Christian Leuprecht and Hayley McNorton, Intelligence as Democratic Statecraft: Accountability and Governance of Civil-Intelligence Relations Across the Five Eyes Security Community—the United States, United Kingdom, Canada, Australia, and New Zealand. Oxford, UK: University of Oxford Press, 2021.

Thomas Turmel, Royal Military College of Canada

Who watches the watchers? Here lays the question that Christian Leuprecht and Hayley McNorton set out to answer. In a comparative review of oversight mechanisms within the Five Eyes intelligence network, they examine the measures put in place in the United States, United Kingdom, Canada, Australia, and New Zealand to keep intelligence agencies in check. In a field dominated by operational research, this book

offers a novel contribution to the study of oversight at a critical moment for the community as threat vectors, and sources and methods evolve.

Intelligence as Democratic Statecraft adopts a comparative approach by successively conducting an overview of each country's intelligence apparatus, strategic environment, threat landscape, and most importantly for the purpose of this volume, the accountability architecture. Then, the granular components of the overarching accountability system are explored in the most useful tables that expose facets such as powers, mandates, membership, etc. The main contribution of this book resides in its careful study of primary sources — mostly legislative — to assemble a succinct survey of every review mechanism in the Five Eyes alliance. In fact, the authors go to great lengths to assemble the legal backbone that supports and enables oversight. The complex system of overlapping and at times arcane legislation is dissected by the authors to concisely expose the parameters that govern accountability mechanisms. Furthermore, they explore the operational unfolding of legislation which provides the necessary depth to the analysis of intelligence legislation. For instance, the authors note differences between the coordination of the archipelago of Canadian review agencies in the law and how it unfolds in practice. As such, the barrier of entry for the study of intelligence oversight has been lowered.

Leuprecht and McNorton defend the thesis that review exogenous to the agencies themselves is primordial in a democracy to ensure that an intelligence apparatus follows directions provided by elected officials. Contrary to previous studies on intelligence oversight, the authors do not adopt an overly critical stance of the intelligence community nor of accountability bodies. Nevertheless, they recognize the tension that exists within the intelligence-review ecosystem. On one hand, they emphasize that policymakers should consider the additional resource expenditure that agencies incur to satisfy audit requirements. On the other hand, the authors argue that the intelligence community should welcome another layer of review to promote efficiency and fulfillment of operational priorities, especially since it is external to the epistemic intelligence community.

The authors are careful to make the volume accessible to a broader audience by introducing the oversight mechanism with a historical overview of the country's intelligence community, the rise of accountability, and the current role of each (major)

agency. The historical review is particularly useful as it is one of few dedicated to the history of oversight. It highlights that innovation in the review of Five Eyes intelligence agencies has been driven by controversies or scandals that prompted lawmakers and members of the executive to alter checks and balances. Particularly, public commissions of inquiry have played a major role in all Five Eyes countries. Yet, dedicated students of intelligence might find the overarching introductory review shallow as it is intended to be precursory rather than holistic.

Furthermore, the authors do not shy from dedicating the first chapter of the book to analytical frameworks, theories, and trends in intelligence accountability. This firmly situates the book within a conceptual structure that enables the reader to understand the nuances between terms such as review, oversight, and control which are often used interchangeably. The authors also discuss mechanisms other than accountability bodies that hold the intelligence community accountable, such as the media and the public. In fact, the associations the authors make between intelligence and oversight emphasize the importance of intelligence as democratic statecraft. However, the authors have excluded the purely judicial bodies from their otherwise careful exploration. This means that quasi-judicial bodies like the American Foreign Intelligence Surveillance Court are included, but not the purely judicial bodies or courts that approve warrants and operations in most Five Eyes members.

Intelligence as Democratic Statecraft highlights how changes in intelligence must be accompanied by changes in accountability. The rise of the Internet of Things and of data-driven economies as articulated by Shoshana Zuboff in The Age of Surveillance Capitalism (2018)—has led the intelligence community to evolve, hence so should accountability, the authors argue. Therefore, there should be likewise innovation in the intelligence cycle and accountability mechanisms. The two should be intrinsically linked. Otherwise, the democratic nature of the Five Eyes might be in jeopardy. This discussion of oversight provides much depth to this study as oversight is viewed in relation to the metamorphic and evolving nature of the intelligence community.

Scholars, policymakers, intelligence professionals and concerned citizens now have an accessible book at their disposal to compare oversight among the world's most powerful intelligence alliance. These stakeholders now have a source that synthesizes trends in the review of intelligence agencies. Leuprecht and McNorton adopt a neutral

standpoint when exploring the overarching structure, but do not shy away from analysis. This volume's comparative contributions open the door for further dedicated in-depth studies on intelligence accountability across the Five Eyes, but also the extension of the framework developed beyond the Five Eyes to democracies and authoritarian states alike.

Thomas Turmel is a political science student at the Royal Military College of Canada and a former Junior Research Fellow at the NATO Association of Canada.