

BIODATA
Alfred William McCOY

March 2017

1. PERSONAL:

Birth: 1945, Massachusetts, U.S.A.
Citizenship: United States of America.
Departmental Internet Listing: <<http://history.wisc.edu/people/faculty/mccoy.htm>>
Research Project Website: <http://history.wisc.edu/goldberg/us_empire_project.htm>

2. EDUCATION:

1969-1977: Ph.D. History, Yale University
1968-1969: M.A. Asian Studies, University of California at Berkeley.
1964-1968: B.A. European History, Columbia University, New York.

3. FELLOWSHIPS & AWARDS:

Fred Harvey Harrington Endowed Chair, University of Wisconsin, 2015-
Yale Graduate School Alumni Association, Wilbur Cross Medal, 2012.
University of Wisconsin-Madison, Hilldale Award for Arts & Humanities, 2012.
Association for Asian Studies, George McT. Kahin Prize, 2011.
Who's Who in America 2011 (Marquis, 65th Edition).
Ministry of Education, Spain, Conference Grant, Pompeu Fabra University, 2010.
World Universities Network (WUN) Grant, University of Wisconsin, 2007-10.
Research Circle Award, International Institute, University of Wisconsin, 2007-10.
Karen F. Johnson Teaching Award, University of Wisconsin-Madison, 2007.
J.R.W. Smail Chair of History, WARF Named Chair, University of Wisconsin, 2004.
Philippine National Book Award, 1985, 1995, 2001.
Association for Asian Studies, Grant Goodman Prize, 2001.
University of Wisconsin, Research Award, 1989, 1990, 1994, 1995, 1999, 2003, 2004,
2010.
University of Wisconsin, Hilldale Research Award, 1991, 1992, 1993, 1995, 1996, 2001,
2012, 2014.
Ford Foundation, Research Grant, 1997-2000.
Fulbright-Hays Faculty Research Abroad Fellowship, Philippines, 1998-99.
Brittingham Fund, Inc., Research Grant, 1993.
Henry Luce Foundation, Research Grant, 1992-1993.
University of Wisconsin, Vilas Associateship Award, 1991-1993.
American Philosophical Society, Research Grant, 1990-1991.
Franklin & Eleanor Roosevelt Foundation, Research Grant, 1989.
Social Science Research Council, Post-Doctoral Award, 1988-1989.
Australian Graduate Research Scheme, Research Grant, 1988-1989.
Gintong Aklat [Gilded Book] Award, Special Citation for History, Manila, 1987.
Philippine Catholic Mass Media Award, Best Book in English for 1985.
The National Times (Sydney), named one of "Australia's Top 50 Thinkers," 1984.
Australian Graduate Research Scheme, Research Grant, 1984-1985.
Australian Academy of the Humanities, Research Grant, 1984.
Philippine Social History, selected by American Library Association's *Choice* as
one of five "Outstanding Academic Books" on Asia for 1983.
Australian National University, Research Fellowship, 1977-1979.
Yale University, Concilium on International Studies, Research Grant, 1977.
Social Science Research Council, Foreign Area Fellowship, 1974-1977.

Politics of Heroin in Southeast Asia selected as one of the “important books of the year” for 1972 by *The New York Times Book Review*.

Yale University, National Defense Language Act, Title IV Fellowship, 1969-1972.

Columbia College in the City of New York, Dean's Scholarship, 1967-1968.

Kent School, George Hodges Bartlett European History Award, 1962.

4. **FOREIGN LANGUAGES:**

Hiligaynon (Visayan-Filipino): fluency in reading and speaking.

French: functional reading and speaking ability.

Spanish: functional reading ability.

5. **ACADEMIC EMPLOYMENT:**

Fred Harvey Harrington Endowed Chair, University of Wisconsin, 2015-

J. R.W. Smail Professor of History, University of Wisconsin-Madison, 2004-15.

Professor of History, University of Wisconsin-Madison, 1989-2003.

Associate Professor, University of New South Wales, 1985-1989.

Senior Lecturer, School of History, University of New South Wales, 1981-1985.

Lecturer, School of History, University of New South Wales, 1978-1981.

Research Fellow, Research School of Pacific Studies, Australian National University, 1977-1978.

Lecturer, Department of History, Yale University, 1976-1977.

6. **PROFESSIONAL MEMBERSHIPS & ACTIVITIES:**

Member, GRIMSE, Grup de Recerca en Imperis, Metròpolis i Societats Extraeuropeas (Pompeu Fabra University, Barcelona), 2011-

Member, International Advisory Board, **Philippine Studies** (Manila), 2003-

Senior Editor, Southeast Asian Series, University of Wisconsin Press, 2003-

Miembro, Consejo Asesor, Asociacion Española de Estudios del Pacifico, 2000-

Senior Editor, **Crime, Law & Social Change: An International Journal**, 1990-

Member, Editorial Board, Yale University Southeast Asian Monographs, 1979-

Director, Center for Southeast Asian Studies, University of Wisconsin, 1994-1997.

Chair, Publications Committee, Center for Southeast Asian Studies, University of Wisconsin-Madison, 1991-1999.

Member, Editorial Board, The Encyclopedia of the Vietnam War, Editor--Professor Stanley Kutler, 1993-1996.

General Editor “Asia-Pacific Series,” Penguin Books Australia Ltd., 1985-1992.

Editor, Comparative Studies in Asian Society and History, Asian Studies Association of Australia, 1985-1989.

Secretary, Philippine Studies Association of Australia, 1978-1988.

Member, Asian Studies Association of Australia, 1977-1989.

Editorial Board Member, **Bulletin of Concerned Asian Scholars** 1972.

National Coordinator, Committee of Concerned Asian Scholars, 1971-1972.

7. **TEACHING:**

Yale University:

College Seminar: Urbanization in Asia, Africa and Latin America.

University of New South Wales:

51.541: Modern Asia in Crisis.

51.562: Southeast Asian History.

51.903: Rise of Modern Japan as a World Power.
 51.703: Urban History of Asia and Australia.
 51.916: The Creation of the Third World.

University of Wisconsin-Madison:

History 319: The Vietnam Wars
 History 458: Southeast Asia Since 1800
 History 600/755: Empire & Revolution in Southeast Asia
 History 600/755: World War II in the Pacific
 History 600/755: CIA Covert Warfare and Conduct of US Foreign Policy
 History 755: Reality of Images--Environmental Photography in Southeast Asia
 History 755: Islands of Southeast Asia--The Practice of Comparative History
 History 755: Tropical Dictators--Authoritarianism in Indonesia & the Philippines

8. SUPERVISION OF RESEARCH:

University of New South Wales:

Ph.D.: Thomas Cantwell (1989)

M.A.: Dara Kobor (1989)

B.A. Honours:

Kerry Brogan
 Andrew Chalk
 David Copeland
 Ian Coxhead
 Graeme Heckenberg
 Robin Lee
 Ann Mummery
 James Payne
 Shane Roti
 John Simpson
 Edward Vaughan

University of Wisconsin-Madison:

PhD. Supervisor:

Temario C. Rivera (1991)
 David Streckfuss (1998)
 Vina Lanzona (2000)
 Lucy Mathiak (2000)
 Mai Na Lee (2005)
 Yosef Djakababa (2009)
 Amelia Liwe (2010)
 Ruth de Llobet (2010)
 Laura Steckman (2011)
 Joshua Gedacht (2012)
 Maureen Justiniano (2016)

Minor Field in Southeast Asian History:

John Roosa (1998)

M.A. Supervisor:

Diane Jones (1990)
 Joshua Hawley (1991)
 Amy Rossabi (1994)
 Tracy Walden (1994)

Amy Golden (1996)
 Mai Na Lee (2001)
 Yosef Djakababa (2003)
 Laura Steckman (2004)
 Joshua Gedacht (2008)
 Thong Thao (2010)
 Maureen Justiniano (2010)
 Karen Ames (2011)
 Brett Reilly (2012)
 Elizabeth Wright-Villa (2014)
 Royce Novak (2014)

External Reviewer for Dissertations, Tenure, and Promotion:

Belinda Aquino, tenure, Political Science, University of Hawai'i (1985).
 Michael Billig, tenure, Anthropology, Franklin & Marshall College, (1995).
 Leonora Angeles, Ph.D, Politics, Queens University (1995).
 Thomas McKenna, tenure, Anthropology, University of Alabama (1997).
 Geoffrey Robinson, tenure, History, UCLA (1998).
 Ben Kiernan, tenure, History, Yale University (1999).
 Paul Hutchcroft, tenure, Politics, University of Wisconsin-Madison (2000).
 Vincent Boudreau, promotion, Politics, City University of New York (2000).
 Benedict Kerkvliet, admission, Australian Academy of the Humanities (2000)
 Nancy Peluso, promotion, University of California at Berkeley (2000).
 Alex Hang-Keung Choi, Ph.D., Politics, Queens University (2001).
 Shawn McHale, tenure, History, George Washington University (2002).
 Paul Kratoska, promotion, History, National University of Singapore (2003).
 John Jiggins, Queensland University of Technology, Ph.D. (2003).
 Ian Coxhead, promotion, Applied Economics, UW-Madison (2003).
 Leia Castañeda, SJD examinations, Law School, Harvard University (2005).
 Chris Capozzola, tenure, History, MIT (2009).
 Brian Linn, distinguished chair, History, Texas A & M University (2009).
 Andrea Giovannoni, Ph.D., Graduate Theological Union, Berkeley (2009).
 Patricio Abinales, tenure, Asian Studies, University of Hawai'i (2013).
 Peter Kuznick, promotion, History, American University (2013).
 Matthew R. Pembleton, Ph.D. (History), American University (2014).
 Jeremy Kuzmarov, promotion, History, University of Tulsa (2014).
 James R. Rush, promotion, History, Arizona State University (2016).

9. PUBLICATIONS:

a.) Books:

ed., with Nina S. Adams, **Laos: War and Revolution** (New York: Harper & Row, 1970), 482 pp.

The Politics of Heroin in Southeast Asia (New York: Harper & Row, 1972), 464 pp.

Translations: Italian (Milan: Rizzoli Editore, 1973)
 Japanese (Tokyo: Simul, 1974)
 Vietnamese (Saigon: Dung Day, 1974)
 Chinese (Hong Kong: Cosmos, 1975)
 Swedish (Stockholm: Bokforlaget Prisma, 1976)
 French (Paris: Flammarion, 1980 [trans. of 1972 edition, revised])

Burmese (Rangoon: unauthorized, no publication data)
 Thai (Bangkok: Phu-chat-kan Publishing, 1994).
 French (Paris: Éditions du Lizard, 1998 [trans. of 1991 edition])
 German (Frankfurt/Main: Zweitausendeins, 2003).
 German (Frankfurt/Main: Westend Verlag, 2016 [revised]).

“Yloilo: Factional Conflict in a Colonial Economy, Iloilo Province, Philippines, 1937-1955” (Ph.D. dissertation, Yale University, 1977), 806 pp.

Drug Traffic: Narcotics and Organized Crime in Australia (Sydney: Harper & Row, 1980), 455 pp.

ed., **Southeast Asia Under Japanese Occupation** (New Haven: Southeast Asia Studies, Yale University, 1980), 302 pp.

ed., with Ed. C. de Jesus, **Philippine Social History: Global Trade and Local Transformations** (Honolulu: University of Hawaii Press, 1982), 479 pp.

Priests on Trial (New York, Sydney & London: Penguin Books, 1984), 259 pp.

with Alfredo Roces, **Philippine Cartoons: Political Caricature of the American Era, 1900-1941** (Manila: Vera Reyes, 1985), 370 pp.

The Politics of Heroin (New York: Lawrence Hill Books, revised, 1991), 634 pp.

ed., with Alan A. Block, **War on Drugs: Studies in the Failure of U.S. Narcotics Policy** (Boulder, CO: Westview, 1992), 359 pp.

ed., **An Anarchy of Families: Filipino Elites and the Philippine State** (Quezon City: Ateneo University Press, 1994), pp. 451.

Closer Than Brothers: Manhood at the Philippine Military Academy (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1999), pp. 425.

ed., **Lives at the Margin: Biographies of Filipinos Ordinary, Heroic, Obscure** (Quezon City: Ateneo de Manila University Press, 2000), pp. 481.

The Politics of Heroin: CIA Complicity in the Global Drug Traffic (New York: Lawrence Hill Books, revised, 2003), pp. 709.
Translation: German (Frankfurt/Main: Zweitausendeins, 2003).
Revised Translation: (Frankfurt/Main: Westend Verlag, 2016), pp. 760

Foltern und Foltern Lassen: 50 Jahre Folter-Forschung und -Praxis von CIA und US-Militar (Frankfurt/Main: Zweitausendeins, 2005), pp. 255.

A Question of Torture: CIA Interrogation, From the Cold War to the War on Terror (New York: Metropolitan Books, 2006), 310 pp.
Translations: Italian (Rome: Edizioni Socrates, 2008), pp. 334.
 Turkish (Istanbul: Pegasus Yayincilik, 2006), pp. 320.

with Francisco Scarano, eds., **Colonial Crucible: Empire in the Making of a Modern American State** (Madison: University of Wisconsin Press, 2009), pp. 685.

Policing America's Empire: The United States, the Philippines, and the Rise of the Surveillance State (Madison: University of Wisconsin Press, 2009), pp. 659.

ed., **An Anarchy of Families: Filipino Elites and the Philippine State** (Madison: University of Wisconsin Press, revised edition 2009), pp. 451.

with Josep Ma. Fradera and Stephen Jacobson, eds., **Endless Empire: Spain's Retreat, Europe's Eclipse, America's Decline** (Madison: University of Wisconsin Press, 2012), pp. 477.

Torture and Impunity: The U.S. Doctrine of Coercive Interrogation (Madison: University of Wisconsin Press, 2012), pp. 298.

Beer of Broadway Fame: The Piel Family and Their Brooklyn Brewery (Albany: SUNY Press, 2016), pp. 488.

In the Shadows of the American Century: The Rise and Decline of U.S. Global Power (Chicago: Haymarket Books, forthcoming 2017).

b.) Academic Articles (Peer Reviewed Publications):

"French Colonialism in Laos, 1893-1945," in N.S. Adams & A.W. McCoy, eds., **Laos: War and Revolution** (New York: Harper & Row, 1970), pp. 67-98.

"U.S. Foreign Policy and the Tenant Farmers of Asia," **France Asia/Asia 24**, no.1 (1er trimestre 1970), pp. 41-77.

"Subcontracting Counter-insurgency: Academics in Thailand, 1954-1970," **Bulletin of Concerned Asian Scholars** (February 1971), pp. 56-70.

"Land Reform as Counter-Revolution: U.S. Foreign Policy and the Tenant Farmers of Asia," **Bulletin of Concerned Asian Scholars** 3, no. 1 (Spring 1971), pp.14-49.

"The Politics of the Poppy in Indochina: A Comparative Study of Patron-Client Relations under French and American Administration," in, Luis R.S. Simmons & Abdul A. Said, eds., **Drugs, Politics and Diplomacy: The International Connection** (Beverly Hills: Sage Publications, 1974), pp. 112-136.

"Marxism Out of Power - The Philippines," Centre for Continuing Education, **Marxism and Asia** (Canberra: Centre for Continuing Education, Australian National University, 1978), pp.58-62.

"Introduction," in, A.W. McCoy, ed., **Southeast Asia Under Japanese Occupation** (New Haven: Southeast Asia Studies, Yale University, 1980), pp.1-13.

"Politics by Other Means': World War II in the Western Visayas, Philippines," in, A.W. McCoy, ed., **Southeast Asia Under Japanese Occupation** (New Haven: Southeast Asia Studies, Yale University, 1980), pp. 191-245.

"The Philippines: Independence without Decolonization," in, Robin Jeffrey, ed., **Asia - The Winning of Independence** (London: Macmillan, 1981), pp. 19-65.

- “Sport as Modern Mythology: SP Bookmaking in New South Wales, 1920-1975,” in, R. Cashman & M. McKernan, eds., **Sport: Money, Morality and the Media** (Sydney: University of New South Wales Press, 1981), pp. 34-67.
- “Zarzuela and Welga: Vernacular Drama and the Growth of Working Class Consciousness, Iloilo City, Philippines, 1900-1932,” in, Wang Gung Wu, ed., **Society and the Writer: Essays on Literature in Modern Asia** (Canberra: Australian National University, 1981), pp. 35-66.
- “Heroin aus Sudostasien - zur Wirtschaftesgeschichte eines ungewöhnlichen Handelsartikels,” in Gisela Volger, ed., **Rausch Und Realität: Drogen in Kulturvergleich** (Koln: Museum for Völkerkunde, 1981), pp. 620-29.
- “Wie eine drogenabhängige Gesellschaft entsteht - das Beispiel Australien,” in, Gisela Volger ed., **Rausch Und Realität: Drogen im Kulturvergleich** (Koln: Museum für Völkerkunde, 1981), pp. 590-618.
- “The Social History of an Archipelago,” in, A.W. McCoy & E.C. de Jesus, eds., **Philippine Social History: Global Trade and Local Transformations** (Honolulu: University of Hawaii Press, 1982), pp. 1-18.
- “A Queen Dies Slowly: The Rise and Decline of Iloilo City,” in, A.W. McCoy and E.C. de Jesus, eds., **Philippine Social History: Global Trade and Local Transformations** (Honolulu: University of Hawaii Press, 1982), pp. 297-358.
- “Culture and Consciousness in a Philippine City,” **Philippine Studies** 30, no. 2 (1982), pp. 157-203.
- “**Baylan**: Animist Religion and Philippine Peasant Ideology,” in, D. Wyatt & A. Woodside, eds., **Moral Order and the Question of Change: Essays on Southeast Asian Thought** (New Haven: Southeast Asia Studies, Yale University, 1982), pp. 338-413.
- “In Search of the Lost Eden - the Historiography of the Philippine Peasant,” **Asian Studies Association of Australia Review** 6, no. 2 (1982), pp. 67-73.
- “**Baylan**: Animist Religion and Philippine Peasant Ideology,” **Philippine Quarterly of Society and Culture** 10, no. 3 (1982), pp. 141-94.
- “‘In Extreme Unction’: The Philippine Sugar Industry,” in, Randolph S. David, ed., **Political Economy of Philippine Commodities** (Quezon City: Third World Studies Program, University of the Philippines, 1983), pp. 135-80.
- “The Iloilo General Strike: Defeat of the Proletariat in a Philippine Colonial City,” **Journal of Southeast Asian Studies** 15, no. 2 (September 1984), pp. 330-64.
- “Social History of the Philippine Archipelago: Problems of Time and Space,” **Society and Space** 1 (1984), pp. 107-12.
- “An Agricultural Revolution: The Marcos Regime's Impact on Negros and the Sugar Districts,” **Philippine Social Science & Humanities Review** 47, nos. 1-4 (January-December 1983), pp. 55-77.

- “Rural Philippines: Technological Change in the Sugar Industry,” in, R.J. May & Francisco Nemenzo, eds., **The Philippines After Marcos** (London: Croom Helm, 1985), pp. 175-193.
- “Leadership in Asia -- The Philippines,” **Asian Studies Association of Australia Review** 9, no. 2 (1985), pp. 44-50.
- “Organized Crime in Australia: An Urban History,” in, Robert J. Kelly, ed., **Organized Crime: A Global Perspective** (Totowa, N.J.: Rowman & Littlefield, 1986), pp. 234-285.
- “Two Cities and Their Syndicates: A Comparative Urban History of Organized Crime,” in, J. Davidson, ed., **The Sydney/Melbourne Book** (Sydney: George Allen & Unwin, 1986), pp. 97-119.
- “The Philippines: A History of Poverty,” in, J. Ingleson, ed., **Third World Update 1986** (Sydney: School of History, University of New South Wales, 1986), pp. 26-43.
- “After the Yellow Revolution: Filipino Elite Factions and the Struggle for Power,” in, P. Krinks & J. Connell, eds., **The Philippines After Marcos** (Canberra: Australian Development Studies Network, 1987), pp. 9-33.
- “Philippine-American Relations: A Problem of Perspective,” **Australasian Journal of American Studies** 6, no. 2 (December 1987), pp. 17-27.
- “Quezon's Commonwealth: The Emergence of Philippine Authoritarianism,” in, Ruby Paredes, ed., **Philippine Colonial Democracy** (New Haven: Southeast Asian Studies, Yale University, 1989), pp. 114-60.
- “Low Intensity Conflict in the Philippines,” in, Elaine McKay, ed., **Low Intensity Conflict** (Melbourne: Centre of Southeast Asian Studies, Monash University, 1989), pp. 51-64.
- “Demystifying LIC,” **Kasarinlan** 4, no. 3 (1989), pp. 31-40.
- “Ram Boys: Superstars in the Theater-State of Terror,” in, Dolores Flamiano & Donald Goertzen, eds., **Critical Decade: Prospects for Democracy in the Philippines in the 1990s** (Berkeley: Philippine Resource Center, 1990), pp. 4-12.
- “The Restoration of Planter Power in La Carlota City,” in, Benedict Kerkvliet & Resil Mojares, eds., **Local Perspectives on the Transition from Marcos to Aquino** (Honolulu: University of Hawaii Press, 1992), pp. 107-42.
- “U.S. Narcotics Policy: An Anatomy of Failure,” in, Alfred W. McCoy & Alan A. Block, eds., **War on Drugs: Studies in the Failure of U.S. Narcotics Policy** (Boulder, CO: Westview, 1992), pp. 1-21.
- “Heroin as a Global Commodity: A History of Southeast Asia's Opium Trade,” in, Alfred W. McCoy & Alan A. Block, eds., **War on Drugs: Studies in the Failure of U.S. Narcotics Policy** (Boulder, CO: Westview, 1992), pp. 237-79.
- “Sugar Barons: Formation of a Native Planter Class in the Colonial Philippines,” **Journal of Peasant Studies** 19, Nos. 3-4 (April/July 1992), pp. 106-41.

- “Rent Seeking Families and the Philippine State: A History of the Lopez Family,” in, Alfred W. McCoy, ed., **An Anarchy of Families: Filipino Elites and the Philippine State** (Manila: Ateneo University Press, 1993), pp. 429-536.
- “The Historiography of State & Family in the Philippines,” in, Alfred W. McCoy, ed., **An Anarchy of Families: State and Family in the Philippines** (Manila: Ateneo University Press, 1993), pp. 1-32.
- “Trafique de l'heroine et politique internationale,” in, Alain Labrousse et Alain Wallon, eds., **La Planete de Drogues: Organisations criminelles, guerres et blanchiment** (Paris: Editions Seuil, 1993), pp. 237-51.
- “Un nuovo paradigma per Il mercato mondiale di eroina: traffico internazionale e l'infiltrazione della Mafia nelle amministrazioni locali” [A New Paradigm for the Global Heroin Trade: International Traffic and the Mafia's Local Political Power] **Incontri Meridionali** (Messina), nos. 3/4 (1993), pp. 181-214.
- “Same Banana: Hazing and Honor at the Philippine Military Academy,” **Journal of Asian Studies** 54, no. 3 (August 1995), pp. 689-726.
- “Drugs and Drug Use,” Stanley I. Kutler, ed., **The Encyclopedia of the Vietnam War** (New York: Simon & Schuster, 1996), pp. 178-182.
- “Focus on US Drug Policy--In Asia, Battling Warlords,” **Foreign Service Journal** 73, no. 10 (October 1996), pp. 28-34.
- “Southeast Asia and the Costs of Modernity : Reflections on *The Cambridge History of Southeast Asia*,” **Journal of Economic and Social History of the Orient** 40, no. 1 (1997), pp. 107-16.
- “Contesting the Social Contract in a Colonial Port City: The Iloilo General Strike,” in, Sri Kuhnt-Saptodewo, Volker Grabowsky, Martin Grobheim, eds., **Nationalism and Cultural Revival in Southeast Asia: Perspectives from Centre and the Region** (Wiesbaden: Harrassowitz Verlag, 1997), pp. 211-57.
- “Closer Than Brothers: Two Classes at the Philippine Military Academy,” in, Elliott V. Converse, III, ed., **Forging the Sword: Educating and Training Cadets and Junior Officers in the Modern World** (Chicago: Imprint Publications, Volume 5, US Air Force Academy Military History Symposium Series, 1999).
- “Requiem for a Drug Lord: State and Commodity in the Career of Khun Sa,” in, Josiah McC. Heyman, ed., **States and Illegal Practices** (Oxford: Berg, 1999), pp. 129-67.
- “Lord of Drug Lords: One Life as Lesson for U.S. Drug Policy,” **Crime, Law and Social Change** 30, no. 4 (1998/99), pp. 301-31.
- “Voluntarios Leales: Counter-Revolution Within the Philippine Revolution,” in, Miguel Luque Talavan, et al., eds., **1898: España y El Pacifico, Interpretacion del Pasado, Realidad del Presente** (Madrid: Asociacion Española de Estudios del Pacifico, 1999), pp. 319-32.
- “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.

- “Coercion and Its Unintended Consequences: An Analytical History of Opium in Southeast and South West Asia,” **Crime, Law and Social Change** 33, no. 3 (2000), pp. 191-224.
- “The Stimulus of Prohibition: A Critical History of the Asian Opium Trade,” **Fordham Urban Law Journal**, 28, no. 1 (2000), pp. 201-43.
- “Philippine Commonwealth and Cult of Masculinity,” **Philippine Studies** 48, no. 3 (2000) pp. 315-46.
- “Biography of Lives Obscure, Ordinary, and Heroic,” in, Alfred W. McCoy, ed., **Lives at the Margin: Biography of Filipinos Obscure, Ordinary, and Heroic** (Quezon City: Ateneo de Manila University Press, 2000), 1-33.
- “A Dying Dreamer: Jose Nava and the Drama of Class Struggle,” in, Alfred W. McCoy, ed., **Lives at the Margin: Biography of Filipinos Obscure, Ordinary, and Heroic** (Quezon City: Ateneo de Manila University Press, 2000), pp. 279-335.
- “RAM and the Filipino Action Film,” in Rolando B. Tolentino, ed., **Geopolitics of the Visible: Essays on Philippine Film Cultures** (Quezon City: Ateneo de Manila University Press 2000), pp. 194-216.
- “Dark Legacy: Human Rights Under the Marcos Regime,” in, Teresita Quintos Deles, ed., **Memory, Truth-Telling and the Pursuit of Justice** (Quezon City: Office of Research and Publications, Ateneo de Manila University, 2001). pp. 129-44.
- “The Colonial Origins of Philippine Military Traditions,” in, Florentino Rodao and Felice Noelle Rodriguez, eds. **The Philippine Revolution of 1896, Ordinary Lives in Extraordinary Times** (Quezon City: Ateneo de Manila University Press, 2001), pp. 83-124.
- “Colonialism and the Cult of Masculinity,” in, Ma. Dolores Elizalde, Josep M. Fradera, and Luis Alonso, eds., **Imperios y Naciones en El Pacifico. Volumen I La Formacion de una colonia: Filipinas** (Madrid: Consejo Superior de Investigaciones Cientificas, 2001), pp. 149-77.
- “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.
- “The Costs of Covert Warfare: Airpower, Drugs, and Warlords in the Conduct of US Foreign Policy,” **New England Journal of Public Policy** 19, No. 1 (2004), pp. 223-41.
- “The Stimulus of Prohibition: A Critical History of the Global Narcotics Trade,” in, Michael K. Steinberg, Joseph J. Hobbs, and Kent Mathewson., eds., **Dangerous Harvest: Drug Plants and the Transformation of Indigenous Landscapes** (New York: Oxford University Press, 2004), pp. 24-111.
- “Cruel Science: CIA Torture & US Foreign Policy,” **New England Journal of Public Policy** 19, No. 2 (Winter 2005), pp. 209-62.

- “Cruel Science: CIA Torture & US Foreign Policy,” in, Paul Atwood, Padraig O’Malley, & Patricia M. Peterson, eds., **Sticks and Stones: Living with Uncertain Wars** (Amherst: University of Massachusetts Press, 2006), pp. 160-216.
- “The Costs of Covert Warfare: Airpower, Drugs, and Warlords in the Conduct of U.S. Foreign Policy,” in, Paul Atwood, Padraig O’Malley, & Patricia M. Peterson, eds., **Sticks and Stones: Living with Uncertain Wars** (Amherst: University of Massachusetts Press, 2006), pp. 41-62.
- “The Outcast of Camp Echo,” in, Drusilla Modjeska, ed., **The Best Australia Essays 2006** (Melbourne: Black Ink, 2006), pp. 379-95.
- “The History of U.S. Torture,” **The Asia-Pacific Journal**, No. 42, December 18, 2006.
- “Torture in the Crucible of Counterinsurgency,” in, Marilyn B. Young and Lloyd C. Gardner, eds., **Iraq and the Lessons of Vietnam: Or, How Not to Learn From the Past** (New York: New Press, 2007), pp. 230-62.
- “Science in Dachau’s Shadow: Hebb, Beecher, and the Development of CIA Psychological Torture and Modern Medical Ethics,” **Journal of the History of the Behavioral Sciences** 43, no. 4 (2007), pp. 401-17.
- “Eine Kurze Geschichte der Psychofolter durch die CIA,” in, Karin Harasser, Thomas Macho, and Burkhardt Wolf, eds., **Folter: Politik und Technik de Schmerzes** (Munich: Wilhelm Fink, 2007), pp. 323-51.
- “Legacy of a Dark Decade: CIA Mind Control, Classified Behavioral Research, and the Origins of Modern Medical Ethics,” in, Almerindo Ojeda, ed., **The Trauma of Psychological Torture** (Westport: Praeger, 2008), pp. 40-69.
- “Covert Netherworld: Clandestine Services and Criminal Syndicates in Shaping the Philippine State,” in, Eric Wilson, ed., **Government of the Shadows: Parapolitics and Criminal Sovereignty** (London: Pluto Press, 2009), pp. 226-55.
- “A Hundred Years of Drug Prohibition: A Study in the Failure of Global Governance,” in Michael Heazle, Martin Griffiths, and Tom Conley, eds., **Foreign Policy Challenges in the 21st Century** (London: Edward Elgar, 2009), pp. 207-30.
- “The Philippine Oligarchy at the Turn of the Twenty-First Century,” in, Alfred W. McCoy, ed., **An Anarchy of Families: State and Family in the Philippines** (Madison: University of Wisconsin Press, 2009), pp. xi-xxx.
- with Francisco Scarano & Courtney Johnson, “On the Tropic of Cancer: Transitions & Transformations in the U.S. Imperial State,” in, Alfred W. McCoy and Francisco Scarano, eds., **Colonial Crucible: Empire in the Making of a Modern American State** (Madison: University of Wisconsin Press, 2009), pp. 3-33.
- “Policing the Imperial Periphery: Pacification of the Philippines and the Rise of the US National Security State,” in, Alfred W. McCoy and Francisco Scarano, eds., **Colonial Crucible: Empire in the Making of a Modern American State** (Madison: University of Wisconsin Press, 2009), pp. 106-15.
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10. REVIEWS OF PUBLICATIONS:

a.) *Career Assessment:*

“Beginning with his dissertation at Yale University in 1977, Alfred W. McCoy has made a deep and enduring impact on Philippine historical studies, and had played a central role in the promotion and dissemination of Philippine history to international audiences.”
-**Goodman Prize**, Association for Asian Studies, March 2001.

“It was in 1980 that the issue of political collaboration on the part of the elite was taken up from an altogether different perspective with the publication of the Yale monograph series volume entitled *Southeast Asia Under Japanese Occupation*. Its editor, Alfred W. McCoy, contributed a detailed chapter on Iloilo Province on Panay Island... McCoy’s study was epoch-making for, first of all, showing the continuum of the Philippines’ political elite even at the local level and secondarily for clarifying the complicated structure of the collaboration/resistance issue within the context of local politics. In this way, McCoy’s research switched the locus of the study of the Japanese-occupied Philippines, concerning not only the collaboration/resistance issue but also the important research theme of anti-Japanese guerrilla activities.”

-Ikehata Setsuho, “The Japanese Occupation Period in Philippine History,” in, Ikehata Setshuo & Ricardo Trota Jose, eds., **The Philippines Under Japan: Occupation Policy and Reaction** (Quezon City: Ateneo de Manila University Press, 1999), pp. 4-5.

“Meanwhile, the late 1980s and 1990s witnessed a wave of foreign scholarship on Philippine politics and society... This scholarship was the work of academics writing in large part for a Filipino audience and in self-conscious support of the causes of democratisation, human rights, and social justice in the Philippines. The exemplary figure in this regard is the accomplished historian Alfred W. McCoy, who in the 1970s exposed the links between the US Central Intelligence Agency and the heroin trade in Southeast Asia and who, in late January 1986, on the eve of the ‘snap’ presidential elections in the Philippines, revealed his discovery of documents which discredited Ferdinand Marcos’ claim of anti-Japanese guerrilla leadership and heroism during the Pacific War. In the late 1980s, McCoy did much to draw attention to the glaring social inequalities and injustices in the sugar plantation belt of Negros Occidental and also to document the involvement of the much lionised military ‘reformists’ (and putschists) in cases of torture and other human rights violations. In the 1990s, moreover, he brought together scholars working on Philippine local history and politics in a collection of essays which underlined the endurance of large landowning families, mafia-style machine politicians and their persistent rent-seeking and criminal activities despite the restoration of formal democracy in the archipelago.”

-Eva-Lotta E. Hedman and John T. Sidel, **Philippine Politics and Society in the Twentieth Century: Colonial legacies, post-colonial trajectories** (London: Routledge, 2000), p. 3.

“An alternative approach to mainstream economic history is to use urban economic history not as an end in itself but as a frame of reference... In a Southeast Asian context the best example is still Doeppers 1984 on late colonial Manila... Also notable as good economic as well as social history, is McCoy 1982. In scope, rigor, and eclecticism, these are excellent works.”

-H.W. Dick, **Surabaya, City of Work: A Socioeconomic History, 1900-2000** (Athens, OH: Ohio University Press, 2002), p. xxii.

“La naissance de la géopolitique des drogues peut être marquée par la publication, en 1972, de deux ouvrages majeurs signées respectivement, par un historien américain, Alfred W. McCoy, et par un journaliste et un économiste français, Catherine Lamour et Michel Lamberti. Ces deux ouvrages se penchent notamment sur l’utilisation de la drogue à des fins géopolitiques en Asie du Sud-Est de la part des services secrets des puissances coloniales. Ces recherches seront prolongées en Birmanie quinze ans plus tard par celles frères André et Louis Boucaud et du journaliste suédois Bertil Lintner. Dans le cas du Pakistan et de l’Afghanistan, l’évolution de la situation a fait l’objet d’enquêtes des journalistes d’Imran Syed (alias Imran Akbar), Lawrence Lifchultz et d’Alain Labrousse. Le véritable continuateur chez les universitaires d’Alfred McCoy est un jeune géographe, Pierre-Arnaud Chouvy. Les analyses dans son ouvrage évitent un écueil important: réduire la démarche à une simple présentation <<statique>> des espaces considérés. C’est au contraire une démarche géopolitique qui permet le dépassement de la description géopolitique pour la transformer en analyse <<comparative>>, intégrée et dynamiques de réalités mouvantes dont l’analyse des routes (voir *supra*) est un exemple.”

-Alain Labrousse, **Que Sais-je? Géopolitique des Drogues** (Paris: Presses Universitaires de France, 2004), p. 6.

“Parapolitics is a new term. It emerged in scholarly discourse only in the early 1990s to capture a set of observations which suggest a strange, powerful, clandestine and apparently structural relationship between state security-intelligence apparatuses, terrorist organizations and transnational organized crime syndicates....The parapolitical approach took definitive shape...in the path-breaking work of Alfred McCoy in the 1970s and 1980s that showed the complicity of the CIA in opium cultivation and heroin production and trade in Indochina. McCoy’s impeccable research showed the sustained involvement of Western security intelligence organizations (both American and French)in operations which intertwined organized crime...and the subversion of democratic processes. McCoy’s work remains the archetype for parapolitical research. *The Politics of Heroin* is a stunning book, but its impact was relatively limited...McCoy’s book aroused indignation that the democratic authorities in the US should have connived in such activities, but it did not articulate a way in which the dominant paradigms governing American political science ought to change as a result of its findings.”

-Robert Cribb, in, Eric Wilson, ed., **Government of the Shadows: Parapolitics and Criminal Sovereignty** (London: Pluto Press, 2009), pp. 1-3.

b.) *The Politics of Heroin in Southeast Asia* (1972):

“It is rare that a book unifies at one time a quality of exceptional documentation, the suspense of a 'mystery', and the spirit of Romanesque fresco. The American author Alfred McCoy has achieved this...”

- Jean Bothorel, **Le Nouvel Economiste** (Paris), 22 July 1980.

“The result of a long inquiry conducted both in the archives and in the field, *La Politique de l'heroine en Asie du Sud-Est*... clarifies with precision and depth the history and geography of the phenomenon of this drug...”

- Jacques Chambaz, **Quotidien de Paris**, 4 August 1980.

“Alfred McCoy has conducted an exemplary inquiry. His book, a brilliant synthesis of university research and the best of journalistic investigation, is both as vigorous and exciting as an excellent thriller.”

- Rene Backmann, **Le Nouvel Observateur** (Paris), 12 July 1980.

“The book is so thoroughly researched, so carefully annotated and so specific in its accusations that even the Central Intelligence Agency has crawled out of its accustomed shell of secrecy to issue 11 pages of denials... His book is a monumental piece of scholarship in a field that sometimes resists investigation to the point of killing the investigators.”

- Michael T. Malloy, **National Observer** (Washington), 2 September 1972.

“...a fascinating, often meticulous unraveling of the byzantine complexities of the Southeast Asia drug trade...a pioneering book.”

- James M. Markham, **New York Times Book Review**, 3 September 1972.

“During the past twenty years only eleven books of any consequence have been written about the international trafficking in narcotics, and McCoy's book is by far the best. McCoy has documented for us, in greater detail than ever before, what has become a national scandal, and he has documented it alarmingly well.”

- Edward T. Hymoff, **Saturday Review** (New York), October 1972.

“But it must be said that his book is a serious, sober, headline-shunning study with 63 pages of supporting notes, referring to a large number of personal interviews, newspaper accounts, previously published books, Congressional committee hearings, Government reports and United Nations documents. It is so filled with information that it will take more than mere dislike of its contents to demolish it. Perhaps the greatest guarantee of its accuracy is a Cabinet-level report prepared by officials of the Central Intelligence Agency, the State Department, and the Defense Department that confirms the main findings of McCoy's book.”

-Thomas Lask, **The New York Times**, 31 August 1972.

c.) “*Yloilo: Factional Conflict in a Colonial Economy*” (1977):

“One of the more impressive of the Philippines local history dissertations to come out of American universities... He has introduced an approach to regional history and a reading of events which should merit thought, or thoughtful contention. Based on three years research..., the work also impresses with the depth of its documentation... With a work of such theoretical persuasiveness and documentary depth, McCoy as made a distinct contribution to Philippine social history both in its substantive as well as methodological aspects.”

- Resil Mojares, **Local History Newsletter** (Cebu City), December 1979.

d.) *Drug Traffic: Narcotics and Organized Crime in Australia* (1980):

“Dr. McCoy has provided a valuable service for scholars by describing in detail the history of organized crime, particularly in Sydney.”

- Dr. Grant Wardlaw, **The Sydney Morning Herald**, 16 August 1980.

“It is the first major Australian publication to deal centrally...with the corrupting influence of crime and criminals in our society... It will not be the first time an American scholar has proved to be a welcome pioneer... I think too that the first section...is an excellently researched and most interesting piece of work in its own right.”

- Geoffrey Sawyer, **The Canberra Times**, 6 August 1980.

“McCoy's book remains the essential A to Z of organized crime in Australia and the first attempt to corner the subject in an analytical framework. McCoy's training as a historian is reflected in the careful and painstaking research... McCoy's research clearly

established that organized crime is not a recent phenomenon or an aberration in NSW, but a huge subterranean industry.”

- Marian Wilkinson, **The National Times** (Sydney), 17 August 1980.

“The author is Dr. Alfred W. McCoy, a world authority on drug abuse and the crime which invariably accompanies it... His book is absorbing and disturbing... Some of the assertions in this most important book may be a subject for debate. I am convinced that the author can very well defend himself... He has a knife-edged mind and he writes prose with the same cutting sharpness.”

- Geoffrey Hutton, **The Age** (Melbourne), 17 July 1980.

“The published evidence Mr. Costigan has documented represents a significant breakthrough in exposing how large-scale...are the criminal organizations...Possibly as significant has been Mr. Costigan's conceptual breakthrough. In the past, Royal Commissions have been obsessed with exposing a Mr. Big...What Mr. Costigan is describing is a criminal milieu... Dr. Alfred McCoy in his book **Drug Traffic** has explained the way this milieu operates...This argument is explicitly acknowledged by Mr. Costigan...”

- Editorial on the Costigan Report, **Sydney Morning Herald**, 9 September 1982.

e.) *Southeast Asia Under Japanese Occupation (1980):*

“In his study of local politics in the Western Visayas, McCoy demonstrates with a splendid mass of malicious detail that the war meant the continuation by nastier means of a long-standing contest for power... Not only does he rightly argue that in this area 'resistance' really meant 'collaboration with the Americans', but sardonically reveals that each clique had one foot in the Japanese and one in the American camp.”

- Benedict Anderson, **Journal of Asian Studies**, February 1983.

f.) *Philippine Social History: Global Trade and Local Transformations (1982):*

“Able edited by Alfred McCoy and E. de Jesus...it contains thirteen essays... An excellent example is the transformation of the Visayan Islands of Negros and Panay discussed by McCoy in his brilliant essay... On the whole this is a splendid book and an important tool for any student of Philippine social history.”

- Miguel Bernad, SJ, **Asia Week** (Hong Kong), 7 October 1983.

“This collection of essays is absolutely superb... The individual essays in the collection range from good to brilliant (in my own view, the pieces by Brian Fegan, James Warren, Norman Owen and McCoy fall into the latter category)... This case studies in this volume on the relationship between economic change and social transformation are as good as anything that European social history has produced. McCoy, de Jesus and all the contributors...have reason to be proud.”

- Glenn A. May, **Australian Outlook**, December 1983.

“This collection of essays...will transform the Philippine historiographical landscape... What is here presented offers... an impressively insightful and satisfying course of instruction... Finally, it is unreasonable to assume that thirteen authors write so clearly and mellifluously. This has to reflect skillful editing... It is a landmark, and one unlikely to be surpassed, however modified..., by the work of other scholars inspired by their labors.”

- Lewis Gleeck, **Bulletin of the American Historical Collection** (Manila), October 1982.

“McCoy provides similar intellectual stimulation on a larger subject in his brilliant assessment of Iloilo City. Exploding a series of historical misconceptions..., McCoy traces the fascinating history of the city between the 1850s and the 1950s....”

- David R. Sturtevant, **Filipinas** (Honolulu), 1983.

“In a decade that has witnessed a great deal of outstanding work in Philippine historiography, this is clearly one of the most important scholarly publications...The book is highly recommended for students and teachers of Philippine history.”

- Resil Mojares, **Bulletin of Philippine Folklore and Local History** (Cebu), June 1983.

“McCoy's study of Iloilo City provides a fascinating insight into what almost seems an action replay of the fall of the Indian textile industry during British rule... The presentation, depth and documentation of the book is impressive...The introduction (by McCoy) and de Jesus' excellent last chapter...give the Philippines, its consistent and integrated character.”

- David Murray, **Pacific Viewpoint** (Wellington).

“McCoy's own contribution is a sterling essay... Its argument reduces the importance of dates like 1898 and 1946 by focusing on the continuity of social, economic and political processes... My doubts aside, both density of research and trenchancy of expression makes this a memorable essay. This book is an achievement of the first order in the historiography of Southeast Asia, the Pacific and the filling in of global frontiers... Borrowing usefully from anthropology, geography, and economics, the authors open new frontiers of cognitive terrain for careful understanding.”

- Theodore Friend, **American Historical Review**, December 1983.

“Here is a complete course on the history of the Philippines... Beyond its value as Philippine history, this volume once again illustrates the creativity of scholars at work on Southeast Asian history, who, being forced by realities in the region to study diverse and scattered peoples...integrate their scholarship by intense devotion to comparative themes. This volume is the best yet on the comparative social history of export economies under colonial rule.”

- David Ludden, **The Annals of the American Academy of Political & Social Science**, March 1984.

Listed as one of the five “Outstanding Academic Books, 1983” for Asia based on a survey of 6,565 reviews in academic journals which identified 583 titles “as having significant value in their fields” or “destined to be landmarks.”

- **Choice**, May 1984.

g.) *Moral Order and the Question of Change* (1982):

“These essays are all imaginative, resourceful, and intelligent; those by Day, Iletto, McCoy, and Woodside are particularly provocative or successfully revisionist... I had the feeling that the introduction sought to disarm the critic rather than speak to the book. The consequence is a missed opportunity to make a cogent whole out of the contributions. Invidious comparisons would be two recent collections edited by McCoy; one on Philippine social history, one on the Japanese occupation. Both have strong, integrative, elucidating introductions.”

- Craig J. Reynolds, **Journal of Asian Studies**, February 1984.

“The last two papers are both about the Philippines, and for the reviewer's money they are the most interesting. Reynaldo C. Iletto seeks to expose cultural bias in the common view of the westernized revolutionaries of the 1880s and 1890s... Similarly, Alfred

McCoy... surveys the manifold influence of an antique animist culture upon modern political movements. ... One can quibble at several points...but there is no doubt that, like Iletto, he is mining a rich vein of historical enquiry which promises rich pickings, and has been too often neglected.”

- I.W. Mabbett, **Journal of Southeast Asian Studies**, September 1984.

h.) *Priests on Trial* (1984):

“The emphasis of *Priests on Trial* is not the court proceedings but social and economic developments within the Philippines. Power and politics are to the fore. Alfred McCoy...has written a highly informative, readable and undoubtedly timely book. It is an example of current affairs publishing at its best.”

- Ric Sissons, **The National Times** (Sydney), 2 November 1984.

“*Priests on Trial* is...invaluable reading for those who want an in depth analysis of the facts. McCoy views the priests' persecution, first, within the framework of sugarlandia's social history and, second, in the larger context of national power politics. Generations of colorful characters and bloody conflicts supply his story with the ingredients of a panoramic novel in the manner of James Clavell's **Shogun** and **Noble House** and James Michener's epics on the South Pacific.”

- Sylvia Mendez Ventura, **Mr. & Ms.** (Manila), 22 February 1985.

i.) *Philippine Cartoons* (1985):

--Philippine Catholic Mass Media Award, Best Book of the Year for 1985.

--Philippine National Book Award for History, 1986.

--**Gintong Aklat Award** (Manila), Special Citation for History, 1987.

j.) *Philippine Colonial Democracy* (1989):

“The four essays that comprise this collection continue one of the most fruitful and salutary trajectories that has characterized the writing of Philippine history in the last two decades. Each well-crafted piece brings with it a revisionary agenda: that of demythologizing received ideas... Alfred McCoy's fine essay on Quezon returns to the earlier concerns sketched out in the Introduction: that of suggesting analogies between pre- and post-war political institutions and practices in the Philippines. McCoy convincingly argues that Quezon's Commonwealth regime laid the groundwork for the emergence of authoritarian rule under Marcos.”

-Vicente L. Rafael, **Philippine Studies**, 1989.

k.) *Politics of Heroin* (Revised Edition, 1991):

“Though he devotes much of his narrative to a history of modern commerce in narcotics..., McCoy tells a fascinating story. He shows that in the 'Golden Triangle' of Laos, Thailand, and Burma, opium was big business and, often, the only viable form of currency. McCoy argues that, in their efforts to expand their own power in Southeast Asia, American intelligence agents permitted the allies of the US...to expand their lucrative drug trade....The author produces considerable disturbing evidence that US authorities are guilty at least of complicity in the global drug trade, and argues convincingly that the drug problem at home will not end until a fundamental change is made in American policy.”

-**Kirkus Reviews**, 15 June 1991.

“Nearly 20 years ago, McCoy wrote *The Politics of Heroin in Southeast Asia*, which stirred up considerable controversy, alleging that the CIA was intimately involved in the Vietnamese opium trade. In the current volume, a substantially updated and longer work, he argues that the situation basically hasn't changed over the past two decades...He readily admits that the CIA's role in the heroin trade was an 'inadvertent' byproduct of 'its cold war tactics,' but he limns convincingly the path by which the agency and its forebears reestablished the heroin trade after WWII and, most recently, 'transformed southern Asia from a self-contained opium zone into a major supplier of heroin.' Scrupulously documented, almost numbingly so at times, this is a valuable corrective to the misinformation being peddled by anti-drug zealots on both sides of the aisle.”
-**Publishers Weekly**, 31 May 1991.

“It seems that the American government has learned nothing from its war on drugs. In 1972, the CIA attempted to suppress McCoy's classic work, *The Politics of Heroin in Southeast Asia* which charged CIA complicity in the narcotics trade as part of its cold war tactics. Now, this revised and expanded edition, incorporating 20 years of research, discusses in almost overwhelming detail how U.S. drug policies in the Third World has created 'America's heroin plague.' McCoy notes that every attempt at interdiction has only resulted in expansion of both production and consumption of drugs....A massive work that raises serious questions.”
-Wilda Williams, **Library Journal**, July 1991.

“The appalling fact is that McCoy's new and extensive update of that classic work remains as relevant as ever. His original message aired in congressional hearings and widespread media coverage evidently made no difference. After first trying to suppress the book's publication, the CIA simply denied its message and got away with the lie. As McCoy documents, the agency then went with impunity to collaborate with other drug traffickers, from Panama's Noriega to the Afghan mujahedeen and their patrons in Pakistani military intelligence....McCoy's meticulously documented volume, based on first hand investigation and wide reading of secondary accounts, makes the case as convincingly as anyone could want.”
-Jonathan Marshall, **San Francisco Chronicle**, 22 July 1991.

“Twenty years ago, McCoy published *The Politics of Heroin in Southeast Asia*, a chilling study of how American dollars and foreign policy indirectly financed the heroin addiction of American soldiers in Vietnam. Now, he has revised and updated his pioneering work, offering more than 630 pages of narrative and notes that chronicle the United States' two-faced approach toward drugs. In his remarkable chapter on South Vietnam, for example, McCoy methodically explains how dope-selling gangsters became our allies in the fight against Communism. He unravels the workings of the Southeast Asian underground to show how opium bought protection and political legitimacy...”
-Rick Hornung, **The Village Voice**, 22 October 1991.

“The conclusions of this report [by the Inter-American Commission on Drug Policy] are echoed in a number of new books which also analyze other, more profound reasons for the failure of present drug policies. The most outstanding of these is by Alfred McCoy, professor of history at the University of Wisconsin: *The Politics of Heroin*...Published in June this year, it is an updated, revised and greatly expanded version of his ground-breaking study, *The Politics of Heroin in Southeast Asia*, which first appeared in 1972....

“In the search for a solution to the drug problem, McCoy offers the best vision for the future. In addition to distinguishing between using drug money to finance covert operations, and condoning the activities of drug traffickers for reasons of national

security, he observes that the CIA engages in two types of clandestine work: gathering intelligence about present and future events; and covert operations that somehow influence the outcome of these events. Complicity in the drug trade, McCoy argues, is limited to the agency's covert operations unit....The publication of McCoy's study could not be more timely. It should pave the way for a more realistic approach to the drug problem: rehabilitation of addicts and politically untainted interdiction..."

-Bertil Lintner, **Far Eastern Economic Review**, 14 November 1991.

"*The Politics of Heroin* is a completely revised and expanded edition of McCoy's now-classic volume *The Politics of Heroin in Southeast Asia*, which first appeared twenty years ago in 1972. His new book provides both a social history of heroin and a political economy of what is now an important global commodity....McCoy's detailed expose of the coincidence of CIA covert activities and major drug trafficking operations makes sobering reading. The evidence he presents for Southeast Asia does seem overwhelming....Nevertheless, for anyone optimistic that President Bush's war on drugs will depress the international drugs trade, this is essential reading."

-Michael C. Williams, **Journal of Asian Studies**, November 1992.

1.) *The Restoration of Planter Power (1992):*

"These questions are brought to the fore by the studies edited by Kerkvliet and Mojares. The focus is the 1986 snap election and its aftermath as seen in 12 communities ranging from Ranglay in Ilocos Norte to Zamboanga City and Marawi. The authors are established scholars who did field work in these communities at or around the time of the election....In perhaps the most interesting of these studies, Alfred W. McCoy places the election in La Carlota, Negros Occidental, in the broad context of the social and economic history of that province, a history dominated by the power of the sugarcane planters who in 1986 combined brutal repression with massive vote-buying and cheating to carry the province for Marcos."

-John J. Carroll, S.J., **Sunday Inquirer Magazine**, 4 August 1991.

"This well-conceived collection of essays goes considerably beyond the hagiographic reportage that established the fall of Ferdinand Marcos and the rise of Corazon Aquino as a dramatic morality play with Gothic overtones... The editors chose their contributors well; most know intimately, from years of previous residence and study, the locales from which they report..."

"The theoretical sophistication of this book demonstrates again that striking scholarly advances can result from international collaboration....It appears that Kerkvliet and Mojares modeled their conference and book on the ground breaking 1982 volume by Alfred W. McCoy and Ed. C. de Jesus, *Philippine Social History: Global Trade and Local Transformations* (Honolulu: University of Hawaii Press), which examined nineteenth-century social and economic change in the Philippines from the provincial perspective...."

"On the other hand, open class warfare has replaced factional politics in Negros Occidental. Alfred McCoy's dramatic account of violence, greed, and oppression in sugarlandia will surprise no one familiar with his previous work."

-Ross Marlay, **Journal of Asian Studies**, August 1993.

"This collection of essays on the local ramifications of the 1986 EDSA uprising constitute one of the most useful and indispensable guides to understanding the complexities of recent Philippine political history....Both Resil Mojares' finely written essay on Valladolid in Cebu and Alfred McCoy's near epic account of the ebb and flow of planter power in La Carlota in Negros province brilliantly demonstrate the impact of economic changes in shaping the exercise of power, the flux of local and translocal

alliances, and the necessity of scholars...to reject any totalizing interpretation of recent changes in Philippine political history.”

-Vince Rafael, **Journal of Southeast Asian Studies**, September 1993.

m.) *War On Drugs* (1992):

“The value of the study lies in its sections devoted to cocaine in Latin America and heroin in Asia. A close look at the Asia section will demonstrate its strengths and weaknesses. Alfred McCoy opens the section with a brief history of opium and heroin; unlike his pioneering 1972 study of heroin in Southeast Asia,...this short essay attempts to put opium and its derivative in a broader context as it traces the intra-Asian opium trade...If this book offers no solutions, it does give policy-makers and area scholars important information and much to think about.”

-Josef Silverstein, **Journal of Asian Studies**, May 1993.

“*War on Drugs* is a collection of essays by 11 authors that offers a depressing assessment of the attempts by the United States to eradicate the 'scourge of our time.' In their introductory chapter, the editors present a convincing argument that the militarization of American drug policy, beginning with President Richard Nixon's attempt to smash the opium trade in Turkey 20 years ago, has done more to create a flexible and elusive drug network than to eliminate the problem. Their prescription--reducing the demand for drugs--is shared by many authors on this topic.”

-Sean Patrick Murphy, **Current History**, February 1993.

n.) *Anarchy of Families* (1993):

-Philippine National Book Award, 1995.

“In eight carefully researched essays, the contributors, all leading scholars..., trace the rise of such families as the...Osmenas, ...and Lopezes. Though an academic study, it is valuable for anyone wishing to understand the Philippines.”

-**Asia Week**, 23 February 1994.

“The case studies reveal in startling detail the close interconnection between power and wealth. They also demonstrate the resilience of elite families...This book illustrates what should have been obvious. But the obvious has been neglected by our historiography and by our social sciences.... *An Anarchy of Families* ...indicates the way to go for all scholars of the Philippines seeking to be relevant both to the truth and to the public mood that acknowledges what really needs to be done.”

-Dr. Alex Magno, **The Manila Chronicle**, 31 March 1994.

“Notwithstanding the Marcos years, the EDSA Revolution, and recent attempts by the Ramos government to ban ‘private armies,’ elite families, as local patrons, traditional politicians and warlords, still exercise enormous influence over Philippine politics...McCoy also contributes a useful ‘historiography of state and family in the Philippines.’ This is a very worthwhile contribution to the literature of Philippine society and politics and, notwithstanding its length and the amount of detail, a highly entertaining one.”

-**Australian Journal of International Affairs** 48, no. 2 (November 1994).

“Daring, revealing, well-researched book based on in-depth scrutiny of primary sources best describes *Anarchy of Families*, a pioneering volume comprising analytical essays written by Filipino, American, and Australian scholars. Anyone familiar with the Philippine scene will find in this book the why and how certain prominent families in this

country have continued to dominate its political, economic and social life during the past century...”

-Dulce Festin-Baybay, **Sunday Chronicle** (Manila), 26 March 1995.

o.) *Closer Than Brothers* (1999):

“This book, at first glance, seems anomalous. Academic interest in ‘men on horseback’ has shifted from military politics, authoritarianism and dictatorship to social movements and civil society, which thrive in conditions of (re)-democratization. Read more closely, however, Alfred W. McCoy’s latest book is actually a path-breaking piece, for it is not only a comparative examination of two ‘classes’ of the Philippine Military Academy (PMA), but also a story of state formation and the kind of coercive state agency that emerged in the post-colonial Philippines.”

-Patricio N. Abinales, **Journal of Southeast Asian Studies** 32, no. 2 (2001).

“Torturers and coup plotters are not born; they are made by particular regimes and bred within particular contexts. This could very well constitute conventional wisdom, but U.S. scholar Alfred W. McCoy gives it a shape and human face in his path-breaking book on the Philippine military, *Closer than Brothers*.”

-Glenda M. Gloria, **I: The Investigative Reporting Magazine** (Manila), July/September 2000.

“This is the book Al McCoy was born to write. Although it has been among the most important of Philippine institutions, especially over the last 30 years, the military largely remains a mystery. To unlock its secrets it took a scholar who was not only a distinguished historian of the Philippines, but was also...an ‘army brat’ himself, someone who grew up with respect for what military training is intended to achieve...None of these [criticisms] diminishes the importance of this book, which should stand as the starting point for any analysis of the Philippine military in the next century.”

-Norman G. Owen, **Philippine Star** (Manila), 4 September 2000.

“Alfred W. McCoy is both one of the most respected and most controversial Southeast Asian scholars in the United States. In 1972 he coauthored *The Politics of Heroin*, which charted the involvement of U.S. government agencies in the international narcotics trade. In 1985 he revealed that Ferdinand Marcos had fabricated his World War II heroism, striking a devastating blow at the legitimacy of his regime. Now, in his most recent book, McCoy identifies Filipino officers guilty of torture and murder and questions both the ability and commitment of post-Marcos governments to reforming the Philippine armed forces. This is a provocative and disturbing book that raises issues that are (thankfully) seldom covered in American military history...*JMH* readers may wish that McCoy had devoted less space to interdisciplinary analysis and more to narrative history...This caveat aside, this is a fascinating work. McCoy is a shrewd, and often caustic, observer of the military socialization process and of recent Philippine politics.”

-Brian M. Linn, **Journal of Military History** (July 2000).

“Alfred W. McCoy has presented scholars of recent Philippine history and those who study military elites on a comparative basis with a well-researched, dynamic, and engrossing monograph that is difficult to put down.”

-Michael Onorato, **American Historical Review** 106, No. 2 (April 2001).

“Alfred McCoy has written a comprehensive study of the interaction between Philippine soldiery and national politics...What is unique about this book is the way in which it entwines the military so thoroughly with Philippine political affairs since World War II...No other book on the Philippine military covers the situation in such detail and in

such a penetrating manner...The strength of the study derives from McCoy's reportorial and narrative skills. He has burrowed deeply into the sources and has done extensive interviewing, so his work sheds light on many of the shadow events in recent Philippine history....The chapter on torture tells a particularly grim tale of foreign and domestic creation of officers trained in sadistic practices that whetted their appetite for military interference in civil matters. Post-Marcos politics have not encouraged a return to the barracks. McCoy makes his case fully, in a straight forward way, but the details can sometimes be overwhelming...McCoy's earlier studies have prepared him well to undertake this one. He understands the dynamics of governance and knows how to dig out a seamy story. Had Yale University Press allowed him to include a bibliography, it would have revealed just how numerous were his sources. As it is, one needs to look carefully at the endnotes to realize the breadth of scholarship involved...Those with an interest in Philippine national politics in particular and civil-military affairs in general will find this work a rewarding read."

-John A. Larkin, **Journal of Asian Studies** 60, no. 4 (November 2001).

"Alfred McCoy, l'un des historiens les plus compétents sur les Philippines, ne laisse jamais ses lecteurs insensibles. On a beau ne pas être d'accord sur certains points, ceux-ci suscitent toujours le débat. *Closer Than Brothers* en est la parfaite illustration. Cet ouvrage est en outre le type de livre qu'un historien porte pendant des années, voire une vie; l'écriture n'étant alors que l'aboutissement d'un long cheminement intellectuel....

"Alfred McCoy, a écrit un ouvrage d'une grande audace. Il définit un concept, celui de socialisation, qui pourrait se résumer par les interactions entre des officiers et la société philippine et plus précisément les hautes sphères politiques. En examinant cette osmose sous tous ces aspects, il brosse un tableau très large du pays depuis la période du *Commonwealth* (1935). L'absence de politique de versement systématique des archives est un problème majeur pour écrire l'histoire du pays. Alfred McCoy l'a contourné en se servant de tous les matériaux qui pouvaient être utiles à sa réflexion. D'une part, il a réalisé des interviews qu'il utilise comme de véritables archives. D'autre part, notamment pour la période postérieure à Marcos, il s'est servi de la presse qui, utilisée avec prudence, se révèle être une mine d'informations. Comme bon nombre d'historiens américains, l'auteur ne cantonne pas au champ étroit de sa discipline. Tel un Hun à travers la steppe des chapelles, il chevauche de l'anthropologie à la psychanalyse en passant par les sciences politiques, sans jamais être hermétique. A cet égard, signalons ses analyses sur l'identité masculine qui sont bien plus pertinentes que bon nombre de travaux sur le *gender*."

-William Guéraiche, **Aseanie** (Bangkok), no. 8 (December 2001).

p.) *Lives at the Margin* (2000):

-Philippine National Book Award, 2001.

"Biography has generally received a poor press in academic circles over recent decades....All the more reason, then, to congratulate Al McCoy and the other authors of *Lives at the Margin; Biography of Filipinos Obscure, Ordinary, and Heroic* for 'stepping outside the dominant paradigm' and producing a book about the Philippines that is as much an important contribution to our understanding of that society as it is an innovative work of history as it is simply a splendid read. In many respects, the present study forms a companion volume to another book recently edited by McCoy, *An Anarchy of Families: Filipino Elites and the Philippine State* (Quezon City: Ateneo de Manila University Press 1994), in that both books approach the past from what can now only be seen as alternative units of analysis, the individual and the family, than the ones usually pursued by scholars in an age that has a predilection towards gender, ethnic or conviction....

“With few exceptions, these biographies are some of the most thoroughly researched and well-crafted portrayals of the human condition I have seen. *Lives at the Margin* is the best work of history I have read so far this year.”

-Gregory Bankoff, **Bijdragen Tot De Taal-, Land- En Volkenkunde** 158, no. 2 (2002), pp. 306-08.

q.) *Politics of Heroin* (Revised Edition, 2003):

“This is a significant revision of a classic in its field since the 1972 first edition, titled *The Politics of Heroin in Southeast Asia*. Probably everyone with an interest in the drug trade, Southeast Asia, the CIA, U.S. politics, and related topics has read the first or second editions. This new edition is, however, well worth reading for the additions--and the historic material is well worth rereading. The new Preface alone is worth the comparatively reasonable price; it chronicles in bone-chilling detail the rather perilous aspects of McCoy’s initial research. This research led to the stunning expose of the CIA’s involvement in the drug trade in the 1972 book....

“The Preface also discloses the innovative research methods of McCoy, a historian by training and obviously an excellent fieldworker....The 23-page Introduction is almost completely revised with an update on developments in the drug trade since 1992 and an explanation of how prohibition creates a global economy supporting an illicit substance. Chapter 8 is greatly revised with a general updating, a rewrite about Nixon's war on drugs, coverage of Latin America, and a discussion of cocaine and amphetamines. Chapter 9 contains new CIA documentation on the Nicaragua Contra operation and developments in Afghanistan and Central Asia....

“Among the new revelations in the book is the documentation of how the prohibition of drugs subverts the war on drugs, focusing on the drug war precedent established by Nixon, and how devastating has been the CIA’s three major covert wars on the tribal highlands where they were fought, including a marvelous case study of Long Pot village (pp. 321-331). After a breathtaking 528-page tour of the drug world, McCoy returns in the ‘Conclusion’ to the centerpiece of his work, i.e., the complacency of the CIA.”

-Robert Lawless, **Journal of Third World Studies** 21, No. 2 (2004), pp. 282-84.

“Backed up by a wealth of information and data, McCoy, unlike some more sensational writers in the genre, does not accuse the CIA of direct involvement in the drug traffic to finance its covert operations. American officials and CIA agents, McCoy concludes, have been linked to the narcotics trade on three levels: (1) coincidental complicity, by allying with groups actively engaged in the drug traffic; (2) support of the traffic, by covering up for known heroin and cocaine traffickers and condoning their involvement; and (3) active engagement in the transport of narcotics.

“In the first edition of *The Politics of Heroin*, McCoy described how this was the case in Southeast Asia...This 2003 edition of McCoy’s book includes the same material as the first and adds two entirely new chapters: “War on Drugs,” which outlines the failures of America’s antidrug campaigns and brings the first part of the book up to date; and “The CIA’s Covert Wars,” in which McCoy looks at the situation in Afghanistan, Pakistan, Central Asia, and Latin America. These additions make this edition even more relevant than the first, as they sketch a pattern in foreign—and drug—policy failures. America’s involvement with various drug lords in Indochina three decades ago was not an isolated example.

“McCoy’s main contribution to the understanding of the mechanics of the drug trade is his ability to place criminal problems in their proper political perspective. Since the publication of the first edition of *The Politics of Heroin* more

than thirty years ago, every serious writer on the subject has adopted a similar approach.”

-Bertil Lintner, **Critical Asian Studies** 36, no. 1 (2004).

“Any reader will be struck by the sheer scale of the scholarly achievement that this study represents. It is the fruit of over thirty years of interest and labour on the subject that confer on the author the authority to talk about such wide-ranging and geographically diverse matters. The book has multiple arguments about the significance of opium and its derivatives as a factor in government policies both in the USA and in source or transit countries, as a major commodity 'by any standards' in world trade, or as a means of personal aggrandizement creating drug lords such as the Yunnanese General Khun Sa or the Florida mafioso Santos Trafficante. But it is perhaps on an historical level that the study is most satisfying. Those of us who have been educated to see Southeast Asian societies through the diagnostic lens of a lowland/highland, rice-based/trade-based, core/periphery dichotomy will particularly appreciate a perspective that explores the history of the borderlands in terms of its own dynamics and shows the influence these usually ignored regions exert on the mainstream. What is more, McCoy's study reveals just how central the revenue from drugs was in underpinning the European imperial venture. Far from being a minor aspect of colonial trade, opium sales generated 16 percent of all government taxes in French Indochina and the Netherlands East Indies, and a whopping 53 per cent in British Malaya (p. 93). Many of the visible signs of progress that Europeans have come to regard as the benevolent legacy of colonialism, such as canals, roads, railways, docks and the like, were in fact financed with drug money. McCoy makes us acutely aware of how we need to incorporate these 'other stories' into our general histories of the region. Nor is the book restricted to only one area: its arguments extend from the highlands of mainland Southeast Asia to the desert plains of Central Asia and the jungles of Latin America. Such considerations may be equally valid there, too.”

“There is not a lot wrong with this book, in my opinion, and so little to comment on in terms of critiquing arguments that are clearly and persuasively articulated and supported by exhaustive examples, many of them drawn on the author's own experiences in Indochina during the early 1970s as a young researcher. Structurally, there is perhaps a little bit more to say. McCoy writes well but the book is long - over 700 pages - and at times the weight of evidence can prove a bit daunting and may deter the less than totally committed reader.”

-Gregory Bankoff, **Bijdragen Tot De Taal-, Land- En Volkenkunde** 163, no. 1 (2007), pp.146-48.

q.) *Foltern und Foltern Lassen* (2005):

In February 2006, *Foltern und Foltern Lassen* was ranked in the top ten recommended books for German readers by a circle of twenty-six independent critics sponsored by *Sueddeutsche Zeitung* (the liberal national newspaper), NDR (the state-owned Northern German Radio-Television network), and the German Booksellers Association.

“...Torture, according to McCoy's conclusion, is a pact with the devil: It corrupts the torturer and his/her victims—in the democracy of the people. It would be fatal for democracy to succumb to the undertow from which it often rescues the world and will continue to need to do so.”

- Marcus, Hladek, “Quaelen erlaubt? **Frankfurter Neue Presse** (8 December 2005).

“...It is from a long essay about CIA-financed research after the Second World War in which the main theme focuses on methods of psychological manipulation of detainees that makes the argument persuasive. Research on the political background depicts the East-West conflict and the danger that lesser democracies, such as US involvement with Latin American and Asian governments that have been plagued with communist revolutions. In this context, various “interrogation handbooks” originated that were put into practice in Chile, Honduras, the Philippines, etc. McCoy views torture inflicted in Guantanamo and Abu Ghraib along these traditional lines. At the end of his...argument he deals with the question: under what circumstances should torture be permitted as a weapon against terrorists? He finds none and is exactly right.”

-Wilfried Bredow, “Foltern gilt nicht.” **Frankfurter Allgemeine** (19 September 2005).

“In the following scenario: US-observers manage to capture a terrorist that shortly beforehand had hidden an atom bomb in Time Square in New York City. The timed detonator was running. In this case would it not be the authority’s business to go to any lengths against the perpetrator—including coercive measures—to discover the timing mechanism on time and to rescue millions of lives?

“It is this type of rhetorical parlor game tricks that Alfred McCoy utilizes in his clever book...that is full of factual information and counterarguments. The US Historian delivers a passionate, overall convincing argument against the adoption of torture methods without constricting himself to clean moral outrage. His main argument: when democracies revert to torture, negative consequences outweigh the multiple possible advantages. Simply put, torture doesn’t pay off. Skilled, McCoy unmasks academic scenarios in his arguments, such as the aforementioned, where the use of torture should justifiably be implemented. An intelligence corps that more or less regulates perfectly reliable information particularizes the assault plan and knows the true identity of terrorists and yet must try to capture them and find the bomb? It is the stuff that James Bond films are made out of—though it has little in common with reality...”

“Alfred McCoy has produced an outstanding book in the discussion over the relativization of the worldwide torture prohibition. The scorching final chapter ‘The Logic of Torture’ makes this arguably one of the best, contemporary, concise, and impressive books to read.”

-Steffen Hebestreit, “Clever Pleading Against Torture” [“Aus dem Vorhof der Hoelle”], **Frankfurter Rundschau** (30 November 2005).

“Alfred McCoy, professor of history at the University of Wisconsin-Madison, is known as one of the most profound connoisseurs of US foreign policy. For more than ten years he has occupied himself with torture methods employed by the CIA. Seldom has a book so intrigued me—with almost 60 years of job experience—as his study “Cruel Science.”

“First of all, McCoy presents a succinct historical overview of the last 2000 years of torture history. He reports then, like the beginning of the Cold War where the CIA, financed by 13 million dollars, developed and experimented with new torture methods as part of the psychological warfare that included techniques such as “conscience control” and “brainwashing,” wherein doctors participated [in the development of said techniques].”

-Erich Buchholz, “Out of the Vestibule of Hell,” **Neues Deutschland** (30 September 2005).

“Alfred W. McCoy intensively occupied himself in the 1990s with the problem of torture. The origin of his research comes from a long residence in the Philippines,

where the influx of American torture techniques affected the Filipino military. Awareness of his research was first revealed in 1999 with the appearance of the book "Closer than Brothers." ...After the appearance of photos from Abu Ghraib, it became crystal clear to him that the Cold War past functioned as a prolog for our future after 9.11."

-Joachim Gaertner, "Foltern nach Vorschrift," **Kulturweltspiegel** (30 October 2005).

"As we saw the photos from Abu Ghoreib for the first time and as we heard about Lynndie England and sexual torture for the first time, we still wanted to believe, more or less, that these were demented, isolated incidents. Then it became clear that the photos did not represent private, sadistic orgies, but rather the training program of the US military. Whoever still believes that Guantanamo constitutes training for Abu Ghoreib doesn't understand that the same practices are being employed in both places. The interrogation technique of the training program includes sexual debasement/humiliation of prisoners as well as the use of dogs. Whoever wants to be well-versed on program operatives must read Alfred W. McCoy because of the down-to-earth/businesslike rendition/balance of 50 years of torture theory and practice."

-Arno Widmann, "Das Foltersystem der USA," **Berliner Zeitung** (25 July 2005).

r.) *Question of Torture* (2006):

"It's a history that has been exhaustively documented in an avalanche of books, declassified documents, CIA training manuals, court records and truth commissions. In his upcoming book *A Question of Torture*, Alfred McCoy synthesizes this unwieldy cache of evidence, producing an indispensable and riveting account of how monstrous CIA-funded experiments on psychiatric patients and prisoners in the 1950s turned into a template for what he calls "no-touch torture," based on sensory deprivation and self-inflicted pain. McCoy traces how these methods were field-tested by CIA agents in Vietnam as part of the Phoenix program and then imported to Latin America and Asia under the guise of police training programs.

"It's not only apologists for torture who ignore this history when they blame abuses on "a few bad apples"--so too do many of torture's most prominent opponents...

"The principal propagator of this narrative (what Garry Wills termed 'original sinlessness') is Senator John McCain. Writing recently in *Newsweek* on the need for a ban on torture, McCain says that when he was a prisoner of war in Hanoi, he held fast to the knowledge 'that we were different from our enemies...that we, if the roles were reversed, would not disgrace ourselves by committing or approving such mistreatment of them.' It is a stunning historical distortion. By the time McCain was taken captive, the CIA had already launched the Phoenix program and, as McCoy writes, "its agents were operating forty interrogation centers in South Vietnam that killed more than twenty thousand suspects and tortured thousands more," a claim he backs up with pages of quotes from press reports as well as Congressional and Senate probes...

"And that's the problem with pretending that the Bush Administration invented torture. 'If you don't understand the history and the depths of the institutional and public complicity,' says McCoy, 'then you can't begin to undertake meaningful reforms.' Lawmakers will respond to pressure by eliminating one small piece of the torture apparatus--closing a prison, shutting down a program, even demanding the resignation of a really bad apple like Rumsfeld. But, McCoy says, 'they will preserve the prerogative to torture.'"

-Naomi Klein, **The Nation** (New York), 26 December 2005.

“McCoy skillfully traces the use of these methods from the Phoenix program in Vietnam...to the actions of agency-trained secret police in Honduras in the nineteen-eighties, and the treatment of hooded detainees at Abu Ghraib.”

-**The New Yorker** (New York), 27 March 2006.

“Current events have precipitated a number of recent books connecting executive-branch policy makers with Abu Ghraib and other torture scandals, and McCoy is not the first author to argue that American use of torture in intelligence gathering has been deliberate and systematic rather than accidental. This book is unique, however, in connecting the dots all the way back to early cold war mind-control research, reminding readers that the CIA has been an innovator in modern torture methods. Incorporating simple yet brutally effective techniques of psychological manipulation involving isolation, disorientation, and destruction of personal identity, McCoy argues, the modern CIA interrogation manual is premised on university and army research into the psychology of coercion. As in his earlier work on CIA complicity in the global heroin trade, McCoy is adept at tracing the inertia of government practice; his research on the effect of torture on the Philippine armed forces likewise shows policy in practice and demonstrates that psychological torture is at least as scarring as thumbscrews. Timely and compelling.”

-Brendan Driscoll, **Booklist** (American Library Association), 2006.

“In his new book, ‘A Question of Torture,’ Alfred McCoy, J.R.W. Smail Professor of History at the University of Wisconsin, makes two particularly compelling points. First, that the shocking images of Abu Ghraib are nothing new, but reflect a policy of coercive interrogation developed and employed by the CIA for the past 50 years. Second, that psychological torture is no less torture than physical torment....As we stand at the shore of this ethical Rubicon, Professor McCoy’s book is an invaluable addition to this vital public discourse.”

-Gustin L. Reichbach, **New York Law Journal** (New York), 24 March 2006.

“This is a fascinating if wildly depressing book. Alfred W. McCoy, whose *The Politics of Heroin in Southeast Asia*...is a classic expose of the underbelly of U.S. foreign policy, has turned to the even darker history of the Central Intelligence Agency (CIA) and its long fascination with and use of torture...”

The book is at its best when it discusses the origins of the CIA’s actions regarding torture...The chapter entitled “Propagating Torture” details the various ways that the CIA outsourced its torture methods to the Third World. Like the previous chapters it makes for an unremittingly dark tale....It is of note to mention that the the subsequent chapter, ‘War on Terror,’ is the most concise account to date of how and why Abu Ghraib became the most notorious prison in the world....

“If this is not an easy book to read, it must have been even harder to write. When people encouraged McCoy to continue with the research and writing of this book, he said that for a time he ‘always found an excuse, any excuse, to avoid returning to a miserable topic that left [him] depressed’ (p. 274). We should all be glad that he persevered.”

-Jonathan Nahsel, **American Historical Review** 113, no. 1 (February 2008), p. 225.

In July 2006, *PsycCRITIQUES: Contemporary Psychology--APA Review of Books*, a journal of the American Psychological Association, published three reviews of *A Question of Torture*.

Danny Wedding, the journal’s editor, introduced these reviews by noting the exception nature of this symposium: “It is unusual for *PsycCRITIQUES*, to publish three reviews of a single book. However, *A Question of Torture* is an especially important book that addresses a recalcitrant and vexing issue for our nation and her citizens. In addition, this book explicitly accuses prominent psychologists and our professional association of

inadvertent (or sometimes deliberate) complicity in government-sponsored torture. This accusation and appropriate roles for psychologists working for the government have been hotly debated in our journals, divisions, and listservs, I hope these three reviews inform and contribute to the debate.”

Jean Maria Arrigo, a psychologist affiliated with the conservative Hoover Institution, is guardedly positive in her assessment of the work, saying: “*A Question of Torture* deeply informs the torture debate, which is an indisputable public good. Through publication of remote and recently declassified source material, McCoy raises the standard for public debate. Yet McCoy also polarizes the debate through reductionism and selective reading.”

Anthony J. Marsella, a UCLA psychologist, offers a more positive assessment: “This must-read volume reveals the complex historical relationship among psychology, psychologists, the CIA, and torture, and in doing so, has the potential to alter our ethics, values, and behavior as psychologists and citizens. What McCoy’s volume reveals is that basic research and professional applications of psychological knowledge are capable of abuse under the mantle of national security... In my opinion, McCoy’s 290 page volume (209 pages of text, 47 pages of notes, and 21 pages of references) should be read by all psychologists because it raises a number of highly controversial issues regarding the uses and abuses of psychological knowledge and principles by psychologists and by others who use may be very different from those intended by the researchers and practitioners who first generated and applied the ideas, concepts, and methods, especially with regard to torture and human rights abuses... McCoy’s volume raises all these questions and more as he assiduously traces the history of the CIA’s interest, subsequent mastery, elaboration, and the eventual refinement of psychological knowledge and principles for use in interrogation methods that involve torture by any definition of the word... Using a wide range of materials, including scholarly and government documents, McCoy has written a compelling volume for psychologists.”

Stephen H. Behnke, the APA’s ethics officer, offered a measured evaluation even though his association’s ethical standard is sharply criticized in the book: “*A Question of Torture* addresses a hugely important and complex topic. McCoy’s impressive research into this area will be read by many, and his comments on the ongoing work of professional associations that are examining this topic are certain to play a helpful and elucidating role.”

-PsycCRITIQUES: Contemporary Psychology--APA Review of Books, July 2006.

s.) *Colonial Crucible* (2009):

“*Colonial Crucible* should end any discussion as to whether the category “empire” applies to the United States. In this exceptionally coherent set of essays, the editors make good their subtitle, for this is the most exacting account one could wish of the way in which empire made America and, in particular, the American state. The book, appropriately, is dedicated to William Appleman Williams, whose early challenge to the complacency of American exceptionalist historiography *Colonial Crucible* honors and extends....

“The editors not only insist upon the “reality of mutual transformation of colonizer and colonized,” the essays they have selected repeatedly demonstrate it; in a masterful summary of the American way of empire, they observe that the hegemonic system developed by the U.S. “avoided the verticality of other imperial administrations in favor of a decentered yet integrated foreign policy network known in the late twentieth century as the ‘national security state’ and originating in Elihu Root’s tireless effort to manage America’s empire of islands.” (p.26) A short review does not allow for the detailed engagement with the book its scope and ambition warrants. I thought perhaps to direct the readers’ attention to exceptionally interesting essays – McCoy’s on pacification in the Philippines and the rise of the national security state, or Michael Salman’s on the

“epistemology of empire,” but I found I kept adding to the list until I had more or less reconstituted the table of contents. Suffice it to say that the volume fulfills the editors’ intention to make the study of the American imperial state, read from the periphery to the center, central to the history of the country itself.”

- Marilyn Young, **Pacific Historical Review** 79, No. 3 (August 2010), pp. 491-93.

“*Colonial Crucible* is a landmark anthology originating from a set of seminars and conferences held at the University of Wisconsin.... *Colonial Crucible* is an impressive compilation of original research. It is essential reading for anyone interested in colonialism, internationalism, and transnationalism involving the ‘United States of the world.’”

-Hiroshi Kitamura, **Journal of American History** 97, no. 1 (June 2010), pp. 225-26.

“Capitalism is a character in the finest book on American foreign policy to be published in 2009, *Colonial Crucible: Empire in the Making of the Modern American State* (University of Wisconsin Press), a remarkable examination of U.S. imperialism edited by historians Alfred W. McCoy and Francisco A. Scarano....What makes *Colonial Crucible* so essential at this point is the broad vision that underpins its calculation of the cost of empire. The assessments of the perils of imperialism come from economic, education, public health, and, of course, economic perspectives. Yet, they reach the same conclusion, which is well stated in an introductory essay by the editors and their exceptional young colleague, Courtney Johnson: “For empires, the past is just another overseas territory ripe for reconstruction, even reinvention. Yet within this general inclination toward appropriation, there is something distinctive about the way the American empire felt a strong need to assuage its angst as an arriviste power by framing and legitimizing policy by means of the past—even if that past was revised to the point of fabrication or fiction.” *Colonial Crucible* rejects the fabrication and fiction in favor of clear-eyed truth telling, which makes it an essential text as America expands its imperialist error in that graveyard of empires: Afghanistan.”

- John Nichols, **The Progressive**, December 2009/January 2010, p. 64.

“This voluminous essay collection is...an impressive collection of 42 essays on the American empire...At the very least, every scholar of American imperialism will find one or more articles of immediate interest. More importantly, though, the editors of this collection have made an admirable effort to craft a coherent empirical survey of the impact of American domination on its colonies and of its repercussions on the home front.”

-Fabian Hilfrich, **H-Net Reviews**, January 6, 2010.

"The University of Wisconsin Press has just published a book destined to become obligatory reading for all who are interested on the subject of American imperialism ... *Colonial Crucible* is like a long-awaited Christmas gift."

-Norberto Barreto-Velázquez, **Wordpress.com**,
<<http://norbertobarreto.wordpress.com/>>, November 16, 2009.

“This wide-ranging and incisive set of essay makes an invaluable contribution to the debate on the American empire.”

-K. Kumar, **Choice** 47, no. 7, March 2010.

“[*Colonial Crucible*] defies America’s denial of its imperial past while also questioning the limits of American exceptionalism in American historiography and American studies. . . . an impressive, remarkable and exciting achievement.”

-José Anazagasty, **CENTRO** 22, no. 1 (Spring 2010).

“...an impressive achievement. At the very least, every scholar of American imperialism will find one or more articles of immediate interest. More importantly, though, the editors of this collection have made an admirable effort to craft a coherent empirical survey of the impact of American domination on its colonies and of its repercussions on the home front.”

-Fabian Hilfrich, **Geschichte.Transnational**, January 7, 2010

<<http://geschichte-transnational.clio-online.net/rezensionen/2010-1-011>>

t.) *Policing America's Empire* (2009):

-George Kahin Prize, Best Book on Southeast Asia, Association for Asian Studies, 2011.

“*Policing America's Empire* is a passionate, elegantly written book that owes its mastery to McCoy's narrative and analytical gifts, his years of painstaking research and his sure sense of the ominous global implications of his story.”

-Association for Asian Studies, **George McT. Kahin Prize, 2011.**

“In a monumental work that spans, and connects, the Philippine-American War in the early twentieth century and present-day crises in Iraq and the Philippines, McCoy offers nothing less than a political counter history centering on the surveillance systems, repressive capacities, and criminal intersections of conjoined Philippine and U.S. states. If Americans' first accounts of their colonial history drank deeply of Rudyard Kipling, and if critical responses drew inspiration from Mark Twain, McCoy shows himself here to be Philippine-American history's Raymond Chandler. Writing in what might be called imperial noir, he explores in depth the ways that ‘America's antecedent information revolution created a colonial surveillance state that transformed the character of Philippine politics by repressing radical nationalism and replacing it with conservative patronage politics’ (p. 13). The result is essential reading for historians of the Philippines, of modern policing systems, and of the U.S. national-security state.

“It is a testament to McCoy's wide-ranging expertise as one of the preeminent scholars of Philippine and Southeast Asian history that he has written a book in which three distinct but overlapping historical projects—two larger ones hinged by a smaller one—are covered...

“The book represents a pathbreaking contribution on several levels. First is its success as a work of history over the *longue durée*. McCoy steamrolls conventional temporal divides separating “colonial” and “post-colonial” histories, creating an analytic frame that allows him to discuss continuities and comparisons across time, and to make a compelling case for the institutional legacies of U.S. colonial rule into the twentieth-first-century Philippines. Most strikingly, McCoy's focus on the long history of organized repression illuminates the decades since the Marcos dictatorship as an era featuring the violent suppression of popular movements and the subversion of democratic processes through massive electoral corruption, a form of elite domination different in structure but not social or political result when compared to the early years of the U.S. colonial state.

“Then there are the book's many discoveries. While McCoy necessarily retells many known histories in writing a work of this scale, who knew that Manuel Quezon, first president of the Philippine Commonwealth, was an undercover operative for the Philippine Constabulary in the early twentieth century? Or that surveillance methods developed to defeat Filipino revolutionaries during and after the Philippine-American War would provide the model around which U.S. military intelligence systems more generally would crystallize? Historians of the twentieth-century Philippines will want to consult both the book's text and index to see if and when their subjects appear in McCoy's police blotter.

“Perhaps most significantly, the book provides what is in many ways a model narration of a state's ‘underside’: the place where the boundary lines between public and

private authority, states and syndicates, governance and crime fade to nothing. While the approach itself is not new to historians of the Philippines, the United States, or other empires, McCoy's is arguably one of the most detailed accounts existing of what might be called a state's criminal history, one that demonstrates this history's centrality to the making of modern Philippine and U.S. politics...

"Drawing on a career of Philippine and U.S. archival research, he has constructed a convincing, and troubling, narrative of colonialism's institutional legacies for both colony and metropole. On the way, he has also taken his readers down some of the mean streets of a new U.S. imperial history."

-Paul Kramer, **The American Historical Review** 116, No. 4 (October 2011), pp. 1088-89.

"It is...essential that as many Surveillance Studies scholars as possible read Alfred McCoy's massive new history of US involvement in the Philippines. The claims McCoy makes are not insignificant ones: namely that the US imperial adventure in South-East Asia not only shaped the form of governance and policing that an independent Philippines would pursue but that the Philippines as acted as a kind of laboratory for policing of all kinds in the US itself...."

"McCoy's work is a massive contribution to our knowledge of colonial and neo-imperial surveillance and security practices, and the iterations and interconnections between North and South, and is highly recommended."

-David Murakami Wood, **Surveillance & Society** 8, no. 2 (2010).

"[S]hows how the dark underworld of crime, subversion, vice and drugs in the Philippines has been linked to the bright, public world of politics. The link? The police and security forces, particularly their shadowy side: spies, undercover agents, specialists in covert operations, assassins. The currency passed up and down the system? Information, particularly incriminating information, scandal, graft, murder."

-John J. Carroll, **Philippine Daily Inquirer** (Manila), August 12, 2010.

"Alfred McCoy has written the most thorough account of America relations with the Philippines that the reader is likely to come across. It's a history with meticulous detail, the product of an academic career that's concentrated on the torturous story of the connections between the US and Southeast Asia."

-Jeremy Agar, **Peace Researcher** (New Zealand), Spring 2010.

"As U.S. troops continue to slug it out in these violent conflicts with seemingly no end in sight, Alfred W. McCoy has published an important new book, *Policing America's Empire...*, which provides a historical corrective to the flawed analysis and hubris of the war hawks. He lays bare the coercive and fundamentally illiberal consequences of U.S. imperial influence in the Philippines during the first half of the 20th century, which set a precedent for more recent interventions.

"Besides showing the high human costs of empire, McCoy's book is innovative in showing the domestic costs of U.S. foreign expansion. Through extensive research in military archives, he analyzes how constabulary veterans such as Ralph Van Deman, who was known as the "father of U.S. military intelligence" and of the "American blacklist" played a crucial role in applying their expertise in the clandestine arts to spy on and repress radical organizations such as the American Communist Party and International Workers of the World (IWW)...McCoy's book on the whole is truly eye-opening in showing the dark underside of the American empire. A short review cannot do justice to all the nuances embedded in his analysis and the meticulous quality of his research which was undertaken for a decade in both American and Philippine archives. *Policing America's Empire* fits well with the theme of McCoy's previous scholarly books which

have exposed the CIA's complicity in the global narcotics trade and its promotion of torture techniques during the Cold War and War on Terror. Alone among professional historians, he has also written poignantly on the destructive consequences of the CIA-run secret war in Laos, which literally tore the society to shreds and caused the displacement and death of thousands of rice farmers who had never even heard of the United States. McCoy has further published numerous books on Philippines society and culture, including an illuminating study of its military culture.

"McCoy's latest work is among his most important in showing the corrupting influence of American imperial interventions. It should be read alongside his other books as an important cautionary tale about the dangers of misplaced executive power, the symbiosis of organized crime and politics in an era of globalized capitalism, and the perils of covert military intervention, which has been a pivotal instrument of American power in the modern age. McCoy's book furthermore represents an authoritative counterpoint to pro-imperialist voices which have consistently misrepresented the past and sanitized the historical record in advocating for policies contributing to the perversion of democracy at home, the spread of ample violence abroad and a legacy of corruption, fragmentation and discord in an array of shattered societies, the Philippines among them."

-Jeremy Kuzmarov, **History News Network**, October 24, 2009
<<http://hnn.us/roundup/entries/118909.html>>

"Alfred McCoy's magisterial exploration of the development of policing in the Philippines under, and after, U.S. rule demonstrates in vivid, often surprising, detail that many of the most intrusive components of the state in the United States emerged first in this U.S. colony. . . The narrative is expansive, yet accessible. Readers will be drawn in by McCoy's deft intertwining of salacious details of scandal and crime, the bureaucratic structures that simultaneously promoted and attempted to curtail that crime, and the broader implications for both in the United States and the Philippines."

-Anne Foster, **Pacific Historical Review** 80, no. 2 (May 2011), pp. 328-30.

"McCoy contributes valuable new understanding of the dynamics of 'private-public' alliances in surveillance by analyzing collaborations between government agencies and citizen groups such as the American Protective League to infiltrate, disrupt and discredit the activities of labor unions, socialists and communists, as well as ethnically suspect communities from the Red Scare to the Hollywood blacklists to COINTELPRO..."

"Comparisons with spy thrillers and noir fiction aside, McCoy's methodological approach to studying the relationship of policing to state formation (and to the corruption of state power) challenges some ingrained ways of analyzing state power. McCoy's focus on the covert, the illegal practices of state officials, their links to, exploitation of, and dependence on vice and scandal all challenge historians' reliance on the official record and the narratives and documents produced by a self-aggrandizing and self-justifying state.

"Finally, and perhaps most intriguingly, the book offers a powerful argument for taking the role of scandal seriously in any analysis of political power and the function of 'formal' institutions of government. McCoy calls attention to the paradox that the study of past scandal presents for historians. While the destabilizing power of scandal is palpable in the moment of its revelation, 'history itself, the very process of recovering and recapitulating past events, robs scandal of its central source of fascination: revelation' (p. 46). As a result, McCoy suggests, social scientists have generally failed to recognize the significance of scandal in destroying individual careers, derailing political movements and undermining the legitimacy of leaders, or of entire regimes. It is a point amply demonstrated in McCoy's reprising of the history of the Philippines and the United States in the twentieth century; it is a point which deserves wider application to the study of other political histories."

-Katharine S. Bjork, **POLAR: Political and Legal Anthropology Review** 34, no. 1 (May 2011), pp. 179-82.

“McCoy paints his picture with broad, decisive strokes but also pays attention to details that support his conclusions. This volume is sweeping in scope—something that few historians dared to tread, for it is more comfortable to focus on more limited topics. McCoy be praised for carrying out this important study....

“An eye-opener of a book, this should be must reading for concerned Filipinos, not only to be able to understand their own police forces—and criminal world, as well as their politicians—better, but also to see deeper into United States designs and policies.”
-Ricardo Trota Jose, **Philippine Studies** (Manila) 59, no. 2 (2011), pp. 278-85.

“McCoy proffers a magisterial and impressive historical treatise that traces the murky historical origins of American counter-insurgency and surveillance strategies in the name of homeland security and contends compellingly that the Philippines, its former imperial child, has been used as a pivotal testing site to enhance the efficaciousness of the tools of the security state.... Comprising two substantive parts, the book commences with a highly insightful, critical prologue that perspicaciously juxtaposes the well-characterized analogies of ardent American imperial actions during the early years of its colonial enterprise in the Philippines with the contemporary, gruelling problem of the war in Iraq...

In its entirety, *Policing America's Empire* epitomizes the author's fruitful, four-decade-long career in Southeast Asian historical studies: He fuses the broad and seemingly disparate themes of the Philippine state's police power vis-à-vis American foreign interventions in a richly nuanced historical contemplation that uncovers the evolution of the post-colonial Philippine state alongside the robust and historically embedded development of the contemporary American security apparatus. The author's analytical acumen in the exposition of oft-discarded and seemingly paltry historical details along with his eventual presentation of a convincing and grand historical narrative is, to say the very least, impressive, considering McCoy's methodology of maximizing the use of multi-archival primary and secondary research materials involving Spanish-, English- and Filipino-language documents and materials culled from the Philippines and the United States. Aside from the impressive extent of archival research, McCoy's originality can be gleaned from the recognition of key personalities from colonial and post-colonial epochs as they steered the evolution of the Philippine state. Moreover, McCoy's history-telling deviates from the orthodox and disappointingly mundane style of traditional Philippine historicizing, shifting the gears from the usual depiction of the story of colonialism as a monolithic, unidirectional relationship of the colonial master and the colonized to a more elaborately nuanced story of the symbiotic development of the Empire and the colonized entities....

Despite the fact that McCoy is a historian devoid of pronounced intentions of challenging orthodox political science characterizations of the Philippine state, I contend that *Policing America's Empire* offers a novel understanding of the Philippine state, with a historical and deeply insightful biographical analysis of specifically important socio-political actors of the colonial and post-colonial Philippines. McCoy offers a dynamic and historically embedded story of the contemporary Philippine state, in which its police power apparatus is beset with historical “continuities and changes” brought on by political scandals, crime, surveillance and illiberal policing practices. More importantly, future scholarly inquiries may start building upon McCoy's focal point of analysis – that is, the contemporary Philippine state facing tremendous pressure to achieve democratic consolidation alongside exogenous variables at the global level such as US foreign policy and the post-9/11 security climate, among others. Thus, McCoy's work on the symbiotic, imperial dynamics of the US and the Philippines invites future scholarly endeavours to re-read, re-modify and re-visit our conceptions of the state in

light of other, extra-national factors amidst a more complex and dynamic global system.

Conclusively, McCoy's *Policing America's Empire* is an impressive historical piece of research that appeals not only to Southeast Asianists but also to those interested in examining the historical embedding and institutional ontogenesis of post-colonial states' police power apparatuses and their apparently inherent propensity to implement illiberal practices of surveillance and repression. McCoy's disciplinary bias as a historian notwithstanding, his latest work presents a more intriguing line of inquiry in other scholarly terrains such as the social and political studies areas – that is, the paradox of post-colonial democracy.”

-Salvador Santino F. Regilme, Jr., **Journal of Current Southeast Asian Affairs** (Hamburg) 29, no. 4 (2010), pp. 122-26.

“*Policing America's Empire* is an exemplary achievement of scholarship. In this work, McCoy's long-standing interests in narcotics, torture and state violence are woven into Philippine history.... However, more than the sheer length of this book or its varied subject matters, the use of documents is truly impressive. His reading of primary documents is extensive... Findings in primary documents are supported with careful readings of secondary sources and a string of articles from various publications... His writing style is precise and crisp and it is because of this, combined with his expository strategy of placing an eye-catching scene at the start of each chapter, that the book reads like a crime thriller....

Seen in this light, owing to its strength as an historical study involving the careful use of documents and compilation of incidents, *Policing America's Empire* rests at the apex of studies on Philippine politics... This book is indispensable reading not only for Philippinists, but also those who are interested in U.S. Empire or in the global history of the twentieth century. It is well-organized, its logic is crystal clear, and its descriptions are highly persuasive.”

-Taihei Okada, **Southeast Asian Studies** (Kyoto) 49, no. 3 (2011).

“Alfred McCoy pourrait être le personnage d'un roman de Jim Harrison ou de Rick Bass, un chasseur qui à force de battre la forêt ou la montagne de Grand Nord en a acquis une connaissance intime, presque instinctive. Sa quête n'est pas celle de gibier à sensation ou de la leçon de morale mais celle de la connaissance, pour le pur plaisir de l'érudition et de la réflexion. Son domaine s'étend sur les deux rives du Pacifique, aux Philippines et aux États-Unis voire au-delà comme sur les théâtres d'opération de l'armée américaine.

L'auteur a largement contribué aux renouvellements historiographiques récents sur la colonisation américaine, phénomène au total malconnu si on la compare à ses homologues européens de la même période. C'est donc sans grande surprise qu'il donne toute la mesure de son talent sur des thèmes qu'il a explorés auparavant comme l'affaire Conley...

La période coloniale pourrait constituer un livre à part entière, avec sa propre dynamique, servie par les travaux précédents mais surtout l'utilisation des sources. Le travail dans les archives coloniales, tant américaines que philippines, représente des années de recherche... C'est le type de livre qui infuse longtemps après qu'on l'ait terminé et avec lequel on continue d'entretenir un dialogue.”

-William Guéraiche, **Moussons** (Marseille), no. 17 (September 2011)

“Overall, *Policing America's Empire* is an extremely important and innovative study, with broad-ranging insights for military history, U.S. domestic history, and Philippine history. And the book's overarching theme—that surveillance systems will inevitably be abused and will threaten democratic governance—is vitally important for recent debates about the erosion of civil liberties during the never-ending war against terrorism.”

-David N. Gibbs, **Diplomatic History** 35, no. 5 (November 2011), pp. 901-04.

“*Policing America’s Empire* will raise many questions and prompt more exchanges over the nature of Philippine political development among scholars on and in the country. McCoy’s nationalist critics may even cite his book as one more piece of evidence showing that he is an American Orientalist at heart. What this unfair caricature of a prodigious historian has unfortunately done is diminish the value of this alternative approach to Philippine political history. McCoy’s record for laying bare the brutality and economic opportunism of the Filipino ruling classes, and his democratic leanings and concern for social justice are two of the most enduring themes that underpin his writings. With the exception of the country’s older (and long-dead) historians, none of his current critics can pride themselves on possessing such intellectual and political consistency.”
-Patricio N. Abinales, **Critical Asian Studies**, 44, no. 2 (2012), pp. 341-50.

“While McCoy is best known for his histories of the modern Philippines (1999, 2009a) and his exposés on CIA complicity in the global heroin trade (2003 [1972]) and torture (2006), this most recent work is more conceptually ambitious and warrants attention from a broader swath of scholars, especially those interested in world-historical studies, military and security studies, imperialism, colonialism, information and communication technologies, and the state. The book is a major contribution in at least three areas: first, as a world-relational history of the *longue durée*, it moves beyond the common colonial/postcolonial and colonial/metropolitan divisions to show the profound impact of the US occupation of the Philippines on the political cultures and institutions of both the United States and Philippines; second, as a history of organized police repression and its relationship to state-formation and political life in the US and Philippines, it further demonstrates the centrality of the police in the ‘fabrication of social order’ (Neocleous, 2000); third, and most important for this review, as a study of the relationship between information and communication technologies and the accomplishment of rule, it identifies a significant historical moment, the late 19th-century ‘information revolution’, and introduces an important concept, ‘the information infrastructure...’

This information revolution created a powerful new information infrastructure, ‘a global information regime that allowed fast transmission and accurate processing of almost limitless quantities of textual information’ (McCoy, 2009: 22)...This information revolution, then, was a tremendous leap in the ‘infrastructural power’ of the state (Mann, 1984). James Scott’s (1999) projects of state simplification and legibility were now historically possible. In this way, McCoy provides a unifying framework to bring these studies together...

Alfred McCoy defines and advances the idea of information infrastructure and, through his investigation into the enduring colonial relationship between the United States and Philippines, he provides an exemplary study in the control of information as an instrument of statecraft.”

-Brendan McQuade, **Critical Sociology** 39, no. 5 (2013), pp. 781-90.

u.) *Torture and Impunity* (2012):

“In *Torture and Impunity*, Alfred W. McCoy provides a powerful critique of the Obama administration’s failure to hold top Bush administration officials accountable for their abuses of power. In a sequel to *A Question of Torture* (2006), McCoy shows how torture has become institutionalized under the CIA’s coercive interrogation doctrine, which promotes physical and psychological torture techniques that have resulted in great cruelty....McCoy’s book is generally well written and deeply researched, as with all of his other books. At the end, he laments the short-term memory of Americans who absorb the myriad details of ongoing controversies but fail to understand the systematic nature of the abuses carried out by the military establishment. The studied avoidance of a deeply troubling topic, he notes, is comparable to the collective forgetting that shrouds

traumatized subjects in post- authoritarian societies. With impunity, the dismal procession from the “tiger cages in Vietnam” to “the salt pits in Afghanistan,” Camp X-Ray at Guantanamo Bay, and the “hole in Somalia” is likely to continue.”
-Jeremy Kuzmarov, **Pacific Historical Review** 82, no. 3 (August 2013), pp. 471-72.

“With this book, the leading historian of U.S. torture practices has done a great service for academics and the general public by deepening his genealogical account of psychological torture from the Cold War to the present... *Torture and Impunity* adds significantly to our understanding. One of the book’s greatest merits is its documentation of critical moments, such as the academic community’s interest in studying sensory stimuli and cognition in the 1950s and 1960s. We also learn why the government funded those studies...With an equal degree of care, McCoy shows how impunity was engineered after each episode of torture—most recently, following the George W. Bush administration’s aggressive interrogation protocols...History, McCoy tells us, ‘can serve as an antidote to the oblivion that is the prime requisite of impunity,’ and his rigorous documentation of that history will be a great aid to remembering.”
-Robert M. Pallitto, **The Journal of American History** 100, no. 2 (September 2013), pp. 488-90.

v.) *Endless Empire* (2012):

“Spurred by signs of declining U.S. global dominance, Southeast Asia historian Alfred W. McCoy and his Barcelona-based coeditors, Josep M. Fradera and Stephen Jacobson, gathered a wide-ranging set of essays that confront a central question emerging from a global network of scholarly conferences since 2008. ‘Does Europe’s decolonization over the past two centuries offer insights,’ McCoy poses this question, ‘about the ongoing decline of U.S. global power?’ (p. 4). Roving across six continents and three centuries of global comparative history from imperial Spain, Portugal, France, Britain, and New Zealand to postcolonial societies in Asia, Africa, and the Americas, *Endless Empire*’s contributors have more than met McCoy’s challenge. Eschewing simplistic declensionism, instrumentalist ‘lessons of the past’ approaches, and moralistic judgments about empire, they provide a rich, globally vast portrait of imperial decline that should interest scholars engaged in any aspect of history touched by empire’s receding, relentlessly grasping tendrils.”
-Kevin Y. Kim, **H-Diplo, H-Net Reviews** (June, 2013). <<http://www.h-net.org/reviews/showrev.php?id=38492>>

“*Endless Empire* does not cover all the geographic scenarios of modern imperialism nor does it address all aspects...However, it is a coherent series of studies on imperial fragilities and post-imperial and neo-imperial solutions in the modern world, which must be read by historians. It offers updated and well-structured studies on imperial declines, in addition to an intelligent way to construct comparative history – the best path to history-social science. It is a model of thinking, productively, about the present and the future through the past. Good history, which can be and manages to be *magistra vitae*.”
-Juan Pan-Montojo, **H-Soz-u-Kult** (May 24, 2013). <http://hsozkult.geschichte.hu-berlin.de/rezensionen/id=19300>

“The introduction—and really the entire volume—is a unique treasure chest of methodological-theoretical and content-related food for thought for comparative research on empires...As a whole, the volume...is convincing regarding many issues. This holds true for the successful mix of overview articles and specialized in-depth work, as well as for its coherence—no small feat considering the mammoth project, in which a network of 140 historians participated over the years. But above all, the foundational perspective is convincing, the view of decolonization as a process of global restructuring and

structuring, a process that can be understood in the 20th century as a structural change from the European imperial order to the U.S. global model. Also fruitful for further studies is the call to understand imperial transitions as periods of not only changes, but also continuities.”

-Andreas Stucki, **Zeitschrift für Geschichtswissenschaft** (Berlin) 61, no. 10 (2013), pp. 853-55.

w.) ***“In the Minotaur’s Labyrinth” (2012):***

“McCoy traces the history of state-sponsored violence in the United States, describing US torture policies from the Cold War and their correspondences with those used in the present. His essay is a breathtaking historical survey leading from 1970 directly to the 2004 revelations of the abuses committed at Abu Ghraib.”

-Aaron C. Thomas, **Journal of Dramatic Theory and Criticism** 28, no 1 (Fall 2013), pp. 102-104.

11. RESEARCH:

a) Research & Study in Asia:

June-September 1970, Japanese language study in Arita and Fukuoka, Kyushu, Japan.

June-September 1971, Travel in Vietnam, Laos, Thailand, Burma, Hong Kong, Okinawa and Singapore for research on the book **The Politics of Heroin in Southeast Asia**.

July-August 1973, Travel in Thailand and Malaysia conducting research into international narcotics trafficking in the region.

August 1973 -October 1976, Residence in the Western Visayas Region, Philippines, conducting doctoral dissertation research under sponsorship of the Social Science Research Council of New York.

July-August 1981, Residence in Manila for research at the Philippine National Archives.

September, 1981, Travel in Thailand, Vietnam and Cambodia as a guest of the Social Sciences Commission of the Democratic Republic of Vietnam.

September 1981-February 1982, Residence in Negros Occidental Province doing research on the mechanization of sugarcane cultivation on Special Study leave from the University of New South Wales.

January-February 1983, Research in Manila on World War II in the Philippines.

June 1984, Research on Negros Island, Philippines on mechanization of sugar plantations, the collapse of the sugar industry, and rising social conflict.

January 1985, Research on Negros Island and in Manila on the crisis in the Philippines sugar industry.

December 1985, Research in Manila into President Marcos's World War II record.

June-August 1986, Research in Manila and Negros, Philippines on the February 1986 revolution.

July-August 1987, Research in Manila, Negros, Cebu and Davao on the February 1986 revolution.

January 1988, Research in Manila and Negros Occidental on local elections.

October 1988-February 1989, Research in Manila on World War II and the Marcos era.

July-August 1990, Research in Manila on the political history of the Marcos regime.

July 1992, Research in the Philippines on tropical deforestation.

April-May 1994, Research and filming in Burma, Thailand, Laos, and Vietnam on heroin production and addiction.

August 1996, Research in the Philippines on the armed forces and coup d'etat.

August 1998-August 1999, Research in the Philippines under a Fulbright-Hays grant.

August 2001, Research in the Philippines on police corruption.

July 2008: Research in the Philippines on Spanish colonial policing.

b) Conference & Seminar Papers:

Panel Chair, "Guerrilla Warfare". American Historical Association, Hilton Hotel, New York City, March 1971.

Paper: "Politics of the Poppy in Indochina," Panel: "Drugs in Asia," Association for Asian Studies, Chicago, March 1973.

Paper: "Factionalism and Local History in the Western Visayas," Conference on Local History, University of the Philippines, Department of History, July 1975.

Philippine National Historical Institute, Conference: "History and Development - National Conference of Historians," September 1975.

Paper: "Baylan: Animism, Magic and Revolution in the Central Philippines," Seminar and Workshop: The Intellectual History of Southeast Asia, Social Science Research Council & Southeast Asia Program, Cornell University, July 1977.

Paper: "Muy Noble y Muy Leal: Revolution and Counter-revolution in the Western Visayas, 1896-1907," Panel: "Philippine Historiography," Asian Studies Association of Australia, Second National Conference, May 1978.

Paper: "Politics by Other Means: World War II in the Western Visayas, Philippines," Panel: "World War II in Southeast Asia," Asian Studies Association of Australia, Second National Conference, May 1978.

Paper: "Zarzuela and Welga: Vernacular Drama and the Growth of Working Class Consciousness, Iloilo City, Philippines, 1900-1932," Conference: "Literature and

Social Change in Asia,” Australian National University, Research School of Pacific Studies, February 1978.

Paper: “White Nations’ Tactics for Narcotics Suppression in Southeast Asia,” Seminar: “The Asian Opium Trade,” University of Sydney, Centre for Asian Studies, 28 October 1978.

Paper: “Marxism Out of Power--The Case of the Philippines,” Conference: “Marxism and Asia,” Australian National University, Centre for Continuing Education, 1 December 1978.

Paper: “Governor Rafael Lacson and the Origins of Philippine Feudalism,” Panel: The Modern Filipino Elite, Asian Studies Association of Australia, Third National Conference, Brisbane, August 1980.

Paper: “Problems in Philippine Foreign Policy,” Seminar Program, Social Science Institute of Vietnam, Hanoi, 21 August 1981.

Paper: “Transitions to Socialism in Vietnam,” Staff Lecture Program, Political Science Department, University of the Philippines, 28 September 1981.

Paper: “Technology and Social Transformation--Loom, Steam, Mill and Tractor,” Philippine National Conference on Local History, Fourth National Conference on Local History, Cebu City, 28 November 1981.

Paper: “Death Comes to the Hacienda: Technological Change and Social Disaster in the Sugar Plantations of Negros,” Lecture Series, Third World Studies Center, University of the Philippines, 21 January 1982.

Paper: “In Extreme Unction’: The Philippine Sugar Industry Under Martial Law,” Panel: Philippine Commodities Under Martial Law, Asian Studies Association of Australia, Fourth National Conference, Melbourne, May 1982.

Paper: “The Iloilo General Strike: Labor’s Challenge to Foreign Control of the Philippine Sugar Industry, 1930-1932,” Panel: The Urban Working Class in Southeast Asia, Asian Studies Association of Australia, Fourth National Conference, Melbourne, May 1982.

Paper: “Sugar Barons: The Formation of a Philippine Regional Elite,” Philippine Studies Association of Australia, Conference on Philippine Elites, Australian National University, Canberra, June 1982.

Lecture: “Problems in the History of an Asian Port City: The De-industrialization of Iloilo City,” Seminar Program, Department of History, University of Michigan, 13 April 1983.

Lecture: “The Future of the Marcos Regime,” Royal Australian Institute of International Affairs, Brisbane, 13 September 1984.

Paper: “The Quezon Regime and the Emergence of Philippine Authoritarianism,” Panel: “Colonial Democracy in the Philippines--What Went Wrong?” Association of Asian Studies, Philadelphia, 24 March 1985.

Paper: "Sugar Barons: The Social History of a Philippine Regional Elite," Seminar Program, Southeast Asia Studies, Yale University, 24 April 1985.

Paper: "Systems of Cities: Iloilo City and a Global Urban Hierarchy," Workshop on Southeast Asian Urbanization, Department of Pacific & Southeast Asian History, Australian National University, 5 August 1985.

Paper: "The Making of a Yellow Revolution: The Decline of the Marcos Regime," Seminar Program, Council on Southeast Asia Studies, Yale University, 12 February 1986.

Asian Studies Annual Lecture: "The Fall of Ferdinand Marcos," Flinders University, Adelaide, SA, 20 October 1986.

Administration of Justice Annual Lecture: "The Southeast Asian Opium Trade: Politics, Intelligence and Diplomacy," Pennsylvania State University, 9 April 1987.

Paper: "The Fall of Marcos: Philippine Elite Factions and the Struggle for Power," Center for South & Southeast Asia, University of Michigan, 14 April 1987.

Earle Page Annual Lecture in Politics: "The Politics of Heroin --The State, Syndicates and Drug Traffic," University of New England, Armidale, NSW, 10 September 1987.

Paper: "The RAM Boys: Politicization of Philippine Armed Forces," Asian Studies Association of Australia, Seventh National Conference, Canberra, 13 February 1988.

Paper: "Filipino Officers & The Romance of Violence," Center for Southeast Asia, University of Wisconsin-Madison, 2 March 1988.

Paper: "The Lopez Family--From Provincial Elite to National Oligarchy," Panel: "Philippine Political Families & The Politics of Survival," Association for Asian Studies, San Francisco, 26 March 1988.

Paper: "Philippine Political Families," Centre Seminar Program, Centre of Southeast Asian Studies, Monash University, 14 April 1988.

Paper: "The Restoration of Provincial Elite Controls in Negros Occidental, Philippines," Conference--Local Perspectives on Philippine Politics, Department of Political Science, University of Hawaii, 15-18 May 1988.

Paper: "Low Intensity Conflict in the Philippines," Conference: Low Intensity Conflict--Theory and Practice in Counter Insurgency in Central America and Southeast Asia, Institute of Latin American Studies, La Trobe University, 7 August 1988.

Paper: "Politicization of the Armed Forces of the Philippines, 1935-1986," University of the Philippines, Third World Studies Center, 24 November 1988.

Paper: "Men and Violence in Philippine Politics," Staff Seminar, University of New South Wales, School of History, 19 April 1989.

- Paper: "The Restoration of Planter Power in La Carlota City, Philippines," Center Seminar, Center for Southeast Asian Studies, University of Wisconsin-Madison, 20 October 1989.
- Paper: "The 1988 Local Elections in La Carlota City, Philippines," Center for South & Southeast Asia, University of Michigan, 10 November 1989.
- Lecture: "Anatomy of a Philippine Coup." Philippine Support Committee, University of Wisconsin-Madison, 7 December 1989.
- Lecture: "The Historical Legacy of the February 1986 Uprising," Filipino-American Community of Los Angeles, Celebration of People's Power, 25 February 1990.
- Lecture: "The Philippines--From Dictatorship to Democracy," University of Wisconsin-Madison, Amnesty International, 26 February 1990.
- Paper: "RAM Boys--Superstars in the Theater State of Terror," Center for Southeast Asia Studies, University of California at Berkeley, 17 March 1990.
- Lecture: "The Decline of Philippine Democracy: Elections and Elite Power in Negros Occidental," Center for Southeast Asian Studies, Northern Illinois University, 23 March 1990.
- Paper: "Southeast Asia and the Failure of International Drug Interdiction, 1890-1990," Conference: War on Drugs--Lessons in History & Public Policy, University of Wisconsin-Madison, 12 May 1990.
- Paper: "Sugar Barons: Plantations and Political Power in Negros Occidental, Philippines," Center for Asian Studies Amsterdam & Social Science Research Council, Conference: Colonial Plantations in Asia, Amsterdam University, 25-29 September 1990.
- Paper: "Circles of Steel--U.S. Military Bases in the Philippines, 1900-195," Conference: The Cold War and the Third World--Past and Present, Center for Latin American Studies & Social Science Research Council, University of Chicago, 7-8 December 1990.
- Paper: "Heroin as a Global Commodity: The Southeast Asian Opium Trade, 1772-1991," Conference: Drug Wars--Critical Issues in History & Public Policy, Administration of Justice, Pennsylvania State University, 30 May-1 June 1991.
- Paper: "The Southeast Asian Opium Trade," Seminar Program, Southeast Asia Program, Cornell University, 17 October 1991.
- Lecture: "Contradictions in U.S. Drug Policy," Causes and Cures: A National Teleconference on the Narcotics Epidemic, Marble Collegiate Church, New York City, Cable Television broadcast to 180 U.S. cities, 9 November 1991.
- Plenary Address: "War on Drugs--Can It Work?" National Institute of Drug Abuse, Medical School Faculty Training Program, University of Wisconsin Medical School, 3 February 1992.

- Lecture: "Heroin as a Global Commodity: Reflections on America's Drug War,"
University of Wisconsin-Green Bay, Center for History and Social Change, 20
March 1992,
- Lecture: "The Politicization of the Philippine Armed Forces, Problem and Prospect,"
Conference on the Philippines Political Future, Center for Southeast Asia,
Arizona State University, 21 March 1992.
- Plenary Address: "Heroin Trafficking and International Politics: A Comparative Study of
South East and South West Asia, 1950-1992," Conference on Illicit Drugs &
Global Geopolitics, Observatoire Geopolitique des Drogues, Fondation de l'Arche
de La Fraternite, Paris, 10 December 1992.
- Paper: "*Mista*: Male Bonding at the Philippine Military Academy," Panel: "Filipino
Males Past and Present," Annual Conference, Association for Asian Studies, Los
Angeles, 26 March 1993.
- Lecture: "Drug of Choice--Heroin and the Vietnam War," Joiner Center, University of
Massachusetts-Boston, 15 April 1993.
- Paper: "Towards a New Paradigm for the Heroin Traffic: State, Syndicates, and the Asian
Opium Trade," Conference in Honor of Giovanni Falcone: "Interpretations of the
Mafia: Towards A New Paradigm," University of Palermo, Sicily, 29 May 1993.
- Paper: "Social Fabric--Economic Change and the Decline of Weaving in the 19th Century
Philippines," Panel: "The Decline of Regional Hand Weaving," Annual
Conference, Association for Asian Studies, Boston, 26 March 1994.
- Paper: "A Dying Dreamer--Jose Nava and the Chimera of Revolution," Panel: "Lives at
the Margin: Biographies of Obscured Filipinos," Annual Conference, Association
for Asian Studies, Washington, DC, 7 April 1995.
- Plenary Address: "Lessons From Asian Opium Policy in the Twentieth Century,"
Seventh International Conference on the Reduction of Drug Related Harm,
Hobart, Tasmania, 6 March 1996.
- Paper: "Requiem for a Drug Lord: A Political Biography of Khun Sa, King of Heroin."
National Drug and Alcohol Research Centre, Sydney, Australia, 12 March 1996.
- Paper: "Revolution and Counter-Revolution: The Western Visayas Region, 1896-1902,"
V International Philippine Studies Conference, Honolulu, Hawaii, 15 April 1996.
- Panel Chair: "The State and the Philippine Revolution," Centennial Conference of the
Philippine Revolution, Manila, Philippines, 23 August 1996.
- Paper: "CIA Complicity in the Global Drug Trade?" Department of Political Science,
University of Arizona, Tucson, AZ, 1 November 1996.
- Lecture: "Fallout from a Covert War," Public Meeting, Partnership for Drug Information,
All Souls Unitarian Church, New York City, 14 November 1996.
- Paper: "Closer Than Brothers: A Comparative History of Two Classes at the Philippine
Military Academy," Military History Conference, U.S. Air Force Academy,
Colorado Springs, Colorado, 22 November 1996,.

- Lecture: "The CIA and the Global Drug Trade," Seminar: The CIA and Drug Traffic, Congressional Black Caucus & Center for International Policy, Rayburn House Office Building, Washington, DC, 13 February 1997.
- Paper: "The Southeast Asia Images & Text Project," Panel: "New Technology and History," Annual Conference, Association for Asian Studies, Chicago, 13 March 1997.
- Paper: "RAM Boys: Changing Images of the Masculine in the Philippine Military," Panel: "Engendering Insecurities: Men, Women, and the Politics of Violence," International Studies Association, Toronto, 20 March 1997.
- Lecture: "The State of Southeast Asian Studies," Regional Advisory Panel for Southeast Asia, Social Science Research Council, New York City, 5 April 1997.
- Paper: "Closer Than Brothers: The Making of Officers at the Philippine Military Academy," Panel: Subcultures and Professional Communities, European Conference on Philippine Studies, Aix-en-Provence, 28 April 1997.
- Paper: "The Armed Forces, Human Rights, and Social Capital," Asia Society, Focus on the Philippines: An International Conference, Los Angeles Convention Center, 7 May 1997.
- Paper: "Requiem for a Drug Lord: Khun Sa, King of Heroin," Conference on States and Illegal Networks, Sponsored by Wenner-Grenn Foundation, Tarrytown, NY, 7 June 1997.
- Paper: "Voluntarios Leales: Counter-revolution within the Philippine Revolution," Conference: Centennial of the Philippine Revolution, Asociacion Española de Estudios del Pacifico, Valladolid, Spain, 25-29 November 1997.
- Paper: "The Ramos Administration and its Military Legacy," Roundtable: Philippine Politics in Transition, Annual Conference, Association for Asian Studies, Washington, DC, 27 March 1998.
- Paper, "Dark Legacy: Human Rights under the Marcos Regime," Conference: "Legacies of the Marcos Dictatorship," Ateneo de Manila University, 20 September 1999.
- Presidential Address: "Impunity: Forgetting as Memory of Martial Law," University of the Philippines, 20 September 1999.
- Paper: "Heroin Trafficking & International Politics: A Comparative Study of Southeast & Southwest Asia," International Conference on Organized Crime: Myth, Power, Profit, University of Lausanne, Switzerland, 7 October 1999.
- Paper: "Written in the Wind: The CIA's Secret War in Laos," Lecture Series, Wisconsin Veterans' Museum, Madison, WI, 21 October 1999.
- Plenary Address: "Colonialism and the Cult of Masculinity," V Congreso Internacional: España y El Pacifico--Construcción de Imperios, Construcción de Naciones, Madrid, 18 November 1999.

- Discussant, Panel: “Regional Dynamics of Philippine Armed Insurgencies,” Annual Conference, Association for Asian Studies, San Diego, CA, 10 March 2000.
- Paper: “Coercion and its Unintended Consequences: An Analytical History of the Asian Opium Trade,” Multi-Disciplinary Conference: Is Our Drug Policy Effective?, Association of the Bar of the City of New York, 18 March 2000.
- Paper: “Native Informants: Transformative Interviews in the Process of Field Work,” 50th Anniversary Commemorative Conference on Teaching, Writing, Activism in Southeast Asia, Southeast Asia Program, Cornell University, 8 April 2000.
- Paper: “Cruel Science: CIA Torture Research During the Cold War,” Conference on Legacies of Authoritarianism, Robben Island Museum, Capetown, South Africa, 22 May 2000.
- Paper: “Philippine Police: Between Central and Local Authority,” VI International Philippine Studies Conference, Philippine Social Science Center, Quezon City, 11 July 2000.
- Lecture & Commentator, Panel Chaired by Peter Sellars, “Agents and Assets,” Production of the Los Angeles Poverty Department and Old Stories/New Lives, Side Street Live, Los Angeles, CA, 12-13 January 2001.
- Paper: “The Burden of Victory: The Legacy of Covert Warfare in America,” Panel: The Social Generation of Knowledge, International Studies Association, Chicago, 21 February 2001.
- Plenary Address: “The Failure of Drug Prohibition: Corruption, Collusion, and Proliferation,” Adelaide Festival of Ideas, Adelaide, South Australia, 14 July 2001.
- Paper: “Police and Political Reconciliation,” Conference: “Legacies of Authoritarianism—Interrogating Reconciliation,” Gaston Z. Oritgas Institute, Ateneo de Manila University, 16 August 2001.
- Paper: “Philippine Police and the Problem of Legitimacy,” 50th Anniversary Commemorative Conference: Continuity and Conflict in Southeast Asia, Council on Southeast Asian Studies, Yale University, 2 March 2002.
- Lecture: “From Southeast to Central Asia: Drugs and Covert Warfare in the Conduct of U.S. Foreign Policy,” Five College Peace Program, Hampshire College, 4 March 2002.
- Lecture: “CIA Covert Warfare and Drug Lord Alliances,” Panel with Brother Mohammed, Nation of Islam Mosque No. 1/Detroit, “Agents and Assets,” Production of the Los Angeles Poverty Department, Producer—Peter Sellars, Director—John Malpede, Unitarian-Universalist Church, Detroit, MI, 18 October 2002.
- Paper: “Fallout: The Interplay of CIA Covert Warfare and the Global Narcotics Traffic,” Conference: “Civil War and Cold War: 1975-1990: Comparative Perspectives on Southern Africa, Central America & Central Asia,” Institute for African Studies, Columbia University, 14-15 November 2002.

- Paper: "Surveillance State: American Empire, Philippine Police, and Modernity's Panopticon," Conference: Current Developments in Southeast Asia, Southeast Asia Center, Passau University, Germany, 11 June 2004.
- Paper: "Philippine Police and Political Legitimacy," VII International Conference on the Philippines, International Institute for Asian Studies, Leiden, Netherlands, 17 June 2004.
- Lecture: "The Madison Lectures No. 1: Cruel Science: CIA Torture and U.S. Foreign Policy," Humanities Without Borders Lecture Series: Forum on Empire, University of Wisconsin-Madison, Sequoya Branch, Madison Public Library, Madison, WI, 9 November 2004.
- Paper: "Surveillance State: American Empire, Philippine Police, and the Politics of Scandal," East Asian Legal Studies, Harvard University Law School, 12 November 2004.
- Lecture: "CIA Covert Warfare: From Central American to Afghanistan," Panel with Daniel Forbes "Agents and Assets," Production of the Los Angeles Poverty Department, Producer—Peter Sellars, Director—John Malpede, Cleveland Public Theater, Cleveland, OH, 26 November 2004.
- Paper: "The Madison Lectures No. 2: Abu Ghraib and the Politics of Impunity," Conference: The Media of Conflict and the Cultural Imaginary, Global Studies Program, University of Wisconsin, Ingraham Hall, Madison, WI, 11 March 2005.
- Lecture: "From War on Drugs to War on Terror: Fighting the Invisible in Defiance of Rationality." Panel with Ramona Ripston, head of ACLU for Southern California, "Agents and Assets," Production of the Los Angeles Poverty Department, Producer—Peter Sellars, Director—John Malpede, REDCAT-Disney Center, Los Angeles, 21 May 2005.
- Plenary Paper: "Surveillance States: Police and the Processes of Mutual Transformation in America's Philippine Empire," Annual Conference, Southeast Asia Summer Studies Institute (SEASSI), University of Wisconsin-Madison, Pyle Center, Madison, WI, 23 July 2005.
- Paper: "Police & Political Transformations in America's Philippine Empire," Southeast Asian Studies Yale University, 28 September 2005.
- Lecture: "A History of CIA Psychological Torture," Brecht Center, New York City, 30 September 2005.
- Rapporteur, Conference: "Production de drogue et stabilités des Etats," Centre for International Studies and Research (CERI), National Foundation of Political Sciences, Paris. 6 October 2005.
- Lecture: "The Madison Lectures No. 3: History of Psychological Torture," International Institute: World Beyond Our Borders, University of Wisconsin-Madison, Border's Bookstore West, Madison, WI, 2 February 2006.
- Lecture: "The Madison Lectures No. 4: The Ethics and Efficacy of Torture," Veterans Museum, Madison, WI, 9 February 2006.

- Lecture: "The Politics of Torture—Legislation," Joiner Center, University of Massachusetts-Boston, 10 April 2006.
- Lecture: "President Bush's Legacy of Legalized Torture," Amnesty International USA, Indiana Historical Society, Indianapolis, 12 April 2006.
- Interviewed by Steve Inskeep, Program: "Morning Edition," National Public Radio (Washington, DC), Topic: Psychological Torture, 18 April 2006, 10:30-11:00 am.
- Lecture: "The Politics of Torture," Honors' Program, Oakton Community College, Des Plaines, IL, 19 April 2006.
- Paper: "A Short History of Psychological Torture: Its Discovery, Propagation, Perfection," Internationale Konferenz des Graduiertenkollegs, Humbolt University, Berlin, 29 April 2006.
- Lecture: "The Madison Lectures No. 5: Legalized Torture," Amnesty International USA, Orpheum Theater, Madison, WI, 3 May 2006.
- Roundtable: "A Conversation About Guantanamo," with Amy Goodman, Michael Ratner, and James Yee, Center for Human Rights in the Americas, Freeborn Hall, University of California-Davis, 5 May 2006.
- Lecture: "The Legacy of Legalized Torture," Frontline Club, London, 21 July 2006.
- Lecture: "Probing the Covert Netherworld: Using the Historical Method for Investigative Reporting," Summer School, Centre for Investigative Journalism, City University of London, CASS Business School, 23 July 2006.
- Paper: "Invisible Industry: Jueteng Gambling and Philippine Politics," Conference: Governance of the Shadows, Melbourne University Law School, 11 August 2006.
- Paper, "Legalizing Psychological Torture," Conference on Psychological Torture, Center for Mind and Brain, University of California at Davis, 30 September 2006.
- Lecture, "The Problem of Psychological Torture," New School University, New York City, 4 October 2006.
- Lecture, "A Short History of Psychological Torture," Conference: National Guantanamo Teach-In, Seton Hall University Law School (Simulcast to 500 colleges and universities nationwide), 5 October 2006.
- Paper: "A History Psychological Torture: Legal Perspectives on Prohibition," Konferenz: Das Folterverbot und der 'Kampf gegen Terror' Rechtlos im Rechtsstaat?, Sponsored by: Amnesty International, Holtfort-Stitung, & Republikanischer Anwaltinnen-und Anwalteverein (RAV), Berlin House of Representatives/Preussischer Lantag, Berlin, 13 October 2006.
- Ivan Stone Lecture: "A President's Legacy of Legalized Torture," Beloit College, 8 November 2006.
- Paper: "US Colonial Conquest of the Philippines and the Rise of the National Security State," Conference: Transitions & Transformations in the U.S. Imperial State," Center for Humanities, Madison, WI, 10 November 2006.

- Lecture: "A Short History of Psychological Torture: Its Discovery, Propagation, Perfection, and Legalization," Campbell Hall, University of California Santa Barbara, 2 February 2007.
- Lecture: "The History of Psychological Torture: From Montreal's Ritz-Carleton Hotel to Guantanamo's Camp Echo," Department of History, University of British Columbia, 8 March 2007.
- Lecture/Seminar: "Psychological Torture: Problems of Definition and Professional Ethics," Wright Institute, Berkeley, CA, 10 March 2007.
- Lecture: "The History of Psychological Torture," Symposium: Defining Torture—The History and Human Face of Modern Counter-Intelligence, King Hall School of Law, University of California-Davis, 5 April 2007.
- Foreign Policy Lecture: "Torture in the War on Terror," Occidental College, Los Angeles, 5 November 2007.
- Paper: "Drug Prohibition and the Global War on Terror: New Enemies, Continuing Contradictions," Conference on Global Issues, Asia Centre, Griffith University, Brisbane, Queensland, 19 December 2007.
- Lecture: "A Short History of Psychological Torture," Panel: Torture and the Twilight of Empire, Chair: Michael Ratner, Left Forum, Cooper Union, New York City, 16 March 2008.
- Lecture: "Globalization, Empire, and Global Studies: A Problem in Search of a Paradigm," College of Arts & Letters, Michigan State University, 24 March 2008.
- Lecture: "A History of CIA Torture: Discovery, Propagation, & Legalization," Lecture Series: "Sacred Fury," Founders Room, Mead Hall, Drew University, 26 March 2008.
- University Lecture: "The Problem of Psychological Torture," Wofford College, Spartanburg, SC, 14 April 2008.
- University Lecture: "The Problem of Psychological Torture," Peace & Conflict Studies, Colgate University, Hamilton, NY, 28 April 2008.
- Paper: "Policing the Imperial Periphery: Philippine Pacification and the Rise of the U.S. National Security State," Conference: Comparative Imperial Transformations, World Universities Network (WUN) sponsorship, Sydney University, 3 July 2008.
- Lecture: "Policing the Imperial Periphery," Third World Studies Center, University of the Philippines-Diliman, Quezon City, 22 July 2008.
- Paper: "U.S. Colonial Conquest of the Philippines and the Rise of the National Security State," Panel; Capillaries of Empire--Philippine Colonial Rule in the Making of the Modern American State, VIII International Conference on Philippine Studies, Quezon City, 26 July 2008.

- Paper: "Legacy of a Dark Decade: The Discovery and Development of Psychological Torture," Conference--The Interrogation & Torture Controversy: Crisis in Psychology, John Jay College, New York City, 12 September 2008.
- Paper: "'Native Informants': Interviews as Transformative Experiences in the Process of Philippine Field Work," Session 129: Orality, Culture, & Philippine History, Annual Conference, Association for Asian Studies, Sheraton Hotel, Chicago, March 28, 2009.
- Lecture: "The Rise of the U.S. Surveillance State: The Making of the Federal Security Apparatus," Fifth History Annual Public Lecture, University of Hull, 15 October 2009.
- Lecture: "Surveillance State: The Rise of the U.S. Internal Security Apparatus," Macalester College, St. Paul, MN, 11 March 2010.
- Lecture: "Impunity in America: The Elusive Nature of CIA Psychological Torture," Law School, Hamline University, St. Paul, MN, 12 March 2010.
- Paper: "Impunity and Psychological Torture," Conference: Torture and America," Utah Valley University, Orem, Utah, 23 March 2010.
- Settle-Cadenhead Endowed Lecture: "Surveillance State: Foreign Wars and the Rise of the U.S. Internal Security Apparatus," University of Tulsa, 12 April 2010.
- Lecture: "Philippine Pacification and the Rise of the U.S. Internal Security Apparatus," Center for Southeast Asian Studies, University of Washington, 23 April 2010.
- Paper: "Opium Production and Pacification in Afghanistan," Panel: Low Intensity Conflict and Drug Wars, 8th Annual Western Regional International Health Conference, University of Washington, 24 April 2010.
- Stephen Gloyd Endowed Lecture: "Psychological Torture and Political Impunity," Introduced by U.S. Representative James McDermott, 8th Annual Western Regional International Health Conference, University of Washington, 24 April 2010.
- Paper: "Imperial Hubris: Information Infrastructure and America's Ascent to Global Power," Conference: Eclipse of Empires, Pompeu Fabra University, Barcelona, 2 June 2010.
- Paper: "Endless Empire: Europe's Eclipse, America's Ascent, and Decline of U.S. Global Power," Conference: Eclipse of Empires, Pompeu Fabra University, Barcelona, 2 June 2010.
- Wertheim Endowed Lecture: "Surveillance State: U.S. Colonial Conquest of the Philippines and the Rise of America's Internal Security Apparatus," Agnietenkapel, University of Amsterdam, 10 June 2010.
- Paper: "The Rise and Demise of U.S. Global Dominion," Panel 42: Empire in America—Expanding and Crossing Borders, Society for Historians of American Foreign Relations (SHAFR), Madison, WI, 25 June 2010.

- Paper: "U.S. Colonial Conquest of the Philippines and the Rise of the National Security State," Annual Conference, Association for Asian Studies, Honolulu, Hawaii, April 1, 2011.
- Paper: "Heroin as a Global Commodity: Prohibition and Production in Asia," Moving Matters Seminar, University of Amsterdam, 14 April 2011.
- Lecture: "CIA Complicity in the Global Drug Trade," Fletcher School of Law & Diplomacy, Tufts University, Medford, MA, September 19, 2011.
- Keynote Address: "The Rise and Decline of U.S. Global Hegemony," Symposium: "America's Global Challenge in the 21st Century," Sponsored by East-West University, Columbia College Chicago, and DePaul University, Hilton Hotel, Chicago, 14 October 2011.
- Paper: "Imperial Epistemology: The Changing Information Infrastructure for U.S. Global Dominion," Panel No. 71: "Cold War Policing and the American Empire, Annual Conference, American Historical Association, Chicago, 6 January 2012.
- Lecture: "Epistemology of Empire: Asian Wars, Information Regimes, and the Future of U.S. Global Power," Center for Southeast Asian Studies, Yale University, 10 October 2012.
- Wilbur Cross Medal Lecture: "Covert Netherworld: The Impact of American Empire on U.S. State Formation and Global Surveillance," Department of History, Yale University, 11 October 2012.
- Lecture: "Impunity in America," Convener: Peter Sellars, WAC 100-B, Department of World Arts and Cultures, Haines Hall 39, University of California at Los Angeles, 5 November 2012.
- Lecture: "Torture, Impunity, and U.S. Imperial Decline," Wisconsin Book Festival, Overture Center, Madison, WI, 10 November 2012.
- Lecture: "Epistemology of Empire: Asian Wars, Information Regimes, and the Future of U.S. Global Power," Faculty sponsor: Professor Klaus Larres, Lecture Series: The U.S. in World Affairs, Department of History, University of North Carolina at Chapel Hill, 25 March 2013.
- Keynote Address: "By Rockets' Red Glare: Asian Wars, Information Regimes, and the Future of U.S. Global Power," Historians Against the War, National Conference, Towson University, 12 April 2013.
- Paper: "A Tale of Two Families: Comparison of Generational Succession in Filipino and American Family Firms," Conference on Families in Asia, Institute for East Asian Studies, Sogang University, Seoul, South Korea, 22-23 May 2013.
- Paper: "Policing the Imperial Periphery: Surveillance and Scandal as Instruments of Colonial Control," Surveillance Studies Summer Seminar, Surveillance Studies Centre, Queens University, Kingston, Ontario, 1 June 2013.
- Discussant, Panel: "Histories of Policing and Policing History," Social Science History Association, Chicago, 24 November 2013.

- Conversation with Oliver Stone: Representation of the Vietnam War in Feature and Documentary Films, Center for Southeast Asian Studies, University of Wisconsin-Madison, 25 April 2014.
- Florence Liu Macaulay Distinguished Lecture: “Covert Netherworld: An Invisible Arena for Contesting Global Power in the 21st Century,” University of Hawaii-Manoa, Honolulu, 8 April 2015.
- Keynote Address: “Policing the Imperial Periphery: The Philippine-American War and the Rise of the U.S. National Security Apparatus,” Conference: Philippines & Filipino Studies: 40 Years Hence,” University of Hawaii-Manoa, Honolulu, 9 April 2015.
- Keynote Address : “Global Opium Trail: Tracking the Distinctive Dynamics of an Illicit Commodity,” Henry M. Jackson School of International Studies, University of Washington, 30 May 2015.
- Plenary Address: “Echoes of Empire: Migration of Surveillance from Periphery to Metropole in the U.S. Imperium,” Symposium: Genealogies of Indefinite Detention, Law School, University of New Wales, 13 August 2015.
- Plenary Address: “Elite Formation and Social Stratification in late 19th century Philippines: Plantation Society in the Western Visayas Region,” Conference-- Comunidades en un Imperio: Coexistencia e Interaccion en Las Filipina del Siglo XIX, Consejo Superior de Investigaciones Cientificas (CSIC), Madrid, 6 November 2015.
- Lecture: “Circles of Steel, Castles of Vanity: Geopolitics of U.S. Military Bases on the South China Sea,” Buffett Center, Northwestern University, 25 February 2016.
- Roundtable: “Circles of Steel, Castles of Vanity: Geopolitics of U.S. Military Bases on the South China Sea,” Association for Asian Studies, Seattle, 3 April 2016.
- Distinguished Faculty Lecture: “The Geopolitics of U.S. Global Decline: Beijing and Washington Struggle for Dominion over the ‘World Island,’” Gallatin School, New York University, 20 April 2016.
- Presidential Lecture: “Surveillance and the Future of U.S. Global Power,” University of Montana, Missoula, 3 October 2016.
- Capadocia Endowed Lecture: “Showdown in the South China Sea: Beijing and Washington Struggle for Dominion over the World Island,” University of Montana, Missoula, 3 October 2016.
- Keynote Address, “Global Populism: A Lineage of Filipino Strongmen from Quezon to Marcos and Duterte,” An International Conference: The Third World Studies Center in its 40th Year, University of the Philippines Diliman, Quezon City, 9 February 2017.

12. GOVERNMENT CONSULTANCIES:

- Canadian Commission of Inquiry into the Non-Medical Use of Drugs, Consultative work with the Commissioner, April-May 1972.
- U.S. Congress, Senate Committee on Appropriations, Testimony before Committee Chair William Proxmire on narcotics traffic in Southeast Asia, 2 June 1972.
- U.S. Congress, House Select Committee on Narcotics Abuse and Control, Consultation with Committee Counsel Joseph Nellis on Southeast Asian Narcotics Traffic. 8 July 1977.
- Australian Royal Commission of Inquiry into Drugs, Brisbane, Queensland, Testimony on narcotics traffic in Southeast Asia, 24 November 1978.
- Commonwealth of Australia, Minister of Administrative Services, Consultation with Minister Mr. Newman on Control of Organized Crime and Narcotics Trafficking, 1 May 1981.
- South Australian Parliament, House of Assembly, Select Committee on the Casino Bill 1982, Parliament House, Sydney, Chairman: Hon. M.M. Wilson, Minister for Recreation and Sport, Testimony on casino gambling and organized crime, 30 June 1982.
- Victoria State Parliament, Board of Inquiry into Casinos, Chairman: Mr. Justice Xavier Connor, Testimony about casino gambling and organized crime, 15 July 1982.
- Victoria State Parliament, Board of Inquiry into Poker [Slot] Machines in Victoria, Chairman: Mr. M.J. Wilcox, Q.C., Testimony on organized crime and poker [slot] machine gambling, 26 September 1983.
- Chippewa Valley Museum, Eau Claire, WI, Consultant to Hmong History Exhibition funded by the National Endowment for the Humanities, 1992-1995.
- U.S. Department of Defense, Briefing for Brian Sheridan, Deputy Assistant Secretary of Defense for Drug Enforcement Policy and Support, Pentagon, Washington, DC, Report Title: "History of Opium Production and Implications for US Narcotics Policy," 19 July 1994.
- Republic of the Philippines, Briefing President Gloria Macapagal Arroyo, Malacañang Palace, Manila, Subject: Causes of Military Coups, 17 August 2001.
- U.S. Department of State, Bureau of Intelligence and Research & National Intelligence Council, Conference on the Philippines, Meridian International Center, Washington, DC, Paper: "Philippine Police and Armed Forces: Critical Elements in the Making of a Modern Nation," 6 November 2001.
- U.S. Department of State, Bureau of Intelligence and Research, Conference on "Changing Underpinnings of Philippine Economic Oligarchs," George Washington University Club, Washington, DC, Paper: "Philippine Oligarchy: Continuity and Change," 14 November 2003.
- U.S. Department of State, Bureau of Intelligence and Research & National Intelligence Council, Ambassadorial Briefing on the Philippines for Ambassador Kristie A. Kenney, System Support Center, Rosslyn, Virginia, Paper: "Philippine Oligarchy and Military: Catalytic Elements for Endless Crisis," 8 March 2006.

U.S. Department of State, Bureau of Intelligence and Research & National Intelligence Council, Ambassadorial Seminar on the Philippines: Ambassador Harry K. Thomas, Jr., Meridian International Center, Washington, DC, "Covert Netherworld & Philippine Politics," 29 March 2010.

13. CONSULTANT TO FILM PRODUCTIONS:

Columbia Pictures, Consultant to Director Richard Brooks, Feature Film: "The Golden Triangle," 1972-73 [N.B. Not filmed].

Australian Broadcasting Commission, Consultant to Director Michael Jenkins, Television Mini-Series: "Scales of Justice," 1984.

Home Box Office (HBO) and Australian Broadcasting Corporation (ABC), Consultant to Director Robert Markowitz & Producer Hal McElroy, Cable Television Mini-Series: "A Dangerous Life," 1986-1988.

Australian Broadcasting Corporation, Narrator and Consultant to the Director Chris Hilton, Television Documentary: "Dealing with the Demon--A Inquiry into the Global Heroin Problem," 1993-1996.

14. SOURCE OR SUBJECT IN MEDIA & OFFICIAL REPORTS:

Seymour M. Hersh, "C.I.A. Aides Assail Asia Drug Charge: Agency Fights Reports That It Ignored Heroin Traffic Among Allies of U.S.," *The New York Times*, July 21, 1972, pg. 1.

Jeff Gerth and Joel Brinkley, "Marcos Wartime Role Discredited in U.S. Files," *The New York Times*, January 23, 1986, pg. A-1.

"Discovery: Historian Alfred McCoy makes history by debunking the myth of Ferdinand Marcos' war medals," *People Magazine* 25, no. 6 (February 10, 1986).

"Psychologists, Under a Historian's Lens," Thomas Bartlett, *Chronicle of Higher Education*, September 7, 2007, <http://business.highbeam.com/434953/article-1G1-168406257/psychologists-under-historian-lens>.

My books, articles, and interviews on the relationship between psychologists and CIA torture cited fifteen times to provide historical foundation for an authorized investigation of the APA's complicity in U.S. government's recourse to torture. See, David H. Hoffman, *Independent Review Relating to APA Ethics Guidelines, National Security Interrogations and Torture* (American Psychological Association, July 2, 2015).

John Lancaster, "The Moralists: An eminent physicians did not hesitate to blast his colleagues for their ethical lapses. But was he in any position to criticize?" *The Big Roundtable* (July 14, 2016), <http://www.thebigroundtable.com/stories/the-moralist/>

Katrina Domingo, "How long will the new wave of populist leadership last?" *ABS-CBN News* (Manila), February 11, 2017, <http://news.abs-cbn.com/focus/02/10/17/how-long-will-the-new-wave-of-populist-leadership-last>

Fe Zamora, “Duterte tempting a coup, says US historian,” *Inquirer.net* (Manila), February 26, 2017, <http://newsinfo.inquirer.net/875383/duterte-tempting-a-coup-says-us-historian>

Raissa Robles, “Duterte Plays a Dangerous Game in the South China Sea,” *South China Morning Post* (Hong Kong), February 27, 2017, <http://www.scmp.com/week-asia/geopolitics/article/2073858/duterte-plays-dangerous-game-south-china-sea>

15. APPEARANCES IN DOCUMENTARY FILMS:

Narrator, *Dealing with the Demon--A Inquiry into the Global Heroin Problem*, Director: Chris Hilton, Australian Broadcasting Corporation (1996).

Interviewed, *Ghosts of Abu Ghraib*, Director: Rory Kennedy, Moxie-Firecracker Films for Home Box Office (February 2007).

Interviewed, *Taxi to the Dark Side*, Director: Alex Gibney, Jigsaw Productions (2007), winner of Academy Award (Oscar), for “Best Feature Documentary,” 2008.

Interviewed by Sally Neighbour, Program: “Four Corners,” ABC-TV (Australia), Topic: “Development of Psychological Torture Techniques” (2007).

Interviewed, *The Most Secret Place on Earth: The CIA’s Covert War in Laos*, Director: Marc Ebele, Gebrueder Beetz Productions with NDR/arte/WDR Productions (2009).

Interviewed by Sebastian J.F. for documentary film, “War on Terror,” (Vienna, cronos.at, 2011).

Quoted, “Chapter 10: Bush & Obama: Age of Terror,” in, *Oliver Stone’s Untold History of the United States*, Showtime Television Network, November 2012.

Interviewed by Christophe Bouquet and Vanessa Ratignier, Paris, July 6, 2015, *Mafia et République*, documentary on crime and politics in France, for Arte Television (February 2017).