

UNIVERSITY OF WISCONSIN-MADISON
Department of History

History 755: CIA Covert Warfare & U.S. Foreign Policy

Fall 2009

Mr. McCoy

I. COURSE REQUIREMENTS :-

Course Description: Designed for graduate students with some background in US diplomatic history and Third World politics, the course will probe the dynamics of CIA covert wars through comparative case histories during the last half of the 20th Century. Focusing on Southeast Asia, the seminar will explore the central role that these covert wars that played in international history during the Cold War and its aftermath. Sometimes these clandestine interventions have ended successfully; sometimes they have left behind ruined battlegrounds that become geopolitical black holes of lasting local, regional, and international instability.

After several sessions reviewing the origins of the CIA and its distinctive patterns of its covert warfare, the seminar will apply a case-study approach to covert wars in Europe, Asia, Africa, and Latin America--including, the anti-Mossadeq coup in Iran, Sukarno's overthrow in Indonesia, the Congo operation, and the ongoing covert war in Afghanistan. Reflecting the significance of Southeast Asia to CIA operations, the seminar will devote four sessions to this region, including the Huk revolt in the Philippines, destabilization of the Sukarno regime in Indonesia, counter-guerilla operations in South Vietnam, and the secret war in Laos—arguing that the latter two operations are central to understanding contemporary conflicts in Afghanistan and Iraq.

As the course progresses, the class will engage in a collective model-building exercise, drawing insights from each successive case to build, piece-by-piece, a working paradigm for understanding both CIA operations and the larger covert netherworld of which they are a part. By the third week, the class will realize that the literature is devoted largely to simple narrative, admittedly no mean feat when dealing with covert operations, and is thus devoid of any theoretical framework that might add requisite academic depth to what has remained little more than chronicle or reportage. With each passing week, therefore, we will engage in a collective, cumulative model-building exercise to construct an analytical framework for probing the context, conduct, and consequences of each CIA covert operation, with specific analytical criteria for each phase. For “context,” we will devise an applied historical analysis that identifies key actors during the conduct of CIA operation and then traces them backward until we come to some watershed in that nation's history--that is, a time when these actors emerged in a political array that seemed to resonate with the issues at stake during the later covert war. In the “conduct” phase, we will learn to identify the weapons or tactics in the Agency's evolving arsenal of covert warfare, using global comparative analysis to attach some larger significance to the particular operation under study. Finally, in the “consequences” phase we will examine the long-term impact of each operation at three levels--in the society that was the site of this covert battleground, its immediate region, and a larger geopolitical arena, for both the world order and the conduct of US foreign policy.

Admittedly, this latter or “consequences” phase of analysis has a potentially critical perspective that might prove divisive in a class that may include include diverse viewpoints from

anti-globalization activists and aspirant intelligence analysts. Instead of pursuing such normative or ethical analysis, the class might best maintain analytical coherence by adopting a *real politik* approach that assesses each operation on its own terms, weighing short-term tactical gains in a Cold War context against long-term costs for both the society involved and larger, longer-term US geopolitical interests. In several cases such as the 1953 Iran coup and the Afghan covert wars, the simple juxtaposition of these perspectives can sometimes produce a sharply focused critique. Based on these discussions and additional research, each student will apply this three-phase model to a particular covert war in writing the research essay, hopefully expanding upon the experience gained in this seminar's weekly discussions.

Class Meetings: This graduate seminar will meet on Fridays from 1:30 to 3:30 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, two-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, starting in week two, several 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 two times to plan this presentation: first, briefly at the close of class to apportion the work for the following week's presentation; and next, during Thursday office hours with a five-page draft outline of the lecture. After revision, the student shall email me a revised draft of the presentation on Thursday evening.

Weekly Discussion Summaries: Before 10:00 am, Thursday, September 3, all students shall deliver to my mailbox a two-page reflection on week's reading, addressing 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 Afghanistan." This latter paper will be due at 10:00 a.m., Wednesday, December 9.

Final Paper: Drawing upon both primary and secondary sources, students shall write a fifteen-page analytic essay on a single CIA covert war or clandestine operation by following the directions specified below in Part V. While undergraduates are free to examine any of the case studies covered in the course, graduate students should examine a case outside their specialist fields.

For primary sources, depending on the case, students will need to consult Foreign Relations of the United States, US Congressional hearings, the *New York Times* (on Proquest), and compendia of official documents by organizations such as the National

Security Archive (both bound and web-based). It is anticipated that students shall use their oral presentations as basis for this essay.

First, students shall place a one-page outline of their proposed project in my Humanities Building mail box by 5:00 pm, Monday, November 2—with a complete annotated bibliography showing all primary and secondary sources to be consulted. During that same week, students shall meet individually during office hours with me to discuss their proposed papers.

By 2:30 p.m. on Monday, November 23, 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.

Weiner, Tim. **Legacy of Ashes: The History of the CIA** New York: Doubleday, 2007/2008.

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 read all of the required readings below marked by an asterisk (*). Those presenting should review all readings in the "required" section. 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> under the parallel undergraduate course, History 600, which you can access through your <MyUW> account.

II. READINGS [N.B.: *Noteworthy Reading]:-

[Discussion Paper Due, 10:00 am, Thursday, September 3]

WEEK 1 (September 4): ORIGINS, MIND CONTROL, & CULTURAL WARFARE

Required--Origins & History:-

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.
- *Weiner, Tim. **Legacy of Ashes: The History of the CIA** New York: Doubleday, 2007, pp. 3-35.
- Winks, Robin W. **Cloak & Gown: Scholars in the Secret War, 1939-1961** New York: Quill, 1988, pp. 11-59.

Required--Intellectual Mobilization:-

- *Bernstein, Carl. "The CIA and the Media," **Rolling Stone**. October 20, 1977, <http://www.carlbernstein.com/magazine_cia_and_media.php>.
- *Braden, Thomas W. "I'm Glad the CIA is 'Immoral,'" **Saturday Evening Post**, 20 May 1967, <http://www.cambridgeclarion.org/press_cuttings/braden_20may1967.html>
- 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. **The Cultural Cold War: The CIA and the World of Arts and Letters** New York: New Press, 2001, pp. 1-84.
- United States. 94th 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.
- *McCoy, Alfred W. "Legacy of a Dark Decade: CIA Mind Control, Classified Behavioral Research, and the Origins of Modern Medical Ethics," in, Almerindo Ojeda, ed., **Trauma of Psychological Torture** (Westport: Praeger, 2008), pp. 40-69.
- *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.

*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** 95th Cong., 1st 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.

*Gendizier, 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 2 (September 11): CIA 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.
- *Weiner, Tim, **Legacy of Ashes: The History of the CIA** New York: Doubleday, 2007, pp. 36-43.

Required—Covert Netherworld:-

- *Ganser, Danielle, "Beyond Democratic Checks and Balances: The 'Propaganda Due' Masonic Lodge and the CIA in Italy's First Republic." in, Eric Wilson, ed., **Government of the Shadows: Parapolitics and Criminal Sovereignty** London: Pluto Press, 2009, pp. 256-75.

*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.

Scott, Peter Dale. "Drugs, Anti-communism and Extra-legal Repression in Mexico." in, Eric Wilson, ed., **Government of the Shadows: Parapolitics and Criminal Sovereignty** London: Pluto Press, 2009, pp. 173-95.

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." in, Eric Wilson, ed., **Government of the Shadows: Parapolitics and Criminal Sovereignty** London: Pluto Press, 2009, pp. 56-72.

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.

*CIA, "Office of Police Coordination, 1948-1952" [www.foia.cia.gov]

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.

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.

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 3 (September 18): EUROPE—SECURING 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.
- *Gitlin, Todd, "Counter-Insurgency: Myth and Reality in Greece," in, David Horowitz, ed., **Containment and Revolution: Western Policy Toward Social Revolution** London: Blond, 1967, pp. 140-81.
- 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.

- *Shaefer, D. Michael. **Deadly Paradigms: The Failure of U.S. Counterinsurgency Policy** Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1989, pp. 167-204.
- Schneider, Jane C. and Peter T. Schneider. **Reversible Destiny: Mafia, Antimafia, and the Struggle for Palermo** Berkeley: University of California Press, 2003, pp. 49-83.
- *Weiner, Tim. **Legacy of Ashes: The History of the CIA** New York: Doubleday, 2007, pp. 382-87.
- *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.
- 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, 117-57.
- Central Intelligence Agency, **CIA Cold War Records: The CIA Under Truman** (Washington, DC: Center for the Study of Intelligence, 1994).
- *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.
- Kuhns, Woodrow J. ed. "Assessing the Soviet Threat: The Early Cold War Years." Washington, DC: Center for the Study of Intelligence, Central Intelligence Agency, 1997 " [<https://www.cia.gov/csi/pubs.html>]
- 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.
- *Wilan, Philip. **Puppet Masters: The Political Use of Terrorism in Italy.** London: Constable, 1991.

WEEK 4 (September 25): 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.

*Schlesinger, Stephen and Stephen Kinzer, **Bitter Fruit: The Untold Story of the American Coup in Guatemala** New York: Doubleday, 1982, pp. 65-77, 227-55.

*Weiner, Tim, **Legacy of Ashes: The History of the CIA** New York: Doubleday, 2007, pp. 106-19.

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.

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** Bolder: 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.
- Guatemalan Commission for Historical Clarification, "Guatemala Memory of Silence: Report of the Commission for Historical Clarification—Conclusion and Recommendations." [<http://shr.aass.org/guatemala/ceh/report/english/toc.html>]
- 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 Story**. 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** 104th Cong., 1st 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).

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

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

WEEK 5 (October 2): 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.

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*Weiner, Tim. **Legacy of Ashes: The History of the CIA** New York: Doubleday, 2007, pp. 92-105.

*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.

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*Mirsepassi Ashtiani, Ali. **The Crisis of Secular Politics and the Rise of Political Islam in Iran** Durham: Duke University Press, 1994.

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

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WEEK 6 (October 9): PHILIPPINES--DEFEATING THE HUKS

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.
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- *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.
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- 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.
- Bohannon, Charles T.R. "Antiguerrilla Operations," **Annals of the American Academy of Social and Political Science** 341 (May 1962), pp. 19-29.
- 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.
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WEEK 7 (October 23): CUBA: SECRET WAR ON CASTRO

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.

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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.

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*McClintock, Michael. "Edward Geary Lansdale and the New Counterinsurgency," in, **Instruments of Statecraft: US Guerilla Warfare, Counterinsurgency, and Counterterrorism 1940-1990** (New York: Pantheon Books, 1992).
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Weiner, Tim, "C.I.A. Had Ability to Plant Bay of Pigs News, Document Shows," **The New York Times**, 24 March 2001, A-7.

*Weiner, Tim, **Legacy of Ashes: The History of the CIA** New York: Doubleday, 2007, pp. 179-87, 189-92, 197-217, 224-41.

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.

****Operation Zapata: The "Ultrasensitive Report" and Testimony of the Board of Inquiry on the Bay of Pigs** (Maryland: University Publications of America, 1981).

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.

White, Mark J., ed. **The Kennedys and Cuba: The Declassified Documentary History** (Chicago: Ivan R. Dee, 1999).

WEEK 8 (October 30): INDONESIA--TOPPLING SUKARNO

Required--1957-58 Outer Islands Rebellion:-

*Bunnell, Frederick. "American 'Low Posture' Policy toward Indonesia in the Months Leading up to the 1965 'Coups,'" **Indonesia** 50 (1990), pp. 29-60.

*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.

*Weiner, Tim, **Legacy of Ashes: The History of the CIA** New York: Doubleday, 2007, pp. 164-78.

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.

*Anderson, Benedict R., and Ruth T. McVey. **A Preliminary Analysis of the October 1, 1965, Coup in Indonesia** Ithaca: Modern Indonesia Project, Cornell University, 1971, pp. v-viii, 1-46.

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.

*Roosa, John. **Pretext for Mass Murder: The September 30th Movement and Suharto's Coup d'Etat in Indonesia** Madison: University of Wisconsin, 2006, pp. 34-60.

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

*Weiner, Tim, **Legacy of Ashes: The History of the CIA** New York: Doubleday, 2007, pp. 298-302.

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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, 10:00 am, Monday, November 2]

WEEK 9 (November 6): 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., "Torture in the Crucible of Counterinsurgency," Lloyd C. Gardner and Marilyn B. Young, **Iraq and the Lessons of Vietnam: Or, How Not to Learn from the Past** New York: The New Press, 2007), pp. 230-62.
- 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.
- *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.
- *Weiner, Tim, **Legacy of Ashes: The History of the CIA** New York: Doubleday, 2007, pp. 242-55, 272-86, 305-10, 329-33, 394-98.
- Recommended:-**
- *Gordon, David F., ed., **Estimative Products on Vietnam, 1948-1975** Washington, D.C.: National Intelligence Council, Government Printing Office, 2005. [includes CD Rom]
- 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.
- Lansdale, Edward G., "Lansdale Team's Report on Covert Saigon Mission in 1954 and 1955, **The Pentagon Papers: Volume I.** Boston: Beacon Press, Gravel Edition, Document #95.
- 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.
- McNeill, Ian. **The Team: Australian Army Advisers in Vietnam 1962-1972** (St. Lucia: University of Queensland Press, 1984), pp. 375-411
- *Peterson, Iver. "This 'Phoenix' Is a Bird of Death," **The New York Times**, 25 July 1970, p. E2.
- 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.

WEEK 10 (November 13): LAOS--COUPS, TRIBAL MILITIA & 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.

*Weiner, Tim, **Legacy of Ashes: The History of the CIA** New York: Doubleday, 2007, pp. 291-96, 398-400.

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** 92nd Cong., 2nd 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 11 (November 20): 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.
- 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.
- *Weiner, Tim, **Legacy of Ashes: The History of the CIA** New York: Doubleday, 2007, pp. 354-67.

Recommended:-

- Aguilera, Pilar, and Ricardo Fredes. **Chile: the Other September 11** Melbourne: Ocean, 2003, pp. 7-26.
- Enslaco, Mark. **Chile Under Pinochet: Recovering the Truth**. Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 2000.
- 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.
- Oppenheim, Lois Hecht. **Politics in Chile: Democracy, Authoritarianism, and the Search for Development**. Boulder: Westview Press, 1999.
- 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, 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. [N.B. Document Missing from UW Library 10/2008]
- *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).
- U.S. Department of State, **Church Report: Covert Action in Chile from 1963-1973**. Washington, DC, 18 December 1975
[<<http://foia.state.gov/Reports/ChurchReport.asp>>]
- U.S. Department of State, **Hinchey Report: CIA Activities in Chile**. Washington, DC, 18 September 2000 [<<http://foia.state.gov/Reports/HincheyReport.asp#toc>>]
- Varas, Florencia. **Coup! Allende's Last Day** New York: Stein and Day, 1975.

[Research Essay Due, 2:30 p.m., Monday, November 23]

WEEK 12 (December 4): 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.
- *Weissman, Stephen R. "CIA Covert Action in Zaire and Angola: Patterns and Consequences," **Political Science Quarterly** 94, no. 2. (Summer, 1979), pp. 263-286. [JSTOR]

Required Congo:-

- 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.
- Ogunbadejo, Oye, "Angola: Ideology and Pragmatism in Foreign Policy," **International Affairs** 57 (1981).
- 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.

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

WEEK 13 (December 11): AFGHAN CIVIL WARS, 1979-2009***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>>

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III. MAJOR ESSAY QUESTIONS:-

1.) By surveying context, conduct, and consequences, assess the short-term success and long-term impact of CIA covert operations in a single Southeast Asian nation, covering, as appropriate, impact the country itself, US foreign policy, and international stability.

IV. LEARNING FROM FILM & FICTION:

FILM--Suggested Titles:

--*Miscellaneous Films*: The films listed below are all highly recommended and are available on video at the more specialist Madison area video outlets:

- 1.) "The Quiet American" (black and white; with Audie Murphy)
- 2.) "The Quiet American" (color; with Michael Caine)
- 3.) "The Skeleton Coast" (Angola)
- 4.) "The Tailor of Panama."
- 5.) "Shadow Play" (documentary, Director: Chris Hilton, Indonesia, 2003)

--*Learning Support Services in Van Hise Hall*: This on-campus media center has a collection of feature films and documentaries that can provide visual imagery that will help this chronicle of colonialism, revolution, diplomacy, and battles come alive. Among the films available are:

- 1.) "The Trial of Henry Kissinger"
- 2.) "Bombies" (Laos)

FICTION--with Non-Fiction Titles:

- 1.) Graham Greene, *The Quiet American*.
- 2.) Graham Greene, *Our Man in Havana*.
- 3.) Graham Greene, *The Third Man*.
- 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—A THREE-STEP METHOD:

1.) *Step One--Need to Read*:

a.) Sources/Research:

- 1.) All good essays begin with the three "Rs"—reading, research, and reflection.
- 2.) Like most essays, a history term paper is a distillation of its author's reading and reflections upon the subject at hand. The quality of an essay's expression and analysis usually reflects the depth and diversity of its author's reading.

3.) Conversely, if you do not read, then your essay will very likely reflect a certain lack of depth.

b.) How to Read for an Essay:

- 1.) Using the course syllabus, begin with a general text to get an overview of the problem.
- 2.) Using the syllabus or textbooks, select more specific sources.
- 3.) As you read, begin forming ideas in your mind about:
 - (a) your overall hypothesis, and;
 - (b) the evidence you need or have found to support your argument.
- 4.) As you read, take notes, either on paper, or in the margin of a photocopy of the source. As you take notes, make sure you have the bibliographic information for your source: author, title, place of publication, publisher, and relevant pages.
- 5.) Towards the end of your reading, draw up an outline of the essay. If you are missing sources for the argument you would like to present, then do additional reading.

c.) Citing Your Sources:

- 1.) Assuming three paragraphs per page, you should have one source or note per paragraph.
- 2.) Every idea that is not your own and every major body of data you use in your essay should be sourced. In particular, quotations must be sourced.
- 3.) You may use end notes or footnotes in the following format:

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*.

2.) Step Two—Framing the Argument:

a.) Outline: With your reading done, you are ready to outline your argument. Begin by asking yourself the single, central question you will ask and answer in the course of this paper. Next, write a one- or two-page outline of your essay with the basic components discussed below.

b.) Overall structure: Every scientific report, whether natural or social, has three basic elements--the problem/hypothesis, the evidence/argument, and the conclusion. To summarize very broadly, the introduction asks a question and poses a hypothesis, the argument arrays evidence to explore that hypothesis, and the conclusion reflects upon the original hypothesis in light of the evidence presented.

Of these three elements, the opening formulation of an hypothesis is, by far, the most difficult. In your opening paragraph, try to stand back from the dense mass of material you have read and articulate a thesis, which usually explains causality (why events occurred) or analyzes significance (the particular import of an event or a pattern of events). Then identify the factors, topics, or elements that you will explore to test your thesis. Ideally, these factors should serve as a broad outline of the topics that you will explore in the next section of your essay, the argument/evidence. Here are some further reflections on each of these sections:

- 1.) The Problem: In your introduction, state the problem clearly.

- a.) If necessary, you should give your definition of any key terms that require a specific usage (e.g., "revolution.")
 - b.) In stating your problem, refer to the literature in the syllabus.
 - c.) A standard and often effective device is to identify two differing schools of thought about a single problem.
 - d.) Make sure you are examining the main point, not a minor side issue.
- 2.) The Evidence: In the middle part of your essay, you must present evidence—in some logical order—to deal with the problem posed at the beginning of your essay. Be specific—give the reader a brief narrative of an event or provide some statistical or anecdotal evidence.
- 3.) The Conclusion: In the final page or two of your essay, reflect on the problem as stated in the introduction in light of the evidence you presented in the middle part of the essay. Stretch the data you present for clarity, but do not exaggerate or over-extend the usefulness of your data.
- c.) Level of Argument: It is difficult to spell out in precise terms what I mean by “level of argument.”
- 1.) Drawing upon reading and lectures, try to frame an argument that seems to address the question in the most direct and significant manner possible, drawing the most convincing possible evidence to support the case you are making.
 - 2.) How do you define an appropriate question and level of analysis? You can sensitize yourself to the question by reading several sources with diverse viewpoints and approaches.
- d.) Nature of History Questions: In courses such as this one, history involves the study of change in large-scale human communities, societies and nations, over time. Most history essays ask you to understand or explain two aspects of change—events and their causes, or, simply, what happened and why it happened. Thus, most history questions ask you to explain elements of the following:
- 1.) In a limited period of time, explain the factors underlying a given event. Why did that event happen?
 - 2.) Explain the impact that an event, such as a war or revolution, had upon a human community within a period succeeding the actual event.
 - 3.) Over a longer period of time, explain how and why complex communities changed in a given way.