

# The Graduate School of Political Management

THE GEORGE WASHINGTON UNIVERSITY

## **M.P.S. in Legislative Affairs**

Summer 2016

July 5 – August 16, 2016

### **Course Name**

LGAF 6240.LH2 – Congress & Intelligence Policy

3 Credits

Mondays & Wednesdays, 6-8pm

Hall of States

## **BASIC INFORMATION AND RESOURCES**

---

### **Instructor**

Gus Martinez

### **Contact Information**

Phone Number: 703-899-7700

Email Address: [gusmartinez@email.gwu.edu](mailto:gusmartinez@email.gwu.edu)

### **Communication**

Students may contact Mr. Martinez via email anytime, or call after 6pm (weekdays). Email is the preferred method, and he will respond as soon as possible.

### **Blackboard Site**

A Blackboard course site has been set up for this course. Students can access the course site at <https://blackboard.gwu.edu>. Support for Blackboard is available at 202-994-4948 or [helpdesk.gwu.edu](mailto:helpdesk.gwu.edu).

### **Academic Integrity**

All members of the university community are expected to exhibit honesty and competence in their academic work. Students have a special responsibility to acquaint themselves with, and make use of, all proper procedures for doing research, writing papers, and taking exams. Members of the community will be presumed to be familiar with the proper academic procedures and will be held responsible for applying them. Deliberate failure to act in accordance with such procedures will be considered academic dishonesty. Academic dishonesty is defined as “cheating of any kind, including misrepresenting one’s own work, taking credit for the work of others without crediting them and without appropriate authorization, and the fabrication of information.” Acts of academic dishonesty are a legal, moral, and intellectual offense against the community and will be prosecuted through the proper university channels. The University Code of Academic Integrity can be found at <http://studentconduct.gwu.edu/code-academic-integrity>.

### **Support for Students with Disabilities**

GW’s Disability Support Services (DSS) provides and coordinates accommodations and other services for students with a wide variety of disabilities, as well as those temporarily disabled by injury or illness. Accommodations are available through DSS to facilitate academic access for students with disabilities.

Please notify your instructor if you require accommodations. Additional information is available at <http://disabilitysupport.gwu.edu/>.

**In the Event of an Emergency or Crisis during Class**

If we experience some an emergency during class time, we will try to stay at this location until we hear that we can move about safely. If we have to leave here, we will meet in the Hall of States lobby in order to account for everyone and to make certain that everyone is safe. Please refer to Campus Advisories for the latest information on the University’s operating status: <http://www.campusadvisories.gwu.edu/>.

**Attendance Policy**

Each student is expected to attend all classes. Please coordinate in advance with Mr. Jenkins if any absences or late arrivals are anticipated.

**Course Evaluation**

At the end of the semester, students will be given the opportunity to evaluate the course through GW’s online course evaluation system. It is very important that you take the time to complete an evaluation. Students are also encouraged to provide feedback throughout the course of the semester by contacting any/all of the following:

Dr. Steven Billet  
Director, Legislative Affairs Program  
[sbillet@gwu.edu](mailto:sbillet@gwu.edu) | 202-994-1149

Dr. Jack Prostko  
Associate Dean for Learning and Faculty Development  
College of Professional Studies  
[jackp@gwu.edu](mailto:jackp@gwu.edu) | 202-994-3592

Suzanne Farrand  
Director of Academic Administration, GSPM  
[sfarrand@gwu.edu](mailto:sfarrand@gwu.edu) | 202-994-9309

## **THE COURSE**

---

### **Legislative Affairs Program Objectives**

Upon completion of the Master's degree in Legislative Affairs, students will:

1. Gain both theoretical and practical knowledge related to the U.S. Congress, general issues in the legislative arena, and how to effectively advance legislation;
2. Hone their oral and written communication skills in both theoretical and technical aspects of legislative affairs;
3. Be able to conduct cutting-edge research and engage in effective problem solving by learning critical thinking skills;
4. Learn how to work effectively with others, the value of collaborative work, and will understand ethical issues involved in the legislative arena.

### **Graduate School Expectations**

Students enrolled in a graduate program should take their academic responsibilities seriously and be prepared to meet the following expectations:

1. Utilize effective time management skills so as to complete and submit their assignments on their required due dates and times.
2. Have attained a mastery of written communication skills including proper sentence structure, grammar, spelling, and word usage.
3. Understand how to properly format in-text citations and references for resources and information integrated into their written assignments.

### **Course Description and Overview**

The class is designed to learn how Congress, the Executive Branch and the intelligence community interact and execute policies. The course is split into three phases which build critical thinking into topics and issues that confront past and present intelligence professionals and policy makers. The course will address the nature of intelligence and the special challenges involved in making intelligence relevant to national policy making. American intelligence collection, analysis and management will be described, and evaluated. Recent attempts at intelligence reform will be outlined and judged. Case studies will be used to illustrate the peculiar challenges posed by covert action, changing political mores, targeted killings, and the alleged politicization of intelligence, increased demands for transparency and accountability and other ethical issues.

### **Course Learning Objectives**

By the end of the course, students will be able to:

- 1) Be able to identify the key players and agencies participating in the generation and execution of intelligence policy.
- 2) Understand and explain how Congress exercises its constitutional oversight powers to shape and influence the parameters for intelligence policy. Nestled within this objective is the awareness of how the individual student might directly engage in this process at increasing levels.
- 3) Sharpen individual value as a political scientist by reading, comprehending and concisely synthesizing complex and sensitive topics. Students will polish the ability to effectively communicate to the decision-maker/stakeholder who will quickly learn to rely on insight and well-informed recommendations (students will demonstrate via weekly quizzes and class participation).

**Course Requirements**

This course requires a significant amount of reading and the weekly quizzes will challenge how well students absorb and synthesize the information. Class participation is a necessity since students view issues from varying perspectives and varying viewpoints are essential in discussing intelligence and policy development in general.

**Evaluation and Grading**

Assignment	Learning Objective(s) Addressed	Due Date	Weight
Weekly Quizzes	Strictly based on previous week’s reading assignments. Will be a combination of short answer fill in and short answer essay.		20%
Research Paper	DUE prior to session #11.  a. Topics due by session #3, outline by session #5, final paper on session #11.  b. Paper length should be 15-20 pages, INCLUDING your references/bibliography. NO MORE than 20 pages total - - Double spaced.  c. Citation type: Chicago-Style		25%
Mid-Term Exam	“Blue Book” essay and short answer exam from readings.		20%
Final Exam	Comprehensive “Blue Book” essay and short answer exam from readings (readings from week one will be relevant).		25%
Attendance and Participation	Attendance and participation points will be given during class.		10%
Total			100%

**Following is the grade scale for all GSPM classes:**

<b>Grade*</b>	<b>Grading Standard</b>
A 94-100	Your work is outstanding and ready for submission in a professional environment. Your material, effort, research, and writing demonstrate superior work.
A- 90-93	Represents solid work with minor errors. Overall, excellent work.
B+ 87-89	Very good. Represents well-written material, research, and presentation, but needs some minor work.
B 83-86	Satisfactory work, but needs reworking and more effort. Note that although not a failing grade, at the graduate level, anything below a “B” is viewed as unacceptable.
B- 80-82	You’ve completed the assignment, but you are not meeting all of the requirements.
C+ 77-79	Needs improvement in content and in effort. Shows some motivation and concern.
C 73-76	Needs reworking, improved effort, and additional research. Shows minimal motivation and concern.
C- 70-72 (lowest grade to pass)	Poor performance. Major errors, too many misspellings, problems with accuracy, etc.
F Below 70	Unacceptable performance, or inability to submit the assignment.

\*Please note that you may be penalized for late submission of assignment(s).

**Required Text and Learning Materials**

- Mark M. Lowenthal, “Intelligence: From Secrets to Policy,” 6<sup>th</sup> Edition
- Hank Crumpton, “The Art of Intelligence, Lessons from a Life in the CIA's Clandestine Service”
- Audrey Cronin, “How Terrorism Ends: Understanding the Decline and Demise of Terrorist Campaigns”

**Tentative Course Calendar\***

\*The instructor reserves the right to alter course content and/or adjust the pace to accommodate class progress. Students are responsible for keeping up with all adjustments to the course calendar.

**Class Date**

Week 1

Topic and Content Covered: The nature of intelligence: Introduction to the course. The intelligence cycle.

Reading Due Today:

- Plato: The Parable of the Cave
- The Art of Intelligence: Ch 14
- Intelligence: Ch 1, pp 1-9 (What is “Intelligence”); Ch 2, pp 11-29 (The Development of US Intelligence); Ch 4, pp 57-70 (The Intelligence Process)

**Class Date**

Week 2

Topic and Content Covered: The “INTs”: The various disciplines of intelligence collection: strengths, weaknesses, trends. Technological challenges.

Reading Due Today: Intelligence: Ch 5, pp 71-118 (Collection Disciplines)

**Class Date**

Week 3

Topic and Content Covered: The Intelligence Community: The “gang of 16 (or is it more?)” Intelligence reform and oversight. Appropriations and Authorizations.

Reading Due Today: The Art of Intelligence: Chs 1-5, 13

**Class Date**

Week 4

Topic and Content Covered: The Inherent Ambiguity of Intelligence

Reading Due Today:

- a. Robert Jervis, “Why Intelligence and Policymakers Clash,” *Political Science Quarterly*, Vol. 125, No. 2 (2010), pp. 185-204.
- b. Robert Jervis and James Pfiffner, Exchange of Letters on politicization of intelligence (June 2010).
- c. Pfiffner, “U.S. Blunders in Iraq: De-Baathification and Disbanding the Army,” *Intelligence and National Security* Vol. 25, No. 1 (February 2010), pp. 76- 85.
- d. Michael Hayden, “The State of the Craft: Is Intelligence Reform Working?,” *World Affairs Journal* (September October 2010).
- e. Amy B. Zegart, “The Domestic Politics of Irrational Intelligence Oversight,” *Political Science Quarterly* Vol. 26, No. 1 (2011).

**Class Date**

Week 5

Topic and Content Covered: Presidential “Lies” and National Security

Reading Due Today:

- a. Benjamin Bradlee, “In His Own Words,” *Washington Post* (22 October 2014).
- b. James P. Pfiffner, *The Character Factor*, (Texas A&M University Press, 2004) Ch. 2, 3.
- c. James P. Pfiffner, “Did President Bush Mislead the country in his arguments for war with Iraq?” in James Pfiffner and Mark Phythian, eds. *Intelligence and National Security Policymaking on Iraq: British and American Perspectives* (Manchester University Press, 2008), pp. 59-84.

Case Study:

- a. Paul R. Camacho and William Locke Hauser, “A Response to Coletta,” [General Shinseki’s congressional testimony on Iraq war] *Armed Forces & Society* Vol. 34, No. 1 (October 2007), pp. 122-137.
- b. Damon Coletta, “Courage in the Service of Virtue: The Case of General Shinseki’s Testimony before the Iraq War,” *Armed Forces & Society*. Vol. 34, No. 1 (October 2007), pp. 109-121).

### **Class Date**

Week 6

Topic and Content Covered: The US Decision to Invade Iraq in 2002-2003

Reading Due Today:

- a. President George W. Bush and Vice President Cheney, excerpts from key speeches leading up to the war in Iraq, in Pfiffner and Phythian, pp. 247-254.
- b. National Intelligence Estimate of 2 October 2002, “Iraq’s continuing Programs for Weapons of Mass Destruction,” in Pfiffner and Phythian, pp. 268-275.
- c. Paul Pillar, “Intelligence, Policy, and the Iraq War,” in Pfiffner and Phythian, pp. 233-243.
- d. Robert Jervis, “The Politics and psychology of intelligence and intelligence reform,” Pfiffner and Phythian, pp. 162-171.
- e. US Intelligence Professionals, “Open Letter to George Tenet,” (April 28, 2007) in Pfiffner and Phythian, pp. 287-290.

Case Study: Martin L. Cook, “Revolt of the Generals: A Case Study in Professional Ethics, U.S. Strategic Studies Institute, (2008), pp. 1-11.

<http://strategicstudiesinstitute.army.mil/pubs/parameters/articles/08spring/cook>

### **Class Date**

Week 7

Topic and Content Covered: Interrogation and Intelligence

Reading Due Today:

- a. Jay S. Bybee, “Memorandum for Alberto R. Gonzales, Counsel to the President,” (August 1, 2002), pp. 1-12.
- b. Charles Krauthammer, “It’s Time to be Honest About Doing Terrible Things,” *The Weekly Standard* Vol. 11, No. 12, (December 5, 2005).
- c. Pfiffner, “Policy Making on Torture,” in *Torture as Public Policy*, Ch. 2, pp. 13-44.
- d. Jose Rodriguez, *Hard Measures* (NY: Threshold Editions, 2012), Interview with Leslie Stahl, CBS News (April 29, 2012).
- e. John McCain, Statement on the Senate Select Committee on Intelligence Report on Interrogation Methods (December 9, 2014).
- f. John Yoo, “Terrorists have no Geneva Rights, WSJ,” 26 May 2004.
- g. Milt Bearden, “When the CIA Played by the Rules,” *New York Times* (4 November 2005).

Case Study: Choose one of two

- a. Pfiffner, "Operations: The Implementation of Policy," In Pfiffner, *Torture as Public Policy*, Ch. 3, pp. 45-82. or
- b. Senate Select Committee on Intelligence, *Study of the CIA's Detention and Interrogation Program* (December 3, 2014), Findings and Conclusions, pp. 1-19.

**Class Date**

Week 8

Topic and Content Covered: Unmanned Aerial Vehicles (armed drones)

Reading Due Today:

- a. Daniel Byman, "Why Drones Work" *Foreign Affairs* Vol. 92, No. 4 (2013).
- b. Audrey Kurth Cronin, "Why Drones Fail: When Tactics Drive Strategy," *Foreign Affairs* Vol. 92, No. 44 (2013), pp. 44-54.
- c. Scott Shane, "The Moral Case for Drones," *New York Times* (July 14, 2012), pp. 2-3 of compilation.
- d. John Kaag and Sarah Kreps, "The Moral Hazard of Drones," *New York Times* (July 22, 2012).
- e. Patrick Lin, "Drone-Ethics Briefing: What a Leading Robot Expert Told the CIA," *The Atlantic* (2011).
- f. Louis Fisher, "What Grounds Secrecy?" *National Law Journal* (January 21, 2013).
- g. John P. Abizaid and Rosa Brooks, *Recommendations and Report of the Task Force on US Drone Policy*, (Washington: Stimson Center, June 2014), pp. 9-15.
- h. Micah Zenko, *Reforming U.S. Drone Strike Policies*, Council on Foreign Relations, Report No. 65 (January 2013), pp. 6-17.

Case study: Robots and Autonomous Weapons Systems

Wendell Wallach, "Terminating the Terminator: What to do About Autonomous Weapons," <http://scienceprogress.org/2013/01/terminating-the-terminator-what-to-do-about-autonomous-weapons/>

**Class Date**

Week 9

Topic and Content Covered: The National Security Agency and Surveillance of Americans

Reading Due Today:

- a. U.S. Senate Select Committee on Intelligence Activities Within the United States (Church Committee Report) 1975, reprinted by Red and Black Publishers (St. Petersburg, Florida, 2007), pp. 11-14, 22-24, 120-125.
- b. Bruce Fein and Louis Fisher, "Institutional Powers of Congress," pp. 17-20.
- c. Ryan Lizza, "Why won't the President rein in the intelligence community?" *New Yorker* (December 16, 2013).
- d. John Napier Tye, "Meet Executive Order 12333: The Reagan Rule that lets the NSA spy on Americans," *Washington Post*, July 18, 2014).
- e. David Cole, "Can Privacy Be Saved?" *New York Review of Books* (March 6, 2014).

Case study: Edward Snowden

- a. David Cole, "The Three Leaders and What to Do About Them," *David Cole, New York Review of Books* (Feb. 6, 2014).
- b. Alan Rusbridger and Ewen MacAskill, "Interview with Edward Snowden," *The Guardian* (18 July 2014).



**Class Date**

Week 10

Topic and Content Covered: The Historical and Political Context of Terrorism

Reading Due Today:

- a. David C. Rapoport, "Fear and Trembling: Terrorism in Three Religious Traditions," *American Political Science Review*, Vol. 78 (1984), pp. 658-677.
- b. David C. Rapoport, "The Four Waves of Modern Terrorism," Chapter two of *Attacking Terrorism: Elements of a Grand Strategy*, edited by Cronin and James Ludes (Washington, D.C.: Georgetown University Press, 2004), pp. 46-73.
- c. Karen Rasler and William R. Thompson, "Looking for Waves of Terrorism," *Terrorism and Political Violence*, Vol. 21, No. 1 (January 2009), pp. 28-41.

**Class Date**

Week 11

Topic and Content Covered: Ethics, Motivations and Causes of Terrorism

Reading Due Today:

- a. Robert Kennedy, "Is One Person's Terrorist Another's Freedom Fighter? Western and Islamic Approaches to 'Just War' Compared," *Terrorism and Political Violence*, Vol. 11, No. 1 (Spring 1999), pp. 1-21.
- b. R.G. Frey and Christopher W. Morris, "Violence, Terrorism, and Justice," a selection from Chapter 1 of *Violence, Terrorism and Justice*, edited by R.G. Frey and Christopher W. Morris (Cambridge, England: Cambridge University Press, 1991), pp. 1-11. (Note: This is not the complete chapter.)
- c. Audrey Kurth Cronin, "Sources of Contemporary Terrorism," Chapter one of *Attacking Terrorism: Elements of a Grand Strategy*, edited by Cronin and James Ludes (Washington, D.C.: Georgetown University Press, 2004), pp. 19-45.
- d. Gabriel Weimann, "The Psychology of Mass-Mediated Terrorism,"

**Class Date**

Week 12

Topic and Content Covered: How do Terrorist Groups Succeed or Fail? Does Repression Work?

Reading Due Today:

- a. Cronin, *How Terrorism Ends*, Chapters 3-5 and Appendix, pp. 73-145 and 207-222.
- b. Mark Lynch, Chapter 7: "Jihadis and the Ikhwan," and Reuven Paz, Chapter 8: "Jihadis and Hamas," in *Self-inflicted Wounds*, Combating Terrorism Center at West Point, 16 December 2010, pp.155-201.

**Class Date**

Week 13

Topic and Content Covered: Terrorism, Crime and Insurgency: Outdated Paradigms, Real Challenges

Reading Due Today:

- a. Cronin, How Terrorism Ends, Chapter 6, pp. 146-166.
- b. John Nagl, "Learning to Eat Soup with a Knife: British and American Army Counterinsurgency learning during the Malayan Emergency and the Vietnam War," World Affairs, Vol. 161, Non. 4 (Spring 1999), pp. 193-199.
- c. David Kilcullen, "Countering Global Insurgency," Strategic Studies, Vol. 28, No. 4 (August 2005), pp. 597-618.
- d. John Rollins and Liana Sun Wyler, Terrorism and Transnational Crime: Foreign Policy Issues for Congress, CRS Report for Congress #R41004, 19 October 2012; accessible at <http://www.fas.org/sgp/crs/terror/R41004.pdf>

**Class Date**

Week 14

Topic and Content Covered: The Future of Intelligence, Terrorism and Our Allies

Reading Due Today:

Cronin, How Terrorism Ends, Chapter 7, pp. 167-206.

---

**Copyright Statement**

*Unless explicitly allowed by the instructor, course materials, class discussions, and examinations are created for and expected to be used by class participants only. The recording and rebroadcasting of such material, by any means, is forbidden.*