

Geopolitics and the Internet

Monday 9:00-10:40, 11:00-12:40 | Room 226

2018 Fall Term

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Course Description

Recent debates on Internet censorship and the role of the state in online communications highlight concerns about sovereignty, borders, and territory in a globalizing world. This course will emphasize challenges to conventional geopolitical narratives and state pushback to those challenges as central to understanding 21st century geopolitics. We begin by reviewing recent critical literature in geopolitics, challenging existing narratives of what we see geopolitically and why as well as pushing against conventional understandings of sovereignty. We then examine the history of the Internet, cyberconflict, towards modern state interpretations of borders and sovereignty on the Internet. This course will conclude by looking at alternative geopolitics through resistance and revolution online. The course will then explore the ways in which geopolitical narratives, technology, and the territorial state have encountered the Internet and implications for Internet governance, human rights, and free expression.

Course Texts

All course texts will be posted on the class website. Students are strongly encouraged to download and print out the readings instead of reading from their computers. Reading a physical copy contributes to superior comprehension. Printing out copies of the readings can be done at the computer labs or the SPP main office.

Course Structure

This course is designed as a student-centric graduate seminar. There is no hand-holding. What you get out of this class will be precisely what you put into it.

Assignments - Please note that all papers will be submitted through the TurnItIn system!

Discussion & Forum Participation

This course has a strong participation component, and you are expected to discuss the readings, films, lectures, and class comments at every class meeting. If you are uncomfortable doing this, please consider dropping the course as it is an important component of your grade.

An important part of the course grade consists of weekly class web forum participation. Students must post at minimum one question or comment per week related to the readings or news events related to the class. Ideally this will be something you are interested in discussing during class. These must be posted to the forums by 12 PM the day before class. Posts which are late will be marked as a zero.

Media Analysis (1,500 words)

REQUIRED. Policy is influenced by media, art, and culture. You will be expected to prepare a short media analysis and analyze some aspect of media (movie, books, video game, poetry, photography, etc.!) from a critical standpoint. This analysis will discuss the broader themes from the angle of class lecture, discussion, readings, and how they fit in with public policy. For instance: how is policy represented in the chosen media? How can the chosen media influence policy?

Policy Brief (1,500 words)

REQUIRED. Students will be expected to prepare a policy brief on a course topic of their choice, approved by the professor. This paper will take some aspect of the course subject and provide a policy brief on the issue with recommendations. Students will be expected to provide a brief background of the topic, discuss the current policy situation, discuss policy options, provide a recommendation, and discuss potential outcomes of the recommendation.

Combined Paper (2,900 words – a 100 word discount!)

OPTIONAL – can be done INSTEAD of separate media analysis and policy brief. Instead of a policy brief AND media analysis, students can opt to **combine** both the policy and movie review into one paper. This paper would integrate media into a policy brief to provide a more substantial discussion of an Internet and Human Rights related topic. For example, students can examine one of the movies we watched, demonstrate how policy was implemented in the film, and then use that as a basis for developing a new policy moving forward in greater depth.

Media Analysis Recommendations:

To make things a bit easier, here is a list of approved films for your media analysis. This is a starting point – you can examine any aspect of media beyond films: books, poetry, photography, video games, street art, paintings, etc. This list is open to suggestions, and if there are additional media which you feel may be relevant, please discuss with the professor!

Syriana
The Fog of War
Black Code
The Lives of Others
Zero Days
Zero Dark Thirty
WarGames
We Are Legion: The Story of the Hacktivists
Lo & Behold: Reveries of the Connected World

Class Policies

- All university policies relating to plagiarism, cheating, harassment, etc. will be fully enforced.
- SPP policy is to fail students with more than one unexcused absence for a 2-credit course and more than two unexcused absences for a 4-credit course. Alternatively, final grades may be lowered in proportion to unexcused absences.
- Be respectful to other students and to yourself.
- I am an understanding individual. If there are things happening in your life which may prevent you from being successful in class, please come speak with me. I am on your side.
- The instructor reserves the right to change this syllabus at any time.

Breakdown of final grade by assignments:

Policy Paper =	35%
Media Analysis =	30%
Class Discussion =	20%
Forum Participation =	15%

Reading Schedule

The following reading schedule is subject to change. Students will be held responsible only for those readings posted on the class website. Normally these will be posted at least a week in advance.

Week 1 (Sep. 17): Introduction

Class introductions, course outline.

Week 2 (Sept. 24): What is Geopolitics?

Agnew, J. (2003). *Geopolitics: Re-visioning World Politics* (2 edition). Routledge. (pp. 1-83)

Kuus, M. (2010). Critical geopolitics. *The international studies encyclopedia*, 2, 683-701.

Rak, J. (2017) Russia, "Near Abroad", and the West: Struggling with the Research Field of Geopolitical Cultures, *Geopolitics*, 22:4, 984-990

Week 3 (Oct. 1): What is Geopolitics? Part II

Agnew, J. (2005). Sovereignty regimes: territoriality and state authority in contemporary world politics. *Annals of the Association of American Geographers*, 95(2), 437-461.

Agnew, J. (2007). No borders, no nations: making Greece in Macedonia. *Annals of the Association of American Geographers*, 97(2), 398-422.

Agnew, J. (2009). Making the strange familiar: Geographical analogy in global geopolitics. *Geographical Review*, 99(3), 426-443.

Elden, S. (2010). Land, terrain, territory. *Progress in Human Geography*, 34(6), 799-817.

Week 4 (Oct. 8): Movie and Discussion

Week 5 (Oct. 15): Contemporary geopolitics

Agnew, J. (2003). *Geopolitics: Re-visioning World Politics* (2 edition). Routledge. (pp. 84-132)
Jones, S. (2014). Ukraine: Russia's new art of war. *Financial Times*, 28.

Kofman, M., & Rojansky, M. (2015). A closer look at Russia's "Hybrid War". *Kennan Cable*, 1(7).

Tuathail, G. Ó., & Agnew, J. (2014). Geopolitics and discourse. *Geopolitics: An Introductory Reader*, 129.

Please bring in issues you are interested in discussing! Students should bring 1 issue into class.

NO CLASS OCT. 22 – SPP READING WEEK

Week 6 (Oct. 29): History of the Internet

Baraniuk, C. (2016). Why the forgotten Soviet internet was doomed from the start. from <http://www.bbc.com/future/story/20161026-why-the-forgotten-soviet-internet-was-doomed-from-the-start>

Cowie, J. (2011). Geopolitics of Internet Infrastructure. *Cyber Law*, <http://cyber.law.harvard.edu/events/luncheon/2011/11/cowie>

Goldsmith, J., & Wu, T. (2008). *Who Controls the Internet?: Illusions of a Borderless World*. New York: Oxford University Press. (Chapter 3)

Howe, W. (2010). A brief history of the Internet. *Walt Howe's Internet Learning Center Website* www.walthowe.com/navnet/history.html.

Leiner, Barry M., et al. "A brief history of the Internet." *ACM SIGCOMM Computer Communication Review* 39.5 (2009): 22-31.

Peters, B. (2016). How the Soviets invented the internet and why it didn't work – Benjamin Peters | Aeon Essays., from <https://aeon.co/essays/how-the-soviets-invented-the-internet-and-why-it-didn-t-work>

Warner, M. 2012. Cybersecurity: a pre-history. *Intelligence and National Security* 27 (5):781–799.

Week 7 (Nov. 5): Internet Control and Censorship

Freedom House. (2016). Freedom on the net: A global assessment of internet and digital media.

Rundle, M., & Birdling, M. (2008). Filtering and the international system: A question of commitment. *Access denied: The practice and policy of global Internet filtering*, 73.

Warf, B. 2011. Geographies of global Internet censorship. *GeoJournal* 76 (1):1–23.

Warf, B. (2015). The Hermit Kingdom in cyberspace: unveiling the North Korean internet. *Information, Communication & Society*, 18(1), 109-120.

Zittrain, J., & Palfrey, J. G. (2007). Internet Filtering: The Politics and Mechanisms of Control. In R. Deibert, J. Palfrey, R. Rohozinski, & J. Zittrain (Eds.), *Access Denied: The practice and policy of global internet filtering* (pp. 29–56). Oxford Internet Institute.

Week 8 (Nov.12): Cyberconflict

Arquilla, J., & Ronfeldt, D. (1993). Cyberwar is coming!. *Comparative Strategy*, 12(2), 141-165.

Gross, M. J. (2011). A declaration of cyber-war. *Vanity Fair*, 53(4).

Gross, M. J. (2013). Silent War. *Vanity Fair*, (July).

Saalbach, K. (2014). Cyberwar methods and practice.

Zetter, K. (2014). An unprecedented look at Stuxnet, the world's first digital weapon. *Wired.com*. November, 3, 14.

Zetter, K. (2016). Inside the cunning, unprecedented hack of Ukraine's power grid. *WIRED*, March, 3, 2016.

Week 9 (Nov. 19): Movie & Discussion

Week 10 (Nov. 26): States, Borders, and the Internet

Cosgrove, D. (1994). Contested Global Visions: One-World, Whole-Earth, and the Apollo Space Photographs. *Annals of the Association of American Geographers*, 84(2), 270-294.

Deibert, R. (2009). The geopolitics of internet control: Censorship, sovereignty, and cyberspace. *The Routledge handbook of internet politics*, 323-336.

Evron, G. 2008. Battling botnets and online mobs: Estonia's defense efforts during the internet war. *Geo. J. Int'l Aff.* 9:121.

Lewis, J. (2015). 'Compelling Opponents to Our Will': The Role of Cyber Warfare in Ukraine in *Cyber war in perspective: Russian aggression against Ukraine*. Tallinn: CCDCOE.

Warf, B., and P. Vincent. 2007. Multiple geographies of the Arab Internet. *Area* 39 (1):83–96.

Warf, B., & Fekete, E. (2015). Relational geographies of cyberterrorism and cyberwar. *Space and Polity*, 1-15.

Wentworth, T. 2008. How Russia May Have Attacked Georgia's Internet. *Newsweek*.
<http://www.newsweek.com/how-russia-may-have-attacked-georgias-internet-88111>

Wirtz, J. (2015). 'Cyber War and Strategic Culture: The Russian Integration of Cyber Power into Grand Strategy' in *Cyber war in perspective: Russian aggression against Ukraine*. Tallinn: CCDCOE.

Week 11 (Dec. 3): Alternative Geopolitics: Resistance and Revolution & Activity

Andrews, S., Burrough, B., & Ellison, S. (2014). The Snowden saga: A shadowland of secrets and light. *Vanity Fair*.

Deibert, R., and R. Rohozinski. 2011. Contesting cyberspace and the coming crisis of authority. *Deibert et al., Access Contested* :21–41.

Elden, S. (2013). Secure the volume: Vertical geopolitics and the depth of power. *Political Geography*, 34, 35-51.

Gladwell, M. 2010. Small Change. *The New Yorker*.
http://www.newyorker.com/reporting/2010/10/04/101004fa_fact_gladwell?currentPage=all (last accessed 16 June 2014).

Golkar, S. 2011. Liberation or Suppression Technologies? The Internet, the Green Movement and the Regime in Iran. *International Journal of Emerging Technologies & Society* 9 (1).

Norton, Q. 2012. How Anonymous Picks Targets, Launches Attacks, and Takes Powerful Organizations Down | Threat Level. *WIRED*. http://www.wired.com/2012/07/ff_anonymous/all

Stepanova, E. 2011. The role of information communication technologies in the “arab spring.” *Implications beyond the Region. Washington, DC: George Washington University (PONARS Eurasia Policy Memo no. 159)*.

Movie Review and Policy Paper Due DECEMBER 17 at 11:00AM!