

# PO382-30 Vigilant State: Understanding Secret Intelligence

**23/24**

**Department**

Politics & International Studies

**Level**

Undergraduate Level 3

**Module leader**

Richard Aldrich

**Credit value**

30

**Module duration**

20 weeks

**Assessment**

100% coursework

**Study location**

University of Warwick main campus, Coventry

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## Description

### Introductory description

In short, this module aims to introduce to the various debates that have characterised the use of secret service by the state in the international and domestic context. Although the terms 'espionage', 'intelligence' and 'secret service' are all central to the concerns of this module they have been deliberately avoided in the above module description given in the handbook. This is because this module aims to situate all these things in a broader governmental context, viewing them as aspects of international statecraft or as constitutional problems or as issues of civil rights. Accordingly, this module is as much about how policy-makers make use, or fail to make use, of intelligence, and how secret services might be regulated within a constitutional framework, as about the practice of secret service itself.

### Module aims

The module aims to:

- develop an understanding of the origins and developments of intelligence services
- explore the main theoretical approaches to intelligence and surveillance
- offer an understanding of the issues surrounding intelligence failure

analyse key ethical and policy dilemmas and issues raised by CT intelligence  
assess the contemporary debates about globalization and the future of intelligence

## **Outline syllabus**

This is an indicative module outline only to give an indication of the sort of topics that may be covered. Actual sessions held may differ.

This module aims to investigate the nature of the 'vigilant state'. It focuses upon the apparatus developed by modern states to permit the surveillance of both international and domestic threats to their security - although the boundaries of the state are now fuzzy at best. It will examine the major competing theories concerning the repeated failure of the vigilant state in the face of surprise attack at the international level, subjecting these to careful comparative analysis and reviewing the competing theoretical explanations. Consideration will be given to the role of domestic political monitoring within both democratic and authoritarian states. Attention will also be given to the problem of reconciling clandestine and/or covert methods, traditionally associated with operational efficiency, with the degree of transparency and accountability normally expected of the executive of a democratic state. The final section of the module will turn to look at the future development of some of these issues against a background of rapid technical change and globalisation including cybersecurity and online covert action .

In short, this module aims to introduce to the advanced debates that have characterised the use of secret service by the state in the international and domestic context. Although the terms 'espionage', 'intelligence' and 'secret service' are all central to the concerns of this module they have been deliberately avoided because this module aims to situate all these things in a broader governmental context, viewing them as aspects of international statecraft or as constitutional problems or as issues of civil rights. Accordingly, this module is as much about how policy-makers make use, or fail to make use, of intelligence, and how secret services might be regulated within a constitutional framework, as about the practice of secret service itself.

The module seeks to:

develop an advanced understanding of the origins and developments of intelligence services  
explore the latest theoretical approaches to intelligence and surveillance  
offer a sophisticated understanding of the issues surrounding intelligence failure  
analyse key ethical and policy dilemmas and issues raised by CT intelligence  
assess the contemporary debates about globalization and the future of intelligence  
examine the importance of cyberespionage and the rise of 'hybrid war'  
consider the importance of conspiracy theory

## **Learning outcomes**

By the end of the module, students should be able to:

- demonstrate an advanced appreciation of the historical context of intelligence
- critically discuss the characteristics of the accountability frameworks in a sophisticated way
- assess the strengths and weaknesses of advanced theoretical debates governing the intelligence cycle
- critically analyse, in writing, the current issues facing national and regional approaches to

intelligence

## Indicative reading list

### Books - Core Reading

- C.M. Andrew, R. Aldrich & W.Wark (eds), *Secret Intelligence* Chs.1&2 UB 250.S6  
This reader is designed to support this module
- B. Berkowitz and A. Goodman, *Strategic Intelligence for American National Security* UB.250.B3
- P. Gill, S. Marrin & M. Pythian, *Intelligence Theory: Key Questions and Debates* Chs 2, 3, 4, 5. UB 250.
- Stephen Grey, *New Spymasters - Inside Intelligence*
- M. Herman, *Intelligence Power*, chs 1-3, 7, 21, UB 250.H3
- Mark Huband, *Trading secrets : spies and intelligence in an age of terror* JF1525.I6 H83 and
- L.K. Johnson & J. J. Wirtz, *Intelligence and National Security: The Secret World of Spies* UB 250.I6
- L. Krizan, *Intelligence Essentials for Everyone* [a good short primer] UB 271.U6
- Mark Lowenthal, *Intelligence: From Secrets to Policy* chapter 1. UB 271.U6
- M. Warner, *The Rise and fall of Intelligence* JF1525.I6 W397

### Books - Supplementary Reading

- J.R. Ferris, *Intelligence and Strategy* UB 250.F47

. Roger Z. George, *Intelligence in the national security enterprise: an introduction*: Washington, Georgetown University Press, 2020

- Peter Gill and Mark Pythian, *Intelligence in and Insecure World*, chapters 1 & 2. UB 270.G535
- R. Godson, *Intelligence Requirements*, vols 1-4, UB 250.I6
- Michael Herman, *Intelligence Services in the Information Age* UB 250.H47 chapter 1.
- Claudia Hillebrand, R. Gerald Hughes, 'The Quest for a Theory of Intelligence', R. Dover. H. Dylan H., M. Goodman (eds.) *The Palgrave Handbook of Security, Risk and Intelligence*, pp.1-24.
- L. Johnson, *Strategic Intelligence, Volume I. Understanding the Hidden Side of Government esp.* chapters 1-3 UB 250.S6385 REF ONLY
- J. Keegan, *Intelligence in War*, pp. 7-26, 321-52 UB 250.K4
- S. Kent, *Strategic Intelligence for American World Policy* chapter 1 UB 250.K3
- W. Laqueur, *World of Secrets: The Uses and Limits of Intelligence* pp.4-70 UB 271.U6
- R.P. Pfaltzgraff et al (eds.), *Intelligence Policy and National Security* ch. 3. UB 250.I6
- B. Porter, *Plots and Paranoia* (good on domestic security and high policing)
- Abram N. Shulsky and Gary J. Schmitt, *Silent Warfare*: chapter 1. UB 250.S4
- G. F. Treverton, Seth G. Jones, Steven Boraz, Phillip Lipsky, *Toward a Theory of Intelligence* Workshop Report, RAND (PDF Document)
- B. Westerfield, *Inside the CIA's Private World* UB 271.U6

. Amy Zegart, *Spies, Lies, and Algorithms*.

## Articles - Core Reading

- R.J. Aldrich, 'Intelligence' in P.D Williams (ed.) Security studies: an introduction 4th edition is posted above (2022)
- Christopher Andrew, 'Intelligence, International Relations and "Under-theorisation"' in L.V. Scott & P.D. Jackson, (eds.), Understanding Intelligence in the Twenty-First Century: Journeys in Shadows, pp.29-41. [this book is also Intelligence and National Security, 20, 1 (2004)] UB 250.U53 (PDF Document)
- Thomas Bruneau and Kenneth Dombroski, "Reforming Intelligence: The Challenge of Control in New Democracies," in Thomas Bruneau and Scott Tollefson, (eds.) Who Guards the Guardians and How: Democratic Civil-Military Relations
- P. Davies, 'Ideas of Intelligence: Divergent Concepts and National Institutions', Harvard International Review 24, 3 (2002): 62-66 (Word Document)
- Jules Gaspard, 'Intelligence without Essence: Rejecting the Classical Theory of Definition', International Journal of Intelligence and CI 30/3 (2017): 557-582.
- John A. Gentry, 'Toward a Theory of Non-State Actors' Intelligence', Intelligence and National Security 31, 4 (2016): 465-489.
- P. Gill, 'Theories of Intelligence', in Loch Johnson (ed.) The Oxford Handbook of National Security Intelligence.
- L.K. Johnson, 'Preface to a Theory of Strategic Intelligence', International Journal of Intelligence and Counterintelligence 16, 4 (Winter 2003-2004): 638-663.
- D. Kahn, 'An Historical Theory of Intelligence', INS 16, 3 (2001): 79-92. Good on the issue of intelligence and international stability.
- D. Omand, 'Reflections on Secret Intelligence' in Peter Hennessy (ed.), The New Protective State pp.97-122. Also at - <http://www.cscs.ucl.ac.uk/club/e-library/secret-int/>
- K.G. Robertson, 'Intelligence, Terrorism and Civil Liberties,' Conflict Quarterly 7/2 (1987): 43-50 (PDF Document)
- Jennifer Sims, 'The Theory and Philosophy of Intelligence, The Theory and Philosophy of Intelligence', in R. Dover, M. Goodman and C. Hillebrand, Routledge Companion to Intelligence Studies, Ch.4.
- L. Scott and P.D Jackson, 'Journeys in Shadows', Ch 1. in LV Scott and PD Jackson (eds.) Understanding Intelligence in the 21st Century [this book is also Intelligence and National Security, Vol. 20, No. 1 (Summer 2004)] UB 250.U53
- M. Warner, 'Wanted: A Definition of "Intelligence"', Studies in Intelligence 46, 3 (2002): 15-22 (PDF Document)
- Michael Warner, 'Fragile and Provocative: Notes on Secrecy and Intelligence', Intelligence and National Security 27/2 (2012): 223-240.
- Michael Warner, 'Theories of Intelligence: The State of Play', in R. Dover, M. Goodman and C. Hillebrand, Routledge Companion to Intelligence Studies, Ch.2.

## Articles - Supplementary Reading

- Jared Beim, 'Enforcing a Prohibition on International Espionage,' Chicago Journal of International Law 18 (2017): 647-72.
- James De Derian, 'Anti-Diplomacy, Intelligence Theory and International Relations', INS 8, 3 (July 1993): 29-51.
- S. Farson, 'Schools of thought: National perceptions of intelligence', Conflict Quarterly 9/2 (1989) pp.52-104. Good on the issue of different national cultures of intelligence.

- J. Ferris, 'The Historiography of American Intelligence Studies', *Diplomatic History* 19, 1 (Winter 1995).
- M.R.D. Foot, 'What Use Are Secret Services?' in *In the Name of Intelligence: Essays in Honor of Walter Pforzheimer*, (eds.) Hayden B. Peake and Samuel Halpern, 277-282
- Peter Gill, 'The way ahead in explaining intelligence organization and process,' *Intelligence and National Security* 33/4 (2018): 574-586.
- M. Handel, 'The Politics of Intelligence', *Intelligence and National Security* 2/4 (October 1987): 5-46.
- L.K. Johnson, 'Bricks and Mortar for a Theory of Intelligence', *Comparative Strategy* 22 /1 (2003)
- Loch K. Johnson, 'Preface to a Theory of Strategic Intelligence,' *International Journal of Intelligence and Counterintelligence* 16/4 (2003): 638-663.
- Darienn Pun, 'Rethinking Espionage in the Modern Era,' *Chicago Journal International Law* 18 (2017): 353-93.
- D. Van Puyvelde, 'Privatisation' in R. Dover, H. Dylan, M.S. Goodman, (eds.) *The Palgrave Handbook of Security, Risk and Intelligence* pp. 297-31.
- A. Rathmell, 'Towards Postmodern Intelligence', *INS* 17, 3 (2002) pp.87–104.
- J. Sims, 'What Is Intelligence? Information for Decision Makers' in Roy S. Godson et al., eds., *U.S. Intelligence at the Crossroads: Agendas for Reform*,
- T.F. Troy, 'The 'Correct' Definition of Intelligence' *International Journal of Intelligence and Counterintelligence* 5, 4 (Winter 1991-1992): 433-454.
- See also: *Intelligence and National Security*, 26/6 (2011) Special Issue: Intelligence in the Cold War: What Difference Did It Make?

Specifically for the questions on culture, US dominance, alternative national approaches and ethnocentrism

#### Books

- P.H.J. Davies (eds.), K.C. Gustafson, *Intelligence Elsewhere: Spies and Espionage Outside the Anglosphere* JF1525.I6 D39 and
- Philip Davies, *Intelligence and Government in Britain and the United States A Comparative Perspective* 2 vols JK468.I6 D39
- S. Farson, P. Gill, M. Phythian & S. Shpiro (eds.), *PSI Handbook of Global Security and Intelligence: National Approaches: Volume 1 - The Americas and Asia, & Volume 2 - Europe, the Middle East and South Africa* (Westport, CT: Praeger Security International, 2008).
- Michael Schoenhals, *Spying for the People: Mao's Secret Agents, 1949-1967*
- A.Soldatov and I. Borogan, *The New Nobility: The Restoration of Russia's Security State and the Enduring Legacy of the KGB* JN6529.I6 S67
- Xuezi Guo, *China's Security State* JQ1509.5.I6 G86

#### Articles

- *Intelligence and National Security*, 26/4 (2012) Special Issue: Intelligence and Strategic Culture: Essays on American and British Praxis since the Second World War
- R.J. Aldrich & J. Kasuku, 'Escaping From American Intelligence: Culture, Ethnocentrism and the Anglosphere', *International Affairs*, 89/5 (2012).
- J. Anderson, "The Chekist Takeover of the Russian State", *International Journal of*

Intelligence and Counter-Intelligence, 19/2 (2006): 237 - 288.

- Adda Bozeman, 'Political Intelligence in Non-Western Societies: Suggestions for Comparative Research' in Roy Godson (ed.) Comparing Foreign Intelligence: The U.S., the USSR, the U.K. & the Third World (Washington: Pergamon-Brassey's International Defence Publishers, 1988).
- R. Callum, 'The Case for Cultural Diversity in the Intelligence Community', International Journal of Intelligence and Counter-Intelligence, 14/1 (2001).
- I. Duvesteyn, Intelligence and Strategic Culture: Some Observations, INS 26/4 (2011): 321-30. And also see the other essay in this special issue.
- Loch Johnson (ed.) Oxford Handbook of National Security Intelligence UB 250.O9
- Part X - Intelligence in Other Lands ; Especially chapters 46, 47, 48 and 49.
- S.H. Campbell, 'A Survey of the U.S. Market for Intelligence Education', International Journal of Intelligence and Counter-Intelligence, 24/2 (2011), pp.307 — 337.
- Colin S. Gray, "National Style in Strategy: The American Example," International Security, 6/2 (Fall 1981), pp.21-22.
- Alastair Iain Johnston, 'Thinking about Strategic Culture,' International Security, 19 (Spring 1995), pp.36–43;
- Colin S. Gray, 'Strategic culture as context: the first generation of theory strikes back', Review of International Studies (1999), pp.49–69;
- Alastair Iain Johnston, 'Strategic Cultures Revisited: Reply to Colin Gray; Review of International Studies, 25/3 (Jul., 1999), pp.519-523.
- Robert L. Paarlberg, "Knowledge as Power: Science, Military Dominance, and U.S. Security", International Security, 29/1, (Summer 2004), pp.122-151.
- Zakia Shiraz, 'Secrecy, Spies and the Global South: Intelligence Studies Beyond the Anglosphere' , International Affairs, 95/6 (2020) 1113-29

[View reading list on Talis Aspire](#)

## **Subject specific skills**

In addition to the acquisition of subject knowledge, students:

Will be able to debate and develop ideas about security and public policy.

Will be able to communicate scientific concepts to a non-specialist audience.

Will have the skills to plan and carry out an extended essay at an advanced level.

Will have demonstrated critical understanding of relevant theories and practices.

## **Transferable skills**

Having studied this module, students:

Will be able to manage their time effectively.

Will be able to communicate effectively.

Will be able to organise, prioritise and negotiate effectively.

Will have demonstrated the ability to advance and extend their knowledge through significant independent learning and research.

Will develop their skills in the area of oral argument and policy debate.

Will have demonstrated the ability to produce a clear and detailed written literature report with appropriate presentation.

Will have demonstrated the ability to engage in reflective practice and produce a clear and detailed piece of reflective writing with appropriate presentation, reflecting on their work.  
Will have demonstrated the ability to develop and deliver a clear and engaging oral presentation on their work.

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## Study

### Study time

Type	Required
Lectures	18 sessions of 1 hour (6%)
Seminars	18 sessions of 1 hour (6%)
Private study	224 hours (75%)
Assessment	40 hours (13%)
Total	300 hours

### Private study description

TBC

### Costs

No further costs have been identified for this module.

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## Assessment

You do not need to pass all assessment components to pass the module.

Students can register for this module without taking any assessment.

### Assessment group A2

	Weighting	Study time
Written Assignment 1500 word literature review	25%	10 hours
Essay	75%	30 hours

This extensive 4500 word essay will allow students to combine theoretical, empirical and policy studies perspectives on complex subjects such as the the role of intelligence failure 9/11 attacks. The previous essay length (3000) has proved rather too constrained and has not allowed students to realise their full potential.

## Feedback on assessment

Detailed written feedback on both Literature review and Essay

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## Availability

### Courses

This module is Optional for:

- UECA-3 Undergraduate Economics 3 Year Variants
  - Year 3 of L100 Economics
  - Year 3 of L100 Economics
  - Year 3 of L100 Economics
  - Year 3 of L116 Economics and Industrial Organization
  - Year 3 of L116 Economics and Industrial Organization
- UECA-4 Undergraduate Economics 4 Year Variants
  - Year 2 of LM1H Economics, Politics & International Studies with Study Abroad
  - Year 2 of LM1H Economics, Politics & International Studies with Study Abroad
  - Year 4 of L103 Economics with Study Abroad
- UPHA-V7ML Undergraduate Philosophy, Politics and Economics
  - Year 3 of V7ML Philosophy, Politics and Economics (Tripartite)
  - Year 3 of V7ML Philosophy, Politics and Economics (Tripartite)
  - Year 3 of V7ML Philosophy, Politics and Economics (Tripartite)
- UPHA-V7MM Undergraduate Philosophy, Politics and Economics (with Intercalated year)
  - Year 4 of V7MQ Philosophy, Politics and Economics (Bipartite) with Intercalated Year
  - Year 4 of V7MH Philosophy, Politics and Economics - Economics/Philosophy Bipartite (Economics Major) (with Intercalated year)
  - Year 4 of V7MF Philosophy, Politics and Economics - Economics/Politics Bipartite (Economics Major) (with Intercalated year)
  - Year 4 of V7MI Philosophy, Politics and Economics - Philosophy/Economics Bipartite (Philosophy Major) (with Intercalated year)
  - Year 4 of V7MJ Philosophy, Politics and Economics - Philosophy/Politics Bipartite (with Intercalated year)
  - Year 4 of V7MG Philosophy, Politics and Economics - Politics/Economics Bipartite (Politics Major) (with Intercalated year)
- Year 3 of UPOA-M100 Undergraduate Politics
- Year 4 of UPOA-M101 Undergraduate Politics (with Intercalated Year)
- Year 4 of UPOA-M168 Undergraduate Politics and International Studies with Chinese
- Year 3 of UPOA-M169 Undergraduate Politics and International Studies with Chinese (3 year)
- Year 4 of UPOA-M165 Undergraduate Politics, International Studies and Italian
- Year 4 of UPOA-M167 Undergraduate Politics, International Studies and Quantitative Methods (with Intercalated Year)



- UPHA-V7MW Undergraduate Politics, Philosophy and Law
  - Year 3 of V7MW Politics, Philosophy and Law
  - Year 3 of V7MW Politics, Philosophy and Law
- Year 4 of UPHA-V7MX Undergraduate Politics, Philosophy and Law (with Intercalated Year)

This module is Unusual option for:

- UPHA-V7ML Undergraduate Philosophy, Politics and Economics
  - Year 3 of V7MR Philosophy, Politics and Economics (Bipartite with Economics Major)
  - Year 3 of V7MP Philosophy, Politics and Economics (Bipartite)
  - Year 3 of V7MP Philosophy, Politics and Economics (Bipartite)
- UPHA-V7MM Undergraduate Philosophy, Politics and Economics (with Intercalated year)
  - Year 4 of V7MS Philosophy, Politics and Economics (Bipartite with Economics Major) (with Intercalated Year)
  - Year 4 of V7MS Philosophy, Politics and Economics (Bipartite with Economics Major) (with Intercalated Year)
  - Year 4 of V7MQ Philosophy, Politics and Economics (Bipartite) with Intercalated Year
  - Year 4 of V7MM Philosophy, Politics and Economics (Tripartite) (with Intercalated year)
- UPHA-V7MW Undergraduate Politics, Philosophy and Law
  - Year 3 of V7MW Politics, Philosophy and Law
  - Year 3 of V7MW Politics, Philosophy and Law
- Year 4 of UPHA-V7MX Undergraduate Politics, Philosophy and Law (with Intercalated Year)

This module is Option list A for:

- UPOA-M16A Undergraduate Politics and International Studies
  - Year 3 of M16A Politics and International Studies
  - Year 3 of M16A Politics and International Studies
  - Year 3 of M16A Politics and International Studies
- Year 4 of UPOA-M16B Undergraduate Politics and International Studies (with Intercalated Year)
- Year 3 of UPOA-ML13 Undergraduate Politics and Sociology
- Year 4 of UPOA-ML14 Undergraduate Politics and Sociology (with Intercalated year)
- Year 4 of UPOA-M163 Undergraduate Politics, International Studies and French
- Year 4 of UPOA-M164 Undergraduate Politics, International Studies and German
- Year 3 of UPOA-M16D Undergraduate Politics, International Studies and German (3 year degree)
- Year 4 of UPOA-M166 Undergraduate Politics, International Studies and Hispanic Studies
- Year 3 of UPOA-M16H Undergraduate Politics, International Studies and Hispanic Studies (3 year degree)

This module is Option list C for:

- UPHA-V7ML Undergraduate Philosophy, Politics and Economics
  - Year 3 of V7MP Philosophy, Politics and Economics (Bipartite)
  - Year 3 of V7MP Philosophy, Politics and Economics (Bipartite)
  - Year 3 of V7ML Philosophy, Politics and Economics (Tripartite)
  - Year 3 of V7ML Philosophy, Politics and Economics (Tripartite)

- Year 3 of V7ML Philosophy, Politics and Economics (Tripartite)
- UPHA-V7MM Undergraduate Philosophy, Politics and Economics (with Intercalated year)
  - Year 4 of V7MS Philosophy, Politics and Economics (Bipartite with Economics Major) (with Intercalated Year)
  - Year 4 of V7MS Philosophy, Politics and Economics (Bipartite with Economics Major) (with Intercalated Year)
  - Year 4 of V7MQ Philosophy, Politics and Economics (Bipartite) with Intercalated Year
  - Year 4 of V7MM Philosophy, Politics and Economics (Tripartite) (with Intercalated year)

This module is Option list D for:

- UHIA-VM11 Undergraduate History and Politics
  - Year 3 of VM11 History and Politics
  - Year 3 of VM11 History and Politics
  - Year 3 of VM11 History and Politics
- Year 4 of UHIA-VM12 Undergraduate History and Politics (with Year Abroad)
- Year 3 of UPHA-V7ML Undergraduate Philosophy, Politics and Economics