INTELLIGENCE: PRACTICES, PROBLEMS & PROSPECTS

Syllabus

17.951, Spring 2006
R. Vickers, B. Posen
Thursday, 10:30 a.m. – 12:30 p.m., E51-057

This course will explore the organization and functions of the U.S. Intelligence Community, its interaction with national security policymakers, key issues about its workings, and the challenges it faces in defining its future role. It will also look at some of the key intelligence missions, such as strategic warning, counterterrorism, counter proliferation, and counterinsurgency. The events of 9/11 and the invasion of Iraq have focused new attention on national intelligence, including the most significant reorganization of the community since the National Security Act of 1947. The course will highlight some of the major debates about the role, practices, and problems of national intelligence. Lectures are important and will include a discussion period in each session. One paper will be required at the end of the semester.

Required Texts

The following required text is available on the web:

"The Commission on the Intelligence Capabilities of the United States Regarding Weapons of Mass Destruction", March 31, 2005. (www.wmd.gov)

All other readings are posted on Stellar. Many of them are from two books that are recommended readings:

- Johnson, Loch K. and Wirtz, James J. eds., <u>Strategic Intelligence</u>, (Roxbury Publishing, Los Angeles, 2004)

- George, Roger Z. and Kline, Robert D. eds., <u>Intelligence and the National Security Strategist</u>, (National Defense University Press, Washington, D.C. 2004).

Online Intel Resources

The Literature of Intelligence: A Bibliography of Materials, with Essays, Reviews, and Comments, compiled by J. Ransom Clark of Muskingum College, is an exhaustive online compendium of intelligence literature divided by author and topic. This bibliography can be found at http://intellit.muskingum.edu/index.html.

The CIA's Center for the Study of Intelligence publishes unclassified articles and conference proceedings at www.cia.gov/csi.

The Federation of American Scientists (www.fas.org/irp) and the National Security Archive (www.gwu.edu/nsarchiv) also maintain useful websites on intelligence topics.

Two useful intelligence journals are *Intelligence and National Strategy* and the *International Journal of Intelligence and Counterintelligence*.

Daily media articles on current intelligence topics are posted by the Centre for Counterintelligence and Security Studies at www.cicentre.com.

Week 1 (Feb 9):   Introduction

This session provides a brief overview of the course. After introducing some key concepts and definitions, it looks at the relationship between political science and the study of intelligence.

Warner, Michael, "Wanted: A Definition of Intelligence", *Studies in Intelligence*, Vol. 6. no. 3, 2002. pp. 1-11.

Fry, Michael G. and Hochstein, Miles, "Epistemic Communities: Intelligence Studies and International Relations", in *Espionage: Past Present and Future*, pp 14-28.

Johnson, Loch K. "Bricks and Mortar for a Theory of Intelligence," *Comparative Strategy*, Vol. 22, No. 1 (2003), pp. 1-28.

Gaddis, John Lewis, Chapter Five, "Intelligence, Espionage, and Cold War History," in *The United States and the End of the Cold War: Implications, Reconsiderations, Provocations* (New York, NY: Oxford University Press, 1992), pp. 87-104.

Week 2 (Feb 16):   Origins and Functions of the Intelligence Community

This session will examine the origins of the intelligence community (IC) and its current functions and processes. It will also introduce elements of the intelligence reform debate, such as centralization vs. decentralization and the need for a strong Director of National Intelligence (DNI).

Aspin-Brown Commission, Appendix A, "The Evolution of the US Intelligence Community", pp 1-28.

Warner, Michael, "Central Intelligence: Origin and Evolution", in George and Kline, Intelligence and the National Security Strategist, chap 4. pp. 41-56.

Kindsvater, Larry, "A Senior Officer's Perspective: The Need to Reorganize the Intelligence Community," *Studies in Intelligence*, Vol. 47, No. 1 (2003). pp. 1-6.

Johnson and Wirtz. "Strategic Intelligence" chap 3, "The Use and Limits of US Intelligence", various authors. pp. 33-40.

Week 3 (Feb 23): Intelligence Structure and Budget

This session will examine in some detail the current structure and budget of the IC, as well as the recommendations of the 9/11 Commission , the subsequent Intelligence Reform Act of 2004, and the assessment of the WMD Commission. It will address the issue of whether the DNI has enough power over the intelligence budget.

Betts, Richard K. "The New Politics of Intelligence, Will reforms Work This Time?" in *Foreign Affairs*, May/June 2004.

WMD Commission Report, Appendix C, "An Intelligence Community Primer", pp. 579-589.

The 9/11 Commission Report, chap 13, pp 399-428.

Vickers, Robert. "Intelligence Reform: Problems and Prospects" in *Breakthroughs*, Spring 2005, vol. XIV, no. 1. pp. 3-10.

WMD Commission Report, chap 6, "Leadership and Management", pp. 311-350.

Daggett, Stephen. "The US Intelligence Budget: A Basic Overview", Congressional Research Service, 24 Sep 2004.

Week 4 (Mar 2): Technical Collection and Open Source

This session will discuss the various collection functions and the relative merits of technical collection, especially Sigint and Imint, including various proposals for change. It will also look at the use of open source material and discuss classification issues. Finally, it will address the debate about if there is too much technical collection and not enough human intelligence, as well and the value of open source information.

Goodman, Glenn W. "Space-based Surveillance" and "Unclassified Space Eyes" in George and Kline, chaps 10-11, pp 147-158.

Macartney, John D. "How Should We Explain MASINT" in George and Kline, chap 13, pp 169-180.

Aid, Matthew. "The US National Security Agency in the 21st Century" in George and Kline, chap 14, pp. 181-208.

George and Kline, Part VI, The Open Source Revolution" chaps 20-22, pp. 273-294.

WMD Commission Report, chap 7, "Collection", pp. 351-386.

Week 5 (Mar 9):   Human Collection and Counterintelligence

This session will discuss the need for Humint to wage war on terrorism and to support nonproliferation of WMD, as well as the need for strong counterintelligence efforts. The problems of Humint will be discussed, including the Plame controversy.

Mahle, Melissa B. Buzzflash Interview, 7 Feb 2005, Buzzflash.com. pp. 1-15.

Gorman, Siobhan. "Fewer, Better Spies Key to Intelligence Reform" in Govexec.com, 18 Mar 2005.

Statement by Brian P. Fairchild before the Joint Economic Committee of the United States Congress, May 20, 1998. pp. 1-13.

Shirley, Edward G. "Can't Anyone Here Play This Game", The Atlantic Monthly, Feb 1998. pp. 4-13.

Riley, Patrick. "CIA and Its Discontents" in Johnson and Wirtz, chap 4, pp. 48-55.

Cogan, Charles. "The In-Culture of the DO" in George and Kline, chap 15, pp. 209-215.

Olson, James M. "The Ten Commandments of Counterintelligence" in George and Kline, chap 18, pp. 251-258.

Rishikoff, Harvey. "The Role of the Federal Bureau of Investigation in National Security" in George and Kline, chap 9. pp. 125-143.

WMD Commission Report, chap 11, "Counterintelligence" pp. 485-497.

Week 6 (Mar 16):   **Analysis**

This session will examine how the community interacts in theory and practice, the different types of intelligence, especially current and estimative, and the difference between puzzles and mysteries. It will also look at the role of the National Intelligence Council in producing joint products and the issue of dissent, with the Iraq WMD estimate as a case study.

Lefebre, Stephane. "A Look at Intelligence Analysis" in the "International Journal of Intelligence and Counterintelligence", vol 17, no. 2 (20040) pp. 231-264.

George and Kline, chaps 23, 24 and 25. pp. 295-326.

Senate Select Committee on Intelligence, "Report on the U.S. Intelligence Community's Pre-War Assessments on Iraq: Conclusions," pp. 1-30.

WMD Commission Report, "Overview", pp. 1-37.

Johnson, Rob. "Analytic Culture in the US Intelligence Community", chap 2, pp. 9-28.

Watanabe, Frank. "Fifthteen Axioms for Intelligence Analysis" in Studies in Intelligence, no 1, 1997.

Week 7 (Mar 23):   **Intelligence and National Policy**

This session considers the relationship between policymakers and their intelligence advisers, the issue of politicization, and why intelligence is sometimes used and sometimes ignored.

Gormley, Dennis M. "The Limits of Intelligence: Iraq's Lessons" in *Survival*, vol 46, no 3 (2004), pp. 7-28.

Ransom, Henry Howe. "The Politicization of Intelligence" in Johnson and Wirtz, chap 14, pp. 171-182.

WMD Commission Report, chap 8, "Analysis" pp. 387-428.

George and Kline. chaps 31, 32 and 33. pp. 417-445.

Harkabi, Yehoshafat, "The Intelligence-Policymaker Tangle," *The Jerusalem Quarterly*, No. 30 (Winter 1984), pp. 125-131.

Hughes, Thomas L. *The Fate of Facts in a World of Men*, Headline Series No. 233 (New York: Foreign Policy Association, 1976). pp. 36-52.
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Week 8 (Apr 6):   **Surprise Attack and Strategic Warning**

This session will examine the role of strategic warning. It will discuss different approaches to warning and the problem of credibility. It will examine the current warning process, how warning priorities are determined, the difference between capabilities and intentions, and the role of denial and deception. Can surprise be avoided or is it a permanent feature of the practice of intelligence? Various case studies will be discussed, including the Indian nuclear test and 9/11, along with the debate about policy successes and warning failures.

Betts, Richard, "Analysis, War, and Decision: Why Intelligence Failures are Inevitable," *World Politics*, Vol. 31, No. 1 (1978), pp. 61-89.

Levite, Ariel. *Intelligence and Strategic Surprises* (Columbia University Press, New York: 1987), pp. 1-38.

Davis, Jack, " Improving CIA Analytic Performance: Strategic Warning" in Occasional Papers, vol.1. (2002). pp. 1-9

Davis, Jack. "strategic Warning: If Surprise Is Inevitable, What Role for Analysis?" in Occassional Papers, vol 2 , (2003). Pp. 2-17.

Vickers, Robert, Jr., "The State of Warning Today," *Defense Intelligence Journal¸* Vol. 7, No. 2, (1998), pp. 9-15.

Ellis, Jason D. and Geoffrey D. Kiefer. *Combating Proliferation: Strategic Intelligence and Security Policy* (Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press, 2004), "Intelligence Surprise", chap 4, pp.87-108.

Week 9 (Apr 13):   **Military Intelligence and Counterinsurgency**

This session focuses on the use of intelligence for military support. It looks the new role of support for military operations the CIA assumed after Desert Storm and the nasacent competition for intelligence assets between the national intelligence agencies and DOD in waging the war on terrorism.   There is special focus on the problems in Iraq.

George and Kline, chaps 35, 36, 37, and 38. pp. 459-507.

Markus, Ustina. "CIA in Decline, Pentagon on the Rise" in ISN Security Watch, 24 vJan 2005. pp. 1-8.

Grau, Lester W. "Guerrillas, Terrorists, and Intelligence Analysts," *Military Review* (July-August 2004), pp. 42-49.

Metz, Steven, "Insurgency and Counterinsurgency in Iraq," *The Washington Quarterly*, Vol. 27, No. 1 (Winter 2003-04), pp. 25-36.

Klein, Joe. "Saddam's Revenge" in *Time*, 26 Sep 2005. pp. 4-9.

Betts, Richard K. "Stability in Iraq", unpublished paper. 7 Jun 2005, pp. 1-10.

Week 10 (Apr 20):   **Covert Action**

This session examines the most controversial of CIA intelligence role, including past secret attempts to overthrow governments and assassinate foreign leaders. It will focus on the use of covert action to wage the war on terrorism, including rendition and secret prisons.

George and Kline, chap 39. "US Central Intelligence Agency Forces", pp 509-515.

Johnson and Wirtz, chaps 20, 21, 22, 28 and 29. pp. 260-286 and 370-396.

Mayer, Jane. "Outsourcing Torture" in The *New Yorker,* 2 Feb 05, pp. 1-18.

Prist, Dana. "CIAA Holds Terror Suspects in Secret Prisons" in the *Washington Post*, 2 Nov 05, pp. 3-7.

Week 11 (Apr 27):   **Counterterrorism and Homeland Security**

The focus in this session will be on the role of intelligence in counterterrorism and the requirements for both tactical and strategic analysis. It will also examine the role of centers in the intelligence community, especially the Counterterrorism Center. Finally it will look at the historical separation between domestic and foreign intelligence, the different roles of intelligence and law enforcement, and what this means for the future.

George and Kline. chap. 27, "Building Leverage in the Long War" pp. 341-358.

Berkowitz, Bruce, "Intelligence and the War on Terrorism," *Orbis*, Vol. 46, No. 2 (Spring 2002), pp. 289-3000.

"Coordinating the War on Terrorism," various authors, RAND Corporation, Occasional Paper, March 2004. pp. 1-19.

Marrin, Stephen. "Homeland Security and the Analysis of Foreign Intelligence", the Markle Foundation, 15 Jul 2002. pp. 1-17.

Pillar, Paul R. "Counterterrorism after Al Qaida" in The *Washington Quarterly*, Summer 2004, pp. 101-113.

WMD Commission Report. "Intelligence at Home: the FBI, Justice, and Homeland Security", chap 10. pp. 451-483.

Week 12 (May 4):   **WMD and Nonproliferation**

This session will examine the role of intelligence in support of counter-proliferation and the special problems of denial and deception. It will focus on countries of key proliferation concern, including North Korea, Iran, Iraq, and Libya, and the growing threat of acquisition of WMD by terrorist groups.

WMD Commission Report, chap 8, "Analysis", pp. 387-428.

WMD Commission Report, chap 9, "Information Sharing", pp. 429-450.

WMD Commission Report, chap 13, "The Changing Proliferation Threat", pp. 501-526.

Ellis, Jason D. and Geoffrey D. Kiefer. *Combating Proliferation: Strategic Intelligence and Security Policy* (Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press, 2004). Chapters 2, 3, and 5. pp. 24-84 and 110-144.

Treverton, Gregory F., "Intelligence: The Achilles Heel of the Bush Doctrine," *Arms Control Today* (July/August 2003).

Summary of Duelfer Report

Week 13 (May 11):   **Intelligence and Democracy**

This session will address various issues related to intelligence oversight and accountability, the problems of secrecy in an open society, and ethical and moral questions about fundamental values.

Johnson and Wirtz, chaps 27, 30, 31, and 32. pp. 351-369 and 397-425.

Johnson, Loch K., "The CIA and the Question of Accountability," *Intelligence and National Security*, Vol. 12, No. 1 (January 1997), pp. 178-200.

Knott, Stephen, "Executive Power and the Control of American Intelligence," *Intelligence and National Security*, Vol. 13, No. 2 (Summer 1998), pp. 171-176.

Johnson, Loch K., "Intelligence and the Challenge of Collaborative Government," *Intelligence and National Security*, Vol. 13, No. 2 (Summer 1998), pp. 177-182.

Week 14 (May 12):   **Overview: Intelligence Reform and Future Threats**

This session will review the main lessons of the course and speculate on the future of intelligence.