

INTELLIGENCE AND SECURITY

Dr Paul Robinson
Winter 2007

Course schedule: Thursdays 1600-1900 hrs.

Location: VNR 061

Availability: Thursdays 1400-1600 hrs.

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OFFICIAL COURSE DESCRIPTION

This course introduces students to the practice of intelligence and the means by which it is integrated into the security policy making process. It examines the principles of intelligence, sources and agencies, intelligence analysis, the causes of intelligence failure, and intelligence oversight. It also provides an overview of the intelligence and security services of Canada, the United States, and various other countries.

GENERAL COURSE OBJECTIVES

The course aims to provide students with an understanding of the following subjects:

- What intelligence is and what role it plays in the making of government security policy.
- The sources of secret intelligence.
- The analytical process by which intelligence is created and the causes of intelligence failure.
- The structure and workings of the intelligence communities in a variety of states.
- Debates concerning the contradictory requirements of official secrecy and public oversight of the intelligence and security services.

SPECIFIC OBJECTIVES

By the end of this course, students should:

- Understand the difference between information and intelligence and how one is turned into the other.
- Have a basic understanding of human, signals, and imagery intelligence, and the advantages and disadvantages of each.
- Be aware of the various forms of covert action, and the problems associated with them.
- Have a detailed knowledge of the intelligence communities in Canada and the USA, and a basic knowledge of those in the United Kingdom, France, Russia, China and Israel.
- Be able to discuss intelligently ethical issues concerning secret intelligence.

- Understand how to write an intelligence estimate.
- Understand the causes of intelligence failure in the cases of Pearl Harbor, Yom Kippur, 9/11, and Iraqi weapons of mass destruction.
- Have a good knowledge of the systems of intelligence oversight in Canada, the USA and the UK.

EVALUATION

The evaluation will be divided as such:

A. *Participation/Presentation (10%)*

B. *Intelligence Exercise (10%)*

C. *1,500 word essay, due on 15 February 2007 (20%)*

D. *1,500 word essay, due on 29 March 2007 (20%)*

E. *Final take-home examination (Intelligence Estimate) (40%), due back 13 April 2007.*

The class will be divided into 6 groups. Each group will be responsible for 5 in-class presentations, which may be delivered individually or in pairs. Presentation topics are listed in the course outline. Presentations should last 15 minutes for individual ones, and 20-25 minutes for pairs. The presentation will be graded and make up 10% of the final mark.

Each group will work together on the intelligence exercise. Performance on the exercise will be graded, and will make up 10% of the final mark.

The final take-home examination will oblige students to prepare an intelligence estimate on a question to be provided by Dr Robinson in class on 5 April. All materials for the production of the estimate will be provided to students at that time. The estimate is to be returned to Dr Robinson by 5 pm on Friday 13 April. Late submissions will be given a mark of zero.

The two 1,500 word essays must be handed into Dr Robinson in class on the days cited. Late essays will be penalised by the subtraction of 3% for each day the essay is late. Essays more than 10% longer or shorter than 1,500 words (ie under 1,350 and over 1,650 words) will also be penalised. The essays must be written on the following topics:

Essay 1: Write 1,500 words on one of the following:

- Why is human intelligence so tricky?
- What is the impact of the computer information revolution on the collection and analysis of intelligence?
- Assess the likely effectiveness of the recent reforms in the US intelligence community.
- Is Canada well served by its intelligence and security agencies?

Essay 2: Write 1,500 words on one of the following:

- Is intelligence failure inevitable?

- Do covert operations do more harm than good?
- Should intelligence agencies in liberal democracies be permitted to practice torture?
- Does oversight enhance or diminish the effectiveness of intelligence and security agencies?

COURSE OUTLINE

The course textbook is: Mark M. Lowenthal, *Intelligence: From Secrets to Policy* (CQ Press, 2006). Copies are available for sale at the Agora bookstore. Readings from the textbook are marked with a *.

A package of photocopies of some of the other readings is also available for purchase at the Agora bookstore. Reading from the package are marked with a +.

The course outline also contains numerous other optional readings which students may find useful. This list is not, however, exhaustive, and there are many other readings available in the library for those who wish to learn more.

4 January – Introduction: What is Intelligence?

* Mark M. Lowenthal, *Intelligence: From Secrets to Policy*, Chapters 1 & 4.

+ John Hughes Wilson, 'On Intelligence', in *Military Intelligence Blunders* (London: Robinson, 1999).

11 January - Intelligence Collection

Presentations:

Group 1: Cryptography

Group 2: Human Intelligence

Group 3: Signals Intelligence (minus cryptography)

Group 4: Imagery Intelligence

* Mark M. Lowenthal, *Intelligence: From Secrets to Policy*, Chapter 5.

Federation of American Scientists webpage:

- 'Intelligence Programs and Systems', <http://www.fas.org/irp/program/index.html>
- 'IMINT Gallery', <http://www.fas.org/irp/imint/index.html>

'Intelligence Gathering: Evaluating Sources for Objective Analysis', *Online*, Jan/Feb 2000 (available online via Academic Search Premier/EBSCO).

Simon Singh, *The Code Book: The Science of Secrecy from Ancient Egypt to Quantum Cryptography* (Harper Collins, 2000).

James Bamford, *The Puzzle Palace: A Report on America's Most Secret Agency* (Houghton Mifflin, 1982).

Loch K. Johnson, 'Spies', *Foreign Policy*, no. 120, Sep/Oct 2000, pp. 18-26.

William Burrows, *Deep Black: Space Espionage and National Security* (Random House, 1986).

18 January - Security Intelligence & Intelligence Security

Presentations:

Group 5: *Allied Deception Operations in World War Two: The Double Cross System*

Group 6: *Allied Deception Operations in World War Two: D-Day*

Group 1: *Cyberwarfare: the Threat*

Group 2: *Cyberwarfare: the Response (computer security)*

* Mark M. Lowenthal, *Intelligence: From Secrets to Policy*, Chapter 7.

Thaddeus Holt, *The Deceivers: Allied Military Deception in the Second World War* (Scribner, 2004).

Clifford Stoll, *The Cuckoo's Egg: Tracking a Spy through the Maze of Computer Espionage* (Doubleday, 1989).

John. V. Blane (ed.), *Cyberwarfare: Terror at a Click* (Huntington: Novinka, 2001).

Global Organized Crime Project, *Cybercrime, Cyberterrorism, Cyberwarfare: Averting an Electronic Waterloo* (Washington, DC: CSIS Press, 1998).

Bruce D. Berkowitz & Allan E. Goodman, *Best Truth: Intelligence in the Information Age* (Yale University Press, 2000).

25 January – Film, ‘Dirty War’

Stevens Report – http://sinnfein.ie/pdf/stevens_inquiry.pdf

+Charles Ruud & Sergei Stepanov, *Fontanka 16: The Tsar's Secret Police* (Stroud: Sutton, 1999), Chapter 7, ‘Azeff, the Superagent’.

+Andrew Mitrovica, ‘Front Man’, *The Walrus*, September 2004, pp. 33-45

Questions for discussion:

- What do the cases of Nelson, Azeff and Bristow have in common?
- What do these cases reveal about the problems of handling human agents?
- Should intelligence agencies and their agents be permitted to break the law in pursuit of terrorists?
- Should intelligence agencies allow crimes to be committed by others in order to protect their sources within terrorist organizations?

1 February - US Intelligence

Presentations:

Group 3: *The Central Intelligence Agency*

Group 4: *The National Security Agency*

Group 5: The Defence Intelligence Agency

Group 6: Does the US rely too much on technical sources of intelligence?

* Mark M. Lowenthal, *Intelligence: From Secrets to Policy*, Chapters 2, 3, 9, 11 & 12.

Amos Jordan et al, *American National Security: Policy and Process*, 'Intelligence and National Security', Chapter 7.

+Matthew M. Aid, 'The Time of Troubles: the US National Security Agency in the Twenty-First Century', *Intelligence and National Security*, vol. 15, no. 3, Autumn 2000, pp. 1-32.

Rhodri Jeffreys-Jones, *The CIA and American Democracy*, 3rd edition (Yale University Press, 2003).

Jeffrey T. Richelson, *The US Intelligence Community* (Westview Press, 1999).

Richard A. Posner, *Uncertain Shield: The US Intelligence System in the Throes of Reform* (Rowman & Littlefield, 2006).

James Bamford, *The Puzzle Palace: A Report on America's Most Secret Agency* (Houghton Mifflin, 1982).

Arthur S. Hulnick, *Fixing the Spy Machine: Preparing American Intelligence for the Twenty-First Century* (Praeger, 1999).

Edward G. Shirley, 'Can't Anyone Here Play this Game?', *Atlantic Monthly*, February 1998, pp. 45-63.

Ruel Marc Gerecht, 'The Counterterrorist Myth', *Atlantic Monthly*, August 2001, pp. 38-42.

8 February - The Canadian Intelligence Community

Guest Panel (details to follow)

'Security Intelligence in Canada', in Peter Chalk & William Rosenau, *Confronting the Enemy Within: Security Intelligence, the Police, and Counterterrorism in Four Democracies*.

Philip Rosen, *The Canadian Security Intelligence Service* (Library of Parliament, 2000). Available online: <http://www.parl.gc.ca/information/library/PRBpubs/8427-e.htm>

Jerome Mellon, *The Missing Agency: The Case for a Canadian Foreign Intelligence Service* (University of Salford, 2003). Available online at: http://cv.jmellon.com/cfis_2.pdf

The Report of the Special Senate Committee on Security and Intelligence (Ottawa, 1999).

15 February - Other foreign security and intelligence services

Presentations:

Group 1: The United Kingdom

Group 2: The Russian Federation & Former Soviet Union

Group 3: China
Group 4: Israel
Group 5: France

* Mark M. Lowenthal, *Intelligence: From Secrets to Policy*, Chapter 15.

Federation of American Scientists Webpage, 'World Intelligence Agencies',
<http://www.fas.org/irp/world/index.html>

Peter Chalk & William Rosenau, *Confronting the Enemy 'Within': Security Intelligence, the Police, and Counterterrorism in Four Democracies* (Santa Monica: RAND, 2004).

National Intelligence Machinery (London: The Stationery Office, 2006), available online at:
<http://www.cabinetoffice.gov.uk/publications/reports/intelligence/NationalIntelligenceMachinery.pdf>

MI5 website: <http://www.securityservice.gov.uk>

R.G. Grant, *MI5, MI6: Britain's Security and Secret Intelligence Services* (Bison, 1989).

Nicholas Eftimiades, *Chinese Intelligence Operations* (Naval Institute Press, 1994).

Amy Knight, *The KGB, Police and Politics in the Soviet Union* (Allen & Unwin, 1988).

Christopher Andrew, *The Mitrokhin Archive: The KGB in Europe and the West* (Allen Lane, 1999).

Uri Dan, *Mossad: 50 ans de guerre secrete* (Presses de la Cité, 1995).

+Nigel West, 'La Piscine', in *Games of Intelligence: The Classified Conflict of International Espionage* (New York: Crown, 1989), pp. 171-192.

22 February - Reading Week, no class

1 March - Intelligence Analysis & Intelligence Failure

* Mark M. Lowenthal, *Intelligence: From Secrets to Policy*, Chapter 6.

Philip Davies, 'Organizational Politics and the Development of Britain's Intelligence Producer/Consumer Interface', *Intelligence and National Security*, vol. 10, no. 4, Oct. 1995, pp. 113-132.

Harald P. Ford, 'The US Government's Experience with Intelligence Analysis: Pluses and Minuses', *Intelligence and National Security*, vol. 10, no. 4, Oct. 1995, pp. 34-53.

8 March – Presentations on Intelligence Failure

Presentations:

Group 6: Pearl Harbor

Group 1: Yom Kippur

Group 2: 9/11

Group 3: Iraq and Weapons of Mass Destruction (US perspective)

Group 4: Iraq and Weapons of Mass Destruction (UK perspective)

*David Kaiser, 'Conspiracy or Cock-up? Pearl Harbor Revisited', *Intelligence and National Security*, vol. 19, no. 2, April 1994, pp. 354-72.

R. Wohlstetter, *Pearl Harbor: Warning and Decision* (Stanford University Press, 1962).

+ J. Gross Stein, 'Intelligence and Stupidity Reconsidered: Estimation and Decision in Israel, 1973', *Journal of Strategic Studies*, vol. 3, no. 2, Sep 1980, pp. 147-177.

The 9/11 Commission report : final report of the National Commission on Terrorist Attacks upon the United States (Norton, 2004).

Review of Intelligence of Weapons of Mass Destruction (the Butler Report). Available for download at: <http://www.butlerreview.org.uk/>

James Bamford, *A Pretext for War: 9/11, Iraq and the Abuse of America's Intelligence Agencies* (New York: Doubleday, 2004).

Spencer Akerman & John B. Judis, 'The Selling of the Iraq War. The First Casualty', *The New Republic*, 30 June 2003. Available via online electronic journals on EBSCO.

+Jeffrey Goldberg, 'The Unknown: The CIA and the Pentagon take another look at Al Qaeda and Iraq', *New Yorker*, 10 February 2003, pp. 40-47.

Seymour Hersh, 'Selective Intelligence: Donald Rumsfeld has his own Special Sources. Are they Reliable?', *New Yorker*, 6 May 2003, available online at: <http://www.commondreams.org/view03/0506-06.htm>

+John Cassidy, 'The David Kelly Affair', *New Yorker*, 8 December 2003, pp. 90-111.

Lawrence Freedman, 'War in Iraq: Selling the Threat', *Survival*, vol. 46, no. 2, Summer 2004, pp. 7-50 (available online via university library catalogue).

Chaim Kaufmann, 'Threat Inflation and the Failure of the Marketplace of Ideas: The Selling of the Iraq War', *International Security*, vol. 29, no. 1, Summer 2004, pp. 5-48 (available online via university library catalogue).

Dennis Gormley, 'The Limits of Intelligence: Iraq's Lessons', *Survival*, vol. 46, no. 3, Autumn 2004, pp. 7-28 (available online via university library catalogue).

15 March - Intelligence Exercise

Details to follow

22 March - Covert Action

Presentations:

Group 5: American covert operations

Group 6: British covert operations

Group 1: Soviet 'active measures' prior to World War Two

Group 2: Soviet 'active measures' after World War Two

* Mark M. Lowenthal, *Intelligence: From Secrets to Policy*, Chapter 8.

Mario Del Pero, 'The Role of Covert Operations in US Cold War Foreign Policy', in Heike Bengert et al (eds), *Secret Intelligence in the Twentieth Century* (Frank Cass, 2003).

Barry Blechman, 'The Politics of National Security: Congress and US Defence Policy' (OUP, 1990), Chapter entitled 'Covert Operations'.

Roy Godson, *Dirty Tricks or Trump Cards: US Covert Action and Counterintelligence* (Brassey's, 1995).

Gregory F. Treverton, *Covert Action: the Limits of Intervention in the Postwar World* (Basic Books, 1987).

Bob Woodward, *Veil: the Secret Wars of the CIA, 1981-1987* (Simon & Schuster, 1987)

Jonathan Bloch & Patrick Fitzgerald, *British Intelligence and Covert Action: Africa, Middle East and Europe since 1945* (Brandon, 1983).

+ 'Activism, Provocation, and Paranoia', in Paul Robinson, *The White Russian Army in Exile* (Oxford University Press, 2002).

Christopher Andrew, *Le KGB dans le Monde* (Fayard, 1990)

Christopher Andrew, *The Mitrokhin Archive: The KGB in Europe and the West* (Allen Lane, 1999).

29 March - Ethical Issues

Presentations:

Group 3: Torture

Group 4: Extraordinary Rendition

* Mark M. Lowenthal, *Intelligence: From Secrets to Policy*, Chapter 13.

+Mark Bowden, 'The Dark Art of Interrogation', *Atlantic Monthly*, October 2003, 51-76.

+Michael Herman, 'Ethics and Intelligence after September 2001', in L.V. Scott & Peter Jackson (eds), *Understanding Intelligence in the Twenty-First Century* (London: Routledge, 2004).

+Alistair Horne, 'The Battle of Algiers', in *A Savage War of Peace* (New York: Viking Press, 1978), pp. 183-207.

Aziz Z. Huq, 'Extraordinary Rendition and the Wages of Hypocrisy', *World Policy Journal*, vol. 23, no. 1, Spring 2006, pp. 25-35 (available online via Academic Search Premier/Ebsco).

5 April - Intelligence Oversight

Presentations:

Group 5: *How successful has legislative oversight been in the United States?*

Group 6: *Does the oversight of intelligence and security agencies in Canada need changing?*

* Mark M. Lowenthal, *Intelligence: From Secrets to Policy*, Chapter 10.

Barry M. Blechman, *The Politics of National Security: Congress and US Defence Policy* (New York: OUP, 1990). Chapter entitled 'Covert Operations'.

Loch K. Johnson, 'Intelligence and the Challenge of Collaborative Government', *Intelligence and National Security*, vol. 13, no. 2, Summer 1998, pp. 177-182.

The Canadian Intelligence Community: Control and Accountability, Report of the Auditor General of Canada, 1996 (available through <http://www.loyola.edu/dept/politics/intel.htm>)

+Stuart Farson, 'Parliament and its Servants: Their Role in Scrutinizing Canadian Intelligence', *Intelligence and National Security*, vol. 15, no. 2, Summer 2000, pp. 225-258.

Stuart Farson, 'In Crisis and in Flux? Politics, Parliament, and Canada's Intelligence Policy', *Journal of Conflict Studies*, vol. 16, no. 1, Fall 1997, available online at:
<http://www.lib.unb.ca/Texts/JCS/bin/get.cgi?directory=S96/articles/&filename=farson.html#top>

Beware of Academic Fraud!

Academic fraud is an act committed by a student to distort the marking of assignments, tests, examinations and other forms of academic evaluation. Academic fraud is neither accepted nor tolerated by the University. Anyone found guilty of academic fraud is liable to severe academic sanctions.

Here are a few examples of academic fraud:

- engaging in any form of plagiarism or cheating;
- presenting falsified research data;
- handing in an assignment that was not authored, in whole or in part, by the student;
- submitting the same assignment in more than one course, without the written consent of the professors concerned

In recent years, the development of the Internet has made it much easier to identify academic plagiarism. The tools available to your professors allow them to trace the exact origin of a text on the Web, using just a few words.

In cases where students are unsure whether they are at fault, it is their responsibility to consult the University's Web site at the following address; you will find « *Tools for Writing Papers and Assignments* » to http://www.socialsciences.uottawa.ca/eng/writing_tools.asp

Persons who have committed or attempted to commit (or have been accomplices to) academic fraud will be penalized. Here are some examples of the academic sanctions, which can be imposed:

- a grade of « F » for the assignment or course in question;

- an additional program requirement of between three and 30 credits;
- suspension or expulsion from the faculty.

Last session, most of the students found guilty of fraud were given an « F » for the course and had between three and twelve credits added to their program requirement.

For more information, see:

http://www.uottawa.ca/academic/info/newsletter/fraud_e.html