

**UNIVERSITY OF WISCONSIN-MADISON**  
**Department of History**

**History 600/755: CIA Covert Warfare & U.S. Foreign Policy**

**Spring 2017**

**Mr. McCoy**

**I. COURSE REQUIREMENTS :-**

***Course Description:*** Designed for students with background in U.S. diplomatic history and international studies, the course probes the dynamics of CIA covert wars through comparative case histories over the past 60 years. Sometimes these clandestine interventions have ended successfully from a U.S. perspective. But they have often left behind ruined battlegrounds that became geopolitical black holes of lasting international instability.

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

As the course progresses, the class will engage in a collective model-building exercise, drawing insights from each successive case to build, factor-by-factor, a working paradigm for analysis of both CIA operations and their larger covert netherworld. By the third week, it will become apparent that the literature is largely devoted to penetrating the veil of secrecy to establish a narrative of events—an approach that denies these readings any theoretical framework. With each passing week, therefore, we will engage in a collective model-building exercise to probe the *context*, *conduct*, and *consequences* of each CIA covert operation.

For *context*, we will devise an applied historical analysis that identifies key actors or factors during the conduct of a CIA operation and then traces them backward until we come a watershed when these actors emerged in a political array that resonates with the later covert war. In the *conduct* phase, we will learn to identify the weapons or tactics in the Agency's evolving arsenal of covert warfare. In the final *consequences* phase, we will examine the impact of each operation at three levels: (1.) in the society that became this covert battleground; (2.) its immediate region; and, (3.) the larger geopolitical arena, from the perspective of both the world order and the conduct of U.S. foreign policy. In assessing the consequences of each operation, we will weigh short-term tactical gains in a Cold War context against long-term costs for both the subject society and broader U.S. geopolitical interests.

Based on these discussions and additional research, each student will apply this three-phase model to a particular covert war in writing the research essay outlined in Section III below, hopefully expanding upon the insights gained in the seminar's weekly discussions.

***Class Meetings:*** This seminar will meet on Tuesdays from 11:00 to 12:55 pm in Room No. 5245, Humanities Building. N.B.: *No laptops may be opened during class.*

**Office Hours:** In Room 5131 Humanities, Thursdays 12:00 to 2:00 p.m., and other hours by appointment. Telephone: 263-1855 (direct line); 263-1800 (History Department, message). Messages may be left in Mailbox No. 5026 or sent via email to <awmccoy@wisc.edu>

**Grading:** In addition to participating in each class, students shall be marked upon their participation in discussions and their weekly writing exercises.

*Class Attendance:* Attendance is mandatory. More than one unexcused absence bars successful completion of the course.

*Class Presentations:* Each class shall begin with every student presenting a two-minute analysis of the topic based on two or more assigned readings for the week. Starting in week two, several students shall offer 15-minute discussions of the required readings for the week, with each student making two such oral presentations during the semester. Each presenter will meet with the professor two times to plan this presentation: first, for a few minutes at the close of class on Tuesday to apportion the work for the following week's presentation; and next, during Thursday office hours with a five-page draft outline of the presentation. After revision, each student should email me a revised draft of the presentation by the Sunday evening before the scheduled presentation and a final draft by Tuesday noon.

*Discussion Summaries:* Students shall submit two short discussion papers during the semester. First, before 9:00 am, Tuesday, January 17, all students shall deliver to my Humanities mailbox (No. 5026) a two-page reflection on week's reading, addressing the question: "Assess the impact of CIA covert operations on the conduct of U.S. foreign policy since 1947." Second, before 9:00 a.m., Monday, May 1, students will submit a second paper that asks: "How have the Cold War and War on Terror forged new instruments for U.S. covert operations and global dominion for the 21st Century?"

*Final Paper:* Drawing on both primary and secondary sources, students shall write a fifteen-page analytic essay on a single CIA covert war or clandestine operation by following the directions specified below in Part V. While students are free to examine any of the case studies covered in the course, most will find it best to expand upon one of their oral presentations to the class.

For primary sources, students will need to consult *Foreign Relations of the United States*, U.S. Congressional hearings, the *New York Times* (on Proquest), and official documents found in the State Historical Society and on-line at sites such those curated by the National Security Archive. Students should use one of their oral presentations as basis for this essay.

As a first step, students shall place a two-page outline of their research paper in my Humanities Building mailbox by 9:00 a.m., Monday, April 3—with a complete annotated bibliography of primary and secondary sources. During that week, students with questions can meet with me during office hours to discuss their proposed papers.

By 9:00 a.m., Monday, April 24, students shall submit a 15-page essay, drawn from both secondary and primary sources, analyzing a single CIA covert operation, assessing both its short-term gains and long-term impact. Each essay shall have full footnote citations and a complete annotated bibliography. Students should use their research skills to cite no less than 20 primary documents from Memorial Library and the Internet, using sites such as the CIA home page or the National Security Archive.

**Final Grade:** Mark in the course shall be computed as follows:

--discussion papers:	20%
--class participation:	40%
--research essay:	40%

**Readings--Texts:** Sold at University Bookstore, State Street Mall (opposite Memorial Library):

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

Weiner, Tim. **Legacy of Ashes: The History of the CIA** New York: Anchor Reprint Edition, 2008.

**Readings--Library:** In preparation for each meeting, students are expected to cover the required readings below marked by an asterisk (\*). Students presenting should review all readings in the “required” section. Most required readings are available via <e-reserve> for History 600/755, which you can access through your <MyUW> account. Moreover, the College Library will hold 50 books on three-hour reserve and journal articles are available at Memorial Library.

## II. READINGS {N.B.: \*Noteworthy Reading}:-

{Discussion Paper Due, 9:00 am, Tuesday, January 19}

### WEEK 1 (January 17): CENTRAL INTELLIGENCE--ORIGINS & HISTORY

#### **Required--Origins & History:-**

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

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

\*McCoy, Alfred W. “Imperial Illusions: Information Infrastructure and the Future of U.S. Global Power,” in Alfred W. McCoy, 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. 360-86.

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

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

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

\*Weiner, Tim. **Legacy of Ashes: The History of the CIA** New York: Anchor, 2008, pp. 3-35.

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

#### **Recommended:-**

Ameringer, Charles D. **U.S. Foreign Intelligence: The Secret Side of American History** Lexington: Lexington Books, 1990, pp. 1-16.

- Center for the Study of Intelligence. **The Origin and Development of the CIA in the Administration of Harry S. Truman** Washington, DC: Center for the Study of Intelligence, 1995.
- Colby, William. **Honorable Men: My Life in the CIA** New York: Simon & Schuster, 1978, pp. 329-50.
- Corson, William R. **The Armies of Ignorance: The Rise of the American Intelligence Empire** New York: Dial Press, 1977.
- Ford, Corey and Alastair MacBain. **Cloak and Dagger; the Secret Story of OSS** New York: Random House, 1946, pp. 50-60, 60-81.
- Jeffreys-Jones, Rhodri. **American Espionage: From Secret Service to CIA** New York: Free Press, 1977, pp. 73-86.
- Kaplan, Fred, **Wizards of Armageddon** New York: Simon & Schuster, 1983.
- Leary, William M. **The Central Intelligence Agency, History and Documents** Birmingham: University of Alabama Press, 1984, pp. 76-94.
- Lowenthal, Mark M. **U.S. Intelligence: Evolution and Anatomy** Westport: Praeger, with the Center for Strategic and International Studies, 1992.
- Mangold, Tom. **Cold Warrior: James Jesus Angleton: the CIA's Master Spy Hunter** New York: Simon & Schuster, 1991, pp. 30-70, 307-54.
- Marchetti, Victor. **The CIA and the Cult of Intelligence** New York: Dell, 1980.
- Powers, Thomas. **The Man Who Kept the Secrets: Richard Helms & the CIA** New York: Knopf, 1979, pp. 17-33.
- Ranelagh, John. **CIA, A History** London: BBC Books, 1992, pp. 9-48.
- Srodes, James. **Allen Dulles: Master of Spies** Washington DC: Regnery, 1999, pp. 470-503.
- Trento, Joseph. **The Secret History of the CIA** Roseville: Forum, 2001.
- Troy, Thomas F. **Donovan and the CIA: A History of the Establishment of the Central Intelligence Agency** Langley: Center for the Study of Intelligence, 1981.
- Troy, Thomas F. **Wild Bill and Intrepid: Donovan, Stephenson, and the Origin of CIA** New Haven: Yale University Press, 1996, pp. 77-92

## WEEK 2 (January 24): ASSETS—CULTURE, TORTURE, COVERT OPERATIONS

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

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

- \*Lasch, Christopher, "The Cultural Cold War: A Short History of the Congress for Cultural Freedom," in, Barton Bernstein, ed., **Towards a New Past: Dissenting Essays in American History** New York: Pantheon Books, 1968, pp. 322-59.
- Lewontin, R.C., "The Cold War and the Transformation of the Academy," in, Noam Chomsky, ed. **Cold War & the University: Toward an Intellectual History of the Postwar Years** New York: New Press., 1998, pp, 1-33.
- \*Saunders, Frances Stonor. **Who Paid the Piper?: The CIA and the Cultural Cold War** London: Granta Books, 1999, pp. 85-145.
- \*Simpson, Christopher. **Science of Coercion: Communication Research and Psychological Warfare 1945-1960** New York: Oxford University Press, 1994, pp. 3-14, 52-62, 63-92.

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

- \*McCoy, Alfred W., "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.
- \*Marks, John D. **The Search for the "Manchurian Candidate": the CIA and Mind Control** New York: Times Books, 1980, pp. 87-104.
- \*U.S. Senate Select Committee on Intelligence. **Project MKULTRA, the CIA's Program of Research in Behavioral Modification: Joint Hearing Before the Select Committee on Intelligence and the Subcommittee on Health and Scientific Research of the Committee on Human Resources** 95<sup>th</sup> Cong., 1<sup>st</sup> sess., August 3, 1977. Washington, DC: GPO, 1977, pp. 1-63.
- \*U.S. Senate Select Committee on Intelligence. **Committee Study of the Central Intelligence Agency's Detention and Interrogation Program** (December 3, 2014), Executive Summary, pp. 2-16, <[http://fas.org/irp/congress/2014\\_rpt/ssci-rdi.pdf](http://fas.org/irp/congress/2014_rpt/ssci-rdi.pdf)>

***Required—Covert Operations:-***

- \*Carter, John J. **Covert Operations and the Emergence of the Modern American Presidency, 1920-1960** Lewiston: Edwin Mellen Press, 2002, pp. 95-171.
- \*Johnson, Chalmers, **Blowback: The Costs and Consequences of American Empire** New York, 2000, pp. ix-xxii, 3-33.
- Johnson, Loch K. "On Drawing a Bright Line for Covert Operations." **American Journal of International Law** 86, no. 2 (April 1992), pp. 284-309.
- \*Kwitney, Jonathan, **Endless Enemies: The Making of an Unfriendly World** New York: Congdon & Weed, 1984, pp. 315-34.
- Loftus, John, **The Belarus Secret** New York: Alfred A. Knopf, 1982, pp. vi-20, 46-129.
- \*Reilly, Brett, "Cold War Transition: Europe's Decolonization and Eisenhower's System of Subordinate Elites," in Alfred W. McCoy, 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. 344-59.

- \*Rudgers, David F. "The Origins of Covert Action," **Journal of Contemporary History** 35, no. 2 (April 2000), pp. 249-62.
- \*Weiner, Tim, **Legacy of Ashes: The History of the CIA** New York: Anchor, 2008, pp. 36-43.

***Required—Covert Netherworld:-***

- \*Ganser, Danielle, "Beyond Democratic Checks and Balances: The 'Propaganda Due' Masonic Lodge and the CIA in Italy's First Republic." in, Eric Wilson, ed., **Government of the Shadows: Parapolitics and Criminal Sovereignty** London: Pluto Press, 2009, pp. 256-75.
- \*McCoy, Alfred W. "Covert Netherworld: An Invisible Interstice in the Modern World System," **Comparative Studies in Society and History** 58, no. 4 (October 2016), pp. 847-79
- \*Tunander, Ola. "Democratic State vs Deep State: Approaching the Dual State of the West." in, Eric Wilson, ed., **Government of the Shadows: Parapolitics and Criminal Sovereignty** London: Pluto Press, 2009, pp. 56-72.

**WEEK 3 (January 31): EUROPE—SECURING GREECE, FRANCE & ITALY**

***Required:-***

- \*Barnes, Trevor. "The Secret Cold War: The C.I.A. and American Foreign Policy in Europe 1946-1956. Part I." **Historical Journal** 24, no. 2 (1981), pp. 399-415.
- \*Barnes, Trevor. "The Secret Cold War: The C.I.A. and American Foreign Policy in Europe 1946-1956. Part II," **Historical Journal** 25, no. 3 (September 1982), pp. 649-70.
- \*Brogi, Alessandro. **A Question of Self-Esteem: The United States and the Cold War Choices in France and Italy, 1944-58** Westport: Praeger, 2002, pp. 75-105, 117-157.
- Chester, Eric Thomas. **Covert Network: Progressives, The International Rescue Committee, and the CIA** Armonk: M.E. Sharpe, 1995, pp. 6-20, 23-36, 57-73.
- \*Gaddis, John Lewis, **We Now Know: Rethinking Cold War History** New York: Oxford U.P., 1997, pp. 26-53.
- \*Ganser, Daniele, **NATO's Secret Armies: Operation Gladio and Terrorism in Western Europe** London: Frank Cass, 2005, pp. 1-37, 63-83, 84-102.
- \*Gitlin, Todd, "Counter-Insurgency: Myth and Reality in Greece," in, David Horowitz, ed., **Containment and Revolution: Western Policy Toward Social Revolution** London: Blond, 1967, pp. 140-81.
- Karabell, Zachary. **Architects of Intervention: the United States, the Third World, and the Cold War, 1946-1962** Baton Rouge: Louisiana State University Press, 1999, pp. 17-36, 37-49.
- McCoy, Alfred W. **The Politics of Heroin: CIA Complicity in the Global Drug Trade** New York: Lawrence Hill Books, 2003, pp. 46-76.

- \*Prados, John. **Presidents' Secret Wars: CIA and Pentagon Covert Operations from World War II Through the Persian Gulf** Chicago: I.R. Dee, 1996, pp. 13-60.
- \*Shaefer, D. Michael. **Deadly Paradigms: The Failure of U.S. Counterinsurgency Policy** Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1989, pp. 167-204.
- Schneider, Jane C. and Peter T. Schneider. **Reversible Destiny: Mafia, Antimafia, and the Struggle for Palermo** Berkeley: University of California Press, 2003, pp. 49-83.
- \*Weiner, Tim. **Legacy of Ashes: The History of the CIA** New York: Anchor, 2008, pp. 382-87.
- \*Wittner, Lawrence, S. **American Intervention in Greece, 1943-1949** New York: Columbia University Press, 1982, pp. 36-69, 223-53.
- Recommended:-**
- Agee, Philip, and Louis Wolf, eds. **Dirty Work: the CIA in Western Europe** Secaucus: L. Stuart, 1978, pp. 81-105, 157-64, 174-83.
- Broggi, Alessandro. **A Question of Self-Esteem: The United States and the Cold War Choices in France and Italy, 1944-58.** Westport: Praeger, 2002, pp. 75-105, 117-57.
- Central Intelligence Agency, **CIA Cold War Records: The CIA Under Truman** (Washington, DC: Center for the Study of Intelligence, 1994).
- \*Cogan, Charles, "'Stay-Behind' in France: Much Ado About Nothing," **Journal of Strategic Studies** 30, no. 6 (2007), pp. 937-54.
- \*Ganser, Daniele, **NATO's Secret Armies: Operation Gladio and Terrorism in Western Europe** London: Frank Cass, 2005, pp. 212- 23.
- Kennan, George, **Memoirs, 1950-1963. Volume II.** Boston: Little, Brown, 1972, pp. 90-104.
- \*Kuhns, Woodrow J. ed. "Assessing the Soviet Threat: The Early Cold War Years," Washington, DC: Center for the Study of Intelligence, Central Intelligence Agency, 1997, Preface <<https://www.cia.gov/library/center-for-the-study-of-intelligence/csi-publications/books-and-monographs/assessing-the-soviet-threat-the-early-cold-war-years/preface.html>>
- Nachmani, Amikam. "Civil War and Foreign Intervention in Greece." **Journal of Contemporary History** 25, no. 4 (October 1990) pp. 489-522.
- Pisani, Sallie. **The CIA and the Marshall Plan.** Lawrence: University Press of Kansas, 1991, pp. 58-138.
- Trento, Joseph. **The Boys from Berlin: The Secret History of the CIA** Roseville: Forum, 2001.
- The Rote Kapelle: The CIA's History of Soviet Intelligence and Espionage Networks in Western Europe, 1936-1945** Washington, DC: University Publications of America, 1979, pp. 87-117.

\*Wilan, Philip. **Puppet Masters: The Political Use of Terrorism in Italy**. London: Constable, 1991.

#### WEEK 4 (February 7): LIBRARY ORIENTATION AT STATE HISTORICAL SOCIETY

**Required:** At the usual time, 11:00 a.m., the class will assemble near the information desk in the lobby of the State Historical Society, for an orientation by Cynthia Bachhuber, North American History Librarian, about the use of government documents, documentary collections, and on-line official sources that will have information relevant to their weekly presentations, the final two-paper essay, and, above all, the major research paper. Topics will include how to search for official reports from the U.S. government, foreign governments, and international organizations such as the United Nations, Amnesty International, UN Office of Drug Control, the World Bank, and others.

The session will pay particular attention to searching U.S. government documents, particularly hearings before the Senate and House, reports from the Executive Branch, and from executive agencies such as the State Department and Defense Department. To that end, the on-line session will focus on using the Proquest site via Memorial Library to search newspapers such as the *New York Times*, the Library of Congress on-line "Thomas" site for government documents such as congressional hearings, and the State Department site for digital editions of the *Foreign Relations of the United States*. These documents contain a wealth of primary information but are among the most difficult sources to locate, making expert advice about search procedures critical.

#### WEEK 5 (February 14): IRAN--COUP AGAINST MOSSADEQ

**Required:-**

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

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

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

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

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

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

\*Kinzer, Stephen, **All the Shah's Men: An American Coup and the Roots of Middle East Terror** Hoboken: John Wiley & Sons, 2003, pp. 62-82, 150-92.



- \*Roosevelt, Kermit. **Countercoup: the Struggle for the Control of Iran** New York: McGraw-Hill, 1979, pp. 68-97, 136-98.
- \*Risen, James. "How a Plot Convulsed Iran in '53 (and in '79)," **New York Times**, 16 April 2000, p. A-1.
- \*Rubin, Barry. "Lessons from Iran," **The Washington Quarterly** (Summer 2003), pp. 105-115.
- \*Weiner, Tim. **Legacy of Ashes: The History of the CIA** New York: Anchor, 2008, pp. 92-105.
- \*Zahrani, Mostafa T. "The Coup that Changed the Middle East: Mosadeq v. The CIA in Retrospect," **World Policy Journal** 19, no. 2 (Summer 2002), pp. 93-99.

***Recommended:-***

- Abrahamian, Ervand. **Iran Between Two Revolutions** Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1982.
- Alexander, Yonah and Allan Nanes, eds. **The United States and Iran: a Documentary History** Frederick: Aletheia Books, 1980.
- Ambrose, Stephen E. **Eisenhower, Vol. 1** New York: Simon and Schuster, 1983, pp. 332-333.
- Ambrose, Stephen E. **Ike's Spies: Eisenhower & the Espionage Establishment** Garden City: Doubleday, 1981.
- Dorril, Stephen. **MI6: Fifty Years of Special Operations**. London: Fourth Estate Limited, 2000.
- Eisenhower, Dwight D. **The White House Years: Mandate for Change, 1953-56** Garden City: Doubleday, 1963, pp. 159-166.
- \*Gasiorowski, Mark J. and Malcolm Byrne, **Mohammed Mosadeq and the 1953 Coup in Iran** Syracuse: Syracuse University Press, 2004.
- Kwitney, Jonathan, **Endless Enemies: The Making of an Unfriendly World** New York: Congdon & Weed, 1984, pp. 152-78.
- \*Mirsepassi Ashtiani, Ali. **The Crisis of Secular Politics and the Rise of Political Islam in Iran** Durham: Duke University Press, 1994.
- Rejali, Darius M. **Torture and Modernity: Self, Society, and State in Modern Iran** Boulder: Westview Press, 1994, pp. 62-81.
- Richards, Helmut. "America's Shah Shahanshah's Iran" **MERIP Reports** No. 40 (September 1975), pp. 3-22, 24-26.
- Saikal, Amin, **The Rise and Fall of the Shah** (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 2009)
- U.S. Department of State. **Foreign Relations of the United States, 1952-1954: Vol. X Iran (1951-1954)** Washington, DC: Government Printing Office, 1989.

\*Wilber, Donald, "CIA Clandestine Service History, "Overthrow of Mossadeq of Iran, November 1952-August 1953" (March 1954).

Zabih, Sepehr. **The Communist Movement in Iran** Berkeley: University of California Press, 1966., pp. 1-35.

## WEEK 6 (February 21): COVERT OPERATIONS IN CENTRAL AMERICA

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

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

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

### *Required--Guatemala:-*

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

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

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

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

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

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

\*Report of the Commission for Historical Clarification, **Guatemala Memory of Silence** (1999), pp. 17-45, 81-86,  
<[http://www.aaas.org/sites/default/files/migrate/uploads/mos\\_en.pdf](http://www.aaas.org/sites/default/files/migrate/uploads/mos_en.pdf)>

\*Weiner, Tim, **Legacy of Ashes: The History of the CIA** New York: Anchor, 2008, pp. 106-19.

### *Required--Nicaragua:-*

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

***Recommended:-***

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

\*Streeter, Stephen. **Managing the Counterrevolution: The United States and Guatemala** Athens, OH, 2000.

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

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

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

## WEEK 7 (February 28): PHILIPPINES--DEFEATING THE HUKS

### *Required:-*

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

Currey, Cecil B. **Edward Lansdale, the Unquiet American** Boston: Houghton Mifflin, 1988, pp. 31-55.

Fegan, Brian "The Social History of a Central Luzon Barrio," in, Alfred McCoy & Ed. C. de Jesus, eds., **Philippine Social History** Honolulu: Hawaii, 1982, pp. 91-130.

\*Kerkvliet, Ben. **The Huk Rebellion** Berkeley: University of California, 1977, pp. 156-248.

\*Lansdale, Edward G. **In the Midst of Wars** New York: Fordham University Press, 1991, pp. 17-84.

\*MacDonald, Douglas J. **Adventures in Chaos: American Intervention for Reform in the Third World** Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1992, pp. 129-59.

\*Shaefer, D. Michael. **Deadly Paradigms: the Failure of US Counterinsurgency Policy** Princeton: 1988, pp. 205-39.

Smith, Joseph Burkholder. **Portrait of a Cold Warrior** New York: Putnam, 1976, pp. 249-321.

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- Aldrich, Richard J., Gary D. Rawnsley, and Ming-Yeh T. Rawnsley. **The Clandestine Cold War in Asia, 1945-1965** London: Frank Cass, 2000, pp. 181-194
- Blitz, Amy. **The Contested State: American Foreign Policy and Regime Change in the Philippines** Lanham: Rowman & Littlefield Publishers, 2000.
- Bohannon, Charles T.R. "Antiguerrilla Operations," **Annals of the American Academy of Social and Political Science** 341 (May 1962), pp. 19-29.
- Cullather, Nick, **Illusions of Influence: the Political Economy of United States-Philippines Relations, 1942-1960** Stanford: 1994, pp. 96-122, 176-80.
- Greenberg, Lawrence M. **The Hukbalahap Insurrection: A Case Study of a Successful Anti-Insurgency Operation in the Philippines, 1946-1955** Washington, DC: US Army Center of Military History, 1987.
- Pomeroy, William J. **An American Made Tragedy: Neo-Colonialism & Dictatorship in the Philippines** New York: International Publishers, 1974, pp. 41-67.
- Pomeroy, William J., **The Forest: A Personal Record of the Huk Guerrilla Struggle in the Philippines** New York: International Publishers, 1963.
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- \*U.S. Department of State, Edward Keefer, ed., **Foreign Relations of the United States, 1961-1963, Volume XIII: Southeast Asia** (Washington, DC: Government Printing Office, 1994).

**WEEK 8 (March 7): CUBA: SECRET WAR ON CASTRO*****Required:-***

- \*Bissell, Richard, **Reflections of a Cold Warrior: From Yalta to the Bay of Pigs** New Haven, CT: Yale, 1996, pp. 153-204.
- CIA Targets Fidel: Secret 1967 CIA Inspector General's Report on Plots to Assassinate Fidel Castro** Ocean Press: New York, 1996, pp. 23-61.
- Escalante, Fabian. **The Secret War: CIA Covert Operations Against Cuba, 1959-62** Melbourne: Ocean Press, 1995, pp. 114-35.
- Fursenko, Alexander and Timothy Naftali, **"One Hell of a Gamble": Khrushchev, Castro, and Kennedy, 1958-1964** New York: Norton, 1997, pp. 77-100.
- \*Gleijeses, Piero. "Ships in the Night: The CIA, the White House and the Bay of Pigs." **Journal of Latin American Studies** 27, no. 1 (February 1995), pp. 1-42.
- Higgins, Trumbull. **The Perfect Failure: Kennedy, Eisenhower, and the CIA at the Bay of Pigs** New York: Norton, 1987, pp. 114-53.
- Hinkle, Warren, and William W. Turner. **The Fish is Red: The Story of the Secret War Against Castro** New York: Harper & Row, 1981, pp. 23-60.

- Karabell, Zachary. **Architects of Intervention: the United States, the Third World, and the Cold War, 1946-1962** Baton Rouge: Louisiana State University Press, 1999, pp. 173-205.
- Latham, Michael. **Modernization as Ideology: American Social Science and "Nation Building" in the Kennedy Era** Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 2000, pp. 69-108.
- \*McClintock, Michael. "Edward Geary Lansdale and the New Counterinsurgency," in, **Instruments of Statecraft: US Guerilla Warfare, Counterinsurgency, and Counterterrorism 1940-1990** (New York: Pantheon Books, 1992).  
<<http://www.assassinationscience.com/EdwardLansdale.pdf>>
- Rodriguez Cruz, Juan Carlos. **The Bay of Pigs and the CIA** New York: Ocean Press, 1999, pp. 100-111, 159-210.
- \*Vandenbroucke, Lucien S. "Anatomy of a Failure: The Decision to Land at the Bay of Pigs," **Political Science Quarterly** 99, no. 3 (Autumn 1984), pp. 471-91.
- Weiner, Tim, "C.I.A. Had Ability to Plant Bay of Pigs News, Document Shows," **The New York Times**, 24 March 2001, A-7.
- \*Weiner, Tim, **Legacy of Ashes: The History of the CIA** New York: Anchor, 2008, pp. 179-94, 197-217, 224-41.
- Recommended:-**
- Ayers, Bradley Earl. **The War that Never Was: an Insider's Account of CIA Covert Operations Against Cuba** Indianapolis: Bobbs-Merrill, 1976, pp. 1-36, 37-66.
- CIA Targets Fidel: Secret 1967 CIA Inspector General's Report on Plots to Assassinate Fidel Castro** Melbourne: Ocean Press, 1996, pp. 15-120.
- Light, Robert E. **Cuba Versus CIA** New York: Marzani & Munsell, 1961, pp. 3-30.
- \*\*Operation Zapata: The "Ultrasensitive Report" and Testimony of the Board of Inquiry on the Bay of Pigs** (Maryland: University Publications of America, 1981).
- Persons, Albert C. **Bay of Pigs: A Firsthand Account of the Mission by a U.S. Pilot in Support of the Cuban Invasion Force in 1961** Jefferson, NC: McFarland, 1990.
- Sergeev, Fedor Mikhailovich. **Secret War Against Cuba** Moscow: Progress Publishers, 1983.
- U.S. Department of State. John P. Glennon, ed. **Foreign Relations of the United States, 1961-1963, Vol. X: Cuba, 1961-1962** Washington, DC: Government Printing Office, 1997.
- U.S. Department of State. John P. Glennon, ed. **Foreign Relations of the United States, 1961-1963, Vol. XI: Cuban Missile Crisis and Aftermath** Washington, DC: Government Printing Office, 1997.
- White, Mark J., ed. **The Kennedys and Cuba: The Declassified Documentary History** (Chicago: Ivan R. Dee, 1999).

**WEEK 9 (March 14): INDONESIA--TOPPLING SUKARNO*****Required--1957-58 Outer Islands Rebellion:-***

- \*Conboy, Kenneth, and James Morrison. **Feet to the Fire: CIA Covert Operation in Indonesia, 1957-1958** Annapolis: Naval Institute Press, 1999, pp. 1-49.
- \*Kahin, Audrey R. and George McT. Kahin. **Subversion as Foreign Policy: the Secret Eisenhower and Dulles Debacle in Indonesia** New York: New Press, 1995, pp. 120-90.
- \*Smith, Joseph Burkholder. **Portrait of a Cold Warrior** New York: Putnam, 1976, pp. 205-24.
- U.S. Department of State, John P. Glennon, ed. **Foreign Relations of the United States, 1955-1957. Volume XXII. Southeast Asia** Washington, D.C.: Government Printing Office, 1989, pp. 356-418, 576-78.
- \*Weiner, Tim, **Legacy of Ashes: The History of the CIA** New York: Anchor, 2008, pp. 164-78.

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

- Aldrich, Richard J., Gary D. Rawnsley, and Ming-Yeh T. Rawnsley. **The Clandestine Cold War in Asia, 1945-1965** London: Frank Cass, 2000, pp. 195-210.
- \*Anderson, Benedict R., and Ruth T. McVey. **A Preliminary Analysis of the October 1, 1965, Coup in Indonesia** Ithaca: Modern Indonesia Project, Cornell University, 1971, pp. v-viii, 1-46.
- \*Bunnell, Frederick. "American 'Low Posture' Policy toward Indonesia in the Months Leading up to the 1965 'Coup,'" **Indonesia** 50 (1990), pp. 29-60.
- McMahon, Robert. **The Limits of Empire: United States and Southeast Asia Since World War II** New York: Columbia University Press, 1999, pp. 69-104.
- \*U.S. Department of State, Edward Keefer, ed. **Foreign Relations of the United States, 1964-1968, Vol. XXVI: Indonesia; Malaysia-Singapore; Philippines** Washington, DC: GPO, 2001, pp. 334-93.
- \*Roosa, John. **Pretext for Mass Murder: The September 30<sup>th</sup> Movement and Suharto's Coup d'Etat in Indonesia** Madison: University of Wisconsin, 2006, pp. 34-60.
- \*Scott, Peter Dale. "The United States and the Overthrow of Sukarno, 1965-1967," **Pacific Affairs** 58, no. 2 (Summer 1985), pp. 239-64.
- \*Weiner, Tim, **Legacy of Ashes: The History of the CIA** New York: Anchor, 2008, pp. 298-302.
- \*Zhao, Taomo, "China and the Thirtieth September Movement," **Indonesia** 98 (October 2014), pp. 29-58.

***Recommended:-***

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

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

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

{N.B.: SPRING BREAK, March 18-26}

**WEEK 10 (March 28): SOUTH VIETNAM-- COVERT OPS & OPERATION PHOENIX*****Required:-***

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

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

\*McCoy, Alfred W., "Torture in the Crucible of Counterinsurgency," Lloyd C. Gardner and Marilyn B. Young, **Iraq and the Lesssons of Vietnam: Or, How Not to Learn from the Past** New York: The New Press, 2007), pp. 230-62.

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

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

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

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

\*Weiner, Tim, **Legacy of Ashes: The History of the CIA** New York: Anchor, 2008, pp. 242-55, 272-86, 305-10, 329-33, 394-98.

***Recommended:-***

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

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

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



Lansdale, Edward G., "Lansdale Team's Report on Covert Saigon Mission in 1954 and 1955," **The Pentagon Papers: Volume I**. Boston: Beacon Press, Gravel Edition, Document #95.

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

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

\*Peterson, Iver. "This 'Phoenix' Is a Bird of Death," **The New York Times**, 25 July 1970, p. E2.

Pribbenow, Merle L. "The Man in the Snow White Cell: The Limits of Interrogation," Central Intelligence Agency. <<https://www.cia.gov/library/center-for-the-study-of-intelligence/csi-publications/csi-studies/studies/vol48no1/article06.html>>

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

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

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

{Essay Outlines Due, 9:00 am, Monday, April 3}

## WEEK 11 (April 4): LAOS--COUPS, TRIBAL MILITIA & AIR POWER

### *Required:-*

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

\*Weiner, Tim, **Legacy of Ashes: The History of the CIA** New York: Anchor, 2008, pp. 291-96, 398-400.

***Recommended:-***

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

**WEEK 12 (April 11): CHILE--KILLING ALLENDE**

***Required:-***

- \*Dinges, John. **The Condor Years: How Pinochet and his Allies Brought Terrorism to Three Continents** New York: New Press; New York: W.W. Norton, 2004, pp. 63-81, 99-125.
- \*Jensen, Poul. **The Garotte: The United States and Chile, 1970-1973** Denmark: Aarhus University Press, 1988, pp. 137-72.
- \*Kissinger, Henry. **Years of Upheaval** Boston: Little, Brown 1982, pp. 374-413.
- \*Kornbluh, Peter. **The Pinochet File: A Declassified Dossier on Atrocity and Accountability** New York: New Press, 2003, pp. 1-152.
- Select Committee to Study Governmental Operations with Respect to Intelligence Activities. **Covert Action in Chile, 1963-1973: Staff Report of the Select Committee to Study Governmental Operations with Respect to Intelligence Activities** Washington, DC: GPO, 1975, pp. 1-40.
- Uribe, Armando. **The Black Book of American Intervention in Chile** Boston: Beacon Press, 1975, pp. 15-36.
- \*Weiner, Tim, **Legacy of Ashes: The History of the CIA** New York: Anchor, 2008, pp. 354-67.

***Recommended:-***

- Aguilera, Pilar, and Ricardo Fredes. **Chile: the Other September 11** Melbourne: Ocean, 2003, pp. 7-26.
- Enslaco, Mark. **Chile Under Pinochet: Recovering the Truth**. Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 2000.
- Hirsch, Fred. **The CIA and the Labour Movement** Nottingham: Spokesman Books, 1977.
- I.T.T.-C.I.A. Subversion in Chile: a Case Study in U.S. Corporate Intrigue in the Third World** Nottingham: Spokesman Books, 1972.
- Michaels, Albert L. **Background to a Coup: Civil Military Relations in Twentieth Century Chile and the Overthrow of Salvador Allende** Buffalo: Council on International Studies, State University of New York at Buffalo, 1975.
- Oppenheim, Lois Hecht. **Politics in Chile: Democracy, Authoritarianism, and the Search for Development**. Boulder: Westview Press, 1999.
- Petras, James F., and Betty Petras **The Chilean Coup d'Etat** Nottingham: Bertrand Russell Peace Foundation for the Spokesman, 1973, pp. 3-14.
- Petras, James F. and Morris H. Morley. **How Allende fell: a Study in U.S.-Chilean Relations** Nottingham: Spokesman Books, 1974, pp. 37-44, 57-82.
- Rojas, Robinson. **The Murder of Allende and the end of the Chilean Way to Socialism** New York: Harper & Row, 1976, pp. 1-47.

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

U.S. House of Representatives, Subcommittee on Inter-American Affairs, Committee on Foreign Affairs, **Statement (on the Role of the CIA in Chile, at the) Hearings Subcommittee on Interamerican Affairs, September 17, 1974** Washington, DC: GPO, 1974. [N.B. Document Missing from UW Library 10/2008]

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

U.S. Department of State, **Church Report: Covert Action in Chile from 1963-1973**. Washington, DC, 18 December 1975  
<<http://foia.state.gov/Reports/ChurchReport.asp>>

Central Intelligence Agency, **Hinchey Report: CIA Activities in Chile**. Washington, DC, 18 September 2000 < <https://www.cia.gov/library/reports/general-reports-1/chile/#1> >

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

### WEEK 13 (April 18): AFRICA--CONGO & ANGOLA OPERATIONS

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

#### *Required Congo:-*

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

**{Research Essay Due, 9:00 a.m., Monday, April 24}**

**WEEK 14 (April 25): AFGHAN CIVIL WARS, 1979-2014**

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

Chouvy, Pierre-Arnaud, "Opiate Smuggling Routes from Afghanistan to Europe and Asia," **Jane's Intelligence Review** 1 March 2003 < <http://geopium.org/?p=185>>

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

\*Felbab-Brown, Vanda. "No Easy Exit: Drugs and Counternarcotics Policies in Afghanistan," **Foreign Policy at Brookings** (2015), pp. 1-17. <<http://www.brookings.edu/~media/Research/Files/Papers/2015/04/global-drug-policy/FelbabBrown--Afghanistan-final.pdf?la=en>>

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

\*Rubin, Barnett. **Road to Ruin: Afghanistan's Booming Opium Industry** (New York: Center on International Cooperation, New York University, 7 October 2004), pp. 1-24. <<https://cdn.americanprogress.org/wpcontent/uploads/kf/ROADTORUIN.PDF>>

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

\*United Nations, Office on Drugs and Crime, **Afghanistan Opium Survey 2014** (United Nations, 2014), pp. 6-15. <<https://www.unodc.org/documents/crop-monitoring/Afghanistan/Afghan-opium-survey-2014.pdf>>

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

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

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

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

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

Cold War International History Project, Wilson Center. "Documents on Soviet Invasion of Afghanistan." < <http://digitalarchive.wilsoncenter.org/collection/76/soviet-invasion-of-afghanistan>>

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- Galiullin, R. Kh. **The CIA in Asia: Covert Operations Against India and Afghanistan** Moscow: Progress Publishers, 1988.
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{Discussion Paper Due, 9:00 am, Monday, May 1}

## WEEK 15 (May 2): WAR ON TERROR & FUTURE COVERT WARFARE

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- Gordon, Michael, and General Bernard E. Trainor, **Cobra II: The Inside Story of the Invasion and Occupation of Iraq** New York: Pantheon Books, 2006, pp. 474-96.

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\*Weiner, Tim, **Legacy of Ashes: The History of the CIA** New York: Anchor, 2008, pp. 539-94.

***Required—Future of U.S. Covert Warfare:-***

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\*McCoy, Alfred W., “Surveillance and Scandal: Time Tested Weapons for U.S. Global Power,” **TomDispatch** The Nation Institute (New York), 19 January 2014,  
<<http://www.tomdispatch.com/blog/175795/>>

Risen, James, **State of War: The Secret History of the CIA and the Bush Administration** New York: Free Press, 2006, pp. 11-60, 149-72.

***Recommended—War on Terror:-***

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

\*Chomsky, Noam. **Pirates and Emperors, Old and New: International Terrorism in the Real World** London: Pluto, 2002, pp. 144-59.

Clarke, Richard A. **Against All Enemies: Inside America’s War on Terror** New York: Free Press, 2004, pp. 247-87.

Davis, John, ed. **The Global War on Terrorism: Assessing the American Response** New York: Nova Science Publishers, 2004.

Grey, Stephen **Ghost Plane: The True Story of the CIA Torture Program** New York: St. Martin’s Press, 2006, pp. 105-28, 170-89, 190-213.



- Hanson, Victor David. **Between War and Peace: Lessons from Afghanistan to Iraq** New York: Random House Trade Paperbacks, 2004.
- Ignatieff, Michael, **The Lesser Evil: Political Ethics in an Age of Terror** (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 2004), pp. vii-xii, 112-144.
- \*Jewett, Robert. **Captain America and the Crusade Against Evil: The Dilemma of Zealous Nationalism** Grand Rapids: W.B. Eerdmans, 2003, pp. 79-130.
- Johnson, Chalmers. **Blowback: The Costs and Consequences of American Empire** New York: Henry Holt, 2000, pp. 216-29.
- Kellner, Douglas. **From 9/11 to Terror War: The Dangers of the Bush Legacy** Lanham: Rowman & Littlefield, 2003.
- Kessler, Ronald. **The CIA at War: Inside the Secret Campaign Against Terror** New York: St. Martin's Press, 2003.
- Lowenthal, Mark M. **U.S. Intelligence: Evolution and Anatomy** Westport: Praeger, with the Center for Strategic and International Studies, 1992, pp. 87-99.
- Mahoney, Richard D. **Getting Away with Murder: The Real Story Behind American Taliban John Walker Lindh and What the U.S. Government Had to Hide** New York: Arcade Publishers, 2004, pp. 33-59.
- McCoy, Alfred W. **The Politics of Heroin: CIA Complicity in the Global Drug Trade** New York: Lawrence Hill Books, 2003, pp. 525-31.
- McCoy, Alfred W., **A Question of Torture: CIA Interrogation, from Cold War to the War on Terror** New York: Henry Holt, 2006, chapter 4.
- McCoy, Alfred W., "Torture in the Crucible of Counterinsurgency," Lloyd C. Gardner and Marilyn B. Young, **Iraq and the Lessons of Vietnam: Or, How Not to Learn from the Past** New York: The New Press, 2007), pp. 230-62, 297-302.
- 9/11 Commission Report: Final Report of the National Commission on Terrorist Attacks Upon the United States**, Official Government Edition Washington, D.C.: U.S. G.P.O., 2004, pp. 108-43, 361-98.  
<<http://avalon.law.yale.edu/sept11/911Report.pdf>>
- Powers, Thomas, **Intelligence Wars: American Secret History from Hitler to al-Qaeda** New York: New York Review of Books, 2002, pp. 381-420.
- Suskind, Ron, **The One Percent Doctrine: Deep Inside America's Pursuit of Its Enemies Since 9/11** New York: Simon & Schuster, 2006, pp. 82-118.
- Woodward, Bob. **Plan of Attack** New York: Simon & Schuster, 2004, pp. pp. 52-74, 107-144, 208-219, 241-243, 301-306, 434-443.
- Woodward, Bob, **Bush at War** New York, Simon & Schuster, 2002, 74-92, 184-277.

### III. MAJOR ESSAY QUESTION:-

- 1.) Survey the context, conduct, and consequences of a CIA covert operation--assessing both the short-term impact on a single nation and the longer-term legacy for that country's geographical region and the conduct of U.S. foreign policy.

#### IV. LEARNING FROM FILM & FICTION:

##### FILM--Suggested Titles:

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

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

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

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

##### FICTION—Some Suggested Titles:

- 1.) Graham Greene, *The Quiet American*.
- 2.) Graham Greene, *Our Man in Havana*.
- 3.) Graham Greene, *The Third Man*.
- 4.) John LeCarré, *The Tailor of Panama*.
- 5.) Jean Larteguy, *Bronze Drums*
- 6.) Paul Theroux, *The Consul's File*
- 7.) Christopher Koch, *The Year of Living Dangerously*
- 8.) Christopher Koch, *Highways to a War*

#### V. HOW TO WRITE A RESEARCH ESSAY—THE THREE-STEP METHOD:

##### 1.) STEP ONE--Reading & Research:-

###### a.) Sources/Research:

- 1.) All good essays begin with the three "Rs"—reading, research, and reflection.
- 2.) Like most essays, a History term paper is a distillation of its author's reading and reflections upon the subject whose quality usually reflects the depth of the author's research.

###### b.) How to Read for an Essay:

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

###### c.) Citing Sources:

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

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

4.) For a second, non-sequential citation of the same work use a short citation:

27. McCoy, *Southeast Asia Since 1800*, pp. 77-78.

5.) If you are citing the same source in sequence, use *Ibid* for second citation.

27. McCoy, *Southeast Asia Since 1800*, pp. 77-78.

28. *Ibid.*, pp. 79-80.

29. *Ibid.*, pp. 80-81.

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

2.) *STEP TWO—Framing the Argument:-*

a.) Outline: With your reading done, restrain the urge to plunge right into writing and instead take some time to outline your argument. Begin by articulating the single, central question you will ask and answer in the course of this paper. Next, write a one- or two-page outline of your essay's basic components, which are discussed below.

b.) Overall structure: Almost every scholarly essay has three basic components—(1.) the problem/hypothesis, (2.) the evidence/argument, and (3.) the conclusion. To summarize very broadly, the introduction asks a question and poses a hypothesis, the argument arrays evidence to establish that hypothesis, and the conclusion reflects upon the original hypothesis in light of the evidence presented.

Of these three elements, the opening hypothesis is, by far, the most difficult and the most essential for the success of your essay. In your opening paragraph, try to stand back from the mass of material you have read and articulate an historical thesis, which usually explains causality (why events occurred) or analyzes significance (the particular import of an event or a pattern of events). Then identify the key elements--whether factors, themes, or topics--that you will explore to test your thesis in the second part of the essay, the analytical narrative that contains the evidence to support your thesis.

By the time you start writing, you should be able to summarize your argument in the essay's first sentence with something akin to the following formulation: "By applying A to B, the essay will establish C." To illustrate, an essay on the impact of the CIA covert intervention in Guatemala, might begin: "By analyzing the impact of the CIA's intervention against the Abenz government, the agency's coup exacerbated social tensions that led to a thirty-year civil war with a quarter-million deaths."

Here are some further reflections on each of these three sections:

1.) Hypothesis: In your introduction, state your thesis clearly.

a.) If necessary, you should give your definition of any key terms that require a specific usage (e.g., "revolution.")

b.) In stating your problem, refer to the literature in the syllabus.

c.) A standard and often effective device is to identify two differing schools of thought about a single problem and offer resolution.

d.) Make sure you are examining the main point, not a secondary issue.

2.) The Evidence: In the middle part of your essay, you must present evidence—through an analytical intertwining of events and factors—to deal with the problem posed at the beginning of your essay. Be specific. Give the reader a brief narrative of an event grounded in some statistical or anecdotal evidence.

3.) The Conclusion: In the final page or two of your essay, reflect on the problem as stated in the introduction in light of the evidence you presented in the middle

part of the essay. Stretch the data you present for clarity, but do not exaggerate or over-extend the usefulness of your data.

- c.) Level of Argument: Some students produce papers that fill all the demands of the format but do not produce an argument that fully engages the problem.
- 1.) Drawing upon reading and lectures, try to frame an argument that seems to address the question in the most direct and significant manner possible, drawing the most convincing evidence to support the case you are making.
  - 2.) By reading several sources with diverse viewpoints and reflecting on the authors' approaches, you can define an appropriate question and level of analysis.

d.) Nature of History Questions: Whether in books or courses such as this one, History usually explores the study of change in human communities, societies or nations over time. In general, History essays ask you to explain two key aspects of such change: *causality*, that is the underlying reasons for long-term change; or *significance*, that is the import or impact of an event upon a society over the longer term. Thus, most History questions, in both essays and exams, ask you to:

- 1.) analyze the forces or factors that explain how or why a human community changed in a particular way during a specific time period, or;
- 2.) explain the significance or lasting impact that an event, such as a war or revolution, had upon a society in the years following that event.

### 3.) *STEP THREE—Writing the Essay:*

#### a.) Procedure:

- 1.) As explained above, start by writing an outline of about 2 pages for a 10 to 15 page essay. Ideally, each projected paragraph in the essay should be a line in your outline.
- 2.) Following your outline, write a first draft taking care to introduce transitional clauses or sentences that allow the reader to follow your argument paragraph by paragraph.
- 3.) Reading aloud to yourself, edit the prose to produce a second draft.

#### b.) Sentences:

- 1.) Each sentence should be a complete with subject, verb, and direct object.
- 2.) Vary your sentences to include short periodic sentences, simple compound sentences, and compound sentences with clauses in apposition.

#### c.) Paragraphs:

- 1.) Start your paragraph with “topic sentence”—that is, a periodic or compound sentence stating the basic message of this particular paragraph and its relation, in brief, to your overall argument.
- 2.) Varying your sentence structure, elaborate and expand this theme into a fully developed paragraph.
- 3.) Within the paragraph, try to link your sentences with words such as “similarly,” “moreover,” and “however” so they flow from one sentence to the next.
- 4.) Paragraphs should not be too long. If you need a rough guide, have 3 paragraphs to a page with 8 to 10 typed lines in each.

#### d.) Aspire to style:

- 1.) As in all forms of discourse, there is an appropriate style for an academic essay somewhere between the chatty colloquial and the overly formal. Avoid contractions (can't, didn't) and colloquialisms.
- 2.) There is a melody and tempo to good writing. Sensitize your mind's ear to the rhythms of your prose, thus giving written expression to your inner voice.