I. COURSE REQUIREMENTS:

Course Description: Designed for undergraduate and graduate students with some background in US diplomatic history and Third World politics, the course will probe the dynamics of CIA covert wars through comparative case histories during the last half of the 20th Century. Sweeping across four continents, the seminar will explore the central role that these covert wars that played in international history during the Cold War and its aftermath. Sometimes these clandestine interventions have ended successfully; sometimes they have left behind ruined battlefields that become geopolitical black holes of lasting local, regional, and international instability.

After several sessions reviewing the origins of the CIA and its distinctive patterns of its covert warfare, the seminar will apply a case-study approach to covert wars in Europe, Asia, Africa, and Latin America—-including, the anti-Mossadeq coup in Iran, Sukarno’s overthrow in Indonesia, the Congo operation, and the ongoing covert war in Afghanistan. Reflecting the significance of Southeast Asia to CIA operations, the seminar will devote four sessions to this region, including the Huk revolt in the Philippines, destabilization of the Sukarno regime in Indonesia, counter-guerilla operations in South Vietnam, and the secret war in Laos—arguing that the latter two operations are central to understanding contemporary conflicts in Afghanistan and Iraq.

As the course progresses, the class will engage in a collective model-building exercise, drawing insights from each successive case to build, piece-by-piece, a working paradigm for understanding both CIA operations and the larger covert netherworld of which they are a part. By the third week, the class will realize that the literature is devoted largely to simple narrative, admittedly no mean feat when dealing with covert operations, and is thus devoid of any theoretical framework that might add requisite academic depth to what has remained little more than chronicle or reportage. With each passing week, therefore, we will engage in a collective, cumulative model-building exercise to construct an analytical framework for probing the context, conduct, and consequences of each CIA covert operation, with specific analytical criteria for each phase. For “context,” we will devise an applied historical analysis that identifies key actors during the conduct of CIA operation and then traces them backward until we come to some watershed in that nation's history—-that is, a time when these actors emerged in a political array that seemed to resonate with the issues at stake during the later covert war. In the “conduct” phase, we will learn to identify the weapons or tactics in the Agency's evolving arsenal of covert warfare, using global comparative analysis to attach some larger significance to the particular operation under study. Finally, in the “consequences” phase we will examine the long-term impact of each operation at three levels--in the society that was the site of this covert battleground, its immediate region, and a larger geopolitical arena, for both the world order and the conduct of US foreign policy.

Admittedly, this latter or “consequences” phase of analysis has a potentially critical perspective that might prove divisive in a class that may include diverse viewpoints from anti-
globalization activists and aspirant intelligence analysts. Instead of pursuing such normative or ethical analysis, the class might best maintain analytical coherence by adopting a real politik approach that assesses each operation on its own terms, weighing short-term tactical gains in a Cold War context against long-term costs for both the society involved and larger, longer-term US geopolitical interests. In several cases such as the 1953 Iran coup and the Afghan covert wars, the simple juxtaposition of these perspectives can sometimes produce a sharply focused critique. Based on these discussions and additional research, each student will apply this three-phase model to a particular covert war in writing the research essay, hopefully expanding upon the experience gained in this seminar’s weekly discussions.

**Class Meetings:** The seminar is scheduled to meet on Tuesdays, 4:00 to 6:00 p.m. in Room No. 5255 Humanities Building.

**Office Hours:** In Room 5131 Humanities, Thursdays 12:00-2:00 p.m., and other hours by appointment. Telephone: 263-1855 (direct line); 263-1800 (History Department, message). Messages also may be left in Mailbox No. 5026 or sent direct via email to <awmccoy@facstaff.wisc.edu>

**Grading:** In addition to participating in each class, students shall be marked upon their participation in discussions and their weekly writing exercises.

*Class Attendance:* Attendance is mandatory. More than one absence bars successful completion of the course.

*Class Presentations:* From week one, every class meeting shall begin with every student presenting a brief, one-minute analysis of the topic based on two assigned readings--one, if possible, broadly thematic and another focused on a particular covert operation. Alternatively, students can read sources from two or more weeks to compare two covert operations. Then, starting in week two, several students shall offer a 15-minute discussion of most of the readings for the week, which may serve as the basis for their final papers. Each student will thus be required to make two of these oral presentations. Each presenter will meet with the professor twice to plan this presentation: first, briefly at the close of class to apportion the work for the following week’s presentation; next, during Thursday office hours. By Sunday evening preceding the student’s presentation, each presenter will email me a final, five-page outline of the presentation.

*Weekly Discussion Summaries:* Before the first and last class meetings, all students shall deliver to my mailbox a two-page reflection on week’s reading. The first paper will address the question: “Assess the impact of CIA covert operations on the conduct US Foreign Policy during the past half century.” This paper will be due in my mailbox by 10:00 am, Friday, September 4. The second paper will address a different question: “Applying the lessons learned from study of past CIA covert wars, reflect upon the likely outcome of US military operations in Afghanistan.” This latter paper will be due in my mailbox by 10:00 a.m., Monday, December 7.

*Final Paper:* Drawing upon both primary and secondary sources, students shall write a fifteen-page analytic essay on a single CIA covert war or clandestine operation by following the directions specified below in Part V. While undergraduates are free to examine any of the case studies covered in the course, graduate students should examine a case outside their specialist fields.

For primary sources, depending on the case, students will need to consult Foreign Relations of the United States, US Congressional hearings, the New York Times (on Proquest), and compendia of official documents by organizations such as the National
Security Archive (both bound and web-based). It is anticipated that students shall use their oral presentations as basis for this essay.

First, students shall place a one-page outline of their proposed project in my Humanities Building mail box by 5:00 pm, Monday, November 2—with a complete annotated bibliography showing all primary and secondary sources to be consulted. During that same week, students shall meet individually during office hours with me to discuss their proposed papers.

By 2:30 p.m. on Monday, November 23, students shall submit a 15-page essay with a detailed case study, drawn from both secondary and primary sources, of a single covert operation, assessing both its short-term gains and long-term impact. Each essay shall have full footnote citations and a complete annotated bibliography. Students should use their research skills to cite no less than 20 primary documents from Memorial Library and the Internet, using sites such as the CIA’s own or the National Security Archive.

**Final Grade:** Mark in the course shall be computed as follows:

--discussion papers: 20%
--oral presentations: 50%
--research essay: 30%

**Readings--Texts:** The following text is available for purchase at University Book Store (UBS) on the State Street Mall:


**Readings--Library:** There is no single text or group of texts capable of meeting the broad agenda of the course. In preparation for each meeting, students are expected to read all of the required readings below marked by an asterisk (*). Those presenting should review all readings in the “required” section. The undergraduate library in Helen C. White will hold 50 selected books on three-hour reserve, but all journal articles will have to be searched from the stacks in Memorial Library. The texts are also available via <e-reserve>, which you can access through your <MyUW> account.

**II. READINGS** [N.B.: *Noteworthy Reading]*:-

[Discussion Paper Due, 10:00 am, Friday, September 4]

**WEEK 1 (September 8): CENTRAL INTELLIGENCE--ORIGINS & HISTORY**

*Required:*


*Rudgers, David F.  

Smith, R. Harris.  

*Weiner, Tim,  

Winks, Robin W.  

**Recommended:**

Ameringer, Charles D.  

Center for the Study of Intelligence.  

Colby, William.  

Corson, William R.  

Ford, Corey and Alastair MacBain.  
*Cloak and Dagger; the Secret Story of OSS* New York: Random House, 1946, pp. 50-60, 60-81.

Jeffreys-Jones, Rhodri.  

Kaplan, Fred,  

Leary, William M.  

Lowenthal, Mark M.  

Mangold, Tom.  

Marchetti, Victor.  
*The CIA and the Cult of Intelligence* New York: Dell, 1980.

Powers, Thomas.  

Ranelagh, John.  

Srodes, James.  


**WEEK 2 (September 15): INTELLECTUAL ASSETS--CULTURE & MIND CONTROL**

*Required--Intellectual Mobilization:*-


*Required--Mind Control:*-


*Marks, John D. The Search for the “Manchurian Candidate”: the CIA and Mind Control* New York: Times Books, 1980, pp. 87-104.


**Recommended--Intellectual Mobilization:**


**Recommended--Mind Control:**


**WEEK 3 (September 22): CIA OPERATIONS/COVERT NETHERWORLD**

*Required—Covert Operations:*


Treverton, Gregory F.  *Covert Action: The Limits of Intervention in the Postwar World* New York: Basic Books, 1987, pp. 3-12, 149-78.


*Required—Covert Netherworld:*

*Ganser, Danielle,* “Beyond Democratic Checks and Balances: The ‘Propaganda Due’ Masonic Lodge and the CIA in Italy’s First Republic.” in, Eric Wilson, ed.,


Recommended:-


**WEEK 4 (September 29): EUROPE—SECURING GREECE, FRANCE & ITALY**

*Required:*


*Recommended:-*


WEEK 5 (October 6): COVERT OPERATIONS IN CENTRAL AMERICA

Required--Central America:-


Required--Guatemala:-


Required--Nicaragua:-


Required--El Salvador:--


Recommended:--


WEEK 6 (October 13): IRAN--COUP AGAINST MOSSADEQ

Required:-


**Recommended:**


WEEK 7 (October 20): PHILIPPINES--DEFEATING THE HUKS

Required:-


Recommended:-


WEEK 8 (October 27): CUBA: SECRET WAR ON CASTRO

Required:


Recommended:-


WEEK 9 (November 3): INDONESIA--TOPPLING SUKARNO

Required--1957-58 Outer Islands Rebellion:-

*Bunnell, Frederick. “American ‘Low Posture’ Policy toward Indonesia in the Months Leading up to the 1965 ‘Coup,’” *Indonesia* 50 (1990), pp. 29-60.


Required--1965-66 Coup & Crushing PKI:


Recommended:-


[Essay Outlines Due, 10:00 am, Monday, November 2]

WEEK 10 (November 10): SOUTH VIETNAM-- COVERT OPS & OPERATION PHOENIX

Required:-


**Recommended:**


WEEK 11 (November 17): LAOS--COUPS, TRIBAL MILITIA & AIR POWER

**Required:-**


**Recommended:-**


[Research Essay Due, 12:00 noon, Monday, November 23]

**WEEK 12 (December 1): CHILE--KILLING ALLENDE**

*Required:*


Recommended:-


WEEK 13 (December 8): AFRICA--CONGO & ANGOLA OPERATIONS

Required--Angola:-


Required Congo:-


Recommended--Angola:-


*Recommended--Congo:-*


[Discussion Paper Due, Monday, 10:00 am, December 14]

**WEEK 14 (December 15): AFGHAN CIVIL WARS, 1979-2009**

*Required--Politics:-*


*Cogan, Charles, G. “Partners in Time: The CIA and Afghanistan since 1979,”* *World Policy Journal* 10, no. 2 (Summer 1993), pp.73-83


*Required--Opium:-*


*Chouvy, Pierre-Arnaud, "Narco-Terrorism in Afghanistan,"* *Terrorism Monitor* 2, No. 6 (25 March 2004).


Recommended:-


Cold War International History Project (Website for Afghan documents).  


III. MAJOR ESSAY QUESTION:-

1.) By surveying context, conduct, and consequences, assess the short-term success and long-term impact of a single CIA covert operation upon both US foreign policy and international stability.

IV. LEARNING FROM FILM & FICTION:

FILM--Suggested Titles:

--Miscellaneous Films: The films listed below are all highly recommended and are available on video at the more specialist Madison area video outlets:
   1.) "The Quiet American" (black and white; with Audie Murphy)
   2.) "The Quiet American" (color; with Michael Caine)
   3.) “The Skeleton Coast” (Angola)
   4.) “The Tailor of Panama.”
   5.) “Shadow Play” (documentary, Director: Chris Hilton, Indonesia, 2003)

--Learning Support Services in Van Hise Hall: This on-campus media center has a collection of feature films and documentaries that can provide visual imagery that will help this chronicle of colonialism, revolution, diplomacy, and battles come alive. Among the films available are:
   1.) “The Trial of Henry Kissinger”
   2.) “Bomies” (Laos)

FICTION--with Non-Fiction Titles:

1.) Graham Greene, The Quiet American.
2.) Graham Greene, Our Man in Havana.
3.) Graham Greene, The Third Man.
4.) John LeCarré, The Tailor of Panama.
5.) Jean Larteguy, Bronze Drums
6.) Paul Theroux, The Consul’s File
7.) Christopher Koch, The Year of Living Dangerously
8.) Cristopher Koch, Highways to a War
V. HOW TO WRITE A RESEARCH ESSAY—A THREE-STEP METHOD:

1.) Step One--Need to Read:
   a.) Sources/Research:
      1.) All good essays begin with the three “Rs”—reading, research, and reflection.
      2.) Like most essays, a history term paper is a distillation of its author's reading and reflections upon the subject at hand. The quality of an essay's expression and analysis usually reflects the depth and diversity of its author's reading.
      3.) Conversely, if you do not read, then your essay will very likely reflect a certain lack of depth.

   b.) How to Read for an Essay:
      1.) Using the course syllabus, begin with a general text to get an overview of the problem.
      2.) Using the syllabus or textbooks, select more specific sources.
      3.) As you read, begin forming ideas in your mind about:
         (a) your overall hypothesis, and;
         (b) the evidence you need or have found to support your argument.
      4.) As you read, take notes, either on paper, or in the margin of a photocopy of the source. As you take notes, make sure you have the bibliographic information for your source: author, title, place of publication, publisher, and relevant pages.
      5.) Towards the end of your reading, draw up an outline of the essay. If you are missing sources for the argument you would like to present, then do additional reading.

   c.) Citing Your Sources:
      1.) Assuming three paragraphs per page, you should have one source or note per paragraph.
      2.) Every idea that is not your own and every major body of data you use in your essay should be sourced. In particular, quotations must be sourced.
      3.) You may use end notes or footnotes in the following format:


      4.) For a second, sequential citation of the same work use “Ibid.; and for all subsequent, non-sequential citations of the same work use a short citation form, that might be:

         McCoy, Southeast Asia Since 1800, pp. 77-78.

      5.) For details, see, The University of Chicago Press, A Manual of Style.

2.) Step Two—Framing the Argument:
   a.) Outline: With your reading done, you are ready to outline your argument. Begin by asking yourself the single, central question you will ask and answer in the course of this paper. Next, write a one- or two-page outline of your essay with the basic components discussed below.

   b.) Overall structure: Every scientific report, whether natural or social, has three basic elements—the problem/hypothesis, the evidence/argument, and the conclusion. To summarize very broadly, the introduction asks a question and poses a hypothesis, the argument arrays evidence to explore that hypothesis, and the conclusion reflects upon the original hypothesis in light of the evidence presented.

      Of these three elements, the opening formulation of an hypothesis is, by far, the most difficult. In your opening paragraph, try to stand back from the dense mass of material
you have read and articulate a thesis, which usually explains causality (why events occurred) or analyzes significance (the particular import of an event or a pattern of events). Then identify the factors, topics, or elements that you will explore to test your thesis. Ideally, these factors should serve as a broad outline of the topics that you will explore in the next section of your essay, the argument/evidence. Here are some further reflections on each of these sections:

1.) **The Problem:** In your introduction, state the problem clearly.
   a.) If necessary, you should give your definition of any key terms that require a specific usage (e.g., "revolution.")
   b.) In stating your problem, refer to the literature in the syllabus.
   c.) A standard and often effective device is to identify two differing schools of thought about a single problem.
   d.) Make sure you are examining the main point, not a minor side issue.

2.) **The Evidence:** In the middle part of your essay, you must present evidence—in some logical order—to deal with the problem posed at the beginning of your essay. Be specific—give the reader a brief narrative of an event or provide some statistical or anecdotal evidence.

3.) **The Conclusion:** In the final page or two of your essay, reflect on the problem as stated in the introduction in light of the evidence you presented in the middle part of the essay. Stretch the data you present for clarity, but do not exaggerate or over-extend the usefulness of your data.

c.) **Level of Argument:** It is difficult to spell out in precise terms what I mean by “level of argument.”
   1.) Drawing upon reading and lectures, try to frame an argument that seems to address the question in the most direct and significant manner possible, drawing the most convincing possible evidence to support the case your are making.
   2.) How do you define an appropriate question and level of analysis? You can sensitize yourself to the question by reading several sources with diverse viewpoints and approaches.

d.) **Nature of History Questions:** In courses such as this one, history involves the study of change in large-scale human communities, societies and nations, over time. Most history essays ask you to understand or explain two aspects of change—events and their causes, or, simply, what happened and why it happened. Thus, most history questions ask you to explain elements of the following:
   1.) In a limited period of time, explain the factors underlying a given event. Why did that event happen?
   2.) Explain the impact that an event, such as a war or revolution, had upon a human community within a period succeeding the actual event.
   3.) Over a longer period of time, explain how and why complex communities changed in a given way.