

INTELLIGENCE AND DEMOCRACIES

SPRING 2012

SIS-

8:10 – 10:40 PM

SIS – Room TBD

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Office Hours 6:30 – 8:00 pm and by appointment

Room SIS 312

This course will examine the conduct of intelligence activities by democratic states, focusing on the inherent conflict between the secret nature of intelligence and “open society”. Using a case study approach, we will review the intelligence organizations in the U.S. and other democracies as well as cases where there has been a clash between democratic values and intelligence activities.

Course Objectives:

The course will:

- Explore the relationship between effective oversight and intelligence operations
- Improve your understanding of the balance between national security and civil liberties
- Explore the impact and difference of oversight in several other democracies, including emerging democracies
- Provide opportunities to discuss and debate effective oversight measures.

Course Outcomes:

Students will be able to:

- Analyze the impact of oversight on intelligence operations
- Assess the necessary level of oversight to ensure that democracy is not threatened.
- Present alternative viewpoints on secrecy and protection of intelligence information.
- Examine the relationship between intelligence, secrecy and the media, both traditional and non-traditional.
- Compare and contrast different oversight mechanisms among several democracies.
- Critically examine the impact of Counterterrorism programs on democratic institutions and values.

Emergency Preparedness:

Like many universities across the country, American University has prepared an emergency plan in the event that might prompt the university to be closed unexpectedly for an extended period of time. For more specific information on university preparations, please see the university's Emergency Management and Continuity of Operations Plan at www.prepared.american.edu. You can also sign up for emergency notifications.

If class is cancelled because of an emergency or inclement weather, I will let you know how we will make up the session. Please look for announcements on Blackboard in the event of any questionable weather or emergency.

Academic Integrity:

American University has a strong Academic Integrity Code (AIC) which all students are expected to uphold. The AIC is found at <http://www.american.edu/provost/registrar/regulations/reg80.cfm>.

Course Requirements

Please post your picture with your name under “Class Pictures” in the Discussion section of Blackboard –please do this no later than January 20th.

Class Participation – 55%

Class Participation will be determined by demonstrated knowledge of the assigned readings and participation throughout the seminar including an “in-class” exercise/simulation. Additionally, each student will be required to:

- Lead a portion of a class discussion on one of the assigned topics. You will have an opportunity to sign up at our first and second classes (or during my office hours preceding the class). There will be a limited number of students for each presentation. In some cases, students will be assigned to a “pro” and “con” representation of an issue. Classes for your presentation will begin with week #3 (February 1st).
- Coordinate their presentation with any other students on that topic. Each student will be expected to post at **least FOUR questions for discussion on Blackboard for the entire class. Your questions must be posted 48 hours (i.e. Monday afternoon).** Your questions should not repeat the reading material but provoke thought and analysis. Your classmates will be expected to review these questions in advance of the class and come prepared to discuss these issues.
- Prepare a brief (no more than two page) memo and analysis on the salient points of your topics. DO NOT “REGURGITATE” THE READINGS; instead review

key issues. If there is information that surprised you or a viewpoint that you disagree (or agree) with, please discuss it both in the memo and in your class discussion (see below).

- You will begin your portion of the discussion with a **brief (about 5 minutes or so)** synopsis of the readings and/or topic you are assigned. Please be prepared to summarize the key points, discuss disparate viewpoints, and pose the main issues to the class. After your presentation, you will help lead the class discussion with the questions you posed on Blackboard.
- You are invited and welcome to find additional materials for your presentation (relevant news items or different viewpoints than those represented in the syllabus). However, pls try to make these items available to your fellow students via the web or blackboard if possible.

Final Exam or Paper:

***Dates for exam and due date for paper will be announced in class.**

You may choose either a final exam or paper. The final paper will be a 10 – 12 page paper (double spaced) and **must** include footnote citations and a bibliography. I will be available to review a proposed outline (not mandatory) or suggest possible sources for your paper.

You may choose one of several options or propose your own topic:

- Choose a government and its intelligence organization(s) and assess any conflict because of secrecy or oversight with democratic principles.
- Choose a Congressional (US) or Parliamentary (foreign) inquiry into an intelligence operation(s) and assess the utility of its oversight.
- Choose a media disclosure and assess the impact of the disclosure on intelligence operations and whether this was a form of “oversight”.
- Choose an example of judicial intervention in intelligence operations and assess its impact.
- Answer the following question: what would be the most effective form of Congressional oversight over intelligence services and operations? Give specific examples to support your conclusion.
- Answer the following question: Is secrecy basically incompatible with democratic government and principles? Give specific examples to support your conclusion.

The exam will consist of four questions with answers to be approximately four pages each. You will have a week to complete the exam. I will provide additional information on the due dates and exam date in class.

All paper topics must be proposed to me (via e-mail please) NLT February 21st. Papers due date will be announced.

Deadlines: Please meet all deadlines for assignments. Failure to do so will have a negative impact on your grade.

Attendance: Given the importance of classroom participation for your grade, any more than two absences will have a negative impact on your grade. However, personal emergencies are excluded from this policy – please discuss any such issues with me.

Feedback: You are welcome to contact me about your performance (class participation). I will be glad to provide you with an assessment, particularly after you complete your requirement to lead part of a class discussion.

I will also provide you with written feedback on your final or paper and your grade via e-mail within 2 weeks after you submit your final or paper.

READINGS AND SCHEDULE

REQUIRED TEXT AND READINGS:

Unless otherwise noted, all other readings will be posted on Blackboard or a web link will be provided in the syllabus.

The following texts are available on the web, provide excellent background and will be used for several classes. Please refer to them prior to all our classes regarding the US Intelligence Community and Oversight.

Eric Rosenbach, Confrontation or Collaboration? Congress and the Intelligence Community, Harvard University: Belfer Center, JFK School of Government (July 2009). access through Table of Contents on website:

http://belfercenter.ksg.harvard.edu/publication/19201/confrontation_or_collaboration_congress_and_the_intelligence_community.html

L. Britt Snider, CIA's Relationship with Congress, 1946-2004, Center for the Study of Intelligence: CIA (2008) see: <https://www.cia.gov/library/center-for-the-study-of-intelligence/csi-publications/books-and-monographs/agency-and-the-hill/index.html>

JANUARY 18: INTRODUCTION

Consider the following excerpts from The Federalist Papers (James Madison):

" If men were angels, no government would be necessary. If angels were to govern men, neither external nor internal controls on government would be necessary. In framing a government which is to be administered by men over men, the great difficulty lies in this: you must first enable the government to control the governed; and in the next place oblige it to control itself....the constant aim is to divide and arrange the several offices in such a manner as that each may be a check on the other...." (No. 51)

- Review of Syllabus
- Review of Intelligence Operations and the Intelligence Cycle

ASSIGNMENT:

Office of the Director of National Intelligence Website:

http://www.dni.gov/who_what/what_collection.htm

Rosenbach, “Organization of the Intelligence Community,” and “Intelligence Basics” (you can download the full text in pdf memos)

JANUARY 25 -

CHECKS, BALANCES, OVERSIGHTS: PROBLEMS, PROSPECTS, AND BASIC ISSUES

- **Background on intelligence oversight**
- **Does oversight restrict the effectiveness of intelligence services?**
- **The “wall” between law enforcement and foreign intelligence**
- **How does a war, crisis, or “the Global War On Terrorism” impact the balance?**

ASSIGNMENT:

Hitz, Frederick, “Unleashing the Rogue Elephant: September 11 and Letting the CIA Be the CIA”

Martin, Kate, “Intelligence, Terrorism, and Civil Liberties,” Human Rights: Journal of the Section of Individual Rights and Responsibilities, Winter 2002, Vol 29:1

Baker, Stewart, “Wall Nuts: The wall between intelligence and law enforcement is killing us,” December 2003,
http://www.slate.com/articles/news_and_politics/jurisprudence/2003/12/wall_nuts.html

ACLU Testimony, “Securing Freedom Under the Law: Collecting Intelligence Under the Law,” before the HPSCI, April 9, 2003. See: <http://www.cnss.org/EdgarTestimony.doc>

Berkowitz, Bruce, “Democracies and Their Spies,” Hoover Digest, Winter 2003. See: <http://www.hoover.org/publications/digest/3063156.html>

Berman, Jerry and Flint, Lara, “Intelligence Oversight and Control for the Challenge of Terrorism,” see: <http://www.cdt.org/paper/jerry-berman-and-lara-flint-guiding-lights-intelligence-oversight-and-control-challenge-terror>

FEB 1: SECRECY

- **How much secrecy is necessary to ensure the effectiveness of intelligence operations?**
- **What is the right balance between “openness” and secrecy?**
- **Does the use of secrecy unduly restrict oversight?**
- **“Unauthorized” Disclosures**

READINGS:

Carroll, Thomas, “The Case Against Intelligence Openness,” International Journal of Intelligence and Counterintelligence, Volume 14: Number 4, pp. 559- 574.

Kevin Kosar, "Classified Information and Executive Order 13526," Congressional Research Service, December 10, 2010, see: http://assets.opencrs.com/rpts/97-771_20091231.pdf

Graeme Wood, "Classify This," *The Atlantic Monthly*. Boston: Sep 2007. Vol. 300, Iss. 2; p. 44

Doorey, Timothy, "Intelligence Secrecy and Transparency: Finding the Proper Balance..." *Strategic Insights*, May 2007.
<http://www.ccc.nps.navy.mil/si/2007/May/dooreyMay07.asp>

"Secrecy Report 2011," *Openthegovernment.org*, see: "Special Section: Progress Report on the Obama Administration, page 4."
http://www.openthegovernment.org/sites/default/files/SRC_2011.pdf

Steven Aftergood, "Reducing Government Secrecy: Finding What Works," *Yale Law and Policy Review*, 2009, see: <http://www.yale-university.net/ylpr/pdfs/Aftergood%202009.pdf>

**FEBRUARY 8: CONGRESS, PART ONE – HISTORICAL PERSPECTIVE
CHURCH COMMITTEE HEARINGS – Guest Speaker***

***This is a tentative date: adjustments may be made to the syllabus to accommodate the speaker on another date.**

Frederick Schwarz, "The Church Committee and a new era of intelligence oversight," *Intelligence and National Security*, Vol. 22, Number 2, April 2007

"Church Committee Reports," *Assassination Archives and Research Center*,
http://www.aarclibrary.org/publib/contents/church/contents_church_reports.htm

Ott, Marvin C. "Partisanship and the Decline of Intelligence Oversight." *International Journal of Intelligence and Counterintelligence* 16, no. 1 (Spring 2003): 69-94.

Johnson, Loch, "Ostriches, Cheerleaders, Skeptics, and Guardians: Role Selection by Congressional Intelligence Overseers"
SAIS Review. Washington: Winter 2008

**FEBRUARY 15 & 22– CLASS EXERCISE & DEBATE: FIXING
CONGRESSIONAL OVERSIGHT – What is to be done?**

Professor will deliver introductory lecture (no student leader for 15 & 22 FEBRUARY). You will be divided into several "teams" to present differing views on how to "fix Congressional oversight" as well as a panel of "judges". Further instructions will be provided.

See Rosenbach and Snider (cited above)

“Intelligence Oversight: Is Congress the Problem?” PBS News Hour, August 3, 2010, see: http://www.pbs.org/newshour/bb/government_programs/july-dec10/intelligence_08-03.html

Frederick M. Kaiser, “Congressional Oversight of Intelligence: Current Structures and Alternatives,” Congressional Research Service, August 25, 2010
<http://fpc.state.gov/documents/organization/148810.pdf>

Jennifer Kibbe, “Congressional Oversight of Intelligence: Approaches to Solving Problems,” APSA 2009 Meeting Paper (go to “one click download”)
http://papers.ssrn.com/sol3/papers.cfm?abstract_id=1451861

Serge Grossman, Michael Simon, “And Congress Shall Know the Truth: The Pressing Need for Restructuring Congressional oversight of Intelligence,” Harvard Law and Policy Review, 2008
http://www.hlpronline.com/Simon_HLPR.pdf

Amy Zegart, “The Roots of Weak Intelligence Oversight,” Hoover Institute, see: http://media.hoover.org/sites/default/files/documents/FutureChallenges_Zegart.pdf

FEBRUARY 29: THE MEDIA

We will discuss two cases of media disclosures and how this may have impacted (or will impact) intelligence operations as well as whether citizens in a democracy have a “need to know” this information. The two cases are the “CIA Prisons” article by Dana Priest of the Washington Post and “Eavesdropping on American Citizens” by James Risen of the New York Times (links below). We will also address the “Wikileaks” issue.

Readings:

Gup, Ted, “Covering the CIA in Times of Crisis,” Kennedy School of Government Working Paper, Fall 2003, see: www.ksg.harvard.edu/presspol/research_publications/papers/working_papers/2004_3.pdf

Keller, Bill (NYTimes) and Baquet, Dean (LA Times), “When Do We Publish A Secret,” NY Times, July 1, 2006. See: <http://www.nytimes.com/2006/07/01/opinion/01keller.html?ei=5070&en=a4cdadff56518357&ex=1180065600&pagewanted=print>

Bruce, James, “Media Leaks Hinder Intelligence Gathering,” Washington Times, March 11, 2007, see: <http://www.rand.org/commentary/031107WT.html>

Priest, Dana, “CIA Holds Terror Suspects in Secret Prisons,” <http://www.washingtonpost.com/wp-dyn/content/article/2005/11/01/AR2005110101644.html>

In a web question and answer session, Ms. Priest provided the following information:

Wilmington, N.C.: Are you allowed to share the admin's stated rationale for the secrecy of the prisons you wrote about? I just can't figure the difference between secret and overt facilities as far as the effect of the enemy's knowledge of their existence. I can understand the desire to avoid the revulsion of American (and location country) citizens and their resulting opposition, but, in a democracy, should we not expect information on what is done in our names?

Dana Priest: Sure, and we did so in the original article. The administration asked us not to name the countries for two reasons: first, those countries might be subject to terrorist retaliation. Second, that those countries might decide to cease cooperating with the US on other counterterrorist operations. Len Downie, the executive editor, then decided not to name any countries but to give a regional description (Eastern Europe) and include the fact that they are democracies (important because, as countries trying to live under the rule of law, these black site are illegal under their own laws).

**Note: Soon after the article was published, The Financial Times identified Poland and Romania as the locations of the prisons. The administration would not comment on either the original Post or Financial Times articles.

Kurtz, Howard, "Bush Presses Editors on Security," Washington Post, December 26, 2005. See: <http://www.washingtonpost.com/wp-dyn/content/article/2005/12/25/AR2005122500665.html>

Beckerman, Gal, "The Times and the Post Go Silent on Us," Columbia Journalism Review Daily, see http://www.cjrdaily.org/behind_the_news/the_times_and_the_post_go_sile.php

Thomas Claburn, "FBI Finds Suspects in Half of Leak Cases," Information Week, June 22, 2010, <http://www.informationweek.com/news/security/government/showArticle.jhtml?articleID=225701080>

Leon Panetta, "Message from the Director: Recent Media Leaks," CIA Press Release, November 8, 2010, see: <https://www.cia.gov/news-information/press-releases-statements/press-release-2010/message-from-the-director-recent-media-leaks.html>

Risen and Lichtblau, "Bush Lets US Spy on Callers Without Courts," New York Times, December 16, 2005, see: <http://www.nytimes.com/2005/12/16/politics/16program.html?ex=1292389200&en=e32072d786623ac1&ei=5090&partner=rssuserland&emc=rss>

Calame, Bryson (NYT Ombudsman), "Behind the Eavesdropping, A Loud Silence", NYT, January 1, 2006. (also follow links in this article to statements by Bill Keller, Executive Editor of the Times). <http://www.nytimes.com/2006/01/01/opinion/01publiceditor.html?ex=1147838400&en=3abf5089185bedca&ei=5070>

Essays on Leaks of Classified Information, ABA National Security Law Report, September 2006, http://www.abanet.org/natsecurity/nslr/2006/NSL_Report_2006_09.pdf

Risen & Lichtblau, “Media Incentives and National Security Secrets,” Harvard Law Review, 2008, see:

http://www.harvardlawreview.org/issues/122/june09/notes/media_incentives.pdf

Christopher Dickey, “Fighting Words: Transparency will be the first casualty of the Wikileaks revelations,” Newsweek, November 28, 2010, see:

<http://www.newsweek.com/2010/11/28/transparency-is-first-casualty-of-wikileaks-state-department-revelations.html>

Miklasezewski, Jim, “Manning faces new charges, possible death penalty,” msnbc.com,

March 3, 2011, see: http://www.msnbc.msn.com/id/41876046/ns/us_news-security/t/manning-faces-new-charges-possible-death-penalty/#.Tv9FChz5--Y

MARCH 7: Media – Continued (Wikileaks)

The Judiciary and FISA

WIKILEAKS: Should leakers be prosecuted?

David Leigh, “How 250,000 State Department Embassy Cables Were Leaked,” The Guardian,

<http://www.guardian.co.uk/world/2010/nov/28/how-us-embassy-cables-leaked>

Kathryn Yao, “How WikiLeaks Works: A Primer,” AOL News, July 26, 2010, see:

<http://www.aolnews.com/2010/07/26/wikileaks-beyond-the-headlines-4-basic-questions-answered/>

Floyd Abrams, “Why Wikileaks is Unlike the Pentagon Papers,” Wall Street Journal, December 29, 2010, see:

http://online.wsj.com/article/SB10001424052970204527804576044020396601528.htm?mod=WSJ_Opinion_LEADTop

JUDICIAL OVERSIGHT & FISA:

Manget, Frederic, “Another System of Oversight: Intelligence and the Rise of Judicial Intervention”

Rosenbach, Section on FISA

Stephanie Blum, “What Really is At Stake with the FISA Amendments Act of 2008...”

Boston University Public Interest Law Journal, Vol 18:269 (2009), see:

<http://www.bu.edu/law/central/jd/organizations/journals/pilj/vol18no2/documents/18-2BlumArticle.pdf>

Bazan, Elizabeth, The Foreign Intelligence Surveillance Act: A Brief Overview of Selected Issues, February 8, 2008, Congressional Research Service. (in e-reserves).

“FISA Amendments Act of 2008,” Office of Senator John D. Rockefeller IV, The Wall Street Journal, June 19, 2008, see:
<http://online.wsj.com/article/SB121390912472789731.html>

Spencer Hsu, “Government reports violation of limitations of spying aimed at U.S. Citizens,” The Washington Post, December 3, 2010, see:
<http://www.washingtonpost.com/wp-dyn/content/article/2010/12/02/AR2010120206052.html>

William Funk, “Electronic Surveillance of Terrorism: The Intelligence/Law Enforcement Dilemma – A History,” 11 Lewis & Clark Law Review 1009 (2007)

MARCH 14 – SPRING BREAK

MARCH 21: CASE STUDY: OVERSIGHT OF COVERT ACTION

Kibbe, Jennifer, “The Rise of the Shadow Warriors,” Foreign Affairs, March/April 2004, see: <http://www.foreignaffairs.org/20040301faessay83209-p0/jennifer-d-kibbe/the-rise-of-the-shadow-warriors.html>

Jonathan Fredman, “Covert Action Policy and Procedure,” ABA National Security Law Report, July-October 2009, pp. 6 -9
http://www.abanet.org/natsecurity/nslr/2009/dgs_jul_to_oct09v13.pdf

Eyth, Marcus, “The CIA and Covert Operations: To Disclose or Not Disclose –That is the Question,” BYU Journal of Public Law, February 2003, see: e-reserves

Cumming, Alfred, Covert Action: Background and Policy Questions, January 8, 2008, Congressional Research Service. See e-reserves.

Cumming, Alfred, “Sensitive Covert Action Notification,” CRS Report, April 6, 2011, see: <http://www.fas.org/sgp/crs/intel/R40691.pdf>

“CIA Cited for Not Disclosing Covert Action,” Washington Post (Walter Pincus) , May 10, 2007,
<http://www.washingtonpost.com/wp-dyn/content/article/2007/05/09/AR2007050902396.html>

MARCH 28: PREPARATION FOR CLASS DEBATE ON DRONES, INTELLIGENCE OVERSIGHT, AND TARGETED KILLINGS OF US CITIZENS OVERSEAS.

PROFESSOR WILL PROVIDE BACKGROUND AND INSTRUCTIONS FOR THE DEBATE (APRIL 4TH) AND MEET SEPARATELY WITH EACH GROUP DURING CLASS.

READINGS:

Charles Savage, "Secret US Memo Made Legal Case to Kill A Citizen," NY Times, October 8, 2011, see: <http://www.nytimes.com/2011/10/09/world/middleeast/secret-us-memo-made-legal-case-to-kill-a-citizen.html?pagewanted=1&r=2&emc=na>

Ryan Grim and Joshua Hirsch, "Al-Awlaqi Killing in Yemen Raises Constitutional Issues," Huffington Post, December 13, 2011, see: http://www.huffingtonpost.com/2011/09/30/awlaki-killed-american-cl_n_988929.html

"Was US-backed killing of Anwar Al-Awlaqi Legal?" PBS Newshour, September 30, 2011, see: http://www.pbs.org/newshour/bb/terrorism/july-dec11/awlaki2_09-30.html

Carol Williams, "Al-Awlaqi death rekindles legal debate on targeting Americans," LA Times, see: <http://articles.latimes.com/2011/sep/30/world/la-fg-awlaki-due-process-20111001>

Michael Ramsden, "Targeted Killings and International Human Rights Law: The Case of Anwar Al-Awlaqi," Journal of Conflict and Security Law, Volume 16:2, pp. 385-406, July 2011.

Robert Delahunty & Christopher Motz, "Killing Al-Awlaqi: Domestic Legal Issues," Idaho Journal of Law and Public Policy, 2012, see: http://papers.ssrn.com/sol3/papers.cfm?abstract_id=1963976

John Dehn and Kevin Heller, "Debate: Targeted Killing: The Case of Anwar Al-Awlaqi," 159 University of Pennsylvania Law Review 175 (2011).

APRIL 4: CLASS DEBATE ON DRONES AND TARGETED KILLING

APRIL 11: CASE STUDIES: POLITICIZATION & PRIVITIZATION OF INTELLIGENCE

Politicization:

Pillar, Paul, "Intelligence, Policy, and the War in Iraq," Foreign Affairs, March/April 2006, see: e-reserves

"Politicization of Intelligence History", see Kent's imperative blog (a very interesting blog for those interested in intelligence analysis).

<http://kentsimperative.blogspot.com/2006/12/politicization-of-intelligence-history.html>

Betts, Richard, Politicization of Intelligence: Costs and Benefits

Robert Gates, “Guarding Against Politicization: A Message to Analysts,” see: <https://www.cia.gov/library/center-for-the-study-of-intelligence/kent-csi/volume-36-number-1/pdf/v36i1a01p.pdf>

Richard Betts, “The New Politics of Intelligence: Will Reforms Work This Time?” **Foreign Affairs** available on Council on Foreign Relations website: http://www.cfr.org/publication/7174/new_politics_of_intelligence.html

Privatization:

Glenn Voelz, “Contractors and Intelligence: The Private Sector in the Intelligence Community,” International Journal of Intelligence and Counterintelligence, Vol 22: 4, December 2009

Scott Horton, “Outsourcing Intelligence,” Harpers Magazine, July 5, 2007, see: <http://www.harpers.org/archive/2007/07/hbc-90000450>

Simon Chesterman, “We Can’t Spy..If we Can’t Buy: The Privatization of Intelligence,” European Journal of International Law, Vol 19: 5, 2008, see: <http://ejil.oxfordjournals.org/content/19/5/1055.full.pdf+html>

Deborah Avant and Lee Sigelman, “What does Private Security in Iraq Mean for Democracy At Home?” January 2008, see: http://www.ssc.upenn.edu/centers/browneqip/BCIP%20SS%20Papers/BCIP%20SS%20Papers%2007-08/Avant_08.pdf

Jon D. Michaels, “All the President’s Spies: Private – Public Intelligence Partnerships in the War on Terror,” 96 California Law Review 901 (2008).

APRIL 18:

COMPARATIVE DEMOCRACIES AND INTELLIGENCE: A GENERAL ANALYTIC FRAMEWORK
A LOOK AT EMERGING DEMOCRACIES AND SOUTH AFRICA

Readings:

Born, Hans, “Towards Effective Democratic Oversight of Intelligence Services: Lessons Learned from Comparing National Practices,”

“Intelligence Services and Democracy,” Geneva Centre for Democratic Control of Armed Forces, Switzerland, Working Paper No. 13, April 2002.

Bruneau and Dombroski, "Reforming Intelligence: The Challenge of Control in New Democracies," Center for Civilian-Military Relations, www.cmr.org see: http://www.ccmr.org/public/library_file_proxy.cfm/lid/5258

"Comparing the Democratization of Security Intelligence" see: <http://saopaulo2011.ipsa.org/panel/comparing-democratization-security-intelligence-governance>

TOPICS:

- What should be our analytic framework as we examine intelligence structures and oversight in new and older democracies? What are the key elements?
- How should "new" democracies deal mold their intelligence structures; how can they convert former intelligence services (non-democratic) into a democratic system?

Watts, Larry, "Intelligence Reform in Europe's Emerging Democracies," Studies in Intelligence, Vol 48, No. 1 (2004), <http://www.cia.gov/csi/studies/vol48no1/article02.html>

Alex Martin, "The lessons of Eastern Europe for modern intelligence reform," Conflict, Security and Development, Vol 7:4, December 2007

O'Brien, Kevin A. "Controlling the Hydra: An Historical Analysis of South African Intelligence Oversight," September 2003. http://www.dcaf.ch/legal_wg/ev_oslo_030919_obrien.pdf

National Intelligence Agency website, see: <http://www.nia.org.za/>

Lauren Hutton, "Looking beneath the Cloak," An Analysis of Intelligence Governance in South Africa," Institute for Security Studies, November 2007, see: http://www.iss.co.za/index.php?link_id=26&slink_id=5422&link_type=12&slink_type=12&tmpl_id=3

"Intelligence in a Constitutional Democracy: Final Report to the Minister for Intelligence Services, 10 September 2008," Global Facilitation Network for Security Sector Reform, access full text from: http://www.ssrnetwork.net/document_library/detail/4276/intelligence-in-a-constitutional-democracy-ndash-final-report-to-the-minister-for-intelligence-services-10-september-2008

Laurie Nathan, "Intelligence Bound: the South African constitution and intelligence services," International Affairs, 18 January 2010.

APRIL 25 (LAST CLASS):
THE UNITED KINGDOM: COMPARISON TO THE U.S.
SHOULD THE US HAVE ITS OWN DOMESTIC INTELLIGENCE AGENCY
(MI-5)

Gill, Pete, Evaluating Intelligence Oversight Committees: The UK Intelligence and Security Committee and the 'War on Terror'

Pythian, Mark. The British Experience with Intelligence Accountability. Intelligence & National Security. London: Feb 2007. Vol. 22: 1; p. 75

See Parliamentary Intelligence and Security Committee website, see <http://www.cabinetoffice.gov.uk/resource-library/intelligence-and-security-committee-isc-annual-reports>

Also see Report into the London terrorist attacks (and other special ad hoc reports on intelligence), see: <http://www.cabinetoffice.gov.uk/resource-library/intelligence-and-security-committee-special-ad-hoc-reports>

Peter Gill, "The Intelligence and Security Committee and the Challenge of Security Networks," Review of International Studies, Vol 35:04 (2009)

DOMESTIC INTELLIGENCE AGENCY – A THREAT TO CIVIL LIBERTIES OR A MORE EFFECTIVE ENTITY?

"Does the US Need A Domestic Intelligence Agency?" Council on Foreign Relations, November 17, 2006, see: <http://www.cfr.org/intelligence/does-united-states-need-domestic-intelligence-agency/p11990>

James Burch, "A Domestic Agency for the United States?" Homeland Security Affairs, Volume 3, Number 2 (June 2007), see: <http://www.hsaj.org/?fullarticle=3.2.2>