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. The seminar will approach the study of modern US diplomatic history by focusing on the covert wars that played a central role in international history during the Cold War and its aftermath. Sometimes these covert interventions have ended successfully; sometimes they have left behind ruined battlegrounds that become geopolitical black holes of 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 wars in Afghanistan and Iraq. 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, 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 includes diverse viewpoints from anti-globalization activists and aspirant intelligence agents. 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, the 1953 Iran coup and the Afghan covert wars, the simple juxtaposition of these two 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 the fifteen weeks of this seminar.

Class Meetings: The undergraduate seminar, History 600, is scheduled to meet on Tuesdays, 4:00 to 6:00 p.m. in Room No. 5257 Humanities Building. The graduate seminar, History 755, will meet sometimes with the undergraduate section and sometimes separately on Fridays from 1:30 to 3:30 pm in Room No. 5245 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, two or three 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 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.” 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 either Iraq or Afghanistan.” These papers will be due at 10:00 a.m on Tuesday, September 2 and 10:00 a.m., Monday, December 8.

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 mailbox by 5:00 pm, Monday, November 3—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 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.: *Noteworthy Reading]*:-**

[Discussion Paper Due, 10:00 am, Tuesday, September 2]

**WEEK1 (September 2): CENTRAL INTELLIGENCE--ORIGINS & HISTORY**

**Required:-**


**Recommended:**


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


WEEK 2 (September 9): 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.


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WEEK 3 (September 16): 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:-


McCoy, Alfred W.  *The Politics of Heroin: CIA Complicity in the Global Drug Trade*  

Scott, Peter Dale. “Drugs, Parapolitics, and the Impoverishment of Mexico.”  


**Recommended:**

Bissell, Richard. *Reflections of a Cold Warrior: From Yalta to the Bay of Pigs*  

Blum, William. *Killing Hope: U.S. Military and CIA Interventions since World War II*  

Campaign for Political Rights. *The CIA and Covert Action*  

Center for National Security Studies. *CIA’s Covert Operations vs. Human Rights*  

Chester, Eric Thomas. *Covert Network: Progressives, The International Rescue Committee, and the CIA*  


Clad, James. *Soldiers of God; Renato Constantino. Covert Action US-Style; Security for Whom?*  
Manila: Socio-Pastoral Institute, SPI Series, Special Issue, series D5-87,1987.

Cline, Ray S. *Secrets, Spies, and Scholars: Blueprint of the Essential CIA*  

*Epstein, Edward Jay. *Deception: The Invisible War Between the KGB and the CIA*  

*Grose, Peter. *Gentleman Spy: the Life of Allen Dulles*  

McCoy, Alfred W. “Requiem for a Drug Lord: State and Commodity in the Career of Khun Sa,”  
in, Josiah McC. Heyman, *States and Illegal Practices*  

Parakal, Pauly V. *Secret Wars of CIA*  

Peterzell, Jay. *Reagan’s Secret Wars*  


**WEEK 4 (September 23): EUROPE—SECURING GREECE, FRANCE & ITALY**

*Required:*


*Recommended:*


**WEEK 5 (September 30): COVERT OPERATIONS IN CENTRAL AMERICA**

*Required--Central America:*


Required--Guatemala:


Required--Nicaragua:


Required--El Salvador:

**Recommended:**


**WEEK 6 (October 7): IRAN--COUP AGAINST MOSSADEQ**

Required:


Recommended:—


WEEK 7 (October 14): PHILIPPINES--DEFEATING THE HUKS

Required:-


Recommended:-


WEEK 8 (October 21): CUBA: SECRET WAR ON CASTRO

Required:


*Recommended:*


**WEEK 9 (October 28): INDONESIA--TOPPLING SUKARNO**

*Required--1957-58 Outer Islands Rebellion:*


**Required--1965-66 Coup & Crushing PKI:**


**Recommended:**


[Essay Outlines Due, 10:00 am, Monday, November 3]

**WEEK 10 (November 4): SOUTH VIETNAM-- COVERT OPS & OPERATION PHOENIX**

**Required:**


Recommended:-


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

Required:-


Recommended:-


WEEK 12 (November 18): CHILE--KILLING ALLENDE

*Required:*


*Recommended:*


[Research Essay Due, 2:30 p.m., Monday, November 24,]

WEEK 13 (November 25): AFRICA--CONGO & ANGOLA OPERATIONS

Required--Angola:-


Weissman, Stephen R. “CIA Covert Action in Zaire and Angola: Patterns and Consequences,” *Political Science Quarterly* 94, no. 2. (Summer, 1979), pp. 263-286. [JSTOR]

*Required Congo:*


*Recommended--Angola:*


*Recommended--Congo:*


WEEK 14 (December 2): AFGHAN CIVIL WARS, 1979-2004

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:-


[Discussion Paper Due, Monday, 10:00 am, December 8]

**WEEK 15 (December 9)): WAR ON TERROR**

**Required—War on Terror:-**


McCoy, Alfred W. *A Question of Torture: CIA Interrogation, from Cold War to the War on Terror* New York: Henry Holt, 2006, chapters


*Required—War in Iraq:—*


*Recommended:—*


### III. MAJOR ESSAY QUESTIONS:

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.) “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.*
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.

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 you 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.