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Hybrid Warfare Reference Curriculum „LIGHT”

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THE HYBRID PROJECT:

INTERDISCIPLINARY EDUCATION AND TRAINING ON HYBRID WARFARE

PROJECT ID: 2021-1-HU01-KA220-HED-000032179

UNIT Geopolitics

by Mónika Szente-Varga

A) Reading comprehension

Please read the following text and complete the exercises.

The geopolitical perspective

Geopolitics in the traditional sense is an academic field studying the practice of states in their efforts to compete for territories and control them (Flint, 2006, 13). The theory was a justification of a country's regional or worldwide ambitions from the beginning. In the late 19th century, British scholars Alfred Thayer Mahan and Sir Halford Mackinder developed theories on the contest for land and sea power and resources. In parallel, German geopolitics was created by Friedrich Ratzel and Rudolf Kjellen, who claimed that developed states with more sophisticated culture had the right to occupy more territory. Karl Haushofer transformed the idea to extreme ideology under the rule of Hitler, which led to the disgrace of geopolitics and its disappearance from the language of politics after the Second World War for decades. In the United States, theoreticians of geopolitics took a more practice-oriented approach in the first half of the 20th century. For example, Isaiah Bowman, Nicholas Spykman and Alexander P. De Seversky discussed the global role of the US and whether it should conduct an active or an isolationist foreign policy (Flint, 2006, 17–22; Ashworth, 2013). In Russia, the term and the perspective of geopolitics gained ground only in the 1990s (Diec, 2019), but in the broad sense of inter-state competition and less linked to geographical facts.

Despite the criticism levelled at geopolitical theories, the early geopolitics scholars had relevant proposals which were accepted later. When Western strategists lay the foundations for NATO during the Cold War, they relied on Mackinder's 1924 recommendation to establish a Midland Ocean Alliance (Flint, 2006, 18). In addition, Mackinder's idea that global primacy is the question of who controls Eurasia has survived in Brzezinski's geostrategic views (Brzezinski, 1997, 194). A comprehensive way of assessing power relations and great power competition is presented in Kissinger's World Order (1997). The major difference between early geopolitics and its contemporary trend is that the former focused on the classification of territories of the Earth and their peoples into hierarchies so as to form a basis for war, alliance, or an empire,

while the latter combines geographical and social knowledge so as to justify and interpret events in their overall context.

(Jakusné Harnos, Éva (2024): The geopolitical perspective. In Jobbágy, Zoltán and Zsigmond, Edina (eds.): *Hybrid Warfare Reference Curriculum, Volume II*. Budapest: Ludovika University Press. 162)

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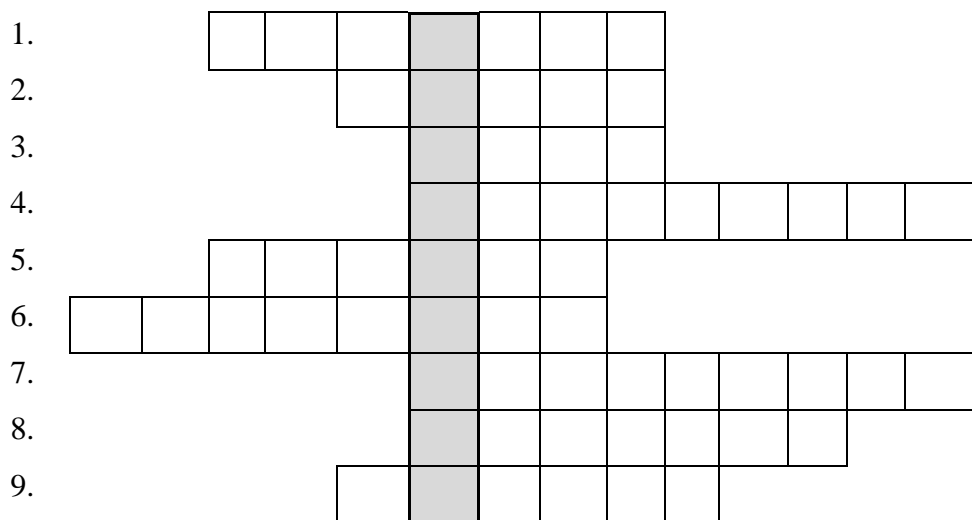
Brzezinski, Zbigniew (1997): *The Grand Chessboard. American Primacy and its Geostrategic Imperatives*. New York: Basic Books.

Diec, Joachim (2019): Major trends in Russian geopolitics after 1991. *Politeja*. 5(62), 141-160.

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Kissinger, Henry (2014): *World Order*. New York: Penguin Press.

a) Fill in the crosswords and find the solution in the vertical grey column



1. One of the countries whose researchers were active in the early period of geopolitics.

2. British scholars: Alfred Thayer

3. Period between 1945 and 1990: War
4. Author of the book World Order.
5. A major territorial unit of various peoples and great extension. For example: Roman
6. Synonym of coalition or league.
7. Countries with advanced level economies are often referred to as core states or states
8. Europe and Asia together
9. NATO = North Atlantic Organization

Solution: -----

b) *Why is he important, based on the text?*

.....

c) *True or false?*

1. From the very beginning, geopolitics has been used as a justification of a country's regional or worldwide ambitions.
2. Geopolitics fell into disgrace due to dropping atomic bombs over Hiroshima and Nagasaki.
3. Bipolar antagonism in the Cold War contributed to the fast development of geopolitics in the Cold War.
4. One of the dilemmas of US leaders is to follow an isolationist foreign policy or to play an active worldwide role.
5. Mackinder found the control of Eurasia crucial.

2. *Please fill in the blanks (one dot = one letter). The first and last letter of the words is indicated in each case.*

Another important change has occurred in the concept of *geopolitical agent*. An agent is an entity that tries to achieve a specific objective. Nowadays states are not the only agents.

Corporations, non-governmental organizations (NGOs) and various groups of people, such as a separatist movement or a group of Green activists can appear as agents. Agents may take a course of action depending on the situation and the structure in which they are embedded. Structures consist of legally enforceable rules and culturally accepted practices, that is, norms. Consequently, according to the current geopolitical perspective, not only geographical and social factors determine what agents do but also the system of international institutions and of international law. These generate expectations and decide what is acceptable.

As for the role of states in the international system, agents can be *status quo states*, which want to maintain the current balance of power in the geopolitical space, or *revisionist states*, which have an interest in changing the balance even forcefully (Mearsheimer, 2013; Mead, 2014). States strive for survival and they make any effort to gain as much power as possible, even aiming at hegemony. However, states cannot be certain about the intention of other states. In an effort to achieve their goals, states form alliances and establish international organizations and institutions (Walt, 1987). For example, the liberal, multi-lateral institutions and the multi-level governance which we experience were established by the winner powers of the Second World War, including the United Nations Organization, NATO, the European Union, the International Monetary Fund, the World Bank. The international system is dynamic from geopolitical perspective, that is, alliances and organizations keep transforming and re-drawing the geopolitical map. For instance, the United Kingdom exited from the European Union in 2020; Finland and Sweden have signed an accession bid to join NATO in 2022, and Iran and Argentina have applied to accede to BRICS. A coercive attempt to re-structure the geopolitical space is Russia's aggression against Ukraine and the following war.

(Jakusné Harnos, Éva (2024): The geopolitical perspective. In Jobbágy, Zoltán and Zsigmond, Edina (eds.): *Hybrid Warfare Reference Curriculum, Volume II*. Budapest: Ludovika University Press. 163)

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Walt, Stephen M. (1987). *The Origins of Alliances*. Ithaca: Cornell University Press.

a) *Please find and list here the organizations mentioned in the text.*

b) *Group work. Answer the following questions. You can look up the information you do not know on the internet.*

1. When was the UN formed?
2. How many countries founded the UN?
3. When did Hungary join the UN?
4. How many members does the UN have now?
5. Who are the “Bretton Wood twins”?
6. When was the NATO formed?
7. Which countries founded the NATO?
8. When did Hungary join the NATO?
9. Which country joined the organization in 2024?
10. Who are the BRICS countries?

3. Which organizations are the most important for Hungary and why? Discuss. Bring up arguments to support your ideas.

Hints for teachers and answer key

1. Reading comprehension exercise I

a) **Solution: Mackinder**

1.		G	E	R	M	A	N	Y	
2.				M	A	L	A	N	
3.					C	O	L	D	
4.					K	I	S	S	I
5.			E	M	P	I	R	E	
6.	A	L	L	I	A	N	C	E	
7.					D	E	V	E	L
8.					E	U	R	A	S
9.				T	R	E	A	T	Y

c) Possible answers:

- one of the founders of geopolitics,
- developed theories on the contest for land and sea power and resources,
- recommended the establishment of a Midland Ocean Alliance
- idea: the power that controls Eurasia, controls the world

c) answers: 1T, 2F, 3F, 4T, 5T

2. Reading comprehension exercise II.

Full text:

Another important change has occurred in the concept of *geopolitical agent*. An agent is an entity that tries to achieve a specific objective. Nowadays states are not the **only** agents. Corporations, non-governmental **organizations** (NGOs) and various groups of people, such as a separatist movement or a group of Green activists can appear as agents. Agents may take a course of action depending on the situation and the structure in which they are embedded. Structures consist of **legally** enforceable rules and culturally accepted practices, that is, **norms**. Consequently, according to the current geopolitical perspective, not only geographical and

social factors determine what agents do but also the system of **international** institutions and of international law. These generate expectations and decide what is acceptable.

As for the role of states in the international **system**, agents can be *status quo states*, which want to maintain the current **balance** of power in the geopolitical space, or *revisionist states*, which have an interest in **changing** the balance even forcefully (Mearsheimer, 2013; Mead, 2014). States strive for survival and they make any effort to gain as much **power** as possible, even aiming at hegemony. However, states cannot be certain about the **intention** of other states. In an effort to achieve their goals, states form alliances and establish international organizations and institutions (Walt, 1987). For example, the liberal, multi-lateral institutions and the multi-level governance which we experience were established by the winner powers of the Second World War, including the United Nations Organization, NATO, the European Union, the International **Monetary** Fund, the **World** Bank. The international system is dynamic from geopolitical perspective, that is, alliances and organizations keep transforming and re-drawing the geopolitical map. For instance, the United Kingdom exited from the European Union in 2020; Finland and Sweden have signed an accession bid to **join** NATO in 2022, and Iran and Argentina have applied to accede to BRICS. A coercive attempt to re-structure the geopolitical space is Russia's aggression against Ukraine and the following war, which will be discussed in a case study below. Since the realist perspective of geopolitics returned to the study of international relations, analyses have investigated the geopolitical aspirations and the underlying ideologies (see below) of revisionist states, especially, China, Russia and Iran (Mead 2014; Bolt and Cross 2018; Diec, 2019).

a) United Nations (UN), North Atlantic Treaty Organization (NATO), International Monetary Fund, World Bank, BRICS, European Union (EU)

b) 1. 1945. 2. 50+1. 3. 1955. 4. 193. 5. IMF and the World Bank. 6. 1949. 7. Belgium, Canada, Denmark, France, Iceland, Italy, Luxembourg, the Netherlands, Norway, Portugal, the United Kingdom and the United States. 8. 1999. 9. Sweden. 10. Brazil, Russia, India, China and South Africa,

Note for teachers: 2b can be organized as a competition among groups of students.

3. Debate.

Depending on the size of the class, it can be done in pairs or groups. They can be assigned to argue for or against certain organizations, for example by handing out role cards. Time should

be given to the pairs/ groups to prepare the basis of their argumentation. Besides learning more about organizations, this exercise is also useful to teach techniques how to express ourselves in a debate, trying to convince the other side.

UNIT Critical Infrastructure**by Mónika Szente-Varga****A) Pre-reading comprehension**

The Joint Framework Program on countering hybrid threats was introduced in the EU on April 6th, 2016. This program outlines proposals aimed at building resilience in key areas such as cybersecurity, critical infrastructure protection, combating illicit use of the financial system, and addressing violent extremism and radicalization. A crucial initial step in implementing these proposals involves the EU and its Member States adopting agreed strategies and fully implementing existing legislation. This ensures a coordinated and unified approach towards enhancing resilience against these threats. Moreover, concrete proposals have been put forward to further strengthen these efforts, indicating a commitment to continuous improvement and adaptation.

1. Find the synonym of the following words in the text

1. to strive to reduce or to eliminate, for example, threats
2. to fight
3. forbidden by law
4. coming before others in order and / or in time
5. to carry out effectively
6. to make sth better
7. to suggest, prepare for consideration
8. adherence to sth, in a great part due to moral considerations, considering it a duty
9. plan, recommendation
10. to handle, to deal with sth efficiently

2. Which are the 4 key areas mentioned in the text where resilience should be built?

B) Definition

"Critical infrastructures are essential to maintain vital societal functions. Damage or destruction of critical infrastructures by natural disasters, terrorism and criminal activity may have negative consequences for the security of the EU and the well-being of its citizens." (European Commission: Critical Infrastructure Protection, EU Science Hub, https://joint-research-centre.ec.europa.eu/scientific-activities-z/critical-infrastructure-protection_en, 12 May 2024)

3. Underline the concepts that you think belong to critical infrastructure

- transport network
- housing estate
- information and communication systems
- sport facilities
- ports
- power grid
- nuclear power plants
- university and high school buildings

C) Reading comprehension – continuation of the text in exercise A

While the Joint Framework Program is primarily focused on addressing the complex challenges posed by hybrid threats, it is pertinent to recognize that EU action extends beyond the mere countering of hybrid threats. The program's ambit encompasses a wider range of objectives, showcasing the EU's comprehensive approach to safeguarding its member states and societies from an extensive array of risks and challenges. By encompassing domains such as cybersecurity, critical infrastructure protection, financial system integrity, and counter-extremism, the Joint Framework Program exemplifies a multifaceted approach to resilience-

building. This proactive stance underscores the EU's unwavering commitment to effectively confront not only disinformation but also other pressing threats that possess the capacity to undermine security, stability, and societal well-being. These joint assessments at EU level provide a comprehensive analysis of the threats, consequences and vulnerabilities to support policymaking with a view to mitigate the risks. The Commission facilitates these processes with the participation of Member States' experts and other EU services as appropriate. The assessments of hybrid threats, produced by the EU Hybrid Fusion Cell, will provide relevant inputs to feed risk assessments at the EU and national levels. Critical vulnerabilities may differ from member state to member State, as do levels of protection ensured nationally. Nonetheless, there exist numerous sectors characterized by a significant reliance on critical services, rendering countries and societies particularly vulnerable to hybrid threats. These sectors encompass energy security and supply, space infrastructure, maritime security, public health, transportation (including aviation, maritime, and rail), cyber security, communications, and financial systems. Hybrid threats have the capacity to exploit vulnerabilities within societies, thereby posing challenges to fundamental values and liberties or targeting marginalized groups. Adopting a comprehensive and interconnected approach to counter hybrid threats can bolster the security and resilience of each of these sectors. By adopting a "joined-up" strategy, these sectors can enhance their ability to withstand and mitigate the impacts of hybrid threats, promoting overall security and societal well-being.

4. Multiple choice exercise. Choose the correct option or options. More than one good answer is possible. There are altogether 6 good answers in the whole exercise.

1. The EU aims to have a(n)approach to counter hybrid threats.

- A) cautious
- B) comprehensive
- C) economical
- D) interconnected

2. Critical vulnerabilities ...

- A) tend to be similar in EU member states

- B) will increase among member states
- C) may differ among member states
- D) can only be handled by external help

3. Hybrid threats ...

- A) can exploit vulnerabilities within societies
- B) are historic phenomena, shattered by European integration.
- C) might present challenges to fundamental values and liberties
- D) might affect more and target marginalized groups.

D) In-depth study. Group work. Investigate a concrete example and summarize your findings for the other groups.

Recommended topics

- Long-distance train traffic standstill in Germany / German railway attack (October 2022)
- Attack on the Nord Stream gas pipeline in the Baltic Sea (September 2022)
- Internet outages in France (April 2022)

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Hints for teachers and answer key

A.) Pre-reading comprehension

1. Find the synonym of the following words in the text

1. to strive to reduce or to eliminate, for example, threats (counter)
2. to fight (combat)

3. forbidden by law (illicit)
4. coming before others in order and / or in time (initial)
5. to carry out effectively (implement)
6. to make sth better (enhance)
7. to suggest, prepare for consideration (put forward)
8. adherence to sth, in a great part due to moral considerations, considering it a duty (commitment)
9. plan, recommendation (proposal)
10. to handle, to deal with sth efficiently (address)

2. *Which are the key areas mentioned in the text where resilience should be built?*

- cybersecurity,
- critical infrastructure protection,
- combating illicit use of the financial system,
- addressing violent extremism and radicalization.

B) Definition

3. *Underline the concepts that you think belong to critical infrastructure*

- transport network
- housing estate
- information and communication systems
- sport facilities
- ports
- power grid
- nuclear power plants
- university and high school buildings

C) Reading comprehension – continuation of the text in exercise A

4. Multiple choice exercise.

1. The EU aims to have a(n)approach to counter hybrid threats.

- A) cautious
- B) comprehensive**
- C) economical
- D) interconnected**

2. Critical vulnerabilities

- A) tend to be similar in EU member states
- B) will increase among member states
- C) may differ among member states**
- D) can only be handled by external help

3. Hybrid threats

- A) can exploit vulnerabilities within societies**
- B) are historic phenomena, shattered by European integration.
- C) might present challenges to fundamental values and liberties**
- D) might affect more and target marginalized groups.**

D) In-depth study. Group work.

Exercise D provides the students with the possibility to explore and carry out their own research. Recommended list of topics should be expanded based on recent developments. Groups of students can be organized by handing out cards related to the different incidents. In case the

knowledge of English of the students is uneven, teachers should make sure groups are balanced. Besides an oral summary of their findings, students might be asked to prepare a poster or a couple of ppt slides to accompany their presentation.

UNIT Social Media

by Éva Jakusné Harnos

A) Pre-reading activity. *Work in pairs. Write down the answer to the question.*

1. What is a social network?

(Use these phrases in your explanation: internet, digital device, communicate, interaction, produce content, exchange content, virtual meeting place, social networking, groups.)

2. Which social networking sites are the most popular in 2024? *Fill the gaps in the table with the names of social networking sites from the box.*

WhatsApp	TikTok	Instagram	Facebook	YouTube
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Social networking site	Number of users worldwide (millions)
	3,065
	2,504
	2,000
	2,000
	1,582
Telegram	900
Snapchat	800
X/Twitter	611

Source: <https://www.statista.com/statistics/272014/global-social-networks-ranked-by-number-of-users/>

3. *Discuss the questions.*

Which social media/social networking sites do you use?

How often?

What information do you get from them?

Who do you interact with?

B) Reading comprehension

Read the text and complete the quiz.

The negative impacts of social media

Social media has transformed many aspects of our lives, but the early positives of its use have quickly turned into the contrary. A series of studies have shown that it causes severe depression among young people (Merrill et al. 2022), significantly increasing anxiety (Wolniewicz et al. 2018). Today, social media has become a serious weapon to influence individuals and societies. This can be attributed to several factors:

- Social networking sites gather data on tens of thousands of aspects of their users. To give just one example, they capture the messages that have been sent and those that have been typed but deleted before being sent (Sleeper et al. 2013). As a result, social networking sites' algorithms, combined with artificial intelligence and machine learning, can predict what users will do, when they will do it, and what they will do weeks in advance. In addition to information about individuals, open-source information gathering is also relevant for trend analysis, where reactions to specific processes can be examined in real-time.
- The Snowden case in 2013 demonstrated that social networking sites had become a tool of almost total surveillance by national security services (Bányász 2014). In the case of anti-democratic states, this is a fundamental way of controlling and oppressing the state's citizens. Consider, for example, the social credit system in China (Chen and Grossklags 2022).
- Social networking site algorithms create so-called opinion bubbles.

In the absence of pluralistic consumption habits, this automated selection process adjusted to the user's behavior may result in the development of a so-called filter bubble; that is, the user will only find those contents at media sites that they regularly consume, whereas they will encounter few or no contradicting contents; however widespread they may be otherwise (Spohr 2017). Consequently, such a filter bubble potentially leaves the impression on the user that their narrowed perspective on reality is objective, encompassing reality as it is.

(Bányász, Péter (2024): The negative impacts of social media. In Jobbágy, Zoltán and Zsigmond, Edina (eds.): *Hybrid Warfare Reference Curriculum, Volume III*. Budapest: Ludovika University Press. 200)

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Chen, Mo and Grossklags, Jens. (2022): Social Control in the Digital Transformation of Society: A Case Study of the Chinese Social Credit System. In *Social Sciences*, 11(6), 229. Online: <https://doi.org/10.3390/socsci11060229>

Merrill, Renae. A.; Cao, Chunhua and Primack, Brian A. (2022): Associations between social media use, personality structure, and development of depression. In *Journal of Affective Disorders Reports*, 10, 100385. Online: <https://doi.org/10.1016/j.jadr.2022.100385>

Sleeper, Manya; Balebako, Rebecca; Das, Sauvik; Mcconahy, Amber Lynn; Wiese, Jason, and Cranor, Lorrie Faith. F. (2013): The post that wasn't: Exploring self-censorship on Facebook. In *Proceedings of the 2013 conference on Computer supported cooperative work*, 793–802. Online: <https://doi.org/10.1145/2441776.2441865>

Spohr, Dominic (2017): Fake news and ideological polarization: Filter bubbles and selective exposure on social media. In *Business Information Review*. Online: <https://doi.org/10.1177/0266382117722446>

Wolniewicz, Claire A.; Tiamiyu, Mojisola F.; Weeks, Justin W., and Elhai, Jon D. (2018): Problematic smartphone use and relations with negative affect, fear of missing out, and fear of negative and positive evaluation. In *Psychiatry Research*, 262, 618–623. Online: <https://doi.org/10.1016/j.psychres.2017.09.058>

Quiz. *Choose one correct answer to each question based on the reading text.*

1) What can data from social media predict?

- a) It can predict the time.
- b) It can predict the behaviour of users.
- c) It can analyse artificial intelligence.

2) Why is data collection on social media sites dangerous?

- a) Because users don't know what kind of information is collected about them.
- b) Because data collection algorithms influence national security services.
- c) Because the reactions of users are unpredictable.

3) What is a filter bubble?

- a) Content which is selected by the social media user.
- b) Content which is checked by the national security agency.
- c) Content which is adjusted to a social media user by artificial intelligence.

C) Reading comprehension. *Read the text and complete the sentences.*

Part I

The European Cybersecurity Month

The European Cybersecurity Month (ECSM) is the European Union's annual campaign dedicated to promoting cybersecurity among EU citizens and organisations, and to providing up-to-date online security information through awareness raising and sharing of good practices. Each year, for the entire month of October, hundreds of activities take place across Europe, including conferences, workshops, trainings, webinars, presentations to promote digital security and cyber hygiene.

The ECSM campaign is coordinated by the European Union Agency for Cybersecurity (ENISA) and the European Commission, and supported by EU Member States. The Agency also publishes new materials and provides expert advice on different cybersecurity topics for Member States' audiences.

Since the first event in 2012, the European Cybersecurity Month has been reaching its key priorities by bringing together parties from across Europe under the slogan ‘Cybersecurity is a Shared Responsibility’ to unite against cyber threats. In 2020 #ThinkB4UClick, that is,

‘Think Before U Click’ became the official motto of the ECSM campaign.

Source: <https://www.enisa.europa.eu/topics/cybersecurity-education/awareness-campaigns/european-cyber-security-month>

1. The European Cybersecurity Month takes placeeach year.
2. ENISA is the.....
3. The ENISA campaign trains EU citizens in
4. #ThinkB4UClick means.....
5. It was the name of

Part II

Cyber threats listed by ENISA

Among the top eight cyber threats, ENISA lists disinformation, fake news and deepfakes created by Artificial Intelligence. The proliferation of bots modelling personas can easily disrupt the community interaction by flooding government agencies with fake contents and comments.

Source: <https://www.enisa.europa.eu/topics/cyber-threats/threats-and-trends>

Match the words to their definitions.

Bot	misleading information
Fake news	false video which looks like a real film
Disinformation	a robot which falsifies likes, dislikes, comments etc.
Deepfake	a false story which seems to be a news article

D) Role play. *Work in groups of three. You are ENISA experts now. Plan a campaign to warn citizens against online disinformation. Think about the following questions.*

1. On which social networking site will you conduct the campaign?
2. Which group of society will you target?
3. Which forms of disinformation will you warn them about?
4. How can they protect themselves from deception?
5. Which methods and technologies will make your campaign efficient? (For example: video, podcast, infographic, etc.)

After 15 minutes, present your plan to the rest of the class.

Answer Key

A) Pre-reading activity 2.

Social networking site	Number of users worldwide (millions)
Facebook	3,065
YouTube	2,504
Instagram	2,000
WhatsApp	2,000
TikTok	1,582
Telegram	900
Snapchat	800
X/Twitter	611

B) Reading comprehension

Quiz

1) What can data from social media predict?

- It can predict the time.
- **It can predict the behaviour of users.**
- It can analyse artificial intelligence.

2) Why is data collection on social media sites dangerous?

- d) **Because users don't know what kind of information is collected about them.**
- e) Because data collection algorithms influence national security services.
- f) Because the reactions of users are unpredictable.

3) What is a filter bubble?

- d) Content which is selected by the social media user.
- e) Content which is checked by the national security agency.
- f) **Content which is adjusted to a social media user by artificial intelligence.**

C) Reading comprehension.

Part I. Sentence completion

(Suggested answers)

1. The European Cybersecurity Month takes place **in October** each year.
2. ENISA is the **European Union Agency for Cyber Security**.
3. The ENISA campaign trains EU citizens in **cyber security/digital security/cyber hygiene**.
4. #ThinkB4UClick means “**Think before you click**”.
5. It was the name of **the ENISA campaign in October 2020**.

C) Reading comprehension

Part II. Matching

Bot: a robot which falsifies likes, dislikes, comments etc.

Fake news: a false story which seems to be a news article

Disinformation: misleading information

Deepfake: false video which looks like a real film