POL211H1F: Intelligence, Disinformation, and Deception—Challenges of Global Governance in The Digital Age

University of Toronto, Department of Political Science

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Online delivery (Quercus, Zoom)

Instructors:

- Professor Jon R. Lindsay, jon.lindsay@utoronto.ca
 - Office hour: Thursday 3p, Zoom
- Professor Janice G. Stein, j.stein@utoronto.ca
 - o Office hour: Monday 4p, Zoom

Teaching assistants:

- Head TA: Jasmine Chorley Foster, jasmine.chorleyfoster@mail.utoronto.ca
 - o Office hour: Thursday 10-11am, Zoom
- Milan Ilnyckyj, milan.ilnyckyj@mail.utoronto.ca
- Steven Loleski, steven.loleski@mail.utoronto.ca
 - o Office hour: Wednesday 6-7pm, Zoom

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Description

Leaders and citizens alike depend on information to make political and economic decisions, but not all information can be trusted. Espionage and disinformation have a long history, but they are becoming more prominent because of the increasing interdependence of global affairs and humanity's increasing dependence on technology. This course introduces students to the study and practice of modern international relations through the lens of information and crisis decision making, with special focus on the changes created by the information revolution. Students will develop critical thinking skills--through weekly quizzes, individual writing assignments, and group projects--to evaluate information and understand how to make sense of political complexity.

Course Organization

College can be difficult and stressful under the best of circumstances. This year we are not in the best of circumstances. We know that everyone is struggling to meet the challenges of online learning and social distancing during the Covid-19 pandemic. We are all trying our best to make sure students have the best possible experience under these constraints, and we expect students to do their part as well. While we all miss the spontaneity and community that come with in-person classes, there are also a few opportunities in this new format to do things we might not otherwise be able to do (for example, discussions with experts at other universities, shared conversations between professors, and time to hang out with faculty).

The course is delivered completely online, through a mix of asynchronous and synchronous content. Each week will focus on a specific theme. Lectures, readings, films, tutorial discussions, and student groups will explore each theme from different perspectives. These elements are discussed in more detail below.

Weekly Format

Portions of this course are asynchronous, which means that you can do them at your own pace. However, you will need to complete them every week. These are complements not substitutes—that means that there is different content in the readings, films, and lectures that you will miss if you skip anything. Each of the elements are listed below along with estimates of the time they will take. Duration will vary from week to week. Monitor Quercus announcements for any changes.

Asynchronous

- o assigned readings—read prior to lecture
- movie/documentary—watch prior to lecture (1-2hr)
- online content—view/complete prior to lecture (30m)
- lecture—posted on Quercus on Monday, for one week (30m)
- o comprehension quiz—complete during lecture, no later than Sunday midnight after the lecture is posted (10-20m)
- Participate in online discussion boards, which contributes to your participation grade

Synchronous:

- Tutorial—Wednesday/Thursday (1 hour)
 - Your participation marks depend on your sustained and thoughtful engagement during weekly TA-led tutorials.
 - Students should complete all required reading and content prior to the tutorial.
 - Think about the discussion questions (in the syllabus) in advance.
 - A professor will try to join each tutorial for at least one session in the term

- Project group—scheduled at group discretion, no later than Friday (30m)
- o Professor office hour--the instructors will be available every week
- Hang out with your professors--an informal session will be held once per month to ask your instructors anything. Details will be provided via Quercus.

Group Project

Students will be automatically divided into groups of 5-7 students at the beginning of the term. The group project will run throughout the entire term, giving students the opportunity to discuss course themes and to analyze a real-world problem--current or historical--from different perspectives.

Groups are expected to meet every week for at least 30m. You should discuss the theme of the week as it applies to your case and plan your analysis. See the section on assignments below for more detail on your deliverables.

Every group is expected to upload a very short statement--one paragraph or a few bullet points--summarizing their weekly conversation to Quercus.

You can choose from one of projects listed at the end of the syllabus. Groups are welcome to pick a topic not included here, but please discuss it with a TA or instructor first. Each of these topics include a few resources to help you get started--you are not limited to these and are *strongly* encouraged to research additional material.

Materials

There are no books required for this class. Required readings are available online through Quercus. See links below in the Schedule section.

We include a film each week that is associated with the theme of the week in some way. Some are works of fiction and some are documentaries. Required films are available through the U of T library Criterion On Demand collection. Please watch these films before the lecture.

Assignments

Weekly content guiz — 3% x 10 weeks = 30%

- Quizzes are available each week on Quercus
- Lectures will prompt students to provide short answers
- Questions test reading comprehension

Group topic — 5%

- Topic: What is your group's focus?
- We want to make sure your group gets up and running early in the term. Draft a page to describe the case that your group will analyze during the term. Where and when did it take place? How long did it last (or is it still ongoing)? Also describe the larger issue--what is this a case of? If there are lessons to be learned from this case, what are they lessons about?
- All group members receive the same mark
- Format: 1 page, double spaced, 12 pt Times
- Due Week 3 via Quercus

Group paper—15%

- Topic: What type of information was available to help actors understand this problem?
- This is a descriptive essay that inventories the types of information and intelligence that actors had, or should have had, to help them navigate the crisis. Comment on the availability, relevance, and reliability of information. What historical analogies, previous experiences, or scientific data could have been useful? Was relevant information available from the media or other open sources? Was there also a lot of noisy, irrelevant, misleading, or false information circulating around? Was information available from people with direct access to this event, or from more technical sources like satellites or cyber intrusions? Is it plausible that private information or secret intelligence was also available to some of the actors? You do not need to discuss how or whether that information was actually used—that is another project. But you should comment on the quantity and quality of information available.
- All group members receive the same mark
- Format: 10 pages, double spaced, 12 pt Times
- Due Week 5

Individual paper—20%

- Topic: Why kinds of individual and institutional biases affected the actors in this case?
- This is an analytical essay that examines how some of the key actors in your case used the information that was available to them. Discuss the psychological biases that might have shaped their interpretations. Also discuss how institutional or organizational biases might have colored their interpretations.
- It would be wise to establish a division of labor in your group so that different members assess different actors, countries, or organizations. This will help you cover more of the case and will be helpful for your final project.
- Format: 10 pages, double spaced, 12 pt Times
- Due Week 8 via Quercus

Group analysis—20%

• Topic: What did we learn from this case, and how can we do better next time?

- Your group is encouraged to be creative with this assignment. We are interested in your ideas about solutions for the problems we have discussed all term. We are interested in your assessment of what went right and wrong. What could the actors have done differently to reach a different outcome? What can be learned from this case? If something similar happens in the future, how can we do better? What changes would be needed to address any problems of political or psychological bias that you identify?
- You are welcome to use any technology to produce your presentation. It can be as simple as a recorded Zoom conversation or a recorded PowerPoint presentation, or something else if your group is so inclined. We expect all group members to contribute to the project, but this does not necessarily mean that all members have to be visible or audible for the same amount of time. Feel free to discuss ideas with your TA.
- All group members receive the same mark
- Format: Video, 5-10m
- Due Week 11 via Quercus

Participation—10%

- Students are expected to prepare each week by completing all assignments in advance.
- Students are expected to actively participate in tutorials and online discussion boards every week. We are more interested in your questions and contributions than whether you are "right," which is usually a matter for debate in any case.
- TAs will gauge student preparation for and engagement in discussions online and in tutorials.
- Groups are expected to submit a short summary of their discussions each week. These will be factored into the participation grade.

Notes on evaluation

- Plagiarism--Plagiarism is not tolerated. See notes below on academic integrity and the code of conduct.
- Late policy--Late assignments will be penalized half a grade per day without documented reason and an extension approved in advance. See notes below on academic accommodations.
- Appeals--Talk to your TA first about clarifications, questions, or requests for re-marking.
 Instructors will ask you to talk to your TA first. If you are still not satisfied, we may discuss further arrangements.
- See further notes below on group work, fair usage of media, and technology usage.

Schedule

Introduction (Week 1 - Mon. 14 Sept.)

- 1. Course organization
 - What is this course about, and what are the requirements?

Key themes

- Introduce instructors and TAs
- Course themes: intelligence, information, interpretation, influence, and policy
- Course organization
- Overview of group projects
- Describe assignments and evaluation criteria

Reading

- Recommended: Drezner, Daniel W. Theories of International Politics and Zombies: Revived Edition. Princeton University Press, 2014. https://www.jstor.org/stable/j.ctt7zvcq0
 - This is a short and fun overview of international relations theory that imagines how different theories predict how human beings would respond to a zombie outbreak. Reading the whole book is not required, but highly recommended to help you to start thinking about how different assumptions about politics shape the way in which you think about global problems. Your groups are going to be analyzing some particular problem from different perspectives throughout the term, so you may find it helpful to see how one scholar has done something similar. Your groups must analyze a real world (current or historical) problem, however, not science fiction!

Film

- Watch any James Bond, Jason Bourne, or Kingsman movie
- How has the spy genre of cinema shaped your understanding of intelligence? What assumptions are made for the sake of entertainment that might be...less than realistic?

Part I: Intelligence

- 2. What is intelligence? (Lindsay) (Week 2 Mon 21 Sept)
 - What is the role of information in global politics?

Key themes

- All politics relies on information
- All information is political
- The intelligence cycle:
 - Actors gather information
 - Actors interpret information
 - Actors use information for political influence
 - Actors worry about other actors doing the same things

Reading

- Sun-tzu, "The Use of Spies" in Art of War, ch. 13
- Carl von Clausewitz, "Intelligence in War," in On War, bk. 1, ch. 6
- Jervis, Robert. "Intelligence and International Politics." The Oxford Handbook of International Security, March 15, 2018.
 - https://doi.org/10.1093/oxfordhb/9780198777854.013.34.
- Recommended
 - Michael Warner, "Wanted: A Definition of 'Intelligence'," Studies in Intelligence,
 Vol. 46, No. 3 (2002); https://www.cia.gov/library/center-for-the-study-of-intelligence/csi-publications/csistudies/studies/vol46no3/article02.html
 - Lowenthal, Mark M. Intelligence: From Secrets to Policy. 8th edition. Los Angeles: CQ Press, 2020.

Content

- Bellingcat's Online Investigation Toolkit https://docs.google.com/document/d/1BfLPJpRtyq4RFtHJoNpvWQjmGnyVkfE2HYoICKOGguA/edit
- Recommended:
 - "Shrabani Basu: From pacifist to spy: WWII's surprising secret agent,"
 https://www.ted.com/talks/shrabani_basu_from_pacifist_to_spy_wwii_s_surprising_secret_agent

Film

- The Lives of Others (2005), https://media3-criterionpic-com.myaccess.library.utoronto.ca/htbin/wwform/006?T=MON1187
- 3. What is deception? (Stein) (Week 3 Mon. 28 Sept)
 - What is the purpose of deception? Why are people vulnerable to it? How does it work?

Key Themes

- What is deception? Defining the concept?
- Human beings rely on psychological and emotional "software" to process information.
- How can this software be "hacked" by unscrupulous actors attempting to manipulate our beliefs?
- Is it ever ethical to deceive or manipulate other people?
- Prospect theory explains an important category of manipulative techniques.

Reading

- Heuer, Richards J. Psychology of Intelligence Analysis. Washington, DC: Center for the Study of Intelligence, Central Intelligence Agency, 1999.
 https://www.cia.gov/library/center-for-the-study-of-intelligence/csi-publications/books-and-monographs/psychology-of-intelligence-analysis/PsychofIntelNew.pdf, pp. 7-30
- Robinson, Piers, David Miller, Eric Herring, and Vian Bakir. "Lying and Deception in Politics." The Oxford Handbook of Lying, November 15, 2018. https://doi.org/10.1093/oxfordhb/9780198736578.013.42.
- Recommended
 - Ferris, John. "The Intelligence-Deception Complex: An Anatomy." Intelligence and National Security 4, no. 4 (1989): 719–34.
 - The Ethics of Manipulation, Stanford Encyclopedia of Philosophy https://plato.stanford.edu/entries/ethics-manipulation/
 - Simmel, Georg. "The Sociology of Secrecy and of Secret Societies." American Journal of Sociology 11, no. 4 (1906): 441–98.

Content

- Lie to Me pilot episode, e.g., https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=bWyhsqh e9s
- Recommended
 - The dark magic of communication How we manipulate others | Christopher Cummings | TEDxNTU https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=cfNJmmabimU

Film

In contrast with the escapist genre of James Bond or Jason Bourne spy flicks, Hollywood occasionally provides a more realistic glimpse into the practical challenges of spycraft. Recommended movies include Breach (2007), Bridge of Spies (2015), The Report (2019), and Most Wanted Man (2014), https://play.library.utoronto.ca/play/cd1a94ad782d778f02a3456ea93e1499

Part II: Information

- 4. Technological renaissance (Lindsay) (Week 4 Mon. 5 Oct.)
 - How does the information revolution affect intelligence collection?

Key themes

- What are the intelligence collection disciplines? What are their strengths and weaknesses?
- What are the everyday, civilian analogues to government intelligence?
- Does technical collection replace or complement good old fashioned human spycraft?

Reading

- Lowenthal, Mark M. Intelligence: From Secrets to Policy. 8th edition. Los Angeles: CQ Press, 2020. Chapter 5, "Collection and the Collection Disciplines"
- Recommended
 - Joseph, Daniel. "The Time Canada Wanted Its Own Internet Because It Thought the US Would Mess It Up." Vice Magazine. Accessed July 7, 2020.
 https://www.vice.com/en_us/article/wjbbzq/canada-wanted-its-own-internet-in-the-70s.
 - Rudner, Martin. "Canada's Communications Security Establishment from Cold War to Globalization." *Intelligence and National Security* 16, no. 1 (March 1, 2001): 97–128.

Content

- "How Much Data is Created on the Internet Each Day?," https://blog.microfocus.c
 om/how-much-data-is-created-on-the-internet-each-day/
- Recommended
 - "Nazi Spies Radio Set (1940)," https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=pbA1cvnRoZc

Film

- Eye in the Sky (2016), https://media3-criterionpic-com.myaccess.library.utoronto.ca/htbin/wwform/006?T=AL525770
- 5. Politics & economics of surveillance (Lindsay) (Week 5 Tues 13 Oct)
 - How do commercial firms conduct, and contribute to, political surveillance?

Key themes

- How do firms use your data to make money?
- How do governments (and what kinds of governments) leverage corporate firms (and what kinds of firms) to gather intelligence?
- Are you more worried about corporate or state surveillance?

Reading

- Deibert, Ronald J. "Three Painful Truths About Social Media." *Journal of Democracy* 30, no. 1 (January 9, 2019): 25–39.
- Scott-Railton, John, Adam Hulcoop, Bahr Abdul Razzak, Bill Marczak, Siena Anstis, and Deibert. "Dark Basin: Uncovering a Massive Hack-For-Hire Operation." Toronto: Citizen Lab, June 9, 2020. https://citizenlab.ca/2020/06/dark-basin-uncovering-a-massive-hack-for-hire-operation/.
- Recommended
 - Facebook's Civil Rights Audit Final Report. 28 July 2020. Introduction pp. 5-12. https://about.fb.com/wp-content/uploads/2020/07/Civil-Rights-Audit-Final-Report.pdf
 - Zuboff, Shoshana. "Big Other: Surveillance Capitalism and the Prospects of an Information Civilization." *Journal of Information Technology* 30, no. 1 (March 1, 2015): 75–89. https://doi.org/10.1057/jit.2015.5.
 - Maschmeyer, Lennart, Ronald Deibert, and Jon R. Lindsay. "A Tale of Two Cybers: How Threat Reporting by Cybersecurity Firms Systematically Underrepresents Threats to Civil Society." *Journal of Information Technology & Politics*, Forthcoming 2020.
 - https://www.tandfonline.com/doi/full/10.1080/19331681.2020.1776658
 - Shoshana Wodinsky, "It Doesn't Matter Who Owns TikTok," Gizmodo, 6 August 2020, https://gizmodo.com/it-doesn-t-matter-who-owns-tiktok-1844595163?rev=1596741690731

- Logic Magazine. "The Art of Eyeball Harvesting: Shengwu Li on Online Advertising." Accessed July 7, 2020. https://logicmag.io/play/shengwu-li-on-online-advertising/.
- Kreps, Sarah. Social Media and International Relations. Cambridge 2020. https://doi-org.myaccess.library.utoronto.ca/10.1017/9781108920377

Content

- Ron Deibert in conversation with Jon Lindsay and Janice Stein
- Jaron Lanier, The Great Data Robbery, Episode 1, https://www.nytimes.com/interactive/2019/09/23/opinion/data-privacy-jaron-lanier.html
- PBS NewsHour Presents, "China: Power and Prosperity," watch 37:00-48:00, https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=gF frOsTrgw
- Recommended:
 - Online Platforms and Market Power, Part 6: Examining the Dominance of Amazon, Apple, Facebook, and Google, U.S. House Judiciary Committee, Subcommittee on Antitrust, Commercial, and Administrative Law, July 29, 2020. https://judiciary.house.gov/calendar/eventsingle.aspx?EventID=3113
 - Shoshana Zuboff on surveillance capitalism. https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=QL4bz3QXWEo
 - Prof. David Lyon (Queen's University's Surveillance Studies centre) 'Surveillance as social sorting' https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=xtAa-f-1rTg

Film

Recommended: Inside the Social Network (BBC documentary 2019)

Part III: Interpretation

- 6. Intelligence Analysis (Stein) (Week 6 Mon 19 Oct)
 - How do we make sense of a mass of potentially misleading, deceptive, or irrelevant information?

Key Themes

- Interpreting Intelligence. All "raw" data are "cooked"--it is important to understand where the "ingredients" of any interpretation come from.
- Analysts' Biases that affect the interpretation of Evidence.
- People have to rely on heuristics and frameworks to make sense of data. Where do
 interpretive frameworks come from? If Analysts are made aware of their Biases, can

- they minimize their Biases? How? What kind of analytical frameworks can compensate for implicit biases?
- Institutional Bias I: How do Institutions Shape Interpretation?

Reading

- Heuer, Richards J. Psychology of Intelligence Analysis. Washington, DC: Center for the Study of Intelligence, Central Intelligence Agency, 1999.
 https://www.cia.gov/library/center-for-the-study-of-intelligence/csi-publications/books-and-monographs/psychology-of-intelligence-analysis/PsychofIntelNew.pdf, pp. 31-110.
- "Without Early Warning You Can't Have Early Response': How Canada's World-Class Pandemic Alert System Failed." Globe and Mail. Accessed July 26, 2020. https://www.theglobeandmail.com/canada/article-without-early-warning-you-cant-have-early-response-how-canadas
- Recommended
 - Read, Max. "5 Theories About Conspiracy Theories." New York Magazine, February 6, 2020. https://nymag.com/intelligencer/2020/02/why-do-people-believe-in-conspiracy-theories.html.

Content

 A Neuroscientist Explains What Conspiracy Theories Do To Your Brain (Inverse, 2019). https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=z98U1nMFrJQ.

Film

- All the President's Men (1976), https://media3-criterionpic-com.myaccess.library.utoronto.ca/htbin/wwform/006?T=W76502
- 7. Institutional bias (Stein) (week 7 Mon 26 Oct.)
 - How do institutional interests, identities, and processes shape the interpretation of information?
 - Case Study: The Cuban Missile Crisis (1962)

Key Themes

- What is the difference between cognitive and institutional bias?
- Why do different organizations prioritize (or suppress) some kinds of information over others?
- How did institutional bias affect information processing during the Cuban Missile Crisis?
- Is it possible to overcome institutional bias, inertia, myopia, or stickiness?

Reading

- Allison, Graham T. "Conceptual Models and the Cuban Missile Crisis." The American Political Science Review 63, no. 3 (September 1, 1969): 689–718. https://doi.org/10.2307/1954423.
- Garthoff, Raymond L. "US Intelligence in the Cuban Missile Crisis." Intelligence and National Security 13, no. 3 (September 1, 1998): 18–63. https://doi.org/10.1080/02684529808432493.

Recommended:

 Yarhi-Milo, Keren. "In the Eye of the Beholder: How Leaders and Intelligence Communities Assess the Intentions of Adversaries." International Security 38, no. 1 (2013): 7–51.

Content

 Browse declassified archival documents on the Cuban Missile Crisis, looking for evidence of how organizations shaped the interpretation or presentation of information: https://nsarchive2.gwu.edu/nsa/cuba_mis_cri/index.htm

Film

- Thirteen Days (2000), https://media3-criterionpic-com.myaccess.library.utoronto.ca/htbin/wwform/006?T=WNL2015
- Recommended: The Fog of War: Eleven Lessons from the Life of Robert S. McNamara (2003)

Part IV. Influence

- 8. The Politics of Secrecy (Stein) (Week 8 Mon 2 Nov)
 - How do institutions use--and misuse--secret information?
 - Case Study: Assessing Iraqi Weapons of Mass Destruction (2002-3)

Key Themes

- How do power relationships between leaders and their organizations, or among different organizations, affect the flow and significance of information?
- Are intelligence agencies objective oracles of truth, or do they promote their own political interests?
- Under what conditions do governments release intelligence to inform the public, or they use it to sell a particular agenda?

- What is the proper distance between an intelligence producer and intelligence consumer? How should intelligence agencies balance the risks of irrelevance (too far) and capture (too close)?
- What explains the overconfident estimates about Iraq's weapons of mass destruction program in 2002?

Reading

- Jervis, Robert. "The Iraq WMD Intelligence Failure: What Everyone Knows Is Wrong." In Why Intelligence Fails, 123–55. Lessons from the Iranian Revolution and the Iraq War.
 Cornell University Press, 2010. https://www.jstor.org/stable/pdf/10.7591/j.ctt7z6f8.6.pdf
- Joshua Rovner, "Fixing the Facts or Missing the Mark? Intelligence, Policy, and the War in Iraq," Foreign Policy Research Institute (October 2011),
 http://www.fpri.org/article/2011/10/fixingthe-facts-or-missing-the-mark-intelligence-policy-and-the-war-in-iraq/
- Robert Draper, "Unwanted Truths: Inside Trump's Battles with U.S. Intelligence Agencies," New York Times Magazine, August 16 2020. https://www.nytimes.com/2020/08/08/magazine/us-russia-intelligence.html?referringSource=articleShare
- Recommended
 - Robert Draper, Colin Powell Still Wants Answers. The New York Times, 16 July 2020. https://www.nytimes.com/2020/07/16/magazine/colin-powell-iraq-war.html?referringSource=articleShare
 - Barnes, Alan. "Getting It Right: Canadian Intelligence Assessments on Iraq,
 2002-2003." Intelligence and National Security 0, no. 0 (May 28, 2020): 1–29.
 https://doi.org/10.1080/02684527.2020.1771934.
 - Friedman, Uri. "The Ten Biggest American Intelligence Failures." Foreign Policy (blog). Accessed July 9, 2020. https://foreignpolicy.com/2012/01/03/the-ten-biggest-american-intelligence-failures/.

Content

Josh Rovner and Robert Jervis, in conversation with Jon Lindsay and Janice Stein

Film

Official Secrets (2019), https://media3-criterionpic-com.myaccess.library.utoronto.ca/htbin/wwform/006?T=AL529396

- 9. Disinformation Campaigns (Lindsay) (Week 9 Mon. 16 Nov)
 - Under what conditions are disinformation campaigns successful?

Key themes

- What is disinformation? What is the difference between disinformation and misinformation?
- Why do political actors conduct disinformation campaigns? What do they hope to achieve? Why do they choose disinformation rather than some other means?
- How can you distinguish between the existence of a disinformation campaign and its effects?
- What affects the demand for disinformation? Are some people or societies more vulnerable to it?
- Does digital information make disinformation campaigns easier to conduct? Does it make them more or less effective?

Reading

- Lanoszka, Alexander. "Disinformation in International Politics." *European Journal of International Security* 4, no. 2 (June 2019): 227–48. https://doi.org/10.1017/eis.2019.6.
- Jackson, Colin F. "Information Is Not a Weapons System." Journal of Strategic Studies 39, no. 5-6 (2016): 820-846. https://doi.org/10.1080/01402390.2016.1139496

Recommended

- Boburg, Shawn, and Dalton Bennett. "The Troll: A Fake Flag Burning at Gettysburg Was Only His Latest Hoax." Washington Post, July 17, 2020. https://www.washingtonpost.com/investigations/2020/07/17/gettysburg-antifa-flag-burning-troll/.
- Jones, Seth G. "Russian Meddling in the United States: The Historical Context of the Mueller Report." Center for Strategic and International Studies, March 27, 2019. https://www.csis.org/analysis/russian-meddling-united-states-historical-context-mueller-report.

Content

- Play the disinformation game: https://www.getbadnews.com/
- Thomas Rid, testimony to U.S. Senate Select Intelligence Committee on Russian Active Measures in the 2016 Election, 30 March 2017, https://www.c-span.org/video/?c4667048/user-clip-thomas-rids-senate-testimony

Film

- Recommended
 - The Great Hack (2019 Brexit documentary)
 - Brexit: The Uncivil War (2019 fictionalized account)
 - Shameless Propaganda (2014 documentary of the World War II propaganda films of the National Film Board of Canada)

10. The Digital Revolution and the Future of War (Lindsay) (Week 10 - Mon 23 Nov)

• How does the digital revolution affect decisions about war and peace?

Key themes

- Are cyber operations more like warfare or intelligence? How does the language we use to describe cyber affect our expectations about it?
- Does the use of cyber operations (and deception more generally) make it more likely that crises will escalate to war?
- Conversely, when does the use of cyber or deception make war less likely?
- Can history teach us anything about the future of warfare with new technologies?

Reading

- Dorfman, Zach, Kim Zetter, Jenna McLaughlin, and Sean D. Naylor. "Exclusive: Secret Trump Order Gives CIA More Powers to Launch Cyberattacks." Yahoo News, July 15, 2020. https://news.yahoo.com/secret-trump-order-gives-cia-more-powers-to-launch-cyberattacks-090015219.html.
- Gompert, David C., and Martin Libicki. "Cyber Warfare and Sino-American Crisis Instability." Survival 56, no. 4 (2014): 7–22.
- Carson, Austin. "Facing Off and Saving Face: Covert Intervention and Escalation Management in the Korean War." International Organization 70, no. 1 (2016): 103–131.
- Recommended:
 - Jon Lindsay "Stuxnet and the Limits of Cyber Warfare." Security Studies 22, no. 3 (2013)

Film

Zero Days (2016 documentary on Stuxnet),
 https://mymedia.library.utoronto.ca/play/906b857415df213c8d47a58fd4fd02b4

 Recommended: Cyber Terror (National Geographic Breakthrough documentary, 2017), https://media3-criterionpic-com.myaccess.library.utoronto.ca/htbin/wwform/006?T=YXS202

Part V. Policy Implications

- 11. Deception and democracy (Week 11 Mon. 30 Nov)
 - What is the relationship between secrecy and democracy?

Key themes

- Does democracy encourage or constrain the covert behaviour of governments?
- Do democracies and authoritarian states differ in their objectives and methods of deception?
- What is the proper balance between privacy and intelligence in a democracy?
- Do you consider Edward Snowden--the American civilian contractor who leaked classified documents to Wikileaks in 2013--to be a patriot or a traitor?

Reading

- Poznansky, Michael. "Stasis or Decay? Reconciling Covert War and the Democratic Peace." *International Studies Quarterly* 59, no. 4 (2015): 815–26.
- Gunitsky, Seva. "Democracies Can't Blame Putin for Their Disinformation Problem."
 Foreign Policy (blog). Accessed July 8, 2020.
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- Lepore, Jill. "Edward Snowden and the Rise of Whistle-Blower Culture in 'Permanent Record,'" September 16, 2019.
 https://www.newyorker.com/magazine/2019/09/23/edward-snowden-and-the-rise-of-whistle-blower-culture.
- Recommended
 - US Investigation of Canadians During the Second Red Scare, 1953-1957.
 https://declassified.library.utoronto.ca/exhibits/show/us-investigation-of-canadians-/summary
 - Sean McDonald Ebola: A Big Data Disaster, https://cis-india.org/papers/ebola-a-big-data-disaster

Content

Jon Lindsay & Janice Stein in conversation with Michael Poznansky

Recommended

- Edward Snowden TED talk, 2014, https://www.ted.com/talks/edward_snowden_here_s_how_we_take_back_the_internet
- NSA response to Snowden, 2014,
 https://www.ted.com/talks/richard_ledgett_the_nsa_responds_to_edward_snowden_sted_talk

Film

- Citizenfour (2014 documentary on Edward Snowden), https://media3-criterionpic-com.myaccess.library.utoronto.ca/htbin/wwform/006?T=AL526058
 - Not to be confused with Snowden, the 2016 biopic by Oliver Stone

12. Conclusion (Week 12 – Mon. 7 Dec)

What have we learned? What should we do?

Key themes

 This will be a live, free flowing, synchronous session. The professors and TAs will have a conversation. We will review the themes of the course, recent developments in politics around those themes, and invite student questions.

Content

View at least five other student group videos.

Accessibility Services

Academic accommodations are provided when you experience disability-related barriers that prohibit demonstration of your knowledge and skills. Accommodations are provided to level the playing field upon which you can establish your success. You are encouraged to inform yourself about options in this regard at the website for Accessibility Services.

Academic Accommodations

Occasionally students will need to apply for an academic accommodation due to disability, illness, religious observance or personal emergency. All requests for an academic accommodation due to disability are handled by the University of Toronto's Accessibility

Services, not the instructor. Your instructor expects to be informed of any class meetings or deliverables you will miss beforehand.

For disability-related accommodations, Accessibility Services staff will determine suitable accommodations on a case-by-case basis based on recommendation from health providers and with student input. If a non-disability related accommodation request is approved, a resolution will be determined by the instructor and may take the form of an alternate deliverable, deadline extension, re-weighted course grade calculation, make-up exam, or another solution deemed appropriate by the instructor. If an accommodation request is not approved, the missed or late deliverable will be subject to an academic penalty. The extent of the penalty is at the discretion of the instructor.

Code of Behaviour on Academic Matters

Please read the University's <u>Code of Behaviour on Academic Matters</u>. It applies to all your academic activities and courses. The Code prohibits all forms of academic dishonesty including, but not limited to, cheating, plagiarism, and the use of unauthorized aids. Violating the Code may lead to penalties up to and including suspension or expulsion from the University. You are expected to know the Code and inform yourself of acceptable academic practices – ignorance of the Code or the acceptable academic practices is not a valid defense if you are accused of a violation.

Academic Integrity

Plagiarism is not tolerated at the University of Toronto. If you are not certain about what plagiarism is, consult your teaching assistant. Do not, under any circumstances, take the risk of plagiarizing. Case write-ups, papers, assignments, and all other deliverables must be original work, giving credit to the work of others where appropriate. This applies to individual and group deliverables. All members of a group are accountable for the academic integrity of their submissions. You are encouraged to consult the following sites to ensure that you follow the appropriate rules. Ignorance of these rules is not a defense in cases of violations, which can result in very serious academic sanctions. Please visit the University of Toronto Academic Integrity and the UofT Writing Centre Resources websites for further detail and help on the proper use of citations.

Mental Health and Wellness

Feeling Distressed? Are you in crisis? There's Help. Call Good2Talk: 1-866-925-5454. Free, confidential helpline with professional counselling, information and referrals for mental health, addictions and well-being, 24/7/365.

Are you in immediate danger? For Personal Safety - Call 911, then Campus Community Police*

UTSG Police: 416-978-2222 | U of T Mississauga Police: 905-569-4333 | U of T Scarborough

Police: 416-978-2222 |

Centre for International Experience Safety Abroad 416-946-3929.

*24/7/365; Campus Community Police can direct your call to the right service.

Group Work and Behaviour

You are expected to treat teamwork the same way as you would in any professional organization. This includes, but is not limited to:

- On discussion boards, and in all other interactions, being courteous and civil to one another even when you disagree strongly.
- Contributing substantially and proportionally to each project
- Committing to a standard of work and level of participation agreed upon by the group
- Ensuring familiarity with the entire content of a group deliverable so that you can sign off on it with your name in its entirety as original work
- Accepting and acknowledging that assignments that are found to be plagiarized in any way will be subject to sanctions for all group members under the University's Code of Behaviour on Academic Matters linked above
- Ensuring that all team members voice their opinions, thoughts, and concerns openly and in an inclusive and considerate environment
- Taking personal responsibility for voicing your own thoughts to enhance and contribute to the team learning

We encourage debate and healthy discussion, but personal attacks or lewd, sexist, racist, or otherwise inappropriate comments are unacceptable. Focus your comments on ideas, arguments and evidence, but never attack people. If you encounter difficulties with any group member that cannot be resolved within the group, please contact your instructor for guidance. Your instructor may refer you to higher authorities for further assistance.

Use of Technology

Course offerings at the University have moved online, creating new ways to connect and collaborate with your professors and peers. We expect all of course members to behave responsibly and with courtesy and respect for others when using technology. The university is committed to equity, human rights and respect for diversity. All members of the learning

environment in this course should strive to create an atmosphere of mutual respect where all members of our community can express themselves, engage with each other, and respect one another's differences. Please read the University's <u>Student Code of Conduct</u> and policy on the <u>Appropriate Use of Information and Communication Technology</u>.

Class Recordings

To facilitate learning, lecture recordings will be posted to Quercus. These recordings are intended to be used as a student study aid and are not a substitute for regular attendance. Recordings may not be reproduced or posted or shared anywhere other than the official course Quercus site and should only be used by students currently registered in the course. Recordings may be uploaded to students' laptops for personal use. Students agree not to distribute lecture recordings via any distribution channels without permission from the instructor.

Students are encouraged to participate in online lectures, as you would in an in-person session. Should students wish not to be visible on video recordings, we recommend that you turn off your camera. Your voice, however, may be captured as an audio recording if you ask a question in class. If you have any concern about your voice being recorded, please speak to your instructor to determine an alternative means of participating.

Copyright, Trademark, and Intellectual Property

As the University moves towards online teaching, many of your assignments will be online and may include mixed media use. Unauthorized reproduction, copying or use of online materials, eg. video footage or text, may result in copyright infringement. The "fair use" provisions that apply to photocopies used for teaching do not apply to web pages. The Centre for Teaching Support & Innovation (CTSI) in Robarts Library can provide further guidance. You may also access copyright resources on the University of Toronto Libraries website.

Potential Group Project Topics

These topics are listed just to get you started. Groups should research additional sources as they develop their analyses.

- Covid-19 response
 - Tilford, Cale, Alan Smith, Max Harlow, Aleksandra Wisniewska, Joanna S. Kao, Martin Stabe, John Burn-Murdoch, Steven Bernard, David Blood, and Adrienne Klasa. "Coronavirus Tracked: The Latest Figures as Countries Fight Covid-19 Resurgence." The Financial Times, August 18, 2020. https://www.ft.com/content/a2901ce8-5eb7-4633-b89c-cbdf5b386938.
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 Check Here for Updates on Cases and Deaths," April 7, 2020.
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 https://www.hcn.org/articles/indigenous-affairs-the-erasure-of-indigenous-people-in-us-covid-19-data.

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AIDS response

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