

PCSI 4008 A
National Security and Intelligence
Friday 11:35 – 2:25
Course Location: See Carleton Central

Instructor: Said Yaqub Ibrahim
Office: Loeb B641
Office Hour: Fridays 10 – 11 & by appointment
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I. Course Description & Objective

This course provides an opportunity for students to study, debate, and research theories and issues of national security and intelligence. The course begins with an historical and theoretical overview of national security and intelligence; proceeds with debates concerning the intelligence structures and institutions and their impact on the security of modern states both internally and internationally; covers case studies including Canada, United States, and their allies and enemies; and ends with examining critical debates and emerging national and international security problems. Students are expected to learn general theories and debates of national security and intelligence; understand the national security structures and institutions of various countries; engage in critical debates and discussions, and use the theories, methods, and debates in analyzing the existing and emerging security problems.

Required Reading:

Mark M. Lowenthal, *Intelligence: From Secrets to Policy*. 9th Edition. Washington: CQ Press, 2022.
Other sources are available online.

II. Course Evaluation

Course evaluation includes participation, presentation, and research grades and will be calculated on the following basis:

Class Attendance and Participation (30%)

Class participation is a critical component of this course. Classes are structured in a “seminar” format and, therefore, it is expected that every student comes prepared to engage in class discussion. Participation should be constructive, critical, and respectful. Both the quality and quantity of your participation will be taken into consideration. The purpose of class participation is to critically engage with course material and respectfully exchange understanding of assigned readings. Students will receive 50 percent of the grade from attendance and 50 percent from engaging in class discussions and group works.

Presentation & Discussion (15%)

Students should present an analysis of the required readings during **sessions 2 to 12** and play the role of a discussant for another student's presentation. Presentations will be assigned in the first session. Every student should provide a 20-minute oral presentation of the assigned reading. Presentations should include an overview and analysis of the assigned reading and its contribution to the broader debates. A simple summarization 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 5 (submit electronically on Brightspace)

Proposals are an introduction to the course's major research project and should clearly address three main questions as follows: What is the research about? How do you conduct it? Why is the proposed topic worth researching? Every proposal should contain a clear research question, a hypothesis/key argument, a theoretical framework, and a potential bibliography of at least 12-15 scholarly sources including book chapters and journal articles (students can select relevant sources from this syllabus). Proposals should not exceed **1000 – 1200 words**. Students may select topics closely related to the themes of the course.

Research Paper (40%)

Due December 8 (submit electronically on Brightspace)

Students are required to build on their research proposals and write a research paper which should not exceed **3500 to 4000** words including references. Topics of interest could include national security and intelligence theories and problems or both. In either case, students should address both theoretical and empirical dimensions of the assigned topic. In other words, theory papers should use empirical evidence to support the argument and empirical papers should be designed within a clear methodological and/or theoretical framework. Papers should be organized in a "journal article" style and include introduction, discussion, and conclusion sections. Students are expected to review the relevant literature, indicate the literature gap, and explain how their argument fills the gap. Papers should include 12 to 15 scholarly sources (i.e., journal articles and book chapters) – relevant sources from this syllabus are acceptable. The format and instructions for this assignment will be posted on the brightspace page.

Late Submission Policy

Assignments are due electronically in Brightspace. E-mailed assignments will not be accepted. Late submissions will be penalized daily (i.e., 3 percent per day) for a maximum of 7 days. Assignments that are submitted after 7 days will receive a zero. For extension requests, please contact prior to the due date of an assignment.

III. Course Topics and Schedule

Session 1 (September 8): Introduction to course and assignments

The instructor reviews the syllabus and presents the format, requirements, and objectives of the course. Presentations will be assigned during this session.

Session 2 (September 15): National Security and Intelligence (Concepts and Debates)

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 22): Canadian intelligence: 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 29): Canadian Counterintelligence: theory and action

REQUIRED READING

- Lowenthal, Chapter 7.
- Alistair Hensler. “I, spy: CSIS has an identity crisis.” *Globe and Mail*. 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 6): The United States National Security and Intelligence (Part 1)

REQUIRED READING

- Lowenthal, Chapters 2-3, 8.

Optional reading

- 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 13): The United States National Security and Intelligence (Part 2)

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 20): National Security and Intelligence in Europe, Australia, Israel, etc.

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 27: Fall Break, no class

Session 8 (November 3): War, Terrorism, and Emerging Issues

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 10): Intelligence and Culture

REQUIRED READING

- Charlotte 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 17): 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 24): Health and National Security

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.
- Jonathan Corrado. “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*, 2021.

Session 12 (December 1): 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

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

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](#).

For more information on academic accommodation, please contact the departmental administrator or visit: 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).

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 an 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.
