

## هوامش الفصل الأول

1. I have written about these matters often since the 1967 war, most recently in *World Orders Old and New*, Columbia University Press, New York, 1994; extended in 1996 with an epilogue carrying the account through Oslo II, the 1996 Israeli attack on Lebanon, and the May 1996 Israeli elections. Where not cited, sources can be found there.

2. In 1995, Venezuela edged out Saudi Arabia for the first time since the 1970s; Allanna Sullivan, *Wall Street Journal*, Jan. 3, 1996. On U.S.-Venezuela relations, which go well beyond oil, see Stephen Rabe, *The Road to OPEC*, University of Texas Press, Austin, 1982.

3. For production data, see David Painter, *Oil and the American Century*, Johns Hopkins University Press, Baltimore, 1986, p. 218. In 1925, the United States produced over 71 percent of the world's oil, the Caribbean 14 percent. In 1965, the U.S. share was over 27 percent, almost twice that of the next producer (the USSR; Venezuela third).

4. The operative principle was articulated by the State Department in 1944 in a memorandum called "Petroleum Policy of the United States." The United States then dominated Western Hemisphere production, which was to remain the largest in the world for another quarter century. That system must remain closed, the memorandum declared, while the rest of the world must be open. U.S. policy "would involve the preservation of the absolute position presently obtaining, and therefore vigilant protection of existing concessions in United States hands coupled with insistence upon the Open Door principle of equal opportunity for United States companies in new areas." U.S. Department of State, "Petroleum Policy of the United States (1944). Cited by Gabriel Kolko, *Politics of War*, Random House, New York, 1968, pp. 302f.

5. Rabe, op. cit. Lansing-Wilson cited by Gabriel Kolko, *Main Currents in American History*, Pantheon, New York, 1984, p. 47.

6. August, March 1945; William Roger Louis, *The British Empire in the Middle East: 1945-1951*, Oxford University Press, Oxford, 1984, pp. 231, 191. For a recent review of U.S. policies in the region, with special focus on Lebanon (important in large part as a transit point for oil), see Irene Gendzier, *Notes from the Minefield*, Columbia University Press, New York, 1997.

7. David E. Sanger, "U.S. Won't Offer Trade Testimony on Cuba Embargo," *New York Times*, Feb. 21, 1997, p. A1.

8. Roland deLigny, "World Court Denounces U.S. Support for Contras," Associated Press, June 27, 1986.

9. Jules Kagian, *Middle East International*, Oct. 21, 1994.

10. Gerald Haines, *The Americanization of Brazil*, Scholarly Resources, Wilmington, Del., 1989. Gendzier, op. cit., 41, citing treasurer Leo Welch.

11. *Fortune*, Jan. 1948. The specific reference is to the aircraft industry, today the leading "civilian" exporter thanks to massive public subsidy over

the years, but it was recognized that this is a model for "the future shape of the U.S. economy" quite generally. For more on the matter, see Chomsky, *World Orders Old and New*, chap. 2.

12. The first extensive work on the topic, still unequalled, is Gabriel Kolko, *Politics of War*. For general review using more recent sources as well, see my *Deterring Democracy*, extended edition, Vintage, Hill & Wang, New York, 1992, chap. 11.

13. See Michael Leffler, *A Preponderance of Power*, Stanford University Press, Stanford, 1992, p. 71; Sallie Pisani, *The CIA and the Marshall Plan*, University Press of Kansas, Lawrence, 1991, pp. 106-7.

14. *Foreign Relations of the United States, 1948*, vol. 3. NSC 1/3, March 8, 1948, pp. 775f.; Kennan, pp. 848f., U.S. Government Printing Office, Washington, D.C.

15. For ample illustration, see Edward Herman, *The Real Terror Network*, South End, Boston, 1982; my *Pirates and Emperors, Old and New: International Terrorism in the Real World*, South End Press, Cambridge, Mass., 2002; Alexander George, ed., *Western State Terrorism*, Polity, London, 1991. On oil companies and Italy, John Blair, *Control of Oil*, Pantheon, New York, 1976, p. 94f.

16. Gendzier, op. cit., 24f. Robert McMahon, *The Cold War on the Periphery*, Columbia University Press, New York, 1994, p. 221.

17. From State Department records, expressing concerns over the "philosophy of the new nationalism" sweeping Latin America, safely interred at a February 1945 hemispheric conference where the United States imposed its Economic Charter of the Americas, which guaranteed an end to economic nationalism "in all its forms." See David Green, *The Containment of Latin America: A History of the Myths and Realities of the Good Neighbor Policy*, Quadrangle, Chicago, 1971, 7: 2. For many examples, including these, see my *Year 501*, South End, Boston, 1993, chaps. 2, 7; and sources cited.

18. *Central America Report* (Guatemala), Feb. 4, 1994. See my *Deterring Democracy*, chaps. 5, 6.

19. In the United States, this is invariably termed "humanitarian aid," another expression of the disdain of the intellectual culture for international law when it interferes with state violence. The explicit determination of the World Court that all such aid was military, not humanitarian, was considered unworthy even of report.

20. The United States has been far in the lead in vetoing Security Council resolutions since the UN fell out of control with decolonization; the UK is second, France a distant third. For fact and propaganda on these matters, see *Deterring Democracy*, chap. 6.5.

21. Peter James Spielmann, "U.S. Says It Acted in Self-Defense in Panama," *Associated Press*, Dec. 20, 1989.

22. Chomsky, *Deterring Democracy*, chaps. 1, 3, 5, 6, afterword.

23. *National Security Strategy of the United States*, the White House, March 1990. See *Deterring Democracy*, chap. 1, for excerpts.

24. For a particularly clear acknowledgment, see Christopher Layne (Cato Institute) and Benjamin Schwarz (Rand), *Foreign Policy*, Fall 1993.

25. Frank Costigliola, in Thomas Paterson, ed., *Kennedy's Quest for Victory*, Oxford University Press, Oxford, 1989; the reference is presumably to Dean Acheson.

26. John Balfour, British Embassy in Washington, to Bevin, Aug. 9, 1945; Bevin, Nov. 8, 1945. Cited by Mark Curtis, *Ambiguities of Power*, Zed, London, 1995, pp. 18, 23.

27. Christopher Thorne, *The Issue of War*, Oxford University Press, Oxford, 1985, pp. 225, 211. On the contempt for England and Europe generally, see Frank Costigliola, "Kennedy and the Failure to Consult," *Political Science Quarterly*, Spring 1995.

28. William Stivers, *Supremacy and Oil*, Cornell University Press, Ithaca, N.Y., 1982, pp. 28, 34; Stivers, *America's Confrontation with Revolutionary Change in the Middle East*, St. Martin's, New York, 1986, pp. 20f. 1946; Louis, op. cit., p. 353.

29. Diane Kunz, *Butter and Guns: America's Cold War Economic Diplomacy*, Free Press, New York, 1997, pp. 226, 88. Nadav Safran, *Israel: The Embattled Ally*, Harvard University Press, Cambridge, 1978, pp. 576, 110. Under Carter, U.S. aid to Israel rose to about half of total aid. Increasingly over the years, the official figures are greatly underestimated because of failure to include prepayment, forgiven loans, and other devices.

30. See my article in *Le Monde diplomatique*, April 1977; reprinted in *Towards a New Cold War*, Pantheon, New York, 1982, chap. 11.

31. Keegan quoted by Richard Hudson, *Wall Street Journal*, Feb. 5, 1991; Lloyd George by V.G. Kiernan, *European Empires from Conquest to Collapse*, Fontana, London, 1982, p. 200. On Churchill's enthusiasm for the use of "poisoned gas against uncivilised tribes" (specifically Kurds and Afghans, but "recalcitrant Arabs" generally), see Andy Thomas, *Effects of Chemical Warfare*, Stockholm International Peace Research Institute (SIPRI), Taylor & Francis, London, 1985, chap. 2. For quotes, see my *Turning the Tide*, South End, Boston, 1985, p. 126; *Deterring Democracy*, chap. 6.1.

32. Irving Kristol, *Wall Street Journal*, Dec. 13, 1973.

33. Walter Laqueur, *New York Times Magazine*, Dec. 16, 1973.

34. Emma Rothschild, "Is It Time to End Food for Peace?" *New York Times Magazine*, March 13, 1977.

35. Ruth Wisse, *Commentary*, May 1988; Janet Tassel, "Mame-Loshn at Harvard," *Harvard Magazine*, July/Aug. 1997. Martin Peretz, interview in *Ha'aretz*, June 4, 1982.

36. For a broader sample, see my *Necessary Illusions*, South End, Boston, 1989, pp. 315f.; *Towards a New Cold War*, chap. 8.

37. Daniel B. Schirmer, *Fidel Ramos: The Pentagon's Philippine Friend 1992–1997*, Friends of the Filipino People, Cambridge, Mass., 1997.

38. Komer cited by Melvyn Leffler, *Diplomatic History*, vol. 7, 1983, pp. 245f. Dulles/Eisenhower cited by Irwin Wall, *Diplomatic History*, Fall 1994, from the Eisenhower library. *Foreign Relations of the United States, 1958–1960*, vol. 27, *Indonesia*, U.S. Government Printing Office, Washington, D.C., 1994, April 8 and Aug. 12, 1958; quotes are from U.S. Jakarta embassy cables, reporting Indonesian government conclusions, endorsed by the Joint Chiefs of Staff the same day. On Indonesia, see my *Powers and Prospects: Reflections on Human Nature and the Social Order*, South End, Boston, 1996, chap. 7, and sources cited; and on the reaction to the slaughter, *Year 501*, chap. 5. North African policy, *Foreign Relations of the United States, 1947*, vol. 5, p. 688, cited by Curtis, *op. cit.*, p. 21. On the Middle East at the time, see particularly Gendzier, *op. cit.*

39. Kunz, *op. cit.*, p. 237.

40. Albert Cavallo, "What Price Oil?" *Proceedings*, 17th Annual Wind Energy Conference, July 1995, Mechanical Engineering Publications, London, 1995.

41. Wilbur Edel, "Diplomatic History—State Department Style," *Political Science Quarterly* 106, no. 4 (1991/2).

42. For further elaboration, quotes, and sources on what follows, see Chomsky, *Deterring Democracy*, chap. 6. See also my *World Orders Old and New*, chap. 3; Gendzier, *op. cit.*

43. For sources and background discussion, see Chomsky, *World Orders Old and New*, pp. 79, 201ff.

44. Telegram no. 1979, July 19, 1958, to Prime Minister from Secretary of State, from Washington; File FO 371/132 779. "Future Policy in the Persian Gulf," Jan. 15, 1958, FO 371/132 778.

45. Undated sections of NSC 5801/1, "Current Policy Issues" on relations to Nasser-led Arab Nationalism; apparently mid-1958; NSC 5820/1, Nov. 4, 1958. See also Chomsky, *Deterring Democracy*, pp. 53ff; Chomsky, *Fateful Triangle: The United States, Israel, and the Palestinians*, updated ed., South End Press, Cambridge, Mass., 1999, chapter 2. See also Kirsten Cale, "Ruthlessly to Intervene," *Living Marxism* (London), Nov. 1990; Irene Gendzier, "The Way They Saw It Then," ms., Nov. 1990.

46. National Security Council Memorandum 5801/1, "Statement by the National Security Council of Long-Range U.S. Policy toward the Near East," January 24, 1958, *Foreign Relations of the United States, 1958–1960*, vol. 12 (*Near East Region; Iraq; Iran; Arabian Peninsula*), U.S. Government Printing Office, Washington, D.C., 1993, pp. 17–32. See also "Issues Arising out of the Situation in the Near East," July 29, 1958, *Foreign Relations*

of the United States, 1958–1960, pp. 114–24.

47. On Southeast Asia, see my *For Reasons of State*, Pantheon, New York, 1973, chap. 1; *Rethinking Camelot*, South End, Boston, 1993. For Latin America the point is obvious. Britain's analysis was much the same throughout the Third World. See Curtis, op. cit.

48. The statement continues: "the demise of the Soviet Union left the United States as the single power broker in the region and as such interested in its stability and prosperity." The United States is indeed interested in the "stability" of the region, in the technical sense of the term (meaning subordination to U.S. power) but is no more interested in its "prosperity" than its European predecessors, as policy demonstrates beyond serious doubt. Boas Evron, introduction to *Jewish State or Israeli Nation?* Indiana University Press, Bloomington, 1995.

49. Shlomo Gazit, *Yediot Ahronot*, April 27, 1992, cited and translated by Israel Shahak, *Middle East International*, March 19, 1993.

50. For some discussion, see my *Fateful Triangle*.

51. For references and further details, see Chomsky, *Towards a New Cold War*, chapter 7, and Chomsky, *Fateful Triangle*, chapter 2.

52. *Fateful Triangle*, pp. 457f. On the aftermath, see John Marshall, Peter Dale Scott, and Jane Hunter, *The Iran-Contra Connection*, South End, Boston, 1987; and my *Culture of Terrorism*, South End, Boston, 1988. Note that there were no hostages when the arms sales to Iran via Israel began, so it cannot have been an "arms for hostage" deal, as the affair is conventionally interpreted, picking it up at a later stage. Arming the military is a standard device for overthrowing a government, often successful, as in Sukarno's Indonesia and Allende's Chile, to mention two cases that might have been models for the Iran operation.

53. See testimony of Assistant Secretary of Defense Edward Gnehm, March 1, 1989, to House Subcommittee on Europe and the Middle East; Dore Gold, press briefing, Jerusalem, March 9, 1989; Dore Gold, *America, the Gulf, and Israel*, Westview, Boulder, Colo., 1988. Reported in Media Analysis Center *Backgrounder* no. 255, Jerusalem, March 1989. Gnehm testified that over half of the U.S. Foreign Weapons Evaluation budget was devoted to Israeli products, designed and developed in cooperation with the U.S. military industry.

54. For specific details and references, see sources already cited; see also Naseer Aruri, *The Obstruction of Peace*, Common Courage, Monroe, Maine, 1995; Norman Finkelstein, *Image and Reality in the Israel-Palestine Conflict*, Verso, London, 1995; Donald Neff, *Fallen Pillars*, Institute for Palestine Studies, Washington, 1995, among others.

55. See William B. Quandt, *Peace Process: American Diplomacy and the Arab-Israeli Conflict Since 1967*, rev. ed., University of California Press, Berkeley, 2001, appendix B: Joint U.S.–USSR Working Paper, Fundamen-

tal Principles (The Rogers Plan), October 28, 1969.

56. John Norton Moore, ed., *The Arab-Israeli Conflict*, Princeton University Press, Princeton, N.J., 1974, 3: 1103–11.

57. Yitzhak Rabin, *The Rabin Memoirs*, expanded ed., University of California Press, Berkeley, 1996, pp. 192f.

58. Yossi Beilin, *Mehiro shel Ihud*, Revivim, 1985, pp. 118f., 155.

59. *Ha'aretz*, March 29, 1972, cited by John Cooley, *Green March, Black September*, Frank Cass, London, 1973, p. 162.

60. Haim Bar-Lev, *Ot*, March 9, 1972, cited by Amnon Kapeliouk, *Le Monde diplomatique*, Oct. 1977. Amos Elon, *Ha'aretz*, Nov. 13, 1981; the occasion was the “emotional and angry” reaction of the government to the Saudi peace plan of 1981, which “threatened Israel’s very existence,” Labor Party chairman Shimon Peres wrote (*Ha'aretz*, Aug. 10, 1981)—by calling for diplomatic settlement. In the *New York Times* today, criticizing Arab intellectuals for lack of support for the peace process, Elon writes that Sadat “was not yet ready to make peace” with Israel in 1972 and attacked the “defeatists” who called for a settlement; *New York Times Magazine*, May 11, 1997.

61. See my *Fateful Triangle* and *Pirates and Emperors*; Finkelstein, op. cit. For a brief review, see *World Orders Old and New*, chap. 2.

62. For a rare discussion, see my review of his memoirs, reprinted in *Towards a New Cold War*; see also David Korn, *Stalemate*, Westview, Boulder, Colo., 1992.

63. The PLO representative at the UN condemned the United States for blocking this two-state plan. See *Towards a New Cold War*, p. 430. Haim Herzog, *Jerusalem Post*, Nov. 13, 1981. The PLO gives the impression that it is unaware of its public support for the resolution. Spokespersons give various versions of PLO positions over the years, many not very credible.

64. *Towards a New Cold War*, chap. 12; *Fateful Triangle*, chap. 3, esp. nn. 88, 111; *Necessary Illusions*, app. 5.4; *Powers and Prospects*, chap. 7.

65. Rami Tal, “Moshe Dayan: Heshbon Nefesh,” *Yediot Ahronot*, April 27, 1997, interview of Nov. 22, 1976. See also n. 60. Dayan, Kapeliouk, op. cit., pp. 29, 279; Beilin, op. cit.

66. Along with other analysts, Dayan recognized that Sadat’s intentions in the 1973 war were far more limited, but seemed not to see the implications: that Sadat’s actions were an attempt to initiate the diplomatic track that the United States and Israel had blocked.

67. Ariel Sharon, *Yediot Ahronot*, July 26, 1973; radio, Joseph Fitchett, *Christian Science Monitor*, Oct. 27, 1973. “Arabs’ game,” Amnon Kapeliouk, *Israel: La Fin des mythes*, Albin Michel, Paris, 1975, pp. 200f., 281, a conception he attributes to the “General-Professor Yehoshaphat Harkabi,” a Hebrew University Arabist and former head of military intelli-

abi," a Hebrew University Arabist and former head of military intelligence, later a leading dove. Kapeliouk gives many similar quotes from high-ranking military officers and political leaders. See also chapter 4 of this volume.

68. Avner Yaniv, *Dilemmas of Security: Politics, Strategy, and the Israeli Experience in Lebanon*, Oxford University Press, New York, 1987, p. 70.

69. *Jerusalem Post*, Aug. 16, 1981.

70. Cited by William B. Quandt, *op. cit.*, p. 576.

71. Ya'acov Lamdan, "What the PLO and Americans Told One Another," *Jerusalem Post*, Jan. 6, 1989.

72. Meeting with Jewish leaders, released under the Freedom of Information Act. *MERIP Reports*, May 1981; *Journal of Palestine Studies* (Spring 1981). See my *Towards a New Cold War*, 457.

73. UN press release GA/7603, Dec. 7, 1987 (42/159); see my "International Terrorism: Image and Reality," in *Western State Terrorism*, ed. Alexander George; Assistant Secretary of State for Human Rights John Shattuck, cited by Joseph Wronka, *American Society of International Law: Interest Group of the U.N. Decade of International Law*, Feb. 1997, no. 13.

74. Nahum Barnea, *Yediot Ahronot*, Feb. 24, 1989.

75. Israeli Government Election Plan, Jerusalem, May 14, 1989, Embassy of Israel.

76. Military correspondents Michael Gordon and Gen. (ret.) Bernard Trainor, USMC, *New York Times*, Oct. 23, 1994, excerpt from their book *The Generals' War: The Inside Story of the Conflict in the Gulf*, Little, Brown, Boston, 1995.

77. See Chomsky, *Detering Democracy*, chap. 6, afterword; Hamid Mowlana, George Gerbner, and Herbert Schiller, *Triumph of the Image*, Westview, Boulder, Colo., 1992; Curtis, *op. cit.* The best general study is Dilip Hiro, *Desert Shield to Desert Storm*, HarperCollins, New York, 1992. Another is Lawrence Freedman and Efraim Karsh, *The Gulf Conflict 1990-1991*, Princeton University Press, Princeton, N.J., 1992. The authors praise themselves for "the scope and originality of our analysis," which uses "evidence from all available sources," contrasting their achievement with mere journalism. In reality, they ignore entirely or omit basic sources on major issues (e.g., prewar diplomatic interactions, which, furthermore, they misrepresent in their scanty comments; the views of Iraqi democrats and the population of the region generally; the illuminating record of U.S. and British documents). Even their efforts to present the U.S.-UK effort in the most favorable light conclude that Saddam's goal was not annexation or "a permanent military presence" but "to establish hegemony over Kuwait, ensuring its complete financial, political and strategic subservience to his wishes," much as intended by the United States in Panama and Israel in Lebanon (and achieved, in the former case).

Saddam's scheme "turned sour," they say, because of the international reaction; to translate, because of the differential U.S. reaction. The authors seem not to realize that their conclusions undercut the central thesis of their book about the nobility of the U.S.-UK leadership.

78. Rick Atkinson, Ann Debroy, and *Washington Post* staff writers, "Bush: Iraq Won't Decide Timing of Ground War," *Washington Post*, Feb. 2, 1991, p. A1.

79. Thomas L. Friedman, "The World: A Rising Sense That Iraq's Hussein Must Go," *New York Times*, July 7, 1991, sec. 4, p. 1.

80. Quoted by John Pienaar, "Crisis in the Gulf: Arm Rebels, Senior Tory Urges," *The Independent* (London), April 6, 1991, p. 1.

81. For review and sources, see my *Deterring Democracy*, chap. 6 and afterword; *World Orders*, chap. 1; *Powers and Prospects*, chap. 7.

82. David Bar-Illan, director of communications and policy planning in the office of the prime minister, interview with Victor Cygielman, *Palestine-Israel Journal* (Summer/Autumn 1996). Among his other noteworthy observations is that Lebanon "has been able to attack us and make our lives intolerable for more than 15 years," a statement that might not be easy to match in the annals of apologetics for state terrorism.

83. Bill Freund, *The Making of Contemporary Africa*, University of Indiana Press, Bloomington, 1984, p. 270.

84. Asher Davidi, *Davar*, Feb. 17, 1993, trans. Zachary Lockman, *Middle East Report*, Sept.-Oct. 1993.

85. Michael Yudelman, "Labor Government Ready to Take On Labor Unions," *Jerusalem Post*, Nov. 26, 1993. Ya'akov Yona, "The Peace Process as an Obstacle to Employment," *Ma'ariv*, Jan. 19, 1996. On the use of transfer threats to undermine labor organizing, accelerating since the NAFTA agreement with Mexico (illegal, but "tolerated" by the administrations from Reagan through Clinton), see Cornell University labor economist Kate Bronfenbrenner, "We'll Close," *Multinational Monitor*, March 1997, based on the study she directed: "Final Report: The Effects of Plant Closing or Threat of Plant Closing on the Right of Workers to Organize." The study, conducted under NAFTA rules in response to labor complaints of violations (upheld after a long delay but with trivial penalties, as is the norm), was authorized for release by Canada and Mexico but has so far been blocked by Clinton's Labor Department.

86. See Ronen Bergman and David Ratner, "The Man Who Swallowed Gaza," *Ha'aretz Supplement*, April 4, 1997; David Hirst, "Shameless in Gaza," *The Guardian* (London), April 21, 1997; Judy Dempsey, "Poor Pickings in Gaza for Palestinian Entrepreneurs," *Financial Times* (London), May 3/4, 1997, reviewing also Israeli economic sabotage; "The Netanyahu Government Will Pay the PLO about [\$1.5 billion] a Year," *Nekuda*, April 1997. David Bedein, "So Much for Promises," *Jerusalem Post*, Feb. 4, 1996.

87. David Gardner, "Gloom over Palestinian Economy: IMF Says Joblessness Has Soared and Per Capita Income Has Fallen since Oslo Accords," *Financial Times* (London), March 7, 1997, p. 4.

88. United Nations Relief and Works Agency (UNRWA), Reuters, *New York Times*, May 27, 1997. Peter Kiernan, *Middle East International*, June 27, 1997.

89. Dayan, Herzog, quoted from internal discussion in Beilin, op. cit., pp. 42, 147.

90. See epilogue, *World Orders Old and New*, citing *Report on Israeli Settlement*, March 1996; Chronology, *Palestine-Israel Journal*, Summer/Autumn 1996. Nadav Shragai, *Ha'aretz*, March 3, 1997. Beilin, quoted by Tikva Honig-Parnass, *News from Within*, April 1997.

91. See epilogue, *World Orders Old and New*.

92. Aluf Ben, *Ha'aretz*, Feb. 7, 1995. For information and background, see Israel Shahak, *Ideology as a Central Factor in Israeli Policies* (in Hebrew), May-June 1995.

93. Farouk Kaddoumi, interview, *Frontline* (India), May 30, 1997, at the Non-Aligned Foreign Ministers Conference in New Delhi. El-Abayad, Embassy of Egypt in Washington, letter, *National Interest*, Summer 1997.

94. Yossi Melman, "Dunam after Dunam Amounts to a Billion," *Yom Rishon*, April 20, 1997.

95. Avi Shlaim, *Collusion across the Jordan*, Columbia University Press, New York, 1988, p. 491, citing Israeli state archives.

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## هوامش الفصل الثاني

1. Carol Christian, "Sanctions against Iraq Killing Thousands, ex-U.N. Official Says; Protest Tour Stops at Houston Church," *Houston Chronicle*, Feb. 24, 1999, p. A25.

2. *60 Minutes*, May 12, 1996.

3. General Lee Butler, "The Risks of Deterrence: From Superpowers to Rogue Leaders," remarks at the National Press Club, Feb. 2, 1998 (see <http://www.cdi.org/issues/armscontrol/butler.html>).

4. "Essentials of Post-Cold War Deterrence," 1995. For excerpts, see my *New Military Humanism*, Common Courage Press, Monroe, Maine, 1999, chap. 6.

5. Yoev Appel, "Indyk Expresses US Condemnation of Attack," *Jerusalem Post*, March 5, 2001.

6. For figures, see the tables compiled by B'Tselem ([http://www.btselem.org/English/Statistics/Al\\_Aqsa\\_Fatalities\\_Tables.asp](http://www.btselem.org/English/Statistics/Al_Aqsa_Fatalities_Tables.asp)) and the Palestinian

Red Crescent ([http://www.palestinercs.org/cristables/oct\\_2002\\_table.htm](http://www.palestinercs.org/cristables/oct_2002_table.htm)).

7. Dave McIntyre, "U.S. Walks Fine Line of Neutrality in Mideast Crisis," *Deutsche Presse-Agentur*, Oct. 3, 2000.

8. See the Amnesty International website, <http://www.amnesty.org>.

9. Associated Press, "Israel Orders Nine Apache Longbow Helicopters for \$500 Million," Feb. 20, 2001. "Israel to Buy Boeing Helicopters," *Wall Street Journal*, Feb. 20, 2001, p. B10. See additional references in my introduction to Roane Carey, ed., *The New Intifada*, Verso, New York, 2001, p. 21n10. Reprinted in Chomsky, *Pirates and Emperors, Old and New: International Terrorism in the Real World*, South End Press, Cambridge, Mass., 2002.

10. Ann Thompson, "Arming Israel . . .," *News and Observer* (Raleigh, N.C.), Oct. 12, 2000, p. A19.

11. See my *Deterring Democracy*, extended edition, Vintage, Hill & Wang, New York, 1992, pp. 181–82.

12. "Issues Arising out of the Situation in the Near East" July 29, 1958, *Foreign Relations of the United States, 1958–1960*, vol. 12 (*Near East Region; Iraq; Iran; Arabian Peninsula*), U.S. Government Printing Office, Washington, D.C., 1993, pp. 114–24.

13. For references and further details, see my *Towards a New Cold War*, Pantheon, New York, 1982, chap. 7, and *Fateful Triangle: The United States, Israel, and the Palestinians*, updated ed., South End Press, Cambridge, Mass., 1999, chap. 2.

14. David Hoffman, "President Gives Eulogy for 37 Killed in Attack on U.S. Ship; Men Hailed for 'Extraordinary' Acts," *Washington Post*, May 23, 1987, p. A1.

15. Molly Moore and George Wilson, "Captain Saw 'Definite Threat'; Firing at Plane Called Defensive, 'a Burden I Will Carry,'" *Washington Post*, July 5, 1988, p. A1.

16. Shlomo Ben-Ami, *Makom Lekulam* [A Place for All], Hakibbutz Hameuchad, Jerusalem, 1987. Cited in Efraim Davidi, "Globalization and Economy in the Middle East—A Peace of Markets or a Peace of Flags?" *Palestine-Israel Journal*, vol. 7, no. 1–2, 2000.

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## هوامش الفصل الثالث

1. Judy Dempsey, "Barak Warned That Cutting Off Palestinians Could Backfire," *Financial Times* (London), Oct. 21, 2000. Also, Deborah Sontag, "Israel Weighs Plan to Create Borders if Talks Fail," *New York Times*, Oct. 22, 2000, section 1, p. 1.

2. For more on the negotiations and their background, see my "Peace Process' Prospects," ZNet Commentary, July 27, 2000, online at

<http://www.zmag.org/chompeacepro.htm>; and for further background, see Alex R. Shalom and Stephen R. Shalom, "Turmoil in Palestine: The Basic Context," ZNet Commentary, Oct. 10, 2000, online at [http://www.zmag.org/turmoil\\_in\\_palestine.htm](http://www.zmag.org/turmoil_in_palestine.htm).

3. See the tables compiled by BTselem ([http://www.btselem.org/English/Statistics/Al\\_Aqsa\\_Fatalities\\_Tables.asp](http://www.btselem.org/English/Statistics/Al_Aqsa_Fatalities_Tables.asp)) and the Palestinian Red Crescent ([http://www.palestinercs.org/crisistables/oct\\_2002\\_table.htm](http://www.palestinercs.org/crisistables/oct_2002_table.htm)).

4. Baruch Kimmerling, *Ha'aretz*, Oct. 4, 2000.

5. Amira Hass, "Beaten and Betrayed: Israel Has Reneged on the Oslo Accords with Arafat's Collusion; Palestinians Have Had Enough," *The Guardian* (London), Oct. 3, 2000, p. 21.

6. Dempsey, op. cit.

7. Avi Shlaim, *Collusion across the Jordan: King Abdullah, the Zionist Movement, and the Partition of Palestine*, Columbia University Press, New York, 1988, p. 491, citing the Israeli state archives. For references and further details, see my *Towards a New Cold War*, Pantheon, New York, 1982, chap. 7; *Fateful Triangle: The United States, Israel, and the Palestinians*, updated ed., South End Press, Cambridge, Mass., 1999, chap. 2; and chap. 7, this volume.

8. Amira Hass, *Ha'aretz*, Oct. 18, 2000.

9. Shlomo Tzezna, "The Construction in the Territories Was Frozen, and It Continues," *Ha'aretz*, Aug. 18, 2000.

10. Danny Rubinstein, *Ha'aretz*, Oct. 23, 2000.

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