

Syllabus: International Studies 350: Introduction to Intelligence Proposed Honors Section

Instructor: Anita Bucknam

Classroom/times: TBA

Office hours: Tuesdays 1:00-2:00 and Thursdays 10:00-12:00, or by appointment, 33 Townshend Hall

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Note on the instructor:

Although I am a recent employee of the Central Intelligence Agency, the CIA neither reviews nor gives direction to the content of this course. I am entirely and independently responsible for the design, content, and conduct of my classes, and any viewpoints and opinions I present are mine alone and should not be attributed to the CIA as a whole.

I also adhere to a version of "Las Vegas rules" - what happens in class stays in class, so that we will all be free to speak our minds on what will likely be some sensitive and perhaps controversial issues.

Course Description:

Among the important consequences of the tragedies of 9/11 has been a renewed emphasis on the importance of intelligence gathering and analysis. This class will provide the student with a comprehensive introduction to intelligence - what it is, who does it, who uses it. We will start with a brief historical introduction to the US intelligence system, then will explore in depth the intelligence cycle. When doing so we will consider the tensions surrounding the relationship between the intelligence community and government leaders and policymakers. We will delve into the issue of how to maintain a balance between the need for intelligence gathering and the civil rights and liberties of the people in a democracy, and will discuss the oversight of the intelligence community. We will include discussions of intelligence reform and the intelligence function in several other countries, as well as some specific intelligence-related topics of interest drawn from current events in the US and throughout the world.

Course Objectives:

Develop an understanding of basic intelligence concepts.

Review the components of the US Intelligence Community, their evolution, and their legal restraints.

Discuss intelligence analysis and its existing and potential impact on policymaking.

Assess the role of covert action as an instrument of US policy.

Look at how the Intelligence Community can help in countering terrorism around the world.

Explore the ethical dilemmas inherent in the use of intelligence as a policy tool and the appropriate response of a democratic society.

Consider new threats and challenges facing the Intelligence Community and assess how resources are being deployed against them.

Learn to write and brief in the intelligence style.

Course expectations:

Students will be expected to attend class regularly, and to participate in class discussions. I will start classes with a lecture, but I expect to have lively discussions on many of the issues that will be raised. Feel free to express your opinions during class, including when they differ from mine, but if you disagree with something I have said I do expect that you will have some information/data at hand to back up your viewpoint. Attendance and participation in class discussions will represent 5% of your grade. Two formal class debates will also be part of this participation grade; for these debates the class will be divided into two sections, who will have to present their group's arguments and rebut the arguments of the opposing group. See the detailed class schedule below for the dates of the debates.

Grading:

There will be a midterm exam taken during class time, which will consist of identification and short-answer questions and two essays. It will represent 25% of your final grade.

There will be three short papers analyzing current events, done in the intelligence style which I will explain to you. Each paper will represent 10% of your grade.

You will be required to give a briefing on one of those papers. It will represent 10% of your grade (note that this is a separate grade from that for the paper itself; this grade will be based on how well you present your paper, not on the content).

There will be an additional short paper analyzing a case study, worth 5% of your grade.

There will be one 12-15 page paper in lieu of a final exam. It will represent 25% of your grade.

Attendance and participation in class discussions and the debates will represent 5% of your grade.

I will be following the standard OSU grading system, as follows:

93-100 = A

90-92 = A-

87-89 = B+

83-86 = B

80-82 = B-

77-79 = C+

73-76 = C

70-72 = C-

67-69 = D+

60-65 = D

0-59 = E

Academic Misconduct

It is the responsibility of the Committee on Academic Misconduct to investigate or establish procedures for the investigation of all reported cases of student academic misconduct. The term "academic misconduct" includes all forms of student academic misconduct wherever committed; illustrated by, but not limited to, cases of plagiarism and dishonest practices in connection with examinations. Instructors shall report all instances of alleged academic misconduct to the committee (Faculty Rule 3335-5-487). For additional information, see the Code of Student Conduct (http://studentaffairs.osu.edu/info_for_students/csc.asp).

Disability Services

Students with disabilities that have been certified by the Office for Disability Services will be appropriately accommodated, and should inform the instructor as soon as possible of their needs. The Office for Disability Services is located in 150 Pomerene Hall, 1760 Neil Avenue; telephone 292-3307, TDD 292-0901; <http://www.ods.ohio-state.edu/>.

Required books, ordered at the OSU bookstore (Barnes & Noble) and available at many other bookstores and web sites: (*Note: the additional readings and assignments for the honors section of this course are in bold italics in the weekly schedule below.*)

Mark M. Lowenthal, Intelligence: From Secrets to Policy; Washington DC, CQ Press. Note: buy only the Third Edition, published in 2006. ISBN is 1-933116-02-1. Referred to in the syllabus readings as Lowenthal.

Roger Z. George and Robert D. Kline, eds., Intelligence and the National Security Strategist: Enduring Issues and Challenges, Rowman & Littlefield Publishers, 2006. ISBN is 0-7425-4039-1. Referred to in the syllabus readings as George.

Sam C. Sarkesian, US National Security: Policymakers, Processes, and Politics, Fourth edition, Lynne Rienner Publishers, ISBN 978-1-58826-416-9. Referred to in the syllabus as Sarkesian.

Christopher Andrew, For the President's Eyes Only: Secret Intelligence and the American Presidency from Washington to Bush, Harper Perennial, ISBN 0-06-092178-1. Referred to in the syllabus as Andrew.

We will draw from current events at the beginning of most classes and for some of the writing assignments, so I expect each student to read, watch, or listen to at least one **reliable** source of international and domestic news daily. Reliable sources are news outlets that are at least moderately objective in their reporting, such as The New York Times, the Washington Post, CNN, the BBC, National Public Radio, etc. Reliable sources do not include blogs, local newspapers, media outlets controlled by governments, etc. We will discuss sources more at the beginning of the course.

We will also rely heavily on journal articles as well as the web, the media, and other sources to keep up to date. I may add readings as the course goes along if I come across new items that I think would be useful. We will in particular make use of the CIA's website at <https://www.cia.gov>. See especially the publications under the Center for the Study of Intelligence at <https://www.cia.gov/library/center-for-the-study-of-intelligence> which publishes Studies in Intelligence quarterly and various longer monographs and books, as well as information/publications under the headings of Press Room, Library and Reference (see especially Kent Center Occasional Papers), and FOIA Electronic Reading Room (FOIA stands for Freedom of Information Act.)

Other useful sites are those of the new Director of National Intelligence, www.dni.gov; the National Intelligence Council (NIC) which now comes under the DNI, at www.dni.gov/nic; the Intelligence Community, www.intelligence.gov, which contains links to the websites of the various IC members; and the Intelligence heading of the Federation of American Scientists, www.fas.org which

contains some good documentary files as well as notes on current events. The Strategic Studies Institute of the US Army War College has some interesting reports, most but not all on military/strategic issues, at www.StrategicStudiesInstitute.army.mil. The State Department's Foreign Press Center, accessible at www.fpc.state.gov, contains useful reports from the Congressional Research Service, as well as some reports from other government bodies, under the heading "Reports" on the home page. Also check out the large bibliography, some with reviews and comments, from Muskingum College at <http://intellit.muskingum.edu>. The journal of the Council on Foreign Relations, called Foreign Affairs, has numerous good articles, some of which I may be assigning as required reading. Access their site, www.foreignaffairs.org, using only your OSU web account, and you will get free access to all their current and archived articles. You can also get some downloadable reports categorized by subject from the Center for Strategic and International Studies, www.csis.org. The National Security Archive, available through George Washington University at www.gwu.edu/~nsarchiv, contains excellent collections of declassified records on US national security, foreign policy, intelligence policy, etc. Each chapter of the Lowenthal textbook also contains suggestions for additional readings.

In addition, if you do not already have a copy of Strunk and White's The Elements of Style I strongly urge you to get one - it is a short but invaluable guide to grammar, and your papers will be marked down if they contain more than an occasional grammatical or spelling lapse.

It is not required, but you may also want to get a copy of the 9/11 Commission Report. A few other books you might find of interest, but that are not required for this class, are Body of Secrets: Anatomy of the Ultra-Secret National Security Agency, by James Bamford; any of the George Smiley novels by John LeCarre (note the dissimilarities between George Smiley and James Bond!); Fair Play: The Moral Dilemmas of Spying, by James Olson; and The Sword and the Shield: The Mitrokhin Archive and the Secret History of the KGB by Christopher Andrew and Vasili Mitrokhin. NOTE: an excellent source of cheap books is the online service www.abebooks.com.

Course Schedule

As is the case for most schedules, this one is subject to change. I reserve the right to modify the reading assignments somewhat, and may revise the planned topic for a week to coincide with any outside speakers I may invite to address the class. Please complete the readings for a particular week before coming to the first meeting of that week.

The quotes used below are taken from The Literary Spy, an interesting book compiled and annotated by a colleague of mine, Charles E. Lathrop.

Week 1: Course Introduction and Administration: What Is Intelligence?

"There is a difference between collecting information -- there's a red coat, there's a red coat, there's a red coat -- and intelligence, which is saying at the right time, 'The British are coming.'" DCI John Deutch, 1996

"It was all such fun during the Cold War. But now, I wonder, what the hell is the point of it all?" a veteran of British intelligence, 1999

Readings:

Lowenthal, Chapter 1, What Is Intelligence?, pgs 1-9.

Sarkesian, Chapter 1, National Interests and National Security, pgs 3-21.

"Issues for the US Intelligence Community," in Studies in Intelligence Vol 49, No 3, 2005, available at <https://www.cia.gov/library/center-for-the-study-of-intelligence>

Week 2: Historical Overview; Members of the Intelligence Community and Their Roles

"It is not too gross an exaggeration that when considering any given threat DIA will overestimate, CIA will underestimate, and INR will blame the U.S. for it." Angelo Codevilla, 1992

"Screw the CIA -- let them do their own work! . . . We've got enough damned coordination in government now, too much in fact!" J. Edgar Hoover

NOTE: first paper will be assigned, due two weeks later. You will be writing in the intelligence style for this class, and we will spend as much time as you need on what that means and how to go about doing it. It is very different from normal academic writing!

Readings:

Lowenthal, Chapter 2, the Development of US Intelligence, pgs 11-28; Chapter 3, the US Intelligence Community, pgs 30-52; and Chapter 4, The Intelligence Process - A Macro Look, pgs 54-67.

George, Chapter 4, Central Intelligence: Origin and Evolution, pgs 41-54.

Sarkesian, Chapter 5, The Policy Triad and the National Security Council, pgs 91-110; Chapter 8, The Intelligence Establishment, pgs 145-161.

Andrew, Chapter 1, From George Washington to the Twentieth Century, pgs 6-29; Chapter 2, the First World War and After, pgs 30-74.

Surf the IC website www.intelligence.gov, particularly the part on Who We Are; use the site's links to each IC component's individual website and just look around a bit on each, enough to know each component's role and duties. You can find a handbook about the IC, entitled "An Overview of the United States Intelligence Community," on the www.dni.gov website under About the IC; it is a good publication to print off and use as review for the midterm!

Week 3: Collection; First formal debate (topic to be determined)

"We have found the track of 32 men and 3 donkeys." Ancient Egyptian intelligence report circa 2000BC

"Data! Data! Data! I can't make bricks without clay." Sherlock Holmes

Readings:

Lowenthal, Chapter 5, Collection and the Collection Disciplines, pgs 68-106.

George, Chapter 14, The Time of Troubles: The US National Security Agency in the 21st Century, pgs 181-200; Chapter 21, The Strategic Use of Open-Source Information, pgs 279-284.

Andrew, Chapter 3, Franklin D. Roosevelt, pgs 75-122; Chapter 4, Roosevelt at War, pgs 123-148.

"The U-2 Program: The DCI's Perspective," in Studies in Intelligence, Winter 1998-99, found at <https://www.cia.gov/library/center-for-the-study-of-intelligence>

"Hermit Surfers of P'yongyang," in Studies in Intelligence, Vol 48, No 1, found at <https://www.cia.gov/library/center-for-the-study-of-intelligence>

Week 4: Analysis - What Is It?

"When you know a thing, to hold that you know it, and when you do not know a thing, to allow that you do not know it: this is knowledge." Confucius, circa 500 BC

"Discovery consists of seeing what everybody has seen and thinking what nobody has thought." Albert Szent-Gyorgyi, Nobel prize winner 1937

Note: first paper is due; second paper will be assigned.

Readings:

Lowenthal, Chapter 6, Analysis, pgs 109-142

George, Chapter 23, Defining the Analytic Mission: Facts, Findings, Forecasts, and Fortunetelling, pgs 295-301.

Andrew, Chapter 5, Harry Truman, pgs 149-198; Chapter 6, Dwight Eisenhower, pgs 199-256.

CIA's Analysis of the Soviet Union, 1947-1991, found under Publications at <https://www.cia.gov/library/center-for-the-study-of-intelligence> ; read the Introduction and document 15: Soviet Society in the 1980s: Problems and Prospects; document 16: Gorbachev's Domestic Challenge: The Looming Problems; and document 38: Soviet Economic Problems and Prospects.

Week 5: More on Analysis - How To Do It

"Don't start that paper on China by saying 'China is a great land mass!'" DCI Walter Bedell Smith

"You can't do a professional job on a subject if you're going to be passionate about it." a former CIA official

Note: final paper, due December 3, will be assigned, to give you plenty of time to think about it. It will be instead of a final exam. Also this week I will pass out the case study of the Aum Shinrikyo terrorist attack in Tokyo, and explain the writing assignment based on it.

Readings:

George, Chapter 24, The Challenge for the Political Analyst, pgs 303-309; Chapter 27, Building Leverage in the Long War: Ensuring Intelligence Community Creativity in the Fight Against Terrorism, pgs 341-355.

Andrew, Chapter 7, John Kennedy, pgs 257-306; Chapter 8, Lyndon Johnson, pgs 307-349.

Psychology of Intelligence Analysis, by Richards Heuer, found at <https://www.cia.gov/library/center-for-the-study-of-intelligence> under Publications 1999: Chapter 4, Strategies for Analytic Judgment: Transcending the Limits of Incomplete Information; Chapter 5, Do You Really Need More Information?; Chapter 6, Keeping an Open Mind; and Chapter 8, Analysis of Competing Hypotheses.

"Thinking Straight: Cognitive Bias in the US Debate about China," Studies in Intelligence Vol 48, No 3, 2004, found at <https://www.cia.gov/library/center-for-the-study-of-intelligence>.

Week 6: Covert Action and Counterintelligence; Second formal debate, topic to be determined

"Covert action should not be confused with missionary work." Henry Kissinger

"The enemy's spies who have come to spy on us must be sought out, tempted with bribes, led away, and comfortably housed. Thus they will become converted spies and available for our service." Sun Tzu in The Art of War, 6th century BC

"K Mart has better security than the Navy." John A. Walker, Jr., US naval officer arrested for espionage in 1985

Note: second paper is due; third paper will be assigned. You will also have to brief the rest of the class on your third paper topic, starting on the due date. More on this in class.

Also note: we will be discussing the midterm to be held week 7.

Readings:

Lowenthal, Chapter 8, Covert Action, pgs 157-172; and Chapter 7, Counterintelligence, pgs 145-155.

George, Chapter 16, Espionage in an Age of Change: Optimizing Strategic Intelligence Services for the Future, pgs 217-234.

Andrew, Chapter 9, Richard Nixon, pgs 350-396; Chapter 10, Gerald Ford, pgs 397-424.

"Covert Action: Legislative Background and Possible Policy Questions," October 11, 2007, a Congressional Research Service report available at www.fpc.state.gov.

"National Security: Is Assassination an Option?" by Bruce Berkowitz, 2002, found in the Hoover Institute archives on their website www.hoover.org.

Week 7: MIDTERM EXAM; Intelligence, Policy, and Policymakers

"You are supposed to tell us what the Japanese are going to do, and I will then decide whether it is good or bad and act accordingly." Admiral Chester Nimitz, 1942

"There are no policy failures. There are only policy successes and intelligence failures." a senior State Department official

Readings:

Lowenthal, Chapter 9, The Role of the Policy Maker, pgs 174-189.

George, Chapter 33, American Presidents and Their Intelligence Communities, pgs 431-444 or Chapter 34, Inside the White House Situation Room, pgs 447-455.

Sarkesian, Chapter 9, The Policy Process, pgs 167-176; Chapter 10, The President and Congress, pgs 179-196.

"Supporting US Foreign Policy in the Post-9/11 World," in Studies in Intelligence Vol 46, No 3, found at <https://www.cia.gov/library/center-for-the-study-of-intelligence>.

"Tensions in Analyst-Policymaker Relations: Opinions, Facts, and Evidence," a Kent Center Occasional Paper found on <https://www.cia.gov> under Library and Reference, Publications.

Week 8: Ethics, Oversight, and Politicization

"Communicate no other intelligence to Congress at large than what may be necessary to promote the common weal, not to gratify the curiosity of individuals." John Jay, 1776

"Convictions are more dangerous enemies of truth than lies." Friedrich Nietzsche, 1878

Note: third paper due, briefings begin in class.

Readings:

Lowenthal, Chapter 10, Oversight and Accountability, pgs 191-218; and Chapter 13, Ethical and Moral Issues in Intelligence, pgs 255-273.

George, Chapter 7, Sharing Secrets with Lawmakers: Congress as a User of Intelligence, pgs 85-101.

Andrew, Chapter 11, Jimmy Carter, pgs 425-456; Chapter 12, Ronald Reagan, pgs 457-502.

Sarkesian, Chapter 11, Empowering the People, pgs 199-220.

Week 9: Foreign Intelligence Services

"The Americans were rookies. They never learned to lie as well as we." former KGB veteran Oleg Kalugin

"Oh yes, I know of you. I read your reports." Nikita Khrushchev on meeting CIA Director Allen Dulles

Note: Briefings continue, as needed

Readings:

Lowenthal, Chapter 15, Foreign Intelligence Services, pgs 290-304.

George, Chapter 28, Intelligence and Deception, pgs 359-381.

Sarkesian, Chapter 12, Who's Who in the International system, pgs 223-240.

Andrew, Chapter 13, George Bush, pgs 503-536.

"The Theory and Practice of Soviet Intelligence," by Alexander Orlov (a KGB defector); found on the CIA website under Library, Center for the Study of Intelligence, Studies Archive Indexes.

Week 10: Intelligence Reform

"It is ironic that whereas no reasonable person expects the Department of Health to stamp out disease altogether, or the Department of Agriculture to provide for good harvests every year, the various organs of intelligence are expected to be right every time." Walter Laqueur, 1985

"Operational problems are not solved with re-organizational fixes -- only good people and good management can do that." a CIA historian

Readings:

Lowenthal, Chapter 14, Intelligence Reform, pgs 274-288.

George, Chapter 5, The Need to Reorganize the Intelligence Community, pgs 57-62.

Andrew, Conclusion, pgs 537-541.

Sarkesian, Chapter 15, Making the System Work, pgs 289-304.

"US Intelligence Community Reform Studies Since 1947," found at <https://www.cia.gov/library/center-for-the-study-of-intelligence> under Publications 2005.

"The Intelligence Community: 2001-2015," in Studies in Intelligence, Vol 46, No 1, found at <https://www.cia.gov/library/center-for-the-study-of-intelligence>.

Week 11: Intelligence and Democracy; Unfinished Topics and Course Wrap-Up

"Never attribute to a conspiracy that which can be explained by incompetence," Secretary of Defense Donald Rumsfeld

"Our culture distrusts power and secrecy, and guess what I've got," a senior US intelligence officer quoted by CNN.

NOTE: FINAL PAPER IS DUE AT THE BEGINNING OF THE LAST CLASS MEETING; NO FINAL EXAM!

Readings:

George, Chapter 6, Balancing Liberty and Security, pgs 65-81.

"The USA Patriot Act: A Sketch," April 18, 2002, a Congressional Research Service report available at www.fpc.state.gov.

"The Patriot Act: Key Controversies," a National Public Radio report available in their archives at www.npr.org.

"Satellite Surveillance: Domestic Issues," March 21, 2008, a Congressional Research Service report available at www.fpc.state.gov.