NYU | ROBERT F. WAGNER GRADUATE SCHOOL OF PUBLIC SERVICE

HIST-UA 283

Intelligence and National Security Policymaking Spring 2023

Instructor Information

Instructor Name	Contact	Office Location	Office Hours
Professor Tim Naftali	Email: timothy.naftali@nyu.edu Twitter: @TimNaftali	Puck, Room 3018	Monday, 12:30-1:30pm or via Zoom at a mutually convenient time

Course Information

Section	Class Day	Class Time	Class Location
001	Mondays and Wednesdays	9:30-11:45 am	Silver, Room: 101A

Course Requirements

- One 1-page (@200 word) response paper: 20%

- In-class policy simulation exercises: 30%

- Open-Source Intelligence Project: 25%

- Final Examination: 20%

- Class Participation: 5%

Course

Management and Leadership is designed to empower you with the skills you will need to make meaningful change in the world—whether you care about bike lanes, criminal justice, prenatal care, community development, urban planning, social investment, or something else. Whatever your passion, you can only have an impact by leading and managing organizational processes. In this course, you will enhance the technical, interpersonal, conceptual, and political skills needed to run effective and efficient organizations embedded in diverse communities, policy arenas, sectors, and industries. In class, we will engage in a collective analysis of specific problems that leaders and managers face—first, diagnosing them and then, identifying solutions—to explore how organizations can meet and exceed their performance objectives. As part of that process, you will encounter a variety of practical and essential topics and tools, including mission, strategy, goals, structure, teams, diversity and inclusion, motivation, and negotiation.

Course Policies:

1. Response Paper guidelines:
The response paper will be strictly based on the assigned reading. The instructor will provide the prompt at least a week in advance and the paper will be due before the class where the relevant issue will be discussed. The papers should be sent to the instructor/grader in a word file.

2. Policy Simulation Exercise
The students will engage in at least one role-playing exercise where, as members of the National Security Council, the Intelligence Community, the Press or of the Simulation Control Group, they will simulate the determination of US national security policy. Working with the instructor, members of class will select their roles. There will be at least 5 simulations over the course of the class, allowing each student at least one opportunity to participate.

3. The Open-Source Intelligence Project
Each student will participate in a team project to provide an intelligence briefing to a national security team on a current national security issue using open-source information. The grade will reflect the research, analysis and presentation of this open-source information.

4. Henry and Lucy Moses Center for Student Accessibility
If you are student with a disability who is requesting accommodations, please contact New York University's Moses Center for Students with Disabilities. You must be registered with CSD to receive accommodations. Information about the Moses Center can be found at www.nyu.edu/csd. The Moses Center is located at 726 Broadway on the second floor.

5. Religious Holidays:
NYU's Calendar Policy on Religious Holidays states that members of any religious group may, without penalty, absent themselves from classes when required in compliance with their religious obligations. You muat notify me in advance of religious holidays or observances that might coincide with exams, assignments, or class times to schedule mutually acceptable alternatives. Students may also contact religiousaccommodations@nyu.edu for assistance.

6. In-Person Attendance:
This isn't a hybrid-course. Whereas attendance at the lectures isn't required, it is highly recommended. The crisis simulations and the open-source presentation do require that participants be in the classroom. We do recognize that with COVID, however, students may need to attend remotely when they are feeling ill or are concerned about exposure. We will provide ZOOM links for COVID-related absences for lecture classes. Students not feeling well or concerned about exposure must let the instructor know by 8:30 a.m. on the morning of the lecture so that a ZOOM link can be provided. In the event the student who is unwell

with COVID (or is concerned about exposure) is scheduled to participate in one of the simulations or the open-source presentation, the student will be given the option of doing another simulation or presenting at a different time. For other NYU excused absences, there is no ZOOM option. This policy may be updated to take into account changing university policies.

7. Academic Honesty:

Intellectual integrity is the university's most fundamental commitment. Plagiarism of any kind will be penalized to the fullest possible extent, without warning or exception.

The most common causes of plagiarism are not deliberate dishonesty, but stress and uncertainty. You are encouraged to begin assignments well in advance of the deadline, and to check with the instructor if you have any questions. Whenever you draw upon somebody else's words or ideas to make a point, give them credit in a note. If you have questions about documentation requirements, don't guess – just ask.

For further details on university policy, strictly adhered to in this class, see:
http://cas.nyu.edu/page/ug.academicintegrity

8. Course Materials:

Students are required to purchase *Rigged* by David Shimer and *Why Intelligence Fails* by Robert Jervis. The other materials are available online or have been scanned on BrightSpace.

Detailed Course Overview

Week One: Introduction and What is Intelligence, I

➢ January 23: Investigating a President

➢ January 25: HUMINT – In the Field. The class will watch the OSS Training Film: "Undercover: How to Operate Behind Enemy Lines,"

Required Reading:

• Office of the Director of National Intelligence, Assessing Russian Activities and Intentions in Recent US Elections, 6 January 2017.

• Sharon LaFraniere, Mark Mazzetti and Matt Apuzo, "How the Russia Inquiry Began," *New York Times*, December 30, 2017, participate in, and coach diverse teams.

• [Redacted] "Reflections on Handling Penkovsky," [CIA] Studies In Intelligence (@1997. Declassified 2014)

• Peter Strzok, Compromised (2020), 106-142; 157-178+

Week Two: What is Intelligence, II?

➢ January 30: SIGINT

➢ February 1: RECONNAISSANCE

Required Reading:

• Patrick Beesley, ULTRA and the Battle of the Atlantic: A British View (Declassified 2010)

- [The Battle of Midway](#)

- [Dedication and Sacrifice](#)

- [Learning from the Enemy](#)

- "Starlink's Performance in Ukraine has Ignited a New Space Race," The Economist, January 5, 2023.

Week Three: What is Intelligence, III?

➢ DECEPTION (Active Measures)

➢ COVERT ACTION

Required Reading:

- Christopher Andrew and Vasili Mitrokhin, The Sword and Shield: The Mitrokhin Archive and the Secret History of the KGB (1999), pp. 224-246.+

- Shimer, Rigged, 23-43, 84-123

- [Excerpt from Clandestine Services History](#), "The Origins of CIA's Clandestine Organization in the Far East, 1945-1952 [Declassified 2022]—section regarding effort against Soviet deception campaign in Korea. "Starlink's Performance in Ukraine has Ignited a New Space Race," The Economist, January 5, 2023.

- Lt. Col. Daniel J. Breitenbach, "Operation Desert Deception: Operational Deception in the Ground Campaign," Naval War College, June 1991, pages 1-9.

Week Four: What is Intelligence, IV?

➢ ANALYSIS AND WARNING

➢ Counterintelligence

Required Reading:

- CIA, "[Alert Memoranda—The Track Record](#)," [no date, declassified 2014] + Shimer, Rigged, 23-43, 84-123

- Robert Jervis, *Why Intelligence Fails* [2010], pages 156-196*

- Amy B. Zegart, Spies, Lies, and Algorithms [2022], pp. 108-142+

- David Martin, Wilderness of Mirrors (1980), pp. 91-116

Week Five: The Main Consumer

➢ The President

Required Reading:

- Richard Helms, A Look Over My Shoulder (2002), 392-408

- Tim Naftali, "[CIA Reveals its Secret Briefings to Nixon and Ford](#)," August 26, 2016, CNN.com

- Richard Nixon, RN: The Memoirs of Richard Nixon (1978), 489-491+

- John L. Helgerson, Getting to Know The President, 1952-2016, 65-69; 78-82; 185-189; 219-223; 231-254; 260-270.

- [Redacted], "The CIA's Intelligence Sharing with Congress, [CIA] Studies in Intelligence [1997, declassified 2014]+

- Loch K. Johnson, A Season of Inquiry Revisited (2015), xiii-xviii, pp. 41-74

- Gary Hart, "I was on the Church Committee," New York Times, Jan. 17, 2023

Week Six: The Simulations

> Feb. 27: The Cuban Missile Crisis—The classic case study

> March 1: Intelligence—Iran 1978-9

Required Reading:

- Robert Kennedy, Thirteen Days: A Memoir of the Cuban Missile Crisis (1968), 23-56; 79-110*®

- Ernest May and Philip D. Zelikow, The Kennedy Tapes: Inside the White House During the Cuban Missile Crisis Norton: New York, 2001, 73-108; 124- 137 OR 301-401.+

- [Kennedy Library Interview with McGeorge Bundy](#), 1964, pp. 37-38.

- JFK Statement, September 4, 1962.

- Document 55, "McCone, Brief Discussion with the President--9:30 a.m. 17 October 1962;" Document 71, McCone, Memorandum of Meeting with the President, Attorney General…October 21, 1962, Mary S. McAuliffe, ed., CIA Documents on the Cuban Missile Crisis 1962 (1992)

- Robert Jervis, Why Intelligence Fails, (2011), Pages TK

Week Seven: The First Historical Case Study: Cuba, 1961

> March 6: The Background

> March 8: The Simulation

Required Reading:

- R Foreign Relations of the U nited States, Document 24, 26, 27,28, 30, 31, 32,39, 40, 45, 46, 47, 48, 58, 59, 60, 61, 62, 63, 64, 65, 66, 74, 80, 81, 83, 84, 86, 92, 93, 96, 98, 103, 104, 105, 106, 108, 109, 111, 112, 115, 117, 119, 120, 121, 122, 123, 124, 125, 126, 127, 134, 135, 136, 138, 139, 140, 141, 142, 146, 148, 149, 152, 153, 155, 157

Week Eight: SPRING BREAK

Week Nine: The Second Historical Case Study, Vietnam 1965

- ➢ Background
- ➢ The Simulation

Required Reading:

- CIA, DI, Fifty Years of Informing Policy, 1952-2002, pp. 131-163+

- Michael Beschloss, Reaching for Glory: Lyndon Johnson's Secret White House Tapes, 1964-1965 New York: Simon & Schuster, 2001, 343-417

- Gordon M. Goldstein, Lessons in Disaster" McGeorge Bundy and the Path to war in Vietnam (2008), 144-228

- Robert S. McNamara [with Brian VanDeMark], In Retrospect: The Tragedy and Lessons of Vietnam, (1995) 159-227

- General Bruce Palmer, Jr., The 25-Year War: America's Military Role in Vietnam (1984), 25-46.

- US State Department, Foreign Relations of the United States, 1964-1968, Volume III, Vietnam June-Dec 1965, Docs. 7-8, 26, 33-36, 38-45, 55, 61, 64, 66-67, 71-72, 78-79, 85, 93-94, 97

Week Ten: Historical Case Study 3: Libya, 1986

- ➢ The Background
- ➢ The Simulation

Required Reading:

- Scanned Historical Libya Documents +

- Timothy Naftali, Blind Spot (2005), pp. 116-221.+

- CIA, DI, "Qadhafi's Likely Response to a US Military Strike," April 11, 1986, (Declassified 2011)+

- CIA, DI, "Qadhafi's Political Position Since the Airstrike," July 17, 1986, (Date of Declassification not marked)+

Week Eleven: Historical Case Study #4, Bosnia, 1995

- ➢ Background
- ➢ Class Simulation Four

Required Reading:

- Policymakers: read Shattuck (118-160) and read all of the June 1-July 18, 1995 documents here [they are listed in chronological order]

- Intelligence Reps: read Shattuck (118-160) and read all of the June 1-July 18, 1995 documents prepared by the intelligence community.

Week Twelve: Historical Case Study #5: Libya 2011

- ➢ Background
- ➢ The Simulation

Required Reading:

- Hillary Rodham Clinton, Hard Choices, 363-377

- Ben Rhodes, The World As it is, pp. 109-124; 197-200; 223-240

- Samantha Powers, The Education of an Idealist, pp. 283-309; 359-390

- Gates, Exercise of Power, 297-313

Week Thirteen: Historical Case Study #6: Russia 2016

- ➢ Background
- ➢ The Simulation

Required Reading:

- Shimer, Rigged, 167-208

- More Russian Materials: TK

- Timothy Naftali, Foreign Affairs, Snort and Talk: Why Washington Has Long Struggled to Deter Russia—and How It Can Now, March 30, 2022

- Tim Naftali, "President Obama Can Help Beat Fake News," CNN.com, January 12, 2017

Week Fourteen: Open-Source Project

- ➢ Figuring Out Putin and Xi
- ➢ Open-Source Information

Required Reading:

- [How open-source intelligence is disrupting statecraft](#)

- [Open-source intelligence is piercing the fog of war in Ukraine](#)

- [Open Secrets](#)

- Warren Strobel, Wall Street Journal, Oct. 7, 2021. "[CIA Chief Burns Forms China-Focused Group in Pivot Toward Asian Rival](#),'"

- Kevin Rudd, "[The World According to Xi Jinping](#)," Foreign Affairs

- Timothy Naftali, "[Putin's Fear of Retreat](#)," Foreign Affairs, November 16, 2022

- Warren Strobel, Dec. 11, 2022, Wall Street Journal, "[Rise of Open-Source Intelligence Tests U.S. Spies](#)"

Week Fifteen: Open-Source Project

- ➢ Ukraine & Russia
- ➢ China & Iran

Week Sixteen: Open-Source Presentation