**Information Wars: Contemporary Political Warfare and Propaganda**
**38050/43090**

*Instructor:* Kiril Avramov

*Class meets:* TTH: 3:30-5:00 pm in BUR 224 (online until January 31th 2022)

*Instructor's e-mail:* kiril.avramov@austin.utexas.edu

*Instructor's office phone:* 512-475-6145

*Instructor's Office:* Department of Slavic & Eurasian Studies, Burdine Hall, Office #578

*Instructor's Office Hours:* TH 9:30-11:30 am or by appointment

*Teaching Assistant:* Adam Hanzel, https://liberalarts.utexas.edu/slavic/graduate/profile.php?id=aeh2578

*TA's email:* adam_hanzel@utexas.edu

**Description**: This course is focused on the contemporary perspectives of political warfare, its instrumentation and application in current global context. The course is aimed to provide a broader understanding of the nature of political warfare and its role and limits in achieving influence overopponents' decision - making process and outcomes via non-lethal methods. The key aim of the course is to provide a framework of thinking about the specific aspects of the variety of techniquesemployed by political warfare that include psychological warfare and propaganda in combinationwith application of force, subversion, economic pressure and public diplomacy through exploration of variety of historic and contemporary cases. One of the key themes of the course is the evaluation of the deployment of "weaponized information" and its application in achieving national strategic and tactical goals and the role of intelligence in its crafting, dissemination and exploitation in historic and contemporary contexts. Another major theme of the course is evaluation of different contemporary "meta-narratives" employed in contemporary context that are "weaponized" via forms of disinformation, conspiracy theories, "fake news" by non-liberal democratic regimes in pursuit of their respective foreign policy goals. In order to evaluate critically the key concepts of political and psychological warfare, as well as their efficiency and efficacy, readings drawn from academic texts and journals dedicated to historic and contemporaryinformation (IO) and psychological operations will be assigned, in addition to regular class roomdiscussions. In addition, the course's schedule will be synchronized with relevant events organizedby UT Austin's Intelligence Studies Project and the Global (Dis)Information Lab at the Center of Russian, East European and Eurasian Studies.

**Learning outcomes**:

- understanding the nature of political warfare in contemporary context;

- evaluation of the role, potential and toolbox of psy-ops in historic and contemporary contexts;

- analysis and critical evaluation of propaganda and strategic messaging.

**Target audience:** Students interested in intelligence studies, international relations and diplomacy, as well as area Russia, Central and Eastern Europe studies specialists.

**Flags: Global Cultures:**

This course is flagged as a Global Cultures course. Global Cultures courses are designated to increase student awareness towards cultural groups outside of the United States. Therefore, it should be expected that a larger portion of the course readings and assignments will cover specifics, techniques and ideologies related to at least one non-US cultural and social group.

**Attendance**:

Regular attendance in this class is required. Make-up work will be allowed in exceptional cases, such as during documented medical leave, religious holidays, military service or family emergencies. It is required to notify me in writing, as soon as you can, in order for me to arrange for the make-up work. You are allowed to miss up to three undocumented absences without attendance repercussions. Each further undocumented absence will lower your course grade by one point (after the third absence 100 -1.0 = maximum grade of 99, etc.). Students who arrive over15 minutes late without a valid excuse will not receive credit for attending.

**Reading load**: Participants in the course are expected to read from around 70 to 130 pages per week. Students are expected to budget their time accordingly, as complete all required reading selections prior to a particular class for which they have been assigned.

**Lectures Online:** This class is using the Lectures Online recording system. This system records the audio and video material presented in class for you to review after class. Links for the recordings will appear in the Lectures Online tab on the Canvas page for this class. You will find this tab along the left side navigation in Canvas.

**Evaluation**:

The basis for evaluation and grading will consist of:

- 7 Packback discussion questions worth 25 % of the final grade;

- 4 précises worth 40 % of the final grade;

- 3 online quizzes worth 15 % of the final grade;

- 1 in-class group presentation worth 20 % of the final grade;

**Late submission grading**: Each late submission will be subjected to 4 % reduction per day, with lowest possible grade of 70% of the grade. Extensions will be granted only in extenuating circumstances. In such cases, please contact the instructor.

**Grading Scale**: Grading will be done in points (0-100 points)

| A   | 100  | to 94 |  | C   | < 77 | to 74 |
|-----|------|-------|--|-----|------|-------|
| A-  | < 94 | to 90 |  | C - | < 74 | to 70 |
| B+  | < 90 | to 87 |  | D + | < 70 | to 67 |
| B   | < 87 | to 84 |  | D   | < 67 | to 64 |
| B - | < 84 | to 80 |  | D - | < 64 | to 61 |
| C + | < 80 | to 77 |  | F   | < 61 | to 0  |

**General directions for the Packback Discussion**: Participation is a requirement for this course, and the Packback Questions platform will be used for online discussion about class topics. Packback Questions is an online community where you can be fearlessly curious and ask open-ended questions to build on top of what we are covering in class and relate topics to real-world applications.

**Packback Requirements:** Your participation on Packback will count toward 25% of your overall course grade. There will be a Weekly Wednesday at 11:59PM CST deadline for submissions. In order to receive full credit, you should submit the following per each deadline period:

- 1 open-ended Question on required dates (see Class schedule) with a minimum Curiosity Score of 50, worth 50 pts of each assignment grade.
- 2 Responses per required deadline (see Class schedule) with a minimum Curiosity Score of 50, worth 25 pts of each assignment grade.

**How to Register on Packback:** An email invitation will be sent to you from help@packback.co prompting you to finish registration. If you don't receive an email (be sure to check your spam), you may register by following the instructions below:

1. Create an account by navigating to https://questions.packback.co and clicking "Sign up for an Account"
   - Note: If you already have an account on Packback you can log in with your credentials.
2. Then enter our class community's lookup key into the "Looking to join a community you don't see here?" section in Packback at the bottom of the homepage.
   - Community Lookup Key: 08e2556f-dcc9-43e5-8808-90f439e0ab84
3. Follow the instructions on your screen to finish your registration.

Packback may require a paid subscription. Refer to www.packback.co/product/pricing for more information.

**How to Get Help from the Packback Team:** If you have any questions or concerns about Packback throughout the semester, please read their FAQ at help.packback.co. If you need more help, contact their customer support team directly at help@packback.co.

For a brief introduction to Packback Questions and why we are using it in class, watch this video: vimeo.com/packback/Welcome-to-Packback-Questions

**Précises:** One-page long structured précis on specifically assigned texts on specific dates (see Course schedule). This form of analysis is "*designed to reflect the structure of an argument based on textual information and to structure the presentation of data from the texts concerned in ways that support that argument.* As such, it offers more than just a set of notes on the text's contents or an argument; it *represents the argument strategy,* both verbally and visually*"* (Arens & Swaffar). Resources on structuring a "précis"

(`*pray-see*) are available on Canvas and we will address and help with the initial writing of your first analysis.

**Quizzes**: Online quizzes on Canvas that will survey your familiarity with the ideas and concepts presented in the lectures and the mandatory assigned readings.

**In-class group presentation**: The presentation will be based on the topic your group has selected at after 03/08/2022.It should consist of 6-10 slides that are based on specific pre-selected by your instructor topical research questions that will be available and posted on Canvas.

**Required texts:**

- Jowett, G. S., & O'Donnell, V. (2019). *Propaganda & persuasion*. 7th Edition. Sage publications.
- Rid, T. (2020). *Active measures: The secret history of disinformation and political warfare*. Farrar, Straus and Giroux.
- Patrikarakos, D. (2017). *War in 140 characters: how social media is reshaping conflict in the twenty-first century*. Hachette UK.

**Optional texts:**

- Watts, C. (2018). *Messing with the Enemy, Surviving in a Social Media World of Hackers, Terrorists, Russians, and Fake News.* Harper Collins Publishers;
- McCauley, K. N. (2016). *Russian Influence Campaigns against the West: From the Cold War to Putin*. CreateSpace Independent Publishing Platform.

**Please note that all of the optional texts and readings included in the syllabus and the schedule will be provided digitally via Canvas, as we will use only a certain section of them. Please do not distribute or transmit any of them outside the course**.

**Additional and useful topical interest texts (non-required):**

- Andrew, C. M. (1999), *The Mitrokhin Archive: The KGB in Europe and the West.* Allan Lane.
- Andrew, C., & Gordievsky, O. (1990). KGB: The inside story. *Nova York*.
- Mitrokhin, V. (2013). *KGB Lexicon: The Soviet Intelligence Officers Handbook*. Routledge.
- Bechev, D. (2017). *Rival Power: Russia's Influence in Southeast Europe*. Yale University Press.
- Ducheine, P. A., & Osinga, F. P. (Eds.). (2017). *Netherlands Annual Review of Military Studies 2017: Winning without Killing: The Strategic and Operational Utility of Non-Kinetic Capabilities in Crises*. Springer.
- Doob, L.W. (1948), The Public Opinion and Propaganda.
- Fenster, M. (1999). *Conspiracy theories: Secrecy and power in American culture.* U of Minnesota Press.

- Galeotti, M. (2015). Hybrid war" and "little green men": How it works, and how it doesn't. *Ukraine and Russia: People, politics, propaganda and perspectives*, *156*.
- Gessen, M. (2013), *The Man without a Face: The Unlikely Rise of Vladimir Putin.* Riverhead Books.
- Gordon, J.S. (1998), Psychological Operations, The Soviet Challenge. Westview Press.
- Hofstadter, R. (1964). The paranoid style in American politics. *Harper's magazine*, *229*(1374), 77-86.
- Lasswell, H. D. (1951). The strategy of Soviet propaganda. *Proceedings of the Academy of Political Science*, *24*(2), 66-78.
- Macdonald, S. (2006). *Propaganda and Information Warfare in the Twenty-First Century: Altered images and deception operations*. Routledge.
- O'Shaughnessy, N. J. (2004). *Politics and propaganda: Weapons of mass seduction*. Manchester University Press;
- Ortmann, S., & Heathershaw, J. (2012). Conspiracy Theories in the Post-Soviet Space. *The Russian Review*, *71*(4), 551-564.
- Pacepa, I. M., & Rychlak, R. J. (2013). *Disinformation: Former Spy Chief Reveals Secret Strategy for Undermining Freedom, Attacking Religion, and Promoting Terrorism*. Wnd Books.
- Pomerantsev, P. (2014). *Nothing is true and everything is possible: The surreal heart of the New Russia*. Public Affairs.
- Pomerantsev, P. (2015). The Kremlin's Information War. *Journal of democracy*, *26*(4), 40-50.
- Pomerantsev, P., & Weiss, M. (2014). *The menace of unreality: How the Kremlin weaponizes information, culture and money*. New York: Institute of Modern Russia.
- Randall, L. B. (2008). Landmark Speeches of National Socialism, College Station.
- Sakwa, R. (2012). Conspiracy Narratives as a Mode of Engagement in International Politics: The Case of the 2008 Russo-Georgian War. *The Russian Review*, *71*(4), 581-609.
- Shultz, R. H., & Godson, R. (1984). *Dezinformatsia: Active measures in Soviet strategy*. Potomac Books Incorporated.
- Simons, G., & Chifu, I. (2017). *The changing face of warfare in the 21st century*. Routledge.
- Taylor, Phillip, M. (2003) "Munitions of the Mind: A history of propaganda from ancient world to the present era", Manchester University Press.
- Van Herpen, M. H. (2015). *Putin's propaganda machine: Soft power and Russian foreign policy*. Rowman & Littlefield.
- Walker, J. (2014). *The United States of paranoia: A conspiracy theory*. Harper Collins.
- Yablokov, I. (2015). Conspiracy theories as a Russian public diplomacy tool: the case of Russia Today (RT). *Politics*, *35*(3-4), 301-315.
- Yablokov, I. (2018) *Fortress Russia: Conspiracy Theories in the Post-Soviet World* (Cambridge: Polity).

**In-class participation:** The class is lecture-style but I ask for student participation and feedback multiple times during each session. Participation is key in establishing in-class dynamics and gauging feedbacks regarding the perception of material presented. Thus, active participation, rather than just voicing the correct answer is very important for our progress.

**Class and Online Discussion:** I tend to encourage a classroom atmosphere in which everyone is treated respectfully, but this does not preclude disagreement. Classroom and online discussion of the material is an important part of the learning process and it is important for you to feel safe and relaxed so that you can speak up in front of the class without undue anxiety, even if you are uncertain of how your contribution will be received. Please do not hesitate to contact me if there is anything in the classroom that prevents you from speaking in class.

**Sharing of Course Materials is Prohibited:** No materials used in this class, including, but not limited to, lecture hand-outs, videos, assessments (quizzes, exams, papers, projects, homework assignments), in-class materials, review sheets, and additional problem sets, may be shared online or with anyone outside of the class unless you have my explicit, written permission. Unauthorized sharing of materials promotes cheating. It is a violation of the University's Student Honor Code and an act of academic dishonesty. I am well aware of the sites used for sharing materials, and any materials found online that are associated with you, or any suspected unauthorized sharing of materials, will be reported to Student Conduct and Academic Integrity in the Office of the Dean of Students. These reports can result in sanctions, including failure in the course.

**Class Recordings:** Class recordings are reserved only for students in this class for educational purposes and are protected under FERPA. The recordings should not be shared outside the class in any form. Violation of this restriction by a student could lead to Student Misconduct proceedings.

**Attendance Policy & COVID-19 accommodations:** The attendance policy for this course *remains* consistent with UT's standard policy: Courses that meet 3x per week allow 3 unexcused absences per semester; courses that meet 2x week allow 2 unexcused absences per semester; etc. However, the circumstances of the COVID-19 pandemic necessitate that students *hold themselves* to that standard as far as possible. It is an honor system. For further information on health-related policies and accommodations please follow:  https://protect.utexas.edu/

**Zoom Etiquette**

**(Applicable to the Zoom online sessions, currently scheduled from 01/18/2022 to 01/31/2022)**

For all our class sessions, we will be meeting online, via Zoom. To make this a viable learning environment, we ask you to abide by the following guidelines:

- Find a quiet space where you would not be disturbed during the Zoom session.
- Conduct yourself as you would in a face-to-face meeting.
- Clothing is not optional! Dress comfortably, but remember that you are in a public setting.
- Have your video on (unless you are experiencing technical difficulties; contact us if those persist).
- Mute your microphone when you're not speaking. This will help limit background noise. You can temporarily unmute by holding down the spacebar while you speak.
- When you wish to speak, raise your hand or post a hand icon in Zoom.
- To ensure optimal connectivity, close all other windows/applications on your device.
- We highly encourage you to take notes on paper, not on your device. Apart from keeping your screen less cluttered, taking notes by hand has been proven to be a much more effective way to learn during lectures.
- To hear and be heard better, consider using a headset with an external microphone.
- Be aware that you are on camera, and avoid doing other tasks during the class meeting (checking email, updating social networks, checking your phone, etc.)

**Questions? Comments? Concerns?**

I highly value your feedback. If you enjoy your class, let me know. If there are aspects of the class that you do not feel comfortable with, please inform me too.

**Additional course offerings from the Department of Slavic and Eurasian Studies:**

- If you would like information about majoring or minoring in Slavic Studies, contact Stephanie Quinn Undergraduate Advisor for DSES email: squinn@austin.utexas.edu
- or visit the department's webpage https://liberalarts.utexas.edu/slavic/

**Use of e-mail for official correspondence to students:** All students should become familiar with the University's official e-mail student notification policy. It is the student's responsibility to keep the University informed as to changes in his or her email address. Students are expected to check email on a frequent and regular basis in order to stay current with university-related communications, recognizing that certain communications may be time-critical. It is recommended that email be checked daily, but at a minimum, twice per week. The complete text of this policy and instructions for updating your e-mail address are available at http://www.utexas.edu/its/policies/emailnotify.html.

The class will be using its Canvas site, accessible to each of you at https://canvas.utexas.edu/ or through your UT Direct account. E-mail reminders and updates will be sent through Canvas. The instructor answers university email during business hours (M-F 8am-5pm). Do not expect a response after hours, immediately before class time or on weekends. I do check my email after hours, but much more infrequently.

**Documented disability statement:** Any student with a documented disability who requires academic accommodations should contact Services for Students with Disabilities (SSD) at (512) 471-6259 (voice) or 1-866-329-3986 (video phone). Faculty are not required to provide accommodations without an official accommodation letter from SSD. *Details of a student's disability are confidential. Faculty do not ask questions related to a student's condition or diagnosis when receiving an official accommodation letter.*

- Please notify us as quickly as possible if the material being presented in class is not accessible (e.g., instructional videos need captioning, course packets are not readable for proper alternative text conversion, etc.).
- Please notify us as early in the semester as possible if disability-related accommodations for field trips are required.  Advanced notice will permit the arrangement of accommodations on the given day (e.g., transportation, site accessibility, etc.).
- Contact Services for Students with Disabilities at 471-6259 (voice) or 1-866-329-3986 (video phone) or reference SSD's website for more disability-related information: http://www.utexas.edu/diversity/ddce/ssd/for_cstudents.php

**Behavior concerns advice line (BCAL):** If you are worried about someone who is acting differently, you may use the Behavior Concerns Advice Line to discuss by phone your concerns about another individual's behavior. This service is provided through a partnership among the Office of the Dean of Students, the Counseling and Mental Health Center (CMHC), the Employee Assistance Program (EAP), and The University of Texas Police Department (UTPD). Call 512-232-5050 or visit http://www.utexas.edu/safety/bcal.

**Harassment Reporting Requirements:** Senate Bill 212 (SB 212), which goes into effect as of January 1, 2020, is a Texas State Law that requires all employees (both faculty and staff) at a public or private post-secondary institution to promptly report any knowledge of any incidents of sexual assault, sexual harassment, dating violence, or stalking "committed by or against a person who was a student enrolled at or an employee of the institution at the time of the incident". Please note that both the instructor and the TA for this class are mandatory reporters and MUST share with the Title IX office any information about sexual harassment/assault shared with us by a student whether in-person or as part of a journal or other class assignment.  Note that a report to the Title IX office does not obligate a victim to take any action, but this type of information CANNOT be kept strictly confidential except when shared with designated confidential employees.  A confidential employee is someone a student can go to and talk about a Title IX matter without

triggering that employee to have to report the situation to have it automatically investigated. A list of confidential employees is available on the <u>Title IX website</u>.

**Emergency evacuation policy:** Occupants of buildings on the UT Austin campus are required to evacuate and assemble outside when a fire alarm is activated or an announcement is made.  Please be aware of the following policies regarding evacuation:

- Familiarize yourself with all exit doors of the classroom and the building. Remember that the nearest exit door may not be the one you used when you entered the building.
- If you require assistance to evacuate, inform me in writing during the first week of class.
- In the event of an evacuation, follow my instructions or those of class instructors.

Do not re-enter a building unless instructed to do so by the Austin Fire Department, the UT Austin Police Department, or the Fire Prevention Services office.

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## *University of Texas Honor Code*

*The core values of The University of Texas at Austin are learning, discovery, freedom, leadership, individual opportunity, and responsibility. Each member of the university is expected to uphold these values through integrity, honesty, trust, fairness, and respect toward peers and community.*

1. 1. Each student in this course is expected to abide by the University of Texas Honor Code.  Any work submitted by a student in this course for academic credit will be the student's own work, unless the instructor explicitly allows collaboration.
2. 2. You are encouraged to study together and to discuss information and concepts covered in lecture and the sections with other students. You can give "consulting" help to or receive "consulting" help from such students.
3. 3. Should copying occur, both the student who copied work from another student and the student who gave material to be copied will both automatically receive a zero for the assignment. Penalty for violation of this Code can also be extended to include failure of the course and University disciplinary action.
4. 4. During examinations, you must do your own work. Talking or discussion is not permitted during the examinations, nor may you compare papers, copy from others, or collaborate in any way. Any collaborative behavior during the examinations will result in failure of the exam and may lead to failure of the course and University disciplinary action.

# *Class schedule*

| Week | Lecture Topic | Required Reading | Additional reading | Date | Assignment |
|------|---------------|------------------|--------------------|------|------------|
| 1. | **Introduction tothe course** | Distribution of syllabus, discussion about the aims and therules of the course | | 01/18/22 | |
| 1. | **Understanding the nature of modern information and political warfare.** | *Report on the Investigation into Russian Interference in the 2016 Presidential Election* ("Mueller Report"), Volume I (March 2019) (\*Read pg. 1-66 only)<br><br>Walker, C and Ludwig, J. (2017), The Meaning of Sharp Power, *Foreign Affairs*.Pp. 1-21. | Special counsel Robert S. Muller's indictments on Russia Election Case: https://www.justice.gov/file/1035477/download | 01/20/22 | |
| 2. | **Scope and Arsenal of Modern Political Warfare** | Jowett, G & O'Donnell, V. (7th edition 2019), *Propaganda and Persuasion*. Chapter 1, "What is Propaganda, and How Does It Differ from Persuasion?", pp. 1-46. | Ducheine, P. A., & Osinga, F. P. (Eds.). (2017). *Netherlands Annual Review of Military Studies 2017: Winning Without Killing: The Strategic and Operational Utility of Non-Kinetic Capabilities in Crises*. Springer. pp- 1-40. | 01/25/22 | Packback discussion # 1 (01/18-01/31) |
| 2. | **Information and Political Warfare in Historic Context** | Jowett, G & O'Donnell, V. (7th edition 2019), *Propaganda and Persuasion*. Chapter 2, "Propaganda Through the Ages", pp.47-86. | Taylor, Phillip, M. (2003) "*Munitions of theMind: A history of propaganda from ancientworld to the present era*", Manchester University Press, pp. 1-81. | 01/27/22 | |
| 3. | **Political Warfare in Modern Context** | Chapter 3, "The Officer: Militia Digitalis Takes to the Battlefield, pp.45-63, from "*The War in 140 Characters*", Patrikarakos, David (2017), Basic Books, New York<br><br>Chapter 4 "The Facebook Warrior 1: The Virtual State" pp- 91-113, from "*The War in 140 Characters*", Patrikarakos, David (2017), Basic Books, New York<br><br>Attributes of Modern Political Warfare" in Robinson, L., Helmus, T. C., Cohen, R. S., Nader, A., Radin, A., Magnuson,M., & Migacheva, K. (2018). *Modern Political Warfare*. Pp. 219-247. | Optional: Chapter 5 of "*The War in 140 Characters*", Patrikarakos, David (2017), Basic Books, New York<br><br>Optional: Taylor, Phillip, M. (2003) "*Munitions of the Mind: A history of propaganda from ancient world to the present era*", Manchester University Press, pp. 285-332.<br><br>Optional: Chapters 1-4 of the "*Messing with the Enemy*", Watts, Clint (2018), Harper Collins Publishers | 02/01/22 | Packback discussion # 2 (02/1-12/14) |
| 3. | **Propaganda and Psychological Warfare** | Jowett, G & O'Donnell, V. (7th edition 2019), *Propaganda and Persuasion*. Chapter 5, "Propaganda and Psychological Warfare", pp. 195-266. | Optional: Chapters 5 of the "*Messing with the Enemy*", Watts, Clint (2018), Harper Collins Publishers. | 02/03/22 | |
| 4. | **Types of Propaganda and Disinformation and their effects** | Jowett, G & O'Donnell, V. (7th edition 2019), *Propaganda and Persuasion*. Chapter 4, "Propaganda | Pomerantsev, P. (2015). The Kremlin's Information War. *Journal of Democracy*, 26(4), 40-50. | 02/08/22 | ==Quiz # 1== |

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| | | and Persuasion Examined, pp. 151-194.  Chapter 6 "The Troll: The Empire Strikes Back" and Chapter 7 "The Postmodern Dictator: Adventures in Unreality" in "*The War in 140 Characters*", Patrikarakos, David (2017), Basic Books, New York, pp-131-153. | Macdonald, S. (2006). *Propaganda and Information Warfare in the Twenty-First Century: Altered images and deception operations*. Routledge. pp. 1-52. | | |
| 4. | **Propaganda and Disinformation Analysis Part 1** | Jowett, G & O'Donnell, V. (7th edition 2019), *Propaganda and Persuasion*. Chapter 6, "How to analyze Propaganda", pp. 267-284. and Chapter 7, "Propaganda in Action: Four Case Studies", pp. 285-320. | Gorwa, R. (2017). *Computational propaganda in Poland: False amplifiersand the digital public sphere*.Computational Propaganda ProjectWorking Paper Series.  http://trybun.org.pl/wp-content/uploads/2017/06/Comprop-Poland.pdf | 02/10/22 | |
| 5. | **Propaganda and Disinformation Analysis Part 2** | Jowett, G & O'Donnell, V. (7th edition 2019), *Propaganda and Persuasion*. Chapter 8, "How Propaganda Works in Modern Society", pp. 321-330.  Watts, Clint (2018), "*Messing with the Enemy*", HarperCollins Publishers Chapter 6 "Putin's plan", pp 129-155. | Paavola, J., Helo, T., Jalonen, H., Sartonen,M., & Huhtinen, A. M. (2016).Understanding the Trolling Phenomenon:The Automated Detection of Bots andCyborgs in the social media. *Journal ofInformation Warfare, 15*(4), 100-  Helmus, T. C., Bodine-Baron, E., Radin, A., Magnuson, M., Mendelsohn, J., Marcellino, W & Winkelman, Z. (2018). *Russian Social Media Influence*. RAND. | 02/15/22 | Packback discussion # 3 (02/15-02/28) |
| 5. | **The Toolbox of Disinformation:Fake news, altered images, Rumors and Conspiracy Theories.** | Galleoti, M. (2017), Controlling Chaos: How Russia ManagesIts Political war in Europe, *ECFR papers*, pp. 1-18.  Nimmo, B. (2018), #PutinAtWar:Trolls on Twitter, DigitalForensic Research Lab, Atlantic Council, https://medium.com/dfrlab/putinatwar-trolls-on-twitter- 5d0bb3dc30ae  Nimmo, B. (2018), #BotSpot: Twelve Ways to Spot a Bot, Digital Forensic Research Lab, Atlantic Council, https://medium.com/dfrlab/botspot-twelve-ways-to-spot-a-bot-aedc7d9c110c | Zhdanova, M., & Orlova, D. (2017). Computational Propaganda in Ukraine: Caught Between External Threats and Internal Challenges. *Working Paper*. | 02/17/22 | |
| 6. | **Active Measures and Theory of Reflexive Control: Unique Non- Western Contribution toModern Warfare** | Rid, T. (2020). *Active measures: The secret history of disinformation and political warfare*. Farrar, Straus and Giroux. pp. 3-57.  Chapter 1 and 2 from McCauley, K.'s "*Russian Influence Campaigns Against the West*", pp. 1-61.  Galeotti, M. (2016), Putin's Hydra: Inside Russia's Intelligence Services. *ECFR papers*, 1-20. | Thomas, T. (2004). Russia's reflexive control theory and the military. *Journal of Slavic Military Studies, 17*(2), 237-256.  Part I "Glorifying the Guilty, Framing the Innocent" and Part II "Anatomy of Disinformation Campaign: The Creation of Hitler's Pope" in  Pacepa, I. M., & Rychlak, R. J. (2013). *Disinformation: Former Spy Chief Reveals Secret Strategy for Undermining Freedom, Attacking Religion, andPromoting Terrorism*. Wnd Books | 02/22/22 | Précis # 1 |

| 6. | Historical Perspective: Soviet Intelligence and the application of Overt Propaganda and Covert Techniques | Rid, T. (2020). *Active measures: The secret history of disinformation and political warfare*. Farrar, Straus and Giroux. pp. 61-141. | Chapter 3 from McCauley, K.'s "*Russian Influence Campaigns Against the West*", pp. 62-85.<br><br>Part 1-4, Andrew, C. (2000). *The sword and the shield: The Mitrokhin archive and the secret history of the KGB*. Basic Books. Pp. 137-247<br><br>Shultz, R. H., & Godson, R. (1984). *Dezinformatsia: Active measures in Soviet strategy*. Potomac Books Incorporated.<br>Andrew, C., & Gordievsky, O. (1990).KGB: The inside story. *Nova York*.<br><br>Mitrokhin, V. (2013). *KGB Lexicon: The Soviet Intelligence Officers Handbook*. Routledge. | 02 /24/22 | |
| 7. | *Online Assignment* | | | 03 /01/22 | Quiz # 2 |
| 7. | The Deception Game: Active Measures Then and Now | Rid, T. (2020). *Active measures: The secret history of disinformation and political warfare*. Farrar, Straus and Giroux. pp. 146-227. | Chapter 4 from McCauley, K.'s "*Russian Influence Campaigns Against the West*", pp. 86-135.<br><br>Chapters 1-4 in Bittman, L. (1985). *The KGB and Soviet Disinformation: An Insider's View*. Washington: Pergamon. Pp.1-70.<br><br>Gordon, J.S. (1998), *Psychological Operations, The Soviet Challenge.* Westview Press.<br><br>Snegovaya, M. (2018) Reviving the Propaganda State, *CEPA research papers*, pp-1-16, https://cepa.ecms.pl/files/?id_plik=4878 | 03 /03/22 | Packback discussion # 4 (03/1-03/14) |
| 8. | Historical Perspective II: Anatomy of a Disinformation Factory | Rid, T. (2020). *Active measures: The secret history of disinformation and political warfare*. Farrar, Straus and Giroux. pp. 231-326. | Chapter 5 from McCauley, K.'s "*Russian Influence Campaigns Against the West*", pp. 136-192**.**<br><br>Bittman, L. (Ed.). (1988). *The New Image-Makers: soviet propaganda and disinformation today*. McLean, VA: Pergamon-Brassey's International Defense Publishers. | 03 /08/22 | Group Presentation Research Topics available on Canvas. |
| 8. | Conditioning the Main Enemy | Rid, T. (2020). *Active measures: The secret history of disinformation and political warfare*. Farrar, Straus and Giroux. pp. 329-374. | Chapter 6 from McCauley, K.'s "*Russian Influence Campaigns Against the West*", pp. 193-217.<br><br>Chapters 3-5 in Bittman, L. (1981). *The deception game* (No. 6). Ballantine Books. Pp. 79-216 | 03 /10/22 | Packback discussion # 5 (03/15-28) |

| | | | Kasapoglu, C. (2015). *Russia's Renewed Military Thinking: Non-linear Warfare and Reflexive Control*. NATO Defense College, Research Division. | | |
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| 9. | **Application of Reflexive Control / Conditioning of the Enemy** | Rid, T. (2020). *Active measures: The secret history of disinformation and political warfare.* Farrar, Straus and Giroux. pp. 377-435. | Galeotti, M., & Bowen, A. S. (2014). Putin's Empire of the Mind. *Foreign Policy*, (206),16.<br><br>Thomas, T. L. (1996). *Russian Views on Information-Based Warfare.* AIR UNIV MAXWELL AFB AL AIRPOWERJOURNAL.<br><br>Snegovaya, M. (2015). Putin's information warfare in Ukraine. *Soviet Origins Of Russia's Hybrid Warfare, Washington.* | 03 /22/22 | Précis # 2 |
| 9. | **Weaponization of information, money and values as part of the "hybrid warfare" approach** | Pomerantsev, P., & Weiss, M. (2014). *The menace of unreality: How the Kremlin weaponizes information, culture and money.* New York: Institute of Modern Russia. | Pomerantsev, P. (2015). *Hearing: confronting Russia's Weaponization of information.*<br><br>Galeotti, M. (Ed.). (2017). *Russian and post-Soviet organized crime.* Routledge. | 03 /24/22 | |
| 10. | **The tools of so-called "Hybrid Warfare" and Computational Propaganda** | Nimmo, B. (2015). Anatomy of an info-war: How Russia's propaganda machine works, and how to counter it. *Central European Policy Institute*, 15.<br><br>Kofman, M. (2017), The Moscow School of Hard Knocks: Key Pillars Of Russian Strategy, WOTR, https://warontherocks.com/2017/01/the-moscow-school-of- hard-knocks-key-pillars-of-russian-strategy/ | Waltzman, R. (2017). *The Weaponization of Information: The Need for Cognitive Security.* RAND. | 03 /29/22 | |
| 10. | **Milestones: Estonia (2007), Georgia (2008), Ukraine (2013-present)** | Chapter 11 from McCauley, K.'s "*Russian Influence Campaigns Against The West*", pp. 375 - 432.<br><br>Gerasimov, V. (2016). The value of science is in the foresight: New challenges demand rethinking the forms and methods of carrying out combat operations. *Military Review*, *96*(1), 23. | Kofman, M. (2016), Russian Hybrid Warfare and Other Dark Arts, WOTR,<br><br>Galeotti, M. (2016). Hybrid, ambiguous, and non-linear? How new is Russia's 'new way of war'? *Small Wars &Insurgencies*, *27*(2), 282-301<br><br>Connell, M., & Vogler, S. (2017). *Russia's Approach to Cyber Warfare*. Center for Naval Analyses Arlington United States.<br><br>Kofman, M. (2015), The Seven Deadly Sins of Russia Analysis, WOTR. Freedman, L. (2015), Ukraine and the Art of Exhaustion, WOTR. | 03 /31/22 | |
| 11. | **Current Russian Influence Operations Against the West** | Chapter 12 from McCauley, K.'s "*Russian Influence Campaigns Against the West*", pp. 433 - 464.<br><br>Watts, Clint (2018), "*Messing with the Enemy*", HarperCollins Publishers Chapter 7 "Postmortem", pp 155-177. | Renz, B., & Smith, H. (2016). Russia and Hybrid warfare-going beyond the label.<br><br>Hunter, E., & Pernik, P. (2015). *The challenges of hybrid warfare*. International Centre for Defence and Security. | 04 /05/22 | Packback discussion # 6 (03/29-4/11) |

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| 11. | **Contemporary Russian Propaganda and Influence Operations in Eastern European Context** | Kreko et al. (2017), From Russia with Hate, *Political Capital Research Papers*, pp. 1-48. <br><br> Pomerantsev, P. (2015). The Kremlin's Information War. *Journal of Democracy*, *26*(4), 40-50. | Abrams, S. (2016). Beyond Propaganda: Soviet Active Measures in Putin's Russia. *Connections: The Quarterly Journal*, *15*(1), 5. <br><br> Helmus, T. C., Bodine-Baron, E., Radin, A., Magnuson, M., Mendelsohn, J., Marcellino, W., & Winkelman, Z. (2018). Russian <br> Social Media Influence. | 04 /07/22 | |
| 12. | **Key themes and narratives of Kremlin's Propaganda War** | Sakwa, R. (2012). Conspiracy Narratives as a Mode of Engagement in International Politics: The Case of the 2008 Russo-Georgian War. *The Russian Review*, *71*(4), 581-609. <br><br> Yablokov, I. (2015). Conspiracy theories as a Russian public diplomacy tool: The case of Russia Today (RT). *Politics*, *35*(3- 4), 301-315. | Ortmann, S., & Heathershaw, J. (2012). Conspiracy Theories in the Post- Soviet Space. *The Russian Review*, *71*(4), 551-564. <br><br> Yablokov, I. (2014). Pussy Riot as agent provocateur: conspiracy theories and the media construction of nation in Putin's Russia. *Nationalities Papers*, *42*(4), 622-636. | 04 /12/22 | Packback discussion # 7 (4/12-4/25) |
| 12. | **OldWine in a New Bottles? Operation INFEKTION Revisited** | Boghardt, T. (2009). Soviet Bloc Intelligence and Its AIDS Disinformation Campaign. *Studies in intelligence*, *53*(4), 1-24. <br><br> Graphika's "Exposing Secondary Infection": https://secondaryinfektion.org/report/secondary-infektion-at-a-glance/ <br><br> Graphika's "Posing As Patriots" : https://public-assets.graphika.com/reports/graphika_report_posing_as_patriots.pdf <br><br> Graphika's "GRU and the Minions" : https://public-assets.graphika.com/reports/graphika_report_gru_minions.pdf | Geissler, E., & Sprinkle, R. H. (2013). Disinformation squared: Was the HIV- from-Fort-Detrick myth a Stasi success? *Politics & Life Sciences*, *32*(2), 2-99. <br><br> Oxford University's Computational Propaganda Project's assessment: https://demtech.oii.ox.ac.uk/wp-content/uploads/sites/93/2018/12/The-IRA-Social-Media-and-Political-Polarization.pdf <br><br> New Knowledge's "Tactics and Tropes of the IRA" Report: https://int.nyt.com/data/documenthelper/533-read-report-internet-research-agency/7871ea6d5b7bedafbf19/optimized/full.pdf <br><br> On Troll Tactics from Harvard Misinformation Review: https://misinforeview.hks.harvard.edu/article/engaging-ira-coordinated-information-operation/ <br><br> On future trends: Graphika's "Double Deceit" - https://public-assets.graphika.com/reports/graphika_report_ira_in_ghana_double_deceit.pdf | 04 /14/22 | Précis # 3 |
| 13. | **In Conspiracy We Trust: Why conspiracy theories and "alternative facts" are so potent?** | Kreko, P. (2015), Conspiracy theory as collective motivated cognition The Psychology of Conspiracy, pp.62-76 | Hofstadter, R. (2012). *The paranoid style in American politics*. Vintage. <br><br> Fenster, M. (1999). *Conspiracy theories: Secrecy and power in American culture*. Uof Minnesota Press. <br><br> Yablokov, I. (2018*). Fortress Russia: Conspiracy Theories in the Post-Soviet World*. | 04 /19/22 | |
| 13. | **The Unusual Weapon: Conspiracy Theories in Action in Eastern Europe** | Avramov, K., Gatov, V., & Yablokov, I. (2020). Conspiracy Theories and fake news. *In Routledge handbook of conspiracy theories* (pp. 512-524). Routledge. | Jablokov, I. J. (2015). Enemies, Traitors, Fifth Columns Russian Conspiracy Theories on the Ukraine Crisis. *OSTEUROPA*, *65*(4), 99-+. | 04 /21/22 | Quiz # 3 |

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| 14. | **Enhancing the Social Resilience & Applications of Counter- disinformation methods and tools** | Watts, Clint (2018), "*Messing with the Enemy*", Harper Collins Publishers Chapter 9 "From preference Bubbles to Social Inception: The Future of Influence", pp 211-234.<br><br>Fried, D. and Polyakova A. (2018), Democratic Defense Against Disinformation, *Atlantic Council, Research Papers*, pp 1-16.<br><br>*Soviet Subversion Disinformation and Propaganda: How the West Fought Against It,* Cull et al. LSE Institute of Global Affairs, (2017) | Chapter 13 from McCauley, K.'s "*Russian Influence Campaigns Against the West*", pp. 464-482.<br><br>Watts, Clint (2018), "*Messing with the Enemy*", Harper Collins Publishers Chapter 10 "Surviving in a Social Media World", pp. 235-263<br><br>Lanoszka, A. (2016). Russian hybrid warfare and extended deterrence in eastern Europe. *International Affairs*, *92*(1), 175-195. | 04 26/22 | |
| 14. | *Guest lecture – Seth Jones* | Profile:<br>https://www.csis.org/people/seth-g-jones | Jones, S. G. (2021). Three Dangerous Men: Russia, China, Iran and the Rise of Irregular Warfare. WW Norton & Company. | 04 /28/22 | Group Presentation due date on 04/30/22 |
| 15. | *In-class group presentations* | | | 05 /03/22 | |
| 15. | *In-class group presentations* | | | 05 /05/22 | Précis # 4 |