

“THE ROLE OF INTELLIGENCE IN SECURITY AFFAIRS”

INTA 652-DC

Spring 2023

Thursday, 6:30 – 9:10

Professor Gary Ross
George Bush School of Government and Public Service
1620 L Street NW, #700
Washington DC

Phone: 703-498-7008
Email: gary.ross@tamu.edu

OVERVIEW

This three-hour graduate course is a survey of intelligence community structure, operations, tradecraft, and objectives, with a particular emphasis on how intelligence has contributed and continues to contribute to national security. All intelligence community mission areas will be examined in detail, including collection (human, signals, and imagery), covert action, liaison, analysis, and counterintelligence. Although most material will focus on U.S. intelligence, the intelligence capabilities of other countries will be examined as well. There will be in-depth discussions of legal issues relating to intelligence operations, the decision-making process, support to U.S. foreign policy objectives, operational limitations, and future directions. Multiple intelligence case studies will be presented and discussed to illustrate intelligence principles and methodologies.

Students completing this course will have a sophisticated understanding of all aspects of U.S. and foreign intelligence operations, including historical successes and failures. They will appreciate the financial aspect of intelligence collection, how U.S. policy makers use (and sometimes misuse) intelligence, and how the various components of the U.S. intelligence community interact.

REQUIRED TEXTS

1. Christopher Andrew, *For the President's Eyes Only: Secret Intelligence and the American Presidency from Washington to Bush* (New York: HarperCollins, 1995)

2. Ernest Volkman, *Spies: The Secret Agents Who Changed the Course of History* (New York: John Wiley & Sons, 1994)
3. National Security Strategy, October 2022
<https://www.whitehouse.gov/wp-content/uploads/2022/10/Biden-Harris-Administrations-National-Security-Strategy-10.2022.pdf>
4. *Captured, Killed or Compromised*, New York Times
<https://www.nytimes.com/2021/10/05/us/politics/cia-informants-killed-captured.html>
5. Barry Royden, *Tolkachev, A Worthy Successor to Penkovsky* (CIA: Studies in Intelligence, 2003)
<https://www.cia.gov/static/f56a68befd4e5a4bb676dde0fed17ca9/Tolkachev-Successor-Penkovsky.pdf>
6. Barry Royden, *James J. Angleton, A Fixation on Moles* (CIA: Studies in Intelligence, 2011)
https://nsarchive2.gwu.edu/NSAEBB/NSAEBB431/docs/intell_ebb_019.PDF
7. Riehle, Kevin, *Russian Intelligence* (National Intelligence Press, 2022)
https://ni-u.edu/wp/wp-content/uploads/2022/05/Riehle_Russian-Intelligence.pdf
8. Covert Action and Clandestine Activities of the Intelligence Community, CRS
<https://sgp.fas.org/crs/intel/R45175.pdf>

Texts are available as e-books from the PSEL library.

Other readings may be assigned throughout the course and will be available to the students in the form of handouts or e-mails.

COURSE REQUIREMENTS

Research Paper. This assignment is to be based on a significant book from the intelligence and national security literature. You should select a book and write a 10 page analysis. It should be **double-spaced and printed on one side only**. Please obtain approval for the book selected in advance. (The instructor will work with each student individually to ensure that the book chosen corresponds to the student's academic and professional interests). The review should be delivered in hard copy, if possible, or otherwise via e-mail. It should primarily be a subjective analysis, i.e., your personal reactions to the material. DO NOT provide a rehashing of what happens in the book, but instead YOUR analysis of the events and the connection to material presented in course readings and lectures. The focus should be on the impact of the historic event on U.S. national security and the intelligence community, and the lessons learned (both to avoid

past failures and replicate past successes). The research paper is worth 30% of the course grade.

Midterm examination. The mid-term will be a one-hour examination over the lectures, classroom discussions, and readings up to the mid-point in the course. The mid-term is worth 25% of the course grade. The examination will take place in the classroom and will be open note. You will answer three 20-minute essay questions from a choice of five topics.

Final examination. The final two-hour exam will cover the lectures, classroom discussions, and readings from the second half of the course. The final exam is worth 35% of the course grade. The examination will be administered in the classroom and will be open note. You will answer four 30-minute essay questions from a choice of six topics.

Participation and Attendance. All students are expected to attend each class and to participate actively in classroom discussions. Class participation is worth 10% of the course grade.

GRADING

Participation (Attendance and classroom discussion)

10%

Mid-Term Exam

25%

Research Paper

30%

Final Exam

35%

The following scale will be used for calculating final grades for this course:
90-100 A; 80-89 B; 70-79 C; 60-69 D; and 0-59 F

GRADING POLICY

<http://student-rules.tamu.edu/rule10>

KEY DATES

Midterm exam:	<u>March 2</u>
Book reviews due:	<u>April 13</u>
Final exam:	<u>April 27</u>

ADA POLICY STATEMENT

The Americans with Disabilities Act (ADA) is a federal anti-discrimination statute that provides comprehensive civil rights protection for persons with disabilities. If you believe you have a disability requiring accommodation, please make that fact known to me and I will assist you in every way possible.

<http://disability.tamu.edu/>

DIVERSITY AND INCLUSION

The Bush School of Government and Public Service supports the Texas A&M University commitment to diversity, and welcomes individuals of all ages, backgrounds, citizenships, disabilities, ethnicities, family statuses, genders, gender identities, geographical locations, languages, military experiences, political views, races, religions, sexual orientations, socioeconomic statuses, and/or work experiences (see diversity.tamu.edu/). Accordingly, all of us—students, faculty, and staff—are expected to respect the different experiences, beliefs, and values expressed by others, and to engage in reasoned discussions that refrain from derogatory comments or dehumanizing language about other people, cultures, groups, or viewpoints.

Intellectual argument and disagreement are a fundamental element of both the academic world and the policy process. Disagreement does not, in and of itself, mean disrespect. However, the way that disagreement is expressed can be disrespectful. Unprofessional, insensitive, or disrespectful behaviors (such as using dehumanizing, derogatory, or coarse language; dismissing ideas based on the characteristics of the speaker/writer; or expressing threat or intent to harm, even if framed “as a joke”) are inconsistent with the Bush School’s commitment to diversity, and will not be tolerated. This applies both inside and outside of the classroom and includes electronic venues such as GroupMe.

ATTENDANCE

The university views class attendance as an individual student responsibility. Students are expected to attend class and to complete all assignments. Instructors are expected to provide notice of the dates on which major exams will be given and assignments will be due on the course syllabus, which must be made available by the first class period. Graduate students are expected to attend all examinations required by departments or advisory committees as scheduled formally.

The School of Law requires regular and punctual attendance of students in all courses. Juris Doctorate (JD) students are not required to seek an excused absence from an instructor or equivalent, but students will be administratively dropped from a class for excessive absences as defined in the School of Law Academic Standards. JD students are expected to take examinations as scheduled. Requests to reschedule an examination must be submitted to the Associate Dean for Academic Affairs in accordance with the process set forth in the School of Law Academic Standards.

Students who are requesting an excused absence are expected to uphold the Aggie Honor Code and Student Conduct Code (See Rule 24).

Excused Absences

7.1 The student is responsible for providing satisfactory evidence to the instructor to substantiate the reason for absence. Among the reasons absences are considered excused by the university are the following: (1 Muster)

7.1.1 Participation in an activity appearing on the university authorized activity list. (see List of Authorized and Sponsored Activities)

7.1.2 Death or major illness in a student's immediate family. Immediate family may include: mother, father, sister, brother, grandparents, spouse, child, spouse's child, spouse's parents, spouse's grandparents, step-mother, step-father, step-sister, step-brother, step-grandparents, grandchild, step-grandchild, legal guardian, and others as deemed appropriate by faculty member or student's academic Dean or designee.

7.1.3 Illness of a dependent family member.

7.1.4 Participation in legal proceedings or administrative procedures that require a student's presence.

7.1.5 Religious holy day. (See Appendix IV.)

7.1.6 Injury or Illness that is too severe or contagious for the student to attend class.

7.1.6.1 Injury or illness of three or more days. For injury or illness that requires a student to be absent from classes for three or more business days (to include classes on Saturday), the student should obtain a medical confirmation note from his or her medical provider. The Student Health Center or an off-campus medical professional can provide a medical confirmation note only if medical professionals are involved in the medical care of the student. The medical confirmation note must contain the date and time of the illness and medical professional's confirmation of needed absence.

7.1.6.2 Injury or illness less than three days. Faculty members may require confirmation of student injury or illness that is serious enough for a student to be absent from class for a period less than three business days (to include classes on Saturday). At the discretion of the faculty member and/or academic department standard, as outlined in the course syllabus, illness confirmation may be obtained by one or both of the following methods:

Texas A&M University Explanatory Statement for Absence from Class.

Confirmation of visit to a health care professional affirming date and time of visit.

7.1.6.3 An absence for a non acute medical service does not constitute an excused absence.

7.1.7 Required participation in military duties.

7.1.8 Mandatory admission interviews for professional or graduate school which cannot be rescheduled.

7.1.9 Mandatory participation as a student-athlete in NCAA-sanctioned competition.

7.1.10 In accordance with Title IX of the Educational Amendments of 1972, Texas A&M University shall treat pregnancy (childbirth, false pregnancy, termination of pregnancy and recovery therefrom) and related conditions as a justification for an excused absence for so long a period of time as is deemed medically necessary by the student's physician. Requests for excused absence related to pregnancy should be directed to the instructor; questions about Title IX should be directed to the University Title IX Coordinator.

7.2 The associate dean for undergraduate programs, or the dean's designee, of the student's college may provide a letter for the student to take to the instructor stating that the dean has verified the student's absence as excused.

7.3 Students may be excused from attending class on the day of a graded activity or when attendance contributes to a student's grade, for the reasons stated in Section 7.1, or other reason deemed appropriate by the student's instructor. Except in the case of the observance of a religious holiday, to be excused the student must notify his or her instructor in writing (acknowledged e-mail message is acceptable) prior to the date of

absence if such notification is feasible. In cases where advance notification is not feasible (e.g. accident, or emergency) the student must provide notification by the end of the second working day after the absence. This notification should include an explanation of why notice could not be sent prior to the class. Accommodations sought for absences due to the observance of a religious holiday can be sought either prior or after the absence, but not later than two working days after the absence.

If needed, the student must provide additional documentation substantiating the reason for the absence that is satisfactory to the instructor, within one week of the last date of the absence.

If the absence is excused, the instructor must either provide the student an opportunity to make up any quiz, exam or other work that contributes to the final grade or provide a satisfactory alternative by a date agreed upon by the student and instructor. If an instructor has a regularly scheduled make up exam, students are expected to attend unless they have a university approved excuse. The make-up work must be completed in a timeframe not to exceed 30 calendar days from the last day of the initial absence.

7.4 The instructor is under no obligation to provide an opportunity for the student to make up work missed because of an unexcused absence.

7.5 See Part III, Grievance Procedures: 49. Unexcused Absences, for information on appealing an instructor's decision.

7.6 If the student is absent for excused reasons for an unreasonable amount of time during the semester, the academic Dean or designee of the student's college may consider giving the student a grade of W during the semester enrolled or a NG (no grade) following posting of final grades.

7.7 Whenever a student is absent for unknown reasons for an extended period of time, the instructor should initiate a check on the welfare of the student by reporting through the head of the student's major department to the Dean or designee of the student's college.

In accordance with Faculty Senate Resolution FS.14.101 (see Faculty Senate meeting minutes of Feb. 10, 1997), "faculty members are encouraged not to hold exams on the day of Muster. Any absence from classes beginning after 5 p.m. to attend Muster will be considered a university excused absence."

Makeup Work Policy

Students will be excused from attending class on the day of a graded activity or when attendance contributes to a student's grade, for the reasons stated in Student Rule 7, or other reason deemed appropriate by the instructor.

Please refer to [Student Rule 7](#) in its entirety for information about makeup work, including definitions, and related documentation and timelines.

Absences related to Title IX of the Education Amendments of 1972 may necessitate a period of more than 30 days for make-up work, and the timeframe for make-up work should be agreed upon by the student and instructor” ([Student Rule 7, Section 7.4.1](#)).

“The instructor is under no obligation to provide an opportunity for the student to make up work missed because of an unexcused absence” ([Student Rule 7, Section 7.4.2](#)).

Students who request an excused absence are expected to uphold the Aggie Honor Code and Student Conduct Code. (See [Student Rule 24](#).)

AGGIE HONOR CODE

For many years Aggies have followed a Code of Honor, which is stated in this very simple verse:

An Aggie does not lie, cheat or steal or tolerate those who do.

The Aggie Code of Honor is an effort to unify the aims of all Texas A&M men and women toward a high code of ethics and personal dignity. For most, living under this code will be no problem, as it asks nothing of a person that is beyond reason. It only calls for honesty and integrity, characteristics that Aggies have always exemplified.

The Aggie Code of Honor functions as a symbol to all Aggies, promoting understanding and loyalty to truth and confidence in each other.

<http://aggiehonor.tamu.edu>

ACADEMIC INTEGRITY

The Bush School is committed to the development of principled leaders for public service. Entering a Bush School course as a student means accepting this commitment personally. The commitment to "principled leadership" is a further expansion of the Texas A&M student honor code. Every student in this course must comply with this code in all work submitted for a grade and will be held accountable accordingly for both individual and team assignments. Anyone who is not prepared to be held accountable to this standard should immediately withdraw from this course.

It is imperative to avoid plagiarism or the appearance of plagiarism through sloppy citation. As commonly defined, plagiarism consists of passing off as one's own ideas,

words, writings, etc. that which belongs to another. In accordance with this definition, you are committing plagiarism if you copy the work of another person and turn it in as your own, even if you have the permission of that person. It does not matter from where the material is borrowed--a book, an article, material off the web, another student's paper--all constitute plagiarism unless the source of the work is fully identified and credited. It is important when using a phrase, a distinct idea, concept, a sentence, or sentences from another source to credit explicitly that source either in the text, a footnote, or endnote. Plagiarism is a violation of academic and personal integrity and carries extremely serious consequences. Scholastic dishonesty (including cheating, multiple submission of work for grades in different courses, and plagiarism) will not be tolerated and will be punished. Further details can be found at: <http://www.tamu.edu/aggiehonor/acadmisconduct.htm>

TITLE IX AND STATEMENT ON LIMITS TO CONFIDENTIALITY

Texas A&M University is committed to fostering a learning environment that is safe and productive for all. University policies and federal and state laws prohibit gender-based discrimination and sexual harassment, including sexual assault, sexual exploitation, domestic violence, dating violence, and stalking.

With the exception of some medical and mental health providers, all university employees (including full and part-time faculty, staff, paid graduate assistants, student workers, etc.) are Mandatory Reporters and must report to the Title IX Office if the employee experiences, observes, or becomes aware of an incident that meets the following conditions (see University Rule 08.01.01.M1):

The incident is reasonably believed to be discrimination or harassment.

The incident is alleged to have been committed by or against a person who, at the time of the incident, was (1) a student enrolled at the University or (2) an employee of the University.

Mandatory Reporters must file a report regardless of how the information comes to their attention – including but not limited to face-to-face conversations, a written class assignment or paper, class discussion, email, text, or social media post. Although Mandatory Reporters must file a report, in most instances, you will be able to control how the report is handled, including whether or not to pursue a formal investigation. The University's goal is to make sure you are aware of the range of options available to you and to ensure access to the resources you need.

Students wishing to discuss concerns in a confidential setting are encouraged to make an appointment with Counseling and Psychological Services (CAPS).

Students can learn more about filing a report, accessing supportive resources, and navigating the Title IX investigation and resolution process on the University's Title IX webpage.

STATEMENT ON MENTAL HEALTH AND WELLNESS

Texas A&M University recognizes that mental health and wellness are critical factors that influence a student's academic success and overall wellbeing. Students are encouraged to engage in proper self-care by utilizing the resources and services available from Counseling & Psychological Services (CAPS). Students who need someone to talk to can call the TAMU Helpline (979-845-2700) from 4:00 p.m. to 8:00 a.m. weekdays and 24 hours on weekends. 24-hour emergency help is also available through the National Suicide Prevention Hotline (800-273-8255) or at suicidepreventionlifeline.org.

LEARNING OUTCOMES

Upon completion of this course, the student will be able to:

- 1) Identify both the historic and current structure of the U.S. intelligence community, and the authorities and responsibilities of its component elements.
- 2) Explain the role the intelligence community plays in the development of foreign policy, national security, and support to the U.S. military during wartime.
- 3) Prepare written products that clearly articulate an understanding of historical intelligence activities, including both their successes and limitations. Apply this knowledge to consider the effectiveness of intelligence activities associated with current events.
- 4) Explain the intelligence threats currently posed by traditional and non-traditional adversaries, as well as strategic allies. Demonstrate an understanding of the benefits of ongoing liaison relationships with allied intelligence services.
- 5) Identify intelligence community tradecraft associated with intelligence collection, including the recruitment cycle, and the role of both double agents and defectors.

COURSE OUTLINE

(Syllabus topics are subject to change at the discretion of the instructor.)

January 19

- 1) Class Overview
- 2) Intelligence Community Mission / Structure
- 3) Intelligence Cycle
- 4) National Security Strategy

Class 1 readings:

Andrew, Introduction (“The President and Intelligence”)
Chapter 1 (“From George Washington to the Twentieth Century”)

Volkman, Margareta Zelle (Mata Hari)

National Security Strategy, October 2022

<https://www.whitehouse.gov/wp-content/uploads/2022/10/Biden-Harris-Administrations-National-Security-Strategy-10.2022.pdf>

January 26

- 1) World War II - OSS and the Origins of the CIA
- 2) Current CIA / FBI Structure
- 3) Victor Sheymov Case Study

Class 2 readings:

Andrew, Chapter 2 (“WWI: From Woodrow Wilson to Herbert Hoover”)
Andrew, Chapter 3 (“Franklin D. Roosevelt: The Path to Pearl Harbor”)

Volkman, Herbert Yardley

February 2

- 1) The Recruitment Cycle and Asset Acquisition
- 2) Post WWII Soviet Espionage (the HUAC and Alger Hiss)

Class 3 readings:

Andrew, Chapters 4 (“Roosevelt at War”)

Volkman, Igor Gouzenko / Whittaker Chambers / Feliks Dzerzhinsky

February 9

- 1) Post WWII U.S. Intelligence Community
- 2) Operational Communications and VENONA
- 3) Soviet Atomic Espionage (Klaus Fuchs and the Rosenbergs)

Class 4 readings:

Andrew, Chapter 5 (“Harry S. Truman”)

Volkman, Klaus Fuchs

- February 16** 1) Emergence of IMINT and the U2
 2) HUMINT Tradecraft (Personal and Impersonal)

Class 5 readings:

Andrew, Chapter 6 (“Dwight D. Eisenhower”)

Volkman, Laventri Beria

Captured, Killed or Compromised, New York Times

<https://www.nytimes.com/2021/10/05/us/politics/cia-informants-killed-captured.html>

- February 23** 1) Cuba – Bay of Pigs and Cuban Missile Crisis
 2) Evolution of IMINT & Soviet Espionage targeting U.S. IMINT

Class 6 readings:

Andrew, Chapter 7 (“John F. Kennedy”)

Volkman, Markus Wolf

- March 2** 1) Early CIA Soviet assets (Popov and Penkovsky)
 2) Defectors (East to West and West to East)
 3) Midterm Review

Class 7 readings:

Andrew, Chapter 8 (“Lyndon B. Johnson”)

Volkman, Oleg Penkovsky / George Blake / Vitali Yurchenko

March 9 **MIDTERM**

March 16 **NO CLASS**

- March 23** 1) Counterintelligence Mission – Guest Speaker
 2) James Jesus Angleton and CIA Counterintelligence ’54 – ’74
 3) Case Study Tolkachev (SPHERE)

Class 9 readings:

Royden, “James J. Angleton: A Fixation on Moles” (.pdf)

https://nsarchive2.gwu.edu/NSAEBB/NSAEBB431/docs/intell_ebb_019.PDF

Royden, “Tolkachev, A Worthy Successor to Penkovsky” (.pdf)

<https://www.cia.gov/static/f56a68befd4e5a4bb676dde0fed17ca9/Tolkachev-Successor-Penkovsky.pdf>

Volkman, H.A.R. (Kim) Philby / Anatoli Golitsin

March 30 1) Case Study Ogorodnik (TRIGON) – Guest Speaker

Class 10 readings:

Andrew, Chapter 9 (“Richard M. Nixon”)

April 6 1) USS Pueblo and Project Jennifer
2) Chinese Intelligence

Class 11 readings:

Andrew, Chapter 11 (“Jimmy Carter”)

Volkman, K’ang Shen-Tai Li / Kenji Doihara / Larry Wu-Tai Chin

April 13 Guest Speaker: Professor Jim Olsen
Case Study – Edward Lee Howard
Case Study – Clayton Lonetree
Case Study – Aldrich Ames
Case Study – Victor Sheymov

Class 12 readings:

Andrew, Chapter 10 (“Gerald Ford”)

April 20 1) The fall of the Soviet Union and Current Russian Intelligence
2) Robert Hanssen

Class 13 readings:

Andrew, Chapter 12 (“Ronald Reagan”)

Riehle, Kevin, “Russian Intelligence” (.pdf) pp. 10-18 & 34-52

https://ni-u.edu/wp/wp-content/uploads/2022/05/Riehle_Russian-Intelligence.pdf

RESEARCH PAPER DUE

April 27 1) UBL Case Study
2) IC Support to CT (Analysis, Liaison & Covert Action)
3) Finals Review

Class 14 readings:

Andrew, Chapter 13 (“George Bush”)

Andrew, Conclusion (“Intelligence after the Cold War”)

Congressional Research Service, “Covert Action and Clandestine Activities”

<https://sgp.fas.org/crs/intel/R45175.pdf>

May 4

FINAL EXAM