

**UNIVERSITY COLLEGE and DEPARTMENT OF POLITICAL SCIENCE**  
**University of Oklahoma**  
**UCOL 1022:001 - Freshman Seminar: The CIA and Congress**  
**Fall Semester 2006**

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Prof. David H. Ray  
224 Dale Hall Tower

MW 11:30 AM -12:20 PM  
907 Dale Hall Tower

**Texts:** Students are to purchase the following three texts at local bookstores:

Mark M. Lowenthal, **INTELLIGENCE: FROM SECRETS TO POLICY, Third Edition** (CQ Press, 2006, paperback)

Robert Baer, **SEE NO EVIL: THE TRUE STORY OF A GROUND SOLDIER IN THE CIA'S WAR ON TERRORISM** (Three Rivers Press, 2003, paperback)

Gary Schroen., **FIRST IN: AN INSIDER'S ACCOUNT OF HOW THE CIA SPEARHEADED THE WAR ON TERROR IN AFGHANISTAN** (Presidio Press, 2006, paperback)

In class students also will be given a packet of readings, including (among others):

"Interview with Senator David Boren," from Frank Smist, **CONGRESS OVERSEES THE U.S. INTELLIGENCE ESTABLISHMENT**, Second Edition, University of Tennessee Press, 1994

Chapter 2, "Petroleum Politics and the American Intervention of 1953," from James Bill, **THE EAGLE AND THE LION: THE TRAGEDY OF AMERICAN-IRANIAN RELATIONS**, Yale University Press, 1988

"Man of the Year 1952," **TIME** (magazine), January 7, 1952, pp. 18-21

**Course Objectives:** This course will examine these two questions: (1) Can a democracy control its intelligence agencies? (2) How can the US increase the effectiveness of its intelligence agencies? Since the 9-11-2001 attack on the World Trade Center, everyone would agree the US needs effective intelligence agencies, but how can such secret organizations be monitored and controlled by a democratic and open institution like the U.S. Congress? We will attempt to answer that question by studying Congressional oversight of US intelligence agencies from 1950 to the present. We will give consideration to CIA covert operations at specific times in Iran, Guatemala, Cuba, Zaire, Angola, and Nicaragua; we will give special consideration to US covert operations in Afghanistan from 1979 through 2001 (and the CIA's relationships with Saudi and Pakistani intelligence), and in central Asia and Iraq during the 1990s. Further, we will consider the reorganization of the US intelligence community, as proposed by the 9-11 Commission (in July 22, 2004), and as adopted in the Intelligence Reform Act signed into law in December, 2004.

**Requirements:** Students are expected to complete the reading assignments according to the attached schedule. There will be **THREE** short quizzes, and a Final Exam. Students will be given very specific advance notice of what will be covered in each quiz. Students will write **SIX** one-page papers, each summarizing one chapter of assigned readings (or viewing online a PBS News Hour segment) and expressing the student's assessment of, and reaction to, that chapter or segment.

**Grading:** In computing semester grades, the course requirements will be weighted as follows:

Three scheduled quizzes @ 13 percent each = 39 percent

Final Exam = 25 percent

Six one-page papers @ 6 percent each = 36 percent

TOTAL FOR COURSE GRADE = 100 percent

**Students with Disabilities:** Any student in this course who has a disability that may prevent him or her from fully demonstrating his or her abilities should contact me personally as soon as possible so we can discuss accommodations necessary to ensure full participation and facilitate your educational opportunities.

**Civility in Class:** It is assumed that this class can be conducted in a spirit of full academic freedom but also with civility and courtesy directed toward all. Accordingly, ANY serious idea or point of view may be expressed by any member of the class, but this must be done courteously and with civility. Extraneous conversation while either the instructor or another student is speaking should be avoided. One objective of the course is to encourage all students to think, speak, and write at an intellectual level appropriate to a university education at a fine university.

**Academic Misconduct:** University policy will be followed.

**University College Attendance Policy:** Students are allowed three absences for any reason without penalty. For each absence beyond those three, the course grade will be lowered by one letter. Seven or more absences = a grade of "F."

**Office Hours:** Mondays, 2:30-3:30 PM, and Fridays, 10:30-11:30 -- 224 DaHT

**Teaching Assistant:** Holly Barber

**Email Address:** Students should address messages to me at either [dray@ou.edu](mailto:dray@ou.edu) OR [profdavidray@yahoo.com](mailto:profdavidray@yahoo.com) address. Since I have approximately 600 students in five different classes this semester, it will be very helpful if you put "1022 Section 001" in the subject of your message.

**Provost's Policy on Academic Integrity:**

Academic integrity means honesty and responsibility in scholarship. Professors have to obey rules of honest scholarship, and so do students. Here are the basic assumptions about academic work at the University of Oklahoma:

- (1) Students attend OU in order to learn and grow.
- (2) Academic assignments exist for the sake of this goal.
- (3) Grades exist to show how fully the goal is attained.
- (4) Thus, all work and all grades should result from the student's own effort to learn and grow. Academic work completed any other way is pointless, and grades obtained any other way are fraudulent.

Academic integrity means understanding and respecting these basic truths, without which no university can exist. Academic misconduct -- "cheating" -- is not just "against the rules." It violates the assumptions at the heart of all learning. It destroys the mutual trust and respect that should exist between student and professor. Finally, it is unfair to students who earn their grades honestly.

For more information, including a statement of what constitutes academic misconduct and plagiarism, see OU's "A Student's Guide to Academic Integrity" at <http://www.ou.edu/provost/integrity/>

**Readings Packet:**

In our first class session, each student will be given a portfolio of photocopied readings that will include four sets of readings as specified below. Please take a few moments at the end of our first class, to verify that your portfolio does indeed contain all four:

- Chapter 2 ("Petroleum Politics and the American Intervention of 1953," from James Bill, **THE EAGLE AND THE LION: THE TRAGEDY OF AMERICAN-IRANIAN RELATIONS** (Yale University Press, 1988)
- "Man of the Year 1952: Mohammed Mossadegh," **TIME** (magazine), January 7, 1952, pp. 18-21
- "Interview with Senator David Boren," from Frank Smist, **CONGRESS OVERSEES THE U.S. INTELLIGENCE ESTABLISHMENT**, Second Edition, University of Tennessee Press, 1994
- Excerpts from Steve Coll, **GHOST WARS: THE SECRET HISTORY OF THE CIA, AFGHANISTAN, AND BIN LADEN, FROM THE SOVIET INVASION TO SEPTEMBER 10, 2001** (Penguin Press, 2004). For this course, we will read Coll's Prologue, chapters 4-5, chapters 7 and 9, and chapters 20-21.

**COURSE WEBSITE:**

Every student enrolled in the class should be able to access our course website on Desire2Learn, OU's course management webtool. To find the website, go to this URL: <http://www.learn.ou.edu> and log in. You will need to sign in with your OU Username (OUNetID)

and password. If you don't know your OUNetID, find help at <https://webapps.ou.edu/support/> or by phone at 325-HELP, which is available 24 hours/day, 7 days/week.

You can use this website to find an online copy of the syllabus, important announcements about the course, major intelligence documents, and a host of links to the websites for the most important US intelligence agencies, websites relating to specific CIA covert operations, and general scholarly resources on US intelligence.

We will also use the Digital Drop Box accessible on the course website for the submission of all written work that is assigned in the course. In this sense, the course attempts to be as "paperless" as possible.

There is a Gradebook function on the course website, which will give you both fast notification of your scores on specific assignments and also a cumulative record of your progress in the course.

**IMPORTANT  
ADDITIONAL  
DOCUMENTS:**

The last two pages of this syllabus (following the course schedule with specific reading assignments for each day of class) include some summary information that will be useful to you for future reference as we begin to discuss the complicated issues involved in the structure and history of the U.S. intelligence community. The last page of the syllabus contains a list of all 20 Directors of the CIA since the agency's creation in 1947 through August 2006. We will discuss seven of these individuals at some length in class during the semester, and one should also know the last two Directors, since they are so recent; one replaced the other only three months ago.

On the next-to-last page of the syllabus, there are the official titles of recent investigations into the performance of the US Intelligence Community with regard to two major perceived failures: (1) the failure to predict and prevent the 9/11/2001 attack on the World Trade Center, and (2) the inaccurate assessment of Iraq's access to Weapons of Mass Destruction (WMD) prior to the 2003 American invasion. Each of these intelligence failures was the subject of two separate investigations, one by Congressional Intelligence committees, and one by a Bipartisan Commission specially appointed for this purpose. All four reports are accessible on our course website under "Content" and "Intelligence Documents."

**Dates**

**Topics/Requirement Due Dates**

**Reading Assignments**

August 21

Introduction to the Course;  
the Apparent Paradox Between

	Intelligence Activity and Democracy	
August 23	Historical Evolution and Current Organization of the U.S. Intelligence Community	Baer, pp. xiii-xix and Lowenthal, ch. 1
<b>August 24</b>	<b>Self-Introductory Papers Due In Class</b>	
August 28	What Is Intelligence? Four Functions of Intelligence Agencies; Recruitment into Intelligence Careers; Qualities Desirable in Intelligence Officers	Lowenthal, ch. 2
August 30	Current Perceptions of Crisis and/or Failure in the CIA and Intelligence Community; the OSS and the Legacy of William Donovan the Early Cold War and the Role of DCI Allen Dulles; Relationships Among Agencies Within the US Intelligence Community; the DCI as a “Two-Hats” Job	Baer, pp. 3-62
<b>September 4</b>	<b>LABOR DAY – NO CLASS</b>	
September 6	The Cold War Origins of the Modern US Intelligence Community; Soviet Successes and Failures; CIA Failures and Successes	Lowenthal ch. 3
September 12	Becoming a CIA Officer in the Cold War Era: Internal Organizational Structure of the CIA and the Informal “Cultures” of the Directorates of Intelligence and Operations	Baer, pp. 65-167 and Lowenthal, ch. 4
September 14	The Dispute Over the Origins of the Cold War: Yergin’s Riga and Yalta Axioms as Conflicting Interpretations of the USSR; Collection and the Collection Disciplines	Lowenthal, ch. 5
<b>September 18</b>	<b>FIRST SHORT QUIZ IN CLASS</b>	
September 20	Analysis: the Most Complex Intelligence Function; the Korean War and the Shift of Cold War Conflict to Third World Proxies; Covert Operation in Guatemala in 1954; Khrushchev’s “Secret Speech”	Lowenthal, ch. 6 online; Time magazine article

of 1956 and the Hungarian Revolution;  
the Abandonment of “Roll-back”

September 25	Traditional Societies and the Impact of Modernization from-Without; How Modernization-from-Without Affected Traditional Societies; the Experience of Muslim Societies in General and of Iran and the Ottoman Empire in Particular	Kautsky and C.E. Black chapters (recommended, but not required, copies available in class); Lowenthal, ch. 8 (REQUIRED)
September 27	Ajax, the CIA’s Covert Operation in Iran, 1952-53; Assessments of Operation Ajax and Uncertainties About It Based on the Existing Historical Record	James Bill, “Petroleum Politics and the American Intervention 1951-1953,” from <b>THE EAGLE AND THE LION</b> , and Powers, ch. 8; Readings on Iran available online; <i>Time</i> Magazine article on Mossadeq, Jan. 7, 1952
October 2	The Rise of Fidel; the Debacle at the Bay of Pigs; Operation Mongoose and Assassination Plots, the CIA and the Cuban Missile Crisis of 1962; US Counterintelligence Failures	Lowenthal, ch. 7
October 4	The President’s Role in TECHINT; Signals Intelligence and the NSA; Aerial Reconnaissance and the NRO; the U-2 and the “Bomber Gap” and “Missile Gap” of the 1950’s; the Shoot-Down of the U-2	Lowenthal, ch. 9
October 9	Covert Operations and the Problems Posed by Congressional Oversight and a Free Press in an Open and Democratic Society; the End of the “Cold War Consensus” and Bitter Domestic Disputes Over US Policy in Vietnam, Chile, Angola; the 1975 Congressional Investigations of the CIA and FBI; the “Family Jewels” and the Beginnings of Assertive Congressional Oversight of the CIA	Lowenthal, ch. 10
October 11	The Hughes-Ryan Amendment and the Iran-Contra Scandal of 1986: How the Iranian and Nicaraguan	Lowenthal ch. 13, and Frank Smist, “Interview with Senator David

	Revolutions of 1979 Cripple the CIA	Boren”
<b>October 16</b>	<b>SECOND SHORT QUIZ IN CLASS</b>	
October 18	CIA Estimates of Soviet Strength and Intentions During the Cold War; the Rise of “Detente” and the Swing Back to “Containment” in 1980; How Did the US Win the Cold War?	Lowenthal, ch. 11
October 23	CIA Operations Officers in the Field In the Post-Cold-War Era; Dealing with Terrorism in Lebanon; Recruiting Agents Against Saddam in Northern Iraq in the Late 1990s; How Propriety and Politics Thwart Effectiveness	Baer, pp. 171-271 and Lowenthal, ch. 12
October 25	1979 Soviet Invasion of Afghanistan and the CIA’s Role in Organizing the <i>mujahideen</i> Islamic guerrillas Against the Soviet Client Government During the 1980s; the Surprising End to the Cold War	Steve Coll excerpts, Prologue and chs. 4-5
October 30	Gaining an Overview of US Policy Toward Afghanistan During the Rise of Islamist Extremism: the Situation in 1979 Following the Islamic Revolution in Iran; the Attack on the US Embassy in Pakistan; the Rise and Decline of a Pro-Soviet Government in Afghanistan; the Surprise Soviet Invasion of 1979	Steve Coll excerpts, chs. 7 and 9
November 1	Initial US Response to the Soviet Invasion; the Origins of Saudi Arabia and the Role of Wahhabism and US Oil Interests; Saudi Intelligence and the Bin Laden Family; How the Pakistani ISI Served As Exclusive Conduit for US Arms and Money; US Inability to Perceive Pakistani Interests and Intentions; the Role of Ahmed Shah Massoud; Factions Among the Mujahedin	Steve Coll excerpts, ch. 20
November 6	The Emergence of Osama Bin Laden; Clinton’s Low Priority for Intelligence	Steve Coll excerpts, ch. 21

and Foreign Policy in General; the US Abdication from Afghanistan; Bin Laden's Response to the Iraqi Invasion of Kuwait; His Expulsion to the Sudan and His Emergence As Financier of Sunni Islamist Terrorists in the Arab World; Pakistani Society and Politics and How They Affect the Emergence of the Taliban; the Creation of the CIA's Counterterrorism Center and Its Awareness of Bin Laden; the Fall of Kabul to the Taliban; How George Tenet Becomes DCI in 1997

**November 8**

**THIRD SHORT QUIZ IN CLASS**

November 13	The Intelligence Failure of 9/11 and the US Response; Investigations into that Failure: the Joint Inquiry and the 9/11 Commission's Recommendations	Excerpts from the Report of the 9/11 Commission; Schroen, pp. 3-84
November 15	Homeland Defense and the Logic Behind the US War in Afghanistan The Roles of the Intelligence Community and the Military in Afghanistan	Schroen, pp. 87-171
November 21	Initial Success in Afghanistan and the Apparent Failure at Tora Bora	Schroen, pp. 175-270
November 27	"Rumsfeld's War" and the Subsequent US Occupation of Iraq; Why the Shift to Iraq What Are Its Consequences?	Schroen, pp. 273-364
November 29	The Intelligence Failures on Iraqi WMD and the Alleged Politicization of Analysis	Paul Pillar article from <i>Foreign Affairs</i> (distributed in class)
December 4	The Intelligence Reform Act of 2004 and the New Director of National Intelligence	CRS paper, "Statutory Authority of the DNI" (distributed in class)
December 6	Where Are We Now? The Current Debate	
<b>December 13 (WEDNESDAY)</b>	<b>FINAL EXAM FROM 1:30 to 3:30 PM</b>	

## FOUR RECENT MAJOR REPORTS ON INTELLIGENCE FAILURES AND INTELLIGENCE EFFECTIVENESS

- US Senate Select Committee on Intelligence and US House Permanent Select Committee on Intelligence, **REPORT OF THE JOINT INQUIRY INTO INTELLIGENCE COMMUNITY ACTIVITIES BEFORE AND AFTER THE TERRORIST ATTACKS OF SEPTEMBER 11, 2001**, Issued December, 2002, 838 pages
- National Commission on Terrorist Attacks Upon the United States, **THE 9/11 COMMISSION REPORT**, Issued July 22, 2004, 585 pages; see especially, chapter 12 ("What to Do? A Global Strategy," 38 pages) and chapter 13 ("How to Do It: A Different Way of Organizing the Government," 30 pages)
- US Senate Select Committee on Intelligence, **REPORT ON THE US INTELLIGENCE COMMUNITY'S PREWAR INTELLIGENCE ASSESSMENTS ON IRAQ**, Issued July 7, 2004, 521 pages
- The Commission on the Intelligence Capabilities of the United States Regarding Weapons of Mass Destruction, **REPORT TO THE PRESIDENT**, Issued March 31, 2005, 618 pages

All of these reports have been posted on our course website on Desire2Learn. To find them, simply log in and go to the course website. Click on "Content" in the main menu, and you will see active links to the documents under the submenu heading "Intelligence Documents." In most cases, the reports are pdf files, so you will need a program like Acrobat Reader to open them. You may download this program free of charge at:

<http://www.adobe.com/products/acrobat/readstep2.html>

<b>Director of CIA</b>	<b>Appointed by</b>	<b>Tenure as Director</b>
Sidney Souers	Truman	Jan. 23 1946-June 10, 1946
Hoyt Vandenberg	Truman	June 10, 1946-May 1, 1947
Roscoe Hillenkoetter	Truman	May 1, 1947-Oct. 7, 1950
Walter Bedell Smith	Truman	Oct. 7, 1950-Feb. 9, 1953
Allen Dulles	Eisenhower	Feb. 26, 1953-Nov. 29, 1961
John McCone	Kennedy	Nov. 29, 1961-April 28, 1965
William Raborn	Johnson	April 28, 1965-June 30, 1966
Richard Helms	Johnson	June 30, 1966-Feb. 2, 1973
James Schlesinger	Nixon	Feb. 2, 1973-July 2, 1973
William Colby	Nixon	Sept. 4, 1973-Jan. 30, 1976
George H.W. Bush	Ford	Jan. 30, 1976-Jan. 20, 1977
Stansfield Turner	Carter	March 9, 1977-Jan. 20, 1981
William Casey	Reagan	Jan. 28, 1981-Jan. 29, 1987
William Webster	Reagan	May 26, 1987-Aug. 31, 1991
Robert Gates	G. H.W. Bush	Nov. 6, 1991-Jan. 20, 1993
R. James Woolsey	Clinton	Feb. 5, 1993-Jan. 10, 1995
John Deutch	Clinton	May 10, 1995-Dec. 15, 1996
George Tenet	Clinton	July 11, 1997-July 11, 2004
Porter Goss	G. W. Bush	August 10, 2004 - May 6, 2006
Michael Hayden	G. W. Bush	May 26, 2006 -