# **Course Syllabus and Policy Requirement Statement**

In order to access your course materials, you must agree to the following, by clicking the "Mark Reviewed" button below.

By checking the "Mark Reviewed" link below, you are indicating the following:

- You have read, understood, and will comply with the policies and procedures listed in the class syllabus, and that you have acquired the required textbook(s).
- You have read, understood, and will comply with class policies and procedures as specified in the online Student Handbook.
- You have read, understood, and will comply with computer and software requirements as specified with Browser Test.
- You have familiarize yourself with how to access course content in Blackboard using the **Student Quick Reference**

Guide or CSS Student Orientation Course.

# **ISSA 3320 Intelligence And Democracy**

# **Course Description/Overview**

This course will examine the conduct of intelligence activities by democratic states, focusing on the inherent conflict between the secret nature of intelligence and "open societies". The course will address issues related to intelligence oversight, accountability, the challenges of secrecy in an open society, the need to know and the influence of the media, the issue of targeted killings, and ethical and moral questions about civil liberties and fundamental values. Moreover, the course will discuss and debate whether the "Global War on Terrorism" or a crisis/war situation necessitates a change in the balance between secrecy and democracy.

This course is an examination of national security issues and intelligence requirements facing the United States, and the reading load is necessarily intensive. The course is designed to be highly interactive, to value your experiences and your wellthought-out positions and opinions; and to allow you to express your intellect as an active participant and contributor towards the national dialogue and debate on hot topics of the day.

Click this link for a printable version of the syllabus



# **Course Objectives/Learning Outcomes**

#### **Objectives:**

- Explore the relationship between effective oversight and intelligence operations. Improve your understanding of the balance between national security and civil liberties.
- 2. Explore the impact and difference of oversight in several other democracies, including emerging democracies.
- 3. Provide opportunities to discuss and debate effective oversight measures.

#### **Learning Outcomes:**

As a result of completing this course, the student will be able to:

- 1. Comprehend the functions, structures, and origins of the US Intelligence enterprise and how it contributes to the policymaking
- Comprehend the importance of intelligence oversight policy and impact upon intelligence operations.
- Demonstrate a working knowledge of the security challenges facing the United States as well as new and emerging democracies.
- Examine critically the inherent conflict between the secret nature of intelligence and "open societies."
- Comprehend the complex nature of intelligence as it interfaces within a democracy and the development of this policy interface that helps define threats to the national security of democratic systems.
- Comprehend the complexities of intelligence accountability, oversight, and reform requirements.
- Comprehend how the media and informal networks (think tanks and the like) and external actors seeking access and influence over national security policy decisions influence the congressional agenda and policy maker.
- Evaluate critically the impact of counterterrorism programs on democratic institutions and societal values.

# **Required Texts:**

Russell A. Miller, editor, US National Security, Intelligence, and Democracy: From the Church Committee to the War on Terror (Routledge, Taylor, Francis Group, 2008). (Available on Kindle)

Mark M. Lowenthal, Intelligence: From Secrets to Policy. (5th edition). Washington D. C: CQ Press, 2004. (Available on Kindle) (Editions 5, 6 or 7 are acceptable)

The following texts are available on the web, provide excellent background and will be used for several classes. Please refer to them prior to all our classes regarding the US Intelligence Community and Oversight.

Eric Rosenbach, Confrontation or Collaboration? Congress and the Intelligence Community, Harvard University: Belfer Center, JFK School of Government (July2009). Access through Table of Contents on

website: http://belfercenter.harvard.edu/publication/19201/confrontation or collaboration congress and the intelligence c ommunity.html

L. Britt Snider, CIA's Relationship with Congress, 1946-2004, Center for the Study of Intelligence: CIA (2008). On-line at: <a href="https://www.cia.gov/library/center-for-the-study-of-intelligence/csi-publications/books-and-monographs/agency-and-the-hill/index.html">https://www.cia.gov/library/center-for-the-study-of-intelligence/csi-publications/books-and-monographs/agency-and-the-hill/index.html</a>

**Recommended Readings:** A note about recommend readings. The recommended readings are by definition not required, but are valuable for providing additional insights into the course topics. You may find them of value to have in hand for future courses, as reference/research materials.

# **On-line Intelligence Resources**

- (1) <u>The Literature of Intelligence</u>: 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.
- (2) The CIA's Center for the Study of Intelligence publishes unclassified articles and conference proceedings.
- (3) <u>The Federation of American Scientists</u> and the National Security Archive also maintain useful web sites on intelligence topics.
- (4) Two useful intelligence journals are Intelligence and National Strategy and the International Journal of Intelligence and Counterintelligence.
- (5) Daily media articles on current national security and intelligence, including- topics for Counterintelligence and Security Studies at www.cicentre.com.

#### Daily Knowledge Vitamins - Staying current and Informed About the World You Live in

The Economist: <a href="http://www.economist.com/">http://www.economist.com/</a>
The New York Times: <a href="http://www.nytimes.com/">http://www.nytimes.com/</a>

The Christian Science Monitor: <a href="http://www.csmonitor.com/">http://www.csmonitor.com/</a>
The Council on Foreign Relations: <a href="http://www.cfr.org/">http://www.cfr.org/</a>
GlobalSecurity: <a href="http://www.globalsecurity.org/">http://www.globalsecurity.org/</a>
Foreign Policy: <a href="http://www.foreignpolicy.com/">http://www.foreignpolicy.com/</a>
Foreign Affairs: <a href="http://www.foreignaffairs.com/">http://www.foreignaffairs.com/</a>

#### **Grading Policies**

Grades will be based on an ability to organize the material, integrate relevant concepts and theories, and present them in appropriate forms.

A Note on Grades: ISSA 3320 is a colloquium (meaning a group discussion, from the Latin Colloqui – to talk together, to have a conversation). As such, weekly participation in the discussion threads is expected and forms part of the grade.

	Assignment	Percent of Grade	Due	Note
	Engaged participation (Discussion)	30%	Weekly with two exceptions (see notes)	Primary robust Thursdays. Resp Sundays. There are no dis and final essay-e
	Midterm Issues Paper	30%	Sunday at the end of week four	The mid-term as may chose one o 9:00 p.m. Centra appreciated.
	Final Essay	40%	Wednesday at the end of week eight	The final-essay e choose one of se final essay-exam on Wednesday o

**Student Assignments:** Each student must participate in weekly discussions, produce a Mid-Term essay, and write one Final Essay-Exam.

Angelo State University employs a letter grade system. Grades in this course are determined on a percentage scale:

A = 90 - 100 %

B = 80 - 89 %

C = 70 - 79 %

D = 60 - 69 %

F = 59 % and below.

# **Course Organization:**

#### Lesson 1:Functions, Structure, and Origins of the Intelligence Community

**Learning Outcomes:** 

- 1. Describe the agencies comprising the Intelligence Community (IC).
- 2. Describe two key functions of the intelligence enterprise Collection and Analysis, and how they interact between the intelligence process and policy.
- 3. Comprehend how the IC has changed since 9/11.
- 4. Understand why we have 16 intelligence agencies in U.S. Intelligence Community. Required Readings:

Mark M. Lowenthal, Intelligence: From Secrets to Policy. (5th edition), 2011, The U.S. Intelligence Community, Chapters 1-2.

Eric Rosenbach, "Organization of the Intelligence Community," and "Intelligence Basics" (recommend you download full text in PDF memos).

Office of the Director of National Intelligence Website.

The Evolution of the U.S. Intelligence Community-An Historical Overview.

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

# **Lesson 2:Controlling Intelligence and Executive Power: Issues for Democratic Governance**Learning Outcomes:

- 1. Demonstrate a working knowledge of the contemporary issues challenging national security, intelligence, and democracy.
- 2. Comprehend the purpose of the Church Committee investigations.
- 3. Describe why the Church committee met opposition among its congressional colleagues.
- 4. Describe why and how democratic control of intelligence is a challenge for democracies. Required Readings:

Russell A. Miller, Introduction, pp.1-9, and Ch 1-3.

Kevin Kosar, "<u>Classified Information and Executive order 13256.</u>" Congressional Research Service (CRS), December 10, 2010. "<u>Secrecy Report 2011.</u>" Open the government.org, see: "Special Section: Progress Report on Obama Administration, page 4.

Timothy Doorey, "Intelligence Secrecy and Transparency: Finding the Proper Balance ..." Strategic Insights, May 2007.

Grame Wood, "Classify This." The Atlantic Monthly. Boston: September 2007. Vol. 300, Issue 2; p.44.

Robert A Best Jr. <u>Intelligence Information</u>: Need to Know vs. Need to Share. Congressional Research Service. June 6, 2011. Video: Bill Moyers Journal, "<u>The Path to Power</u>", October 26, 2007. 11:40 minute video on executive privilege and presidential power.

Video: PBS Frontline, "Cheney's Law", October 16, 2007. 56:15 minute video on expansion of presidential powers post 911. Alfred Cumming. Congress as a Consumer of Intelligence Information. Congressional Research Service. January 28, 2010. Thomas Bruneau, "Intelligence and Democratization: The Challenge of Control in New Democracies." CCMR Occasional Paper #5 (March 2000)

Jerome P. Bjelopera. <u>The Federal Bureau of Investigation and Terrorism Investigations Congressional Research</u> Service, December 28, 2011.

#### Lesson 3:Our Civil Liberties

**Learning Outcomes:** 

- Comprehend the intelligence and democracy conflict between Civil Liberties and The FREEDOM Act.
- 2. Comprehend both the NSA's right and need to mass-collect metadata, and which laws allowed mass-collection.
- 3. Comprehend the essential difference between the ACLU's and the NSA's viewpoints on mass collection? Required Readings:

ACLU of Utah - <u>Virtual Rally against NSA surveillance</u>. (n.d.). Retrieved April 18, 2019, from https://www.acluutah.org Bamford, J. (2018, March 07). <u>The NSA Is Building the Country's Biggest Spy Center (Watch What You Say)</u>. Retrieved April 17, 2019, from wired.com

Bischoff, Paul <u>A breakdown of the Patriot Act, Freedom Act, and FISA</u>. (2018, February 02). Retrieved April 18, 2019, from https://www.comparitech.com

Emerson, T. I. (1982). <u>National security and civil liberties</u>. *Yale Journal of World Public Order*, (1), 78. Retrieved April 18, from https://digitalcommons.law.yale.edu

Georgetown Law, <u>Civil Rights/Civil Liberties</u>. (n.d.). Retrieved April 17, 2019, Retrieved from law.georgetown.edu Guliani, N. S. (2017, December 01). <u>New Surveillance Bill Would Dramatically Expand NSA Powers</u>. Retrieved April 18, 2019, from https://www.aclu.org



# Lesson 4:The Influence of Media

**Learning Outcomes:** 

- 1. Comprehend the influence of media on national security and public opinion.
- 2. Comprehend the challenges of protecting secrets and the need-to-know policy.
- 3. Comprehend how social media influences national security policy, intelligence, and citizens.
- 4. Describe the role of media on new and emerging democracies. Required Readings:

Ted Gup, "Covering the CIA in Times of Crisis," Kennedy School of Government Working Paper, Fall 2003. Bill Keller, (NYTimes) and Baquet, Dean (LA Times), "When Do We Publish A Secret," NY Times, July 1, 2006. James Bruce, "Media Leaks Hinder Intelligence Gathering," Washington Times, March 11, 2007. Dana Priest, "CIA Holds Terror Suspects in Secret Prisons," November 2, 2005.

# WIKILEAKS

David Leigh, " How 250,000 State Department Embassy Cables Were Leaked," The Guardian.

Kathryn Yao, "<u>How WikiLeaks Works: A Primer,</u>" AOL News, July 26,2010.

Floyd Abrams, "Why Wikileaks is Unlike the Pentagon Papers." Wall Street Journal, December 29, 2010.

# Recommended Readings:

Howard Kurtz, "<u>Bush Presses Editors on Security.</u>" Washington Post, December 26, 2005. Leon Panetta, "<u>Message from the Director: Recent Media Leaks.</u>" CIA Press Release, November 8, 2010. Risen and Lichtblau, "<u>Bush Lets US Spy on Callers Without Courts.</u>" New York Times, December 16, 2005. Bryson Calame, (NYT Ombudsman), "Behind the Eavesdropping, A Loud Silence", NYT, January 1, 2006. (also follow links in this article to statements by Bill Keller, Executive Editor of the Times).

Essays on Leaks of Classified Information, ABA National Security Law Report, September 2006.

Mid-term Essay: Due Sunday at the end of Lesson 4 before 2359 hrs.

# Lesson 5:Intelligence and Democracy: Oversight and Accountability

**Learning Outcomes:** 

- Understand the role of intelligence oversight and accountability responsibilities.
- $Describe\ how\ intelligence\ accountability\ has\ changed\ in\ a\ Post\ 9/11\ world\ as\ compared\ to\ the\ Cold\ War\ period.$
- Critically assess and discuss the Church Committee findings. Required Reading:

Mark M. Lowenthal. Intelligence: From Secrets to Policy. (5th edition). Washington D.C.: CQ Press, 2004. Chapters 10, Oversight and Accountability.

Russell A. Miller, Ch.4, pp.37-53.

**Recommended Readings:** 

Amy Zegart, "The Roots of Weak Intelligence Oversight," Hoover Institute.

"Church Committee Reports." Assassination Archives and Research Center.

Frederick Schwarz, "The Church Committee and a new era of intelligence oversight

"Intelligence and National Security, Vol. 22, Number 2, April 2007.

"Intelligence Oversight: Is Congress the Problem?" PBS News Hour, August 3, 2010.

L. Elaine Halchin and Fredrick M. Kaiser. Congressional Oversight of Intelligence: Current Structure and Alternatives. Congressional Research Service, May 14, 2012.

Larry Watts. Intelligence Reform in Europe's Emerging Democracies: Conflicting Paradigms, Dissimilar Contexts. Studies in Intelligence, Journal of the American Intelligence professional, VOL. 48, NO. 1, 2004 UNCLASSIFIED EDITION.

Loch Johnson, "<u>CIA Needs Vigilant Oversight, but It Won't Always Work</u>." Washington Post August 30, 2009. Loch Johnson. "<u>Ostriches, Cheerleaders, Skeptics, and Guardians: Role Selection By Congressional Intelligence Overseers</u>". SAIS Review. Washington: Winter 2008.

# Lesson 6:Terrorism and the Threat To Democracies: Oversight of Covert Operations

**Learning Outcomes:** 

- 1. Comprehend the intelligence and national security policy challenges facing America today as presented by the global terrorist
- Demonstrate how and why covert operations are effective in fighting the terrorist threats.
- Describe the role of intelligence and national security policy on the war on terror and why the PATRIOT ACT is an important part of national strategy for combating the war on terror.
- Evaluate how the death of Bin Laden changes the national security and intelligence nexus.
- Comprehend how a democracy can fight terrorism without compromising democratic principles. Required Readings:

Jonathan Fredman, "Covert Action Policy and Procedure," ABA National Security Law Report, July-October 2009, pp. 6-9 Alfred Cummings, Covert Action: background on Policy Questions, January 8, 2008, Congressional Research Service. Alfred Cummings, "Sensitive Covert Action Notification." CRS Report, April 6, 2011. "CIA Cited for Not Disclosing Covert Action," Washington Post (Walter Pincus), May 10, 2007. Gregory Gause III, "Can Democracy Stop Terrorism?". Foreign Affairs, September/October 2005.

#### **Recommended Readings:**

Jerome P. Bjelopera and Mark A. Randol, American Jihadist Terrorism: Combating a Complex Threat, Congressional Research Service (CRS), pp. 1-38. December 7, 2010.

Bruce Hoffman, "Challenges for the U.S. Special Operations Commands Posed by the Global Terrorist Threat," Testimony submitted to the House Armed Services Subcommittee on Terrorism, Unconventional Threats, and Capacities, 110th Cong., 1st sess., February 17, 2007.

# Lesson 7:Intelligence and Democracy: Learning From History

**Learning Outcomes:** 

- Describe an analytic framework for intelligence structure and oversight in new and emerging democracies.
- Describe the necessary intelligence transformation that must take place for a non-democratic state transitioning to a
- Understand the critical democratic components that allow an open society to have successful intelligence organizations. 3. Required Readings:

Mark M. Lowenthal. Intelligence: From Secrets to Policy. (5th edition). Washington D. C: CQ Press, 2004. Chapter 15, Foreign Intelligence Services.

Thomas Bruneau. "Introduction: Challenges to Effectiveness in Intelligence due to the Need for Transparency and Accountability in Democracy." Center on Contemporary Conflict, Strategic Insights, Volume VI, Issue 3 (May 2007). Hans Born, "Towards Effective Democratic Oversight of Intelligence Services: Lessons Learned from Comparing national

Frederic Grare. Reforming the Intelligence Agencies in Pakistan's Transitional Democracy. Carnegie Endowment for International Peace, 2009, (skim this reading but focus on key reform measures).

"Intelligence Services and Democracy." Geneva Center for Democratic Controls of Armed Forces, Switzerland, Working paper No.13, April 2002.

Larry Watts. "Intelligence Reform in Europe's Emerging Democracies," Studies in Intelligence, Vol 48, No. 1 (2004).

#### Lesson 8:Domestic Intelligence and the Clash of Civil Liberties

**Learning Outcomes:** 

- 1. Comprehend how domestic intelligence agencies threaten civil liberties in a democratic state.
- 2. Describe and define the "wall" between law enforcement and intelligence agencies.
- 3. Comprehend why the Intelligence Community reorganized after 911.
- 4. Comprehend the debate for intelligence reform, oversight, and accountability.
- 5. Understand civil liberties and accountability abroad during wartime. Required Readings:

Russell A. Miller, Part I, pp. 2-57.

Kate Martin, "Domestic Intelligence and Civil Liberties," SAIS Review vol XXIV no.1 (Winter-Spring 2004).
Gregory F. Treverton. "Reorganizing U.S. Domestic Intelligence: Assessing the Options," RAND Report 2008.
Gregory F. Trevorton. "Balancing Security and Liberty In The War On Terror." April 2007.
James Burch, "A Domestic Agency for the United States?" Homeland Security Affairs, Volume 3, Number 2 (June 2007).
U.S. Intelligence Oversight: Is Congress the Problem? Youtube Video 13:08, PBS Newshour, 3 Aug 2010.
Mark M. Lowenthal: Intelligence: From Secrets to Policy. (5th edition). Washington D. C: CQ Press, 2004. Chapter 14.
Bruce Berkowitz, Intelligence Reform: Less is More, Hoover Digest, April 30, 2004. Hoover Institution, Stanford University.

#### Recommended Reading:

Fredrik Hitz, "Unleashing the Rogue Elephant: September 11 and Letting the CIA Be the CIA"

Bruce Berkowitz, "Democracies and Their Spies," Hoover Digest, Winter 2003.

Jack Devine, An Intelligence Reform Reality Check, Washington Post, Monday, February 18, 2008.

<u>Summary of Intelligence Reform and Terrorism Prevention Act of 2004.</u> United States Senate Committee on Governmental Affairs, December 6, 2004.

Joshua Rovner, Faulty Intelligence, Foreign Policy, June 22, 2011.

Michael Warner and J. Kenneth McDonald, <u>U.S. Intelligence Community Reform Studies Since 1947</u>, April 2005, Center or Intelligence Studies.

Alex Kingsberry, <u>Obama Slams Failed Intelligence</u>, Calls for Reform, U.S. News and World Report, January 5, 2010. Final Essay: Due Wednesday at the end of Lesson 8 before 2359 hrs.

#### **Communication**

#### Office Hours/Contacting the Instructor

See the Instructor Information section for contact information.

# **University Policies**

**Academic Integrity**Angelo State University expects its students to maintain complete honesty and integrity in their academic pursuits. Students are responsible for understanding and complying with the university <u>Academic Honor Code</u> and the <u>ASU Student Handbook</u>.

#### **Accommodations for Disability**

ASU is committed to the principle that no qualified individual with a disability shall, on the basis of disability, be excluded from participation in or be denied the benefits of the services, programs or activities of the university, or be subjected to discrimination by the university, as provided by the Americans with Disabilities Act of 1990 (ADA), the Americans with Disabilities Act Amendments of 2008 (ADAAA), and subsequent legislation.

Student Affairs is the designated campus department charged with the responsibility of reviewing and authorizing requests for reasonable accommodations based on a disability, and it is the student's responsibility to initiate such a request by emailing studentservices@angelo.edu, or by contacting:

Office of Student Affairs University Center, Suite 112 325-942-2047 Office 325-942-2211 FAX

#### Student absence for religious holidays

A student who intends to observe a religious holy day should make that intention known in writing to the instructor prior to the absence. A student who is absent from classes for the observance of a religious holy day shall be allowed to take an examination or complete an assignment scheduled for that day within a reasonable time after the absence.