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UNIVERSITY OF CALGARY — DEPARTMENT OF POLITICAL SCIENCE

POLI 575 – Intelligence and Policy

Instructor Dr. Gavin Cameron — SS 718 — Ph. 403 220 7060
E-mail gcameron@ucalgary.ca
Office Hours By appointment
Class Time R - 1230-1515 (170 minutes) SA123
Pre-requisite POLI 381

COURSE DESCRIPTION, OBJECTIVES AND LEARNING OUTCOMES

The course will consider the nature of intelligence, how it is collected and analysed (and how those each fit into wider political and policy processes), and then issues of democratic accountability and oversight for intelligence organizations. The course will be taught as a seminar, combining discussion and some hands on intelligence analysis (as a means of illustrating the possibilities / limits of various methods). Students will acquire an understanding of the role of intelligence within several democratic states, how it affects policy within those states, and the limits of intelligence. Students will enhance their writing skills through three assignments. By problematizing the collection, analysis and policy-oriented use of information within the intelligence framework, the course will also encourage students to self-critically assess the challenges for their own use of information for analysis.

COURSE REQUIREMENTS & GRADES

Assessment will be as follows:

2 Short Assignments (5 pages each)	<u>Due October 18 and November 1</u>	20% each
Research Paper (20 pages)	<u>Due November 22</u>	50%
Class Participation		10%

Short Assignments

For each assignment, you will be given something (a document, photos etc) to analyse and you are asked to make an assessment of what that information can (and cannot) tell you and of the confidence with which you can make your analytical claims.

Participation

In order for the seminar format of the class to work, everyone must not only attend each session of the class, but also must be prepared to discuss the topic of that week. You should expect to read the relevant part of the textbook and at least two of the supplementary readings each week. Participation will be assessed on both the quality and quantity of contributions to class discussions.

Research Paper

Students should select topics and questions for their research papers in consultation with the instructor.

Writing Statement

Written assignments are often required in Political Science courses, including this one, and the quality of writing skills, including but not limited to such elements as grammar, punctuation, sentence structure, clarity, citation, and organization, will be taken into account in the determination of grades. Students are encouraged to make use of the services offered through Writing Support Services in the Student Success Centre (3rd floor of the Taylor Family Digital Library) or at <http://www.ucalgary.ca/ssc/writing-support>.

Submission of work

Overdue work will not be accepted unless there is a legitimate reason for the lateness that is accompanied by supporting evidence.

Assignments may be submitted either in hardcopy in class or electronically via email.

Grading:

A+ = 95-100	B+ = 77-79	C+ = 67-69	D+ = 55-59
A = 85-94	B = 73-76	C = 63-66	D = 50-54
A- = 80-84	B- = 70-72	C- = 60-62	F = 0-49

Readings**Textbook:**

Peter Gill and Mark Pythian, *Intelligence in an Insecure World*, 2nd ed. (Polity, 2012)

Other Useful Books:

Mark Lowenthal, *Intelligence from Secrets to Policy* (CQ Press, 2016) – 4th-7th editions are all fine, but page numbers will vary.

Loch Johnson and James Wirtz (eds.) *Intelligence: The Secret World of Spies – An Anthology* (OUP, 2014) – 4th edition (older editions are also ok)

Both books are in the UofC Library.

All of the major Canadian, UK and US intelligence organizations have extensive websites that you can and should explore for additional information.

Unless otherwise noted below, all journal articles listed are available via the UofC library.

SCHEDULE - this plan for weekly topics may be subject to change**Week 1 – September 6****What is intelligence?**

- Gill & Pythian Chapters 1 & 2
- Lowenthal Chapter 1

- Michael Warner, “Wanted: A Definition of ‘Intelligence’” *Studies in Intelligence*, 46/3 (2002) available at: <http://www2.warwick.ac.uk/fac/soc/pais/staff/aldrich/vigilant/warner.wanted.pdf>
- Michael Warner, “Fragile & Provocative: Notes on Secrecy & Intelligence” *Intelligence and National Security* 27/2 (2012) pp. 223-40

Week 2 – September 13

Who does intelligence?

- Gill and Phythian Chapter 3
- Philip Davies, “Ideas of Intelligence: Divergent National Concepts and Institutions” *Harvard International Review* 24/3 (2002), pp. 62-66
- Arthur Hulnick, “Risky Business: Private Sector Intelligence in the United States” *Harvard International Review* 24/3 (2002), pp. 68-72.
- Gustavo Díaz Matey, “The Use of Intelligence in the Private Sector” *International Journal of Intelligence & Counterintelligence* 26/2 (2013) pp. 272-87
- John A. Gentry, “Toward a Theory of Non-State Actors’ Intelligence” *Intelligence and National Security* 31/4 (2016) pp. 465-489

Week 3 – September 20

Intelligence communities in Australia, Canada, the UK and US

- Lowenthal Chapter 3
- “The organization of the US intelligence community” Johnson & Wirtz Epilogue
- Peter Chalk & William Rosenau *Confronting the “Enemy Within”: Secret Intelligence, Policing and Counterterrorism in Four Democracies*, RAND Available online at: <http://www.rand.org/pubs/monographs/MG100.html>
- Stuart Farson & Nancy Teeple, “Increasing Canada’s Foreign Intelligence Capability: Is it a Dead Issue?” *Intelligence and National Security*, Vol 30, No. 1 (2015), pp. 47-76
- Martin Rudner “Canada’s Communications Security Establishment, Signals Intelligence and Counterterrorism,” *Intelligence and National Security*, Vol. 22, No. 4 (August, 2007), pp. 473-490.
- S. Lander, “International intelligence cooperation: An inside perspective” *Cambridge Review of International Affairs* 17/3 (2004), pp. 481-93.
- James Cox, *Canada and the Five Eyes Intelligence Community*, Strategic Studies Working Group Papers, Canadian International Council, December 2012 Available online at: <http://opencanada.org/wp-content/uploads/2012/12/SSWG-Paper-James-Cox-December-2012.pdf.pdf>

Week 4 – September 27

The intelligence cycle and the policy process

- Lowenthal Chapters 4, 7
- Arthur Hulnick, “The intelligence cycle” Johnson & Wirtz Chapter 5
- James Wirtz, “The intelligence-policy nexus” Johnson & Wirtz Chapter 16
- Jack Davis, “Intelligence Analysts and Policymakers” Johnson & Wirtz Chapter 13
- Mark Lowenthal, “Tribal Tongues: Intelligence Consumers, Intelligence Producers” Johnson & Wirtz Chapter 14

- Glenn Hastedt, “The Politics of Intelligence and the Politicization of Intelligence: The American Experience” *Intelligence and National Security* 28/1 (2013) pp. 5-31
- Stephen Marrin, “Rethinking Analytic Politicization” *Intelligence and National Security* 28/1 (2013) pp. 32-54

Week 5 – October 4

Collection 1 – HUMINT & OSINT

- Gill and Phythian Chapter 4
- Lowenthal Chapter 5
- Frederick Hirtz, “Human source intelligence” Johnson & Wirtz Chapter 7
- Stephen Mercado, “Open source intelligence” Johnson & Wirtz Chapter 8

Week 6 – October 11

Game # 1 – HUMINT Collection

Week 7 – October 18

Collection 2 – SIGINT & IMINT

- Gill and Phythian Chapter 4
- Lowenthal Chapter 5
- Michael Warner, “Technology and intelligence” Johnson & Wirtz Chapter 6
- Mathew Aid, “All Glory is Fleeting: Sigint and the Fight against international terrorism” *Intelligence & National Security* 18/4 (Winter 2003), pp. 72-120

Week 8 – October 25

Analysis

- Gill and Phythian Chapter 5
- Lowenthal Chapter 6
- Richard Betts, “Surprise despite warning: Why sudden attacks succeed” *Political Science Quarterly* 95/4 (1980), pp. 551-72
- Robert Blackwill and Jack Davis, “A Policymaker's Perspective on Intelligence Analysis” Johnson & Wirtz Chapter 11
- Jeffrey Friedman & Richard Zeckhauser, “Assessing Uncertainty in Intelligence” *Intelligence and National Security* 27/6 (2012) pp. 824-47
- Stephen Marrin, “Is Intelligence Analysis an Art or a Science?” *International Journal of Intelligence & Counterintelligence* 25/3 (2012) pp. 527-45
- Mark Lowenthal, “A Disputation on Intelligence Reform and Analysis: My 18 Theses” *International Journal of Intelligence & Counterintelligence* 26/1 (2013) pp. 31-7

Week 9 – November 1

Game # 2 – The ambiguity of analysis

Week 10 – November 8

Intelligence failures

- Gill and Phythian Chapter 7

- Daniel Byman, “Strategic surprise and the September 11 attack”, *Annual Review of Political Science* 8 (2005), pp. 145-170.
- James Wirtz, “Déjà vu? Comparing Pearl Harbour and September 11” *Harvard International Review* 24/3 (2002) pp. 73-77.
- Amy Zegart, “The Cuban Missile Crisis as Intelligence Failure” *Policy Review* (October/November 2012) pp. 23-39
- Richard Betts, “Analysis, War, and Decision: Why Intelligence Failures are Inevitable” Johnson & Wirtz Chapter 10
- Mark Jensen, “Intelligence Failures: What Are They Really & What Do We Do About Them?” *Intelligence and National Security* 27/2 (2012) pp. 261-282
- Daniel Byman, “Intelligence and its critics” *Studies in Conflict and Terrorism*, <http://www.tandfonline.com/doi/full/10.1080/1057610X.2015.1108086>
- Ehud Eiran, “The Three Tensions of Investigating Intelligence Failures” *Intelligence and National Security* 31/4 (2016) pp. 598-618

Week 11 – November 15

November 11-17 – READING DAYS – NO CLASSES

Week 12 – November 22

Iraq

- Gill and Phythian Chapter 7
- Robert Jervis, “Reports, Politics and Intelligence Failures: The case of Iraq” *Journal of Strategic Studies* 29/1 (2006) pp. 3-52.
- Richard Aldrich, “Whitehall and the Iraq War: The UK’s Four Intelligence Enquiries” *Irish Studies in International Affairs* 16 (2005) pp. 73-88
- Philip Flood, Report of the Inquiry into Australian Intelligence Agencies, July 31 2004 available at: http://www.pmc.gov.au/publications/intelligence_inquiry/

Week 13 - November 29

Oversight, Budget & Democracy

- Gill and Phythian Chapter 8
- Lowenthal Chapters 8 & 11
- M.C Ott, “Partisanship and the decline of intelligence oversight” *International Journal of Intelligence and Counterintelligence*, Spring 2003 16/1, pp. 69-94
- Mark Phythian, “The British experience with intelligence accountability” *Intelligence and National Security* 22/1 (2007) pp. 75-99
- Ian Leigh, “Rebalancing Rights & National Security: Reforming UK Intelligence Oversight a Decade After 9/11” *Intelligence and National Security* 27/5 (2012) pp. 722-738
- Kate Martin, “Domestic intelligence and civil liberties” *SAIS Review* 24/1 (2004), pp. 7-21
- Security Intelligence Review Committee (SIRC) Annual Reports are available at: <http://www.sirc-csars.gc.ca/anrran/index-eng.html>
- Stuart Farson, “Parliament and its servants: Their role in scrutinizing Canadian intelligence” *Intelligence and National Security* 15/1 (2000) pp. 225-258
- Gregory Treverton, “Intelligence: Welcome to the American Government” Johnson and Wirtz Chapter 28

- Frederick Hitz, “Unleashing the Rogue Elephant: September 11 and Letting the CIA Be the CIA” Johnson & Wirtz Chapter 28
- Claudia Hillebrand, “The Role of News Media in Intelligence Oversight” *Intelligence and National Security* 27/5 (2012) pp. 689-706

Week 14 – December 6

Intelligence moving forward

- Gill and Phythian Chapters 6 & 9
- Lowenthal Chapters 9-10, 12
- Jennifer D. Kibbe, “Covert action and the Pentagon” *Intelligence and National Security* 22/1 (2007) pp. 57-74
- Gerard Hughes & Kristian Stoddart, “Hope & Fear: Intelligence and the Future of Global Security a Decade after 9/11” *Intelligence and National Security* 27/5 (2012) pp. 625-652
- Julian Richards, “Intelligence Dilemma? Contemporary Counter-terrorism in a Liberal Democracy” *Intelligence and National Security* 27/5 (2012) pp. 761-80
- Joshua Rovner, “Intelligence in the Twitter Age” *International Journal of Intelligence & Counterintelligence* 26/2 (2013) pp. 260-71
- Jeffrey Roy, “Secrecy, Security and Digital Literacy in an Era of Meta-Data: Why the Canadian Westminster Model Falls Short” *Intelligence and National Security* 31/1 (2016) pp. 95-117

December 7 – FALL TERM LECTURES END

December 10-20

Final Examinations

IMPORTANT POLICIES AND INFORMATION

Absence From a Mid-term Examination:

Students who are absent from a scheduled term test or quiz for legitimate reasons (e.g. illness with the appropriate documentation) are responsible for contacting the instructor via email within 48 hours of the missed test to discuss alternative arrangements. A copy of this email may be requested as proof of the attempt to contact the instructor. Any student who fails to do so forfeits the right to a makeup test.

Deferral of a Final Examination:

Deferral of a final examination can be granted for reasons of illness, domestic affliction, and unforeseen circumstances, as well as to those with three (3) final exams scheduled within a 24-hour period. Deferred final exams will not be granted to those who sit the exam, who have made travel arrangements that conflict with their exam, or who have misread the examination timetable. The decision to allow a deferred final exam rests not with the instructor but with Enrolment Services. Instructors should, however, be notified if you will be absent during the examination. The Application for Deferred Final Exam, deadlines, requirements and submission instructions can be found on the Enrolment Services website at <https://www.ucalgary.ca/registrar/exams/deferred-exams>.

Appeals:

If a student has a concern about the course or a grade they have been assigned, they must first discuss their concerns with the instructor. If this does not resolve the matter, the student then proceed with an academic appeal. The first step in an academic appeal is to set up a meeting with the Department Head. Appeals must be requested within 15 days of receipt of the graded assignment.

University Regulations:

Students are responsible for familiarizing themselves with the University policies found in the Academic Regulations sections of the Calendar at www.ucalgary.ca/pubs/calendar/current/academic-regs.html.

Student Accommodations:

Students seeking an accommodation based on disability or medical concerns should contact Student Accessibility Services; SAS will process the request and issue letters of accommodation to instructors. For additional information on support services and accommodations for students with disabilities, visit www.ucalgary.ca/access/.

Students who require an accommodation in relation to their coursework based on a protected ground other than disability should communicate this need in writing to their Instructor.

The full policy on Student Accommodations is available at <http://www.ucalgary.ca/policies/files/policies/student-accommodation-policy.pdf>.

Plagiarism And Other Forms Of Academic Misconduct:

Academic misconduct in any form (e.g. cheating, plagiarism) is a serious academic offence that can lead to disciplinary probation, suspension or expulsion from the University. Students are expected to be familiar with the standards surrounding academic honesty; these can be found in the University of Calgary calendar at <http://www.ucalgary.ca/pubs/calendar/current/k-5.html>. Such offences will be taken seriously and reported immediately, as required by Faculty of Arts policy.

Freedom of Information and Protection of Privacy (FOIP):

FOIP legislation requires that instructors maintain the confidentiality of student information. In practice, this means that student assignment and tests cannot be left for collection in any public place without the consent of the student. It also means that grades cannot be distributed via email. Final exams are kept by instructors but can be viewed by contacting them or the main office in the Department of Political Science. Any uncollected assignments and tests meant to be returned will be destroyed after six months from the end of term; final examinations are destroyed after one year.

Evacuation Assembly Points:

In the event of an emergency evacuation from class, students are required to gather in designated assembly points. Please check the list found at www.ucalgary.ca/emergencyplan/assemblypoints

and note the assembly point nearest to your classroom.

Faculty of Arts Program Advising and Student Information Resources:

For program planning and advice, visit the Arts Students' Centre in Social Sciences 102, call 403-220-3580 or email artsads@ucalgary.ca. You can also visit arts.ucalgary.ca/advising for program assistance.

For registration (add/drop/swap), paying fees and assistance with your Student Centre, contact Enrolment Services at (403) 210-ROCK [7625] or visit their office in the MacKimmie Library Block.

Important Contact Information:

Campus Security and Safewalk (24 hours a day/7 days a week/365 days a year)

Phone: 403-220-5333

Faculty of Arts Undergraduate Students' Union Representatives

Phone: 403-220-6551 Email: arts1@su.ucalgary.ca, arts2@su.ucalgary.ca, arts3@su.ucalgary.ca, arts4@su.ucalgary.ca

Students' Union URL: www.su.ucalgary.ca

Graduate Students' Association

Phone: 403-220-5997 Email: ask@gsa.ucalgary.ca URL: www.ucalgary.ca/gsa

Student Ombudsman

Phone: 403-220-6420 Email: ombuds@ucalgary.ca

Campus Mental Health Resources:

SU Wellness Centre: <http://www.ucalgary.ca/wellnesscentre/>

Campus Mental Health Strategy: <https://www.ucalgary.ca/mentalhealth/>