# Contents

Acknowledgments 9

Introduction: A Tale of Two Operations: SUCCESS and Failure 11

## PART I: THE THIRD OPTION

1. Like Moths to Light: The Attraction of Covert Action 25

2. The Wars That Came in from the Cold 47

3. Covert Action: The Black Ops Menu 73


## PART II: COVERT OPERATIONS: RED, WHITE, AND BLACK

5. Exploding Cigars, Poisoned Wet Suits, and the Body in the Buick: Assassination as Foreign Policy 111

6. They Were Expendable: Covert Armies 154

7. An Offer You Can’t Refuse: Organized Crime and the CIA 170

8. Just Say Yes: Covert Action and Drug Empires 178

9. My Heroes Have Always Been Cowboys 193
## CONTENTS

10. If You're Not for Us, You're Against Us: Covert Actions at Home 207
11. The Political Economy of Covert Action I: The National Interest and the Corporate Interest 221
12. The Political Economy of Covert Action II: It's the Economy, Stupid! 231

### PART III: OFF-THE-SHELF

13. Private Armies: We Shoot for Loot 247

### PART IV: DEMOCRACY, FOREIGN POLICY, AND COVERT ACTION

15. “Hell, Mr. President, We Are Involved!": Covert Action, Operational Limits, and Prestige Investment 275
16. Innocents Abroad: Covert Action and the Advising Process 287
17. Covert Action and Democracy 298

### PART V: CONCLUSIONS: DÉJÀ VU ALL OVER AGAIN

18. A Circle in a Spiral: What Covert Action Accomplished 315
19. Meet the New Boss: Covert Action and Foreign Policy in the Twenty-First Century 330
20. Same as the Old Boss: The Power of Covert Institutions and the End of the Cold War 336

Spookspeak: A Glossary of Fun and Useful Terms 339

Bibliography 349

Index 355