

[1] "Iraq Is Becoming Bush's Most Difficult Challenge," Chicago Tribune, Aug. 11, 2002. Kissinger was commenting on Bush's West Point address where the NSS was presented in outline. Sources in afterword are omitted below when they appear in the text.

[2] Pew Research Center, "A Year After Iraq War Mistrust of America in Europe Ever Higher, Muslim Anger Persists," March 16, 2004. Council on Hemispheric Affairs, Washington Report on the Hemisphere, Dec. 9, 2003.

[3] Gerges quoted by Howard LaFranchi, "Feeling Under Attack, Arabs Turn to Islam for Answers," Christian Science Monitor, Nov. 3, 2003. Jessica Stern, "How America Created a Terrorist Haven," NYT op. ed., Aug. 20, 2003; "The Protean Enemy," Foreign Affairs, July-Aug. 2003. Scott Atran, "What's Worse than Al Qaeda? Swarms of Individual Terrorist Cells Around the World," NYT Op-Ed, March 16, 2004; Atran, "Combating Al Qaeda's Splinters," Washington Quarterly, Summer 2004. Among many other reports, see Mark Mathews, "Iraq War Providing a Boost to al-Qaida," Baltimore Sun, Nov. 22, 2003, quoting an array of terrorism specialists; Raymond Bonner and Don van Natta, Jr., "Regional Terrorist Groups Pose Growing Threats, Experts Warn," NYT, Feb. 8, 2004; Walter Pincus, "Spread of Bin Laden Ideology Cited," Washington Post, April 4, 2004.

[4] Among many others, see Selig Harrison, "N. Korean 'Good Guys' Require U.S. Assistance," USA Today, Jan. 7, 2004. Graham Allison, "How to Stop Nuclear Terror," Foreign Affairs, Jan-Feb 2004. Morton Halperin, "Safe at Home," American Prospect, Nov. 2003.

[5] Gerges, "A Change of Arab Hearts and Minds," Christian Science Monitor, Feb. 4, 2004. Hiro, *Secrets and Lies: Operation "Iraqi Freedom" and After: A Prelude to the Fall of U.S. Power in the Middle East?* (NationBooks, 2004).

[6] Program on International Policy Attitudes, "7 in 10 Now Say UN Should Take Lead," Dec. 3, 2003; "Americans on America's Role in the World After the Iraq War," April 29, 2003. For summary of PIPA and other studies on misperceptions, and their correlation with support for war and with news sources, see Steven Kull, Clay Ramsay, and Evan Lewis, "Misperceptions, the Media, and the Iraq War," *Political Science Quarterly* 118.4 (Dec. 2003).

[7] Ron Hucheson, "Bush, Putin Disagree on Iraq, Iran," Knight-Ridder, Boston Globe, Sept. 28, 2003.

[8] Richard Stevenson, "White House Cites Iraq's History of Seeking Arms as a Reason for War," NYT, Jan. 30, 2004, reporting Rice's claim that Saddam was harboring and funding terrorists.

[9] Burke, *Al-Qaeda* (I.B. Tauris, 2003).

[10] Nuclear physicist Pervez Hoodbhoy, "Pakistan Inside the Nuclear Closet," March 3, 2004, <http://www.opendemocracy.net/>; "The Nuclear Noose Around Pakistan's Neck," Washington Post, Feb. 1, 2004. Tim Weiner, "U.S. And China Helped Pakistan Build Its Bomb," NYT, June 1, 1998.

[11] See also Steve Coll, *Ghost Wars* (Penguin, 2004), 412, on how the missile strikes were bin Laden's "biggest publicity payoff to date."

[12] Gordon Wood, “ ‘Freedom Just Around the Corner’: Rogue Nation,” NYT Book Review, March 28, 2004. He writes that the book reviewed courageously tells the truth about “ ‘who and why we are what we are,’ ” revealing the unpleasant side of the “ ‘rogue nation’ ”: a penchant for swindling. To deflect irrelevancies, the issue is not comparison of monstrous crimes, each unique in its horror, but the downgrading of numbers by a factor of 10.

[13] See, chap. 2 above. Philip Jones Griffiths, *Agent Orange* (Trolley Ltd London, 2003).

[14] Sachs, “The World Must Not Let America Set Its Agenda,” *Financial Times*, Oct. 15, 2003. On the role of the international financial institutions in preparing the ground for the Rwanda genocide, see Brooke Schoepf, Claude Schoepf, and Joyce Millen, “Theoretical Therapies, Remote Remedies: SAPs and the Political Ecology of Poverty and Health in Africa,” in Jim Yong Kim, Joyce Millen, Alec Irwin, and John Gershman, *Dying for Growth: Global Inequality and the Health of the Poor* (Partners in Health/Common Courage, 2000). The massacres had precursors in Burundi that were also ignored. See Chomsky and Edward Herman, *Political Economy of Human Rights*, vol. 1 (South End, 1979). There is a critically important colonial role as well, along with intervention by the Western powers leading up to the massacre.

[15] Amira Hass, “Words Have Failed Us,” *Ha’aretz*, March 3, 2004. As she and others report regularly, deaths are only a fraction of the misery of those crushed under the US-Israeli jackboot, and deaths are significantly understated: they do not, for example, include the premature twins who died because car bringing their mother to a hospital, and an ambulance, were blocked by the army, not permitted to pass a checkpoint set up not for security, but to protect settlers from the annoyance of seeing Arabs on a stretch of road near their illegal settlement. Gideon Levy, “And the Twins Died,” *Ha’aretz*, Jan. 8, 2004. And many similar cases.

[16] Robert Schlesinger, “British Group Puts Iraq Casualty toll at 21,700 to 55,000,” *Boston Globe*, Nov. 12, 2003. BBC, Nov. 11, 2003. Medact, *Continuing Collateral Damage: The Health and Environmental Costs of War on Iraq* (2003), <http://www.medact.org/tbx/docs/Coll%20Dam%202.pdf>

[17] Burke, *Al-Qaeda*, 239, 249. See chap. 8 above.

[18] Akiva Eldar, “Killing Yassin Saved Sharon,” *Ha’aretz*, March 23, 2004. Palestinian Center for Human Rights, March 22, 2004, reporting seven civilians killed along with Yassin.

[19] Agence France-Presse, “Unknown Group Claims Responsibility for Fallujah Killings,” April 1, 2004; United Press International, April 2, 2004. Jeffrey Gettleman, “War’s Full Fury Is Suddenly Everywhere,” *NYT*, April 11, 2004. The highly significant connection, known at once, was virtually ignored.

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[21] Burke, *Al-Qaeda*, 247ff.

[22] Kim Murphy, “Russia Flexes Muscles With Missile Testing,” *Los Angeles Times*, Feb. 17, 2004; “Russians Seen Seeking Missile Breakthrough,” *Boston Globe*, Feb. 19, 2004. David Holley, “New Nuclear Arms and Alliance Expansion May Lead to Tougher

Policy by Moscow, Official Says,” Los Angeles Times, March 26, 2004. Vladimir Isachenkov, “Russia Deploys Strategic Missiles,” Associated Press, Boston Globe, Dec. 23, 2003. Blair, “Rogue States: Nuclear Red Herrings,” Defense Monitor, Jan.-Feb. 2004. Mark Odell, “Warfare Propelled to New Era as Flight Goes Hypersonic,” Financial Times, March 30, 2004.

[23] Anna Dolgov, “Russian Exercises Flex Military Muscle,” Boston Globe, Feb. 21, 2004. Sergei Blagov, “Russia’s War Games Demonstrating ‘Nuclear Fist’?”, Asia Times, Feb 19, 2004.

[24] Bruce Finley, “Russia Shares 1st-Strike Doctrine,” Denver Post, Oct. 10, 2003.

[25] Blair, “Rogue States.” See Chalmers Johnson, *The Sorrows of Empire* (Metropolitan, 2004), 288, citing Pentagon review of computer failure that revealed “the ease with which adversaries could hack into, jam, or deceive our cyberwarfare technology.” On the history of near disasters, see Marko Beljac, “‘Global Attack’: Washington’s Doomsday Machine,” Infoshop.org, October 19, 2002 (<http://www.infoshop.org/inews/stories.php?story=02/10/19/1757783>).

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[28] Hans Kristensen, Matthew McKinzie, and Robert Norris, “The Protection Paradox,” *Bulletin of the Atomic Scientists*, March-April 2004.

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[31] Lawyers’ Committee on Nuclear Policy, December 9, 2003, <http://www.reachingcriticalwill.org/>. M2 PRESSWIRE, November 4, 2003. On India’s emerging role in close alliance with the United States and its regional clients, particularly Israel, see Sushil Aaron, *Straddling Faultlines: India’s Foreign Policy toward the Greater Middle East*, CHS Occasional Paper #7 (New Delhi: Centre de Sciences Humaines, 2003). On the religious fundamentalist roots of the ruling party, a severe and growing menace to India and the region, see “Hindutva at Work,” *Frontline*, March 13-26, 2004. Also sources cited in chap. 7 above. On the origins of Hindu religious nationalism, its roots in British colonial fabrications designed to depict British conquest as liberation of Hindus from Muslim rule, and its support in the wealthy Indian diaspora, see Romila Thapar, “The Future of the Indian Past,” Lakdawala Memorial Lecture, Feb. 21, 2004 (New Delhi, Institute of Social Sciences). On the ruling party’s role in cover-up of the state-supported Gujarat massacre of thousands of Muslims, see Human Rights Watch, *The Compounding Injustice: Government’s Failure to Redress Massacres in Gujarat*, July 2003.

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[37] PNAC (Project for The New American Century), 2000, cited by Johnson, *Sorrows of Empire*, 230, who also reviews the basing system established for world control.

[38] President Bush, "Denial and Deception," speech at the Cincinnati Museum Center, Cincinnati, Ohio, Oct. 7, 2002. Bush, speech in the National Cathedral, Washington, D.C., Sept. 14, 2001.

[39] Allison, "How to Stop Nuclear Terror," *Foreign Affairs*, Jan.-Feb. 2004. Allison writes that the goal was "to topple the Taliban regime," a conventional view. The available evidence indicates that it was an afterthought, announced after several weeks of bombing. See chap. 8 above, and my *Pirates and Emperors*, expanded ed. (South End, 2002), chap. 6.

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