

## **PSCI 4008 B**

### **NATIONAL SECURITY AND INTELLIGENCE IN THE MODERN STATE**

**Tuesday 11:35 a.m. – 2:25 p.m. ET**

**This course is offered online via Zoom**

#### **1. General Information**

Instructor: A. Bartley

Office Hours: TBD, or by appointment (all office hours are via Zoom)

E-mail: [allan.bartley@carleton.ca](mailto:allan.bartley@carleton.ca)

#### **2. Course Description**

This is primarily a research seminar where students examine issues related to national security and intelligence in the modern democratic state. The course is designed to provide a theoretical overview of the intelligence process, the role of intelligence in democratic governments and the management of intelligence policy in democratic societies. The course has five themes: the nature and structure of the intelligence process, the role of intelligence in national security, a survey of intelligence institutions in modern democracies, the instruments and institutions modern states use to manage their intelligence communities with an emphasis on accountability mechanisms and, lastly, the evolving threat environment. There will be references to current issues in intelligence and national security including: intelligence theory and practice; intelligence policy development; espionage, terrorism and law enforcement; individual privacy, human rights and state rights. Accountability and review issues are highlighted.

### **3. Course Format**

The course will be a (blended) combination of pre-recorded lectures and live online presentations and discussions. The instructor will be available online after pre-recorded lectures to answer questions, clarify concepts and assist students in preparing for their presentations and research papers. There will be occasional online breakout sessions for student discussions and exercises.

Students are expected to remain up to date with the deadlines and due dates provided by the instructor. These courses require reliable high-speed Internet access and a computer (ideally with a webcam), and a headset with a microphone.

#### Session Recording

Web conferencing sessions in this course may be recorded and made available only to those within the class. Sessions may be recorded to enable access to students with internet connectivity problems, who are based in different time zones, and/or who have conflicting commitments. If students wish not to be recorded, they need to leave their camera and microphone turned off.

You will be notified at the start of the session when the recording will start, and Zoom will always notify meeting participants that a meeting is being recorded. It is not possible to disable this notification.

Please note that recordings are protected by copyright. The recordings are for your own educational use, but you are not permitted to publish to third party sites, such as social media sites and course materials sites.

You may be expected to use the video and/or audio and/or chat during web conferencing sessions for participation and collaboration. If you have concerns about being recorded, please email me directly so that we can discuss.

### **4. Evaluation**

The major course requirement is a critical research essay examining a topic, issue or concept related to subjects covered in lectures or readings.

- An essay **proposal (worth 20% of the final mark)** is to be submitted in writing (maximum 400 words) not later than **5:30 p.m., Tuesday, Feb. 15**. Proposals will be graded and returned at the next class.
- The **research essay (worth 50% of the final mark)** is to be a maximum of 25 pages in length (double-spaced, using a generally accepted scholarly style). Papers are due not later than **5:30 p.m., Tuesday, April 12**. Early submissions are welcome. Late submissions will lose a letter grade for each 24 hours after deadline. Papers will not be accepted after **4 p.m., Friday, April 15**.
- Each student will make one **oral presentation (worth 25% of the final mark)** of 10-15 minutes duration over the course of the term and lead a discussion on the topic of the presentation. The format for this presentation is flexible; the topic must be discussed with the instructor at least one week prior to presentation. Written feedback is provided by the instructor. Students are encouraged to make their oral presentation and write their research essay on the same theme or topic.
- **Class participation (worth five percent of the final mark)** is based on presence at, and engagement in, discussions as well as questions asked.

## 5. Evaluation in detail

The breakdown of the evaluation elements is as follows:

**Essay proposal 20%** (a clearly defined topic, a thesis, a general overview of the subject including relevant publications or arguments, a preliminary bibliography of 4-6 sources.) **Due Feb. 15, returned on or before March 1.**

**Oral presentation 25%** (hypothesis, structure, coherence of arguments, posing of questions, leading class discussion.) **To be scheduled in consultation with the instructor.**

**Research essay 50%** (hypothesis, structure, coherence of arguments, coherent syntax, summary, bibliography.) **Due April 12.**

**Class participation 5%** (presence, asking questions, engagement in discussions.)

## 6. Readings:

The weekly readings provide students with a base knowledge of the background, structures and issues relevant to national security and intelligence. Supplementary readings round out basic knowledge and provide a preliminary research source for writing essays and developing presentations.

This reading list is meant to be an introduction to a very wide body of material, both academic and popular, some of it of uneven quality and relevance. The instructor will provide advice and guidance on literature and research sources. Students are expected to undertake wide-ranging and critical research in preparing presentations and essays; they are also expected to apply the usual rigorous academic standards in evaluating potential research materials.

There is one text for the course. Other books and articles are recommended as supplementary reading. The readings were chosen for three reasons: they are reasonably current (or, if not current, enduring), provide baseline information and/or serve as introductions to a range of scholarly and diverse popular literature. All readings listed here -- with some exceptions -- are available on the Internet, in the library or at the bookstore.

The text is:

- Mark M. Lowenthal, *Intelligence: From Secrets to Policy*. 8th Edition. Washington: CQ Press, 2020. This book is available in hard copy or e-versions; the rented e-version is recommended. The hard copy version may be of interest to students with long-term plans to study in this area but be aware that the information dates quickly. For example, certain editions of the hard copy text (e.g. 6<sup>th</sup> and 7<sup>th</sup> editions) continue to be somewhat relevant but earlier editions are now largely out of date and are not recommended.

The e-version of the book can be rented or purchased via the following link: <https://www.vitalsource.com/en-ca/products/intelligence-mark-m-lowenthal-v9781544358345>

## 7. Course Schedule

### 7.1 January 11. Introduction (Live, online). Introductions, preliminary perspectives and administrative matters

Readings:

- Lowenthal, Chapter 1
- Alan Breakspear. "A New Definition of Intelligence." *Intelligence and National Security*. Vol. 28, No. 5. 2013. pp. 678-693.

Supplementary Reading: None.

### 7.2 January 18. Concepts, terms and issues (Pre-recorded lecture with online discussion beginning at 11:35 a.m.)

Readings:

- Lowenthal, Chapters 4, 5, 6, 9
- Jim Cox. "Intelligence: Definitions, Concepts and Governance." Parliamentary Information and Research Service. PRB 09-22E. Ottawa: Library of Parliament. 2009.
- Sun Tzu. *The Art of War*. Ch. 13. The Use of Spies. Various editions widely available.

Supplementary Reading:

- Nicholas Rescher. *Espionage, Statecraft and the Theory of Reporting*. Pittsburgh: University of Pittsburgh. 2018.
- Thomas Rid. *Active Measures: The Secret History of Disinformation and Political Warfare*. New York: Farrar, Straus and Giroux. 2020.
- Rhodri Jeffreys-Jones. *In Spies We Trust: The Story of Western Intelligence*. Oxford: Oxford University Press. 2013.
- Joshua Rovner. "Intel's Rough Start to the 21<sup>st</sup> Century." Centre for Security Studies. Oct. 29, 2012. [www.isn.ethz.ch](http://www.isn.ethz.ch)
- Christopher Andrew, Richard Aldrich, Wesley Wark. *Secret Intelligence: A Reader*. London and New York: Routledge. 2009.
- Frederick Hitz. *The Great Game: The myth and reality of espionage*. New York: Knopf. 2004.

- US National Commission on Terrorist Attacks Upon the United States. *The 9/11 Commission Report: Final report of the National Commission on Terrorist Attacks on the United States*. New York: Norton, 2004.
- Tony Pfaff and Jeffrey R. Tiel. "The Ethics of Espionage." *Journal of Military Ethics*. Vol. 3, No. 1. 2004. pp. 1-15.
- Allen Dulles, *The Craft of Intelligence*. (Reprint of 1963 Edition) Boulder: Westview, 1985. pp. 9-28, 237-264.
- James Srodes. "Allen Dulles's 73 Rules of Spycraft." *Intelligencer: Journal of U.S. Intelligence Studies*. Fall 2009. pp. 49-55.
- Robert M. Clark. *The Technical Collection of Intelligence*. Washington, D.C.: CQ Press. 2011.
- Richards J. Heuer, Jr. *Psychology of Intelligence Analysis*. Center for the Study of Intelligence. Central Intelligence Agency. 1999.
- "Artificial Intelligence in the Intelligence Community." An ongoing series in Just Security. [justsecurity.org](http://justsecurity.org). 2021.

## Comparative Structures and History

### 7.3 January 25. The Canadian Security and Intelligence Community (Part 1) (Pre-recorded with online discussion and student presentations beginning at 11:35 a.m.)

#### Readings:

- Lowenthal, Chapter 13
- Canada. Department of Justice. Statutes.
  - Canadian Security Intelligence Service Act, R.S.C., 1985
  - Security Offences Act, R.S.C, 1985
  - Security of Information Act, R.S.C., 1985
  - Communications Security Establishment Act, S.C., 2019
  - Intelligence Commissioner Act, S.C., 2019
- 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.

#### Supplementary Reading:

- Thomas Juneau, Stephanie Carvin. "Canadian Foreign Intelligence and the Future of Canada-U.S. Relations." Lawfare. Nov. 14, 2021.
- Reg Whitaker et al. *Secret Service: Political Policing in Canada from the Fenians to Fortress America*. Toronto: University of Toronto Press. 2012.
- Commission of Inquiry into the Investigation of the Bombing of Air India Flight 182. Research Papers, Vol. 1. Threat Assessment and RCMP/CSIS Co-operation. 2010.
- Commission of Inquiry into Certain Activities of the Royal Canadian Mounted Police. (McDonald Commission) Vols. 1-3. Ottawa: Queen's Printer. 1982.
- Peter Boer. *Canadian Security Intelligence Service*. Edmonton: Folk Lore Publishing. 2010.
- J.A. Cole. *Prince of Spies: Henri Le Caron*. London: Faber and Faber. 1984.
- Peter Edwards. *Delusion: The True Story of Victorian Superspy Henri Le Caron*. Key Porter. Toronto. 2008.
- Graeme Mount. *Canada's Enemies: Spies and Spying in the Peaceable Kingdom*. Toronto: Dundurn. 1993.
- Lita-Rose Betcherman. *The Swastika and the Maple Leaf*. Toronto: Fitzhenry and Whiteside. 1975.
- Lita-Rose Betcherman. *The Little Band*. Ottawa: Deneau. 1982.
- John Sawatsky. *Men in the Shadows: The Shocking Truth about the RCMP Security Service*, Toronto: Totem Books. 1983.
- John Sawatsky. *For Services Rendered*. Markham, Ont.: Penguin. 1982.
- Kurt Jenson. *Cautious Beginnings. Canadian Foreign Intelligence, 1939-51*. Vancouver: UBC Press. 2008.
- Gil Murray. *The Invisible War: The Untold Story of Number One Canadian Special Wireless Group*. Toronto: Dundurn. 2001.
- John Starnes, *Closely Guarded: A Life in Canadian Security and Intelligence*. Toronto: University of Toronto Press. 2001.
- William Stevenson, *A Man Called Intrepid*. New York: Harcourt, Brace, Jovanovich. 1976.
- Igor Gouzenko, *This Was My Choice: Gouzenko's Story*. Toronto: Dent. 1948.
- Geoffrey Weller. "Assessing Canadian Intelligence Literature: 1980-2000." International Journal of Intelligence and Counter-Intelligence. Vol. 14, 2001. pp. 49-61.

- D'Arcy Jenish. *The Making of the October Crisis: Canada's Long Nightmare of Terrorism at the Hands of the FLQ*. Toronto: Doubleday. 2018.

Presenters:

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#### **7.4 February 1. The Canadian Security and Intelligence Community (Part 2) (Pre-recorded with online discussion and student presentations beginning at 11:35 a.m.)**

Readings:

- Lowenthal, Chapter 7

Supplementary Reading:

- Transcript. "RCMP-interview-with-navy-spy" [www.documentcloud.org](http://www.documentcloud.org)
- J. Michael Cole. *Smokescreen: Canadian Security Intelligence after September 11, 2001*. iUniverse, Inc. Bloomington, Ind. 2008.
- Richard Cleroux. *Official Secrets: The Story Behind the Canadian Security Intelligence Service*. Montreal: McGraw-Hill, 1990.
- Philip Rosen. "The Communications Security Establishment – Canada's Most Secret Intelligence Agency." Ottawa: Library of Parliament, 1993.
- T. Darcy Finn. "Does Canada Need a Foreign Intelligence Service?" *Canadian Foreign Policy*, 1-3, Fall, 1993: pp. 149-162.
- Alistair Hensler, "Creating a Canadian Foreign Intelligence Service", *Canadian Foreign Policy*, 3-3, Winter, 1995, pp.15-35.
- Alistair Hensler. "I, spy: CSIS has an identity crisis." Globe and Mail. Aug. 9, 2020.
- Thomas R. Berger, *Fragile Freedoms: Human Rights and Dissent in Canada*. Toronto: Clarke Irwin, 1981.

- Larry Hannant, *The Infernal Machine: Investigating the Loyalty of Canada's Citizens*. Toronto: University of Toronto Press. 1995.
- Steve Hewitt, *Spying 101: The RCMP's Secret Activities at Canadian Universities, 1917-1997*. Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 2002.
- Niall McGee. "China's Zijin Mining acquisition of Neo Lithium will likely trigger full national security review." Globe and Mail, Oct. 13, 2021.

Presenters:

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**7.5 February 8. The United States Intelligence Community (Part 1)  
(Pre-recorded with online discussion and student presentations beginning at 11:35 a.m.)**

Readings:

- Lowenthal, Chapters 2, 3, 8

Supplementary Reading:

- Steve Slick. "Restoring U.S. Intelligence After the Trump Presidency." Lawfare. Dec. 17, 2018.
- Alex Joel and Corin R. Stone. "Getting the T's and C's Right: The Lessons of Intelligence Reform." Just Security. Nov. 23, 2020.
- Glen Greenwald. *No Place to Hide: Edward Snowden, the NSA and the U.S. Surveillance State*. Toronto: McClelland and Stewart. 2014.
- Gregory Treverton. "Intelligence Gathering and Reform: The Case of the United States." Centre for Security Studies. Nov. 2, 2012. [www.isn.ethz.ch](http://www.isn.ethz.ch)
- Alfred Rolington, "Objective Intelligence or Plausible Denial: An Open Source Review of Intelligence Method and Process since 9/11." *Intelligence and National Security*, Vol. 21, No. 5. October 2005. pp. 738-759.

- Robert M. Clark, *Intelligence Analysis: A Target-Centric Approach*. 3rd Edition. Washington, D.C.: CQ Press. 2009.
- Tim Weiner. *Legacy of Ashes: The History of the CIA*. New York: Doubleday. 2007.
- Steve Coll. *Directorate S: The C.I.A. and America's Secret Wars in Afghanistan and Pakistan*. New York: Penguin. 2018.
- Robin W. Winks. *Cloak and Gown: Scholars in the Secret War, 1939 – 1961*. 2<sup>nd</sup> Edition. New Haven: Yale, 1996.
- Rhodri Jeffreys-Jones. *Cloak and Dollar: A History of American Secret Intelligence*. New Haven: Yale University Press. 2002.
- Ishmael Jones. *The Human Factor: Inside the CIA's Dysfunctional Intelligence Culture*. New York: Encounter Books. 2008.
- Matt Apuzzo and Adam Goldman. *Enemies Within: Inside the NYPD's Secret Spying Unit and Bin Laden's Final Plot Against America*. New York: Simon and Schuster. 2013.
- Maochun Yu. *OSS in China: Prelude to Cold War*. Annapolis, Md.: Naval Institute Press. 1996.
- Gordon Corera. *Intercept: The Secret History of Computers and Spies*. London: Weidenfield & Nicolson. 2015.
- David Priess. *The President's Book of Secrets: The Untold Story of Intelligence Briefings to America's Presidents from Kennedy to Obama*. New York: Public Affairs. 2016.

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**7.6 February 15. The United States Intelligence Community (Part 2) (Pre-recorded with online discussion and student presentations beginning at 11:35 a.m.)**

**Research Essay proposals are due today.**

Readings:

- Lowenthal, Chapters 10, 14

Supplementary Reading:

- Gregory Treverton. *Intelligence for an Age of Terror*. Cambridge University Press: New York. 2009.
- Joshua Rovner. *Fixing the Facts: National Security and the Politics of Intelligence*. Ithaca and London: Cornell University Press. 2011.
- Richard K. Betts. *Enemies of Intelligence: Knowledge & Power in American National Security*. Columbia University Press. New York. 2007.
- Frederick P. Hitz, *Why Spy?: Espionage in an Age of Uncertainty*. New York: St. Martin's Press. 2008.
- Gregory Treverton. "Covert Action and Open Society." *Foreign Affairs*. Summer 1987, pp. 995-1014.
- Thomas H. Hendriksen, "Covert Operations, Now More than Ever," *Orbis*, Winter 2000, pp. 145-156.
- James Barry. "Covert Action Can Be Just." *Orbis*. Summer. 1993. pp. 375-390.
- John Toland. *Infamy: Pearl Harbor and Its Aftermath*. Garden City, N.Y.: Doubleday. 1982. (See especially Part 4, Ch. 13-16).
- Patrick Radden Keefe. *Chatter: Uncovering the Echelon Surveillance Network and the Secret World of Global Eavesdropping*. New York: Random House. 2006.
- James Bamford. *The Shadow Factory*. New York: Doubleday. 2008.
- "Probing the Implications of Changing the Outputs of Intelligence" *Studies in Intelligence*. Vol. 56, No. 1. March 2012. pp. 1-11.
- Jeffrey Richelson. *The Wizards of Langley: Inside the CIA's Directorate of Science and Technology*. Boulder, Col.: Westview Press. 2001.

Presenters:

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## FEBRUARY 22 - 25 WINTER BREAK

### February 22 No class

#### **7.7 March 1. The Others: Britain, Australia, Israel, the Europeans (Pre-recorded with online discussion and student presentations beginning at 11:35 a.m.)**

#### Readings:

- Lowenthal, Chapter 15.

#### Supplementary Reading:

- Robert Dover and Michael Goodman, eds. *Learning From the Secret Past: Cases in British Intelligence History*. Washington, D.C.: Georgetown University Press. 2011.
- Simon Duke. "Intelligence, security and information flows in CFSP." *Intelligence and National Security*. Vol. 21, No. 4. pp. 604-30.
- Peter Gill. "Is Intelligence Reform Lagging in Europe?" Nov. 1, 2012. Centre for Security Studies. [www.isn.ethz.ch](http://www.isn.ethz.ch)
- David Stafford. *Churchill and Secret Service*. Toronto: Stoddard. 1997.
- Keith Jeffery. *The Secret History of MI6*. Toronto: Penguin. 2010.
- Gordon Correra. *The Art of Betrayal: The Secret History of MI6*. New York: Pegasus. 2013.
- Christopher Andrew. *The Defence of the Realm: The authorized history of MI5*. Toronto: Penguin. 2009.
- Richard Aldrich. *GCHQ: The Uncensored Story of Britain's Most Secret Intelligence Agency*. London: Harper Press. 2010.
- Michael Ross. *The Volunteer: A Canadian's Secret Life in the Mossad*. Toronto: McClelland and Stewart. 2007.
- Philip Flood, *Report of the Inquiry into Australian Intelligence Agencies*. 31 July 2004.
- Peter Wright, *Spy Catcher: The Candid Autobiography of a Senior Intelligence Officer*. Toronto: Stoddart, 1987.

- Alan Judd. *The Quest for C: Sir Mansfield Cumming and the founding of the British Secret Service*. London: Harper Collins. 2000.
- Anthony Cave Brown. *“C”: The Secret Life of Sir Stewart Menzies.* New York: Macmillan. 1987.
- Martin Pearce. *Spymaster: The Life of Britain’s Most Decorated Cold War Spy and Head of MI6, Sir Maurice Oldfield*. London: Bantam Press. 2016.
- William Beaver. *Under Every Leaf: How Britain Played the Greater Game from Afghanistan to Africa*. London: Biteback Publishing. 2012.
- Calder Walton. *Empire of Secrets: British Intelligence, the Cold War and the Twilight of Empire*. New York: Overlook Press. 2013.
- Jonathan Haslam. *Near and Distant Neighbors: A New History of Soviet Intelligence*. New York: Farrar, Straus and Giroux. 2015.

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## Threats and Requirements

**7.8 March 8. The Threat Environment: War, Espionage, Terrorism et al. (Pre-recorded with online discussion and student presentations beginning at 11:35 a.m.)**

Readings:

- Lowenthal, Chapter 11, 12

Supplementary Reading:

- Allan Bartley. *The Ku Klux Klan in Canada: A Century of Promoting Racism and Hate in the Peaceable Kingdom*. Halifax: Formac. 2020.
- Derek Reveron. “Old Allies, New Friends: Intelligence Sharing in the War on Terror.” *Orbis*. Summer. 2006. pp. 453-68.

- Prem Mahadevan. "Information Sharing in a Post-9/11 World." Centre for Security Studies. Oct. 31, 2012. [www.isn.ethz.ch](http://www.isn.ethz.ch)
- Steven Coll. *Ghost Wars: The Secret History of the CIA, Afghanistan, and Bin Laden, from the Soviet invasion to September 10*. New York: Penguin. 2004.
- James Renwick, Gregory Treverton. "The Challenges of Trying Terrorists as Criminals." RAND Center for Global Risk and Security. 2008.
- Ronald J. Deibert. *Black Code: Inside the Battle for Cyberspace*. Toronto: McClelland and Stewart. 2013.
- Graham Allison. *Nuclear Terrorism: the ultimate preventable catastrophe*. New York: Times Books/Henry Holt. 2004.
- Caitlin Talmadge. "Deterring a Nuclear 9/11." *The Washington Quarterly*. Vol. 30, No. 2. Spring 2007. 21-34.
- Richard A. Falkenrath, et al. *America's Achilles Heel: Nuclear, Biological and Chemical Terrorism and Covert Attack*. Cambridge: MIT Press, 1999, pp. 1-96.
- Dan Verton. *Black Ice: The Invisible Threat of Cyber-Terrorism*. Emeryville, Cal.: McGraw-Hill/Osbourne. 2003.
- Richard Clarke. *Against All Enemies*. New York: Free Press. 2004.
- U.S.-China Economic and Security Review Commission. "Capability of the People's Republic of China to Conduct Cyber Warfare and Computer Network Exploitation." Prepared for the Commission by Northrop Grumman. 2009.
- Clifford Stoll. *The Cuckoo's Egg: Tracking a Spy Through the Maze of Computer Espionage*. New York: Doubleday. 1989.
- Mark Bowden. *Worm: The First Digital World War*. New York: Atlantic Monthly Press. 2011.

## Presenters

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## Citizens and the State

### 7.9 March 15. National Security, Social Media and Dissent: How can democratic states ensure security, protect secrets, enhance privacy and respect individual rights in the Internet era? (Pre-recorded with online discussion and student presentations beginning at 11:35 a.m.)

#### Readings:

- *Transparent Lives: Surveillance in Canada*. Colin J. Bennet et al, editors. Edmonton: Athabasca University Press. 2014.

#### Supplementary Reading:

- C.E.S. Franks, ed. *Dissent and the State*. Don Mills: Oxford University Press, 1989. pp. 1- 39.
- Gabriel Schoenfeld. *Necessary Secrets: National Security, the Media, and the Rule of Law*. New York: W.W. Norton. 2010.
- Robert Dover and Michael Goodman, eds. *Spinning Intelligence: Why Intelligence Needs the Media, Why the Media Needs Intelligence*. London: Hurst. 2009.
- Stephen Mercado. "Reexamining the Distinction Between Open Information and Secrets." *Centre for the Study of Intelligence*. Vol. 49, No. 2.
- Reg Whitaker, "Designing a Balance Between Freedom and Security," in Joseph F. Fletcher, ed. *Ideas in Action: Essays on Politics and Law in Honour of Peter Russell*. Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1999. pp. 126-149.
- Peter Gill, *Policing Politics: Security Intelligence and the Liberal Democratic State*. London: Frank Cass, 1994. Chapter 7, pp. 248-269.
- Reg Whitaker, *The End of Privacy: How Total Surveillance Is Becoming a Reality*. New York: New Press, 1999, pp. 1-31.
- Stuart Farson, "Parliament and Its Servants: Their Role in Scrutinizing Canadian Intelligence," *Intelligence and National Security*, Vol. 15, No. 1 (Spring 2000), pp. 225-258.
- "Accountability of Security Intelligence in Canada." Background Papers. Arar Commission Policy Review. 2010.

- “National Security and Rights and Freedoms.” Background Papers. Arar Commission Policy Review. 2010.

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**7.10 March 22. The Consequences of Intelligence Failure. (Pre-recorded with online discussion and student presentations beginning at 11:35 a.m.)**

Readings: None

Supplementary Reading:

- Ashton B. Carter et al. “The Day After: Action Following a Nuclear Blast in a U.S. City.” *The Washington Quarterly*. Autumn 2007. 30:4. pp. 19-32.
- Stephen J. Schulhofer, *The Enemy Within: Intelligence Gathering, Law Enforcement and Civil Liberties in the Wake of September 11*. New York: Century Foundation, 2002.
- Mike McConnell. “Overhauling Intelligence” *Foreign Affairs*. Vol. 86, No. 4. 49-58.
- John Wobensmith and Jeff Smith. “Reinvigorating Intelligence.” *The Journal of International Security*. Spring 2007. 1-12.
- John Toland. *Infamy: Pearl Harbor and Its Aftermath*. Garden City, N.Y.: Doubleday. 1982. (See especially Parts 1-3.)
- Anthony H. Cordesman and Arleigh A. Burke, “Intelligence Failures in the Iraq War”, Washington: Center for Strategic and International Studies, 16 July 2003.
- US National Commission on Terrorist Attacks Upon the United States. *The 9/11 Commission Report: Final report of the National Commission on Terrorist Attacks on the United States*. New York: Norton, 2004. Especially Chapters 11-13.
- David Priess. “Afghanistan, Policy Choices and Claims of Intelligence Failure.” Lawfare. Aug. 26, 2021.

- Douglas London. "CIA's Former Counterterrorism Chief for the Region: Afghanistan Not An Intelligence Failure – Something Much Worse." Just Security. Aug. 18, 2021.

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## Current Issues in National Security and Intelligence

### 7.11 March 29. Are The Threats Real? (Pre-recorded with online discussion and student presentations beginning at 11:35 a.m.)

Reading: None

Supplementary Reading:

- Al Gore. *The Assault on Reason*. New York: Penguin. 2007.
- Maria Ryan, "Inventing the Axis of Evil: The Myth and Reality of U.S. Intelligence and Policy-Making After 9/11." *Intelligence and National Security*, Vol. 17, No 4. Winter 2002, 55-76.
- John Mueller. "Is There Still A Terrorist Threat?" *Foreign Affairs*. Vol. 85, No. 5. 2006. 2-8.
- John Mueller and Mark Stewart. *Chasing Ghosts: The Policing of Terrorism*. New York: Oxford University Press. 2015.

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**7.12 April 5. National Security and Intelligence in the 21st Century. What next? (Pre-recorded with online discussion and student presentations beginning at 11:35 a.m.)**

Reading:

- Mark M. Lowenthal. *The Future of Intelligence*. Cambridge: Polity Press. 2018.

Supplementary Reading:

- Richard K. Betts. "21<sup>st</sup> Century Intelligence: Progress and Limits." CASIS Lecture, Ottawa. 2009. Canadian Association of Security and Intelligence Studies.
- Erik Lin-Greenberg and Theo Milonopoulos. "Private Eyes in the Sky: How Commercial Satellites are Transforming Intelligence." Foreign Affairs. Sept. 23, 2021.
- Kevin O'Brien. "The Changing Security and Intelligence Landscape in the 21<sup>st</sup> Century." International Centre for the Study of Radicalisation and Political Violence. October 2008.
- Ian Bryan and Michael Salter, "War Crimes Prosecutors and Intelligence Agencies: The Case for Assessing their Collaboration," *Intelligence and National Security*, Vol. 16, No 3, (Autumn 2001), pp. 93-120.
- A. Walter Dorn, "Intelligence-Led Peacekeeping: The United Nations Stabilization Mission in Haiti (MINUSTAH), 2006-07" *Intelligence and National Security*, Vol. 24, No. 6 (December 2009), pp. 805-835.
- Gregory F. Treverton, *Reshaping National Intelligence for an Age of Information*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2003.
- Andrew Rathmell, "Towards Postmodern Intelligence." *Intelligence and National Security*, Vol. 17, No 3. 2002. pp. 87-104
- Anthony Campbell, "Canada-United States Intelligence Relations and 'Information Sovereignty'" in David Carment et al, eds. *Canada Among Nations 2003: Coping With the American Colossus*. Don Mills: Oxford University Press, 2003. pp. 14-37.

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### **7.13 April 12. Concluding Questions. (Pre-recorded with online discussion and student presentations beginning at 11:35 a.m.)**

#### **Research Essays Due Today**

## **Appendix**

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### **Covid-19 Information**

All members of the Carleton community are required to follow COVID-19 prevention measures and all mandatory public health requirements (e.g. wearing a mask, physical distancing, hand hygiene, respiratory and cough etiquette) When accessing campus you must fill in the [COVID-19 Screening Self-Assessment in cuScreen](#) each day before coming to campus. You must also check-in to your final destination (where you plan on being longer than 15 minutes) within a building using the [QR location code](#).

If you feel ill or exhibit COVID-19 symptoms while on campus or in class, please leave campus immediately, self-isolate, and complete the mandatory [symptom reporting tool](#). For purposes of contact tracing, attendance will be recorded in all classes and labs. Participants can check in using posted QR codes through the cuScreen platform where provided. Students who do not have a smartphone will be required to complete a paper process as indicated on the [COVID-19 website](#).

All members of the Carleton community are required to follow guidelines regarding safe movement and seating on campus (e.g. directional arrows, designated entrances and exits, designated seats that maintain physical distancing). In order to avoid congestion, allow all previous occupants to fully vacate a classroom before entering. No food or drinks are permitted in any classrooms or labs.

For the most recent information about Carleton's COVID-19 response and required measures, please see the [University's COVID-19 webpage](#) and review the [Frequently Asked Questions \(FAQs\)](#). Should you have additional questions after reviewing, please contact [covidinfo@carleton.ca](mailto:covidinfo@carleton.ca)

Please note that failure to comply with University policies and mandatory public health requirements, and endangering the safety of others are considered misconduct under

the [Student Rights and Responsibilities Policy](#). Failure to comply with Carleton's COVID-19 procedures may lead to supplementary action involving Campus Safety and/or Student Affairs.

### **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 more details, visit the Equity Services website: [carleton.ca/equity/wp-content/uploads/Student-Guide-to-Academic-Accommodation.pdf](https://carleton.ca/equity/wp-content/uploads/Student-Guide-to-Academic-Accommodation.pdf).

***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, visit the Equity Services website: [carleton.ca/equity/wp-content/uploads/Student-Guide-to-Academic-Accommodation.pdf](https://carleton.ca/equity/wp-content/uploads/Student-Guide-to-Academic-Accommodation.pdf).

***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](mailto: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 information, please visit [carleton.ca/pmc](https://carleton.ca/pmc).

***Accommodation for student activities:*** Carleton University recognizes the substantial benefits, both to the individual student and for the university, that result from a student participating in activities beyond the classroom experience. Reasonable accommodation must 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. <https://carleton.ca/senate/wp-content/uploads/Accommodation-for-Student-Activities-1.pdf>.

For more information on academic accommodation, please contact the departmental administrator or visit: [students.carleton.ca/course-outline](https://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](https://carleton.ca/sexual-violence-support).

## **Plagiarism**

The University Senate 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, 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.

Plagiarism is a serious offence which cannot be resolved directly with the course’s instructor. The Associate Deans of the Faculty conduct a rigorous investigation, including an interview with the student, when an instructor suspects a piece of work has been plagiarized. Penalties are not trivial. They may include a mark of zero for the plagiarized work 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. During the COVID-19 pandemic, 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.