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الملحق رقم ٢

حالات استخدام القوات المسلحة الأمريكية في الخارج

١٧٩٨ - ١٩٤٥

(من إعداد قسم العلاقات الخارجية، خدمة أبحاث الكونغرس، مكتبة الكونغرس، مكتب الطباعة التابع للحكومة الأمريكية، واشنطن العاصمة، ١٩٧٥، مراجعة طبعة ١٩٦٩).

• ١٧٩٨ - ١٨٠٠ - حرب بحرية غير معلنة مع فرنسا. النزاع اشتمل على أعمال برية كالتي حدثت في جمهورية الدومينيكان مدينة بويرتو بلاتا، حيث أسر جنود المارينز جندياً فرنسياً تحت مدافع القلاع.

• ١٨٠١ - ١٨٠٥ - طرابلس: الحرب الأولى مع البربر بما في ذلك شؤون جورج واشنطن وفيلادلفيا وحملة إيتون، التي نزل خلالها بضعة من جنود المارينز مع العميل الأميركي وليم إيتون لتشكيل قوة ضد طرابلس في مسعى لتحرير بحارة السفينة فيلادلفيا. طرابلس هي التي أعلنت الحرب وليس الولايات المتحدة.

• ١٨٠٦ - المكسيك (منطقة إسبانية): الكابتن ز. بايك مع مفرزة من الجنود غزوا الأرض الإسبانية في منابع ريوغراندي عمداً وبناء على أوامر من الجنرال جيمس ولكنسون، الذي أسر بدون مقاومة في قلعة كان يبنيها فيما يشكل اليوم كولورادو، ونقل إلى المكسيك ثم أفرج عنه بعد الاستيلاء على أوراقه. كانت هناك غاية سياسية مازالت غامضة.

• ١٨٠٦ - ١٨١٠ - خليج المكسيك: عملت القوارب الحربية الأمريكية من نيو أورليانير ضد جنود إسبان وفرنسيين مثل لافيت عند دلتا الميسيسيبي وبصورة رئيسية بقيادة الكابتن جون شو القائد الرئيسي ديفيد بورتر.

- ١٨١٠ - فلوريدا الغربية (أرض إسبانية): الحاكم كليبورن حاكم لويزيانا، بناءً على أمر من الرئيس، احتل مع جنود المنطقة في نزاع شرقي الميسيسيبي وحتى بيرل المنطقة التي صارت لاحقاً الحد الشرقي لولاية لويزيانا. كان مخولاً أن يستولي على أبعد ما يمكن شرقاً حتى الوصول إلى نهر برديدو. لم يقع اشتباك مسلح.
- ١٨١٢ - جزيرة إميليا وأجزاء أخرى من فلوريدا كانت آنذاك تحت الحكم الإسباني: الاستيلاء المؤقت كان بتفويض من الرئيس ميديسون ومن الكونغرس لمنع احتلالها من قبل أية قوة أخرى، ولكن الاستيلاء حصل من قبل الجنرال جورج ماتيوس بطريقة غير نظامية إلى حد أن إجراءاته رفضها الرئيس.
- ١٨١٢ - ١٨١٥ - بريطانيا العظمى: حرب عام ١٨١٢. أعلنت رسمياً ١٨١٣ - غرب فلوريدا (أرض إسبانية): بناءً على تفويض من الكونغرس استولى الجنرال ولكنسون على خليج موبيل في شهر نيسان بمساعدة ٦٠٠ جندي. استسلمت حامية إسبانية صغيرة. وهكذا تقدمت الولايات المتحدة نحو الأرض المتنازع عليها حتى نهر برديدو كما هو مرسوم في عام ١٨١٩. بدون قتال.
- ١٨١٢ - ١٨١٤ - جزر مركيزان: بنيت قلعة على جزيرة نوكايفيا لحماية ثلاث سفن تم الاستيلاء عليها من البريطانيين.
- ١٨١٤ - فلوريدا الإسبانية: الجنرال أندرو جاكسون استولى على بنساكلولا وطرد البريطانيين منها إذ كانت الولايات المتحدة في حرب مع بريطانيا.
- ١٨١٤ - ١٨٢٥ - منطقة الكاريبي: اشتباكات بين القراصنة وسفن أمريكية أو وحدات عسكرية حدثت مراراً وخاصة على الشاطئ وعند الشاطئ حول كوبا وبورتوريكو وسانتو دومنغو ويوكاتان. ووردت أنباء عن ثلاثة آلاف هجمة من قبل القراصنة على سفن تجارية بين عامي ١٨١٥ - ١٨٢٣. في عام ١٨٢٢ القائد البحري جيمس بيدل استخدم مجموعة مؤلفة من فرقتين وأربعة زوارق حربية إضافة إلى ست قطع بحرية أخرى وقاربين حربيين في جزر الهند الغربية.

- ١٨١٥ - الجزائر: حرب البربر الثانية أعلنت من قبل الخصوم وليس من قبل الولايات المتحدة، سمح الكونغرس بحملة. هاجم أسطول كبير بقيادة ديكاتور الجزائر وحصل على تعويضات.
- ١٨١٥ - طرابلس: بعد الحصول على اتفاق من الجزائر قام ديكاتور باستعراض مع مجموعته البحرية في تونس وطرابلس حيث حصل على تعويضات مقابل الهجمات التي وقعت في حرب عام ١٨١٢.
- ١٨١٦ - فلوريدا الإسبانية: دمرت قوات الولايات المتحدة قلعة نيكولز التي تسمى أيضاً نيفرو فورت التي قدمت المأوى للمغيرين على أرض الولايات المتحدة.
- ١٨١٦ - ١٨١٨: فلوريدا الإسبانية - حرب سيمينول الأولى: هنود السيمينول التي كانت منطقتهم ملاذاً للعبيد الهاربين ولأشقياء الحدود هاجمها جنود بقيادة الجنرال جاكسون والجنرال غيمز الذين تقدموا نحو شمال فلوريدا. المواقع الإسبانية هوجمت واحتلت. جرى إعدام مواطنين بريطانيين. لم يكن هناك إعلان أو تفويض من الكونغرس ولكن السلطة التنفيذية كانت مساندة.
- ١٨١٧ - جزيرة إميليا (أرض إسبانية قرب فلوريدا): بناءً على أوامر من الرئيس مونرو نزلت قوات من الولايات المتحدة على أرض الجزيرة واعترضت مجموعة من المهريين والمغامرين وقطاع الطرق.
- ١٨١٨ - أوريغون: السفينة الحربية إنتاليو الأمريكية أرسلت من واشنطن ورسد في نهر كولومبيا وفي شهر آب استولت على المنطقة. كانت بريطانيا قد تنازلت عن السيادة ولكن روسيا وإسبانيا أكدتا مطالبتهما بالمنطقة.
- ١٨٢٠ - ١٨٢٣ - أفريقيا: وحدات بحرية شنت غارة على تجار الرقيق بموجب القانون الصادر عن الكونغرس في عام ١٨١٩.
- ١٨٢٢ - كوبا: قوات بحرية أمريكية لقمع القرصنة نزلت على ساحل كوبا الشمالي - الغربي وأحرقت محطة للقرصنة.

- ١٨٢٣ - كوبا: أعمال إنزال قصيرة على بر الجزيرة لمطاردة القراصنة حدثت بتاريخ ٨ نيسان بالقرب من اسكونديدو، وبتاريخ ١٦ نيسان بالقرب من كايو بلانكو، وبتاريخ ١١ تموز في خليج سكوابا، وفي ٢١ تموز في كيب كروز، وفي ٢٣ تشرين الأول في كامريوكا.
- ١٨٢٤ - كوبا: في تشرين الأول أنزلت السفينة الحربية الأمريكية بوربويز جنود بحرية قرب ماتانزاس لمطاردة القراصنة. كان ذلك خلال الحملة التي جرى تفويض بها في عام ١٨٢٢
- ١٨٢٤ - بورتوريكو (أرض إسبانية): هاجم القائد البحري ديفيد بورتر مع فريق إنزال مدينة فاخاردو التي كانت مأوى للقراصنة وأهانت ضباط البحرية الأمريكية. نزل على البر مع مئتي رجل وفرض الاعتذار.
- ١٨٢٥ - كوبا: في آذار وبالتعاون بين الأمريكيين والبريطانيين نزلت قوات في ساغوا لاغراندي للقبض على القراصنة.
- ١٨٢٧ - اليونان: في شهري تشرين الأول وتشرين الثاني لاحقت وحدات إنزال القراصنة في جزر أرجنتير وميكوني واندروس.
- ١٨٣١ - ١٨٣٢ - جزر فولكلاند: للتحقق في أسر ثلاث سفن أمريكية وحماية المصالح الأمريكية.
- ١٨٣٢ - سومطرة: ٦ إلى ٩ شباط: لمعاقة أهالي بلدة قوالا بانو على أعمال نهب السفن الأمريكية.
- ١٨٣٣ - الأردنيتين: من ٣١ تشرين الأول حتى ١٣ تشرين الثاني: نزلت قوة على شاطئ بونس ايرس لحماية مصالح الولايات المتحدة وبلدان أخرى خلال التمرد.
- ١٨٣٥ - ١٨٣٦ - البيرو: ١٠ كانون الأول ١٨٣٥ حتى ٢٤ كانون الثاني ١٨٣٦ ومن ٣١ آب حتى ٧ كانون الأول ١٨٣٦، تولى جنود المارينز حماية المصالح الأمريكية في كالاو وليما خلال محاولة للثورة.

- ١٨٣٦ - المكسيك: احتل الجنرال غينز منطقة ناكوغدوش (تكساس) وهي منطقة مُتَنَازَعٌ عليها، من تموز حتى كانون الأول خلال حرب الاستقلال في تكساس، بموجب أوامر لعبور «خط الحدود المتخيل» إذا حدث تهديد هندي.
- ١٨٣٨ - ١٨٣٩ - سومطرة: من ٢٤ كانون الأول ١٨٣٨ حتى ٤ كانون الثاني ١٨٣٩، لمعاقبة أهالي بلدة كوالا باتو وموكي على نهب السفن الأمريكية.
- ١٨٤٠ - جزر فيجي - تموز: لمعاقبة السكان المحليين على مهاجمة فرق استكشاف ومسح أمريكية.
- ١٨٤١ - جزيرة درونوند - مجموعة كتميل: للانتقام من قتلة بحار أمريكي في جزيرة يوبولو.
- ١٨٤١ - ساموا - ٢٤ شباط: للانتقام من قتلة بحار أمريكي في جزيرة يوبولو.
- ١٨٤٢ - المكسيك: القائد البحري ت. جونز، الذي كان قائد فيصل يجوب البحر قرب كاليفورنيا، احتل مونتيري، في كاليفورنيا في ١٩ تشرين الأول لاعتقاده أن الحرب قد نشبت. اكتشف أن هناك سلام فانسحب، وأدى التحية. وقع حادث مماثل بعد أسبوع في سان دييغو.
- ١٨٤٣ - الصين: بحارة وجنود من المارينز من سانت لويس نزلوا على البر بعد اشتباك بين الأمريكيين والصينيين في المركز التجاري في كانتون.
- ١٨٤٣ - إفريقيا - من ٢٩ تشرين الثاني حتى ١٦ كانون الأول: قامت أربع سفن أمريكية بتظاهرة وأنزلت على البر مجموعات مختلفة (إحداها مؤلفة من ٢٠٠ من المارينز والبحارة) لمنع القرصنة وتجارة الرقيق على شواطئ ساحل العاج الخ ولمعاقبة السكان المحليين الذين هاجموا البحارة الأمريكيين والملاحة الأمريكية.
- ١٨٤٤ - المكسيك: نشر الرئيس تايلر قوات أمريكية لحماية تكساس من المكسيك، ريثما يوافق مجلس الشيوخ على اتفاقية الضم (رفضت الاتفاقية لاحقاً). وقد دافع عن عمله هذا ضد قرار تحقيق أصدره مجلس الشيوخ.

- ١٨٤٦ - ١٨٤٨ - المكسيك - الحرب المكسيكية: احتلال المنطقة المتنازع عليها بأمر من الرئيس بولك فجر الحرب.. أعلنت الحرب رسمياً.
- ١٨٤٩ - أزمير: في شهر تموز حررت قوة من الأسطول أمريكياً قبض عليه مسؤولون نمساويون.
- ١٨٥١ - تركيا: عقب مجزرة تعرض لها أجنب (بينهم أمريكيون) في يافا في شهر كانون الثاني، صدر أمر إلى مجموعة البحر الأبيض المتوسط بالتظاهر عند ساحل تركيا (المشرق). يبدو أنه لم يحدث إطلاق نار.
- ١٨٥١ - جزيرة جوهانا (شرق أفريقيا) شهر آب: لانتزاع تصحيح لسجن كابتن سفينة أمريكية لصيد الحيتان، الذي سجن بصورة غير شرعية.
- ١٨٥٢ - ١٨٥٣ - الأرجنتين: من ٣ إلى ١٢ شباط ١٨٥٢ ومن ١٧ أيلول ١٨٥٢ إلى نيسان ١٨٥٣: نزل جنود من المارينز على البر وظلوا في بونس إيرس لحماية المصالح الأمريكية خلال حدوث ثورة.
- ١٨٥٣ - نيكاراغوا - ١١ إلى ١٣ آذار: لحماية أرواح الأمريكيين والمصالح الأمريكية خلال اضطرابات سياسية.
- ١٨٥٣ - ١٨٥٤ - اليابان: «فتح اليابان» وحملة بيرى.
- ١٨٥٣ - ١٨٥٤ - جزر ريوكو وبونين: الكومودو ميرى في ثلاث زيارات قبل الذهاب إلى اليابان وخلال انتظاره جواباً من اليابان قام باستعراض سفن الأسطول، بما في ذلك إنزال جنود مارينز على البر مرتين، وتأمين الحصول على امتياز لاستخراج الفحم من حاكم ناها وأوكيناوا. كما استعرض قواته في جزر بوتين. كل ذلك لتأمين الحصول على تسهيلات تجارية.
- ١٨٥٥ - الصين - من ٤ إلى ١٥ أو ١٧ نيسان: لحماية المصالح الأمريكية في شنغهاي. من ٣ إلى ٥ آب لمحاربة القراصنة بالقرب من هونغ كونغ.

- ١٨٥٥ - جزر فيجي - من ١٢ أيلول إلى ٤ تشرين الثاني: للمطالبة بتعويضات عن اعتداءات على أمريكيين.
- ١٨٥٥ - الأوروغواي - من ٢٥ إلى ٢٩ أو ٣٠ تشرين الثاني: نزول قوات أمريكية وأوروبية بحرية إلى البر لحماية المصالح الأمريكية خلال محاولة للثورة في مونتيفيديو.
- ١٨٥٦ - بنما، جمهورية غرينادا الجديدة - من ١٩ إلى ٢٢ أيلول: لحماية المصالح الأمريكية خلال تمرد.
- ١٨٥٦ - الصين - من ٢٢ تشرين الأول إلى ٦ كانون الأول: لحماية المصالح الأمريكية في كانتون خلال أعمال قتالية بين البريطانيين والصينيين، وللانتقام من هجوم لم يسبقه استفزاز على قارب غير مسلح يرفع علم الولايات المتحدة.
- ١٨٥٧ - نيكاراغوا - من نيسان إلى أيار ومن تشرين الثاني إلى كانون الأول: لمعارضة محاولة وليم ووكر السيطرة على البلد. في أيار تسلّم ك. ديفيس الضابط في الأسطول الأمريكي، مع بعض جنود المارينز، استسلام ووكر ووفر الحماية لرجاله من ثأر الحلفاء المحليين الذين كانوا يقاتلون ووكر. في شهري تشرين الثاني وكانون الأول من العام ذاته قاومت السفن الحربية الأمريكية «ساراتوغا» و«وباش» و«نولتون» محاولة أخرى من قبل وليم ووكر للسيطرة على نيكاراغوا. إن إقدام الكومودور هيرام بودينغ على إنزال جنود المارينز على البر وإبعاد ووكر إلى الولايات المتحدة رفضه وزير الخارجية الأمريكي لويس كاس بصورة ضمنية وأرغم بودينغ على الاستقالة.
- ١٨٥٨ - الأوروغواي - من ٢ إلى ٢٧ كانون الثاني: نزلت قوات من سفينتين حربيتين أمريكيتين على البر لحماية ممتلكات أمريكية خلال حدوث ثورة في مونتيفيدو.
- ١٨٥٨ - جزر فيجي - من ٦ إلى ١٦ تشرين الأول: لمعاقة السكان المحليين بسبب قتلهم مواطنين أمريكيين.

- ١٨٥٨ - ١٨٥٩ - تركيا: استعراض قوة من الأسطول على امتداد ساحل المشرق بناءً على طلب وزير الخارجية الأمريكي بعد مجزرة حلت بالأمريكيين في يافا وسوء معاملتهم في أماكن أخرى «على سبيل تذكير السلطات في تركيا بقوة الولايات المتحدة».
- ١٨٥٩ - باراغواي: وافق الكونغرس على السماح بمفرزة من البحرية للحصول على تعويض عن مهاجمة إحدى سفن الأسطول في نهر بارانا خلال عام ١٨٥٥. قدمت اعتذارات بعد استعراض كبير للقوة.
- ١٨٥٩ - المكسيك: عبّر متناً جندي أمريكي ريوغراندي في عملية ملاحقة لعصابة كورتينا المكسيكية.
- ١٨٥٩ - الصين - ٣١ تموز إلى ٢ آب: لحماية المصالح الأمريكية في شنغهاي.
- ١٨٦٠ - أنغولا، غرب أفريقيا البرتغالي - ١ آذار: لحماية الأرواح والممتلكات الأمريكية في كيسنبو عندما أصبح السكان المحليون مشاغبين.
- ١٨٦٠ - كولومبيا: خليج بنما - من ٢٧ أيلول إلى ٨ تشرين الأول: لحماية المصالح الأمريكية خلال حدوث ثورة.
- ١٨٦٣ - اليابان - ١٦ تموز: للحصول على تعويض عن إهانة العلم الأمريكي - جرى إطلاق نار على إحدى السفن الأمريكية في شيمونوسيكي.
- ١٨٦٤ - اليابان - من ١٤ تموز إلى ٣ آب على وجه التقريب: لحماية الوزير الأمريكي المفوض في اليابان عندما زار بيدو للتفاوض بشأن بعض المطالب الأمريكية من اليابان، ولجعل المفاوضات أسهل بواسطة إقناع اليابانيين بالقوة الأمريكية.
- ١٨٦٤ - اليابان - من ٤ إلى ١٤ أيلول - مضائق شيمونوسيكي: لإرغام اليابان وأمير ناغاتو بصورة خاصة على السماح باستخدام المضائق من السفن الأجنبية بموجب المعاهدات التي سبق أن وقّعت.

- ١٨٦٥ - باناما - من ٩ إلى ١٠ آذار: لحماية أرواح وممتلكات الأمريكيين القاطنين في بنما خلال حدوث ثورة.
- ١٨٦٦ - المكسيك: من أجل حماية السكان الأمريكيين تمكن الجنرال سيدجوك ومئة رجل في شهر تشرين الثاني من فرض الاستسلام على ماتاموراس. بعد ثلاثة أيام صدر إليّ أمر من الحكومة الأمريكية بالانسحاب. ألغى الرئيس الأمريكي العمل الذي قام به.
- ١٨٦٦ - الصين - من ٢٠ حزيران إلى ٧ تموز: لفرض عقوبة على اعتداء على القنصل الأمريكي في إحدى المدن. ١٤ تموز للتشاور مع السلطات على الساحل. ٩ آب، في شنغهاي للمساعدة في إخماد حريق كبير في المدينة.
- ١٨٦٧ - نيكاراغوا: احتل جنود المارينز مدينتي ماناغوا وليون.
- ١٨٦٧ - جزيرة هرموزا - ١٣ حزيران: لمعاينة جماعة من المتوحشين كان يفترض أنهم قتلوا بحارة سفينة أمريكية غارقة.
- ١٨٦٨ - اليابان (هوساكا، هيوغو، ناغازاكي، يوكوهاما، نيغاتا) - بصورة رئيسية من ٤ إلى ٨ شباط، ومن ٤ نيسان إلى ١٢ أيار، وفي ١٢ و١٣ حزيران: لحماية المصالح الأمريكية خلال حرب أهلية في اليابان سببها إلغاء الشوغونيت وإعادة الميكاد إلى العرش.
- ١٨٦٨ - الأورغواي - من ٧ إلى ٨ شباط ومن ١٩ إلى ٢٦ لحماية السكان الأجانب ومقر الجمارك خلال تمرد في مدينة مونتفيدو.
- ١٨٦٨ - كولومبيا - ٧ نيسان - في أسبينول: لحماية السكان وكنز كان في مجال العبور خلال غياب الشرطة أو الجنود بمناسبة وفاة رئيس جمهورية كولومبيا.
- ١٨٧٠ - المكسيك، من ١٧ إلى ١٨ حزيران: لتدمير سفينة فوورد وهي سفينة قراصنة كانت قد جنحت على بعد ٤٠ ميلاً في أعلى ريوتيكابان.

- ١٨٧٠ - جزر الهاواي - ٢١ أيلول: لتكيس العلم الأمريكي بمناسبة وفاة الملكة كالاما عندما لم يمارس القنصل الأمريكي في هونولولو مسؤوليته في هذا الشأن.
- ١٨٧١ - كوريا - من ١٠ إلى ١٢ حزيران: لمعاقبة السكان المحليين بسبب التعدي على أمريكيين وخاصة بسبب قتلهم بحارة السفينة (جنرال شيرمان) وإحراقهم إحدى السفن ثم لإطلاقهم النار على قوارب أمريكية أخرى صغيرة في أعلى نهر سايس.
- ١٨٧٣ - كولومبيا (خليج بنما) - من ٧ إلى ٢٢ أيار ومن ٢٣ أيلول إلى ٩ تشرين الأول: لحماية المصالح الأمريكية خلال أعمال حربية بشأن استيلاء الحكومة على دولة بنما.
- ١٨٧٣ - المكسيك: عبرت قوات أمريكية الحدود المكسيكية عدة مرات لمطاردة اللصوص. كانت هناك مطاردات متبادلة من قبل القوات المكسيكية في المنطقة الحدودية. هذه الوقائع كانت غزوات من الناحية التقنية مع أن المكسيك احتجت باستمرار. الوقائع الهامة كانت في ريمولينا في أيار ١٨٧٣ وفي لاس كوفاس في عام ١٨٧٥. أوامر واشنطن كانت في الغالب تدعم هذه الغزوات. إن الاتفاقيات التي عقدت بين المكسيك والولايات المتحدة، الأولى كانت في عام ١٨٨٢ شرعن في النهاية هذه الغارات. استمرت الغارات بصورة متقطعة، مع خلافات صغيرة، حتى عام ١٨٩٦
- ١٨٧٤ - جزر الهاواي - من ١٢ إلى ٢٠ شباط: للمحافظة على النظام وحماية أرواح الأمريكيين ومصالحهم خلال تتويج ملك جديد.
- ١٨٧٦ - المكسيك - ١٨ أيار: لحفظ النظام في بلدة ماتاموراس مؤقتاً عندما كانت تفتقر إلى حكومة أخرى.
- ١٨٨٢ - مصر - من ١٤ إلى ١٨ تموز: لحماية المصالح الأمريكية خلال حرب بين البريطانيين والمصريين ونهب مدينة الاسكندرية من قبل العرب.

- ١٨٨٥ - بنما (كولون) - من ١٨ إلى ١٩ كانون الثاني: لحراسة بضائع ذات قيمة خلال عبورها على سكك حديد بنما ولحراسة الصناديق الحديدية والمخازن التابعة للشركة خلال نشاط ثوري. في آذار ونيسان وأيار في مدينتي كولون وبنما لتأمين حرية العبور خلال نشاط ثوري.
- ١٨٨٨ - كوريا - حزيران: لحماية السكان الأمريكيين في مدينة سيؤول خلال أوضاع سياسية غير مستقرة، وكان متوقعاً آنذاك أن يتمرد السكان.
- ١٨٨٨ - هايتي - ٢١ كانون الأول: لإقناع حكومة هايتي بتسليم سفينة أمريكية كانت استولت عليها بتهمته خرق الحصار.
- ١٨٨٨ - ١٨٨٩ - ساموا - من ١٤ تشرين الثاني ١٨٨٨ حتى ٢٠ آذار ١٨٨٩: لحماية المواطنين الأمريكيين والقنصلية الأمريكية خلال حرب أهلية.
- ١٨٨٩ - جزر الهاواي - ٣٠ و ٣١ تموز: لحماية المصالح الأمريكية في هونولولو خلال حدوث ثورة.
- ١٨٩٠ - الأرجنتين: نزلت مجموعة من الأسطول الأمريكي على البر لحماية القنصلية والمفوضية الأمريكية في بونس آيرس.
- ١٨٩١ - هايتي: لحماية أرواح وممتلكات الأمريكيين في جزيرة ناباسا.
- ١٨٩١ - بحر بيرنغ - من ٢ تموز إلى ٥ تشرين الأول لوقف قتل سباع البحر.
- ١٨٩١ - تشيلي - من ٢٨ إلى ٣٠ آب: لحماية القنصلية الأميركية والنساء والأطفال الأميركيين الذين لجؤوا إليها خلال ثورة في مدينة فالبارايزو.
- ١٨٩٣ - الهاواي - من ١٦ كانون الثاني إلى أول نيسان: في الظاهر كانت العملية لحماية الأرواح والممتلكات الأميركية، واقعياً كانت لتعزيز حكومة انتقالية برئاسة سانغورد دول. هذا العمل تنكرت له الولايات المتحدة.

- ١٨٩٤ - البرازيل - كانون الثاني: لحماية التجارة والملاحة الأمريكيتين في ريوديجانيرو خلال حرب أهلية برازيلية. لم يحدث إنزال قوات على البر ولكن كان هناك عرض لقوة الأسطول.
- ١٨٩٤ - نيكاراغوا - من ٦ تموز حتى ٧ آب: لحماية المصالح الأمريكية في ساحات المعارك عقب حدوث ثورة.
- ١٨٩٤ - ١٨٩٥ - الصين: رابطة قوات من جنود المارينز في تيانسنغ وتوغلت حتى بكين لفرض الحماية خلال الحرب الصينية اليابانية.
- ١٨٩٤ - ١٨٩٥ - الصين: إحدى سفن الأسطول رابطة على الشاطئ واستخدمت كقلعة لحماية مواطنين أمريكيين.
- ١٨٩٤ - ١٨٩٦ - كوريا - من ٢٤ تموز ١٨٩٤ حتى ٣ نيسان ١٨٩٦: لحماية الأرواح والمصالح الأمريكية في سيؤول خلال وبعد الحرب الصينية اليابانية. بقي حرس من رجال المارينز في المفوضية الأمريكية معظم الوقت حتى نيسان ١٨٩٦.
- ١٨٩٥ - كولومبيا - من ٨ آذار حتى التاسع منه: لحماية المصالح الأمريكية خلال هجوم على بلدة بوكاس دل تورو من قبل أحد زعماء العصابات.
- ١٨٩٦ - نيكاراغوا - ٢ إلى ٤ أيار: لحماية المصالح الأمريكية في كورنتو خلال اضطرابات سياسية.
- ١٨٩٨ - نيكاراغوا - ٧ و ٨ شباط: لحماية أرواح الأمريكيين وممتلكاتهم في سان خوان دل سور.
- ١٨٩٨ - إسبانيا: الحرب الإسبانية الأمريكية. أُعلنت بالكامل.
- ١٨٩٨ - ١٨٩٩ - الصين - من ٥ تشرين الثاني ١٨٩٨ إلى ١٤ آذار ١٨٩٩: لتوفير حراسة للمفوضية الأمريكية في بكين والقنصلية الأمريكية في تيانسين خلال صراع بين الامبراطورة الأرملة وابنتها.

- ١٨٩٩ - نيكاراغوا: لحماية المصالح الأمريكية في سان خوان دل نورت. من ٢٢ شباط إلى ٥ آذار في بلو نيلدز بعد بضعة أسابيع بشأن تمرد من قبل الجنرال خوان رايس.
- ١٨٩٩ - ساموا - من ١٣ آذار حتى ١٥ أيار: لحماية المصالح الأمريكية والمشاركة في صراع دموي على الخلافة إلى العرش.
- ١٨٩٩ - ١٩٠١ - جزر الفيليبين: لحماية المصالح الأمريكية عقب الحرب مع إسبانيا والسيطرة على الجزر بواسطة إلحاق هزيمة بالفيليبينيين في حربهم من أجل الإستقلال.
- ١٩٠٠ - الصين - من ٢٤ أيار إلى ٢٨ أيلول: لحماية أرواح الأجانب خلال انتفاضة البوكسر، ولاسيما في بكين. على مدى سنوات عديدة بعد هزيمة التجربة وُضع حرس دائم في المفوضية الأمريكية في بكين وجرى تعزيزه مرات عندما كانت تبرز مشاكل. كان لا يزال هناك في عام ١٩٣٤
- ١٩٠١ - كولومبيا - (دولة بنما) من ٢٠ تشرين الثاني حتى ٤ كانون الأول: لحماية الممتلكات الأمريكية في البرزخ ولإبقاء خطوط العبور مفتوحة خلال اضطرابات ثورية خطيرة.
- ١٩٠٢ - كولومبيا - (دولة بنما) - من ١٧ أيلول حتى ١٨ تشرين الثاني: لوضع حراس مسلحين في جميع القطارات التي تعبر البرزخ ولإبقاء السكة الحديدية مفتوحة.
- ١٩٠٣ - هندوراس - من ٢٣ آذار حتى ٣٠ أو ٣١ آذار: لحماية القنصلية الأمريكية ورسيف البواخر في بويرتو كوريتز خلال فترة النشاط الثوري.
- ١٩٠٣ - سوريا - من ٧ إلى ١٢ أيلول: لحماية القنصلية الأمريكية في بيروت عندما كان يُخشى قيام إنتفاضة من قبل السكان المسلمين المحليين.
- ١٩٠٣ - ١٩٠٤ - الحبشة: أُرسل خمسة وعشرون جندياً من المارينز إلى الحبشة لحماية القنصل العام الأمريكي خلال تفاوضه حول توقيع معاهدة.

- ١٩٠٣ - ١٩١٤ - بينما: لحماية المصالح الأمريكية وأرواح الأمريكيين خلال وعقب الثورة من أجل استقلال من كولومبيا وبشأن بناء قنال في البرزخ. وُضع جنود المارينز على البرزخ من ٤ تشرين الثاني ١٩٠٣ حتى ٢١ كانون الثاني ١٩١٤ لحراسة المصالح الأمريكية.
- ١٩٠٤ - جمهورية الدومينيكان من ٢ كانون الثاني حتى ١١ شباط: لحماية المصالح الأمريكية في بويرتو بلاتا وفي سوسوا ومدينة سانتو دومينغو خلال قتال ثوري.
- ١٩٠٤ - طنجا - المغرب «نريد إما برديكاريس حياً أو رايسولا ميتاً» مظاهرة قام بها فصيل لتحرير جندي مارينز أمريكي مخطوف ولحماية القنصل الأمريكي العام.
- ١٩٠٤ - بنما من ١٧ تشرين الثاني حتى ٢٤ منه: لحماية أرواح الأمريكيين وممتلكاتهم في أنكون عندما كان هناك خطر تمرد.
- ١٩٠٤ - ١٩٠٥ - كوريا من ٥ كانون الثاني ١٩٠٤ حتى ١١ تشرين الثاني ١٩٠٥ لحماية المفاوضات الأمريكية في سيؤول.
- ١٩٠٤ - ١٩٠٥ - كوريا: تم إرسال حرس من المارينز إلى سيؤول لتوفير الحماية خلال الحرب الروسية اليابانية.
- ١٩٠٦ - ١٩٠٩ - كوبا - من أيلول ١٩٠٦ حتى ٢٣ كانون الثاني ١٩٠٩ تدخل لإعادة النظام، وحماية الأجانب، وإقامة حكومة مستقرة عقب نشاط ثوري خطير.
- ١٩٠٧ - هندوراس - من ٨ آذار حتى ٨ حزيران: لحماية المصالح الأمريكية خلال حرب بين هندوراس ونيكاراغوا، وقد رابط الجنود لمدة بضعة أيام أو أسابيع في تروخيأو، سايبا، بويرتوكورتز، سان بيدرو، لاغونا وشولوما.
- ١٩١٠ - نيكاراغوا - ٢٢ شباط: خلال حرب أهلية للحصول على معلومات عن الأوضاع في كورنتو، ومن ١٩ أيار إلى ٤ أيلول لحماية المصالح الأمريكية في بلوفيلدس.

- ١٩١١ - هندوراس - ٢٦ كانون الثاني ولبضعة أسابيع بعد ذلك: لحماية أرواح الأمريكيين ومصالحهم خلال حرب أهلية في هندوراس.
- ١٩١١ - الصين - الاقتراب من مسارح الثورة الوطنية. قائد وعشرة رجال حاولوا في تشرين الأول دخول ووتشنغ لإنقاذ أعضاء إرساليات ولكنهم انسحبوا بعد توجيه إنذار إليهم بالابتعاد. قامت قوة إنزال صغيرة بحراسة ممتلكات أميركية خاصة والقنصلية الأميركية في هانكاو في شهر تشرين الأول. وُضع حرس من رجال المارينز خلال شهر تشرين الثاني على محطات اللاسلكي في شنغهاي. أرسلت قوات إنزال للحماية في نانكين، وشينكيانغ، وتاكو وأماكن أخرى.
- ١٩١٢ - هندوراس - نزلت إلى البر قوة صغيرة للحيلولة دون استيلاء الحكومة على خط سكة حديد يملكه أميركيون في كوبرتو كورتيز. سُحبت القوات بعد أن ألغت الولايات المتحدة الموافقة على العمل.
- ١٩١٢ - بنما- أشرفت قوات على انتخابات جرت خارج منطقة القنال بناء على طلب كلا الحزبين السياسيين.
- ١٩١٢ - كوبا - من ٥ حزيران إلى ٥ آب لحماية المصالح الأميركية في مقاطعة أوريانتي وفي هافانا.
- ١٩١٢ - الصين - من ٢٤ إلى ٢٦ آب على جزيرة كينتوكي ومن ٢٦ إلى ٣٠ آب في كامب نيكولسون: لحماية الأمريكيين والمصالح الأميركية خلال نشاط ثوري.
- ١٩١٢ - تركيا - من ١٨ تشرين الثاني حتى ٣ كانون الأول: لحراسة المفوضية الأميركية في القسطنطينية خلال حرب البلقان.
- ١٩١٢ - ١٩٢٥ نيكاراغوا - من آب إلى تشرين الثاني ١٩١٢ لحماية المصالح الأميركية خلال محاولة للثورة. بقيت قوة صغيرة تقوم بحراسة المفوضية وتعمل كراهية للسلام والاستقرار الحكومي حتى ٥ آب , ١٩٢٥

● ١٩١٢ - ١٩٤١ - الصين: الاضطرابات التي بدأت بتمرد الكومنتانغ في عام ١٩١٢، والذي تغيرت وجهته بواسطة غزو اليابان للصين، انتهت كلياً بواسطة الحرب بين اليابان والولايات المتحدة في عام ١٩٤١، أدت إلى تظاهرات وفرق إنزال على البر لحماية المصالح الأمريكية في الصين بصورة مستمرة وفي نقاط عديدة من عام ١٩١٢ حتى عام ١٩٤١. استمر الحرس في بكين وعلى طول الطريق إلى البحر حتى عام ١٩٤١. كان للولايات المتحدة في عام ١٩٢٧ (٦٧٠.٥) جندياً على ساحل الصين و٤٤ سفينة من سفن الأسطول في المياه الصينية.. في عام ١٩٣٣ كان للولايات المتحدة ٢٧,٣ رجلاً مسلحاً على شواطئ الصين. أعمال الحماية هذه كلها كانت بموجب أحكام عامة تستند إلى معاهدات مع الصين تراوحت من عام ١٨٥٨ حتى عام ١٩٠١.

● ١٩١٣ - المكسيك - من ٥ إلى ٧ أيلول نزل إلى البر بضعة جنود من المارينز في كلاديس استيرو للمساعدة في إجلاء مواطنين أمريكيين وغيرهم من وادي ياكوي الذي صار خطراً بالنسبة للأجانب بسبب نزاع أهلي.

● ١٩١٤ - هايتي - من ٢٩ كانون الثاني حتى ٩ شباط، ومن ٢٠ إلى ٢١ شباط وفي ١٩ تشرين الأول: لحماية مواطنين أمريكيين في زمن اضطرابات خطر.

● ١٩١٤ - جمهورية الدومينيكان - شهر حزيران وشهر تموز: خلال حركة ثورية، أوقفت قوات الأسطول الأمريكي بقوة نيرانها القصف الذي تعرضت له بويرتو بلاتا، وحافظت بواسطة التهديد باستخدام القوة، على مدينة سانتو دومنغو كمنطقة محايدة.

● ١٩١٤ - ١٩١٧ - المكسيك: الأعمال الحربية غير المعلنة بين المكسيك وأمريكا التي أعقبت قضية دولفين والقارات على فيلا شملت الاستيلاء على فيرا كروز ثم تبعت ذلك حملة برشينغ على شمال المكسيك.

● ١٩١٥ - ١٩٣٤ - هايتي - من ٢٨ تموز ١٩١٣ حتى ١٥ آب ١٩٣٤، للمحافظة على النظام خلال مدة من التمرد المزمع والتهديد به.

- ١٩١٦ - الصين: نزلت قوات أمريكية على البر لإخماد أعمال شغب حدثت في ممتلكات أمريكية في نانكين.
- ١٩١٦ - ١٩٢٤ - جمهورية الدومينيكان - من أيار ١٩١٦ حتى أيلول ١٩٢٤: للحفاظ على النظام خلال مدة من التمرد المزمع والتهديد به.
- ١٩١٧ - الصين: نزلت على البر قوات أمريكية في نشونغكين لحماية أرواح الأمريكيين خلال أزمة سياسية.
- ١٩١٧ - ١٩١٨: الحرب العالمية الأولى. أعلنت بالكامل.
- ١٩١٧ - ١٩٢٢ - كوبا: لحماية المصالح الأمريكية خلال تمرد أعقبته أوضاع غير مستقرة. معظم القوات المسلحة الأمريكية غادرت كوبا بحلول شهر آب ١٩١٩، ولكن بقيت مفرزتان في كاماغوي حتى شهر شباط، ١٩٢٢.
- ١٩١٨ - ١٩١٩ - المكسيك: بعد انسحاب حملة برشينغ دخلت قواتنا المكسيك لملاحقة رجال عصابات ثلاث مرات على الأقل في عام ١٩١٨ وست مرات في عام ١٩١٩. في شهر آب ١٩١٨ تقاطت قوات أمريكية ومكسيكية في نوغاليس.
- ١٩١٨ - ١٩٢٠ - بنما: للقيام بمهام الشرطة بموجب أحكام معاهدة، في شيريكوي، خلال اضطرابات صاحبت انتخابات وقلقل لاحقة.
- ١٩١٨ - ١٩٢٠ - روسيا السوفيتية: نزلت قوات مارينز على البر في مدينة فلاديفوستوك وبالقرب منها في شهري حزيران وتموز لحماية القنصلية الأمريكية ونقاط أخرى في القتال الدائر بين الجنود البلشفيك والجيش التشيكي الذي دخل سيبيريا من الجبهة الغربية. جرى إعلان مشترك بحكومة طوارئ وحياد من قبل القادة العسكريين الأمريكي والبريطاني، والياباني، والفرنسي والتشيكي في شهر تموز، وبقي جنودنا حتى أواخر شهر آب.
- توسع المشروع في شهر آب. آنذاك جرى إنزال ٧,٠٠٠ رجل إلى البر في فلاديفوستوك وظلوا هناك حتى شهر كانون الثاني ١٩٢٠ كجزء من قوات احتلال حليفة.

في شهر أيلول ١٩١٨، انضم ٥,٠٠٠ جندي أمريكي إلى قوة التدخل الحليفة في أركانجيل، ووقعت في صفوفهم ٥٠٠ إصابة، وظلوا هناك حتى حزيران ١٩١٩ شارك عدد قليل من جنود المارينز قبل ذلك في عملية إنزال بريطانية على ساحل مورمان (قرب النروج) ولكن بصورة عابرة.

جميع هذه العمليات أثرت سلبياً على الثورة البلشفية في روسيا وساندها جزئياً عناصر من قوات القيصر وكيرنسكي. لم تعلن حرب. شاركت معنا عناصر بلشفية مع ذلك ظلت روسيا السوفييتية تطالب بتعويض عن الأضرار.

● ١٩١٩ - دالاسيا: نزلت قوات أمريكا على البر في تراو بناء على طلب السلطات الإيطالية للإشراف على حفظ النظام بين الإيطاليين والصرب.

● ١٩١٩ - تركيا: قوة مارينز من السفينة الحربية الأمريكية أريزونا نزلت إلى البر لحراسة القنصلية الأمريكية خلال احتلال اليونان لمدينة القسطنطينية.

● ١٩١٩ - هندوراس - من ٨ إلى ١٢ أيلول: نزلت قوة على الشاطئ للمحافظة على النظام في منطقة محايدة خلال محاولة للثورة.

● ١٩٢٠ - الصين - ١٤ آذار - قوة إنزال أرسلت إلى الشاطئ بضع ساعات لحماية الأرواح خلال اضطرابات في كنيانغ.

● ١٩٢٠ - غواتيمالا - من ٩ إلى ٢٧ نيسان: لحماية المفوضية الأمريكية ومصالح أمريكية أخرى كمحطة البرقيات، خلال فترة من القتال بين الوندويين وحكومة غواتيمالا.

● ١٩٢٠ - روسيا (سيبيريا) - من ١٦ شباط ١٩٢٠ حتى ١٩ تشرين الثاني ١٩٢٢: حرس من المارينز لحماية محطة الإذاعة الأمريكية وممتلكات أمريكية على جزيرة روسية، خليج فلادفيوستوك.

● ١٩٢١ - بنما كوستاريكا: مفرزة من الأسطول الأمريكي تظاهرت في نيسان على كلا جانبي البرزخ لمنع الحرب بين البلدين بسبب خلاف على الحدود.

- ١٩٢٢ - تركيا - أيلول وتشيرين الأول: أرسلت قوة إنزال على الشاطئ بموافقة السلطات اليونانية والتركية، لحماية أرواح وممتلكات الأمريكيين عندما دخل الوطنيون الأتراك أزمير.
- ١٩٢٢ - ١٩٢٣ - الصين: بين نيسان ١٩٢٢ وتشيرين الثاني ١٩٢٣ نزل جنود المارينز على البر خمس مرات لحماية الأمريكيين خلال فترات عدم استقرار.
- ١٩٢٤ - هندوراس - من شباط حتى ٣١ آذار، ومن ١٠ إلى ١٥ أيلول لحماية أرواح ومصالح الأمريكيين خلال أعمال قتالية بسبب انتخابات.
- ١٩٢٤ - الصين: نزل جنود من المارينز على البر لحماية أمريكيين وأجانب آخرين في شنغهاي خلال أعمال قتالية بين فئات صينية.
- ١٩٢٥ - الصين - من ١٥ كانون الثاني حتى ٢٩ آب: مقاتلة الفئات الصينية مصحوبة بأعمال شغب ومظاهرات في شنغهاي استلزمت إنزال قوات أمريكية لحماية الأرواح والممتلكات في المستوطنة الدولية.
- ١٩٢٥ - هندوراس - من ١٩ إلى ٢١ نيسان: لحماية الأجانب في لاسيبا خلال انتفاضة سياسية.
- ١٩٢٥ - بنما - من ١٢ إلى ٢٣ تشيرين الأول: إضرابات وأعمال شغب بسبب الإجراءات أدت إلى إنزال نحو ٦٠٠ جندي أمريكي على البر لحفظ النظام وحماية المصالح الأمريكية.
- ١٩٢٦ - الصين - آب وأيلول: الهجوم الوطني على هانكاو استلزم نزول قوات من الأسطول الأمريكي على البر لحماية المواطنين الأمريكيين. وضعت قوة حراسة صغيرة في القنصلية العامة الأمريكية و بقيت حتى ما بعد ١٦ أيلول، عندما سحبت بقية القوات. وعلى غرار ذلك، عندما استولت القوات الوطنية على كتيكانغ، أرسلت قوات من البحرية إلى البر لحماية الأجانب من ٤ إلى ٦ تشيرين الثاني.

● ١٩٢٦ - ١٩٣٣ - نيكاراغوا - من ٧ أيار إلى ٥ حزيران ١٩٢٦، ومن ٢٧ آب ١٩٢٦ إلى ٣ كانون الثاني ١٩٣٣: الانقلاب الذي قاده الجنرال شامورو أثار أنشطة فورية أدت إلى إنزال جنود من المارينز على البر لحماية مصالح الولايات المتحدة. جاءت القوات الأمريكية وغادرت ولكن بدا أنها لم تغادر البلد نهائياً حتى ٣ كانون الثاني ١٩٣٣. عمل هذه القوات شمل نشاطاً ضد الزعيم ساندينو الخارج على القانون في عام ١٩٢٨.

● ١٩٢٧ - الصين - شباط: تسبب القتال في شنغهاي بزيادة عدد قوات الأسطول الأمريكي والمارينز هناك، في شهر آذار رابطت قوة حراسة من الأسطول في القنصلية الأمريكية في نانكين بعد استيلاء القوات الوطنية على المدينة. بعد ذلك استخدمت مدمرتان أمريكية وبريطانية نيران المدافع لحماية الأمريكيين وغيرهم من الأجانب. «عقب هذا الحادث صدرت أوامر إلى قوات إضافية من المارينز وسفن الأسطول بالتوجه إلى الصين وربطت في جوار شنغهاي وتيانستين».

● ١٩٣٢ - الصين - نزلت قوات أمريكية إلى البر لحماية المصالح الأمريكية خلال احتلال اليابان لمدينة شنغهاي.

● ١٩٣٣ - كوبا - خلال ثورة ضد الرئيس جيراردو ماشادو تظاهرت قوات بحرية ولكن لم يحدث إنزال على البر.

● ١٩٣٤ - الصين - نزلت قوات من المارينز في فوتشاو لحماية القنصلية الأمريكية.

● ١٩٤٠ - نيوفاندلاند، برمودا، سانت لوسيا، الباهاما، جمايكا، انتيغوا وترينيداد غويانا البريطانية: أرسلت قوات لحراسة القواعد الجوية والبحرية التي تم الحصول عليها من خلال مفاوضات مع بريطانيا العظمى. هذه القواعد كانت تسمى أحياناً قوات مستأجرة.

● ١٩٤١ - غرينلاند - وضعت تحت حماية الولايات المتحدة في نيسان.

● ١٩٤١ - هولندا (غيانا الهولندية): أمر الرئيس الأمريكي في شهر تشرين الثاني قوات أمريكية باحتلال غيانا الهولندية، ولكن بموجب اتفاقية مع الحكومة

الهولندية في المنفى، تعاونت البرازيل في حماية خام الألمنيوم الوارد من مناجم البوكسيت في سورينام.

● ١٩٤١ - أيسلندا - وضعت تحت حماية الولايات المتحدة بموافقة حكومتها، لأسباب استراتيجية.

● ١٩٤١ - ألمانيا - في وقت ما من فصل الربيع أمر الرئيس الأمريكي الأسطول القيام بأعمال الدورية في طرق الملاحة البحرية إلى أوروبا. مع حلول شهر تموز كانت السفن الحربية الأمريكية تقوم بالمرافقة ومع حلول شهر أيلول كانت تهاجم الغواصات الألمانية. لم يكن لهذه الأعمال تفويض من الكونغرس ولم يكن هناك إعلان حرب. في شهر تشرين الثاني جرى إلغاء جزئي لقانون الحياد لحماية المساعدة المقدمة إلى بريطانيا وروسيا الخ.

● ١٩٤١ - ١٩٤٥: ألمانيا، وإيطاليا واليابان الخ. الحرب العالمية الثانية أعلنت نهائياً.



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الملحق رقم ٣:

مؤامرات دبرتها الحكومة الأمريكية لأعمال اغتيال

● بتاريخ ٢٦ حزيران، ١٩٩٣ شنت الولايات المتحدة هجوماً بالطائرات على العراق انتقاماً من مؤامرة عراقية مزعومة لاغتيال الرئيس الأمريكي السابق جورج بوش. قال الرئيس كلينتون «أن الهجوم كان أساسياً لتوجيه رسالة إلى الذين ينخرطون في إرهاب الدولة.. ولتأكيد توقع سلوك حضاري بين الأمم».

فيما يلي قائمة بأسماء أفراد أجانب تورطت الولايات المتحدة في اغتيالهم (أو خططت لاغتيالهم) منذ نهاية الحرب العالمية الثانية. هذه القائمة لا تشمل أعمال اغتيال عديدة في أنحاء مختلفة من العالم نفذها كوبيون معادون لكاسترو كانت تستخدمهم وكالة المخابرات المركزية ومقرهم الرئيسي في الولايات المتحدة.

● ١٩٤٩ - كيم كو، زعيم المعارضة الكوري.

● في الخمسينيات أعدت وكالة المخابرات المركزية والنازيون الجدد قائمة تتضمن أسماء أكثر من مئتي شخصية سياسية في ألمانيا الغربية «لإزاحتهم من الطريق» في حالة حدوث غزو سوفيتي.

● في الخمسينيات جرت عدة محاولات لاغتيال تشو انلاي، رئيس وزراء الصين.

● ١٩٥٠ - ١٩٦٢ - سوكارنو رئيس جمهورية أندونيسيا.

● ١٩٥١ - كيم ايل سونغ رئيس وزراء كوريا الشمالية.

● ١٩٥٣ - محمد مصدق، رئيس وزراء إيران.

● ١٩٥٥ - كلارو ركتو زعيم المعارضة في الفلبين.

- ١٩٥٥ - جواهر لال نهرو، رئيس وزراء الهند.
- ١٩٥٧ - جمال عبد الناصر رئيس جمهورية مصر.
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- الخمسينيات والسبعينيات من القرن العشرين - خوسيه فيغرس، رئيس جمهورية كوستاريكا، جرت محاولتان لاغتياله.
- ١٩٦١ - فرانسوا «باباروك» دوفاليه، زعيم هايتي.
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- ١٩٧٢ - الجنرال مانويل موربيغا، رئيس المخابرات في بنما.

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Notes

Introduction

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- 13 This has been well documented and would be "common knowledge" if not for its shameful implications. See, e.g., the British Cabinet papers for 1939, summarized in the *Manchester Guardian*, 1 January 1970; also Fleming, *The Cold War*, pp. 48-97.
- 14 Related by former French Foreign Minister Christian Pineau in a recorded interview for the Dulles Oral History Project, Princeton University Library; cited in Roger Morgan, *The United States and West Germany, 1945-1973: A Study in Alliance Politics* (Oxford University Press, London, 1974), p. 54, my translation from the French.
- 15 Michael Parenti, *The Anti-Communist Impulse* (Random House, NY, 1969) p. 35.
- 16 John Stockwell, *In Search of Enemies* (New York, 1978), p. 101. The expressions "CIA officer" or "case officer" are used throughout the present book to denote regular, full-time, career employees of the Agency, as opposed to "agent", someone working for the CIA on an ad hoc basis. Other sources which are quoted, it will be seen, tend to incorrectly use the word "agent" to cover both categories.
- 17 *Ibid.*, p. 238.
- 18 Kwame Nkrumah, *Dark Days in Ghana* (London, 1968), pp. 71-2.
- 19 The full quotation is from the *New York Times*, 11 January 1969, p. 1; the inside quotation is that of the National Commission.
- 20 *Mother Jones magazine* (San Francisco), April 1981, p. 5.
- 21 *San Francisco Chronicle*, 14 January 1982, p. 2.
- 22 Richard F. Grimmett, *Reported Foreign and Domestic Covert Activities of the United States Central Intelligence Agency: 1950-1974*, (Library of Congress) 18 February 1975.
- 23 *The Pentagon Papers* (N.Y. Times edition, 1971), p. xiii.
- 24 Speech before the World Affairs Council at the University of Pennsylvania, 13 January 1950, cited in the Republican Congressional Committee Newsletter, 20 September 1965.
- 25 Robert Scheer, *Los Angeles Times Book Review*, 27 September 1992, review of Georgi Arbatov, *The System: An Insider's Life in Soviet Politics* (Times Books, New York, 1992)
- 26 *International Herald Tribune*, 29 October 1992, p. 4.
- 27 *The New Yorker*, 2 November 1992, p. 6.
- 28 *Los Angeles Times*, 2 December 1988: emigration of Soviet Jews peaked at 51,330 in 1979 and fell to about 1,000 a year in the mid-1980s during the Reagan administration (1981-89); in 1988 it was at 16,572.
- 29 a) Frank Kofsky, *Harry S. Truman and the War Scare of 1948: A Successful Campaign to Deceive the Nation* (St. Martin's Press, New York, 1993), passim, particularly Appendix A; the book is replete with portions of such documents written by diplomatic, intelligence and military analysts in the 1940s; the war scare was undertaken to push through the administration's foreign policy program, inaugurate a huge military buildup, and bail out the near-bankrupt aircraft industry.
b) *Declassified Documents Reference System*: indexes, abstracts, and documents on microfiche, annual series, arranged by particular government agencies and year of declassification.
c) *Foreign Relations of the United States* (Department of State), annual series, internal documents published about 25 to 35 years after the fact.
- 30 *Los Angeles Times*, 29 December 1991, p. M1.
- 31 *The Guardian* (London), 10 October 1983, p. 9.
- 32 a) Anne H. Cahn, "How We Got Oversold on Overkill", *Los Angeles Times*, 23 July 1993, based on testimony before Congress, 10 June 1993, of Eleanor Chelimsky, Assistant Comptroller-General of the General Accounting Office, about a GAO study; see related story in *New York Times*, 28 June 1993, p.10
b) *Los Angeles Times*, 15 September 1991, p. 1; 26 October 1991.
c) *The Guardian* (London), 4 March 1983; 20 January 1984; 3 April 1986.

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- d) Arthur Macy Cox, "Why the U.S., Since 1977, Has Been Misperceiving Soviet Military Strength", *New York Times*, 20 October 1980, p. 19; Cox was formerly an official with the State Department and the CIA.
- 33 For further discussion of these points, see:
- a) Walden Bello, *Dark Victory: The United States, Structural Adjustment and Global Poverty* (Institute for Food and Development Policy, Oakland, CA, 1994), passim.
 - b) *Multinational Monitor* (Washington), July/August 1994, special issue on The World Bank.
 - c) Doug Henwood, "The U.S. Economy: The Enemy Within", *Covert Action Quarterly* (Washington, DC), Summer 1992, No. 41, pp. 45-9.
 - d) Joel Bleifuss, "The Death of Nations", *In These Times* (Chicago) 27 June - 10 July 1994, p. 12 (UN Code).
1. CHINA 1945 to 1960s
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 2. Chiang's policies during and after war: Smith, pp. 259-82; *New York Times*, 19 December 1945, p. 2.
 3. Harry S. Truman, *Memoirs, Vol. Two: Years of Trial and Hope, 1946-1953* (Great Britain, 1956), p. 66.
 4. Smith, p. 282.
 5. D.F. Fleming, *The Cold War and its Origins, 1917-1960* (New York, 1961), p. 570.
 6. *New York Times*, September-December 1945, passim; Barbara W. Tuchman, *Stilwell and the American Experience in China 1911-45* (New York, 1972), pp. 666-77.
 7. *Congressional Record*, Appendix, Vol. 92, part 9, 24 January 1946, p. A225, letter to Congressman Hugh de Lacy of State of Washington.
 8. *New York Times*, 6 November 1945, p. 1; 19 December 1945, p. 2.
 9. *Ibid.*, 9 December 1945, p. 24; 26 December 1945, p. 5.
 10. *Ibid.*, 26 December 1945, p. 5.
 11. Fleming, p. 587.
 12. Christopher Robbins, *Air America* (U.S., 1979), pp. 46-57; Victor Marchetti and John Marks, *The CIA and the Cult of Intelligence* (New York, 1975), p. 149.
 13. Hearings held in executive session before the US Senate Foreign Relations Committee during 1949-50: *Economic Assistance to China and Korea 1949-50*, testimony of Dean Acheson, p. 23; made public January 1974 as part of the Historical Series.
 14. Tuchman, p. 676.
 15. For some detail of the oppression and atrocities carried out by the Chiang regime against the Taiwanese, see Scott Anderson and Jon Lee Anderson, *Inside the League* (New York, 1986), pp. 47-9, citing prominent American Generals and a State Department official who was in Taiwan at the time. Also see Fleming, p. 578-9. In 1992, the Taiwan government admitted that its army had killed an estimated 18,000 to 28,000 native-born Taiwanese in the 1947 massacre. (*Los Angeles Times*, 24 February 1992).
 16. Felix Greene, *A Curtain of Ignorance* (New York, 1964)
 17. Tuchman, p. 676; Fleming, pp. 572-4, 577, 584-5; Milovan Djilas, *Conversations with Stalin* (London, 1962), p. 164; *New York Times*, 7 November 1945, p. 12; 14 November, p. 1; 21 November, p.2; 28 November, p. 1; 30 November, p. 3; 2 December, p. 34.
 18. *New York Times*, 12 January 1947, p. 44.
 19. William Manchester, *American Caesar: Douglas MacArthur 1880-1964* (London, 1979), p. 535.
 20. *Foreign Relations of the United States, 1949, Vol. VIII, The Far East: China* (U.S. Government Printing Office, Washington, 1978), passim between pp. 357 and 399; 768, 779-80; publication of this volume in the State Department's series was held up precisely because it contained the reports about Chou En-Lai's request (*San Francisco Chronicle*, 27 September 1978, p. F-1).
 21. See Indonesia 1957-1958 chapter and *The Guardian* (London), 24 August 1985.
 22. *New York Times*, 25 April 1966, p. 20.
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 24. *Washington Post*, 20 August 1958, Joseph Alsop, a columnist who had been a staff officer under General Chennault and was well connected with Taiwan. Over the years he performed a variety of undercover tasks for the CIA, as did his brother Stewart Alsop. (see Carl Bernstein, "The CIA and the Media", *Rolling Stone* magazine, 20 October 1977.)
 25. Quemoy and Matsu: Stewart Alsop (formerly with the OSS; also see note 24), "The Story Behind Quemoy: How We Drifted Close to War", *Saturday Evening Post*, 13 December 1958, p. 26; Andrew Tulley, *CIA: The Inside Story* (New York, 1962), pp. 162-5; Fleming, pp. 930-1; Wise and Ross, p. 116; *New York Times*, 27 April 1966, p. 28.
 26. Wise and Ross, p. 114.
 27. Air drops: Wise and Ross, pp. 112-5; Thomas Powers, *The Man Who Kept the Secrets* (New York, 1979), pp. 43-4; *Newsweek*, 26 March 1973.

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28. Overflights: Marchetti and Marks, pp. 150, 287; *Washington Post*, 27 May 1966; *New York Times*, 28 March 1969, p. 40.
 29. *Foreign Relations of the United States, 1943, China* (U.S. Government Printing Office, Washington, 1957), p. 630.
 30. Tibet: David Wise, *The Politics of Lying* (New York, 1973, paperback edition), pp. 239-54; Robbins, pp. 94-101; Marchetti and Marks, pp. 128-31 and p. 97 of the 1983 edition.
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 32. Callum A. MacDonald, *Korea: The War Before Vietnam* (New York, 1986), pp. 161-2, cites several sources for this well known occurrence.
 33. Germ Warfare: *People's China*, 1952, passim, beginning 16 March.
 34. *New York Times*, 9 August 1970, IV, p. 3.
 35. *Washington Post*, 17 December 1979, p. A18, "whooping cough cases recorded in Florida jumped from 339 and one death in 1954 to 1,080 and 12 deaths in 1955." The CIA received the bacteria from the Army's biological research center at Fort Detrick, Md.
 36. *San Francisco Chronicle*, 4 December 1979, p. 12. For a detailed account of US Government experiments with biological agents within the United States, see: Leonard A. Cole, *Clouds of Secrecy: The Army's Germ Warfare Tests over Populated Areas* (Maryland, 1990), passim.
 37. *Department of State Bulletin*, 2 May 1966.
2. ITALY 1947-1948
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 2. Robert T. Holt and Robert W. van de Velde, *Strategic Psychological Operations and American Foreign Policy* (University of Chicago Press, 1960) p. 169.
 3. Dissolving the cabinet: *New York Times*, 21 January 1947, p. 5; 26 January, p. 31; 3 February, p. 1; 5 May, p. 13; 13 May; 14 May; 29 May, p.3; 2 June, p. 24.
 4. *New York Times*, 5 May 1947, p. 1; 11 May, IV, p. 5; 14 May, pp. 14 and 24; 17 May, p. 8; 18 May, IV, p. 4; 20 May, p. 2; Howard K. Smith, *The State of Europe* (London, 1950), p. 151 (includes Ramadier quote; similar quote in *New York Times*, 20 May).
 5. *Time*, 22 March 1948, p. 35.
 6. William Colby, *Honorable Men: My Life in the CIA* (New York, 1978), p. 109.
 7. Except where otherwise indicated, the items in the succeeding list are derived from the following:
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 - b) Howard K. Smith, pp. 198-219;
 - c) William E. Daugherty and Morris Janowitz, *A Psychological Warfare Casebook* (Johns Hopkins Press, Baltimore, 1958), pp. 319-26;
 - d) Holt and van de Velde, pp. 159-205;
 - e) E. Edda Martinez and Edward A. Suchman, "Letters from America and the 1948 Elections in Italy", *The Public Opinion Quarterly* (Princeton University), Spring 1950, pp. 111-25.
 8. Cited in Smith, p. 202, no date of issue given.
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 10. Miles Copeland, *Without Cloak and Dagger* (New York, 1974), pp. 235-6; also published as *The Real Spy World*.
 11. CIA memorandum to the Forty Committee (National Security Council), presented to the Select Committee on Intelligence, US House of Representatives (The Pike Committee) during closed hearings held in 1975. The bulk of the committee's report which contained this memorandum was leaked to the press in February 1976 and first appeared in book form as *CIA — The Pike Report* (Nottingham, England, 1977). The memorandum appears on pp. 204-5 of this book. (See also: Notes: Iraq.)
 12. Stephen Goode, *The CIA* (Franklin Watts, Inc., New York, 1982), p. 45; William R. Corson, *The Armies of Ignorance: The Rise of the American Intelligence Empire* (The Dial Press, New York, 1977) pp. 298-9. Corson had an extensive career in military intelligence and was Staff Secretary of the President's Special Group Joint DOD-CIA Committee on Counterinsurgency R & D.
 13. *Public Papers of the Presidents of the United States: Harry S. Truman, 1947* (U.S. Government Printing Office, Washington, 1963) pp. 178-9.
 14. *New York Times*, 8 April 1948.
 15. *Ibid.*, 12 April 1948.
 16. Smith, p. 200.
 17. *Ibid.*, p. 202.
 18. *New York Times*, 15 April 1948.
3. GREECE 1947 to early 1950s
1. Jorge Semprun, *What a Beautiful Sunday!* (English translation, London, 1983), pp. 26-7; Semprun wrote the screenplays for 'Z' and 'La Guerre est finie'.

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2. For a summary of some of the literature about ELAS and EAM, see Todd Gitlin, "Counter-Insurgency: Myth and Reality in Greece" in David Horowitz, ed., *Containment and Revolution* (Boston, 1967) pp. 142-7. See also D.F. Fleming, *The Cold War and its Origins, 1917-1960* (New York, 1961) pp. 183-5; Howard K. Smith, *The State of Europe* (London, 1950) pp. 225-30; William Hardy McNeill, *The Greek Dilemma: War and Aftermath* (US, 1947) passim.
3. For accounts of the thoroughly unprincipled British policy in Greece and its dealings with collaborators during 1944-46, see Fleming, pp. 174-87; Smith, pp. 227-31, 234; Lawrence S. Wittner, *American Intervention in Greece, 1943-1949* (Columbia University Press, NY, 1982) passim.
4. Churchill quote: Kati Marton, *The Polk Conspiracy: Murder and Cover-Up in the Case of CBS News Correspondent George Polk* (New York, 1990), p. 23. EAM sign: Hearst Metrotone News, N.Y., film shot 3 November 1944, copy in author's possession.
5. *Parliamentary Debates, House of Commons*, 16 October 1946, column 887 (reference is made here to Bevin's statement of 10 August). See also Christopher Simpson, *Blowback: America's Recruitment of Nazis and its Effects on the Cold War* (New York, 1988), p. 81.
6. Gitlin, p. 157; Wittner, p. 25.
7. Winston Churchill, *The Second World War, Vol. VI, Triumph and Tragedy* (London, 1954), pp. 198, 255. For further evidence of Soviet non-intervention, see Wittner, pp. 26-7.
8. Fleming, p. 182; see also Smith, p. 228.
9. See sources listed in notes 2 and 3 above; see also James Becket, *Barbarism in Greece* (New York, 1970) p. 6; Richard Barnet, *Intervention and Revolution* (London, 1970) pp. 99-101; Edgar O'Ballance, *The Greek Civil War, 1944-1949* (London, 1966) pp. 155, 167.
10. Smith, p. 232. To capture the full flavor of how dreadful the Greek government of that time was, see Marton, op. cit., passim. This book recounts the story of how the Greek authorities, with US approval, fabricated a case to prove that CBS news correspondent George Polk had been murdered by communists, and not by the government, because he was about to reveal serious corruption by the prime minister.
11. Stephen G. Xydis, *Greece and the Great Powers, 1944-1947* (Institute for Balkan Studies, Thessaloniki, Greece, 1963) p. 479, information from the archives of the Greek Embassy in Washington.
12. *Foreign Relations of the United States, 1947, Vol. V* (U.S. Government Printing Office, Washington, 1971) p. 222.
13. *New York Times Magazine*, 12 October 1947, p. 10.
14. *Foreign Relations*, op. cit., pp. 222-3.
15. Cited in Fleming, p. 444.
16. Barnet, p. 109.
17. *Public Papers of the Presidents of the United States: Harry S. Truman, 1947* (U.S. Government Printing Office, Washington, 1963) p. 177.
18. Milovan Djilas, *Conversations with Stalin* (London, 1962) p. 164. Djilas was imprisoned in 1962 for divulging state secrets in this book.
19. For details of the American military effort:
 - a) O'Ballance, passim
 - b) Wittner, p. 242
 - c) CIA Report to the President, March 1948, appendices D and F, *Declassified Documents Reference System* (Arlington, Va.) 1977, document 168A
 - d) Department of the Army internal memorandum, 15 June 1954, *DDRS* 1980, document 253C
 - e) Simpson, pp. 81-2 (Secret Army Reserve)
20. O'Ballance, p. 156.
21. *Ibid.*, p. 173
22. Christopher M. Woodhouse, *The Struggle for Greece, 1941-1949* (London, 1976) pp. 260-1.
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27. Papandreou, p. 80.
28. *New York Times*, 13 July 1947, p. 11.
29. *Ibid.*, 11 September 1947, p. 19; 17 October 1947, p. 11.
30. Papandreou, p. 5.
31. Sent by Horace Smith of AMAG; U.S. National Archives, Record Group 59, cited in Michael M. Amen, *American Foreign Policy in Greece 1944/1949: Economic, Military and Institutional Aspects* (Peter Lang Ltd., Frankfurt, W. Germany, 1978), pp. 114-5.

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4. THE PHILIPPINES 1940s and 1950s
 1. Charles S. Olcott, *The Life of William McKinley* (Boston, 1916) vol. 2, pp. 110-11; from a talk given to a visiting group from the Methodist Episcopal Church.
 2. US actions against Huks during Second World War:
 - a) D.M. Condit, Bert H. Cooper, Jr., et al., *Challenge and Response in Internal Conflict, Volume 1, The Experience in Asia* (Center for Research in Social Systems, The American University, Washington, D.C., 1968), p. 481, research performed for the Department of the Army.
 - b) Luis Taruc, *Born of the People* (New York, 1953, although completed in June 1949) pp. 147-62, 186-211, the autobiography of the Huks' commander-in-chief who surrendered to the government in 1954.
 - c) William J. Pomeroy, *An American Made Tragedy* (New York, 1974) pp. 74-7; Pomeroy is an American who served in the Philippines during the war where he encountered the Huks. After the war, he returned to fight with them he until he was captured in 1952.
 - d) George E. Taylor, *The Philippines and the United States: Problems of Partnership* (New York, 1964) p. 122 (see note 13 below).
 - e) Eduardo Lachica, *Huk: Philippine Agrarian Society in Revolt* (Manila, 1971) pp. 112-3, 116-7.
 - f) *Philippines: A Country Study* (Foreign Area Studies, The American University, Washington, D.C., 1983-84) p. 43, prepared for the Department of the Army.
 3. Taruc, chapter 22; Pomeroy, pp. 77-8; Taylor, pp. 116-20.
 4. *New York Times*, 19 December 1952, p. 13
 5. *Philippines: A Country Study*, p. 44
 6. *New York Times*, 5 January 1946, p. 26
 7. Hearings before the House Committee on Foreign Affairs in executive session, 7 June 1946, released in 1977, p. 31. Arnold was the Deputy Assistant Chief of Staff, Operations Division, War Department General Staff.
 8. American servicemen's protests: *New York Times*, 8 January 1946, p. 3; 11 January, p. 4; for more information see Mary-Alice Waters, *G.I.'s and the Fight Against War* (New York, 1967), pamphlet published by *Young Socialist* magazine.
 9. *New York Times*, 20 May 1946, p. 8; 2 June, p. 26; 4 June, p. 22 (letter from Tomas Confessor, prominent Filipino political figure, detailing the illegality of not seating the men); 18 September, p. 4; 19 September, p. 18; Pomeroy, p. 20; Taruc, pp. 214-27; Lachica, pp. 120-1.
 10. *New York Times*, 12 March 1947, p. 15; the words are those of the *Times*; Lachica, p. 121.
 11. Pomeroy, p. 28, explains how this came about.
 12. Taruc, chapters 23 and 24; Pomeroy, p. 78; the Philippine Army reported that 600 deaths had occurred from their incursions into Huk areas in the month following the election (*New York Times*, 20 May 1946, p. 8) but no breakdown between military and non-military casualties was given in the press account; see also Lachica, p. 121.
 13. Taylor, pp. 114, 115. The book was published by Frederick A. Praeger, Inc. for the Council on Foreign Relations, the ultra high-level think-tank whose officers and directors at the time included Allen Dulles, David Rockefeller, and John J. McCloy. Praeger, it was later disclosed, published a number of books in the 1960s under CIA sponsorship. This book, though generally reasonable on most matters, descends to the puerile and semi-hysterical when discussing the Huks or 'communism'.
 14. Department of State, *Treaties and Other International Agreements of the United States of America, 1776-1949* (Washington, 1974) pp. 84-9; Pomeroy, pp. 21-3; Taylor, p. 129.
 15. *New York Times*, 1 July 1946, \$50 million furnished; 11 February 1950, p. 6, \$163.5 million furnished under the 1947 agreement.
 16. Edward G. Lansdale, *In the Midst of Wars* (New York, 1972) passim; Stephen Shalom, "Counter-Insurgency in the Philippines" in Daniel Schirmer and Stephen Shalom, eds., *The Philippine Reader* (Boston, 1987) pp. 112-3.
 17. William Worden, 'Robin Hood of the Islands', *Saturday Evening Post*, 12 January 1952, p. 76.
 18. Lansdale, pp. 24-30, 47.
 19. Joseph Burkholder Smith, *Portrait of a Cold Warrior* (New York, 1976) p. 95 (see note 30 for Smith's background).
 20. Lansdale, pp. 72-3.
 21. *Ibid.*, pp. 47-59.
 22. *Ibid.*, pp. 70-1, 81-3, 92-3; Smith, p. 106; Taruc, pp. 68-9; for further description of this propaganda campaign, see Shalom, pp. 115-6.
 23. Col. L. Fletcher Prouty, US Air Force, Ret., *The Secret Team: The CIA and its Allies in Control of the World* (Ballantine Books, New York, 1974, paperback) pp. 38-9.
 24. *Ibid.*, pp. 102-3.
 25. Smith, p. 95, quoting CIA officer Paul Lineberger.
 26. *New York Times*, 16 October 1953, p. 26
 27. Interviews by author Thomas Buell of Ralph Lovett, CIA Chief of Station in the Philippines in the early 1950s, and of Lansdale; cited in Raymond Bonner, *Waltzing With a Dictator: The Marcoses and the Making of American Policy* (New York, 1987) pp. 39-40. See also *New York Times*, 31 March 1997, p.1
 28. Bonner, p. 41
 29. Sherman Adams, *Firsthand Report* (New York, 1961) p. 123.
 30. For an overall detailed description of CIA manipulation of Philippine political life, and of Magsaysay in particu-

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- lar, see Smith, chapters 7, 15, 16, 17. Smith was a CIA officer who, in the early 1950s, worked in the Far East Division, which includes the Philippines, concerned with political and psychological-warfare matters.
31. Smith, p. 280
 32. Buell interview of Lovett (see note 27), cited in Bonner, p. 42.
 33. *Reader's Digest*, April 1963, article entitled "Democracy Triumphs in the Philippines".
 34. Smith, p. 290
 35. House Bill No. 6584, Republic Act No. 1700, approved 20 June 1957.
 36. Huks' condition: *New York Times*, 3 April 1949, p. 20; 30 June 1950, p. 4.
 37. Lachica, p. 131
 38. Taylor, p. 192
5. KOREA 1945-1953
1. *New York Times*, 1 October 1950, p. 3.
 2. *The U.S. Imperialists Started the Korean War* is the subtitle of the book published in Pyongyang, North Korea, 1977, pp. 109-10.
 3. Radio address of 13 April 1950, reprinted in *The Department of State Bulletin*, 24 April 1950, p. 627.
 4. For a discussion of the war's immediate origin, see:
 - a) Karunakar Gupta, "How Did the Korean War Begin?", *The China Quarterly* (London) October/December 1972, No. 52, pp. 699-716.
 - b) "Comment: The Korean War", *The China Quarterly*, April/June 1973, No. 54, pp. 354-68. This consists of responses to Gupta's article in issue No. 52 and Gupta's counter-response.
 - c) *New York Times*, 26 June 1950. Page 1 — South Korea's announcement about Haeju. Page 3 — North Korea's announcement about Haeju.
 - d) Glenn D. Paige, *The Korean Decision (June 24-30, 1950)* (New York, 1968) passim, particularly p. 130.
 - e) I.F. Stone, *The Hidden History of the Korean War* (New York, 1952) chapter 7 and elsewhere.
 5. John Gunther, *The Riddle of MacArthur* (London, 1951), pp. 151-2.
 6. *New York Times*, 25 July 1950, p. 4; 30 July, p. 2.
 7. *Khrushchev Remembers* (London, 1971) chapter 11. Study of transcription vs. book: John Merrill, Book Reviews, *Journal of Korean Studies* (University of Washington, Seattle) Vol. 3, 1981, pp. 181-91..
 8. Joseph C. Goulden, *Korea: The Untold Story of the War* (New York, 1982), p. 64.
 9. *New York Times*, 26 June 1950.
 10. *Ibid.*, 1 October 1950, p. 4.
 11. Goulden, pp. 87-8; Stone, pp. 75, 77.
 12. For further discussion of the UN's bias at this time see Jon Halliday, "The United Nations and Korea", in Frank Baldwin, ed., *Without Parallel: The American-Korean Relationship Since 1945* (New York, 1974), pp. 109-42.
 13. Trygve Lie, *In the Cause of Peace* (New York, 1954) chapters 18 and 19.
 14. Shirley Hazzard, *Countenance of Truth: The United Nations and the Waldheim Case* (New York, 1990), pp. 13-22. In his book, p. 389, Lie states that it was he who initiated this practice.
 15. CIA memorandum, 28 June 1950, *Declassified Documents Reference System* (Arlington, Virginia) Retrospective Volume, Document 33C.
 16. Stone, pp. 77-8.
 17. The full text of the Security Council Resolution of 7 July 1950 can be found in the *New York Times*, 8 July 1950, p. 4.
 18. Dwight Eisenhower, *The White House Years: Mandate for Change, 1953-1956* (New York, 1963) p. 340.
 19. For a discussion of post-war politics in South Korea see:
 - a) Bruce Cumings, *The Origins of the Korean War: Liberation and the Emergence of Separate Regimes, 1945-1947* (Princeton University Press, New Jersey, 1981) passim.
 - b) E. Grant Meade, *American Military Government in Korea* (King's Crown Press, Columbia University, New York, 1951) chapters 3-5.
 - c) George M. McCune, *Korea Today* (Institute of Pacific Relations, New York, 1950) passim, pp. 46-50 (KPR). Professor McCune worked with the US Government on Korean problems during World War II.
 - d) D. F. Fleming, *The Cold War and its Origins, 1917-1960* (Doubleday & Co., New York, 1961) pp. 589-97.
 - e) Alfred Crofts, "The Case of Korea: Our Falling Ramparts", *The Nation* (New York) 25 June 1960, pp. 544-8. Crofts was a member of the US Military Government in Korea beginning in 1945.
 20. Crofts, p. 545.
 21. Gunther, p. 165.
 22. Crofts, p. 545.
 23. *Ibid.*
 24. *Ibid.*, p. 546.
 25. Collaborators: Cumings, pp. 152-6; Meade, p. 61; McCune, p. 51; plus elsewhere in these sources, as well as in Fleming and Crofts. Japanese and collaborators retaining positions to thwart the KPR: Cumings, pp. 138-9.
 26. McCune, pp. 83-4, 129-39, 201-9.
 27. 1946 election: Mark Gayn, *Japan Diary* (New York 1948) p. 398; 1948 election: Crofts, p. 546; Halliday, pp. 117-22; 1950 election and US warning: Fleming, p. 594. For a discussion of Rhee's thwarting of honest elections

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- in 1952 and later, and his consistently tyrannical rule, see William J. Lederer, *A Nation of Sheep* (W.W. Norton & Co., New York, 1961), chapter 4.
28. Gunther, pp. 166-7.
 29. Gayn, p. 388.
 30. *Ibid.*, p. 352.
 31. John Kie-Chiang Oh, *Korea: Democracy on Trial* (Cornell University Press, Ithaca, NY, 1968) p. 35.
 32. *The Nation* (New York), 13 August 1949, p. 152.
 33. Gunther, p. 171.
 34. Oh, p. 206; see also *New York Times*, 11 April 1951, p. 4 for an account of a massacre of some 500 to 1,000 people in March in the same place, which appears to refer to the same incident.
 35. Jon Halliday, "The Political Background", in Gavan McCormack and Mark Selden, eds., *Korea, North and South: The Deepening Crisis* (New York, 1978) p. 56.
 36. *New York Times*, 11 April 1951, p. 4.
 37. René Cutforth, "On the Korean War", *The Listener* (BBC publication, London) 11 September 1969, p. 343.
 38. Gregory Henderson, *Korea: The Politics of the Vortex* (Harvard University Press, Cambridge, Mass., 1968) p. 167.
 39. *New York Times*, 9 February 1951, George Barrett.
 40. Goulden, pp. 471-2. This information derives from Goulden's interview of Tofte.
 41. *New York Times*, 27 November 1951, p. 4.
 42. Eugene Kinkead, *Why They Collaborated* (London, 1960) p. 17; published in the US in 1959 in slightly different form as *In Every War But One*. The Army study was not contained in any one volume, but was spread out over a number of separate reports. Kinkead's book, written with the full co-operation of the Army, is composed of a summary of some of these reports, and interviews with many government and military officials who were directly involved in or knowledgeable about the study or the subject. For the sake of simplicity, I have referred to the book as if it were the actual study.
It is to the Army's credit that much of the results of the study were not kept secret; the study, nonetheless, contains some anti-communist statements of the most bizarre sort: lying is often punished in China by death ... communists live like animals all their lives ... [pp. 190, 193]
 43. *Keesings Contemporary Archives*, 5-12 January 1952, p. 11931, an announcement on 31 December 1951 from General Ridgeway's headquarters.
 44. Kinkead, p. 34.
 45. Robert J. Lifton, *Thought Reform and the Psychology of Totalism: A Study of 'Brainwashing' in China* (London, 1961), p. 4.
 46. John Marks, *The Search for the Manchurian Candidate: The CIA and Mind Control* (New York, paperback edition, 1988), p. 25, based on CIA documents.
 47. *Sunday Times* (London), 6 July 1975, p. 1. Narut at the time was working at a US naval hospital in Naples, Italy, and made his remarks at a NATO-sponsored conference held in Oslo, Norway the week before.
 48. Kinkead, p. 31.
 49. *Ibid.*, pp. 17, 34.
 50. *Ibid.*, pp. 105-6.
 51. *Ibid.*, p. 197.
 52. For a concise description of the "terror bombing" of 1952-53, see John Gittings, "Talks, Bombs and Germs: Another Look at the Korean War", *Journal of Contemporary Asia* (London) Vol. 5, No. 2, 1975, pp. 212-6.
 53. Air Force Communiqué, 2 February 1951, cited by Stone, p. 259
 54. *Military Situation in the Far East*, Hearings Before the Senate Committees on Armed Services and Foreign Relations, 25 June 1951, p. 3075.
 55. Louis Heren, "The Korean Scene", in Rear-Admiral H.G. Thursfield, ed., *Brassey's Annual: The Armed Forces Year-Book 1951* (London, 1951) p. 110.
 56. *San Francisco Chronicle*, 15 December 1977, p. 11, based on documents released under the Freedom of Information Act.
 57. *New York Times*, 12 November 1951, p. 3.
 58. *Ibid.*, 14 November 1951, p. 1.
6. ALBANIA 1949-1953
 1. Douglas Sutherland, *The Fourth Man* (London, 1980) p. 88.
 2. Thomas Powers, *The Man Who Kept the Secrets: Richard Helms and the CIA* (New York, 1979), p. 54.
 3. Nicholas Bethell, *The Great Betrayal: The Untold Story of Kim Philby's Biggest Coup* (London, 1984) passim, for the most detailed discussion of the recruitment, training and fate of the émigrés (published in New York, 1984 as *Betrayed*). See also Bruce Page, David Leitch, and Philip Knightly, *The Philby Conspiracy* (New York, 1968) pp. 196-203.
 4. Kim Philby, *My Silent War* (Great Britain, 1968), p. 117.
 5. E. Howard Hunt, *Undercover: Memoirs of an American Secret Agent* (London, 1975) p. 93.
 6. See note 3 above.
 7. Political background of the émigrés: *New York Times*, 20 June 1982, p. 22; Bethell, passim; Christopher

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- Simpson, *Blowback: America's Recruitment of Nazis and Its Effects on the Cold War* (New York, 1988), p. 123 (Xhafer Deva).
8. Radio station, unrest: *New York Times*, 31 March 1951, p. 5; 9 April 1951, p. 1; 26 September 1951.
 9. Philby, p. 118.
 10. *New York Times*, 27 March 1950; 9 April 1951, p. 1.
 11. Bethell, p. 183.
 12. *New York Times*, 9 April 1951, p. 1.
 13. Bethell, p. 200.
7. EASTERN EUROPE 1948-1956
1. *New York Times*, 29 September 1954.
 2. The story of Operation Splinter Factor comes from the book of the same name by Stewart Steven published in London in 1974. Steven, a veteran British journalist and Editor of *The Mail on Sunday* (London), provides much greater detail than the short summary appearing here. He presents a strong case, and one has to read the entire book to appreciate this. Nonetheless, his central thesis remains undocumented. Steven states that this thesis — Allen Dulles instigating Jozef Swiatlo to use Noel Field in the manner described — comes from personal interviews with former members of the CIA, the SIS (the British Secret Intelligence Service) and other people involved in the conspiracy who insisted on remaining anonymous. Flora Lewis, the *Washington Post* correspondent who wrote *Red Pawn: The Story of Noel Field* (New York, 1965; published in London the same year as *The Man Who Disappeared: The Strange History of Noel Field*), stated in that book that she ran into an “official barrier of silence” when she requested information from American, Swiss, French, British and German intelligence centers on even “plain questions of dates and places”. And she was not inquiring about Operation Splinter Factor *per se*, which she knew nothing about, only about Noel Field a decade after he had been released. Similarly, the US government, without explanation, flatly refused her access to Jozef Swiatlo. Richard Harris Smith, *OSS: The Secret History of America's First Central Intelligence Agency* (University of California Press, paperback edition, 1972), p. 238 note, writes that “It was later suggested that Field's arrest was actually part of a British plot to split the East European Communists, as outlined in John Le Carré's *The Spy Who Came in From the Cold*.” Thomas Powers, *The Man Who Kept the Secrets: Richard Helms and the CIA* (Pocket Books, New York, 1979, paperback) pp. 405-6, suggests that Stewart Steven's “central premise apparently came from someone in the British SIS who did not like Dulles.”
 3. *New York Times*, 25 October 1954, p. 1.
 4. *Ibid.*, 19 February 1955, p. 1.
 5. *Ibid.*, 17 November 1954, p. 1.
 6. Blanche W. Cook, *The Declassified Eisenhower* (New York, 1981) p. 129.
 7. *Ibid.*
 8. Cord Meyer, *Facing Reality: From World Federalism to the CIA* (New York, 1980) p. 120; Steven, pp. 208-9; Lewis, p. 238 (torture).
 9. *New York Times*, 23 July 1948, p. 5; Robert Bishop and E. S. Crayfield, *Russia Astride the Balkans* (New York, 1948), pp. 264-71.
 10. *New York Times*, 9 April 1951 (column by C. Sulzberger).
 11. Cook, pp. 130-1; George Clay, “Balloons for a Captive Audience”, *The Reporter* (New York) 18 November 1954; Robert T. Holt and Robert W. van de Velde, *Strategic Psychological Operations and American Foreign Policy* (University of Chicago Press, 1960) ch. VII.
 12. *New York Times*, 24 January 1952, p. 4.
 13. *Ibid.*, 30 August 1955, p. 1.
 14. *Ibid.*, 30 November 1976.
 15. Stephen Ambrose, *Ike's Spies* (Doubleday & Co., New York, 1981) pp. 235, 238.
8. GERMANY 1950s
1. Dean Acheson, *Present at the Creation: My Years in the State Department* (New York, 1969) p. 260.
 2. *Ibid.*
 3. Failure of deindustrialization: for further discussion, see Richard J. Barnet, *Allies: America, Europe and Japan since the War* (London, 1984) pp. 33-9.
 4. Dwight Eisenhower, *The White House Years: Mandate for Change, 1953-1956* (New York, 1963) pp. 79-80.
 5. *New York Times*, 6 November 1952, p. 3
 6. *Democratic German Report*, 13 February 1953; see description of this publication below.
 7. Victor Marchetti and John Marks, *The CIA and the Cult of Intelligence*, (New York, 1975) p. 147.
 8. Sabotage and subversion campaign:
 - a) *Democratic German Report*, various issues from 1952 to 1957 (consult its annual indexes under ‘Sabotage’, ‘Espionage’, etc.). This was a small English-language news magazine published fortnightly in East Berlin by Britisher John Peet, former chief correspondent for Reuters News Agency in West Berlin.
 - b) *Nation's Business* (published by the United States Chamber of Commerce) April 1952, pp. 25-7, 68-9, discusses

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- many of the tactics employed.
- c) Sanche de Gramont, *The Secret War* (New York, 1963) pp. 479-80.
 - d) *The New Yorker*, 8 September 1951, article on the Investigating Committee of Freedom-minded Jurists of the Soviet Zone.
 - e) *The Nation*, (New York) 24 June 1961, pp. 551-2.
 - f) Andrew Tully, *CIA: The Inside Story* (Fawcett, New York, 1962) pp. 133-4, CIA activity in June 1953 East German uprising.
 - g) *Saturday Evening Post*, 6 November 1954, p. 64, refers to CIA-promoted train derailments in East Germany, and blowing up a railway bridge and promoting factory work slowdowns in unspecified East European countries. This was part of a series on the CIA prepared in collaboration with the Agency. [See Jonathan Kwitny, *Endless Enemies: The Making of an Unfriendly World* (New York, 1984) p. 165.]
 9. Secret army, hit-list, etc.:
 - a) *Newsweek*, 20 October 1952, p. 42.
 - b) *New York Times*, 9 October 1952, p. 8; 10 October, p. 3 (under the remarkable headline: "German Saboteurs Betray U.S. Trust"); 12 October, p. 14.
 - c) *Der Spiegel* (West German weekly news magazine), 15 October 1952, pp. 6-8.
 - d) *Democratic German Report*, 15 and 24 October 1952; 21 November 1952.
 10. *New York Times*, 14 October 1952, p. 13.
9. IRAN 1953
- A general account and overview of the events in this chapter can be obtained from the following:
- a) Kermit Roosevelt, *Countercoup: The Struggle for the Control of Iran* (New York, 1979) passim.
 - b) Bahman Nirumand, *Iran: The New Imperialism in Action* (New York, 1969), chapters 2 to 4, particularly the Iranian case for nationalization, British and American reaction, and post-coup developments.
 - c) Stephen Ambrose, *Ike's Spies* (Doubleday & Co., New York, 1981) chapters 14 and 15.
 - d) Barry Rubin, *Paved With Good Intentions: The American Experience and Iran* (New York, 1980) chapter 3.
 - e) David Wise and Thomas B. Ross, *The Invisible Government* (New York, 1965, paperback edition), pp. 116-21.
 - f) Andrew Tully, *CIA: The Inside Story* (New York, 1962), pp. 76-84.
 - g) Fred J. Cook in *The Nation* (New York) 24 June 1961, pp. 547-51, particularly conditions in Iran after the coup.
 1. Roosevelt, p. 8.
 2. *Ibid.*, pp. 18-19.
 3. Anthony Eden, *The Memoirs of the Right Honourable Sir Anthony Eden: Full Circle* (London, 1960) p. 194.
 4. Dean Acheson, *Present at the Creation: My Years in the State Department* (New York, 1969) pp. 679-85; Eden, pp. 201-2; Nirumand, pp. 73-4.
 5. Roosevelt, p. 107.
 6. *Ibid.*, pp. II, 2, 3, 91-2, 126, 134, 164, 119.
 7. Acheson, p. 504.
 8. Relations between Mossadegh, Tudeh, and the Soviet Union:
 - a) Manfred Halpern, "Middle East and North Africa", in C.E. Black and T.P. Thornton, eds., *Communism and Revolution* (U.S., 1964) pp. 316-19
 - b) Donald N. Wilber, *Iran: Past and Present* (Princeton University Press, Third Edition, 1955), p. 115. Wilber is an historian who, by his own admission, was also a CIA operative. He claims, in a later book, to have been the principal planner for the operation to overthrow Mossadegh (known as Operation AJAX), although he offers no evidence to support this assertion. He also states that Roosevelt's book is full of factual errors. See *Adventures in the Middle East* (1986), pp. 187-8.
 - c) Nirumand, op. cit.
 - d) Rubin, op. cit.
 9. *The Declassified Documents Reference System* (Arlington, Va.) 1979 volume, document 79E.
 10. *Ibid.*
 11. Roosevelt interview by Robert Scheer in the *Los Angeles Times*, 29 March 1979, p. 1.
 12. *New York Times*, 10 July 1953, p. 4.
 13. Roosevelt, p. 168.
 14. Fitzroy Maclean, *Eastern Approaches* (London, 1949) pp. 266, 274; Maclean was a British officer in World War II who kidnapped Zahedi (or Zahidi) to keep him from further aiding the Nazis.
 15. The details of the last days of the Mossadegh regime can be found in Roosevelt, chapters 11 and 12; Wilber pp. 124-7 (purposely makes no mention of the CIA — see Note 8); Ambrose, chapter 15, as well as in other books mentioned in this section.
 16. Demonstration: Wilber, p. 125; Roosevelt, p. 179; *New York Times*, 19 August 1953.
 17. Brian Lapping, *End of Empire* (Great Britain/US 1985) p. 220, based on the Granada Television series of the same name broadcast in Britain in 1985.
 18. Halpern, p. 318; Wilber, p. 125.
 19. Henderson meeting with Mossadegh: Ambrose, pp. 208-9; interview with Henderson by the author; Roosevelt, pp. 183-5.
 20. *New York Times*, 19 August 1953.

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21. Roosevelt, p. 191-2.
22. *New York Times*, 20 August 1953, p. 1: *The Times* (London), 20 August 1953.
23. David Leigh, *The Wilson Plot: How the Spycatchers and Their American Allies Tried to Overthrow the British Government* (New York, 1988) pp. 14-15.
24. Hearings in 1954 before the House Foreign Affairs Committee on "The Mutual Security Act of 1954", pp. 503, 569-70. Stewart was the Director of the Office of Military Assistance, Department of Defense.
25. Kennett Love, *The American Role in the Pahlavi Restoration on 19 August 1953* (Pahlavi was the Shah's name), unpublished manuscript residing amongst the Allen Dulles papers, Princeton University; excerpted in Jonathan Kwitny, *Endless Enemies: The Making of an Unfriendly World* (New York, 1984) pp. 164-177.
26. *New York Times*, 18 January 1953, IV, p. 8.
27. Arthur L. Richards, Director, Office of Greek, Turkish and Iranian Affairs, testimony 17 July 1953, before House Committee on Foreign Affairs in executive session, released in 1981, p. 148.
28. *New York Times*, 21 July 1953.
29. *Ibid.*, 23 August 1953, IV, p. 1.
30. Scheer interview.
31. *The Guardian* (London) 2 January 1984, British Government papers of 1953, released 1 January 1984.
32. Testimony at "Hearings on the Situation in the Middle East", Senate Committee on Foreign Relations, 24 February 1956, p. 23.
33. Nirumand, pp. 100-108 explains the contract in detail.
34. Roosevelt's post-CIA career: Scheer interview; Wise and Ross, pp. 116-7; Kwitny, p. 183.
35. Robert Engler, *The Politics of Oil: A Study of Private Power and Democratic Directions* (N.Y., 1961) p. 310.
36. *San Francisco Chronicle*, 26 December 1979.
37. Roosevelt, p. 145.
38. *New York Times*, 6 August 1954.
39. Allen Dulles, *The Craft of Intelligence* (New York, 1965) p.216.
40. *Fortune* (New York) June 1975, p. 90.
41. Love, op. cit., cited in Kwitny, p. 175.
42. Roosevelt, p. 9.
43. Jesse J. Leaf, Chief CIA analyst on Iran for five years before resigning in 1973, interviewed by Seymour Hersh in the *New York Times*, 7 January 1979.
44. Martin Ennals, Secretary-General of Amnesty International, cited in an article by Reza Baraheni in *Matchbox* (Amnesty publication in New York) Fall, 1976.
45. Tully, p. 76.
46. See, e.g. Michael Klare, *War Without End* (New York, 1972) pp. 375, 379, 382, based on official US Government tables covering the 1950s and 1960s.
47. Cook, p. 550.
48. *San Francisco Chronicle*, 3 March 1980, p. 15.

10. GUATEMALA 1953-1954

The details of the events described in this chapter were derived principally from the following sources:

- a) Stephen Schlesinger and Stephen Kinzer, *Bitter Fruit: The Untold Story of the American Coup in Guatemala* (Doubleday & Co., New York, 1982) passim, based partly on documents obtained under the Freedom of Information Act from the State Department, the Defense Department, the CIA, the National Archives, the Navy Department, and the FBI, as well as documents at the Eisenhower Library and amongst the John Foster Dulles and Allen Dulles papers at Princeton University, and interviews with individuals who played a role in the events. This is the primary source where another source is not indicated.
 - b) Blanche Wiesen Cook, *The Declassified Eisenhower* (Doubleday & Co., New York, 1981) pp. 222-92, based partly on documents at the Eisenhower Library and the Guatemala archives at the Library of Congress. The latter is composed of papers confiscated by the US after the coup.
 - c) Richard H. Immerman, *The CIA in Guatemala: The Foreign Policy of Intervention* (University of Texas Press, Austin, 1982) pp. 118-22, ch. 6 and 7, based partly on papers at the Truman and Eisenhower Libraries and interviews.
 - d) David Wise and Thomas Ross, *The Invisible Government* (New York, 1965, paperback edition) chapter 11.
 - e) Thomas and Marjorie Melville, *The Politics of Land Ownership* (New York, 1971), ch. 4 to 6; published in Great Britain the same year in slightly different form as *Guatemala — Another Vietnam?*
1. Schlesinger and Kinzer, pp. 143-4.
 2. *New York Times*, 16 June 1954.
 3. *Ibid.*, 20 May 1954, p. 18.
 4. *Time* magazine, 11 January 1954.
 5. *Congressional Record*, 8 February 1954, p. 1475.
 6. *Time*, 19 July 1954, p. 34.
 7. Cook, p. 274; Schlesinger and Kinzer, p. 148.
 8. Cook, p. 234.
 9. *Ibid.*, pp. 240-41.

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10. Schlesinger and Kinzer, p. 12.
 11. Cook, pp. 242-3, quoting former Guatemalan Foreign Minister Raul Oesegueda.
 12. Schlesinger and Kinzer, p. 61.
 13. *Washington Post*, 15 November 1953, p. 3B.
 14. Schlesinger and Kinzer, pp. 58-9.
 15. CIA National Intelligence Estimate, 11 March 1952, pp. 1-3, *Declassified Documents Reference System* (Woodbridge, Connecticut) 1982 Volume, Document no. 6.
 16. Immerman, pp. 118-22.
 17. Thomas P. McCann, *An American Company: The Tragedy of United Fruit* (New York, 1976) p. 49. McCann had been an official with United Fruit. Almost all sources differ as to the amount offered by the Guatemalan Government, ranging from McCann's figure to almost \$1,200,000.
 18. Schlesinger and Kinzer, pp. 106-7 and passim; McCann, chapter 4.
 19. Schlesinger and Kinzer, p. 52.
 20. *Ibid.*, pp. 102-3.
 21. Derived primarily from Schlesinger and Kinzer, to a lesser extent from the other sources listed at the beginning of this section, as well as those specified below.
 22. Dwight Eisenhower, *The White House Years: Mandate for Change, 1953-1956* (New York, 1963) p. 424.
 23. Cook, pp. 270-71.
 24. *Ibid.*, pp. 249-52.
 25. *Time*, 8 February 1954, p. 36.
 26. *New York Times*, 30 January 1954, pp. 1, 6.
 27. McCann, p. 60.
 28. David Atlee Phillips, *The Night Watch: Twenty-five Years of Peculiar Service* (Atheneum, New York, 1977) pp. 34-5.
 29. *Life* magazine, 5 July 1954, p. 8.
 30. *Newsweek*, 5 July 1954, p. 46.
 31. State Department memo, 23 June 1954, cited in Schlesinger and Kinzer, p. 189.
 32. James Hagerty, White House Press Secretary, Diaries 1954 (Eisenhower Library), 24 June 1954, cited in Schlesinger and Kinzer, p. 181.
 33. Brian Urquhart, *Hammarshjold* (Knopf, New York, 1972), pp. 91-4.
 34. *New York Times*, 24 June 1954; Schlesinger and Kinzer, p. 175.
 35. Guillermo Toriello, *La Batalla de Guatemala* (Mexico City, 1955) p. 189; the Guatemalan Foreign Minister related what he was told by Col. Díaz; cited in Schlesinger and Kinzer, p. 207.
 36. Cook, p. 285; Wise and Ross, p. 192-3.
 37. Paul Kennedy, *The Middle Beat* (Teachers College Press, Columbia University, New York, 1971) p. 142; Schlesinger and Kinzer, pp. 219-20.
 38. *Time*, 12 July 1954, p. 31.
 39. Wise and Ross, pp. 194-5; John Gerassi, *The Great Fear in Latin America* (New York, 1965, revised edition) p. 183.
 40. Melville, p. 93.
 41. Schlesinger and Kinzer, pp. 218-9.
 42. *Ibid.*, pp. 60, 221-2; Cook, p. 231; Gerassi, p. 183.
 43. Wise and Ross, p. 187.
 44. Schlesinger and Kinzer, 222-3.
 45. Hilda Gadea, *Ernesto: A Memoir of Che Guevara* (London, 1973, translated from the Spanish) p. 54.
 46. *New York Times*, 1 July 1954.
 47. CIA memo, 16 August 1954, *Declassified Documents Reference System* (Woodbridge, Connecticut) 1983 Volume, Document No. 32.
 48. Statement before the Subcommittee on Latin America, House Select Committee on Communist Aggression, 8 October 1954, as reprinted in *Department of State Bulletin*, 8 November 1954, p. 690.
 49. Eisenhower, pp. 421-7.
 50. *New York Times*, 28 October 1955.
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11. COSTA RICA Mid-1950s
 1. *Los Angeles Times*, 10 March 1975.
 2. *Miami Herald*, 10 March 1975.
 3. *Christian Science Monitor* (Boston), 11 March 1975. Notes one to three all refer to the same television interview of Figueres in Mexico City, 9 March 1975. Figueres may have admitted to his CIA connections at this time because shortly before, Philip Agee's book had come out identifying Figueres as "a long-time Agency collaborator". (*Inside the Company: CIA Diary*, New York, 1975, p. 244; published in Great Britain in 1974.)
 4. David Wise and Thomas Ross, *The Invisible Government* (New York, 1965, paperback edition) p. 127.
 5. *Ibid.*, pp. 127-8.
 6. Charles D. Ameringer, *Democracy in Costa Rica* (Praeger, New York and Hoover Institution Press, Stanford University, California, 1982) pp. 83-5.

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7. John Gerassi, *The Great Fear in Latin America* (New York, 1965, revised edition) p. 208.
 8. *Miami Herald*, 13 February 1971.
 9. Wise and Ross, p. 128.
 10. Charles D. Ameringer, *Don Pepe, A Political Biography of José Figueres of Costa Rica* (University of New Mexico Press, 1978) pp. 124-5.
 11. *Washington Post*, 9 January 1953; Wise and Ross, p. 127.
12. SYRIA 1956-1957
1. *Department of State Bulletin* (Washington), 18 June 1956, pp. 999-1000.
 2. U.S. Mutual Security Act of 1955, Sections 142(a)(4) and 413.
 3. *Declassified Documents Reference System*:
1992 volume: document no. 2326, 10 May 1955; no. 2663, 21 September 1955; no. 2973, 9 January 1956; no. 2974, 16 January 1956.
1993 volume: document no. 2953, 14 December 1955; no. 2954, 26 January 1956; no. 2955, 27 January 1956.
With the exception of no. 2663, all the documents bear the heading of the Operations Coordinating Board, a subcommittee of the NSC which coordinated covert activities.
 4. *Ibid.*, 1993 volume, no. 2953, 14 December 1955, p. 4.
 5. Wilbur Crane Eveland, *Ropes of Sand: America's Failure in the Middle East* (W. W. Norton & Co., New York, 1980) p. 122.
 6. Patrick Seale, *The Struggle for Syria: A Study of Post-War Arab Politics, 1945-1958* (London, 1965) pp. 283-306; Eveland, pp. 135, 169-73.
 7. Eveland, p. 182.
 8. 1956 plot and background: Eveland, chapters 11-20; *New York Times*, 10 April 1956; 17 October 1956.
 9. Dwight D. Eisenhower, *The White House Years: Waging Peace, 1956-1961* (New York, 1965) p. 196.
 10. *Declassified Documents Reference System*, 1981 volume, document no. 26E, 22 March 1957.
 11. *Ibid.*, 1985 volume, document no. 283, March 1957.
 12. *Ibid.*, 1981 volume, document no. 471B, 17 June 1957.
 13. 1957 plot: Eveland, pp. 253-4; *New York Times*, 14 August 1957, pp. 1, 6; 15 August, pp. 1, 4.
 14. *New York Times*, 17 August 1957, p. 3.
 15. *Ibid.*, p. 14.
 16. Eisenhower, p. 196.
 17. CIA internal report, author's name deleted, 18 June 1962, the result of conversations with "Western diplomats" concerning the Kennedy-Macmillan meeting, in *Declassified Documents Reference System*, 1975 volume, document no. 240A.
13. THE MIDDLE EAST 1957-1958
1. Wilbur Crane Eveland, *Ropes of Sand: America's Failure in the Middle East* (W. W. Norton & Co., New York, 1980) p. 240. What Eveland calls "Russia's threat" may not have been all that it appeared to be. Kennett Love (see note re him in chapter) reported later that the CIA had manufactured several reports of Russian military activity which were without any basis in fact, to induce France and Great Britain to call a cease fire — *Suez: The Twice-Fought War* (Great Britain, 1969), p. 615.
 2. Events in Jordan: *New York Times*, 5 April 1957, p. 1: 25 April, pp. 13; 26 April, p. 1; the words of the "intervention" quotation are those of the *Times*, 26 April.
 3. Richard Barnet, *Intervention and Revolution*, (London, 1972) p. 149.
 4. *Washington Post*, 18 February 1977.
 5. Kennett Love, op. cit., p. 655.
 6. Dwight D. Eisenhower, *The White House Years: Waging Peace, 1956-1961* (New York, 1965) p. 201.
 7. *Declassified Documents Reference System*, (Arlington, Va.) 1981 volume, document 471B, 17 June 1957.
 8. Eisenhower, p. 198.
 9. Emmet John Hughes, *The Ordeal of Power* (London, 1963) pp. 253-4; the remark was made to Hughes "a few months after Herter took office" on 22 February 1957.
 10. Barry Blechman and Stephen Kaplan, *Force Without War: U.S. Armed Forces as a Political Instrument* (The Brookings Institution, Washington, 1978) p. 84; although the study was undertaken at the Pentagon's request and with its full co-operation, the book stipulates that the views expressed are the authors' alone.
 11. Events concerning Syria: *New York Times*, 6 September 1957, pp. 1, 2; 8 September, p. 3; 10 September, pp. 1, 8, 9; 11 September, p. 10; 12 September, p. 1; 13 September, pp. 1, 3; Barnet, pp. 149-51; Eisenhower, pp. 196-203; Patrick Seale, *The Struggle for Syria: A Study of Post-War Arab Politics, 1945-1958* (London, 1965) p. 303.
 12. The norm has been for the CIA to be accused of involvement in a coup which the Agency or its scribes deny. In this case, it appears that the young CIA had a need to blow its own horn and it encouraged the word to be passed that it had been the motivating force behind the Egyptian army coup. But this assertion, found often in the literature, has never been accompanied by any clear description of how this took place, not even an explanation of why the CIA preferred Farouk and the army in. Miles Copeland, one of the Agency's earliest officers and a great admirer of Kermit Roosevelt, goes to some length in his 1969 book, *The Game of Nations*, to propagate the story, but his account is pure crypto-mumbo-jumbo. In the same book, Copeland asserts that the CIA, with

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- himself personally involved, directed a coup in Syria in 1949. This tale, too, is written in a manner that does not inspire credibility. It is perhaps relevant that CIA colleague Wilbur Crane Eveland (p. 148) has written that "I'd already had evidence that Copeland tended to exaggerate."
13. Saud, Illah, and plot against Nasser: Eveland, pp. 243-4.
 14. *Ibid.*, pp. 246-8.
 15. Plots:
 - a) *New York Times*, 8, 13-15 August 1957; 21 October 1957; 24, 28, December 1957; 14 February 1958; 6-8, 14, 29 March 1958; 8 October 1958.
 - b) Eveland, p. 273.
 - c) Eisenhower, pp. 263-4.
 - d) *The Times* (London), numerous references from July 1957 to October 1958 — see the newspaper's index under "Egypt" and "Syria": "espionage" and "political situation".
 16. Eveland, p. 292n.
 17. Soviet proposals: *New York Times*, 6 September 1957, p. 2; 11 September, p. 10.
 18. Eisenhower, p. 269.
 19. David Wise and Thomas Ross, *The Invisible Government* (New York, 1965, paperback edition) p. 337.
 20. 1957 election and aftermath: Eveland, pp. 248-53, 256; Eisenhower, p. 265; Barnet, pp. 143-8.
 21. Eisenhower quotations: Eisenhower, pp. 266-7.
 22. Dulles news conference, 20 May 1958: *Department of State Bulletin*, 9 June 1958, p. 945.
 23. Barnet, pp. 147-8.
 24. Eisenhower, p. 268.
 25. Eveland, p. 276.
 26. Robert Murphy, *Diplomat Among Warriors* (US, 1965), p. 450.
 27. Eisenhower, p. 273.
 28. Murphy, p. 445, 455.
 29. Eisenhower, p. 275.
 30. Eveland, pp. 294-5; Eisenhower refers to similar situations, p. 277.
 31. Eveland, pp. 295-6.
 32. Wise and Ross, pp. 337-8; news item from the *St. Louis Post Dispatch*, 23 July 1958, cited on p. 338.
 33. Blechman and Kaplan, p. 253.
 34. Claudia Wright, *New Statesman* magazine (London), 15 July 1983, p. 20. She doesn't say how the Soviets found out about the plan.
 35. *Interim Report: Alleged Assassination Plots Involving Foreign Leaders*, The Select Committee to Study Governmental Operations with Respect to Intelligence Activities (US Senate), 20 November 1975, p. 181, footnote. In the report, Kassem is referred to as "an Iraqi colonel". See also: Thomas Powers, *The Man Who Kept the Secrets: Richard Helms and the CIA* (New York, 1979) pp. 161, 163 for a discussion of how President Eisenhower would have to have given the approval for the action against Kassem.
 36. See, e.g., Eisenhower, pp. 274-5.
 37. *Ibid.*, pp. 290-1.
14. INDONESIA 1957-1958
 1. Joseph Burkholder Smith, *Portrait of a Cold Warrior* (G.P. Putnam's Sons, New York, 1976) p. 205.
 2. *New York Times*, 18 May 1956.
 3. *Supplementary Detailed Staff Reports on Foreign and Military Intelligence*, Book 4, Final Report of The Select Committee to Study Governmental Operations with Respect to Intelligence Activities (U.S. Senate), April 1976, p. 133.
 4. *New York Times*, 12, 30 April 1955; 3, 4 August 1955; 3 September 1955; 22 November 1967, p. 23.
 5. John Discocoe Smith, *I Was a CIA Agent in India* (India, 1967) passim; *New York Times*, 25 October 1967, p. 17; 22 November, p. 23; 5 December, p. 12; Harry Rositzke, *The KGB: The Eyes of Russia* (New York, 1981), p. 164.
 6. *Interim Report: Alleged Assassination Plots Involving Foreign Leaders*, The Select Committee to Study Governmental Operations with Respect to Intelligence Activities (U.S. Senate), 20 November 1975, p. 4, note.
 7. David Wise and Thomas Ross, *The Invisible Government* (New York, 1965, paperback edition) pp. 149-50.
 8. Julie Southwood and Patrick Flanagan, *Indonesia: Law, Propaganda and Terror* (London, 1983) pp. 26-7.
 9. Wise and Ross, p. 148.
 10. J.B. Smith, pp. 210-11.
 11. *Ibid.*, pp. 228-9.
 12. *Ibid.*, p. 240.
 13. *Ibid.*, pp. 229, 246.
 14. *Ibid.*, p. 243.
 15. Sex-blackmail operations: *ibid.*, pp. 238-40, 248. Smith errs somewhat in his comment about *Round Table*. The article's only (apparent) reference to the Soviet woman is in the comment on p. 133: "Other and more scandalous reasons have been put forward for the President's leaning towards the Communist Party."
 16. *New York Times*, 26 January 1976.

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17. Truman Smith, "The Infamous Record of Soviet Espionage", *Reader's Digest*, August 1960.
 18. J.B. Smith, pp. 220-1.
 19. Referred to in a memorandum from Allen Dulles to the White House, 7 April 1961; the memo briefly summarizes the main points of the US intervention: *Declassified Documents Reference System* (Arlington, Va.) released 18 December 1974.
 20. The military operation and the Pope affair:
 - a) Wise and Ross, pp. 145-56.
 - b) Christopher Robbins, *Air America* (US, 1979), pp. 88-94.
 - c) Col. L. Fletcher Prouty, US Air Force, Ret., *The Secret Team: The CIA and its Allies in Control of the World* (New York, 1974) pp. 155, 308, 363-6.
 - d) *New York Times*, 23 March 1958, p. 2; 19 April; 28 May, p. 9.
 - e) *Sukarno, An Autobiography*, as told to Cindy Adams (Hong Kong, 1966) pp. 267-71; first printed in the US in 1965; although a poor piece of writing, the book is worth reading for Sukarno's views on why it is foolish to call him a Communist; how he, as a Third-Worlder who didn't toe the line, was repeatedly snubbed and humiliated by the Eisenhower administration, apart from the intervention; and how American sex magazines contrived to make him look ridiculous.
 - f) J. B. Smith, pp. 246-7. There appears to be some confusion about the bombing of the church. Smith states that it was Pope who did it on 18 May before being shot down. Either he or other chroniclers have mixed up the events of April and May.
 21. Wise and Ross, p. 145.
15. WESTERN EUROPE 1950s and 1960s
1. Richard Fletcher, "How CIA Money Took the Teeth Out of British Socialism", in Philip Agee and Louis Wolf, eds., *Dirty Work: The CIA in Western Europe* (New Jersey, 1978) p. 200.
 2. The CCF, its activities and its publications:
 - a) For a detailed, and sympathetic, history of the CCF, see Peter Coleman, *The Liberal Conspiracy: The Congress for Cultural Freedom and the Struggle for the Mind of Postwar Europe* (New York, 1989), passim; CCF magazines — chapters 5 and 11; CCF books — Appendix D, plus elsewhere;
 - b) Russell Warren Howe, "Asset Unwitting: Covering the World for the CIA", *MORE* (New York), May 1978, pp. 20-27, a magazine associated with the Columbia University School of Journalism;
 - c) *New York Times*, 26 December 1977, p. 37; 27 April 1966, p. 28; 8, 9 May 1967, and other issues in 1967;
 - d) *Commentary* magazine (New York), September 1967;
 - e) Fletcher, pp. 188-200.

Amongst other non-European CCF magazines were: *Thought*, and *Quest* in India, *Aportes*, *Cadernos Brasileiros*, and *Informes de China* in Latin America, *Black Orpheus*, and *Transition* in Africa, *Horison*, *Social Science Review*, *Jiyu and Solidarity* in Asia, and *Hiwar* in Beirut.
 3. Ray Cline, *Secrets, Spies and Soldiers* (US, 1976), p. 129.
 4. *New York Times*, 26 December 1977, p. 37.
 5. *Washington Post*, 15 May 1967, p. 1.
 6. Forum World Features: Howe, op. cit. Howe is the Forum writer quoted. CIA budget: House Committee report, cited in Howe, p. 27. For a detailed study of CIA use of American news organizations, see Carl Bernstein, "The CIA and the Media", *Rolling Stone*, 20 October 1977, and *New York Times*, 26 December 1977, pp. 1 and 37.
 7. *The Nation* (New York), 19 June 1982, p. 738. The article reports that some CIA officers have maintained that Springer was rather liberal in the early 1950s and he was financed to counter neo-Nazi and rightist elements in Germany. This should be taken with a grain of salt, for the overriding policy of the American occupation administration during this period, regardless of the sentiments of any individual American official, was to suppress the influence of persons and groups to the left of center — Communists, radicals, and social democrats alike; at the same time, the US authorities were employing "former" Nazis in every area of administration and intelligence (see chapter on Germany).
 8. Tom Braden, "I'm Glad the CIA is 'Immoral'," *Saturday Evening Post*, 20 May 1967.
 9. Ibid.
 10. Labour Party/CND: Fletcher, pp. 196-7; *The Times* (London), 5 October 1961.
 11. Braden, p. 14.
 12. Political parties/CIA:
 - a) *New York Times*, 7 and 9 January 1976.
 - b) Jack Anderson in the *San Francisco Chronicle*, 11 and 12 November 1981.
 - c) Coleman, pp. 183-5.
 - d) Chapman Pincher, *Inside Story: A Documentary of the Pursuit of Power* (London, 1979) p. 28.
 13. Operation Gladio:
 - a) *The Observer* (London), 7 June 1992.
 - b) *The Guardian* (New York), 5 December 1990, p. 5, article from Milan citing the Italian news magazine *Panorama*, Agence France Presse, and other European sources.
 - c) *Washington Post*, 14 November 1990, p. A19.
 - d) *Die Welt* (Germany), 14 November 1990, p. 7.

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e) *Los Angeles Times*, 15 November 1990, p. A6.

16. BRITISH GUIANA 1953-1964

1. Events of 1953: *The Guardian* (London), 28 December 1984, for a detailed description of the raw cynicism behind the British action, based on government documents released in 1984; see also *The Times* (London) 7 and 10 October 1953; Cheddi Jagan, *The West on Trial* (London, 1966) chapters 7 and 8; "The Ordeal of British Guiana", *Monthly Review*, (New York) July-August 1964, pp. 16-19.
2. *Parliamentary Debates, House of Commons*, 22 October 1953, column 2170, speech by Oliver Lyttleton.
3. Ticket incident: *New York Times*, 16 October 1953, Jagan, p. 149. Pan Am: Morton Halperin, et al., *The Lawless State* (Penguin Books, New York, 1976), p. 47; Christopher Robbins, *Air America* (New York, 1979), p. 58; *CounterSpy* magazine (Washington) December 1983-February 1984, p. 21; Trippe was a member of two long-time CIA fronts: The American Institute for Free Labor Development, and The Asia Foundation (formerly called National Committee for a Free Asia)
4. ORIT: Jagan, pp. 296-7; Philip Agee, *Inside the Company: CIA Diary* (New York, 1975) see index; *Survey of the Alliance for Progress: Labor Policies and Programs*, Staff Report of the US Senate Foreign Relations Committee, Subcommittee on American Republics Affairs, 15 July 1968, pp. 8-9; Serafino Romualdi, *Presidents and Peons: Recollections of a Labor Ambassador in Latin America* (New York, 1967), p. 346.
5. Events of 1957-59: *The Sunday Times* (London) 16 and 23 April 1967.
6. *New York Times*, 22 February 1967, pp. 1, 17.
7. *The Sunday Times*, op. cit.
8. Jagan, p. 304.
9. Richard Barnet, *Intervention and Revolution* (London, 1972) p. 244.
10. Arthur Schlesinger, *A Thousand Days* (Boston, 1965) pp. 774-9.
11. *San Francisco Chronicle*, 21 March 1964, p. 27; *New York Times*, 31 October 1964, p. 7; *The Times* (London), 29 June 1963, p. 8.
12. Jagan, p. 255.
13. 1962 strike: *New York Times*, 22 February 1967, p. 17; 30 October 1994, p. 4 (media):Barnet, p. 245; Agee, pp. 293-4; Jagan, pp. 252-69; *The Times* (London) 13 March 1962, p.10.
14. 1963 strike, general description: Jagan, chapters 13 and 14.
15. *Parliamentary Debates, House of Commons*, 4 May 1966, columns 1765-7; see also 29 April 1966, columns 1133-4.
16. *New York Times*, 22 February 1967, p. 17.
17. Thomas J. Spinner Jr., *A Political and Social History of Guyana, 1945-1983* (London, 1984) pp. 115-6; Agee, p. 406; *New York Times*, 4 January 1964, p. 10.
18. *The Sunday Times*, op. cit.
19. Ibid.
20. *New York Times*, 11 August 1963, p. 28.
21. Ibid., 11 September 1963, p. 1.
22. *The Sunday Times* (London) 25 May 1975, p. 4.
23. *San Francisco Chronicle*, 21 March 1964, p. 27.
24. Jagan, pp. 372-5.
25. *New York Times*, 31 October 1964, p. 7.
26. *The Times* (London) 29 June 1963, p. 8: the words are those of *The Times*.
27. *Parliamentary Debates, House of Commons*, 27 April 1964, column 109.
28. *The Times* (London) 7 December 1964, p. 8.
29. Events of December 1964: *The Times* (London), 4 to 15 December 1964.
30. *The Nation*, June 4, 1990, pp. 763-4
31. *New York Times*, 30 October 1994, p. 4.
32. Ibid., pp. 1 and 4.
33. Ibid., p. 4.

17. SOVIET UNION late 1940s to 1960s

1. Spy Planes:
 - a) James Bamford, *The Puzzle Palace* (Penguin Books, Great Britain, 1983) pp. 136-9, 180-5.
 - b) Col. L. Fletcher Prouty, USAF, ret., *The Secret Team: The CIA and its Allies in Control of the World* (New York, 1974) pp. 167-72, 187-9, 369-79, 419-29.
 - c) Sanche de Gramont, *The Secret War* (New York, 1963) chapter 9.
 - d) Harry Rositzke, *The CIA's Secret Operations* (New York, 1977) p. 23.
 - e) *New York Times*, 6 May 1960, p. 7, a list of air incidents to that date.
2. Yeltsin: *Los Angeles Times*, 13 June 1992; Volkogonov: ibid, 12 November 1992. To add to the confusion, the *New York Times* of 12 November reported that Volkogonov said that all 730 airmen, after being interned in Russian prison camps, had been "sent back home". All attempts by the author to locate Volkogonov's exact testimony have been unsuccessful. It appears that his testimony was never published.
3. *New York Times*, 12 May 1960.

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4. Emmet John Hughes, *Ordeal of Power* (London, 1963) p. 301.
 5. Prouty, pp. 399, 421-4, 427.
 6. Francis Gary Powers, *Operation Overflight* (New York, 1970), pp. 81-5, 113 and elsewhere.
 7. Prouty, p. 189.
 8. *New York Times*, 8 May 1960, p. 29.
 9. *Ibid.*, 10 May 1960. The article referred to the continental United States. Whether any Soviet flights had been made over Alaska, which became a state in 1959, was not mentioned.
 10. *Caught in the Act: Facts About U.S. Espionage and Subversion Against the U.S.S.R.* (Foreign Languages Publishing House, Moscow, second revised edition, 1963), p. 95.
 11. Thomas Powers, *The Man Who Kept the Secrets: Richard Helms and the CIA* (New York, 1979) pp. 155, 157
 12. Emigrés, infiltration into the Soviet Union:
 - a) De Gramont, pp. 185-9, 480-6.
 - b) Konstantin Cherezov, *NTS, A Spy Ring Unmasked* (Moscow, 1965) passim; the author worked closely with NTS in Western Europe for several years before returning to the Soviet Union.
 - c) Rositzke, pp. 18-50.
 - d) *Caught in the Act*, passim.
 - e) Wilbur Crane Eveland, *Ropes of Sand: America's Failure in the Middle East* (N.Y. 1980) p. 263.
 - f) Kim Philby, *My Silent War* (MacGibbon and Kee, London 1968) pp. 199-202.
 - g) Victor Marchetti and John Marks, *The CIA and the Cult of Intelligence* (New York, 1975) pp. 204-6.
 - h) Louis Hagen, *The Secret War for Europe* (London, 1968) pp. 163-4.
 - i) *New York Times*, 30 August 1955, p. 1, training of Eastern Europeans at Fort Bragg, N.C. in guerrilla warfare.
 - j) *Nation's Business* (published by the United States Chamber of Commerce), April 1952, pp. 25-7, 68-9, discusses many of the sabotage and other tactics employed in the Soviet Union and Eastern Europe.
 13. Cherezov, passim; de Gramont, pp. 480-6; Marchetti and Marks, p. 165.
 14. *Foreign and Military Intelligence*, Book 1, Final Report of The Select Committee to Study Governmental Operations with Respect to Intelligence Activities (U.S. Senate), April 1976, p. 193.
 15. *Book Week* (Washington Post), 5 February 1967.
 16. *Foreign and Military Intelligence*, op. cit., p. 194.
 17. For further discussion of CIA/USIA books and the source of these and other titles, see the references in notes 14 and 15; also *Washington Post* 28 September 1966; *New York Times*, 22 March 1967 and 22 December 1977; Peter Coleman, *The Liberal Conspiracy: The Congress for Cultural Freedom and the Struggle for the Mind of Postwar Europe* (New York, 1989), Appendix D and elsewhere; Alexander Kendrick, *Prime Time: The Life of Edward R. Murrow* (London, 1970), p. 478; Marchetti and Marks, pp. 180-1; E. Howard Hunt, *Undercover: Memoirs of an American Secret Agent* (London, 1975) pp. 70, 132.
 18. Marchetti and Marks, pp. 174-8; de Gramont, pp. 486, 488-92.
 19. *Washington Post*, 17 and 20 May 1982; 4 November 1982. For fuller discussions of the use of Nazis and their collaborators by the US Government in the anti-communist crusade, see: Christopher Simpson, *Blowback: America's Recruitment of Nazis and Its Effects on the Cold War* (New York, 1988), passim, and John Loftus, *The Belarus Secret* (New York, 1982), passim.
 20. See references for note 12.
 21. Hearings before The Select Committee to Study Governmental Operations with Respect to Intelligence Activities (U.S. Senate), Volume 4, 1975; *Washington Post*, 16 January 1975, p. 18; Rositzke, p. 62.
 22. *Washington Post*, 25 April 1979.
 23. Rositzke, pp. 21, 33, 37.
 24. *San Francisco Chronicle*, 9 October 1978.
 25. Rositzke, p. 15.
18. ITALY 1950s to 1970s
1. Unattributed, dated 19 June 1953; copy reproduced in *Declassified Documents Reference System* (Arlington, Va.), 1977, document 137A.
 2. Philip Agee and Louis Wolf, eds., *Dirty Work: The CIA in Western Europe* (New Jersey, 1978) pp. 168-9, English translation of interview with Victor Marchetti in *Panorama* (Milan, Italy), 2 May 1974, entitled "Le mani sull'Italia".
 3. CIA memorandum to The Forty Committee (National Security Council), presented to the Select Committee on Intelligence, US House of Representatives (The Pike Committee) during closed hearings held in 1975. The bulk of the committee's report which contained this memorandum was leaked to the press in February 1976 and first appeared in book form as *CIA — The Pike Report* (Nottingham, England, 1977). The memorandum appears on pp. 204-5 of this book. (See the Notes section for Iraq 1972-75 for further information about this report.)
 4. Victor Marchetti and John D. Marks, *The CIA and the Cult of Intelligence* (New York, 1975) p. 172; William Colby, *Honorable Men: My Life in the CIA* (New York, 1978) p. 119.
 5. *CIA — The Pike Report*, p.193.
 6. *New York Times*, 7 January 1976, p. 1
 7. Bob Woodward, *VEL: The Secret Wars of the CIA, 1981-1987* (New York, 1987), p. 398.
 8. *New York Times*, 7 January 1976, p. 4.
 9. *Ibid.*, p. 1.

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10. CIA quote: *New York Times*, 26 December 1977, p. 37. *Daily American*: ibid; Carl Bernstein, "The CIA and the Media", *Rolling Stone*, 20 October 1977, p. 59; Thomas Powers, *The Man Who Kept the Secrets: Richard Helms and the CIA* (New York, 1979, paperback edition) p. 414. One of the owners of the newspaper was Robert Cunningham, a CIA employee from 1956 to 1964. (*Washington Post*, 19 September 1985, p. A18)
11. Fred Landis, "Robert Moss, Arnaud de Borchgrave, and Right-Wing Disinformation", *Covert Action Information Bulletin* (Washington), August-September 1980, p. 43.
12. Colby, p. 124. Colby does not mention which year he's referring to, but in 1955, in a shop stewards' election at Fiat, the Communist union's share of the vote fell to 39% from 63% the year before. (*New York Times*, 30 March 1955, p. 9) The *Times* article stated that the dominance of the Communist union had greatly impaired Fiat's value for Western defense and its eligibility for offshore procurement orders from the United States.
13. Agee and Wolf, p. 169.
14. Mark Aarons and John Loftus, *Unholy Trinity: The Vatican, The Nazis and Soviet Intelligence* (New York, 1991), passim
15. Agee and Wolf, p. 171.
16. Colby, chapter 4.
17. *The Sunday Times* (London) 21 March 1976, p. 34.
19. VIETNAM 1950-1973
 1. *Le Monde*, 13 April 1950, cited in R.E.M. Irving, *The First Indochinese War* (London, 1975) p. 101.
 2. Cited in Hans Askenasy, *Are We All Nazis?* (Lyle Stuart, Secaucus, NJ, 1978) p. 64.
 3. *New York Times*, 21 March 1954, p. 3; 11 April 1954, IV, p. 5. According to Bernard Fall, *The Two Vietnams* (Frederick A. Praeger, Publishers, New York, 1967, second revised edition) p. 472, only \$954 million of the \$ 1.4 billion had been spent at the time of the ceasefire in 1954.
 4. *The Pentagon Papers* (N.Y. Times edition, Bantam Books, 1971), p. xi.
 5. *Ibid.*, pp. 4, 5, 8, 26.
 6. *Washington Post*, 14 September 1969, p. A25. Lansing was the uncle of John Foster and Allen Dulles. He appointed them both to the American delegation at the Versailles Peace Conference in 1918-19, where it was that Ho Chi Minh presented his appeal.
 7. Ho Chi Minh and Vietnam working with OSS, admirers of the US: Archimedes L.A. Patti, *Why Vietnam? Prelude to America's Albatross* (University of California Press, Berkeley, 1980), passim. Patti is the former OSS officer consulted by Ho; Chester Cooper, *The Lost Crusade: The Full Story of US Involvement in Vietnam from Roosevelt to Nixon* (Great Britain, 1971) pp. 22, 25-7, 40. Cooper was a veteran American diplomat in the Far East who served as the Assistant for Asian Affairs in the Johnson White House. He was also a CIA officer, covertly, for all or part of his career.
French collaboration with the Japanese: Fall, pp. 42-9.
Ho Chi Minh not a genuine nationalist: Department of State Bulletin (Washington), 13 February 1950, p. 244, Dean Acheson; 10 April 1950, Ambassador Loy Henderson; 22 May 1950, Dean Acheson.
Ho Chi Minh's desk: Blanche W. Cook, *The Declassified Eisenhower* (New York, 1981). p. 184.
Declaration of Independence: Full text can be found in Ho Chi Minh, *Selected Works*, Volume III (Hanoi, 1961), pp. 17-21.
 8. Fall, pp. 122, 124.
 9. *The Pentagon Papers*, p. 5; Fall, p. 473.
 10. Fall, p. 473.
 11. Christopher Robbins, *Air America* (G. P. Putnam, New York, 1979) pp. 59-60.
 12. *New York Times*, 11 April 1954, IV, p. 5.
 13. *The Pentagon Papers*, p. 11.
 14. *Ibid.*, p. 36.
 15. *Ibid.*, pp. 5, 11; Dwight Eisenhower, *The White House Years: Mandate for Change, 1953-1956* (New York, 1963) pp. 340-41; Cooper, chapter IV; Sherman Adams, *Firsthand Report* (New York, 1961) p. 122; Adams was Eisenhower's White House chief of staff.
 16. Adams, p. 124.
 17. *The Pentagon Papers*, p. 46.
 18. *The Times* (London) 2 June 1954, quoting from an article by Willoughby.
 19. Cooper, p. 72.
 20. Bernard Fall, *Hell in a Very Small Place: The Siege of Dien Bien Phu* (Great Britain, 1967) p. 307; *Parade* magazine (*Washington Post*) 24 April 1966; Roscoe Drummond and Gaston Coblenz, *Duel at the Brink* (New York, 1960) pp. 121-2.
 21. Joseph Burkholder Smith, *Portrait of a Cold Warrior* (New York, 1976) pp. 172-4.
 22. *Ibid.*, pp. 173-4.
 23. Eisenhower: *Time* magazine, 12 July 1954.
 24. US policy toward the Geneva Conference: Cooper, chapter IV; Cooper was a member of the American delegation at the conference.
 25. Fall (*Two Vietnams*), pp. 153-4.
 26. All other actions: *The Pentagon Papers*, Document No. 15: "Lansdale Team's Report on Covert Saigon Mission

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- in '54 and '55", pp. 53-66.
27. C.L. Sulzberger, *New York Times*, 22 January 1955, p. 10.
 28. *New York Times*, 17 July 1955.
 29. US Department of Defense, *United States - Vietnam Relations, 1945-67* (the government edition of the Pentagon Papers) book 2, IV, A.5, tab 4, p. 66, cited in Noam Chomsky and Edward Herman, *The Washington Connection and Third World Fascism* (Boston, 1979) p. 370.
 30. J.B. Smith, p. 199.
 31. Eisenhower, p. 372.
 32. *The Pentagon Papers*, p. 22.
 33. *Ibid.*, p. 25.
 34. *Life* magazine, 13 May 1957.
 35. *The Pentagon Papers*, p. 23.
 36. Emmet John Hughes, *The Ordeal of Power* (London, 1963) p. 208; Hughes was a speech writer for President Eisenhower.
 37. Michael Klare, *War Without End* (Random House/Vantage Books, New York, 1972) pp. 261-3; David Wise and Thomas B. Ross, *The Espionage Establishment* (Random House, New York, 1967) p. 152.
 38. *Time*, 30 June 1975, p. 32 of European edition.
 39. David Wise, "Colby of CIA — CIA of Colby", *New York Times Magazine*, 1 July 1973, p. 9.
 40. Donald Duncan, *The New Legions* (London, 1967) pp. 156-9.
 41. *Newsweek*, 22 March 1976, pp. 28, 31.
 42. *Washington Post*, 20 March 1982, p. A19.
 43. In numerous places; see, e.g., I.F. Stone's *Weekly*, (Washington), 4 March 1968; "The 'Phantom Battle' that Led to War", *U.S. News and World Report*, 23 July 1984, pp. 56-67; Joseph C. Goulden, *Truth is the First Casualty: The Gulf of Tonkin Affair — Illusion and Reality* (Rand McNally & Co., U.S., 1969), *passim*.
 44. *Covert Action Information Bulletin* (Washington) No. 10, August-September 1980, p. 43.
 45. *Washington Post*, 24 March 1967.
 46. *Chicago Daily News*, 20 October 1965; *Washington Post*, 21 October 1965.
 47. Copy of Oglesby's speech in author's possession.
 48. *Washington Post*, 12 February 1967.
 49. *Ibid.*, 18 December 1966.
 50. Alexander M. Haig, Jr. *Caveat: Realism, Reagan, and Foreign Policy* (New York, 1984), p. 202.
 51. *New York Times*, 28 July 1975, p. 19.
 52. *New York Herald Tribune*, 25 April 1965, p. 18.
 53. U.S. Assistance Program in Vietnam, Hearings before a Subcommittee of the House Committee on Government Operations, 19 July 1971, p. 189.
 54. *Ibid.*, p. 183.
 55. Victor Marchetti and John Marks, *The CIA and the Cult of Intelligence* (New York, 1975) pp. 236-7.
 56. William Colby, *Honorable Men: My Life in the CIA* (New York, 1978) pp. 272, 275-6.
 57. Marchetti and Marks, p. 237.
 58. Wise, p. 33.
 59. *New York Times*, 3 August 1971, p. 10.
 60. *Congressional Record*, House, 12 May 1966, pp. 9977-78, reprint of an article by Morley Safer of CBS News.
 61. *Washington Post*, 25 November 1966.
 62. U.S. Aid to North Vietnam, Hearings Before the Subcommittee on Asian and Pacific Affairs, House Committee on International Relations, 19 July 1977, Appendix 2.
 63. *Atlanta Journal*, 25 September 1965.
 64. *San Francisco Chronicle*, 9 January 1971; also see Telford Taylor, *Nuremberg and Vietnam: An American Tragedy* (New York, 1970).
20. CAMBODIA 1955-1973
1. Prince Norodom Sihanouk, as related to Wilfred Burchett, *My War With The CIA* (London, 1974, revised edition) pp. 75-6. The SEATO treaty of 1954 actually had a protocol attached which unilaterally placed Cambodia, Laos and South Vietnam under its umbrella. Sihanouk later asserted that he had rejected Cambodia's inclusion, although at the time he was reportedly amenable to his country being a member of some sort of Western security system for south-east Asia. In any event, for various reasons, he soon moved away from this position and toward the policy of neutralism he maintained thereafter. For a fuller discussion of these matters, see Michael Leifer, *Cambodia: The Search for Security* (London, 1967) particularly chapter 3.
 2. Events of 1956: Sihanouk, pp. 82-6; *New York Times*, 17 March 1956, p. 2; 24 March, p. 3; 20 April, p. 5; 21 April, p. 3.
 3. Sihanouk, p. 94
 4. *Neak Cheat Niyum* ("The Nationalist", Phnom Penh) 29 September 1963, cited in Leifer, p. 144.
 5. *Pentagon Papers*, Vol 10, p. 1100, cited by William Shawcross, *Side-Show: Kissinger, Nixon and the Destruction of Cambodia* (New York, 1979, paperback edition) p. 53.
 6. Sihanouk, pp. 102-3; *New York Times*, 26 June 1958, p. 1; 25 April 1966, p. 20.

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7. Shawcross, p. 54.
8. Ibid.
9. Ibid., p. 122.
10. *Washington Post*, 2 January 1966, p. E4.
11. US involvement with the Khmer Serei and Khmer Krom: Charles Simpson, III, *Inside the Green Berets — The First 30 Years — A History of the US Army Special Forces* (London, 1983) pp. 114-5; Shawcross, passim; Sihanouk, passim.
12. Plot of 1958-59: Sihanouk, pp. 102-109; *Washington Post*, 7 September 1965, p. 1; Shawcross, pp. 54-5; *The Observer* (London) 22 February 1959, p. 8.
13. Sihanouk, p. 125.
14. Ibid., pp. 124-5.
15. William Colby, *Honorable Men: My Life in the CIA* (New York, 1978), pp. 149-50.
16. Sihanouk, pp. 113-115, 118-121.
17. Effects of US aid to Cambodia: Sihanouk, passim, particularly pp. 93-6, 133-8; Shawcross, pp. 58-60; *Washington Post*, 2 January 1966, p. E4.
18. Sihanouk, pp. 139-40.
19. See, e.g., *Washington Post*, 4 August 1966 & 15 October 1966.
20. Francois Ponchaud, *Cambodia Year Zero*, translated from the French (London, 1978) p. 186.
21. *San Francisco Chronicle*, 23 July 1973.
22. Ibid., 16 July 1973; Shawcross, pp. 287-90.
23. Shawcross, pp. 148-9.
24. Ibid., pp. 114-15, based on interviews with Snepp by Shawcross.
25. Ibid., p. 114.
26. Seymour M. Hersh, *Kissinger: The Price of Power* (London, 1983) p. 176. Hersh, in chapter 15, provides further details of the machinations between the US and Lon Nol and others indicating American foreknowledge and encouragement of the coup.
27. Shawcross, p. 122.
28. Ibid., pp. 118-19.
29. Ibid., p. 120.
30. Roger Morris, *Uncertain Greatness: Henry Kissinger and American Foreign Policy* (Great Britain, 1977) p. 173.
31. Shawcross, p. 119; Snepp's remarks based on interview with him by Shawcross.
32. *New York Times*, 21 March 1970, p. 1.
33. Morris, p. 174.
34. *Newsweek*, 22 November 1971, p. 37.
35. Shawcross, p. 400.
36. Testimony before US Senate Foreign Relations Committee, Hearings on Supplemental Assistance to Cambodia, 24 February 1975, p. 64.
37. American support of the Khmer Rouge:
 - a) Jack Calhoun, "U.S. Supports Khmer Rouge", *Covert Action Information Bulletin*, No. 34, Summer 1990, pp. 37-40.
 - b) David Munro, "Cambodia: A Secret War Continues", *Covert Action Information Bulletin*, No. 40, Spring 1992, pp. 52-57.
 - c) *Newsweek*, 10 October 1983, p. 41.
 - d) *Los Angeles Times*, 5 December 1980 (Ray Cline); 27 February 1991 (Bush administration admission of "tactical military cooperation" between US-backed forces and the Khmer Rouge.)
21. LAOS 1957-1973
 1. Vientiane (Laos) correspondent, "The Labyrinthine War", *Far Eastern Economic Review* (Hong Kong conservative weekly), 16 April 1970, p. 73.
 2. Testimony before the US Senate Armed Services Committee, *Hearings on Fiscal Year 1972 Authorizations*, 22 July 1971, p. 4289.
 3. Testimony before the House Subcommittee on Foreign Operations and Monetary Affairs, Committee on Government Operations, *Hearings on US Aid Operations in Laos, May-June 1959*; see also *New York Times*, 20 January 1961, p. 2, and *Washington Post*, 10 April 1966 for statements of Laotian Prime Minister Souvanna Phouma re US opposition to a coalition or neutralist government.
 4. *New York Times*, 25 April 1957.
 5. Ibid., 18 May 1958, IV, p. 7.
 6. Ibid., 23 July 1958, p. 2; 25 July, p. 4.
 7. Ibid., 20 January 1961, p. 2; *Washington Post*, 10 April 1966.
 8. *New York Times*, 15 January 1959, p. 15.
 9. Fred Branfman, *Voices from the Plain of Jars: Life Under an Air War* (Harper & Row, New York, 1972) p. 12; *New York Times*, 18 May 1958, IV, p. 7.
 10. *New York Times*, 25 April 1966, p. 20.
 11. Arthur Schlesinger, *A Thousand Days* (Boston, 1965), p. 325.

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12. 1958: *Ibid.*, pp. 325-6 (this has to do with the events of 1958 referred to earlier - see notes 6 and 7 above); 1959: *Ibid.*, p. 326; Branfman, p. 12; 1960: Chester Bowles, *Promises to Keep: My Years in Public Life, 1941-1969* (New York 1971) p. 334; Bowles was a prominent American diplomat.
13. Roger Hilsman, *To Move a Nation* (New York, 1967) pp. 111-2.
14. *New York Times*, 25 January 1958, p. 6; 25 February, p. 6.
15. *Ibid.*, 9 August 1960.
16. Norman Cousins, "Report from Laos", *Saturday Review*, 18 February 1961, p. 12.
17. Secret Army:
 - a) *New York Times*, 26 October 1969, p. 1.
 - b) Fred Branfman, "The President's Secret Army", in Robert Borosage and John Marks, eds., *The CIA File* (New York, 1976) pp. 46-78.
 - c) Christopher Robbins, *Air America* (New York, 1979) chapters 5 and 8.
 - d) Col. L. Fletcher Prouty, US Air Force, Ret., *The Secret Team: The CIA and its Allies in Control of the World* (New York, 1974) pp. 190-93, 438.
 - e) Victor Marchetti and John Marks, *The CIA and the Cult of Intelligence* (New York, 1975) pp. 54, 132.
 - f) *San Francisco Chronicle*, 25 July 1973 (reporting deaths).
18. *New York Times*, 18 May 1958, IV, p. 7.
19. Robbins, op. cit.
20. Branfman (*CIA File*), p. 65.
21. Robbins, op. cit.
22. For a comprehensive account of CIA involvement in drug trafficking from Latin America to Southeast Asia to Afghanistan, from the 1950s to the 1980s, see:
 - a) Alfred W. McCoy, *The Politics of Heroin in Southeast Asia* (Harper & Row, New York, 1972) passim; revised and updated edition, *The Politics of Heroin: CIA Complicity in the Global Drug Trade* (Lawrence Hill Books, New York, 1991) passim.
 - b) Henrik Kruger, *The Great Heroin Coup: Drugs, Intelligence, and International Fascism* (Boston, 1980, originally published in Danish in 1976), passim
 - c) Christopher Robbins, *Air America* (New York, 1979), pp. 128, 225-243
 - d) Leslie Cockburn, *Out of Control* (New York, 1987), passim
 - e) Peter Dale Scott, Jonathan Marshall, *Cocaine Politics: Drugs, Armies, and the CIA in Central America* (University of CA Press, 1991), passim.
 - f) *Drugs, Law Enforcement and Foreign Policy*, a Report of the Senate Committee on Foreign Relations, Subcommittee on Terrorism, Narcotics and International Operations, 1989
23. Testimony of Daniel Oleksiw, USIA, before US Senate Committee on Foreign Relations, *Hearings on US Security Agreements and Commitments Abroad: Kingdom of Laos*, October 1969, pp. 586-7.
The USIA produced a number of other unattributed publications in Asia during the 1950s and 1960s. A 1954 document lists: *Four Seas* (monthly magazine, southeast Asia), *Free World* (monthly magazine, nine Far Eastern countries), *American Reporter* (bi-weekly newspaper, India), *Panorama* (bi-weekly newspaper, Pakistan), and *News Review* (weekly magazine, Beirut). [White House Memo based on information prepared by USIA, 15 February 1954, *Declassified Documents Reference System*, 1987, document no. 548.]
24. *New York Times*, 25 April 1966, p. 20.
25. *Ibid.*, 20 January 1961, p. 2.
26. Marchetti and Marks, p. 132; Branfman (*Voices*), p. 16.
27. Robbins, p. 116.
28. William Lederer & Eugene Burdick, *A Nation of Sheep* (London, 1961) pp. 12-13; see also Bernard Fall, *Anatomy of a Crisis: The Laotian Crisis of 1960-1961* (New York, 1969), chapter 7.
29. Lederer and Burdick, pp. 15-22.
30. Bernard Fall, *Street Without Joy: Insurgency in Indochina, 1946-63* (London, 1963, Third revised edition) p. 329; *New York Times* 3 January 1961, p. 10.
31. Fall (*Street*), p. 332.
32. Schlesinger, p. 329.
33. *Ibid.*, p. 517; see also Andrew Tully, *The Super Spies* (London, 1970) p. 165.
34. Robbins, p. 115.
35. Prouty, p. 314.
36. *New York Times*, 3 May 1964, p. 1; 7 May, p. 7; 14 May, p. 11.
37. *Congressional Record*, 18 July 1973, pp. 24520-22.
38. Branfman (*Voices*), p. 5; Branfman was in Laos 1967-71, first as an educational adviser to International Voluntary Services ("a Bible Belt version of the Peace Corps" - Robbins), then as a writer and researcher.
39. *Refugee and Civilian War Casualty Problems in Indochina*, Staff Report prepared for the US Senate Subcommittee on Refugees, Committee on the Judiciary, 28 September 1970, pp. 19 and v.
40. *Ibid.*, p. 32.
41. *The Guardian* (London) 14 October 1971, p. 4.
42. Robbins, p. 132.
43. Branfman (*Voices*), p. 15.

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44. *New York Times*, 23 February 1973, p. 1.
 45. *Ibid.*, 8 April 1954.
22. HAITI 1959-1963
1. Robert I. Rotberg with Christopher K. Clague, Haiti: *The Politics of Squalor* (A Twentieth Century Fund Study, Boston, 1971), p. 244.
 2. *New York Times*, 15 and 16 August 1959; Robert Debs Heinel, Jr. and Nancy Gordon Heinel, *The Story of the Haitian People, 1492-1971* (Boston, 1978), p. 600.
 3. *Hispanic American Report* (Stanford University, California) October 1959, p. 434.
 4. *New York Times*, 17 and 18 August 1959.
 5. Heinel, p. 600; *New York Times*, 15 August 1959.
 6. Heinel, p. 600; Rotberg, p. 219.
 7. *New York Times*, 16 August 1959.
 8. Heinel, p. 600.
 9. *New York Times*, 16 August 1959.
 10. Rotberg, p. 219.
 11. Heinel, p. 618.
 12. *Interim Report: Alleged Assassination Plots Involving Foreign Leaders*, The Select Committee to Study Governmental Operations with Respect to Intelligence Activities (US Senate), 20 November 1975, p. 4, footnote 1. The Report doesn't specify when this took place, but the *New York Times*, 14 November 1993, p. 12, placed it in 1961.
 13. Fritz Longchamp and Worth Cooley-Prost, "Hope for Haiti", *Covert Action Information Bulletin* (Washington), No. 36, Spring 1991, p. 56. Longchamp is Executive Director of the Washington Office on Haiti, an analysis and public education center; Arthur Schlesinger, Jr. *A Thousand Days* (Boston, 1965) pp. 782-3; Heinel, p. 617.
23. GUATEMALA 1960
- The principal sources of this chapter are:
- a) Richard Gott, *Rural Guerrillas in Latin America* (Great Britain, 1973, revised edition) pp. 68-77; first published in 1970 as *Guerrilla Movements in Latin America*.
 - b) David Wise and Thomas Ross, *The Invisible Government* (New York, 1965, paperback edition) pp. 22-4, 33.
 - c) Col. L. Fletcher Prouty, US Air Force, Ret., *The Secret Team: The CIA and its Allies in Control of the World* (New York, 1974) pp. 45-6.
 - d) John Gerassi, *The Great Fear in Latin America* (New York, 1965, revised edition) pp. 184-5; Gerassi was a correspondent in Latin America for the *New York Times* and an editor of *Time* magazine.
1. Gott, p. 70.
 2. *New York Times*, 18 November 1960.
 3. *Ibid.*, 15, 19 November 1960.
 4. Gott, p. 71; Wise and Ross, p. 33; Prouty, p. 46.
 5. Gerassi, p. 185.
 6. *New York Times*, 19 November 1960.
 7. Thomas and Marjorie Melville, Guatemala: *The Politics of Land Ownership* (US, 1971) p. 142; Gott, p. 76.
 8. Gott, p. 77.
24. FRANCE/ALGERIA 1960s
1. Andrew Tully, *CIA: The Inside Story* (New York, 1962), p. 44.
 2. Allen Dulles, *The Craft of Intelligence* (New York, 1965), p. 175.
 3. *New York Times*, 4 May 1961, p. 10.
 4. Cited in Tully, p. 45, article by Crosby Noyes, no date of *Washington Star* given.
 5. Cited in Sanche de Gramont, *The Secret War* (New York, 1963) pp. 29-30
 6. *New York Times*, 24 April 1961.
 7. *Washington Post*, 5 May 1961, p. A16.
 8. *Time*, 12 May 1961, p. 19.
 9. *New York Times*, 29 April 1961, pp. 1, 3
 10. *Ibid.*, 1 May 1961, p. 28.
 11. Cited in de Gramont, pp. 30-31.
 12. *Newsweek*, 15 May 1961, pp. 50-51.
 13. *L'Express*/Claude Krief: As reported in Alexander Werth, "The CIA in Algeria", *The Nation* (New York), 20 May 1961, pp. 433-5
 14. *Time*, 12 May 1961, p. 19
 15. *New York Times*, 29 April 1961, p. 3.
 16. *Ibid.*, 2 May 1961, p. 18.
 17. *Ibid.*, 24 June 1975, p.11.
 18. Christian Plume & Pierre Démaret, *Target: De Gaulle* (translation from the French, London, 1974) passim.

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19. *Chicago Tribune*, 15 June 1975, p. 1.
20. David Wise, *The Politics of Lying* (New York, 1973, paperback edition) p. 431.
21. *Military Assistance Training*, Hearings before the House Committee on Foreign Affairs, Subcommittee on National Security Policy and Scientific Developments, October and December 1970, p. 120.
22. *Chicago Tribune*, 20 June 1975, p. 6.
25. ECUADOR 1960 to 1963
 1. Philip Agee, *Inside the Company: CIA Diary* (New York, 1975) pp. 106-316, passim. Agee's book made him Public Enemy No. One of the CIA. In a review of the book, however, former Agency official Miles Copeland — while not concealing his distaste for Agee's "betrayal" — stated that "The book is interesting as an authentic account of how an ordinary American or British 'case officer' operates ... As a spy handler in Quito, Montevideo and Mexico City, he has first-hand information ... All of it, just as his publisher claims, is presented 'with deadly accuracy'." (*The Spectator*, London, 11 January 1975, p. 40.)
 2. *New York Times*, 14 July 1963, p. 20. For an interesting and concise discussion of the political leanings of Velasco and Arosemana, see John Gerassi, *The Great Fear in Latin America* (New York, 1965, revised edition) pp. 141-8.
26. THE CONGO 1960-1964
 1. *Interim Report: Alleged Assassination Plots Involving Foreign Leaders*, The Select Committee to Study Governmental Operations with Respect to Intelligence Activities (US Senate), 20 November 1975, pp. 14, 15, 16 respectively; hereafter referred to as Assassination Report.
 2. *Washington Post*, 28 August 1960, p. A4.
 3. Assassination Report, p. 58.
 4. Jonathan Kwitny, *Endless Enemies: The Making of an Unfriendly World* (New York, 1984) p. 57.
 5. Alan Merriam, *Congo: Background to Conflict* (Northwestern U. Press, Evanston, 1961) pp. 352-4.
 6. David Gibbs, *The Political Economy of Third World Intervention: Mines, Money, and U.S. Policy in the Congo Crisis* (University of Chicago Press, 1991), p. 100, provides the details of these ties; p. 90 re US embassy requesting Belgian intervention.
 7. *Ibid.*, pp. 92-3.
 8. *New York Times*, 4 September 1960, IV, p. 3; Gibbs, p. 100.
 9. Kwitny, pp. 62-3, 65; Stephen R. Weissman, *American Foreign Policy in the Congo, 1960-1964* (Cornell University Press, Ithaca, 1974), pp. 88-95 (Weissman is a former staff member of the Subcommittee on Africa of the House Foreign Affairs Committee); Andrew Tully, *CIA: The Inside Story* (Fawcett, New York, 1962, paperback), pp. 179-80 (CIA men).
 10. Assassination Report, p. 16.
 11. Victor Marchetti (former executive assistant to the Deputy Director of the CIA) and John D. Marks, *The CIA and the Cult of Intelligence* (Laurel/Dell, 1983), p. 28; this edition contains more of the previously deleted and classified passages.
 12. Stephen R. Weissman, "CIA Covert Action in Zaire and Angola: Patterns and Consequences", *Political Science Quarterly* (PSQ), Summer 1979, p. 267 (see information about Weissman above).
 13. Coup: Kwitny, p. 66; quotes re Lumumba: Assassination Report, pp. 16, 17, 18, 63 respectively. The last three are quotes or paraphrases of the words of American officials.
 14. *Ibid.*, p. 19-30. Gottlieb is referred to as Joseph Scheider in the Assassination Report.
 15. *Ibid.*, p. 13.
 16. *New York Times*, 22 February 1976, p. 55.
 17. Assassination Report, p. 30.
 18. *Ibid.*, pp. 18-19.
 19. Gibbs, pp. 96-7.
 20. *Ibid.*, p. 48.
 21. Tully, p. 178; for further discussion of US-Mobutu relationship, see Gibbs, p. 96; Kwitny, pp. 63, 66-7; Weissman (*American Foreign Policy*), pp. 94-9, 108-9; Weissman (PSQ), p. 268.
 22. John Stockwell, *In Search of Enemies* (New York, 1978) p. 105; see also 137, 236-7.
 23. Cables: 18 January 1961, from US Ambassador in Leopoldville to American Consulate in Elizabethville, and 20 January 1961, from Elizabethville to Washington, *Declassified Documents Reference System* (Arlington, Va.), Retrospective Collection volume, documents 375B, E. Both cables were sent after Lumumba's death, indicating that these State Department officials were not privy to the CIA's actions.
 24. Gibbs, chapter 4; Arthur Schlesinger, *A Thousand Days* (Boston, 1965) p. 576.
 25. Col. L. Fletcher Prouty, US Air Force, Ret., *The Secret Team: The CIA and its Allies in Control of the World* (Ballantine Books, New York, 1974, paperback) pp. 26, 129-30, 438.
 26. Costa Rica in 1955 (cf. this chapter); and Burma in 1970, if not also earlier, when the US military aided the Burmese air force to mount strikes against Burmese rebels, while the CIA was assisting the rebels from its operation in Laos. (*San Francisco Chronicle*, 16 October 1970, p. 22.) Additionally, in Angola during the 1960s and 70s, and in Cuba, 1957-58, the Agency gave funds to insurgents attempting to overthrow governments which were being provided with arms by the United States to suppress the insurgents. (cf. these chapters)

Notes

27. Assassination Report, p. 18. Lawrence Devlin is referred to as Victor Hedgman in the Report.
 28. Kwitny, p. 67.
 29. *Newsweek* 22 November 1971, p. 37.
 30. State Department memo, 17 November 1961, from L.D. Battle, Executive Secretary, to McGeorge Bundy, Special Assistant to the President for National Security Affairs; *Declassified Documents Reference System* (Arlington, Va.), Retrospective Collection volume, document 383C.
 31. Marchetti and Marks, p. 28.
 32. Kwitny, pp. 67-8; Weissman (*American Foreign Policy*) pp. 105, 205; Weissman (PSQ) p. 270; the CIA memorandum was entitled: "Congo: United States Assistance to Adoula Against Gizenga", no date, but apparently written in November 1961, found in the National Security Files, John F. Kennedy Presidential Library, Boston, cited by Weissman (PSQ).
 33. "CBS Reports", 26 April 1962, "The Hot and Cold Wars of Allen Dulles", pp. 19-20 of transcript, cited by Stephen R. Weissman in "The CIA and U.S. Policy in Zaire and Angola" in Ellen Ray, et al., eds., *Dirty Work 2: The CIA in Africa* (New Jersey, 1979), p. 200; this is another version of Weissman's article in PSQ referred to above.
 34. William Atwood, *The Reds and the Blacks* (London, 1967), p. 194; Atwood was US Ambassador to Kenya, 1964-65; Weissman (PSQ), pp. 271-2; Weissman (*American Foreign Policy*), pp. 226-30.
 35. Atwood, p. 192.
 36. CIA mercenaries: David Wise and Thomas Ross, *The Espionage Establishment* (New York, 1967) p. 167; Stockwell, pp. 187-8; Marchetti and Marks, p. 104; Roger Morris (former staff member of the National Security Council) and Richard Mauzy, "Zaire (the Congo): An Exercise in Nation Building" in Robert Borosage and John Marks, eds., *The CIA File* (New York, 1976) pp. 35-7.
 37. *New York Times*, 26 April 1966, p. 1.
 38. *Ibid.*, 17 June 1964, pp. 1, 12; 18 June, p. 1.
 39. M. Crawford Young, "Rebellion and the Congo", in Robert Rotberg, ed., *Rebellion in Black Africa* (Oxford University Press, 1971), p. 230.
 40. Young, p. 227, and passim; Atwood, p. 192 (witch doctors); Thomas Powers, *The Man Who Kept the Secrets: Richard Helms and the CIA* (New York, 1979) p. 153 (Mulele).
 41. Young, p. 209.
 42. *New York Times*, 15 November 1964, p. 27.
 43. *Ibid.*, 1 November 1964, p. 12; 3 November, p. 14; Atwood, chapter 16.
 44. Richard Barnett, *Intervention and Revolution* (London, 1970) p. 250.
 45. Atwood, p. 218.
 46. *The Times* (London) 25 November 1964.
 47. Marchetti and Marks, p. 111.
 48. Atwood, p. 194.
 49. Dwight Eisenhower, *The White House Years: Waging Peace, 1956-1961* (New York, 1965) p. 270.
27. BRAZIL 1961 to 1964
1. Phyllis R. Parker, *Brazil and the Quiet Intervention, 1964* (University of Texas Press, Austin, 1979) p. 64. This book draws heavily upon declassified documents found at the John F. Kennedy and Lyndon B. Johnson presidential libraries. The author augmented this information with interviews of key figures in the events discussed here.
 2. *Ibid.*, p. 67.
 3. *Ibid.*, p. 65.
 4. *Ibid.*, p. 20, Washington, April 1962
 5. *Ibid.*, pp. 30-31, 34.
 6. *Ibid.*, p. 31, meeting in Brazil 17 December 1962.
 7. *Ibid.*, pp. 45, 21, Walters' report to the Pentagon, 6 August 1963.
 8. *Ibid.*, pp. 41-2.
 9. *Ibid.*, p. 44 and passim
 10. John Gerassi, *The Great Fear in Latin America* (New York, 1965, revised edition) p. 83.
 11. *Ibid.*, p. 82.
 12. *New York Times*, 12 July 1961, p. 13.
 13. Peter Bell, "Brazilian-American Relations" in Riordan Roett, ed., *Brazil in the Sixties* (Vanderbilt University Press, Nashville, 1972) p. 81; Bell interview of Cabot, Washington, DC, 15 January 1970.
 14. Gerassi, p. 84.
 15. *New York Times*, 16 March 1962, p. 7.
 16. Stephen Schlesinger and Stephen Kinzer, *Bitter Fruit: The Untold Story of the American Coup in Guatemala* (Doubleday & Co., New York, 1982) pp. 103-4, 108.
 17. *New York Times*, 16 March 1962, p. 7.
 18. Gerassi, pp. 84-8.
 19. Thomas E. Skidmore, *Politics in Brazil, 1930-1964: An Experiment in Democracy* (Oxford University Press, New York, 1967) p. 130; Gerassi, pp. 80-81.
 20. Jan Knippers Black, *United States Penetration of Brazil* (University of Pennsylvania Press, Philadelphia, 1977),

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- p.40: the words quoted are Black's, based on her interview with Lt. Col. Edward L. King, a member of the Joint Brazil-US Defense Commission in the second half of the 1960s; also see Bell, p. 83 re US doubts about Goulart from the beginning of his presidency.
21. Arthur Schlesinger, *A Thousand Days* (Boston, 1965) pp. 780-2; *New York Times*, 5 December 1961, p. 11.
 22. *New York Times*, 5 April 1962, p. 3.
 23. *Time*, 3 November 1961, p. 29.
 24. Gerassi, pp. 83, 88.
 25. Parker, p. 29, interview with Gordon, 19 January 1976.
 26. Philip Agee, *Inside the Company: CIA Diary* (New York, 1975), p. 321.
 27. Parker, p. 27.
 28. A. J. Langguth, *Hidden Terrors* (New York, 1978) p. 92; Langguth was formerly with the *New York Times* and in 1965 served as Saigon Bureau Chief for the newspaper.
 29. Parker, p. 26, memo from President Kennedy to AID administrator Fowler Hamilton, 5 February 1962.
 30. *Ibid.*, pp. 87-97.
 31. Agee, p. 362.
 32. Langguth, pp. 77, 89-90, 92, 108.
 33. Parker, p. 40.
 34. For the most important incident/example of this see the story of the Navy mutiny in Skidmore, pp. 296-7.
 35. Philip Siekman, "When Executives Turned Revolutionaries", *Fortune* magazine (New York), September 1964, p. 214.
 36. Parker, p. 63, interview of Walters.
 37. Langguth, pp. 61-2, 98; *Washington Post*, 5 February 1968, p. 1.
 38. Skidmore, p. 330; also see James Kohl and John Litt, *Urban Guerrilla Warfare in Latin America* (The MIT Press, Cambridge, Mass., 1974) p. 39 for further discussion of the strong pro-US, anti-leftist bias of the college's curriculum.
 39. Parker, p. 98, cable to State Department, 4 March 1964. In this and the following quotations from cables, missing articles and prepositions have been inserted for the sake of readability. For further discussion of the closeness of US and Brazilian military officers and the presumed influencing of the latter along pro-US, anti-communist lines see: a) Langguth, pp. 94-6, 162-70; b) Black, chapters 9 and 10; c) Michael Klare, *War Without End* (New York, 1972) chapter 10; d) Alfred Stepan, *The Military in Politics: Changing Patterns in Brazil* (Princeton University Press, New Jersey, 1971, a RAND Corp. Study) pp. 123-33.
 40. Parker, p. 65.
 41. *Ibid.*, p. 68.
 42. *Ibid.*, pp. 68-9.
 43. *Ibid.*, p. 74.
 44. *Ibid.*, p. 75, teletype, Washington to US Embassy, Brazil, 31 March 1964.
 45. *Ibid.*, p. 68.
 46. *Ibid.*, pp. 74, 77.
 47. *Ibid.*, pp. 72, 75-6; also see the statement of former Brazilian Army Col. Pedro Paulo de Baruna, exiled by the junta, about the effect of the naval force upon the thinking of Castelo Branco: Warner Poelchau, ed., *White Paper, Whitewash* (New York, 1981) p. 51.
 48. *Survey of the Alliance for Progress: Labor Policies and Programs*, Staff Report of the US Senate Foreign Relations Committee, Subcommittee on American Republics Affairs, 15 July 1968, p. 53; the background of AIFLD can be found in earlier pages of this report; also see Black, chapter 6.
 49. US Senate Report cited in the previous note, p. 14, quoting from a radio program in which Doherty took part.
 50. Eugene Methvin, "Labor's New Weapon for Democracy", *Reader's Digest*, October, 1966, p. 28.
 51. Poelchau, pp. 47-51.
 52. Langguth, pp. 110, 113; *Washington Post*, 2 April 1964, p. 23.
 53. Langguth, pp. 112-13.
 54. *Ibid.*, p. 113; *Washington Post*, 3 April 1964, p. 17.
 55. Gordon's cables: Parker, pp. 81-3.
 56. *Ibid.*, p. 83.
 57. Hearing on the Nomination of Lincoln Gordon to be Assistant Secretary of State for Inter-American Affairs, US Senate Foreign Relations Committee, 7 February 1966, pp. 44-5.
 58. *The Department of State Bulletin*, 20 April 1964, news conference of 3 April 1964.
 59. Langguth, p. 116, from Langguth's interview of Gordon.
 60. Senate Hearing, op. cit.
 61. *Foreign Assistance Act of 1965*, Hearings before the House Foreign Affairs Committee, 25 February 1965, p. 346.
 62. Langguth, p. 113, citing the *Brazil Herald*, 6 March 1964, p.4.
 63. *New York Times*, 11 July 1965, p. 13.
 64. *Ibid.*, 25 November 1966, p. 4.
 65. Marc Edelman, "The Other Super Power: The Soviet Union and Latin America 1917-1987", *NACLA's Report on the Americas* (North American Congress on Latin America, New York), January/February 1987, pp. 32-4; day of mourning: p. 29, citing the CIA's Foreign Broadcast Information Service (FBIS-LAM), 15 November 1982.

Notes

66. *Reader's Digest*, November 1964, pp. 135-58.
67. Agee, p. 364.
68. Parker, pp. 85-6.
69. Agee, pp. 364-5.
70. *New York Times*, 6 April 1964, p. 1.
71. *Reader's Digest*, October, 1966, op. cit.
72. Parker, p. 59.
73. The repressiveness of the Branco government and the Washington connection:
- a) Penny Lernoux, *Cry of the People: The Struggle for Human Rights in Latin America — The Catholic Church in Conflict with U.S. Policy* (Penguin Books, London, 1982) pp. 166-75, 313-32, and elsewhere.
- b) Langguth, chapters 4, 5 and 7 and elsewhere.
- c) *Torture and Oppression in Brazil*, Hearing before the Subcommittee on International Organizations and Movements of the House Committee on Foreign Affairs, 11 December, 1974; contains testimony by and about torture victims and reprints of articles from the US press.
- d) Noam Chomsky and Edward Herman, *The Washington Connection and Third World Fascism* (Boston, 1979) see index.
74. Agency for International Development (AID), *Program and Project Data Presentation to the Congress for Fiscal Year 1971*, p. 26.
75. Langguth, p. 94; Poelchau, p. 65, interview of Langguth.
76. Amnesty International, *Report on Allegations of Torture in Brazil* (London, 1974) p. 40.
77. *Journal do Brazil*, 25 May 1972, cited in Amnesty International, op. cit., p. 49.
78. Lawrence Weschler, *A Miracle, A Universe: Settling Accounts with Torturers* (Penguin Books, New York, 1991), p. 122.
79. *Special Study Mission to Latin America on Military Assistance Training*, House Committee on Foreign Affairs Report, 1970.
80. *New York Times*, 27 April 1966, p. 28.
28. PERU 1960 to 1965
1. *New York Times*, 22 December 1960, p. 3.
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4. *New York Times*, 28 December 1960, p. 5.
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9. Hearings before the Committee on Armed Services and the Subcommittee on Department of Defense of the Committee on Appropriations (US Senate), 23 February 1966, p. 38.
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14. Petras, p. 349.
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2. Bernard Diederich, *Trujillo: The Death of the Goat* (London, 1978) p. 43.
3. *Ibid.*, pp. 48-9; *New York Times*, 23 June 1975, p. 17 (this article is more understandable when one knows that Lear Reed was addressed as "Colonel", his World War II rank — Diederich, p. 49).
4. *Interim Report: Alleged Assassination Plots Involving Foreign Leaders*, The Select Committee to Study Governmental Operations with Respect to Intelligence Activities (US Senate), 20 November 1975, p. 192; hereafter referred to as Assassination Report.
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 12. Events of 1961 following the assassination: Slater, pp. 294-7; Diederich, pp. 220-51.
 13. Slater, p. 298; *New York Times*, 20 January 1962, p. 4.
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 16. *New York Times*, 9 June 1962, p. 10.
 17. US involvement in elections: Martin, pp. 227-9, 347-8.
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 28. *Washington Post*, 27 June 1965, p. E2.
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 32. Martin, pp. 656-7; *New York Times*, 1 May 1965; Slater, p. 309; *Wall Street Journal*, 25 June 1965, p. 8.
 33. Martin, p. 658.
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 35. *New York Times*, 20 May 1965; Slater, p. 325.
 36. *New York Times Magazine*, 14 July 1982, p. 20.
 37. *Ibid.*
 38. *New York Times*, 25 February 1967.
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 40. Philip Agee, *Inside the Company: CIA Diary* (New York, 1975) p. 421.
 41. Barnet, pp. 175-6.
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 44. David Wise, *The Politics of Lying* (New York, 1973, paperback edition) p. 32.
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 46. See, e.g., *Wall Street Journal*, 7 September 1971, "In Dominican Republic, Political Murders Rise, and So Does Poverty"; also, various Amnesty International *Reports on Torture* and *Annual Reports* during the 1970s.
30. CUBA 1959 to 1980s
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 2. *Time*, 2 November 1962.
 3. Cited by William Appleman Williams, "American Intervention in Russia: 1917-20", in David Horowitz, ed., *Containment and Revolution* (Boston, 1967). Written in a letter to President Wilson by Secretary of State Robert Lansing, uncle of John Foster and Allen Dulles.
 4. Facts on File, *Cuba, the U.S. and Russia, 1960-63* (New York, 1964) pp. 56-8.
 5. *International Herald Tribune* (Paris), 2 October 1985, p. 1.
 6. *New York Times*, 23 October 1959, p. 1.
 7. Facts on File, op. cit., pp. 7-8; *New York Times*, 19, 20 February 1960; 22 March 1960.
 8. *New York Times*, 5, 6 March 1960.
 9. David Wise, "Colby of CIA — CIA of Colby", *New York Times Magazine*, 1 July 1973, p. 9.
 10. A report about the post-invasion inquiry ordered by Kennedy disclosed that "It was never intended, the planners testified, that the invasion itself would topple Castro. The hope was that an initial success would spur an uprising by thousands of anti-Castro Cubans. Ships in the invasion fleet carried 15,000 weapons to be distributed to the

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- expected volunteers." *U.S. News & World Report*, 13 August 1979, p. 82. Some CIA officials, including Allen Dulles, later denied that an uprising was expected, but this may be no more than an attempt to mask their ideological embarrassment that people living under a "communist tyranny" did not respond at all to the call of "The Free World".
11. Attacks on Cuba:
 - a) Taylor Branch and George Crile III, "The Kennedy Vendetta", *Harper's* magazine (New York), August 1975, pp. 49-63
 - b) Facts on File, op. cit., passim
 - c) *New York Times*, 26 August 1962, p. 1; 21 March 1963, p. 3; *Washington Post*, 1 June 1966; 30 September 1966; plus many other articles in both newspapers during the 1960s
 - d) Warren Hinckle and William W. Turner, *The Fish is Red: The Story of the Secret War Against Castro* (Harper & Row, New York, 1981) passim.
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 13. *New York Times*, 26 August 1962, p. 1.
 14. John Gerassi, *The Great Fear in Latin America* (New York, 1965, revised edition) p. 278.
 15. Branch and Crile, op. cit., p. 52.
 16. *The Times* (London), 8, 10 January 1964; 12 May, p. 10; 21 July, p. 10; 28, 29 October; *The Guardian* (London), 28, 29 October 1964.
 17. *Washington Post*, 14 February 1975, p. C31; Anderson's story stated that there were only 24 buses involved and that they were dried and used in England.
 18. Branch and Crile, op. cit., p. 52.
 19. *New York Times*, 28 April 1966, p. 1.
 20. Branch and Crile, op. cit., p. 52.
 21. *Washington Post*, 21 March 1977, p. A18.
 22. Hinckle and Turner, p. 293, based on their interview with the participant in Ridgecrest, California, 27 September 1975.
 23. *San Francisco Chronicle*, 10 January 1977.
 24. Bill Schaap, "The 1981 Cuba Dengue Epidemic", *Covert Action Information Bulletin* (Washington), No. 17, Summer 1982, pp. 28-31
 25. *San Francisco Chronicle*, 29 October 1980, p. 15.
 26. *Science* (American Association for the Advancement of Science, Washington), 13 January 1967, p. 176.
 27. *Covert Action Information Bulletin* (Washington), No. 22, Fall 1984, p. 35; the trial of Eduardo Victor Arocena Perez, Federal District Court for the Southern District of New York, transcript of 10 September 1984, pp. 2187-89.
 28. See, e.g., *San Francisco Chronicle*, 27 July 1981.
 29. *Washington Post*, 16 September 1977, p. A2.
 30. *Ibid.*, 25 October 1969, column by Jack Anderson.
 31. Reports of the assassination attempts have been disclosed in many places; see *Interim Report: Alleged Assassination Plots Involving Foreign Leaders*, The Select Committee to Study Governmental Operations with Respect to Intelligence Activities (US Senate), 20 November 1975, pp. 71-180, for a detailed, although not complete, account. Stadium bombing attempt: *New York Times*, 22 November 1964, p. 26.
 32. *New York Times*, 12 December 1964, p. 1.
 33. *Ibid.*, 3 March 1980, p. 1.
 34. Terrorist attacks within the United States:
 - a) Jeff Stein, "Inside Omega 7", *The Village Voice* (New York), 10 March 1980
 - b) *New York Times*, 13 September 1980, p. 24; 3 March, 1980, p. 1.
 - c) John Dinges and Saul Landau, *Assassination on Embassy Row* (London, 1981), pp. 251-52, note (also includes attacks on Cuban targets in other countries)
 - d) *Covert Action Information Bulletin* (Washington), No. 6, October 1979, pp. 8-9.
 35. The plane bombing:
 - a) *Washington Post*, 1 November 1986, pp. A1, A18.
 - b) Jonathan Kwitny, *The Crimes of Patriots* (New York, 1987), p. 379
 - c) William Schaap, "New Spate of Terrorism: Key Leaders Unleashed", *Covert Action Information Bulletin* (Washington), No. 11, December 1980, pp.4-8.
 - d) Dinges and Landau, pp. 245-6.
 - e) Speech by Fidel Castro, 15 October 1976, reprinted in *Toward Improved U.S.-Cuba Relations*, House Committee on International Relations, Appendix A, 23 May 1977.

The CIA documents: Amongst those declassified by the Agency, sent to the National Archives in 1993, and made available to the public. Reported in *The Nation* (New York), 29 November 1993, p. 657.
 36. *Dangerous Dialogue: Attacks on Freedom of Expression in Miami's Cuban Exile Community*, p. 26, published by Americas Watch/The Fund for Free Expression, New York and Washington, August 1992.

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37. *Ibid.*, passim. Also see: "Terrorism in Miami: Suppressing Free Speech", *CounterSpy* magazine (Washington), Vol. 8, No. 3, March-May 1984, pp. 26-30; *The Village Voice*, op. cit.; *Covert Action Information Bulletin* (Washington), No. 6, October 1979, pp. 8-9.
 38. *New York Times*, 4 January 1975, p. 8.
 39. *San Francisco Chronicle*, 12 January 1982, p. 14; *Parade* magazine (Washington Post), 15 March 1981, p. 5.
 40. *The Village Voice*, op. cit.
 41. Jerome Levinson and Juan de Onis, *The Alliance That Lost Its Way: A Critical Report on the Alliance for Progress* (A Twentieth Century Fund Study, Chicago, 1970) p. 56.
 42. *Ibid.*, p. 309; the list of Alliance goals can be found on pp. 352-5.
 43. *Ibid.*, pp. 226-7.
 44. *New York Times*, 26 December 1977, p. 37. See also: Philip Agee, *Inside the Company: CIA Diary* (New York, 1975) p. 380 (Editors Press Service).
 45. Tad Szulc, *Fidel, A Critical Portrait* (New York, 1986), pp. 480-1.
 46. Richard Nixon, *Six Crises* (New York, 1962, paperback edition) pp. 416-17.
 47. Victor Marchetti and John Marks, *The CIA and the Cult of Intelligence* (New York, 1975), p. 289.
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 49. Szulc, pp. 427-8.
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 5. Mark Selden, ed., *Remaking Asia: Essays on the American Uses of Power* (New York, 1974) pp. 47-8.
 6. Noam Chomsky and Edward Herman, *The Washington Connection and Third World Fascism* (Boston, 1979) p. 207.
 7. *New York Times*, 12 March 1966, p. 6.
 8. *Life*, 11 July 1966.
 9. CIA lists: Kathy Kadane, *San Francisco Examiner*, 20 May 1990. See also *Covert Action Information Bulletin*, No. 35, Fall 1990, p. 59, for excerpts from the interviews with the American diplomats conducted by Kadane.
 10. Nugroho Notosusanto and Ismail Saleh, *The Coup Attempt of the 'September 30 Movement' in Indonesia* (Jakarta, 1968), cited by Mortimer, p. 419, who notes that "both authors were closely connected with the Indonesian army".
 11. CIA Study, p. 199.
 12. Notosusanto and Saleh, p. 9, cited by Mortimer, p. 419.
 13. CIA Study, from the Foreword.
 14. *Ibid.*, pp. 3-4; Mortimer, p. 414.
 15. Discussion of Sjam's role:
 - a) CIA Study, pp. 23, 28, 100, 112, 117, and elsewhere
 - b) Mortimer, pp. 418-40, passim
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 - e) Julie Southwood and Patrick Flanagan, *Indonesia: Law, Propaganda and Terror* (London, 1983), p. 9
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 17. Arthur Schlesinger, *A Thousand Days* (Boston, 1965) p. 533.
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 23. Green has been quoted on this theme in a number of books and periodicals with slight variations here and there, due, apparently, to the fact that he touched upon the same point in several different speeches in Australia. Some sources give only "what we did we had to do"; others provide a fuller quotation. What I have presented here is a combination taken from: a) Denis Freney, *The CIA's Australian Connection* (Australia, 1977), p. 17, citing a talk Green delivered before the Australian Institute for International Affairs in 1973; and b) Peter Britton,

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 26. Chomsky and Herman, pp. 208-17.
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 9. *Washington Post*, 17 March 1966.
 10. Nkrumah, pp. 97-102 (state-owned industries, price of cocoa).
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 2. A.J. Langguth, *Hidden Terrors* (New York, 1978) pp. 48-9, 51 and passim. Langguth was formerly with the *New York Times* and in 1965 served as Saigon Bureau Chief for the newspaper.
 3. *New York Times*, 1 August 1970.
 4. Langguth, pp. 285-7; *New York Times*, 15 August 1970.
 5. Alain Labrousse, *The Tupamaros: Urban Guerrillas in Uruguay* (Penguin Books, London, 1973, translation from French 1970 edition) p. 103.
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 7. Langguth, pp. 232-3, 253-4; Philip Agee, *Inside the Company: CIA Diary* (New York, 1975), see index (Otero's relationship to the CIA).
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 14. Klare and Stein, p. 19.
 15. *New York Times*, 25 September 1968, 1 August 1970; Langguth, p. 241.
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34. CHILE 1964 to 1973
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 2. *Washington Post*, 6 April 1973.
 3. Senate Report, pp. 14, 18.
 4. *Ibid.*, p. 9.
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 6. Senate Report, p. 15.
 7. Paul E. Sigmund, *The Overthrow of Allende and the Politics of Chile, 1964-1976* (University of Pittsburgh Press, 1977) p. 297.
 8. Senate Report, pp. 15-16.
 9. Sigmund, p. 34.
 10. Propaganda from abroad: Senate Report, p. 16.
 11. Sigmund, p. 35; Philip Agee, *Inside the Company: CIA Diary* (New York, 1975) p. 387; Miles Wolpin, *Cuban Foreign Policy and Chilean Politics* (Lexington, Mass., 1972) pp. 88, 176.
 12. Senate Report, p. 8.
 13. *Washington Post*, 6 April 1973.
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 15. David Wise, *The Politics of Lying* (New York, 1973, paperback edition) pp. 167-8.
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 18. Senate Report, p. 16.
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 22. *Survey of the Alliance for Progress: Labor Policies and Programs*, Staff Report of the US Senate Foreign Relations Committee, Subcommittee on American Republics Affairs, 15 July 1968, p. 3.
 23. *Newsweek*, 23 September 1974, pp. 51-2, amongst many other places where this now-famous remark can be found.
 24. Senate Report, p. 21.
 25. *Ibid.*, pp. 21-2.
 26. *Interim Report: Alleged Assassination Plots Involving Foreign Leaders*, The Select Committee to Study Governmental Operations with Respect to Intelligence Activities (US Senate) 20 November 1975, p. 227; hereafter referred to as Assassination Report.
 27. Senate Report, p. 24.
 28. Assassination Report, passim; Senate Report, p. 23.
 29. Seymour Hersh, *Kissinger: The Price of Power* (London, 1983) pp. 259, 274, 292.
 30. Senate Report, pp. 23, 25; Hersh, p. 273.
 31. Senate Report, pp. 26, 37.
 32. *Ibid.*, pp. 24, 25.
 33. *Foreign and Military Intelligence*, Book 1, Final Report of The Select Committee to Study Governmental Operations with Respect to Intelligence Activities (US Senate), April 1976, p. 200.
 34. *Washington Post*, 5 January 1978; Senate Report, p. 25.
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 37. *Ibid.*, p. 240.
 38. *Ibid.*, 226, 245, 252, and elsewhere; for another overall description of the 4 September-24 October 1970 period, see Hersh, Chapters 21 and 22.
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 41. Almost all books dealing with Chile under Allende go into the economic boycott in some detail; e.g., Edward Boorstein, *Allende's Chile: An Inside View* (New York, 1977) and James Petras and Morris H. Morley, *How Allende Fell* (Great Britain, 1974).
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 44. Schesch and Garrett, p. 48; Senate Report, pp. 37-8.
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 46. John Dinges and Saul Landau, *Assassination on Embassy Row* (London, 1981) p. 43.
 47. AIFLD: Fred Hirsch, *An Analysis of Our AFL-CIO Role in Latin America* (San Jose, California, 1974) passim, Chile, pp. 30-42; *NACLA's Latin America and Empire Report* (North American Congress on Latin America, New York and Berkeley, California) October 1973, p. 11; *The Sunday Times* (London), 27 October 1974, pp. 15, 16; Hortensia Bussi de Allende (Salvador Allende's widow) "The Facts About Chile" in Frazier, op. cit., p. 60.
 48. The author's own observations while in Chile from August 1972 to April 1973.
 49. One of the publications closed down was *Punto Final*, a magazine put out by the left wing of Allende's own Socialist Party, during a state of emergency declared after an aborted June 1973 military coup.
 50. Senate Report, p. 31; Hortensia Bussi de Allende, op. cit., pp. 60, 63; the bombing school in Los Fresnos is described in the chapter on Uruguay.
 51. Senate Report, pp. 36-8.
 52. Ellen Ray and Bill Schaap, "Massive Destabilization in Jamaica", *Covert Action Information Bulletin* (Washington, D.C.) August-September 1980, p. 8; Fred Landis, "Robert Moss, Arnaud de Borchgrave and Right-wing Disinformation" in *ibid.*, p. 42. (Landis was a consultant to the Senate committee which produced the reports cited in this chapter.)
 53. Landis, p. 42; Senate Report, p. 39.
 54. *The Guardian* (London), 20 December 1976, p. 9; Landis, pp. 37-44.
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 56. Senate Report, p. 38.
 57. Various published accounts plus the author's personal acquaintance with many Americans and other foreigners who were in Santiago at the time of the coup.
 58. *Time* magazine, 30 September 1974.
 59. Victor Marchetti and John Marks, *The CIA and the Cult of Intelligence* (New York, 1975), p. 43; Dinges and Landau, p. 50; Hersh, p. 333.
 60. *Time*, 24 September 1973, p. 46.
 61. Senate Report, p. 39.
 62. Hortensia Bussi de Allende, op. cit., p. 64; she adds that the pilots of the WB-575 plane were Majors V. Duenas and T. Schull.
 63. Thomas Hauser, *The Execution of Charles Horman* (New York, 1978) Chapters 9 and 10, the book that the film "Missing" is based on.
 64. *New York Times*, 17 September 1974, p. 22.
 65. *Ibid.*
 66. Senate Report, p. 47; *Washington Post*, 21 October 1973, p. C1.
 67. Assassination Report, p. 229.
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35. GREECE 1964 to 1974
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 2. Junta's actions: James Becket, *Barbarism in Greece* (New York, 1970) p. 1; Bernard Nossiter, "Saving Greece from the Greeks", *New Republic* (Washington), 20 May 1967, p. 10; *The Nation* (New York) 22 May 1967, p. 644.
 3. Becket, p. 90 (Amnesty International Report, 27 January 1968).
 4. Philip Deane, *I Should Have Died* (Atheneum, New York, 1977) pp. 92-124, composed of conversations with Greek and American individuals in or close to the conspiracy, and references to testimony from the 1975 trials of junta members and torturers.
 5. *Ibid.*, pp. 113-14.
 6. *New York Times*, 2 August 1974, p. 3; see also *Newsweek*, 12 August 1974, p. 36, concerning CIA buying politicians and votes in Greece before the coup.
 7. Stephen Rousseas. "The Deadlock in Greece", *The Nation* (New York), 27 March 1967, p. 392.
 8. *Washington Post*, 15 May 1967, p. A18.
 9. Andreas Papandreu's political views: Nossiter, p. 9; Deane, p. 116; Lawrence Stern, *The Wrong Horse: The Politics of Intervention and the Failure of American Diplomacy* (N.Y. Times Books, 1977) pp. 20-30.

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10. Deane, pp. 116-17.
 11. *New York Times*, 2 August 1974, p. 3; 3 August, p. 4.
 12. George Papandreou: Rouseas, pp. 390-1; Nossiter, p. 9; Deane, p. 115.
 13. *The Observer*, op. cit.
 14. *Ibid.*; see also Deane, p. 96 re bugging ministers.
 15. Deane, p. 96, citing Andreas Papandreou as the source. Julius Mader, *Who's Who in CIA* (East Germany, 1968), p. 34, states that Anschuetz served in the Military Intelligence Service of the US Army during World War 2 and joined the CIA in 1950. This book, however, has not always proven to be reliable.
 16. *The Observer*, op. cit.
 17. *Ibid.*; Deane, p. 96; Becket, p. 13.
 18. *Washington Post*, 15 May 1967, p. A18.
 19. *Stern*, pp. 42-3.
 20. *The Observer*, op. cit.
 21. *Ibid.*
 22. *New York Times*, 2 August 1974, p. 1; Deane, p. 96.
 23. *The Observer*, op. cit.; Deane, p. 126.
 24. *The Observer*, op. cit.
 25. *Ibid.*
 26. Becket, p. 8.
 27. *Ibid.*, p. 10.
 28. *Ibid.*, p. xi.
 29. *Ibid.*, p. 15.
 30. *Ibid.*, p. 91.
 31. See, e.g., Becket, pp. 18-85; Deane, pp. 128-33; Amnesty International, *Torture in Greece: The First Torturers' Trial in 1975* (London, 1977) passim.
 32. Becket, pp. 4 and 115.
 33. Amnesty International, *Report on Torture* (London, 1973), pp. 93-4; also see Deane, p. 119, for evidence of the fraudulent nature of the junta's claims before the coup of a communist threat; State Department statement: *New York Times*, 11 December 1969.
 34. *Report on Torture*, op. cit., p. 77; see pages 88, 89, 95, 98 for choice examples of what Amnesty was referring to.
 35. *The Observer*, op. cit.
 36. Seymour Hersh, *Kissinger: The Price of Power* (Simon & Schuster/Summit Books, New York, 1983) p. 140.
 37. *The Observer*, op. cit.
 38. Hersh, pp. 137-8, 648; *Los Angeles Times*, 1 August 1990, p. 5.
 39. Becket, p. 16; see also p. 127.
 40. *Report on Torture*, op. cit., p. 96.
 41. Deane, p. 134; *New York Times*, 2 August 1974, p. 1.
 42. Deane, p. 134.
 43. *New York Times*, 7 September 1975, p. 6.
 44. Deane, p. 125.
 45. Andreas Papandreou, *Democracy at Gunpoint: The Greek Front* (New York, 1970) p. 294.
36. BOLIVIA 1964 to 1975
- The account of the events leading up to the coup of 1964 was derived primarily from the following sources:
- a) Cole Blasier, 'The United States and the Revolution' in James M. Malloy and Richard Thorn, eds., *Beyond the Revolution: Bolivia Since 1952* (University of Pittsburgh Press, 1971) pp. 90-105;
 - b) James Dunkerley, *Rebellion in the Veins: Political Struggle in Bolivia 1952-1982* (London, 1984) pp.112-9;
 - c) Lawrence Whitehead, *The United States and Bolivia: A Case of Neo-Colonialism* (London, 1969), pp. 11-25;
 - d) Christopher Mitchell, *The Legacy of Populism in Bolivia: From the MNR to Military Rule* (New York, 1977), Chapter 5;
 - e) William H. Brill, *Military Intervention in Bolivia: The Overthrow of Paz Estenssoro and the MNR* (Washington, 1967), pp. 18-47.
1. Cornelius H. Zondag, 'Bolivia's 1952 Revolution' in Jerry R. Ladman, ed., *Modern-Day Bolivia* (Arizona State University, 1982) p. 37.
 2. *Washington Post*, 5 February 1968. Fox was named as a CIA officer by Antonio Arguedas, Minister of the Interior under Barrientos. This is mentioned in Victor Marchetti and John Marks, *The CIA and the Cult of Intelligence* (New York, 1975), p. 144, but was censored by the CIA in the original manuscript. (Also see note 22 below.)
 3. *New York Times*, 9 August 1964, p. 10.
 4. *Ibid.*, 24 August 1964, p. 26.
 5. Blasier, pp. 89-90; Whitehead, p. 14; Dunkerley, p. 106.

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6. Blasier, pp. 97-8; Dunkerley, p. 113; Whitehead, p. 16; *Washington Post*, 5 February 1968.
 7. Miners' strength, Zavaleta quote: Whitehead, pp. 24-5. Henderson had actually been ambassador only one year at the time of the coup, so Zavaleta may have been referring to Henderson's predecessor as well.
 8. *New York Times*, 22 November 1964, p. 26.
 9. US build-up of armed forces: Dunkerley, p. 114; Blasier, pp. 93-5; Whitehead, p. 24; Richard Harris, *Death of a Revolutionary: Che Guevara's Last Mission* (New York, 1970) p. 172.
 10. *Washington Post*, 5 February 1968
 11. Blasier, p. 98.
 12. Mitchell, p. 94; Dunkerley, pp. 116-17.
 13. Shooting incident and aftermath leading to Barrientos replacing Fortún: Dunkerley, p. 117; Mitchell, pp. 94-5.
 14. *El Diario* and Sanjinés: Dunkerley, pp. 113-14; Blasier, p. 95; Whitehead, p. 15 (citing cabinet member Antonio Arguedas).
 15. Mitchell, p. 95.
 16. Brill, p. 28.
 17. *Ibid.*, pp. 27-9, 36-8.
 18. *Ibid.*, p. 37.
 19. *Washington Post*, 5 February 1968.
 20. Mitchell, pp. 100-1.
 21. Hearings before the Committee on Armed Services and the Subcommittee on Department of Defense of the Committee on Appropriations (US Senate), 23 February 1966, p. 39.
 22. *Washington Post*, 17 May 1975; *New York Times*, 17-18 May 1975. Arguedas revealed a number of other things about CIA activities in Bolivia and his own strange connection to the Agency — see Harris, chapter 14; *Intercontinental Press* (New York weekly newsmagazine) 23 September 1968 (transcript of a press conference held by Arguedas).
 23. Norman Gall, 'The Legacy of Che Guevara', *Commentary* (New York) December 1967, p. 35.
 24. Philip Agee, *Inside the Company: CIA Diary* (New York, 1975) p. 438.
 25. Military operation against Guevara: Michael Klare, *War Without End* (Random House, New York, 1972) pp. 173-4, 177-9; Marchetti and Marks, pp. 138-45; Harris, pp. 172-8.
 26. Harris, pp. 185-6. See note 22 above.
 27. *New York Times*, 14 December 1969, p. 22.
 28. *Ibid.*
 29. Inter Press Service dispatch of 18 December 1969, cited in Gregorio Selser, *La CIA en Bolivia* (Buenos Aires, 1970) p. 5.
 30. Associated Press dispatch from La Paz, appearing in *La Nación* (Buenos Aires' leading newspaper), 21 December 1969, p. 4.
 31. *New York Times*, 24 January 1970, p. 9.
 32. *Ibid.*, 20 July 1970, p. 9.
 33. *Ibid.*, 23 September 1970, p. 13.
 34. Torres' policies: Latin American Bureau, *Bolivia and Coup d'Etat* (London, 1980) pp. 36-8; Dunkerley, pp. 180, 186.
 35. *San Francisco Chronicle*, 30 August 1971.
 36. *Washington Post*, 29 August 1971.
 37. Dunkerley, p. 197.
 38. Dunkerley, p. 200; *Washington Post*, 29 August 1971.
 39. *San Francisco Chronicle*, 1 September 1971, reporting from Mexico City and citing "knowledgeable sources here".
 40. Banzer's post-coup statements: *Washington Post*, 25 August 1971; *New York Times*, 25 August 1971; *Los Angeles Times*, 24, 25 August 1971.
 41. *New York Times*, 30 December 1973.
 42. Penny Lernoux, *Cry of the People: The Struggle for Human Rights in Latin America — The Catholic Church in Conflict with U.S. Policy* (Penguin Books, London, 1982) pp. 142-5.
 43. *The Guardian* (London), 15 July 1985, p. 6.
 44. *Bolivia — An Assessment of U.S. Policies and Programs: Report to the Congress by the Comptroller General of the United States*, 30 January 1975, p. 29.
 45. *New York Times*, 28 July 1978, article by Max Holland.
37. GUATEMALA 1962 to 1980s
- The details of the events and issues touched upon in this chapter through 1968 were derived primarily from the following sources:
- a) Thomas and Marjorie Melville, *Guatemala — Another Vietnam?* (Great Britain, 1971) Chapters 9 to 16; particularly for the conditions of the poor, and US activities in Guatemala. Published in the United States the same year in a slightly different form as *Guatemala: The Politics of Land Ownership*.
 - b) Eduardo Galeano, *Guatemala, Occupied Country* (Mexico, 1967; English translation: New York, 1969) passim; for the politics of the guerrillas and the nature of the right-wing terror; Galeano was a Uruguayan journalist who

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- spent some time with the guerrillas.
- c) Susanne Jonas and David Tobis, editors, *Guatemala* (Berkeley, California, 1974) passim; particularly "The Vietnamization of Guatemala: U.S. Counter-insurgency Programs" pp. 193-203, by Howard Sharckman; published by the North American Congress on Latin America (NACLA, New York and Berkeley).
 - d) Amnesty International, *Guatemala* (London, 1976) passim; for statistics about the victims of the terror. Other AI reports issued in the 1970s about Guatemala contain comparable information.
 - e) Richard Gott, *Rural Guerrillas in Latin America* (Great Britain, 1973, revised edition) Chapters 2 to 8; for the politics of the guerrillas.
 1. *The Guardian* (London), 22 December 1983, p. 5.
 2. The plight of the poor: a montage compiled from the sources cited herein.
 3. *New York Times Magazine*, 26 June 1966, p. 8.
 4. US counter-insurgency base: *El Imparcial* (Guatemala City conservative newspaper) 17 May 1962 and 4 January 1963, cited in Melville, pp. 163-4.
 5. Stephen Schlesinger and Stephen Kinzer, *Bitter Fruit: The Untold Story of the American Coup in Guatemala* (New York, 1982), p. 242.
 6. Georgie Anne Geyer: *Miami Herald*, 24 December 1966. Also see: *New York Herald Tribune*, 7 April 1963, article by Bert Quint, section 2, p. 1; Schlesinger and Kinzer, pp. 236-44.
 7. Galeano, p. 55.
 8. *Ibid.*, pp. 55-6.
 9. *Time*, 26 January 1968, p. 23.
 10. *Ibid.*
 11. Atrocities and torture: compiled from the sources cited herein; also see A.J. Langguth, *Hidden Terrors* (New York, 1978) pp. 139, 193 for US involvement with the use of the field telephones for torture in Brazil.
 12. Melville, p. 292.
 13. *Ibid.*, p. 291.
 14. *Washington Post*, 27 January 1968, p. A4, testimony of Rev. Blase Bonpane, an American Maryknoll priest in Guatemala at the time.
 15. Panama: revealed in September 1967 by Guatemalan Vice-President Clemente Marroquin Rojas in an interview with the international news agency Inter Press Service (IPS), reported in *Latin America*, 15 September 1967, p. 159, a weekly published in London. Eduardo Galeano, p. 70, reports a personal conversation he had with Marroquin Rojas in which the vice-president related the same story. Marroquin Rojas was strongly anti-communist, but he apparently resented the casual way in which the American planes violated Guatemalan sovereignty.
 16. Norman Diamond, "Why They Shoot Americans", *The Nation* (New York), 5 February 1968. The title of the article refers to the shooting of John Webber.
 17. Opening quotation: Clyde Snow, forensic anthropologist, cited in *Covert Action Quarterly*, spring 1994, No. 48, p. 32. Right-wing terrorism: compiled from the sources cited herein.
 18. *Washington Post*, 4 February 1968, p. B1. The historic dialogue in Latin America between Christianity and Marxism, begun in the 1970s, can be traced in large measure to priests and nuns like Bonpane and the Melvilles and their experiences in Guatemala in the 1950s and 60s.
 19. Galeano, p. 63.
 20. *El Imparcial* (Guatemala City), 10 November 1967, cited in Melville, p. 289.
 21. Richard Gott, in the Foreword to the Melvilles' book, p. 8.
 22. AID, OPS, Alliance for Progress:
 - a) "Guatemala and the Dominican Republic", a Staff Memorandum prepared for the US Senate Subcommittee on Western Hemisphere Affairs, Committee on Foreign Relations, 30 December 1971, p. 6;
 - b) Jonas and Tobis, pp. 199-200;
 - c) Galeano, pp. 72-3;
 - d) Michael Klare, *War Without End* (Random House, New York, 1972) pp. 241-69, for discussion of the OPS curriculum and philosophy;
 - e) Langguth, pp. 242-3 and elsewhere, for discussion of OPS practices, including its involvement with torture; the author confines his study primarily to Brazil and Uruguay, but it applies to Guatemala as well;
 - f) *CounterSpy* magazine (Washington), November 1980-January 1981, pp. 54-5, lists the names of almost 300 Guatemalan police officers who received training in the United States from 1963 to 1974;
 - g) Michael Klare and Nancy Stein, "Police Terrorism in Latin America", *NACLA's Latin America and Empire Report* (North American Congress on Latin America, New York), January 1974, pp. 19-23, based on State Department documents obtained by Senator James Abourezk in 1973;
 - h) Jack Anderson, *Washington Post*, 8 October 1973, p. C33.
 23. AID figure cited in Jenny Pearce, *Under the Eagle: U.S. Intervention in Central America and the Caribbean* (Latin American Bureau, London, updated edition 1982) p. 67.
 24. George Cotter, "Spies, strings and missionaries", *The Christian Century* (Chicago), 25 March 1981, p. 321.
 25. Eqbal Ahmad, "The Theory and Fallacies of Counter-insurgency", *The Nation* (New York), 2 August 1972, p. 73.
 26. Relationship of Arana to US military: Joseph Goulden, "A Real Good Relationship", *The Nation* (New York), 1 June 1970, p. 646; Norman Gall, "Guatemalan Slaughter", *N.Y. Review of Books*, 20 May 1971, pp. 13-17.

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27. *Le Monde Weekly* (English edition), 17 February 1971, p. 3.
 28. *New York Times*, 27 December 1970, p. 2; *New York Times Magazine*, 13 June 1971, p. 72.
 29. US Senate Staff Memorandum, op. cit.
 30. *New York Times*, 18 February 1976.
 31. *Ibid.*, 9 November 1977, p. 2.
 32. Jonathan Marshall, Peter Dale Scott, Jane Hunter, *The Iran-Contra Connection: Secret Teams and Covert Operations in the Reagan Era* (South End Press, Boston, 1987), chapter V, passim; *The Guardian* (London), 9 December 1983; *CounterSpy*, op. cit., p. 53, citing Elias Barahona y Barahona, former press secretary at the Guatemalan Ministry of the Interior who had infiltrated the government for the EGP.
 33. *CounterSpy*, op. cit. (Barahona) p. 53.
 34. Pearce, p. 278; a book was published later which transcribed Menchú's own account of her life, in which she recounts many more atrocities of the Guatemalan military: Elisabeth Burgos-Debray, ed., *I ... Rigoberta Menchú: An Indian Woman in Guatemala* (London, 1984, English translation).
 35. Pearce, p. 176; Sherwood's role in 1954: Schlesinger and Kinzer, pp. 116, 122, 128. His statement is partially quoted in Penny Lernoux, *In Banks We Trust* (Doubleday, New York, 1984), p. 238, citing CBS News Special, 20 March 1982: "Update: Central America in Revolt".
 36. *Washington Post*, 22 February 1981, p. C7, column by Jack Anderson; Anderson refers only to an "official spokesman" of the MLN; the identity of the speaker as Sandoval comes from other places — see, e.g., *The Guardian* (London), 2 March 1984.
 37. *Washington Post*, *ibid.* For a discussion of the many ties between American conservatives and the Guatemalan power structure, see the report of the Council on Hemispheric Affairs (Washington), by Allan Nairn in 1981.
 38. *New York Times*, 19 March 1981, p. 10.
 39. *Washington Post*, 14 May 1981, p. A16.
 40. *Ibid.*; *New York Times*, 18 May 1981, p. 18; Report issued by the Washington Office on Latin America (a respected human-rights lobby which has worked in liaison with the State Department's human-rights section), 4 September 1981.
 41. Washington Office on Latin America report, op. cit. Presumably it was the traditional right-wing fear of the poor being educated which lay behind this incident.
 42. *New York Times*, 28 December 1981.
 43. *Ibid.*, 21 June 1981; 25 April 1982; *The Guardian* (London), 10 January 1983.
 44. *San Francisco Chronicle*, 27 August 1981, p. 57.
 45. *Washington Post*, 21 October 1982, p. A1.
 46. *The Guardian* (London), 10 January 1983; 17 May 1983.
 47. *New York Times*, 25 April 1982, p. 1.
 48. *Ibid.*, 12 October 1982, p. 3 (deaths, citing Amnesty International); *Los Angeles Times*, 20 July 1994, p. 11 (villages, citing "human rights organizations"). For the gruesome details of death squads, disappearances, and torture in Guatemala during the early 1980s, see *Guatemala: A Government Program of Political Murder* (Amnesty International, London, 1981) and *Massive Extrajudicial Executions in Rural Areas Under the Government of General Efraín Ríos Montt* (AI, July 1982).
 49. *New York Times*, 6 December 1982, p. 14.
 50. *Contemporary Marxism* (San Francisco), No. 3, Summer 1981.
 51. *The National Catholic Reporter* (Kansas City, Missouri weekly), 31 January 1968.
 52. *Los Angeles Times*, 25 December 1988.
 53. Occurred on 2 December 1990; Report, Summer 1991, from Witness for Peace, Washington, a religious-oriented human rights organization concerned with Central America.
 54. *Los Angeles Times*, 7 May 1990.
 55. DeVine and Bamaca cases: *New York Times*, 23 March 1995, p. 1; 24 March, p. 3; 30 March, p.1; *Los Angeles Times*, 23 March 1995, p. 7; 24 March, p. 4; 31 March, p. 4; 2 April, p. M2; *Time* magazine, 10 April 1995, p. 43.
38. COSTA RICA 1970 to 1971
1. *New York Times*, 11 February 1971.
 2. *Ibid.* The term "economic offensive" was apparently that of the newspaper.
 3. The primary sources for the overall story are the *Miami Herald*, 7 February 1971 and the *Los Angeles Times*, 28 February 1971; see also the *Miami Herald*, 9, 10, 11, 13 February 1971.
 4. *New York Times*, 11 February 1971; *Miami Herald*, 11 February 1971.
 5. *Miami Herald*, 10 February 1971.
39. IRAQ 1972 to 1975
- The primary source of information for this chapter is the Staff Report of the Select Committee on Intelligence, US House of Representatives, based on hearings held during 1975. Publication of the report was suppressed by the full House until the White House could censor it. But portions of the uncensored report, which came to be known as The Pike Report after the committee's chairman Rep. Otis G. Pike, were leaked to the press, in particular *The Village Voice* of New York which published much of it in its issues of 16 and 23 February 1976. The first, and probably only, appearance of this material in book form occurred in 1977 in England under the title: *CIA — The Pike Report*, published by

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- Spokesman Books for the Bertrand Russell Peace Foundation, Nottingham. It is this book which is referred to in the present chapter, pp. 56, 195-8, 211-17, hereafter referred to as Pike Report. The report refers to the Kurds as "the ethnic group", Iran or the Shah as "our ally", Iraq as "our ally's enemy", Israel as "another government". Here, the proper names are used.
1. Seymour Hersh, *The Price of Power: Kissinger in the Nixon White House* (Summit Books/Simon & Schuster, New York, 1983) p. 542n.
 2. *New York Times*, 5 February 1976, p. 31, column by William Safire.
 3. Pike Report, p. 196.
 4. Political background of the Kurds: *The Times* (London), 26-28 November 1974.
 5. Pike Report, p. 212.
 6. *Ibid.*, pp. 197, 214-15.
 7. *Ibid.*, p. 214.
 8. *Ibid.*, p. 197.
 9. *New York Times*, 12 February 1976, p. 31, column by William Safire.
 10. Pike Report, p. 214.
 11. *New York Times*, 2 June 1972, p. 1; 3 June, p. 1; 8 June, p. 69.
 12. *Ibid.*, 5 February 1976, p. 31, column by William Safire.
 13. Pike Report, pp. 198, 215.
 14. *Ibid.*, 215-216.
 15. *Ibid.*, p. 217.
 16. *New York Times*, 12 February 1976, p. 31, column by William Safire; Pike Report, p. 198, Kissinger is referred to as "a high U.S. official".
40. AUSTRALIA 1973 to 1975
 1. Henry S. Albinski, *Australian External Policy Under Labor* (Australia, 1977) p. 126.
 2. Joan Coxsedge, Ken Coldicutt, Gerry Harant, *Rooted in Secrecy: The Clandestine Element in Australian Politics* (Australia, 1982) p. 21.
 3. Albinski, p. 125.
 4. *Ibid.*
 5. Coxsedge, et al., p. 24; Seymour Hersh, *The Price of Power: Kissinger in the Nixon White House* (Summit Books/Simon & Schuster, New York, 1983) p. 295.
 6. Richard Hall, *The Secret State* (Australia, 1978), p. 2.
 7. Coxsedge, et al., p. 25-6.
 8. Denis Freney, *The CIA's Australian Connection* (Sydney, 1977) pp. 75-80, for the text of the interview. This book deals with many of the events discussed in this chapter.
 9. Desmond Ball, *A Suitable Piece of Real Estate: American Installations in Australia* (Sydney, 1980) passim.
 10. *The National Times* (Sydney weekly newspaper), 6-12 May 1983, p. 3.
 11. Jim Jose, "The Whitlam Years: Illusion and Reality" in Pat Flanagan, ed., *Big Brother or Democracy?* (Great Britain, 1981) p. 50; Albinski, p. 11; Ball, passim.
 12. Albinski, pp. 9, 241, 254-6.
 13. Coxsedge, et al., p. 26.
 14. Jose, p. 50.
 15. *The Australian Financial Review* (Sydney daily newspaper), 4 November 1975, p. 1; 5 November, p. 4. In his book on the National Security Agency, *The Puzzle Palace* (New York, 1982), p. 205, James Bamford identifies Stalling as an official of the NSA, not the CIA.
 16. *New York Times*, 24 September 1974, p. 2.
 17. *Ibid.*, 5 May 1977, citing the *Sydney Sun*, 4 May 1977.
 18. Coxsedge, et al., p. 35.
 19. *The Australian Financial Review*, 28 April 1977, p. 1; Jose, p. 51, adds that the official, Dr. Farrands, denied the allegation but did admit to visiting Kerr in October, although he refused to discuss the nature of the meeting.
 20. *The Australian Financial Review*, 28 April 1977, p. 1.
 21. Albinski, p. 169.
 22. Coxsedge, et al., p. 96.
 23. Freney, pp. 30-31, for the full text of the telex.
 24. Coxsedge, et al., p. 35; Freney, p. 33; *The Village Voice* (New York), 1-7 July 1981.
 25. Discussion of the political and legal issues surrounding the budget crisis and Kerr's dismissal of Whitlam:
 - a) Coxsedge, op. cit., Freney, op. cit., Flanagan, op. cit.
 - b) Sir John Kerr, *Matters for Judgment: An Autobiography* (New York, 1979) chapters 20-22.
 - c) Russel Ward, *The History of Australia: The Twentieth Century, 1901-1975* (London, 1978) pp. 398-419.
 - d) *New York Times*, 12, 14 November 1975.
 26. *New York Times*, 14 November 1975, p. 7.
 27. *The Age*, 12 November 1975, pp. 9 and 3.
 28. Kerr, chapters 20-22.
 29. Victor Marchetti and John Marks, *The CIA and the Cult of Intelligence* (New York, 1975) p. 178; see pp. 178-9 for a description of the Asia Foundation.

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30. Kerr in the Association for Cultural Freedom and Lawasia: Kerr, pp. 172-86, and most of the Australian books mentioned above; the *Quadrant* article was in the Spring, 1960 issue, pp. 27-38.
31. *San Francisco Chronicle*, 24 May 1982. Boyce is the subject of the book and film "The Falcon and the Snowman" by Robert Lindsey.
32. *New York Times*, 28 April 1977, p. 18; *The Guardian* (London), 29 April 1977, p. 7.
33. Nugan Hand Bank:
- Sunday Times* (London), 31 August 1980, p. 2;
 - New York Times*, 13 November 1982, p. 31;
 - The Village Voice*, 1-7 July 1981;
 - CounterSpy* magazine (Washington, D.C.), November 1980-January 1981, pp. 30-33;
 - Jonathan Kwitny, *The Crimes of Patriots: A True Tale of Dope, Dirty Money and the CIA* (New York, 1987), passim.
41. ANGOLA 1975 to 1980s
- New York Times*, 25 September 1975; 19 December 1975.
 - John A. Marcum, *The Angolan Revolution, Vol. I, 1950-1962* (MIT Press, Cambridge, Mass., 1969) pp. 229-30.
 - New York Times*, 17 December 1964, p. 14.
 - Comparison of the three groups:
 - Jonathan Kwitny, *Endless Enemies: The Making of an Unfriendly World* (New York, 1984) chapter 9;
 - Marcum, Vol. II, 1962-1976 (1978) pp. 14-15, 132, 172 and elsewhere;
 - Basil Davidson, *In the Eye of the Storm: Angola's People* (London, 1972) passim;
 - Ernest Harsch and Tony Thomas, *Angola: The Hidden History of Washington's War* (New York, 1976) passim.
 International appeals for support made by Roberto and Savimbi: see also *New York Times*, 4 January 1964, p. 15; Kwitny, p. 136; *Declassified Documents Reference System*, 1977 volume, document 210D (cable, 17 July 1964, US embassy Congo to State Department).
 - Kwitny, pp. 132-3.
 - State Department Circular 92, 16 July 1963, cited in Marcum II, p. 16.
 - Hearings before the House Select Committee on Intelligence (The Pike Committee) published in *CIA - The Pike Report* (Nottingham, England, 1977) p. 218; hereafter referred to as Pike Report. (See Notes: Iraq for further information.)
 - Ibid.*, p. 201.
 - New York Times*, 25 September 1975; 19 December.
 - Pike Report, p. 199, the words in quotes are those of the Pike Committee; the date comes from John Stockwell, *In Search of Enemies* (New York, 1978) p. 67. Stockwell was a CIA officer and head of the Agency's Angola task force.
 - Stockwell, pp. 67-8; Marcum II, pp. 257-8 (he cites several international press accounts).
 - New York Times*, 25 September 1975
 - Pike Report, p. 199.
 - Stockwell, p. 67.
 - New York Times*, 12 December 1975; Harsch and Thomas, p. 100, citing CBS-TV News, 17 December 1975, and Senator John Tunney, 6 January 1976.
 - New York Times*, 16 July 1978, p. 1
 - Interview of Stockwell by author.
 - Stockwell, pp. 223-4; see also Harsch and Thomas, pp. 99-100.
 - Chapman Pincher, *Inside Story: A Documentary of the Pursuit of Power* (London, 1978) p. 20
 - Stockwell, p. 225.
 - New York Times*, 16 July 1978, referring to Kissinger's statement of 29 January 1976.
 - Stockwell, pp. 162, 177-8, plus interview of Stockwell by author.
 - Ibid.*, pp. 194-5
 - The capture of Russians and Cubans story appeared in the press 22 November 1975; the rape story, 12 March 1976.
 - Stockwell, p. 196.
 - San Francisco Chronicle*, 9 May 1978.
 - Stockwell, pp. 196-8.
 - Foreign and Military Intelligence*, Book 1, Final Report of the Select Committee to Study Governmental Operations with Respect to Intelligence Activities (US Senate), 26 April 1976, p. 129.
 - Stockwell, p. 193.
 - Ibid.*, pp. 205-6 ("Bob Temmons" is probably a pseudonym); after the war ended, the State Department did release the planes to Angola.
 - Newsweek* (International Edition), 17 May 1976, p. 23, implicitly admitted to by South African Prime Minister Balthazar Johannes Vorster.
 - New York Times*, 16 July 1978, p. 1; 23 July 1986, p. 1; Stockwell, pp. 208, 218; Stephen Talbot, "The CIA and BOSS: Thick as Thieves" in Ellen Ray, et al., eds., *Dirty Work 2: The CIA in Africa* (New Jersey, 1979) pp. 266-75 (BOSS is the South African Bureau of State Security); Bob Woodward, *VEIL: The Secret Wars of the CIA 1981-1987* (New York, 1987), p. 269.

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33. *The Guardian* (London), 15 August 1986; *The Times* (London) 4 August 1986, p. 10.
 34. *New York Times*, 25 March 1982, p. 7, citing a report of the House Foreign Affairs Committee.
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 36. *Ibid.*, p. 75.
 37. Stockwell, pp. 216-17 discusses how this came about.
 38. Wayne S. Smith, "Dateline Havana: Myopic Diplomacy", *Foreign Policy* (Washington, D.C.) Fall 1982, p. 170. see also *New York Times*, 31 March 2002, p.4
 39. Stockwell, pp. 234-5.
 40. *New York Times*, 24 December 1975, p. 7.
 41. Henry Kissinger, *American Foreign Policy* (New York, 1977, third edition), p. 317.
 42. See, for example, *New York Times*, 25 September 1975.
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 45. *New York Times*, 9 January 1976, p. 3.
 46. *Washington Post*, 18 December 1975, p. A23.
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 48. Harsch and Thomas, pp. 82-91; *New York Times*, 8 February 1981, IV, p. 5.
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 50. Stockwell, p. 172; see also *New York Times*, 31 March 2002, p.4.
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 54. *The Times* (London), 23 October 1986, p. 8; the vote in the European Parliament was 152-150.
 55. *The Guardian* (London), 25 June 1990, p. 10; Sharon Beaulaurier, "Profiteers Fuel War in Angola", *Covert Action Quarterly* (Washington, DC), No. 45, Summer 1993, pp. 61-65.
 56. *New York Times*, 17 January 1993, IV, p. 5.
42. ZAIRE 1975 to 1978
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 4. Stockwell, p. 96, quoting CIA officer Bill Avery.
 5. For a profile of Hinton, see *NACLA's Latin America and Empire Report*, October 1973, pp. 14-15, published by North American Congress on Latin America (NACLA), New York.
 6. Stockwell, p. 169.
 7. *Ibid.*, p. 164.
 8. *Ibid.*, p. 246, and note.
 9. *New York Times*, 21 January 1976, p. 1.
 10. *Ibid.*, 9 April 1977; the quoted words are those of the newspaper.
 11. The overall events of 1977: *New York Times*, 16 March to 3 May 1977, passim; Galen Hull, "Internationalizing the Shaba Conflict", *Africa Report* (New York), July-August 1977, pp. 4-9.
 12. Buffkin/mercenaries: *Newsday* (Long Island, NY), 17 April 1977; *New York Times*, 17, 18, 20 April 1977.
 13. *New York Times*, 8 August 1977.
 14. Background of the Balunda ("Ba" is plural): Gerald Bender, "Zaire: Is There Any Rationale for U.S. Intervention?", *Los Angeles Times*, 27 March 1977, VII, p. 2; Hull, op. cit.; Kwitny, chapter 2; Stockwell, p. 151.
 15. *New York Times*, 6 April 1977.
 16. Mobutu: *Ibid.*, 13 April 1977.
 17. Confiscation of businesses: Bender, op. cit.
 18. *New York Times*, 13 April 1977.
 19. *Washington Post*, 16 March 1977.
 20. *New York Times*, 20 May 1978.
 21. 1978 military events: *New York Times*, 15 May to 24 June 1978, passim; *Washington Post*, 21 May 1978, p. 14.

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 23. *Ibid.*, 19 May 1978.
 24. *Ibid.*, 20 May 1978. The words are those of the *Times*, paraphrasing "high administration officials".
 25. See, for example, *New York Times*, 10 April 1977.
 26. Carter-Castro exchange: *Ibid.*, 11, 13, 15 June 1978.
 27. *Ibid.*, 24 June 1978.
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 2. Michael Manley, *Jamaica: Struggle in the Periphery* (London, 1982) p. 116.
 3. John Dinges and Saul Landau, *Assassination on Embassy Row* (London, 1981) p. 44.
 4. Testimony by de Roulet before the US Senate: *Multinational Corporations and United States Foreign Policy*, Hearings before the Subcommittee on Multinational Corporations of the Committee on Foreign Relations, 19 July 1973, pp. 117-18. A State Department official who was testifying at the same time was clearly embarrassed by de Roulet's disclosure and quickly tried to play down the story.
 5. Volkman and Cummings, p. 114.
 6. Manley, p. 116.
 7. *Ibid.*, p. 136.
 8. *Ibid.*, pp. 98-103.
 9. *New York Times*, 1 October 1979, p. 2.
 10. Manley, p. 101.
 11. *Ibid.*, pp. 116-17.
 12. *Ibid.*, p. 117.
 13. Volkman and Cummings, p. 182.
 14. *Ibid.*, p. 183. Posada and plane bombing: see Cuba chapter and notes.
 15. Ellen Ray, "CIA and Local Gunmen Plan Jamaican Coup", *CounterSpy* magazine (Washington), Vol. 3, No. 2, December 1976, p. 39; Volkman and Cummings, p. 182.
 16. Volkman and Cummings, p. 182; Manley, p. 103.
 17. *New York Times*, 17 July 1976, p. 29.
 18. Manley, p. 228.
 19. Ray, pp. 38, 40; Manley, pp. 229, 236; *New York Times*, 30 January 1976.
 20. Ray, p. 37; Volkman and Cummings, pp. 183, 188.
 21. Ray, p. 41; *Washington Post*, 5 July 1979.
 22. Volkman and Cummings, p. 182; Ray, p. 41.
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 24. Ray, p. 40.
 25. Fred Landis, "The CIA and the Media: IAPA and the Jamaica Daily Gleaner", *Covert Action Information Bulletin* (Washington) December 1979-January 1980, pp. 10-12; Manley, p. 231; Fred Landis, "CIA Media Operations in Chile, Jamaica and Nicaragua", *CAIB*, March 1982, pp. 32-43; Carl Bernstein, "The CIA and the Media", *Rolling Stone*, 20 October 1977, p. 64.
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 27. *Newsday* (Long Island, NY), 28 February 1980, cited in Ellen Ray and Bill Schaap, "Massive Destabilization in Jamaica", *Covert Action Information Bulletin*, August-September 1980, p. 14; the date of the earlier article is not mentioned.
 28. *Daily Gleaner* (Kingston, Jamaica), 1 June 1980, p. 10; see also Fred Landis, *op. cit.* 1982.
 29. Manley, pp. 193-4.
 30. *Ibid.*, pp. 199-200.
44. SEYCHELLES 1979 to 1981
1. René and US-Seychelles relations: *Sunday Tribune* (Durban, South Africa), 29 November 1981, two separate articles, pp. 1 and 52; Ellen Ray, "Seychelles Beats Back Mercenaries", *CovertAction Information Bulletin [CAIB]* (Washington), No. 16, March 1982, pp. 4-10.
 2. *Sunday Tribune*, *op. cit.*, p. 52.
 3. CAIB, *op. cit.*, p. 5.
 4. *Sunday Tribune*, *op. cit.*, p. 1; CAIB, *op. cit.*, pp. 4-10.
 5. *Ibid.*; *New York Times*, 6 November 1982, p. 4 (prosecution of editors).
 6. *New York Times*, 10 May 1982, p. 2; *The Guardian* (London), 19 August 1982, p. 13.
 7. The trial and aftermath: *New York Times*, 6 January 1982, p. 9; 11 March, p. 6; 22 April, p. 5; 4 May, p. 10; 10 May, p. 2; 17 June, p. 12; 30 July, p. 6; 28 November, p. 5; *The Guardian* (London), 14 July 1986
 8. CAIB. *op. cit.*, p. 10.
 9. *The Guardian* (London), 3 December 1983.

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45. GRENADA 1979 to 1984

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2. US presence: Hugh O'Shaughnessy, *Grenada: Revolution, Invasion and Aftermath* (London, 1984) p. 156 (O'Shaughnessy was the Latin America correspondent for *The Observer* and before that for *The Financial Times*, both London; he won a British Press Award in 1983 for his coverage of the Grenada invasion). For the relevant sections of the OECS treaty: William C. Gilmore, *The Grenada Intervention: Analysis and Documentation* (London, 1984) Part II, "The Grenada Intervention in International Law" and Appendix 2.
3. *The Guardian* (London), 28 October 1983.
4. *The Observer* (London), 30 October 1983 (article by Hugh O'Shaughnessy, see note 2); see also Bob Woodward, *VEIL: The Secret Wars of the CIA 1981-1987* (New York, 1987), p. 290.
5. O'Shaughnessy, p. 153.
6. Woodward, p. 290.
7. *The Guardian*, 31 October 1983.
8. *The Observer*, 30 October 1983.
9. *The Guardian*, 1 November 1983.
10. *The Guardian*, 28, 29 October 1983; *The Observer*, 30 October 1983.
11. O'Shaughnessy, p. 165; this page contains other evidence which refutes Reagan's contention which is not discussed here.
12. *The Guardian*, 26 October 1983.
13. *New York Times*, 27 October 1983.
14. O'Shaughnessy, p. 205.
15. *The Guardian*, 26 October 1983.
16. O'Shaughnessy, p. 160.
17. *The Guardian*, 27 October 1983.
18. *Ibid.*, 28 October 1983.
19. *New York Times*, 27 October 1983.
20. *Ibid.*, 28 October 1983.
21. *The Guardian*, 29 October 1983; Casey: Woodward, p. 294.
22. O'Shaughnessy, p. 204.
23. *The Guardian*, 31 October 1983.
24. *New York Times*, 1 November 1983.
25. Woodward, p. 299, the quote is his paraphrase.
26. O'Shaughnessy, pp. 15, 16, 204.
27. *The Observer*, 23 October 1983.
28. From a speech by Fidel Castro on 14 November 1983 in Havana; reprinted in *The Guardian*, 19 November 1983, p. 8.
29. *The Guardian*, 27 October 1983.
30. *Ibid.*, 1 November 1983.
31. *New York Times*, 1 November 1983.
32. *The Guardian*, 12 June 1984.
33. O'Shaughnessy, pp. 87, 95.
34. *Ibid.*, p. 85.
35. *The Guardian*, 4 November 1983.
36. Woodward, p. 290.
37. Cited by Bishop in his speech of 13 April 1979, in Chris Searle, ed., *In Nobody's Backyard: Maurice Bishop's Speeches 1979-1983* (London, 1984).
38. *New York Times*, 20 August 1979, p. 4.
39. Chris Searle, *Grenada, The Struggle Against Destabilization* (London, 1983), p. 56; this appeared as a news item in the US media as well, and was seen or heard by myself, but I have been unable to locate it again.
40. *New York Times*, 27 August 1983.
41. *Washington Post*, 27 February 1983, p. 1.
42. O'Shaughnessy, p. 192. The correspondent was Ed Cody. Oddly enough, it appears that the *Post* itself did not run the story.
43. *Washington Post*, 27 February 1983, p. 1.
44. *New York Times*, 26 March 1983.
45. *The Nation* (New York), 16 April 1983, p. 467, contains a table which compares the various airports.
46. O'Shaughnessy, p. 90.
47. *The Nation* (New York), 16 April 1983, p. 467; O'Shaughnessy, p. 89.
48. *The Guardian*, 31 October, 2 November 1983.
49. *Ibid.*, 2 May 1983.
50. *Wall Street Journal*, 29 April 1981; *The Guardian*, 2 May 1983.
51. *The Guardian*, 11 November 1983.
52. *New York Times*, 20 August 1979, p. 4.
53. *Ibid.*

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54. *The Observer*, 30 October 1983, p. 9.
 55. *The Guardian*, 25 November 1983.
 56. *Ibid.*, 27 October 1983, according to the Cuban ambassador in London.
 57. From speech by Fidel Castro on 14 November 1983 in Havana; reprinted in *The Guardian*, 19 November 1983, p. 8.
 58. *The Observer*, 30 October 1983, p. 9.
 59. *The Guardian*, 16 November 1983.
 60. *The Observer*, 30 October 1983.
 61. O'Shaughnessy, p. 208; *The Guardian*, 16 November, 19 December 1983.
 62. *The Guardian*, 5 March 1984.
 63. *Ibid.*, 12 June 1984.
 64. *New York Times*, 4 November 1983, p. 16.
 65. *Ibid.*, 22 March 1986.
 66. *New York Times*, 15 April 1984, p. 10.
 67. *Ibid.*, 4 December 1984.
 68. *Ibid.*, 10 December 1984, p. 3.
 69. *The Guardian* (London), 3 January 1986. Though the Reagan administration described COHA as left-wing, the same annual report strongly criticized Cuba, Nicaragua and the Shining Path guerrillas of Peru for human-rights violations.
 70. "Importation of Publications (Prohibition) Order", Statutory Rules and Orders No. 6 of April 11, 1989, government of Grenada.
 71. *Los Angeles Times*, 25 August 1989.
46. MOROCCO 1983
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 2. Interview in *Africa Now* (London), March 1983, pp. 14-18.
 3. Claudia Wright, "Showdown in the Sahara", *Inquiry* magazine (Washington), 12 April 1982, p. 24; *New York Times*, 1 February 1983, p. 3.
 4. *Africa Now*, op. cit., p. 14.
 5. *New York Times*, 1 February 1983, p. 3.
 6. Wright, p. 24.
 7. *Ibid.*, pp. 24-5.
 8. *Africa Now*, op. cit., pp. 14-15.
 9. *Ibid.*, p. 14.
47. SURINAME 1982 to 1984
1. *Miami Herald*, 1 June 1983.
 2. *New York Times*, 1 June 1983, p. 13.
 3. *Miami Herald*, 1 June 1983.
 4. *The Guardian* (London), 1 November 1982, 7 January 1983; *New York Times*, 7 January 1983, p. 5.
 5. *New York Times*, 12 December 1982, p. 4; 30 November 1983.
 6. Tom Barry, et al., *The Other Side of Paradise: Foreign Control in the Caribbean* (Grove Press, New York, 1984), p. 361, citing *Soberania* magazine (Managua, Nicaragua) February/March 1983. See index of the present book for further information on the AIFLD.
 7. *New York Times*, 7 January 1983, p. 5.
 8. *Ibid.*, 19 July 1983.
 9. *Miami Herald*, 2 June 1983; Barry, op. cit., pp. 361-2, citing *Latin America Weekly Report* (London), 9 June 1983.
 10. *New York Times*, 27 October 1983, p. 4; 31 October, p. 10; *Miami Herald*, 29 November 1983; *Washington Post*, 5 November 1983.
 11. *Newsweek*, 7 November 1983, p. 78.
 12. *The Guardian* (London), 22 February 1983, p. 7.
 13. *Miami Herald*, 29 November 1983.
 14. *The Guardian* (London), 11 and 13 January 1984.
 15. *Ibid.*, 28 November 1985; *Washington Post*, 28 November 1985, p. 50.
48. LIBYA 1981-1989
1. Adolf Hitler, *Mein Kampf* (Houghton Mifflin Co., Boston, 1971; original version 1925) Vol. 1, chapter 10, p. 231.
 2. *New York Times*, 15 April 1986.
 3. Seymour Hersh, "Target Qaddafi", *The New York Times Magazine*, 22 February 1987, p. 22.
 4. *New York Times*, 15 April 1986, p. 11.
 5. Hersh, p. 20. A corroborating comment is given by an air force pilot. See also: *The Guardian* (London), 19 April

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- 1986.
6. *San Francisco Chronicle*, 6 October 1987.
 7. *Ibid.*, 16 April 1987, p. 15.
 8. *The Guardian* (London), 24 February 1987.
 9. Hersh, p. 20.
 10. *The Guardian* (London), 9 May 1986, p. 11; see also *New York Times*, 15 April 1986, p. 11.
 11. *New York Times*, 15 April 1986, transcript of Reagan's address, and Larry Speakes cited in article, p. 11; Bob Woodward, *VELL: The Secret Wars of the CIA 1981-1987* (New York, 1987), pp. 444-5
 12. *Der Spiegel* (Hamburg, West Germany), 21 April 1986, p. 20; *Los Angeles Times*, 11-13 January 1988; *New York Times*, 22 December 1988, p. 14; Hersh, p. 74. In December 1992, German officials charged a Palestinian with the bombing. It is not clear what the outcome of that arrest was.
 13. Hersh, p. 74.
 14. *Time* magazine, 16 January 1989, p. 20.
 15. *The Times* (London), 2 October 1989, p. 10; 28 September 1989, p. 9; *LA Weekly* (Los Angeles), 27 October-2 November 1989, p. 10, column by Alexander Cockburn; *Los Angeles Times*, 2 November 1988; *Washington Post*, 2 & 26 September 1999
 16. *Los Angeles Times*, 24 November 1988, p. 16.
 17. *Newsweek*, 20 July 1981, p. 42, citing a Western ambassador in Tripoli.
 18. *New York Times*, 16 April 1986, pp. 1, 20.
 19. *Washington Post*, 21 March 1981, p. A3.
 20. *Newsweek* 3 August 1981, p. 19.
 21. See *Boston Globe*, 25 March 1986, p. 7 for a discussion of this question.
 22. *Washington Post*, 13 October 1981, p. D17, Jack Anderson.
 23. Hersh, p. 24.
 24. *Newsweek*, 19 October 1981, p. 43; *New York Times*, 25 October 1981; 26 October, 1981, p. 4.
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 27. *Ibid.*, 4 December 1981, p. 1.
 28. *Ibid.*, 8 December 1981, p. 7.
 29. Jack Anderson, *San Francisco Chronicle*, 7 January 1982.
 30. Hersh, pp. 24, 26.
 31. Duncan Campbell and Patrick Forbes, "Tale of Anti-Reagan Hit Team Was 'Fraud,'" *New Statesman* magazine (London), 16 August 1985, p. 6; Jack Anderson, *San Francisco Chronicle*, 13 January 1989, p. E5.
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 33. Hersh, p. 48.
 34. *Washington Post*, 20 February 1987, p. 1.
 35. *The Guardian* (London), 30 and 31 December 1985.
 36. *San Francisco Chronicle*, 13 July 1987, Jack Anderson column; Hersh, pp. 48, 71.
 37. *Sunday Times* (London), 6 April 1986, p. 12.
 38. *The Guardian* (London), 3 April 1986.
 39. *New York Times*, 19 December 1986, p. 1, and 20 December, p. 6, for a summary of the incident. The Reagan administration acknowledged Wilson's action in March, and he resigned under pressure in May. It would have been earlier if not for the fact that he was a close friend of Reagan.
 40. *The Guardian* (London), 30 August 1986, citing the French news magazine *L'Express*.
 41. See, e.g., *Wall Street Journal*, 25 August 1986, p. 1, for a story about Qaddafi's plans for new anti-US terrorist attacks and US plans to attack Libya, and *Washington Post*, 2 October 1986 which reported that the information in the *Journal* article (picked up by much of the US media) had been part of a disinformation program. See also the *Post*, 27 August 1986, p. 1 and 5 October 1986, p. 1.
 42. *The Guardian* (London), 18 September 1987, citing *The Montgomery Journal* (presumably the paper in Montgomery, Alabama of that name).
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 44. *New York Times*, 27 August 1986, p. 7
 45. *The Guardian* (London), 9 October 1986.
 46. *Ibid.*, 13 October 1986, citing a story in the *Sunday Telegraph* (London) of 12 October.
 47. *Washington Post*, 31 August 1986, p. A25.
 48. *Wall Street Journal*, 2 September 1986, p. 31.
 49. Patrick Seale & Maureen McConville, *The Hilton Assignment* (London, 1973), pp. 176-7 and passim; *New York Times*, 3 October 1971, p. 26.
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52. Peter Maas, *Manhunt: The Incredible Pursuit of a C.I.A. Agent Turned Terrorist* (Random House, New York, 1986), passim.
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54. *Los Angeles Times*, 26 October 1988, 19 January 1989.
55. *New York Times*, 15 March 1990, p. 1.
56. *Los Angeles Times*, 19 January 1989.
57. *New York Times*, 6 July 1972, p. 2. The same article states that the Black Muslims in Chicago (Farrakhan's group) received a loan, not a contribution, of \$3 million to build a mosque. (But whether the money was actually given, is not certain.) See Blundy and Lycett, p. 80, re the skepticism of British security forces about the IRA getting much, if any, money from Qaddafi.
58. *Chicago Tribune*, 1987: 3 April, 8 October, 15 October, 28 October, 30 October, 19 November, 25 November.
59. Bill Schaap, *Covert Action Information Bulletin* (Washington, DC). No. 30, Summer 1988, p. 76.
60. *Washington Post*, 11 May 1989, p. 1.
61. *Los Angeles Times*, 10 October 1990, p. 1.
62. *Ibid.*, 15 November 1991, p. 25.
63. Mark Perry, *Eclipse: The Last Days of the CIA* (Wm. Morrow & Co., New York, 1992) pp. 335-48. Despite the title, the author is sympathetic to the CIA and accepts the official version of the guilt of the Libyans, although it's not easy for him or for the reader.
64. *Der Spiegel* (Hamburg, Germany), 18 April 1994, pp. 92-7; *Sunday Times* (London), 19 December 1993, p. 2; *The Times* (London), 20 December 1993, p. 11; *Los Angeles Times*, 20 December 1993.
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66. See William Blum's essay: <http://members.aol.com/bblum6/panam.htm>
67. *Los Angeles Times*, 24 November 1988, p. 1.
68. *Ibid.*, 19 January 1989.
69. *Ibid.*, 4 September 1989; 26 October 1989, citing an interview in the Egyptian magazine *Al Mussawar*. It can not be determined from the article whether Qaddafi himself referred to any of these groups as "terrorist".
49. NICARAGUA 1981-1990
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2. *Ibid.*, 22 July 1979, III, p. 1
3. *Newsweek*, 8 November 1982, p. 44
4. Shirley Christian, *Nicaragua: Revolution in the Family* (Random House, New York, 1985) pp. 73-4; for a description of the discussion process, see chapter 5; also, Bernard Diederich, *Somoza* (London, 1982) chapter 14.
5. Christian, p. 82
6. George Black, *Triumph of the People: The Sandinista Revolution in Nicaragua* (London, 1981) p. 176
7. Christian, p. 81
8. Bob Woodward, *VEIL: The Secret Wars of the CIA 1981-1987* (New York, 1987), p. 113
9. Black, p. 177
10. *New York Times*, 15 January 1981, p. 10
11. Carter administration aid: Christian, pp. 143-4; Jeff McConnell, 'Counterrevolution in Nicaragua: The U.S. Connection', *CounterSpy* magazine (Washington, DC), Vol. 6, No. 3, May-June 1982, pp. 11-23, particularly concerning aid to private organizations.
12. Economic measures: *The Times* (London) 1 October 1984; *The Guardian* (London) 1 July 1983, 30 May 1984, 8 March 1985, 1 May 1985; *New York Times*, 11 October 1984.
13. *The Guardian* (London) 24 May 1985, 14 June 1985
14. *International Herald Tribune*, 18 April 1984; see also *Time*, 31 August 1987, p. 14
15. *San Francisco Chronicle*, 4 August 1982
16. Holly Sklar, *Washington's War on Nicaragua* (Boston, 1988), pp. 46-8, 66; McConnell, pp. 15, 21
17. *Newsweek*, 15 June 1987, pp. 27-8
18. *The Guardian* (London) 8 and 13 October 1983; 9 and 22 March 1984; 9 April 1984
19. *Ibid.*, 17 October 1983
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21. *Barricada International* (English-language weekly newspaper of the Sandinista National Liberation Front, Managua) 8 November 1982, p. 12
22. *The Guardian* (London) 30 May 1984
23. *Bitter Witness: Nicaraguans and the Covert War*, a *Chronology and Several Narratives* (Witness for Peace Documentation Project, Santa Cruz, Ca., 1984) pp. 7-16, 18-22 (chronology of events, January 1981-June 1982)
24. *The Guardian* (London) 12 May 1984; *Covert Action Information Bulletin* (Washington, DC) No. 22, Fall 1984, pp. 25-9 — a summary of the military exercises appears on p. 26; *Los Angeles Times*, 17 March 1988
25. Eddie Adams, 'How Latin Guerrillas Train on Our Soil', *Parade Magazine* (*Washington Post*) 15 March 1981, p. 5 ff; *New York Times*, 17 March 1981; training in the US began in 1980.
26. *San Francisco Chronicle*, 8 June 1982; *The Guardian* (London) 4 and 9 April 1983, 27 April 1984
27. David MacMichael in a television documentary shown on 'Diverse Reports', Channel 4, London, 30 October 1985, p. 2 of transcript.

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28. *New York Times*, 29 August 1984, p. 10; 4 September 1984, p. 1; *Washington Post*, 19-22 January 1984 (US helicopter piloted by American shot down in Nicaragua and attempt at cover-up); *International Herald Tribune*, 14 December 1984; *The Guardian* (London), 6 and 7 October 1983, 7 September 1984, 10 October 1986; *Miami Herald*, 26 July 1987; *Time*, 31 August 1987, p. 14
29. *New York Times*, 17 December 1984; *The Guardian* (London) 18 December 1984, both based on a story in the *Detroit Free Press* of 16 December 1984.
30. *The Guardian* (London) 4 May 1984; *San Francisco Chronicle*, 27 July 1987
31. *San Francisco Examiner*, 22 November 1987, article by Seymour Hersh
32. *The Guardian* (London), 15 November 1984. Accounts of contra atrocities are numerous; see, e.g., *Bitter Witness*, op. cit., passim; legal brief filed by the Center for Constitutional Rights and the National Lawyers Guild against the US Government, excerpts in Peter Rosset and John Vandermeer, editors, *The Nicaragua Reader: Documents of a Revolution under Fire* (New York, 1983), pp. 228-36; *New Yorker* magazine, 25 March 1985, "Talk of the Town" section; *New York Times*, 10 March 1985, IV, p. 23, column by Anthony Lewis; Reed Brody, *Contra Terror in Nicaragua* (Boston, 1985), passim.
33. *The Guardian* (London) 15 November 1984
34. *New York Times*, 27 December 1984, p. 1
35. *The Guardian* (London) 3 June 1983
36. *New York Times*, 17 October 1984, pp. 1 and 12
37. *Ibid.*, 20 and 24 October 1984
38. *The Guardian* (London) 25 January 1985
39. *Ibid.*, 7 June 1983; *New York Times*, 7 June 1983
40. *Covert Action Information Bulletin* (Washington, DC) No. 20, Winter 1984, p. 39
41. "World in Action" television program, ITV London, 24 March 1986, documentary on Nicaragua showing an interview with a member of the hit team, part 2, pp. 12-13 of transcript
42. *New York Times*, 19 October 1984, p. 8; *Covert Action Information Bulletin* (Washington, DC) No. 22, Fall 1984, p. 28
43. *New York Times*, 19 January 1981, p. 11.
44. *Ibid.*, 12 February 1981, p. 11
45. *The Guardian* (London) 23 July 1983
46. Bob Woodward, *VELL: The Secret Wars of the CIA 1981-1987* (New York, 1987), p. 120
47. *New York Times*, 11 June 1984, p. B6
48. *The Guardian* (London) 9 January 1985
49. *New York Times*, 4 February 1988, pp. 1 and 12
50. Statement of Lt. Col. John H. Buchanan, USMC, ret., before the House Subcommittee on Inter-American Affairs, Committee on Foreign Affairs, 21 September 1982, reprinted in Rosset and Vandermeer, pp. 48-57.
51. *The Guardian* (London) 30 March 1985
52. *New York Times*, 10 March 1982, p. 16
53. *The Guardian* (London) 12 March 1986
54. *Ibid.*, 25 March 1985, 24 February 1986 (quotation)
55. *Ibid.*, 28 April 1983; see also *New York Times* 1 October 1987, p. 6 for a similar report of Soviet sentiments.
56. *Washington Post*, 22 May 1987, A18
57. *New York Times*, 2 May 1987
58. *Los Angeles Times*, 16 and 18 December 1987
59. *Washington Post*, 3 October 1984, p. A24, 6 November 1984, p. A1
60. *New York Times*, 3 October 1984, p. 3
61. *Ibid.*, 24 September 1984, p. 12
62. *Washington Post*, 2 October 1984, p. A12
63. *Ibid.*, 6 November 1984, p. A1.
64. See Sklar, chapter 13, for a detailed discussion of the US undermining role in the long Contadora process and the subsequent Central American Peace Accord process.
65. Panama, Honduras, Mexico: *Miami Herald*, 10 May 1987; see also *New York Times*, 18 May 1987
66. *New York Times*, 25 September 1988, p. 15
67. *Washington Post*, 4 November 1984, p. A1; see also *New York Times*, 4 November 1984 for a similar report
68. *New York Times*, 5 November 1984
69. *Ibid.*, 26 July 1984, p. 5; 16 August 1984
70. *Ibid.*, 29 July 1984, IV, p. 2
71. *Ibid.*, 26 July 1984, p.5
72. *Ibid.*, 24 September 1984
73. *Ibid.*, 23 August 1984, p. 10
74. *Covert Action Information Bulletin* (Washington, DC) No. 22, Fall 1984, p. 27 — contains a reproduction of the advertisement
75. *New York Times*, 21 October 1984, p. 12
76. *Ibid.*, 31 October 1984, p. 1
77. *Ibid.*, 7 November 1984, p. 26.

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78. *Ibid.*, 5 October 1984, p. 3
79. *Ibid.*, 19 July 1984, p. 6
80. *The Guardian* (London), 13 August 1986
81. *International Herald Tribune*, 22 January 1984; both attributions are from a letter of Eugene Stockwell who testified before the commission following a visit to Nicaragua with the World Council of Churches.
82. *The Guardian* (London) 15 March 1986
83. *Covert Action Information Bulletin* (Washington, DC) No. 20, Winter 1984, p. 25
84. *New York Times*, 31 December 1983, p. 9; the American ambassador, Anthony Quainton, was replaced in May 1984, whether due to Kissinger cannot be determined.
85. *The Guardian* (London) 21 March 1986
86. *San Francisco Chronicle*, 3 June 1987, Jack Anderson column
87. *New York Times*, 3 March 1982, p. 5; the photograph was first printed in the right-wing French newspaper *Le Figaro*, which then admitted its 'mistake' after being exposed by other French publications; it appears that Haig did not make any public retraction.
88. *Miami Herald*, 19 July 1987, p. 18A.
89. Peter Kornbluh, "Propaganda and Public Diplomacy: Selling Reagan's Nicaragua Policy", *Extrat!* (Published by Fairness and Accuracy in Reporting, New York), Summer 1989, p. 20.
90. *Miami Herald*, 21 December 1986, p. 30A; Kornbluh, op. cit., pp. 20-22; *Extrat!* (FAIR, New York), June 1987, p. 3, October/November 1987, p. 4.
91. Kornbluh, op. cit., pp. 20-22; *Extrat!* (FAIR, New York), October/November 1987, p. 4, citing the example of Prof. John Guilmartin's op-ed ("Nicaragua is Armed for Trouble" in the *Wall Street Journal*, 11 March 1985.)
92. *The Guardian* (London) 9 January 1985
93. Black, p. 218
94. *Ibid.*, pp. 215, 332, 356 give a number of examples of the economic sabotage
95. *The Guardian* (London) 13 July 1985, p. 7
96. *Boston Globe*, 9 February 1986, A20
97. Black, p. 306
98. *New York Times*, 21 September 1988, p. 6; 22 September, p. 15; 23 September, p. 5; 25 September, p. 15
99. In *These Times* (Chicago weekly newspaper), 21-27 October 1987, citing a spokeswoman at The Nicaraguan Resistance.
100. William I. Robinson, *A Faustian Bargain: U.S. Intervention in the Nicaraguan Elections and American Foreign Policy in the Post-Cold War Era* (Westview Press, Colorado, 1992) pp. 79-81; *San Francisco Chronicle*, 13 October 1987; Jacqueline Sharkey, "Anatomy of an Election: How U.S. Money Affected the Outcome in Nicaragua," *Common Cause Magazine* (Washington) May/June 1990, p. 24
101. *New York Times*, 1 June 1986; Robinson, *passim*.
102. *Washington Post*, 22 September 1991, p. C4. The *Post* itself added that NED "did openly what had once been unspeakably covert".
103. *Los Angeles Times*, 23 September 1988, p. 24; *New York Times*, 21 September 1988, p. 6.
104. *San Francisco Chronicle*, 20 April 1987; *Los Angeles Times*, 31 December 1987
105. *New York Times*, 20 August 1987, p. 1, based on an intelligence report dated February 1985
106. Iran/Contra, a sampler:
 a) *Final Report of the Independent Counsel for Iran/Contra Matters*, Washington, D.C., 1993), Volumes I and II, *passim*
 b) The National Security Archive, *The Chronology* (New York, 1987), *passim*.
 c) Jonathan Marshall, Peter Dale Scott, Jane Hunter, *The Iran-Contra Connection* (Boston, 1987), *passim*
 d) Jonathan Kwitny, *The Crimes of Patriots: A True Tale of Dope, Dirty Money, and the CIA* (New York, 1987), see index
 e) Sklar, see index
107. Bush and Dole: Sharkey, pp. 22-3
108. Abrams: *LA Weekly* (Los Angeles) 9-15 March 1990, p. 12.
109. Sharkey, p. 22
110. *LA Weekly* op. cit.
111. National Endowment for Democracy (Washington DC), *Annual Report*, 1989 and 1990.
112. The manipulation of the election by Washington was a wide-ranging and complex operation. For much fuller details than presented here, see Robinson, *passim*; also Sharkey, *passim*, and *LA Weekly*, op. cit.
113. Sharkey, p. 23.
50. PANAMA 1969-1991
1. Compiled from: 1) Francisco Goldman, "What Price Panama? A visit to a barrio destroyed by U.S. forces", *Harper's Magazine* (New York), September 1990; 2) *Los Angeles Times*, 1 April 1990, op-ed article by David and John Kiyonaga, lawyers representing more than 100 Panama invasion victims; 3) a speech by Olga Mejia, President of the National Human Rights Commission of Panama, at Town Hall, New York City, 5 April 1990 (excerpted in *Covert Action Information Bulletin* [Washington], No. 34, Summer 1990, p. 13).
2. *New York Times*, 22 December 1989, p. 16

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3. John Dinges, *Our Man in Panama* (revised edition, New York, 1991) p. 33; *New York Times*, 28 September 1988.
4. Dinges, p. 52. William Jordan, US Ambassador to Panama 1974-78, has written that he's almost certain that US intelligence agents gave the plotters tacit approval for the coup: *Panama Odyssey* (Austin, Texas, 1984), p. 144.
5. "The Noriega Connection", a documentary film aired on "Frontline" (PBS), 30 January 1990, citing former CIA officer John Bacon (on loan to the Bureau of Narcotics and Dangerous Drugs) and other unnamed CIA and federal investigators. See also: article by Joe Conason and John Kelly in *The Village Voice* (New York), 11 October 1988, and Dinges pp. 63-4, for BNDD discussions about assassinating Noriega during the Nixon administration, based on documents of the Attorney General's office and the US Senate.
6. *Newsweek*, 18 June 1973, p. 22.
7. *New York Times*, 2 October 1988, p. 25.
8. Frederick Kempe, "The Noriega Files", *Newsweek*, 15 January 1990, p. 21; "The Noriega Connection", op. cit. At Noriega's trial in Miami in 1991, the prosecution stated that Noriega had been paid a total of only \$160,000 over the years by the CIA and a like amount by the US Army. But the prosecution was seeking to counter the claim of Noriega's lawyers that the millions of dollars possessed by their client came not from drug dealing but from US government payments.
9. Dinges, pp. 85-86; *Los Angeles Times*, 16 January 1990, p. 15.
10. Dinges, pp. 88-90.
11. *San Francisco Chronicle*, 11 June 1987.
12. Dinges, p. 158.
13. Dinges, pp. 160, 234, 241; *Newsweek*, 15 January 1990, p. 23; *Los Angeles Times*, 16 January 1990, p. 15 (met at least six times).
14. Re sabotage: *Newsweek*, 15 January 1990, p. 22.
15. For different views of the source of the article, which was by Seymour Hersh, see Dinges, p. 243-4, *Newsweek*, 22 June 1987, p. 37, and Kevin Buckley, *Panama, The Whole Story* (New York, 1991), pp. 53-7.
16. Dinges, p. 253, citing Oliver North's trial stipulations 97-99, 101 and 106; also, see *Los Angeles Times*, 16 January 1990, pp. 14-15.
17. Dinges, pp. 253-4, citing a Foreign Agents Registration Act form signed by an official of the public relations firm and his testimony before the Iran-Contra Committee.
18. Dinges, p. 258.
19. William French Smith: Dinges, p. 27; Lawn: *Los Angeles Times*, 16 January 1990, p. 14. The latter also reports: A March 1984 note from then-DEA Administrator Francis Mullen thanked Noriega for an autographed photograph, saying that he "had it framed, and it is proudly displayed in my office."
20. *Los Angeles Times*, 4 January 1990, p. A12
21. Dinges, 295-6.
22. Saul Landau, "General Middleman", *Mother Jones*, Feb./March 1990, p. 17.
23. *New York Times*, 8 May 1988, p. 1. The same article reports that Edward Everett Briggs, who had been US Ambassador to Panama, had told Bush of Noriega's connection to drugs in 1985.
24. *Los Angeles Times*, 16 January 1990, p. 15; *Newsweek*, 15 January 1990, p. 19. In addition to his meeting with Noriega when he was CIA Director, Bush, as Vice President, met with him in December 1983 in Panama.
25. *New York Times*, 19 February 1989, p. 15.
26. *New York Times*, 24 April 1989, pp. 1, 11. Congressional intelligence committees do not have the formal power to kill covert operations. But they must be notified of them in advance and, very infrequently, their united opposition can dissuade an administration from proceeding. In actual practice, prior to the end of the cold war, the CIA was normally engaged in continuous, daily covert actions and thus only the most serious actions (and only in recent years) could be brought to the attention of the intelligence committees. In October 1989, President Bush, perhaps in reaction to this congressional rejection, and in anticipation of the upcoming invasion of Panama, issued a new executive order allowing operations which might result in the death of a foreign political leader as long as it wasn't premeditated murder. (*Los Angeles Times*, 14 October 1989, p. 1)
27. *U.S. News & World Report*, 1 May 1989, p. 40; *Los Angeles Times*, 23 April 1989, p. 1.
28. *Los Angeles Times*, 21 March 1992, p. A2
29. Dinges, pp. 187-9, 195-200, 369-72 (excerpts from the report). Dinges obtained a copy of the embassy report through a Freedom of Information request.
30. Buckley, pp. 197-218; *New York Times*, 8 October 1989, p. 16; *Washington Post*, 5 October 1989, p. 1; 6 October, p. 36; 8 October, p. 1.
31. *New York Times*, 6 October 1989, p. 10; 8 October, p. 16; *Washington Post*, 7 October 1989, pp. 1, 16; 12 October, p. 35; helicopters: *Los Angeles Times*, 4 October 1989.
32. It was reported on the ABC-TV program "Nightline", 4 October 1989, that while the rebels had not offered to turn Noriega over, they had asked that American troops come and get him by helicopter. This was denied by the Pentagon. (As reported in the *New York Times*, 5 October 1989, p. 14.)
33. *New York Times*, 6 October 1989, p. 10; 8 October, p. 16.
34. *Washington Post*, 21 December 1989, p. 37.
35. *Los Angeles Times*, 6 January 1990, p. 18. The *Washington Post*, 23 December 1989, p. 1, reported that in the

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- hours before the invasion, US forces had searched for Noriega at his many known lairs, including his mistress's apartment (which means the same apartment building as the diplomat), but no mention was made of the apartment of the mistress's grandmother.
36. *New York Times*, 21 December 1989 (Cheney), 22 December, p. 16 (Bush).
 37. *New York Times*, 18 December 1989, p. 8.
 38. *Los Angeles Times*, 22 December 1990, citing three American military and civilian sources who confirmed the facts independently of one another. (It should be noted that as to the claim about the American couple being roughed up, the administration offered no supporting evidence.)
 39. Buckley, pp. 228-9. The transcript of the marine's conversation was included in the report of the U.S. Army's Joint Debriefing Center.
 40. Buckley, pp. 187, 191; Timothy Harding, "Why Are We In Panama?", *LA Weekly* (Los Angeles), 29 December 1989 - 4 January 1990, p. 16.
 41. Buckley, p. 193, citing the *Washington Post National Weekly Edition*, 22-28 January 1990.
 42. *New York Times*, 24 December 1989, p. 9. The headline of this story on page one was: "U.S. Invasion: Many Weeks of Rehearsals". An earlier edition of the *Times* that day had headlined the same story: "U.S. Drafted Invasion Plan Weeks Ago".
 43. *New York Times*, 19 December, 1989, p. 12.
 44. *Washington Post*, 21 December 1989, p. 36.
 45. Compiled from: *Los Angeles Times*, 24, 26, 27, 30, 31 December 1989; 2, 4, 8, 25 January 1990; and *Washington Post*, 31 December 1989, p. 1.
 46. *Los Angeles Times*, 24 December 1989, pp. 1 and 6.
 47. *Ibid.*, 21 December 1990, editorial.
 48. Dated 20 December, but appearing in the *New York Times* 21 December 1989, p. 24.
 49. *New York Times*, 22 December 1989, p. 16.
 50. *Los Angeles Times*, 23 December 1989.
 51. *Ibid.*, 23 December 1990.
 52. Alan Nairn, "The Eagle is Landing", *The Nation*, 3 October 1994, p. 347.
 53. *New York Times*, 6 December 1990, p. 1; Dinges, p. xxvii.
 54. *The Nation*, op. cit., p. 346.
 55. *Los Angeles Times*, 23 June 1990.
 56. *New York Times*, 22 December 1990, p. 26, editorial; *Los Angeles Times*, 29 December 1989, 1 February 1990.
 57. *Extra!* January/February 1990, p. 5 [published by FAIR (Fairness & Accuracy in Reporting), New York].
 58. *Los Angeles Times*, 28 April 1991.
 59. *Ibid.*, 1 February 1990, p. A8; 27 December 1990, p. A15; 20 April 1991; 28 April 1991, p. A6. An earlier treaty of August 1990 had been repudiated by the Panamanian government.
 60. Kiyonaga (*Los Angeles Times*), op. cit.
 61. *Los Angeles Times*, 27 October 1990.
 62. *New York Times*, 24 December 1989, p. 9.
 63. *Ibid.*, 22 December 1989, p. 17.
 64. *Ibid.*, 24 December 1989, p. 9.
51. BULGARIA 1990
1. *New York Times*, 11 February 1990, p. 20.
 2. *The Guardian* (London), 21 May 1990, p. 6.
 3. National Endowment for Democracy, Washington, D.C., *Annual Report, 1990* (October 1, 1989 - September 30, 1990), pp. 23-4. The NED grants also included \$111 thousand for an international election observation team.
 4. *Los Angeles Times*, 3 December 1990, p. 13.
 5. *New York Times*, 6 June 1990, p. 10; 11 February 1990, p. 20.
 6. *The Guardian* (London), 9 June 1990, p. 6.
 7. Luan Troxel, "Socialist Persistence in the Bulgarian Elections of 1990-1991", *East European Quarterly* (Boulder, CO), January 1993, pp. 412-14.
 8. *Los Angeles Times*, 12 June 1990.
 9. *The Guardian* (London), 12 June 1990, p. 7.
 10. *Los Angeles Times*, 12 June 1990; *The Times* (London), 12 June 1990, p. 15; *The Guardian* (London), 12 June 1990, p. 7.
 11. *The Times* (London), 20 June 1990, p. 10.
 12. *The Guardian* (London), 28 May 1990, p. 6.
 13. *The Times* (London), 20 June 1990, p. 10.
 14. *The Times Higher Educational Supplement* (London), 29 June 1990, p. 11.
 15. NED Annual Report, 1990, op. cit., pp. 6-7, 23.
 16. *The Times* (London), 7 July 1990, p. 11.
 17. *The Times Higher Educational Supplement* (London), 13 July 1990, p. 9.
 18. *The Guardian* (London), 12 July 1990, p. 10; *The Times* (London), 20 July 1990, p. 10.
 19. *The Times* (London), 28 July 1990, p. 8; 30 July, p. 6.

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20. *Ibid.*, 27 August 1990, p. 8.
 21. *The Times Higher Education Supplement* (London), 14 December 1990, p. 8.
 22. Russ Bellant and Louis Wolf, "The Free Congress Foundation Goes East", *Covert Action Information Bulletin*, Fall 1990, No. 35, pp. 29-32, based substantially on Free Congress Foundation publications.
 23. *New York Times*, 9 October 1990, p. D20.
 24. *The Guardian* (London), 29, 30 August 1990, both p. 8.
 25. NED Annual Report, 1990, op. cit., p. 23; *Los Angeles Times*, 3 December 1990, p. 13.
 26. Howard Frazier, editor, *Uncloaking the CIA* (The Free Press/Macmillan Publishing Co., New York, 1978) pp. 241-8.
 27. *The Guardian* (London), 7 November 1990, p. 10.
 28. *The Times Higher Educational Supplement* (London), 16 November 1990, p. 11.
 29. *The Guardian* (London), 9 June 1990, p. 6.
 30. *The Times* (London), 24 November 1990, p. 10; 27 November, p. 16.
 31. *The Times Higher Educational Supplement* (London), 30 November 1990, p. 8.
 32. *The Guardian* (London), 30 November 1990, p. 9; *The Times* (London), 30 November 1990, p. 10.
 33. *Los Angeles Times*, 3 December 1990, p. 13.
 34. *Ibid.*
 35. *Ibid.*, 6 February 1994, article by Carol J. Williams.
 36. *Ibid.*, 13 June 1991, p. 14.
 37. National Endowment for Democracy, Washington, D.C., *Annual Report, 1991* (October 1, 1990- September 30, 1991), p. 42.
52. IRAQ 1990-1991
 1. *Los Angeles Times*, 17 March 1991, p. 8.
 2. *Washington Post*, 13 January 1990, p. 11; 8 February 1990.
 3. *Ibid.*, 12 February 1990, 16 June 1990, p. 6.
 4. *Los Angeles Times*, 11 July 1990, p. 1.
 5. *The Gallup Poll: Public Opinion 1990* (Wilmington, Del. 1991)
 6. a) Ramsey Clark, *The Fire This Time: U.S. War Crimes in the Gulf* (Thunder's Mouth Press, NY, 1992), pp. 12-13; this book is based largely on the findings of the Commission of Inquiry for the International War Crimes Tribunal, which gathered testimony from survivors and eyewitnesses.
b) Ralph Schoenman, *Iraq and Kuwait: A History Suppressed*, pp. 1-11, a 21-page monograph published by Veritas Press, Santa Barbara, CA.
c) *New York Times*, 15 September 1976, p. 17; the incursion was resolved without war.
 7. a) "Note from the Iraqi Minister of Foreign Affairs, Mr. Tariq Aziz, to the Secretary-General of the Arab League, July 15, 1990", Appendix 1 of Pierre Salingier and Eric Laurent, *Secret Dossier: The Hidden Agenda Behind the Gulf War* (Penguin Books, New York 1991), pp. 223-234.
b) *New York Times*, 3 September 1990, p. 7.
c) *Los Angeles Times*, 2 December 1990, p. M4 (article by Henry Schuler, director of energy security programs for the Center for Strategic and International Studies, Washington).
d) John K. Cooley, *Payback: America's Long War in the Middle East* (Brassey's [US], McLean, Va., 1991) pp. 183-6.
 8. Murray Waas, "Who Lost Kuwait? How the Bush Administration Bungled its Way to War in the Gulf", *The Village Voice* (New York), 22 January 1991, p. 35; *New York Times*, 23 September 1990.
 9. *New York Times*, 23 September 1990.
 10. *Ibid.*, 25 July 1990, pp. 1, 8.
 11. *Ibid.*, 23 September 1990.
 12. *Ibid.*, 17 September 1990, p. 23, column by William Safire.
 13. Waas, p. 31.
 14. *New York Times*, 28 July 1990, p. 5.
 15. *Los Angeles Times*, 21 October 1992, p. 8.
 16. "Developments in the Middle East", p. 14, Hearing before the Subcommittee on Europe and the Middle East of the House Committee on Foreign Affairs, 31 July 1990.
 17. Kuwaiti document: *Los Angeles Times*, 1 November 1990, p. 14.
 18. *Washington Post*, 19 August 1990, p. 29.
 19. *Los Angeles Times*, 1 November 1990, p. 14.
 20. Schoenman, pp. 11-12; *New York Review of Books*, 16 January 1992, p. 51.
 21. *Christian Science Monitor*, 5 February 1991, p. 1.
 22. Michael Emery, "How Mr. Bush Got His War" in Greg Ruggiero and Stuart Sahulka, eds., *Open Fire* (The New Press, New York, 1993), pp. 39, 40, 52, based on Emery's interview of King Hussein, 19 February 1991 in Jordan. (Revised version of article in the *Village Voice*, 5 March 1991).
 23. *Ibid.*, p. 42; "they" also referred to the Saudis, for reasons not pertinent to this discussion.
 24. Milton Viorst, "A Reporter At Large: After the Liberation", *The New Yorker*, 30 September 1991, p. 66.
 25. Schoenman, pp. 12-13, from a letter sent by the Iraqi Foreign Minister to the Secretary-General of the UN, 4

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- September 1990; Emery, pp. 32-3.
26. *New York Times*, 5 August 1990, p. 12.
 27. Waas, pp. 30 and 38.
 28. *New York Times*, 24 January 1991, p. D22.
 29. *Washington Post*, 8 March 1991, p. A26.
 30. a) Major James Blackwell, US Army Ret., *Thunder in the Desert: The Strategy and Tactics of the Persian Gulf War* (Bantam Books, New York, 1991), pp. 85-6.
 - b) *Triumph Without Victory: The Unreported History of the Persian Gulf War* (U.S. News and World Report/Times Books, 1992) pp. 29-30.
 - c) *AIR FORCE Magazine* (Arlington, Va.), March 1991, p. 82.
 - d) *Newsweek*, 28 January 1991, p. 61.
 31. *Los Angeles Times*, 5 August 1990, p. 1.
 32. *Washington Post*, 23 June 1991, p. A16.
 33. Blackwell, pp. 86-7.
 34. *Financial Times* (London), 21 February 1991, p. 3.
 35. Waas, p. 30.
 36. *New York Times*, 31 May 1991.
 37. *Ibid.*, 2 August 1990, p. 1; *Washington Post*, 3 August 1990, p. 7; the Bush quotation is the *Post* summary of his remarks.
 38. *New York Times*, 3 August 1990; *Los Angeles Times*, 3 August 1990, p. 1; *Washington Post*, 3 August 1990, p. 7.
 39. *Los Angeles Times*, 4 August 1990, p. 20.
 40. *Washington Post*, 10 August 1990, p. F1.
 41. *New York Times*, 23 September 1990, IV, p. 21.
 42. *Washington Post*, 25 November 1990, p. C4.
 43. *Los Angeles Times*, 2 October 1990, p. 18. See *Washington Post*, 10 October 1990, p. 5, and 18 October, p. 1, for some of the actual numbers and programs testifying to how Congress went out of its way not to rock the new war boat.
 44. *The Gallup Poll: Public Opinion 1989* (Wilmington, Del. 1990); ditto for 1990, published in 1991.
 45. Reported in many places; see, e.g., *Wall Street Journal*, 14 January 1991, p. 14; *Fortune* magazine (New York), 11 February 1991, p. 46; Clark, pp. 153-6; *Washington Post*, 30 January 1991, p. A30 (IMF and World Bank); Daniel Pipes, "Is Damascus Ready for Peace?", *Foreign Affairs* magazine (New York), Fall 1991, pp. 41-2 (Syria); *Los Angeles Times*, 18 June 1992, p. 1 (Turkey); Elaine Sciolino, *The Outlaw State: Saddam Hussein's Quest for Power and the Gulf Crisis* (John Wiley & Sons, New York, 1991), pp. 237-9 (China, Russia).
 46. Sciolino, pp. 237-8. Baker's exact words differ slightly in several of the sources reporting this incident; also, whether he said it out loud or not; the amount of aid lost by the Yemenis differs widely as well.
 47. *Los Angeles Times*, 4 May 1991, p. 8.
 48. *The Guardian* (London), 9 January 1991.
 49. For an analysis of the Bush administration's method of negotiating, see John E. Mack and Jeffrey Z. Rubin, "Is This Any Way to Wage Peace?", *Los Angeles Times*, 31 January 1991, op. ed.; also see *ibid.*, 1 October 1990, p. 1, and 2 November 1990, p. 18.
 50. *New York Times*, 9 August 1990, p. 15.
 51. *Los Angeles Times*, 6 November 1990, p. 4.
 52. August: Robert Parry, "The Peace Feeler That Was", *The Nation*, 15 April 1991, pp. 480-2; *Newsweek*, 10 September 1990, p. 17; October: *Los Angeles Times*, 20 October 1990, p. 6.
 53. New border: *Wall Street Journal*, 11 December 1990, p. 3.
 54. *Newsweek*, 10 September 1990, p. 17.
 55. Parry, op. cit.
 56. *Washington Post*, 25 November 1990, p. C4.
 57. *Fortune*, op. cit.
 58. *Ibid.*
 59. *The Guardian* (London), 12 January 1991, p. 2.
 60. Theodore Draper, "The True History of the Gulf War", *The New York Review of Books*, 30 January 1992, p. 41.
 61. *Ibid.*
 62. *Wall Street Journal*, 21 November 1990, p. 16.
 63. *New York Times*, 3 August 1990, p. 9; 12 August, p. 1; *Los Angeles Times*, 17 November 1990, p. 14; *Wall Street Journal*, 3 December 1990, p. 3.
 64. *The Observer* (London), 21 October 1990.
 65. Webster, 23 January 1990, p. 60, and Schwarzkopf, 8 February 1990, pp. 586, 594 of "Threat Assessment; Military Strategy; and Operational Requirements", testimony before Senate Armed Services Committee.
 66. *Basic Petroleum Data Book* (American Petroleum Institute, Washington), September 1990, Section II, Table 1a, 1989 figures: Middle East - 572 billion barrels of reserves, "Free World" - 824 billion, USSR - 84 billion.
 67. "Threat Assessment; Military Strategy; and Operational Requirements", op. cit., p. 600, for 1989 figures.
 68. Speaking on the MacNeil/Lehrer NewsHour, 11 September 1990.

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69. Draper, op. cit., p. 41.
70. Judith Miller and Laurie Mylroie, *Saddam Hussein and the Crisis in the Gulf* (Times Books, New York, 1990), p. 192.
71. Bob Woodward, *The Commanders* (Simon & Schuster, New York, 1991), pp. 263-73.
72. *Los Angeles Times*, 17 October 1990 (hecklers); 17 November, p. 14; 1 December, p. 5.
73. *The Guardian* (London), 12 September 1990, p. 7.
74. See, e.g., Christopher Hitchens, *Harper's Magazine*, January 1991, p. 72; Dilip Hiro, *The Longest War: The Iran-Iraq Military Conflict* (London, 1989), p. 71. US policy had to do with the hostages held in the US embassy in Teheran.
75. *Saudi Arabia: Religious intolerance: The arrest, detention and torture of Christian worshippers and Shi'a Muslims* (Amnesty International report, New York, 14 September 1993).
76. Miller and Mylroie, pp. 220, 225; Denis MacShane, "Working in Virtual Slavery", *The Nation*, 18 March 1991.
77. Draper, op. cit., p. 38, provides details.
78. See, as a small sample, *Los Angeles Times*, 7, 13, and 17 March 1991, 12 June 1991, and 10 July 1992 (Amnesty).
79. All three quotations: Arthur Schlesinger, Jr., "White Slaves in the Persian Gulf", *Wall Street Journal*, 7 January 1991, p. 14.
80. *New York Times*, 18 November 1990, p. 1.
81. Sciolino, pp. 139-40.
82. *Los Angeles Times*, 7 May 1991, p. 16; 6 September 1991, p. 17; Clark, p. 92, lists eight countries with whom Washington made such arrangements.
83. "Threat Assessment; Military Strategy; and Operational Requirements", op. cit., pp. 589-90.
84. Scott Armstrong, "Eye of the Storm", *Mother Jones* magazine, November/December 1991, pp. 30-35, 75-6.
85. *Los Angeles Times*, 1 December 1990, p. 1.
86. *Ibid.*, 7 June 1991, pp. 1, 30.
87. *Los Angeles Times*, 12 September 1991, p. 1; *Washington Post*, 13 September 1991, p. 21; this occurred on 24-25 February 1991.
88. *Los Angeles Times*, 12 June 1991, p. 1; 26 September, p. 16; occurred on 18 January 1991.
89. United Nations General Assembly Resolution: "Establishment of a nuclear-weapon-free zone in the region of the Middle East", 4 December 1990, Item No. 45/52.
90. *New York Times*, 24 January 1991, p. 11; 31 January, p. 12; *Los Angeles Times*, 26 January 1991, p. 6.
91. Clark, pp. 97-8; Senate Committee on Veterans' Affairs, "Is Military Research Hazardous to Veterans' Health? Lessons from the Persian Gulf", 6 May 1994, pp. 5-6.
92. *Peacelink* magazine (Hamilton, New Zealand), March 1991, p. 19; *Washington Post*, 8 February 1991, p. 1.
93. Clark, pp. 98-9. The UKAEA report was obtained and published by *The Independent* newspaper of London.
94. *Needless Deaths in the Gulf War: Civilian Casualties During the Air Campaign and Violations of the Laws of War*, a report of Middle East Watch/Human Rights Watch (US and London), November 1991, pp. 95-111, 248-272.
95. *Washington Post*, 13 February 1991, p. 22, citing Rear Admiral Mike McConnell, intelligence director for the Joint Chiefs of Staff.
96. *The Guardian* (London), 20 February 1991, p. 1, entitled: "Bombs rock capital as allies deliver terrible warning".
97. *Needless Deaths ...* op. cit., pp. 128-47; Clark, pp. 70-72, for an explanation of the 1,500 number and for a particularly gruesome description of the carnage and the horror.
98. "The Gulf War and Its Aftermath", *The 1992 Information Please Almanac* (Boston 1992), p. 974.
99. Laurie Garrett (medical writer for *Newsday*), "The Dead", *Columbia Journalism Review* (New York), May/June 1991, p. 32.
100. *Needless Deaths ...* op. cit., p. 135.
101. *Los Angeles Times*, 18 February 1991, p. 11.
102. Effects of the destruction of the electrical system: *Needless Deaths ...* op. cit., pp. 171-93. Also see Clark, pp. 59-72, for a discussion of the destruction of the infrastructure.
103. *Washington Post*, 23 June 1991, p. 16; *Los Angeles Times*, 21 May 1991, p. 1; *Needless Deaths ...* op. cit., pp. 184-5 (The Harvard Study Team Report discusses the methodology used to derive the figure of 170,000.)
104. Julia Devin, Member of the Coordinating Committee for the International Study Team (87 health and environment researchers who visited Iraq in August 1991), testimony before the International Task Force of the House Select Committee on Hunger, 13 November 1991, p. 40.
105. *Washington Post*, 23 June 1991, pp. 1 and 16.
106. *Needless Deaths ...* op. cit., pp. 177-80.
107. *Washington Post*, 23 June 1991, p. 16.
108. *Needless Deaths ...* op. cit., pp. 201-24; Clark, pp. 72-4; *Los Angeles Times*, 31 January 1991, p. 9; 3 February, p. 8; apparently these attacks took place mainly during late January and early February 1991.
109. Road to Basra: *Washington Post*, 27 February 1991, p. 1; *Los Angeles Times*, 27 February 1991, p. 1; Ellen Ray, "The Killing Deserts", *Lies Of Our Times* (New York), April 1991, pp. 3-4 (cites *The Independent*).
110. Stephen Sackur, *On the Basra Road* (London Review of Books, 1991), pp. 25-6, cited in Draper, op. cit., p. 42.
111. *Los Angeles Times*, 24 August 1990.

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112. Ibid., 21 January 1991.
113. Ibid., 30 September 1994, p. 26.
114. *The Gallup Poll: Public Opinion 1991* (Wilmington, Del. 1992).
115. Dennis Bernstein, quoted in the *Newsletter of the National Association of Arab Americans* (Greater Los Angeles Chapter), July 1991, p. 2. For an excellent description of the media as government handmaiden during the war, see *Extral* (Fairness and Accuracy in Reporting, New York), May 1991, Special issue on the Gulf War.
116. Micah L. Sifry & Christopher Cerf, eds., *The Gulf War Reader: History, Documents, Opinions* (Times Books, New York, 1991), p. 345, for the main provisions of the agreement arrived at between the Soviet and Iraqi foreign ministers.
117. Clark, chapters 8 and 9 and appendices, plus elsewhere, explores all this in detail.
118. Interview with Ignatenko on CBS-TV, aired in Los Angeles during the evening of 22 February 1991.
119. "The Gulf War and Its Aftermath", *The 1992 Information Please Almanac* (Boston 1992), p. 974.
120. Clark, pp. 75-84.
121. *Los Angeles Times*, 7 September 1994, p. 6.
122. *International Herald Tribune*, 5 April 1991.
53. AFGHANISTAN 1979-1992
1. Tim Weiner, *Blank Check: The Pentagon's Black Budget* (Warner Books, New York, 1990), p. 149.
 2. Ibid., pp. 149-50.
 3. a) Selig Harrison, "The Shah, Not the Kremlin, Touched off Afghan Coup", *Washington Post*, 13 May 1979, p. C1; contains other examples of the Shah/US campaign.
 - b) Hannah Negaran, "Afghanistan: A Marxist Regime in a Muslim Society", *Current History* (Philadelphia), April 1979, p. 173.
 - c) *New York Times*, 3 February 1975, p. 4.
 - d) For a brief summary, from the Soviet point of view, of the West's attempts to lure Afghanistan into its fold during the 1950s and 60s, see *The Truth About Afghanistan: Documents, Facts, Eyewitness Reports* (Novosti Press Agency Publishing House, Moscow, 1981, second edition) pp. 60-65.
 - e) Dwight D. Eisenhower, *The White House Years: Waging Peace, 1956-1961* (New York, 1965) pp. 493, 495, 498 discusses his concern about Soviet influence in Afghanistan.
 4. Selig Harrison, op. cit.
 5. *New York Times*, 4 May 1978, p. 11; Louis Dupree, "A Communist Label is Unjustified", letter to *New York Times*, 20 May 1978, p. 18. Dupree had been an anthropologist who lived in Afghanistan for many years; he was also at one time a consultant to the U.S. National Security Council, and an activist, both in Pakistan and in the United States, against the leftist Afghan government, which declared him *persona non grata* in 1978.
 6. *New York Times Magazine*, 4 June 1978, p. 52 (prime minister's quote).
 7. *New York Times*, 18 May 1979, p. 29, article by Fred Halliday, a Fellow at the liberal Transnational Institute, Amsterdam, and author of several books on South Asia.
 8. *The Economist* (London), 11 September 1979, p. 44.
 9. *New York Times*, 13 April 1979, p. 8.
 10. *Newsweek*, 16 April 1979, p. 64.
 11. CIA's Foreign Broadcast Information Service, 31 December 1979, p. S-13, cited in *CounterSpy* magazine (Washington, DC), No. 4-2, Spring 1980, p. 36, article by Konrad Ege.
 12. *New York Times*, 16 June 1978, p. 11.
 13. Robert Neumann, in *Washington Review of Strategic and International Studies*, July 1978, p. 117.
 14. *New York Times*, 1 July 1978, p. 4.
 15. *San Francisco Chronicle*, 4 August 1979, p. 9.
 16. *New York Times*, 24 March 1979, p. 4; 13 April 1979, p. 8.
 17. *Washington Post*, 11 May 1979, p. 23. U.S. intelligence officials confirmed that Islamic rebels killed Soviet male and female civilians and mutilated their bodies, *New York Times*, 13 April 1979, p. 8.
 18. *New York Times*, 11 September 1979, p. 12.
 19. *Washington Post*, 15 November 1992, p. 32, from the official minutes of the conversation, amongst declassified Politburo documents obtained by the newspaper.
 20. Ibid., citing an article published in 1992 by the former KGB deputy station chief in Kabul.
 21. Ibid., 23 December 1979, p. A8.
 22. Selig Harrison, "Did Moscow Fear An Afghan Tito?", *New York Times*, 13 January 1980, p. E23.
 23. *The Sunday Times* (London), 6 January 1980, reporting the interview with Amin by the newspaper *Al Sharq Al Awast* ("The Middle East") published in London and Mecca.
 24. *Washington Post*, 15 November 1992, p. 32, citing a "recent" account in the Moscow newspaper *Komsomolskaya Pravda*.
 25. *The Truth About Afghanistan*, op. cit., p. 15, taken from *Pravda*, 13 January 1980.
 26. *The Times* (London), 5 January 1980.
 27. *New York Times*, 15 January 1980, p. 6. The newspaper stated that the CIA-accusations appeared to have been dropped by the Soviets at this time, perhaps because they were embarrassed by the incredulous reaction to it from around the world. But it was soon picked up again, conceivably in reaction to the *Times'* story.

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28. Phillip Bonosky, *Washington's Secret War Against Afghanistan* (International Publishers, New York, 1985), pp. 33-4. The *Washington Post*, 23 December 1979, p. A8, also mentions Amin being a student at Columbia teachers college.
29. "How the CIA turns foreign students into traitors", *Ramparts* magazine (San Francisco), April 1967, pp. 23-4. This was a month after the magazine printed its famous exposé of the extensive CIA connection to the National Student Association, the leading organization of American students.
30. Bonosky, p. 34. When I spoke to Mr. Bonosky in 1994 about this claim, he said that he couldn't remember its source, but that it may have been something he was informed of in Afghanistan when he was there in 1981.
31. Charles G. Cogan, "Partners in Time: The CIA and Afghanistan since 1979", *World Policy Journal* (New York), Summer 1993, p. 76. Cogan was chief of the Near East and South Asia Division of the CIA's Directorate of Operations (Clandestine Services) from 1979 to 1984. He refers to Amin's connection to the Asia Foundation as "some sort of loose association", and says nothing further about it, but given his past position, Cogan may well know more than he's willing to reveal about a key point of the Afghanistan question, or else the article was sponsored by the CIA when Cogan submitted it for review, which he would have had to do.
32. Classified State Department cables, 11, 22, 23, 27, 29 September 1979, 28, 30 October 1979, among the documents found in the takeover of the US Embassy in Teheran on 4 November 1979 and gradually published in many volumes over the following years under the title: *Documents from the Den of Espionage*; hereafter referred to as "Embassy Documents". The cables referred to in this note come from vol. 30. These embassy documents and those which follow are cited in *Covert Action Information Bulletin*, No. 30, Summer 1988, article by Steve Galster, pp. 52-4. Except where quotations are used, the language summarizing the documents' content is that of Galster.
Amin's party knew of these covert activities long before the documents were published. On 16 January 1980, a PDP spokesperson told the Afghan News Agency (Bakhtar): "In September 1979, Amin began preparing the ground for a rapprochement with the United States. He conducted confidential meetings with U.S. officials, sent emissaries to the United States, conveyed his personal oral messages to President Carter." (cited in Bonosky, p. 52)
33. Interview with Karmal in *World Marxist Review* (Toronto), April 1980, p. 36.
34. *New York Times*, 2 January 1980, p. 1.
35. *Wall Street Journal*, 7 January 1980, p. 12.
36. Weiner, p.145.
37. Amongst the "Embassy Documents", op. cit., vol. 29, p. 99: Classified Department of State cable, 14 May 1979, refers to a previous meeting with a rebel leader in Islamabad on 23 April 1979.
38. Robert Gates (former CIA director), *From the Shadows* (NY, 1996) p. 146.
39. *Truth About Afghanistan*, op. cit., pp. 16-17.
40. Zbigniew Brzezinski, *Power and Principle: Memoirs of the National Security Adviser, 1977-1981* (New York, 1983) p. 430.
41. *The Guardian* (London), 5 March 1986.
42. *Washington Post*, 13 January 1985, p. A30. The unnamed official may have been CIA Director Stansfield Turner who is quoted as saying something very similar in Weiner pp. 146-7.
43. Ibid.
44. Amongst the "Embassy Documents", op. cit.: Classified CIA Field Report, 30 October 1979, vol. 30.
45. *New York Times*, 22 November 1979, p. 1.
46. Weiner, p. 146
47. John Balbach, former staff director of the Congressional Task Force on Afghanistan, article in the *Los Angeles Times*, 22 August 1993.
48. Cited in *The Guardian* (London), 28 December 1983 and 16 January 1987, p. 19.
49. *Los Angeles Times*, 17 October 1988, 13 March 1989, 16 March 1989.
50. *The Daily Telegraph* (London), 5 August 1985.
51. Brzezinski, p. 356, mentioned three times on this one page alone.
52. *New York Times*, 9 February 1980, p. 3; though written after the Soviet invasion, the article refers to April 1979.
53. For a discussion of some of these and related matters, see Selig Harrison, "Afghanistan: Soviet Intervention, Afghan Resistance, and the American Role" in Michael Klare and Peter Kornbluh, eds., *Low Intensity Warfare: Counterinsurgency, Proinsurgency, and Antiterrorism in the Eighties* (Pantheon Books, New York, 1988) pp. 188-190.
54. Ibid., p. 188; the portion about the middle class was attributed by Harrison to an article by German journalist Andreas Kohlschutter of *Die Zeit*.
55. For a fuller discussion of these matters see the three articles in *The Guardian* of London by their chief foreign correspondent Jonathan Steele, 17-19 March 1986.
56. Lawrence Lifschultz, "The not-so-new rebellion", *Far Eastern Economic Review* (Hong Kong), 30 January 1981, p. 32.
57. *Los Angeles Times*, 22 April 1989, pp. 12-13.
58. Ibid., 1 December 1987, p. 8.
59. Amongst the "Embassy Documents", op. cit., vol. 30 — Department of State Report, 16 August 1979.
60. *Los Angeles Times*, 17 February 1989, p. 8.

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61. Najibullah, textbooks: *Ibid.*, 18 February 1989, p. 18.
62. *Washington Post*, 13 January 1985, p. A30. The article speaks of 70 Russian prisoners "living lives of indescribable horror"; it appears, although it's not certain, that they are included in the 50 to 200 figure given earlier in the article.
63. John Fullerton, *The Soviet Occupation of Afghanistan* (London, 1984).
64. *Los Angeles Times*, 28 July 1989.
65. Amnesty International, *Torture in the Eighties* (London, 1984), Afghanistan chapter.
66. Jack Anderson column, *San Francisco Chronicle*, 4 May 1987. For his, and many other persons', ties to the Afghan lobby, see Sayid Khybar, "The Afghani Contra Lobby", *Covert Action Information Bulletin*, No. 30, Summer 1988, p. 65.
67. *New York Times*, 11 September 1979, p. 12.
68. *Washington Post*, 13 January 1985, p. A30.
69. Cited by *Extra!* (published by Fairness & Accuracy in Reporting, New York, October/November 1989), p. 1, referring to a series of articles in the *New York Post* beginning 27 September 1989.
70. Mary Williams Walsh, "Strained Mercy", *The Progressive* magazine (Madison, Wisconsin) May 1990, pp. 23-6. Walsh, as the *Wall Street Journal's* principal correspondent in South and Southeast Asia, had covered Afghanistan. The *Journal* refused to print this article, which led to her resignation.
71. *San Francisco Chronicle*, 20 July 1987.
72. *New York Times*, 9 March 1982, p. 1; 23 March 1982, pp. 1, 14; *The Guardian* (London) 3 November 1983, 29 March 1984; *Washington Post*, 30 May 1986.
73. Julian Robinson, et al, "Yellow Rain: The Story Collapses", *Foreign Policy* magazine, Fall 1987, pp. 100-117; *New York Times*, 31 August 1987, p. 14.
74. *Congressional Record*, 6 June 1980, pp. S13582-3.
75. *New York Times*, 29 March 1982, p. 1.
76. *San Francisco Chronicle*, 16 September 1985, p. 9.
77. *The Truth About Afghanistan*, op. cit., pp. 85, 89, with a photo of the alleged victims lying on the ground and another photo of an American chemical grenade.
78. *Los Angeles Times*, 28 July 1989.
79. *Ibid.*, 30 April 1990, pp. 1 and 9.
80. Weiner, pp. 150, 152.
81. Weiner, p. 151; *Los Angeles Times*, 26 May 1988. Shooting down passenger planes: *New York Times*, 26 September 1984, p. 9; 11 April 1988, p. 1.
82. *San Francisco Chronicle*, Jack Anderson's columns: 29 April and 2 May 1987; 13 July 1987; *Time* magazine, 9 December 1985; *Washington Post*, 13 January 1985, p. A30.
83. Drugs, the Moujahedeen and the CIA:
- a) Weiner, pp. 151-2;
- b) *New York Times*, 18 June 1986;
- c) William Vornberger, "Afghan Rebels and Drugs", *Covert Action Information Bulletin*, No. 28, Summer 1987, pp. 11-12;
- d) *Los Angeles Times*, 4 November 1989, p. 14;
- e) *Washington Post*, 13 May 1990, p. 1.
84. *Los Angeles Times*, 22 August 1993.
85. Hekmatyar, Neumann: *Ibid.*, 21 April 1992.
86. *Ibid.*, 24 May 1992.
87. *Ibid.*, 4 January, 24 May, 8 September, 1992.
54. EL SALVADOR 1980-1994
1. *New York Times*, 7 March 1981, p. 10.
2. Raymond Bonner, *Weakness and Deceit: U.S. Policy and El Salvador* (Times Books, New York, 1984) p. 24.
3. Events of 1960-1: John Gerassi, *The Great Fear in Latin America* (New York, 1965, revised edition) p. 178; Michael McClintock, *The American Connection: State Terror and Popular Resistance in El Salvador* (Zed Books, London, 1985) pp. 135-7, 149; *New York Herald Tribune*, 7 April 1963, section 2, page 1.
4. *Human Rights in Nicaragua, Guatemala, and El Salvador: Implications for U.S. Policy*, Hearings before the House Subcommittee on International Organizations of the Committee on International Relations, 8 June 1976, pp. 33-4.
5. *New York Times*, 22 October 1987, p. 11. For further discussion of the US role in this process in the 1960s and 70s, see: McClintock, chapter 12; American Civil Liberties Union & Americas Watch Committee, *Report on Human Rights in El Salvador* (Vintage Books, New York, 1982) pp. 179-80, 189-97; James Dunkerley, *The Long War: Dictatorship and Revolution in El Salvador* (London, 1982) pp. 74-5; Jenny Pearce, *Under the Eagle* (London, 1982) pp. 214-16.
6. McClintock, pp. 158, 226 (note 44).
7. Elections of 1960s and 70s: Robert Armstrong and Janet Shenk, *El Salvador: The Face of Revolution* (London, 1982) pp. 50-87; McClintock, pp. 158-183, passim; Dunkerley, pp. 79-86, 103-6; Gerassi, p. 179; testimony of Fabio Castillo before US Congress, op. cit., pp. 42-4 (see note 4).

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8. Armstrong and Shenk, pp. 87-8; McClintock, pp. 183-4; Dunkerley, pp. 106-7.
9. *Facts on File* (New York), 12 March 1977, p. 181.
10. Allan Nairn, "Behind the Death Squads", *The Progressive* magazine (Madison, Wisconsin) May 1984, pp. 1, 20-29 — a detailed account of the CIA's long-standing and close ties to the Death Squads and/or their parent organizations and to the organizations' leaders who were on the CIA payroll. See also *New York Times*, 22 October 1987, p. 11; 6 December 1987, IV, p. 2.
11. Carolyn Forché, "The Road to Reaction in El Salvador", *The Nation* (New York) 14 June 1980, p. 712.
12. October 1979 to January 1980: Dunkerley, pp. 132-44; McClintock, pp. 245-60; Armstrong and Shenk, pp. 115-30.
13. Armstrong and Shenk, p. 122; Dunkerley, pp. 87-8.
14. Dunkerley, p. 144.
15. Events of January to March 1980: *The Guardian* (London) 24 January 1980; 20 March 1980; McClintock, pp. 262-4; Dunkerley, pp. 146, 156-7; Liisa North, *Bitter Grounds: Roots of Revolt in El Salvador* (Toronto, 1981) Appendix I, Chronology of Events — February 1977-June 1981, for further details of government/death squad killings; Armstrong and Shenk, p. 149, quote from Romero's last sermon.
16. James R. Brockman, *Oscar Romero, Bishop and Martyr* (Orbis Books, Maryknoll, New York, 1982) pp. 222, 236 (note 28); Dermot Keogh, *Romero, El Salvador's Martyr* (Dominican Publications, Dublin, 1981) p. 113; *New York Times*, 31 March 1980, p. 1.
17. *Los Angeles Times*, 24 November 1987; *New York Times*, 25 November 1987; CIA knowledge: CIA memo to Reagan's national security adviser Richard Allen, March 1981, *New York Times*, 9 November 1993, p. 9; *Washington Post*, 27 April 1982, p. A3, article by Mary McGrory, quoting d'Aubuisson's remark from the Mexican newspaper *El Día*.
18. McClintock, p. 268; see pages 266-71 for a discussion of agrarian reform in El Salvador in the early 1980s.
19. "El Salvador — A Revolution Brews", *NACLA Report on the Americas* (North American Congress on Latin America, New York), July-August 1980, p. 17, based on an interview with the technician in San Salvador, 2 June 1980.
20. Philip Wheaton, *Agrarian Reform in El Salvador* (Ecumenical Program for Interamerican Communication and Action, Washington, DC, 1980), p. 13.
21. *New York Times*, 18 January 1981, p. 7; 19 January, p. 11; McClintock, p. 286 (the "observer"); *The Guardian* (London) 20 July 1983 (Carter's statement).
22. *New York Times*, 12 February 1985, p. 1; 16 November 1987, p. 5.
23. "Dissent Paper on El Salvador and Central America", 6 November 1980, Section B3, 'International Context' (Argentina Chile, Uruguay) - this document, apparently the work of members of the foreign policy establishment who disagreed with American policy in Central America, was circulated throughout official circles in Washington in 1980, reprinted in Warner Poelchau, ed., *White Paper, Whitewash* (New York, 1981), Appendix B; *New York Times*, 2 December 1981 (Argentina); Clarence Lusane, "Israeli Arms in Central America", *Covert Action Information Bulletin* (Washington, DC) Winter 1984, No. 20, pp. 34-7.
24. McClintock, p. 337; *New York Times*, 12 February 1985; 19 August 1986, p. 3; the "Dissent Paper", op. cit., disclosed that large amounts of US military aid were devoted to expanding the number of Salvadorean troops; *Newsweek*, 14 March 1983, p. 18, reported that of the Salvadorean Army's 22,400 men at that time, about 4,100 had been trained in the US.
25. McClintock, p. 334; *New York Times*, 2 February 1982, p. 10.
26. *New York Times*, 30 March 1984, p. 1.
27. *The Guardian*, (London), 5 February 1983; *New York Times*, 30 March 1984, p. 1; 20 October 1984; 26 February 1991, p. 10; *San Francisco Chronicle*, 17 July 1987.
28. For example, see: *Washington Post*, 14 February 1982, p. 1; *The Guardian* (London) 26 March 1984, 22 October 1984; *New York Times*, 13 February 1982, 21 October 1984, 12 February 1985, 13 February 1986, p. 3, 1 April 1987, p. 1; McClintock, pp. 347-8.
29. *San Francisco Chronicle*, 24 June 1982
30. *Washington Post*, 19 December 1980, p. A26; 1 January 1981, p. A12
31. McClintock, p. 345, citing an article from Bailey's hometown newspaper: "El Salvador: A Mercenary's View", *News-Press* (Fort Myers, Florida daily), 23 Oct 1983.
32. *Los Angeles Times*, 9 July 1987, pp. 1 and 22; see also the *Village Voice* (New York), 11 August 1987, pp. 21-22.
33. *Los Angeles Times*, 27 September 1988, p. 2.
34. *Playboy* magazine (Chicago), November 1984, p. 73, interview by Marc Cooper and Gregory Goldin.
35. Stephen Webre, *Jose Napoleon Duarte and the Christian Democratic Party in Salvadoran Politics, 1960-1972* (Louisiana State University Press, Baton Rouge, La., 1979), p. 57. Duarte's remarks were made in a speech.
36. Bob Woodward, *VEL: The Secret Wars of the CIA 1981-1987* (New York, 1987), pp. 117. Woodward states that Duarte "had been a good source of intelligence over many years, but he was a man of independence who was in no sense controlled and may not have known he was giving information to the CIA."
37. The detailed account appears in Mark Danner, "The Truth of El Mozote", *The New Yorker*, 6 December 1993, also in expanded form in a book, *The Massacre at El Mozote* (Vintage Books, 1994). Also see, *Los Angeles Times*, 3 January 1993, p. 1; *New York Times*, 27 January 1982, p. 1; *The Guardian* (London) 29 January 1982; McClintock, pp. 308-9.

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38. *U.S. Intelligence Performance on Central America: Achievements and Selected Instances of Concern*, Staff Report, House Subcommittee on Oversight and Evaluation, Permanent Select Committee on Intelligence, 22 September 1982, pp. 18-19.
39. *Los Angeles Times*, 1 February 1982, p. 4. Two weeks later an even worse incident: see the *Washington Post*, 14 February 1982, p. C1, for a particularly graphic first-hand account of the indiscriminate barbarity of the Salvadorean armed forces towards the population, another story which Washington officials tried hard to discredit before the Congressional committee, but without success (see *U.S. Intelligence Performance ... report*, op. cit.).
40. *New York Times*, 11 January 1982, p. 2.
41. The National Guardsman, identified only as "Manuel", was interviewed in the television documentary "Torture", produced and directed by Rex Bloomstein for Thames Television Ltd. (Great Britain) in 1986 with the cooperation of Amnesty International. Video copy in author's possession.
42. *The Guardian* (London), 7 August 1986.
43. Amnesty International, *Torture in the Eighties* (London, 1984) pp. 155-6.
44. See, e.g., McClintock, pp. 306-12; *New York Times*, 13 January 1986, p. 3, 1 February 1987, p. 11; Tina Rosenberg, *Children of Cain: Violence and the Violent in Latin America* (William Morrow and Company, New York, 1991) passim.
45. *The Guardian* (London), 9 March 1984.
46. *Ibid.*, 11 March 1984. In a similar humanitarian vein, in 1981 the Reagan administration dissuaded the European Common Market from its plan to distribute cereal and powdered milk to the victims of the fighting in El Salvador because Washington feared that the food would be diverted to the guerrillas. (*New York Times*, 18 February 1981, p. 3.)
47. *San Francisco Chronicle*, 18 July 1987, p. 9.
48. *Los Angeles Times*, 11 July 1987, p. 1.
49. *Los Angeles Reader*, 10 June 1988, special report on FBI spying on domestic dissidents; *Los Angeles Times*, 28 January 1988.
50. *New York Times*, 3 March 1984, p. 1; 22 March 1984, p. 1; 25 February 1986, p. 17; *Newsweek*, 2 April 1984, identified the official as Santibáñez; *The Guardian* (London) 22 March 1985, 29 March 1985.
51. *Los Angeles Times*, 2 February 1989.
52. *Washington Post*, 27 October 1989, p. A1; 19 November 1989, p. F2 (column by Colman McCarthy); *Los Angeles Times*, 27 October 1989; *LA Weekly* (Los Angeles), 19-25 January 1990, 27 July-2 August 1990.
53. *LA Weekly* (Los Angeles), 27 July-2 August 1990, p. 14.
54. *Washington Post*, 22 October 1992, p. A5.
55. *Los Angeles Times*, 1 May 1990, p. 1; 25 August 1990, p. 3; 26 April, 1991 (op-ed essay by Father José María Tojeira); 10 September 1991, p. H6; 15 August 1992, p. 12; *LA Weekly* (Los Angeles), 22-28 December 1989; 2-8 February 1990; *New York Times*, 19 January 1990, p. 3; 30 September 1991. The two officers were sentenced to 30 years in prison on 25 January 1992.
56. *Newsweek*, 14 March 1983, p. 24, international edition.
57. *New York Times*, 29 February 1988, article by James LeMoyné.
58. *Extra!* (Newsletter of FAIR [Fairness & Accuracy in Reporting], New York), July-August 1988, pp. 1, 12, also contains several other examples of Salvadorean government disinformation; September-October 1988, p.2; *New York Times*, 15 September 1988 (recantation); *LA Weekly* (Los Angeles), 27 May - 2 June 1988, column by Marc Cooper.
For further examples of disinformation on the part of Salvadorean officials, see *New York Times*, 29 March 1987, p. 3; 8 January 1988, p. 3; 20 February 1988, p. 3; 18 February 1990, p. 14.
59. *New York Times*, 17 March 1982, p. 1.
60. *Ibid.*, 3, 5 and 6 March 1982, each p. 1.
61. *Ibid.*, 13 March 1982, p. 1.
62. *Time*, 22 March 1982, p. 5, international edition.
63. *New York Times*, 19 January 1981, p. 11.
64. *San Francisco Examiner*, 20 December 1981.
65. *New York Times*, 19 January 1981, p. 11.
66. US State Department, *Communist Interference in El Salvador*, 23 February 1981, Special Report No. 80 (known as the White Paper), Section II, Communist Military Intervention: A Chronology.
67. *The Guardian* (London) 7 December 1985.
68. Dunkerley, p. 182; *New York Times*, 31 July 1983.
69. *Wall Street Journal*, 8 June 1981, pp. 1 and 10; for other analyses of the White Paper (US State Department, *Communist Interference in El Salvador*, 23 February 1981, Special Report No. 80), see: Philip Agee in Warner Poelchau, ed, *White Paper, Whitewash* (New York, 1981), and Ralph McGehee, "The CIA and the White Paper on El Salvador", *The Nation* (New York), 11 April 1981.
70. *Wall Street Journal*, 8 June 1981, p. 10.
71. *Playboy*, op. cit., p. 74.
72. *Covert Action Information Bulletin* (Washington, DC), March 1982, No. 16, p. 27; this was also reported in the daily press.

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73. *U.S. News and World Report*, 26 January 1981, p. 37, interview with White.
 74. *San Francisco Chronicle*, 24 February 1981.
 75. *New York Times*, 30 July 1982 (equipment); 16 April 1983, p. 1 (Awacs); 31 July 1983, p. 1 (radar); *Time*, 22 March 1982 (aerial photos).
 76. *El Diario de Hoy* (San Salvador) 9 April 1991 p. 5.
 77. *New York Times*, 9 February 1990, p. 7.
 78. Truth Commission, amnesty: *Los Angeles Times*, 16 March 1993, pp. 1 and 6; 21 March; 26 March.
 79. *Ibid.*, 19 March 1993
 80. *New York Times*, 9 November 1993, p. 9; *Los Angeles Times*, 24 April 1994, p. 10.
 81. *Los Angeles Times*, 14 December, 1993; *New York Times*, 14 December 1993, p. 1.
 82. *New York Times*, 26 August 1990, p. 24; 10 February 1991, p. 3; 11 February 1991, p. 3.
 83. The election:
 U.N. and U.S. government observations: *Los Angeles Times*, 24 April 1994, p. 10, 22 March, p. 12, and 21 February, p. 10.
 Intimidation story: *ibid.*, 12 March, p. 6.
 See also *ibid.*, 23 March, p. 10 and 24 March; *LA Weekly* (Los Angeles), 15-21 April 1994, pp. 12-13;
 CISPES observer reports: written papers and talks delivered at meetings in Los Angeles.
 84. *New York Times*, 7 October 1990, p. 10.
 85. *Ibid.*, 5 August 1991, p. 4.
55. HAITI 1986-1994
1. *New York Times*, 27 February 1986, p. 3; 11 April 1986, p. 4.
 2. Fritz Longchamp and Worth Cooley-Prost, "Hope for Haiti", *Covert Action Information Bulletin* (Washington), No. 36, Spring 1991, p. 58. Longchamp is Executive Director of the Washington Office on Haiti, an analysis and public education center; Paul Farmer, *The Uses of Haiti* (Common Courage Press, Monroe, Maine, 1994), pp. 128-9.
 3. *The Guardian* (London), 22 September 1986.
 4. *Ibid.*
 5. Reagan: *Jean-Bertrand Aristide, An Autobiography* (Orbis Books, Maryknoll, NY, 1993, translation from 1992 French edition), p. 79. Hereafter, *Aristide Autobiography*.
 6. *Time* magazine, 30 November 1987, p. 7.
 7. CIA and the 1987-88 election: *Los Angeles Times*, 31 October 1993, p. 1; *New York Times*, 1 November 1993, p. 8.
 8. *New York Times*, 1 November 1993, p. 8.
 9. Allan Nairn, "The Eagle is Landing", *The Nation*, 3 October 1994, p. 344; citing US Col. Steven Butler, former planning chief for US armed forces in the Caribbean, who was involved in the operation.
 10. Farmer, p. 150; *New York Times*, 13 March 1990, p. 1.
 11. *Aristide Autobiography*, pp. 105-6, 118-21.
 12. Haitian Information Bureau, "Chronology: Events in Haiti, October 15, 1990 - May 11, 1994", in James Ridgeway, ed., *The Haiti Files: Decoding the Crisis* (Essential Books, Washington, 1994), p. 205.
 13. Robert I. Rotberg, *Washington Post*, 20 December 1990, p. A23.
 14. *Washington Post*, 6 June, 1991, p. A23. In his autobiography, op. cit., pp. 147-8, Aristide writes that he reduced his salary from ten to four thousand as well as eliminating a number of other expensive perks.
 15. *Aristide Autobiography*, p. 144. He presumably meant the per capita wealth of the poor; the overall per capita wealth wouldn't of course be reduced because of such aid.
 16. *Ibid.*, pp. 127-8, 139.
 17. Aristide's policies in office:
 - a. *Washington Post*, 6 June, 1991, p. A23; 7 October 1991, p. 10;
 - b. *Aristide Autobiography*, chapter 12;
 - c. Farmer, pp. 167-180;
 - d. *Multinational Monitor* (Washington, DC), March 1994, pp. 18-23 (land reform and unions)..
 18. *San Francisco Chronicle*, 22 October 1991, p. A16.
 19. Alan Nairn, "Our Man in FRAPH: Behind Haiti's Paramilitaries", *The Nation*, 24 October 1994, p. 460, referring to Emmanuel Constant, the head of FRAPH.
 20. NED, etc.:
 - a) *The Nation*, 29 November 1993, p. 648, column by David Corn;
 - b) Haitian Information Bureau, "Subverting Democracy", *Multinational Monitor* (Washington, DC), March 1994, pp. 13-15.
 - c) National Endowment for Democracy, Washington, D.C., *Annual Report, 1989*, p. 33; *Annual Report, 1990*, p. 41.
 - d) *Aristide Autobiography*, p. 111, Radio Soleil's catering to the government.
 21. *New York Times*, 8 October 1991, p. 10.
 22. *Boston Globe*, 1 October 1992.
 23. *New York Times*, 1 November 1993, p. 8; 14 November, p. 12. Latell's report was presented in July 1992.
 24. *Ibid.*, 14 November 1993, p. 12.

Notes

25. Howard French, *New York Times*, 27 September 1992, p. E5.
26. "Chronology", *The Haiti Files*, op. cit., p. 211.
27. *New York Times*, 1 November 1993, p. 1.
28. Drugs: Ibid., p. 8; *The Nation*, 3 October 1994, p. 344, op. cit.; *Los Angeles Times*, 20 May 1994, p. 11.
29. SIN: *New York Times*, 14 November 1993, p. 1; *The Nation*, 3 October 1994, p. 346, op. cit.
30. a) *The Nation*, 24 October 1994, pp. 458-461, op. cit.; Allan Nairn, "He's Our S.O.B.", 31 October 1994, pp. 481-2.
- b) *Washington Post*, 8 October 1994, p. A8;
- c) *Los Angeles Times*, 8 October 1994, p. 12;
- d) *New York Daily News*, 12 October 1993, article by Juan Gonzales, which lends further credence to the idea that the ship incident was a set-up.
31. *Time* magazine, 8 November 1993, pp. 45-6.
32. Farmer, p. 152.
33. Aristide's mental state:
 - a) *Los Angeles Times*, 23 October 1993, p. 14; 31 October, p. 16; 2 November, p. 8.
 - b) *New York Times*, 31 October 1993, p. 12 (re fraudulent document).
 - c) *Washington Post*, 22 October 1993, p. A26.
 - d) CBS News, 13 October 1993; 2 December 1993, report by Bob Faw, stated: "This hospital in Montreal told the *Miami Herald* it never treated Aristide for psychiatric disorders."
34. *New York Times*, 23 October 1993, p. 1.
35. Dwight Eisenhower, *The White House Years: Waging Peace, 1956-1961* (New York, 1965) p. 573; Jonathan Kwitny, *Endless Enemies: The Making of an Unfriendly World* (New York, 1984) p. 57.
36. *Time* magazine, 8 November 1993, p. 46.
37. Clinton administration's relation to Haitian leaders: Ibid., p. 45.
38. George Black and Robert O. Weiner, op-ed column in the *Los Angeles Times*, 19 October 1993. Black is editorial director and Weiner coordinator of the Americas program of the Committee.
39. *Washington Post*, 2 December 1987, p. A32; 11 September 1989, p. C22, column by Jack Anderson; *The Guardian* (London), 22 September 1986.
40. Juan Gonzalez, "As Brown Fiddled, Haiti Burned", *New York Daily News*, 9 February 1994.
41. *New York Times*, 18 December 1993, p. 7.
42. *Los Angeles Times*, 16 February 1994, p. 6.
43. Ibid., 24 February 1994, 26 February; *Multinational Monitor*, March 1994, op. cit., p. 15.
44. *Los Angeles Times*, 14 April 1994, p. 4. Kozak's remark was made in February.
45. Kim Ives, "The Unmaking of a President", in *The Haiti Files*, op. cit., pp. 87-103.
46. *Multinational Monitor*, March 1994, op. cit., p. 15; *Los Angeles Times*, 14 April 1994, p. 4.
47. Murray Kempton, syndicated column, *Los Angeles Times*, 12 May 1994.
48. *Los Angeles Times*, 25 September 1994, p. 10.
49. Ibid., 21, 24 May 1994; the words are those of the *Times*; *Amnesty Action* (AI, New York), Fall 1994, p. 4.
50. *The Nation*, 3 October 1994, p. 346, op. cit.
51. *Los Angeles Times*, 23 September 1994, p. 5.
52. Ibid., 24 June 1994, p. 7.
53. Ibid., 16 September 1994.
54. Ibid., 16 September 1994, p. 8.
55. Ibid., 14 October 1994, p. 1.
56. Isabel Hilton, "Aristide's Dream", *The Independent* (London), 30 October 1993, p. 29, cited in Farmer, p. 175; Aristide added, "but the reality's different in the United States."
57. *Los Angeles Times*, 5 September 1994, p. 18, Gore was speaking on "Meet the Press".
58. Ibid., 1 October 1994.
59. Ibid., 17 September 1994, pp. 1 and 10; see also p. 9.
60. Ibid., 1 October 1994, p. 5.
61. Ibid., 8 October 1994, p. 12.
62. *New York Times*, 16 September 1994.
63. *Los Angeles Times*, 24, 25 October 1994.
64. Ibid., 19 October 1994.
65. A slightly condensed version of the Haitian economic plan can be found in *Multinational Monitor* (Washington, DC), July/August 1994, pp. 7-9. For a description of life in Haiti's oppressive assembly sector, see: National Labor Committee, "Sweatshop Development", in *The Haiti Files*, op. cit., pp. 134-54.
66. *New York Times*, 5 February 1992, p. 8.
67. *Multinational Monitor*, July/August 1994, op. cit.
68. Aristide Autobiography, pp. 166-7.

KILLING HOPE

56. THE AMERICAN EMPIRE 1992 TO PRESENT

1. Testimony before the House International Relations Committee, 6 February 2002
2. US Defense Department website: Deployment Link: 10 December 2002: http://deploymentlink.osd.mil/deploym/info/info_intro.shtml
3. "Defense Planning Guidance for the Fiscal Years 1994-1999", as quoted in *New York Times*, 8 March 1992, p.14 (emphasis added)
4. General Joseph Ashy, at the time Commander-in-Chief of the U.S. Space Command, cited in *Aviation Week and Space Technology* (New York), 5 August 1996, p.51 (emphasis in original)
5. Keith R. Hall, Assistant Secretary of the Air Force for Space and Director of the National Reconnaissance Office, speaking to the National Space Club, 15 September 1997.
6. Charles Knight, Project on Defense Alternatives, panel presentation at the Council on Foreign Relations, New York, 14 June 2000, on "U.S. Military-Strategic Ambitions: Expanding to Fill the post-Soviet Vacuum"; <http://www.comw.org/pda/0006vacuum.html>
7. "Rebuilding America's Defenses: Strategy, Forces and Resources For a New Century"—A report of the Project for the New American Century (Washington, DC), September 2000, p.14
8. Michael Ledeen, former Reagan official of Iran-Contra fame, now of the American Enterprise Institute (Washington, DC) — the leading neo-conservative think tank and drum-beater for invading Iraq — condemned the caution of those in the CIA and the State Department who believe America should fight the war on terror one battle at a time. "No stages," he said. "This is total war." *Village Voice* (New York), 27 November 2001, p.46; *Scotland on Sunday* (Glasgow), 25 November 2001
9. Submitted by the Department of Defense to Congress on 31 December 2001 as a classified document, which subsequently became public; see *Los Angeles Times*, 9 and 10 March 2002
10. James Laxer, professor of political science, York University, Toronto, Canada, from an article by him in the *Toronto Globe and Mail*, 24 September 2002, p.A15.
11. *Washington Post*, 28 November 2002, p.B4
12. See William Blum, "Rogue State: A Guide to the World's Only Superpower" (Common Courage Press, Maine, 2000) for brief descriptions of the foregoing US interventions.
13. Marc Herold, *Blown Away: The Myth and Reality of "Precision Bombing" in Afghanistan* (Common Courage Press, Maine, 2003), Appendix 4, "Daily casualty count of Afghan civilians killed by U.S. bombing and special forces attacks, October 7, 2001 until present day"
14. For further discussion, see essay by William Blum: "September 11, 2001 and the bombing of Afghanistan", <<http://members.aol.com/bblum6/sep11.htm>>
15. See <<http://www.zmag.org/ZNET.htm>> for an excellent selection of articles on this topic; search "Venezuela".
16. "Dangerous Dialogue: Attacks on Freedom of Expression in Miami's Cuban Exile Community", p.26, published by Americas Watch/The Fund for Free Expression, New York and Washington, August 1992.
17. *New York Times*, 16 August 1989; Jane Franklin, *Cuba and the United States: A Chronological History* (Ocean Press, Melbourne, 1997), see "Bosch Avila, Orlando" in index; also see page 190 herein
18. Michael Parenti, *To Kill a Nation: The Attack on Yugoslavia* (Verso, London/NY 2000), chapter 10 and passim; *Washington Times*, 4 May 1999, p.1
19. *Washington Post*, 30 July 2001, p.1
20. The Associated Press, 18 September 2001
21. Rogue State, op. cit., chapter 9
22. *Christian Science Monitor*, 26 April 2002
23. "The Bush Doctrine", *The Weekly Standard* (Washington, DC), 4 June 2001
24. *Foreign Affairs*, the journal of the Council on Foreign Relations, New York, November 2002
25. "The Benevolent Empire", *Foreign Policy* (Washington, DC), Summer 1998
26. Robert Kagan, *Of Paradise and Power: America and Europe In the New World Order* (New York, 2003), p.99
27. *The Observer* (London), 7 April 2002
28. See, e.g., testimony of John Maresca, Unocal Corporation, Subcommittee on Asia and the Pacific, of House Committee on International Relations, 12 February 1998
29. The (London) Times Online, 15 January 2003
30. *Sydney Morning Herald*, 25 March 2003
31. John Cochran, "WH Official Admits WMD NOT Main Reason for Iraq War", ABCNews.com, 25 April 2003
32. See the author's essay on the reasons for the Iraqi invasion at <http://members.aol.com/bblum6/mafia.htm>
33. *The Guardian* (London), 19 September 2002
34. *Washington Post*, 21 October 2002
35. White House press briefing, 14 November 1997, US Newswire transcript
36. *Washington Post*, 17 March 2002, p.25
37. *Ibid.*, 15 February 2002, p.12 and p.13
38. Antara (Indonesian National News Agency), 13 December 2002; Agence France Presse, 23 December 2002; *Jakarta Post*, 5 January 2003; *Washington Post*, 9 November 2002, p.15, 18 November, p.16, 14 January 2003
39. *Washington Post*, 27 December 2001, p.C2
40. *Ibid.*, 5 March 2003, p.19, 9 March 2003, p.B3
41. *New York Times*, 17 January 2003, p.10