

Seminar on the History of Covert Action (PWAD 680-019 Fall 2016)

T/Th 9:30 – 10:45am, Dey Hall 210

Instructor: Sara Bush Castro (Hamilton Hall 403, sara.castro@unc.edu)

Office Hours: Tuesdays, 1-2:30PM or by appt.

Google chat: sara.castro.unc@gmail.com (Message/chat anytime my status shows “available”)

This undergraduate seminar course will examine from a variety of historical dimensions the phenomenon known as covert action, in which states are motivated to conceal their responsibility for foreign intervention. Covert action can include activities that range from subtle to dramatic in their results, but all forms of covert action have one common element: the sponsoring state seeks the ability to plausibly deny its role in events. This behavior has important and far-reaching implications for international security, diplomacy, and law that we will explore through class discussions and in-depth original research projects. In the process, students will have the opportunity to build skills in professional historical research.

COURSE EXPECTATIONS

In addition to facilitating a sophisticated student discussion of the history of covert action, this course is also designed to introduce students to the tools and methods used by professional historians studying topics in international affairs and global security. Thus, students will each be expected to contribute regularly to class discussions *and* develop an individual research project focusing on a key case or issue related to covert action. Each student in the course will ultimately share his or her research findings in a written paper (~20 pages) and an oral presentation.

Readings

Most reading that you do for this course will be material you find yourself in the context of your own research project. To supplement our discussions, a variety of primary and secondary source material will be made available via the course website on Sakai. You should prepare these readings carefully before the class meets to discuss them. In addition, you should purchase the following book, which will help guide you through the research process:

Marc Trachtenberg, *The Craft of International History: A Guide to Method* (Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press, 2006).

Writing assignments should follow the *Chicago Manual of Style*, the standard style for professional historians. If you are unfamiliar with Chicago style, please consult one of the numerous guides available online or via UNC library. I also highly recommend *A Manual for Writers of Research Papers, Theses, and Dissertations: Chicago Style for Students and Researchers* by Kate L. Turabian (any edition).

Assignments

1. Participation

This course is a seminar: attendance and participation form a major part of your grade. Each student has a responsibility to prepare for and contribute to each class meeting. We will discuss strategies for handling participation if you are introverted. Your participation grade includes providing candid but diplomatic feedback to peers. See “Grading and Course Policies” for specific attendance policies.

2. Autobiography assignment (DUE September 1)

Please prepare a one-page introduction of yourself to be distributed electronically to the class on DATE. This assignment will serve two purposes: 1) to acquaint us with one another and 2) to precipitate a constructive discussion of the writing process.

DO NOT wait until the last minute to begin this assignment; you will likely find that brevity is difficult. One page = one page. Type smaller than 10pt and margins smaller than 1" are unacceptable.

3. Research and reading journal

You should keep a journal of your notes and commentary on our class readings and your research process. The journal may be handwritten or electronic, and we will discuss strategies for keeping such a journal. I will collect your journal at least twice during the semester.

4. Research paper (Due December 1)

You will work over the course of the semester to conceptualize and write a paper on a covert action case based on primary-source research that you conduct. Your final paper should be 20-25 pages, and it is due at the beginning of class on Thursday, December 1.

To assist you in this challenging endeavor, you will also be asked to complete the supplementary assignments described below. You will receive extensive feedback on these assignments and be expected to implement suggestions as appropriate. You will not receive a grade on your supplementary research assignments, BUT please note that failure to submit these assignments on time will result in a deduction to your final paper grade. See "Grading and Course Policies" section for an explanation of late penalties.

Required supplemental research/writing exercises:

A. Concept paper (DUE September 27)

Please prepare a short (3 pages maximum) explanation of your key research question(s), hypothesis, source base, and scope. I will provide further information on content and formatting.

B. Preliminary bibliography (DUE October 11)

Using Chicago Style, please prepare a list of primary and secondary source materials you intend to analyze in your final paper. Annotations are welcome but not required.

C. Rough draft (DUE November 1)

Please submit a draft that contains at least 6 pages of text for (gentle) peer review and instructor comments. **Perfection is not expected** (in fact, perfection may be your worst enemy at this point). You should consider this assignment motivation to avoid procrastinating and a valuable opportunity to receive help and support for any obstacles you are encountering.

6. Oral presentation (dates assigned individually)

Students in this course will be in a position to contribute substantial amounts of interesting content learned individually in the research process. As such, each student will be asked to prepare a 10-minute oral presentation to share research findings (and observations on the research process) with the class. The presentations will be scheduled in the last 2-3 weeks of class. Further information on the format and substance of the presentations will be discussed in class.

GRADING AND COURSE POLICIES

Your course grade will be derived from the following components:

| | |
|------------------------------------|-----|
| Participation | 25% |
| Autobiography exercise | 5% |
| Research/reading journal | 20% |
| Research paper (incl. supplements) | 40% |
| Oral presentation | 10% |

Grading Scale:

| Grade | Percent | |
|-------|---------|---|
| A | 94-100 | Grades in the “A” range indicate mastery of course content. “B” grades indicate strong performance. “C” grades indicate acceptable performance. “D” grades indicate marginal performance. “F” indicates unacceptable performance. For further information about UNC’s grading system, see http://registrar.unc.edu/academic-services/grades/explanation-of-grading-system . <u>Please note:</u> The submission of written work signifies understanding and acceptance of the university’s Honor Code, which is in effect at all times. |
| A- | 90-93 | |
| B+ | 87-89 | |
| B | 83-86 | |
| B- | 80-82 | |
| C+ | 77-79 | |
| C | 73-76 | |
| C- | 70-72 | |
| D+ | 67-69 | |
| D | 60-66 | |
| F | < 60% | |

Deadlines and extensions:

No extensions will be granted except in case of university-approved activities (inform me well in advance!) and properly documented emergencies, such as medical situations. Late written work (i.e., assignments submitted after the start of class on the due date) will be subject to a 1-point grade deduction for every 24 hours or portion thereof late, up to a maximum of 15-point deduction. In the case of supplemental assignments, the deduction will apply to your final paper grade.

Late work will only be accepted for two weeks after the original due date from students who have not received a formal extension; assignments not received in that timeframe will receive no credit.

Grade Appeals:

I take grading extremely seriously and will do the utmost to ensure that you are evaluated fairly. However, if you are dissatisfied with your score on an assignment and want the grade changed, you may submit a written request via email to have your work re-graded. In your request, include a scan or digital photo of your original work with my comments on it and explain why you think you deserve a different score. Your request may be submitted a minimum of 24 hours and a maximum of 2 weeks after I return your assignment in class. Be aware that upon review, your grade may increase or decrease.

Although I am unlikely to change a grade on an assignment without a written request, I would be glad to discuss how your grades are derived and how you can improve your future scores. Visit me in office hours or schedule an appointment to discuss your progress in the course.

Attendance

Our discussions will convey information that is not available in the assigned texts alone. Thus, success in this course requires regular attendance in body, mind and spirit. Please turn off your mobile phones during class so that you can focus and fully participate.

Four or more absences without documentary proof of illness or another university-approved excuse may result in stepwise deductions in your overall grade, up to and including failing the course.

Accommodations

I am happy to work with the Student Advising Center to accommodate students with university-approved reasons for requiring special arrangements (such as testing at the Student Advising Center). If you require accommodations, please let me know during the first two weeks of class. Please note: The University does not consider difficulty with English as an approved reason for accommodation. If English is not your native language and you believe you need extra help with writing, please see me as soon as possible in the semester to discuss strategies for completing coursework.

WEEK 1

August 23: COURSE INTRODUCTION

Loch Johnson, "The First Line of Defense," *National Security Intelligence: Secret Operations in Defense of the Democracies* (Cambridge, UK: Polity Press, 2012), 1-34.

August 25: DEFINING COVERT ACTION

Johnson, "Covert Action: Secret Attempts to Shape History," from *National Security Intelligence*, pp. 77-108.

WEEK 2

August 30: PHILOSOPHY AND ETHICS OF COVERT ACTION

Gregory Treverton, "The Ethics of Covert Intervention," *International Journal* 43:2 (Spring 1988), 302-319.

Draft NSC Directive 10/1 establishing CIA duties, June 15, 1948

Excerpt from the Doolittle Committee on the Covert Activities of the CIA, September 30, 1954

NSC Directive 5412/2, December 28, 1955

September 1: WRITING STYLES AND GETTING STARTED

****Autobiography assignment due** Bring two copies to class!**

Read Trachtenberg, Preface and Chapter Six: Starting a Project

WEEK 3

September 6: HISTORY OF COVERT ACTION IN THE UNITED STATES

David F. Rudgers, "The Origins of Covert Action," *Journal of Contemporary History* 35:2 (April 2000), 249-262.

September 8: THE YEAR OF INTELLIGENCE: REFORMS TO OVERSIGHT OF US INTELLIGENCE

Sen. Frank Church, "Covert Action: Swamp of American Foreign Policy," from Lock K. Johnson and James J. Wirtz, eds., *Intelligence: The Secret World of Spies, An Anthology, 3rd ed.* (New York: Oxford University Press, 2011), 233-237.

WEEK 4

September 13: FINDING SOURCES

Read Trachtenberg, Appendix I: Identifying the Scholarly Literature and Appendix II: Working with Primary Sources

September 15: PROPAGANDA AND COVERT PSYCHOLOGICAL OPERATIONS

Liam Kennedy and Scott Lucas, "Enduring Freedom: Public Diplomacy and U.S. Foreign Policy," *American Quarterly* 57: 2 (June 2005), 309-333.

WEEK 5

September 20: CONCEPTUALIZING YOUR PROJECT

Read Trachtenberg, Chapter Two: History and Theory

September 22: COVERT ECONOMIC DISRUPTION AND POLITICAL INTERVENTION

James Callanan, "A Tale of Three Campaigns: Landmarks in the Heyday of Covert Action," *Covert Action in the Cold War: US Policy, Intelligence and CIA Operations* (London: I.B. Taurus, 2010), 109- 136.

WEEK 6

September 27: COVERT PARAMILITARY OPERATIONS – REGIME CHANGE AND ASSASSINATION

****Concept Paper assignment due in class****

Bruce D. Berkowitz, "Assassination as an Instrument of American Foreign Policy," from Lock K. Johnson and James J. Wirtz, eds., *Intelligence: The Secret World of Spies, An Anthology, 3rd ed.* (New York: Oxford University Press, 2011), 260-264.

September 29: COVERT PARAMILITARY OPERATIONS – GUERRILLAS AND SABOTAGE

Clive Jones, "'Among Ministers, Mavericks and Mandarins': Britain, Covert Action and the Yemen Civil War, 1962-64." *Middle Eastern Studies* 40:1 (January 2004), 99-126.

WEEK 7

October 4: UNDERSTANDING AND ORGANIZING SOURCES

Read Trachtenberg, Chapter Five: Working with Documents

October 6: EVALUATING COVERT ACTION

Loch Johnson, "Evaluating Covert Action," from Lock K. Johnson and James J. Wirtz, eds., *Intelligence: The Secret World of Spies, An Anthology, 3rd ed.* (New York: Oxford University Press, 2011), 265-285.

WEEK 8

October 11: TECHNIQUES FOR HISTORICAL ANALYSIS

****Bibliography assignment due in class****

Read Trachtenberg, Chapter Three: Critical Analysis of Historical Texts; skim Trachtenberg's case study example in Chapter 4.

October 13: NO CLASS – UNIVERSITY DAY

WEEK 9

October 18: EXFILTRATION AND OTHER HIGH-RISK/HIGH-PRIORITY COVERT OPERATIONS

Antonio J. Mendez, "A Classic Case of Deception: CIA Goes Hollywood", *Studies in Intelligence* Winter 1999-2000. See Sakai for link.

October 20: NO CLASS – FALL BREAK

WEEK 10

October 25: THE WRITING PROCESS

Read Trachtenberg, Chapter Seven: Writing it Up

October 27: COVERT ACTION AND GLOBAL SECURITY IN THE COLD WAR

David P. Forsythe, "Democracy, War, and Covert Action," *Journal of Peace Research* 29: 4 (November 1992), 385-395.

WEEK 11

November 1: DISTANT FRONTIERS: SPACE, DEEP OCEANS, AND THE ARCTIC

****Five pages of rough draft due in class****

Choose one of the two articles to read:

Michael A. Glosney, "Strangulation from the Sea? A PRC Submarine Blockade of Taiwan," *International Security* 28:4 (Spring 2004), 125-160.

Rob Huebert, "Submarines, oil tankers, and icebreakers: Trying to understand Canadian Arctic sovereignty and security," *International Journal* 66:4 (Autumn 2011), 809-824.

November 3: COUNTERINTELLIGENCE (**Student research presentations begin**)

Selections from Roy Godson, "Chapter 5: Offensive Defense: Principles of Counterintelligence," *Dirty Tricks or Trump Cards: U.S. Covert Action and Counterintelligence* (Washington, DC: Brassey's, 1995), 184-240.

WEEK 12

November 8: LATIN AMERICA AND THE CARRIBEAN DURING THE COLD WAR

Tracy C. Davis, "Operation Northwoods: The Pentagon's Scripts for Overthrowing Castro," *The Drama Review* 50:1 (Spring 2006), 134-148.

November 10: KGB AND CIA

Vladislav M. Zubok, "Spy vs. Spy: The KGB vs. the CIA, 1960-1962," Cold War International History Project *Bulletin* 1994, 22-33.

WEEK 13:

November 15: IRAN-CONTRA

Timbers, Edwin, "Legal and Intuitional Aspects of the Iran-Contra Affair," *Presidential Studies Quarterly* 20:1 (Winter 1990), 31-41.

November 17: STATE-SPONSORED CYBERWARFARE AND HACKING

Aaron P. Brecher, "Cyberattacks and the Covert Action Statute: Toward a Domestic Legal Framework for Offensive Cyberoperations," *Michigan Law Review* 111:3 (December 2012), 423-452.

WEEK 14:

November 22: THE ART AND SCIENCE OF REVISION

Selections from writing guides, see Sakai

November 24: NO CLASS - Thanksgiving

WEEK 15:

November 29: AFGHANISTAN

Jennifer D. Kibbe, "The Rise of the Shadow Warriors," *Foreign Affairs* 83:2 (March – April 2004), 102-115.

December 1: POST-9/11 COVERT ACTION

**** Final Paper due in class****

Seymour M. Hersh, "Preparing the Battlefield," *The New Yorker* 84:20 (July 7, 2008), 61.

WEEK 16:

December 6: COURSE CONCLUSION

Richard J. Aldrich, "Beyond the Vigilant State: Globalization and Intelligence," *Review of International Studies* 35 (2009), 889-902.

Final exam time: Tuesday, December 13 at 8AM –

Final student presentations and course wrap-up will take place at this time