



Illustration: © sabinemescher

Mx Russia: Information Governance as a Power Function

Why Russian narrative effects cannot be explained by persuasion, disinformation, or messaging — and why governance of the meaning space is the correct analytical category.

NOTE

This text constitutes the public layer of a layered analytical document.

A more detailed analytical section follows immediately below under access restriction.

Applied capability assessment and structural mapping are available separately to qualified actors upon request via NDA nda@durchd8.de

EXECUTIVE FRAME

This text introduces **Mx** as a structural category for understanding Russian narrative–information behavior. It is written for public release and deliberately **does not disclose** any proprietary model mechanics, equations, or reconstruction paths.

Its purpose is narrower and more demanding: to demonstrate **why** classical influence, persuasion, and PsyOps frameworks fail to explain observed effects — and **why** a governance-level interpretation is structurally unavoidable.

What follows is a capability-facing analysis, not a methodological exposition.

1. WHY RUSSIA IS NOT A “NARRATIVE ACTOR”

Most public debate still treats Russia as a *speaker* in the information domain: issuing messages, spreading disinformation, attempting persuasion.

This framing collapses under empirical pressure.

Russian narrative activity displays properties that cannot be explained by actor-centric models:

- effects persist without attribution success,
- credibility loss does not terminate impact,
- contradictory messages coexist without internal collapse,
- and outcomes materialize upstream of opinion change.

These are not properties of communication.

They are properties of **environmental control**.

Russia does not primarily *argue* inside the information space. It **governs conditions of permissibility** within it.

2. FROM MESSAGES TO CONDITIONS

Persuasion models assume a linear chain: > message → belief → behavior

The Russian case repeatedly violates this chain.

Observed effects manifest as:

- delayed decisions,
- fragmented coalitions,
- inflated veto points,
- agenda displacement,
- escalation ambiguity.

Crucially, these outcomes occur **without** broad belief uptake and often **despite** narrative implausibility.

The correct analytical shift is therefore not from “true” to “false” information —
but from **content** to **conditions**.

Russia shapes:

- what can be said without cost,
- what must be disproven before action,
- what remains permanently contestable,
- and what decisions become politically expensive to finalize.

That function is not rhetorical.

It is **governance**.

3. MX: INFORMATION AS A GOVERNED DOMAIN

Mx designates the existence of an **institutionalized information-domain governance function**.

This is a descriptive category, not a doctrine claim.

An Mx exists when three conditions are met:

1. Domain Recognition

Information is treated as a security-relevant object at the highest state level.

2. Intervention Authority

The state possesses enforceable legal and administrative mechanisms to permit, restrict, or sanction information flows.

3. Scalable Infrastructure

Technical systems allow intervention at speed and scale, independent of individual actors.

Russia meets all three conditions.

The result is not message control, but **environment design**: a bounded space in which multiple actors operate freely — as long as they remain inside structurally enforced limits.

4. GOVERNANCE WITHOUT CENTRAL SCRIPT

A common analytical error is to search for a single command center issuing narrative instructions.

None is required.

Russian information governance operates through:

- legal constraint, – infrastructural control,
- selective enforcement,
- and predictable sanction regimes.

Actors do not need continuous orders when:

- deviation is costly,
- alignment is rewarded,
- and boundaries are stable.

This produces coherence **without micromanagement** and adaptability **without explicit doctrine**.

The absence of a visible command hierarchy is not a weakness of the system.

It is a feature of governance-based control.

5. WHY CREDIBILITY LOSS DOES NOT MATTER

In persuasion models, credibility is a terminal variable. Once lost, influence collapses.

In an Mx system, credibility is **non-terminal**.

The system does not depend on being believed.

It depends on:

- forcing response,
- consuming decision bandwidth,
- and multiplying interpretive workload.

Even discredited narratives can:

- delay decisions,
- justify hesitation,
- fragment alliances,
- and raise escalation thresholds.

The effect is structural, not cognitive.

This explains why Russian narratives continue to operate even when widely labeled false.

The system does not depend on being believed.

They are not optimized for belief — they are optimized for **decision degradation**.

6. INTEGRATION ACROSS POWER DOMAINS

Mx does not replace cyber, diplomacy, or military power.
It conditions their usability.

Information governance functions as a **permissive layer**:

- Cyber operations are evaluated by narrative yield.
- Diplomatic moves are preconditioned informationally.
- Military actions are embedded in ambiguity and denial regimes.

This is not coordination by command.

It is coordination by **environmental conditioning**.

Actions in other domains become cheaper, safer, or deniable because the information space has been pre-shaped.

7. THE CAPABILITY CEILING

Recognizing Russian Mx does **not** imply unlimited sophistication.

Empirical observation also reveals clear structural limits.

What is **not** observable:

- a formal narrative architecture,
- explicit lifecycle or phase logic,
- systematic narrative cost calculation,
- or reflexive audience-equilibrium management.

7. THE CAPABILITY CEILING

Recognizing Russian Mx does **not** imply unlimited sophistication.

Empirical observation also reveals clear structural limits.

What is **not** observable:

- a formal narrative architecture,
- explicit lifecycle or phase logic,
- systematic narrative cost calculation,
- or reflexive audience-equilibrium management.

Russian practice is iterative and experience-driven.

It adapts tactically, but does not redesign structurally.

This places Russian capability firmly within **governance-level control**, but below higher-order narrative engineering.

The system is effective at:

- disruption,
- delay,
- and exhaustion.

It is structurally incapable of:

- stabilization,
- convergence, ^{8/31}
- or narrative closure.

8. WHY THE SYSTEM CANNOT CONCLUDE

Because Mx operates through constraint rather than design, it lacks termination logic.

When effects decay:

- volume increases,
- suppression intensifies, ^{9/31}
- repetition substitutes for redesign.

This preserves disruption while accumulating long-term cost.

The system is therefore **non-terminating by construction**: effective at denial, incapable of resolution.

This is not accidental.

It follows from the absence of higher-order narrative architecture.

9. THE WESTERN CATEGORY ERROR

Western analysis repeatedly asks: → “Is this convincing?”

That question is structurally irrelevant.

The correct question is: → “Does this prevent timely, coherent decision-making?”

By the time a narrative is disproven, the strategic effect has already materialized.

Misclassification leads to:

- late responses,
- fragmented countermeasures,
- and repeated surprise at outcomes that were structurally predictable.

The primary risk is not Russian capability. It is Western analytical mismatch.

10. BOUNDARY OF THIS TEXT

This section establishes the public analytical layer of the Mx framework.

It defines the structural category, its explanatory necessity, and the observable capability envelope of Russian information governance.

Formal modeling, structural derivation, and applied capability mapping are addressed in the restricted analytical layers that follow.

CLOSING DIAGNOSIS

Russia does not use narratives to shape belief.

It uses information governance to shape decision space — and timing.

This function is operational.

It does not depend on escalation, refinement, or doctrinal completion to produce strategic effect.

This distinction is decisive.

Access Note

This section constitutes the restricted analytical layer of the Mx assessment.

Applied capability mapping and structural evaluation are provided separately in a concise briefing available to qualified actors under NDA.

A. EXECUTIVE FRAME

A.1 SCOPE

A. EXECUTIVE FRAME

A.1 SCOPE

This document examines Russian **information-domain effects** as a systemic governance phenomenon, not as episodic propaganda, persuasion, or actor-bound information operations. The analytical focus is limited to structural effects on decision environments, independent of attribution, intent, or message-level content.

A.2 ANALYTICAL OBJECTIVE

The objective is to determine whether observed Russian narrative effects can be adequately explained by classical influence models—or whether they require classification as a persistent, governed capability operating below the threshold of directive control.

A.3 METHOD

The analysis applies a layered forensic approach, separating: * observable effects, * structural mechanisms, * and classification criteria.

No assumptions are made regarding command intent, operational tasking, or individual agency beyond what can be inferred from systemic consistency and bounded effect persistence.

A.4 KEY FINDING (NON-INTERPRETIVE)

The examined patterns are consistent with a governance-level narrative capability that shapes permissibility, expectation, and response conditions rather than beliefs or opinions. Effects persist irrespective of attribution success and remain resilient to countermeasures optimized for exposure or takedown.

A.5 BOUNDARY CONDITIONS

This document does not: * assess policy options, * recommend countermeasures, * evaluate political responsibility, * or address kinetic or economic domains.

Its scope is confined to analytical classification and risk-relevant structural consequences arising from mischaracterization.

B. OPERATIONAL RISK STATEMENT

B.1 OPERATIONAL RISK STATEMENT: CONSEQUENCES OF SYSTEMIC MISCLASSIFICATION

B.2 RISK VECTOR

Persistent misclassification of Russian narrative operations as episodic PsyOps, disinformation campaigns, or actor-bound influence activities.

B.3 MECHANISM OF FAILURE

The analyzed system operates through governance-level permissibility, infrastructural coupling, and bounded effect envelopes rather than directive tasking or message control. Classical countermeasures optimized for attribution, exposure, or takedown address surface artifacts while leaving the underlying decision-shaping infrastructure intact.

B.4 DECISION-SPACE IMPACT

Misclassification induces asymmetric response latency, fragmented coordination across allied institutions, and repeated escalation debates without resolution. Decision bandwidth is consumed by attribution disputes rather than effect management.

B.5 SECOND-ORDER EFFECTS

Sustained analytical mismatch increases false negatives at the strategic level and raises overreaction risk at the tactical level. The result is cumulative erosion of coalition coherence and reduced predictability of Western response patterns.

B.6 NON-OBVIOUS CONCLUSION

The primary operational risk is not the presence of Russian narrative influence, but the persistence of Western response asymmetry generated by category error.

C. ESTABLISHING THE INFORMATION DOMAIN AS A GOVERNED POWER FIELD (MX)

C.1 SCOPE AND METHOD

The analysis establishes whether the Russian Federation operates an overarching information-domain governance function (Mx) as a matter of institutional fact, not doctrine. Analysis proceeds without contested interpretive constructs (e.g., the so-called “Gerasimov doctrine”) and instead proceeds by primary legal, organizational, and infrastructural evidence. The evidentiary test is functional: whether the Russian state has (i) recognized the information domain as a security object, (ii) endowed authorities with enforceable powers to intervene, and (iii) engineered centralized capabilities sufficient to coordinate and constrain information flows at scale. External operations are treated only insofar as they corroborate domestic governance capacity through observable cross-domain coupling.

Standard of proof. The chapter relies on presidential decrees, federal statutes, official regulatory mandates, and state-authored technical reports. Secondary literature is excluded except where it directly cites or reproduces primary artefacts. Internal analytical material from DURCHD8/The Shape of Now is used strictly as a classificatory or comparative aid and is explicitly identified as such.

C.2 DOMAIN RECOGNITION AT THE PRESIDENTIAL LEVEL

The Russian state formally recognizes the information domain as a national security field. The Doctrine of Information Security of the Russian Federation (Presidential Decree No. 646, 5 December 2016) defines threats, assigns responsibilities, and situates information security alongside traditional security domains. The doctrine’s language is operational rather than aspirational: it enumerates risks (including foreign information influence), specifies state interests, and mandates coordinated state action across authorities.¹

This recognition is decisive for Mx. It establishes that information is not treated as ancillary propaganda or public diplomacy, but as a governed object of security policy under presidential authority. The doctrine’s persistence—unrevoked and operational through subsequent legislative

expansions—anchors information governance at the apex of the Russian state.

C.3 STATUTORY INTERVENTION AUTHORITY AND PERMISSIBILITY CONTROL

Recognition alone is insufficient for Mx; enforceable powers are required. Federal Law No. 149-FZ (On Information, Information Technologies and the Protection of Information) provides the statutory substrate for intervention. The law authorizes restriction, blocking, and control of information resources and assigns regulatory competence to designated authorities. Its provisions are not dormant: they have been repeatedly amended to widen scope and accelerate enforcement.²

Crucially, the statute enables permissibility control—the capacity to determine what may persist in the public information space and under what conditions. This is not episodic censorship; it is a standing regulatory regime with administrative and judicial pathways. The existence of such authority satisfies a core Mx criterion: the ability to stop, steer, and sanction information flows as a matter of routine governance.

C.4 CENTRALIZED NETWORK GOVERNANCE AND INFRASTRUCTURE CONTROL

Mx requires scalable infrastructure. Federal Law No. 90-FZ (effective November 2019), commonly referred to as the “sovereign internet” law, establishes centralized management capabilities over public communications networks. The law mandates technical measures enabling traffic routing, monitoring, and control under regulatory supervision.³

This legal-infrastructure coupling is decisive. It moves information governance from reactive enforcement to engineered controllability. Centralized network management provides the state with rapid intervention capacity during crises, the ability to enforce national routing policies, and resilience against external dependencies. From an Mx perspective, this constitutes the control plane of the information domain.

C.5 BOUNDARY ENFORCEMENT THROUGH THE “FOREIGN AGENT” REGIME

Permissibility control is reinforced by boundary enforcement. Federal Law No. 121-FZ (2012) and subsequent expansions establish the “foreign agent” designation, imposing registration, disclosure, and operational constraints on entities deemed to receive foreign support while engaging in broadly defined “political activity.”⁴

Functionally, this regime acts as a structural filter on the information ecosystem. It alters the cost calculus for media outlets, NGOs, and individual actors, shaping the informational environment without requiring continuous direct censorship. From an Mx standpoint, the regime supplies persistent, systemic constraint—a hallmark of governance rather than ad hoc repression.

C.6 EXTERNAL OPERATIONS AS CORROBORATIVE EVIDENCE OF DOMAIN INTEGRATION

While Mx is established domestically, external operations corroborate cross-domain integration. U.S. Department of Justice indictments (2018) document sustained influence operations (Internet Research Agency) and coordinated cyber activities (GRU) designed to produce political and narrative effects.⁵ These are judicial artefacts detailing organization, resourcing, and operational methods.⁶

The relevance here is limited but important: such operations exhibit cyber-to-narrative coupling consistent with a governed information domain capable of integrating multiple instruments. They do not, by themselves, prove centralized command; they corroborate that domestic governance capacity is expressed outwardly in coordinated form.

C.7 ANALYTICAL SYNTHESIS

The evidence supports a narrow but firm conclusion: Russia operates an institutionalized information-domain governance function (Mx). This conclusion rests on presidential doctrine, statutory intervention authority, centralized network infrastructure, and boundary-enforcing legal regimes. Together, these elements establish the existence, enforceability, and scalability of Mx.⁷

The scope excludes assertions of a unified grand theory of narrative warfare, a deterministic model of narrative costs, or a fully articulated doctrinal hierarchy comparable to NPM/NWDC. The Russian system demonstrates operational governance without formalized theoretical closure—a capacity built from law, infrastructure, and iterative practice rather than explicit model codification.⁸

This distinction shapes subsequent analysis of Russian narrative capability limits and the consequences of theoretical underdevelopment.

D. OPERATIONAL EXPRESSION: HOW MX IS EXERCISED IN PRACTICE D.1

PURPOSE AND BOUNDARY

Having established the existence of an institutionalized information-domain governance function (Mx), the analysis examines how that function is exercised operationally. The task is not to enumerate Russian influence activities exhaustively, but to identify recurrent operational regularities that cannot be plausibly explained by decentralized propaganda alone.

The evidentiary standard remains restrictive: only judicial records, statutory authorities, state-authored documents, and internal DURCHD8 SSOT analyses are used. Interpretive constructs without primary anchoring are excluded.

D.2 ASSET PLURALITY UNDER A SINGLE PERMISSIVE REGIME

Russian information operations are executed through a heterogeneous asset set: state media, senior officials, intelligence services, proxy organizations, and informal amplification networks. What is operationally significant is not this plurality, but the absence of durable contradiction across assets on core frames.

Across the period 2012–2026, core narrative frames—external encirclement, Western hypocrisy, defensive necessity—remain stable across presidential rhetoric, state broadcasting, diplomatic messaging, and proxy amplification. Tactical variation occurs, but frame boundaries

are not crossed. Deviations inside the Russian information space are sanctioned selectively through administrative or legal measures enabled by standing information law.⁹

This pattern is inconsistent with autonomous actors pursuing uncoordinated agendas. It is consistent with a permissive governance model, in which actors operate freely within bounded narrative corridors that are enforced ex post rather than prescribed ex ante.

D.3 CYBER–NARRATIVE COUPLING AS A STRUCTURAL MECHANISM

Judicial records in the United States document that Russian cyber operations repeatedly served informational rather than purely technical objectives. The Department of Justice indictments relating to GRU activity describe a recurring operational sequence: covert intrusion, controlled release via intermediaries, and immediate narrative activation through aligned media and social channels.¹⁰

The relevance of these cases for Mx is not attribution, but integration. Cyber operations are evaluated by their downstream narrative effect. This subordination of cyber activity to informational yield implies a governing logic that cuts across domains. Such coupling cannot be sustained through siloed decision-making structures.

D.4 SELECTIVE PERSISTENCE AND RAPID SUPPRESSION

Within the Russian domestic information environment, enforcement is selective rather than uniform. Certain narratives—particularly those aligned with external strategic positioning—are tolerated even when internally destabilizing or factually strained. Others are suppressed rapidly through mechanisms provided by information law and “foreign agent” legislation.¹¹

The critical indicator is asymmetry: enforcement intensity correlates with narrative utility, not with formal legal severity alone. This implies evaluative judgment at a governance level. The system is optimized for strategic permissibility, not coherence or truth maintenance.

D.5 SYNCHRONIZATION WITH DIPLOMATIC AND MILITARY CYCLES

Narrative emphasis shifts exhibit repeated temporal alignment with diplomatic escalation phases, military deployments, and anticipated political decision points in EU and U.S. systems. Information activity does not merely respond to events; it preconditions them.

Narratives of inevitability, victimhood, or Western unreliability intensify prior to kinetic or diplomatic moves, while ambiguity and denial dominate when escalation risk must be managed. This sequencing pattern recurs across cases documented in internal longitudinal analysis.¹²

Such synchronization implies a coordinating function capable of aligning informational tone with external action windows, rather than spontaneous media dynamics.

D.6 GOVERNANCE WITHOUT EXPLICIT COMMAND

No evidence supports the existence of a single formal command authority issuing granular narrative tasking. The absence confirms governance through environment design rather than explicit command: legal constraint, infrastructural control, resource allocation, and sanction-based correction.

Actors do not require continuous instruction when the cost of deviation is predictable and the benefits of alignment are structurally embedded. This produces coherence without rigidity and adaptability without doctrinal micromanagement.

D.7 ANALYTICAL SYNTHESIS

The operational record supports a narrow but firm conclusion: Russian information activities exhibit governance-level regularities. These include plural asset execution under stable narrative constraints, cyber– narrative integration, selective permissibility, and temporal synchronization with other power domains.

These regularities cannot be explained by coincidence or informal culture alone. They require a structuring layer that constrains, aligns, and intervenes selectively. That layer corresponds to Mx.

At the same time, the record reveals limits. There is no evidence of a formalized theory of narrative cost, no explicit phase logic, and no comprehensive evaluative framework comparable to NPM/NWDC. Russian practice is iterative and experience-driven rather than model-driven.

Mx exists and functions—but it operates below the threshold of explicit doctrine.

E. CAPABILITY CEILING AND ANALYTICAL LIMITS

E.1 PURPOSE AND ANALYTICAL FRAME

The analysis determines how far Russian Mx capability extends—and where it demonstrably stops. The task is evaluative, not dismissive. Having established that Russia operates an institutionalized information-domain governance function (Chapters B–C), the question now is whether this function approaches systematic narrative power engineering or remains iterative, opportunistic, and bounded by structural limits.

The assessment proceeds by negative capability testing: identifying capacities that would be expected if a mature, model-driven narrative power system existed—and testing for their empirical presence. Absence here is evidentiary, not speculative.

E.2 ABSENCE OF EXPLICIT NARRATIVE ARCHITECTURE

No such architecture is present in the primary artefacts examined in this corpus—doctrinal, legal, or organizational—articulating a formal narrative architecture comparable to a structured model of narrative construction, maintenance, and cost management.¹³ Russian documents consistently address information security, countering influence, and defensive stability, but do not define:

- Narrative layers or hierarchies,
- Formal criteria for narrative coherence,
- Mechanisms for narrative lifecycle management beyond repetition and suppression.

This absence matters. Operational coherence (established in Chapter D) does not imply architectural understanding. The Russian system enforces frame boundaries, but there is no evidence of designed narrative composition as an explicit analytical practice.

This indicates that Mx operates without a codified internal theory of narrative structure.

E.3 NO FORMAL NARRATIVE COST OR TRADE-OFF FRAMEWORK

A decisive indicator of narrative-system maturity would be an explicit framework for narrative cost, i.e., when and how particular narratives generate political, economic, diplomatic, or escalation costs—and how those costs are weighed against expected gains.

No such framework is observable in Russian primary material. Instead, Russian practice exhibits: • Tolerance of long-term reputational degradation in exchange for short-term permissibility, • Repetition of narratives beyond saturation, even when international credibility collapses, • Limited adaptation when narratives demonstrably fail outside controlled environments.

This pattern suggests cost-blindness rather than cost-calculation. Narratives are assessed primarily by immediate permissibility and internal stability, not by dynamic cost curves across audiences or time horizons.¹⁴

E.4 LIMITED AWARENESS OF HIGHER-ORDER NARRATIVE DYNAMICS

Russian Mx practice demonstrates strong engagement with first-order effects (agenda disruption, confusion, delay) and second-order effects (coalition friction, decision latency). There is no evidence of systematic engagement with higher-order dynamics, such as: • Reflexive audience adaptation, • Narrative exhaustion and backlash, • Long-term legitimacy erosion across aligned and neutral systems.

Operationally, this manifests as overextension: narratives continue to be pushed even when their marginal effect declines or turns negative in

external environments. The system compensates with volume and suppression rather than redesign.

This supports the inference that Russian practice remains largely confined to H1/H2-equivalent logic (immediate effect and structural pressure), without explicit recognition of higher-order equilibria.

E.5 ITERATIVE PRACTICE IN PLACE OF MODEL-DRIVEN DESIGN

Russian Mx evolves, but it evolves empirically, not theoretically. Adjustments follow exposure, sanctions, platform bans, or operational failure.¹⁵ Examples include migration between platforms, shifting proxy assets, and tactical reframing after narrative collapse.

What is absent is ex ante design: • No evidence of pre-defined narrative phase transitions, • No formal criteria for narrative retirement or replacement, • No institutionalized feedback loop translating effect assessment into structural redesign.

This pattern aligns with practice-led maturation, not with a mature narrative power doctrine. Capability grows through repetition and constraint, not through abstraction and planning.

E.6 STRUCTURAL REASONS FOR THE CEILING

The observed limits are not accidental. They follow from structural features of the Russian system: 1. Authoritarian closure constrains internal critique and theoretical development. 2. Security primacy prioritizes control over optimization. 3. Repression as a substitute for design reduces incentives to refine narrative quality.

These features enable Mx to function robustly at a governance level, but they inhibit the emergence of a reflective, model-driven narrative discipline.

E.7 CAPABILITY RATING

On a scale where 10 represents full implementation of a deterministic, model-driven narrative power system (explicit architecture, cost calculus, phase logic, and adaptive design), Russian capability plausibly occupies the 4.5–5.0 range.

This rating reflects: • Strong institutionalization and operational coherence (raising the floor), • Absence of explicit theory, cost logic, and higher-order awareness (lowering the ceiling).

Russia operates narrative power effectively—but below its theoretical potential.

E.8 ANALYTICAL SYNTHESIS

Russian Mx is real, operational, and consequential. It governs an information domain, integrates across instruments, and shapes decision environments. Yet it remains theoretically underdeveloped. Its strength derives from governance and constraint, not from systematic narrative engineering.¹⁶

This distinction is not academic. It defines both the durability of Russian influence operations and their points of failure. Where control suffices, Mx performs well. Where adaptation, legitimacy management, or long-horizon coherence are required, the system shows strain.

Subsequent analysis will examine the strategic implications of this ceiling—both for Russian effectiveness and for adversaries confronting Mx without an equivalent governance function.

F. STRATEGIC CONSEQUENCES OF A GOVERNED BUT UNDER-THEORIZED MX

F.1 FUNCTION, NOT DOCTRINE

The preceding chapters establish that Russia operates an institutionalized information-domain governance function (Mx). What matters strategically is not whether this function is theorized, but what it does to adversarial systems.

Russian Mx does not seek narrative persuasion. It does not aim at consensus, legitimacy, or convergence. Its operational purpose is environmental conditioning: shaping the space in which decisions are

made rather than the preferences those decisions express. This distinction is decisive.

Mx therefore acts upstream of policy, not downstream of opinion.

F.2 THE PRIMARY STRATEGIC EFFECT: DECISION-SPACE DEGRADATION

The dominant strategic effect of Russian Mx is decision-space degradation in open political systems.

This effect is observable, cumulative, and independent of narrative credibility. It manifests as: • Increased decision latency, • Proliferation of veto points, • Coalition incoherence, • Recurrent agenda displacement.

These effects do not require belief. They require only contestation density and interpretive overload. Russian Mx supplies both reliably.¹⁷

From a systems perspective, this constitutes power without persuasion. The target system retains formal sovereignty while losing temporal and coordinative capacity.

F.3 WHY MX INTEGRATES OTHER DOMAINS

Russian Mx functions as a permissive integrator for cyber, diplomatic, economic, and kinetic instruments. This is not because Mx commands them, but because it conditions their usability.

Actions in other domains are filtered through informational permissibility: what can be justified, denied, normalized, or deferred. In this sense, Mx is not an auxiliary domain but a precondition layer. Without it, cross-domain action would incur prohibitive political and escalation costs.¹⁸

This explains the observed sequencing patterns: informational conditioning precedes or accompanies material action, not as messaging, but as risk management.

F.4 THE CEILING: WHY RUSSIAN MX CANNOT CONCLUDE

The same properties that make Russian Mx effective also impose a hard ceiling.

Because Mx is governed through constraint rather than design, it lacks: • A narrative architecture capable of coherence across time, • A cost calculus that internalizes long-horizon effects, • A phase logic that distinguishes escalation from exhaustion.

As a result, Russian Mx cannot conclude. It can destabilize, delay, and exhaust, but it cannot stabilize outcomes or close conflicts narratively. When effects decay, the system substitutes volume and repression for redesign. This preserves disruption while accelerating external cost accumulation.¹⁹

Mx is therefore structurally non-terminating.

F.5 STRATEGIC MISCLASSIFICATION RISK

Western analysis frequently misclassifies Russian Mx by asking the wrong question: “Is it convincing?” The correct question is: “Does it prevent timely, coherent decision-making?”

Measured against persuasion metrics, Russian narratives often fail. Measured against decision-integrity metrics, they succeed with disturbing consistency.

This misclassification leads to systematic underreaction. By the time narrative falsehoods are disproven, the strategic effect—delay, fragmentation, hesitation—has already been achieved.²⁰

F.6 CLOSING DIAGNOSIS

Russian Mx constitutes a governed information-domain power that does not aim to win arguments, but to deny closure. It degrades decision-space integrity without requiring legitimacy, integrates other power instruments without commanding them, and sustains disruption without the capacity to resolve it.

The decisive insight is this: Russia does not use narratives to shape what others believe, but to shape what others can decide—and when.

That function is already operational. It does not require further escalation, refinement, or doctrinal completion to be strategically

consequential.

Addendum — Structural Capability Mapping Against the Narrative Power Model (NPM)

Document Status: Introduction below, content thereafter restricted

Disclosure Tier: Split Publication (Public Capability Claim / NDA-Gated Application)

Parent Analysis: Mx Russia — Information-Domain Governance and Narrative Effects

G. EXECUTIVE CLARIFICATION (PUBLIC / SUBSTACK – CAPABILITY CLAIM)

G.1 PURPOSE OF THIS ADDENDUM

This addendum exists to clarify the analytical status of the **Mx Russia capability mapping** and to correct a recurring misinterpretation: the mapping is **not** an expert-scorecard, checklist, or heuristic assessment. It is the outcome of applying a **mechanistic, falsifiable theoretical system**—the Narrative Power Model (NPM)—to an empirically bounded case.

What is disclosed here is **what the model allows us to conclude**, not **how the model works internally**.

G.2 WHAT THE NARRATIVE POWER MODEL IS

NPM constitutes a **full-spectrum mechanistic model of narrative infrastructure**. It treats narratives not as persuasion artifacts, but as **engineered meaning systems** with:

- defined structural requirements,
- identifiable failure modes,
- interdependent subsystems,
- phase transitions,

- and cost dynamics across time, legitimacy, and coordination.

Within NPM, narrative performance is not evaluated by resonance or popularity, but by **structural fitness under load**.

This places NPM closer to systems engineering or control theory than to classical influence, communication, or psychological-operations models.

G.3 WHAT “MAPPING” MEANS IN THIS CONTEXT

The Mx Russia matrix does **not** ask:

→ *“How good is Russia at narratives?”*

It asks a fundamentally different question:

→ *“Do observed Russian narrative–information behaviors satisfy the structural necessities predicted by narrative mechanics?”*

Mapping therefore consists of:

- deriving **structural requirements** from NPM,
- testing those requirements against **empirically observable behavior**,
- and recording **compatibility or deficit**.

The ratings that appear in internal tables are **outputs of structural inference**, not subjective judgments. They follow from whether required mechanisms are present, absent, or incomplete.

G.4 THE ROLE OF H-LEVELS (H1–H4)

The H-levels used in NPM are frequently misunderstood as hierarchical “maturity tiers.” They are not.

They represent **fundamental ordering principles** of narrative dynamics:

- **H1/H2** describe governance, constraint, and infrastructural coherence.
- **H3/H4** describe reflexivity, multi-agent equilibrium, and closure conditions.

Failure to reach H3/H4 is not a matter of sophistication or intent. It reflects **structural absence** of higher-order narrative mechanics—

regardless of operational discipline or scale.

This distinction is decisive for interpreting Russian capability ceilings.

G.5 WHY RESTRICTION IS LEGITIMATE

Restriction is not a function of sensitivity or secrecy of findings. It is a function of **intellectual property protection**.

NPM is a **complete theoretical instrument with predictive and reconstructive capacity**.

Disclosing its mechanics, dependency structure, or phase logic would enable reconstruction by third parties.

Accordingly:

- **Findings** may be summarized publicly.
- **Applications** may be referenced abstractly.
- **Mechanisms, equations, and reconstruction paths** remain restricted.

Access Note

The following chapters constitute the restricted analytical layer of the Mx assessment.

Applied capability mapping and structural evaluation are provided separately in a concise briefing available to qualified actors under NDA: nda@durchd8.de

FOOTNOTES

1. Russian Federation. *Doctrine of Information Security of the Russian Federation*. Presidential Decree No. 646, 5 December 2016. *Rossiiskaya Gazeta*, 6 December 2016. <http://pravo.gov.ru/proxy/ips/?docbody=&nd=102417017> (accessed December 2024).
2. Russian Federation. *Federal Law No. 149-FZ, On Information, Information Technologies and the Protection of Information*. Adopted 27 July 2006 (as amended through 2024). *Sobranie Zakonodatel'stva RF*, 2006, No. 31, Art. 3448. <http://pravo.gov.ru/proxy/ips/?docbody=&nd=102108264> (accessed December 2024).
3. Russian Federation. *Federal Law No. 90-FZ, On Amendments to the Federal Law "On Communications" and the Federal Law "On Information, Information Technologies and the Protection of Information."* Adopted 1 May 2019. *Rossiiskaya Gazeta*, 7 May 2019. <http://publication.pravo.gov.ru/Document/View/0001201905010025> (accessed December 2024).
4. Russian Federation. *Federal Law No. 121-FZ, On Amendments to Certain Legislative Acts of the Russian Federation Regarding the Regulation of Activities of Non-Commercial Organizations Performing the Functions of a Foreign Agent*. Adopted 20 July 2012. *Rossiiskaya Gazeta*, 23 July 2012. <http://pravo.gov.ru/proxy/ips/?docbody=&nd=102158628> (accessed December 2024).
5. United States Department of Justice. *United States v. Internet Research Agency et al.* Criminal Indictment, Case 1:18-cr-00032-DLF. United States District Court for the District of Columbia, 16 February 2018. <https://www.justice.gov/file/1035477/download> (accessed December 2024).
6. United States Department of Justice. *United States v. Viktor Borisovich Netyksho et al.* Criminal Indictment, Case 1:18-cr-00215-ABJ. United States District Court for the District of Columbia, 13 July 2018. <https://www.justice.gov/file/1080281/download> (accessed December 2024).
7. DURCHD8. *The Shape of Now — Deep Dive: Russia* (internal analytical document, SSOT, restricted).

8. Martin Sauer. “Hybrid Warfare Is Already Working: Why a RUSI Commentary Collapses Under Its Own Evidence.” DURCHD8 Substack, 22 December 2025.
<https://durchd8.substack.com/p/hybrid-warfare-is-already-working> (accessed December 2024).
9. Russian Federation. *Federal Law No. 149-FZ* (as amended); Russian Federation. *Federal Law No. 121-FZ* (as amended through 2024). Official text not publicly retrievable; citation based on authoritative secondary reproduction.
10. United States Department of Justice. *United States v. Internet Research Agency et al.*; United States Department of Justice. *United States v. Viktor Borisovich Netyksho et al.*
11. Russian Federation. *Federal Law No. 121-FZ* (2012) and subsequent amendments.
Enforcement practice summarized in DURCHD8, *The Shape of Now – Deep Dive: Russia* (internal analytical document, SSOT, restricted).
12. DURCHD8. *The Shape of Now – Deep Dive: Russia* (internal analytical document, SSOT, restricted); Martin Sauer. “Hybrid Warfare Is Already Working: Why a RUSI Commentary Collapses Under Its Own Evidence.” DURCHD8 Substack, 22 December 2025.
13. Russian Federation. *Doctrine of Information Security of the Russian Federation*; Russian Federation. *Federal Law No. 149-FZ* (as amended).
14. DURCHD8. *The Shape of Now – Deep Dive: Russia* (internal analytical document, SSOT, restricted).
15. Russian Federation. *Federal Law No. 149-FZ* (as amended).
16. Martin Sauer. “Hybrid Warfare Is Already Working: Why a RUSI Commentary Collapses Under Its Own Evidence.” DURCHD8 Substack, 22 December 2025.
17. DURCHD8. *The Shape of Now – Deep Dive: Russia* (internal analytical document, SSOT, restricted).
18. Russian Federation. *Doctrine of Information Security of the Russian Federation*.
19. Russian Federation. *Federal Law No. 149-FZ* (as amended); Russian Federation. *Federal Law No. 90-FZ*.
20. Martin Sauer. “Hybrid Warfare Is Already Working: Why a RUSI Commentary Collapses Under Its Own Evidence.” DURCHD8 Substack, 22 December 2025.