

SIS-653: Issues in Intelligence – Spring 2012

Dr. Michael Warner

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Class meets in SIS-333 on Tuesdays, 8:10 pm to 10:40 pm

Office Hours: 7-8 pm on Tuesdays in SIS-312

Course Description and Objectives

This course emphasizes recent changes in intelligence systems and assesses the ways in which persistent and emerging issues in the field are helping or hindering international actors in achieving policy objectives. The goal is to provide answers to two questions: "How does intelligence work in the modern world?"; and, "What are the larger dilemmas facing intelligence overseers and those who use intelligence?"

By investigating these questions, 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 is evolving;
- Define how states are readjusting secret practices in an era of greater openness;

- Explain the various pitfalls for warning intelligence and how it might be improved;
- Identify domestic intelligence issues of particular importance to the United States;
- Explain the “big data” problem;
- Suggest ways in information technology is changing intelligence—and vice versa.

Grading will be done as follows:

- Three short readings summaries: 30%
- Preliminary research paper – 15%
- Team Presentation (due when your team presents): 35%
- Final paper (due May 2): 20%

Please note:

- You are required to earn 30 percent of your final grade by submitting three comparisons of the weekly readings. These will be due over the semester at your discretion, though you may not hand in more than one paper per week. The final comparison is due no later than the beginning of class on April 17. *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.
- Preliminary research papers are to help you prepare for you team topics. They are due the same night the group presents, and must be no longer than 1,500 words. Instructions will be provided by February 14.
- Team briefings will be presented in class. Each team will brief on its topic for thirty minutes, and answer questions for fifteen more. Teams will address the history of their topic, the competing values embodied in it, the relative gains and losses (costs and benefits) of rival courses of action, and offer recommendations for future decisionmakers grappling with the topic. Each team will also choose a

one reading for the entire class to read before the team presents on its topic; the choice will be announced at class at least two weeks before the team presents. Topics will be assigned and specific requirements for the team briefings will be explained early in the course.

- Each student will write a final report of no more than 2000 words. I will assign the theme by our last class meeting, and it will be comprehensive in scope. 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 to me in hardcopy on May 2.

Schedule of Classes

Week 1 January 17, 2011 Overview, Administration, and Theory

- Sun Tzu, *The Art of War*, Chapter 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, "Building a Theory of Intelligence Systems, in Treverton and Agrell, eds., *National Intelligence Systems*, Cambridge, 2009. Available on E-Reserves.
- FBI website, "Operation Ghost Stories: Inside the Russian Spy Case," 31 October 2011; pay particular attention to the sealed complaints against Anna Chapman, Mikhail Semenko, and Christopher R. Metsos et al., before US magistrates in the Southern District of New York at http://www.fbi.gov/news/stories/2011/october/russian_103111/russian_103111

Week 2 January 24 The First Intelligence Revolution

- Ben B. Fischer, editor, *Okhrana: The Paris Operations of the Russian Imperial Police* (Washington: CIA Center for the Study of Intelligence, 1997); read Fischer's introduction and any of the articles that interest you. This can be downloaded 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>
- 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.

- Terence Finnegan, *Shooting the Front* (Washington, JMIC, 2006); read Chapter 11 on E-Reserves.
- Jim Beach, "Origins of the special intelligence relationship? Anglo-American intelligence cooperation on the Western Front, 1917-18," *Intelligence and National Security*, 22:2 (2007); available on E-Reserves.

3 January 31 World War II

- G. Gregg Webb, "New Insights into J. Edgar Hoover's Role," *Studies in Intelligence*, this article can be downloaded at <https://www.cia.gov/library/center-for-the-study-of-intelligence/csi-publications/csi-studies/studies/vol48no1/article05.html>
- 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>
- 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.
- Sharon Maneki, *The Quiet Heroes of the Southwest Pacific Theater: An Oral History of the Men and Women of CBB and FRUMEL* (Ft Meade, MD: National Security Agency, 1996); read on-line at http://www.nsa.gov/about/cryptologic_heritage/center_crypt_history/publications/wwii.shtml

4 February 7 Collection Revolution

- Michael Warner, "Reading the Riot Act: The Schlesinger Report, 1971," *Intelligence and National Security* 24:3 (June 2009); available on E-Reserves.
- 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.
- Richard J. Aldrich, *GCHQ: The Uncensored Story of Britain's Most Secret Intelligence Agency* (London: Harper, 2010), read chapters 11-14 on E-Reserves.
- 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>

5 February 14 Cold War: Ideological Conflict

- Robert J. Hanyok, *Spartans in Darkness: American SIGINT and the Indochina War, 1945-1975* (Ft. Meade: National Security Agency, 2002); read chapters 5, 6, & 8 on-line at <http://www.fas.org/irp/nsa/spartans/index.html>
- Thomas L. Ahern, Jr., *CIA and the House of Ngo: Covert Action in South Vietnam*, (Washington: CIA, 2000); read chapters 2, 11-13 on-line at http://www.foia.cia.gov/vietnam/2_CIA_AND_THE_HOUSE_OF_NGO.pdf
- US Senate, Select Committee to Study Governmental Operations with Respect to Intelligence Activities, *Final Report*, 94th Cong., 2d sess., 6 vols. (Washington: GPO, 1976). This the famous “Church Committee”; skim Book II online at <http://www.icdc.com/~paulwolf/cointelpro/cointel.htm>
- Michael Warner, “Sophisticated Spies: CIA’s Links to Liberal Anti-Communists, 1949-1967,” *International Journal of Intelligence and Counterintelligence* 9 (Winter 1996/97); available on E-Reserves.

6 February 21 The Late Cold War

- 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.
- Read the Preface to Ben Fischer, *At Cold War's End: US Intelligence on the Soviet Union and Eastern Europe, 1989-1991* (Washington: Central Intelligence Agency, 1999); available on-line at <https://www.cia.gov/library/center-for-the-study-of-intelligence/csi-publications/books-and-monographs/a-cold-war-conundrum/source.htm>
- Thomas Powers, *Intelligence Wars: American Secret History from Hitler to al-Qaeda*, NYRB, 2002; read the chapter “Who Won the Cold War?” on the fall of the USSR (available on E-Reserves)
- Benjamin B. Fischer, “The Vilification and Vindication of Colonel Kuklinski,” [Studies in Intelligence](#) (Summer 2000); read this on-line at <https://www.cia.gov/library/center-for-the-study-of-intelligence/csi-publications/csi-studies/studies/summer00/art03.html>

7 February 28 Since the Cold War

- Loch Johnson, “The Aspin-Brown Intelligence Inquiry: Behind the Closed Doors of a Blue Ribbon Commission,” *Studies in Intelligence* 49 (2004); download at <https://www.cia.gov/library/center-for-the-study-of-intelligence/csi-publications/csi-studies/studies/vol48no3/article01.html>
- Lord Butler, *Review of Intelligence on Weapons of Mass Destruction: Report of a Committee of Privy Counsellors* [the Butler Report], (London: TSO, 2004).

Concentrate on the Conclusions in Chapter 8; available at

<http://www.archive2.official-documents.co.uk/document/deps/hc/hc898/898.pdf>

- Read the chapter on Libya in the final report Commission on the Intelligence Capabilities of the United States Regarding Weapons of Mass Destruction (the WMD Commission), March 2005, download this at <http://www.gpoaccess.gov/wmd/index.html>
- Director of National Intelligence, "Annual Report of the United States Intelligence Community, 2006," February 2007; available under Course Documents on Blackboard and on-line at <http://www.dni.gov/reports2.htm>

8 March 6 Warning

- Richard Betts, "Analysis, War & Decision: Why Intelligence Failures Are Inevitable." *World Politics* 31, no. 2 (Oct. 1978): 61-89. Available on E-Reserves.
- Rob Johnston, "Integrating Methodologists into Teams of Substantive Experts," *Studies in Intelligence* 47 (2003); at <https://www.cia.gov/library/center-for-the-study-of-intelligence/csi-publications/csi-studies/studies/vol47no1/article06.html>
- Cynthia M. Grabo, *Anticipating Surprise: Analysis for Strategic Warning* (Lanham, MD, 2004); read on-line at <http://www.ndic.edu/press/5671.htm>

Spring Break

9 March 20 Counterinsurgency and Terrorism

- Alfred McCoy, *Policing America's Empire* (Madison: University of Wisconsin Press); selections available on E-Reserves
- *The 9/11 Commission Report* (Washington: Government Printing Office, 2004); read Chapters 2, 5, and 7 on-line at <http://www.gpoaccess.gov/911/pdf/fullreport.pdf>
- Daniel J. Smith, "Intel Gathering in a Counterinsurgency," Army War College, 2006; read on-line here: <http://www.dtic.mil/cgi-bin/GetTRDoc?AD=ADA449813&Location=U2&doc=GetTRDoc.pdf>. The pdf version of the reading has been posted to Course Documents.

10 March 27 Big Data: Making Sense for Decisionmakers

- 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 Course Documents or on-line at <http://www.cnas.org/node/3924>
- "Summary of the White House Review of the December 25, 2009 Attempted Terrorist Attack," January 2010; read on-line at http://www.whitehouse.gov/sites/default/files/summary_of_wh_review_12-25-09.pdf
- *The 9/11 Commission Report* (Washington: Government Printing Office, 2004); read Chapter 8 on-line at <http://www.gpoaccess.gov/911/pdf/fullreport.pdf>

11 April 3 Domestic Intelligence

- Diane Carraway Piette, "Piercing the Historical Mists of FISA," *Stanford Law and Policy Review*, 17(2), 2006; available on E-Reserves.
- Senate Committee on Homeland Security and Governmental Affairs (Special Report by Sens. Lieberman and Collins), "A Ticking Time Bomb: Counterterrorism Lessons from the US Government's Failure to Prevent the Fort Hood Attack," February 3, 2011; read on-line at <http://www.washingtonpost.com/wp-srv/politics/documents/fthoodsenatereport.html?hpid=topnews>
- Frank Foley, "The expansion of intelligence agency mandates: British counterterrorism 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>

12 April 10 Intelligence and Openness

- 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.
- Richard K. Betts, *Enemies of Intelligence: Knowledge and Power in American National Security* (New York: Columbia, 2007), Chapter 4; available on E-Reserves.
- George Tenet, *At the Center of the Storm*, Harper Collins: 2007, chapters 16-18. Available on E-Reserves.

13 April 17 Intelligence in Cyberspace

- James Adams, "Virtual Defense," *Foreign Affairs* 80:3 (May-June 2001), pp. 98-112; read on-line at E-Reserves.

- Office of the National Counterintelligence Executive, “Foreign Spies Stealing US Economic Secrets in Cyberspace,” October 2011; read on Course Documents or download here: http://www.ncix.gov/publications/reports/fecie_all/index.html
- McAfee, Inc., "Revealed: Operation Shady RAT," August 3, 2011; read on-line at <http://www.mcafee.com/us/resources/white-papers/wp-operation-shady-rat.pdf>

14 April 24 Course Summary

- ▲ George Armand Furse, *Information in War: Its Acquisition and Transmission* (London: William Clowes & Sons, 1895); chapters I, II, III, and X. Available on E-Reserves and also on Google Books at <http://books.google.com/books?id=Y9VEAAAAYAAJ&printsec=frontcover&dq=george+furse+information+war#v=onepage&q=&f=false>
- ▲ 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.

May 2 —Final Papers due [note – this is a Wednesday]

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](http://www.prepared.american.edu)) and the AU information line at [\(202\) 885-1100](tel:(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.