

Tel Aviv University  
Intelligence in National Security and Strategy

Prof. Joshua Krasna

**TBD**

3 credits

Fall Semester 2018

Wednesdays 12:00-16:00

Office Hours: by appointment

Course Prerequisites: Undergraduate major or substantial classwork in political science, international relations, history, area studies, or related discipline. The course presupposes a working knowledge of government, politics and international politics.

Communications Policy: talk to me after class or use my email. I will answer all e-mail enquiries within 24-48 hours.

**Course Description**

Intelligence refers to the process of collecting and analyzing policy-relevant, often difficult to obtain, information. Accurate intelligence is crucial for policy-makers and practitioners to formulate and implement strategies with regard to the core issues of national security, including counter-terrorism, counter-proliferation, foreign policy and defense policy.

This course will introduce students to the craft of collecting, processing, analyzing and disseminating intelligence. It will also discuss intelligence's role in policy-making and examine key issues and challenges facing intelligence communities.

**Expectations and Assignments**

This course will consist of 11 class meetings. The expectation is that all students will attend every class, prepare adequately beforehand, and engage constructively in the discussion in class. Students will also complete the following assignments:

1. Students will be asked to discuss the readings at the beginning of each class. One or two students will lead each of these discussions (15-20 minutes).
2. 750-1500 word memo presenting and analyzing an Israeli, American or foreign intelligence agency/community. To be presented fifteen minutes orally in class (by half the students) and in writing (by everyone). **(to be handed in by Lesson 4)**
3. 1000-2000 word paper on an intelligence case study or an aspect of intelligence you find compelling, to be chosen in consultation with the instructor. To be presented fifteen minutes orally in class (by half the students) and in writing (by everyone). **(to be handed in by Lesson 9)**
4. Students will be asked to watch several films before class. For each film, two or three students will lead a 15-20 minute class discussion relating the film to concepts learned and discussed in class.
5. We will conduct at least one simulation exercise in class. This will require preparation and active participation on your part.

6. There will be a take-home exam at the end of the course. The exam will consist of several essay questions, and you will be given a choice of which to answer. Each question will require a two-three page answer.

The papers should be comprehensive, concise, readable and interesting. One of the great challenges of policy-relevant work is to say everything your consumer needs to or should know in the limited space you are given. We will work on this, and feel free to ask me for help.

### **Grading**

- 20% - Participation and preparation.
- 20% - first paper
- 25% - second paper.
- 15% - assignments: presentation of short papers in class and leading of reading and movie discussions.
- 20% - take home final.

### **Evaluation Criteria**

- ✓ Paper: Clear evidence of wide and relevant research and critical thinking about the data and sources; effective analysis that leads to a compelling conclusion; good, accurate, concise and persuasive writing.
- ✓ In-Class Exercises: Contributions of insight to the exercise; raising questions showing insight into the implications of the exercise.
- ✓ Leading discussions: deep familiarity with the readings or movies. Ability to select relevant points for discussion which illuminate key issues and themes being discussed in the course. Ability to lead and engage all the participants in the discussion.
- ✓ Presentation: Clear understanding of the issues at hand; ability to present them in an interesting, lucid and professional manner appropriate to the audience.
- ✓ Class Participation: Active, respectful and collegial engagement in class discussion; evidence of reading and preparation.

### **Grading System**

The following is the grading system of Tel Aviv University International:

A+	= 97-100%
A	= 93-96%
A-	= 90-92%
B+	= 87-89%
B	= 83-86%
B-	= 80-82%
C+	= 77-79%
C	= 73-76%
C-	= 70-72%

D+	= 67-69%
D	= 63-66%
D-	= 60-62%
F	= 59% and under

### **Absences, Deadlines & Submission**

- ✓ All students must attend class regularly. Your contribution to classroom learning is essential to the success of the course. Any more than three (3) absences will likely lead to a need to withdraw from the course or impact your grade. If you must miss a class for unavoidable medical or similar reasons, please let me know if possible before and be ready to provide evidence.
- ✓ Due dates are final, with extensions only for those who have requested and received approval. Otherwise, your grade will become lower the later you submit.
- ✓ I request that you be in class on time. If delay is unavoidable, please let me know ahead of time. Consistent lateness will impact on your grade.
- ✓ Cellphones shall be switched off or silenced before class, and shall not be out in class. Other electronics can be used to take notes only, or for in-class assignments and exercises, as directed. In order to achieve maximum openness in class, refrain from recording in class.

In your papers, reference any direct quotation, any specific fact that is not self-evident or when paraphrasing an author. All written assignments should have endnotes and references in the Chicago style <https://owl.english.purdue.edu/owl/resource/717/01/>. Additional information, not citations, should be in footnotes.

Include at the end of every paper a bibliography of all the sources you used in preparing it, regardless of whether you quote from it directly or have otherwise referenced it. Papers should be based on a variety of sources, and not only internet sites.

### **Reading**

You will be expected to keep up-to-date with current events in intelligence and international relations. One can never go wrong reading an international quality newspaper – such as the Economist, New York Times, Wall Street Journal, Guardian, Washington Post, Le Monde, Haaretz, FAZ or Financial Times – regularly. We will discuss good sources for information about intelligence in class. Frequently, I will incorporate current events into discussion.

The idea is to ensure that a wide range of perspectives and issues can be discussed in the course. Make sure you are prepared briefly to talk about your readings – you will be expected to be able to contribute insights based on your assignment and may be asked directly to say something about it.

Many of the readings will be loaded in PDF form onto the Moodle site or emailed to you. Some others are online – the addresses are included below.

The reading list is broken into:

- Required Reading(s) for each class (typically a few chapters and/or articles, and perhaps a novel) to give you the basic orientation. These are marked with a check. We may decide to divide the readings among the students in the class.
- Suggested further readings (marked with a plus sign). I will expect that each of you has read at least one of these additional readings for each class.
- Specific additional readings may be assigned as and when I see fit.
- I will of course assist you in putting together readings relevant to the subjects you have chosen for your various written assignments.
- I have a personal copy of most of the movies you will be asked to watch, and will loan it out as appropriate (precedence to those who will be leading the discussion).

I suggest that you buy two books:

- Lowenthal, Mark M. Intelligence: From Secrets to Policy. CQ Press (any edition after 2008).
- Ephraim Lapid and Amos Gilboa. Israel's Secret Defender.

**I would like you to read one or more of the following books by the third lesson of the course:**

- Daniel Kahneman. Thinking, Fast and Slow. Farrar, Strauss and Giroux, New York, 2013.
- Philip Tetlock. Expert Political Judgement. Princeton University Press, Princeton, 2005.
- Nassim Nicholas Taleb. The Black Swan: the Impact of the Highly Improbable. Random House, New York, 2007.
- Philip Tetlock and Dan Gardner. Superforecasting: the Art and Science of Prediction. Crown Publishers, New York, 2015.

## Class 1

- a) Introduction: getting to know one another, expectations, requirements, reading list, etc.
- b) What is this course about?
- c) What is Intelligence? How is it different from information or news?
- d) Is it (still) important and why? How does it contribute to national security and to policy-making?
- e) Secrets, riddles and mysteries.

### Readings:

- ✓ Lowenthal, Mark M., Intelligence: from Secrets to Policy, CQ Press, Washington, chap. 1. [ suggest that you purchase this book]
- ✓ Warner, Michael, "Wanted: A Theory of Intelligence", Studies In Intelligence, Vol 6 No. 3, 2002, pp. 1-11.
- ✓ Fingar, Thomas. "Intelligence and Grand Strategy". Orbis, Winter 2012.
- ✓ Treverton, Gregory, "Risks and Riddles", Smithsonian Magazine, June 2007
- + John Le Carre, the Secret Pilgrim and/or any of the novels by Alan Furst.
- + Zegart Amy. "That's Spytainment". Hoover Digest 2013 No. 1.  
<https://www.hoover.org/research/thats-spytainment>

## Class 2

- a) The Intelligence Cycle.
- b) Types of Intelligence (strategic, political, military, scientific, basic, warning, geographic, economic/financial, OPINT, current, counterintelligence/counterespionage).
- c) Intelligence Collection disciplines: advantages, disadvantages.

### Readings:

- ✓ Lowenthal, Mark M., Intelligence: from Secrets to Policy, CQ Press, Washington, chap. 4-5.
- ✓ Hulnick, A. S. (2006). What's wrong with the intelligence cycle. Intelligence and National Security, 21(6), 959-979.
- ✓ Menand, Louis, "Everybody's an Expert". The New Yorker, December 5, 2005.
- ✓ Cadell, Joseph. "Discovering Soviet Missiles In Cuba: How Intelligence Collection Relates to Analysis and Policy". warontherocks.com, October 19, 2017. <https://warontherocks.com/2017/10/discovering-soviet-missiles-in-cuba-intelligence-collection-and-its-relationship-with-analysis-and-policy/>
- + Matheny, Jason. "Use What's Known to Get to the Unknowns". Cipher Brief, December 1, 2017. <https://www.thecipherbrief.com/column/agenda-setter/use-whats-known-get-unknowns>
- + Clift AD, "Intelligence in the Internet Era", Studies in Intelligence 47, 3 (2008)
- + Farrow, Ronan. "Harvey Weinstein's Army of Spies". New Yorker, November 6, 2017. <https://www.newyorker.com/news/news-desk/harvey-weinsteins-army-of-spies>

### Class 3

- a) The Israeli intelligence community
- b) Other intelligence communities
- c) Building a collection plan (short in-class exercise)

#### Readings:

- ✓ Ephraim Lapid and Amos Gilboa. Israel's Silent Defender. [suggest that you purchase]
- ✓ "America's Intelligence Community, Explained". Washington Post, June 7, 2014. <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=OFIG6k4B3zg>
- ✓ Lowenthal, Mark M., Intelligence: from Secrets to Policy, CQ Press, Washington, chap. 2-3, 15.
- + Yaakov Lappin. Israel's Intelligence "Factory". BESA Center Perspectives Paper No. 798, April 16, 2018.
- + Wilson, C. (2010 February 22). Searching for Saddam. Slate. [http://www.slate.com/articles/news\\_and\\_politics/searching\\_for\\_saddam/2010/02/searching\\_for\\_saddam\\_5.html](http://www.slate.com/articles/news_and_politics/searching_for_saddam/2010/02/searching_for_saddam_5.html)
- + "Master Of Deception: The Tale Of Yehuda Gil". From Brussels to Beirut. October 23, 2014.

### ***Intelligence as an Input of Policy***

### Class 4 - Intelligence Analysis and Assessment

- a) Student Presentations
- b) Analytical Thinking.
- c) Predictions and Estimates.
- d) Why is intelligence "always wrong"?
- e) Intelligence products and writing intelligence.
- f) Hand in first paper.

- ✓ "National security: Intelligent intelligence - Just how good are government analysts?", the Economist, Jul 19th 2014
- ✓ Lowenthal, Mark, "Intelligence Analysis: A Guide to Its Study", Intelligence: Journal of U.S. Intelligence Studies, Summer/Fall 2011.
- ✓ Shlomo Gazit, "Estimates and Fortune-telling in Intelligence Work", International Security, Volume 4, Number 4, Spring 1980, pp. 36-56.
- + (skim) Heuer, Richards J. Jr. Psychology of Intelligence Analysis. Center for the Study of Intelligence, Central Intelligence Agency. 1999. <https://www.cia.gov/library/center-for-the-study-of-intelligence/csi-publications/books-and-monographs/psychology-of-intelligence-analysis/PsychofIntelNew.pdf,k>
- + Watanabe, Frank, "Fifteen Axioms Of Intelligence Analysis", Studies In Intelligence, No. 1, 1997.

- + Lowenthal, Mark M., "Towards a Reasonable Standard for Analysis: How Right, How Often on Which Issues?". Intelligence and National Security, Vol. 23 no. 3, June 2008, pp. 303-315.

## Class 5

- a) Student Presentations
- b) Problems/pathologies Of Intelligence Assessment
- c) Politicization
- d) Intelligence failures (I)

Readings (for classes five and six):

- ✓ Pollack, Kenneth, "Spies, Lies and Weapons: What Went Wrong?", Atlantic Monthly, Vol. 293 No. 1, Jan-Feb 2004, Pp. 79-92.
- ✓ Amos Harel and Aluf Benn. "Syria Strike Revealed / The Intelligence Failure". Haaretz. Mar 21, 2018.
- ✓ Betts, Richard K., "Analysis, War and Decision: Why Intelligence Failures are Inevitable", pp. 359-379 in Thibault, G.E. (ed.), the Art and Practise of Military Strategy, NDU, Washington, 1984
- ✓ Wohlstetter, Roberta, "Pearl Harbor: Warning and Decision", pp. 345-358 in Thibault, G.E. (ed.), the Art and Practise of Military Strategy, NDU, Washington, 1984
- ✓ Jervis, Robert, "Reports, Politics and Intelligence Failures: the Case of Iraq", in Andrew, Christopher et al, Secret Intelligence: A Reader, Routledge, London, 2009.
- ✓ Friedman, Uri. "The Ten Biggest American Intelligence Failures". Foreign Policy, January 3, 2012. <http://foreignpolicy.com/2012/01/03/the-ten-biggest-american-intelligence-failures/>
- + Pillar, Paul R., "Where Politicized Intelligence Comes From", the National Interest, August 30, 2013.
- + Dana Priest, "Russia's Election Meddling is Another American Intelligence Failure". New Yorker, November 13, 2017 or Susan Glasser, "Ex-spy Chief: Russia's Election Hacking Was an 'Intelligence Failure'". Politico, Dec. 11, 2017
- + Rovner, Josh. "Is Politicization Ever a Good Thing?" Intelligence and National Security, Vol. 28, No. 1 (2013), pp. 55-67. See also Rovner, Josh. Fixing the Facts: National Security and the Politics of Intelligence. Cornell University Press, Ithaca, 2011.
- + Byman, Daniel, "Strategic Surprise and the September 11 Attacks" in Andrew, Christopher et al, Secret Intelligence: A Reader, Routledge, London, 2009.
- + Wirtz, James J. "Responding to Surprise". Annual Review of Political Science. 2006. 9:45–65 doi: 10.1146/annurev.polisci.9.062404.170600
- + Erik J. Dahl, "Missing the Wake-Up Call: Why Intelligence Failures Rarely Inspire Improved Performance". Intelligence and National Security, Vol. 25 no. 6 (December 2010), pgs. 778-799.

## Class 6

- a) Watch and discuss film in class: Silence of the Sirens
- b) Intelligence failures (II)
- c) Student presentations
- d) Mid-term “hot wash”.

#### Class 7

- a) Intelligence And the Decision-Maker/Planner
- b) Relations with Clients.
- c) What does the decision-maker want vs. what does he need?
- d) Film discussion 1.

#### Readings:

- ✓ Harkabi, Yehoshafat, "The Intelligence-Policymaker Tangle", Jerusalem Quarterly, no. 30, Winter 1984.
  - ✓ Jervis, Robert, “The Politics and Psychology of Intelligence and Intelligence Reform”, the Forum, vol 1 issue 4, 2006.
  - ✓ Davis, Jack, "Tensions in Analyst-Policymaker Relations: Opinions, Facts and Evidence", Sherman Kent Center for Intelligence Analysis Occasional Papers, Vol. 2 no. 2.
  - + Lowenthal, Mark, "Tribal Tongues: Intelligence Consumers, Intelligence Producers", Washington Quarterly, Winter 1992
  - + Heymann, Hans, "The Intelligence-Policy Relationship", 1984
  - + Marrin, S, "At Arm’s Length or At The Elbow? Explaining the Difference Between Analysts And Decision-Makers”. International Journal of Intelligence and Counterintelligence 20,3 (2007)
- Film: Zero Dark 30*

### **Intelligence as an Instrument of Policy and Strategy**

#### Class 8

- a) Simulation exercise and debriefing.
- b) Student Presentations
- c) Hand in second paper

#### Class 9

- a) Film discussion 2
- b) Secret Warfare and Covert Action as a tool of National Policy
- c) Student presentations

#### Readings:

- ✓ Makovsky, David, "the Silent Strike", New Yorker, September 17, 2012
- ✓ Perry, Mark, "The Driver", Foreign Policy, April 29, 2013 **and/or** Filkins, Dexter, "The Shadow Commander", the New Yorker, September 30, 2013.

- ✓ Scott L “Secret Intelligence, Covert Action and Clandestine Diplomacy”, Intelligence and National Security, 19,2 (2004)
- + Evan Osnos, David Remnick and Joshua Yaffa, “Trump, Putin and the New Cold War”, the New Yorker, March 6, 2017  
<https://www.newyorker.com/magazine/2017/03/06/trump-putin-and-the-new-cold-war#editorsnote>
- + Cormac, Rory, “Disruption and Deniable Interventionism: Explaining the Appeal of Covert Action and Special Forces In Contemporary British Policy”, International Relations, vol. 3 no. 2, 2017, pp. 169-191.
- + William Stevenson, A Man Called Intrepid or Ewen Montagu, the Man that Never Was
- Film: Charlie Wilson’s War or Argo

#### Class 10- "Foiling"/Disruption as a Major Goal of Intelligence today

- a) Intelligence and the War on Terror.
- b) Intelligence against Proliferation and The Unconventional Weapons Threat
- c) Student presentations
- d) Film discussion 3

#### Readings:

- ✓ CBC Investigation: Hariri Assassination: Getting away with murder, November 22, 2010  
<https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=Szv9D2ymfPY>  
<https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=9gw5ff9lApM>
- ✓ Lowenthal, Mark M, Intelligence: from Secrets to Policy, CQ Press, Washington, chapter 12.
- ✓ Byman, Daniel, "The Intelligence War on Terrorism", Intelligence and National Security, Vol. 29 no. 6, 2014, pp. 837-863.
- ✓ Crawford, Michael, "Exploring the Maze: Counter-proliferation Intelligence", Survival, vol. 53 no. 2, April–May 2011, pp. 131-158.
- + Yossi Melman And Dan Raviv. “Inside Israel’s Secret Raid on Syria’s Nuclear Reactor: Now The Story Can Be Told”. Politico. March 20, 2018
- + Catherine Collins and Douglas Frantz, “The Long Shadow of A.Q. Khan: How One Scientist Helped the World Go Nuclear”, Foreign Affairs, January 31, 2018.
- + Recommended: the mini-series the Night Manager  
*Film: Zero Days*

#### Class 11

- a) Intelligence Cooperation
- b) Intelligence in service of Diplomacy and Negotiation
- c) Summary

- The Future Of Intelligence.
- Is Intelligence Still Relevant?
- What have we learned?

Readings:

- ✓ Agrell, Wilhelm. “the Next Hundred Years? Reflections on the Future of Intelligence”. Intelligence and National Security, vol 7 no. 1, February 2012.
- ✓ Global Trends 2035, National Intelligence Council, December 2012 (<https://www.dni.gov/files/documents/nic/GT-Full-Report.pdf>)
- ✓ Rovner, J. “Intelligence in the Twitter Age.” International Journal of Intelligence and CounterIntelligence 26, 2 (2013)
- ✓ Nathan L, “The Intelligence Requirement of International Mediation,” Intelligence and National Security, 29,2 (2014)
- ✓ McLaughlin, John, "Black Swans: the Dangers We Could Miss", OZY, February 20, 2014.
- ✓ Carmel, Hezi (ed.), Intelligence For Peace: The Role Of Intelligence In Times Of Peace. 1999. (skim)
  - + Jones C, “Intelligence Reform: The Logic Of Information Sharing”, Intelligence & National Security 22, 3 (2007)
  - + Lefebvre S, “The Difficulties And Dilemmas Of International Intelligence Cooperation”, International Journal of Intelligence & Counter-Intelligence 16, 4 (2003)
  - + Maxey, Levi. “Wrapping Intelligence Around the Open Source Whirlwind”. Cipher Brief, November 14, 2017. <https://www.thecipherbrief.com/article/international/wrapping-intelligence-around-the-open-source-whirlwind>