NOTES

N.B.: Quotations and facts that come from interviews with the author are generally not cited in the notes.

Unless otherwise indicated, all translations from Spanish to English were done by Shana Yael Shubs.

All dollar amounts in the book are in U.S. currency.

In some cases where there are sources for multiple facts in a paragraph, one superscript note number appears at the end of the paragraph rather than a number after each individual fact. In the notes section here, the sources are listed in the order in which the facts appear in the paragraph.

If there is a source for a footnote, it is cited in the numbered endnote most closely following the asterisk in the text; such sources are marked FOOTNOTE.

Web addresses for news articles available online are not included because of the transient nature of Web architecture. In cases where a document is available exclusively online, the home page where it appears is cited, not the longer URL for the specific text, once again because links change frequently.

Many original documents cited in the text, as well as Web links and an extensive bibliography and filmography, can be found at www.naomiklein.org.

INTRODUCTION
Blank Is Beautiful: Three Decades of Erasing and Remaking the World

5. Ibid.


37. Ibid., 66.
39. Friedman and Friedman, *Two Lucky People*, 594.
40. Ibid.

1. The Torture Lab: Ewen Cameron, the CIA and the Maniacal Quest to Erase and Remake the Human Mind

17. Those who found themselves unwittingly taking LSD in this period of experimentation included North Korean POWs; a group of patients at a drug treatment centre in Lexington, Kentucky; seven thousand American soldiers at Maryland’s Edgewood Chemical Arsenal; and inmates of California’s Vacaville Prison. Ibid., 27, 29.
18. “[A]n anonymous handwritten note found in the archives identifies Dr. Caryl Haskins and Commander R. J. Williams as CIA representatives at the meeting.” David Vienneau, “Ottawa Paid for ’50s Brainwashing Experiments, Files Show,” *Toronto Star*, April 14, 1986; “Minutes of June 1, 1951, Canada/US/UK Meeting Re: Communist ‘Brainwashing’ Techniques during the Korean War,” meeting at Ritz-Carlton Hotel, Montreal, June 1, 1951: 5.
23. Ibid.
NOTES TO PAGES 40–44

Manchurian Candidate: The CIA and Mind Control (New York: Times Books, 1979), 133.


30. Thomas, Journey into Madness, 180.


34. Cameron, “Production of Differential Amnesia as a Factor in the Treatment of Schizophrenia,” 27.

35. Thomas, Journey into Madness, 234.


38. Interview appeared in the Canadian magazine Weekend, quoted in Thomas, Journey into Madness, 169.


40. Cameron was citing another researcher, Norman Rosenzweig, to support his thesis. Cameron et al., “Sensory Deprivation,” 229.

41. Weinstein, Psychiatry and the CIA, 222.


43. Ibid., 143.


49. Ibid., 1, 38.

50. Ibid., 1–2.

51. Ibid., 88.

52. Ibid., 90.


55. Ibid., 41, 66.


77. Ibid.

2. The Other Doctor Shock: Milton Friedman and the Search for a Laissez-Faire Laboratory


17. Friedman and Friedman, *Two Lucky People*, 594.


21. Ibid., 89.

22. The quotation comes from Joseph Grunwald, a Columbia University economist working at the time at the University of Chile. Valdés, *Pinochet’s Economists*, 135.


29. In 1963, de Castro himself was on leave from Santiago to further his studies at the University of Chicago. He became chairman in 1965. Valdés, *Pinochet’s Economists*, 140, 165.
30. Ibid., 159. The quotation comes from Ernesto Fontaine, a Chicago grad and a professor at the Catholic University in Santiago.
31. Ibid., 6, 13.
34. Friedman and Friedman, *Two Lucky People*, 388.
39. Ibid., 15.
42. Ibid., 11, 15.
43. Ibid., 17.
47. Kadane first published the account of the lists, based on taped on-the-record interviews with top U.S. officials posted in Indonesia at the time, in the *Washington Post*. The information about radios and weapons appears in a letter.


49. The 500,000 figure is the most commonly used, including by the *Washington Post* in 1966. Britain’s ambassador to Indonesia estimated the number at 400,000, but he reported that the Swedish ambassador, who had done additional research, deemed it “a very serious under-estimate.” Some put the number as high as a million, though the CIA claimed in a 1968 report that 250,000 had been killed, calling it “one of the worst mass murders of the 20th century.” “Silent Settlement,” *Time*, December 17, 1965; John Pilger, *The New Rulers of the World* (London: Verso, 2002), 34; Kadane, “U.S. Officials’ Lists Aided Indonesian Bloodbath in ’60s.”

50. “Silent Settlement.”


52. FOOTNOTE: Ibid., 100.


55. In the original text, the author spells the general’s name Soeharto; I changed it to the more common spelling Suharto for the sake of consistency. Mohammad Sadli, “Recollections of My Career,” *Bulletin of Indonesian Economic Studies* 29, no. 1 (April 1993): 40.

56. The following posts were filled with graduates of the Ford program: minister of finance, minister of trade and commerce, chair of the National Planning Board, vice-chair of the National Planning Board, secretary general of Marketing and Trade Research, chairman of the Technical Team of Foreign Investment, secretary general of industry and ambassador to Washington. Ransom, “Ford Country,” 110.


61. Ibid., 248–49.

62. Ibid., 250.

64. Ibid., 40.

3. States of Shock: The Bloody Birth of the Counter-revolution

13. Ibid., 69.
16. Pinochet’s only trade barrier was a 10 percent tariff on imports, which does not constitute a trade barrier but a minor import tax. André Gunder Frank, *Economic Genocide in Chile: Monetarist Theory Versus Humanity* (Nottingham, UK: Spokesman Books, 1976), 81.
17. These are conservative estimates. Gunder Frank writes that in the first year of junta rule, inflation reached 508 percent and may have been close to 1,000


22. Friedman and Friedman, *Two Lucky People*, 399.

23. Ibid., 593–94.

24. Ibid., 592–94.

25. Ibid., 594.


39. Ibid., 65–66.

40. Harvey, “Chile’s Counter-Revolution”; Letelier, “The Chicago Boys in Chile.”


47. Ibid., 171.
53. Letelier, “The Chicago Boys in Chile.”
56. Lawrence Weschler, A Miracle, a Universe: Settling Accounts with Torturers (New York: Pantheon Books, 1990), 149.
57. The quotation comes from notes taken by Brazil’s ambassador to Argentina at the time, João Baptista Pinheiro. Reuters, “Argentine Military Warned Brazil, Chile of ’76 Coup,” CNN, March 21, 2007.
58. Mario I. Blejer was Argentina’s secretary of finance during the dictatorship. He received a PhD in economics at the University of Chicago the year before the coup. Adolfo Diz, PhD, University of Chicago, was president of the central bank during the dictatorship. Fernando De Santibáñes, Chicago PhD, worked in the central bank during the dictatorship. Ricardo López Murphy, MA in Chicago, national director of the Office of Economic Research and Fiscal Analysis in the Treasury Department of the Finance Ministry (1974–1983). Several other Chicago grads held lower-level economic positions in the dictatorship, as consultants and advisers.
63. Reuters, “Argentine Military Warned Brazil, Chile of ’76 Coup.”
66. Ibid., 149, 175.
67. Ibid., 165.
NOTES TO PAGES 106–14

68. Weschler, A Miracle, a Universe, 170.


71. Gunder Frank, Economic Genocide in Chile, 43; Batalla de Chile.


76. Kornbluh, The Pinochet File, 162.


78. This estimate is based on the fact that Brazil had 8,400 political prisoners in this period, and thousands of them were tortured. Uruguay had 60,000 political prisoners, and according to the Red Cross, torture in the jails was systemic. An estimated 50,000 Chileans faced torture and at least 30,000 Argentines did, which would make the 100,000 figure very conservative. Larry Rohter, “Brazil Rights Group Hopes to Bar Doctors Linked to Torture,” New York Times, March 11, 1999; Organization of American States, Inter-American Commission on Human Rights, Report on the Situation of Human Rights in Uruguay, January 31, 1978, www.cidh.org; Duncan Campbell and Jonathan Franklin, “Last Chance to Clean the Slate of the Pinochet Era,” Guardian (London), September 1, 2003; Feitlowitz, A Lexicon of Terror, ix.

79. McCaughan, True Crimes, 290.

80. Ibid., 274.

81. Ibid., 285–89.

82. Ibid., 280–82.


85. Weschler, A Miracle, a Universe, 110; Department of State, “Subject: Secretary’s Meeting with Argentine Foreign Minister Guzzetti,” Memorandum of Conversation, October 7, 1976, declassified, www.gwu.edu/~nsarchiv.

4. Cleaning the Slate: Terror Does Its Work

4. Ibid.
9. Carlos Rozanski was the lead author of the ruling, which was co-written by judges Norberto Lorenzo and Horacio A. Insaurralde. Federal Oral Court No. 1, Case NE 2251/06, September 2006, www.rodolfowalsh.org.
11. Ibid.
18. Constable and Valenzuela, A Nation of Enemies, 16.
24. Ibid.
26. Ibid.
30. The editorial appeared in La Prensa (Buenos Aires), cited in Feitlowitz, A Lexicon of Terror, 153.
34. Letelier, “The Chicago Boys in Chile.”
36. Ibid., 371.
38. Taylor, Disappearing Acts, 111.
39. Archdiocese of São Paulo, Torture in Brazil, 64.
42. Transcript of interviews conducted by Rodrigo Gutiérrez with Pedro Troiani and Carlos Alberto Propato, both former Ford workers and union activists, for a forthcoming documentary film on the Ford Falcon, Falcon.
45. “Demandan a la Ford por el secuestro de gremialistas durante la dictadura.”
46. Ibid.
50. McCaughan, True Crimes, 290.
53. Marchak, God’s Assassins, 155.
55. Marchak, God’s Assassins, 161.
56. Feitlowitz, A Lexicon of Terror, 42.
57. Constable and Valenzuela, A Nation of Enemies, 171, 188.
58. Ibid., 147.
59. The editorial appeared in La Prensa (Buenos Aires), cited in Feitlowitz, A Lexicon of Terror, 153.
64. Milton Friedman and Rose D. Friedman, Two Lucky People: Memoirs (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1998), 596.

71. Feitlowitz, A Lexicon of Terror, 89.

5. “Entirely Unrelated”: How an Ideology Was Cleansed of Its Crimes


6. Friedman and Friedman, Two Lucky People, 596.

7. Ibid., 398.


9. The Nobel Prize in Economics is separate from other prizes chosen by the Nobel Committee. The award’s full name is the Sveriges Riksbank Prize in Economic Sciences in Memory of Alfred Nobel.


15. The Peace Committee had been renamed the Vicariate by the time Ford began funding it. Americas Watch was part of Human Rights Watch, which started, under the name Helsinki Watch, with a $500,000 grant from the Ford Foundation. The $30 million figure comes from an interview with Alfred Ironside in the Office of Communications at the Ford Foundation. According to Ironside, most of the money was spent in the 1980s. He said that “there was virtually none spent on human rights in Latin America in the fifties” and that
“there were a series of grants in the sixties geared toward human rights in the ball park of $700,000.”


6. Saved by a War: Thatcherism and Its Useful Enemies

2. Correspondence in the Hayek Collection, box 101, folder 26, Hoover Institution Archives, Palo Alto, CA. Thatcher’s letter is dated February 17. Thanks to Greg Grandin.
7. In the transcript of the speech there is an error. Rumsfeld is quoted saying “they’re going to learn the going to learn the wrong lesson.” I removed the repetition to avoid confusion. Rumsfeld, Secretary of Defense Donald H. Rumsfeld Speaking at Tribute to Milton Friedman.
11. Ibid.; Friedman and Friedman, Two Lucky People, 607–609.
31. Ibid.
37. Friedman and Friedman, Two Lucky People, 603.

7. The New Doctor Shock: Economic Warfare Replaces Dictatorship

6. Interview with the author, October 2006, New York City.
10. Sachs, The End of Poverty, 93.
15. Ibid.
16. Conaghan and Malloy, Unsettling Statecraft, 129.
18. The official’s comments are based on the recollections of the members of the emergency economic team. Velasco Portillo, “Víctor Paz: Decreto es coyuntural, pero puede durar 10 ó 20 años.”
19. Ibid.
21. Conaghan and Malloy, Unsettling Statecraft, 186.
31. Conaghan and Malloy write that “there is little doubt that the drug trade (like the international aid that Paz received) helped soften the blows of stabilization. In addition to generating income, the injection of ‘coca-dollars’ into the banking system is believed to have helped stabilize the currency during the second half of the decade.” Conaghan and Malloy, Unsettling Statecraft, 198.
35. Sachs, Commanding Heights.
38. The banker was quoted anonymously. Zuckerman, “Bolivian Bankers See Some Hope after Years of Economic Chaos.”
42. Conaghan and Malloy, *Unsettling Statecraft*, 149.
46. Sánchez de Lozada, *Commanding Heights*.
47. Conaghan and Malloy, *Unsettling Statecraft*, 149.

8. Crisis Works: The Packaging of Shock Therapy

9. World Bank, *Economic Memorandum: Argentina*, page 17; “Documentación que prueba los ilícitos de Martínez de Hoz,” *La Voz del Interior*, October 6,


11. Ibid.

12. She described it as a “report about how to make investments in the Bahamas, Luxembourg, Panama, Switzerland, and Lichtenstein. There was also a section—quite technical—on the tax situation in these places.” Marguerite Feitlowitz, A Lexicon of Terror: Argentina and the Legacies of Torture (New York: Oxford University Press, 1998), 57.


14. U.S. State Department, Memorandum of Conversation, Subject: Secretary’s Meeting with Argentine Foreign Minister Guzzetti, October 7, 1976, declassified, www.gwu.edu/~nsarchiv.


22. The former Chicago professor and fellow Stanley Fischer was first deputy managing director of the IMF in 1994, Raghuram Rajan was the IMF’s chief economist in 2003, Michael Mussa was director of the department of research at the IMF in 1991 and Danyang Xie was senior economist in the IMF’s African department in 2003.


31. Ibid., 81.
32. “. . . [W]hatever the merits of trade reform, the causal link drawn between trade regimes and propensity to macroeconomic crisis was bad economics.” Dani Rodrik, “The Limits of Trade Policy Reform in Developing Countries,” Journal of Economic Perspectives 6, no. 1 (Winter 1992): 95.
35. “Interview with Arnold Harberger.”
40. Cavallo, Commanding Heights.

9. Slamming the Door on History: A Crisis in Poland, a Massacre in China


4. The embryo of Solidarity was a semi-independent union called Free Labour Unions of the Coast, formed in 1978. This was the group that organized the strikes that eventually led to the creation of Solidarity.


6. Ibid.


8. Sancton, “He Dared to Hope.”


24. The quotation is from Zofia Kuratowska, “Solidarity’s foremost expert on health services and now a leading legislator.” Weschler, “A Grand Experiment.”


29. Ibid.
31. Ibid., 176–77.
32. Ibid., 163.
37. Fukuyama, “The End of History?”
38. Ibid.
39. Friedman and Friedman, Two Lucky People, 520–22.
40. Ibid., 558; Milton Friedman, “If Only the United States Were as Free as Hong Kong,” Wall Street Journal, July 8, 1997.
42. Friedman had been invited to China in various capacities—as a conference participant, a university lecturer—but in his memoirs he characterized it as a state visit: “I was mostly the guest of governmental entities,” Friedman writes. Friedman and Friedman, Two Lucky People, 601.
43. Friedman and Friedman, Two Lucky People, 517, 537, 609. Emphasis in original.
44. Ibid., 601–602.
46. Ibid., 54.
47. Ibid., 57.
51. Interview with Orville Schell conducted on December 13, 2005, for PBS’s Frontline episode “The Tank Man”; full interview transcript available at www.pbs.org.
NOTES TO PAGES 228–42

52. Wang, China’s New Order, 65–66.
56. Friedman and Friedman, Two Lucky People, 516.
59. Wielgosz, “25 Years of Solidarity.”

10. Democracy Born in Chains: South Africa’s Constricted Freedom

9. Simple majority rule was actually delayed until 1999. Until then, executive power was shared among all the political parties that won more than 5 percent of the popular vote. Unpublished interview with Nelson Mandela by the film-maker Ben Cashdan, 2001; Hein Marais, South Africa: Limits to Change: The Political Economy of Transition (Cape Town: University of Cape Town Press, 2001), 91–92.
17. Gumede cites Businessmap statistics asserting that “around 98 percent of executive directors of JSE-listed companies are white, and they preside over 97 percent of the exchange’s total value.” Simon Robinson, “The New Rand Lords,” Time, April 25, 2005; Gumede, Thabo Mbeki and the Battle for the Soul of the ANC, 220.
18. Gumede, Thabo Mbeki and the Battle for the Soul of the ANC, 112.
28. Ibid., 79.
October 6, 1994.

32. Ibid., 87.
34. Ibid., 170.
39. Ibid., 119.
52. Ibid., 70.


13. Author’s interview with Jeffrey Sachs.
Lena Thompson, series producer William Cran (Boston: Heights Productions, 2002); Reddaway and Glinski, The Tragedy of Russia’s Reforms, 237, 298.


25. Ibid., 434–35.


31. The Agony of Reform.


37. “Testimony Statement by the Honorable Lawrence H. Summers Under Secretary for International Affairs U.S. Treasury Department Before the Committee on Foreign Relations of the U.S. Senate, September 7, 1993.”


39. Ibid, 299.


FOOTNOTE: Shapiro and Hiatt, “Troops Move in to Put Down Uprising After Yeltsin Foes Rampage in Moscow.”


45. “The authorities declared that in the course of two days, 142 people were killed in Moscow. This was a mockery—the real number of dead had to have been several times greater. No one even tried to determine the precise number who were wounded and beaten. Thousands were arrested.” Kagarlitsky, Square Wheels, 218.


47. Kagarlitsky, Square Wheels, 212.


49. Return of the Czar.

50. Nikitin, “’91 Foes Linked by Anger and Regret.”


52. Sachs, The End of Poverty.


61. Passell, “Dr. Jeffrey Sachs, Shock Therapist.”


67. Freeland, Sale of the Century, 299.

68. Return of the Czar.

69. Bivens and Bernstein report that “allegations surfaced that Chubais and four of his reform lieutenants—all of them men who had been supported by Chubais’s USAID-funded patronage—had accepted $90,000 each in bribes disguised as a book advance from Uneximbank” (one of the main oligarchic firms that was winning lucrative privatization contracts from these men). In a similar controversy, Alfred Kokh, second in charge of privatization for the Yeltsin government, was paid $100,000 by a company linked to one of the main oligarchs to whom he was awarding privatization contracts; fittingly, the money was supposedly for a book he was to write on the efficiency of privatized companies. Ultimately, neither man was prosecuted in connection with the separate book deals. Bivens and Bernstein, “The Russia You Never Met,” 636; Vladimir Isachenkov, “Prosecutors Investigate Russia’s Ex-Privatization Czar,” Associated Press, October 1, 1997.

70. McClintick, “How Harvard Lost Russia.”


76. Return of the Czar.


82. World Health Organization Regional Office for Europe, “1780 SDR, Suicide and Self-Inflicted Injury, All Ages Per 100,000, 1986–1994,” European Health for All Database (HFA-DB), data.euro.who.int/hfadb; In 1986, the rate of homicide and intentional injuries per 100,000 people was 7.3; in 1994 it reached its high of 32.9; in 2004 it was down to 25.2. World Health Organization Regional Office for Europe, “1793 SDR, Homicide and Intentional Injury, All Ages Per 100000, 1986-2004,” European Health for All Database.


92. I am indebted to David Harvey for informing this analysis. David Harvey, *A Brief History of Neoliberalism* (New York: Oxford University Press, 2005).
95. Friedland, “Money Transfer.”

12: The Capitalist Id: Russia and the New Era of the Boor Market

14. Bruce Little, “Debt Crisis Looms, Study Warns,” *Globe and Mail* (Toronto), February 16, 1993; The TV report was on W5 on CTV, hosted by Eric Malling.

15. The information in this paragraph is drawn from McQuaig, *Shooting the Hippo*, 18, 42–44, 117.

16. Ibid., 44, 46.


20. The figure for World Bank membership refers to 1995. There are now 185 member countries.


22. Most of Budhoo’s allegations centre on the discrepancies in the calculations for Trinidad and Tobago’s Relative Unit Labour Cost, which is an extremely important economic indicator that measures countries’ productivity. He writes, “On the basis of calculations made by our divisional statistician last year after the Fund mission returned from the field, the Relative Unit Labour Cost in Trinidad and Tobago increased by 69 percent only, instead of the 145.8 percent as stated in our 1985 reports, and the 142.9 percent as claimed in the 1986 Fund documents. Between 1980–85 the RULC actually rose by a mere 66.1 percent instead of our assertion of 164.7 percent made in the 1986 reports. Over 1983–85 relative unit labour costs moved up by only 14.9 percent, not by the 36.9 percent that was mooted to the world community in 1986. In 1985, instead of rising by the 9 percent that we had stated in the RED and Staff Report, the RULC Index fell by 1.7 percent. And in 1986 relative unit labour costs slid downward spectacularly by 46.5 percent although there is no record of this in the 1987 report or anywhere else in official Fund documentation.” Ibid., 17.


13. Let It Burn: The Looting of Asia and “The Fall of a Second Berlin Wall”


13. Milken Institute, “Global Overview.”
22. The IMF agreement with South Korea explicitly demanded “easing restrictions in the labor market over redundancies (to enable businesses to move from one industry to another).” Cited in Martin Hart-Landsberg and Paul Burkett,


29. McNally, “Globalization on Trial.”


31. Susan Sim, “Jakarta’s Technocrats vs. the Technologists,” Straits Times (Singapore), November 30, 1997; Kahn, “I.M.F.’s Hand Often Heavy, a Study Says.”


35. “Array of Crimes Linked to the Financial Crisis, Meeting Told,” New Straits Times (Kuala Lumpur), June 1, 1999; Nussara Sawatsawang, “Prostitution—Alarm Bells Sound Amid Child Sex Rise,” Bangkok Post, December 24,


44. Zhan and Ozawa, Business Restructuring in Asia, 96–102; Clifford, “Invasion of the Bargain Snatchers.”


50. In 1995, the suicide rate was 11.8 per 100,000 people; in 2005 it was 26.1 per 100,000, an increase of 121 percent. World Factbook 1997 (Washington, DC: Central Intelligence Agency, 1997); World Factbook 2007, www.cia.gov; “S. Korea Has Top Suicide Rate among OECD Countries: Report,” Asia Pulse news agency, September 18, 2006; “S. Korean Police Confirm Actress Suicide,” Agence France-Presse, February 12, 2007.


9. Donald H. Rumsfeld, “Secretary Rumsfeld’s Remarks to the Johns Hopkins, Paul H. Nitze School of Advanced International Studies,” December 5, 2005,


42. Shane and Nixon, “In Washington, Contractors Take on Biggest Role Ever.”
44. Ratliff, “Fear, Inc.”
56. Andrew Buncombe, “New Maximum-Security Jail to Open at Guantanamo Bay,” 
Independent (London), July 30, 2006; Pratap Chatterjee, “Intelligence in Iraq: 
57. Michelle Faul, “Guantanamo Prisoners for Sale,” Associated Press, May 31, 
2005; John Simpson, “No Surprises in the War on Terror,” BBC News, 
February 13, 2006; John Mintz, “Detainees Say They Were Charity Workers,” 
58. The prisoner in question was Adel Fattough Ali Algazzar. Dave Gilson, “Why 
Am I in Cuba?” Mother Jones, September–October 2006; Simpson, “No 
Surprises in the War on Terror”; Andrew O. Selsky, “AP: Some Gitmo 
USA Today, September 10, 2006. 
60. Sarah Anderson, John Cavanagh, Chuck Collins and Eric Benjamin, 
“Executive Excess 2006: Defense and Oil Executives Cash in on Conflict,” 
61. Ratliff, “Fear, Inc.” 
62. O’Harrow, No Place to Hide, 9. 

15. A Corporatist State: Removing the Revolving Door, Putting in an Archway 

1. Jim Krane, “Former President Bush Battles Arab Critics of His Son,” Associated 
2. Scott Shane and Ron Nixon, “In Washington, Contractors Take on Biggest 
Year 2007 (Enrolled as Agreed to or Passed by Both House and Senate),” 
thomas.loc.gov. 
Fiscal Year 2007, Conference Report, Congressional Record,” States News 
7. Interview with Stephen Kinzer, Democracy Now!, April 21, 2006, 
www.democracynow.org. 
8. The phrase “interrelated and mutually reinforcing” comes from the historian 
James A. Bill. Stephen Kinzer, Overthrow: America’s Century of Regime Change 
Decisions to Avoid Conflict of Interest,” Associated Press, August 23, 2001; 
Matt Kelley, “Defense Secretary Sold Up to $91 Million in Assets to Comply 
with Ethics Rules, Complains about Disclosure Form,” Associated Press, 
June 18, 2002; Pauline Jelinek, “Rumsfeld Asks for Deadline Extension,” 
11. Rumsfeld’s 2005 disclosure report shows that he holds “shares worth up to $95.9m, from which he got an income of up to $13m, owned land worth up to $17m, and made $1m from renting it out.” Geoffrey Lean and Jonathan Owen, “Donald Rumsfeld Makes $5m Killing on Bird Flu Drug,” Independent (London), March 12, 2006; Kelley, “Defense Secretary Sold up to $91 Million in Assets . . .”
20. Lean and Owen, “Donald Rumsfeld Makes $5m Killing on Bird Flu Drug.”

16. Erasing Iraq: In Search of a "Model" for the Middle East

20. Ibid.
22. Shadid, Night Draws Near, 71.
31. Ibid., 165–66.
34. Ibid., 9, 10, 21, 26, 72.

17. Ideological Blowback: A Very Capitalist Disaster

1. According to Jeffrey Goldberg, Rice made the comment at a dinner in a Georgetown restaurant. He writes, “The remark stunned the other guests. [Brent] Scowcroft, as he later told friends, was flummoxed by Rice’s ‘evangelical tone.’” Jeffrey Goldberg, “Breaking Ranks,” The New Yorker, October 31, 2005. 


26. Bremer, My Year in Iraq, 71.
34. Chandrasekaran, Imperial Life in the Emerald City, 288.
38. Email interview with Kristine Belisle, deputy assistant inspector general for Congressional & Public Affairs, special inspector general for Iraq reconstruction, December 15, 2006.
18. Full Circle: From Blank Slate to Scorched Earth

18. One month later, Sanchez sent another memo clarifying and somewhat tempering the earlier memo but creating much confusion in the field about which procedures applied. Ricardo S. Sanchez, Memorandum, Subject: CJTF-7 Interrogation and Counter-Resistance Policy, September 14, 2003, www.aclu.org.
20. Ibid., 26, 28.


42. Pfeifer, “Where Majors Fear to Tread.”


53. According to Thomas Ricks, “When the U.S. troop level was about 150,000, and the allied troop contributions totaled 25,000, there were about 60,000 additional civilian contractors supporting the effort.” That means there were 175,000 coalition soldiers to 60,000 contractors, a ratio of 1 contractor to for every 2.9 soldiers. Nelson D. Schwartz, “The Pentagon’s Private Army,” *Fortune*, March 17, 2003; Thomas E. Ricks, *Fiasco: The American Military Adventure in Iraq* (New York: Penguin, 2006), 37; Renae Merle, “Census Counts 100,000 Contractors in Iraq,” *Washington Post*, December 5, 2006.


8. Ibid.


31. Ibid.; ActionAid International et al., Tsunami Response, 18.

32. The leases are for twenty-five years, but the fine print of the bids allows them to be extended to fifty under certain ownership structures. Ministry of Tourism and Civil Aviation, Bidding Documents: For Lease of New Islands to Develop as Tourist Resorts, (Malé: Republic of Maldives, July 16, 2006), 4, www.tourism.gov.mv.


20. Disaster Apartheid: A World of Green Zones and Red Zones


21. Losing the Peace Incentive: Israel as Warning


24. According to the Israeli business newspaper Globes, between 2001 to 2003 Israel was looking at “a cumulative 8.5 per cent drop in per capita growth,” a stunning decline. Zeev Klein, “2002 Worst Year for Israeli Economy Since 1953,” Globes (Tel Aviv), December 31, 2002; Sandler, “As If the Intifada Weren’t Enough.”
29. Schwartz, “Prosperity without Peace.”
40. Schwartz, “Prosperity without Peace.”
Conclusion: Shock Wears Off: The Rise of People’s Reconstruction


40. Bazzi, “People’s Revolt in Lebanon.”


47. Ibid.


49. Kerr, “New Orleans Visits Asian Tsunami Areas.”


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