

Democracy and National Security

Political Science Y3111

Spring 2015, Section 27126

Meets Monday, Wednesday,

11:15 AM – 12:30 PM

Woodburn 121

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This course focuses on **U.S. intelligence policy** as a critical nexus where requisites for national security (at home and abroad) clash with fundamental democratic values of transparency, accountability, and respect for privacy. We will show how intelligence policy can be seen as a normal aspect of the intrinsically complex system of U.S. policy, but that it also has unique characteristics that reach deep into the foundations of democratic governance and reveal fundamental tensions at play throughout U.S. history. We will examine some classic examples of intelligence failures and successes, the full range of agencies involved in the “intelligence community,” the rise of homeland security as a major policy preoccupation, ongoing controversies concerning NSA surveillance, and several phases of intelligence reform undertaken in response to periodic failures. In this course we examine these controversies by looking beyond partisan position-taking, to develop a series of analytical questions or criteria to help guide citizens of a democracy in evaluating these fundamental tensions in particular contexts.

Student grades will be based on class participation (20%, including in-class and take-home exercises), two midterm exams (25% each) and a comprehensive final exam (30%). Class discussions will focus on careful analysis of assigned readings, so students are strongly encouraged to attend every class session.

The core textbook for this course is Mark M. Lowenthal, *Intelligence: From Secrets to Policy*, 6th edition (2015). Los Angeles: Sage CQ Press. ISBN 978-1-4833-0778-7. (Earlier editions will be broadly similar, but the material will be outdated.) Students are encouraged to examine the other readings included in the schedule below, as well as supplemental materials that will be added to OnCourse over the course of the semester. Some of the readings listed below may later be designated as optional, and others may be added as required readings – details will be provided later.

There are no prerequisites for this course, but students with no previous experience with American politics, U.S. security policy, or international relations may need to do some background readings. Please see the instructor if you need any suggestions or have any difficulties understanding this material.

Schedule of Topics and Reading Assignments

Subject to revision during the semester: changes will be announced in class and on OnCourse

| Week & Dates | Topics | Readings |
|--------------------------|---|--|
| Week 1 -- Jan 12, 14 | Mon: Introduction to course; intelligence cycle Wed: An Overview of U.S. policy institutions | Wed: Lowenthal, chap. 1 |
| | Mon: NO CLASS – MLK Day Wed: Historical development of U.S. “intelligence community” | Wed: Lowenthal, chap. 2 *DNI Threat Assessment |
| 3 Jan 26, 28 | Mon: Major Actors in U.S. National Security Policy Wed: The Cold War Context | Lowenthal, 9, 11 Zegart, Cuban Missile Crisis as Intelligence Failure |
| 4 Feb 2, 4 | The Intelligence Community and the Intelligence Cycle | Lowenthal, 3, 4 Kiltz and Ramsey, Perceptual Framing |
| 5 Feb 9, 11 | Mon: EXAM 1 Wed: Collection issues | Wed: Lowenthal, 5 |
| 6 Feb 16, 18 | Intelligence Analysis CLASS CANCELLED FEB. 18 (INSTRUCTOR ILLNESS) | Lowenthal, 6 Lieberthal, Getting Analysis Right Gentry, Managers |
| 7 Feb 23, 25 | Counterintelligence | Lowenthal, 7 |
| 8 March 2, 4 | March 2: Video conference with Denis McDonough Covert Action and Oversight | Lowenthal, 8, 10 Zegart, Domestic Politics of Oversight |
| 9 Mar 9, 11 | Mon: Oversight continued, and review Wed: EXAM 2 | |
| SPRING BREAK | | |
| 10 Mar 23, 25 | Snowden, Stuxnet, and Related Controversies (Videos from Ted Talks, 60 Minutes, and German hacker conference) | Lowenthal, 12 |
| 11 Mar 30, April 1 | --continued-- video presentations from IUB CAGS panel on Snowden | Landau, Making Sense Bendix and Quirk, Deliberating Patriot Act |
| 12 April 6, 8 | Reform and Institutional Dilemmas | Lowenthal, ch. 14, App. 2 Hammond article Kaiser memo |
| 13 April 13, 15 | --continued-- | <i>*Reflections on 10th Anniv. of 9/11 Report</i> |
| 14 April 20, 22 | Building and Critiquing Institutions for Homeland Security Policy | *DHS Quad. Review Light, Homeland Security Hash Monahan, Murky World |
| 15 April 27, 29 | Ethical Dilemmas and Political Realities (and How Foreign Intelligence Services Deal With These Issues) | Lowenthal, 13, 15 |
| FINALS May 4-8 | Final EXAM Wednesday May 6, 12:30 AM – 2:30 PM | |

*These reading items may be skimmed, to get an overall impression of the material covered.

Citations for additional readings (available on OnCourse; this list will be revised during the semester):

1. *DNI [Director of National Intelligence]. 2014 Worldwide Threat Assessment of the US Intelligence Community, <http://www.dni.gov/files/doc.uments/2014%20WWTA%20HPSCI%20SFR%20.pdf>.
2. Zegart, Amy. 2012. "The Cuban Missile Crisis as Intelligence Failure," Hoover Institution Stanford University Policy Review, No. 175, Oct. 2, 2012.
3. Kiltz, Linda and James D. Ramsay, 2012. "Perceptual Framing of Homeland Security," *Homeland Security Affairs* Vol. 8, article 15 (Aug. 2012) www.hsaj.org
4. Lieberthal, Kenneth. 2009. "Executive Summary," *The U.S Intelligence Community and Foreign Policy: Getting Analysis Right*, Brookings Institution, vii-xiii.
5. Gentry, John A. 2014. "Managers of Analysts: The Other Half of Intelligence Analysis," *Intelligence and National Security* 1-24.
6. Zegart, Amy B. 2011. "The Domestic Politics of Irrational Intelligence Oversight," *Political Research Quarterly* 126(1): 1-25.
7. Landau, Susan. 2013. "Making Sense from Snowden: What's Significant in the NSA Surveillance Revelations," *IEEE Security and Privacy*, July/August 2013, 54-63.
8. Bendix, William, and Paul J. Quirk. 2013. "Institutional Failure in Surveillance Policymaking: Deliberating the Patriot Act," *Brookings, Issues in Governance Studies* 60, July 2013.
9. Hammond, Thomas H. 2007. "Why Is the Intelligence Community So Difficult to Redesign? Smart Practices, Conflicting Goals, and the Creation of Purpose-Based Organizations," *Governance*, 20 (3): 401-422.
10. Kaiser, Frederick M.. 2011. "Formal Interagency Collaborative Arrangements and Activities," Congressional Research Service, Congressional Distribution Memorandum, March 25, 2011.
11. *Reflections on the Tenth Anniversary of The 9/11 Commission Report*, Bipartisan Policy Center, July 2014.
12. *DHS [Department of Homeland Security], Quadrennial Homeland Security Review Report, Dec. 2014, <http://www.dhs.gov/quadrennial-homeland-security-review-qhsr>
13. Light, Paul C. 2007, "The Homeland Security Hash," *The Wilson Quarterly*; Spring 2007, 36-44.
14. Monahan, Torin. 2009. "The Murky World of 'Fusion Centers'," *Centre for Crime and Justice Studies* 75:20-21.

Course Procedures and Expectations

The best way to do well in this course is to come to class regularly and complete the assigned readings before **each** class session. Students are encouraged to monitor announcements and messages to be posted on OnCourse. All changes to course assignments will be announced and discussed in class, and the changes posted on OnCourse.

Detailed information on the instructor's grading procedures, expectations for student behavior, and all other matters related to this course is available at http://pages.iu.edu/~mcginnis/course_rules_procedures.pdf. Two items deserve emphasis:

1. **All comments in class must remain respectful of other people's opinions.** This material is intrinsically controversial, and reasonable people will continue to come to contrasting conclusions. During this course students will learn how to cut through partisan rhetoric and demagoguery to understand the fundamental issues of intelligence and policy. As citizens they will need this level of understanding, because this policy problem is certain to become even more complicated in the future.
2. **Students have permission to use laptops, tablets, smartphones, etc. during class to take notes or consult readings BUT NOT FOR ANY OTHER PURPOSES.** Students using these devices to surf the web or in any way that distracts other students or the instructor will be asked to turn off their devices and pay attention, or else leave the classroom. Repeat offenders may lose the privilege of using electronic devices during class time.