

# History 600/755: CIA Covert Warfare & US Foreign Policy

UNIVERSITY OF WISCONSIN-MADISON  
Department of History  
History 600 & 755: Graduate & Undergraduate Seminars

Spring 2007

Mr. McCoy

## I. COURSE REQUIREMENTS :-

**Course Description: 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 20<sup>th</sup> Century. The seminar will approach the study of modern US diplomatic history by focusing on the covert wars that have often left behind ruined battlegrounds that often become black holes of regional and global 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, an innovative 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, no mean feat when dealing with covert wars, and is thus devoid of any theoretical framework that might add requisite academic depth to what has remained little more than reportage. With each passing week, we will engage in a collective, cumulative paradigm-building exercise to construct an analytical model 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 identified key actors during the conduct of CIA operation and then trace them backward until we come to some watershed in that nation's history--a time when these actors had 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 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 subsequent conduct of US foreign policy.

Though this latter phase had an implicit moral stance that might have proved divisive in a class that includes anti-globalization activists and aspirant intelligence agents, the class would be best served by adopting a "real politik" approach and assess 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 will produce a sharply focused critique. Then, for the major research essay, each student will be asked to apply this multi-faceted model to a particular covert war, thus internalizing the collective wisdom 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. 5255 Humanities Building, with some sessions in the nearby Curti Lounge. The graduate seminar, History 755, will meet sometimes with the undergraduate section and sometimes separately on Fridays from 1:20 to 3:20 pm in Room No. 5255 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, January 23 and 10:00 am, Monday, May 7.

*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 by following the directions specified below in Part V. 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 27—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, April 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:

McCoy, Alfred W. **The Politics of Heroin: CIA Complicity in the Global Drug Trade** Chicago: Lawrence Hill Books, 2003.

McCoy, Alfred W. **A Question of Torture: CIA Interrogation, from Cold War to the War on Terror** New York: Henry Holt, 2006). {N.B. Paper Back Edition.}

**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.: \*Important Recommended Reading]:-

[Discussion Paper Due, 10:00 am, Tuesday, January 23]

### WEEK 1 (January 23) : CENTRAL INTELLIGENCE--ORIGINS & HISTORY

**Required:-**

Grose, Peter. **Gentleman Spy: the Life of Allen Dulles** Boston: Houghton Mifflin, 1994, pp. 47-72, 361-88.

Jeffreys-Jones, Rhodri, and Christopher Andrew, eds. **Eternal Vigilance?: 50 Years of the CIA** Portland: Frank Cass, 1997, pp. 21-40.

Ranelagh, John. **The Agency: The Rise and Decline of the CIA** New York: Simon and Schuster, 1986, pp. 15-56.

Rudgers, David F. **Creating the Secret State: The Origins of the Central Intelligence Agency, 1943-1947** Lawrence: University Press of Kansas, 2000, pp. 93-108, 109-28, 129-48

Smith, R. Harris. **OSS: The Secret History of America's First Central Intelligence Agency** Berkeley: University of California Press, 1972, pp. 1-35.

Winks, Robin W. **Cloak & Gown: Scholars in the Secret War, 1939-1961** New York: Quill, 1988, pp. 11-59.

***Recommended:-***

- Ameringer, Charles D. **U.S. Foreign Intelligence: The Secret Side of American History** Lexington: Lexington Books, 1990, pp. 1-16.
- Center for the Study of Intelligence. **The Origin and Development of the CIA in the Administration of Harry S. Truman** Washington, DC: Center for the Study of Intelligence, 1995.
- Colby, William. **Honorable Men: My Life in the CIA** New York: Simon & Schuster, 1978, pp. 329-50.
- Corson, William R. **The Armies of Ignorance: The Rise of the American Intelligence Empire** New York: Dial Press, 1977.
- Ford, Corey and Alastair MacBain. **Cloak and Dagger; the Secret Story of OSS** New York: Random House, 1946, pp. 50-60, 60-81.
- Jeffreys-Jones, Rhodri. **American Espionage: From Secret Service to CIA** New York: Free Press, 1977, pp. 73-86.
- Kaplan, Fred, **Wizards of Armageddon** New York: Simon & Schuster, 1983.
- Leary, William M. **The Central Intelligence Agency, History and Documents** Birmingham: University of Alabama Press, 1984, pp. 76-94.
- Lowenthal, Mark M. **U.S. Intelligence: Evolution and Anatomy** Westport: Praeger, with the Center for Strategic and International Studies, 1992.
- Mangold, Tom. **Cold Warrior: James Jesus Angleton: the CIA's Master Spy Hunter** New York: Simon & Schuster, 1991, pp. 30-70, 307-54.
- Marchetti, Victor. **The CIA and the Cult of Intelligence** New York: Dell, 1980.
- Powers, Thomas. **The Man Who Kept the Secrets: Richard Helms & the CIA** New York: Knopf, 1979, pp. 17-33.
- Ranelagh, John. **CIA, A History** London: BBC Books, 1992, pp. 9-48
- Srodes, James. **Allen Dulles: Master of Spies** Washington DC: Regnery, 1999, pp. 470-503.
- Trento, Joseph. **The Secret History of the CIA** Roseville: Forum, 2001.
- 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** New Haven: Yale University Press, 1996, pp. 77-92

**WEEK 2 (January 30): INTELLECTUAL ASSETS--CULTURE & MIND CONTROL**

***Required--Intellectual Mobilization:-***

Herman, Ellen, "Project Camelot and the Career of Cold War Psychology," in, Christopher Simpson, ed. **Universities and Empire: Money and Politics in the Social Sciences During the Cold War** New York: New Press, 1998, pp. 97-123.

Lasch, Christopher, "The Cultural Cold War: A Short History of the Congress for Cultural Freedom," in, Barton Bernstein, ed., **Towards a New Past: Dissenting Essays in American History** New York: Pantheon Books, 1968, pp. 322-59.

Lewontin, R.C., "The Cold War and the Transformation of the Academy," in, Noam Chomsky, ed. **Cold War & the University: Toward an Intellectual History of the Postwar Years** New York: New Press., 1998, pp, 1-33.

Saunders, Frances Stonor. **Who Paid the Piper?: The CIA and the Cultural Cold War** London: Granta Books, 1999, pp. 85-145.

United States. 94<sup>th</sup> Congress, 2d Session. Senate, Select Committee to Study Governmental Operations with Respect to Intelligence Activities, **Foreign and Military Intelligence, Book II: Final Report** Senate Report No. 94-755, 1976. Washington, DC: US GPO, pp. 1-20, 38-136.

***Required--Mind Control:-***

**InTERRORgation: the CIA's Secret Manual on Coercive Questioning (Kubark Counterintelligence Interrogation)** ParaScope, Inc.,1997.

McCoy, Alfred W., **A Question of Torture: CIA Interrogation, from Cold War to the War on Terror** New York: Henry Holt, 2006, chapter 2.

Marks, John D. **The Search for the "Manchurian Candidate": the CIA and Mind Control** New York: Times Books, 1980, pp. 87-104.

Schefflin, Alan W., and Optin, Edward M., Jr. **The Mind Manipulators** New York: Paddington Press, 1978, pp. 106-69.

Schein, Edgar H. **Coercive Persuasion** New York: W.W. Norton & Co., 1961, pp. 23-42, 269-85.

Simpson, Christopher. **Science of Coercion: Communication Research and Psychological Warfare 1945-1960** New York: Oxford University Press, 1994, pp. 3-14, 52-62, 63-92.

Watson, Peter. **War on the Mind: The Military Uses and Abuses of Psychology** New York: Basic Books, 1978, pp. 265-303, 381-402.

Weinstein, Harvey. **Psychiatry and the CIA: Victims of Mind Control** Washington, DC: American Psychiatric Press, 1990, pp. 89-143.

United States. Select Committee on Intelligence. **Project MKULTRA, the CIA's Program of Research in Behavioral Modification: Joint Hearing Before the Select Committee on Intelligence and the Subcommittee on Health and Scientific**

**Research of the Committee on Human Resources** 95<sup>th</sup> Cong., 1<sup>st</sup> sess., August 3, 1977. Washington, DC: GPO, 1977, pp. 1-63.

***Recommended--Intellectual Mobilization:-***

Critchlow, James, **Radio hole-in-the-head/Radio Liberty: an Insider's Story of Cold War Broadcasting** Washington, DC: American U.P. 1995, pp. ix-xi, 15-29.

\*Cumings, Bruce, "Boundary Displacement: Areas Studies and International Studies During and After the Cold War," in, Christopher Simpson, ed. **Universities and Empire: Money and Politics in the Social Sciences During the Cold War** New York: New Press, 1998, pp. 159-82.

Herken, Gregg, **Counsels of War** New York, Oxford: 1987, pp. 111-34.

Lowen, Rebecca. **Creating the Cold War University: The Transformation of Stanford** Berkeley: University of California Press, 1997, pp. 95-146.

***Recommended--Mind Control:-***

Cameron, D. Ewen. **Objective and Experimental Psychiatry**. New York: MacMillan, 1941, pp. 152-68, 185-202, 256-75.

Chavkin, Samuel. **The Mind Stealers: Psychosurgery and Mind Control** Boston: Houghton Mifflin, 1978, pp. 179-96.

\*Gendzier, Irene L., "Play it Again Sam: The Practice and Apology of Development," in, Christopher Simpson, ed. **Universities and Empire: Money and Politics in the Social Sciences During the Cold War** New York: New Press, 1998, pp. 57-88.

McGuffin, John. **The Guineapigs** Harmondsworth, UK: Penguin, 1974.

Mitscherlich, A., and Mielke, F. **The Death Doctors** London: Grune & Stratton, 1968, pp. 213-32.

Pines, Maya. **The Brain Changers; Scientists and the New Mind Control** New York: Harcourt Brace Jovanovich, 1973.

Sargent, William. **Battle for the Mind: A Physiology of Conversion and Brainwashing** Westport, Conn: Greenwood Press, 1957.

Schrag, Peter. **Mind Control** New York: Pantheon Books, 1978, pp. 148-86.

Solomon, P., Mendelson, Jack H., and Kubzansky, Philip E., eds. **Sensory Deprivation: A Symposium Held at Harvard Medical School** Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1961, pp. 220-29.

Ulrich, Roger, Thomas Stachnik, and John Mabry, eds. **Control of Human Behavior** Glenview, IL: Scott Foresman, 1966, pp. 322-30.

### WEEK 3 (February 6): CIA COVERT OPERATIONS/COVERT NETHERWORLD

#### *Required—Covert Operations:-*

Carter, John J. **Covert Operations and the Emergence of the Modern American Presidency, 1920-1960** Lewiston: Edwin Mellen Press, 2002, pp. 95-171.

Johnson, Chalmers, **Blowback: The Costs and Consequences of American Empire** New York, 2000, pp. ix-xxii, 3-33.

Johnson, Loch K. "On Drawing a Bright Line for Covert Operations." **American Journal of International Law** 86, No. 2 (April 1992), pp. 284-309.

Kwitney, Jonathan, **Endless Enemies: The Making of an Unfriendly World** New York: Congdon & Weed, 1984, pp. 315-34.

Loftus, John, **The Belarus Secret** New York: Alfred A. Knopf, 1982, pp. vi-20, 46-129.

Olmsted, Kathryn S. **Challenging the Secret Government: The Post-Watergate Investigations of the CIA and FBI** Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1996, pp. 111-43, 145-69.

Rudgers, David F. "The Origins of Covert Action," **Journal of Contemporary History** 35 No. 2 (April 2000), pp. 249-62.

Rositzke, Harry August. **The CIA's Secret Operations: Espionage, Counterespionage, and Covert Action** Boulder: Westview press, 1988, pp. 119-47.

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:-*

Ganser, Danielle, "Beyond Democratic Checks and Balances: The Propaganda Deu Masonic Lodge and the CIA in Italy's First Republic." Conference: Government of the Shadows, 2006.

McCoy, Alfred W. "Covert Netherworld: Clandestine Services & Criminal Syndicates in Shaping the Philippine State." Conference: Government of the Shadows, 2006.

McCoy, Alfred W. "Mission Myopia: Narcotics as 'Fall Out' from the CIA's Covert Wars," in, Craig R. Eisendrath, ed., **National Insecurity: U.S. Intelligence After the Cold War** Philadelphia: Temple University Press, 2000, pp. 118-48.

McCoy, Alfred W. **The Politics of Heroin: CIA Complicity in the Global Drug Trade** Chicago: Lawrence Hill Books, 2003, pp. 1-23.

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** Oxford: Berg, 1999, pp. 129-67.

Scott, Peter Dale. "Drugs, Parapolitics, and the Impoverishment of Mexico." Conference: Government of the Shadows, 2006.

Scott, Peter Dale. "The Far West Drug Meta Group: Drugs, Managed Violence, and the Russian 9/11." Conference: Government of the Shadows, 2006.

Tunander, Ola. "Democratic State vs Deep State: Approaching the Dual State of the West." Conference: Government of the Shadows, 2006.

Wilson, Eric. "Deconstruction, Parapolitics, and Shadow Government." Conference: Government of the Shadows, 2006.

***Recommended:-***

Bissell, Richard, **Reflections of a Cold Warrior: From Yalta to the Bay of Pigs** New Haven, CT: Yale, 1996, pp 205-24.

Blum, William. **Killing Hope: U.S. Military and CIA Interventions since World War II** Monroe: Common Courage Press, 2004.

Campaign for Political Rights. **The CIA and Covert Action** Washington, DC: Campaign for Political Rights, 1982.

Center for National Security Studies. **CIA's Covert Operations vs. Human Rights** Washington, DC: Center for National Security Studies, 1978.

Chester, Eric Thomas. **Covert Network: Progressives, The International Rescue Committee, and the CIA** Armonk: M.E. Sharpe, 1995, pp. 206-14.

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** Washington: Acropolis Books, 1976, pp. 171-81.

\*Epstein, Edward Jay. **Deception: The Invisible War Between the KGB and the CIA** New York: Simon & Schuster, 1989, pp. 105-11, 196-215.

\*Grose, Peter. **Gentleman Spy: the Life of Allen Dulles** Boston: Houghton Mifflin, 1994, pp. 361-88.

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

Peterzell, Jay. **Reagan's Secret Wars** Washington, DC: Center for National Security Studies, 1984, pp. 1-8.

Stockwell, John. **The Secret Wars of the CIA.** Santa Barbara, CA: The Other Americas Radio, 1986.

Twentieth Century Fund. Task Force on Covert Action and American Democracy. **The Need To Know: The Report of the Twentieth Century Fund Task Force on Covert Action and American Democracy** New York: Twentieth Century Fund Press, 1992.

US Senate, Select Committee to Study Governmental Operations with Respect to Intelligence Activities, **Foreign and Military Intelligence, Book I: Final Report**, 94th Cong., 2d sess., S. Rep. 94-755, Washington, DC: U.S. GPO, 1976.



Yajee, Sheel Bhadra. **CIA Operations Against the Third World** New Delhi: Criterion Publications, 1985, pp. 120-39.

#### **WEEK 4 (February 13): EUROPE—WAR ON SOCIALISM IN GREECE, FRANCE, ITALY**

##### ***Required:-***

Barnes, Trevor. "The Secret Cold War: The C.I.A. and American Foreign Policy in Europe 1946-1956. Part I." **Historical Journal** 24, No. 2 (June 1981), pp. 399-415.

Barnes, Trevor. "The Secret Cold War: The C.I.A. and American Foreign Policy in Europe 1946-1956. Part II," **Historical Journal** 25, No. 3 (September 1982), pp. 649-70.

Brogi, Alessandro. **A Question of Self-Esteem: The United States and the Cold War Choices in France and Italy, 1944-58** Westport: Praeger, 2002, pp. 75-105, 117-157.

Chester, Eric Thomas. **Covert Network: Progressives, The International Rescue Committee, and the CIA** Armonk: M.E. Sharpe, 1995, pp. 6-20, 23-36, 57-73 .

Gaddis, John Lewis, **We Now Know: Rethinking Cold War History** New York: Oxford U.P., 1997, pp. 26-53.

Ganser, Daniele, **NATO's Secret Armies: Operation Gladio and terrorism in Western Europe** London: Frank Cass, 2005, pp. 1-37, 63-83, 84-102.

Karabell, Zachary. **Architects of Intervention: the United States, the Third World, and the Cold War, 1946-1962** Baton Rouge: Louisiana State University Press, 1999, pp. 17-36, 37-49.

McCoy, Alfred W. **The Politics of Heroin: CIA Complicity in the Global Drug Trade** Chicago: Lawrence Hill Books, 2003, pp. 46-76.

Prados, John. **Presidents' Secret Wars: CIA and Pentagon Covert Operations from World War II Through the Persian Gulf** Chicago: I.R. Dee, 1996, pp. 13-60.

Wittner, Lawrence, S. **American Intervention in Greece, 1943-1949** New York: Columbia University Press, 1982, pp. 36-69, 223-53.

##### ***Recommended:-***

Agee, Philip, and Louis Wolf, eds. **Dirty Work: the CIA in Western Europe** Secaucus: L. Stuart, 1978, pp. 81-105, 157-64, 174-83.

\*Ganser, Daniele, **NATO's Secret Armies: Operation Gladio and terrorism in Western Europe** London: Frank Cass, 2005, pp. 212- 23.

Kennan, George, **Memoirs, 1950-1963. Volume II.** Boston: Little, Brown, 1972, pp. 90-104.

Nachmani, Amikam. "Civil War and Foreign Intervention in Greece." **Journal of Contemporary History** 25, No. 4 (October 1990) pp. 489-522.

Pisani, Sallie. **The CIA and the Marshall Plan.** Lawrence: University Press of Kansas, 1991, pp. 58-138.

Trento, Joseph. **The Boys from Berlin: The Secret History of the CIA** Roseville: Forum, 2001.

**The Rote Kapelle: The CIA's History of Soviet Intelligence and Espionage Networks in Western Europe, 1936-1945** Washington, DC: University Publications of America, 1979, pp. 87-117.

## WEEK 5 (February 20): COVERT OPERATIONS IN CENTRAL AMERICA

### *Required--Central America:-*

Kwitney, Jonathan, **Endless Enemies: The Making of an Unfriendly World** New York: Congdon & Weed, 1984, pp. 219-51.

LaFeber, Walter. **Inevitable Revolutions: The United States in Central America** New York: W.W. Norton, 1993, pp. 34-83.

### *Required--Guatemala:-*

Bissell, Richard, **Reflections of a Cold Warrior: From Yalta to the Bay of Pigs** New Haven, CT: Yale, 1996, pp. 80-91.

Cullather, Nick. **Secret History: The CIA's Classified Account of its Operations in Guatemala, 1952-1954** Stanford: Stanford University Press, 1999, pp. 75-104.

Eisenhower, Dwight D. **The White House Years: Mandate for Change, 1953-56** Garden City: Doubleday, 1963, pp. 424-27.

Immerman, Richard H. **The CIA in Guatemala: The Foreign Policy of Intervention** Austin: University of Texas Press, 1982, pp. 161-86.

LaFeber, Walter. **Inevitable Revolutions: The United States in Central America** New York: W.W. Norton, 1993, pp. 111-26.

### *Required--Nicaragua:-*

Garvin, Glenn. **Everybody Had His Own Gringo: The CIA & The Contras** Washington, Brassey's, 1992, pp. 111-34, 160-74.

Kornbluh, Peter, "The Covert War," in, Thomas W. Walker, ed. **Reagan Versus the Sandinistas: the Undeclared War on Nicaragua** Boulder: Westview, 1987, pp. 21-38.

Kornbluh, Peter. **Nicaragua: The Price of Intervention, Reagan's Wars Against the Sandinistas** Washington, D.C.: Institute for Policy Studies, 1987, pp. 9-92.

LaFeber, Walter. **Inevitable Revolutions: The United States in Central America** New York: W.W. Norton, 1993, pp. 293-302.

Leogrande, William M. "The Contras and Congress," in, Thomas W. Walker, ed. **Reagan Versus the Sandinistas: the Undeclared War on Nicaragua** Boulder: Westview, 1987, pp. 202-27.

McCoy, Alfred W. **The Politics of Heroin: CIA Complicity in the Global Drug Trade** Chicago: Lawrence Hill Books, 2003, pp. 487-500.

Webb, Gary. **Dark Alliance: The CIA, the Contras, and the Crack-Cocaine Explosion** New York: Seven Stories Press, 1998, pp. 66-75, 100-22.

***Required--El Salvador:-***

LaFeber, Walter. **Inevitable Revolutions: The United States in Central America.** New York: W.W. Norton, 1993, pp. 243-56, 284-93.

***Recommended:-***

Agee, Philip. **White Paper Whitewash: Interviews with Philip Agee on the CIA and El Salvador** New York: Deep Cover Books, 1981, pp. 75-101.

\*Aybar de Soto, Jose M. **Dependency and Intervention: The Case of Guatemala in 1954** Boulder: Westview Press, 1978.

Cockburn, Leslie. **Out of Control: The Story of the Reagan Administration's Secret War in Nicaragua, the Illegal Arms Pipeline, and the Contra Drug Connection** New York: Atlantic Monthly, 1987, pp. 1-20, 152-167.

\*Grieb, Kenneth J. **Guatemalan Caudillo, the Regime of Jorge Ubico: Guatemala 1931-1944** Athens: Ohio University Press, 1979.

Karabell, Zachary. **Architects of Intervention: the United States, the Third World, and the Cold War, 1946-1962** Baton Rouge: Louisiana State University Press, 1999, pp. 92-107, 108-135.

Marshall, Jonathan et al. **The Iran Contra Connection: Secret Teams and Covert Operations in the Reagan Era** Boston: South End, 1987, pp. 7-49, 187-225.

North, Oliver and Novak, William. **Under Fire: An American Stor.** New York: HarperCollins, 1991, pp. 218-276.

Permanent Select Committee on Intelligence. **Report of the Guatemala Review of the House Permanent Select Committee on Intelligence** Washington, DC: GPO, 1997.

\*Phillips, David A., **The Night Watch** New York: Atheneum, 1977.

Prados, John. **Presidents' Secret Wars: CIA and Pentagon Covert Operations from World War II Through the Persian Gulf** Chicago: I.R. Dee, 1996, pp. 396-418.

Rabe, Stephen G. **Eisenhower and Latin America: The Foreign Policy of Anticommunism** Chapel Hill, NC: 1988, pp. 42-63.

Rabe, Stephen G. **The Most Dangerous Area in the World: Kennedy Confronts Communist Revolution in Latin America** Chapel Hill, NC: 1999, pp. 34-147.

Streeter, Stephen. "Interpreting the 1954 U.S. Intervention in Guatemala: Realist, Revisionist, and Postrevisionist Perspectives." **History Teacher** 34 No. 1 (November 2000), pp. 61-74.

.Select Committee on Intelligence. **Hearing on Guatemala: Hearing Before the Select Committee on Intelligence of the United States Senate** 104<sup>th</sup> Cong., 1<sup>st</sup> sess., April 5, 1995. Washington, DC: GPO, 1995.

Tippin, G. Lee. **The Contra Connection** Canton, Ohio: Daring Books, 1988.

United States Department of Justice. Office of the Inspector General. **The CIA-contra-crack cocaine controversy : a review of the Justice Department's investigations and prosecutions** Washington, D.C. 1997.  
<http://purl.access.gpo.gov/GPO/LPS2112>

\*U.S. Department of State, . Susan K. Holly, ed., **Foreign Relations of the United States, 1952-1954: Guatemala** (Washington, DC: Government Printing Office, 2003).

Tarasov, K. S. **The CIA in Latin America** Moscow: Progress, 1984.

## WEEK 6 (February 27): IRAN--COUP AGAINST MOSSADEQ

### *Required:-*

Abrahamian, Ervand. **Tortured Confessions: Prisons and Public Recantations in Modern Iran** Berkeley: University of California Press, 1999, pp. 73-123.

CIA Clandestine Service History, "Overthrow of Premier Mossadeq of Iran, November 1952-August 1953," March 1954, by Dr. Donald Wilber, Chapters IV-VIII, X. [At National Security Archive:  
<http://www.gwu.edu/~nsarchiv/NSAEBB/NSAEBB28/#documents>]

Eisenhower, Dwight D. **The White House Years: Mandate for Change, 1953-56** Garden City: Doubleday, 1963, pp. 159-166.

Gasiorowski, Mark J. "The 1953 Coup d'Etat in Iran," **International Journal of Middle East Studies** 19, No. 3 (August 1987), pp. 261-86.

Heiss, Mary Ann, "Real Men Don't Wear Pajamas: Anglo-American cultural perceptions of Mohammed Mossadeq and the Iranian oil Nationalization Dispute," in, Peter L. Hahn, Mary Ann Heiss , eds. **Empire and Revolution: The United States and the Third World Since 1945** Columbus: Ohio State University Press, 2001, pp. 178-94.

Karabell, Zachary. **Architects of Intervention: the United States, the Third World, and the Cold War, 1946-1962** Baton Rouge: Louisiana State University Press, 1999, pp. 50-91.

Rejali, Darius M. **Torture and Modernity: Self, Society, and State in Modern Iran** Boulder: Westview Press, 1994, pp. 62-81.

Roosevelt, Kermit. **Countercoup: the Struggle for the Control of Iran** New York: McGraw-Hill, 1979, pp. 68-97, 136-98.

Risen, James, "How a Plot Convulsed Iran in '53 (and in '79)," **New York Times**, 16 April 2000, p. A-1.

- Rubin, Barry, "Lessons from Iran," **The Washington Quarterly** (Summer 2003), pp. 105-115.
- Zahrani, Mostafa T., "The Coup that Changed the Middle East: Mosadeq v. The CIA in Retrospect," **World Policy Journal** 19, no. 2 (Summer 2002), pp. 93-99.

***Recommended:-***

- Abrahamian, Ervand. **Iran Between Two Revolutions** Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1982.
- Alexander, Yonah and Allan Nanes, eds. **The United States and Iran: a Documentary History** Frederick: Aletheia Books, 1980.
- Ambrose, Stephen E. **Eisenhower, Vol. 1** New York: Simon and Schuster, 1983, pp. 332-333.
- Ambrose, Stephen E. **Ike's Spies: Eisenhower & the Espionage Establishment** Garden City: Doubleday, 1981.
- Eisenhower, Dwight D. **The White House Years: Mandate for Change, 1953-56** Garden City: Doubleday, 1963, pp. 159-166.
- \*Gasiorowski, Mark J. and Malcolm Byrne, **Mohammed Mosadeq and the 1953 Coup in Iran** Syracuse: Syracuse University Press, 2004.
- \*Kinzer, Stephen, **All the Shah's Men: An American Coup and the Roots of Middle East Terror** Hoboken: John Wiley & Sons, 2003.
- Kwitney, Jonathan, **Endless Enemies: The Making of an Unfriendly World** New York: Congdon & Weed, 1984, pp. 152-78.
- \*Mirsepassi Ashtiani, Ali. **The Crisis of Secular Politics and the Rise of Political Islam in Iran** Durham: Duke University Press, 1994.
- Richards, Helmut. "America's Shah Shahanshah's Iran" **MERIP Reports** No. 40 (September 1975), pp. 3-22, 24-26.
- U.S. Department of State. **Foreign Relations of the United States, 1952-1954: Vol. X Iran (1951-1954)** Washington, DC: Government Printing Office, 1989.
- \*Wilber, Donald, "CIA Clandestine Service History, "Overthrow of Mossadeq of Iran, November 1952-August 1953" (March 1954).
- Zabih, Sephehr. **The Communist Movement in Iran** Berkeley: University of California Press, 1966., pp. 1-35.

**WEEK 7 (March 6): PHILIPPINES--HUK CAMPAIGN & PRESIDENTIAL POLITICS**

***Required:-***

- Bonner, Raymond. **Waltzing with a Dictator: the Marcoses and the Making of American Policy** New York: Vintage Books, 1988, pp. 28-44.

- Currey, Cecil B. **Edward Lansdale, the Unquiet American** Boston: Houghton Mifflin, 1988, pp. 31-55.
- Fegan, Brian "The Social History of a Central Luzon Barrio," in, Alfred McCoy & Ed. C. de Jesus, eds., **Philippine Social History** Honolulu: Hawaii, 1982, pp. 91-130.
- Kerkvliet, Ben **The Huk Rebellion** Berkeley: University of California, 1977, pp. 156-248.
- Lansdale, Edward G. **In the Midst of Wars** New York: Fordham University Press, 1991, pp. 17-84.
- MacDonald, Douglas J. **Adventures in Chaos: American Intervention for Reform in the Third World** Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1992, pp. 129-59.
- Shaefer, D. Michael. **Deadly Paradigms: the Failure of US Counterinsurgency Policy** Princeton: 1988, pp. 205-39.
- Smith, Joseph Burkholder. **Portrait of a Cold Warrior** New York: Putnam, 1976, pp. 249-321.

***Recommended:-***

- Aldrich, Richard J., Gary D. Rawnsley, and Ming-Yeh T. Rawnsley. **The Clandestine Cold War in Asia, 1945-1965** London: Frank Cass, 2000, pp. 181-194
- Blitz, Amy. **The Contested State: American Foreign Policy and Regime Change in the Philippines** Lanham: Rowman & Littlefield Publishers, 2000.
- Cullather, Nick, **Illusions of Influence: the Political Economy of United States-Philippines Relations, 1942-1960** Stanford: 1994, pp. 96-122, 176-80.
- Greenberg, Lawrence M. **The Hukbalahap Insurrection: A Case Study of a Successful Anti-Insurgency Operation in the Philippines, 1946-1955** Washington, DC: US Army Center of Military History, 1987.
- Pomeroy, William J. **An American Made Tragedy: Neo-Colonialism & Dictatorship in the Philippines** New York: International Publishers, 1974, pp. 41-67.
- Pomeroy, William J., **The Forest: A Personal Record of the Huk Guerrilla Struggle in the Philippines** New York: International Publishers, 1963.
- U.S. Department of State. John P. Glennon, ed. **Foreign Relations of the United States, 1964-1968, Vol. XXVI: Indonesia; Malaysia-Singapore; Philippines** Washington, DC: Government Printing Office, 1992.
- \*U.S. Department of State, Edward Keefer, ed., **Foreign Relations of the United States, 1961-1963, Volume XIII: Southeast Asia** (Washington, DC: Government Printing Office, 1994).

***Required:-***

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

**CIA Targets Fidel: Secret 1967 CIA Inspector General's Report on Plots to Assassinate Fidel Castro** Ocean Press: New York, 1996, pp. 23-61.

Escalante, Fabian. **The Secret War: CIA Covert Operations Against Cuba, 1959-62** Melbourne: Ocean Press, 1995, pp. 114-35.

Fursenko, Alexander and Timothy Naftali, **"One Hell of a Gamble" Khrushchev, Castro, and Kennedy, 1958-1964** New York: Norton, 1997, pp. 77-100.

Gleijeses, Piero. "Ships in the Night: The CIA, the White House and the Bay of Pigs." **Journal of Latin American Studies** 27 No. 1 (February 1995), pp. 1-42.

Higgins, Trumbull. **The Perfect Failure: Kennedy, Eisenhower, and the CIA at the Bay of Pigs** New York: Norton, 1987, pp. 114-53.

Hinckle, Warren, and William W. Turner. **The Fish is Red: The Story of the Secret War Against Castro** New York: Harper & Row, 1981, pp. 23-60.

Karabell, Zachary. **Architects of Intervention: the United States, the Third World, and the Cold War, 1946-1962** Baton Rouge: Louisiana State University Press, 1999, pp. 173-205.

Latham, Michael. **Modernization as Ideology: American Social Science and "Nation Building" in the Kennedy Era** Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 2000, pp. 69-108.

Rodriguez Cruz, Juan Carlos. **The Bay of Pigs and the CIA** New York: Ocean Press, 1999, pp. 100-111, 159-210.

Vandenbroucke, Lucien S. "Anatomy of a Failure: The Decision to Land at the Bay of Pigs," **Political Science Quarterly** 99, No. 3 (Autumn 1984), pp. 471-91.

Weiner, Tim, "C.I.A. Had Ability to Plant Bay of Pigs News, Document Shows," **The New York Times**, 24 March 2001, A-7.

***Recommended:-***

Ayers, Bradley Earl. **The War that Never Was: an Insider's Account of CIA Covert Operations Against Cuba** Indianapolis: Bobbs-Merrill 1976, pp. 1-36, 37-66.

**CIA Targets Fidel: Secret 1967 CIA Inspector General's Report on Plots to Assassinate Fidel Castro** Melbourne: Ocean Press, 1996, pp. 15-120.

Light, Robert E. **Cuba Versus CIA** New York: Marzani & Munsell, 1961, pp. 3-30.

Persons, Albert C. **Bay of Pigs: A Firsthand Account of the Mission by a U.S. Pilot in Support of the Cuban Invasion Force in 1961** Jefferson, NC: McFarland, 1990.

Sergeev, Fedor Mikhailovich. **Secret War Against Cuba** Moscow: Progress Publishers, 1983.

U.S. Department of State. John P. Glennon, ed. **Foreign Relations of the United States, 1961-1963, Vol. X: Cuba, 1961-1962** Washington, DC: Government Printing Office, 1997.

U.S. Department of State. John P. Glennon, ed. **Foreign Relations of the United States, 1961-1963, Vol. XI: Cuban Missile Crisis and Aftermath** Washington, DC: Government Printing Office, 1997.

## **WEEK 9 (March 20): INDONESIA--TOPPLING SUKARNO**

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

Conboy, Kenneth, and James Morrison. **Feet to the Fire: CIA Covert Operation in Indonesia, 1957-1958** Annapolis: Naval Institute Press, 1999, pp. 1-49.

Kahin, Audrey R. and George McT. Kahin. **Subversion as Foreign Policy: the Secret Eisenhower and Dulles Debacle in Indonesia** New York: New Press, 1995, pp. 120-90.

Smith, Joseph Burkholder. **Portrait of a Cold Warrior** New York: Putnam, 1976, pp. 205-24.

U.S. Department of State, John P. Glennon, ed. **Foreign Relations of the United States, 1955-1957. Volume XXII. Southeast Asia** Washington, D.C.: Government Printing Office, 1989, pp. 356-418, 576-78.

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

Aldrich, Richard J., Gary D. Rawnsley, and Ming-Yeh T. Rawnsley. **The Clandestine Cold War in Asia, 1945-1965** London: Frank Cass, 2000, pp. 195-210.

McMahon, Robert. **The Limits of Empire: United States and Southeast Asia Since World War II** New York: Columbia University Press, 1999, pp. 69-104.

U.S. Department of State, Edward Keefer, ed. **Foreign Relations of the United States, 1964-1968, Vol. XXVI: Indonesia; Malaysia-Singapore; Philippines** Washington, DC: GPO, 2001, pp. 334-93.

Scott, Peter Dale. "The United States and the Overthrow of Sukarno, 1965-1967," **Pacific Affairs** 58, No. 2 (Summer 1985), pp. 239-64.

### ***Recommended:-***

Aldrich, Richard J., Gary D. Rawnsley, and Ming-Yeh T. Rawnsley. **The Clandestine Cold War in Asia, 1945-1965** London: Frank Cass, 2000, pp. 195-210.

Brands, H. W. "The Limits of Manipulation: How the United States Didn't Topple Sukarno," **Journal of American History** 76, No. 3 (December 1989), pp. 785-808.



Youth Against War and Fascism. **The Silent Slaughter: The Role of the United States in the Indonesian Massacre** New York: Youth Against War and Facism, 1966, pp. 3-29.

[Essay Outlines Due, Monday, 10:00 am, March 26]

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

***Required:-***

Allen, George W. **None so Blind: A Personal Account of the Intelligence Failure in Vietnam** Chicago: Ivan R. Dee, 2001, pp. 208-33.

DeForest, Orrin, and David Chanoff. **Slow Burn: the Rise and Bitter fall of American Intelligence in Vietnam** New York: Simon and Schuster, 1990, pp. 40-61.

McCoy, Alfred W. **The Politics of Heroin: CIA Complicity in the Global Drug Trade, Afghanistan, Southeast Asia, Central America, Colombia** Chicago: Lawrence Hill Books, 2003, pp. 127-61, 193-261.

McNeill, Ian. **The Team: Australian Army Advisers in Vietnam 1962-1972** (St. Lucia: University of Queensland Press, 1984), pp. 375-411

Moyar, Mark. **Phoenix and the Birds of Prey: the CIA's Secret Campaign to Destroy the Viet Cong** Annapolis: Naval Institute Press, 1997, pp. 35-55, 86-107, 224-32, 281-97.

Snepp, Frank. **Decent Interval: An Insider's Account of Saigon's Indecent End.** New York: Random House, 1977, pp. 31-38, 66-90.

Valentine, Douglas. **The Phoenix Program** New York: William Morrow, 1990, pp. 43-56, 73-88, 159-173.

***Recommended:-***

Harris, Windsong. **Phoenix un-Risen** Denver: The Bowery, 1969.

Lansdale, Edward G., **In the Midst of Wars: An American's Mission to Southeast Asia.** New York: Harper & Row, 1972, pp. 185-281.

Latham, Michael, **Modernization as Ideology: American social science and "nation building" in the Kennedy era** Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 2000, pp. 151-207.

\*Gordon, David F., ed., **Estimative Products on Vietnam, 1948-1975** Washington, D.C.: National Intelligence Council, Government Printing Office, 2005. [includes CD Rom]

Scott, Peter Dale. **Drugs, Oil, and War: The United States in Afghanistan, Colombia, and Indochina** Lanham: Rowman & Little field, 2003, pp. 119-146.

Smith, Warner. **Covert Warrior: Fighting the CIA's Secret War in Southeast Asia and China, 1965-67** **The Vietnam Memoir of Warner Smith** Novato: Presidio, 1996.

Sullivan, John F. **Of Spies and Lies: a CIA Lie Detector Remembers Vietnam** Lawrence: University Press of Kansas, 2002, pp. 78-94, 148-79.

## [SPRING BREAK—MARCH 31 to April 8]

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

Branfman, Fred. **Voices from the Plain of Jars** (New York: Harper & Row, 1972), pp. 3-29, 40-45, 56-61, 124-31.

Branfman, Fred. "Presidential War in Laos," in Nina S. Adams & Alfred W. McCoy, eds., **Laos: War and Revolution** (New York: Harper & Row, 1971), pp. 213-80.

Conboy, Kenneth J. **Shadow War: the CIA's Secret War in Laos** Boulder, CO: Paladin Press, 1995, pp. 57-66, 95-114, 163-81, 247-60, 323-34.

Karabell, Zachary. **Architects of Intervention: the United States, the Third World, and the Cold War, 1946-1962** Baton Rouge: Louisiana State University Press, 1999, pp. 206-28.

McCoy, Alfred W. **The Politics of Heroin: CIA Complicity in the Global Drug Trade** Chicago: Lawrence Hill Books, 2003, pp. 283-349.

McCoy, Alfred W. "America's Secret War in Laos, 1955-1975," in, Marilyn B. Young and Robert Buzzanco, eds., **A Companion to the Vietnam War** (Oxford: Blackwell Publishing, 2002), pp. 283-313.

Parker, James E. **Codename Mule: Fighting the Secret War in Laos for the CIA** Annapolis: Naval Institute Press, 1995, pp. 24-46.

Prados, John. **Presidents' Secret Wars: CIA and Pentagon Covert Operations from World War II Through the Persian Gulf** Chicago: I.R. Dee, 1996, pp. 261-96.

Warner, Roger. **Back Fire: The CIA's Secret War in Laos and its Link to the War in Vietnam** New York: Simon & Schuster, 1995, pp. 49-118.

***Recommended:-***

Castle, Timothy N. **At War in the Shadow of Vietnam: U.S. Military Aid to the Royal Lao Government 1955-1975** New York: Columbia University Press, 1993.

Conboy, Kenneth J. **War in Laos, 1954-75** Carrollton: Squadron/Signal Publications, 1994.

Haney, Walt. "The Pentagon Papers and United States Involvement in Laos," in, Noam Chomsky and Howard Zinn, eds., **The Pentagon Papers : Volume Five** Boston: Beacon Press, 1972, pp. 248-93.

Leary, William M. "The CIA and the 'Secret War' in Laos: The Battle for Skyline Ridge, 1971-1972." **Journal of Military History** 59 No. 3 (July 1995), pp. 505-517.

Morrison, Gayle. **Sky is Falling: An Oral History of the CIA's Evacuation of the Hmong from Laos** Jefferson: McFarland & Co., 1999.

Parker, James E. **Codename Mule: Fighting the Secret War in Laos for the CIA** Annapolis: Naval Institute Press, 1995, pp. 24-46.

Scott, Peter Dale. **Drugs, Oil, and War: The United States in Afghanistan, Colombia, and Indochina** Lanham: Rowman & Little field, 2003, pp. 119-166.

Committee on Foreign Relations. Subcommittee on United States Security Agreements and Commitments Abroad. **Activities of the U.S. Agency for International Development in Laos** 92<sup>nd</sup> Cong., 2<sup>nd</sup> sess., Washington DC: GPO, 1972.

U.S. Department of State, John P Glennon., ed. **Foreign Relations of the United States, 1961-1963, Vol. XXIV: Laos Crisis** Washington, DC: Government Printing Office, 1997.

U.S. Department of State, John P Glennon., ed. **Foreign Relations of the United States, 1964-1968, Vol. XXVIII: Laos** Washington, DC: Government Printing Office, 1992.

Quincy, Keith. **Harvesting Pa Chay's Wheat: the Hmong and America's Secret War in Laos** Spokane: Eastern Washington University Press, 2000.

Warner, Roger. **Shooting at the Moon: the Story of America's Clandestine War in Laos** South Royalton: Steerforth Press, 1996, pp. 35-113.

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

### *Required:-*

Dinges, John. **The Condor Years: How Pinochet and his Allies Brought Terrorism to Three Continents** New York: New Press; New York: W.W. Norton, 2004, pp. 63-81, 99-125.

Jensen, Poul. **The Garotte: The United States and Chile, 1970-1973** Denmark: Aarhus University Press, 1988, pp. 137-72.

Kissinger, Henry. **Years of Upheaval** Boston: Little, Brown 1982, pp. 374-413.

Kornbluh, Peter. **The Pinochet File: A Declassified Dossier on Atrocity and Accountability** New York: New Press, 2003, pp. 1-152.

Committee on Foreign Affairs. **Statement (on the Role of the CIA in Chile, at the) Hearings Subcommittee on Interamerican Affairs, September 17, 1974** Washington, DC: GPO, 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** Washington, DC: GPO, 1975, pp. 1-40.

Uribe, Armando. **The Black Book of American Intervention in Chile** Boston: Beacon Press, 1975, pp. 15-36.

### *Recommended:-*

Aguilera, Pilar, and Ricardo Fredes. **Chile: the Other September 11** Melbourne: Ocean, 2003, pp. 7-26.

Hirsch, Fred. **The CIA and the Labour Movement** Nottingham: Spokesman Books, 1977.

**I.T.T.-C.I.A. Subversion in Chile: a Case Study in U.S. Corporate Intrigue in the Third World** Nottingham: Spokesman Books, 1972.

Michaels, Albert L. **Background to a Coup: Civil Military Relations in Twentieth Century Chile and the Overthrow of Salvador Allende** Buffalo: Council on International Studies, State University of New York at Buffalo, 1975.

Petras, James F., and Betty Petras **The Chilean Coup d'Etat** Nottingham: Bertrand Russell Peace Foundation for the Spokesman, 1973, pp. 3-14.

Petras, James F. and Morris H. Morley. **How Allende fell: a Study in U.S.-Chilean Relations** Nottingham: Spokesman Books, 1974, pp. 37-44, 57-82.

Rojas, Robinson. **The Murder of Allende and the end of the Chilean Way to Socialism** New York: Harper & Row, 1976, pp. 1-47.

Sergeev, Fedor Mikhailovich. **Chile: CIA Big Business** Moscow: Progress Publishers, 1981.

\*U.S. House of Representatives, Subcommittee on Inter-American Affairs of the Committee on Foreign Affairs, **United States and Chile During the Allende Years, 1970-1973** (Washington, DC: Government Printing Office, 1975).

Varas, Florencia. **Coup! Allende's Last Day** New York: Stein and Day, 1975.

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

#### ***Required--Angola:-***

Gleijeses, Piero, **Conflicting Missions: Havana, Washington, and Africa, 1959-1977** Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 2002, pp. 230-346.

Kwitney, Jonathan, **Endless Enemies: The Making of an Unfriendly World** New York: Congdon & Weed, 1984, pp. 126-51.

McFaul, Michael. "The Demise of the World Revolutionary Process: Soviet-Angolan Relations Under Gorbachev," **Journal of Southern African Studies** 16, No. 1 (March 1990), pp. 165-89.

Stockwell, John. **In Search of Enemies: a CIA Story** New York: Norton, 1978., pp. 70-99, 118-56.

Tvedten, Inge. "US Policy Towards Angola Since 1975." **Journal of Modern African Studies** 30 No. 1 (March 1992), pp. 31-52.

#### ***Required Congo:-***

Blum, William. **The CIA, A Forgotten History: US Global Interventions Since World War 2** London: Zed Books, 1986, pp. 174-80.

Gibbs, David N. **The Political Economy of Third World Intervention: Mines, Money, and U.S. Policy in the Congo Crisis** Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1991, pp. 77-101, 103-44.

Kalb, Madeleine G. **The Congo Cables: the Cold War in Africa – from Eisenhower to Kennedy** New York: Macmillan, 1982, pp. 47-108, 175-97.

Kelly, Sean. **America's Tyrant: the CIA and Mobutu of Zaire** Lanham: American University Press, 1993, pp. 27-55.

Schatzberg, Michael G. **Mobutu or Chaos?: the United States and Zaire, 1960-1990** Lanham: University Press of American, 1991, pp. 61-96.

***Recommended--Angola:-***

Council on Foreign Relations. **Intelligence and Foreign Policy: The CIA's Global Strategy** Cambridge: Africa Research Group, 1971.

Dadson, Kweku. **How American Secret Agents Operate in Africa** Winneba: Victory Press, 1967-1974.

Grady, Glen Andrew. **The CIA in Central Africa, 1960-1990** M.A. thesis, Ohio University, June 1996.

Ray, Ellen, et al. **Dirty Work 2: the CIA in Africa** Secaucus: Lyle Stuart, 1979.

***Recommended--Congo:-***

Helmreich, Jonathan E. **United States Relations with Belgium and the Congo, 1940-1960** Newark: University of Delaware Press, 1998, pp. 149-172, 228-251.

James, Karel S. **The United States and the Congo from June 30, 1960 to January 17, 1961: American Presidential Foreign Policy and Press Coverage** Ph. D. dissertation, University of Maryland at College Park, 1989.

Kellams, Dean R. **United States Policy Toward Intervention: with Special Reference to the Congo, 1960-1964** Ph.D. dissertation, Southern Illinois University, 1966.

Mahoney, Richard D. **The Kennedy Policy in the Congo, 1961-1963** Ph.D. dissertation, Johns Hopkins University, 1980.

[Essays Due, Monday, 10:00 am, April 30]

**WEEK 14 (May 1): AFGHAN CIVIL WARS, 1979-2004**

***Required--Politics:-***

Beardon, Milton, "Afghanistan: Graveyard of Empires," **Foreign Affairs** 80, no. 6 (November/December 2001), pp. 17-30.

Cogan, Charles, G. "Partners in Time: The CIA and Afghanistan since 1979," **World Policy Journal** 10, no. 2 (Summer 1993), pp.73-83

Coll, Steve. **Ghost Wars: The Secret History of the CIA, Afghanistan, and bin Laden, from the Soviet Invasion to September 10, 2001** New York: Penguin Press, 2004, pp. 39-169, 538-576.

Cordovez, Diego and Selig S. Harrison. **Out of Afghanistan: the Inside Story of the Soviet Withdrawal** New York: Oxford University Press, 1995, pp. 14-49, 53-72.

Garthoff, Raymond, **Détente and Confrontation** Washington D.C.: Brookings Institution, 1994, pp. 977-1022, 1046-75.

Khan, Riaz, **Untying the Afghan Knot: Negotiating the Soviet Withdrawal**, Durham, N.C.: Duke, 1991, pp. 68-92.

Mamdani, Mahmood, **Good Muslim, Bad Muslim: America, the Cold War, and the Roots of Terror** New York: Pantheon, 2004, pp. 119-77.

***Required--Opium:-***

Chouvy, Pierre-Arnaud, "Opiate Smuggling Routes from Afghanistan to Europe and Asia," **Jane's Intelligence Review** 1 March 2003 <<http://www.pa-chouvy.org/JIR3.htm>>

Chouvy, Pierre-Arnaud, "Narco-Terrorism in Afghanistan," **Terrorism Monitor** 2, No. 6 (25 March 2004).

McCoy, Alfred W. **The Politics of Heroin: CIA Complicity in the Global Drug Trade** Chicago: Lawrence Hill Books, 2003, pp. 461-87, 500-25.

Rubin, Barnett. **Road to Ruin: Afghanistan's Booming Opium Industry** (New York: Center on International Cooperation, New York University, 7 October 2004).

World Bank Country Economic Report, **Afghanistan: State Building, Sustaining Growth and Reducing Poverty** (Washington: World Bank, September 2004).

United Nations, Office on Drugs and Crime, **The Opium Economy in Afghanistan: An International Problem** (New York: United Nations, 2003), pp. 5-17, 127-44.

***Recommended:-***

Baer, Robert. **See No Evil: The True Story of a Ground Soldier in the CIA's War on Terrorism** New York: Crown, 2002, pp. 171-216.

Byrd, William, and Bjorn Gildestad, **The Socio-economic Impact of Mine Action in Afghanistan** (Islamabad: World Bank and North Consulting, Dec. 2001).

Crile, George. **Charlie Wilson's War: The Extraordinary Story of the Largest Covert Operation in History** New York: Atlantic Monthly Press, 2003.

Cold War International History Project (Website for Afghan documents).  
<[http://wwics.si.edu/index.cfm?topic\\_id=1409&fuseaction=library.Collection&class=New%20Evidence%20on%20the%20Soviet%20Intervention%20in%20Afghanistan](http://wwics.si.edu/index.cfm?topic_id=1409&fuseaction=library.Collection&class=New%20Evidence%20on%20the%20Soviet%20Intervention%20in%20Afghanistan)>  
>[http://wwics.si.edu/index.cfm?topic\\_id=1409&fuseaction=library.Collection&class=New%20Evidence%20on%20the%20Soviet%20Intervention%20in%20Afghanistan](http://wwics.si.edu/index.cfm?topic_id=1409&fuseaction=library.Collection&class=New%20Evidence%20on%20the%20Soviet%20Intervention%20in%20Afghanistan)

Cooley, John K. **Unholy Wars: Afghanistan, America and International Terrorism** London: Pluto Press, 2000, pp. 66-106.

- Galiullin, R. Kh. **The CIA in Asia: Covert Operations Against India and Afghanistan** Moscow: Progress Publishers, 1988.
- Harrison, Selig S. **In Afghanistan's Shadow: Baluch Nationalism and Soviet Temptations** New York: Carnegie Endowment for International Peace, 1981, pp. 195-205.
- Kenfick, Frank, and Larry Morgan, **Opium in Afghanistan: People and Poppies, the Good Evil** (Washington: Chemonics International, Feb. 2004).
- Mansfield, David, "What is Driving Opium Poppy Cultivation? Decision Making Amongst Opium Poppy Cultivators in Afghanistan in the 2003/4 Growing Season" (Paper for the UNODC/ONDPC Second Technical Conference on Drug Control Research, 19-21 July 2004.)
- Rashid, Ahmed, **Taliban, Militant Islam, Oil and Fundamentalism in Central Asia** New Haven: Yale University Press, 2001, pp. 17-40, 95-127, 157-169.
- Rubin, Barnett. **The Fragmentation of Afghanistan: State Formation and Collapse in the International System** New Haven: Yale University Press, 2002, pp. 196-264.
- Rubin, Barnett R., "The Failure of an Internationally Sponsored Interim Government in Afghanistan," in, Yossi Shain and Juan J. Linz, eds. **Between States: Interim Governments and Democratic Transitions** New York: Cambridge University Press, 1995, pp. 211-36.
- Rubin, Barnett R., "The Political Economy of War and Peace in Afghanistan, **World Development** 28, no 10 (2000), pp. 1789-1803.
- Scott, Peter Dale. **Drugs, Oil, and War: The United States in Afghanistan, Colombia, and Indochina** Lanham: Rowman & Little field, 2003.
- \*Saikal, Amin, **Modern Afghanistan: History of Struggle and Survival**. New York: I.B. Tauris, 2004.

[Discussion Paper Due, Monday, 10:00 am, May 7]

## WEEK 15 (May 8): WAR ON TERROR

### *Required—War on Terror:-*

- Clarke, Richard A. **Against All Enemies: Inside America's War on Terror** New York: Free Press, 2004, pp. 247-87.
- Grey, Stephen **Ghost Plane: The True Story of the CIA Torture Program** New York: St. Martin's Press, 2006, pp. 105-28, 170-89, 190-213.
- Johnson, Chalmers. **Blowback: The Costs and Consequences of American Empire** New York: Henry Holt, 2000, pp. 216-29.
- McCoy, Alfred W., **A Question of Torture: CIA Interrogation, from Cold War to the War on Terror** New York: Henry Holt, 2006, chapters 4-5, 7.

- McCoy, Alfred W. **The Politics of Heroin: CIA Complicity in the Global Drug Trade** Chicago: Lawrence Hill Books, 2003, pp. 525-31.
- Powers, Thomas. **Intelligence Wars: American Secret History from Hitler to al-Qaeda** New York: New York Review of Books, 2002, pp. 381-420.
- Risen, James, **State of War: The Secret History of the CIA and the Bush Administration** New York: Free Press, 2006, pp. 11-60, 149-72.
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### III. MAJOR ESSAY QUESTION:-

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. 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. HOW TO WRITE A RESEARCH ESSAY:

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 reflects, subtly but ineluctably, the depth and diversity of its author's reading.

3.) 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:

Alfred W. McCoy, ed., *Southeast Asia Since 1800* (Madison: University of Wisconsin Press, 1989), pp. 134-35.

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.

5.) For details, see, The University of Chicago Press, *A Manual of Style*.

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.

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 outlined 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 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.

c.) 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? Fundamental. 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.

3.) *Step Three—Writing the Essay*:

a.) Outline:

- 1.) As discussed above, you will be writing from an outline of one to two pages for a 10 to 12 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.