

The Secret Side of International Politics

PLSC 29202

Winter 2022

Time: Tuesdays & Thursdays, 12:30 – 1:50pm

Room: Zoom or Wieboldt Hall 408

Professor: Austin Carson, Department of Political Science, acarson@uchicago.edu

TA: Matthew Conklin (mconklin@uchicago.edu)

Office Hours: Tuesdays, 2:30-3:30pm and Thursdays, 2:00pm-3:00pm. [Sign up here.](#)

Course description

This course introduces students to the secret side of international politics. The class meets twice per week and uses a lecture/lab model. A weekly lecture provides an overview of one aspect of secrecy in world politics; a weekly “lab” meeting engages the topic in small-group discussions while offering guidance on research projects. The course is designed intentionally to integrate material on secrecy, intelligence, leaks, and related topics from a range of theoretical approaches and disciplines. This includes weeks on secrecy’s role in crisis decision-making, secret alliances, collusion in keeping secrets among adversaries, and psychological and organizational dimensions of secrecy. Questions raised by readings include: Why do diplomats value secrecy so much when negotiating? What purposes beyond operational security does secrecy serve in wartime? Why do governments and non-state actors cooperate in secret and what do those partnerships look like? How does intelligence analysis conducted in secret fail? How does technological change, such as the advent of surveillance satellites, affect secrecy? What impact does secrecy have on international norms, laws, and order? The bulk of the grade for the course is for an original research paper that draws on declassified (formerly secret) primary materials. A series of progressive assignments lead students through the research and writing process, facilitated by the weekly lab meetings. This course is intended for advanced undergraduates (political science majors and non-majors welcome) with an appetite for an ambitious, challenging writing project.

Books for purchase

Acquire these books as soon as possible. Some may be at the Seminary Co-Op Bookstore but all are available online. Double check for correct editions via the ISBN number.

Bok, Sissela. *Secrets: On the Ethics of Concealment and Revelation*. New York: Vintage Books, 1989. ISBN 978-0679724735

Carson, Austin. *Secret Wars: Covert Conflict in International Politics*. Princeton University Press. ISBN 978-0691181769

Gusterson, Hugh. *Nuclear Rites: A Weapons Laboratory at the End of the Cold War*. University of California Press, 1996. ISBN 9780520213739

May, Ernest R., and Philip Zelikow. *The Kennedy Tapes: Inside the White House During the Cuban Missile Crisis*. W. W. Norton & Company, 2002. ISBN 9780393322590

O’Rourke, Lindsey A. *Covert Regime Change: America’s Secret Cold War*. Cornell University Press, 2018. ISBN 978-1501730658

Rovner, Joshua. *Fixing the Facts: National Security and the Politics of Intelligence*. Cornell University Press, 2011. ISBN 978-1501700736

Zegart, Amy B. *Spying Blind: The CIA, the FBI, and the Origins of 9/11*. Princeton University Press, 2009. ISBN 978-0691141039

Requirements

Students are expected to attend every session and complete the required readings. The class grade is based on reading assessments and a final research paper.

Discussion participation (20%). Students must regularly contribute during class with comments that reflect careful engagement with the assigned texts. Aim for one or two high quality contributions per week. Discussion participation is most important during the first half of our weekly lab meetings (vs. lecture days). Note that I take student discomfort with verbal contributions in a classroom setting seriously. If you find participation difficult or feel uncomfortable, book an office hours slot early in the quarter to discuss possible alternatives.

Reflection memo (15%). Students must write one memo during the quarter reacting to the readings in a given week. The memo must address more than one reading. It may compare and contrast two readings; it may address a commonality across all readings; it may discuss the divergent implications of readings for a contemporary issue about secrecy. Memo should be single-spaced, Times New Roman 12 point font, and two pages; it is due any time during the week it addresses. Send to the TA and to acarson@uchicago.edu.

Original research paper (65%). Students must write an original research paper that draws at least in part on originally classified or otherwise unavailable primary government documents. The goal is for students to get hands-on experience doing qualitative historical research using archival-type sources which pierce the veil of secrecy in foreign policy. Two approaches to the paper are available (and other approaches can be discussed). One uses previously unavailable materials to reanalyze an important historical event and shed new light on some aspect of it. The second kind of paper analyzes a relatively unknown event or program (i.e. covert operation; secret peace negotiations) with documents now available. Regardless of type, students should make an argument which goes beyond existing scholarly and popular understanding. The research paper grade is decomposed into the following:

- Topic proposal and research question (Wk 3) (5%)
- Data and conventional wisdom summary (Wk 4) (5%)
- One para summary and outline (Wk 5) (5%)
- Five pages swap, including feedback to partner (Wk 8) (5%)
- Final research paper (finals week) (45%)

Professionalism and community

We will create our own quarter-long intellectual community. Its norms will be collectively generated and honed over time. My goal is for all of us to feel comfortable developing and scrutinizing one another's ideas. To allow this, students must follow basic norms of respectful intellectual exchange. Be professional in all communications. Emails should be thoughtfully composed with normal punctuation and salutations. Comments in class should be respectful of other students. Avoid adopting a confrontational tone. Respectfully disagree by suggesting a different view rather than forcefully contradicting. To create and sustain an open environment, acts of gender-based misconduct, which encompass a range of conduct from sexual assault to harassment, will be treated as violations of the standards of our community and unacceptable. Other forms of misconduct based on race, religion, or sexual orientation are equally unacceptable. A useful university resource is [here](#). I encourage you to come to me with concerns about anyone's professionalism, including your own.

Email policy

Note that in general I do not read or respond to student emails until the day after I receive them. On weekends, I often do not read/respond at all. Please do not expect immediate replies. Emergencies or crises are an obvious exception; please do not hesitate and I will do my best to respond quickly.

Late policy and incompletes in the time of covid-19

I normally treat deadlines as strict (“papers/assignments received late will be dropped a full letter grade for each 24 hour period past the deadline”). However, being a student during Covid-19 has been and continues to be brutal. In recognition of the challenges for all of us, I will be more flexible and accommodating if students need deadline extensions or want to request an incomplete. Advanced communication, to the extent it is possible, is always helpful. This is especially true of incompletes (and, relatedly, “pass/fail” arrangements), which must receive my approval before finals week.

Make-up exam policy

If the course has an exam, students may have to miss the regular exam date because of illness or other excusable reasons. Students may take a make-up exam only after receiving permission from me in writing before the regular exam. To do so, students must submit a request by email to me, any TA, and your college adviser.

Academic integrity

I will strictly follow the University’s policy on academic integrity: “It is contrary to justice, academic integrity, and to the spirit of intellectual inquiry to submit another’s statements or ideas as one’s own work.” More details on the policy are [here](#).

Disability accommodations

If you need any special accommodations, please provide me with a copy of an Accommodation Determination Letter (provided to you by the Student Disability Services office) as soon as possible so that you may discuss with him/her how your accommodations may be implemented in this course.

Overview of Topics

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Schedule and Readings

Week 1 (Jan 11). Overview

We will review the syllabus and learn about the course's major assignment: the research paper. I will lecture on secrecy's role in the strategic and intentional misrepresentation that insecure states do under anarchy. I will also draw out some highlights from a newly-published overview of recent work on secrecy in International Relations (IR).

Required readings for lecture

Fearon, James D. "Rationalist Explanations for War." *International Organization* 49, no. 3 (Summer 1995): 379–414.

Carnegie, Allison. "Secrecy in International Relations and Foreign Policy." *Annual Review of Political Science* 24 (2021): 213-233.

Week 1 (Jan 13). Research & Writing Lab

This first lab session will start with a small-group discussion of Colson's cultural-normative view of secrecy and its contrast with the strategic misrepresentation perspective. I will then give an overview of the paper assignment, highlight some important general issues in primary document-focused research, and answer initial questions.

Required readings for small group discussion

Colson, Aurélien. "The Ambassador Between Light and Shade: The Emergence of Secrecy as the Norm for International Negotiation." *International Negotiation* 13, no. 2 (2008): 179–95.

Supplemental reading

Trachtenberg, Marc. *The Craft of International History: A Guide to Method*. Princeton University Press, 2009. Chapters 3.

Larson, Deborah Welch. "Sources and Methods in Cold War History: The Need for a New Theory-Based Archival Approach." In Elman, Colin, and Miriam Fendius Elman, eds. *Bridges and Boundaries: Historians, Political Scientists, and the Study of International Relations*. MIT Press, 2001.

Lustick, Ian S. "History, Historiography, and Political Science: Multiple Historical Records and the Problem of Selection Bias." *The American Political Science Review* 90.3 (1996): 605-618.

Diana Kapiszewski, et al. "Thinking Outside the (Archive) Box: Discovering Data in the Field." In Kapiszewski, Diana, Lauren M. MacLean, and Benjamin L. Read. *Field Research in Political Science: Practices and Principles*. Cambridge University Press, 2015.

Hughes, R. Gerald, Peter Jackson, and Len Scott. *Exploring Intelligence Archives: Enquiries into the Secret State*. Routledge, 2008.

Darnton, Christopher. "Archives and Inference: Documentary Evidence in Case Study Research and the Debate over US Entry into World War II." *International Security* 42.3 (2018): 84-126.

Elman, Colin, and Diana Kapiszewski. "Data Access and Research Transparency in the Qualitative Tradition." *PS: Political Science & Politics* 47.1 (2014): 43-47.

Tesar, Marek. "Ethics and Truth in Archival Research." *History of Education* 44.1 (2015): 101-114.

Week 2 (Jan 18). Secrets among Friends (Alliances)

This week analyzes secrecy in cooperative partnerships. We review three articles published in the past two years which address various ways in which secrecy affects geopolitical allies and partners, how secrecy enables deception among friends, and the impact of secrecy across different alliances.

Required readings for lecture

- Kuo, Raymond. "Secrecy among Friends: Covert Military Alliances and Portfolio Consistency." *Journal of Conflict Resolution* 64.1 (2020): 63-89.
- Carlson, Melissa, and Barbara Koremenos. "Cooperation Failure or Secret Collusion? Absolute Monarchs and Informal Cooperation." *The Review of International Organizations* 16.1 (2021): 95-135.
- Bas, Muhammet, and Robert Schub. "Mutual optimism as a cause of conflict: Secret alliances and conflict onset." *International Studies Quarterly* 60.3 (2016): 552-564. [Read all but only skim model]

Week 2 (Jan 20). Research & Writing Lab

Our second lab session will start with a small-group discussion of Haas and Yarhi-Milo's piece on secrecy and deception among geopolitically-aligned states. We will then focus on research questions, how to make an argument, and the initial approach to obtaining documents.

Required readings for small group discussion

- Haas, Melinda, and Keren Yarhi-Milo. "To Disclose or Deceive? Sharing Secret Information between Aligned States." *International Security* 45.3 (2020): 122-161.

Supplemental reading

- Brown, Jonathan N., Danielle L. Lupton, and Alex Farrington. "Embedded Deception: Interpersonal Trust, Cooperative Expectations, and the Sharing of Fabricated Intelligence." *Journal of Global Security Studies* 4.2 (2018): 209-226.
- Brown, Jonathan N. "The Sound of Silence: Power, Secrecy, and International Audiences in US Military Basing Negotiations." *Conflict Management and Peace Science* 31.4 (2014): 406-431.
- Leeds, Brett Ashley. 2003. "Do Alliances Deter Aggression? The Influence of Military Alliances on the Initiation of Militarized Interstate Disputes." *American Journal of Political Science* 47 (3): 427-39.
- Ritter, Jeffrey. "'Silent Partners' and Other Essays on Alliance Politics." Ph.D. dissertation. Harvard University, 2004.
- McManus, Roseanne W., and Keren Yarhi-Milo. "The Logic of 'Offstage' Signaling: Domestic Politics, Regime Type, and Major Power-Protégé Relations." *International Organization* 71, no. 4 (2017): 701-33.

Week 3 (Jan 25). Secret Societies in National Security

This week further illustrates sociological approaches to secrecy noted in Week 1 (Colson). Readings this week focus on secrecy's role as part of an organization or group's culture and mode of being. Secrecy can create unique cultures and shape individuals' identities. We analyze this in national security institutions and benefit from work using ethnography.

Required readings for lecture

- Erickson, Bonnie H. "Secret Societies and Social Structure." *Social Forces* 60, no. 1 (September 1, 1981): 188–210.
- Gibson, David R. "Enduring Illusions: The Social Organization of Secrecy and Deception." *Sociological Theory* 32.4 (2014): 283-306.
- Gusterson, Hugh. *Nuclear Rites: A Weapons Laboratory at the End of the Cold War*. University of California Press, 1996. Chapters 1, 3, 4, 6.

Week 3 (Jan 27). Research & Writing Lab

Our third lab session will start with a small-group discussion of Cohn's classic analysis of the language and culture of national security elites. We will then focus on situating your paper in literature and using reference systems like Zotero.

Required readings for small group discussion

- Cohn, Carol. "Sex and Death in the Rational World of Defense Intellectuals." *Signs* 12, no. 4 (Summer 1987): 687–718.

Supplemental reading

- Bok, Sissela. *Secrets: On the Ethics of Concealment and Revelation*. New York: Vintage Books, 1989. Chapter IV.
- Costas, Jana, and Christopher Grey. "Bringing Secrecy into the Open: Towards a Theorization of the Social Processes of Organizational Secrecy." *Organization Studies* 35, no. 10 (October 1, 2014): 1423–47.
- Erickson, Bonnie H. "Secret Societies and Social Structure." *Social Forces* 60, no. 1 (September 1, 1981): 188–210.
- Tefft, Stanton K, ed. *Secrecy, a Cross-Cultural Perspective*. New York, N.Y.: Human Sciences Press, 1980.
- Masco, Joseph. *The Nuclear Borderlands: The Manhattan Project in Post-Cold War New Mexico*. Princeton University Press, 2006.
- Gibson, David R. "Enduring illusions: The social organization of secrecy and deception." *Sociological Theory* 32.4 (2014): 283-306.
- Kinsella, Helen M. "Sex as the secret: counterinsurgency in Afghanistan." *International Theory* 11.1 (2019): 26-47.
- Hurlburt, Heather, Elizabeth Weingarten, Alexandra Stark, and Elena Souris. "The 'Consensual Straitjacket': Four Decades of Women in Nuclear Security." *New America*, March 2019. [Read Part II]

****Topic proposal and research question due Friday, Jan 28 by midnight****

****Email TA****

Week 4 (Feb 1). Secrets and Domestic Politics

This week focuses on the link between secrecy in foreign policy and domestic politics. The readings include recent work that analyzes how secrecy can help leaders cope with tension between international goals and domestic constraints, or what Putnam (1988) termed “two-level games.” It also reviews new studies of public opinion regarding secrecy in foreign policy and the dilemmas for democratic oversight that secrecy can create.

Required readings for lecture

Bok, Sissela. *Secrets: On the Ethics of Concealment and Revelation*. New York: Vintage Books, 1989. Chapter XII.

Brown, Jonathan N., and Anthony S. Marcum. “Avoiding Audience Costs: Domestic Political Accountability and Concessions in Crisis Diplomacy.” *Security Studies* 20 (April 2011): 141–70.

Myrick, Rachel. “Why So Secretive? Unpacking Public Attitudes toward Secrecy and Success in US Foreign Policy.” *The Journal of Politics* 82.3 (2020): 828-843.

Week 4 (Feb 3). Research & Writing Lab

Our fourth lab session will start with a small-group discussion of the domestic politics of leaks. We will then hold individual or small-group meetings to give feedback on topics and answer questions about specific projects.

Required readings for small group discussion

Pozen, David E. “The Leaky Leviathan: Why the Government Condemns and Condone Unlawful Disclosures of Information.” *Harvard L. Rev.* 127 (2013): 512-635. [Sections I and II only]

Choose one short case study about leaks:

- Scott Shane. “[Documents in Plain Sight, but Still Classified](#).” *New York Times*, JULY 23, 2012
- Nate Jones, “[Neither Confirm Nor Deny: The History of the Glomar Response and the Glomar Explorer](#).” Unredacted. February 11, 2014.
- Malcolm Byrne, “[CIA Admits It Was Behind Iran’s Coup](#).” *Foreign Policy*, August 19, 2013.
- “[Japan Confirms Secret Pact on US Nuclear Transit](#).” *BBC News*, March 9, 2010.
- Esther B. Fein, “[Soviets Confirm Nazi Pacts Dividing Europe](#).” *New York Times* August 19, 1989.

Supplemental reading

Putnam, Robert D. “Diplomacy and Domestic Politics: The Logic of Two-Level Games.” *International Organization* 42, no. 3 (Summer 1988): 427-460.

Bell, Sam R., and Carla Martinez Machain. “Democracy, Transparency, and Secrecy in Crisis.” *Foreign Policy Analysis*, 2018.

Gibbs, David N. “Secrecy and International Relations.” *Journal of Peace Research* 32.2 (1995): 213-228.

Kurizaki, Shuhei. “Efficient Secrecy: Public Versus Private Threats in Crisis Diplomacy.” *American Political Science Review* 101, no. 03 (2007): 543–58.

Hafner-Burton, Emilie M., Zachary C. Steinert-Threlkeld, and David G. Victor. “Predictability versus Flexibility: Secrecy in International Investment Arbitration.” *World Politics* 68, no. 3 (June 23, 2016): 413–53.

Spaniel, William, and Michael Poznansky. “Credible Commitment in Covert Affairs.” *American Journal of Political Science* 62, no. 3 (2018): 668–681.

Colaresi, Michael P. *Democracy Declassified: The Secrecy Dilemma in National Security*. Oxford University Press, USA, 2014.

Stasavage, David. “Open-Door or Closed-Door? Transparency in Domestic and International Bargaining.” *International Organization* 58, no. 04 (2004): 667–703.

Yarhi-Milo, Keren. “Tying Hands Behind Closed Doors: The Logic and Practice of Secret Reassurance.” *Security Studies* 22, no. 3 (2013): 405–35.

Smith, Gregory L. "Secret but Constrained: The Impact of Elite Opposition on Covert Operations." *International Organization* 73.3 (2019): 685-707.

****Data and conventional wisdom summary due Friday, Feb 4 by midnight****
****Email TA****

Week 5 (Feb 8). Secrecy and the Enemy

This week we return to the role of secrecy as a tool insecure states use to hide things from real or potential adversaries, often during war, along similar lines to Fearon's claims from Week 1. We will analyze work the well-known links between secrecy, deception, and surprise in keeping one's adversary in the dark and off-balance. We then flip this logic, learning about my own work on how and why adversaries might collude in keeping secrets during (limited) war. We review applications of this latter logic in the Korean War and Vietnam War.

Required readings for lecture

Bok, Sissela. *Secrets: On the Ethics of Concealment and Revelation*. New York: Vintage Books, 1989. Chapter XIII.

Cancian, Mark. *Inflicting Surprise: Gaining Competitive Advantage in Great Power Conflicts*. Center for Strategic & International Studies, January 21, 2021. Chapter 1, 3, 4. [Link here](#).

Carson, Austin. *Secret Wars: Covert Conflict in International Politics*. Princeton University Press. 2018. Chapters 2, 5, 6.

Week 5 (Feb 10). Research & Writing Lab

Our fifth lab session will start with a small-group discussion of a new article assessing the reasons for revealing to adversaries military capabilities that were previously hidden. We will then discuss planning, prewriting, and some initial tips on writing.

Required readings for small group discussion

Green, Brendan Rittenhouse, and Austin Long. "Conceal or Reveal? Managing Clandestine Military Capabilities in Peacetime Competition." *International Security* 44.3 (2019): 48-83.

Supplemental reading

Axelrod, Robert. "The Rational Timing of Surprise." *World Politics* 31, no. 2 (January 1979): 228-46.

Betts, Richard K. "Surprise Despite Warning: Why Sudden Attacks Succeed." *Political Science Quarterly* 95, no. 4 (1981): 551-72.

Betts, Richard K. *Surprise Attack: Lessons for Defense Planning*. Washington, D.C: Brookings Institution, 1982.

Slantchev, Branislav L. "Feigning Weakness." *International Organization* 64, no. 3 (2010): 357-88.

Carson, Austin. "Facing Off and Saving Face: Covert Intervention and Escalation Management in the Korean War." *International Organization* 70.1 (2016): 103-131.

Lindsey, David. "Military Strategy, Private Information, and War." *International Studies Quarterly* 59.4 (2015): 629-640.

Holt, Thaddeus. *The Deceivers: Allied Military Deception in the Second World War*. Scribner, 2004. Chapters 2, 13.

Goffman, Erving. *The Presentation of Self in Everyday Life*. Garden City, N.Y: Doubleday, 1959.

****One paragraph summary and outline due by Friday, Feb 11 by midnight****
****Email TA****

Week 6 (Feb 15). Secrecy, Psychology, and Decision-Making

This week shifts the focus to psychology and secrecy in decision-making during foreign policy crises. We explore the ways secret decision-making processes may affect the psychology of participants through a study of the Cuban Missile Crisis. We also review a recent article on risk and loss and its implication for covert action. Note that work linking psychology and secrecy/covert in IR is in its infancy so students should come prepared to both sessions this week ready to make their *own* connections.

Required readings for lecture

May, Ernest R., and Philip Zelikow. *The Kennedy Tapes: Inside the White House During the Cuban Missile Crisis*. W. W. Norton & Company, 2002. October 18, 19, 20 (pp. 73-137).

Guttieri, Karen, Michael D. Wallace, and Peter Suedfeld. "The Integrative Complexity of American Decision Makers in the Cuban Missile Crisis." *Journal of Conflict Resolution* 39, no. 4 (December 1, 1995): 595–621.

Poznansky, Michael. "The Psychology of Overt and Covert Intervention." *Security Studies* 30.3 (2021): 325-353.

Week 6 (Feb 17). Research & Writing Lab

Our sixth lab session will start with a small-group discussion of a classic psychological concept – groupthink – and its possible link to secrecy. We will then hold an open Q&A / AMA on the research paper, including troubleshooting specific projects as a group to help see how to think through barriers in your process.

Required readings for small group discussion

Smith, Steve. "Groupthink and the Hostage Rescue Mission." *British Journal of Political Science* 15, no. 1 (January 1985): 117–23.

Supplemental reading

Saunders, Elizabeth N. "War and the Inner Circle: Democratic Elites and the Politics of Using Force." *Security Studies* 24, no. 3 (July 3, 2015): 466–501.

Johnson, Loch K. "Covert Action and Accountability: Decision-Making for America's Secret Foreign Policy." *International Studies Quarterly* 33.1 (1989): 81-109.

Chambers, Simone. "Behind Closed Doors: Publicity, Secrecy, and the Quality of Deliberation." *Journal of Political Philosophy* 12.4 (2004): 389-410.

Gibson, David R. "Avoiding Catastrophe: The Interactional Production of Possibility during the Cuban Missile Crisis." *American Journal of Sociology* 117, no. 2 (2011): 361–419.

Week 7 (Feb 22). Secrecy, Surveillance, and Satellites

This week focuses on technological change via a case study of the rise of commercial satellites. Satellites in general have both been an engine of state secrecy and, with the rise of commercial, disrupted secrecy. We learn about the history of spy satellites and the emergence of commercial satellite imagery. We then focus on the implications of commercial satellite imagery. How has it affected news media and diplomacy? What are the political consequences of space-based imagery in the hands of non-state actors?

Required readings for lecture

- U.S. Congress, Office of Technology Assessment, "Commercial Newsgathering From Space —A Technical Memorandum," OTA-TM-ISC-40 (Washington, DC: U.S. Government Printing Office, May 1987). [Read pp. 1-38, skip Appendix A and B]. [Available here](#).
- Perkins, Chris, and Martin Dodge. "Satellite Imagery and the Spectacle of Secret Spaces." *Geoforum* 40, no. 4 (July 2009): 546–60.
- Livingston, Steven, and W. Lucas Robinson. "Mapping Fears: The Use of Commercial High-Resolution Satellite Imagery in International Affairs." *Astropolitics* 1.2 (2003): 3-25.

Week 7 (Feb 24). Research & Writing Lab

Our seventh lab session will start with a small-group discussion of specific, recent cases of the revelation of hidden or unknown state activity via commercial satellites. We will then hold a final set of 1:1 or small group meetings to provide tailored guidance to student research projects.

Required readings for small group discussion

Larkin, Sean P. "The Age of Transparency: International Relations without Secrets." *Foreign Affairs* 95 (2016): 136-146.

Read one of the following short article case studies:

- Satellite imagery and Rohingya razing ([here](#))
- Satellite imagery and North Korea circumvention ([here](#))
- India and Pakistan cross-border crisis of 2019 ([here](#))
- Russia and doctored MH-17 satellite images ([here](#))

Supplemental reading

- Witjes, Nina, and Philipp Olbrich. "A Fragile Transparency: Satellite Imagery Analysis, Non-State Actors, and Visual Representations of Security." *Science and Public Policy* 44, no. 4 (August 1, 2017): 524–34.
- Herscher, Andrew. "Surveillant witnessing: Satellite imagery and the visual politics of human rights." *Public Culture* 26.3 (74) (2014): 469-500.
- Shim, David. "Remote Sensing Place: Satellite Images as Visual Spatial Imaginaries." *Geoforum* 51 (January 1, 2014): 152–60.
- Rothe, Delf, and David Shim. "Sensing the ground: On the global politics of satellite-based activism." *Review of International Studies* 44.3 (2018): 414-437.
- Peckham, Robert, and Ria Sinha. "Satellites and the new war on infection: tracking Ebola in West Africa." *Geoforum* 80 (2017): 24-38.

Week 8 (Mar 1). Intelligence and Intelligence Failures

States use secrecy to gather information and to attempt covert operations but often make mistakes. Why? Readings include highlights from the cottage industry on intelligence analysis failures. This will include case studies of some of the most infamous failures in modern U.S. history, such as the Vietnam War and 9/11. We will also read new work by O'Rourke on the mistake-prone practice of covert regime change. An important theme this week is bureaucratic dysfunction but other reasons for failure are noted.

Required readings for lecture

Rovner, Joshua. *Fixing the Facts: National Security and the Politics of Intelligence*. Cornell University Press, 2011. Chapters 2, 3, 4.
Zegart, Amy B. *Spying Blind: The CIA, the FBI, and the Origins of 9/11*. Princeton University Press, 2009. Chapters 1, 5, 6.
O'Rourke, Lindsey A. *Covert Regime Change: America's Secret Cold War*. Cornell University Press, 2018. Chapters 1, 4, 5.

Week 8 (Mar 3). Research & Writing Lab

Our second-to-last lab session will start with a small-group discussion of a provocative thesis from Richard Betts: intelligence failures are inevitable. We will then return to prewriting and writing tips, including a close read of exemplars that showcase effective writing for this assignment.

Required readings for small group discussion

Betts, Richard K. "Analysis, War, and Decision: Why Intelligence Failures Are Inevitable." *World Politics* 31, no. 1 (1978): 61–89.

Supplemental reading

Jervis, Robert. *Why Intelligence Fails: Lessons from the Iranian Revolution and the Iraq War*. Cornell University Press, 2011. Chapters 1, 3 and 4.
Yarhi-Milo, Keren. *Knowing the Adversary: Leaders, Intelligence, and Assessment of Intentions in International Relations*. Princeton University Press, 2014.
Yarhi-Milo, Keren. "In the eye of the beholder: How leaders and intelligence communities assess the intentions of adversaries." *International Security* 38.1 (2013): 7-51.
Fursenko, Aleksandr, and Timothy Naftali. "Soviet Intelligence and the Cuban Missile Crisis." *Intelligence and National Security* 13, no. 3 (September 1, 1998): 64–87.
Bar-Joseph, Uri. "The politicization of intelligence: A comparative study." *International Journal of Intelligence and CounterIntelligence* 26.2 (2013): 347-369.
Karam, Jeffrey G. "Missing revolution: the American intelligence failure in Iraq, 1958." *Intelligence and National Security* 32.6 (2017): 693-709.
Davies, Philip HJ. "Intelligence culture and intelligence failure in Britain and the United States." *Cambridge Review of International Affairs* 17.3 (2004): 495-520.

****Swap five pages of drafting with your partner by Friday, March 4 by midnight****

****Email TA****

Week 9 (March 8). Secrecy and the Liberal International Order

How does secrecy and covert state behavior affect the viability of a law- and norm-based international order? How does hiding violations of international law or norms affect those rule systems? How does creation of new rules incentivize secret behavior? How does the likelihood of being exposed for norm violations affect the likelihood of violations? And what is the impact on broader international law when leaders refuse to acknowledge exposed secret activity?

Required reading

Krcmaric, Daniel. "Information, Secrecy, and Civilian Targeting." *International Studies Quarterly* 63, no. 2 (2019): 322–33.

Carnegie, Allison, and Austin Carson. "The Spotlight's Harsh Glare: Rethinking Publicity and International Order." *International Organization* 72, no. 3 (2018): 627–57. [Read all but only skim model]

Perina, Alexandra H. "Black Holes and Open Secrets: The Impact of Covert Action on International Law." *Columbia Journal of Transnational Law* 53 (2015 2014): 507.

Week 9 (March 10). Research & Writing Lab

Our last lab session will focus on the importance organization in successful final papers (via a deconstruction of exemplars) as well as a special "Ask Austin Anything about Grad School" discussion. Not to be missed!

Required readings for small group discussion

NONE; enjoy some more time to work on your papers

Supplemental reading

Poznansky, Michael. "Feigning Compliance: Covert Action and International Law." *International Studies Quarterly* 63, no. 1 (2019): 72–84.

Poznansky, Michael. *In the Shadow of International Law: Secrecy and Regime Change in the Postwar World*. Oxford University Press, USA, 2020.

Bjola, Corneliu, and Stuart Murray, eds. *Secret Diplomacy: Concepts, Contexts and Cases*. Routledge, 2016.

Sulmasy, Glenn, and John Yoo. "Counterintuitive: Intelligence Operations and International Law." *Mich. J. Int'l L.* 28 (2006): 625.

Colson, Aurélien. "The Ambassador Between Light and Shade: The Emergence of Secrecy as the Norm for International Negotiation." *International Negotiation* 13, no. 2 (2008): 179–95.

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