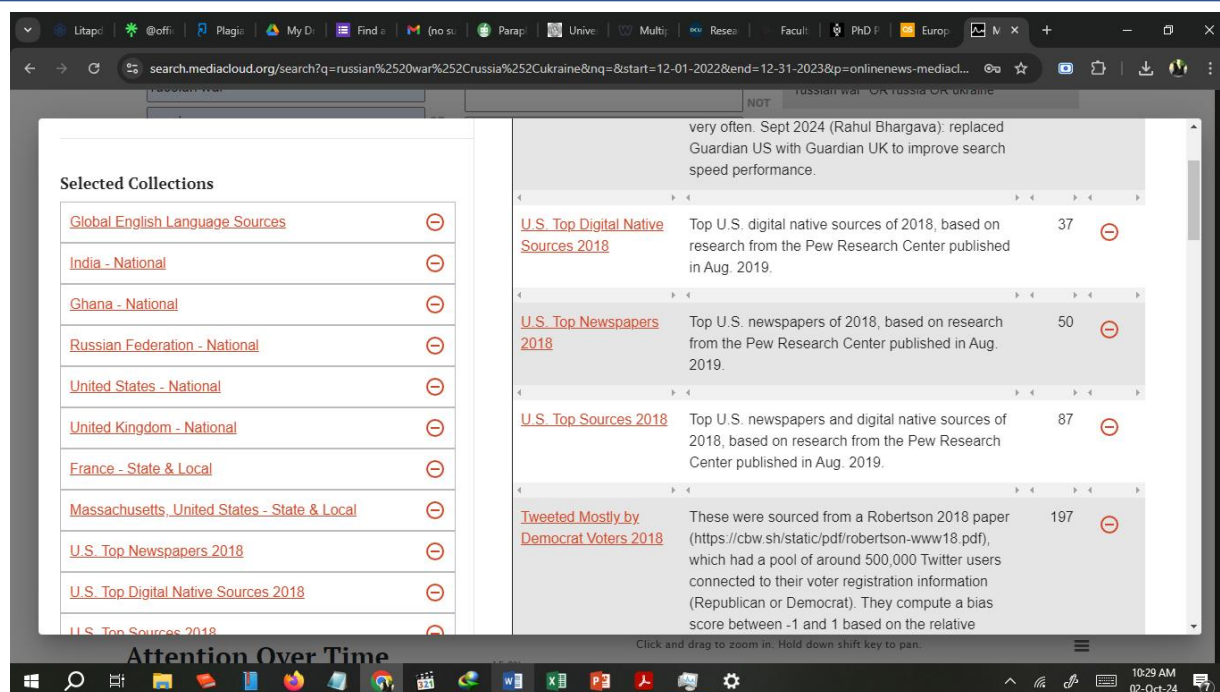


Figure 3. Adding Collections to Social Media

The choose dates menu selected the time from January 12, 2022 to December 31, 2023, which is considered a critical period in Civil War Branding's political and economic agendas. News Lists, Attention Over Time, Sample Content, and Top Words are generated from the search query results using these settings. The table below shows the findings of the top 20 most-visited news items.

Table 1. News Sources of Russian-Ukraina War

Title of News List	Source	Publication Date
What Awaits Russia Should It Lose The War in Ukraine?	newsblaze.com	01-28-23
Scared of our work, says investigative journalist put under Russia's wanted list	newslaundry.com	12-27-22
Ukraine claims 1,200 Russian casualties in week of artillery, missile strikes	 theweek.com	01-05-23
Ukraine claims 1,200 Russian casualties in week of artillery, missile strikes	 theweek.com	01-05-23
European court rules Ukraine cases against Russia admissible	 sandiegouniontribune.com	01-25-23

Blue and yellow flag, Russian dead attest to Ukrainian advance in south	 postcourier.com.pg	06-14-23
Cuba says a 'human trafficking network' is recruiting Cubans to fight for Russia in Ukraine	 sbs.com.au	09-05-23
Prize-winning Ukrainian writer dies of injuries after restaurant missile attack	 jerseyeveningpost.com	07-03-23
Ukraine says it has evidence of 109,000 Russian war crimes	 politico.com	11-18-23
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In Romania, French, Dutch FM's sign agreement to boost ties	 sandiegouniontribune.com	01-27-23
Ukraine says it has evidence of 109,000 Russian war crimes	 politico.com	11-18-23
John Mearsheimer on the current state of the Ukraine-Russian War	 antiwar.com	05-24-23
Award-winning Ukrainian writer dies of injuries suffered in Russian missile attack on restaurant	 stripes.com	07-03-23
Ukraine challenges Russia's UN seat, wants it stripped of veto powers	 scmp.com	12-27-22
Ukrainians Retaking Territory Occupied By Russia In 2014 -British Report	 newsinvestigatorsng.com	06-27-23
Task Force Reports on Russian Sanctions Progress	 gov.ky	10-13-23
Zelenskyy tells U.S., Europe law chiefs Russia must face court	 sandiegouniontribune.com	03-03-23
Prize-winning Ukrainian writer dies of injuries after restaurant missile attack	 guernseypress.com	07-03-23
AG Merrick Garland touts U.S. efforts in Ukraine during Denver speech, but steers clear of Trump	 denverpost.com	08-07-23

[prosecution](#)

The data reveals that the pieces are not from major news sources, confirming the premise that Russia and Ukraine branded the civil war agenda from their own perspectives. This branding was carried out throughout 2022 and 2023 to retain public access to the war topic and so meet their purpose.



Figure 4. Attention of Time of the News

The "Attention of Time" menu search results show that the pinnacle of public news reading occurred in March 2023, but the public's attention remained stable throughout 2022 and even into 2024.

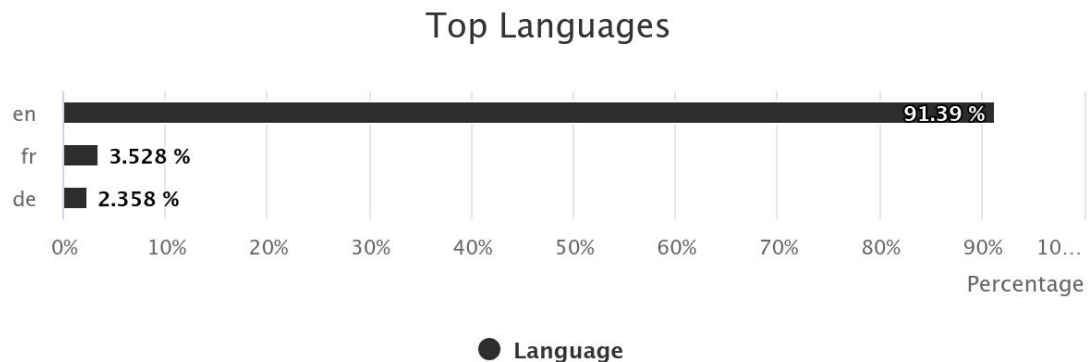


Figure 5. Top Language Used in the News

The most often used language in news items is English, followed by French and Danish. This can be explained by the fact that most news concerning the Russian-Ukrainian civil war was published in English. Furthermore, the website <https://search.mediacloud.org/> offers the greatest database of searches in English when compared to other languages. This conclusion may provide an opportunity for other researchers to undertake comparable research in the context of

digitalized framing, as long as the news material concerns global issues and draws public attention from multiple nations. Retrieving research data for news with a local cultural context in languages other than English can be challenging.

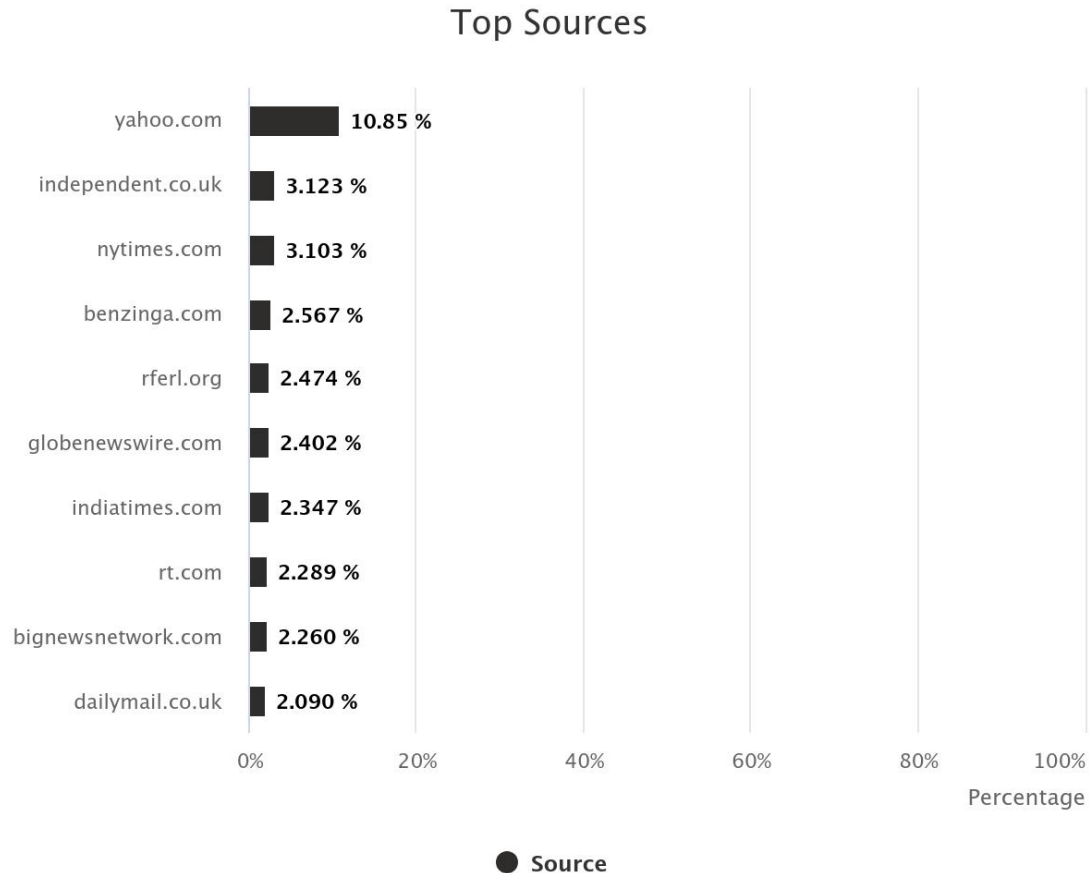


Figure 6. Top 10 of News Sources

The data on the page suggest that the majority of news comes from the website yahoo.com. The mismatch between the news source results and the news title table can be explained by the use of the yahoo.com gateway to broadcast news, which may employ other news pieces as news sources.

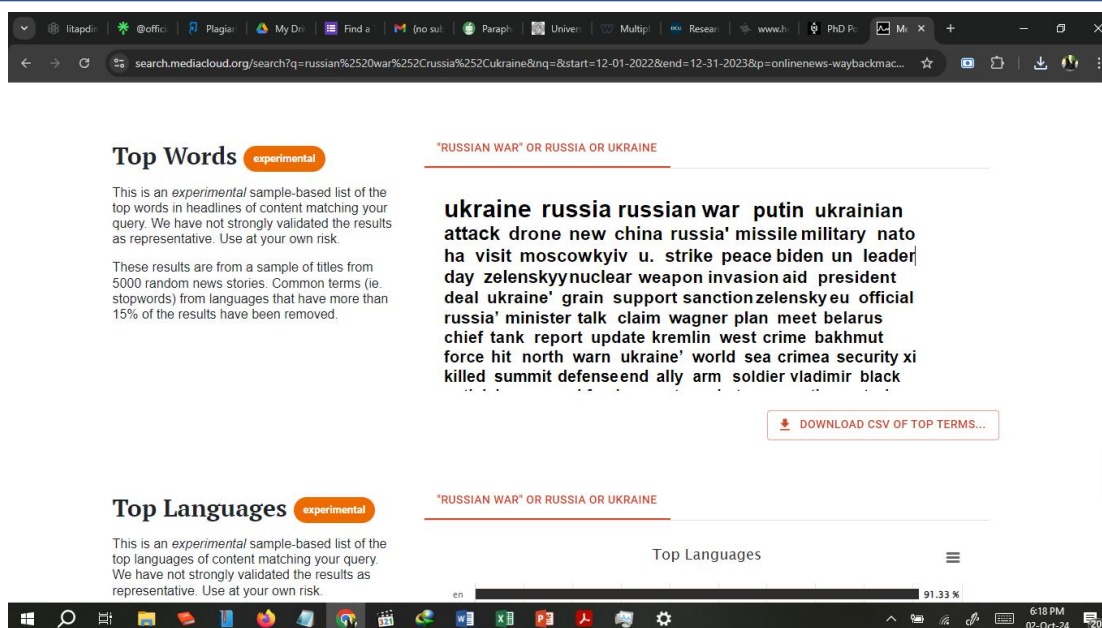


Figure 7. Top Words Used by The News Portals

The top five search phrases included "Ukraine," "Russia," "Russian War," and "Putin." This could signal that Russia is putting in more effort to promote itself than Ukraine. However, more research is needed to validate the Russian government's media agenda initiatives, notably the presidency.

In comparison to other forms of civil war branding, examine the global elite's tactics in the Middle East conflict, as outlined in Louw's publication. (Louw, 2005). Louw described how the 2003 civil war was planned by the government in accordance with the PR-ized model of warfare, with the first agenda item being the demonization of Iran's leader, Saddam Hussein, as a threat to world peace because he possessed weapons of mass destruction (WMD) (a highly emotive spin-doctored term). Hussein was also 'connected' to the 'war on terror' in a questionable rhetorical way. Even in secular regimes, spindoctors were able to persuade the vast majority of the worldwide population that a leader was the villain in certain instances. It followed the same tactic as Russia-Ukraine's civil war, with each leader playing the villain for the other. The next strategy was to try to mobilize refugees and exiles as an alternative government. The third aim was to justify the conflict by producing victims who could be saved from a villain (the government's leader). The results of those agendas were planned to create an overwhelming military superiority ensured US victory, and massive US air-power was deployed to obliterate Iraqi forces, thereby minimizing US casualties; a clean high-tech 'Nintendo war' was scripted and presented to the US/British/Australian publics by deploying sanitized language and minimizing images of death; and extensive psy-ops techniques were deployed (Motamedi, 2025; Mediazona, 2025).

The coalition spin-doctors began facing real PR challenges. That first problem was the failure to find any weapons of mass destruction (WMD) undermined the PR justification for launching the war. This strategy has a specific trait that would experience growing criticism from Senate and media. Louw noted that the spin-doctors responded in a number of creative ways, those were lowering the burden of proof of enemy WMD programs. Opinion polls revealed that publics were actually persuaded. Another strategy was by Creating plausible deniability by suggesting that the WMD during or before the war; or smuggled WMD out of the country (to

Syria). The most successful technique was to shift the focus to the cruelty with which the hostile regime tortured its political opponents. As a result, it was suggested that even without WMD, the leader would be perceived as a tyrannical ruler, and that it was critical to replace this tyranny with democracy immediately.

Louw said that PR-ized conflicts should be brief. With the emergence of an ever-worsening Iraqi guerrilla war, the coalition faced the prospect of a protracted struggle. As a result, the administration's PR machine lost control over the images that emerged from the enemy's news agenda. This caused the PR machine to constantly cope with unfavorable images/stories that necessitated crisis spin-doctoring interventions. It also included the Coalition casualties-mounted tactic, which was intended to refute the allegation that the initial PR-ized war killed more people. This gave anti-war policymakers and journalists with information to inflame tensions within the administrations. Opposition counters, including policymakers from Russia and Ukraine, global elites, servicemen's families, and civilians, began to emerge in the coalition homelands as the insurgency war intensified, casualties mounted, and the opposition to the regime became more vocal, while the refugees/exiles who had been touted as an alternative government appeared increasingly untrustworthy. This resulted in a plethora of potential anti-war sources eager to provide journalists with 'leaks', 'leads', and 'plants'. Even the faith was built eventually helps to undermine trust in PR-ized combat in general, or just results in military PRs learning useful lessons, resulting in their spindoctoring becoming even more adept (Louw, 2005, pp. 210-232).

Statistics, particularly wartime commerce, can be used to do a political-economic analysis of civil war branding. The "Energy and Clean Air" portal serves as the primary data source, documenting the economic benefits of the Russia-Ukraine war (Raghuandan, 2025).

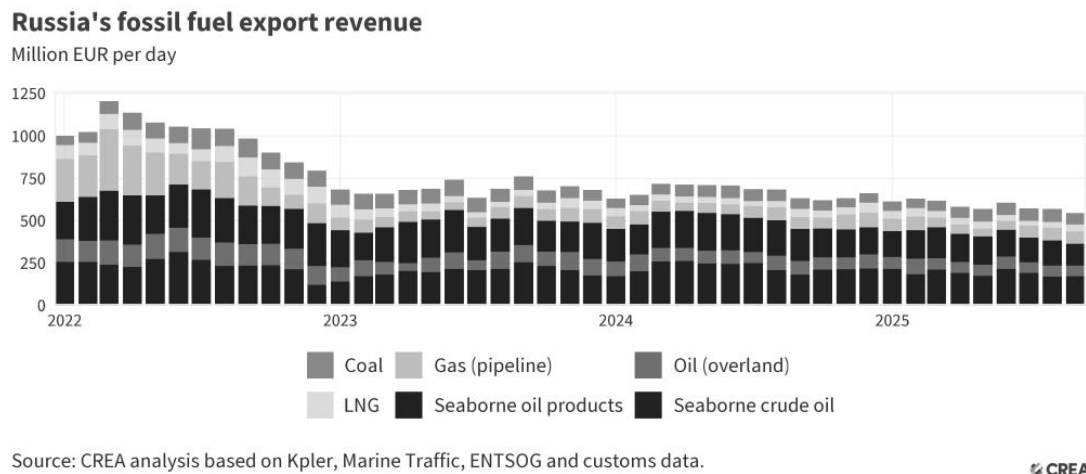


Figure 8. Russia's Economy Gain from Fuel Ban

The numbers above show that Russia gained immediately from crude oil and mining trade, particularly with China, Japan, and Turkey. Russia witnessed a 50% decrease in 2022, but an uptick in the first quarter of the year. As a result, Russia achieved consistent oil, mining, and gas trade income by the end of 2025 (Raghuandan, 2025).

The Atlantic Council predicts a 5% boost in Ukraine's economic growth in 2023 due to the war (Åslund, 2025). However, in early 2025, Ukraine had over 15% inflation, reducing economic

growth to 1%. While Ukraine's GDP fell by 20%, Russia witnessed quick growth of 7%, with an estimated GDP rise of 0.6-0.9% (Russia Matters, 2025).

The examination of Russia and Ukraine's economic profit or loss from 2022 to 2025 reveals a story largely influenced by military rhetoric and geopolitical maneuvering. By the economic loss (2022-2025) of both countries, First, Massive Infrastructure and Human Capital Loss: Both countries have experienced severe economic losses as a result of the destruction of infrastructure, production capacity, and agricultural trade networks. The cost of reconstruction is expected to be in the hundreds of billions of dollars, substantially exceeding the country's prewar GDP. While the immediate economic catastrophe anticipated for 2022 did not happen due to state reserves and adaptive actions ("Fortress Russia"), the long-term repercussions are enormous (Ash, 2025). Second, in terms of macroeconomic instability, the country is experiencing acute labor shortages (due to displacement, brain drain, and military service), macroeconomic imbalances, and strong social pressures. Russia's economy has transitioned to a "war footing", underpinned by significant public spending, particularly in the military and security sectors (defense spending predicted to approach a record high of 6.3% of GDP in 2025 (Åslund, 2025)). Even if this favors some sectors and individuals near the Kremlin, it pushes out civilian investment. Growth has been severely limited and is expected to decrease further by 2025. The Russian economy is facing rising inflation, capital controls, and a loss of skilled personnel owing to emigration and conscription. Third, it has been discovered that Ukraine's economy is significantly reliant on the massive financial, military, and humanitarian assistance provided by the EU and its allies, totaling more than EUR 177.6 billion (European Commission, 2025). In contrast to Ukraine, Russia's sanctions have had a considerable impact on access to critical technology and global markets, resulting in worsening trade terms and a significant decline in trade with the EU.

Overall, Russia's economic-political goal focuses on preserving state legitimacy and portraying the economy as self-sufficient in the face of Western hostility. According to the findings, the Russian state-controlled media narrative highlights the West (Ukraine and the United States) as aggressors and Russia as the victim. Economic messaging emphasizes the alleged failure of Western sanctions, the strength of the home economy, and the importance of military spending to protect national interests. Russia exploited the war to justify domestic political repressions and to guarantee its long-term legitimacy by capitalizing on the conflict's existential aspect to sustain societal cohesion.

The future of political communication rests on each side's ability to retain its core narrative while managing the hazards of a long battle. A prolonged struggle helps Russia achieve its strategic goal of wearing down the enemy and its allies. Ukrainian political communication must continue to innovate, leveraging platforms such as social media to maintain moral authority, build empathy, and link the war to larger global themes such as democracy and security. Russia's difficulty is to maintain a home narrative of victory and perseverance in the face of deteriorating living standards and inflationary pressures.

According to the official policy, the Kremlin will likely continue to tighten control over the media domain, also known as digital isolation, and raise military spending to project stability and dissuade internal opposition, tying national identity directly to the war effort. Any prospective shift in the narrative would most likely be caused by a large economic catastrophe, a worse recession, or a political shock, such as a coup, which would be immediately portrayed as a foreign attack. Global elites must create a geopolitical realignment, as the war has entrenched a new, more polarized global order. Russia's successful nuclear threats have limited Western

responses. Global communication is increasingly marked by a "realignment" of nations—some backing Ukraine, some remaining neutral for pragmatic economic reasons, and a few openly supporting Russia.

CONCLUSION

The findings of this study show that political agendas in the media have a substantial impact on global economic sustainability. The war between Russia and Ukraine sent oil prices skyrocketing, highlighting how each country's political ambition affects the survival of others. The media plays an important role in delivering information about the fight; any policy changes that occur during the war are recorded as a reference, not only for their impact on the state structure but also on the economy. The findings also show that the Russia-Ukraine conflict is mostly a war of political-economic attrition and narrative dominance. Ukraine's long-term economic prospects are dependent on the West's political communication success in sustaining aid, but Russia's long-term political stability is dependent on the Kremlin's economic communication success in hiding the war's structural costs. The outcome will be determined not only by events on the battlefield, but also by which "story"—of democracy and sovereignty, or of civilizational defense and great power status—predominates in the global and domestic media spaces.

This research has shortcomings when viewed from perspectives other than online framing and research literature; therefore, it is suggested that future studies should be able to address these shortcomings, for example, by investigating it from a quantitative agenda setting perspective, policy agenda analysis, or other in-depth research.

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