

Problems in International Relations: *Diplomacy and Intelligence* Fall 2008

Rutgers University
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office hours: Mon and Th. 10:00-6:00 p.m.
course website: <https://blackboard.rutgers.edu/>

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At first the Spartans trusted the words of Themistokles, through their friendship for him; but when others [Spartan diplomats from Athens] arrived, all distinctly declaring that the work [on the long-walls] was going on and already attaining some elevation, they could not fail to believe them...concerning these Themistokles sent word secretly to the Athenians to detain them [Spartan diplomats] as far as possible without putting them under open constraint, and not to let them go until they had themselves returned.

Thucydides, *The Peloponnesian War*, 1.91.2

Course Goals and Learning Objectives

To provide students with the opportunity to learn about the practice of diplomacy and intelligence, and the interplay between these two crafts.

To provide a method with which one might continue the study of diplomacy and intelligence, and to encourage that study.

To read critically, think logically, and question intelligently the course readings during discussions.

Teaching Philosophy

In this course every fact, assertion, and interpretation is open to reconsideration. Merely accepting authority, invoking political considerations, or agreeing with the instructor is neither necessary nor sufficient for determining one's own views. Such uncritical accepting, invoking, and agreeing are corrupting influences that tend to hinder the development of independent thinking. Ideas and arguments in this class will be accepted or rejected on the basis of three criteria: (1) logical coherence (i.e., no internal contradictions); (2) correspondence with the testimony of external sources (i.e., no suppressed evidence); and (3) conceptual elegance (i.e. no unnecessary abstractions).

Course Overview

This semester we will study the area where diplomacy and intelligence overlap. One might consider this the "missing dimension" of international relations. It is a topic which is seldom studied, but crucial to understanding the political relations between nations.

We will begin with a discussion of the logic, grammar and strategy of diplomacy and intelligence. Particular attention is paid to how one discipline affects the other in the broader scope of a state's pursuit foreign interests, and how the activities of intelligence organizations complement and complicate the practice of diplomacy, and vice versa.

We will then delve into the history of diplomacy and intelligence within the Western tradition. Beginning with Ancient Greek world, when one discipline was undistinguishable from the other, we will trace the evolution of the practice of diplomacy and intelligence in Rome, Byzantium, and Western Europe. The evolution of American diplomacy and intelligence from the Revolution until 1989 is also covered. Within the U.S. context, we will analyze the intelligence cycle.

Our attention will then turn to a study of the modern embassy. The interactions between the hierarchies of diplomats and intelligence officers, and their respective duties in support of U.S. foreign policy will be covered. In the weeks following, we will discuss and explore international relations within the context of espionage and the positive and negative aspects of that craft on American foreign policy security policy using historical cases. Discussions of the role of the executive branch in sanctioning special and secret foreign action will help you further develop an understanding of international relations.

Particular attention will also be paid to recent advancements in the field of information and communications technology (ICT), cyberspace and how these have changed the practice of diplomacy and intelligence.

Turning to the United Nations, the role of intelligence within this multilateral institution of diplomacy is examined. Particular attention is paid to the formation and monitoring of regimes, treaties and Security Council resolutions.

We will conclude the course with an overview of privatized intelligence services, and a discussion of diplomacy and intelligence in the 21st century.

Student Responsibilities

There is a good deal of reading for the course, and keeping up with each weeks readings is essential for making sense of the lectures and contributing to discussions.

A general knowledge of Cold War history is presumed, but there are no formal course prerequisites.

Grading:

10% <i>Class Participation</i>	<i>TPQN:</i> -
10% <i>Discussion Points: Weekly</i>	<i>TPQN:</i> -
20% <i>Midterm Quiz: Oct. 23</i>	<i>TPQN:</i> October 30
30% <i>Written Assignment: Nov. 20</i>	<i>TPQN:</i> Day of Final Exam
30% <i>Final Exam or Project Scheduled Final Exam Day</i>	<i>TPQN:</i> None

Lateness of work for unacceptable reasons will result in a grade penalty. The only acceptable reasons are due to family, work, or medical *emergencies*. Emergencies are those events for which there was little or no prior warning, thereby preventing you from planning ahead to complete the assignment.

TPQN stands for *terminus post quem non*, the date after which your work for that particular assignment will not be accepted regardless of whether or not its reason for being late was acceptable. The *only* exception to this is if you consult with the instructor about before the TPQN date

Plagiarism is a serious academic offense; if you are unfamiliar with what constitutes plagiarism (i.e., appropriating someone else's ideas and passing it off as your own) you should consult the *Policy on Academic Integrity for Undergraduate and Graduate Students*, available in digital form on the course website.

Extension of Time If you realize during the semester that you will not be able to finish all of the work on time, because of a family, work, or medical emergency, you must submit an appeal for an incomplete grade to the instructor in writing. You and I will then agree on a new due date for your course work in accordance with the Office of the Registrar's regulations. This must be done before the last class.

Grading Methods

Class Participation: Since this course only meets once a week, attendance is mandatory for each class. A student's participation grade will suffer if the student has more than two unacceptable absences recorded.

Throughout the semester we will conduct a series of game exercises. Your final class participation grade will be based in part on your performance during these studies.

Weekly Discussion Points: As a way of helping you focus on the issues covered in the reading or lectures, every week, beginning with the second class, you will hand in one page on an idea or question raised in the reading. I will comment on them to suggest other ideas or ways to improve your writing. At the end of the semester, the fact that you completed these discussion points—and their quality—will be used to determine your discussion points grade. It is kindly requested that you have these type written. If you are not able to type them out, you will be required to either show the points before class, or forfeit credit for that week.

Midterm Quiz and Final Exam: October 23 and the designated exam date for this course, respectively.

The mid-term quiz will be given during the first half of class on March 13 and will cover all material through week seven. The final exam is composed of material from the first to final week of class.

Both the mid-term quiz and final exam will be multiple choice tests. The questions will ask you to identify specific events and sequences of events and their general themes.

Students wishing to write a research paper in lieu of the final exam may do so with the consent of the instructor. Students should bring in a print copy of their proposal and working bibliography, or e-mail it, to the instructor by the deadline March 20. Students who have not submitted a proposal by this date will be required to sit for the final examination.

The optional research paper may be an expansion of your written assignment or of a weekly assignment. Students are expected to do a fair amount of their own independent research, and produce a work of 3,000-5,000 words (12-15 pages).

Written Assignment: November 20

The six to ten-page written assignment gives you a chance to demonstrate your conceptual thinking and writing abilities about the course's general themes. Further instructions will be provided in the second week of class. You may write about any topic covered in the course after consulting with the instructor.

Reading List

Both required books will be available for purchase at Barnes and Noble in Bradley Hall. The rest of the material will be available on the course blackboard site under that week's module.

Required

G. R. Berridge, *Diplomacy: Theory and Practice* 3rd Edition (herein, *DIPLOMACY*) Mark Lowenthal: *Intelligence: From Secrets to Policy* (herein, *INTELLIGENCE*)

Blackboard

Good use of Blackboard is key to the course This is where you will find the readings which are not in the required texts are on the Blackboard site. If you are not familiar with how to use blackboard to access the course material, please let the instructor know.

Relax and Learn

The following books are for your own enjoyment. If you wish, you may choose to review one of these for your written assignment. Feel free to also suggest another book to review.

David Ignatius: *Siro* (Soviet Union)
David Ignatius: *Agents of Innocence* (Middle East)
Alan Furst: *The Once and Future Spy* (Tradecraft)
Ronald E. Estes: *The Mission: CIA in the Balkans* (Tradecraft)

Lectures and Exams

September 4: Introduction to the course
September 11: The Grammar, Strategy and Logic of Diplomacy
September 18: The Grammar, Strategy and Logic of Intelligence
September 25: Diplomacy and Intelligence: Antiquity to 1648
October 2: Diplomacy and Intelligence: 1648 to 2001
October 9: Inside the Embassy: Ambassador, Diplomat, Station Chief, Spy
October 16: Espionage and International Relations
October 23: *Mid Term Quiz* (First 30 minutes of Class) Film [TBA]
October 30: Subversion, Special Operations and Covert Action (*T.P.Q.N. for students to announce paper topic*)
November 6: Clandestine Diplomacy: Alliances of Enemies
November 13: National Technical Means: Targeting Sanctions, Monitoring Treaties
November 20: Open Source and Privatized Intelligence
November 27: Thanksgiving: No Class
December 4: Diplomacy and Intelligence in the 21st Century

Part A: Theory and History of Diplomacy and Intelligence

Week One: - Introduction to the course

INTELLIGENCE Preface
DIPLOMACY Introduction

Week Two: - The Grammar, Strategy and Logic of Diplomacy

DIPLOMACY Chapters: 1, and all of Part I

Week Three: - The Grammar, Strategy and Logic of Intelligence

INTELLIGENCE Chapters, 3, 4, and pages 109-138; 177-180

Blackboard

Sherman Kent: excerpts from "Intelligence is Knowledge," "Intelligence is Organization," "Intelligence is Activity" in *Strategic Intelligence for American World Policy* (Princeton University Press: Princeton, N.J.1966) [Plus 2 CHARTS]

John Laffin, "The Language of Spying" in *Brassey's Book of Espionage* (Brassey's New York, 1996)

Week Four: - Diplomacy and Intelligence: Antiquity to 1648

Blackboard

André Gerolymatos, *Espionage and Treason: A Study of the Proxenia in Political and Military Intelligence Gathering in Classical Greece* (J.C. Gieben Publisher, Amsterdam: 1986).

Francis Dvornik, "Byzantine Intelligence Service" in *Origins of Intelligence Services: The Ancient Near East, Persia, Greece, Rome, Byzantium, The Arab Muslim Empires, The Mongol Empire, China, Muscovy*. (Rutgers University Press: New Brunswick, New Jersey 1974).

Rose Mary Sheldon, "Diplomat, trader, messenger, client, spy: Rome's eyes and ears in the East" in *Intelligence Activities in Ancient Rome: Trust in Gods, but Verify*. (Frank Cass: New York, 2005) 68-85.

Week Five: - Diplomacy and Intelligence: 1648 to 2001

INTELLIGENCE Chapter 2

Blackboard

Keith Hamilton and Richard Langhorne, "The Emergence of the Old Diplomacy" in *The Practice of Diplomacy: Its Evolution, Theory and Administration* (Routledge: New York, 2004) 54-85.

Maureen O'Connor Witter, "Sanctioned Spying: The Development of the Military Attaché in the Nineteenth Century" in *Intelligence and Statecraft: The Uses and Limits of Intelligence in International Society*. (Eds) Peter Jackson and Jennifer Siegel. (Praeger: Westport, Connecticut, 2005) 86-107.

David Kahn, "The Rise of Intelligence." *Foreign Affairs* (85 no. 5 2006) 125-34.

Recommended

Peter Jackson, "Historical Reflections on the Uses and Limits of Intelligence" in *Intelligence and Statecraft: The Uses and Limits of Intelligence in International Society*. (Eds) Peter Jackson and Jennifer Siegel. (Praeger: Westport, Connecticut, 2005) 11-51.

Part B: The Practice of Modern Diplomacy and Intelligence

Week Six: - Inside the Embassy: Ambassador, Diplomat, Station Chief, Spy

DIPLOMACY Chapters 7, 8
INTELLIGENCE Chapter 5

Blackboard

John Brady Kiesling, "Diplomatic Character and the Art of Curiosity" and "The Diplomatic Cost of Clandestine Intelligence" in *Diplomacy Lessons: Realism for an Unloved Superpower*. (Potomac Books Inc., Washington DC, 2006)

Valerie Plame Wilson, "[word blacked out] Tour" and "Afterword " in *Fair Game* (Simon and Schuster: New York 2007).

Week Seven: - Espionage and International Relations

Intelligence Chapter 11

Blackboard

Christopher Andrew, "Codebreakers and Foreign Offices: The French British and American Experience" in *The Missing Dimension Governments and Intelligence Communities in the Twentieth Century* (eds.) Christopher Andrew and David Dilks (University of Illinois Press, Chicago,) 32-52.

Francis Agnor, "The Interpreter as an Agent" in *Studies in Intelligence* (Central Intelligence Agency, Vol. 5 No. 1). [Unclassified Edition].

Gary Kern "How 'Uncle Joe' Bugged FDR" in *Studies in Intelligence* (Central Intelligence Agency, Vol 47. No. 1 2003) [Unclassified Edition].

Week Eight: - *Mid-Term Quiz* (First Half of Class) Film [TBA]

NO READINGS

TPQN for students to announce paper topic

Week Nine: - Subversion, Special Operations and Covert Action

INTELLIGENCE Chapter 8 and pages 260-265

Blackboard

Paul W. Blackstone, "Covert Operations and Policy Sabotage" in *The Strategy of Subversion: Manipulating the Politics of Other Nations* (Quadrangle Books, Chicago 1964) 181-217.

Week Ten: - Clandestine Diplomacy: Alliances of Enemies

Blackboard

Len Scott, "Secret Intelligence, Covert Action and Clandestine Diplomacy," in *Understanding Intelligence in the Twenty-First Century: Journey in Shadows*. Eds. L.V. Scott and P.D. Jackson (Routledge: New York, 2004), 162-179.

Dalia Dassa Kaye, "Rethinking Track Two Diplomacy" and "Regional Security Dialogues in the Middle East" in *Talking to the Enemy: Track Two Diplomacy in the Middle East and South Asia* (Rand: Santa Monica, CA, 2007).

Week Eleven: – National Technical Means: Targeting Sanctions, Monitoring Treaties

Diplomacy Chapter 6

Blackboard

"Appendices A-E" in Thomas Graham J. and Keith A. Hansen, *Spy Satellites and Other Intelligence*

"National Technical Means" and "'National Technical Means' Goes Multilateral" in *Spy Satellites and Other Intelligence Technologies that Changed History*

John R. Bolton, "The Flaws in the Iran Report." *Washington Post*, Thursday, December 6, 2007; A29

Week Twelve: - The United Nations and Intelligence

DIPLOMACY Chapter 9 and pages 194-207.

Blackboard

United Nations, *Charter of the United Nations*

Chapters

I: Purposes and Principles,

V: The Security Council

VI: Pacific Settlement of Disputes,

VII: Action With Respect to Threats to the Peace, Breaches of the Peace and Acts of Aggression,

VIII: Regional Arrangements

Bassey Ekpe, "The Intelligence Assets of the United

Nations: Sources, Methods, and Implications in *International Journal of Intelligence*

and *CounterIntelligence*, 20:3 (2007), 377 - 400

A. Walter Dorn, "The Cloak and the Blue Beret: Limitations

on Intelligence in UN Peacekeeping" in *International Journal of Intelligence and CounterIntelligence*, 12:4 (1999), 414 - 447

Week Thirteen: - Thanksgiving, No Class

Part C: Diplomacy and Intelligence in the Digital Age

Week Fourteen: - Open Source and Privatized Intelligence

Tim Shorrock, "The Intelligence-Industrial Complex" and "Pure Plays" in *Spies for Hire: The Secret World of Intelligence Outsourcing*

Quincy Wright, "Project for a World Intelligence Center" in *Conflict Resolution* (Vol. 1.1, 1957, 319-325).

Gregory R. Copley , "On 35 Years in the Strategic Trenches" in *Defense & Foreign Affairs' Strategic Policy* (April 2007 - May 2007).

The Global Information System. The International Strategic Studies Association: Defense & Foreign Affairs Group

Strategic Forecasting, Inc.

Dana Hedgpeth, "Blackwater's Owner Has Spies For Hire: Ex-U.S. Operatives Dot Firm's Roster." *Washington Post* (3 November 2007, A1).

Week Fifteen: - Diplomacy and Intelligence in the 21st Century

INTELLIGENCE Chapter 12

DIPLOMACY Conclusion

Blackboard

Eric Bonabeau, Christopher Meyer "Swarm Intelligence"
in *Harvard Business Review*, (May 2001, 107-114).

Jamie F. Metzl, "Network Diplomacy" in *Georgetown Journal of International Affairs*,
(Winter/Spring 2001).

Ellen B. Laipson, "Can the USG and NGOs Do More?
Information-Sharing in Conflict Zones" in *Studies in Intelligence* (CIA Vol. 49, No. 4,
2005)