

*** DRAFT ***

PAI 738 U.S. Intelligence Community: Governance & Practice, 1947-Present

Fall 2018; Eggers 032, Monday/Wednesday, 0800-0920

Robert B. Murrett

Professor of Practice, Department of Public Administration and International Affairs, Maxwell School; Deputy Director, Institute for National Security and Counterterrorism

300 Dineen Hall

Graduate Assistant: Indira Galvez (igalvez@syr.edu)

Office Hours: Contact Roxanne Tupper (rmtupper@syr.edu /443-2284) for an appointment.

Email: rbmurrett@syr.edu

I. Course Description:

This course will focus on the practice, structure and governance of the intelligence field, and material that has a direct bearing on its current posture. In order to understand the full range of today's intelligence activities, students will examine the evolution of the U.S. Intelligence Community (I.C.) since its inception in 1947 through the present day. Key phases and specific events will be explored, including I.C. efforts throughout the Cold War, The Cuban Missile Crisis, The Vietnam Conflict, the Church Committee, the Balkans Conflicts, pre and post-9/11 operations, the 911 and WMD Commissions and the subsequent executive and legislative changes implemented over the past ten years. The course will also review governance and oversight of the I.C., including roles of the Executive, Legislative and Judicial branches of government. In addition to understanding the development of the I.C., students will study the functional elements of intelligence tradecraft (human intelligence, signals intelligence, imagery analysis, etc.), and engagement with international counterparts. The class will participate in case studies, in which the students will evaluate, provide briefings and recommend decisions in realistic scenarios, both in terms of analysis and intelligence-driven decision-making on policy and operational matters.

II. Course Objectives:

Upon completion of the course, the students will have an understanding of the current structure and activities of the U.S. Intelligence Community, through study of evolution, key events and growth to the present day. Course will also provide an overview of engagement with international intelligence organizations, challenges in tradecraft, the role of technology, and leadership elements throughout the field.

III. Course Requirements

The course will be taught in a seminar format. For most classes, less than half of the content will be lecture, and student involvement is important throughout. Do your best to think through the issues raised in the readings before the class, as they will drive the seminar discussion which will be the focus of our meetings.

(1) Class attendance, preparation and participation. This requirement constitutes 20% of a student's final grade.

(2) One-page memo and "elevator speech" – 10% of the final grade.

(3) Student-led (group) policy briefing and discussion. This will constitute 20% of the final grade. Topics will be assigned by the end of September.

(4) Intelligence analysis paper. This will constitute 30% of the final grade.

- This paper will be in the form of a Special National Intelligence Estimate (SNIE), and be approximately 10 pages in length. Papers are due on November 15th.

(5) Final exam (essay): This will constitute 20% of the final grade.

IV. Academic Integrity Policy

Syracuse University's academic integrity policy reflects the high value that we, as a university community, place on honesty in academic work. The policy defines our expectations for academic honesty and holds students accountable for the integrity of all work they submit. Students should understand that it is their responsibility to learn about course-specific expectations, as well as about university-wide academic integrity expectations. The university policy governs appropriate citation and use of sources, the integrity of work submitted in exams and assignments, and the veracity of signatures on attendance sheets and other verification of participation in class activities. The policy also prohibits students from submitting the same written work in more than one class without receiving written authorization in advance from both instructors. The presumptive penalty for a first instance of academic dishonesty by an undergraduate student is course failure, accompanied by a transcript notation indicating that the failure resulted from a violation of academic integrity policy. The presumptive penalty for a first instance of academic dishonesty by a graduate student is suspension or expulsion. SU students are required to read an online summary of the university's academic integrity expectations and provide an electronic signature agreeing to abide by them twice a year during pre-term check-in on MySlice. For more information and the complete policy, see <http://academicintegrity.syr.edu/>.

V. Disability-Related Accommodations

If you believe that you need accommodations for a disability, please contact the Office of Disability Services (ODS), <http://disabilityservices.syr.edu>, located in Room 309 of 804

University Avenue, or call (315) 443-4498, TDD: (315) 443-1371 for an appointment to discuss your needs and the process for requesting accommodations. ODS is responsible for coordinating disability-related accommodations and will issue students with documented Disabilities Accommodation Authorization Letters, as appropriate. Since accommodations may require early planning and generally are not provided retroactively, please contact ODS as soon as possible.

VI. Guest Lecturers: There will be two senior guest lecturers for the class in the October-November time frame. Details will be provided later in the course.

VII: Staff Ride: An optional staff ride will be scheduled for the class in October to Fort Stanwix and Oriskany.

VIII. Reading: Most reading assignments will be available on the course blackboard site. However, students should purchase five books, which are available at the Syracuse University Bookstore. The fifth volume (WMD Commission) is available on-line.

- (1) Lowenthal, Mark M. Intelligence: From Secrets to Policy, (Seventh Ed.) (Washington, Sage/CQ Press, 2017).
- (2) Richelson, Jeffrey T. The US Intelligence Community. (Seventh Ed.) (Boulder, CO, Westview Press, 2016).
- (3) Shulsky, Abram N. and Schmitt, Gary J. Silent Warfare: Understanding the World of Intelligence, third edition (Washington, D.C., Potomac Books, 2002).
- (4) George, Roger Z. and Bruce, James B., editors. Analyzing Intelligence: National Security Practitioners' Perspectives (Second Ed.) (Washington, D.C., Georgetown University Press, 2014).
- (5) The Commission on the Intelligence Capabilities of the United States Regarding Weapons of Mass Destruction. (U.S. Government Printing Office, March 31, 2005). (Available On-Line: http://govinfo.library.unt.edu/wmd/report/wmd_report.pdf)

*Readings which are not in these texts, but included in the syllabus, will be available on the class blackboard site and/or the web.

VIII. Course Outline

Section One: Introduction/Overview of the Intelligence Community; Origins of the Community, from the National Security Act of 1947 through the present day.

Section Two: Functional Disciplines: Human Intelligence, Signals Intelligence, Imagery and Geospatial Intelligence, Covert Action and Counterintelligence.

Section Three: The Intelligence Structure and Key Engagement, 1947-2001

Section Four: Roots of the Current Intelligence Structure - The Era of Reform. Post 9/11 Commissions and Overhaul of the Intelligence Community, from the 2004 Intelligence Reform and Terrorism Prevention Act to the Present.

Section Five: Partners: Policy Makers, Military Commanders and Intelligence Across the Nations.

Section Six: Intelligence Governance and Practice: The Role of Leadership, Internal/External Checks and Balances, Resources and Budget, Ethics and Management of the I.C.

Section One: Overview of the Intelligence Community; Impact From Origins of the Community from the OSS to the National Security Act of 1947.

August 27 and 29: *Intelligence Fundamentals and the Evolution of the Community*

- ODNI Fact Sheet

https://www.odni.gov/files/documents/FACTSHEET_ODNI_History_and_Background_2_24-17.pdf

- Lowenthal, Intelligence: From Secrets to Policy, Chapters #1 and #2 (pp. 1-38)

- Richelson, The US Intelligence Community, Chapter #1 (pp. 1-13)

- Olson, Fair Play, pp. 33-43

- Shulsky and Schmitt, Silent Warfare, Chapter #2, pp. 11-40

Case Study: Russian Influence Campaigns

September 5: *Current Structure of the U.S. Intelligence Community*

- Lowenthal, Intelligence: From Secrets to Policy, Chapter #3 (pp. 39-70)

- Richelson, The US Intelligence Community, Chapter #2 (pp. 18-58)

- Dulles, The Craft of Intelligence, pp. 19-38

- Congressional Research Service (CRS): *History of DCI/Intelligence Reform (Summary from CRS Report Proposals for Intelligence Reorganization, 1949-1996.*

- Waller, Wild Bill Donovan, pp. 306-12; 333-8; 351-3

- Andrew, For the President's Eyes Only, pp. 156 – 170

Case Study: Journalism Cover

Section Two: Functional Disciplines: Human Intelligence, Signals Intelligence, Imagery and Geospatial Intelligence, Technical Intelligence, Assessments, Covert Action and Counterintelligence

September 10: *The Overall Intelligence Process/Human Intelligence*

- Lowenthal, *From Secrets to Policy*, Chapter #4 (pp. 73-90); pp. 137-148
- Richelson, *The US Intelligence Community*, Chapter #11 (pp. 318-338/supplemental)
- Shulsky and Schmitt, *Silent Warfare*, pp. 11-22 (redux)
- Crumpton, *Lessons From a Life in the CIA's Clandestine Service*, pp. 39-65
- Olson, *Fair Play*, pp. 229-262
- Royden, Barry G.: Tolkachev, A Worthy Successor to Penkovsky, CIA (CSI), June 3, 2009

Case Study: Journalism Cover, II

September 12: *Imagery and Geospatial Intelligence*

- Lowenthal, *Intelligence: From Secrets to Policy*, pp. 111-126
- Richelson, *The US Intelligence Community*, Chapter #7 (pp. 184-212)
- Shulsky and Schmitt, *Silent Warfare*, pp. 22-27, 49-51, 122-126
- Imagery Analysis: Osama bin Laden Compound
(<http://www.digitalglobe.com/index.php/27/Sample+Imagery+Gallery?ITEM=455>)

Case Study: *The Cuban Missile Crisis* (Dobbs, Chapter #6 (pp.135-158); pp. 174-6 and *The San Cristobal Trapezoid* (CIA, Studies in Intelligence, Fall, 2000, pp. 149-165)

September 17: Guest Speaker: Admiral Bill Studeman

Signals Intelligence

- Lowenthal, *Intelligence: From Secrets to Policy*, pp. 126-137
- U.S. Cyber Command Vision Statement: *Achieve and Maintain Cyberspace Superiority* (July, 2018)
- Wallace and Melton, *Spycraft*, Chapter #11, (pp. 138-156)
- Richelson, *The US Intelligence Community*, Chapter #8 (pp. 223-254)

- Shulsky and Schmitt, Silent Warfare, pp. 27-31, 41-49

- Tenet, At the Center of the Storm, pp. 236-239

- The White House: Presidential Policy Directive 28 (PPD-28): Signals Intelligence Activities (<http://www.whitehouse.gov/the-press-office/2014/01/17/presidential-policy-directive-signals-intelligence-activities>)

Supplemental Readings:

- Office of the Director of National Intelligence: *Safeguarding the Personal Information of all People* (July, 2014) http://www.dni.gov/files/documents/1017/PPD-28_Status_Report_Oct_2014.pdf

- The White House: Background on the President's Statement on Reforms to NSA Programs. (August, 2013 and January, 2014)

- Office of the Director of National Intelligence: ODNI Announces Transition to New Telephone Metadata Program <<https://www.dni.gov/index.php/newsroom/press-releases/210-press-releases-2015/1292-odni-announces-transition-to-new-telephone-metadata-program?tmpl=component&format=pdf>> (November 27, 2015)

- National Security Agency: The National Security Agency: Missions, Authorities, Oversight and Partnerships (August 9, 2013)

- Van Der Vat, The Pacific Campaign, pp. 176-193, 262-3

I.C. On the Record <<https://icontherecord.tumblr.com/>> (review)

Case Study: (1) Trojan Horse, (2) Websites and Chatrooms

September 19: Technical Intelligence

- Richelson, The US Intelligence Community, Chapter #9 (pp. 266-288)

- Wallace and Melton, Spycraft, pp. 335-343 (PanAm 103)

- Shulsky and Schmitt. Silent Warfare, p. 53

-The NRO and Space Intelligence Activity (Blackboard) pp. 81-86; 102-105

Case Study: Back Doors

September 24: Analysis, Production and the Assessments Process

- Richelson, The US Intelligence Community, Chapter #14 (pp. 406-429)

- George and Bruce, Analyzing Intelligence, Chapters #1 and #2 (pp. 1-37)

- WMD Commission, Chapter # 8, pp. 387-428
 - Kojm, Christopher, *Change and Continuity: The National Intelligence Council, 2009-2014*. Studies in Intelligence, June 2015.
 - Lowenthal, Intelligence: From Secrets to Policy, Chapter #4, (pp. 73-89)
 - Shulsky and Schmitt, Silent Warfare, pp. 57-61
 - Annual Threat Assessment by the DNI, February, 2018
- <<https://www.dni.gov/files/documents/Newsroom/Testimonies/2018-ATA---Unclassified-SSCI.pdf>>

September 26: Counterintelligence

- Lowenthal, Intelligence: From Secrets to Policy, pp. 221-248
- Richelson, The US Intelligence Community, Chapter #15 (pp. 438-460)
- Sims and Gerber, Vaults, Mirrors & Masks, Chapter # 3, pp. 69-79
- Shulsky and Schmitt, Silent Warfare, Chapter #5, pp. 99-127
- WMD Commission, Chapter #11, pp. 485-497
- Andrew, Aldrich and Wark, Secret Intelligence, Chapter #17 (pp. 281-307)

Case Study: “Dangle” Operations

October 1: Counterproliferation; Nuclear Intelligence

- WMD Commission, pp. 516-520
- Lowenthal, Intelligence: From Secrets to Policy, pp. 409-419
- Graham-Talent, World at Risk (Commission Report), pp. 13-20; 43-64
- Federation of American Scientists: Status of World Nuclear Forces
- NIE: Iran: Nuclear Intentions and Capabilities, November, 2007
- National Counterproliferation Center (<http://ncpc.dni.gov/>)
- Remarks by the Director of the National Counterproliferation Center (http://ncpc.dni.gov/files/20090804_speech.pdf)
- White House: Nuclear Security Summits: Securing the World from Nuclear Terrorism (March 29, 2016)

Case Study: Unilateral Action and Pakistan’s Nuclear Arsenal

October 3: *Covert Action and Paramilitary Operations*

- Shulsky and Schmitt, Silent Warfare, Chapter #4, pp. 75-97
- Richelson, The US Intelligence Community, Chapter #16 (pp. 468-485)
- Lowenthal, Intelligence: From Secrets to Policy, pp. 249-275
- Tenet, At the Center of the Storm, pp. 207-227
- Gates, From the Shadows, pp. 450-1 (Solidarity)
- Congressional Research Service: Sensitive Covert Action Notifications: Oversight Options for Congress (April 6, 2011)

- The White House, *Fact Sheet: Executive Order on the US Policy on Pre & Post-Strike Measures to Address Civilian Casualties in the US Operations Involving the Use of Force & the DNI Release of Aggregate Data on Strike Outside Area of Active Hostilities* (July 1, 2016) and *PPD Summary :U.S. Policy Standards and Procedures for the Use of Force in Counterterrorism Operations Outside the United States and Areas of Active Hostilities* (May 23, 2013)

Case Study: WMD, Paramilitary Operations and Collateral Damage

Section Three: The Intelligence Structure and Key Engagement, 1947-2001

October 8: *Intelligence and the Cold War*

- Lowenthal, Intelligence: From Secrets to Policy, Chapter#11 (pp. 351-377)
- Gates, From the Shadows, Chapter #14 (pp. 258-277) The Most Dangerous Year
- Gates, From the Shadows, Chapter #20 (pp. 357-371) Intelligence Wars
- Dulles, The Craft of Intelligence, Chapter # 14, pp. 219-233

Case Study: Berlin, 1965

October 10: Reaction, Reform and the Intelligence Community: The Church Committee, Watergate and “Iran-Contra”

- Lowenthal, Intelligence: From Secrets to Policy, Appendix #2 (pp. 561-564)
- Andrew, For the President’s Eyes Only, Chapter #10, pp. 397-424 (Church Committee)

- U.S. Senate: Interim Report: Alleged Assassination Plots Involving Foreign Leaders (Introduction) pp. 1-7
- Andrew, For the President's Eyes Only, pp. 379-389, 396 (Watergate)
- Andrew, For the President's Eyes Only, pp. 479-480; 485-493 (Iran-Contra)
- Gates, From the Shadows, Chapter #22 (pp. 390-403) (Iran-Contra)

Case Study: *Alleged Assassination Plots Involving Foreign Leaders* (U.S. Congress, Report 94-465, November 20, 1975) Recommendations; pp. 281-285

October 15: The Intelligence Community; Vietnam and the Balkans Wars

- NIE 15-90: Yugoslavia Transformed (October, 1990)
- Clark, Waging Modern War, Chapter #9 (pp. 221-242)
- Imagery/ALLIED FORCE Strike Operations
(<http://www.globalsecurity.org/intell/library/imint/kosovo-62.htm>)
- Betts, Enemies of Intelligence, pp.82-85
- McMaster, Dereliction of Duty, pp. 254-7, 287-8
- Central Intelligence Agency, Office of National Estimates, The Outlook in Vietnam, 26 February 1968.
- Special National Intelligence Estimate (SNIE), 13-9-70, Chinese Reactions to Possible Developments in Indochina, 28 May 1970.

Case Simulation: Vietnam, Intelligence and Policy Deliberations

Section Four: Roots of the Current Intelligence System - The Era of Reform. Post 9/11 Commissions and Overhaul of the Intelligence Community, from the 2004 Intelligence Reform and Terrorism Prevention Act to the Present.

October 17: *Warning and the 9/11 Attacks*

- 9/11 Commission, Chapter #1 (pp. 1-46), Chapter #8, pp. (254-277)
- Betts, Enemies of Intelligence, pp. 105-114
- Tenet, At the Center of the Storm, pp. 144-160, 191-205

Case Study: Presidential Daily Brief (extract), 6 August 2001, "*Bin Laden Determined to Attack U.S.*" (Declassified 10 April 2004)

October 22: *Iraqi WMD, OPLAN 1003V and the Intelligence Community*

- WMD Commission, pp. 45-51, 157-196, 557-563
- Betts, *Enemies of Intelligence*, pp. 114-123.
- George and Bruce, *Analyzing Intelligence*, pp. 144-47
- Tenet, *At the Center of the Storm*, Chapter #16 (pp. 301-319), Chapters #17-21 (pp. 322-399)

- Comprehensive Report of the Special Advisor to the DCI on Iraq WMD
https://www.cia.gov/library/reports/general-reports-1/iraq_wmd_2004/. Key Findings (p.1-19).

- Treverton, Gregory, *Intelligence Analysis: Between Politicization and Irrelevance* (BB)

Case Study: *The I.C. and Post-1003V Challenges* (handouts; Gordon and Trainor, pp. 570-1)

October 24: *Intelligence Reform, 2001-2008*

- Lowenthal, *Intelligence: From Secrets to Policy*, Chapter #14, pp. 463-487
- Hayden, Michael, *Playing to the Edge*, Chapter #9, pp. 153-178.
- The Intelligence Reform and Terrorism Prevention Act of 2004 (assigned excerpts)
- EO 12333, as amended by EO 13284 (2003), 13355 (2006) and 13470 (2008)
- Background Briefing on EO 12333 (13470)
- Treverton, *Intelligence for an Age of Terror*, Chapter # 4, pp. 75-99

Case Study: PS/NIE 95-19, *Emerging Threats to North America During the Next 15 Years* (DCI/NIC, November, 1995)

Section Five: Partners: Policy Makers, Military Commanders and Intelligence Across the Nations.

October 29: *Intelligence and Policy Makers*

- George and Bruce, *Analyzing Intelligence*, Chapter #5 (pp. 81-92), Chapter #6 (pp. 93-102)
- Sims and Gerber, *Transforming U.S. Intelligence*, Chapter # 7 (pp. 114-133)

- Betts, Enemies of Intelligence, pp. 76-7
- Lowenthal, Intelligence: From Secrets to Policy, pp. Chapter #8 (pp. 249-273) (Covert Action)
- Dulles, The Craft of Intelligence, pp. 149-165

October 31: *Intelligence and Military Commanders*

- Department of Defense: *DoD Manual 5240.01; Procedures Governing the Conduct of DoD Intelligence Activities (August 8, 2016)*
- George and Bruce, Analyzing Intelligence, Chapter #7 (pp. 103-120) and Chapter #10 (p. 249-264)
- Koch, G-2: Intelligence for Patton, Chapter #11 (pp. 123-126)
- Keegan, Intelligence in War, pp. 295-319 (U.K. Perspective)
- Sims and Gerber, Transforming U.S. Intelligence, Chapter # 10 (pp. 162-179)
- Iraq Study Group, pp. 93-96
- Andrew, Aldrich, Wark, Secret Intelligence, Chapter #29 (pp. 510-521) (ISAF/NL)

November 5: *Intelligence Across the Nations*

- Lowenthal, Intelligence: From Secrets to Policy, Chapter #15 (pp. 489-548)
- Richelson, The US Intelligence Community, Chapter # 13 (pp. 370-396)
- Tenet, At the Center of the Storm, pp. 229-236
- Andrew, Aldrich, and Wark, Secret Intelligence, Chapter #10 (pp. 140-153)

Section Six: Intelligence Governance and Practice: The Role of Leadership, Internal/External Checks and Balances, Resources and Budget, Ethics and Current Management of the I.C.

November 7: “*Domestic Intelligence*”

- Sims and Gerber, Transforming U.S. Intelligence, Chapter #12, Crumpton, Henry A., Intelligence and Homeland Defense (pp. 198-219)
- Lowenthal, Intelligence: From Secrets to Policy, pp. 403-408

- 9/11 Commission, pp. 400-406, 423-428
- Sims and Gerber, Vaults, Mirrors, and Masks, Sample, Timothy R., A Federal Approach to Domestic Intelligence, Chapter. #11, pp. 241-260.
- George and Bruce, Analyzing Intelligence, Chapter. #16, (pp. 265-286)

November 12: *Intelligence Oversight: The Congress*

- Sims and Gerber, Transforming U.S. Intelligence, Chapter. #14, pp. 239-258
- Gates, From the Shadows, pp. 558-9
- 9/11 Commission, pp. 419-421
- Lowenthal, Intelligence: From Secrets to Policy, pp. 311-344

November 14: *Leadership in the Intelligence Community*

- Dulles, The Craft of Intelligence, Chapter #2 (pp. 167-183)
- Gates, From the Shadows, pp. 571-574
- Gannon, John: *Managing Analysis in the Information Age* (BB) - Andrew, For the President's Eyes Only, pp. 323-7, p.386
- Halberstam, The Best and the Brightest, pp. 174-176
- A Long Legacy of Frustration at CIA Helm, New York Times, May 7, 2006
- Tenet, At the Center of the Storm, Chapter. #25 (pp. 477-487)
- WMD Commission, pp. 423-424

November 26: *Intelligence Funding and Resources*

- Lowenthal, Intelligence: From Secrets to Policy, pp. 327-331 (redux)
- Best, Richard A., Jr., Intelligence Authorization Legislation: Status and Challenges, CRS, January 20, 2011
- Intelligence Community Directive Number 114; Comptroller General Access to Intelligence Community Information, Effective: 30 June 2011.
(<http://www.fas.org/irp/dni/icd/icd-114.pdf>)

November 28: *Ethics and the Intelligence Profession*

- Shulsky and Schmitt, Silent Warfare, pp. 167-8
- Lowenthal, Intelligence: From Secrets to Policy, Chapter. #13 (pp. 437-461)
- Andrew, Aldrich, and Wark, Secret Intelligence, Chapter #23 (pp.395-410)

Case Studies: (1) HUMINT/Individuals, (2) Resource Decisions

December 3 and 5: *The Current Posture: National Intelligence Challenges Now and in the Future*

- WMD Commission, Chapter #6 (pp. 311-349)
- The National Intelligence Strategy (http://www.dni.gov/reports/2009_NIS.pdf)
- Best, Richard A., Jr., Intelligence Reform After Five Years: The Role of the Director of National Intelligence. CRS, June 22, 2010
- Negroponte, John, D. and Willerstein, Edward M., Urgency, Opportunity and Frustration: Implementing the Intelligence Reform and Terrorism Prevention Act of 2004. Yale Law and Policy Review, 28: 379, 2010.
- Blair, Dennis C., Prepared Statement for the U.S. Senate Committee on Homeland Security and Governmental Affairs, May 19, 2011.