CIA Covert Warfare & US Foreign Policy

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 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.

Class Meetings: The seminar is scheduled to meet on Tuesdays, 4:00 to 6:00 p.m. in Room No. 5257 Humanities Building, with some sessions in the nearby Curti Lounge.

Office Hours: In Room 5131 Humanities, Thursdays 4:00-6:00 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. Two absences bars successful completion of the course.

Class Presentations: Every class meeting shall begin with each student presenting a brief, two-minute commentary on several of the 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 discussions 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 during Thursday office hours with a rough draft and next on Monday 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 18 and 10:00 am, Monday, May 2.

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. 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 14. During that same week, students shall meet individually with me to discuss their proposed papers. By 2:30 p.m. on Monday, April 25, 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.

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:-

[Discussion Paper Due, 10:00 am, Tuesday, January 18]

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

Required:-


Recommended:-

Ameringer, Charles D.  *U.S. Foreign Intelligence: The Secret Side of American History*  

Center for the Study of Intelligence.  *The Origin and Development of the CIA in the Administration of Harry S. Truman*  


Corson, William R.  *The Armies of Ignorance: The Rise of the American Intelligence Empire*  


Leary, William M.  *The Central Intelligence Agency, History and Documents*  

Lowenthal, Mark M.  *U.S. Intelligence: Evolution and Anatomy*  

Mangold, Tom.  *Cold Warrior: James Jesus Angleton: the CIA’s Master Spy Hunter*  

Marchetti, Victor.  *The CIA and the Cult of Intelligence*  


Ranelagh, John.  *CIA, A History*  


Trento, Joseph.  *The Secret History of the CIA*  

Troy, Thomas F.  *Donovan and the CIA: A History of the Establishment of the Central Intelligence Agency*  
Langley: Center for the Study of Intelligence, 1981.

Troy, Thomas F.  *Wild Bill and Intrepid: Donovan, Stephenson, and the Origin of CIA*  
WEEK 2 (January 25): 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 1): CIA COVERT OPERATIONS**

**Required:**


Treverton, Gregory F. **Covert Action: The Limits of Intervention in the Postwar World** New York: Basic Books, 1987, pp. 3-12, 149-178.

**Recommended:**


Parakal, Pauly V. **Secret Wars of CIA** New Delhi: Sterling, 1984.


**WEEK 4 (February 8): 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 22): 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 (March 1): PHILIPPINES--HUK CAMPAIGN & PRESIDENTIAL POLITICS

Required:-


**Recommended:**


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

**Required:**

Bissell, Richard, **Reflections of a Cold Warrior: From Yalta to the Bay of Pigs** New Haven, CT: Yale, 1996, pp. 153-204.


Recommended:-


WEEK 9 (March 15): INDONESIA--TOPPLING SUKARNO

Required:-


*Recommended:*


**[SPRING BREAK--MARCH 21-25]**

**WEEK 10 (March 29): SOUTH VIETNAM-- COVERT OPS & OPERATION PHOENIX**

*Required:*


**Recommended:**


**WEEK 11 (April 5): LAOS--COUPS, TRIBAL MERCENARIES & AIR POWER**

**Required:**


**Recommended:-**


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

**Required:-**


Committee on Foreign Affairs. **Statement (on the Role of the CIA in Chile, at the)**
**Hearings Subcommittee on Interamerican Affairs, September 17, 1974**

Select Committee to Study Governmental Operations with Respect to Intelligence Activities. **Covert Action in Chile, 1963-1973: Staff Report of the Select Committee to Study Governmental Operations with Respect to Intelligence Activities**


**Recommended:**


**WEEK 13 (April 19): AFRICA--CONGO & ANGOLA OPERATIONS**

**Required--Angola:-**


**Required Congo:**


**Recommended--Angola:**


**Recommended--Congo:**


WEEK 14 (April 26): 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:-


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


[Discussion Paper Due, Monday, 10:00 am, May 2]

**WEEK 15 (May 3): WAR ON TERROR**

*Required:*


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. BASIC SKILLS FOR HISTORY COURSES:

1.) Learning Basic Skills: Aside from some basic understanding of Vietnam's history, the main objective of this course is to teach certain basic research, writing, and analytical skills. In lectures and discussion sections, we will try to improve skills essential to success in most liberal arts courses.

   a.) Definitions: Much of the conceptual content in liberal arts courses is encapsulated and conveyed through a limited number of basic terms that must be defined to be understood. Hence, we will seek to help you learn to identify such conceptual terms and define them.

   b.) Questions: Most students approach the study of history as a pursuit of answers, while many professional historians often view their discipline as a search for better questions. This course will try to make students more aware of the nature and construction of historical questions.

   c.) Reading: 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.

   d.) Argument: As you write, you must try to be self-conscious in the construction of your argument.

      1.) Thesis: Define your question and form a thesis to answer it.
      2.) Evidence: Learn the nature of appropriate evidence to defend your thesis.
      3.) Illustration: Illustrate your evidence with specific examples appropriate in kind and quality to your thesis.
4.) **Correspondence:** Seek a close correspondence of thesis and evidence.

e.) **Comparison:** After learning to summarize individual arguments, students should learn to compare—both the theses of contradictory arguments and parallel historical cases.

**VI. 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.