

INTELLIGENCE AND NATIONAL SECURITY

Honors INTL 4440
Presented by the
Department of International Affairs
School of Public and International Affairs
University of Georgia

Meeting Time and Place:
2:00-3:15 Tuesday and Thursday
MLC, Room 269

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

Spring Semester 2018
School of Public and International Affairs
Office Hours: by appt. (email: johnson@uga.edu)

Course Description. This course, known informally on campus as “Bombs, Bugs, Drugs, and Thugs,” will provide an examination of America’s national security policies, with a focus on the seventeen secret intelligence organizations.

Course Objectives. In this twice weekly sequence of meetings, we will explore how the United States acquires and analyzes information about international and domestic security challenges, as well as how it attempts clandestinely to influence events abroad and to shield the nation against hostile intelligence services and terrorist factions. The course will be a blend of theory, empirical research findings, ethical considerations, reform proposals, and specific case studies.

Course Obligations. Each student will be expected to fulfill four obligations: first, to participate actively in classroom discussions on the lecture and reading material (25 percent of the final grade); second, to take part in preparations for a mock congressional inquiry, in which each student will serve on a Task Force (see below) and will help prepare for hearings on some aspect of intelligence reform (25 percent); third, to pass a midterm examination (25 percent); and, fourth, to pass a final examination (25 percent). Each of the two examinations will be based on the content of the classroom lectures and discussions, as well as the reading materials. The precise objectives of the Task Force project will be discussed early in the semester, including how to organize and write a Congressional Briefing Book (CBB).

As for class attendance, experience indicates a strong correlation between regular attendance and outstanding grades on the examinations, not to mention the fact that discussion grades are based in part on participation during the class meetings. The instructor will rely in part on the method of peer-group evaluation for assessing the quality of a student’s participation in the Task Force projects.

The Readings

Allen, Michael. *Blinking Red* (Washington, D.C.: Potomac Books, 2013; now University of Nebraska Press).

Johnson, Loch K. *A Season of Inquiry Revisited: The Church Committee Confronts America's Spy Agencies* (Lawrence: University Press of Kansas, 2015).

Lowenthal, Mark. *Intelligence: From Secrets to Policy*, 7th ed. (Los Angeles: Sage, 2017).

Shane, Scott. *Objective Troy* (New York: Tim Duggan Books, 2015).

Sharp, David H. *The CIA's Greatest Covert Operation* (Lawrence: University Press of Kansas, 2012).

A Reading and Discussion Schedule (readings assignments will be discussed on Thursdays)

WEEK ONE (January 4): *Organizational Meeting; Introductions; Sources and Methods*

Reading: Johnson, Foreword, Preface, Appendix [Drop Period: Jan. 4-10]
Lowenthal, Preface, Ch. 1

WEEK TWO (January 9, 11): *Intelligence Structure*

Reading: Sharp, Ch. 1
Johnson, Chs. 1, 2, 3
Lowenthal, Chs. 2, 3

WEEK THREE (January 16, 18): *Threat Assessment and the Intelligence Cycle*

Reading: Sharp, Ch. 2
Lowenthal, Chs. 11, 12
Johnson, Chs. 4, 5, 6

[Part of the Jan. 18 meeting will be devoted to a Task Force organizational session in our regular classroom.]

WEEK FOUR (January 23, 25): *The Collection and Processing of Intelligence*

Reading: Sharp, Chs. 3, 4
Lowenthal, Chs. 4, 5
Johnson, Chs. 7, 8, 9

WEEK FIVE (January 30, February 1): *The Analysis and Production of Intelligence*

Reading: Sharp, Ch. 4
Lowenthal, Ch. 6
Johnson, Chs. 10, 11, 12

[Much of the classroom period on February 1 will be devoted to Task Force projects.]

WEEK SIX (February 6, 8): *Why Intelligence Analysis Fails*

Reading: Sharp, Ch. 5
Johnson, Chs. 13, 14, 15

WEEK SEVEN (February 13, 15): *The Dissemination of Intelligence*

Reading: Sharp, Ch. 6
Lowenthal, Ch. 9
Johnson, Chs. 16, 17, 18

WEEK EIGHT (February 20, 22): *The Intelligence Cycle: A Review*

Reading: Sharp, Ch. 7
Johnson, Chs. 19, 20, 21

WEEK NINE (February 27, March 1): *Counterintelligence*

Reading: Sharp, Epilogue
Lowenthal, Ch. 7
Johnson, Chs. 22, 23, postscript

MIDTERM EXAMINATION
(March 1)

WEEK TEN (March 6, 8): *CBB Task Force Work Week* (no class meetings)

Reading: Allen, front materials, Chs. 1, 2, 3, 4
Lowenthal, Ch. 8
Johnson, Chs. 16, 17, 18
Shane, Parts I and II
Byrne, Foreword, Preface, Chs. 1-4

WEEK ELEVEN (March 13, 15): *Spring Break*

WEEK TWELVE (March 20 and 22): *Covert Action*

Reading: Allen, Chs. 5, 6, 7, 8
Johnson, Chs. 19, 20
Shane, Part III

[Withdrawal deadline: March 19]

WEEK THIRTEEN (March 27, 29): *Intelligence Oversight, I*

Reading: Allen, Chs. 9, 10, 11, 12
Johnson, Chs. 21, 22
Lowenthal, Ch. 10, 14
Shane, Part IV

WEEK FOURTEEN (April 3 and 5): *ISA Meetings in San Francisco*

No classes: work on Briefing Books

WEEK FIFTEEN (April 10, 12): *Intelligence Oversight, II*

Reading: Allen, Chs. 13, 14, 15, 16
Johnson, Ch. 23, Postscript, end materials
Byrne, Chs. 13-15, Conclusion

Tuesday: Task Force 1 **TASK FORCE PRESENTATIONS BEGIN**
Thursday: Task Force 2

WEEK SIXTEEN (April 17, 19): *Intelligence Ethics*

Reading: Allen, Ch. 17, Epilogue
Lowenthal, Chs. 13, 15

Tuesday: Task Force 3
Thursday: Task Forces 4

WEEK SEVENTEEN (April 24): *In-Class Final Examination Review Day*

Reading: Review course material since the Midterm Exam

TASK FORCE BRIEFING BOOKS DUE ON APRIL 25
Delivered to the Third Floor Candler Hall Receptionist, by 5:00 pm

[April 26 is Reading Day.]

WEEK EIGHTEEN (May 1: Final Examination, 3:30-5:30, normal classroom location)

Absolutely no exceptions to the midterm and final exam schedules, or to the Congressional Briefing Book (CBB) due date.

Addendum:

List of Intelligence Task Forces (TFs):

- TF1. Drones as a PM Option
- TF2. Amending IRTPA
- TF3. Spies on Campus
- TF4. Spies and the Media
- TF5. Intelligence and Environmental Security
- TF6. An MI5 for the United States?

Organizational Form for the CBB:

1. Binder with Rings and Tabs
2. Cover Sheet with Title of Briefing Book and Staff Names
3. Statement of Purpose
4. Chronology
5. Background Paper (with subheadings and robust notes)
6. Summary of Recommendations
7. Suggested Witnesses (with brief bios)
8. Suggested Questions (and likely answers)
9. Bibliography
10. Photocopy of the Best Article (or two)

Everything in the CBB should be double-spaced and presented in New Times Roman font (12 point), with attractive margins for each page and each page numbered. Graphics are encouraged, when relevant. Mandatory: smooth prose free of jargon, clichés, and typos. Recommended style guide: Strunk and White, *Elements of Style*.

Happy Spring Semester to All!

A 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, 98th Cong., 1st 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 21st 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, CT: Praeger, 2007), pp. 21-34.

Intelligence Collection

11. Arthur S. Hulnick, "What's Wrong with the Intelligence Cycle," *Intelligence and National Security* 21 (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.
15. Mark M. Lowenthal and Robert M. Clark, *The 5 Disciplines of Intelligence Collection* (Los Angeles, Sage, 2016).
16. David H. Sharp, *The CIA's Greatest Covert Operation* (Lawrence: University Press of Kansas, 2012).

Intelligence Analysis

17. Jack Davis, "A Policymaker's Perspective on Intelligence Analysis," *Studies in Intelligence* 38, 1995, pp. 7-15.
18. Richard K. Betts, "War and Decision: Why Intelligence Failures Are Inevitable," *World Politics* 31, 1, 1978, pp. 61-89.
19. 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

20. Paul Pillar, "Intelligence, Policy, and the War in Iraq," *Foreign Affairs* 85, March/April 2006, pp. 15-28.
21. Richard K. Betts, "Policy Makers and Intelligence Analysts: Love, Hate, or Indifference," *Intelligence and National Security* 3, January 1988, pp. 184-189.
22. Mark M. Lowenthal, *Intelligence: From Secrets to Policy*, 7th ed. (Los Angeles: Sage, 2017).

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: Swampland 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, 94th 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, 94th 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, KS: 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.
11. Scott Shane, *Objective Troy* (New York: Tim Duggan Books, 2015).

Implications

12. Bruce D. Berkowitz and Allan E. Goodman, "The Logic of Covert Action," *National Interest* 51, Spring 1998, pp. 38-46.
13. 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.
14. William J. Daugherty, "Approval and Review of Covert Action Programs since Reagan," *International Journal of Intelligence and Counterintelligence* 17, Spring 2004, pp. 62-80.
15. 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.
16. "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

17. Witness Testimony, "The Iran-Contra Affair," *Hearings*, Select Committee on Secret Military Assistance to Iran and the Nicaraguan Opposition, the Inouye-Hamilton Joint Committee, 100th Cong., 1st Sess. (July/August 1987).
18. *Report of the President's Special Review Board* (Tower Commission), Washington, D.C. (February 26, 1987), pp. IV 1-13.
19. 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.
20. 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.
5. David E. Hoffman, *The Billion Dollar Spy* (New York: Anchor Books, 2015).
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. Wettering, “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, CT: 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 Howe 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.
 4. Loch K. Johnson, *Spy Watching: Intelligence Accountability in the United States* (New York: Oxford University Press, 2018).
 5. Loch K. Johnson, *A Season of Inquiry Revisited: The Church Committee Confronts America's Spy Agencies* (Lawrence: University Press of Kansas, 2015).

History

6. "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.
7. 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, KS: University Press of Kansas), pp. 177-197.
8. 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.
9. Marvin C. Ott, "Partisanship and the Decline of Intelligence Oversight," *International Journal of Intelligence and Counterintelligence* 16, 2003, pp. 69-94.
10. 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.
11. Michael Allen, *Blinking Red* (Washington, D.C.: Potomac Books, 2013).

Implications

12. 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.
13. 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.
14. David Oakley, "Taming a Rogue Elephant?" *American Journal of Intelligence*, Winter 2008/2009, pp. 61-67.
15. 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.
16. Frederic F. Manget, "Another System of Oversight: Intelligence and the Rise of Judicial Intervention," *Studies in Intelligence* 39, 1966, pp. 43-50.
17. 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.
18. 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.

19. 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, CT: Praeger, 2007), pp. 183-193.
20. 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.
21. 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.
22. 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.
23. Frederick A.O. Schwarz Jr. and Aziz Z. Huq, *Unchecked and Unbalanced: Presidential Power in a Time of Terror* (New York: The New Press, 2007).