PCSI 4008 A
National Security and Intelligence
Thursday 2:35 – 5:25
Course Location: Mackenzie Building 3328

Instructor: Said Yaqub Ibrahimi
Office: Loeb Building, B647
Office Hour: Thursday 1:00 – 2:00
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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 (Carleton library and Ares).

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%)
Every student must 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 and 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 (10%)
Due October 5 (submit electronically at 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 (45%)
Due December 9 (submit electronically at 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 and footnotes. 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.

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 National Security and Intelligence (Part 1)
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
- 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 National Security and Intelligence (Part 2)
REQUIRED READING
- Lowenthal, Chapter 7.
- T. Darcy Finn. "Does Canada Need a Foreign Intelligence Service?" *Canadian Foreign Policy*, 1-3, 1993: pp. 149-162.
- 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.

October 20: *Fall Break, no class*

Session 7 (October 27): 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).

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
- 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 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

- Filippa Lentzos, Michael S. Goodman & James M. Wilson, "Health Security Intelligence: engaging across disciplines and sectors." *Intelligence and National Security*, 35 (4), 2020: 465-476.
- Rose Bernard & Richard Sullivan, "The use of HUMINT in epidemics: a practical assessment." *Intelligence and National Security*, 35 (4), 2020: 493-501.
- Robert L. Ostergard Jr., "The West Africa Ebola outbreak (2014-2016): a Health Intelligence failure?" *Intelligence and National Security*, 35 (4), 2020: 477-492.
- Wesley Wark, "Health Intelligence, National Security and the COVID-19 Pandemic," *Canadian Global Affairs Institute,* March 2020
https://d3n8a8pro7vhmx.cloudfront.net/cdfai/pages/4399/attachments/original/1585597305/Health_Intelligence__National_Security_and_the_COVID-19_Pandemic.pdf?1585597305

Session 12 (December 1): The Consequence of 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.* Autumn 2007. 30:4. pp. 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.

Session 13 (December 8): Course overview and final discussion
- No required reading

Appendix

Covid-19 Pandemic Measures

It is important to remember that COVID is still present in Ottawa. The situation can change at any time and the risks of new variants and outbreaks are very real. There are a number of actions you can take to lower your risk and the risk you pose to those around you including being vaccinated, wearing a mask, staying home when you're sick, washing your hands and maintaining proper respiratory and cough etiquette.

Feeling sick? Remaining vigilant and not attending work or school when sick or with symptoms is critically important. If you feel ill or exhibit COVID-19 symptoms do not come to class or campus. If you feel ill or exhibit symptoms while on campus or in class, please leave campus immediately. In all situations, you should follow Carleton's symptom reporting protocols.

Masks: Masks are no longer mandatory in university buildings and facilities. However, we continue to recommend masking when indoors, particularly if physical distancing cannot be maintained. We are aware that personal preferences regarding optional mask use will vary greatly, and we ask that we all show consideration and care for each other during this transition.

Vaccines: While proof of vaccination is no longer required to access campus or participate in in-person Carleton activities, it may become necessary for the University to bring back proof of vaccination requirements on short notice if the situation and public health advice changes. Students are strongly encouraged to get a full course of vaccination, including booster doses as soon as they are eligible and submit their booster dose information in cuScreen as soon as possible. Please note that Carleton cannot guarantee that it will be able to offer virtual or hybrid learning options for those who are unable to attend the campus.

All members of the Carleton community are required to follow requirements and guidelines regarding health and safety which may change from time to time. For the most recent information about Carleton's COVID-19 response and health and safety requirements please see the University's COVID-19 website and review the Frequently Asked Questions (FAQs). Should you have additional questions after reviewing, please contact covidinfo@carleton.ca.

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

Academic Accommodations
The Paul Menton Centre for Students with Disabilities (PMC) provides services to students with Learning Disabilities (LD), psychiatric/mental health disabilities, Attention Deficit Hyperactivity Disorder (ADHD), Autism Spectrum Disorders (ASD), chronic medical conditions, and impairments in mobility, hearing, and vision. If you have a disability requiring academic accommodations in this course, please contact PMC at 613-520-6608 or pmc@carleton.ca for a formal evaluation. If you are already registered with the PMC, contact your PMC coordinator to send me your **Letter of Accommodation** at the beginning of the term, and no later than two weeks before the first in-class scheduled test or exam requiring accommodation (*if applicable*). After requesting accommodation from PMC, meet with me to ensure accommodation arrangements are made. Please consult the PMC website for the deadline to request accommodations for the formally-scheduled exam (*if applicable*).

For Religious Observance: Students requesting accommodation for religious observances should apply in writing to their instructor for alternate dates and/or means of satisfying academic requirements. Such requests should be made during the first two weeks of class, or as soon as possible after the need for accommodation is known to exist, but no later than two weeks before the compulsory academic event. Accommodation is to be worked out directly and on an individual basis between the student and the instructor(s) involved. Instructors will make accommodations in a way that avoids academic disadvantage to the student. Instructors and students may contact an Equity Services Advisor for assistance (www.carleton.ca/equity).

For Pregnancy: Pregnant students requiring academic accommodations are encouraged to contact an Equity Advisor in Equity Services to complete a *letter of accommodation*. Then, make an appointment to discuss your needs with the instructor at least two weeks prior to the first academic event in which it is anticipated the accommodation will be required.

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 can include:
- 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;

- submitting a take-home examination, essay, laboratory report or other assignment written, in whole or in part, by someone else;
- using ideas or direct, verbatim quotations, or paraphrased material, concepts, or ideas without appropriate acknowledgment in any academic assignment;
- using another's data or research findings;
- failing to acknowledge sources through the use of proper citations when using another's works and/or failing to use quotation marks;
- handing in "substantially the same piece of work for academic credit more than once without prior written permission of the course instructor in which the submission occurs.

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.

Submission and Return of Term Work: Papers must be submitted directly to the instructor according to the instructions in the course outline and will not be date-stamped in the departmental office. Late assignments may be submitted to the drop box in the corridor outside B640 Loeb. Assignments will be retrieved every business day at **4 p.m.**, stamped with that day's date, and then distributed to the instructor. For essays not returned in class please attach a **stamped, self-addressed envelope** if you wish to have your assignment returned by mail. Final exams are intended solely for the purpose of evaluation and will not be returned.

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

Approval of final grades: 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 and Brightspace accounts.

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. Holding social

events, debates, and panel discussions, 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 numerous opportunities which will complement both academic and social life at Carleton University. To find out more, visit https://www.facebook.com/groups/politicalsciencesociety/ or come to our office in Loeb D688.

Official Course Outline: The course outline posted to the Political Science website is the official course outline.