

# **Contents**

Summary	1
Introduction	2
Research results	6
1. Green Deal perception in the Slovak information space	10
1.1 Other EU measures	14
1.2 Anti-EU sentiment	17
2. Narratives about climate and the environment	22
2.1 Climate alarmism and denial of climate change	27
2.2 Population control and the Great Reset	28
3. Pro-Russian narratives	30
3.1 Russia and Gazprom as the only reliable energy partners	34
3.2 The negative portrayal of the U.S. and the EU's efforts to diversify energy resources	36
Conclusion and recommendations	40
Research design	42
Annex 1 – Complete list of monitored actors	45
Annex 2 – List of keywords used for researching Facebook content	49
Annex 3 – List of used tags	49

# **Summary**

Infosecurity.sk, in cooperation with the International Republican Institute's Beacon Project, monitored posts in the Slovak-language Facebook space concerning the European Green Deal as well as those containing themes and prevailing sentiments about broader energy-related topics such as climate change, the environment, and energy. The research was conducted using the CrowdTangle tool between May 1 and September 30, 2022. This monitoring is part of a <u>larger IRI initiative</u> implemented simultaneously in five EU countries.

## **Key findings:**

- As part of the research, we analyzed the content of 1,853 relevant posts. The most prevalent topic was energy (1,068 posts were tagged "energy"), followed by the economy (686 posts), and the environment (544 posts).
- There was a clear overlap between the topics of energy and the economy. Both topics occurred at very similar rates in the same time periods. They were dominant in the period from the beginning of July to the end of July 2022, and from the end of August to the end of September 2022. Among the 20 sources that received the highest number of impressions (1) on the analyzed posts, there were seven politicians, six pro-Russian Facebook pages, four mainstream media sources, and two pages of political parties.
- Few sources communicated Green Deal-related topics during the period under study, with only a minimum of interactions in total. However, the posts were more likely to engage positive or neutral sentiment rather than negative sentiment. Relevant actors, such as EU institutions and their branches in Slovakia, published most of them. Slovak political actors published only a limited number of posts on the topic.
- Another theme was the EU's effort to diversify energy sources to make the union less dependent on energy supplies from Russia. The majority of narratives surrounding this topic portrayed the EU as a "Russophobic" organization.
- Out of 401 EU-focused posts (21.5% of all analyzed posts), we identified 188 with a negative sentiment (46.9%) and 66 with a positive sentiment (16.5%).
- The energy crisis resonated in the Slovak information space during the monitored period, which was associated with a strong pro-Russian sentiment. A total of 188 posts containing pro-Russian sentiment appeared in the dataset (10.1% of all analyzed posts). The timing of these posts largely coincided with the distribution of posts containing the tags "energy" and "economy."

1.

<sup>(1)</sup> In Facebook terminology, impressions are the number of times any content from a page or about a page "entered a person's screen."

## Introduction

In recent years, green topics related to the environment, climate change, and energy have gradually entered the social discourse of Slovakia, which reflects the global development of perception of these issues. However, these topics are still considered marginal in the country, reflective of low public interest among the Slovak audience. Only a small number of politicians, activists, and other members of civil society communicate on green topics. Traditional media cover the issue mainly in the case of major events or when following political developments.

The low visibility of green topics has created an information vacuum, which problematic, alternative, or disinformation actors have misused. However, they do not communicate about these topics as their primary goal. We can observe a trend in which green themes appear as a proxy for fulfilling more or less hidden political motives. These include, for example, negatively influencing public opinion or spreading narratives aimed at polarizing society, weakening trust in democratic institutions, or eroding Slovakia's foreign policy orientation.

This phenomenon is especially evident in the case of actors who try to strengthen negative sentiments toward Western subjects, especially the European Union, the United States, and, to a lesser extent, NATO. At the same time, these sources attempt to boost pro-Russian sentiment (2). A specific case is the energy field, in which Slovakia has been dependent on Russian energy resources (and thus vulnerable) for a long time. Green topics are part of a wider logical scheme of narratives that can be included in the framework of hybrid threats to Slovakia's strategic interests and security.

Despite the diversity of its nature, Slovakia faces global climate changes and extensive pollution, just like any other country. The pressure related to changing policies to ensure sustainability has yielded responses at the political, social, and economic levels. According to a <u>European Commission report</u> from 2020, Slovakia should pay particular attention to worsened air quality, increasing emissions in the area of transport, and poor energy sustainability.

<sup>(2)</sup> The susceptibility of the Slovak population to the influence of spreading pro-Russian sentiment results from several factors. The main ones include the idea of pan-Slavism (an ideological trend focusing on the commonalities among Slavic nations) and a mutual history with Russia (USSR), which often leads to nostalgia for the socialist era. An important factor is also the long-term informational and influential impact of Russia in Slovakia (the energy field, pro-Russian disinformation/alternative scene, pro-Russian politicians and other actors, and the activity of the Russian Embassy in Slovakia). In a 2021 <u>survey</u> conducted by the Globsec think tank, 42% of Slovaks considered Russia the country's most important strategic partner (despite energy blackmailing in the past). A total of 61% of respondents thought that Russia does not pose any threat. A total of 72% of Slovaks supported the idea of pan-Slavism. A change did occur after the start of the Russian invasion of Ukraine in February 2022. Despite a decrease in a positive perception of Russia (and President Vladimir Putin), part of Slovak society still leans towards the "Eastern brother."

The low recycling rate (and conversely high landfilling rate), high energy intensity, and correspondingly weak development in the field of renewable resources are also considered problematic. Slovakia's green policy is primarily related to that of the EU, which can currently be considered one of the global leaders in the area. Relations with the EU are a primary target for disinformation narratives, which attack European unity and solidarity through manipulative rhetoric, using terms such as the so-called Brussels dictatorship, green totalitarianism, and ecoterrorism.

In 2019, Slovakia signed up to the commitment to achieve carbon neutrality by 2050. In the context of meeting the EU's climate goals by 2030 and achieving the goal of climate neutrality by 2050, the EU member states have developed their national energy and climate plans. In the Slovak Republic, this mainly includes a reduction of greenhouse gas emissions, an increase in the share of renewable energy sources, and boosting energy efficiency.

However, the challenge of the transition to the green economy has highlighted the potential for misusing this topic in favor of the interests of various actors. That has been made possible by the mostly insufficient communication of relevant topics and key solutions (including the European Green Deal) by state and European institutions, politicians, and traditional media (3). The very nature of the challenge has also opened the door to abuse, because it means a change in the way of life and a disruption of the usual framework for fulfilling the needs of the population. This element became critical especially after the outbreak of war in Ukraine, which endangered the economic and energy stability of the state.

A total of 47% of Slovakia's citizens have major concerns about spikes in the cost of energy, according to an internet <u>survey</u> by Nielsen Atmosphere Slovakia on a sample of 500 respondents over 15 years old. A total of 66% said that this was their main reason for reducing energy consumption. Other reasons, such as a personal effort to use energy efficiently (17%) or the climate crisis (7%), follow much further behind.

The change in perception of this issue is significant in contrast to the <u>survey</u> "How are you Slovakia?" (Ako sa máte, Slovensko?) from 2020, which monitored social sentiments since the beginning of the pandemic. In the given period, 61% of Slovaks said the preservation of the environment was as crucial as the country's economic performance after the pandemic (4). According to 72% of respondents, waste sorting should be the top priority for the government, while a decrease in car traffic was seen as the least important.

<sup>(3)</sup> The problem is indicated by the <u>results</u> of the public opinion poll How are you Slovakia? from 2020. 73% of respondents have never heard or heard only a little about the European Green Deal. The initiative is primarily known by young people.

<sup>(4)</sup> The survey was conducted on a sample of 1,000 respondents and the data was collected in May 2020.

We consider the gradual redirect from fossil fuels, respectively the transition to energy with a minimum amount of greenhouse gas emissions, to be key. The <u>results</u> of an ACRC public opinion survey from 2022 show that residents of Slovakia would primarily choose solar power plants (38%), followed by nuclear power plants (17%), wind (16%), and hydropower plants (16%) to reduce emissions. Geothermal energy (7%) and biomass burning (6%) finished at the bottom. The perception of nuclear power has improved since the last survey. Up to 60.6% of the population now considers it very safe or relatively safe, while in 2015 the figure was just 45.2%. A total of 62% of respondents favored the completion of the Mochovce nuclear power plant.

Regardless, a certain degree of reluctance to adapt was evident, especially concerning an increase in electricity prices. Only 7.3% of the population would definitely accept a higher price in exchange for a higher share of renewables, and 35.5% of people were "more likely" to accept this option. A total of 60.5% would accept an increase of a maximum of 5 euros per month, and 32.3% would be willing to pay an additional 10 euros monthly.

This public opinion research indicates that the capacity for reflection on climate and environmental issues in Slovakia fluctuates and depends on external factors (such as the impact of the climate crisis, pollution, etc.), as well as communication on the topic at the political level or the amount of media coverage on the given issues. For example, the increased communication about the topic during the summer heat in 2022 might have led to a greater vulnerability of citizens toward seeking solutions at the political level. However, as we have noted, the topics of climate change, the environment, and energy, which this report focuses on, are often manipulated by actors who use them to polarize society or, in the case of political actors, to increase their popularity or, on the contrary, decrease the popularity of their opponents.

The intent of our research was therefore to find answers to the question of how much content on Slovak-language Facebook pages reflected these topics during the monitored period (May 1 to September 30, 2022), which actors communicated on these topics, and what key narratives the analyzed posts included.

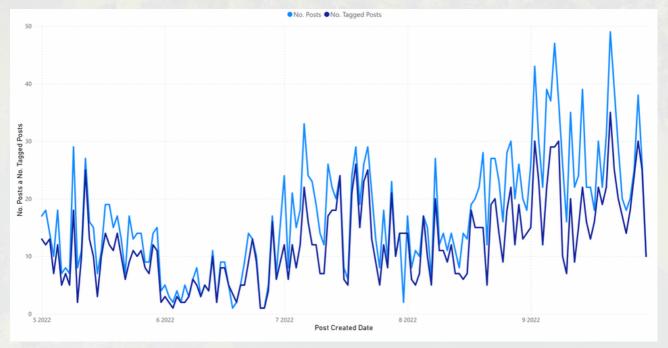
## Introduction to methodology:

The research was based on analyzing the Facebook content of politicians, political parties, and relevant mainstream media, as well as pro-Russian oriented sources. Within the last category, our regular monitoring previously detected the overlapping of environmental, climate, and energy topics with an anti-Western orientation (including an anti-EU slant) and/or pro-Russian sentiment, which was one of our motivations for a deeper analysis of their posts and comparison with other types of content. We considered the pro-Russian aspect in the given topics not only as a productive aspect of research concerning Russia's military aggression in Ukraine, but also important because this connection has not yet been investigated in Slovakia. Using the Crowdtangle and Pulsar tools, our researchers manually coded 1,853 relevant posts that the monitored sources published in the given period to quantify the occurrence of various narratives. Please refer to the research design section and annex of this report for a detailed explanation of the methodology, a full list of the monitored media, and coding tags.

The research was based on tracking content that corresponded with predefined tags. These covered several basic topics: climate change (tags "CC\_positive," "CC\_neutral," "CC-negative"), the Green Deal ("GD\_support," "GD\_neutral," "GD\_oppose"), the European Union ("EU\_positive," "EU\_neutral," "EU\_negative"), the economy ("economy"), the environment ("environment"), sustainability ("sustainability"), and technology ("technologies"). Tags were also predefined for labeling posts of an informative nature ("information") and content unrelated to the focus of the project ("irrelevant"). Other tags were created and used during the analysis with respect to the topics and narratives that were prevalent in the examined content.

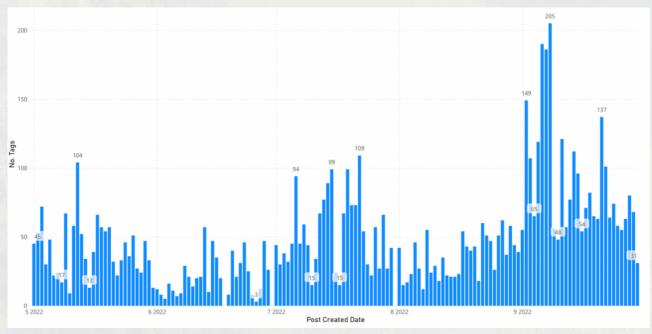
## Research results

We analyzed 1,853 relevant results in the research. The graph below shows the time distribution of all the posts we identified in CrowdTangle (light blue curve) and the number of posts that were tagged with topic tags or were relevant results (dark blue curve). We observed the most relevant results at the end of August and in September 2022.



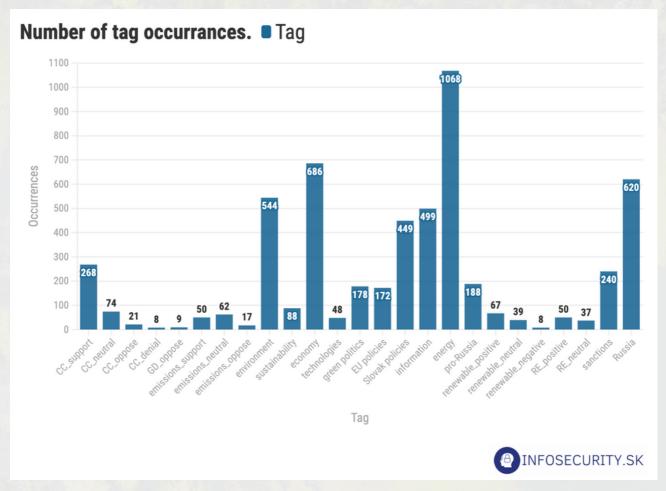
Visualization of Crowd Tangle data was performed using Microsoft Power BI and Pulsar tools in collaboration with the IRI Beacon Project.

A numerical representation of the tagged posts on the timeline is shown in the graph below.



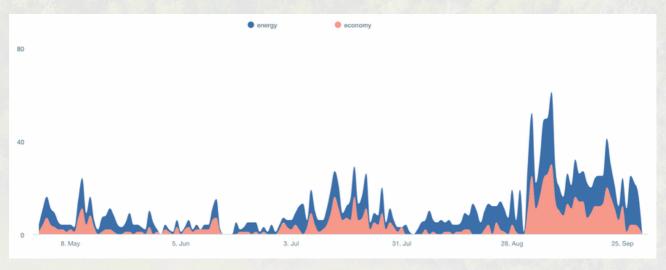
Visualization of Crowd Tangle data was performed using Microsoft Power BI and Pulsar tools in collaboration with the IRI Beacon Project.

The content analysis showed, among other things, the extent to which specific topics were resonating during the research period (May 1 to September 30, 2022), as presented through the assigned tags (see Annex 3 for a list of tags and their meanings). The results of the content analysis indicated that the most prevalent topic was energy (the tag "energy" was assigned in the case of 1,068 posts), followed by the economy (the tag "economy" corresponded with the content of 686 posts), and Russia (the tag "Russia" was used in the case of 620 posts). The total occurrence of all tags used is shown in the graph below.



The chart visualizes the total number of tag occurrences. Two tags were assigned only to a small amount of posts and were therefore not included in this main graph (the GD\_neutral tag: five posts; the GD\_support tag: three posts). Their visual distribution can be found in the Green Deal chapter. Data obtained via Pulsar. Click here to enlarge: <a href="https://public.flourish.studio/visualisation/12307629/">https://public.flourish.studio/visualisation/12307629/</a>.

Within the research we identified overlapping topics of energy and economics. Closer analysis showed that both topics occurred at a very similar scale (the energy topic occurred more frequently than the economy) in the same time periods. The graph below shows when the two topics were most prevalent and to what extent they overlapped in that period. Based on the data, we can say that both topics had the most significant impact in the period from late August to late September 2022 and in the period from early July to the end of July 2022. We assume that the higher number of posts tagged with "energy" and "economy" in September was related to the upcoming autumn heating season and possible energy shortages.



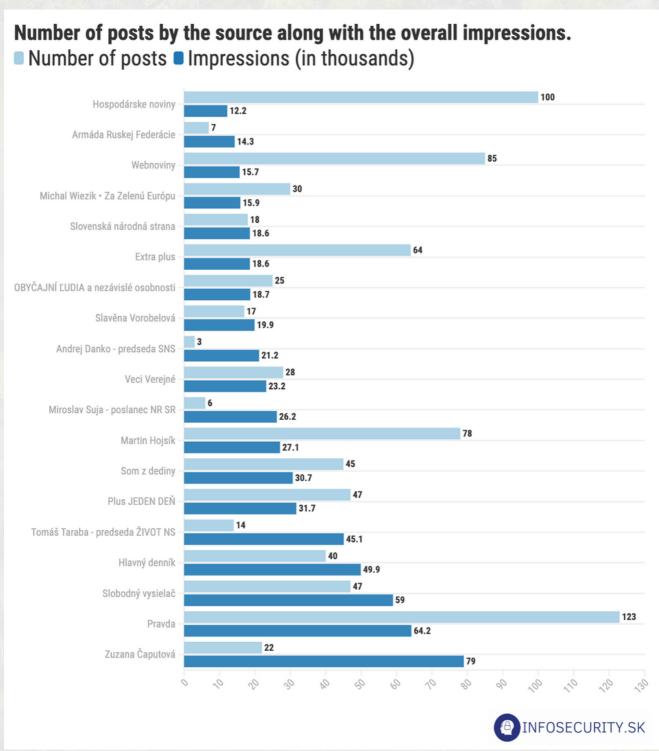
The graph shows the distribution of the tags "energy" and "economy" during the research period (May 1st to September 30th, 2022). Data obtained and visualized via Pulsar.

As part of the research, we also evaluated the success rate of the monitored actors according to the impressions that their posts generated. The graph below shows the 20 sources that received the highest number of impressions, along with the number of posts published. This metric is also interesting in terms of the categorization of individual sources. It shows significant diversity: the top performers included seven politicians, six pro-Russian Facebook pages with problematic content, four mainstream media sources, and two political party pages.

The success rate varied among groups of sources. Despite the fact that four mainstream media ranked in the top 20, three of them (Pravda, Webnoviny, and Hospodárske noviny) significantly outperformed the other sources in terms of the number of published articles, which in all cases was around 100. In the context of political actors, the success rate was slightly higher. The exceptions were two Slovak members of the European Parliament (Martin Hojsík and Michal Wiezik), who published a higher number of posts than other political sources, but only with an average impression rate. Their political focus helps explain their frequent publishing on these topics, as both have long been involved in climate and environmental protection, and, sitting in Brussels, they often reported on the European Union's approach to environmental issues or explained the background of specific European policies.

It is important to note that, apart from Hojsík and Wiezik, only one politician with no inclination toward pro-Russian views made the list, but she received the highest number of impressions among all sources. Slovak President Zuzana Čaputová published only 22 posts, which is relatively few compared to other sources. However, almost 370,000 people follow her Facebook profile, which guarantees a wide audience for her content.

Despite the success of the mentioned political actors, it should be emphasized that the most successful pages in our research included a relatively high number of pro-Russian pages (Slobodný vysielač, Hlavný denník, Som z dediny (5), Veci verejné, Extra plus, Armáda Ruskej Federácie), as well as politicians with a tendency to spread pro-Russian narratives or claims of questionable factuality (Tomáš Taraba, Miroslav Suja, Andrej Danko, Slavěna Vorobelová).

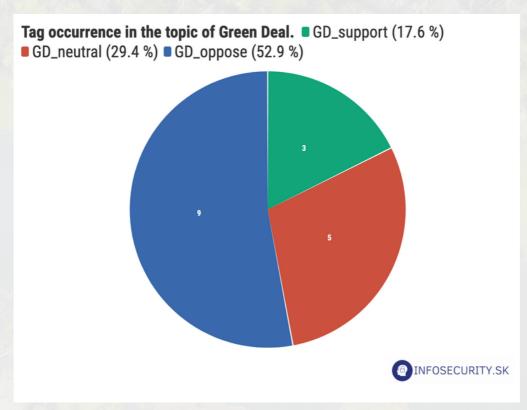


The chart presents a ranking of the top 20 sources in our analysis by number of post impressions (in thousands), along with the total number of posts corresponding to the focus of our research. Data obtained via Pulsar. Click here to enlarge: <a href="https://public.flourish.studio/visualisation/12310273/">https://public.flourish.studio/visualisation/12310273/</a>.

<sup>(5)</sup> Som z dediny is a page connected to Hlavný denník, i.e. both sources publish almost identical content.

## 1. Green Deal perception in the Slovak information space

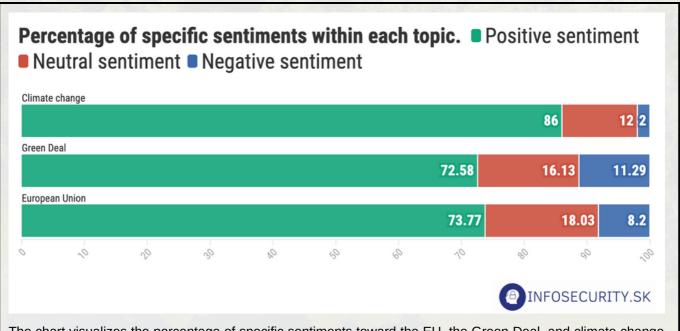
Within the research we specifically focused on the communication and perception of the EU Green Deal in the Slovak information space. Within the analyzed content, the Green Deal appeared in only 17 posts, with nine posts assigned the tag "GD\_oppose," indicating negative sentiment toward the policy.



The chart visualizes the total number of tag occurrences in the topic of Green Deal. Data obtained via Pulsar. Click here to enlarge: <a href="https://public.flourish.studio/visualisation/12308423/">https://public.flourish.studio/visualisation/12308423/</a>.

#### **Additional data**

An additional 62 Green Deal-related posts were analyzed in a parallel monitoring run between April 20 and September 20, 2022 via CrowdTangle. We used manual coding with the assignment of predefined tags in this monitoring. We assigned most posts to the tag "economy" (27), followed by "information" (23), "political" (9), "environment" (2), and "infrastructure" (1). We did not use the tags "military," "social," and "health," as no posts fell under those categories. We also assigned tags to each post indicating sentiment toward the EU, the Green Deal, and climate change. According to the coding results, posts were most often associated with positive sentiment, in all three categories: "EU\_support" (45), "EU\_neutral" (11), "EU\_oppose" (5); "GD\_support" (45), "GD\_neutral" (10), "GD\_oppose" (7); "CC\_support" (43), "CC\_neutral" (6), "CC\_oppose" (1) (percentages visualized in the graph below). Similarly to research analyzed in this paper, most of the content was primarily related to the energy crisis and the economic struggles related to the war in Ukraine.



The chart visualizes the percentage of specific sentiments toward the EU, the Green Deal, and climate change in the analyzed Facebook posts. Data from CrowdTangle, a publicly available tool owned and operated by Facebook. Click here to enlarge: <a href="https://public.flourish.studio/visualisation/12440975/">https://public.flourish.studio/visualisation/12440975/</a>.

The results of the analysis show a consistently low interest in communicating Green Dealrelated topics in the Slovak information environment. Only a few actors have addressed these issues, receiving negligible numbers of interactions on their posts. The Green Deal and related measures were communicated on Facebook mainly by relevant sources such as European institutions and their offices in Slovakia (the representation of the European Commission in Slovakia, the office of the European Parliament) or Slovak state institutions (the Office of the Government of the Slovak Republic, the Office for the Preservation of National Heritage under the Ministry of Culture). Several mainstream media also covered the topic. These were primarily news portals such as teraz.sk, EURACTIV, or Európske Noviny, as well as technology- or energyoriented media such as Techbox, TREND, or energie-portal, which presented EU measures primarily from the perspective of energy and technology. The number of posts on the topic published by Slovak political actors was limited - in the dataset posts only appeared from parliamentary deputy Romana Tabak, Member of the European Parliament Ivan Štefanec, Rudolf Huliak - chairman of the nationalist-oriented party National Coalition (Narodná koalícia), which is not represented in parliament – and the profile page of the regional branch of the far-right People's Party Our Slovakia (Kotlebovci - Ľudová strana Naše Slovensko - okresy Žilina a Bytča).

The highest number of interactions (894) was received by online media Európske Noviny and its <u>post</u> of July 8, 2022, in which the media outlet featured an interview with Štefanec.



Komentáre: 324 Zdieľania: 5

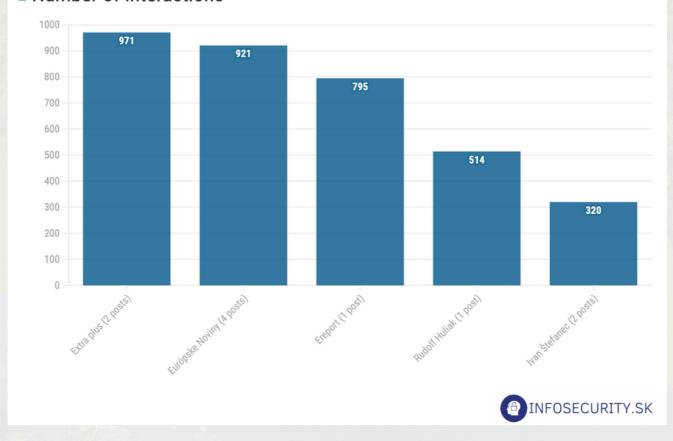
Európske Noviny ran an interview with Štefanec, who offered his view of nuclear and gas energy as bridge sources on the way to fulfilling Green Deal goals. Data from CrowdTangle, a publicly available tool owned and operated by Facebook.

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Overall, however, Európske Noviny was only the second-most successful source in terms of interactions. Extra plus received the most interactions, a media outlet that has been listed as a pro-Russian source by Gerulata Technologies, a Slovak technology company that develops digital tools for monitoring and evaluating harmful online content. The second problematic source was the Ereport portal, which has been classified by Konšpirátori.sk – the respected Slovak initiative that labels disinformation websites – as in the so-called gray zone of media (the gray zone means sites that do not currently pose a significant risk but are worthy of more attention). Among other things, Ereport has shown signs of spreading anti-Western narratives as well as demonstrating political bias. Huliak, the Narodná koalícia politician mentioned above, was responsible for another relatively popular, problematic post. On July 14, 2022, he shared a link to an article that contained conspiracies and false messages about the Green Deal, claiming that both the UN's 2030 Agenda and the EU's Green Deal are dangerous for Europe's future because they represent a perverse ideology of "climate fascism." Huliak's post received 514 interactions.

### Top 5 sources that communicated about Green Deal on Slovak Facebook.

#### Number of interactions



The chart presents the top 5 sources that communicated about the Green Deal during the monitored time period. Data obtained via Pulsar. Click here to enlarge: <a href="https://public.flourish.studio/visualisation/12344644/">https://public.flourish.studio/visualisation/12344644/</a>.

Among the prevailing narratives, several trends emerged within our data. For example, some posts asserted that Russian aggression in Ukraine had caused an increased demand for green energy in addition to the energy crisis, and thus may also serve as a push factor toward a faster green transformation through the Green Deal. Some of the posts also included a message that the Green Deal, as part of European climate policies, can play a key role in the fight against global climate change. The inclusion of nuclear and natural gas energy as temporarily sustainable resources was also an important topic, perceived rather positively as a tool for achieving the Green Deal's objectives.

On the other hand, we also identified messages portraying the Green Deal in a negative light. One of these was the <u>claim</u> that the Green Deal serves wealthy people/the financial elite and profit-seeking companies because consumers' electricity bills fund the revenues of green energy producers. The second negative message was the <u>portrayal</u> of the Green Deal as an instrument of the so-called Brussels dictatorship, which allegedly promotes "climate fascism." Measures taken by the EU under the guise of climate protection are a manifestation of Brussels' totalitarianism, according to this message. At the same time, this line of thinking claims that the members of the European Parliament themselves produce large amounts of CO2 and are therefore behaving hypocritically like the entire EU.

### 1.1 Other EU measures

As part of the monitoring, we also observed posts containing anti-EU sentiment. These mainly concentrated on specific EU measures aimed at the green transformation and reaching climate goals, primarily through reducing the amount of emissions in individual member states. Several narratives on this topic were entangled with the topic of energy and contained pro-Russian sentiment.

Pro-Kremlin sources that we monitored argued that the energy alternative promoted by the EU is inadequate. Part of this message centered on the <u>claim</u> that the EU would not be able to provide enough energy after the shift away from Russian sources, in this way spreading fear through exaggerated rhetoric. At the same time, many of the posts strove to create an image of a strong and self-sufficient Russia, with the intention, among other things, to convince Slovaks that Gazprom remains a reliable partner in the field of energy (more can be found in the first section of this report). The West, and especially the EU, have allegedly banned Russian oil and gas to weaken Russia – proof of their Russophobic behavior.

The June 2022 agreement to ban the sale of internal combustion engine cars in the EU – as part of the Fit For 55 package of the Green Deal – added a new dimension to this narrative. Related posts included claims of alleged <u>harm</u> to the economy and EU citizens, using manipulative techniques and argumentative fallacies to raise concerns about energy shortages and a decline in living standards.

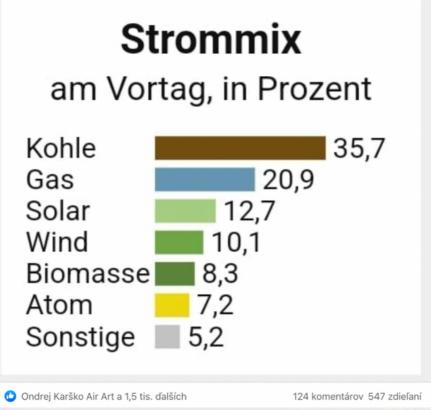
According to Milan Uhrík – leader of the far-right Republika party and a member of the European Parliament not attached to any fraction – the ban will lead to economic downfall. Europe, including Slovakia, will become "collapsed countries of the third world." In one post, Uhrík claimed that Slovakia would not have enough energy due to sanctions against Russia, writing "We won't have Russian oil. We won't have gas and gas power plants/boilers either. We won't even have coal plants like Novaky. And we must not have nuclear power plants like Mochovce or Bohunice either."

The Facebook page of the Slovak National Party (Slovenská národná strana, SNS) also contributed to discrediting EU measures. The party shared an image ridiculing European climate policy, which also appeared on the page of party leader Andrej Danko, known for his nationalist sentiment. According to Danko, the EU passed the car ban to make the lives of ordinary people more difficult and force them to walk, while the "ultra-rich" would receive support for electric cars. Denník Štandard also picked up on this theme, publishing an article with a headline that said the EU protects the "super-rich," a claim connected with the exception on stricter CO2 limits granted to car companies such as Ferrari or Lamborghini until 2035.

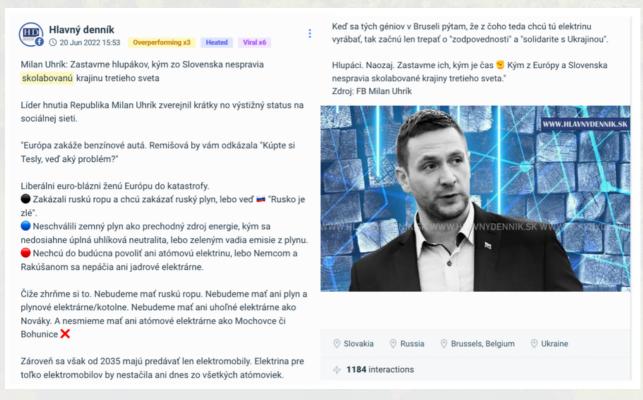
Last but not least, an article in Magazín1, a media outlet affiliated with the far-right People's Party Our Slovakia, highlighted supposed widespread criticism in the European Parliament against the ban and charges that it would lower EU living standards. The article pointed to a video of a speech by Mislav Kolakušić, a non-attached Croatian member of the European Parliament, who claimed that the EU declares carbon dioxide and fossil fuels to be the enemy of EU citizens. This is "stupidity," he said, because modern civilization was created on fossil fuels. Without mentioning the negative consequences of using fossil fuels, Kolakušić claimed that taxes for CO2 emissions would destroy Europe and its economy – similar rhetoric to Milan Uhrík.

A total of 17 posts matched the tag assigned to this topic ("cars\_ban"). Among the three most successful posts in terms of engagement (shares, likes, and comments) were posts from parliamentary deputy Tomáš Taraba, the website Hlavný denník, and the Slovak National Party.





Tomáš Taraba's <u>post</u> from August 20, 2022 criticizes several European green policies, pointing to the energy mix in Germany, within which he particularly condemns the use of coal. Data from CrowdTangle, a publicly available tool owned and operated by Facebook.



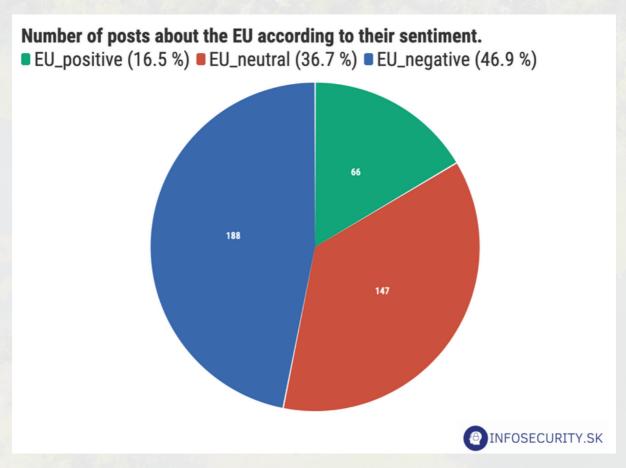
On June 20, 2022, Hlavný denník shared Milan Uhrík's above-mentioned Facebook <u>post</u>. Data from Gerulata Juno, an analytical tool owned by Gerulata Technologies.



A <u>post</u> of the Slovak National Party (SNS) from June 9, 2022. SNS accuses the EU of forcing Slovakia to achieve carbon neutrality. In the post, the party constructs a formula portraying the disadvantaged poor and the advantaged rich (pointing to government support for electric cars). Data from CrowdTangle, a publicly available tool owned and operated by Facebook.

### 1.2 Anti-EU sentiment

In the posts mentioning the EU, we also assigned tags focused on the overall sentiment toward the Union. In the case of anti-EU posts, we identified 188 entries. In comparison, tags expressing positive ("EU\_positive") or neutral sentiment ("EU\_neutral") were used to tag 66 and 147 posts, respectively, mostly of an informative nature.



The chart visualizes the total number of posts about the EU according to their sentiment. Data obtained via Pulsar. Click here to enlarge: <a href="https://public.flourish.studio/visualisation/12359566/">https://public.flourish.studio/visualisation/12359566/</a>.

The five most successful posts in terms of engagement were those of Slavěna Vorobelová (a far-right parliamentary deputy), Hlavný denník, Slobodný vysielač, Armáda Ruskej Federácie, and Andrej Danko.



Po včerajšom obrovskom proteste, ktorý sa konal v Prahe proti českej verzii našej vlády, na seba nenechala dlho čakať jej reakcia. Predstavte si, dali to na Naďa, ako keby mali jeden manuál z nemenovanej ambasády. Nespokojným občanom vynadali do ruských švábov, Putinových agentov, dezolátov, temných prororuských síl, lúzy, opíc

Realita je však taká, že bežní občania, slušní ľudia sú už cenami za existenčné potreby zatlačení do kúta a už nemajú kam cúvnuť. Normálnych ľudí nezaujíma, odkiaľ sa k nim dostane elektrina či plyn, ich zaujíma, za akú cenu sa k nim dostane. Normálni ľudia vedia, že brutálne ceny elektriny, plynu a PHM nespôsobil Putin, Vedia, že za občianskymi protestmi nie je Putin a že za blbosť liberálnych pro-bruselských a pro-amerických vlád nemôže Putin.

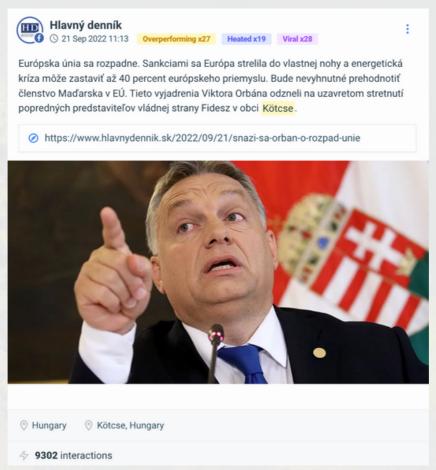
Tupohlavé slniečka sú na jednej strane najväčšími odporcami ruských energonosičov, chcú sa od nich čo najrýchlejšie odstrihnúť a na druhej strane, sa strachom roztrasú, ak Rusko pohrozí zastavením dodávok, ktoré oni tak veľmi nenávidia. Čo keby si slniečka na skúšku zatvorili už teraz kohútiky od plynu a teplej vody?! Obávam sa však, že po 3 dňoch by to boli práve oni, kto by vyšiel do ulíc a požadovali by odstúpenie tejto vlády.

Takže vážení, nie Putin a Rusko je na vine tej katastrofe, ktorá sa na nás valí, ale sú to práve ľudia typu: von Leyenová, Heger, Fiala, Čaputová, Scholz, Macron a im podobní zapredanci 👖

∕P.S.: Kedy už konečne aj modrožltí pochopia, že sa tu jedná o geopolitiku a mocenské záujmy USA !?



Slavěna Vorobelova's post from September 4, 2022 contained, in addition to criticism of the EU, a narrative that Russia did not play any role in causing the energy crisis, but that it was the result of the liberal policies of politicians such as European Commission President Ursula von der Leyen, Slovak Prime Minister Eduard Heger, Czech Prime Minister Petr Fiala, etc. Data from CrowdTangle, a publicly available tool owned and operated by Facebook.



The post of Hlavný denník published on September 21, 2022 is no longer available. The author mentioned Hungarian Prime Minister Viktor Orbán's statement that the EU was falling apart because of the Russian sanction's terrible impact on the economy. According to Orbán, Hungary's membership in the union will have to be reconsidered. Data from Gerulata Juno, analytical tool owned by Gerulata Technologies.



\*\*

Čo sa to len deje? Doteraz sme počúvali zo všetkých strán od našich politikov za výrazného prispenia mainstreamovým médií, že sa nie je čoho obávať. Že Rusko potrebuje Európu viac ako Európa Rusko, že vôbec nie sme odkázaní na ruské energetické zdroje, že máme kopec alternatívnych možností, že všetko je pod kontrolou a ľudia sa nemusia ničoho obávať. A zrazu...tí istí, dnes už viditeľne vyplašení politici, narýchlo zvolávajú kadejaké krízové summity a na zvráskavených čelách sa im zračí obava, že ich vlastné politické rozhodnutia a kroky, by snáď mohli dospieť do revolúcie naštvaného ľudu, ktorému sa nechce strategicky trpezlivo mrznúť, hladovať a zomierať a ktorý by týchto politikov mohol poľahky zvrhnúť.
Áno...až sem nás priviedla nenávisť politikov kolektívneho západu voči Rusku. Presne sem.



SLOBODNYVYSIELAC.SK | AUTOR: BORIS KORONI

Česko svolává evropské jednání kvůli cenám energií. Ty ohrožují politický systém, varoval Blažek. - Slobodný vysielač

☼ 3,2 tis.

592 komentárov 896 zdieľaní

A <u>post</u> of Slobodný vysielač from August 26, 2022 shared its article containing information from the Czech news portal Čt24 about the convening of the Council of Ministers for Energy within the Czech Presidency of the Council of the EU. Slobodný vysielač gave a negative interpretation of this meeting to address the energy crisis, and added its own spin, claiming that the energy crisis "was brought about by the hatred of the collective West toward Russia," referring primarily to the EU. Data from CrowdTangle, a publicly available tool owned and operated by Facebook.



SLOVENSKO, KEDY SA ZOBUDÍŠ?

- 🚺 U bratov Čechov prebehol masívny protivládny protest, ktorého sa účastnilo viac ako 70 000 ľudí
- 1 Mimo iného na proteste ľudia kričali heslá ako "toto nie je naša vojna" a mnoho ďalších, mierených na samovražedné ekonomické maniere momentálnych elitárov, proti EU a sankciám
- 1 Na proteste sa nachádzali všetky vekové skupiny a ľudia zo všetkých ekonomických "kategórii". Spája ich jedno, absolútna nechuť voči súčasnej vláde, ktorá poslušne uprednostňuje iných pred záujmami vlastných
- 👔 Ekonomická a energetická kríza už dávno prebieha, malé podniky už krachujú a dnes vo vláde sedia ľudia, ktorí bez problémov povedia, že podpora iných bude pokračovať bez ohľadu ako silné hlasy väčšiny proti tomu budú. Toto sa volá vlastizrada

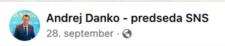
Pre viac necenzúrovaného obsahu sleduj Telegram https://t.me/ZvodkaOnline



10 Der lei, Ondrej Karško Air Art a 4,4 tis. ďalších

885 komentárov 577 zdieľaní

The post of Armáda Ruskej Federácie page on September 4, 2022 responded to the protests in the Czech Republic against the war in Ukraine, the EU, and sanctions against Russia. We assessed the post as anti-EU, as it interpreted the protests in a positive light and was headlined "Slovakia, when will you wake up?" essentially encouraging Slovak citizens to take similar action. Data from CrowdTangle, a publicly available tool owned and operated by Facebook.





Predsedníčka EK Ursula von der Leyenová označila úniky plynu z plynovodov Nord Stream za sabotáž. "Akékoľvek úmyselné narušenie aktívnej európskej energetickej infraštruktúry je neprijateľné. " Mohol by sa jej niekto konečne opýtať či netrpí schizofréniou? Veď sa jej splnil sen. Plyn z Ruska nebude prichádzať. Zrazu je to sabotáž? Táto žena je také nešťastie pre Európsku úniu ako Heger pre Slovensko. Títo ľudia len trepú, ale keď príde realita, zrazu je panika.

☼ Vividoff a 3,7 tis. ďalších

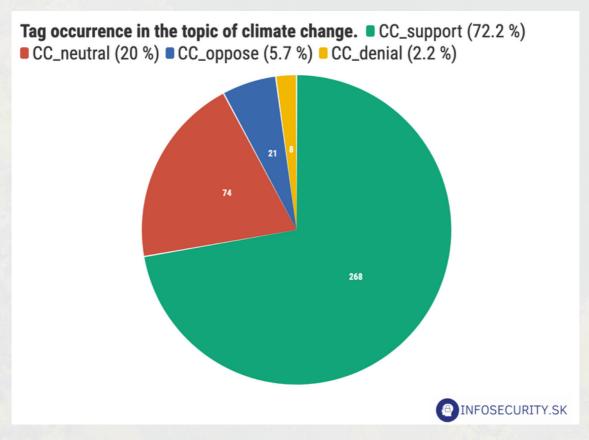
664 komentárov 713 zdieľaní

Lastly, the post by SNS Chairman Andrej Danko, from September 28, 2022, focused on the labeling of the Nord Stream pipeline explosions as sabotage. EC President Ursula von der Leyen, who issued a statement on the matter, is suffering from schizophrenia and is a disaster for the EU, according to Danko. This is an ad hominem attack on a specific person in a high political office, which in fact constitutes an indirect attack on the EU as an iinstitution itself. Data from CrowdTangle, a publicly available tool owned and operated by Facebook.

### 2. Narratives about climate and the environment

In addition to the above-mentioned narratives, which primarily focused on EU measures, we noted several other more coherent narratives about climate and the environment during our monitoring. However, these appeared in a smaller amount of posts, and thus did not carry as much weight. These are primarily narratives arising from climate skepticism, i.e. uncertainty or low awareness about climate change (and the available scientific data on it), leading to, for example, denial of the importance of climate change, denial of its existence per se, denial of human influence on climate change, denial of responsibility for accelerating climate change in the region (e.g. claims that only larger economies, such as China or the U.S. should bear responsibility for fighting climate change), etc. Within our dataset, in several cases we identified denial of the existence of climate change, but also denial of its importance (we categorized this aspect as "climate alarmism").

As part of the monitoring, we identified the topic of climate change in 371 posts. A total of 72.2% were assigned the tag "CC\_support," meaning they contained positive sentiment and thus presented climate change as a real threat that needs to be tackled with political action. The opposing view, i.e. denying the importance of climate change or downplaying it, was evident in 5.7%. A narrative denying the very existence of climate change was present in the context of 2.2% of the posts on the topic.



The chart visualizes the total number of tag occurrences in the topic of climate change. Data obtained via Pulsar. Click here to enlarge: <a href="https://public.flourish.studio/visualisation/12308325/">https://public.flourish.studio/visualisation/12308325/</a>.

A total of 33 posts in our dataset had strictly negative sentiment toward the topics of climate change: tag "CC\_oppose" was used in the case of 21 posts, tag "CC\_denial" in the case of eight posts, and tag "CA\_positive" corresponded to four posts. Among the three most successful posts in terms of engagement were two posts by Slobodný vysielač and a one post by nocomment.sk.



#### Slobodný vysielač

21. jún · 🚱

Milé deti. Naša planéta bola v smrteľnom nebezpečenstve. Globálne otepľovanie spôsobené produkovaním CO2 bolo niečo čo sme museli okamžite zastaviť, pretože v opačnom prípade hrozila globálna katastrofa. Veď to poznáte - dieťa ktoré nechodilo do školy, istá Greta nám to všetkým vysvetlila, že ako to je. No ale potom došlo k vojenskému konfliktu na Ukrajine, naši múdri a rozhľadení politici zaviedli proti Mordoru /Rusko/ sankcie a čuduj sa svete....zrazu sa ukázalo, že to s tou našou planétou a s tými sklenníkovými plynmi nebude zase až také ožehavé. Naši múdri politici zistili najnovšie, že Green deal počká. Takže teraz ideme spúšťať uhoľné elektrárne. A viete prečo? No lebo teraz už tie CO2 plyny nie sú taký problém a predovšetkým milé deti, nikdy nezabudnite, ako sme vytrestali Putina našimi múdrymi a rozumnými sankciami. A vôbec. Neotravujte tu teraz s Green dealom! Tu sme pri záchrane európskych hodnôt!



SLOBODNYVYSIELAC.SK | AUTOR: BORIS KORONI

Reuters: Nižšie dodávky ruského plynu môžu Európu znova doviesť k uhliu. -Slobodný vysielač



🗘 🗃 3,2 tis.

349 komentárov 910 zdieľaní

A post from Slobodný vysielač published on July 21, 2022 reacts to a change in EU policy, which, in connection with the war in Ukraine and Russia-stoked energy uncertainty, is returning to coal-fired power plants. The author downplays the issue of carbon neutrality, and at the same time questions the sanctions against Russia. Data from CrowdTangle, a publicly available tool owned and operated by Facebook.

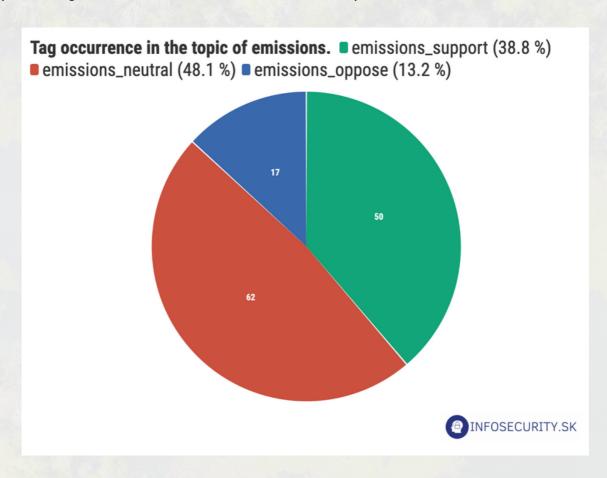


A <u>post</u> from nocomment.sk published on July 5, 2022, sharing an article by SITA (the Slovak News Agency) that states that the climate crisis will affect Roma the most. The post does not include anything other than the reproduced article itself. However, this may be a traditional tactic that alternative media employ: sharing an objective article to an often opinionated audience, anticipating derisive and polarizing reactions from the site's followers. Data from CrowdTangle, a publicly available tool owned and operated by Facebook.



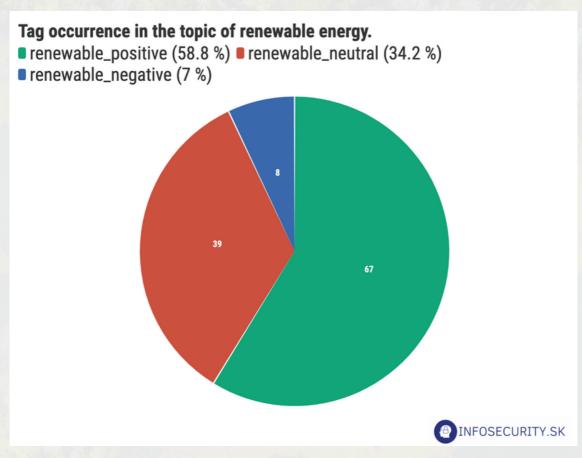
A <u>post</u> from Slobodný vysielač, published on September 8, 2022, interprets German Chancellor Olaf Sholz's recent speech in Prague as a call to curtail the last guarantees that could protect a country's national interests (a proposal for decision-making by a qualified majority). At the same time, the post mentions Germany's ideological and hegemonic blindness, and identifies the EU-directed fight against climate change as the main reason for the energy crisis. Data from CrowdTangle, a publicly available tool owned and operated by Facebook.

Closely linked to the perception of climate change is the perception of emissions – either as harmless, or as harmful and climate-warming. We tagged posts that denied the impact of greenhouse gas emissions on the global climate or presented them as harmless with the tag "emissions\_oppose" in the monitoring. There were 17 such posts in total, representing 13.2% of those within the emissions topic.



The chart visualizes the total number of tag occurrences within the topic of emissions. Data obtained via Pulsar. Click here to enlarge: <a href="https://public.flourish.studio/visualisation/12310173/">https://public.flourish.studio/visualisation/12310173/</a>.

We also looked specifically at perceptions of renewable energy sources, which are also linked to perceptions of emissions. In the case of renewables, we observed a rather positive trend in the form of support for their usage instead of fossil fuels. A favorable sentiment toward renewables showed up in 67 posts, representing 58.8% of the content within the topic. A strongly negative sentiment was identified in eight posts (7%).



The chart visualizes the total number of tag occurrences within the topic of renewable energy. Data obtained via Pulsar. Click here to enlarge: <a href="https://public.flourish.studio/visualisation/12308186/">https://public.flourish.studio/visualisation/12308186/</a>.

## 2.1 Climate alarmism and denial of climate change

As suggested above, the narrative of so-called climate alarmism appeared in the analyzed content. According to this messaging, the EU, but also the United Nations (UN) and the World Economic Forum (WEF), aim to artificially amplify fears about climate change and its impacts so that these organizations can profit from climate and environmental projects. This point of view perpetuates a conspiratorial narrative claiming global elites are behind such projects, seeking to multiply their own profits through the deployment of green technologies and renewable energy. Both, allegedly, are not beneficial to the economy either in the short or long term, and artificially create jobs and other expenses for the elites to make money on through non-transparent processes. This narrative is not only anti-EU, but is generally anti-Western and tends to downplay or even deny the consequences of climate change, which may result in a general skepticism on the subject.

It is important to add, however, that this message did not occur often within our dataset; on the contrary, it was a marginal aspect, only appearing in four posts with low engagement and from sources with smaller audiences (napalete.sk, ODBOJ V4, Slovanské Noviny). Slovanské noviny, a source of conspiracy theories, <u>referred</u> in its article and Facebook post, among other things, to the "green fanaticism" of the EU and the WEF, as well as the EU's machinations and deceitfulness in deceiving the public on energy issues. The current energy crisis is supposedly a "comedy made in Germany." This post contains both a strong anti-EU and anti-Western narrative.

The pro-Russian site ODBOJ V4 <u>shared</u> an <u>article</u> from the Czech source Necenzurovaná pravda, which questions the importance of the UN's Agenda 2030 and its green aspects. The article claims that "most of the predictions of climate alarmists have not come true," yet those in power are still pushing green themes to the forefront. The article is equally directed against the EU, claiming that the union offers corporations profits through green projects. The current plans are supposed to be a "climate Marshall Plan," which, in cooperation with the WEF, will end the use of fossil fuels, which the author does not consider necessary or important.

Surprisingly, the fourth piece that contained the climate alarmism narrative was an interview in Hospodárske noviny, a mainstream media outlet focused on business and technology.

## 2.2 Population control and the Great Reset

In total, five posts in our dataset were tagged ("carbon\_control"), containing a narrative that claimed that climate change mitigation, adaptation, and environmental protection measures are aimed at curtailing human rights and controlling the population. Three posts referred to Alibaba, the giant Chinese e-commerce company, that has developed technology to monitor personal carbon footprints through records of spending on travel, food or other purchases, and personal freedoms will allegedly slowly be curtailed under the guise of combating climate change. In addition to the Chinese company, the narrative was also directed against the WEF, as Alibaba Group director John Michael Evans presented the new technology at the WEF meeting in Davos in 2022.

According to these posts, the WEF allegedly worked to monitor the population during the COVID-19 pandemic, and climate change is just another opportunity to suppress individual rights. In this regard, Slovanské Noviny's post even <u>claimed</u> that measures to prevent the effects of climate change are part of the plan of the elites/globalists' to impose "climate lockdowns" (the equivalent of shutting down the economy during the COVID-19 crisis). This is a variation on <u>the Great Reset conspiracy theory</u> that hijacked an initiative of the Prince of Wales and WEF – to use the COVID pandemic as an opportunity to "reset" the global economy – and claims the initiators wanted to bring about economic collapse to benefit a global elite. <u>Another post</u> from Slovanské Noviny in late September 2022 questioned whether the "eco-fanatics" and the WEF had themselves created the energy crisis in order to meet climate lockdown targets.

Far-right politicians <u>Marián Kotleba</u> and <u>Marián Mišún</u> (Kotlebovci – ĽSNS), as well as the Facebook page of <u>Zdrojj</u>, commented on Alibaba Group's technology. Although the posts were in principle informative, they contained clickbait headlines and did not specify to whom such carbon footprint tracking should apply or over what timeframe the measurement should take place, or whether it was a voluntary or mandatory measure. Therefore, the audience of these sources may have interpreted the information as an imminent threat to everyone.

The narratives of the Great Reset and population control also overlap to some extent with the ideas of climate alarmism mentioned above. Specific posts included attacks on identical actors – the WEF, the UN, the EU, the U.S. and so on – who supposedly control the world through green policies and boost their economic assets. These narratives, however, did not play a significant role in the period under review (posts were scarce and received only minimal interaction) – probably a reflection of the focus of pro-Russian sources primarily on domestic politics, the war in Ukraine, and other issues. The topic of climate is marginal in their content and when addressed, relates primarily to energy issues, which are perceived as more pressing by the Slovak audience. If these posts also display pro-Russian sentiment, they traditionally have the potential to gain more interactions.

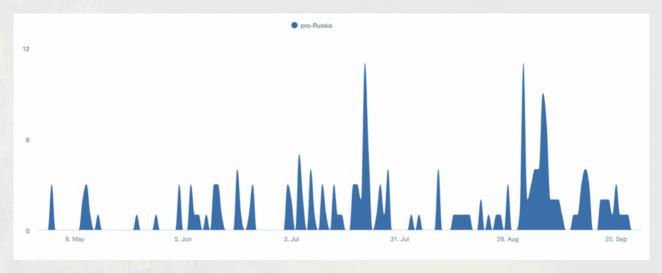


Marián Mišún's <u>post</u> from May 26, 2022, in which he shared an article from the problematic website magazin1.sk. The website belongs to the broader communication network of the party Kotlebovci – Ľudová Strana Naše Slovensko, of which Mišún is a member. The article derisively objects to the idea of measuring one's own carbon footprint using Alibaba technology. The title of the article is to some extent clickbait ("We'll know where you're going, how you're getting there, what you're eating, how you're eating"), where the new technology is portrayed as a path to totalitarianism. Data from CrowdTangle, a publicly available tool owned and operated by Facebook.

### 3. Pro-Russian narratives

During the research period, the Slovak information space resonated with the topic of the energy crisis, which emerged as a consequence of the Russian military invasion of Ukraine and the disruption of world energy markets, hitting Europe and the entire world painfully. As the focus of the project was mainly on the perception of climate and environmental issues in pro-Russian sources (as well as on several pages of mainstream media, politicians, and political parties), we examined in the relevant posts which themes and narratives underlie the pro-Russian sentiment. This was particularly present in posts that portrayed Russia as a reliable partner and sought to blame the West and especially the EU for the energy crisis, while downplaying or criticizing EU sanctions and the union's green policies.

We classified 188 posts as containing pro-Russian sentiment. The time distribution of these posts, tagged "pro\_Russia," largely coincided with that of posts tagged "energy" and "economy" (see the graph in the research results section). The largest number of pro-Russia posts appeared between July 2 and July 29, 2022, with a peak on July 22, followed by between September 1 and September 17, 2022, with peaks on September 1 and September 6, 2022.



The graph shows the distribution of the "pro-Russia" tag during the research period (May 1st to September 30th, 2022). Data obtained and visualized via Pulsar.

Among the most successful under the "pro-Russia" tag were two posts originating from Slobodný vysielač, two from Andrej Danko, and one from Slavěna Vorobelová.



Zaujímavá logika. Západ vyzýva Rusko, aby odovzdalo záporožskú jadrovú elektráreň Ukrajine, lebo že inak hrozí jadrová katastrofa. Ten istý západ pritom tvrdí že sú to práve Rusi, ktorí aktuálne ostreľujú túto elektráreň, ktorú zároveň okupujú. Tak si teda rozmeňme tento oxymoron na drobné. Rusi podľa západu ostreľujú elektráreň, v ktorej majú svoju vlastnú techniku a vojakov, ale keď elektráreň odovzdajú Ukrajincom, tak už vraj potom bude všetko OK. Zaujímavé. Takže elektráreň ostreľujú Rusi, ale len dovtedy kým tam majú vlastných vojakov. Akonáhle túto elektráreň odovzdajú Ukrajine a Ukrajinci tam teda budú mať svojich vojakov, tak už katastrofa hroziť nebude, lebo v tom prípade už Rusi s ostreľovaním elektrárne skončia. Na tejto "logike" niečo sakramentsky nesedí. A logicky by to sedelo viac takto: Záporožskú elektráreň v skutočnosti ostreľujú Ukrajinci a aktuálne sa vyhrážajú Rusku, že ak elektráreň neopustia, tak ju zbombarduje ukrajinská armáda tak, že dôjde ku katastrofe, z ktorej bude obvinené Rusko. Ak Rusi elektráreň opustia, tak ku katastrofe, z ktorej by bolo obvinené Rusko nedôjde. Takto to logicky sedí podstatne viac.



SLOBODNYVYSIELAC.SK | AUTOR: BORIS KORONI

Jadrové vydieranie: za ukrajinskými údermi na Záporožskú jadrovú elektráreň stoja USA. - Slobodný vysielač



🗘 🗃 👨 Marek Modranský a 3,6 tis. ďalších

544 komentárov 1,7 tis. zdieľaní

This <u>post</u> from the pro-Russian Slobodný vysielač on August 11, 2022 discussed the situation at the Zaporozhye nuclear power plant. According to the author, the West had defamed Russia by claiming that Russian troops were shelling the plant they were also occupying. The "true" version of events was the opposite – the Ukrainians were supposedly threatening Russian troops that they would destroy the plant if Russia did not withdraw its forces – a form of nuclear blackmail. The headline also alleged U.S. involvement. In addition to distracting attention from Russian actions in the area, the article sought to present Russia as the victim. Data from CrowdTangle, a publicly available tool owned and operated by Facebook.



Po včerajšom obrovskom proteste, ktorý sa konal v Prahe proti českej verzii našej vlády, na seba nenechala dlho čakať jej reakcia. Predstavte si, dali to na Naďa, ako keby mali jeden manuál z nemenovanej ambasády. Nespokojným občanom vynadali do ruských švábov, Putinových agentov, dezolátov, temných prororuských síl, lúzy, opíc...

Realita je však taká, že bežní občania, slušní ľudia sú už cenami za existenčné potreby zatlačení do kúta a už nemajú kam cúvnuť. Normálnych ľudí nezaujíma, odkiaľ sa k nim dostane elektrina či plyn, ich zaujíma, za akú cenu sa k nim dostane. Normálni ľudia vedia, že brutálne ceny elektriny, plynu a PHM nespôsobil Putin. Vedia, že za občianskymi protestmi nie je Putin a že za blbosť liberálnych pro-bruselských a pro-amerických vlád nemôže Putin.

Tupohlavé slniečka sú na jednej strane najväčšími odporcami ruských energonosičov, chcú sa od nich čo najrýchlejšie odstrihnúť a na druhej strane, sa strachom roztrasú, ak Rusko pohrozí zastavením dodávok, ktoré oni tak veľmi nenávidia. Čo keby si slniečka na skúšku zatvorili už teraz kohútiky od plynu a teplej vody?! Obávam sa však, že po 3 dňoch by to boli práve oni, kto by vyšiel do ulíc a požadovali by odstúpenie tejto vlády.

Takže vážení, nie Putin a Rusko je na vine tej katastrofe, ktorá sa na nás valí, ale sú to práve ľudia typu: von Leyenová, Heger, Fiala, Čaputová, Scholz, Macron a im podobní zapredanci !!

/P.S.: Kedy už konečne aj modrožltí pochopia, že sa tu jedná o geopolitiku a mocenské záujmy USA!?



In addition to the "pro-Russia" tag, Slavěna Vorobelova's <u>post</u> from September 4, 2022 was also marked with the "EU\_negative" tag and was already explained above. Its pro-Russian orientation was manifested in support for Russia and Russian President Putin himself during the energy crisis, as well as in the presentation of Russia as the only one able to provide Europe with a cheap and stable supply of the plan. Data from CrowdTangle, a publicly available tool owned and operated by Facebook.



Andrej Danko's <u>video post</u>, published on September 24, 2022, captured a part of the interview Danko gave to the mainstream media Plus 7 dní. Clearly evident was the narrative about the necessity of taking cheap Russian energy and ending the "quarrels about who is with whom." Danko thus sidelined the real dimensions of Russia's aggression against Ukraine and presented a view on cooperation with Russia and the lifting of sanctions. Data from CrowdTangle, a publicly available tool owned and operated by Facebook.



Čo sa to len deje? Doteraz sme počúvali zo všetkých strán od našich politikov za výrazného prispenia mainstreamovým médií, že sa nie je čoho obávať. Že Rusko potrebuje Európu viac ako Európa Rusko, že vôbec nie sme odkázaní na ruské energetické zdroje, že máme kopec alternatívnych možností, že všetko je pod kontrolou a ľudia sa nemusia ničoho obávať. A zrazu...tí istí, dnes už viditeľne vyplašení politici, narýchlo zvolávajú kadejaké krízové summity a na zvráskavených čelách sa im zračí obava, že ich vlastné politické rozhodnutia a kroky, by snáď mohli dospieť do revolúcie naštvaného ľudu, ktorému sa nechce strategicky trpezlivo mrznúť, hladovať a zomierať a ktorý by týchto politikov mohol poľahky zvrhnúť. Áno...až sem nás priviedla nenávisť politikov kolektívneho západu voči Rusku. Presne sem.



This <u>post</u> from Slobodný vysielač on EU negotiations, published on August 26, 2022, was tagged "EU\_negative," in addition to the "pro-Russia" tag, and was explained above. Its pro-Russia orientation was mainly manifested in the claim that the energy crisis is the result of the West's hatred of Russia, a country still essential to the EU as an energy supplier. Data from CrowdTangle, a publicly available tool owned and operated by Facebook.



Danko also addressed the energy crisis in a <u>post</u> from September 7, 2022, in which he presented cheap Russian gas as the only feasible solution for Slovakia. In addition, he stressed his own good relations with Russia, as he offered Prime Minister Eduard Heger his "contacts in Russia" to resolve the situation with high energy prices through an agreement with Mosocw. Data from CrowdTangle, a publicly available tool owned and operated by Facebook.

## 3.1 Russia and Gazprom as the only reliable energy partners

One constant theme that appeared during the entire monitored period was the portrayal of Russia as a trustworthy and reliable energy partner, emphasizing the stable supply of energy at low prices. These claims were contrasted with the current uncertainty and the expectation of worsening living standards in Europe that bypassing Russian energy would supposedly bring.

Gazprom, the largest natural gas exporter in the world, played a main role in this narrative. According to parliamentary deputy Slavěna Vorobelová, the energy giant had <u>guaranteed</u> the stability of supplies for Slovakia until the EU's policies got in the way. At the same time, Vorobelová contrasted Russia's reliability to the uncertain supplies of liquefied natural gas (LNG) from the United States. <u>Spreading fears</u> of a possible gas shortage while glorifying Russia, Vorobelová's posts were also shared by several pro-Russian Facebook pages (<u>Národná koalícia 2</u>, <u>Sloveni</u>).

The Russian Embassy in Slovakia was also involved in accentuating Russia as the best energy partner. The embassy <u>shared a statement</u> by Russian President Vladimir Putin, who claimed that "the Russian company Gazprom has always fulfilled and will fulfill its obligations regarding gas supplies." Putin went on to say that the West was trying to attribute its own mistakes in energy policy to Russia and Gazprom. He <u>mocked</u> the efforts of the West to reduce its dependence on fossil fuels and switch to green energy: "They close everything to themselves and then look for someone to blame for it – it would be funny if it wasn't tragic." Several pro-Russian sites (<u>Extra plus, Zdrojj, Veci Verejné</u>) tried to trivialize or mock the actions of the European Union by sharing the above-mentioned messages and by presenting Russia as the best energy partner and a rational one.

A total of 38 posts related to this narrative were tagged "Gazprom\_dependence." Among the three most successful posts in terms of engagement were two by Vorobelová and one by the Slovak National Party.



Šach mat od GAZPROMU

USA v zákulisí "zúrivo" pracujú na tom, aby udržali Európsku úniu jednotnú proti Moskve aj pri poklese dodávok ruského plynu do EÚ, uviedla v stredu CNN s odvolaním sa na amerických predstaviteľov. Čo len potvrdzuje, že čelní predstaviteľia únie sú len poslušnými figúrkami v rukách iných

Ceny plynu na európskom trhu dosiahli v stredu 2 300 dolárov za tisíc kubických metrov najvyššie úrovne od marca - po tom, čo ruský plynárenský gigant Gazprom znížil dodávky cez plynovod Nord Stream 1 na 20 % svojej maximálnej kapacity. Čo na oboch stranách Atlantiku vyvolalo paniku z možnosti, že členské štáty budú túto zimu zažívať vážny nedostatok plynu a celá situácia sa tiež stane veľkou skúškou európskej odolnosti a jednoty v nepriateľstve voči

Gazprom uviedol, že zníženie dodávok je v dôsledku bezpečnostných a technických dôvodov spojených s turbínami, ktoré potrebujú generálnu opravu. Napriek tomu, zdroje CNN však trvali na tom, že išlo v skutočnosti o odvetu za sankcie uvalené EÚ na Rusko za jeho vojenskú operáciu na Ukrajine

V utorok sa ministri energetiky EÚ dohodli na pláne znížiť spotrebu plynu o 15 % od augusta do budúcei jari, no predstavitelja USA naznačili, že bezprecedentné opatrenie by praydepodobne nestačilo na vyrovnanie nedostatku. Biely dom vyslal v utorok amerického prezidentského koordinátora pre globálnu energetiku Amosa Hochsteina do EÚ na diskusiu, uvádza CNN. Ja by som skôr povedala, že tento pán Hochstein prišiel do EÚ rozdať úlohy.

Ešte stále si niekto myslí, že EÚ je svojprávne zoskupenie, ktoré koná v záujme svojich občanov? Aké dôkazy občania ešte potrebujú, aby pochopili, že "euroatlantickí demokrati" sú v skutočnosti len nesvojprávne poslušné postavičky vykonávajúce príkazy Washingtonu, ktorý sa "chlapsky" bije s Ruskom a Čínou o svetovú nadvládu pomocou tzv. cudzích rúk.

Pomaly dennodenne počúvame, že EÚ ešte nikdy nebola tak jednotná ako je dnes. Pravda j však taká, že EÚ ešte nikdy nebola tak rozhádaná ako je dnes a ani dnes nie je tak rozhádaná ako bude zajtra, pozajtra, v septembri či decembri. Naši predkovia žili v Rakúsko-Uhorsku, ktoré si vyslúžilo nelichotivú prezývku "žalár národov". Dnes môžeme touto výstižnou prezývkou označiť tiež Európsku úniu, ktorú práve "euroatlantickí demokrati" premenili na jeden odporný liberálno-fašistický žalár národov.

P.S.: Ale naši vládní predstavitelia nám budú vtĺkať do hláv donekonečna noty, ktoré dostali spoza Atlantiku. Ak náhodou rozmýšľate a viete si spájať súvislosti, nebodaj máte na veci iný názor ste nepriateľ štátu, dezolát, hoaxer alebo rovno ruský agent, ktorému hrozí pokuta, dokonca priam väzenie. Každý režim raz skončí, aj tento. Je to len otázka času, čo myslíte?!



Danko also addressed the energy crisis in a post from September 7, 2022, in which he presented cheap Russian gas as the only feasible solution for Slovakia. In addition, he stressed his own good relations with Russia, as he offered Prime Minister Eduard Heger his "contacts in Russia" to resolve the situation with high energy prices through an agreement with Mosocw. Data from CrowdTangle, a publicly available tool owned and operated by Facebook.



Slovenská národná strana 2

Toto už ani hanba nie je

Pár dní majú na západe paniku, že po každoročných opravách NORD STREAM 1, Gazprom už neobnoví od 21.7.2022 dodávky plynu do Nemecka. Ide totiž o hlavný nemecký zdroj plynu. Zarážajúcim faktom je tá neuveriteľná drzosť!

Celá slávna EU si po celý čas sama sebe píli konár pod zadkom neuváženými "veľkohubými vyhláseniami o odpojení sa od ruského plynu a ropy a teraz sa čudujú, že by ich mohol Rus

Po toľkých prijatých sankčných balíčkoch voči Rusku. Po tom, ako hlavne východné krajiny a jednou z nich je aj Slovensko, viac ako 95% závislé na rope a plyne, trpia pri smiešnych platoch nespravodlivou dražobou energií a základných potravín, sa vám rozum zastavuje, či je toto vôbec možné?!

A to nie je všetko

Nemecko týždeň dozadu požiadalo Kanadu, aby aj napriek sankciám, poslala chýbajúcu turbínu kompresorovej stanice vzhľadom na fakt, že nedostatočné dodávky plynu by spôsobili nemeckej ekonomike veľké problémy...

Neuveriteľné!!!

Chce sa mi vracat!!!

Kde je teraz pani prezidentka Čapútová, ktorá spolu aj s premiérom Hegerom chceli Slovensko okamžite od plynu aj ropy odpojit... Prečo voči krokom nemeckých politikov okrem Ukrajiny nikto neprotestuje?!

Čo sa tí hrdinovia, ktorí sa tu bili do pŕs, ako treba okamžite všetko od Rusov odpojiť, stratili?! Kde je teraz europoslanec Hojsik a Šimečka z Progresívneho Slovenska, ktorí tak vehementne vystupujú či proti jadru a plynu, aby neboli zelenou energiou, či proti dodávkam plynu a ropy na Slovensko z Ruska..

To toto je tá nová garnitúra čo nám tu má vládnuť, ktorej už teraz marketing a oligarchovia pripravujú rozhodujúcu úlohu v spoločnosti?!

Tak nám PÁN BOH POMÁHAJ!!!

Títo nás isto, ako ďalší po Matovičovi, dovedú rovno do pekla! Stačí si pozrieť ich názory a

Všetci zodpovední ale zabúdajú, že sa tu zahrávajú s množstvom ľudských osudov...

Alebo si naozaj o nás myslia, že sme hlupáci, ktorí tu seno "žerieme"?! Stále nepočujem, že by sa čo i len jeden na Slovensku volený potentát ľudí zastal. Naopak pri

svojich tisícových príjmoch nám kážu niečo o hodnotách..

Ako vždy my to máme odtrpieť a oni ani len nevedia koľko stojí rožok.

Verím, že národ dnes vidí a chápe čo sa to tu deje, čo je toto za lúzu a pošle ich konečne minimálne vo voľbách, či už komunálnych a potom parlamentných tam, kam patria - na smetisko deiín!!!

Nespokojnosť na Slovensku už dosahuje medzné hranice

Chodím po mítingoch a cítim tu nespokojnosť národa. Často počúvam, že Slováci čakajú kto to za nich urobí.

Je to možné.

Ale v národe to vrie a príde doba, kedy sa ľudia pohnú. Potom už bude jedno či opozícia chce riešiť krízu podľa ústavy..

V roku 1989 to tiež nebolo v Ústave a začalo to " máme holé ruky...!

Pokračovalo GENERÁLNYM ŠTRAJKOM a zrušením článku Ústavy o vedúcej úlohe komunistickej strany.

Zatiaľ sme len "novodobí otroci" vo vlastnej krajine, ktorí sa za smiešne platy snažia prežiť a na ktorých politici zvysoka kašlú..

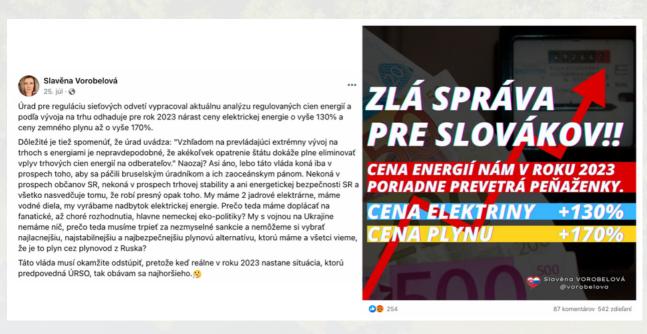
Je to hnus, ako sme osprosteli, a ako všetci trpíme... Verím však, že všetko je len do času...

Rasťo Šepták, člen SNS

2,1 tis.

114 komentárov 573 zdieľaní

A post from the Slovak National Party, published on July 12, 2022, responded to the efforts of the EU and Slovakia to diversify their energy sources and gain energy independence from Russia. The author of the piece, Rasto Šepták (a member of the party), accused ruling politicians (including President Zuzana Čaputová and Prime Minister Eduard Heger) of making reckless and wrong-minded decisions and defended Russia. The post indirectly called on the Slovak nation to take action by invoking the 1989 protests against the communist regime as an example of people power. Data from CrowdTangle, a publicly available tool owned and operated by Facebook.



In her <u>post</u> from July 25, 2022, Slavěna Vorobelová called for the resignation of the then-ruling government, spreading fear among her followers of rising energy prices. She blamed the energy crisis on the "sick decisions of German eco-politics," indicating that the Slovak government wanted to prove its gratitude to Brussels through its moves and did not think about the needs of Slovak citizens. Data from CrowdTangle, a publicly available tool owned and operated by Facebook.

## 3.2 The negative portrayal of the U.S. and the EU's efforts to diversify energy resources

During the monitored period, other claims emerged reacting to the EU's efforts to cut itself off from Russian energy and diversify its energy resources. Disinformation actors spread chaos and fear in the Slovak information space, while, at the same time, portraying the EU's moves as inadequate and unsuccessful. Pro-Russian websites such as <u>Slobodný vysielač</u> or <u>Armádny Magazín</u>, as well as <u>the Russian Embassy in Slovakia</u>, compared Germany's unsuccessful negotiations in May with Qatar on supplying liquified natural gas with a visit of Russian Foreign Minister Sergey Lavrov to Algeria and Oman to reaffirm ties – clearly an attempt to contrast the "positive" results of Russian diplomatic activity with the failure of Germany as one of the leaders of the EU.

Even successfully closed agreements were criticized, such as a deal between the EU and Azerbaijan to double gas supplies to Europe. "Just let it not be Putin. We closed our eyes to [the war in] Nagorno-Karabakh, to the fact that it [Azerbaijan] is a former USSR country, the main thing is that it has cold relations with Moscow, and therefore they will be our friends," the Facebook page Armáda Ruskej Federácie commented sarcastically.

Pro-Russian groups <u>used</u> an explosion at a LNG export terminal in the U.S. state of Texas to criticize how the government "secured" liquified natural gas for Slovaks, and called the government "Russophobic." This post, published by the pro-Russian website Hlavný denník, was also shared by <u>Som z dediny</u>, <u>Sila pravdy</u>, and <u>Odboj V4</u>. The pro-Russian sources used the tragedy to mockingly state that we have no choice but to continue <u>buying</u> Russian gas and thus "financing the war." Elsewhere, several posts accused (no longer available) the United States of benefiting from the energy crisis and the war in Ukraine by serving as an urgent LNG source for the EU, which was trying to wean itself off Russian gas.

Those who downplayed the importance of shifting away from Russian energy also argued how slow and expensive the transition to LNG would be. The pro-Russian site Slobodný vysielač satirically <u>commented</u> on the Czech Republic's efforts to secure LNG from the Netherlands: "... don't ask about things that have nothing to do with you. You should only ask whether we will get you democratic gas or not. But you don't have to ask how much the gas will cost. These are inappropriate questions." This comment also indirectly refers to another frequently used narrative of disinformation actors – the so-called Brussels dictatorship, invoked several times in regard to the current crisis. The Facebook status of the far-right political party, Republika, for example, <u>indicated</u> that Brussels uses the energy situation – as well as the migration, coronavirus, and climate crises – to expand its powers at the expense of the EU member states.

The negative portrayal of the United States did not only appear in connection with exporting LNG to Europe. Slobodný vysielač <u>claimed</u> that the mainstream media were spreading pro-American propaganda, and politicians were bowing to the U.S. and adopting crazy anti-Russian policies. Another Slobodný vysielač post <u>emphasized</u> even more strongly that the U.S. allegedly "pressured" Slovakia to impose sanctions, and their negative impact on the standard of living. The comment ironically states that "... everything bad that happens to you can only be blamed on PUTIN!"

According to the pro-Russian page Armáda Ruskej Federácie, Europe is <u>headed</u> to its own doom, because we "joined someone else's game," while NATO and the U.S. support us in our destruction. Another pro-Russian page, Slovanské noviny, also <u>spread</u> the popular disinformation narrative that the Brussels elites are incapable, or that their decision-making is influenced by the US.

In total, 22 posts were tagged "LNG\_supply." The three most popular posts, according to engagement, came from Slovak President Zuzana Čaputová, non-parliamentary politician Eduard Chmelár, and Armáda Ruskej Federácie.



S gréckou prezidentkou Katerinou Sakellaropoulou a gréckym premiérom Kyriakosom Mitsotakisom som dnes na oficiálnej návšteve v Aténach rokovala najma o príležitosti využívať ich dokončované LNG terminály na posilnenie našej energetickej bezpečnosti. Obe naše krajiny totiž zápasia so zanedbanou diverzifikáciou energetických zdrojov a potrebujú sa odpútať od ruských energonosičov. Grécko chce byť energetickým centrom v južnej Európe, čo prináša perspektívy aj pre Slovensko.

Naša spolupráca sa môže viac rozvíjať aj v oblasti zelenej tranzície, preto sme s gréckou prezidentkou udelili záštitu slovensko-gréckemu fóru pre zelenú transformáciu, kde dnes pracuje moja biznis delegácia spolu so Slovak Investment and Trade Development Agency (SARIO). Potenciál máme vo využívaní obnoviteľných zdrojov, vrátane geotermálnej energie. Grécko tiež posilňuje aj kapacity solárnych a veterných elektrární. Podobne ako región Hornej Nitry, aj Grécko má oblasti postihnuté ťažbou hnedého uhlia, ktoré sa snažíme transformovať. Preto mám v delegácii aj zástupcov z Hornej Nitry.

S mojimi gréckymi partnermi sme sa zhodli, že cestou z kríz, ktorým čelíme - energetickej, klimatickej, ale aj tej bezpečnostnej priamo v našom susedstve - je najmä silná európska spolupráca a jednota.



**OO** 5,8 tis.

450 komentárov 83 zdieľaní

Slovak President Zuzana Čaputová's <u>post</u> from September 6 covered her meeting with the Greek president and prime minister, mentioning the possibility of using Greek LNG terminals to strengthen Slovakia's energy security. The post was clearly informative and did not include any negative sentiment concerning the topic of LNG and the diversification of energy sources. Data from CrowdTangle, a publicly available tool owned and operated by Facebook.



ČAKÁ NÁS DLHÁ VLEČÚCA SA KRÍZA S HROZBOU ROZKLADU ŠTÁTU

K vývoju vládnej krízy len toľko: Hrdinom žabomyších vojen sa pomníky nestavajú. Eduard Heger sa môže vyhovárať na čokoľvek, ale zlyhal na celej čiare a každým dňom potvrdzuje, že na svoju funkciu nedorástol a nádeje, ktoré do neho pred rokom tak tragikomicky vkladali červené denničky, boli postavené na vode. V danej situácii mohol urobiť jednu jedinú vec, ktorá by mu zachránila tvár: odvolať tak Igora Matoviča, ako aj Richarda Sulíka z funkcie. Iste, taká vláda by mu dlho nevydržala, ale aspoň by nevošiel do dejín ako nesvojprávny šašo, ktorý predstiera, že je premiérom a svojej stoličky sa držť, aby pomohol ľuďom, hoci doteraz tak na rozdiel od väčšiny členských krajín EÚ neurobil. No a zatiať sa rúca nielen slovenský priemysel, ale už aj šport: košickí hokejisti sú nútení odísť zo Steel arény, pretože nie sú schopní uniesť vysoké ceny energií... Ehm, takže vravíte, že sankcie fungujú... Ej, ale sme to tomu Putinovi dali...

Podobnú falošnú principiálnosť predstiera aj Ivan Korčok. Tvári sa, že jeho "hodnoty" mu nedovoľujú, aby opustil stranu, ktorá ho do funkcie nominovala. No, musím mu pripomenúť, že vo svojej kariére už slúžil v rôznych štátnych funkciách Mečiarovi, Dzurindovi, Ficovi, Radičovej, Pellegrinimu, Matovičovi i Hegerovi, že opustil HZDS, SDKÚ i SMER a že určite zvládne aj ďalšiu ideologickú piruetu. V jeho charaktere som zaznamenal jedinú zmenu: že z cynického diplomata sledujúceho vlastné záujmy sa stal demagogický politik sledujúci rovnako vlastné záujmy.

No a zatiaľ sa naša madame z paláca vybrala na výlet do teplých krajín predstierajúc, že nemá inú dôležitejšiu robotu a že od jej zdvorilostnej konverzácie závisí budúcnosť ľudstva. Ponechajme teraz bokom, že melie niečo o zelenej tranzícii a zbavovaní sa závislosti od ruského plynu - a zároveň propaguje vládny plán využívania gréckych LNG terminálov (environmentálne najhoršieho zdroja energie) a naivne kurizuje Grékom, aké to bude ohromné keď budú "energetické centrum južnej Európy"... Lebo toto sú taľafatky, ktoré ona naozaj nemôže ovplyvniť. Ale čo ona ovplyvniť môže a musí, je riešenie domácej krízy. Neverte táraninám, že ona za nič nemôže a nič nezmôže, pretože má nedostatočné právomoci Odhliadnuc od toho, že práve ona celý marazmus spôsobila, keď minulý rok vymenovala Igora Matoviča do funkcie ministra financií, falošne sa brániac, že bez neho nebude vláda a nám všetkým vraj musí záležať na úspechu tejto vlády – má celý rad politických nástrojov, ako celú situáciu ovplyvniť. Niektoré som spomenul už v predchádzajúcich článkoch, teraz poviem ďalší: prezidentka má právo žiadať od premiéra, aby jej skôr, ako vymenuje nových ministrov, priniesol záruku vládnej väčšiny 76 poslancov, a teda stability vládnutia. Kým tak neurobí, môže vymenovanie nových členov vlády odmietnuť, oddialiť, môže demisiu doterajších dokonca neprijať atď. Ale ja nebudem dávať rozumy niekomu, kto arogantne predstiera, že "ja rady nepotrebujem, viem, čo mám robiť" - lebo z toho trčí taká nadutosť a zakomplexovanosť, až ie to smiešne.

Moje hlboké presvedčenie je, že táto mocenská garnitúra ľuďom nepomôže a je úplne jedno, či preto, lebo nevie, alebo preto, lebo nechce. To podstatné je, že ľudia budú nútení vyjsť do ulíca končiť sami na ulici. Budú nútení, pretože Matovičova družina dobrovoľne neodstúpi. Budú odďaľovať predčasné voľby z číreho strachu, lebo hoci vykrikujú, že Fico je zlodej, sami sa boja basy. Budú kopať, hrýzť, intrigovať, držať sa svojich flekov ako kliešte a predľžovať agóniu moci, kým ich z vládných budov nevýženie hnev ľudí. Nebude to nič príjemné, čaká nás dlhá vlečúca sa kríza balansujúca na okraji rozkladu štátu, ale takto to



OD Slavěna Vorobelová a 4,3 tis. ďalšíci

207 komentárov 1,1 tis. zdieľan

Eduard Chmelár's <u>post</u> from September 7, 2022 responded to the above-mentioned meeting of President Čaputová with Greek political representatives. In the post, Chmelár criticized the president for hypocrisy, since the effort to diversify sources and use LNG allegedly contrasts with her ideas about the green transition because, he says, LNG, is the most destructive energy sources on the environment. Data from CrowdTangle, a publicly available tool owned and operated by Facebook.



(1) Veľká náhoda, že keď Európska Únia zistila, že musí presvedčiť verejnosť, že za vysoké ceny energií nemôže ich zelená politika a hlúpe rozhodnutia ale Rusko, viaceré Slovenské orgány vrátane spolitizovanej polície spustili svoje kampane v tomto smere

¿ Je relevantné začať sa pýtať, prečo potom napríklad západné krajiny ako napríklad Anglicko, ktoré bralo od Ruska len približne 5% energií zažíva absolútny nárast tak ako ostatní. Za to tiež môže Rusko?

Relevantné je sa aj pýtať, prečo naši spasitelia Američania neponúkajú dlhodobé kontrakty za výhodnú cenu ale namiesto toho dávajú LNG na burzu a predáva sa za maximálne spotové ceny

¿ Je relevantné sa pýtať, prečo berieme po novom energie nie zo "zlého Ruska" ale z tyranských krajín, kde sú ešte menšie práva ako v Rusku?

¿ Je relevantné sa pýtať, prečo Európska únia chce zdvojnásobiť dovoz plynu z Azerbajdžanu, krajiny, ktorá agresívne napadla vojensky svojho suseda aby získala územie. Nie je to náhodou ten istý prípad ako Ukrajina v očiach skazených vlajočkárov?

1 Toto sú všetko krásne paradoxy, na ktoré vlajočkári nemajú argumenty. Ale ako všetci vieme, v dnešnej dobe nie je problém objednať si "odborníka", ktorý vám vysvetlí podľa "faktov ako sa veci majú"

1 Nikdy ale nezabudni, že kedysi doktori zaplatení tabakovými spopočnosťami pod prísahou tvrdili, že nikotín a ich cigarety sú neškodné

0

a 2,1 tis. ďalších

95 komentárov 929 zdieľaní

The <u>status</u> posted by Armáda Ruskej Federácie on September 15, 2022 criticized the effort to diversify energy sources, and accused the U.S. of selling LNG at disadvantageous prices, compared to cheap gas from Russia, which could guarantee stable supplies. Data from CrowdTangle, a publicly available tool owned and operated by Facebook.

### **Conclusion and recommendations**

There is a relatively low awareness of the Green Deal on Facebook in Slovakia, as well as insufficient communication from politicians or the media. Over the research period, we have detected a relatively low number of relevant posts dealing with the Green Deal. On the other hand, most of the posts analyzed came from official institutions or credible news portals or mainstream media. Less beneficial, however, is the lack of interest among political leaders, either at the national or regional level. At the same time, the identified posts reached only a marginal part of the audience and received minimal numbers of interactions.

We can attribute poor communication about the Green Deal on the Slovak-language pages of Facebook to several aspects. On the one hand, it may be the result of the recent events in Europe, which, weakened after the pandemic, now has to deal with the consequences of the war in Ukraine, where most of the political and media attention has been directed. We also assume that Slovaks associate environmental and climate protection issues with the energy sector in particular, where the promotion of green solutions represents a "bogeyman" in the form of more expensive and less available energy.

Key here is the role of political leaders, who should take an active approach to communicating on the issue and persuading skeptical citizens through leadership and responsible solutions. These should also be presented in a clear manner and the possible negative impacts on the well-being of citizens should be declared transparently.

The well-developed disinformation scene has successfully managed to push anti-Western or Eurosceptic attitudes in the Slovak information space. These are often associated with the topic of climate action, which is considered to be one of the European institutions' instruments of oppression. The war in Ukraine and the subsequent EU sanctions have significantly accelerated the discourse on energy, as well as the population's fears of possible energy shortages in the winter, which has allowed pro-Russian actors to reinforce misleading narratives and manipulate public opinion.

Strategic communication of the state therefore emerges as a key element. It should specifically focus on sharing positive messages about the importance of tackling climate change and the details of climate policies (such as the Green Deal) and other ways to reduce the environmental impact of human or industrial activity. This communication should be combined with the tools offered by mainstream media and offline channels capable of reaching a wider audience. Equally important are the offices of the European institutions in Slovakia, and information sharing should not exclude the non-governmental sector.

#### **Recommendations:**

- The high number of posts published by official EU institutions and their branches in Slovakia, in proportion to the posts of problematic sources, on the topic of the Green Deal points to a wide space that is not yet largely overwhelmed by disinformation or conspiracy narratives.
- These institutions should prepare tools that may be used in several scenarios, preventing and reacting to potential disinformation or conspiracy narratives.
- Building structures within state institutions, strengthening their capacities and personnel, as well as strengthening strategic communication, is essential.
- Active communication among institution should focus on countering myths and disinformation through prebunking and debunking methods, as well as early warning of potential threats in the information space related to climate issues and energy. This could strengthen society's resilience to misleading narratives and raise overall awareness of these issues.
- Considerable space is open for domestic political representatives, who currently
  present environmental and climate issues only minimally. However, their messaging
  should be structured and coordinated with other actors. Key communicators on green
  issues include the media, news agencies, NGOs, and think tanks.
- The reluctance to communicate on these topics significantly narrows the societal debate and continues to reduce trust in the EU. Given the significant overlap of the topics we covered with anti-Western/anti-EU and pro-Russian sentiment, the impact of these common narratives should be mitigated, both at the level of state institutions and at the level of the mainstream media and NGO sector.
- NGOs should also be consulted, and an expert analytical community should be nurtured, which will be capable of reflecting on current threats through continuous monitoring of the information environment and other analyses. The knowledge presented by this community can strengthen common awareness and societal resilience.

## Research design

The research was conducted through the combined use of qualitative and quantitative research approach methods. The choice of Facebook for the analysis was derived from long-term experience with monitoring problematic content in the Slovak information space. The findings of the <u>2022 Reuters Institute Digital News Report</u> also indicated that users of social networks in Slovakia still prefer Facebook (74% of respondents) and frequently turn to the platform as a source of news (58% said they obtain information from social networks, of which 54% get it from Facebook).

The research itself consisted of several phases. In the first phase, in addition to the selection of the platform, we chose the actors to be surveyed, relying primarily on a <u>list of pro-Russian actors</u> created by <u>Gerulata Technologies</u>, a Slovak technology company that develops tools for monitoring and assessing malicious online content. Since this list also includes websites, for the purposes of our research we selected 96 Facebook pages and personal profiles that were categorized as pro-Russian sources. Subsequently, we added the Facebook pages of 14 political parties and the pages and personal profiles of 41 political actors – both parliamentary and extra-parliamentary politicians. The Facebook pages of 10 mainstream media (including news agencies) were inserted in the list of sources, as well. In total, there were 158 surveyed actors, while three Facebook pages in the category of pro-Russian actors were not available at the time of the survey. The full list is available in Annex 1.

We used this list as the basis for creating the source list for CrowdTangle, a publicly available tool provided by Meta for the purpose of monitoring published content, which in turn enabled the acquisition of data. We then designed a set of keywords related to environmental, climate, and energy topics to search for content from the actors under analysis. The complete list of keywords is available in Annex 2.

Once the preparatory phases were completed, we proceeded to search the content for further analysis by conducting searches in CrowdTangle using the lists of actors and keywords, at one-month intervals from May 1 to September 30, 2022. To evaluate the retrieved dataset, we created a list of tags capturing the key topics or narratives contained in the examined posts. The assignment of tags to posts was done through the Pulsar platform. A post typically contained multiple tags; in rare cases, only one tag may have been assigned.

The final dataset contained 1,853 relevant posts and 694 posts tagged "irrelevant," meaning they did not correspond to the focus of the project in terms of content and were therefore not assessed further. The relatively high number of irrelevant posts may have resulted from the broad keyword setting, which allowed CrowdTangle to capture unrelated content. The sentiment and content of relevant posts were subsequently analyzed and evaluated using tag assignment. As a parallel activity, more complex narratives were captured and problematic (potentially harmful) posts were tagged.

At the same time, we noted the actors from whom the captured posts originated and evaluated their attributes. In the category of pro-Russian sources, we assessed: the presence of a pro-Russian bias in that particular post; an inclination toward extremism; an inclination toward anti-systemic attitudes; an inclination toward anti-liberal attitudes; the presence of conspiratorial narratives; an orientation toward health-related topics; an orientation toward religion-related topics; and the subject's position on the right-left political spectrum.

In the case of political parties, the following was determined: the position of the political party or movement on the right-left political spectrum; geopolitical orientation; regional affiliation (i.e. if the group is more active in a particular region in Slovakia); the party's presence in one of the groups in the European Parliament or its presence in the National Assembly of the Slovak Republic (all of the selected political parties were in coalition or in opposition at the time of the research).

For individual political actors, we assessed: affiliation with a political party or movement, or the position of the politician in the party or institution; position on the right-left political spectrum; geopolitical orientation; and regional affiliation.

In the context of media (including news agencies), we determined: ownership; the level of relevance of the published content; domestic or foreign coverage; position on the right-left political spectrum; geopolitical orientation; the popularity of the source (in terms of number of readers); and the length of time the source has been in operation.

On the basis of this categorization and evaluation of the orientation of the identified sources, we extracted – from the complete, pre-built list of sources – those whose posts were captured in CrowdTangle and were evaluated as relevant to the topic of environment, climate, or energy. In the final stage of the research, we aggregated the findings in the form of individual chapters in this final report, providing a fundamental overview of the most prevalent narratives during the study period, which the authors of the report have placed in a broader context. Furthermore, the report reflects on which actors commented on environmental, climate, or energy issues during the period, how often they commented on these topics in their posts, and what sub-topics or narratives were present in their posts. The prevalent topics, narratives, and the time distribution of relevant posts by topic were visualized via Pulsar and Flourish (a data visualization platform). The final report also analyzes the most successful posts by engagement within the selected narratives according to the assigned tags.

Finally, it should be noted that the research covered as much content as the limitations of the analytical tools allowed, as well as the lists of keywords and tags. Despite those restraints, we believe that the available sample reflects the state of the discourse on the environment, climate, and energy on Slovak-language Facebook pages (which represents an important segment of the Slovak information space).

This report was prepared with the support of IRI's Beacon Project. The opinions expressed are solely those of the author and do not reflect those of IRI.



# Annex 1 – Complete list of monitored actors (data collection took place on November 12, 2022)

#### **Pro-russian sources:**

Akčná Skupina Vzdor Kysuce, <u>page</u>,number of followers: 7,532 Alexander Ivanovič Možajev, page, number of followers: 7,989

AntiKiska, <u>page</u>, number of followers: 14,195 Antimajdan, <u>page</u>, number of followers: 8,216

Armáda Ruskej Federácie, page, number of followers: 76,641

Armádny magazín, page, number of followers: 16,885

Blog investigatívnej žurnalistiky, page, number of followers: 19,402

BRAT za BRATA, page, number of followers: 54,894

Casus Belli - Vojnové konflikty vo svete a geopolitika, page, number of followers: 1,535

Cesty Víťazstva 2019-Дороги победы 2019-Darogy Pobedy 2019, page, number of

followers: 992

Červené gardy, page, number of followers: 1,730

Čo Vy na to , občania ?, page, number of followers: 20,645

DAV DVA, page (new name: Veci Verejné), number of followers:

Denník Slobodné listy, page, number of followers: 4,234

DUŠAN JURÍK, <u>page</u>, number of followers: 1,028

ExtraPlus, page, number of followers: 11,554

EZOpress, page (new name: E-press Community), number of followers: 1,951

Front l'avicovej mládeže, page, number of followers: 3,283

Hlavné správy, page not available

Hlavný denník, <u>page</u>, number of followers: 37,147 Hrica Lubos, <u>page</u>, number of followers: 92,777 Hrot.info, <u>page</u>, number of followers: 11,231

Informer-slovensko, page, number of followers: 3,427

InfoSvet/SK, page not available

Inlibri - online kníhkupectvo, page, number of followers: 2,117

ISKRA, page, number of followers: 2,486

Jednota Slovanov, page, number of followers: 853

JOTA - Konceptuálna jednota, page, number of followers: 632

Katarína Boková † Slovenské Hnutie Obrody, <u>page</u>, number of followers: 1,352

Kulturblog, page not available

Magazín 1 - politicko spoločenský magazín, page not available

Milujeme Rusko, page, number of followers: 58,842

Napalete, page, number of followers: 9,676

NA PANSKÉ - Slobodný vysielač, <u>page</u>, number of followers: 1,063

Narodne Slovensko, <u>page</u>, number of followers: 1,779

nocomment.sk, <u>page</u>, number of followers: 65,612

Noviny ÚSVIT, page, number of followers: 1,899

Občiansky ODPOR, <u>page</u>, number of followers: 1,631

Odboj V4, <u>page</u>, number of followers: 12,644

40. OZ Klub histórie veľkej vlasteneckej vojny, <u>page</u>, number of followers: 3,389

Pamäť histórie Oslobodenia, page, number of followers: 1,628

Peter Švrček, page, number of followers: 1,305

Podporujeme existenciu Slovenských brancov, page, number of followers: 631

Podtatranský kuriér, page, number of followers: 1,364

PRAVDA ŤA OSLOBODÍ!, page, number of followers: 12,999

Protiprúdu, page, number of followers: 1,152

Republika - Naša Vlasť je Budúcnosť, page, number of followers: 8,524

Rozhľady, <u>page</u>, number of followers: 10,414 Sila pravdy, <u>page</u>, number of followers: 66,457

Slavica, page, number of followers: 6,942

Slobodný Výber, <u>page</u>, number of followers: 8,660 Slobodný vysielač, <u>page</u>, number of followers: 93,828

Slovanska unia, <u>page</u>, number of followers: 8,577

Slovanská duše - Славянская душа, page, number of followers: 18,417

Slovanské bratstvo, <u>page</u>, number of followers: 3,011 Slovanské noviny, page, number of followers: 2,209

Slovanské ženy - matky proti vojne, page, number of followers: 2,040

Slovanský svet - Славянский мир - Slovenski svet - Słowiański świat, <u>page</u>, number of

followers: 5,664

Sloveni, page, number of followers: 14,045

Slovenská Bojová Veda, <u>page</u>, number of followers: 3,604 Slovenské národné noviny, <u>page</u>, number of followers: 7,492

Slovenskí Branci, page, number of followers: 22,365

Slovensko naša krajina, page, number of followers: 43,402

Slovensko v srdci, page, number of followers: 31,829

Slovensko-ruská spoločnosť, <u>page</u>, number of followers: 2,691

Slovensko-ruská spoločnosť Arbat Trnava, page, number of followers: 44

Slovensko-Ruská základná škola, page, number of followers: 566

Slovenský zväz protifašistických bojovníkov - SZPB, <u>page</u>, number of followers: 5,812

Sloviensko, <u>page</u>, number of followers: 2,948

Slovo, <u>page</u>, number of followers: 1,798

Socialistický zväz mladých- SZM / Socialist Union of Youth- Slovakia, <u>page</u>, number of followers: 472

Somslovan.sk, page, number of followers: 3,160

Som Slovák a som na to hrdý..., <u>page</u>, number of followers: 258,416

Som z dediny, <u>page</u>, number of followers: 147,530

Spoločnosť rodákov a priateľov Ruska - Берёзка, <u>page</u>, number of followers: 1,105

Spravodajská Alternatíva, page, number of followers: 29,153

Svetlo do tmy, page, number of followers: 24,876

Tajné dejiny Slovienov - Slovanov a Arijcov,našich slávnych predkov, <u>page</u>, number of followers: 2,748

Takže tak, page, number of followers: 5,662

Televízia Slovan, page, number of followers: 57,786

Udalosti dňa, <u>page</u>, number of followers: 725

Ústav pamäti ľudu práce, <u>page</u>, number of followers: 4,055

Varovanie, page, number of followers: 779

Veľvyslanectvo Ruska na Slovensku/ Посольство России в Словакии, page, number of

followers: 68,831

Vojaci proti vojne a za suverenitu Slovenska, page, number of followers: 1,216

Vydavateľstvo Torden, page, number of followers: 1,942

Vzbura proti modernému svetu, page, number of followers: 12,508

VZDOR, page, number of followers: 14,730

Zaujímavosti Slovenska, page, number of followers: 41,706

Zdrojj, page, number of followers: 14,656

Združenie slovenskej inteligencie, page, number of followers: 4,944

Zjednotení za mier, page, number of followers: 3,887

zvtv, page, number of followers: 4,393

Большая Славия, Sláva Rodu Slovanskému, page, number of followers: 2,540

Ночные Волки MC Европа \ Night Wolves MC Europe, <u>page</u>, number of followers: 9,639 13. Русский дом в Братиславе/Ruský dom v Bratislave, <u>page</u>, number of followers: 2,460

#### Political parties and movements:

Hlas - sociálna demokracia, page, number of followers: 45,231

Komunistická Strana Slovenska, page, number of followers: 8,122

Kotlebovci - ľudová strana Naše Slovensko, <u>page</u>, number of followers: 17,301

Obyčajní ľudia a nezávislé osobnosti, page, number of followers: 219,683

Progresívne Slovensko, page, number of followers: 44,556

Republika, page, number of followers: 12,726

Sloboda a solidarita, page, number of followers: 130,385

Slovenská národná strana, page, number of followers: 88,504

Slovenské hnutie obrody, page, number of followers: 47,731

Slovenský PATRIOT, page, number of followers: 3,327

socialisti.sk, page, number of followers: 10,612

SPOLU - občianska demokracia, <u>page</u>, number of followers: 28,630

Za ľudí, page, number of followers: 20,409

Život - Národná strana, page, number of followers: 13,868

#### Political actors:

Angelová, Svetlana, page, number of followers: 516

Bekmatov, Artur, page, number of followers: 13,527

Beňová, Monika, page, number of followers: 63,768

Boková, Katarína, page, number of followers: 25,516

Budaj, Ján, profile, number of followers: 5,909

Bilčík, Vladimír, page, number of followers: 7,989

Čaputová, Zuzana, page, number of followers: 368,547

Danko, Andrej, page, number of followers: 95,459

Draxler, Juraj, page, number of followers: 24,174

Ďuriš Nicholsonová, Lucia, page, number of followers: 58,126

Gergeľová, Monika, page, number of followers: 672

Géci, Marek, page, number of followers: 52, 692

13. Hajšel, Robert, page, number of followers: 1,724

Harabin, Štefan, page not available

Hojsík, Martin, <u>page</u>, number of followers: 23,788

Chmelár, Eduard, page, number of followers: 71,771

Jurzyca, Eugen, page, number of followers: 2,614

Kazda, Radovan, profile, number of followers: 4,610

Kotleba, Marian, <u>page</u>, number of followers: 50,112

Lexmann, Miriam, page, number of followers: 8,448

Mazurek, Milan, page, number of followers: 176,918

Mičovský, Ján, page, number of followers: 6,958

Mišún, Marián, <u>page</u>, number of followers: 22,987

Polačik, Štefan, <u>page</u>, number of followers: 1,398

Pollák, Peter, page, number of followers: 56,332

Poprocký, Pavol, <u>page</u>, number of followers: 2,242

Radačovský, Miroslav, <u>page</u>, number of followers: 40,597

Sabo, Michal, page, number of followers: 47,765

Skýpala, Pavol, profile, number of followers: 881

Soročinová, Monika Sofyia, profile, number of followers: 15,764

Stohlová, Tamara, page, number of followers: 3,181

Suja, Miroslav, page, number of followers: 39,760

Šimečka, Michal, page, number of followers: 32,257

Ščurka, Jaroslav, page, number of followers: 525

Štefanec, Ivan, page, number of followers: 23,172

Švec, Róbert, profile, number of followers: 12,476

Taraba, Tomáš, page, number of followers: 58,169

Tóth, Ján, page, number of followers: 173

Vorobelová, Slavěna, <u>page</u>, number of followers: 19,304

Wiezik, Michal, <u>page</u>, number of followers: 19,937 Zemanová, Anna, <u>page</u>, number of followers: 3,359

#### Media and news agencies:

Hospodárske noviny, <u>page</u>, number of followers: 135,043

Plus jeden deň, page, number of followers: 198,647

Pravda, page, number of followers: 158,856

RTVS, page, number of followers: 107,301

SITA, page, number of followers: 1,864

SME, page, number of followers: 189,358

TA3, page, number of followers 208,240

TASR, page, number of followers: 72,492

Teraz.sk, page, number of followers: 47,390

10. Webnoviny, <u>page</u>, number of followers: 32,500

# Annex 2 – List of keywords used for researching Facebook content (via CrowdTangle)\*

climate, "global warming", "Green Deal", ecology, ecologic, decarbonization, carbon, environment, environmental, emissions, "greenhouse gas", "greenhouse gasses", CO2, methane, "fossil fuel", "fossil fuels", energy, sustainable, sustainability, "circular economy", "renewable energy", renewables

\*The keywords were translated from Slovak language, in which they were originally used.

### Annex 3 – List of used tags

"carbon\_control" – analyzed content contains a narrative of the elites' alleged efforts to control the world's population through green policies, primarily through limiting greenhouse gas emissions

"cars\_ban" – analyzed content contains the topic of banning the sale of motor vehicles with combustion engines within the EU from 2035

"CA\_positive" – analyzed content contains a narrative of climate alarmism, and talks about how global elites – primarily the WEF, the UN, and the EU – misuse the topic of climate protection to curtail the rights of citizens; it is possible to identify an anti-Western sentiment "CC\_support" – climate change is a serious threat, and analyzed content supports mitigation and adaptation policies

"CC\_neutral" - climate change exists, but is not perceived as a serious threat

"CC\_oppose" – climate change is downplayed; policies for mitigation and adaptation are interpreted as unnecessary; measures are presented as economically demanding, or as an attempt to cover up other, more serious problems

"CC\_denial" - analyzed content contains a narrative of climate change denial

"economy" – analyzed content refers to the economic aspects of green measures or climate change or is otherwise related to the economy

"emissions\_support" – greenhouse gas emissions harm the climate and must be reduced; measures to reduce emissions are presented positively

"emissions\_neutral" - analyzed content touches on the topic of emissions, and the sentiment is neutral, mostly in the case of informative posts

"emissions\_oppose" – greenhouse gas emissions do not harm the climate; therefore there is no need to reduce them; measures to reduce emissions are presented negatively (as unnecessary or harmful to the economy)

"energy" – analyzed content concerns energy, such as energy sources, energy prices, energy from Russia, etc.

"environment" – analyzed content contains a topic related to the environment and its protection or ecology

"**EU\_policies**" – analyzed content refers to green measures at the level of the European Union or reflects the political position of the EU on a specific topic

"**EU\_positive**" – analyzed content positively portrays the European Union, its representatives, institutions, or measures

"**EU\_neutral**" – analyzed content describes neutrally the European Union, its representatives, institutions, or measures, mostly in the case of informative posts

"**EU\_negative**" – analyzed content describes the European Union, its representatives, institutions, or measures in a negative light (as unnecessary or harmful)

"Gazprom\_dependence" – analyzed content contains a narrative presenting Russia and Gazprom as the only reliable energy partner that can deliver energy to the EU on time and at low prices

"GD\_support" - The European Green Deal is presented as a necessary tool

"GD\_neutral" - The European Green Deal is presented neutrally, mostly in the case of informative media posts

"GD\_oppose" – The European Green Deal is presented negatively (as unnecessary or even harmful)

"green\_politics" - green political topics in general, or posts that cannot be placed under a Slovak or European context

"information" – analyzed content has a purely neutral, informative character

"irrelevant" – to mark an unrelated piece of content or content that contains some keyword but its main focus is mainly on a different topic

"LNG\_supply" – analyzed content contains the topic of supplies of liquefied natural gas to EU countries to diversify energy sources

"**pro-Russia**" – pro-Russian sentiment can be identified in analyzed content

"renewable\_positive" – the transition from fossil fuels to renewable sources is presented positively

"renewable\_neutral" – the transition from fossil fuels to renewable sources is presented neutrally

"**renewable\_negative**" – the transition from fossil fuels to renewable sources is presented negatively (e.g. if the post provides misleading information about the reliability and cost-effectiveness of renewable sources, etc.)

"RE\_neutral" – analyzed content contains a messaging about Russian energy sources

"RE\_positive" – analyzed content contains a narrative that presents Russia as the winner of the energy crisis, allegedly increasing its profits from energy sales after the imposition of sanctions instead of losses; positive pro-Russian sentiment can be identified in analyzed content

"Russia" - analyzed content concerns Russia

"Slovak\_policies" – analyzed content refers to the Slovak legislative framework, laws being prepared, etc.

"sustainability" – analyzed content contains a topic related to the concept of sustainability "technologies" – analyzed content refers to technology and innovation; for example, to mitigate the effects of climate change

