



# **Hybrid Warfare or Hybrid Threat – The Use of Lawfare and Disinformation in Poland and Australia**

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Melbourne 1.06.2024

Well...lets starts with linguistic issues

**NATO: hybrid warfare, attacks, threats, tactics, challenges, means, operations, and campaigns.**

**„Hybrid operations against Allies could reach the level of armed attack and could lead the North Atlantic Council to invoke Article 5 of the North Atlantic Treaty”.**

# What is ...hybrid warfare ...?

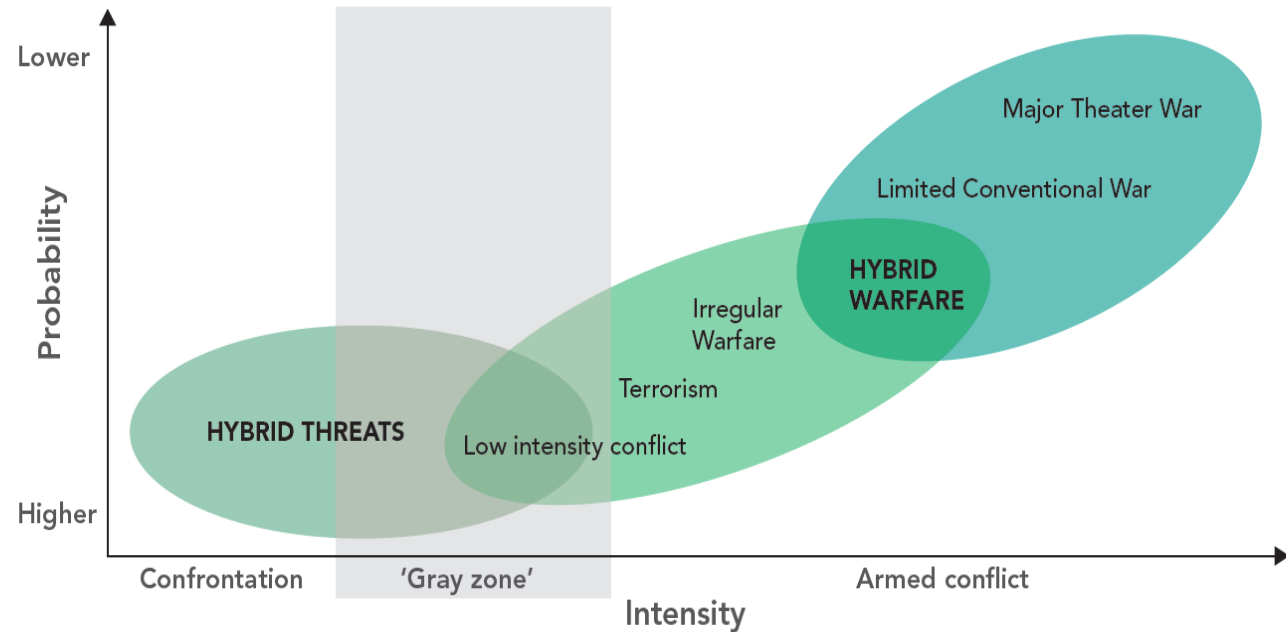
- The Chinese concept of Unrestricted Warfare by Qiao Liang and Wang Xiangsui, along with the "Three Warfares" doctrine/concept ; **psychological warfare, public opinion warfare, and legal warfare (lawfare)**
- The concept of hybrid warfare, as defined by Colonel Frank Hoffman, refers to adversaries utilizing a **tailored mix of conventional weapons, irregular tactics, terrorism, and criminal behavior simultaneously all at the same time and battlespace to achieve their political objectives.**
- General Gierasimov, in 2013, emphasized the **blurring line between peace and war**, with non-military forms and means of struggle experiencing unprecedented technological development and acquiring a dangerous and sometimes violent nature.
- This notion aligns with the increasing complexity of armed conflict.



AC

# or .....hybrid threats

FIGURE 1. Hybrid Threats and Hybrid Warfare Shown on a Continuum of Conflict<sup>35</sup>



<https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=ssenjzCniP8>

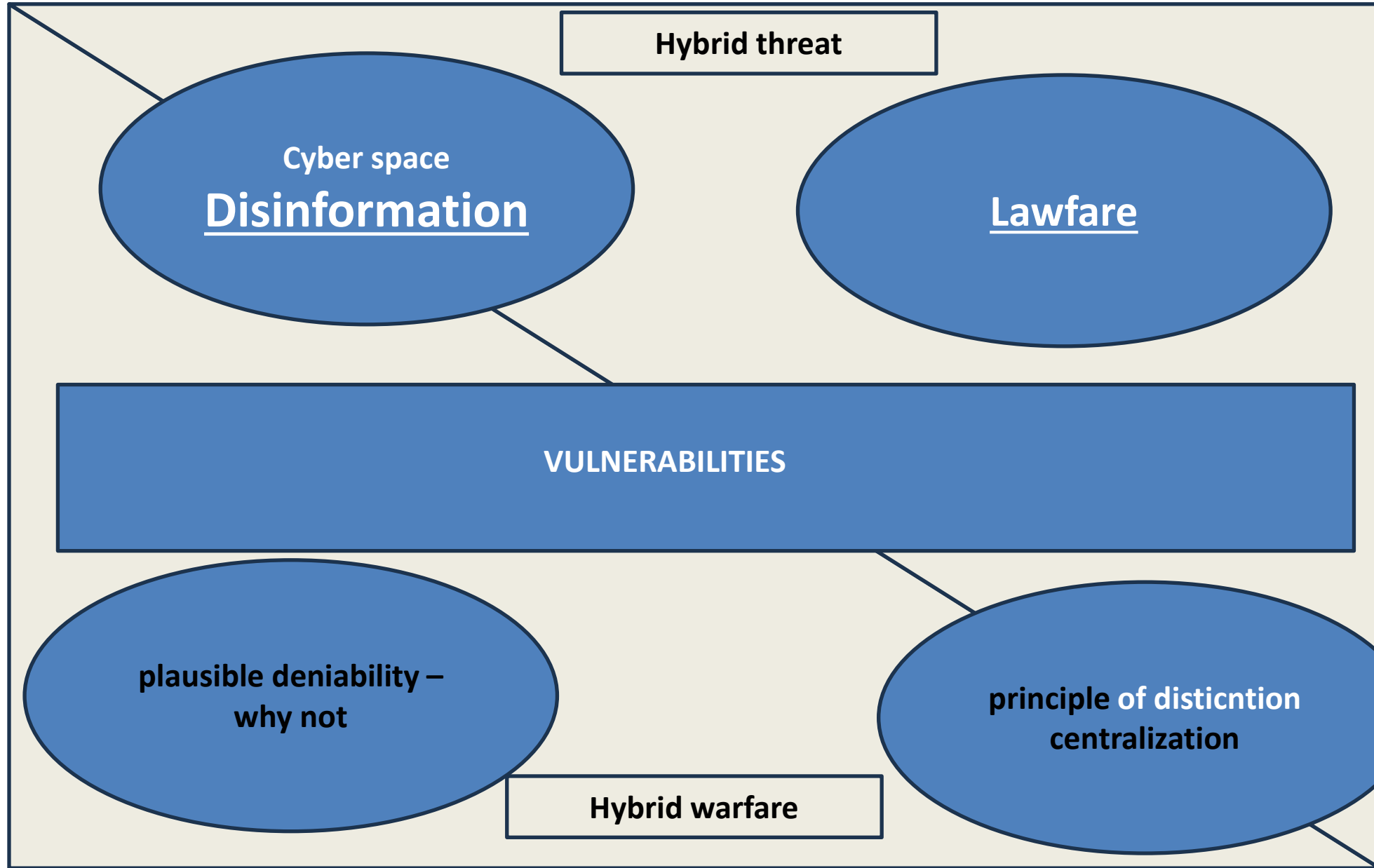
„hybrid threats combine a wide range of nonviolent means to target vulnerabilities across the whole of society in order to undermine the functioning, unity, or will of their targets while degrading and subverting the *status quo*. This kind of strategy is used by revisionist actors to gradually achieve their aims without triggering decisive responses, including armed responses.

What seems universal for 'hybrid threats' is the synchronised use of a broad spectrum of instruments designed to stay below the thresholds of detection, attribution, and foremost retaliation.

Or in other words....

- 1) *“Coordinated and synchronized action, that deliberately targets democratic states’ and institutions’ systemic vulnerabilities, through a wide range of means (political, economic, military, civil and information),*
- 2) *Activities exploit the thresholds of detection and attribution as well as the border between war and peace, and*
- 3) *The aim is to influence different forms of decision making at the local (regional), state, or institutional level to favour and/or gain the agent’s strategic goals while undermining and/or hurting the target”.*

# four horsemen of the ..... hybridity



Hybrid threat

Cyber space  
Disinformation

Lawfare

VULNERABILITIES

plausible deniability -  
why not

principle of distiction  
centralization

Hybrid warfare



# How to Explain Disinformation Without Spreading...

**Table 1. Types of Information Disorders**

	<b>Definition</b>	<b>Example</b>
Misinformation	When <b>false information</b> is shared, but <b>no harm</b> is meant	A terror attack on the Champs Elysees on 20 April 2017 generated a great amount of misinformation in social networks, spreading rumours and unconfirmed information <sup>16</sup> . People sharing that kind of information didn't mean to cause harm.
Disinformation	When <b>false information</b> is knowingly shared <b>to cause harm</b>	During the 2017 French presidential elections, a duplicate version of the Belgian newspaper Le Soir was created, with a false article claiming that Emmanuel Macron was being funded by Saudi Arabia <sup>17</sup> .
Malinformation	When <b>genuine information</b> is shared to <b>cause harm</b>	The intentional leakage of a politician's private emails, as happened during the presidential elections in France 2017 <sup>18</sup> .

Source and examples: Wardle and Derakhshan, [Information Disorder: Toward an interdisciplinary framework for research and policy making](#), Council of Europe report DGI(2017)09, 2017.

Disinformation

- Covid
- Migration Belarus
- People seeking refuge from Ukraine
- Rockets in Poland.

Civil Preparedness has three core functions:

- Continuity of **government**
- Continuity of **essential services** to the population
- Continuity of **civil support** to military operations

Civil Resilience



# The Aim of the Disinformation Operation in Poland no. 1

- To **undermine citizen confidence in democratic** governance.
- To foment and exacerbate divisive political fractures.
- To erode trust **between citizens and elected officials and democratic institutions.**
- To create **general distrust or confusion** over information sources by blurring the lines between facts and fiction.

**Disinformation undermines human rights and many elements of good quality democracy.**

Pro-Russian trolls aren't just concerned with convincing people to believe these particular narratives - explains Martyna Bildziukiewicz, the Brussels-based head of the East StratCom TF the EU's team for combating Russian disinformation. - **Their goal is much more dangerous: to create chaos and confusion so that no one knows where the truth ultimately lies.** They want anyone seeking information to get confused and give up participating in the debate altogether.

*The New York Times*

## *Blinken Warns of Disinformation Threat to Democracies*

At an international forum, the secretary of state said artificial intelligence's ability to disrupt the global flow of information could prove politically perilous during a year of elections.

# The Aim of the Disinformation Operation in Poland no 2

- Poland is still the greatest and most important of the Eastern European NATO members, with the largest army and the strongest economy
- Poland was the country that originally proposed the European trade treaty with Ukraine
- Rzeszów Airport, the Berlin airlift, Manas

As Anne Applebaum says, *Russian authorities want to undermine and destabilise Poland's position. This is definitely part of a wider plan to act against the EU and NATO. By doing so, Russia undermines and destabilises the whole post-Cold War settlement. And that, of course, has been the central goal of Putin's foreign policy for two decades*

# Before we jump to narratives – how to stage infoops



Adrian Marglewski was instructed to daub a swastika on the targeted building in Uzhhorod as well as the neo-Nazi code 88 with this aimed at compromising 'Ukrainian Bandera-supporters

- 2019 - Hungarian Cultural Centre in Ukraine Fidesz
- 150 thousands Ukrainian Hungarians in the Zakarpattia oblast
- Manuel Ochsenreiter approaches three Poles from Falanga right wing movement. He is journalist in „Zuerst!” and works with (AfD) Markus Frohnmaier.

# Poland's Vulnerabilities to Disinformation

- Lack of a fully developed civil society
- Lack of trust in mainstream media or e-literacy
- Smolensk plane crash
- Fear of Russian- German alliance (Matthias Warnig, Gerhard Schröder)
- Polish-Ukrainian historical grievances

The average level of trust in social media among EU citizens reaches 32% in comparison to 52% in Poland



# Europe's Vulnerabilities to Disinformation



# 2015 – Disinfo

**Figure 8. TOP 5 narratives used by RT, Sputnik, Perviy kanal about Denmark.**

1	Refugees and migrants as a destabilising factor
2	Radical Islam as a destabilising factor
3	The Arctic is a territory of dialogue
4	Rise of far-right nationalists
5	European Union unity is diminishing

**Figure 9. TOP 5 narratives used by RT, Sputnik, Perviy kanal about Finland.**

1	Refugees and migrants as a destabilising factor
2	Finland and Russia are good partners, no matter what
3	Ridiculing the idea of a Russian threat
4	Sanctions against Russia hurt the European Union, incl. Nordic-Baltic countries more than Russia
5	NATO is a threat to Russia

**Figure 12. TOP 5 narratives used by RT, Sputnik, Perviy kanal about Sweden.**

1	Refugees and migrants as a destabilising factor
2	Sweden is part of an unjust persecution of Julian Assange
3	Radical Islam as a destabilising factor
4	Rise of far-right nationalists
5	European Union unity is diminishing Islamic culture as a destabilising factor

# 2018



## Sputnik on DENMARK in 2018

Refugees and migrants as a destabilising factor  
The Nord Stream 2 project will not fail  
Child welfare issues  
Radical Islam is a destabilising factor  
Rise of far-right nationalists  
Islamic culture is a destabilising factor  
May 9th is commemorated around the world  
Russophobia, anti-Russian sentiment  
Extreme human rights and liberalism



## Sputnik on ESTONIA in 2018

Refugees and migrants as a destabilising factor  
The Nord Stream 2 project will not fail  
The idea of a Russian threat is ridiculous  
Discrimination against minorities  
Baltic people disrespect the Great Patriotic War  
and the Soviet legacy



## Sputnik on ICELAND in 2018

Refugees and migrants as a destabilising factor  
Rise of far-right nationalists  
May 9th is commemorated around the world  
Liberal gender policy  
Extreme human rights and liberalism



## Sputnik on LATVIA in 2018

Refugees and migrants as a destabilising factor  
The Nord Stream 2 project will not fail  
The idea of a Russian threat is ridiculous  
Rise of far-right nationalists  
Discrimination against minorities  
Certain NB8 countries glorify Nazi collaborators  
May 9th is commemorated around the world  
Baltic people disrespect the Great Patriotic War  
and the Soviet legacy

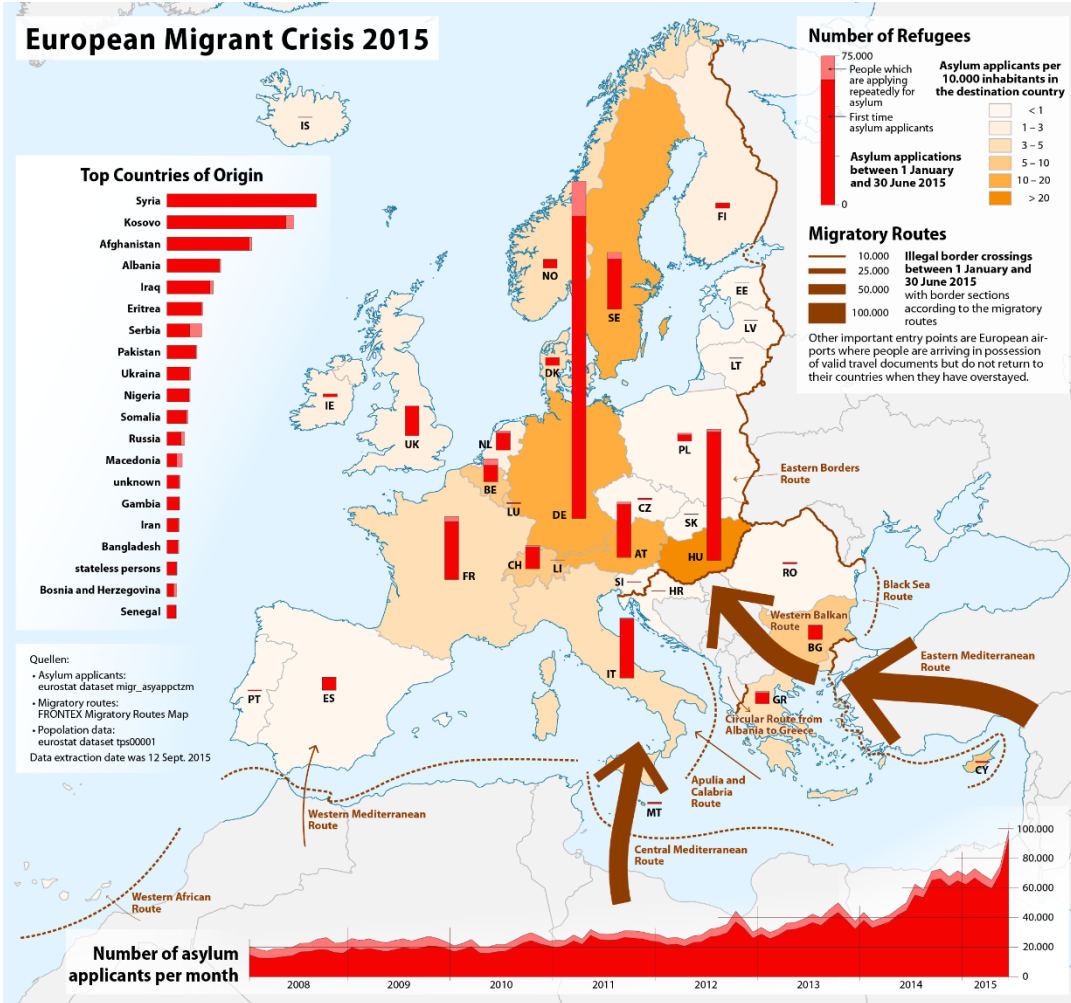
# Bigger picture

## 26th February 2014

23rd June 2016 - 52%, Sovereignty,  
Immigration, Demographic and  
cultural factors

Finland and Sweden join NATO, has  
Diminishing European Union unity

1. Refugees and migrants as a destabilising factor.
2. Radical Islam as a destabilising factor.\*
3. Islamic culture as a destabilising factor.\*
4. Rise of far-right nationalists.



ISBN 978-9934-564-25-3

The Telegraph | The Telegraph

## Revealed: how Putin plans to flood West with migrants



Hayley Dixon

29 February 2024 · 7-min read



In this article:



Vladimir Putin  
President of Russia



### RUSSIA'S FOOTPRINT IN THE NORDIC - BALTIC INFORMATION ENVIRONMENT

Report 2016/2017

PREPARED BY THE  
NATO STRATEGIC COMMUNICATIONS  
CENTRE OF EXCELLENCE



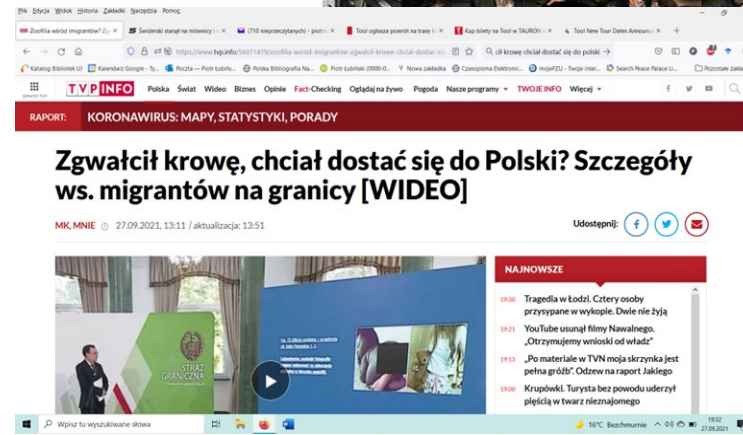


# Silence of the state

Wyborcza.pl

Arkadiusz Gruszczyński 18 września 2019 | 05:55

Twoja prenumerata jest *aktywna*



# EU Approach vs. US Approach – Challenges in communication

Twitter was applauded when it permanently suspended Donald Trump's account in early 2021, following various other platforms that limited his activities.

If, however, that removal had been demanded by government, it would have been considered an intolerable threat to the freedom of citizens and would have been struck down as unconstitutional.

*President Donald Trump lost a major Twitter fight Tuesday when a federal appeals court said that his daily pronouncements were overwhelmingly official in nature and that he violated the First Amendment **whenever he blocked a critic to silence a viewpoint.***

European's fear about the absence of effective speech controls in the public domain  
American's fear about the presence of governmental censorship.

Role of the state

*The New York Times*

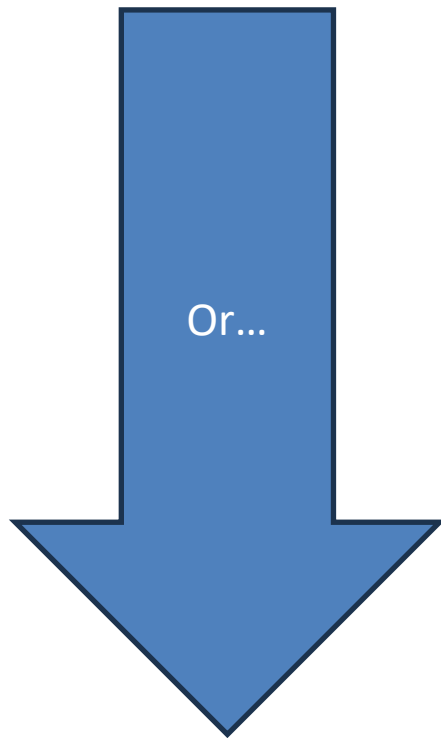
## ***Penn's Leadership Resigns Amid Controversies Over Antisemitism***

The president, Elizabeth Magill, and the chairman of the board of trustees, Scott L. Bok, are leaving after intense pressure from donors, politicians and alumni.

The president of the University of Pennsylvania, Elizabeth Magill, resigned on Saturday, four days after she appeared before Congress and appeared to evade the question of whether students who called for the genocide of Jews should be punished.



Is it just Russia ?



**Are Russian Narratives Amplified by PRC Media?**  
A Case Study on Narratives Related to Sweden's and Finland's NATO Applications

PREPARED AND PUBLISHED BY THE  
**NATO STRATEGIC COMMUNICATIONS CENTRE OF EXCELLENCE**

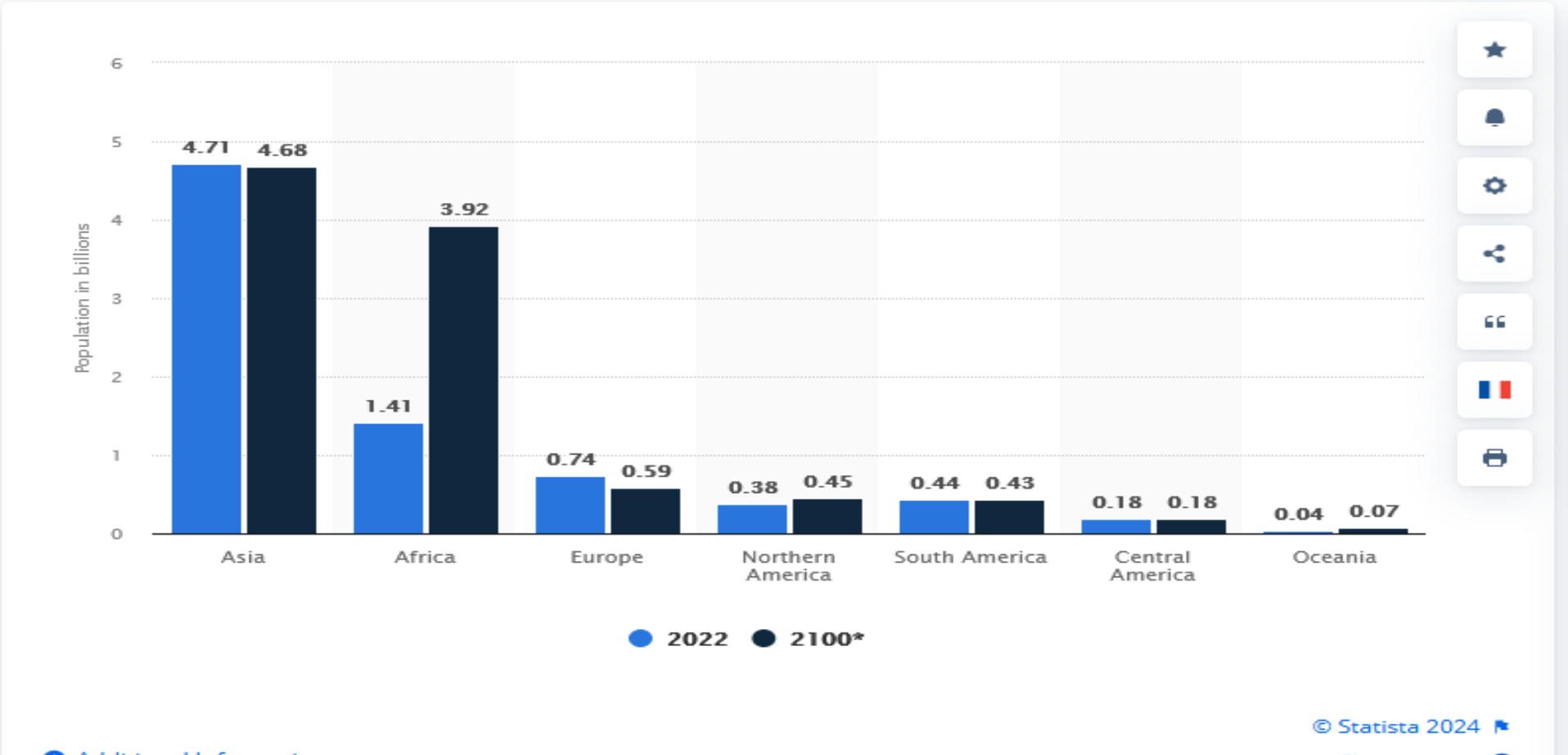
NATO STRATCOM  
LATVIA RIGA  
CENTRE OF EXCELLENCE

Dodaj stopkę

# Why migrations related disinfo is so crucial ....

Society > Demographics

## Forecast of the world population in 2022 and 2100, by contine (in billions)





# What is lawfare

- The first concept considers **lawfare as militarised - a method of warfare** (bad faith) part of **armed violence per se** involving for example
  - acts of perfidy
  - Human shields
  - terror
    - o certain war crimes
      - forfeiture of basic communal services to subdue the population in the contested area
      - kidnaping.

The second perceives lawfare as the exploitation of weaknesses **and flaws** of international law but outside areas of armed conflict (**bad faith, instrumentalization**) – acts contradictory to existing legal order .

The third sees **lawfare as a means of influencing** opponents using the existing international



- The use of law as a weapon of war arguably goes back all the way to Hugo Grotius, Huig de Groot.
- **Mare Liberum (or The Freedom of the Seas) 1609.** In *The Free Sea*, Grotius formulated the new principle that the sea was international territory and all nations were free to use it for seafaring trade.



# The Permanent Court of Arbitration at The Hague - 2 July 2016

- The Hague tribunal overwhelmingly backed the Philippines in a case on the disputed waters of the South China Sea.
- It ruled that rocky outcrops claimed by China, cannot be used as the basis of territorial claims.
- The tribunal stated that some of the waters were "within the EEZ of the Philippines, because those areas are not overlapped by any possible entitlement of China".
- The tribunal furthermore found China had violated the Philippines' sovereign rights in those waters by interfering with its fishing and petroleum exploration and by constructing artificial islands.



# Chinese fishing armada plundered waters around Galápagos



Parent Fishing Hours  
213  
0.1  
Galapagos Marine Reserve  
Galapagos EEZ



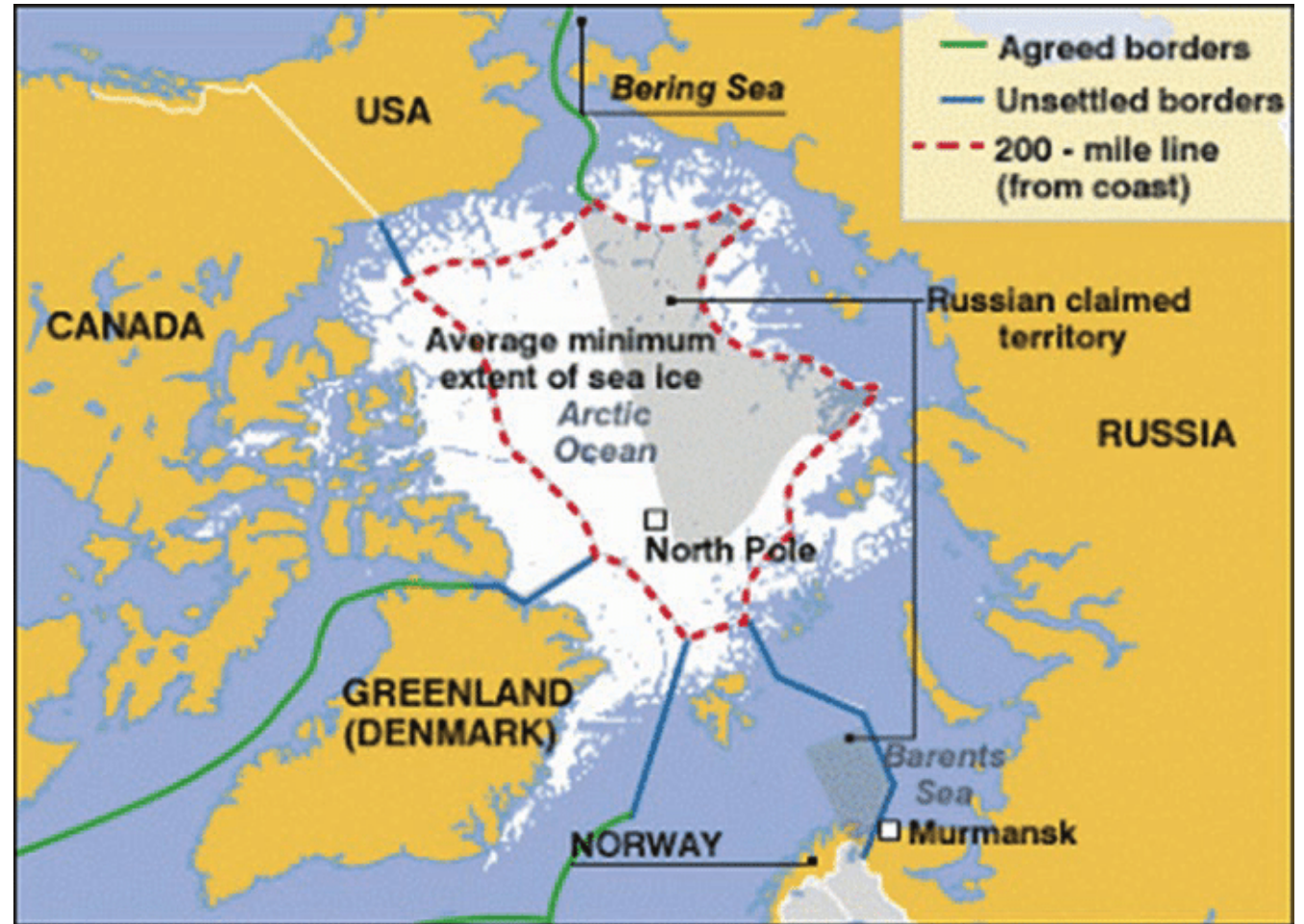


# the Northern Sea Route

A trip from Dalian, China, to Rotterdam, the Netherland along the NSR takes around 33 days, as opposed to the 48 days via the Suez Canal.

the “Polar Silk Road,”

China has declared itself a “near-Arctic state,” a designation it invented to push for a greater role in Arctic governance



# Hybrid threats - Lawfare



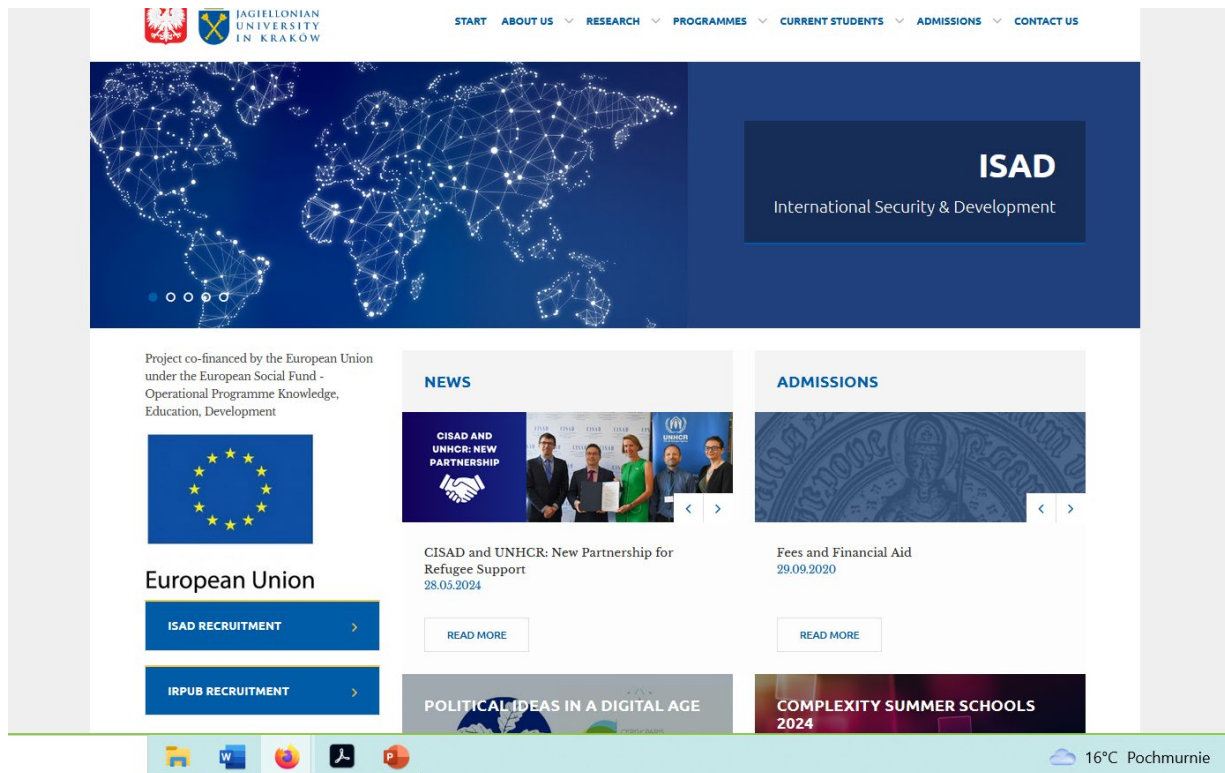
Belarus aimed to exposes migrants to:

- **illegal border crossing and**
- **Belarus exposes them to the perils of illegal border crossing**
- **potential criminal responsibility in Poland and other countries.**
- **Belarus was also engaging in lawfare by coercing EU states to break international and EU law.**
- **Belarus is/was thus using the existing human rights protection system to exploit vulnerable groups and obtain financial benefits.**

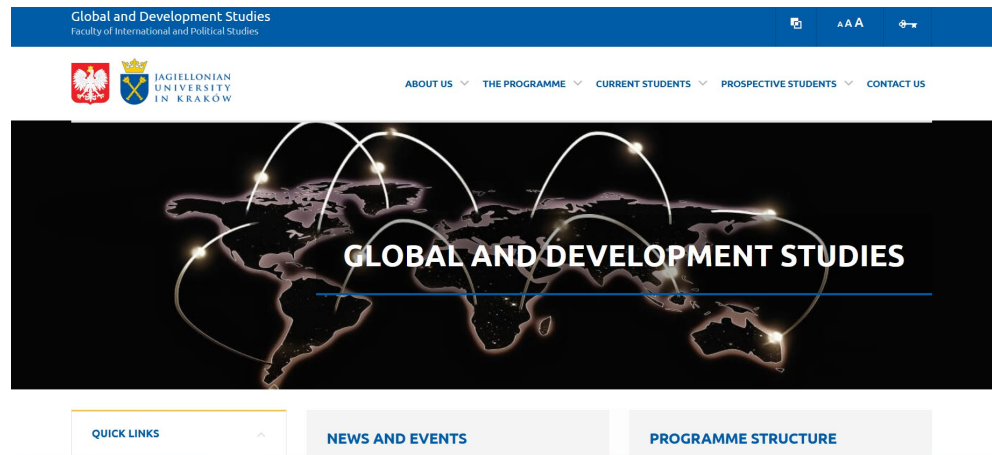
International Relations and Area Studies Bachelor's Programme at the Faculty of International and Political Studies of the Jagiellonian University in Krakow.

IRAS offers a vast range of opportunities to explore international politics and different regions of the world, experience cultural diversity, develop your academic skills and career options and enjoy leisure time together with students from all over the world.

The screenshot shows the homepage of the International Relations and Area Studies (IRAS) program at Jagiellonian University. The top navigation bar is blue with the text "International Relations and Area Studies Jagiellonian University" on the left and icons for home, accessibility (AAA), and search on the right. Below the navigation bar is the Jagiellonian University logo and a menu with links: "ABOUT US", "ADMISSIONS", "THE PROGRAMME", "CURRENT STUDENTS", "PROSPECTIVE STUDENT", and "CONTACT US". The main content area features a green banner with the text "JOIN US!" and "An interdisciplinary and international programme". A circular image shows three students in a classroom setting. At the bottom, there is a small AVAC logo and a welcome message: "Welcome to the International Relations and Area Studies Bachelor's Programme at the Faculty of International and Political Studies".



- International Relations and Public Diplomacy programme together with the University of Siena with a generous support of the Polish National Agency for Academic Exchange. We have also started an M.A. in Political Ideas in a Digital Age programme. This project is established thanks to multilateral cooperation of four universities – Jagiellonian University in Krakow and its MA in International Security and Development programme, CY Cergy Paris University, The Political Institute of the Catholic University in Lisbon and The Francisco Marroquín University in Guatemala.



- The Programme is taught at the Faculty of Political and International Studies (FIPS) of the Jagiellonian University in Krakow – the oldest and the best HEI in Poland and one of the leading universities in the region. This ensures high quality of teaching and a vibrant and inspiring academic environment. The FIPS is a truly multidisciplinary unit, which is of great significance when it comes to issues connected to globalisation and development. We provide expertise in many different areas not only limited to traditional politics and IR, but also fields such as humanitarian aid, environmental protection, public health, media and communication

Thank you for  
your attention

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