

BOSTON UNIVERSITY
THE FREDERICK S. PARDEE SCHOOL OF GLOBAL STUDIES

IR 378: INTELLIGENCE AND DEMOCRATIC SOCIETY

Fall 2016 Semester – M, W, F, 1000-1050 in STH B20

Professor John D. Woodward, Jr.

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Office Hours: Mondays--8:30 AM-9:30 AM,

Wednesdays--11:00 AM-12:00 PM & 1:00-3:30 PM, or by appointment.

(Unscheduled walk-ins are welcome; knock on my office door, if I am available, I am happy to meet with you.)

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Introduction: Welcome to IR 378, *Intelligence and Democratic Society*. This syllabus provides you with essential information about the course including an overview, learning objectives, requirements, grading, my pedagogical approach, reading assignments, and other helpful details.

As your instructor, I want to do whatever I can to make your participation in this course an extremely worthwhile experience for you. We are all here to learn, gain insight, and grow. As a seminar, this class will provide ample opportunity for each of us to share our ideas and opinions. I look forward to learning from you as you articulate your views and we engage in discussion.

Course Overview: Intelligence is crucial to US national security. Since the American Revolution, the nation's leaders have recognized the important role played by intelligence activities. In a dangerous world where multi-faceted threats loom, the national leadership relies on intelligence to contribute to the protection of US assets, property, and personnel both at home and abroad. Intelligence must also help America's leaders make sound decisions about policies and actions.

Although much valuable information can be gleaned from open sources, intelligence generally relies on more than just publicly available materials. Intelligence uses special sources and methods which must be kept secret if the system is to be effective. This bedrock requirement for secrecy in intelligence matters can create a challenge for democratic societies, where transparency and disclosure are generally favored.

With primary emphasis on the US Intelligence Community, this course will:

- Examine various intelligence activities, to include *inter alia* intelligence collection, analysis, counterintelligence, and covert operations,
- Explore US and foreign intelligence activities from a historical perspective, and,
- Assess how intelligence activities may be conducted, managed, and used in comportment with democratic values, and how these activities should be managed, limited, overseen, and controlled.

Learning Objectives: Upon successful completion of this course, students will:

- Understand various intelligence activities, terms of art, and the intelligence cycle,
- Understand the historical role intelligence activities have played in the United States,
- Describe the structure, mission, processes, and *modus operandi* of the US Intelligence Community,

- Understand the relationship between collectors and producers of intelligence and consumers and users of intelligence, to include the effect of the intelligence process on policymaking, and
- Explain how intelligence activities may be reconciled with democratic requirements.

Course Requirements: Students will participate in a(n):

- Quiz, worth 15 percent of the total grade, consisting of short answers, scheduled in-class for **Week 5**,
- Midterm exam, worth 30 percent of the total grade, scheduled in-class for **Week 10**,
- Final exam, worth 45 percent of the total grade, scheduled for December __ (TBD), and,
- Ongoing class discussions and contributions to in-class exercises, worth 10 percent of the total grade. This course's seminar format is designed to encourage the exchange of ideas and opinions.

Academic Conduct: Students are responsible for understanding and following the provisions of the CAS Academic Conduct Code and Policies. Copies of the Code are available here:

- <http://www.bu.edu/academics/policies/academic-conduct-code/>
- GRS: <http://www.bu.edu/cas/students/graduate/grs-forms-policies-procedures/academic-discipline-procedures/>

Cases of misconduct must be reported to the Dean's office. All class members are expected to maintain the highest standards of academic honesty and integrity. You are expected to provide citations in papers for all quotations, paraphrases, and ideas taken from any source other than your own original thoughts. Boston University has very strict standards for intellectual integrity, and punishment for plagiarism is severe, and can include permanent expulsion from the university.

Protocol for Electronic Devices: I believe that laptop computers, tablets, cell phones, and the like are serious distractions to your in-class learning. However, you may use these devices in class provided that you, as a user, are using them only to take notes or refer to notes and that you seat yourself such that your computer screen is not visible to others around you.

Professor's Pedagogical Approach:

- *Socratic Method:* Students should come to class prepared and ready to discuss the topic(s) and readings. During class, I will regularly call on students at random and ask them questions. As one trained in the law, I regularly use the Socratic Method to help guide class discussions. Learning through the Socratic Method may seem a little daunting at first; however, it is a superb way to synthesize our intellectual efforts. For those interested in viewing the Socratic Method in action, please see the film, *Paper Chase* (1973) in which first-year law students try to survive their contracts course taught by the indomitable Professor Charles Kingsfield.
- *Absence from Class:* A student who, for whatever reason, is forced to miss class should advise me prior to that class and arrange to acquire class notes and obtain copies of handouts from other students, and otherwise ensure learning continuity.
- *Lack of Academic Preparation:* A student who, for whatever reason, is not prepared for class should advise me prior to that class so that I do not inadvertently call on him/her during that class and cause embarrassment for the student and myself. If you are not prepared for class, the world will not end. Please come to class regardless but let me know ahead of time that you are not prepared.
- *Semper Gumby* ("Always Flexible"): As this course covers many topics over several centuries, I ask students to be flexible, nimble, and adaptable in that I reserve the right to "fine tune" or make "course corrections" to the reading list. For example, I may replace some readings with others. I will notify

students in advance of any modifications to the syllabus. Similarly, I may invite guest speakers to share their insights with the class. In the event that their schedules (or ours) change, we will adjust accordingly. Students taking this course should at all times maintain a flexible attitude and a hearty sense of humor.

- *Accessibility*: You should feel free to contact me at your convenience to discuss any topic. Email is the best means to reach me promptly. Unscheduled telephone calls to the instructor's mobile number should be reserved for time sensitive or critical matters. I check my emails messages throughout the day and respond in a timely manner. You are welcome to visit me in my office at any time. If my door is closed, please knock.
- *Appreciation*: I am greatly indebted to my colleagues, Professor Emeritus Arthur Hulnick and Professor Joe Wippl, both of whom previously taught this course, for sharing their expertise and course notes. Professor Hulnick created this course many years ago and the fact that it remains a popular academic offering at Boston University is a testament to his vision. I have drawn heavily from Art and Joe and I appreciate their advice and help.

Publications Required for Purchase: The readings assigned to each session are indicated in the following pages. These readings will provide essential background for the course sessions and class discussions. I encourage you to be adventurous and see what interesting readings (from reputable sources) you can find for yourself. Please obtain the following books, available at the BU Bookstore and through other vendors:

1. Carl Jensen, David McElreath, and Melissa Graves, *Introduction to Intelligence Studies* (NY: CRC Press, 2013). (This book is abbreviated as J hereafter.)
2. Loch K. Johnson and James J. Wirtz (Eds.) *Intelligence and National Security: The Secret World of Spies: An Anthology* 4th Ed. (NY: Oxford Univ. Press, 2015). (This book is abbreviated as J&W hereafter.)

Publications Accessible in Electronic Format:

- Association of Former Intelligence Officers [hereafter AFIO], *Intelligence as a Career*, (Falls Church, VA: AFIO, 2013) available at http://www.afio.com/publications/AFIO_2013_Careers_Booklet.pdf (visited Aug. 21, 2015). If you want a free paperback copy of this booklet, please advise the professor.
- The Commission on the Intelligence Capabilities of the United States Regarding Weapons of Mass Destruction [hereafter "WMD Commission"], *Report to the President of the United States*, March 31, 2005 available at <http://www.gpo.gov/fdsys/pkg/GPO-WMD/pdf/GPO-WMD.pdf> (visited Aug. 17, 2015).
- Robert Dover & Michael S. Goodman Eds., *Learning from the Secret Past: Cases in British Intelligence History*, (Wash, DC: Georgetown Univ. Press, 2011).
- Benjamin Fischer, "The Spy Who Came in for the Gold: A Skeptical View of the GTVANQUISH Case," *Journal of Intelligence History* (2008).
- Arthur S. Hulnick (Ed.) *Intelligence Issues 2012-2013: An Edited Collection of Significant Government Documents* (San Diego CA: Cognella, 2013). (This book is abbreviated as H hereafter.)
- Mark M. Lowenthal & Robert Clark. Eds., *The Five Disciplines of Intelligence Collection*, (Wash. DC: SAGE, 2015).
- Mark M. Lowenthal, *Intelligence from Secrets to Policy*, (Wash. DC: SAGE, 2015).

- ODNI, *National Intelligence Priorities Framework* (ICD-204, 2015) available at <http://www.dni.gov/files/documents/ICD/ICD%20204%20National%20Intelligence%20Priorities%20Framework.pdf> (visited Aug. 21, 2015).
- Dana Priest & William M. Arkin, WASHINGTON POST, *Top Secret America*. This article is a three-part series:
 - Part 1: “A Hidden World, Growing Beyond Control,” Jul. 19, 2010 available at <http://projects.washingtonpost.com/top-secret-america/articles/a-hidden-world-growing-beyond-control/> (visited Aug. 21, 2015).
 - Part 2: “National Security Inc.” Jul. 20, 2010, available at <http://projects.washingtonpost.com/top-secret-america/articles/national-security-inc/> (visited Aug. 21, 2015).
 - Part 3: “The Secrets Next Door,” Jul. 21, 2010 available at <http://projects.washingtonpost.com/top-secret-america/articles/secrets-next-door/> (visited Aug. 21, 2015).
- Michael Richardson, STRAITS TIMES, “Drug Smuggling: N Korea’s Top Money Spinner,” June 24, 2004.
- Gary Ross, *Who Watches the Watchmen? The Conflict Between National Security and Freedom of the Press*, (Wash, DC: NIU Press, 2011) available at http://ni-u.edu/ni_press/pdf/Who_Watches_the_Watchmen.pdf (visited Aug. 21, 2015).
- Barry G. Royden, *Tolkachev, A Worthy Successor to Penkovsky: An Exceptional Espionage Operation*, CIA Studies in Intelligence (2007), available at <https://www.cia.gov/library/center-for-the-study-of-intelligence/csi-publications/csi-studies/studies/vol47no3/article02.html> (visited Aug. 21, 2015).
- Russell G. Swenson & Susana C. Lemozy, Eds., *Democratization of Intelligence: Melding Strategic Intelligence and National Discourse* (Wash, DC: NDIC Press, 2009) available at http://ni-u.edu/ni_press/pdf/Democratization_of_Intelligence.pdf (visited Aug. 21, 2015).
- Russell G. Swenson & Carolina Sancho Hirane, Eds., *Intelligence Management in the Americas*, (Wash, DC: NIU Press, 2015) available at <http://ni-u.edu/wp/wp-content/uploads/2014/09/IntelMgmtintheAmericas.pdf> (visited Aug. 21, 2015).
- SPIEGEL ONLINE INTERNATIONAL, English Site, “An Eye for an Eye: The Anatomy of Mossad's Dubai Operation,” Jan. 17, 2011 available at <http://www.spiegel.de/international/world/an-eye-for-an-eye-the-anatomy-of-mossad-s-dubai-operation-a-739908.html> (visited Aug. 21, 2015).
- Michael J. Sulick, *Spying in America: Espionage from the Revolutionary War to the Dawn of the Cold War*, (Wash, DC: Georgetown Univ. Press, 2012).
- *Tenet v. Doe*, 544 U.S. 1 (2005) available at <https://supreme.justia.com/cases/federal/us/544/1/> (visited Aug. 21, 2015).
- Glenn J. Voelz, *Managing the Private Spies: Use of Commercial Augmentation for Intelligence Operations*, (Wash, DC: JMIC Press, 2006) available at http://ni-u.edu/ni_press/pdf/Managing_the_Private_Spies.pdf (visited Aug. 21, 2015).
- Michael Warner, *The Rise and Fall of Intelligence: An International Security History*, (Wash, DC: Georgetown Univ. Press, 2014).
- White House, *National Security Strategy*, (Feb. 2015) available at https://www.whitehouse.gov/sites/default/files/docs/2015_national_security_strategy_2.pdf (visited Aug. 21, 2015).
- John D. Woodward, Jr., MILITARY REVIEW, “Using Biometrics to Achieve Identity Dominance in the Global War on Terrorism,” Sept.-Oct. 2005, available at <http://www.au.af.mil/au/awc/awcgate/milreview/woodward.pdf> (visited Aug. 24, 2015).

- Amy B. Zegart, *Flawed by Design: The Evolution of the CIA, JCS, and NSC*, (Stanford, CA: Stanford Univ. Press, 1999).

Other readings may be assigned.

Class Summary: During the Fall 2016 Semester, IR 378 meets for a total of 40 (50 minute) classes, as shown below:

WK	DATES	NOTES
1	07 Sep W, 09 Sep F	Class.
2	12 Sep M, 14 Sep W, 16 Sep F	Class.
3	19 Sep M, 21 Sep W, 23 Sep F	Class.
4	26 Sep M, 28 Sep W, 30 Sep F	Class.
5	03 Oct M, 05 Oct W, 07 Oct F	Class. Quiz (in-class)
6	10 Oct M*, 11 Oct T, 12 Oct W, 14 Oct F	*No class on 10 Oct, M; Columbus Day holiday. We will meet on 11 Oct, Tuesday.
7	17 Oct M, 19 Oct W, 21 Oct F	Class.
8	24 Oct M, 26 Oct W, 28 Oct F	Class.
9	31 Oct M, 02 Nov W, 04 Nov F	Class.
10	07 Nov M, 09 Nov W, 11 Nov F	Class. Midterm Examination.
11	14 Nov M, 16 Nov W, 18 Nov F	Class.
12	21 Nov M, 23 Nov W*, 25 Nov F*	*No class on 23 Nov, W and 25 Nov, F. Thanksgiving Recess.
13	28 Nov M, 30 Nov W, 02 Dec F	Class.
14	05 Dec M, 07 Dec W, 09 Dec F	Class.
15	12 Dec M	Last Day of Class.
	TBD	Final Exam.

Week 1: 07 Sep W, 09 Sep F

Introduction to IR 378; Introduction to Intelligence

Themes:

- Instructor’s welcome, course administration, and housekeeping.
- Student introductions: Why are you taking this course and what do you hope to gain from it?
- Basic questions: What is intelligence? What is the intelligence cycle? What are its strengths and weaknesses as a model? What are classic intelligence functions? What is the relationship between intelligence and policymaking?

Readings:

- J, Chaps. 1&7.
- J&W, Chap. 5. In this reading, a veteran intelligence officer presents criticisms of the “intelligence cycle” model.
- AFIO, *Intelligence as a Career*, pp. 3-11. This reading is an excellent introduction to practical aspects of U.S. intelligence.

- The WMD Commission, “Appendix C: Intelligence Primer,” pp. 582-585 (Please read the short sections on What is Intelligence?, The Intelligence Cycle, and Other Intelligence Activities: Counterintelligence and Covert Action) *N.B.* Appendix C is a useful reference for the course.

Elements of US National Security

Themes:

- What are the challenges and opportunities facing U.S. national security interests and what is the U.S. strategy for dealing with them? What is the role, if any, for intelligence in this strategy?

Readings:

- Michael Warner, *The Rise and Fall of Intelligence: An International Security History*, Chap. 7, “The Shadow War.”
- White House, *National Security Strategy* (Feb. 2015).

Week 2: 12 Sep M, 14 Sep W, 16 Sep F

Elements of US National Security (continued)

Overview of US Intelligence from the American Revolution to WW2

Themes:

- What types of intelligence activities did the U.S. conduct from 1775 to 1945?

Readings:

- J, Chap. 2.
- J&W, Chap. 2.

Establishment of the US Intelligence Community

Themes:

- The National Security Act of 1947; from OSS to CIA; context of the Cold War.

Readings:

- Swenson & Lemozy, *Democratization of Intelligence*, Bowman H. Miller, “National Intelligence: Made in the U.S.A.,” pp. 99-114.
- Amy B. Zegart, *Flawed by Design*, Chap. 6, pp. 163-184.

Week 3: 19 Sep M, 21 Sep W, 23 Sep F

Current US Intelligence Community (IC)

Themes:

- What organizations comprise the current U.S. IC? Who is in charge of the IC? Who is responsible for what?

Readings:

- J, Chaps. 3, 12, & 13.
- AFIO, *Intelligence as a Career*, pp. 27-35.
- The WMD Commission, “Appendix C: Intelligence Primer.” Review this primer.
- Priest & Arkin, WASHINGTON POST, *Top Secret America*, Part 1.
- Recommended--Hulnick, pp. 57-74; 85-104.

IC / Intelligence Collection: OSINT

Themes:

- IC discussion continued.
- Open Source Intelligence.

Readings:

- J&W, Chap. 8.
- J, Chap. 4.

Week 4: 26 Sep M, 28 Sep W, 30 Sep F**Intelligence Collection: Technical Intelligence**

Themes:

- Overview of science and technology; signals; geospatial; imagery analysis; others.

Readings:

- J&W, Chap. 6.
- Lowenthal & Clark, *The Five Disciplines of Intelligence Collection*, Chaps. 4 (Signals) & 5 (Geospatial).

Intelligence Collection: HUMINT

Themes:

- Human Intelligence.

Readings:

- Mark M. Lowenthal, *Intelligence from Secrets to Policy*, pp. 127-137.

Week 5: 03 Oct M, 05 Oct W, 07 Oct F**Intelligence Collection: HUMINT (Continued)**

Themes:

- Human Intelligence discussion continued.
- Case Study: Adolph Tolkachev, described by the *Washington Post* as “One of CIA’s most valuable human assets in the Soviet Union.” Really?

Readings:

- Barry G. Royden, *Tolkachev*.
- Benjamin Fischer, “The Spy Who Came in for the Gold: A Skeptical View of the GTVANQUISH Case,” *Journal of Intelligence History* (2008) to be posted on Blackboard.

Quiz (in-class)**Intelligence Collection: Technical Intelligence**

Themes:

- Historical example of “Venona;” Measures & Signals Intelligence; “Big Data.”
- In-class Quiz.

Readings:

- Lowenthal & Clark, *The Five Disciplines of Intelligence Collection*, Chaps. 6 (MASINT)
- Michael J. Sulick, *Spying in America*, pp. 173-179.

In-Class Student Exercise

Themes:

- In this hypothetical scenario, students will form into small teams in the role of British intelligence officers and devise an operational plan to penetrate IRA activities in Northern Ireland in the 1970s.

Readings:

- TBD.

Week 6: 11 Oct T, 12 Oct W, 14 Oct F**Intelligence Analysis**

Themes:

- Analytic techniques, practices, and challenges.

Readings:

- J, Chaps. 5 & 6.
- J&W, Chaps. 10, 11, & 12.

Intelligence Analysis / Counterintelligence (CI), Counterespionage

Themes:

- CI mission and fundamentals.
- “The Spycatchers.”

Readings:

- J, Chap. 8.
- J&W, Chaps. 23 & 24.

Week 7: 17 Oct M, 19 Oct W, 21 Oct F**CI, Counterespionage**

Themes:

- Cases of Americans who spied for other countries.

Readings:

- J&W, Chaps. 25 & 26.
- H, pp. 125-134.

Not required but recommended leisure time viewing:

- *Tinker, Tailor, Soldier, Spy* (2011). A Soviet spy has penetrated British intelligence and George Smiley must ferret out the mole in this Cold War thriller based on the works of John leCarre.

Counterterrorism (CT) / Counterinsurgency (COIN) / Counternarcotics (CN)

Themes:

- Case Study: Biometric technologies used for CT & COIN.

Readings:

- J, pp. 309-312.
- H, 105-134.
- John D. Woodward, Jr., *MILITARY REVIEW*, “Using Biometrics.”

Week 8: 24 Oct M, 26 Oct W, 28 Oct F**CT/ COIN / CN**

Themes:

- COIN Case Study: Counterinsurgency in British Malaya.
- CN Case Study: The Case of the “Pong Su.”

Readings:

- J, 296-298. Omit “Hurricane Katrina” section.
- Mathew Jones, “Intelligence and Counterinsurgency: The Malayan Experience,” pp. 135-160, in Dover & Goodman Eds., *Learning from the Secret Past: Cases in British Intelligence History*.
- Michael Richardson, STRAITS TIMES, “Drug Smuggling: N Korea’s Top Money Spinner,” June 24, 2004.

Not required but recommended leisure time viewing:

- *The Battle of Algiers* (1966). From the Criterion Collection: “One of the most influential political films in history, Gillo Pontecorvo’s *The Battle of Algiers* (*La bataille d’Alger*) vividly re-creates a key year in the tumultuous Algerian struggle for independence from the occupying French in the 1950s . . . Shot in the streets of Algiers in documentary style, the film is a case study in modern warfare, with its terrorist attacks and the brutal techniques used to combat them.”
- *Breaker Moran* (1980). This film, set in South Africa during the Boer War, imparts valuable lessons of bureaucratic cynicism that are relevant for the United States in its recent CT and COIN efforts.

Week 9: 31 Oct M, 02 Nov W, 04 Nov F**Covert Action**

Themes:

- Using intelligence resources to carry out special operations—covert action; types of covert action, reasons for and against the use of covert action.

Readings:

- J. Chap. 9.
- J&W, Chap. 19.

Covert Action

Themes:

- Case Study of the Dubai Operation: In January 2010, Mahmoud al-Mabhouh, a senior Hamas member was found murdered in Dubai by what was widely perceived as a Mossad operation.

Readings:

- SPIEGEL ONLINE, “An Eye for an Eye.”

Not required but recommended leisure time viewing:

- *Anthropoid* (2016). This film, set in German-occupied Prague during the Second World War, recounts Operation Anthropoid, the code name for the Czechoslovakian resistance forces’ mission to assassinate SS (“*Schutzstaffel*”) officer Reinhard Heydrich, the German Reich’s third most senior leader behind

Hitler and Himmler and the leader of Nazi forces in Czechoslovakia. Adolf Hitler described Heydrich as “the man with the iron heart.”

Week 10: 07 Nov M, 09 Nov W, 11 Nov F

Midterm Examination

Overview of Foreign Intelligence Services / Honing Intelligence Skills

Themes:

- Discussion of various foreign intelligence services.

Readings:

- Mark M. Lowenthal, *Intelligence from Secrets to Policy*, pp. 447-499.
- TBD.

Week 11: 14 Nov M, 16 Nov W, 18 Nov F

Managing & Controlling Intelligence Activities: Executive Branch

Themes:

- The role of POTUS and the Executive Branch.
- In-class Exercise: NIPF.

Readings:

- J, Chap. 10.
- J&W, Chap. 35.
- Hulnick, pp. 29-74; 135-197.
- Joannisval Brito Goncalves, “Watching the Watchers: Oversight of Intelligence Services in Democratic Regimes,” pp. 57-78 in Swenson & Hirane, *Intelligence Management in the Americas*.
- ODNI, *National Intelligence Priorities Framework*.

Managing & Controlling Intelligence Activities: Legislative Branch

Themes:

- The role of Congress.

Readings:

- J&W, Chap. 27.
- TBD

Week 12: 21 Nov M

Managing & Controlling Intelligence Activities: Judicial Branch

Themes:

- The role of the Judicial Branch.

Readings:

- J&W, Chap. 29.
- Tenet v. Doe, 544 U.S. 1 (2005).

Week 13: 28 Nov M, 30 Nov W, 02 Dec F**The Role of the Media, Public Interest Organizations, & Public Opinion**

Themes:

- Examination of the roles played by these various stakeholders.
- In-class media exercise.

Readings:

- Gary Ross, *Who Watches the Watchmen?* pp. 1-17; 29-77 (Chap. 2); 79-123 (Chap. 3).
- TBD.

Privatization of Intelligence Activities / Ethical Issues in Intelligence

Themes:

- What is the proper role for the private sector to play in intelligence activities? What, if any, intelligence activities should be inherently governmental?

Readings:

- Voelz, *Managing the Private Spies*, pp. 5-21; 34-42.
- Priest & Arkin, WASHINGTON POST, *Top Secret America*, Parts 2 & 3.

Week 14: 05 Dec M, 07 Dec W, 09 Dec F**Big Data, Scientific and Technical Innovation, Intelligence Futures**

Themes:

- Challenges and opportunities: The future of intelligence in an increasingly technically advanced, interconnected, highly networked, and faster moving world.

Readings:

- J, Chaps. 14 & 15.
- TBD.

Intelligence Successes & Failures

Themes:

- Discussion of how major global events turned on intelligence.

Readings:

- J&W, Chaps. 9 & 33.

Week 15: 12 Dec M**Intelligence Successes & Failures (continued)****December __: Final Exam**