INTELLIGENCE AND US NATIONAL SECURITY

Fall 2013

Political Science 339

MWF 1200 - 1250

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Course Description

This course examines secret intelligence and its institutions in the context of democratic society, focusing on the United State but with some select attention to other societies. The course will survey intelligence structures, processes, and issues with special reference to the dilemmas of secret information and covert practices in open societies and to the political and bureaucratic context of intelligence and its activities. It will take up the role of intelligence in the national security policy process, the question of intelligence reform in response to intelligence community performance failures, domestic intelligence, and the politics of intelligence in liberal democracies.

An additional focus of the course will be to stimulate students’ critical thinking and analytic skills. Although I likely will lecture for parts of every class meeting, I will also look for significant student participation via the expression of varied points of view backed by fact, cogent reasoning, or historical precedent—not unsubstantiated opinion. Moreover, I will look for this same critical approach in the writing assignments. The goals of this course are not simply to equip students with an informed understanding of the mission of intelligence agencies and how they accomplish that mission within a democratic society, but also to increase students’ analytic capabilities and their quality of writing.

Requirements

Students will be expected to attend class regularly, and to participate in class discussions as well as to volunteer to take the lead in representing the thinking of your group during various class breakout sessions. Attendance and participation will represent 15 percent of your grade.
• There will be a 50 minute examination in October which will represent 15 percent of your grade. The purpose of this exam is twofold: 1) to test how well you are absorbing the key points of the course and 2) to acclimate you to the kinds of questions you will be asked in all other course written requirements and to my expectations in terms of the critical thinking skills you should display in your answers.

• You are required to watch either Argo or Zero Dark Thirty, identify the key intelligence activities depicted in the film (at least five), and be prepared to discuss how these films depict the intelligence mission. Our discussion will help to prepare you for the first paper you will be required to produce.

• There will be a cumulative final examination which will represent 25 percent of your grade.

• You will be required to watch either Charlie Wilson’s War or the Good Shepherd and to produce a 4-5 page (double spaced) paper evaluating one of the movies and contrasting the treatment of intelligence issues to the information you will be learning in the course concerning the intelligence mission, challenges, and methods as well as issues of oversight and counterintelligence. This paper will represent 20 percent of your grade.

• You will be required to produce a 5-6 page (double spaced) paper in which you will examine the issue of Edward Snowden’s leaks of classified national security documents. This is an exercise in critical thinking and argumentation. The paper will have three components: 1) Facts and analysis that support the case that the leaks were the righteous acts of a conscientious whistle-blower, concerned to protect the guaranteed civil liberties of US citizens and the legal functioning of the US national security establishment; 2) Facts and analysis that support the case that the leaks were the criminal or traitorous acts of an individual, concerned with his own self-absorbed interpretation of right and wrong with no legal or constitutional rationale for opposing the surveillance policies of the USG; and 3) Your analysis of which interpretation of Mr. Snowden’s actions is most accurate and compelling and why. This paper will represent 25 percent of your final grade.

Grading

Grades for individual assignments will be numerical on a 100 point scale and the final grade will be calculated based on the following scale: 93-100 A; 90-92 A-; 88-89 B+; 83-87 B; 80-82 B-; 78-79 C+; 73-77 C; 70-72 C-; 68-69 D+; 63-67 D; 60-62 D-; below 60 F.
Required Books:


Articles on Oaks:

- *Privacy, Technology, and National Security*, Bob Litt, General Counsel to the DNI, Speaking at the Brooking Institute, 19 July 2013
- *Domestic Intelligence and the Boston Bombings*, Richard Falkenrath, Council on Foreign Relations, 25 April 2013
- *Has the US Started an Internet War?* CNN.COM, 18 June 2013
- *Pentagon Goes on the Offensive against Cyber Attacks*, NPR, 11 February 2013
- *Obama Cyber Memo Is Just the Latest Sign that the US Is Preparing for Cyber War*, The *Huffington Post*, 7 June 2013
- *The Evolution of the US Intelligence Community—An Historical Overview*, Phyllis McNeil (Found online at website [www.fas.org/irp/offdocs/int022](http://www.fas.org/irp/offdocs/int022))
- *Sense, Sensibilities, and Spying*, The *Economist*, 6 July 2013
Sixteen Words, in At the Center of the Storm, George Tenet, Harper/Collins 2007


Intelligence, Policy, and the War in Iraq, Paul Pillar, Foreign Affairs, Vol. 85, No. 2


Integrity, Ethics, and the CIA: The Need for Improvement, Kent Pekel, The Center for the Study of Intelligence, 1996 pp 1-7

Remarks by Keynote Speaker, Judge James E. Baker, Do’s, Don’ts, and It Depends: Intelligence, Ethics, and the Law, The National Intelligence University, 16 February 2012

Democracies and Their Spies, Bruce Berkowitz, Hoover Digest, Research and Opinion on Public Policy, no. 1, 2003

NSA Growth Fueled by Need to Target Terrorists, Dana Priest, The Washington Post, 21 July 2012

Just Another Act of Deadly Treason, Ralph Peters, New York Post, 26 May 2010

The Domestic Politics of Irrational Intelligence Oversight, Amy Zegart, Political Science Quarterly, Vol. 126, No. 1 2011

Think Again: Intelligence, Paul Pillar, Foreign Policy, Dec/Jan 2012

Think Different, CIA, Robert Jervis, Boston Globe 17 January 2010


Ground-rules

- Attendance: I expect you to attend class (period.) Although I will not take attendance after approximately two weeks’
classes (by which time I likely will know your names), I will have a good sense of who is missing class and how often. The midterm and final will be geared to insights and discussions held in the classroom, making it unlikely that a student will do well if they have been missing class.

- **Late Work:** Late work will be penalized. Work that is turned in after the date and time it is due will lose five points off the total automatically (i.e. a paper with a numerical grade of 75 becomes a 70) and an additional five points will be deleted for every subsequent extra day. I consider work to be late if it is not handed in at the time requested. I will, however, consider allowing extensions **IF** you discuss with me beforehand any conflicts or difficulties that you are facing in turning in the papers on time. Any student who misses an exam and does not inform me of the legitimate, substantiated reason for their absence within 24 hours will fail the missed exam automatically and will have no opportunity for a make-up exam.

- **Electronic Submissions:** NO work may be submitted to me electronically for credit under any circumstances, unless I grant permission to do so. You must provide a legible, printed hardcopy of your work at the time the assignment is due.

- **Academic Dishonesty:** Don’t even think about it! When you enrolled in the College of Charleston, you were bound by an Honor Code. I expect you to abide by that code. If you are found to have cheated on an exam or plagiarized any of your written assignments, you will fail this course and be turned over to the Honor Board for further disciplinary action.

- **Courtesy and Professionalism:** Given the nature of the subject matter of this course, you will doubtlessly find that some of your ideas do not always match the views of your fellow students, the authors of your texts, or your instructor. As I noted in the first paragraphs of this syllabus, I expect that your point of view will be backed by fact, cogent reasoning, or historical precedent. We are not here in this class to provide our speculative opinions, to provide only emotional arguments, or use volume in place of logic. We are here to share with one another our thinking and the reasons for it. In this same spirit, I expect that you will turn your minds to the thoughts of others and to remain open to questions. We must base these questions and answers on something more than opinion.

- **Special Circumstances:** If you have any kind of special circumstances that I should be aware of, please inform me right away. If you have SNAP accommodations of any kind, please make the appropriate notifications and arrangements with the Center for Students with Disabilities within the first week of class. Alternatively, if you have any sort of undiagnosed learning disability, a physical impairment of any kind that will require
special arrangements for exams or papers, if you are an athlete or member of any club or organization that will travel, let me know. I will keep any information you share with me confidential, but in order to create the best learning environment for you, I need to know if there are circumstances that may interfere with your performance in the course.

• **Electronic Devices:** We will collectively discuss class policy on the use of laptops in class. However, cell phones or other personal communications equipment must be turned OFF throughout the class. If you have special contact requirements you should discuss these with me.

W 21 August

• **The Beginning** Introduction to the Course: The kinds of issues and details that we will be discussing and the goals for the course—what you will know and understand at the end of the course. (My expectations in terms of your participation, your assignments. What expectations you should have of me.)

F 23 August, M 26 August, W 28 August

• **Secret Intelligence and Democracy** Are intelligence agencies necessary? What role do they play? Are intelligence agencies compatible with democracy? Are all intelligence agencies around the world the same? What is the difference between “Open Intelligence” and “Secret Intelligence”? What kinds of information are considered “Intelligence?” From whom are we keeping these secrets? Does intelligence serve the public interest?

READINGS: Lowenthal, chapter 1; Democracies and Their Spies, Bruce Berkowitz (OAKS); Balancing Liberty and Security, Loch Johnson (OAKS); Intelligence: Welcome to the American Government, Gregory Treverton OAKS)

F 30 August, M 2 September, W 4 September

• **A History Lesson** “The second oldest profession” For how long have human beings been involved in intelligence? Has intelligence proved its worth? When did the United States first engage in intelligence collection? Why? How has it changed since the Revolution through the Civil War, through World Wars 1 & 2 through the Cold War to the present?
READINGS: Lowenthal, chapter 2; The Evolution of the US Intelligence Community, An Historical Overview, Phyllis McNeil (OAKS)

**F 6 September, M 9 September, W 11 September**

- **What is the Intelligence Community?** What do we mean by the “Intelligence Community?” How is the US Intelligence Community structured? What’s the rationale? Who’s in and who’s out? What’s the basis for being in or out? How has it changed over time? What is the reason for the structure we have today? Do other countries have “Intelligence Communities?” Are they the same as ours?

READINGS: Lowenthal, chapter 3; Go to the IC website www.intelligence.com, particularly the part on “Who We Are;” use the site’s links to each IC component’s individual website and look around a bit on each; The Role of the Federal Bureau of Investigation in National Security, Harvey Rishikof (OAKS); The Time of Troubles: The US National Security Agency in the 21st Century, Matthew M. Aid (OAKS)

**F 13 September, M 16 September, W 18 September**


READINGS: Lowenthal chapter 4 pp 57-63 and chapter 5 pp 71-102, 110-115; Johnson, chapter 2 35-44, 48-54; Sense, Sensibilities, and Spying, The Economist, 6 July 2013 (OAKS)

**F 20 SEPTEMBER DISCUSSION OF ARGO AND ZERO DARK THIRTY**

**F 20 September, M 23 September, W 25 September**

- **Spies and Spymasters** What is “Human Intelligence” or HUMINT? How is HUMINT collected? Is it reliable? Is it legal? Should US Intelligence Agencies deal with unsavory—but knowledgeable—foreigners? What does “clandestine” mean? What is different about the culture of the National Clandestine Service? What is “cover?”
F 27 September, M 30 September

- **Covert Action** Why is covert action necessary? Is it true that covert action is the US Government’s third national security tool—halfway between diplomacy and war? What are some famous examples of CIA covert activities? Is covert action still an important tool today? What kinds of covert action are possible, and what are the goals? What makes it work and when does it work? Why might it fail? Should covert action be considered part of the intelligence mission—why or why not? Does covert action pose special problems in a democracy? Do all states utilize covert actions? Who authorizes and approves covert actions?

READINGS: Lowenthal, chapter 8; Johnson, chapter 3

W 2 October, F 4 October

- **Counterintelligence Culture** What are spy games? How is intelligence protected? How does an open and democratic society complicate or facilitate the counterintelligence mission? Why have some CIA officers, such as Aldrich Ames, Harold Nicholson, and Edward Lee Howard betrayed their country? What are the costs of counterintelligence failures? Why is counterintelligence often referred to as “the wilderness of mirrors.” Do all countries spy against each other, or only hostile states? Are others besides governments involved in counterintelligence? What about terrorist groups?

READINGS: Lowenthal, chapter 7; Johnson, chapter 4; Treachery Inside the CIA, SSCI Investigation of Aldrich Ames, 1994 (OAKS)

M 7 OCTOBER (MOVIE REVIEW PAPERS DUE -- 30 MINUTE DISCUSSION)

M 7 October, W 9 October, W 16 October

- **Analysis and Analysts** What is intelligence analysis? What is the difference between strategic and tactical intelligence? Is the culture of analysts different from that of National Clandestine Service officers? What is the difference between intelligence analysis and academic or other forms of analysis? What is the analytic mission? Should analysts and operators work together?
Should analysts work directly with policymakers? Consider three types of analytic mission—support to policy operations, support to military operations, and warning and estimation. What characteristics distinguish one from the others?

READINGS: Lowenthal, chapter 4 pp 63-69 and chapter 6; Johnson chapter 2 54-76; The Challenge of Intelligence Analysis, William Nolte (OAKS)

F 11 OCTOBER (MIDTERM EXAMINATION)

F 18 October, M 21 October, W 23 October

• Intelligence and Policy How does intelligence support the policy process? How does intelligence get to the right policymaker? How important is timeliness? How do analysts deal with policymakers’ inattention, bias, or pressure to support policy? What instances are you aware of when policymakers pressured analysts to politicize their analysis? What should policymakers expect or not expect from intelligence. Is there a culture clash between analysts and policymakers?

READINGS: Lowenthal, chapter 9; Intelligence, Policy, and the War in Iraq, Paul Pillar (OAKS); Sixteen Words, in At the Center of the Storm, George Tenet (OAKS)

F 25 October, M 28 October, W 30 October

• Intelligence Failures Happen How accurate is intelligence analysis? How frequently is it wrong? What are some examples of intelligence failures? Who should be held accountable for such failures? How does analysis go wrong? What are some of the common pitfalls of analysis and how might these be remedied? Are there collection failures? What kinds of lessons has the Intelligence Community learned from its failures? What kinds of changes has it made? Are policymakers sometimes responsible for intelligence failures?

READINGS: Think Different, CIA Robert Jervis (OAKS); Rehearsal The Triple Agent, Joby Warrick (OAKS); Analysis, War, and Decision: Why Intelligence Failures Are Inevitable, Richard Betts (OAKS); Think Again: Intelligence, Paul Pillar (OAKS)
W 6 NOVEMBER (SECOND PAPER DUE)

F 1 November, M 4 November, W 6 November

- **Domestic Intelligence** What is the difference between foreign and domestic intelligence? Does the United States have domestic intelligence agencies? Who conducts intelligence activities in the US? Is it legal for US intelligence agencies to target US citizens? How has domestic intelligence changed in the wake of the 911 attacks? Do all nations conduct domestic intelligence collection?

Readings: *Privacy, Technology, and National Security*, Bob Litt (OAKS); *Domestic Intelligence and the Boston Bombings*, Richard Falkenrath (OAKS); *A Tale of Two NSA Leaks*, Robert Chesney, Benjamin Wittes, *New Republic* (OAKS); *In Secret, Court Vastly Broadens Powers of NSA*, Eric Lichtblau (OAKS)

F 8 November, M 11 November, W 13 November

- **The Politics of Intelligence—Oversight** What is intelligence oversight? Who or what exercises it? Why is it a special concern for open societies? What means do the oversight entities have to fulfill their jobs? How effective is intelligence oversight? Are congressional overseers more interested in using their oversight role for political purposes or to make intelligence more effective, efficient, and legal? Are the courts involved in overseeing intelligence activities? Is the press an effective overseer of intelligence activities? Are press leaks an acceptable instrument of intelligence accountability? What’s the downside of such a role?

Readings: Lowenthal, chapter 10; Johnson, chapter 5 144-176; *Just Another Act of Deadly Treason*, Ralph Peters (OAKS); *The Domestic Politics of Irrational Intelligence Oversight*, Amy Zegart (OAKS); *The Digital Revolution, Spies under a Government Microscope*, in *Power and Constraint: The Accountable Presidency after 9/11*, Jack Goldsmith (OAKS)

F 15 November, M 18 November, W 20 November

- **Intelligence Ethics** What ethical concerns do routine intelligence activities—collection, recruitment, analysis, covert action, oversight—raise in an open society? What ethical standards are appropriate in considering the morality of intelligence activities? Under what circumstance—if any—might it be right for an intelligence officer to divulge classified information to a journalist? Are covert actions justifiable? Is killing ever morally justifiable?
Readings: Lowenthal, chapter 13; Integrity, Ethics, and the CIA: The Need for Improvement, Kent Pekel (OAKS); Remarks by Keynote Speaker, Judge James E. Baker, Do’s, Don’ts, and It Depends: Intelligence, Ethics, and the Law (OAKS)

F 22 November

- **Cyber Issues** Does the US face new forms of clandestine attack from our adversaries? Does the US attack its adversaries via cyber technology? How serious is the cyber threat? What is the role of the IC in terms of cyber threats?

Readings: Israeli Test on Worm Called Crucial in Iran Nuclear Delay, The New York Times (OAKS); Has the US Started an Internet War?, CNN.COM (OAKS); Pentagon Goes on the Offensive against Cyber Attacks, NPR (OAKS); Obama Cyber Memo Is Just the Latest Sign that the US Is Preparing for Cyber War, The Huffington Post (OAKS); Panetta Warns of Direct Threat of Cyber attack on US, The New York Times

M 25 November, M 2 December

- **The Way of the Knife** How has the IC changed since the 911 attacks? Have the missions of the IC, especially the CIA, NSA, and the military intelligence organs, changed in the aftermath? If so, how? Have covert capabilities taken center stage? Have kinetic operations usurped the espionage mission?

Readings: The Scalpel’s Edge and Fire from the Sky, The Way of the Knife, Mark Mazzetti (OAKS); White House Fact Sheet on the Use of Force away from Hot Battlefields, The White House 23 May 2013 (OAKS); New Terror Strategy Shifts CIA Focus Back to Spying, New York Times, 23 May 2013 (OAKS), NSA Growth Fueled by Need to Target Terrorists, Dana Priest, (OAKS)

**Cumulative Final Examination Wednesday 11 December 1200–1500**