

UNIVERSITY OF CINCINNATI
DEPARTMENT OF POLITICAL SCIENCE

POL 2084 US POLITICAL INTELLIGENCE/COUNTERINTELLIGENCE
SPRING SEMESTER 2017

Professor: Igor Kovač

Email: kovacir@mail.uc.edu

Office hours: Tuesdays, 10.00-12.00, Crosley Tower 1210b

Time of class:

Mondays, Wednesdays, Fridays at 09.05 AM - 10.00 AM

The syllabus is a guide for the class; as such, it subject to change by the discretion of the Professor. Everything that is not listed on the syllabus should be resolved with the Professor in person.

1. Course Description

This course examines the U.S. intelligence community and its place in U.S. foreign policy. It begins by reviewing the need for intelligence and the various intelligence disciplines and then moves onto critical issues in today's intelligence community. Students will examine past intelligence successes and failures to glean lessons from previous experience. The student is asked to critically examine the need for and role of intelligence in the United States and assess the relationship between openness and secrecy in a democratic society. The student is expected to develop the ability to conduct an all-source intelligence analysis and provide a coherent analytical "deliverable". By the end of the course, the student will understand the nature of the intelligence discipline, the organizations and structure of the U.S. Intelligence Community, and can critically analyze intelligence issues of the 21st century.

2. Course Objective

- Understand historical development of intelligence and counterintelligence
- Critically assess contemporary intelligence structure in the US

- Contrast US intelligence community to those of other states
- Comprehend contemporary issues in intelligence literature and practice
- Grow rhetorical and discussion skills
- Develop sensitivity for interdisciplinary analysis
- Evolve policy brief/report writing skills
- Learn how to approach research

3. Assignments

- Final research paper (25 %)
- Mid-term policy paper (20 %)
- 5 homework assignments (each 5 % = 25 %)
- Presentation of the supplementary reading (15 %)
- Classroom participation in discussion (15 %)

Final Research Paper

The final research paper, which will be due 24 April 23:59 (submitted through Blackboard), should be 4000 words long ($\pm 10\%$), unless otherwise agreed with the Professor. The student will pick a topic and clear it with Professor. After deciding on the topic, the student will identify at least 5 sources for the paper and meet with Professor individually to discuss the details of the paper. PAPERS THAT WILL NOT BE PRIOR APPROVED BY THE PROFESSOR WILL BE GRADED WITH 0 %. Late submissions will be deducted 5 %. The paper will be descriptive in nature; students will not be required to develop a research question and/or sophisticated research methods. However, students will be expected to display research skills – finding information.

Some ideas about paper topics: biography of a spy, description of a (covert) operation, intelligence structure of a particular state, a historical event from (counter)-intelligence perspective, description of a specific contemporary issue in intelligence. Students can get inspired also by a specific class reading/topic.

Regarding the sources for the paper, students should start by looking at the syllabus and the readings assigned. Furthermore, a vast collection of books and journals are available in Langsam library. Lastly, usage of on-line sources is encouraged: intelligence agencies websites, think-tanks and other.

Suggested sources:

JOURNALS:

- International Journal of Intelligence and Counter-Intelligence, <http://www.tandfonline.com/toc/ujic20/current>
- Intelligence and National Security, <http://www.tandfonline.com/toc/fint20/current>
- Studies in intelligence, <https://www.cia.gov/library/center-for-the-study-of-intelligence/csi-publications/csi-studies>
- Journal of Intelligence History, <http://www.tandfonline.com/toc/rjih20/current>

BOOKS:

- Intelligence in War by John Keegan
- Secrecy and Democracy: The CIA in Transition by Stansfield Turner
- For the President's Eyes Only: Secret Intelligence and the American Presidency from Washington to Bush by Christopher Andrew
- The Puzzle Palace: Inside the National Security Agency by James Bamford
- America's Secret War: Inside the hidden Worldwide Struggle Between America and its Enemies by George Friedman
- First In: An insider's Account of How the CIA Spearheaded the War on Terror In Afghanistan by Gary C. Schroen
- A Spy's Journey: A CIA Memoir by Floyd L. Paseman
- Invisible Ink: Spycraft of the American Revolution by John A. Nagy
- Secret and Sanctioned: Covert Operations and the American Presidency by Stephen F. Knott
- The Second Oldest Profession by Phillip Knightley
- Inside the Company: CIA Diary by Philip Agee
- Blind Man's Bluff: The Untold Story of American Submarine Espionage by Sherry Sontag and Christopher Drew
- In Search of Enemies: A CIA story by John Stockwell

- The Man who Kept the Secrets: Richard Helms and the CIA by Thomas Powers
- Spy Catcher: The Candid Autobiography of a Senior Intelligence Officer by Peter Wright
- MacArthur's Undercover War by William B. Breuer
- The Unseen War In Europe by John H. Waller
- Clinton's Secret Wars: The Evolution of a Commander in Chief by Richard Sale
- Confessions of a Spy: The Real Story of Aldrich Ames by Pete Earley
- US National Security by Russell Miller
- Of Knowledge and Power by Robert Kennedy
- Analyzing Intelligence by Roger George
- Why Intelligence Fails by Robert Jervis
- Intelligence Analysis by Robert Clark

OTHER

- Muskingum College provides a bibliography of intelligence reference materials, articles and books, which may come in handy: intellilt.muskingum.edu/index
- CIA, Center for Intelligence Studies, books and monographies: <https://www.cia.gov/library/center-for-the-study-of-intelligence/csi-publications/books-and-monographs/index.html>
- The Great Courses, Espionage and Covert Operations: A Global History

Mid-term Policy Paper

Mid-term policy paper will be due 24 March 23:59 (submitted through Blackboard). The student will have to imagine a real-life situation, where the student will be a field intelligence officer, who is sending a report back to the headquarters. Thus, the student will have to decide on the institution he is representing, where is he situated, and the issue of his report – what had happened. After deciding upon these three components, the student will meet with the Professor individually, to discuss the details of the paper. **PAPERS THAT WILL NOT BE PRIOR APPROVED BY THE PROFESSOR WILL BE GRADED WITH 0 %.** Late submissions will be deducted 5 %. The paper should be max 1000 words long. The components of the paper will be explained in detail in class, the main components, however, are: who, from where, to whom, subject, data (what happened), potential questions and/or explanations, recommendations.

Homework Assignments

There will be 5 homework assignments altogether. These will be movies that students will be required to watch and write a 500-word report about it (submitted through Blackboard). Every homework is scheduled at least 1 week before its deadline – to fit into the syllabus. Late submissions will be deducted 2 %. Students can use their own sources to watch the movies when and where they please. However, a copy of each film will be available at Langsam and must be watch at Langsam as well. The report should address 2 questions – one element that was factual (historically accurate) and one element that was fictional? Moreover, what is the impact of one and the other on the contemporary intelligence?

Supplementary Reading Presentation

Once in the semester, the student will present a supplemental reading assigned to a particular class. This presentation should be a 5-min summary of the reading and concluded by raising an issue or question significant for that class. As such, the designated student should also lead the discussion and should encourage others to share their thoughts as well. Students can use all technological machines, techniques, and any other means of presentation to communicate the substance of the reading clearly and interestingly. Reading from a piece of paper does not classify as such; thus, such presentations will be appropriately graded. It is students' responsibility to make an agreement with the Professor of their designated class when and where will they take the role.

Classroom Participation

The class will be an interaction, a discussion. Students will be expected to share their thoughts and engage with their peers as well as with the Professor. **THIS IS ONLY POSSIBLE BY DOING THE READINGS FIRST.** Students that will only show up to class, and will not be engaged, will not earn all available points in this category.

4. Grading

100 = A +
95-99 = A
90-94 = A-
85-89 = B+
80-84 = B
75-79 = B-
70-74 = C+
65-69 = C
60-64 = C-
55-59 = D+
50-55 = D
<50 = F

There WILL NOT be any extra credits.

5. Laptop and other technology in class

Laptops and tablets are allowed in class, though only for course-related use. The class will be interactive, so it is important to remain engaged with the material and avoid the distractions of a personal computer. Also, please silence (and do not use) your cell phones, ipods, and other devices while in class.

6. Academic integrity

The University Rules, including the Student Code of Conduct and other documented policies of the Department, College, and University related to academic integrity will be enforced. Any violation of these regulations, including acts of plagiarism or cheating, will be dealt with on an individual basis according to the severity of the misconduct. A copy of the policy can be found on the University website at: http://www.uc.edu/conduct/Academic_Integrity.html.

7. Special needs policy

If you have any special needs related to your participation in this course, including identified visual impairment, hearing impairment, physical impairment, communication disorder, and/or specific

learning disability that may influence your performance in this course, you should meet with the Professor to arrange for reasonable provisions to ensure an equitable opportunity to meet all the requirements of this course. At the discretion of the instructor, some accommodations may require prior approval by Disability Services.

8. Attendance policy and reading material

Attendance is vital to the success of this course, both for individual students and the class as a whole. The course depends on students' in-class engagement with the material and with colleagues. Therefore, it is expected that you are present at every class. Missing class will be detrimental to your comprehension of the topic. Moreover, for success in this class it is of UTMOST IMPORTANCE that you DO THE READINGS and SHARE YOUR REFLECTIONS in class. All the reading material will be available on Blackboard.

9. Semester plan

The goal is to follow the course outline as presented bellow; however, some adjustments may be necessary during the semester. The following course outline and readings are subject to change with appropriate notice to the students. Reading assignments must be completed prior to attending class. All readings will be available in PDF though Blackboard. I have assigned around 20 pages per class, that is 60 per week. Yet, some classes might be heavier than others. Thus, even in the week, where you will be presenting the supplementary reading, your work-load should be around 100 pages per week.

Monday, 9 January

Introduction to the class

Michael Warner (2002) Wanted: A Definition of 'Intelligence', *Studies in Intelligence*, 46(3), 15-22; Bob Burton, *Dictionary of Espionage and intelligence*, 171-174, 181-183

Wednesday, 11 January

Introduction to Intelligence

(Mark Lowenthal, *What is Intelligence*, 1-12; Jeffrey Richelson, *Intelligence*, 1-10)

SUPPLEMENTAL READING:

Loch Johnson, National Security Intelligence, 3-32

Friday, 13 January

Theories of Intelligence

(Peter Gill, Theories of Intelligence, 43-58; James Wirtz, The Sources and Methods of Intelligence Studies, 59-69)

SUPPLEMENTAL READING:

Len Scott and Peter Jackson (2004) The Study of Intelligence in Theory and Practice, Intelligence and National Security, 19:2, 139-169.

HOMEWORK 1 assigned (due 22 January 23:59)

The good shepherd

Monday, 16 January

No class, Holliday: Dr. Martin Luther King Jr.'s Birthday

Wednesday, 18 January

History of Intelligence

(Jock Haswell, Spies and Spymasters, 7-120)

SUPPLEMENTAL READING:

John Keegan, Intelligence in War, 26-65

Friday, 20 January

History of intelligence, WW1 and WW2

(Nigel West, Historical dictionary of WW1 Intelligence, xiii-xvi and 1-5; Nigel West, Historical dictionary of WW2 Intelligence, xv-xviii and xix-xxvi)

SUPPLEMENTAL READING:

John Ferris, Signals Intelligence in War and Power Politics, 1914-2010, 155-171

Monday, 23 January

Cold War

(Nigel West, Cold War Counterintelligence, xv-xxvi; Benjamin B. Fischer (2016) Doubles Troubles: The CIA and Double Agents during the Cold War, International Journal of Intelligence and Counter Intelligence, 29:1, 48-74)

SUPPLEMENTAL READING:

Julie Fedor (2011) Chekists Look Back on the Cold War: The Polemical Literature, Intelligence and National Security, 26:6, 842-863

Wednesday, 25 January

Human intelligence

(John MacGaffin, Clandestine Human Intelligence, 79-95)

SUPPLEMENTAL READING:

Frederick Hitz, Human Source Intelligence, 257-274

Friday, 27 January

Field work

(Robert Pool, Field Evaluation in the Intelligence and Counterintelligence Context, 1-26)

SUPPLEMENTAL READING:

Nigel West, Sexspionage, xv-xxix

Monday, 30 January

Ethics of Intelligence

(R.V. Jones, Intelligence Ethics, 18-38)

SUPPLEMENTAL READING:

Codes of conduct of different agencies, 379-393

Case Studies of ethical considerations in spying, 394-407

HOMEWORK 2 assigned (due 5 February 23:59)

Green Zone

Wednesday, 1 February

US Foreign Policy – Structure 1

(Jeffrey Lantis, US Foreign Policy, Key Government Institutions: The President, Congress, and the Courts, 68-99)

SUPPLEMENTAL READING:

Robert, Jervis, Why Intelligence and Policymakers clash, 267-284

Friday, 3 February

US Foreign Policy – Structure 2

(Jeffrey Lantis, US Foreign Policy, Bureaucracies: Unelected Actors in the Foreign Policy Process 116-144)

SUPPLEMENTAL READING:

Jennifer Sims, U.S. Intelligence Policy: Where do we stand? 137-161

Monday, 6 February

Intelligence as a foreign policy tool

(Charles Stevenson, The Secret Intelligence Instruments, 231-254)

SUPPLEMENTAL READING:

Charles Stevenson, The Homeland Security Instruments, 255-273)

Wednesday, 8 February

US Intelligence overview
(US Intelligence overview, DNI)

SUPPLEMENTAL READING:

Mark Lowenthal, The U.S. Intelligence community, 39-71

Friday, 10 February

US Intelligence history
(Michael Turner, Historical dictionary of United States Intelligence, xxi-liv)

SUPPLEMENTAL READING:

Glen Hastedt, Espionage in the USA, 1-43

Monday, 13 February

National Intelligence Organizations
(Jeffrey Richelson, National Intelligence Organizations, 12-41)

SUPPLEMENTAL READING:

Loch K. Johnson (2015) A Conversation with James R. Clapper, Jr., The Director Of National Intelligence in the United States, Intelligence and National Security, 30:1, 1-25

Wednesday, 15 February

Military Intelligence
(Jeffrey Richelson, DOD Intelligence, 42-62)

SUPPLEMENTAL READING:

Jeffrey Richelson, Military Service Intelligence, 63-100

Friday, 17 February

Civilian Intelligence
(Jeffrey Richelson, Civilian Intelligence, 128-149)

SUPPLEMENTAL READING:

Patrick Keefe, Privatized Spying: The Emerging Intelligence Industry, 296-309

Monday, 20 February

Practical perspective (lecture given by Albert Klein)

(The Secret Casualties of Iraq's Abandoned Chemical Weapons,

<http://www.nytimes.com/interactive/2014/10/14/world/middleeast/us>

-casualties-of-iraq-chemical-weapons.html?_r=0)

SUPPLEMENTAL READING:

Jonathan I. Katz (2006) Deception and Denial in Iraq: The Intelligent Adversary Corollary, International Journal of Intelligence and Counter-Intelligence, 19:4, 577-585

Wednesday, 22 February

Legal perspective (lecture given by Albert Klein)

- Intelligence Reform and Terrorism Prevention Act of 2004, <http://news.findlaw.com/usatoday/docs/terrorism/irtpa2004.pdf>
- PD 19, http://www.va.gov/ABOUT_VA/docs/President-Policy-Directive-PPD-19.pdf
- Executive Order 12333, <https://www.archives.gov/federal-register/codification/executive-order/12333.html>
- Executive Order 13470, <https://fas.org/irp/offdocs/eo/eo-13470.pdf>
- National Counterintelligence strategy, 2016, https://www.ncsc.gov/publications/strategy/docs/National_CI_Strategy_2016.pdf

SUPPLEMENTAL READING:

Richard A. Best Jr. (2014) Leadership of the U.S. Intelligence Community: From DCI to DNI, International Journal of Intelligence and Counter-Intelligence, 27:2, 253-333,

Friday, 24 February

Open source Intelligence collection (lecture given by Albert Klein)

(Jeffrey Richelson, Open Sources, 261-275)

SUPPLEMENTAL READING:

Arthur Hulnick, The dilemma of Open Sources Intelligence: is OSINT really intelligence? 229-241

Monday, 27 February

Covert action

(Mark Lowenthal, Covert Action, 249-275)

SUPPLEMENTAL READING:

Jennifer Kibbe, Covert Action, Pentagon style, 569-586

Wednesday, 1 March

Famous spies 1

(Ernest Volkman, Moles, 2-53)

SUPPLEMENTAL READING:

Ernest Volkman, The Spymasters, 170-208)

Friday, 3 March

Famous spies 2

(Ernest Volkman, The legends, 82-151)

SUPPLEMENTAL READING:

Ernest Volkman, Some Mysteries, 230-258

Monday, 6 March

Discussion about mid-term papers and final term papers

SUPPLEMENTAL READING:

Matthew M. Aid & Cees Wiebes (2001) Introduction on The Importance of Signals Intelligence in the Cold War, *Intelligence and National Security*, 16:1, 1-26

Wednesday, 8 March

British intelligence

(Nigel West, *British Intelligence*, xv-xxxi; Robert Henderson, *United Kingdom*, 159-166)

SUPPLEMENTAL READING:

Timothy Wilford (2002) Watching the North Pacific: British and Commonwealth intelligence before Pearl Harbor, *Intelligence and National Security*, 17:4, 131-164

Friday, 10 March

Russian Intelligence

(Robert Pringle, *Russian Intelligence*, xv-xxv; 1-12; Robert Henderson, *Russia*, 133-143)

SUPPLEMENTAL READING:

Ulf Walther (2014) Russia's Failed Transformation: The Power of the KGB/ FSB from Gorbachev to Putin, *International Journal of Intelligence and Counter Intelligence*, 27:4, 666-686

Monday, 13 March

No class; Spring break

Wednesday, 15 March

No class; Spring break

Friday, 17 March

No class; Spring break

Monday, 20 March

Israel Intelligence

(Ephraim Kahana, *Israeli Intelligence*, xix-lii; Robert Henderson, *Israel*, 83-90)

SUPPLEMENTAL READING:

Khalid Sindawi & Ephraim Kahana (2015) The Yom Kippur War: The Successes of Israeli Intelligence, *International Journal of Intelligence and Counter Intelligence*, 28:4, 762-774,

Wednesday, 22 March

Chinese Intelligence

(Nigel West, *Chinese Intelligence*, xxi-xxxi, 1-11; Robert Henderson, *China*, 35-44)

SUPPLEMENTAL READING:

John Poreba (2012) Neutralizing China's Student-Spy Network, *International Journal of Intelligence and Counter Intelligence*, 25:2, 260-291,

HOMEWORK 3 assigned (due 28 March 23:59)

Das Leben der Andern

Friday, 24 March

Mid-term paper due 24 March 23:59

Pakistan Intelligence

(Sean P. Winchell (2003) Pakistan's ISI: the invisible government, *international journal of intelligence and counter intelligence*, 16:3, 374-388)

SUPPLEMENTAL READING:

Grare, Frederic. 2006. Pakistan-Afghanistan relations in the post-9/11 era. No. 72. Carnegie Endowment for International Peace, http://carnegieendowment.org/files/cp72_grare_final.pdf

Monday, 27 March

French Intelligence

(Philippe Hayez (2010) “Renseignement”: The New French Intelligence Policy, *International Journal of Intelligence and Counter Intelligence*, 23:3, 474-486; Robert Henderson, France, 51-60)

SUPPLEMENTAL READING:

Roger Faligot (2001) France, Sigint and the Cold War, *Intelligence and National Security*, 16:1, 177-208

Wednesday, 29 March

German Intelligence

(Ben B. Fischer (1998) “One of the biggest ears in the world.” East German SIGINT operations, *International Journal of Intelligence and Counter Intelligence*, 11:2, 142-153; Robert Henderson, Germany, 61-68)

SUPPLEMENTAL READING:

Erich Schmidt-Eenboom (2001) The Bundesnachrichtendienst, the Bundeswehr and Sigint in the Cold War and After, *Intelligence and National Security*, 16:1, 129-176

HOMEWORK 4 assigned (due 4 April 23:59)

Tinker, tailor, soldier, spy

Friday, 31 March

Iranian Intelligence

(Carl Anthony Wege (1997) Iranian intelligence organizations, *International Journal of Intelligence and Counter Intelligence*, 10:3, 287-298; Robert Henderson, Iran, 75-82)

SUPPLEMENTAL READING:

Louis René Beres (1996) The Iranian threat to Israel: Capabilities and intentions. *International Journal of Intelligence and Counter Intelligence*, 9:1, 51-61.

Monday, 3 April

Indian Intelligence

(Ryan Shaffer (2015) Unraveling India's Foreign Intelligence: The Origins and Evolution of the Research and Analysis Wing, International Journal of Intelligence and Counter Intelligence, 28:2, 252-289)

SUPPLEMENTAL READING:

Bruce Vaughn (1993) The use and abuse of intelligence services in India, Intelligence and National Security, 8:1, 1-22.

Wednesday, 5 April

Counterintelligence 1

(Mark Lowenthal, Counterintelligence, 221-248; Jeffrey Richelson, Counterintelligence, 326-341)

SUPPLEMENTAL READING:

Chris Clough (2004) Quid Pro Quo: The Challenges of International Strategic Intelligence Cooperation, International Journal of Intelligence and Counter Intelligence, 17:4, 601-613

Friday, 7 April

Counterintelligence 2

(Raymond Batvins, The future of FBI counterintelligence through the lens of the past hundred years, 505-517)

SUPPLEMENTAL READING:

Paul Redmond, The challenges of counter intelligence, 537-554

HOMEWORK 5 assigned (due 13 April 23:59)

Sneakers

Monday, 10 April

Intelligence and terrorism

(Sergio E. Sanchez (2015) Spider Web: Al-Qaeda's Link to the Intelligence Agencies of the Major Powers, International Journal of Intelligence and Counter Intelligence, 28:3, 429-448)

SUPPLEMENTAL READING:

Daniel Byman (2014) The Intelligence War on Terrorism, Intelligence and National Security, 29:6, 837-863

Wednesday, 12 April

Economic Intelligence

(Laris Gaiser, Economic Intelligence and World Governance, 21-32, 119-138)

SUPPLEMENTAL READING:

Jeffrey Owen Herzog (2008) Using Economic Intelligence to Achieve Regional Security Objectives, International Journal of Intelligence and Counter Intelligence, 21:2, 302-313

Friday, 14 April

Cyber espionage

(Aaron F. Brantly (2016) Aesop's wolves: the deceptive appearance of espionage and attacks in cyberspace, Intelligence and National Security, 31:5, 674-685)

SUPPLEMENTAL READING:

Aaron F. Brantly (2014) Cyber Actions by State Actors: Motivation and Utility, International Journal of Intelligence and Counter Intelligence, 27:3, 465-484

Monday, 17 April

Oversight and accountability

(Mark, Lowenthal, Oversight and accountability, 303-350)

SUPPLEMENTAL READING:

Glenn Hastedt, The Politics of Intelligence Accountability, 719-734

Wednesday, 19 April

Limits of intelligence and uncertainty

(Peter Jackosn, On Uncertainty and the Limits of Intelligence, 452-471)

SUPPLEMENTAL READING:

James Bruce, The missing link: The Analyst-Collector relationship, 157-177

Friday, 21 April

Intelligence Failures

(Glenmore Trenear-Harvey, Intelligence Failures, xvii-xxiv, 1-5)

SUPPLEMENTAL READING:

Roger George and James Wirtz, Warning in an age of Uncertainty, 215-228

Monday, 24 April

Final paper due 24 April 23:59