Carleton University **Fall 2024**
Department of Political Science
https://carleton.ca/polisci/

PCSI 4008 A
National Security and Intelligence
Wednesday 14:35–17:25
Course Location: See Carleton Central

Instructor: Said Yaqub Ibrahimi
Office: B642, Loeb Building
Office Hour: Wednesday 12:00–1:00pm
Email: said.yaqub@carleton.ca

1. Course Description & Objective

This course offers students the opportunity to study, debate, and research theories and issues related to national security and intelligence. It begins with a historical and theoretical overview of national security and intelligence, followed by discussions on intelligence structures and institutions and their impact on the security of modern states, both domestically and internationally. The course will cover several case studies and conclude with an examination of critical debates and emerging national and international security challenges. Students are expected to learn foundational and critical theories and debates surrounding national security and intelligence, apply these theories and methods to analyze existing and emerging security issues, understand the national security structures and institutions of various countries, and engage in critical discussions concerning intelligence and its role in national security.

2. Required Reading

Mark M. Lowenthal, *Intelligence: From Secrets to Policy*. 9th Edition. Washington: CQ Press, 2022 (will be available at Carleton Bookstore). All other sources are available online through MacOdrum Library

3. Course Evaluation

Course evaluation will include grades for participation, presentations, and research, calculated as follows:

Class Attendance and Participation (30%)
Class participation is an important component of this course. Classes are structured in a seminar format, so it is expected that every student comes prepared to engage in discussions. Participation should be constructive, critical, and respectful, with both the quality and quantity of contributions being considered. The purpose of class participation is to critically engage with the course material and respectfully exchange insights from the assigned readings. Students will receive 50 percent of their grade from attendance and 50 percent from their engagement in class discussions and group work.

Presentation & Discussion (15%)
Students should present an analysis of the required readings for one session and serve as a discussant for a student's presentation during sessions 2 to 12. Students will receive 70 percent of their grade for presentation and 30 percent for playing the role of discussant. Presentations and discussants will be assigned in the first session. Each student must deliver a 20-minute oral presentation on the assigned reading. Presentations should include an overview and analysis of the assigned reading and its contribution to broader debates. A simple summary of the assigned reading will not be considered a successful presentation. At the end of the presentation, the discussant should evaluate the presentation and provide one question for the presenter and two questions for the class.

Research Proposal (15%)
Due October 2 (submit electronically on Brightspace)
Proposals serve as an introduction to the course's major research project and should clearly address three main questions: What is the research about (introduction to the topic)? What is your theory and case study? What is the objective of your research? Each proposal should include a clear research question, a hypothesis or key argument, a theoretical framework, an introduction to the case study, a tentative conclusion, and a potential bibliography of at least **12 to 15** scholarly sources, including book chapters and journal articles (students may select relevant sources from this syllabus). Proposals should be between **1000** and **1200** words plus a potential bibliography that you will use for your research paper. Students are encouraged to select topics closely related to the themes of the course.

Research Paper (40%)
Due December 4 (submit electronically on Brightspace)
Students are required to build on their research proposals and write a research paper, which should be between **3000** and **3500** words plus a cover page and bibliography. Topics of interest may include national security and intelligence theories, case studies, or both. Theory papers should use empirical evidence or case studies to support the argument, while empirical papers should be designed within a clear methodological or theoretical framework. Papers should be organized in a "journal article" style, including introduction, discussion/case study, and conclusion sections. Students are expected to review the relevant literature, identify the literature gap, and explain how their argument fills this gap. Papers should include **12** to **15** scholarly sources (i.e., journal articles and book chapters). Relevant sources from this syllabus are acceptable.

Late Submission Policy
Assignments are due electronically on Brightspace. E-mailed assignments will not be accepted. Late submissions will be penalized at a rate of 2 percent per day, up to a maximum of 7 days. Assignments submitted more than 7 days late will receive a zero. For extension requests, please contact me prior to the assignment's due date.

3. Course Schedule

Session 1 (September 4): Introduction to course
NO REQUIRED READING
In this session, the instructor will introduce the course, outline its requirements, and explain the evaluation policies. The seminar will also include the assignment of presentations and discussants. Therefore, students are expected to come prepared with a specific topic they are interested in presenting during the semester.

Session 2 (September 11): National Security and Intelligence (Concepts, Debates, Process)
REQUIRED READING
- Lowenthal, Chapters 1, 4-6, 9.
- Sun Tzu. *The Art of War.* Ch. 13. "The Use of Spies." Available online.
- Tony Pfaff and Jeffrey R. Tiel. "The Ethics of Espionage." *Journal of Military Ethics*. Vol. 3, No. 1. 2004. pp. 1-15.
- Corin Stone, "Artificial Intelligence in the Intelligence Community." *Just Security*. 2021 https://www.justsecurity.org/77783/artificial-intelligence-in-the-intelligence-community-culture-is-critical/

Session 3 (September 18): Canadian intelligence (Part 1), Ethics and Action
REQUIRED READING
- Lowenthal, Chapter 13.
- Greg Fyffe. "Prepared: Canadian Intelligence for the Dangerous Decades." No. 6. Reimagining a Canadian National Security Strategy. Waterloo, Ont.: Centre for International Governance Innovation. 2021. https://www.cigionline.org/static/documents/NSS_Report6.pdf
- T. Darcy Finn. "Does Canada Need a Foreign Intelligence Service?" *Canadian Foreign Policy*, 1-3, 1993: pp. 149-162.
- Alistair Hensler, "Creating a Canadian Foreign Intelligence Service", *Canadian Foreign Policy*, 3-3, Winter, 1995, pp.15-35.
- Thomas Juneau, Stephanie Carvin. "Canadian Foreign Intelligence and the Future of Canada-U.S. Relations." *Lawfare*. Nov. 14, 2021. https://www.lawfareblog.com/canadian-foreign-intelligence-and-future-canada-us-relations

Session 4 (September 25): Canadian Counterintelligence (Part 2), Counterintelligence
REQUIRED READING
- Lowenthal, Chapter 7.
- Alistair Hensler. "I, spy: CSIS has an identity crisis." *Globe and Mail*, Date?, 2020. https://www.theglobeandmail.com/opinion/article-i-spy-csis-has-an-identity-crisis/
- Niall McGee. "China's Zijin Mining acquisition of Neo Lithium will likely trigger full national security review." *Globe and Mail*, Oct. 13, 2021. https://www.theglobeandmail.com/business/article-chinas-zijin-mining-acquisition-of-neo-lithium-will-likely-trigger/

Session 5 (October 2): The U.S. NS and Intelligence (Part 1), Development and Action
REQUIRED READING
- Lowenthal, Chapters 2-3, 8.
- Alex Joel and Corin R. Stone. "Getting the T's and C's Right: The Lessons of Intelligence Reform." *Just Security*. Nov. 23, 2020. https://www.justsecurity.org/73452/getting-the-ts-and-cs-right-the-lessons-of-intelligence-reform/

Session 6 (October 9): The U.S. NS and Intelligence (Part 2), Oversight and Reform
REQUIRED READING
- Lowenthal, Chapters 10, 14.
- Gregory Treverton. "Covert Action and Open Society." *Foreign Affairs*. Summer 1987, pp. 995-1014.
  Optional reading
- "Probing the Implications of Changing the Outputs of Intelligence" *Studies in Intelligence*. Vol. 56, No. 1. March 2012. pp. 1-11.

Session 7 (October 16): Foreign Intelligence: Europe, Australia, Israel, Russia, and others
REQUIRED READING
- Lowenthal, Chapter 15
- Aaron Bateman, "Intelligence and alliance politics: America, Britain, and the Strategic Defense Initiative." *Intelligence and National Security*, 36(7), 2021: 941-960.
- "Guidelines for Israel's National Security Strategy," *The Washington Institute*, 2019, pp. 18-48. https://www.washingtoninstitute.org/media/4613
- Philip H J Davies and Toby Steward, "No War for Old Spies: Putin, the Kremlin and Intelligence," *RUSI*, 2022 https://rusi.org/explore-our-research/publications/commentary/no-war-old-spies-putin-kremlin-and-intelligence

Optional reading
- Giovanni Grevi, Damien Helly and Daniel Keohane (Eds), *European Security and Defence Policy: the first ten years (1999-2009).* Paris: EU Institute for Security Studies, 2009. pp. 19-68 (available online).

October 23: *Fall Break, no class*

Session 8 (October 30): Intelligence & Global Issues: Cold War & Post-Cold War Problems
REQUIRED READING
- Lowenthal, Chapters, 11-12.
- Derek Reveron. "Old Allies, New Friends: Intelligence Sharing in the War on Terror." *Orbis* 50(3), 2006: pp. 453-68.
- Erik Lin-Greenberg and Theo Milonopoulos. "Private Eyes in the Sky: How Commercial Satellites are Transforming Intelligence." *Foreign Affairs*. Sept. 23, 2021.

Optional Reading
- Caitlin Talmadge. "Deterring a Nuclear 9/11." *The Washington Quarterly* 30(2), 2007: 21-34.

Session 9 (November 6): Intelligence and Culture
REQUIRED READING
- Charlottee Yelamos, Michael Goodman, Mark Stout, "Intelligence and Culture: An Introduction." *Intelligence and National Security*, 37(4), 2022, 475-481
- Paul Oling, Sebastiaan Rietjens, Paul van Fenema & Jan-Kees Schakel, "Towards a cultural perspective on the absorption of emerging technologies in military organizations." *Intelligence and National Security*, 37(4), 2022, 482-497.
- Allon J. Uhlmann, "Military intelligence and the securitization of Arabic proficiency in Israel: the limits of influence and the curse of unintended consequences." *Intelligence and National Security*, 37(4), 541-555.
- Manasi Pritam, "Examining exceptionalism in national security cultures: a comparative study of the United States and India." *India Review,* 20(3), 2021: 295-321.

Session 10 (November 13): Critical National Security & Intelligence Studies
REQUIRED READING
- Berma Klein Goldewijk, "Why still critical? Critical intelligence studies positioned in scholarship on security, war, and international relations." *Intelligence and National Security*, 36 (4), 2021: 476-494.
- Cristina Ivan, Irena Chiru & Rubén Arcos, "A whole of society intelligence approach: critical reassessment of the tools and means used to counter information warfare in the digital age." *Intelligence and National Security*, 36 (4), 2021: 495-511.
- Peter de Werd, "Reflexive intelligence and converging knowledge regimes." *Intelligence and National Security*, 36 (4), 2021: 512-526.

Session 11 (November 20): Intelligence Failure
REQUIRED READING
- Ashton B. Carter et al. "The Day After: Action Following a Nuclear Blast in a U.S. City." *The Washington Quarterly*. 30: 4. Autumn 2007: 19-32.
- Kacper Gradon & Wesley R. Moy, "COVID-19 Response – Lessons from Secret Intelligence Failures." *The International Journal of Intelligence, Security, and Public Affairs*, 23 (3), 2021: 161-179.
- Anthony H. Cordesman and Arleigh A. Burke, "Intelligence Failures in the Iraq War", Washington: Center for Strategic and International Studies, 16 July 2003.
- David Priess. "Afghanistan, Policy Choices and Claims of Intelligence Failure." *Lawfare*. Aug. 26, 2021.
- Dima Adamsky & Uri Bar-Joseph, 'The Russians are not coming': Israel's intelligence failure and soviet military intervention in the 'War of Attrition," *Intelligence and National Security,* 21: 6, 2006: 1-25.
- Dima Adamsky and Uri Bar-Joseph. 'The Russians are not coming': Israel's Intelligence Failure and Soviet Military Intervention in the 'War of Attrition.' *International Journal of Intelligence and Counter Intelligence*, vol. issue 2021: pp.

Session 12 (November 27): Intelligence and Security Cooperation
REQUIRED READING

- Arthur S. Hulnick, 'Intelligence cooperation in the post-cold war era: A new game plan?', *International Journal of Intelligence and Counterintelligence*, 5: 4, 2008: 455-465.
- Richard J. Aldrich, "Transatlantic Intelligence and Security Cooperation." *International Affairs*, 80: 4, 2004, 731–53.
- Michael S. Goodman, 'The Foundations of Anglo-American Intelligence Sharing', *Studies in Intelligence*, 59: 2, 2015: 1-12.
- Ardavan Khoshnood and Arvin Khoshnood, "The Islamic Republic of Iran's Use of Diplomats in Its Intelligence and Terrorist Operations against Dissidents: The Case of Assadollah Assadi," *International Journal of Intelligence and Counter Intelligence*, 37:3, 2024: 976-992.

Session 13 (December 4): Course overview and final discussion
No required reading

Appendix

Student Mental Health

As a university student, you may experience a range of mental health challenges that significantly impact your academic success and overall well-being. If you need help, please speak to someone. There are numerous resources available both on- and off-campus to support you. Here is a list that may be helpful:

Emergency Resources (on and off campus): https://carleton.ca/health/emergencies-and-crisis/emergency-numbers/

- ***Carleton Resources:***
  - Mental Health and Wellbeing: https://carleton.ca/wellness/
  - Health & Counselling Services: https://carleton.ca/health/
  - Paul Menton Centre: https://carleton.ca/pmc/
  - Academic Advising Centre (AAC): https://carleton.ca/academicadvising/
  - Centre for Student Academic Support (CSAS): https://carleton.ca/csas/
  - Equity & Inclusivity Communities: https://carleton.ca/equity/

- ***Off Campus Resources:***
  - Distress Centre of Ottawa and Region: (613) 238-3311 or TEXT: 343-306-5550, https://www.dcottawa.on.ca/
  - Mental Health Crisis Service: (613) 722-6914, 1-866-996-0991, http://www.crisisline.ca/
  - Empower Me: 1-844-741-6389, https://students.carleton.ca/services/empower-me-counselling-services/
  - Good2Talk: 1-866-925-5454, https://good2talk.ca/
  - The Walk-In Counselling Clinic: https://walkincounselling.com

Requests for Academic Accommodation

Deferred final exams, which must be applied for at the RO, are available ONLY if the student is in good standing in the course. The course outline must stipulate any minimum standards for good standing that a student must meet to be entitled to write a deferred final exam.

You may need special arrangements to meet your academic obligations during the term. For an accommodation request, the processes are as follows:

Academic consideration for medical or other extenuating circumstances: Please contact your instructor if you are experiencing circumstances that (a) are beyond your control, (b) have a significant impact your capacity to meet your academic obligations, and (c) could not have reasonably been prevented. Decisions on academic consideration are in your instructor's discretion; they will be guided by the course learning outcomes and the principle of good faith. Please see here for more details. For considerations relating to course work, your instructor may request that you complete the Self-Declaration form. To apply for a deferral of your final exam, you must submit the Self-Declaration form to the Registrar's Office no later than three days after the scheduled examination or take-home due date.

Pregnancy accommodation: Please contact your instructor with any requests for academic accommodation during the first two weeks of class, or as soon as possible after the need for accommodation is known to exist. For accommodation regarding a formally-scheduled final exam, you must complete the Pregnancy Accommodation Form (click here).

Religious accommodation: Please contact your instructor with any requests for academic accommodation during the first two weeks of class, or as soon as possible after the need for accommodation is known to exist. For more details click here.

Accommodations for students with disabilities: If you have a documented disability requiring academic accommodations in this course, please contact the Paul Menton Centre for Students with Disabilities (PMC) at 613-520-6608 or pmc@carleton.ca for a formal evaluation, or contact your PMC coordinator to send your instructor your Letter of Accommodation at the beginning of the term. You must also contact the PMC no later than two weeks before the first in-class scheduled test or exam requiring accommodation (if applicable). After requesting accommodation from PMC, reach out to your instructor as soon as possible to ensure accommodation arrangements are made. For more details, click here.

Accommodation for student activities: Carleton University recognizes the substantial benefits, both to the individual student and to the university, that result from a student participating in activities beyond the classroom. Reasonable accommodation will be

provided to students who engage in student activities at the national or international level. Please contact your instructor with any requests for academic accommodation during the first two weeks of class, or as soon as possible after the need for accommodation is known to exist. For more information, please click here.

Carleton is committed to providing academic accessibility for all individuals. You may need special arrangements to meet your academic obligations during the term. The accommodation request processes, including information about the Academic Consideration Policy for Students in Medical and Other Extenuating Circumstances, are outlined on the Academic Accommodations website (students.carleton.ca/course-outline).

Sexual Violence Policy

As a community, Carleton University is committed to maintaining a positive learning, working and living environment where sexual violence will not be tolerated. Survivors are supported through academic accommodations as per Carleton's Sexual Violence Policy. For more information about the services available at the university and to obtain information about sexual violence and/or support, visit: carleton.ca/sexual-violence-support.

Academic Integrity

Academic integrity is an essential element of a productive and successful career as a student. Carleton's Academic Integrity Policy addresses academic integrity violations, including plagiarism, unauthorized collaboration, misrepresentation, impersonation, withholding of records, obstruction/interference, disruption of instruction or examinations, improper access to and/or dissemination of information, or violation of test and examination rules. Students are required to familiarize themselves with the university's academic integrity rules.

Plagiarism

The Academic Integrity Policy defines plagiarism as "presenting, whether intentional or not, the ideas, expression of ideas or work of others as one's own." This includes reproducing or paraphrasing portions of someone else's published or unpublished material, regardless of the source, and presenting these as one's own without proper citation or reference to the original source. Examples of sources from which the ideas, expressions of ideas or works of others may be drawn from include, but are not limited to: books, articles, papers, websites, literary compositions and phrases, performance compositions, chemical compounds, art works, laboratory reports, research results, calculations and the results of calculations, diagrams, constructions, computer reports, computer code/software, material on the internet and/or conversations.

Examples of plagiarism include, but are not limited to:

- Any submission prepared in whole or in part, by someone else;
- Using ideas or direct, verbatim quotations, paraphrased material, algorithms, formulae, scientific or mathematical concepts, or ideas without appropriate acknowledgment in any academic assignment;
- Using another's data or research findings without appropriate acknowledgement;
- Submitting a computer program developed in whole or in part by someone else, with or without modifications, as one's own; and
- failing to acknowledge sources through the use of proper citations when using another's work and/or failing to use quotations marks.

Use of Artificial Intelligence

Unless explicitly permitted by the instructor in a particular course, any use of generative artificial intelligence (AI) tools to produce assessed content (e.g., text, code, equations, image, summary, video, etc.) is considered a violation of academic integrity standards.

Procedures in Cases of Suspected Violations

Violations of the Academic Integrity Policy are serious offences which cannot be resolved directly with the course's instructor. When an instructor suspects a violation of the Academic Integrity Policy, the Associate Dean of the Faculty conducts a rigorous investigation, including an interview with the student. Penalties are not trivial. They may include a mark of zero for the assignment/exam in question or a final grade of "F" for the course. More information on the University's Academic Integrity Policy can be found at: https://carleton.ca/registrar/academic-integrity/.

Intellectual property

Student or professor materials created for this course (including presentations and posted notes, labs, case studies, assignments and exams) remain the intellectual property of the author(s). They are intended for personal use and may not be reproduced or redistributed without prior written consent of the author(s).

Permissibility of submitting substantially the same piece of work more than once for academic credit.

If group or collaborative work is expected or allowed, provide a clear and specific description of how and to what extent you consider collaboration to be acceptable or appropriate, especially in the completion of written assignments.

Submission and Return of Term Work

Papers must be submitted directly to the instructor according to the instructions in the course outline. The departmental office will not accept assignments submitted in hard copy.

Grading

Standing in a course is determined by the course instructor, subject to the approval of the faculty Dean. Final standing in courses will be shown by alphabetical grades. The system of grades used, with corresponding grade points is:

Percentage	Letter grade	12-point scale	Percentage	Letter grade	12-point scale
90-100	A+	12	67-69	C+	6
85-89	A	11	63-66	C	5
80-84	A-	10	60-62	C-	4
77-79	B+	9	57-59	D+	3
73-76	B	8	53-56	D	2
70-72	B-	7	50-52	D-	1

Standing in a course is determined by the course instructor subject to the approval of the Faculty Dean. This means that grades submitted by the instructor may be subject to revision. No grades are final until they have been approved by the Dean.

Carleton E-mail Accounts

All email communication to students from the Department of Political Science will be via official Carleton University e-mail accounts and/or Brightspace. As important course and university information is distributed this way, it is the student's responsibility to monitor their Carleton University email accounts and Brightspace.

Carleton Political Science Society

The Carleton Political Science Society (CPSS) has made its mission to provide a social environment for politically inclined students and faculty. By hosting social events, including Model Parliament, debates, professional development sessions and more, CPSS aims to involve all political science students at Carleton University. Our mandate is to arrange social and academic activities in order to instill a sense of belonging within the Department and the larger University community. Members can benefit through our networking opportunities, academic engagement initiatives and numerous events which aim to complement both academic and social life at Carleton University. To find out more, visit us on Facebook https://www.facebook.com/CarletonPoliticalScienceSociety/.

Official Course Outline

The course outline posted to the Political Science website is the official course outline.