

THE SECRET STRUGGLE FOR THE GLOBAL SOUTH: ESPIONAGE, COVERT ACTION AND STATE SECURITY DURING THE COLD WAR – A COMPARATIVE PERSPECTIVE

University of Warwick Workshop*,
13-14 September 2018

Most books on intelligence focus on the United States and its English-speaking allies. Academics have been increasingly troubled by the Anglo-centric tradition of intelligence studies, characterized both by its reluctance to embrace new non-English sources and a slowness to consider the critical Cold War battle-grounds of the Global South in locations such as Indonesia, Chile, Syria, or Angola. Even the study of Soviet and Eastern European intelligence has been predominantly shaped by Western primary sources or accounts by journalists and Soviet Bloc defectors.

Today, a new generation of exciting literature, based on recently-declassified Eastern Bloc archival documents, is on the rise. Nevertheless, our understanding of Soviet and Eastern European activities in Asia, Africa, and Latin America, an area of intense competition during the Cold War, remains limited. To date, most studies of Soviet intelligence have focused on the role of intelligence during key Cold War moments, such as the Cuban Missile Crisis, the Prague Spring or the Soviet decision to intervene in Afghanistan. However, recognizing that intelligence officers served in a variety of capacities, including as representatives of cultural and media institutions, educators, and military instructors, this workshop aims to investigate how the practice of secret intelligence was entangled with the performative aspects of Soviet cultural power in the Third World. Much of the recent literature on ‘socialist internationalism’ in the Third World has focused on teachers, doctors, diplomats, academics and economic advisors, neglecting the struggle for security.

In parallel, scholarly interest in the history of Western – US, UK, French or Dutch – security and intelligence assistance to the Global South is also on the rise. With academics increasingly interested in how foreign intelligence and domestic security actors deployed covert action, engaged in intelligence liaison, provided security training and utilized cultural institutions for exercising influence in the Global South or the Third World.

For the first time, this workshop bring together experts on Western, Soviet and regional security actors to understand and compare the nature of Western and Eastern Bloc intelligence and security involvement in the Third World during the Cold War. The participants will investigate how these exchanges affected policies, practices and peoples ‘back home’: in the USSR, Eastern Europe and Western countries. It aims to look at the role of students, dissidents, military trainees, security and intelligence officers, diplomats and violent non-state actors in First/Second-Third World exchanges and seeks to investigate their roles in the development of security regimes in the Global South. We also seek to consider Third World conceptions of this intelligence and security landscape in which the major Cold War competitors operated. The participants will draw on newly available sources and new methodologies, including recently declassified materials from Eastern Europe, Russia, as well as Western archives and private collections.



PROGRAM****13 September****Venue: IAS seminar room, Millburn House**

11.30-13.00 Registration and Lunch

13.00 Opening Remarks

RICHARD ALDRICH (University of Warwick)

13.30 Panel 1. Competing Internationalisms? Sovereignty, Intelligence and the Politics of Security Assistance

Chair: CHRIS MORAN (Warwick)

- *'Creating a Commonwealth security culture? Surveillance, security sector reform and the politics of assistance in building the Tanzanian state, 1945-89'*
THOMAS MAGUIRE (King's College London)
- *The East German 'Stasi' and Vietnam: Between 'proletarian internationalism' and distrust*
MARTIN GROSSHEIM (Passau University)
- *Domesticating Intelligence in Tanzania, 1950-1975*
JAMES BRENNAN (University of Illinois at Urbana-Champaign)

15.00 **Coffee****15.30 Panel 2. Covert Action and 'Active Measures' in the Global South**

Chair: CALDER WALTON (Harvard)

- *India, the Information Research Department, and the Politics of British Covert Action in Cold War South Asia*
PAUL MCGARR (University of Nottingham)
- *Between the Horn and the Cone: On Soviet Bloc covert activities in Ethiopia and Chile in 1960s and 1970s*
RADOSLAV YORDANOV (Davis Centre for Russian and Eurasian Studies, Harvard)
- *Covert Action à la Française*
DAMIEN VAN PUYVELDE (University of Glasgow)

17:00 **Coffee**

17.30 **Panel 3. Eastern Bloc State Security: People, Institutions, and Foreign Policy in the Global South**

Chair: KRISTIN ROTH-EY (UCL SSEES)

- *Soviet Americanists, Latin America, Afghanistan and Espionage in the Cold War, 1958-1991*
SERGEY ZHUK (Ball State University)
- *The GDR's Ministry of State Security, the Cold War and the Global South*
ANNA WARDA (University of Potsdam)
- *Czechoslovak Spies on the "Black Continent": Strategy and Activities of Czechoslovak Intelligence in Africa in the 1960s*
JAN KOURA (Charles University) and MIKULAS PESTA (Exeter)
- *Hungarian Interior Ministry Intelligence in South Vietnam during the Last Years of the War, 1973-1975*
JANOS KEMENY (Independent Scholar)

19:00 **Informal Drinks** (on-campus bar)

20.30 **Dinner for workshop participants**

Keynote Speaker: Professor Christopher Andrew, the author of *The Defence of the Realm: The Authorized History of MI5* (University of Cambridge)

14 September **Venue: IAS seminar room, Millburn House**

9.00 **Panel 4. Coup d'état, Revolution, and Elite Maintenance in Latin America**

Chair: RICHARD ALDRICH (Warwick)

- *'The other hidden hand': Soviet and Cuban intelligence in Allende's Chile*
KRISTIAN GUSTAFSON (Brunel University London)
- *Cuba's DGI and G-2 in the First Decade of Revolution*
JONATHAN C. BROWN (University of Texas at Austin)
- *Juan Antonio Rodriguez Menier and the Cuban Intelligence Service (DGI)*
JAMES LOCKHART (American University of Dubai)

10.30 **Coffee**



11.00 **Panel 5. International Terrorism, Counter-Intelligence and the Cold War in the Middle East**

Chair: MELINA DOBSON (Warwick)

- *From Marxism-Leninism to the Shooting Range: Training Third World Cadres in Czechoslovakia (1982-1989)*
DANIELA RICHTEROVA (Brunel)
- *Codename "Balbek": Polish Military Intelligence in Lebanon, 1965-1990*
PRZEMYSŁAW GASZTOLD (Institute of National Remembrance, Warsaw)
- *State-supported terrorism and the challenges for intelligence: the MI5 and the Shin Beth countering Libya's involvement in Palestinian Armed Struggle, 1973-74*
AVIVA GUTTMAN (King's College London)

12.30 **Lunch**

13.30 **Panel 6. State Security, Sovereignty and Modernization in Africa**

Chair: DAVID ANDERSON (Warwick)

- *'A shadowy figure in the wings': British intelligence relations with Kenya in the 1960s-70s*
POPPY CULLEN (Cambridge)
- *French Intelligence and State-building in early postcolonial Africa 1960-1974*
NATHANIEL POWELL (King's College London)
- *From the Barrel of a Gun: Military Training in the USSR and the Liberation of Guinea-Bissau and Cape Verde, 1961-1974*
NATALIA TELEPNEVA (Warwick)
- *Brothers in arms: Morocco's military intervention in support of Mobutu of Zaire during the 1977 and 1978 Shaba crises*
FARID BOUSSAID (University of Amsterdam)

15.00-15.30 Closing discussion and workshop end.

*The workshop is organized jointly by PAIS and the History Department, University of Warwick. The organizers express their gratitude for support from the Institute of Advanced Study, the Humanities Research Centre, the GPP for "Connecting Culture", and Global History & Culture Centre, University of Warwick

**The program is provisional and can be subject to changes

