I. COURSE REQUIREMENTS :-

Course Description: Designed for undergraduate 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 over the past 60 years. Through a focus on world regions such as Southeast Asia, the seminar will explore the central role that these covert wars played in international history during the Cold War and its aftermath. Sometimes these clandestine interventions have ended successfully from a US perspective. But sometimes they have left behind ruined battlegrounds that became 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, Lamumba’s murder in the Congo, 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, it will become apparent that the literature is largely devoted to establishing a basic narrative of events—admittedly a mean feat when dealing with covert operations—and is thus devoid of any theoretical framework that might add requisite academic depth to what remains 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 or factors 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—(1.) in the society that was the site of this covert battleground, (2.) its immediate region, and (3.) a larger geopolitical arena, for both the world order and the conduct of US foreign policy.
Admittedly, this “consequences” phase of analysis has a potentially critical perspective that might prove divisive in a class with diverse viewpoints. 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 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 insights gained in the seminar’s weekly discussions.

**Class Meetings:** This seminar will meet on Tuesdays from 4:00 to 6:00 pm in Room No. 5255 Humanities Building. N.B. No laptops may be opened during class.

**Office Hours:** In Room 5131 Humanities, Thursdays 12:00 to 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 unexcused absence bars successful completion of the course.

- **Class Presentations:** From week one, each class meeting shall begin with every student presenting a brief, two-minute analysis of the topic based on two or more assigned readings. 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. N.B. Each student will thus be required to make two of these oral presentations. Each presenter will meet with the professor two times to plan this presentation: first, briefly at the close of class to apportion the work for the following week’s presentation; and next, during Thursday office hours with a five-page draft outline of the lecture. After revision, the student shall email me a revised draft of the presentation by early Sunday evening.

- **Weekly Discussion Summaries:** There are two short discussion papers due. First, before 9:00 am, Monday, January 23, all students shall deliver to my mailbox (No. 5026) a two-page reflection on week’s reading, addressing the question: “Assess the impact of CIA covert operations on the conduct US foreign policy during the past half century.” Second, before 9:00 a.m., Monday, May 7, students will submit a second paper that asks: “Applying the lessons learned from study of past CIA covert wars, reflect upon the likely outcome of US military operations in Afghanistan.”

- **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 students are free to examine any of the case studies covered in the course, most will find it most productive to expand upon one of their oral presentations to the class.

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 two-page outline of their proposed project in my Humanities Building mailbox by 9:00 a.m., Monday, March 26—with a complete annotated bibliography showing all primary and secondary sources to be consulted. During that same week, students with questions can meet individually during office hours to discuss their proposed papers.

By 9:00 a.m., Monday, April 30, 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 participation: 40%
--research essay: 40%

Readings--Texts: Sold at Rainbow Bookstore, 426 W. Gilman Street (Just off State Street):


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> for History 600, which you can access through your <MyUW> account.

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

[Discussion Paper Due, 9:00 am, Monday, January 23]

WEEK 1 (January 24): CENTRAL INTELLIGENCE--ORIGINS & HISTORY

Required--Origins & History:-


**Recommended:**


WEEK 2 (January 31): 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 (February 7): 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:-


Recommended:-


**WEEK 4 (February 14): EUROPE—SECURING GREECE, FRANCE & ITALY**

*Required:*-


**Recommended:**


**WEEK 5 (February 21): COVERT OPERATIONS IN CENTRAL AMERICA**

**Required--Central America:**


Required--Guatemala:-


Required--Nicaragua:-


Required--El Salvador:-


Recommended:-


WEEK 6 (February 28): IRAN--COUP AGAINST MOSSADEQ

Required:


Recommended:-


WEEK 7 (March 6): PHILIPPINES--DEFEATING THE HUKS


*Currey, Cecil B.* *Edward Lansdale, the Unquiet American* Boston: Houghton Mifflin, 1988, pp. 31-55.


WEEK 8 (March 13): CUBA: SECRET WAR ON CASTRO

Required:-


Recommended:-


WEEK 9 (March 20): 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, 9:00 am, Monday, March 26]

WEEK 10 (March 27): SOUTH VIETNAM-- COVERT OPS & OPERATION PHOENIX

Required:-


**Recommended:-**


*N.B.: SPRING BREAK, March 31—April 8*

**WEEK 11 (April 10): LAOS--COUPS, TRIBAL MILITIA & AIR POWER**

*Required:*


*Recommended:*  


**WEEK 12 (April 17): CHILE--KILLING ALLENDE**

*Required:*


Recommended:


WEEK 13 (April 24): AFRICA--CONGO & ANGOLA OPERATIONS

Required--Angola:-


Required Congo:-


Recommended--Angola:-


*Recommended--Congo*:


[Research Essay Due, 9:00 a.m., Monday, April 30]

**WEEK 14 (May 1): AFGHAN CIVIL WARS, 1979-2009**

*Required--Politics*:


*Required--Opium*:


*Recommended:*


WEEK 15 (May 8): WAR ON TERROR

Required—War on Terror:-


Available Online: http://www.gpoaccess.gov/911/index.html
III. MAJOR ESSAY QUESTION:

1.) By surveying context, conduct, and consequences, assess the short-term success and long-term impact of CIA covert operations in a single nation, covering, as appropriate, impact the country itself, 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)
   6.) “Our Man in Havana”
   7.) “The Third Man”

--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—Some Suggested 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--Reading & Research:-
   a.) Conceptualization:
      1.) All good essays begin with the three “Rs”— reflection, reading, and research.
      2.) The quality of an essay's expression and analysis usually reflects the depth of its author's reading.
      3.) Definitions: Much of the conceptual content in History courses is conveyed through a limited number of basic terms that must be defined to be understood. As you read, try to identify and define the concepts and/or terms central to your essay.
      4.) Questions: Most students approach the study of history as a pursuit for answers, while many historians view their discipline as a search for better questions. As you read, try to articulate your essay’s central question or problem clearly and succinctly.

   b.) How to Read for an Essay:
      1.) Faced with a mass of information, students must learn to read both intensively and extensively--summarizing key theses and skimming a range of sources for evidence.
      2.) Using the course syllabus, begin with a general text to get an overview of the problem.
      3.) Using the syllabus or textbooks, select more specific sources.
4.) As you read, begin forming ideas in your mind about (a.) your overall hypothesis, and (b.) the evidence you need to support your argument.

5.) As you read and take notes, make sure you have the bibliographic information for your source: author, title, place of publication, publisher, and relevant pages.

6.) 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 all significant data you use in your essay should be sourced. In particular, quotations must be sourced.
3.) Use end notes or footnotes in the following format:


4.) For a second, non-sequential citation of the same work a short citation:
27. McCoy, *Southeast Asia Since 1800*, pp. 77-78.

5.) If you are citing the same source in sequence, use Ibid for second citation:
27. McCoy, *Southeast Asia Since 1800*, pp. 77-78.
28. Ibid., pp. 79-80.
29. Ibid., pp. 80-81.


2.) STEP TWO—Framing the Argument:

a.) Outline: With your reading done, you are ready to outline your argument. Begin by articulating 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 in the form of an analytical narrative, 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 and offer resolution.
d.) Make sure you are examining the main point, not a secondary or side issue.

2.) The Evidence: In the middle part of your essay, you must present evidence—in the form of a coherent analytical narrative—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: Some students produce papers that fill all the demands of the format but do not produce an argument that fully engages the problem.

1.) Drawing upon reading and class discussion, 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 you are making.

2.) By reading several sources with diverse viewpoints and reflecting on the authors’ approaches, you can define an appropriate question and level of analysis.

3.) STEP THREE—Writing the Essay:

a.) Procedure:

1.) Write an outline of about 2 pages for a 10-15 page essay. Each projected paragraph in the essay should be a line in your outline.

2.) Following your outline, write a first draft taking care to introduce transitional clauses or sentences that allow the reader to follow your argument paragraph by paragraph.

3.) Reading aloud to yourself, if necessary, edit the prose and produce a second draft.

4.) In your outline, you should have 3 basic sections—(a.) Introduction that states your thesis clearly, (b.) Argument, which arrays your evidence in an analytical, annotated narrative; and (c.) Conclusion, which reflects on the thesis in light of the evidence.

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 each paragraph with “topic sentence”—that is, a periodic or compound sentence stating the basic message of this particular paragraph. A reader should be able to gain the sense of the essay’s argument and structure by reading the first sentence in each 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 with words such as “similarly,” “moreover,” and “however” so that they flow from one sentence to another.

4.) Paragraphs should not be too long. If you need a rough guide, have 3 paragraphs to a page with 8 to 10 typed lines in each.
d.) Aspire to style:

1.) There is a music—with melody and rhythm—to your writing. Sensitize your mind’s ear to the rhythms of your prose. Try to make your writing an expression of your inner voice.

2.) As in all forms of discourse, there is an appropriate style for an academic essay somewhere between the chatty colloquial and the overly formal.
   a.) Use a formal voice—not ponderous, just formal.
   b.) Avoid contractions (can't, didn't).
   c.) Avoid colloquialisms.