Russia’s Realpolitik and Trump’s Election
Case Study: U.S Presidential Elections of 2016

A Dissertation Submitted, in Partial Fulfilment of the Requirements for the
Degree of Master in Anglo-American Studies

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Dedication

to my parents the source of my strength and all the members of my family.
Acknowledgments

First, I would like to thank Allah for granting me ability and patience to complete this work. I would like to express my deepest gratitude and my most sincere thanks to my supervisor Mr. Filali Bilal for his guidance and support because without his help, this work would not have seen light. I would like also to thank my uncles Saber and Akram for supporting me all the way.
List of Acronyms

KGB: Komitet Gossoudarstvennoi Bezopasnosti
GRU: Glavnoe Razvedyvatel'noe Upravlenie
CIA: Central Intelligence Agency
NSA: National Security Agency
FBI: Federal Bureau of Investigation
M.I 6: Military Intelligence 6
FSB: Federal'naya Sluzhba Bezopasnosti
SVR: Sluzhba Vneshney Razvedki
IC: Intelligence Community
U.S: United States
USSR: Union of Soviet Socialist Republics
NATO: North Atlantic Treaty Organization
USA: United States of America
TASS: Telegrafnoe Aguentstvo Sovietskogo Soiuza
CCCP: Central Committee of the Communist Party
WW II: World War 2
DNC: Democratic National Committee
HIV: Human Immunodeficiency Virus
JFK: John Fitzgerald Kennedy
LBJ: Lyndon Baines Johnson
Abstract

This research purports to investigate and to trace the history of the Russian meddling in the American political scene and scrutinizes the authenticity of the used strategies (propaganda, disinformation, and forgeries). It also attempts to examine KGB, GRU, and Service A role during the Cold War and analyzing precisely precedent incidents. Moreover, it proceeds to demonstrate the newly interference in political affairs during the presidential elections of 2016 and the new techniques used by Russian intelligence. The study aims at investigating the attempts of the Russian president and the Kremlin to manipulate the American elections, by doing so; it traces additional tactics used by the Russians (Cyber warfare) and its impact on the tone and results of the election. Lastly, the research ends up with Russia Today, an official well-known TV channel whereby it analyzes the ways it used in order to create images (undermine Hillary Clinton’s reputation as an example) and influencing the voters opinion.
Résumé

Cette recherche vise à enquêter et à retracer l'histoire de l'interférence Russe dans la scène politique Américaine. Elle tente aussi à scruter l'authenticité des stratégies utilisées (propagande, désinformation et contrefaçons). La recherche essaye également d'examiner le rôle du KGB, du GRU et du Service A pendant la Guerre Froide et d'analyser précisément les incidents précédents. En outre, la thèse continue à démontrer la nouvelle interférence dans les affaires politiques lors des élections présidentielles en 2016 et les nouvelles techniques utilisées par les services de renseignements Russes. L'étude vise à enquêter sur les tentatives du président Russe et du Kremlin de manipuler les élections Américaines, en agissant ainsi; elle retrace les tactiques supplémentaires utilisées par les Russes (Cyber Warfare) et son impact sur le ton et les résultats de l'élection. Enfin, la recherche aboutit à Russia Today, une chaîne de télévisée Russe, qui analyse les moyens utilisés pour créer des images (critiquer la réputation d'Hillary Clinton) et influencer l'opinion des électeurs.
ملخص

يركز هذا البحث على التحقيق في تاريخ التدخلات الروسية في الصعيد السياسي الأمريكي والتativas في حقيقة الاستراتيجيات المستخدمة (الدعاية، التضليل، التزوير). يحاول البحث أيضاً فحص استراتيجيات الاستخبارات الروسية ودورها في الحرب الباردة كما يحاول أيضاً تحليل أحداث سابقة بشكل خاص. كذلك يعرض البحث التدخلات الأخيرة في الشؤون السياسية من خلال الانتخابات الرئاسية ل2016 وتقنيات جديدة المستخدمة من قبل الاستخبارات الروسية. يمثل الهدف الأول للدراسة في التحقيق في محاولات الرئيس الروسي الكرملين في التلاعب والتآثر على الانتخابات الأمريكية حيث تتعقب التكتيكات المضافة من طرف الروس (الحرب السيبرانية) وتأثرها على صوت ونتائج الانتخابات. وأخيراً، ينتهي هذا البحث مع قناة المشهورة "روسيا اليوم" التي من خلالها يتم تحليل الطرق التي استعملتها لتعد المرشحة هيلاري كلينتون وتوجيه الرأي العام.
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Candidate Declaration Form

I, Boucetta, Mohamed Moundir

Candidate of Master at the department of English, Larbi Ben M'Hidi University, do hereby declare that the dissertation entitled “Russia Realpolitik and Trump’s Election Case Study: U.S Presidential Elections of 2016”, in partial fulfilment of MA Degree in Literature and Civilisation is my own original work, and it has not previously, in its entirety parts, been submitted at any university.
General Introduction

As a matter of fact, the unexpected victory of Donald Trump during the 2016 presidential election in the United States shocked the whole world. Leaders from Europe, Asia, Africa, and Latin America were not so optimistic following the declaration of Trump's victory over Hillary Clinton. Weirdly, sentiments in Russia were opposite; Vladimir Putin, the Russian president, considered Trump's victory as a good "political scenario" that characterizes the U.S. political scene.

Historically, one might note that the phenomenon of the Soviet, and later, the Russian intervention in the U.S. presidential elections is not new. Cold War "concerns" triggered antagonism and animosity between the two poles. In addition to the space and arms races, information and technology, media control, propaganda were other arenas of the cyber conflict were omnipresent. From one side, the historical relations between Hillary Clinton and the Russian government were bad. As a Secretary of State during Obama's administration, she accused the Russian government of conducting fraudulent parliamentary elections. From the other side and before becoming the official candidate of the Republican Party, Trump expressed, in several occasions, his admiration for autocratic leaders such as the Russian President Putin.

Contextually, the research seeks to investigate the history of the Russian meddling in the American politics in general and the presidential elections in particular. It shed the light on the 2016 presidential election and the Russian actions and reactions throughout analyzing the different tactics used by the Soviets before decades and the Russians nowadays for the sake of orienting not only the outcome of the election but its tone as well. The research is divided into two main chapters. The first one, considered as the theoretical chapter, attempts to unveil the nature and origins of the Russian KGB,
GRU, and Service A. It proceeds to trace the history of the Russian meddling in the U.S. political affairs throughout taking the examples of Kennedy's assassination and smearing Nixon's reputation during his candidacy for election.

Chapter two investigates the attempts of the Russian president and the Kremlin to influence the U.S. election. It highlights the new tactics used by the Russians (Cyber warfare) and its impact on the tone and results of the election. The chapter ends up with Russia Today, an official well-known TV channel, and the ways it used for the sake of creating images (smearing a candidate’s reputation as an example) and orienting the U.S. election. One should note that literature related to the subject is little and sometimes non-existent related to the newness and novelty of the subject from one side and the grim shortage of publications including books and articles from the other side. Rather, the researcher depended on certain scores of newspapers, reports, official published documents, videos, and certainly some books and articles.

It is noteworthy to mention that in spite of the fact that the research sought objectivity, the course of research necessitated the opposite; subjective since the list of works cited includes only American sources because of the impossibility of citing from Russian sources. Methodologically, the research implemented different approaches such as the historical/narrative approach mainly in chapter one when tracing the history of the Russian meddling in U.S. politics (Kennedy and Nixon cases). The analytical/descriptive approach when scrutinizing data related to the core of the research such as KGB, GRU, Service A, and the actions and reactions of the Russians. The quantitative and qualitative approaches are omnipresent since the research includes different sources that are ranged between primary and secondary sources. All these approaches are pursued under the MLA, 7th edition.
Chapter I

Russian Meddling in U.S. Politics

Introduction

This chapter attempts to provide an insight into the Soviet interference in the affairs of western countries especially the United States of America during the era of Cold War by using its intelligence services and its espionage techniques from propaganda to forgeries and how the Soviets meddled inside the American territory and managed to create internal issues by promoting rumors and fake stories on some sensible subjects like ethnical differences, or the conspiracy between government officials and the KKK (Ku Klux Klan) moreover by spreading rumors on the death of president Kennedy by accusing government officials and the CIA for his death in purpose to undermine trust between the American citizen and government and create doubts and chaos. Furthermore, with the strategy of Soviets in the international scale to isolate the U.S. from its allies by spreading forgeries and launching some influential campaigns which incites to disrupt relations with the U.S. and weaken it to be more easy to annihilate.

1. KGB and GRU: Tactics Disinformation, Propaganda, and Forgeries of Documents:

The KGB (Komitet gossoudarstvennoi bezopasnosti) and the GRU (Glavnoe Razvedyvatel'noe Upravlenie) are considered as the masters during the Cold War in using techniques for influencing Policies and attitudes in foreign countries for the sake of isolating the United States of America from its European allies and create a psychological climate conductive to the advancement of Soviet interests. Some of the most notable disinformation campaigns were for example the leaking of false U.S. war
plans, the conspiracy theory about the origins of AIDS and many other incidents. To be effective, disinformation needs to come from trusted sources, contains a nugget of truth, and no original documents (USIA 4-10)

The Russians intelligence agencies in their tactics relied on other intelligence agencies from the Soviet Union like the Czechoslovakian intelligence, Egyptians intelligence Middle East secret services and many other intelligence services. Because disinformation is not the only tactic of lies and falsification it is also the art of letting your enemies say what you want them to say. It consists also on conditioning western people with influence by the USSR. This kind of tactics is called Agents of Influence in fact those agents came in three forms: full-fledged spies infiltrated into foreign organizations, local recruits who were cultivated, and unwitting accomplices who had no idea that an enemy state was discreetly helping them along. For example, in the first category, we have the high level agents like Gunther Guillaume an Eastern German agent who was the personal assistant of the German Chancellor Willy Brandt and Norway’s Foreign Ministry Press Spokesman Arne Treholt. Guillaume and Treholt were not only sources of information for the Soviets but also a policy pushers in favor of the USSR like the adaptation of the Nordic Nuclear Free Zone which helped largely the Soviets because it would prohibit the installation of American nuclear missiles in the Nordic region (Darczewska and Żochowski 20-21).

In addition to the low profile agents there is two major names; the French journalist Pierre-Charles Pathe who had been recruited by the KGB to spread subtly pro-soviet positions in his newsletter, and the Australian journalist and radio broadcaster Claudia Wright who worked in many influential mainstream press. Wright was repeating many Soviet disinformation stories, even fictional, without knowing that her original sources were the Soviet intelligence.
One of the greatest things that helped the KGB to spread disinformation were when they placed it in a non-Soviet media because when the information is from a foreign media it would be more credible (Kux 23-24). Another tool in this information warfare was the Forgeries. It is the falsification of official documents and leaking them to other governments to destabilize their relations with the USA. The Czechoslovakian intelligence service produced and leaked some forgeries to the Egyptian intelligence proving that the Americans are planning for assassination of the Egyptian president or the forged letter of president Ronald Regan to the king of Spain Juan Carlos in which Regan said that Spain must join NATO or certain measures are to be taken and the aim was to show the US repression of the peace movement. Another forgery of embassy cables which showed an American involvement on attempt to murder the Pope (Cull, Gatov and Pomerantsev 17-18).

Forgeries can be circulated publicly but the hidden forgeries were meant to be shared among the high ranked people (Cull, Gatov and Pomerantsev 17-18). Propaganda is a term with double meanings. It was the mass persuasion and simultaneously it is synonymous to distortion and deceit. However, it was another technique used by the KGB and GRU in their information warfare against the USA Propaganda is not defined by the nature of the content but by the transparency of its origin: white, grey, black (Cull, Gatov and Pomerantsev 14-15).

The white Propaganda is the Propaganda from a known source. Soviet media networks like Pravda, TASS, and Ria Novsoti were the pioneers of white propaganda by using familiar and recognized tactics such as racial difficulties in USA and promotion of Soviet achievements there. Techniques were simple showing only the negative side of the west and glorifying the Soviet Union (Admin).

The black propaganda is the opposite of the white propaganda. It is built upon fake
stories and constructed to deceive, spread deception, and disorientate the world opinion. As an example the radio stations purporting to belong to the anti Soviet Hungarian resistance but its main goal were to derail the revolutionary movement in 1956 (Cull, Gatov and Pomerantsev 17)

The grey propaganda like its name shows it is a mixture of white and black propaganda. It comes from uncertain or anonymous sources. The grey propaganda outlets were the organizations that were funded by the Soviet. During the Korean war, a peace campaign was launched. It attracted some high profile adherents but not all of them knew that their campaign was organized by the Soviet grey propaganda. Its aim was to work for the Soviet but never show a formal link to it (Whittle 58-59-60)

All those tactics used by the soviet intelligence are called Active Measures. They were absolutely central to the Soviet strategy to defeat USA and its allies without firing a shot. Active measures were always consistent in the basic message and different communications were highly coordinated. Active Measures used many tactics like the use of rumors, the control of the media and press in foreign countries, and the use of local and international organizations. All these elements were able to create the perfect illusion to manipulate and influence the truth, actually a manipulated information that is leaked in the communication system of the opponent with the expectation that it would be accepted as a genuine information and influence either the decision making process or to manipulate public opinion (Youtube).

All these operations are carried by officials and quasi officials; Soviet representatives like students, scholars, journalists. 40% to 50% of Soviet citizens stationed abroad are either full time KGB officers or GRU military intelligence agents, the other 50% are cooperating either with KGB or GRU so practically. Every citizen
abroad who is in official mission involved in intelligence such as gathering information or active measures activity in one way or other (Youtube).

The main interest was to influence the policies of other governments, undermine confidence in its leaders and institutions, disrupt relations between other nations, and discredit or weaken governmental and non-governmental opponents. The Soviets used very sophisticated tactics; the organization was perfect and original, everyone had something to do as a daily work which had been held by the international department of the CCCP (Central Committee of the Communist Party) the job of the international bureau is the planning, the coordination and implementation of the Soviet active measures abroad but on the very top of the pyramid is the Soviet politburo which approves the most dramatic and large scale global and regional active measures. The Soviet politburo was the supreme policy making body of the Soviet Union. It exercised a supreme control over the Soviet government (Darczewska et Żochowski 12-14-15).

The active measures can be summarized as the main political and psychological influential weapon of the Soviet Union during the Cold War and even further. The main tactics and techniques used by the Soviets back then can be depicted in scheme like this one:
We might ask the questions of what are the effects of all these active measures and why do the soviets engage in such activities? the answer is by the fact that the Soviets are not so naïve to think that with only one successful disinformation operation they would succeed in changing the balance of power or change the public opinion, they knew that these operations have a cumulative effect. Consequently the impact will appear after many years but these activities would definitely achieve its main goal. The concept can be demonstrated as the drops of water falling on a stone; after a long period these drops will worn a hole in the stone this is the way in which active measures works. Brainwashing and deception; that are what the KGB and the GRU wanted to spread by using the tactics and techniques of active measures the USA has suffered a lot from these meddlings in its affaires and relations with its allies and interfering in its internal business because the techniques used by the Soviet Union were so hard to be intercepted and very complicated to be stopped (Cull, Gato and Pomerantsev 21-22-
The art of lying and dissimulating the truth was a fatal arm for the Soviets in their spy game. In addition to all what has been said, the active measures were aimed not only for disinformation forgeries and spreading rumors but also for sabotage, destabilization, and espionage. More it was the genuine center for the Soviet’s foreign policy which helped a lot in forcing its enemies to act in the manner desired by Moscow. (Youtube)

Along with the analyses of the situation in the other countries and the implementation of the active measures plans, it was the only way to win the war against the capitalists and end the ideological conflict between the two camps; the eastern camp and the western camp including the collapse of the one world bi-polar power system in the world. These active measures were divided in three major colors to be easily understood Black, White, and Grey (Cull, Gatov and Pomerantsev 18-19).

Black represents the KGB activities such as the use of agents of influence, forgeries, disinformation, and covert media manipulation. Gray was the work supervised by the International Department of the Soviet Communist Party Central Committee. Their job was to orchestrate the actions of soviet controlled international front groups and friendly Soviet societies to be aligned with Soviet decisions and policy. White it was the role played by the media during that era. It was controlled by the KGB and its role was to spread information to cover KGB operations and start anti-American campaigns and imperialistic accusation to always show the westerns in a bad image (Cull, Gatov and Pomerantsev 20-23)

To the Soviet intelligence services; KGB and GRU were the frontline soldiers during the Cold War. They were the experts in the domain of espionage and in using
some unconventional ways to recruit new agents like black-mailing, extortion, and sex-tapes (Darczewska et Žochowski 16-17)

2. Service A: KGB Special Unit

To accelerate the victory of communism over capitalism, the Soviet Union relied on different means to gain the absolute control over that ideological information warfare. This effort led to the creation of Department D in January 1959; the D stands for disinformation. As a part of the 1st main directory in the KGB intelligence, it represented a new approach in the information warfare. The Department D was created with the intention for the basis of the disbanded information committee at the foreign ministry of the Soviet Union. It recruited agents both civilians and military intelligence and it was leaded by Ivan Agayants. Initially it had around 50 officers who worked on many disinformation missions. In its early beginning the first tasks of the Department D were to discredit the federal Republic of Germany as a country of Neo-Nazism by using East German agents to enter in West Germany and provoke anti-Semitic acts; that would incite population there to do so. The result was that Western German authorities reported 833 anti-Semitic acts in a period of one year and that led to the condemnation and thus tarnished that country’s image in the eyes of the public (Kramer 2)

All that success of the Department D operations needed to be oriented and focused on a bigger enemy like the U.S.A. The name of the Department changed in 1963 and become Department A or Service A; the letter A stands for Active measures and it was entrusted with inspirational and planning functions. Its leadership was reserved only for the elites of the KGB and it was the focal centre for the global network of disinformation run by the KGB. It also monitored the active measures while they were underway and provided technical support. Moreover, it helped in preparing
fake documents and forgeries to be considered as an evidence for false narratives throughout producing a daily stream of work. Service A showed its importance to the Soviet leadership; one of its many assessments was based on conspiracy theories about ‘the insidious machinations of the imperialists and Zionists controlled by the CIA’ (Kramer 2-3)

Service A managed and prepared executive instruction and guidelines for its intelligence agents abroad but its main sites were Washington and Bonn these cities were supervised by officers from the geographical Department of the 1st directorate of the KGB and reinforced by officers from Service A. In spite of the fact that the Active Measures included a range of tactics like the control of the press in foreign countries, the use of clandestine operation through the radio stations, use of international and local front organizations, and the exploitation of a nation’s academic, political, economic and media figures it is developed into a synchronized, whole-of-government effort across all Soviet agencies involved in foreign affairs giving all its potentials to destroy the USA and its allies by using all possible means the aims of Service A were very strategic objectives for example.

Pushing the USA out of Europe because after the WW II the relations between USA and Europe became so strong especially with the Marshall Plan The U.S. implanted all its economic power in Europe by introducing its products to the European markets like Coca Cola, Mac Donald’s, and other brands and goods and by signing some agreements with the European countries and the establishment of the NATO. It was a necessity to cut these relations, and stop the USA from getting more and more power and strategic sites, and powerful allies (Whittle 37).
To push the United States out of Asia, Africa, and South America, the reason behind that is that European countries had colonies all over the world and those colonies were under the mercy of their colonizers. In addition they were considered as a source of power and economic growth for those colonizing countries. For that purpose, the Soviet Union helped the majority of the revolutionary armies and movements in the world against their invaders. For the sake weakening the Europeans and make them easy to be annihilated. It is kind of strategy of divide and conquer strategy (Whittle 39).

Historically following the WW II twenty million Russians died in the field of honor. Stalin wanted to create a strategy that will make Russia impenetrable and could never be invaded again. He wanted to create a Buffer Zone where by the countries surrounding Russia will be taken as a shield to protect Russia because during the WW II the majority of the leaders of Eastern Europe escaped to Russia and made communist governments in the exile. Consequently, after the red army defeated the Nazis and liberated the countries of Eastern Europe, after the leaders in the exile took the power again in their countries controlled their armies and formed a hard defensive line for the Soviets. This tactic was known as the iron curtain by Winston Churchill. The westerns did not like the idea and were afraid of the expansion of Russia, the USA reached by gaining more allies and friendly territories.

Service A role was to spread lies and false rumors with the allies to the USA and destabilize their relations but, in the same time, the Soviet Union was taking advantage from the decolonization process and getting new spheres of influence like Guinea, Mozambique, and Angola in Africa and creating and strengthening relations with Cuba which became the new strategic ally of the USSR. Service A was hiding the growth and the expansion of the Soviet Union by disorienting the USA and let it occupied with other issues created by Service A (Dubov, Barovska and Isakova 13-14).
One of the main reasons behind the creation of Service A was to undermine the position and the statue of the USA in the world and to weaken it in the eyes of the people in Europe. In case an armed war really occurs between the Soviet Union and the USA, America will be vulnerable and easy to be defeated without its allies in Asia and Africa mainly without its strongest ally NATO. Misleading the world and making forgeries about the USA cause America a big loss of its allies that could help it in the needed time of a real armed war or confrontation against the Soviet Union since the only nation that could really stand in the face of the Soviet Union was the USA. It was more than a necessity to undermine it and turn its allies against it so that it could be turned into an easy opponent (Darczewska et Żochowski 17-18)

In one hand the primary objective of the Service A was to undermine the USA, in the other hand, it had promoted the position and the development that the Soviet Union reached and demonstrate the superiority of the socialist system over capitalism. Spreading propaganda about that, the USSR is prospered nation and very righteous in its decision and depicting the USA as an imperial devilish nation that wants a collapsed world through spreading chaos and destruction. America is depicted as an untrusted nation that will betrays its allies in every occasion. (Darczewska et Żochowski 21)

Service A was able to manipulate and brainwash the whole world. However the operations of influence during the Cold War evolved depending on the temperature of Moscow’s relations with the West. For example, when the Soviets invaded Afghanistan a large criticizing campaign was raised against them demonstrating the Soviet Union as a colonial power which rules only with force. The response of the Soviets propaganda machine was very extreme and dynamic by spreading some propaganda to discredit the USA in another way by accusing it of creating the HIV in order to eradicate the race of
African-Americans and the kidnapping of children from the Third World countries murder them in order to retrieve organs for transplants (USIA 10)

The intensity of the propaganda vary on how the west is criticizing the Soviet Union. A war of lies that is what could distinguish this war form the old conventional wars. The two camps were so powerful but at the same time afraid of a real confrontation because it would be a real intense war that could destroy the human race and the whole planet with the powerful arms and the nuclear force that were developed. It was more like an intelligence and espionage war more than an armed one. The idea of cooperation between the KGB and the CIA was revived when Mikhail Gorbachev’s raised to power, as disarmament and the reduction of strategic nuclear weapons and chemical weapons. (Matschulat)

The use of active measures was not halted but instead, the idea of cooperation, disarmament, and the reduction of weapons of mass destruction was used to feed the Soviet propaganda machine as if it was the result of the Soviet Union struggle over many years for a peaceful coexistence. To support Soviet foreign policy Active measures were carefully crafted influence operations. Often covert or deceptive and the secrecy shrouding Service A intelligence operations and the varying reliability of sources has complicated the study or the counter attack; even if the global media was monitored and especially the Soviet one, to be always informed of the work of broadcasters and government also to formulate their own information because it was essential to know what kind of information is passing in the Soviet territory. Service A could not be controlled because it was based on a high mainstream of clandestine tactics. Even if the westerns thought that they had the real information it was always doubtable whether it is the true one or just another rumor or a forgery made by the Soviets because forgeries have long been a staple tool of Soviet Active measures
operations and proved to be very disturbing because they frequently carry security classifications and it enhances the authenticity of the forgery. The forgeries were always inclined to act in a way that is contrary to USA interest. Moreover, with the cut-and-paste, no payment is requested and the envelope with no return address. It was so hard sometimes impossible to prove any Soviet involvement with those forgeries. In addition there is two types of forgeries the ones that are intended to be public and published in media and for public consumption and the second one which are know as the silent forgeries; the most lethal forgeries because they are created for the purpose to be known only by influential individuals (Cull, Gatov and Pomerantsev 42-43).

The role of double agents was very beneficial for the Soviet Union because they were a source of information and when they are discovered they were rapidly evacuated to a Soviet territory. The period of Cold War marked the first era of Russia meddling in USA affaires. Huge efforts were made by the Soviets to destroy the capitalists. Service A was the group of elites it had been reserved only for the best spies and analysts to work there. It was the mastermind of all the extreme operations made by the Soviet intelligence. It orchestrated every incident during the Cold War and used every available solution to intimidate the enemies of the USSR. The effectiveness and the influential work of the Service A could not be unremarked or intercepted in the spy game of that era western intelligence agencies like the CIA and the M.I 6 were paralyzed and could not anticipate the hits of the KGB. It was a complex psychological war full of illusions and lies and each camp was afraid of the other but no one could show his fear. Instead, every camp wanted to show his supremacy to the world and prove its dominance. It was a complete mess but at the same time organized tactical spy warfare; a chess game between Moscow and Washington and a confrontation between spies (Whittle 65-66).
3. Kennedy’s Assassination: The Russian Perspective

John Fitzgerald Kennedy was one of the most famous presidents of the United States of America symbol of democracy and representing the hope in the eyes of Americans and a hero during WW II, he was already famous before becoming a president and he is the youngest ever elected president of the United States. During his presidency, he faced many extreme crisis with the Soviets especially the Cuban missile crisis, when Soviets aimed many missiles in the direction of different American cities from Cuba. It was the closest the Cold War came to escalating into a full scale nuclear war. After a period of tense negotiations, the Soviets removed their missiles and the American government made a public declaration that they would not invade Cuba. Kennedy also contributed to the formation in Moscow of the Nuclear Test Ban Treaty with U.K and the Soviet Union. It prohibits nuclear weapons tests or any other nuclear explosion in the atmosphere, outer space, and under water (Olugbemiga).

John F. Kennedy was assassinated at 12:30 p.m. on 22nd of November in 1963, in Dallas, Texas. His death was a shock through the whole world the tragic result provoked a flood of rumors and speculation. Was multiplied beyond control when, only two days later, on November 24, the alleged assassin, Lee Harvey Oswald, who had stoutly denied the charge was shot dead in front of the television cameras under police escort by Jack Ruby, proprietor of a Dallas club (Lane 7-8) Moreover, Lee Harvey Oswald has lived in Russia for 3 years and married there. This shocking incident made the Soviets very afraid of what would happen next and the fact that the Americans will accuse the USSR of Kennedy’s assassination and that would lead rogue American military leaders to utilize the assassination and playing on anticommmunist sentiments in the United States that might cause the launch of missile attack on the Soviet Union. The Soviets had to whiten their image. They issued instructions to all Soviet intelligence
agencies to call their agents and start immediately the gathering of all available data concerning Kennedy’s assassination. In the other side of the globe, the CIA alerted all it agents to gather any information that would convict the Soviet Union for the assassination of the president (May).

The soviets were clean by the testimony of CIA spies and informants. Meanwhile, KGB had other plans after the gathering of data on Kennedy’s assassination. They believed that there was some well-organized conspiracy. The propaganda machine and the disinformation campaign started using and spreading some theories and rumors same as the accusation of president Lyndon B. Johnson that he played a role in assassinating Kennedy also using the Soviet media to criticize the Warren Commission and saying that the commission did not dispel all the doubts and suspicious about the so called ‘’ Crime of the Century¨ (May).

Valentin Zorin, a Soviet reporter for a Soviet newspaper IZVESTIA had reported in Moscow radio many statements that disturb the results of the investigation led by Warren Commission by saying that those who know the security protocol of the President Kennedy know that it is not possible for a fanatic to commit such a job but it is a well organized political crime in addition to mention that the crime was happened in a southern state and that southern states are known that they are a stronghold of racist and other fascist scum those allegation were intentionally said to promote the conspiracy theory and discredit the American government so the people will distrust the government and create chaos inside the United States (Youtube).

Furthermore, with Mark Lane an American attorney, New York state legislator, civil rights activist, and Vietnam war-crimes investigator he is best known as researcher conspiracy theorist and the author of the famous book Rush to Judgment the book that relate the assassination of the president Kennedy with a conspiracy ideas and
criticize the Warren Commission in fact Mark Lane was actually working for the KGB indirectly and without his knowledge a shocking information that was revealed by the famous defector KGB officer Vasili Mitrokhin, KGB is known to deal with some westerns author indirectly Mark Lane was one of them some of his researches were financed by the KGB, he was a great target to be exploited by the Russian intelligence, besides that Vasili Mitrokhin in his book entitled The Sword and the Shield talked about a forged letter from Lee Harvey Oswald to E. Howard Hunt, the former C.I.A officer in order to spread confusion and link the C.I.A in the Kennedy assassination (Andrew and Mitrokhin 225-230)

The CIA already knew about Lane’s relationship with the KGB by a little-known Soviet informant code named Shamrock. That source, a KGB official who worked in the Soviet delegation office at the United Nations, contacted the CIA on Jan. 16, 1967, and agreed to share information with the CIA and FBI, on April 4, 1967, The book was a challenge to the Warren Commission findings presents case after case of ignored or twisted evidence to offer a scathing indictment of the Commission's handling of the assassination of President Kennedy so the Federal bureau and the Central Intelligence needed to check who is behind Mark Lane to know how to counterattack and to discredit Warren Commission-critic (Andrew and Mitrokhin 225-230). Many theories about the death of JFK were spread in that time the famous ones are:

The killing of Kennedy by Texas oligarchs: the killing of Kennedy in Texas was orchestrated by oilmen billionaires because Kennedy was in opposition to this group and initiated legislation on increasing taxes on produced oil and the bill was never passed since then. The ‘Magic Bullet’ theory: a theory evoked by Mark Lane to prove that there were not only one shooter but two of them because in the report given by the Warren Commission it said that a single bullet could pass through the President's
neck and then through the Governor John Connally chest and wrist and enter his thigh a bullet that could change it trajectory that was something beyond the belief of people for that reason it was accepted and made the people think of the 2 shooter theory (Lane 75-77-79). Lyndon B Johnson: a theory that was mostly promoted and believed by the KGB speculates that LBJ was behind the assassination of JFK to take his place with the benediction of the constitution and engage a new policy inside and outside the USA (Lincoln 205)

But the most organized and worked theory and had the backup and the promotion and influence of all soviet agencies was the CIA theory it speculate the agency strongly opposed a number of the president's stances on Cuba and Communism moreover with the president’s alleged comment that he wanted to “splinter the CIA into a thousand pieces and scatter it to the winds” made him an agency target, moreover with cover up the truth about what the government had known in advance about Oswald and the clear threat he had posed to one man: President Kennedy; Soviet intelligence wanted to implant paranoia inside Americans because it was essential for the soviet to let the Americans occupied and uncertain of what happening to them and by spreading such rumors on the CIA and FBI the KGB plots to manipulate the American opinion were somehow successful especially because they were backed up by some facts like the CIA wanted to overthrow Fidel Castro but Kennedy's refusal to offer air support for the failed Bay of Pigs invasion triggered the CIA to eliminate Kennedy (Warren 659-660)

In addition to another implication of the CIA with the mafia because both of them have interest in killing JFK, the Government documents show the CIA did work with the Mafia to take down Castro further the mob held a number of investments in Cuban casinos that is what led them to cooperate with the CIA along with anti-Castro
Cubans, a sample of truth immersed and decorated with lies provided from Russian intelligence and media was able to impact on JFK assassination file and the credibility of Warren Commission plus FBI was anxious to convince public that Oswald was the only and the main author of the crime, the spread of a conspiracy theories was very fast and out of control even the president LBJ targeted by the Soviets primarily to be the one who ordered the assassination of JFK and secondly a rumor which says that LBJ may have been a member of the Ku Klux Klan but no proof was provided; Speaking about the theory of powerful oilmen leaded by Harold Hunt who was considered the world’s richest man of that time who was involved in one of the conspiracy theories that he was the mastermind who planned for the assassination of the president for two raisons the first one was because Harold Hunt wanted to promote LBJ in the 1960 presidential elections but he failed and the second raison was because President Kennedy proposed removing the oil depletion allowance, the main tax incentive for oil companies and both Bush, father and son are oilmen belonging to the same group. And they would not like to cast a shadow on them that was the raison why investigators did not release their full potential in the investigation of the killing (Sudakov)

All what have been said before is the result of a secret powerful disinformation operation launched by the KGB code named Dragon it major interest was to divert attention from the relationship between Oswald and the Soviet Union and persuade the world that the main suspect is the CIA, even if the Warren Commission concluded that Oswald acted by himself and all the supporting evidences which shows that Oswald had a Marxist thinking also he wanted to stay in soviet territory during his trip to Moscow; But the impact of the Dragon operation and KGB campaigns to criticize the assassination of JFK and Warren Commission made the public to stop believing the government in addition to the influence western author and their books
and articles like Mark Lane with Rush to Judgment and the Life magazine cover with colored scene of the assassination and wrote under it “Did Oswald Act Alone? A Matter of Reasonable Doubt” that was quite powerful to influence public opinion (Pruitt)

4. Nixon’s Election: The Soviet Reaction

The Soviet Union had always hated the republican candidate Richard Nixon and supported each time his democratic opponents because he was known as a vehement anti-Communist even the Soviet leader Nikita Khrushchev supported John F. Kennedy over him especially after the clash of 1959 in the famous kitchen debate between Khrushchev and the Vice President Nixon in Moscow over the advantages of socialism against capitalism Khrushchev was offended and to told other members of the Soviet leadership "If Nixon becomes President, I don't believe he will contribute to an improvement of relations between our two countries." And by adding “any candidate would be better than Nixon” the soviets wanted JFK to win the elections because they saw Kennedy as weak and inexperienced and could hold a stable foreign policy toward the Soviet Union, Soviets liked Kennedy's ideologies and they did not like Nixon and his vision of America during the cold war (REILLY)

Khrushchev sought to influence the outcome of the election to his liking so he gave instruction to the KGB to deal with the matter so the Russian intelligence headquarters in Moscow contacted the KGB station chief in Washington and instructed him to send a periodical report about the development of the electoral campaign and offer any given measures propagandist or diplomatic to encourage John Kennedy’s victory but the offer met a polite rebuff by Robert Kennedy the manager of the electoral campaign of JFK even after the Soviet offer had been refused, the primer Khrushchev
had another card in his pocket even without having actively cooperated with the campaign to Khrushchev, the most crucial characters of the 1960 presidential election were not JFK and Nixon but the two American pilots who were been captured when their plane was shot down over the Soviet territory in July 1960, Captains Freeman Olmstead and John McKone represented political capital and Nixon knew that and he managed to reached out to Moscow personally to negotiate their release but his request was refused “He had approached us with the request to release the crew members of the American RB-47,” Khrushchev told Pierre Salinger the White House Press Secretary “We, of course, understood that Nixon wished to make political capital out of this for himself in advance of the elections.” Because if Nixon succeeded in liberating the Pilots who would eventually win the elections because their story was a heart-touching event and could easily change the balance of the election but when Nixon lost the presidency in one of the closest elections in American history, losing the popular vote by only 112,827 votes and Kennedy was inaugurated on January 20, 1961 the soviet leader Nikita Khrushchev ordered to proceed to the release of the prisoners in a memo cabled to the state department by the American ambassador in Moscow Llewellyn Thompson “Soviet Government, guided by sincere desire to begin a new phase in relations between Soviet Union and US, has decided to meet wishes of American side in connection with release of two American airmen.” (Wilson)

A few months later President John F. Kennedy and Soviet Premier Nikita Khrushchev met in Vienna for a two-day summit the confrontation between a charming inexperienced young US president and the coarse Soviet leader, finally face to face Premier Khrushchev said "You know, Mr. Kennedy, we voted for you". And that was a declaration that showed the indirect interference in the presidential elections; despite the seeming politeness of the conversation Kennedy’s, confirmed that the summit did
not go well Khrushchev had rebuked him on many Cold War issues like nuclear weapons and the wars of national liberation and particularly Khrushchev took harsh stance over Berlin especially when he told him "If the US wants to start a war over Germany let it be so." (Glass). Having just being president four months earlier and getting the Bay of Pigs fiasco in Cuba in April, JFK came to the summit in a position of weakness compared to the soviet leader, whose country had just put the first man in space and achieved supremacy in the outer space. The summit would be recorded as the most self-destructive American action of the cold war; the Soviet leader took benefit from the meeting to triumph over JFK and undermine him in front of the eyes of the world because of the 1500 journalist that were present in that summit (Kempe).

The second interference of the Soviet Union was in the U.S presidential elections of 1968 an intervention made by the KGB and GRU in order to influence the result of the presidential elections in favor of the democrat and the Vice president in that time Hubert Humphrey against the republican Richard Nixon, Soviets were still afraid of him because of his antecedent famous “kitchen debate” and his ideologies because they believed that he will take harsh position and attitudes against them for that reason it was very essential to stop him from winning the elections once again (Kramer 4).

Hubert Humphrey was the 38th vice president of the United States and a candidate in US presidential elections of 1968 he was the main target of the Soviet Union they wanted to assist him to win the elections so the maneuvers started by contacting their ambassador in Washington, DC Anatoly Dobrynin and giving him instructions to influence and support the democratic candidate with any form of aid he might want, including money to fund his campaign but unfortunately for the soviets
union Hubert Humphrey declined the offer by saying it was "more than enough for him to have Moscow's good wishes." (Kaiser).

The influence of fake media campaigns was one of the main tools of the Soviet Union and all the clandestine ways were used by the KGB to achieve their goals but when Hubert Humphrey declined the offer of the Russian ambassador Soviets were very skeptical about what will happen next, when Nixon won the elections he had promised to end U.S. military intervention in the Vietnam War. Recognizing the potency of Soviet power and the increasing unwillingness of many citizens to pay the costs of containing communism everywhere; the soviets could not stop him from winning the elections so they were obliged to observe his policy toward them after taking the office Nixon changed Cold War ideology that precedent American leaders had, Nixon made a reorientation of American foreign policy by creating a path toward China by normalizing relations with it and to promote a new era of trading and economic exchange; Soviet leader Leonid Brezhnev feared that improved U.S.-Chinese relations would isolate Russia therefore, he invited Nixon to visit Moscow. Nixon made the trip in May 1972 the major agreement made in that visit was the signing of the first Strategic Arms Limitation Treaty known also as SALT I furthermore The two governments agreed to work for the peaceful resolution of disputes and the reduction of tensions in various areas (Profiles)

Richard Nixon policy aimed at easing Cold War tensions, and the “détente” policy practiced by President Nixon was heartily accepted by the Soviet Union instead of confronting them his policy reshaped the Cold War much to Moscow’s relief he was the Soviet officials sincerely welcomed his reelection in 1972 and were dismayed when he was forced to resign in 1974 (Kramer).One of the most intriguing and shocking revelation made by Moscow's Ambassador in Washington Anatoly Dobrynin in his
book was that the soviet leader Leonid Brezhnev's was staunchest supporter to Nixon during the trials because of the Watergate scandal that really shows how soviets had a special relation with president Nixon and how they really wanted him to stay at the top of the United States government and also Dobrynin quotes Nixon as saying, "that as long as I live and hold the office of president I will never allow a real confrontation with the Soviet Union." President Nixon was the ideal person for the soviets to recreate a new relation with the Americans based upon less tension and more corporations between the two nations, the resignation of Richard Nixon was considered as big loss for the Soviets (Dobrynin 235-236).

Americans were always the main target of the Soviets, the interference in their internal affairs was always the premonition of the KGB presidential elections of 1960 and 1968 witnessed the beginning of a serious meddling in the US affaires no one could deny the influential tactics of Soviet intelligence and their effectiveness to manipulate and orchestrate they always knew that that who control the information control everything as we say “knowledge is power” (Cull, Gatov and Pomerantsev 23-24).

**Conclusion**

The interventions and the assaults of the Soviet intelligence on the western countries were very fatal the United States and Europe suffered a lot from the intervention of KGB and GRU in their affairs, the art of lying and falsification of documents dominated that period U.S. was considered as the main target of Soviet from interference in the presidential election to tentative to bribe candidates or even spreading fake news on them to undermine their reputation in eyes of voters all the fraud techniques were used by Soviet intelligence to eradicate the U.S. the Soviet propaganda machine played a big role in promoting stories that glorify the Soviet Union
and undermine the U.S. Moreover, with the efforts of Service A that proved its efficiency to gather information and manipulate it.
Chapter II

Russia and the 2016 U. S. Presidential Election

Introduction

The Soviet Union has collapsed a new modern era has begun but the intentions of Russia did not change the fire of revenge is still burning, the desire of global domination and devastation of its old enemy the United States is still the main goal of Russia, with the leadership of Vladimir Putin and the creation of new methods of espionage and cyber interference by the Russian intelligence to prove to the world that Russia it still exist and it is more powerful and organized then before by starting a cyber warfare on its enemies America was one of the targets of the cyber attacks during its presidential elections of 2016 a large scale intervention was spotted by the American intelligence services and its impact was very clear.

The attacks were condemned by the United States and an investigation has been opened to prove whether the results of the votes were corrupted and who is the real responsible of this attacks and what was the role of Russian propaganda channels during the elections or if the president Donald trump has any relation with that interference an investigation that seeks to dissolve the shadow on the case.

1. Putin and the Kremlin: Influencing U. S. Elections

The tension and the rivalry between the United States and Russia never ended even after the collapse of the Soviet Union, the newly created after the cold war the Russian Federation continued to show the world that it is still a powerful nation another scenario that demonstrate that Russia is still in the game were the last accusation of united stated officials to the Kremlin and president Vladimir Putin for
ordering personally the launching of a campaign to influence the U.S presidential elections of 2016 those claims were supported by a declassified intelligence report, ordered by President Obama, the report described how Russia wanted to undermine the American electoral system and Mrs. Hillary Clinton in particular the report showed also the techniques used by the Russians they were similar to the one’s used by Service A during the cold war but more sophisticated and modern including the use of the technological development like cyber activities and “trolling” on the internet (Sanger)

Hillary Clinton was the ex first lady and a former secretary of state under Obama’s administration, she was the democratic candidate that was sabotaged by the Russians in the U.S presidential elections of 2016 from her antecedent policies as a secretary of state and also for inciting mass protests against president Poutine regime in late 2011 and early 2012 he publicly blamed her at that time, she represented a menace for the future relations between Moscow and Washington moreover a threat in interfering in Russia affairs for example the military intervention of Russia in Syria and Ukraine, the Russian government decided that under any circumstances Mrs. Hillary Clinton would win the elections and the influence campaign aspired to help President-elect Trump’s chances of victory (Harding)

The influence campaign was ordered by President Vladimir Poutine like it was mentioned in the security report jointly prepared by The CIA, FBI, and National Security Agency the campaign had a dual aims the first was damaging Hillary Clinton’s presidential campaign and the second one was undermining the U.S. democratic process and create chaos it started with the allegation of Russian diplomats denouncing and suspecting U.S electoral process and the validity of its results it was the first step of the propaganda on the elections in the United States and the process of undermining it to spread doubts inside the American society after that they launched a cyber attack
against state and local electoral boards furthermore with launching online and broadcast media propaganda to influence the voters to chose a president that would be more softer with Russia to ameliorate the relations and promote for more corporation between the two nations (Assessment 1)

The "fake news" campaign was carefully planned by the Russian intelligence FSB and GRU after the hacking of the Democratic National Committee and Clinton’s campaign the Russian military intelligence managed to fabricate a persona called Guccifer 2.0 claiming to be the hacker(s) that hacked into the Democratic National Committee (DNC) computer network and the chairman of the Clinton campaign, John D. Podesta and leaked their emails and documents to the media through a newly created website called “DCleaks” and “Wikileaks (Sanger).

The Russians did their best to influence the U.S. election "Of course, the people who organized them did everything to hide the traces of such interference – and exclude the chance that the government's role would be discovered," Gennady Gudkov said. The influence campaign reflected years of investment data collecting and also some old tactics used in the era of cold war but this time more complicated and sophisticated, the creativity of the campaign showed how Russians wanted to undermine public confidence in democracy; the Russian scheme started by sending in June 2014. Two Russian women, Aleksandra Y. Krylova and Anna V. Bogacheva for a reconnaissance mission to visit the key electoral states in the United States they bought with them cameras, SIM cards and disposable cell phones and prepared “evacuation scenarios” in case if they were detected, the operation also consisted on creating hundreds of email, PayPal and bank accounts and also using the identities of real Americans from stolen Social Security numbers; to hide (Shane and Mazzetti).
To hide the Russian involvement, the two women allegedly purchased space on computer servers located within the United States in order to set up a virtual private network. It was the way that they used to make it appear that fake accounts were controlled by persons within the United States that is how they influenced the opinion of voters and also to defraud the United States by impairing the lawful functions of the Federal Election Commission all this has been proved in a 37-page indictment, handed up by a Washington grand jury and charging 13 people with an elaborate conspiracy, one of the suspects was Irina V. Kaverzina one of her emails was intercepted by the FBI when she emailed a family member with some news saying “We had a slight crisis here at work: the F.B.I. busted our activity not a joke,” she wrote of the project in Russia. “So, I got preoccupied with covering tracks together with the colleagues.” She added, “I created all these pictures and posts, and the Americans believed that it was written by their people.” It was a condemning evidence that led to trial all its associates and through investigation and interrogation investigators had collected information about other three Russian companies like Internet Research Agency LLC and Concord Management and Consulting LLC that participated in the influence on the elections (Justice).
The battlefield of the influence campaign was mainly social media it was invaded with catchy memes undermining hash-tags the reconnaissance mission and the gathering data operation was a success because by the beginning of 2016 the Russians had put a strategy on how to interfere; the fake accounts on social media were also used to communicate with campaign volunteers for Mr. Trump and grass-roots groups supporting his candidacy moreover by creating political advertisement about pro-Trump and anti-Clinton but social media yelling is not enough so they managed to organize rallies inciting people from social media to go outside and participate in rallies, for example in Facebook, the Russians used the pseudonym Matt Skiber to advertise a rally in Florida by saying “If we lose Florida, we lose America. We can’t let it happen, right? What about organizing a HUGE pro-Trump flash mob in every Florida town?” they also reached out to local organizations to build momentum for the next rallies and give
specific tasks. After the rally in Florida, the Russians applied similar tactics to organize rallies in New York, Pennsylvania and elsewhere (Shane and Mazzetti).

All efforts made by the Russians to meddle in U.S politics were done without letting any lead to the government involvement, President Vladimir Putin repeatedly denied any government involvement in hacking and disinformation aimed at the United States, even the indictment does not prove that the influential campaign had any strong relation with the Russian government yet the indictment certainly weaken the legitimacy of President Donald Trump election and that it was a political hoax but it does not accuse any official party that is what made it more complicated to point the finger without evidence (Justice). The fear of letting Secretary Hillary Clinton win the elections made the Russians orient all the available assets and resources to disadvantage her also by using any given opportunity to criticize her for example just few days before the elections an Instagram account controlled by the Russians called “Blacktivist” urged it followers to vote for Jill Stein by saying “choose peace Trust me, it’s not a wasted vote.” It was a maneuver to siphon support from Mrs. Clinton’s campaign (Shane and Mazzetti).

A barrage of fake news stories written on blogs and posted to social media citing the leaked emails of The Democratic Party as the main source of the stories, because the Russians knew that people would not read a the thousands of leaked emails, but the echo of the incident will let readers believe the fake news stories many of them were too crazy to believe yet a considerable number of them passed through the social media succeeded to plant the seeds of doubt in Americans about Hillary Clinton Integrity and trustworthiness, the former FBI agent Clint Watts described that the strategy of the fake news stories targeted the swing-voters (Youtube). The Internet Research Agency the company that had been indicted by special counsel Robert Mueller on charges of
conspiring to tamper in the 2016 U.S. presidential campaign, it was the center of operations of the influential campaign, the job of IRA"Internet Research Agency” was to write fake articles control the bots in social media like Facebook's chief security officer, Alex Stamos said, "appeared to focus on amplifying divisive social and political messages across the ideological spectrum — touching on topics from LGBT matters to race issues to immigration to gun rights." the main objective was to spread disinformation and use critical subjects to create chaos (Helderman).

Russia’s efforts to interfere in the presidential election of 2016 showed a special escalation in directness compared to antecedent intervention in U.S elections, the Kremlin’s recognition of the worldwide effects that mass disclosures of private data such the one’s conducted by Wikileaks and their impact in the precedent years they understood the value of orchestrating such disclosures to maximize the impact of compromising information; during the cold war the Soviet Union depended on influence agents, forgeries, intelligence officers to disparage candidates perceived as hostile to the Kremlin (Assessment 1-2).

The approach of the influential campaign witnessed many evolvements it started with the understanding of how the votes are divided which states were the game changer and how could they be influenced like the purple states they are considered as a swing state, they were the aimed targets to be influenced by the cyber attacks or by undermining Secretary Clinton especially When it appeared that she was likely to win the election even if President Putin’s public comments about the US presidential race avoided directly praising President-elect Trump because any praise from President Putin personally will backfire in U.S (Assessment 5).
Donald Trump has always denied any personal relation that would attach him to the Russian cyber attacks or influential campaign he also commented the indictment made by the special counsel Muller in Tweeter by saying "Russia started their anti-US campaign in 2014, long before I announced that I would run for President, The results of the election were not impacted. The Trump campaign did nothing wrong – no collusion!"(Twitter) moreover President Trump continued to deny allegations of conspiracy between his campaign and the Kremlin and sometimes calling the investigation a "hoax" or a "witch hunt.", even if some of the entourage of the President Donald Trump had relations with Russians his denial was absolute (Calia) The national security adviser Gen McMaster mentioned that Moscow used propaganda and disinformation against United States and that was a national security threat moreover with considering it as the most sophisticated campaigns of propaganda and disinformation like he said "I believe that Russia is engaged in a very sophisticated campaign of subversion to affect our confidence in democratic institutions, in democratic processes - including elections."; The elaborate campaign included, according to the security report:

Covert operations such as cyber activity and overt operations through state-funded media and paid social media users, or troll. Russian military intelligence's relaying material to media outlets. Gaining access to "elements of multiple U.S. state or local electoral boards," although it was clear that those systems were "not involved in vote tallying." (STRACQUALURSI)

2. Cyber warfare: A Newly-Introduced Tactic

A new era has begun after the collapse of the KGB and the Soviet Union the Russian federation concentrated on developing it techniques and intelligence services
by replacing the KGB by the FSB “Federal Security Bureau” and developing its espionage tactics and modernizing the used tools in the spy game, in the antecedent years the tactics of propaganda and disinformation were mostly depending on forgeries the falsification of documents spreading false news in news papers and television modern Russia intelligence services now have new techniques concentrating on a modern active measures by recruiting geeks who can help it to stay ahead of the game technologically by giving an interest in computers and cyber interventions, The agency has even its own institute known as IKSI, the Institute of Cryptography and Protection of Information which work on code breaking and the security of information unlike the KGB the FSB is not responsible for foreign spies the service responsible of them is called SVR (Walker).

Cyber spying and interference is the new doctrine of Russian intelligence and their information warfare for example shaping public opinion abroad via social media Facebook, Twitter and Instagram are the new battlefield to brainwash the users and influence their behavior and judgments, using VPN’s “Virtual Private Networks” is a essential thing to do in cyber attacks because it will guarantee the secrecy of the location where the attack was launched, and also allow a user to appear as if they were connecting to the internet from another location, furthermore the FSB have a precious powerful tool that will allow them to monitor internet traffic emails and phone calls in the Russian territory the technological advancement helped a lot the Russian intelligence because the fear of being spied on is a powerful weapon in itself (Peter).

The cyber espionage and the cyber attacks is one of the most powerful tool in the hand of Russian intelligence like General Valery Gerasimov said “The role of non-military means of achieving political and strategic goals has grown, and in many cases they have exceeded the power of force of weapons in their effectiveness” the
effectiveness of controlling the information has been demonstrated many times moreover with the cyber warfare that proved it successful using for example the large cyber attack twenty years earlier by Russian hackers who infiltrated U.S government computer systems and stole top secret files, furthermore when Moscow shutdown Georgia’s internet before invading it and it was considered as the first time in history that cyber-weapons had been used in a actual war (Youtube).

Many techniques are used in the cyber attacks for example “Hacking” is one of the popular it generally used to infiltrate the enemy cyber structure and become the administrator many incidents witnessed the power of hacking for example a French TV channel “TV5 Monde” was entirely shutdown the hackers behind that incident tried to make look like the work of terrorist calling themselves “the cyber caliphate” or when a group of hackers made an attack on a Ukrainian power plant in 2015 led to days of blackout (Branford). Another tool that it is used in the cyber warfare is “the Fake News” a misleading reports originated from infamous website claiming that they are giving the truth that mainstream media is trying to hide like the stories that had been written during the U.S presidential elections of 2016 and mentioning the leaked emails of the DNC as their source all this in the purpose to disorientate the readers and change their opinion on a given subject; This reflects the power and the impact of the cyber war in the real world furthermore by using “fake news,” social media manipulation and amplification through bots, targeted advertising, weaponized stolen information along with media and TV shows like for example Russian state-connected outlets like RT and Sputnik to amplify influence themes RT's reports often characterize the United States as a "surveillance state" especially after the scandal of “big brother” moreover with police brutality, and drone use (Assessment 6).
The amount of disinformation can put people off the idea that they can ever establish the truth about such events as the use of chemical weapons by Russia’s allies in Syria the impact of the disinformation through social media will confuse people whether is it true or not and sometimes even deny the truth thinking that it is disinformation. It is very hard to stop something when much of the time one cannot see it, in the Cold War it was enough to stop lies spreading by debunking them in media, today thousands of channels offer daily media but which one people should believe and affirm that they are not receiving some corrupt information the media manipulation is a very strong tool used by the Russians and other strong countries but Fake news is just one element in a much wider picture (WEINGER).

The cyberspace war relies also on an army of fake social media of Trolls and bots that distribute a vast amounts of false information in different languages furthermore with campaigns which manipulate the public debate and silence citizens, a psychological operations that influences the target’s opinions attitudes and actions in order to support the political goals all this is produced in the so called “trolls factories” like the Russian Internet Research Agency it helped a lot during the U.S presidential elections of 2016 by spreading false information through social media but it job is also to communicate a rosy picture of Russia while its enemies are heading for chaos and war, the goal is permanent unrest and chaos within an enemy state in the other hand The Kremlin has always denied any connection to the troll factories to guard always a clear image of the Russian government like the Russian Defense Minister Sergei Shoigu said “Propaganda needs to be smart, competent and effective,” (Abeshouse)

During the cold war era propaganda depended only on a real contact also the use of forgery on documents and official papers along with using agents of influence, media tools like TV radio and newspapers but they were considered as the main source of
information but by the coming of internet and new communication tools and ways of communicating propaganda has changed and become more difficult to be intercepted or disapproved (Cull, Gatov and Pomerantsev 67-68). Since the cold war the Russia is known for its powerful information machine and now with the technological development it become more and more powerful and influential it made a big changes in military engagement the intervention now takes place behind the scenes or at a distance rather than on a traditional battlefield, the cyber attacks are now considered as acts of war for that reason the Russians always deny any involvements in such acts and use a strategy called Hit and Run, cyber warfare use common tactics like the “Data Modification” it is considered as an extremely dangerous maneuver because a successful attack can generate a chaotic results important decisions will be made based on maliciously altered information moreover Data Modification intended to corrupt information or Command and Control systems (Geers).

Propaganda in the cyberspace is often Cheap and effective including the way how it is spread it can be instantly copied and sent anywhere in the world rapidly moreover when a provocative information is removed from the Web it may appear on another website in just few seconds, what also valorize cyber propaganda is the high degree of anonymity the attacks can be launched through other countries due to their poor Cyber defense so even a successful investigations will often lead only to another hacked computer without ever knowing the real identity of the attacker, the majority of hackers are also well-known for their attempts to compromise various media organizations and journalists in order to offer them “exclusive” information (Hacquebord)

Russia is very known and powerful in the domain of propaganda and it is considered as one of the most leading nations in the cyber warfare; Ukraine was
represented by a former pornographic actress at the NATO, pedophilia is now allowed in Europe and no longer criminalized or the children of Russian parents are taken away by Finnish government if the families want to move back to Russia all this reports are completely false and spread by Russian media in order to discredit the west troll factories are engaged to publish those reports across the world the cyber propaganda is now considered as an instrument of power during the war in Ukraine, websites in the USA and in Europe were loaded with an avalanche of comments, the majority were supporting the Kremlin. To maintain the Russian cyber attack line a group of hackers known as APT28 was working for it, APT in the language of IT security, stands for ‘Advanced Persistent Threat’ their job is to do all the dirty work in the internet intruding into high officials computers to search for personal information and especially medical conditions to use it to pressurize and black mail them; the hacking group is known since 2004 and their targets were always European governments, NATO, and western arms manufacturers, APT28 is suspected to be linked to Russian military intelligence GRU (Wehner).

Numbers of cyber attacks were aimed toward politicians and governmental institutions, the hackers usually operate skillfully and professionally. Russia proved that it can hit its foes where it hurts by attacking their computer systems and that was demonstrated for the first time in 2007 against Estonia the entire IT infrastructure was brought to cessation: banks, government departments, parliament, Estonian language newspaper websites and even radio stations a complete blackout it was the reaction of Russia to punish Estonia for joining the NATO military alliance the cyber attacks did not let any trace to Russia but the Estonian government was convinced that they were coordinated from Moscow, but could not prove it the attacks depended on release thousand of brut data on the systems to overload them till they collapse (Wehner).
Russia plays a leading role in the global cyber war. Since the Soviet Union, its military and intelligence services have always had a particular penchant for everything to do with technology and information; It is not unique to Russia that hackers whose skills have come to light in cyber crime are hired by the intelligence services in return for protection or legal immunity. All political and military conflicts now have a cyber dimension means that future victories in cyberspace could translate into victories on the ground, the placement of carefully crafted propaganda will manipulate the enemy easily so in other words practically everything that happens in the real world is mirrored in cyberspace (Geers).

During the United States presidential elections of 2016 a furious propaganda campaigns were launched in social media from Twitter Instagram to Facebook their impact was noticeable, compared to the propaganda campaigns during the cold war it is similar in the message that they are both trying to portray it consisted on showing the supremacy of the soviet union over the west promoting communism spreading lies on every one who dare to oppose the soviet union further with Communist ideology was the carrying frequency for any message but even when a Soviet propagandist was expected to lie, he was not allowed to venture out with his own lies for example during the Russian fake news campaign in the presidential elections of 2016 researchers used Internet analytics tools to track down the origins of some tweets and publications and verify the identity of the publishers, PropOrNot’s is one of the groups that seeks to expose the meddling of Russian propaganda during the elections of 2016 their monitoring report identifies more than 200 websites as routine peddlers of Russian propaganda during the period of the elections with a audience of 15 million Americans and in Facebook the fake stories that were launched by the disinformation campaign were viewed more than 213 million times (Timberg).
One of the most valuable tools in the cyber propaganda is the Share button. People echoed the fake news by clicking share on the social media and that is how the disinformation campaign gain more popularity in the internet without knowing that they are sharing some fake information, “useful idiots” was the name given to people or institutions that unknowingly assisted Soviet Union propaganda efforts during the Cold War. Using seduction and crossword puzzles to carry out their assignments are one of maneuvers used by Soviet spies; human assets were extremely valuable to the KGB they received training and had a number of tools and gadgets at their disposal. During the Cold War, spies often wore disguises when meeting, following a target, or carrying out an operation but now things changed and hacking computer systems can provide a high volume of intelligence without any need for personal relationships and the late cyber attack on the DNC can prove the damages that computer hacking could cause if such mission was given to a human asset it would take him many years to gather this amount of information (Americans).

3. Russia Today Channel: U.S. Election Coverage

Kremlin’s TV Seeks to Influence Politics, Fuel Discontent in US; Russia Today formerly or RT America now is a channel that operate from within the United State it is a Kremlin financed channel yet a messaging tool and indicate a Kremlin directed campaign to undermine faith in the US Government and incite political protest the Russians used significant resources to expanding the channel's reach especially its social media footprint, a UK report states that RT become the most-watched foreign news channel in the UK that shows the remarkable efforts made by the Russians to popularize it, in America the channel positioned itself as a domestic US channel and has
always denied any ties to the Russian Government but According to its detractors, RT is Vladimir Putin’s global disinformation service; the channel now is run by a mixture of Propaganda specialists a few heirs of the KGB Department A or Service A , (a faultfinding journalists and some IT professionals who manage the social media the perfect team for the most ancient job of Russia ‘propaganda’ with connections some political pressure groups in all the globe like the new “alt-right” information space in the US, the far-right in Europe, and far-left networks in Latin America; the creation of the channel goes back to 2005 it was created for the purpose to change the western perception of Russia, the director of the news agency that oversees the channel RIA-Novosti, said that western have the idea of communism poverty and snow when it comes to Russia “We would like to present a more complete picture of life in our country,” ; But Russia barely figures in RT’s coverage; its main stories focus on the Middle East, or European infighting or social injustice in the US, it is also known that When Russia does make the news on RT, the Kremlin has little to worry about for example during the Russian Olympic athletes implicated in the doping scandal RT concentrated on commenting “persistent lack of evidence” RT was ‘weaponized’ and transformed into a strategic counter-propaganda tool (Assessment 7-8).

RT’s use a specific and well organized digital strategy it engage in promoting conspiracy theories, inviting some famous American celebrities that have ideologies that are against the American government like Alex Jones the famous journalist and actor Oliver Stone the famous producer of the most controversial movie the assassination of JFK and also the founder of Wikileaks Julian Assange furthermore with the distribution of fakes and constructed stories that will damage US institutions and policy, it work also as ‘legitimation’ engine for rumors and fabricated stories yet RT is a supplier for Distribution networks such as the Drudge Report, Breitbart or Infowars
with its original stories for example before RT engage with the Breitbart or Drudge distribution networks there were no US media interest in modern Russian military equipment but after the corporation the fear of ‘superior Russian weapons that scare the US Army’ can be found in many American outlets moreover US fringe networks are considered as a reliable, legitimate source on US government policies (Cull, Gatov and Pomerantsev 70-71)

During the U.S presidential elections of 2016 RT intensified its usually critical coverage of the United States and portrayed the US electoral process as undemocratic according to the security report made by the Office of the Director of National Intelligence the channel aggressively used the internet and social media to conduct “strategic messaging for the Russian government.”; moreover with the videos published on You Tube received more than one million views a day according to the report the videos “aimed at undermining viewers trust of US democratic procedures.” (Goldman). RT ran numerous reports on alleged US election fraud and voting machine vulnerabilities asserting that the results of the votes cannot be trusted and does not represent the will of people a strategy used by the channel to undercut US criticism of Russia’s political system and also to boost the republican candidate Donald Trump by discrediting and criticizing his rival Hilary Clinton RT’s coverage on her was consistently negative and focused on her leaked e-mails and accused her of corruption, poor physical and mental health, and ties to Islamic extremism even the Russian press has portrayed Clinton as a raving Russophobe, in the other hand president Trump was always depicted as the target of unfair coverage from traditional US media outlets that they claimed were subservient to a corrupt political establishment yet the collaboration between RT and Wikileaks was been mentioned in the security report of American intelligence especially when RT’s editor-in-chief visited Wikileaks founder Julian
Assange at the Ecuadorian Embassy in London in August 2013, where they talked about renewing his broadcast contract with RT the report says also that "Russian media subsequently announced that RT had become ‘the only Russian media company’ to partner with Wikileaks and had received access to ‘new leaks of secret information.’ (Assessment 9-10). secretary Hillary Clinton was very furious against the president trump and accused him for cooperation with Russia to win the elections in their third presidential debate she said: "It’s pretty clear you won’t admit that the Russians have engaged in cyber attacks against the United States of America, that you encouraged espionage against our people, that you are willing to spout the Putin line, sign up for his wish list, break up NATO, do whatever he wants to do, and that you continue to get help from him, because he has a very clear favorite in this race," further with Sputnik another Russian propaganda channel published an article saying that the Podesta email dump included certain incriminating comments about the Benghazi scandal a an article that turned to be false but the president trump used this false story (Carroll)

The president Trump was briefed by the heads of the major intelligence agencies about the Russian interference but he only commented that his meeting with chiefs of intelligence agencies was constructive and he added in a statement "tremendous respect for the work and service done by the men and women of the intelligence community" Nevertheless president trump did not give much importance to the finding of the intelligence agencies and started a disparaging campaign on twitter adding on his interview with the New York Times that this investigation is a "political witch hunt" perpetrated by people who can’t accept that he won the election; Sen. Lindsey Graham said to NBC channel on president Trump that “When it comes to Russia, he’s got a blind spot,” and added “And to forgive and forget when it comes to Putin regarding cyber-attacks is to empower Putin and that’s exactly what he’s doing.” finishing his
statement with “Trump is literally the only person that I know of that has any doubt about what Russia did in 2016.” (Todd, Murray and Dann).

Many evidences shows the implications of the Russians in the favor of the president Donald Trump starting from the meetings between Russian officials and members of Trump’s campaign and administration, his daughter’s ties to Putin’s friends for example Jeff Sessions was an early supporter for Trump’s presidential campaign was nominated by Trump for the post of U.S. Attorney General during his Attorney General confirmation hearings he denied while under oath any relation or contact with Russian officials during the 2016 presidential campaign and that he had no knowledge of any contacts between Trump campaign members and Russian officials however after news reports revealed that Sessions had twice met with Russian Ambassador Sergey Kislyak his explained himself simply by saying that he had not recalled when he met him in during the RNC meeting and in the first time he was in his official capacity as a senator, not as a Trump surrogate. A clear contradiction in his allegations but it is impossible to prove that Sessions is lying or not still it is also difficult to believe that Sessions simply forgot such an important meeting (Cillizza).

Another suspicious meeting occurred between the eldest son of president Trump, Donald Trump Jr, Trump’s son-in-law Jared Kushner, and the campaign chairman Paul Manafort with The Russian lawyer Natalia V. Veselnitskaya offering damaging information about Hillary Clinton, even if she long insisted that she met them in a private capacity, not as a representative of the Russian government and that Trump Jr. has maintained that Veselnitskaya did not have any information to share and instead wanted to discuss other useless matters Trump Jr. told the Senate committee that if he had been given any information about Clinton, he would have consulted with counsel on what to do with it; now since Trump Jr does not have a position in his father’s
administration he is free to meet anyone no matter what is his nationality or where he came from generally he did nothing wrong but when after Ms. Veselnitskaya recanted her earlier denials of Russian government ties especially when she acknowledged in NBC News interview that she was a source of information for a top Kremlin official, Yuri Y. Chaika the Russian prosecutor general another declaration that will rise again the suspicion on the Kremlin ties with Trump and his team (Kramer and LaFraniere)

After winning the elections president Trump named General Michael Flynn as his national security adviser. General Flynn is a former Defence Intelligence Agency chief was a top foreign policy adviser in Trump's campaign. But Flynn's tenure of just 24 days was the shortest in the office's history he resigned after information surfaced that he had failed to disclose full details of his communication with Russian Ambassador Sergey Kislyak. Later after Flynn appeared in federal court to formalize a deal with Special Counsel Robert Mueller to plead guilty to a single felony count of willfully and knowingly making false statements to the FBI and Vice President Mike Pence (Shugerman)

All the tension and the Trump’s Russia Ties, moreover with the proved intervention of the Russians during the period of the elections, the security report made by the intelligence services is a reliable evidence that prove the hacking campaign and the disinformation stories spread during the election moreover with the propaganda launched by Russian media all the intervention made during the election had relation with the Russians the intelligence agencies asses that the hacking was supervised by Russian military intelligence, the disinformation campaign was conducted by the Internet Research Agency to spread false information trough fake social media accounts managed by bots and the propaganda launched in Russian media like Sputnik or RT where secretary Hillary Clinton was depicted as a candidate who will start a third world
war and that she is not the right person for presiding the United States and that Donald Trump is the suitable candidate. Furthermore Russia had released the emails with the primary goal of bolstering Donald J. Trump’s presidential campaign. The Russian involvement always favorites the candidacy of President Donald Trump (Assessment 1-2)

Donald Trump has always denied or doubted Russia’s involvement in the hacking from the first day that it became public in June 2016. He said “We believe it was the DNC that did the ‘hacking’ as a way to distract from the many issues facing their deeply flawed candidate and failed party leader”. Adding in sarcastic way when the FBI opened an investigation on the hacking “The new joke in town is that Russia leaked the disastrous DNC e-mails, which should never have been written (stupid), because Putin likes me.” It is written on his twitter but he did not stop at this point but found a new line to cross when he publicly appealed to Russia to intervene in the election on his behalf to hack Mrs. Clinton email server when she was secretary of state but the lately this year he claims that he never said Russia did not interfere in the election nut it could be Russia or China or any other country it can even be any genius individual it is true that Trump said that the hacking could be the act of Russia or any other nation but it is also true that there is no evidence that any other country or group was involved in the hack but only Russia. His statements contains a lot of contradiction (Kiely and Gore)

Even after all the suspicious relations and meetings between Trump’s entourage and the Russians or the condemning evidence of a real Russian meddling during the elections there was no information that emerged suggesting that the C.I.A. or any other American intelligence agency believes that Russia’s involvement decided the election’s outcome moreover, The election officials and White House have declared that the
votes shows no sign of tampering and accurately reflects popular will, furthermore with all available evidence nothing shows any interference or manipulation of vote counts and that really Trump won the elections under the Electoral College system. But that does not minimize the gravity of the Russian intervention during the presidential elections and it was considered as the most unprecedented meddling in all the history of the United States. In conclusion even if the Russian interventions really occur but no critical evidence shows that Russia manipulated the result of the elections (Fisher).

The investigation led by special counsel Robert Mueller over alleged collusion between Donald Trump’s campaign and Moscow is the only official investigation that could be taken into consideration even if the probe is deemed by president Trump as «witch hunt” and a "hoax” as he call it in several occasions and the reason behind his unhappiness about it because the probe is entirely out of Trump's control and Mueller has said nothing about where he is in the investigation or his timeline for wrapping it up but if President Donald Trump want to speak with special counsel Robert S. Mueller about his Russian relations and whether he obstructed justice or not it will be extremely unwise because if he allows himself to be questioned he would be decoyed into a perjury trap that will probably end his presidency (Stoltmann).

Conclusion

The Russian development in the cyber warfare has proved it efficiency in perturbing the U.S. presidential elections of 2016 as the IC showed in its security report the influencing campaign launched by the president Vladimir Putin and the Kremlin succeeded to undermine the image of Hillary Clinton and creating a wave of fake stories in social media networks such vigorous attack could not been intercepted or stopped by the American authorities in the right time and that what gave cyber attacks it
particularity and differentiate it from old techniques used by the KGB and GRU yet the channel RT demonstrated its role in spreading propaganda and disinformation through it programs.

The investigation of Robert Muller and the IC report has confirmed that the Russian intervention was a reality but it is too early to say whether the president Donald Trump had any role to do in this interference even if members of his entourage were proven guilty but it too early give any result because the investigation is still in progress.
General Conclusion

The Russian meddling in the United States affairs has been confirmed as a reality in this dissertation back to the end of the WW II when soviets spies used to spy nuclear power plants or western secret weapons laboratories to gather information about new arms or the technological advancement in western countries and especially the United States of America the Soviet espionage helped a lot the Soviet Union to advance and facilitate it achievements in many fields from Thousands of documents from the National Advisory Committee for Aeronautics (NACA) were photocopied or stolen and spying on American scientific and technological progress, particularly in the development of an atomic weapon or electronic advances in radio-beacon artillery that later on contributed to develop Soviet missiles which helped to shoot down Francis Gary Powers's U-2 in 1960. But it was not enough for the Soviets they needed to infiltrate more the U.S. and interfere in its internal affairs from Kennedy’s election to Nixon winning in 1968 the Soviets always interfered in internal affairs to spread anarchy in American soils until the collapse of the Soviet Union and KGB in 1991.

A new era has began the newly spy weapon of the Russian federation is the cyber espionage the U.S. presidential election of 2016 witnessed the power and the impact of the Russian meddling using technological advancement after the hacking of the DNC and spreading emails about Hillary Clinton and her party in order to make her lose the election and by using the media outlets to promote Donald Trump as the perfect candidate. Moreover, with the condemning evidences that shows Donald trump ties to Russia and his entourage relations with Kremlin officials or persons related to the president Vladimir Putin or the Kremlin in direct or indirect way but there is no critical evidence that could determine whether president Trump really used the Russians to help him in winning the elections or abused of his power to obstruct justice when he became
president from newspapers to televised interviews everyone is taking a side whether the president is guilty or innocent no one is allowed or could give a real answer even the rumors that are circulating could be considered as a disinformation. The special counsel Robert Mueller and his team is the only authorized competent authority that could issue any statement about the case but since no one know what information Mueller has, and who has flipped and provided information to him. Moreover staying quiet would give the president's critics and Refusing an interview with Mueller can be seen as an implicit admission of guilt but if he does, it will probably end his presidency

Special counsel Mueller till now indicted 13 Russian citizens and 3 Russian entities, most notably the Internet Research Agency, the investigation became subject to fierce criticism by President Trump and his surrogates especially after Michael Flynn Paul Manafort and Michael Cohen condemnation but the result of the investigation is still unknown whether president Trump involvement with the Russian meddling is real or just some rumors and no one could give an exact date for the end of the investigation except special counsel Robert Mueller.
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