

Dezinformacije

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Disinformation

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by

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Croatian Radio / Croatian Radio Television

SYNOPSIS

Dezinformacije

Dezinformacije su u današnjem svijetu jedno od najjačih oružja koje se koristi svakodnevno, posebice u trenutku kad u Europi ponovno vlada ratno stanje koje se odražava i na ostatak planeta. U priči o dezinformacijama tu su među ostalima stajališta hrvatskog političkog analitičara Vlatka Cvrtile, kao i iznimno zanimljive riječi direktora agencije za psihološku obranu iz Švedske, zemlje koja je među prvima shvatila važnost borbe protiv dezinformacija za vlastitu no i širu europsku sigurnost.

Disinformation

In today's world, disinformation is one of the most powerful weapons used on daily basis. Especially now, when Europe is once again faced with a war that has numerous effects on the rest of the planet. This Croatian Radio story about disinformation presents the viewpoint of Croatian political analyst Vlatko Cvrtila as well as a very interesting perspective of the agency for psychological defence director from Sweden, a country that was among the first to realize the importance of the fight against disinformation not only for itself, but also for wider European security.

Dezinformace

V dnešním světě jsou dezinformace jednou z nejsilnějších zbraní, které se denně používají. Zvláště nyní, kdy Evropa opět čelí válce, která má četné dopady na zbytek planety. Tato reportáž Chorvatského rozhlasu o dezinformacích přináší pohled chorvatského politologa Vlatka Cvrtily a také velmi zajímavý pohled ředitele agentury pro psychologickou obranu ze Švédska, země, která si mezi prvními uvědomila důležitost boje proti dezinformacím nejen pro sebe, ale i pro širší evropskou bezpečnost.

Original script

NAJAVA:

Jačanje otpornosti društava na dezinformacije posljednjih se nekoliko godina nametnula kao tema od iznimne važnosti. U svjetlu rata u Ukrajini informacije kojima smo zatrpani često dolaze u javnost bez ikakvog filtera, a rasprave o tome kako se boriti protiv onih takozvanih malignih, odvijaju se na svakodnevnoj razini. Bilo je tako i u Zagrebu na panelu na kojem je među ostalima sudjelovao i čelnik švedske agencije za psihološku obranu. Tamo je bila i Anabela Lajkauf.

Obmana, dezinformiranje i ulazak duboko u misli protivnika može donijeti pobjedu u ratu bez da ste koristili oružje – riječi su to drevnog kineskog mislioca Sun Tzu iz njegovog djela Umijeće ratovanja. A rektor veleučilišta VERN i sigurnosni analitičar Vlatko Cvrtila ističe:

CVRTILA TON 1

Mislim da ova rečenica jako dobro oslikava stanje u kojemu se danas nalazimo i koliko ustvari to informacijsko djelovanje, ratovanje i psihološko ratovanje može utjecati na naše stavove prema određenim izazovima s kojima se suočavamo. Ja bih rekao da je ruska agresija na Ukrajinu naprosto ubrzala stvari i suočila je demokratska, liberalna društva s velikim izazovom.

A te demokracije počivaju među ostalim i na slobodi medija.

CVRTILA 2

Upravo ta sloboda medija može ponekad biti jedna sitna ranjivost gdje se u medijski prostor uglave određeni nepošteni akteri koji nastoje promijeniti stav javnosti prema određenim pitanjima i usmjeriti ih prema nečemu što kasnije može biti ili se može realizirati kroz socijalni ili politički pritisak. Prema tome, nalazimo se u velikim izazovima.

Ograničavanje pristupa malignim i lažnim informacijama nametnulo se tako kao jedno od ključnih pitanja određivanja strategije i raspoloženja javnosti, a stručnjak za obranu i sigurnost Nikola Brzica ističe jedan datum.

English script

ANNOUNCER:

Building the resistance of societies to disinformation in past few years has become the topic of extreme importance. In light of war in Ukraine, we are receiving huge quantity of information that goes to the public with no filter and discussions on fighting the malicious ones are taking place every day. It was the same in Zagreb at a panel discussion that, among others, hosted the leader of Swedish agency for psychological defence. Covering the panel is Ana-Bella Leikauff.

Deceit, disinformation and delving deep into your enemy's thoughts can win you a war without you ever using a weapon – these are the words of ancient Chinese philosopher Sun Tzu from his famous work, *The Art of War*. Rector of high university VERN and security analyst, Vlatko Cvrtila, says:

CTVRTILA - CLIP 1

I think that this saying very clearly paints the situation in which we are now and it shows how information and psychological war can affect our thoughts towards different challenges we are facing. I would say that Russian aggression in Ukraine just sped things up and challenged democratic, liberal societies with a big test.

Those democracies are, amongst other things, based on media freedom.

CTVRTILA - CLIP 2

Exactly, media freedom can sometimes be a small vulnerability when there are some unfair actors who position themselves in the information space. They try to change the public opinion on certain topics and direct them towards that can later prove to be the means of social or political pressure. So it is more than clear that we are faced with huge challenges.

Limiting the access to malicious and fake information is therefore one of the key issues in creating the strategies and understanding the mood of society. Defence and security analyst Nikola Brzica specifically singles out one date in time.

BRZICA 1

3.3. ove godine se dogodilo nešto dramatično. Dakle, 3.3. je Europska unija zabranila pristup sadržajima Sputnika i Russia Today na društvenim mrežama gdje su najviše bili promovirani i diseminirani, za sve članice EU. To je na neki način sigurno promijenilo dosadašnju situaciju u informacijskom prostoru. Dakle, više nije bio fokus na demantiranju, stvaranju kontranarativa, projiciranju svoje istine. I šta se dogodilo nakon 3.3.? Dogodilo se da se mi na Zapadu nalazimo u jednom informacijskom prostoru, a Rusija u drugom.

Koliko su društva osjetljiva na utjecaj dezinformacija koje često šire i paniku ili utječu na javno mnjenje pokazuje i slučaj Švedske koja je ove godine pokrenula agenciju za psihološku obranu. Direktor njezina odjela za operativne poslove Mikael Tofvesson tako ističe da je sigurnosna situacija u Europi već neko vrijeme u pogoršanju pa je nužno identificirati, analizirati i boriti se protiv štetnih i lažnih informacija.

TOFVESSON 1

Neki od vas mogli bi ime naše agencije pojmiti kao zastrašujuće i zapitati se o čemu se tu u stvari radi, jesu li to poigravanja s umovima ljudi ili nešto slično. No mi u Švedskoj to ne gledamo tako, mi imamo koncept psihološke obrane već 70 godina i izgrađen je upravo zbog rata koji se vodi na psihološkoj razini. Zbog toga je to reakcija na nešto što je puno više strašno. Tijekom devedesetih godina prošlog stoljeća malo smo se opustili i pomislili, ha, stvari idu prilično dobro, možda nam ta vrsta obrane više nije potrebna. Počeli smo s ukidanjem ureda i nadali se, da tako kažem, prijateljskoj budućnosti, pa smo umjesto potpune obrane počeli razgovarati o upravljanju krizom. No onda se dogodila 2014-a kad je jedna europska zemlja izvršila invaziju na drugu europsku zemlju i lagala o tome, te zanijekala bilo kakvu odgovornost. Tad nitko nije učinio ništa jer mi poštujemo međunarodne zakone i ako nekome nešto ne možemo dokazati, onda je to tako. A ruska je strana to shvatila, da korištenjem dezinformacija i dobrom pripremom terena možete jednostavno umarširati u drugu zemlju. Kad smo krenuli u analizu, shvatili smo jednu stvar – da ne možemo vjerovati baš ničemu.

Kako ističe Tofvesson, za svaki pojedini događaj tad je bilo pet različitih priča, a ništa drugačije nije ni danas kad smo zatrpani vrištećim naslovima s različitih portalova. Mnogi od njih ovih dana glase jednako – nuklearna apokalipsa, a koliko je učinkovito širenje straha pokazuju i rasprave ne samo na stručnoj razini, nego i između susjeda, obitelji, kupaca i prodavača. Vlatko Cvrtila međutim kaže kako spominjanje uporabe nuklearnog oružja uvijek izaziva reakciju i zbog sjećanja na civilizacijsku tragediju s kraja Drugog svjetskog rata.

BRZICA CLIP

3 March 2022 marks a dramatic event. On that date, EU banned the access to contents made by Sputnik and Russia Today on social media where those two outlets were promoted and disseminated the most. The access was banned for all the EU member states. That changed the situation in the information space because the focus was no longer on disclaimers or counter narratives to explain the truth. And what happened after that date? That the West is in one information space and Russia in completely another one.

The fact is that societies are very sensitive to the disinformation influence, which are often used to spread panic or impact public opinion. Because of that, Sweden has started the agency for psychological defence this year. Director for operational activities, Mikael Tofvesson, says that security situation in Europe is deteriorating so the need to identify, analyse and fight against fake and damaging information is a necessity.

TOFVESSON CLIP 1

Some of you could take our agency name as frightening and ask yourselves what is the real deal here, are we playing with people minds or something similar. However, in Sweden, we do not take it that way. We have had psychological defence concept for 70 years already and it is built exactly for the war waging on the psychological level. So it is in fact reaction to something scarier. During the 1990s we relaxed a bit and thought – hey, things are going pretty well, maybe we do not need that kind of defence anymore. We started to reduce our office staff and operations and we hoped for, let me call it that, friendly future. So instead being in full defence mode, we started to talk about crisis management. Then came 2014 when one European country invaded another European country and then lied about it, denied any responsibility. Nobody did anything then because we have the full respect for the international laws and if we cannot prove something, then we leave it like that. Russian side then realized that with using disinformation and well-prepared field you could just march in another country. When we started analysing everything, we realized that we could not believe anything anymore.

As Tofvesson says, there were at least five stories for any given event or incident and situation is no different today. We are buried under screaming headlines on different portals and many of them these days say the same – nuclear apocalypse. How effective is the fear spreading show not only discussions on the expert level, but also those among neighbours, family, buyers and sellers. Vlatko Cvrtila says that talking about use of nuclear weapons also always wakes up reaction because of memory of civilization tragedy at the end of World War II.

CVRTILA 3

Mislim da je jedan naš analitičar naveo 11 velikih trenutaka ili velikih govora, prije svega Putina, gdje se spominjalo nuklearno oružje. Ako gledamo od početka do sada, ono se pojavljuje u okviru strategija zastrašivanja. Dakle, to isto ima jasnu poruku za zapad i za zapadnu javnost – ako se sve to skupa nastavi, može doći do nuklearnog rata ili do nuklearnog napada. U ovom trenutku, ako uzmem u obzir da je to dio tog narativa, ja nemam strahova od uporabe nuklearnog oružja jer samo njegovo spominjanje u ovom kreiranom narativu, ima svoju funkciju i postiže svoju svrhu. Na kraju krajeva, kada stručnjaci razgovaraju i spominje se taktičko nuklearno oružje koje se može upotrijebiti eventualno na frontu, ono nema onaj učinak koji ima kad su upotrijebi u gusto naseljenom području. Današnji vojnik je zapravo jako dobro zaštićen od nuklearno, kemijsko-bioloških napada, u svom oklopnom vozilu ili na drugi način jer ima takvu zaštitnu opremu. Dakle, sama upotreba taktičkog ne bi donijela neku veliku prednost, ali potencijalna upotreba kao dio odmazde vjerujem da se neće dogoditi i da se zapravo nuklearno oružje sada spominje samo u kontekstu strategije zastrašivanja zapadne javnosti.

Tom Morin Robinson iz službe za javnu diplomaciju u NATO savezu pak ističe:

NATO

Glavni tajnik NATO-a puno je puta rekao, u odgovoru na rusko neodgovorno zveckanje oružjem po tom pitanju, da je to nešto što bi iz temelja promijenilo zapadni pogled na sukob jer bi zahtijevalo odgovor. Što se tiče odvraćanja Rusije od takvog ponašanja, ciljevi NATO saveza su od početka isti – potpora Ukrajini i sprečavanje da sukob eskalira. Nastavljamo s ojačavanjem našeg istočnog krila, a naša potpora Ukrajini svakodnevno također jača.

Mikael Tofvesson iz švedske agencije za psihološku obranu pak kaže:

TOFVESSON 2

Švedska je već nekoliko puta, pa i ove godine, bila suočena s nuklearnim prijetnjama od strane Rusije, tako da smo mi na to već navikli. Neću se šaliti i reći da nismo impresionirani, vodili smo puno rasprava o tome kako se nositi s takvim prijetnjama. Percepcija nuklearne opasnosti u velikoj je mjeri utemeljena na onoj iz osamdesetih godina, a problem će ovdje biti kako to iskomunicirati ako se dogodi. Naime nitko ne može predvidjeti kako bi to izgledalo. Pokušali smo utjecati na Rusiju da ne napadne Ukrajinu, no oni su to učinili.

CVRTILA CLIP 3

If I remember correctly, one of our analysts talked about 11 big moments or exposes, primarily made by Vladimir Putin, where nuclear weapons were mentioned. If we look at it from the beginning, talks about those kind of weapons always figure as a part of intimidation tactics. So it is the clear message to the West and western public – if you keep on doing this or that, there is a possibility of nuclear war or nuclear attack. At this moment, if we take into consideration that such a talk is part of that narrative, I do not think that nuclear weapons will be used, in fact I do not have a fear that it will happen. I think that because just the mentioning of nuclear weapons creates situation where it fulfills its purpose. To say at least, when experts have discussion and they mention tactical nuclear weapons that can be used on the battlefield, it does not have that effect that it would have in densely populated area. Today's soldier is in fact very well protected from nuclear or biochemical attacks in the army vehicle or in his or hers protective armour. So use of tactical nuclear weapons wouldn't make a big advance, and I think that its use as some kind of revenge mechanism won't happen because it is mainly used as intimidation tactics.

Tom Morin Robinson from public diplomacy division of NATO on that topic says:

NATO CLIP

NATO Secretary General said many times, as his response to Russian irresponsible knife rattling, that it is something that would radically change Western view of the war because it would demand an answer. Regarding the dissuading Russia from that kind of behaviour, the NATO goals are same since the beginning of the aggression – support for Ukraine and stopping the war from escalation. We are continuing to strengthen our Eastern flank, and our support for Ukraine is getting stronger on daily basis.

Mikael Tofvesson from Swedish agency for psychological defence.

TOFVESSON CLIP 2

Sweden has been faced with Russian nuclear threats few times already, most recently this year. So we are kind of used to it. I will not make a joke and say that we are not impressed by those threats; we had many discussions on how to handle them. Perception of nuclear danger is largely based on the one that was actual in 80s of last century, and the problem I see here is how to communicate that if it happens. Namely, nobody can predict how it would look like. We tried influencing Russia not to attack Ukraine, but they still did it.

Odluka o tome hoće li oni koristiti nuklearno oružje ili ne nije u našim rukama, no ono što je jasno jest da ako se to dogodi, vjerojatno neće biti tako strašno kako mislimo. Znam da je ovo riskantno reći, no moramo izbjegći da upadnemo u ono u što oni žele, a to su nagađanja. Jednako tako, moramo imati plan što učiniti ako se to dogodi, no sjetite se da, kad su Rusi u Ukrajini upotrijebili termobarično oružje, i ono se percipiralo kao oružje sudnjeg dana. A Ukrajina sad pobjeđuje na vojnom polju, a moje je mišljenje da moramo imati određeni pozitivni pogled u nošenju sa svim ovim.

I dok potpora ulasku Švedske i Finske u NATO nije upitna, ona u pogledu istog pitanja za Ukrajinu ipak je nešto labilnija. Vlatko Cvrtila.

CVRTILA 4

Nisam baš siguran koliko su sve članice NATO-a na strani jake podrške ulasku Ukrajine u NATO. Pomoć da, naoružanje da, svaki oblik pomoći, humanitarne, ekonomске, da, ali ulazak u NATO mogao bi biti još jedna točka koja bi mogla izazvati ili otvoriti barem perspektive nepredvidivog. A mislim da nam sad sve više treba predvidljivosti u ovome sukobu koji predugo traje za europski prostor u 21.-om stoljeću nego što nam treba neizvjesnost i nepredvidljivost.

Kako će se situacija na bojištu razvijati, to se vjerojatno više nitko ne usudi predviđati, a kao i uvijek, filtriranje informacija i u ovom bi se slučaju, barem za duševni mir stanovnika Europe, moglo pokazati presudnim.

Decision on whether they will use nuclear weapons or not is out of our hands, but the clear thing is, if it happens, it won't be as bad as we think it would be. I know it is quite risky to say, but we have to avoid to be pulled into what they want us to do, and that is to guess. At the same time, we have to have a plan what we will do if it happens. But I want to remind you, when Russians used thermobaric weapons in Ukraine, it was perception that it was a doomsday weapons. Ukraine is now winning on the battlefield, so in my opinion, we have to have certain positive aspect of handling all of this.

While support for Sweden and Finland to enter NATO is largely not in question, the same one for Ukraine is not that stable. Vlatko Cvrtila.

CVRTILA CLIP 4

I am not really sure that all the NATO members lean towards the strong support of Ukraine in the alliance. Help yes, weapons yes, every form of humanitarian and economic aid yes, but NATO membership could be one more point of opening the new perspective of unpredictability. And at this moment I think we need more and more predictability in this war that is taking far too long for the European space in 21st century. We need it far far more than uncertainty and unpredictability.

How the situation on the battlefield will develop, nobody is daring to predict any more. As always, filtering of the information could prove to be decisive element. At least for the peace of mind of Europeans.