

# INTELLIGENCE AND NATIONAL SECURITY

A Graduate Seminar  
The University of Georgia  
Room 251, Learning Center  
[INTL 8290; W, 12:30-3:15]

Professor Loch K. Johnson  
Department of International Affairs  
305 Candler Hall

Fall Semester 2009  
School of Public and International Affairs  
Office Hours: W, 4-5 (and by appointment)

**Course Description.** This course will provide an advanced examination of America's secret security policies.

**Course Objectives.** In this weekly sequence of meetings, we will explore how the United States acquires information about world affairs, how it attempts clandestinely to influence events abroad, and how it protects the homeland from hostile internal and external forces. The course will be a blend of theory, empirical research findings, ethical considerations, an examination of reform proposals, and specific case studies.

**Course Obligations.** Each student will be expected to sit a final exam (25 percent of the overall evaluation of the student's performance); participate actively in classroom discussions and offer a formal oral presentation on the semester's research assignment (25 percent); and write an original research paper on a topic of mutual interest to the instructor and the student (50 percent). In preparation for classroom discussions, the student will be expected to have read the weekly book and article assignments.

**Course Readings.** Each seminar participant will be expected to read the following works:

1. Mark M. Lowenthal, *Intelligence: From Secrets to Policy*, 4th ed. (Washington, D.C.: CQ Press, 2009). ISBN 978-0-87289-600-0

2. Admiral Stansfield Turner, *Burn Before Reading: Presidents, CIA Directors, and Secret Intelligence* (New York: Hyperion, 2005). ISBN 0-868-6782-5

3. Amy B. Zegart, *Spying Blind* (Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press, 2007). ISBN 978-0-691-12021-8

4. R. Gerald Hughes, Peter Jackson, and Len Scott, eds., *Exploring Intelligence Archives* (New York: Routledge, 2008). ISBN 10 0-415-34972-9

5. Loch K. Johnson, ed., *Handbook of Intelligence Studies* (New York: Routledge, 2009). ISBN 0-415-77783-6

6. James P. Pfiffner and Mark Phythian, *Intelligence and National Security Policymaking on Iraq: British and American Perspectives* (College Station, TX: Texas A&M Press, 2009). ISBN 978 0 7190 7747 0
7. William J. Daugherty, *Executive Secrets* (Lexington, KY: University Press of Kentucky, 2004). ISBN 0-8131-2334-8
8. Frederick A.O. Schwarz, Jr., and Aziz Z. Huq, *Unchecked and Unbalanced* (New York: New Press, 2007). ISBN 13:978-1-59558-117-4
9. Roger Z. George and James B. Bruce, Eds., *Analyzing Intelligence* (Washington, D.C.: Georgetown University Press, 2008). ISBN 13: 978-1-58901-201-1
10. David M. Barrett, *The CIA and Congress* (Lawrence: University Press of Kansas, 2005). ISBN 0-7006-1400-1
11. Peter Gill, Stephen Marrin, and Mark Phythian, *Intelligence Theory* (New York: Routledge, 2009). ISBN 0-414-42947-1
12. Peter Gill and Mark Phythian, *Intelligence in an Insecure World* (New York: Routledge, 2006). ISBN 978-07456-3244-5

**A Reading, Discussion, and Exam Schedule.**

**Week One** (Aug. 19): *Organizational Meeting: Introductions; Key Intelligence Issues*

**Week Two** (Aug. 26): *The Study of Intelligence: Sources and Methods*

Reading: Lowenthal, chs. 1-2, Appendix 1  
Hughes, Jackson, and Scott, all  
Johnson, Part 1; Appendices

**Week Three** (Sept. 2): *APSA Annual Meeting; Research Day* [no class scheduled]

Reading: Lowenthal, ch. 3  
Gill, Marrin, and Phythian, all

**Week Four** (Sept. 9): *Threat Assessment and the Intelligence Cycle*

Reading: Lowenthal, ch. 4  
Gill and Phythian, all  
Johnson, Part 2

**Week Five** (Sept. 16): *The Collection and Processing of Intelligence*

Reading: Lowenthal, ch. 5  
Pfiffner and Phythian, all  
Johnson, Part 3

**Week Six** (Sept. 23): *The Analysis and Production of Intelligence*

Reading: Lowenthal, ch. 6  
George and Bruce, all  
Johnson, Part 4

**Week Seven** (Sept. 30): *The Dissemination of Intelligence*

Reading: Lowenthal, chs. 11-12  
Zegart, all

**Week Eight** (Oct. 7—midterm): *Counterintelligence*

Reading: Lowenthal, ch. 9  
Turner, all  
Johnson, Chs. 17-20

**Week Nine** (Oct. 14): *Covert Action: Propaganda, Political, and Economic*

Reading: Lowenthal, ch. 7  
Daugherty, all  
Johnson, Ch. 21

**Week Ten** (Oct. 21—withdrawal deadline): *Paramilitary Operations*

Reading: Lowenthal, ch. 8  
Barrett, all  
Johnson, Ch. 22

**Week Eleven** (Oct. 28): *Annual CASIS Conference*; Research Day [no class scheduled]

Reading: Johnson, Chs. 23-24  
Lowenthal, ch. 10  
Oral Presentations

**Week Twelve** (Nov. 4): *Intelligence Accountability*

Reading: Johnson, Chs. 25-26  
Schwarz and Huq, all  
Oral Presentations

**Week Thirteen** (Nov. 11): *The Ethics of Intelligence*

Reading: Lowenthal, ch. 13  
Oral Presentations

**Week Fourteen** (Nov. 18): *Intelligence Reform*

Reading: Lowenthal, ch. 14, Appendix 2  
Oral Presentations

**Week Fifteen** (Nov. 25): *The Comparative Dimension*

Reading: Lowenthal, ch. 15  
Oral Presentations

**Week Sixteen** (Dec. 2): *The Future of U.S. Intelligence*

**Term Papers Due Today**

Reading: Review all materials  
Oral Presentations

**Week Seventeen** (Dec. 14, Monday): **Final Exam** (3:30-5:30)

# Supplementary Reading List

## I. THE COLLECTION AND ANALYSIS OF NATIONAL SECURITY INTELLIGENCE

### Legal Foundations

1. National Security Act of 1947: Central Intelligence Agency, *Compilation of Intelligence Laws and Related Laws and Executive Orders of Interest to the National Intelligence Community*, Permanent Select Committee on Intelligence, U.S. House of Representatives, Committee Print, 98<sup>th</sup> Cong., 1<sup>st</sup> Sess., April 1983, pp. 6-8.

### History

2. Phyllis Provost McNeil, "The Evolution of the U.S. Intelligence Community—An Historical Perspective," *Preparing for the 21<sup>st</sup> Century: An Appraisal of U.S. Intelligence*, Appendix A, Report of the Commission on the Roles and Capabilities of the United States Intelligence Community (The Aspin-Brown Commission), March 1, 1996, pp. A1-A25.
3. "Joseph L. Albini and Julie Anderson, "Whatever Happened to the KGB?" *International Journal of Intelligence and Counterintelligence* 11, Spring 1998, pp. 25-56.
4. Michael Herman, "Intelligence and the Iraqi Threat: British Joint Intelligence after Butler," *RUSI (Royal United Services Institute) Journal*, August 2004, pp. 18-24.

### Theory and Method

5. Michael Warner, "Wanted: A Definition of Intelligence," *Studies in Intelligence* 46, 2002, pp. 15-23.
6. Loch K. Johnson, "Bricks and Mortar for a Theory of Intelligence," *Comparative Strategy* 22, Spring 2003, pp. 1-28.
7. Len Scott and Peter Jackson, "The Study of Intelligence in Theory and Practice," *Intelligence and National Security* 19, Summer 2004, pp. 139-169.
8. Michael Turner, "A Distinct U.S. Intelligence Identity," *International Journal of Intelligence and Counterintelligence* 17, Summer 2004, pp. 42-61.
9. Nigel West, "The UK's Not Quite So Secret Service," *International Journal of Intelligence and Counterintelligence* 18, Spring 2005, pp. 23-30.
10. Amy B. Zegart, "Cloaks, Daggers, and Ivory Towers: Why Academics Don't Study U.S. Intelligence," in Loch K. Johnson, ed., *Strategic Intelligence, Vol. 1: Understanding the Hidden Side of Government* (Westport, CN: Praeger, 2007), pp. 21-34.

### **Intelligence Collection**

11. Arthur S. Hulnick, "What's Wrong with the Intelligence Cycle," *Intelligence and National Security* 21, 6, December 2006, pp. 959-979.
12. Jeffrey T. Richelson, "The Technical Collection of Intelligence," in Loch K. Johnson, ed., *Handbook of Intelligence Studies* (London: Routledge, 2007), pp. 105-117.
13. Frederick P. Hitz, "The Future of American Espionage," *International Journal of Intelligence and Counterintelligence* 13, Spring 2000, pp. 1-20.
14. Stephen C. Mercado, "Sailing the Sea of OSINT in the Information Age," *Studies in Intelligence* 48, 3, 2004, pp. 45-56.

### **Intelligence Analysis**

15. Jack Davis, "A Policymaker's Perspective on Intelligence Analysis," *Studies in Intelligence* 38, 1995, pp. 7-15.
16. Richard K. Betts, "War and Decision: Why Intelligence Failures Are Inevitable," *World Politics* 31, 1, 1978, pp. 61-89.
17. James B. Bruce, "The Missing Link: The Analyst-Collector Relationship," in Roger Z. George and James B. Bruce, eds., *Analyzing Intelligence: Origins, Obstacles, and Innovations* (Washington, D.C.: Georgetown University Press, 2008), pp. 191-212.

### **Intelligence and Decisions**

18. Paul Pillar, "Intelligence, Policy, and the War in Iraq," *Foreign Affairs* 85, 2, March/April 2006, pp. 15-28.
19. Richard K. Betts, "Policy Makers and Intelligence Analysts: Love, Hate, or Indifference," *Intelligence and National Security* 3, January 1988, pp. 184-189.

## **II. COVERT ACTION:**

### **THE AGGRESSIVE ARM OF NATIONAL SECURITY INTELLIGENCE**

#### **An Overview**

1. Loch K. Johnson, "On Drawing a Bright Line for Covert Operations," *American Journal of International Law* 86, April 1992, pp. 284-309.
2. Frank Church, "Covert Action: Swamp of American Foreign Policy," *Bulletin of the Atomic Scientists* 32, February 1976, pp. 7-11.
3. James A. Barry, "Covert Action Can Be Just," *Orbis* 37, Summer 1993, pp. 375-90.

## **History**

4. William E. Colby, "Skis and Daggers," *Studies in Intelligence*, Winter 1999-2000, pp. 53-60.
5. Anne Karalekas, "A History of Covert Action," in *Supplementary Detailed Staff Reports on Foreign and Military Intelligence*, Book IV, Final Report of the Select Committee to Study Governmental Operations with Respect to Intelligence Activities (The Church Committee), Report No. 94-755, U.S. Senate, 94<sup>th</sup> Cong., 2d Sess, April 23, 1974, pp. 25-31, 48-55, 66-70, 92-93.
6. "The CIA Assassination Plot in the Congo, 1960-61," *Alleged Assassination Plots Involving Foreign Leaders: An Interim Report*, Select Committee to Study Governmental Operations with Respect to Intelligence Activities (the Church Committee), U.S. Senate, 94<sup>th</sup> Cong., 2d Sess., 1975, pp. 13-70.
7. John Prados, "The Bay of Pigs: Failure at Playa Girón," *Safe for Democracy: The Secret Wars of the CIA* (Chicago: Ivan R. Dee, 2006), pp. 236-72.
8. Richard L. Holm, "Recollections of a Case Officer in Laos, 1962-1964," *Studies in Intelligence* 47, 1, 2003, pp. 1-17.
9. Michael Grow, "Chile, 1970," in *U.S. Presidents and Latin American Interventions: Pursuing Regime Change in the Cold War* (Lawrence: University Press of Kansas, 2008), pp. 93-113.
10. Kevin A. O'Brien, "Interfering With Civil Society: CIA and KGB Covert Political Action During the Cold War," *International Journal of Intelligence and Counterintelligence* 8, Winter 1995, pp. 431-56.

## **Implications**

11. Bruce D. Berkowitz and Allan E. Goodman, "The Logic of Covert Action," *National Interest* 51, Spring 1998, pp. 38-46.
12. Gregory F. Treverton, "Covert Action and Unintended Results," in *Covert Action: The Limits of Intervention in the Postwar World* (NY: Basic Books, 1987), pp. 148-78.
13. William J. Daugherty, "Approval and Review of Covert Action Programs since Reagan," *International Journal of Intelligence and Counterintelligence* 17, Spring 2004, pp. 62-80.
14. Todd Stiefler, "CIA's Leadership and Major Covert Operations: Rogue Elephants or Risk-Averse Bureaucrats?" *Intelligence and National Security* 19, Winter 2004, pp. 632-654.
15. "John B. Chomeau, "Covert Action's Proper Role in U.S. Policy," *International Journal of Intelligence and Counterintelligence* 2, Fall 1988, pp. 407-413.

## **Controlling Covert Action**

16. Witness Testimony, "The Iran-Contra Affair," *Hearings*, Select Committee on Secret Military Assistance to Iran and the Nicaraguan Opposition, the Inouye-Hamilton Joint Committee, 100<sup>th</sup> Cong., 1<sup>st</sup> Sess. (July/August 1987).

17. *Report of the President's Special Review Board* (Tower Commission), Washington, D.C. (February 26, 1987), pp. IV 1-13.
18. Robert M. Gates, Remarks, "Legislative Oversight of Intelligence Activities: The U.S. Experience," *Report*, S. Prt. 103-88, Select Committee on Intelligence, U.S. Senate, 103d Cong, 2d Sess. (October 1994), Appendix 10.
19. Jennifer D. Kibbe, "The Rise of the Shadow Warriors," *Foreign Affairs* 83, 2004, pp. 102-115.

### **III. COUNTERINTELLIGENCE: SHIELD FOR NATIONAL SECURITY INTELLIGENCE**

#### **An Overview**

1. John Ehrman, "What Are We Talking about When We Talk about Counterintelligence?" *Studies in Intelligence*, 53, 2, June 2009, pp. 5-20.
2. Robert Jervis, "Intelligence, Counterintelligence, Perception, and Deception," in Jennifer E. Sims and Burton Gerber, eds., *Vaults, Mirrors, and Masks: Rediscovering U.S. Counterintelligence* (Washington, D.C.: Georgetown University Press, 2009), pp. 69-79.

#### **History**

3. Hayden B. Peake, "OSS and the Verona Decrypts," *Intelligence and National Security* 12, July 1997, pp. 14-34.
4. Cynthia M. Grabo, "Soviet Deception in the Czechoslovak Crisis," *Studies in Intelligence*, Fall 2000, pp. 71-86.
5. James H. Hansen, "Soviet Deception in the Cuban Missile Crisis," *Studies in Intelligence* 46, 1, 2002, pp. 49-58.
6. Stan A. Taylor and Daniel Snow, "Cold War Spies: Why They Spied and How They Got Caught," *Intelligence and National Security* 12, April 1997, pp. 101-125.

#### **Personalities**

7. Robin W. Wink, "The Theorist: James Jesus Angleton," *Cloak & Gown: Scholars in the Secret War, 1939-1961* (NY: William Morrow, 1987), pp. 322-372.
8. Barry G. Royden, "Tolkashev, A Worthy Success to Penkovsky," *Studies in Intelligence* 47, 3, 2003, pp. 5-33.

#### **Tradecraft**

9. "An Assessment of the Aldrich H. Ames Espionage Case and Its Implications for U.S. Intelligence," *Staff Report*, Select Committee on Intelligence, U.S. Senate, 103d Cong., 2d. Sess (November 1, 1994), pp.53-72.
10. Frederick L. Wattering, "Counterintelligence: The Broken Triad," *International Journal of Intelligence and Counterintelligence* 13, Fall 2000, pp. 265-299.

11. James M. Olson, "The Ten Commandments of Counterintelligence," *Studies in Intelligence* 11, Fall-Winter 2001, pp. 81-87.
12. Arthur S. Hulnick, "Intelligence and Law Enforcement," *International Journal of Intelligence and Counterintelligence* 10, Fall 1997, pp. 269-286.

### **Counterterrorism**

13. "Road Map for National Security: Imperative for Change," *Report*, U.S. Commission on National Security/21st Century (Hart-Rudman Commission), Washington, D.C. (March 15, 2001), pp. 365-369.
14. Frank J. Cilluffo, Ronald A. Marks, and George C. Salmoiraghi, "The Use and Limits of U.S. Intelligence," *Washington Quarterly* 25, Winter 2002, pp. 61-74.
15. Richard L. Russell, "The Intelligence War Against Global Terrorism," in Loch K. Johnson, ed., *Strategic Intelligence, Vol. 4: Counterintelligence and Counterterrorism: Defending the Nation Against Hostile Forces* (Westport, CN: Praeger, 2007), pp. 127-138.
16. 9/11 Commission, *Final Report of the National Commission on Terrorist Attacks Against the United States*, Washington, D.C. (2004), pp. 361-428, 562-67.

### **Counterintelligence and Civil Liberties**

17. Loch K. Johnson, "The Huston Plan," in *America's Secret Power: The CIA in a Democratic Society* (NY: Oxford University Press, 1989), pp.133-156.
18. Symposium on Warrantless Wiretaps, *Opening Argument*, Yale University School of Law 1, February 2006, pp. 1-8.
19. Louis Fisher, "Guantánamo," in *The Constitution and 9/11: Recurring Threats to America's Freedoms* (Lawrence, KS: University Press of Kansas, 2008), pp. 211-244.

## **IV. HOLDING NATIONAL SECURITY INTELLIGENCE ACCOUNTABLE**

### **An Overview**

1. Lee H. Hamilton with Jordan Tama, A Creative Tension: The Foreign Policy Roles of the President and Congress, " in *Continuities in the Making of Foreign Policy* (Washington, D.C.: Woodrow Wilson Center, 2002), pp. 41-71.
2. Harry How Ransom, "Surveillance by Congress," in *The Intelligence Establishment* (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1970), pp. 159-179.
3. Loch K. Johnson, "Accountability and America's Secret Foreign Policy: Keeping a Legislative Eye on the Central Intelligence Agency," *Foreign Policy Analysis* 1, 1, March 2005, pp. 99-120.

### **History**

4. "Legislative Oversight of Intelligence Activities: The U.S. Experience," *Report*, S. Prt. 103-88, Select Committee on Intelligence, U.S. Senate, 103d Cong., 2d Sess. (October 1994), pp. 2-26.

5. David M. Barrett, "Joseph McCarthy: The CIA's Other Would-Be Overseer," in *The CIA and Congress: The Untold Story from Truman to Kennedy* (Lawrence: University Press of Kansas), pp. 177-197.
6. CIA Oral History Archives, "Reflections of DCIs Colby and Helms on the CIA's 'Time of Troubles,'" *Studies in Intelligence* 51, 3, September 2007, pp. 11-28.
7. Marvin.C. Ott, "Partisanship and the Decline of Intelligence Oversight," *International Journal of Intelligence and Counterintelligence* 16, 2003, pp. 69-94.
8. Loch K. Johnson, "Congressional Supervision of America's Secret Agencies: The Experience and Legacy of the Church Committee," *Public Administration Review* 64, January/February 2004, pp. 3-14.

### **Implications**

9. Gregory F. Treverton, "Intelligence: Welcome to the American Government," in Thomas E. Mann, ed., *A Question of Balance: the President, the Congress, and Foreign Policy* (Washington, D.C.: The Brookings Institute, 1990), pp. 70-108.
10. Frederick A.O. Schwarz, Jr. and Aziz Z. Huq, "Reform and Resistance: Consequences of the Church Committee," in *Unchecked and Unbalanced: Presidential Power in a Time of Terror* (NY: The New Press, 2007), pp. 50-62.
11. David Oakley, "Taming a Rogue Elephant?" *American Journal of Intelligence*, Winter 2008/2009, pp. 61-67.
12. Frederick P. Hitz, "Unleashing the Rogue Elephant: September 11 and Letting the CIA Be the CIA," *Harvard Journal of Law & Public Policy* 25, 2002, pp. 756-781.
13. Frederic F. Manget, "Another System of Oversight: Intelligence and the Rise of Judicial Intervention," *Studies in Intelligence* 39, 1966, pp. 43-50.
14. L. Britt Snider, "The Relationship, 1976-2004," in L. Britt Snider, *The Agency and the Hill: CIA's Relationship with Congress, 1946-2004*, Center for the Study of Intelligence, Central Intelligence Agency, 2008), pp. 75-91.
15. 9/11 Commission Conclusions on Intelligence Oversight, *The 9/11 Report*, The National Commission on Terrorist Attacks Upon the United States (the Kean Commission), Washington, D.C. (2004), pp. 419-423.
16. Harry Howe Ransom, "A Half Century of Spy Watching," in Loch K. Johnson, ed., *Strategic Intelligence, Vol. 5: Intelligence and Accountability : Safeguards Against the Abuse of Secret Power* (Westport, CN: Praeger, 2007), pp. 183-193.
17. Loch K. Johnson, "Supervising America's Secret Foreign Policy: A Shock Theory of Congressional Oversight for Intelligence," in David P. Forsythe, Patrice C. McMahon, and Andrew Wedeman, eds., *American Foreign Policy in a Globalized World* (New York: Routledge, 2006), pp. 173-192.
18. Michael Herman, "Ethics and Intelligence after September 2001," in L.V. Scott and P.D. Jackson, eds., *Understanding Intelligence in the Twenty-First Century: Journeys into Shadows* (London: Routledge, 2004), pp. 180-194.
19. Ian Leigh, "More Closely Watching the Spies: Three Decades of Experiences," in Hans Born, Loch K. Johnson, and Ian Leigh, *Who's Watching the Spies? Establishing Intelligence Service Accountability* (Washington, D.C.: Potomac Books, 2005), pp. 3-11.