JHP 1631S:
Intelligence and International Relations

Spring 2012

Professor Wesley K. Wark

Seminar Meets:        TUESDAY, 12-2, LA 213
Prof Wark’s Office:   Munk 311N
Office Hours:         TUESDAY 2:30 to 3:30  or by appointment
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Instructor’s Bio:

Wesley Wark is a professor in the History department at the University of Toronto, and a faculty member of the Munk School of Global Affairs. He is Past-President of the Canadian Association for Security and Intelligence Studies (1998-2000 and 2004-2006).

His most recent book is Secret Intelligence: A Reader (London: Routledge, 2009). He is currently writing a history of modern intelligence.

Professor Wark is a frequent media commentator on national security and intelligence issues. He served for two terms on the Prime Minister’s Advisory Council on National Security (2005-2009) and served from 2006 until 2010 on the Canada Border Services Agency Advisory Committee.

Course Outline

This course is designed to explore the phenomenon of intelligence power in the modern era. We will examine, through selected case studies, the evolution of intelligence and its impact on the conduct of international relations from the dawn of the Cold War to the present. These case studies will focus heavily on the performance of US intelligence, as the leading intelligence power in the post WW2 era. The US focus will also allow the seminar to take advantage of major documentary sources available on the internet.
Attention will be paid to analysis of the fundamental problems of translating information into knowledge for decision-making in the international arena, with special emphasis on the literature on intelligence analysis and the root causes of analytical failure. Research using primary source material will be an important component of the seminar.

**COURSE REQUIREMENTS:**

**Participation:** Students in the seminar will be expected to attend all sessions and to do all the readings listed. If you cannot attend a particular class owing to ill health or other emergency, please inform Professor Wark in advance. Seminar participation is worth 20% of the overall grade. This mark is based on the quality of student contributions to the seminar.

**Seminar Presentation:** Each student will deliver ONE seminar presentation, designed to introduce the topic and readings for a particular week’s discussion. The presentation should briefly summarise the material and critically highlight and analyse key issues for debate by the seminar. A five page written paper, from which your oral presentation will be drawn, must be submitted on the day of your presentation. The seminar presentation is worth 20% of the overall mark. Due date TBA.

**Essay topic and preliminary bibliography:** For this exercise students will identify the topic they have chosen for their major essay, explain their choice and discuss the significance of the topic in brief paper of one to two pages. A preliminary bibliography must be attached, listing at least SIX sources, which may include articles, essays and books. At least ONE significant primary source document must be included in the assignment. The essay topic and bibliography assignment is worth 10% of the overall mark. Due Tuesday February 7 in class.

**Major Essay:** A substantial essay on a topic of the student’s choice, usually drawn from, or related to, one of the subjects covered in our weekly seminars. The essay should be c. 20 pages in length and show in-depth knowledge of the subject. It is expected that primary sources will be used to the greatest extent possible. The major essay is worth 50% of the overall grade. Due Tuesday, March 20, in class.

**PLEASE NOTE THAT LATE WORK IS NOT ACCEPTED.**

**COURSE TEXTS:** (Available for purchase from the University of Toronto Bookstore)


SEMINAR SCHEDULE

Wk. 1, Tuesday, Jan. 10: Course Intro

Wk. 2: Tuesday, Jan. 17: Class cancelled

Wk. 3, Tuesday, Jan. 24: Intelligence Principles

Required Reading:

Gill and Pythian, Intelligence in an Insecure World, Chapters 1 – 6 (pp. 1-124)

Secret Intelligence: A Reader. “Introduction: What is Intelligence,” pp. 1-18 (Essays by Warner and Davies);

Robert Jervis, Why Intelligence Fails (Cornell University Press, 2010), ch. 4, pp. 156-196


Suggested Reading:


Len Scott and Peter Jackson, “The Study of Intelligence in Theory and Practice,” Intelligence and National Security, 19, summer 2004, no. 2, pp. 139-69

Michael Herman, Intelligence Power in Peace and War, (Cambridge University Press, 1996), Chapters 1-3


**Wk. 4, Tuesday, Jan 31:** Intelligence assessments and the Soviet Threat at the Dawn of the Cold War

**Required Reading:**

Gerald K. Haines and Robert E. Leggett, eds. Watching the Bear: Essays on CIA’s Analysis of the Soviet Union, chapters 1 and 5 (Steuery and Garthoff), available online at:


Woodrow J. Kuhns, ed. Assessing the Soviet Threat: The Early Years of the Cold War, Preface + Docs # 4,12,69, 97, 132, 140, 145, 150, 165, 177 [available online at


“X” (Keenan, G.F.), “Sources of Soviet Conduct,” Foreign Affairs, vol. 25, July, 1947. This article is based on Keenan’s famous “long telegram” of February 22, 1946. The actual declassified text of the long telegram makes fascinating reading and may be found on the site of the Cold War History Project at:


NSC 68, April 7, 1950, is a penetrating analysis of the emerging Cold War situation which has now been declassified. It is available at:


**Suggested Reading:**


Christopher Andrew, For the President’s Eyes Only, chapters on Truman and Eisenhower (5 and 6)

Lawrence Freedman, US Intelligence and the Soviet Strategic Threat, 2nd edition, chapters 1-4 and 11.

John Lewis Gaddis, *We Now Know: Rethinking Cold War History* (Oxford University Press, 1997), chapters 4 and 8.

David Holloway, *Stalin and the Bomb* (Yale University Press, 1994), chapters 6-14

**Wk. 5, Tuesday, Feb. 7:** Cold War Covert Operations: From Iran to the Bay of Pigs

**Essay topic and preliminary bibliography exercise due**

*Required Reading:*


*Suggested Reading:*


Trumbull Higgins, A Perfect Failure: Kennedy, Eisenhower and the CIA at the Bay of Pigs (NY: Norton, 1987)


John Prados, Presidents’ Secret Wars: CIA and Pentagon Covert Operations since World War Two (NY: William Morrow, 1996)


Peter Wyden, Bay of Pigs: The Untold Story (NY: Simon and Schuster, 1979)

Wk. 6, Tuesday, Feb. 14: The Cuban Missile Crisis

Required Reading:

James G Blight. and David Welch, eds. Intelligence and the Cuban Missile Crisis (London: Frank Cass, 1998); also published as a special issue of the journal Intelligence and National Security, 13, no. 3 (Autumn 1998)

David Welch, "Intelligence Assessment in the Cuban Missile Crisis," Queen's Quarterly, 100, no. 2 (Summer 1993). 421-37


Suggested Reading:


Graham Allison and Philip Zelikow, Essence of Decision (2nd edition)


**Wk. 7, Tuesday, Feb. 21:** READING WEEK

**Wk. 8, Tuesday, Feb. 28:** Vietnam Judgments

**Required Reading:**


James J. Wirtz, “Intelligence to Please? The Order of Battle Controversy during the Vietnam War,” Political Science Quarterly, 106, no. 2 (Summer 1991), 239-63

George W. Allen, None So Blind: A Personal Account of Intelligence Failure in Vietnam (Chicago: Ivan Dee, 2001)


**Suggested Reading:**


C. Michael Hiam, Who the Hell are We Fighting: The Story of Sam Adams and the Vietnam Intelligence Wars (Steerforth Press, 2006)


Wk 9, Tuesday, Mar. 6: Intelligence and the Fall of the Shah of Iran

Required reading:

Robert Jervis, Why Intelligence Fails (Ithaca, N.Y.: Cornell University Press, 2010), ch. 2 “Failing to See that the Shah was in Danger” (pp. 15-108)


Suggested Reading:

Gary Sick, All Fall Down: America’s Tragic Encounter with Iran (NY, 1985)

Charles Kurzman, The Unthinkable Revolution in Iran (Harvard University Press, 2004)

Bob Woodward, Veil: The Secret Wars of the CIA (NY, 1987)


Ofira Seliktar, Failing the Crystal Ball Test: The Carter Administration and the Fundamentalist Revolution in Iran (Praeger, 2000)

Wk 10, Tuesday, Mar. 13: The Great Game and Afghanistan

Required Reading:


Douglas MacEachin, Predicting the Soviet Invasion of Afghanistan: the Intelligence Community’s Record, (CIA: Center for the Study of Intelligence, 2002) available online at:
Charles G. Cogan, “Partners in Time: The CIA and Afghanistan since 1979,” World Policy Journal, 10, no. 2 (Summer 1993), 73-82.


See also in the same issue of the Bulletin of the Cold War International History Project, immediately following, “Documents from the Russian and East German Archives,”

Suggested Reading:


(for fun—the film version of “Charlie Wilson’s War”)

Cold War International History Project, Virtual Archive, “The Soviet Invasion of Afghanistan.”

**Wk 11, Tuesday, Mar. 20:** The Fall of the Soviet Union: Who Knew?

**Required Reading:**


Available on-line at:

Goodman, Melvin, “Ending the CIA’s Cold War Legacy,” Foreign Policy, 106 (Spring 1997)


Suggested Reading:

Andrew, Christopher. For the President’s Eyes Only: Secret Intelligence and the Presidency from Washington to Bush (NY: Harper Collins, 1995), chapters 13 and 14 (Reagan and Bush)

Gates, Robert. In From the Shadows: The Ultimate Insider’s Story of Five Presidents and How They Won the Cold War (NY: Simon and Schuster, 1996)


Seliktar, Ofira. Politics, Paradigms and Intelligence Failures (NY: M.E. Sharpe, 2004)

Wk 12, Tuesday, Mar. 27: Intelligence and 9/11

** Major Essay Due **

Required Reading:

9/11 Commission Report (Final report of the National Commission on Terrorist Attacks Upon the United States), July 2004, available online at www.9-11commission.gov/ Ch. 11 for an overall analysis, and chs. 12-13 for reform suggestions.

(Review) Gill and Pythian, Intelligence for an Insecure World, ch. 6


Suggested Reading:


Seymour Hersh, Chain of Command: The Road from 9/11 to Abu Ghraib (NY: Harper Collins, 2004), part II, “Intelligence Failure,” pp. 73-120

Wk 13, Tuesday, Apr. 3: Intelligence and the Origins of the Second Iraq War

Required Reading:


also at: www.fas.org/irp/cia/product/iraq-wmd.html

Secret Intelligence: A Reader, essays by Robert Jervis, “Reports, Politics and Intelligence Failures,” and Richard J. Aldrich, “Intelligence and Iraq: the UK’s Four Enquiries,” pp. 193-244

Gill and Pythian, Intelligence in an Insecure World, ch. 7

Lawrence Freedman, “War in Iraq: Selling the Threat,” Survival, 46, no. 2 (Summer 2004), 7-50

Paul Pillar, “Intelligence, Policy and the War in Iraq,” Foreign Affairs, Mar/April 2006


Suggested reading:


George Packer, The Assassins Gate: America in Iraq (NY: Farrar, Strauss and Giroux, 2005), chs. 1-4
College Transfer Course Requirements: English Composition (your school’s full course sequence). Foreign Languages - Demonstrated proficiency equal to the intermediate level of college instruction (usually the 202 level). Natural Sciences and Mathematics (12 credits) - Courses in at least two of the disciplines: astronomy, biology, chemistry, environmental sciences, physics, and mathematics. Does your course require you to register for and sit an admissions test? Find out now. Submitting written work. The images may therefore not be representative of the current requirements and practices on campus in relation to social distancing, face covering and restricted gatherings. Core requirements. You must have satisfied four core requirements (one from each of three areas, plus one additional requirement from any of the three areas). This requirement is usually satisfied by taking courses and getting a B or better in them. Credits. You must take a total of 30 credits with the following restrictions Students who wish to enroll in graduate courses NOT required as part of the degree requirement (i.e. teaching courses, business courses, english courses), must contact the IMS office about course registration. These courses will NOT count towards your degree requirements. Undergraduate courses will also NOT count towards your degree requirements. Minimum IMS Course Requirements. M.Sc. ProgramPh.D. Program. If you entered the program BEFORE September 2020