Class Meetings:

Tuesdays 6:00-8:50pm

Howard Philips Hall

Room 305G (Political Science Department's Conference Room)

Seminar on Intelligence (INR 6365) Spring 2015

Professor: Richard L. Russell, Ph.D.
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Phone: 703.328.1204 (Mobile)
Office Hours: By Appointment

Overview & Objectives

The course will explore the uses and limitations for intelligence in the conduct war and statecraft. Students will gain an understanding of the importance of intelligence in the fields of security studies in particular and international relations writ large.

The course will focus on the American intelligence community and its support of national security policy. The intent behind intelligence is to help reduce the realm of ambiguity for policy makers to improve the chances for the formulation of successful policy. Students will come to understand the demands for and limitations of intelligence collection, analysis, and covert action. Students will study the organization of the American intelligence community and the various roles and missions played by civilian and military intelligence organizations in support of the executive branch and under the oversight of the legislative branch.

The course will pay especially close attention to the role and mission of the Central Intelligence Agency in informing American policy over the past several decades from the Cold War, to the post-Cold War, and in the aftermath of the 11 September 2001 catastrophe. The course will explore the deepening ties between the CIA and the military's Special Operations Forces. Students also will gain an appreciation of the challenges facing the American intelligence community in the years ahead in an unsettled and dangerous international security environment.

Writing Requirements

Students will be required to research and write three papers for this course. The first paper of will be an 800-word review of a major work in intelligence studies. The second paper will be a 2,000-word commentary on a significant current challenge involving intelligence. Finally, students will write a research paper of about 8,000-words aimed at gauging and contributing to the growing body of scholarly literature on intelligence in the security studies field.

Grading

Students will be graded based on four elements for this three-credit graduate course. First, participation in seminar discussions and debates will constitute 20 percent of the semester grade. Regular and consistent class attendance is expected. The first, second, and third papers will count for 15, 25, and 40 percent, respectively. Students will be expected to give an oral presentation on their research efforts to the class, which will be considered part of their seminar participation grade.

Required Texts

The course requires that students read the following books as a foundation for seminar work and the research project:

Mark M. Lowenthal, *Intelligence: From Secrets to Policy,* 3rd Edition (Washington, DC: Congressional Quarterly Press, 2006).

Robert Baer, *See No Evil: The True Story of a Ground Soldier in the CIA's War on Terrorism* (New York: Three Rivers Press, 2002).

William J. Daugherty, *Executive Secrets: Covert Action and the Presidency* (Lexington, KY: University of Kentucky Press, 206).

Robert M. Gates, *From the Shadows: The Ultimate Insider's Story of Five Presidents and How They Won the Cold War* (New York: Touchstone, 2007).

Other Readings

Other readings will be assigned from intelligence-relevant journals and periodicals. Students should become especially familiar with the following journals: *Foreign Affairs*, *Foreign Policy*, *The National Interest*, *Intelligence and National Security*, *Studies in Intelligence*, and the *International Journal of Intelligence and Counterintelligence*. These journals will be invaluable for research projects.

The course will use plus and minus grades. The grading scale will be the following:

Grading Scale (%)	
94-100	A
90-93	A-
87-89	B+
84-86	B
80-83	B-
77-79	C+
74-76	C
70-73	C-
67-69	D+
64-66	D
60-63	D-
0 - 59	F

Other Policies

The course will be governed by several other policies in keeping with those established by the University of Central Florida. Papers turned in late will be assessed a penalty of a half-letter grade for each week late. All papers should be submitted by the start of finals week or students will risk receiving an incomplete for the course. The syllabus will be made available in alternate formats upon request for students with disabilities who need accommodations. Finally, academic dishonesty in any form will not be tolerated. Students are strongly encouraged to rigorously use academic citations in all of their written work to avoid any hint of plagiarism.

Class 1: Intelligence, War, and Statecraft (January 13th)

Richard K. Betts, "Analysis, War and Decision: Why Intelligence Failures are Inevitable," *World Politics* 3 (1978).

Roberta Wohlstetter, "Cuba and Pearl Harbor: Hindsight and Foresight," *Foreign Affairs* (July 1965).

Robert Jervis, "Intelligence and Foreign Policy," *International Security* 2 (1986-87).

Class 2: Academic Scholarship and Intelligence (January 20th)

Mark M. Lowenthal, *Intelligence: From Secrets to Policy*, 3rd Edition (Washington, DC: Congressional Quarterly Press, 2006), 1-10.

Amy B. Zegart, "Universities Must Not Ignore Intelligence Research," *Chronicle of Higher Education*, vol. 53, no. 45 (July 2007).

Loch Johnson, "The CIA's Weakest Link: What Our Intelligence Agencies Need are More Professors," *Washington Monthly* (July/August 2001).

Class 3: The American Intelligence Community and National Security Decision Making (January 27th)

Mark M. Lowenthal, *Intelligence: From Secrets to Policy*, 3rd Edition (Washington, DC: Congressional Quarterly Press, 2006), 11-29.

U.S. Department of State, Office of the Historian, "National Security Act of 1947." Available at https://history.state.gov/milestones/1945-1952/national-security-act

Robert M. Gates, "An Opportunity Unfulfilled: The Use and Perceptions of Intelligence at the White House," *Washington Quarterly*, 12 (Winter 1989).

Joseph Nye, "Get Smart: Combining Hard and Soft Power," *Foreign Affairs* (July/August 2009).

Class 4: The Central Intelligence Agency's Collection, Analysis, and Covert Action (February 3rd)

Mark M. Lowenthal, *Intelligence: From Secrets to Policy*, 3rd Edition (Washington, DC: Congressional Quarterly Press, 2006), 30-53.

Robert M. Gates, "The CIA and Foreign Policy," *Foreign Affairs*, 66 (Winter 1987/88).

Robert Baer, *See No Evil: The True Story of a Ground Soldier in the CIA's War on Terrorism* (New York: Three Rivers Press, 2002), 1-168.

Class 5: On Collection, Sources, Methods, and Ethics (February 10th)

Mark M. Lowenthal, *Intelligence: From Secrets to Policy*, 3rd Edition (Washington, DC: Congressional Quarterly Press, 2006), 54-106.

James Bamford, "They Know More than You Think," *New York Review of Books*, 15 August 2013. Available at http://www.nybooks.com/articles/archives/2013/aug/15/nsa-they-know-much-more-you-think/

Robert Baer, *See No Evil: The True Story of a Ground Soldier in the CIA's War on Terrorism* (New York: Three Rivers Press, 2002), 169-280.

Jeffrey T. Richelson, "Men, Machines, and Secret Data," *International Journal of Intelligence and CounterIntelligence*, vol. 24, no. 4 (September 2011).

Shane Harris and Elias Groll, "Nothing Could Be Further from the Truth," *Foreign Policy*, 31 July 2014. Available at http://www.foreignpolicy.com/articles/2014/07/31/brennan_cia_interrogation_inspectorgeneral_integrity

Class 6: The Art of Intelligence Analysis and Dangers of "Politicization" (Paper No. 1 Due Today, February 17th)

Mark M. Lowenthal, *Intelligence: From Secrets to Policy*, 3rd Edition (Washington, DC: Congressional Quarterly Press, 2006), 109-144.

James J. Wirtz, "Intelligence to Please? The Order of Battle Controversy during the Vietnam War," *Political Science Quarterly*, vol. 106, no. 2 (1991).

Richard K. Betts, "The New Politics of Intelligence: Will Reforms Work This Time?" *Foreign Affairs* (May/June 2004).

Richard K. Betts, "The 'Politicization' Problem," *New York Times*, 2 May 2011.

Class 7: Covert Action as a "Hidden Hand" of American Statecraft (February 24th)

Mark M. Lowenthal, *Intelligence: From Secrets to Policy*, 3rd Edition (Washington, DC: Congressional Quarterly Press, 2006), 157-174.

William J. Daugherty, *Executive Secrets: Covert Action and the Presidency* (Lexington, KY: University of Kentucky Press, 206), 1-112.

Malcolm Byrne, "How the Reagan White House Bungled Its Response to Iran-Contra Revelations," *The Daily Beast*, 3 November 2014. Available at http://www.thedailybeast.com/articles/2014/11/03/how-the-reagan-white-house-bungled-its-response-to-iran-contra-revelations.html

Daniel Byman, "Why Drones Work: The Case for Washington's Weapon of Choice," *Foreign Affairs* (July/August 2013).

Class 8: Intelligence and Policy in the Cold War, 1947-1974 (March 3rd)

Mark M. Lowenthal, *Intelligence: From Secrets to Policy*, 3rd Edition (Washington, DC: Congressional Quarterly Press, 2006), 220-231.

Robert M. Gates, *From the Shadows: The Ultimate Insider's Story of Five Presidents and How They Won the Cold War* (New York: Touchstone, 2007), 15-52.

Eliot Cohen, "Only Half the Battle: American Intelligence and the Chinese Intervention in Korea, 1950," *Intelligence and National Security*, vol. 5, no. 1 (1990).

Amy B. Zegart, "The Cuban Missile Crisis as Intelligence Failure," *Policy Review* (October & November 2012). Available at http://www.hoover.org/research/cuban-missile-crisis-intelligence-failure

Class 9: Intelligence and Policy in the Cold War, 1975-1991 (March 17th)

Robert M. Gates, *From the Shadows: The Ultimate Insider's Story of Five Presidents and How They Won the Cold War* (New York: Touchstone, 2007), 53-357.

Gabriel Schoensfeld, "The Slippery Nature of Secrets," *Wall Street Journal*, 24 February 2010.

Douglas J. MacEachin, "CIA Assessments of the Soviet Union," *Studies in Intelligence*, May 1996. Available at https://www.cia.gov/library/center-for-the-study-of-intelligence/kent-csi/vol40no5/pdf/v40i5a08p.pdf

Richard L. Russell, "CIA's Strategic Intelligence in Iraq," *Political Science Quarterly*, vol. 117, no. 2 (Summer 2002).

Class 10: Intelligence and the 9/11 Catastrophe (Paper No. 2 Due Today, March 24th)

Robert M. Gates, *From the Shadows: The Ultimate Insider's Story of Five Presidents and How They Won the Cold War* (New York: Touchstone, 2007), 375-575.

"Bin Laden Determined to Strike in U.S.," *President's Daily Brief*, 6 August 2001, Declassified and Approved for Release on 10 April 2004. Available at the National Security Archive at George Washington University at http://www2.gwu.edu/~nsarchiv/NSAEBB/NSAEBB116/

National Commission on Terrorist Attacks Upon the United States, *The 9/11 Commission Report*, Executive Summary (Washington, DC: 2004). Available at http://www.9-11commission.gov/report/911Report_Exec.htm

Class 11: Iraq and Iran WMD Intelligence Assessment Debacles (March 31st)

Richard L. Russell, "A Weak Pillar for American National Security: The CIA's Dismal Performance against WMD Threats," *Intelligence and National Security*, vol. 20, no. 3 (September 2005).

Director of Central Intelligence, National Intelligence Estimate, "Iraq's Continuing Programs for Weapons of Mass Destruction," October 2002. Available at http://www2.gwu.edu/~nsarchiv/NSAEBB/NSAEBB129/nie.pdf

Director of National Intelligence, National Intelligence Estimate, "Iran: Nuclear Intentions and Capabilities," November 2007. Available at http://www.dni.gov/files/documents/Newsroom/Reports%20and%20Pubs/20071203_release.pdf

Class 12: Intelligence and Military Operations (April 7th)

Richard L. Russell, "Tug of War: The CIA's Uneasy Relationship with the Military," *SAIS Review*, vol. 22, no. 2 (Summer-Fall 2002).

Michael T. Flynn, Matt Pottinger, and Paul Batchelor, Fixing Intel: A Blueprint for Making Intelligence Relevant in Afghanistan (Washington, DC: Center for a New American Security, January 2010). Available at http://www.cnas.org/files/documents/publications/AfghanIntel_Flynn_Jan2010_code507_voices.pdf

Mark Mazzetti, "New Terror Strategy Shifts CIA Focus Back to Spying," *New York Times*, 23 May 2013.

Class 13: Traitors, Leeks, and Counterintelligence (April 14th)

Jack Devine, "Snowden Is the Kind of Guy I Used to Recruit—in Russia," *Politico*, 13 May 2014.

Henri J. Barkey, "Clapper's Gag Order Could Hurt Intelligence Analysts More than Journalists," *Washington Post*, 2 May 2014.

Paul R. Pillar, "Don't Surrender to Leakers," *National Interest*, 24 October 2013. Available at http://nationalinterest.org/blog/paul-pillar/dont-surrender-leakers-9303

Class 14: Intelligence and the Future of American Statecraft (April 21st) (Paper No. 3 Due Next Week, April 28th)

Mark M. Lowenthal, *Intelligence: From Secrets to Policy*, 3rd Edition (Washington, DC: Congressional Quarterly Press, 2006), 232-253 & 274-288.

Greg Miller, "CIA Director John Brennan Considering Sweeping Organizational Changes," *Washington Post,* 19 November 2014.