CIA Covert Warfare & US Foreign Policy

I. COURSE REQUIREMENTS:--

Course Description: Designed for advanced undergraduates with some background in US diplomatic history and Third World politics, this seminar will probe the dynamics of CIA covert wars during the last half of the 20th Century through comparative case histories. The seminar will approach this significant facet of US diplomatic history by focusing on the covert wars that have often left something akin to black holes of regional and global instability. After several sessions reviewing the origins of the CIA and the character of its clandestine operations, the seminar will apply a case-study approach to major CIA operations in Asia, Africa, and Latin America--including, the anti-Mossadeq coup in Iran, Sukarno’s overthrow in Indonesia, the Congo operation, and the Afghan covert wars. 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.

By the third week, the class will realize that the literature is devoted largely to simple narrative, no mean feat when dealing with covert wars, and is thus devoid of any theoretical framework that might add requisite academic depth to what has remained little more than reportage. With each passing week, we will engage in a collective, cumulative paradigm-building exercise to construct an analytical model 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 identified key actors during the conduct of CIA operation and then trace them backward until we come to some watershed in that nation's history--a time when these actors had 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 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 subsequent conduct of US foreign policy.

Though this latter phase had an implicit moral stance that might have proved divisive in a class that includes anti-globalization activists and aspirant intelligence agents, the class would be best served by adopting a "real politik" approach and assess 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, the 1953 Iran coup and the Afghan covert wars, the simple juxtaposition of these two perspectives will produce a sharply focused critique. Then, for the major research essay, each student will be asked to apply this multi-faceted model to a particular covert war, thus internalizing the collective wisdom gained in the fifteen weeks of this seminar.

Class Meetings: The seminar is scheduled to meet on Tuesdays, 4:00 to 6:00 p.m. in Room No. 5255 Humanities Building, with some sessions in the nearby Curti Lounge.
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, two 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 three times 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 with a rough draft, finally, on Monday, the day before the student’s presentation, at 4:00 pm with a final, five-page outline of the lecture.

Weekly Discussion Summaries: Before the first and last class meetings, all students shall deliver to my mailbox a two-page reflection on week’s readings, focused on the same question: “Assess the impact of CIA covert operations on US Foreign Policy during the past half century.” These papers will be due at 10:00 a.m on Tuesday, January 17 and 10:00 am, Monday, May 1.

Final Paper: Drawing upon both primary and secondary sources, students shall write a 15-page analytic essay on a single CIA covert war or clandestine operation by following the directions specified below in Part V. 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, March 27—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, April 24, 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 all of the assigned readings below. 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.: *Promising Recommended Reading]:-

[Discussion Paper Due, 10:00 am, Tuesday, January 17]

WEEK 1 (January 18): CENTRAL INTELLIGENCE--ORIGINS & HISTORY

Required:-


Recommended:-


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


**WEEK 2 (January 24): 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:-


Herken, Gregg, Counsels of War New York, Oxford: 1987, pp. 111-34.

**Recommended—Mind Control:-**


WEEK 3 (January 31): CIA COVERT OPERATIONS

**Required:-**


Recommended:-


Twentieth Century Fund. Task Force on Covert Action and American Democracy. The Need To Know: The Report of the Twentieth Century Fund Task Force on
WEEK 4 (February 7): EUROPE--FIGHTING SOCIALISM IN GREECE, FRANCE, ITALY

**Required:**


**Recommended:**


**WEEK 5 (February 15): COVERT OPERATIONS IN CENTRAL AMERICA**

*Required--Central America:*


*Required--Guatemala:*


*Required--Nicaragua:*


Required--El Salvador:-


Recommended:-


**WEEK 6 (February 21): IRAN--COUP AGAINST MOSSADEQ**

*Required:*-


Recommended:-


Alexander, Yonah and Allan Nanes, eds. The United States and Iran: a Documentary History Frederick: Aletheia Books, 1980.


Richards, Helmut. “America’s Shah Shahanshah’s Iran” MERIP Reports No. 40 (September 1975), pp. 3-22, 24-26.


WEEK 7 (February 28): PHILIPPINES--HUK CAMPAIGN & PRESIDENTIAL POLITICS

Required:-


*Recommended:*


**WEEK 8 (March 7): CUBA: BAY OF PIGS & KILLING CASTRO**

*Required:*-


Recommended:-


WEEK 9 (March 21): INDONESIA--TOPPLING SUKARNO

Required--1957-58 Outer Islands Rebellion:


Required--1965-66 Coup & Crushing PKI:


Recommended:


[Essay Outlines Due, Monday, 10:00 am, March 27]

WEEK 10 (March 28): SOUTH VIETNAM-- COVERT OPS & OPERATION PHOENIX

Required:


*Recommended:*


**WEEK 11 (April 4): LAOS—COUPS, TRIBAL MERCENARIES & AIR POWER**

*Required:*


Recommended:-


WEEK 12 (April 11): CHILE--KILLING ALLENDE

Required:-


Recommended:-


**WEEK 13 (April 18): AFRICA--CONGO & ANGOLA OPERATIONS**

**Required--Angola:-**


**Required Congo:-**


Recommended--Angola:-


Recommended--Congo:-


[Essays Due, Monday, 10:00 am, April 24]


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


Mamdani, Mahmood, *Good Muslim, Bad Muslim: America, the Cold War, and the Roots of Terror* New York: Pantheon, 2004, pp. 119-77.
Required--Opium:-


Recommended:-


Cold War International History Project (Website for Afghan documents) <http://wwics.si.edu/index.cfm?topic_id=1409&fuseaction=library.Collection&class=New%20Evidence%20on%20the%20Soviet%20Intervention%20in%20Afghanistan>


[Discussion Paper Due, Monday, 10:00 am, May 1]

**WEEK 15 (May 2): WAR ON TERROR**

*Required:*-


Recommended:-


III. MAJOR ESSAY QUESTION:-

1.) Assess the short-term success and long-term impact of a single CIA covert operation upon both US foreign policy and international stability.

IV. PERSPECTIVES 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.) “Bombies” (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:

1.) Prose:
   a.) Procedure:
      1.) By hand write out an outline of about 2 pages for a 10 to 15 page essay. Each projected paragraph in the essay should be a line in your outline.
      2.) Write a first draft. If using a personal computer, there is a very real possibility that it will read like a long, chatty letter home, not a major research essay.
      3.) Reading aloud to yourself, if necessary, edit the prose and produce a second draft.
   b.) Sentences:
      1.) Each sentence should be a complete sentence with subject, verb, and direct object.
      2.) Vary your sentences to include short periodic sentences; simple compound sentences; compound sentences with clauses in apposition; and longer sentences communicating detail.
   c.) Paragraphs:
      1.) Start your paragraph with “topic sentence”—that is, a periodic or compound sentence stating the basic message of this particular paragraph.
      2.) Varying your sentence structure, elaborate and expand this theme into a fully developed paragraph.
      3.) Within the paragraph, try to link your sentences so that they flow from one to another.
      4.) Paragraphs should not be too long. If you need a crude guide, have 3 to a page, or 8 to 10 typed lines each.
   d.) Aspire to style:
      1.) There is a music—with melody and rhythm—to your writing. Sensitize your mind's ear to the music of prose and try to make your own word music. Try to make your writing an expression of your inner voice.
      2.) As in all forms of social discourse, there is an appropriate style for an academic essay.
         a.) Use a formal voice—not ponderous, just formal.
         b.) Avoid contractions (can’t, didn’t).
         c.) Avoid colloquialisms.
      3.) In short, adopt a tone or voice somewhere between the chatty colloquial and the ponderously formal.

2.) Argument:
   a.) 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 on 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 logical order—to deal with the problem posed at the beginning of your essay. Be specific—give the reader brief narratives of an event, or provide some statistical 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.

b.) **Level of Argument:** It is difficult to spell out in precise terms what I mean by "level of argument."

   1.) To overstate the case, you should not deal with the question of "the impact of French colonialism in the Mekong Delta" by probing the problem of whether "the French made life in Vietnam happier for the natives."
   2.) How do you define an appropriate question and level of analysis? Simple. You can sensitize yourself to the question by reading several sources with diverse viewpoints and approaches.

c.) **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.

3.) **Sources/Research:**

   a.) **Need to Read:**

   1.) 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 reflects, subtly but ineluctably, the depth and diversity of its author's reading.
   2.) Conversely, if you do not read, then you cannot have anything of any substance to say on a subject.
b. **Basic Format:**

1.) Assuming three paragraphs per page, you should have one source 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:


c. **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.