

INTELLIGENCE & FOREIGN POLICY
SIS-681, Fall 2011

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Office Hours: Tuesdays before class, 7-8 pm, place TBD

Course Description and Objectives

This course emphasizes the development of intelligence systems and assesses the ways in which they help or hinder international actors in achieving policy objectives. The goal is to provide answers to three questions: "What is intelligence?"; "How does it work?"; and, "What difference does it make?"

By investigating intelligence, students will develop their analytical skills and increase their understanding of the workings of foreign and security policies. This is a graduate-level course, in which you will be expected to do a lot of reading, writing, and discussing. Since knowledge builds cumulatively and deepens in dialogue with other observers, you will be expected to keep up with the readings, participate actively in class sessions, reflect upon the course themes outside of class by following current events, and share your insights with your fellow students.

The approach will be historical and topical. The history of intelligence offers a surprising number of illustrative cases and themes—many of which can now be examined in detail using official records and contrarian views, and can even be compared with analogues across nations and time periods. More-recent events are not as well documented in the public, official record, of course, but an understanding of earlier patterns and activities can provide valid insights on contemporary trends.

Learning Outcomes -- Students will be able to:

- Define an intelligence system and explain the main variables affecting it;
- Discuss the ways in which intelligence is used to defend regimes against internal opponents and how those relate to external conditions and threats;
- Identify the ways in which intelligence for military operations has evolved;
- Define how states relate to one another via covert means and how those means can be important in international affairs;
- Explain the various ways intelligence serves national decisionmaking, and how it can go awry;
- Identify intelligence issues of particular importance to the United States;
- Suggest ways in which intelligence writ large is changing.

Grading will be done as follows:

- Four short papers: 50%
- NIE Exercise (NIEs are due November 8): 25%
- Final report (due December 13): 25%

Please note:

- You are required to earn half percent of your final grade by submitting four comparisons of the weekly readings, due in Weeks 3, 5, 7, and 9. Each comparison must contain fewer than 1,000 words. It should summarize the theses and arguments of two of the works assigned to date, judge their relative effectiveness, and explain what you learned from reading them in light of class sessions and other readings. Writing these comparisons will keep you abreast of the course material and give you discussion points for the class sessions; they will help you recognize and reflect on the themes in the material and events that we cover; and they will supplement your notes when you prepare your final essay.
- Each paper will be worth more points toward your final grade than preceding papers, as follows: Week 3 = 5%; Week 5 = 10%; Week 7 = 15%; Week 9 = 20%; for a total of 50% of your course grade.
- The mock National Intelligence Estimate exercise will explained in detail well in advance of its date. NIEs will be presented over the course of two class sessions, but all NIEs are due on November 8.
- Each student will write a final report of no more than 2,000 words on a theme related to the impact of intelligence. I will assign the theme at one of our last class meetings. This is an opportunity to summarize the course material and apply insights from it to historical events, contemporary issues, and theoretical possibilities. The reports must be submitted in hardcopy by December 13.

Among the themes we will cover are these; please watch for them and reflect upon them:

- East v. West
- Foreign v. Domestic
- Technology as a factor in organization
- Warning and situational awareness
- Ideology and WMD
- The several flavors of politicization
- The costs and benefits of oversight
- Revolutions: Analog and Digital
- Guarding the palace
- Taming and Shifting Risk

Schedule of Classes

Week 1 Tuesday, August 30, 2011 Overview, Administration, and Definitions

- Sun Tzu, *The Art of War*, Chapters 3 and 13; available on-line in several versions.
- Kautilya's *Arthashastra*, selections from Books I (Chapter 11) and XII; on-line at http://www.bharatadesam.com/literature/kautilya_arthashastra/arthashastra.php
- Michael Warner, "Intelligence as Risk Shifting," in Peter Gill, Mark Phythian, Stephen Marrin, eds., *Intelligence Theory: Key Questions and Debates* (New York: Routledge, 2008); read this on E Reserves.
- George Armand Furse, *Information in War: Its Acquisition and Transmission* (London: William Clowes & Sons, 1895); chapters I and X. This work is available on Google Books at <http://books.google.com/books?id=Y9VEAAAAAYAAJ&printsec=frontcover&dq=george+furse+information+war#v=onepage&q=&f=false>

2 September 6 Intelligence Systems: From Craft to Industry

- Michael Warner, "Building a Theory of Intelligence Systems," in Gregory Treverton and Wilhelm Agrell, eds., *National Intelligence Systems* (New York: Cambridge University Press, 2009). Available on E-Reserves.
- John Ehrman, "What are We Talking About When We Talk about Counterintelligence?," *Studies in Intelligence* 53:2 (June 2009); available on-line at <https://www.cia.gov/library/center-for-the-study-of-intelligence/csi-publications/csi-studies/studies/vol53no2/toward-a-theory-of-ci.html>
- Read either of Matthew Aid's essays in Matthew M. Aid and Cees Wiebes, eds., "Secrets of Signals Intelligence during the Cold War and Beyond," a special issue of *Intelligence and National Security* 16 (Spring 2001). This was also published as a book under the same title by Frank Cass, London. Available on E-Reserves.
- Michael Warner, "The Rise of the US Intelligence System, 1917-1977," in Loch K. Johnson, ed., *The Oxford Handbook of National Security Intelligence* (New York: Oxford University Press, 2010); available on E-Reserves.

3 September 13 Defending the Regime

- Adda Bozeman, "Political Intelligence in Non-Western Societies: Suggestions for Comparative Research," in Roy Godson, ed., *Comparing Foreign Intelligence: The US, the USSR, the UK,*

and the Third World (Washington: Pergamon-Brassey's, 1988). Available on E-Reserves.

- Read one of the following by Ben B. Fischer: the Preface to *Okhrana: The Paris Operations of the Russian Imperial Police* (Washington: CIA Center for the Study of Intelligence, 1997); on-line at <https://www.cia.gov/library/center-for-the-study-of-intelligence/csi-publications/books-and-monographs/okhrana-the-paris-operations-of-the-russian-imperial-police/5474-1.html>, or "The King of Intelligence Disciplines," forthcoming review article in the *International Journal of Intelligence and Counterintelligence*; read on-line in the Course Documents section of Blackboard.
- Michael Warner, "The Kaiser Sows Destruction: Protecting the Homeland the First Time Around," *Studies in Intelligence* 46 (2002); <https://www.cia.gov/library/center-for-the-study-of-intelligence/csi-publications/csi-studies/studies/vol46no1/article02.html>
- Christopher E. Goscha, "Intelligence in a Time of Decolonization: The Case of the Democratic Republic of Vietnam at War (1945-50), *Intelligence and National Security* 22:1 (February 2007), pp. 100-146. Available on E-Reserves.

4 September 20 Intelligence for Commanders—The Analog Revolution

- Martin S. Alexander, "Radio-Intercepts, Reconnaissance and Raids: French operational intelligence in 1940," conference paper, May 2009; this is included as one of the Course Documents on Blackboard.
- John Keegan, *Intelligence in War: Knowledge of the Enemy from Napoleon to Al Qaeda* (New York: Knopf, 2003); read Chapter 6 on Midway. Available on E-Reserves.
- Julian J. Ewell and Ira A. Hunt, Jr., "Sharpening the Combat Edge: The Use of Analysis to Reinforce Military Judgment," (Washington: Department of the Army, 1995); read the section on Intelligence, which can be downloaded at <http://www.army.mil/cmhp/books/Vietnam/Sharpen/>
- Robert J. Hanyok, *Spartans in Darkness: American SIGINT and the Indochina War, 1945-1975* (Ft. Meade: National Security Agency, 2002); read Chapter 6 (on the air war) on-line at <http://www.fas.org/irp/nsa/spartans/index.html>

5 September 27 Influencing Friends and Foes

- Len Scott, "Secret Intelligence, Covert Action and Clandestine Diplomacy," in LV Scott and PD Jackson, eds., *Understanding Intelligence in the Twenty-First Century: Journeys in Shadows* (London: Routledge, 2004), pp. 162-179. Available on E-Reserves.
- Timothy Naftali, "ARTIFICE: James Angleton and X-2 Operations in Italy," reprinted in

National Counterintelligence Center, *A Counterintelligence Reader, Volume 2 (World War II)*, pp. 199-211; this can be downloaded at <http://www.fas.org/irp/ops/ci/docs/ci2/chap3.pdf>

- Nicholas Cullather, *Operation PBSUCCESS: The United States and Guatemala, 1952-1954* (Washington: CIA, 1994); read Chapter 3 on-line at CIA's FOIA Electronic Reading Room [<http://www.foia.cia.gov/>; search under "PBSUCCESS"]. It was also re-published as *Secret History: The CIA's Classified Account of Its Operations in Guatemala, 1952-1954* (Stanford: Stanford University Press. 1999).
- The "New UKUSA Agreement," May 10 1955; read this on-line at http://www.nsa.gov/public_info/files/ukusa/new_ukusa_agree_10may55.pdf
- Henry A. Crumpton, "Intelligence and War: Afghanistan, 2001-2002," in Jennifer Sims and Burton Gerber, eds., *Transforming US Intelligence* (Georgetown University Press, 2005). Available on E-Reserves.

6 October 4 Intelligence Against Weapons of Mass Destruction

- Ferris, John. "'Airbandit': C3I and Strategic Air Defence during the First Battle of Britain, 1915-1918," in Michael Dockrill and David French, eds., *Strategy and Intelligence: British Policy during the First World War* (London: Hambledon, 1995). Available on E-Reserves.
- John Keegan, *Intelligence in War: Knowledge of the Enemy from Napoleon to Al Qaeda* (Knopf, 2003); read Chapter 8 on Secret Weapons. Available on E-Reserves.
- Richard Preston, "The Bioweaponers," *The New Yorker*, March 9, 1998, pp. 52-65; read at E-Reserves
- Commission on the Intelligence Capabilities of the United States Regarding Weapons of Mass Destruction, "Report to the President," 2005, read Chapter 2 on Libya; this is available on-line at <http://govinfo.library.unt.edu/wmd/report/report.html#chapter2>

7 October 11 Intelligence in Political War

- Bradley M. Bamford, "The Role and Effectiveness of Intelligence in Northern Ireland," *Intelligence and National Security* 20:4 (Dec. 2005), pp. 581-607. Available on E-Reserves.
- *New York Times* (website), "CIA Reports on Interrogation Methods"; skim the CIA Inspector General's "Special Review," 7 May 2004, website pp. 1-111; and CIA's memorandum "Detainee Reporting Pivotal in the War Against Al-Qa'ida," 3 June 2005, website pp. 245-259; these can be read on-line at <http://documents.nytimes.com/c-i-a-reports-on-interrogation-methods#p=1>
- John A. Gentry and David E. Spencer, "Colombia's FARC: A Portrait of Insurgent Intelligence," *Intelligence and National Security* 25:4 (2010), pp. 453-478; available on E-

Reserves

- Frank Foley, "The expansion of intelligence agency mandates: British counter-terrorism in comparative perspective," *Review of International Studies* 35 (2009), pp. 983–995; read on E-Reserves or on-line at <http://journals.cambridge.org/action/displayFulltext?type=1&fid=6459940&jid=RIS&volumeId=35&issueId=04&aid=6459932>

8 October 18 Warning

- RV Jones, *The Wizard War: British Scientific Intelligence, 1939-1945* [1978]; chapters 10 and 11 ["The Phoney War" and "The Crooked Leg"] on E-Reserves. NB--in Britain this book was titled *Most Secret War*.
- Richard Betts, "Analysis, War & Decision: Why Intelligence Failures Are Inevitable." *World Politics* 31, no. 2 (Oct. 1978): 61-89. Available on E-Reserves.
- David S. Robarge, "CIA Analysis of the 1967 Arab-Israeli War," *Studies in Intelligence* 49 (2005); download this at https://www.cia.gov/library/center-for-the-study-of-intelligence/csi-publications/csi-studies/studies/vol49no1/html_files/arab_israeli_war_1.html
- Cynthia M. Grabo, *Anticipating Surprise: Analysis for Strategic Warning* (Lanham, MD, 2004); read on-line at <http://www.ndic.edu/press/5671.htm>

9 October 25 National Analysis

- Read either Clarence E. Smith, "CIA's Analysis of Soviet Science and Technology," or James Noren, "CIA's Analysis of the Soviet Economy"; both in Gerald Haines and Robert Leggett, editors, *Watching the Bear: Essays on the CIA's Analysis of the Soviet Union* (Washington: CIA, 2002); download at <https://www.cia.gov/library/center-for-the-study-of-intelligence/csi-publications/books-and-monographs/watching-the-bear-essays-on-cias-analysis-of-the-soviet-union/intro.htm> John Paul
- Paul Maddrell, "The Stasi's View of the Federal Republic of Germany," paper presented at the annual meeting of the International Studies Association Annual Conference, March 16, 2011; read on-line at http://www.allacademic.com/meta/p502920_index.html
- Christopher Ford and David Rosenberg, "The Naval Intelligence Underpinnings of Reagan's Maritime Strategy," *Journal of Strategic Studies*, 28 (April 2005), pp. 379-409; available on E-Reserves.
- Kenneth Lieberthal; *The U.S. Intelligence Community and Foreign Policy: Getting Analysis Right* (Washington: Brookings Institution, 2009); download at http://www.brookings.edu/~media/Files/rc/papers/2009/09_intelligence_community_lieberthal/

10 November 1 Politicization and Ethics

- Robert Jervis, "Reports, Politics, and Intelligence Failures: The Case of Iraq," *Journal of Strategic Studies*, January 2006; available on E-Reserves
- US Senate, Select Committee to Study Governmental Operations with Respect to Intelligence Activities, *Final Report*, 94th Cong., 2d sess., (1976). This is the famous "Church Committee"; skim Book II on-line at <http://www.icdc.com/~paulwolf/cointelpro/cointel.htm>
- Richard K. Betts, *Enemies of Intelligence: Knowledge and Power in American National Security* (New York: Columbia, 2007), Chapter 4; available on E-Reserves.
- R.V. Jones, "Intelligence Ethics," *Reflections on Intelligence* (1990); also excerpted in Jan Goldman, eds., *The Ethics of Spying* (Lanham, MD: Scarecrow, 2006); available on E-Reserves.
- Lord Butler, *Review of Intelligence on Weapons of Mass Destruction: Report of a Committee of Privy Counsellors* [the Butler Report], (London: TSO, 2004). Read the Conclusions in Chapter 8 at <http://www.archive2.official-documents.co.uk/document/deps/hc/hc898/898.pdf>

11 November 8 NIE Exercise

12 November 15 NIE Exercise, cont

November 22 – No class

13 November 29 Managing Intelligence

- Hans Born and Ian Leigh, "Intelligence Accountability: A Comparative Perspective," in Loch Johnson, ed., *Intelligence and Accountability*, Vol. 5 in *Strategic Intelligence* (Westport, CT: Praeger, 2007), pp. 141-164; available on E-Reserves.
- Larry L. Watts, "Intelligence Reform in Europe's Emerging Democracies, *Studies in Intelligence* 48 (2004); <https://www.cia.gov/library/center-for-the-study-of-intelligence/csi-publications/csi-studies/studies/vol48no1/article02.html>
- Diane Carraway Piette and Jessica Radick, "Piercing the Historical Mists of FISA," *Stanford Law and Policy Review*, 17(2), 2006; available on E-Reserves.

- Read either of these two articles by Fred F. Manget, "Intelligence and the Rise of Judicial Intervention," in Loch K. Johnson, ed., *Handbook of Intelligence Studies* (London: Routledge, 2007), pp. 329-342; or "Intelligence and the Criminal Law System," *Stanford Law & Policy Review* 17:2 (2006): pp 415-436. Both are available on E-Reserves.

14 December 6 The Future of Intelligence & Course Summary

- James Gosler, "Counterintelligence: Too Narrowly Practiced," in Jennifer E. Sims and Burton Gerber, eds., *Vaults, Mirrors & Masks: Rediscovering US Counterintelligence* (Washington: Georgetown University Press, 2008), pp. 173-198. Available on E-Reserves.
- Michael T. Flynn, Matt Pottinger, Paul D. Batchelor, "Fixing Intel: A Blueprint for Making Intelligence Relevant in Afghanistan," Center for a New American Security, read on-line at <http://www.cnas.org/node/3924>
- McAfee, Inc., "Revealed: Operation Shady RAT," August 3, 2011; read on-line at blogs.mcafee.com/mcafee-labs/revealed-operation-shady-rat
- Director of National Intelligence, *Vision 2015*, July 2008; download this at http://www.dni.gov/Vision_2015.pdf

December 13 – Final Papers due

ACADEMIC INTEGRITY CODE

Standards of academic conduct are set forth in the University's Academic Integrity Code. By registering, you have acknowledged your awareness of the Academic Integrity Code, and you are obliged to become familiar with your rights and responsibilities as defined by the Code. Violations of the Academic Integrity Code will not be treated lightly, and disciplinary actions will be taken should such violations occur. Please see me if you have any questions about the academic violations described in the Code in general or as they relate to particular requirements for this course.

EMERGENCY PREPAREDNESS

In the event of a declared pandemic (influenza or other communicable disease), American University will implement a plan for meeting the needs of all members of the university community. Should the university be required to close for a period of time, we are committed to ensuring that all aspects of our educational programs will be delivered to our students. These may include altering and extending the duration of the traditional term schedule to complete essential instruction in the traditional format and/or use of distance instructional methods. Specific strategies will vary from class to class, depending on the format of the course and the timing of the emergency. Faculty will communicate class-specific information to students via AU e-mail and Blackboard, while students must inform their faculty immediately of any absence due to illness. Students are responsible for checking their AU e-mail regularly and keeping themselves informed of emergencies. In the event of a declared pandemic or other emergency, students should refer to the AU Web site (www.prepared.american.edu) and the AU information line at (202) 885-1100 for general university-wide information, as well as contact their faculty and/or respective dean's office for course and school/college-specific information.