

原注

はじめに

- 注 1 James Morgan, BBC economics correspondent, *Financial Times* (London), 25–26 April 1992.
- 注 2 Martin Gilens and Benjamin Page, “Testing Theories of American Politics: Elites, Interest Groups, and Average Citizens,” *Perspectives on Politics* 12, no. 3 (September 2014), <http://www.princeton.edu/~mgilens/Gilens%20and%20Page%20Testing%20Theories%203714.pdf>; Martin Gilens, *Affluence and Influence: Economic Inequality and Political Power in America* (Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press, 2010); Larry Bartels, *Unequal Democracy: The Political Economy of the New Gilded Age* (Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press, 2008); Thomas Ferguson, *Golden Rule: The Investment Theory of Party Competition and the Logic of Money-Driven Political Systems* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1995).
- 注 3 Burnham, in Thomas Ferguson and Joel Rogers, eds., *Hidden Election* (New York: Random House, 1981). Burnham and Ferguson, “Americans Are Sick to Death of Both Parties: Why Our Politics Is in Worse Shape Than We Thought,” 17 December 2014, http://www.alternet.org/americansaresickdeathbothpartieswhyour-politicsworseshapewethought?paging=off¤t_page=1#bookmark.
- 注 4 Ken Caldeira, “Stop Emissions,” *MIT Technology Review* 119, no. 1 (January/February 2016); “Current Pace of Environmental Change Is Unprecedented in Earth’s History,” press release, University of Bristol, 4 January 2016, published the same day online in *Nature Geoscience*, <http://www.bristol.ac.uk/news/2016/january/paceenvironmentchange.html>.
- 注 5 Julian Borger, “Nuclear Weapons Risk Greater Than in Cold War, Says Ex Pentagon Chief,” *Guardian* (London), 7 January 2016, <http://www.theguardian.com/world/2016/jan/07/nuclearweaponsriskgreaterthanincoldwarsexpentagonchief>; William Broad and David Sanger, “As U.S. Modernizes Nuclear Weapons, ‘Smaller’ Leaves Some Uneasy,” *New York Times*, 12 January 2016, http://www.nytimes.com/2016/01/12/science/asusmodernizesnuclearweaponssmallerleavessomeuneasy.html?_r=0.

第一章 “知識人の責任”とは何か？

- 注 1 Steven Lukes, Emile Durkheim: His Life and Work (Palo Alto, CA: Stanford

University Press, 1973), 335.

- 注 2 “Manifesto of the Ninety/Three German Intellectuals to the Civilized World,” 1914, World War I Document Archive, <http://www.gwpda.org/1914/93intell.html>.
- 注 3 “Who Willed American Participation,” *New Republic*, 14 April 1917, 308–10.
- 注 4 John Dewey, *The Middle Works of John Dewey, Volume 11, 1899–1924: Journal Articles, Essays, and Miscellany Published in the 1918–1919 Period*, ed. Jo Ann Boydston (Carbondale: Southern Illinois University Press, 1982), 81–82.
- 注 5 John Dewey, “Our UnFree Press,” in *The Later Works of John Dewey, Volume 11, 1925–1953: Essays, Reviews, Trotsky Inquiry, Miscellany, and Liberalism and Social Action*, ed. Jo Ann Boydston (Carbondale: Southern Illinois University Press, 1987), 270.
- 注 6 Randolph Bourne, “Twilight of Idols,” *Seven Arts*, October 1917, 688–702.
- 注 7 Michael Crozier, Samuel P. Huntington, and Joji Watanuke, *The Crisis of Democracy: Report on the Governability of Democracies to the Trilateral Commission* (New York: New York University Press, 1975), http://www.trilateral.org/download/doc/crisis_of_democracy.pdf. サミュエル・P・ハンチントン、ミッシェル・クロジエ、綿貫譲治著『民主主義の統治能力（ガバナビリティ）：その危機の検討』日米欧委員会編、綿貫譲治監訳／サイマル出版会
- 注 8 Adam Smith, *The Wealth of Nations* (New York: Bantam Classics, 2003), 96. アダム・スミス著『国富論』
- 注 9 Gordon S. Wood, *The Creation of the American Republic, 1776–1787* (New York: W. W. Norton, 1969), 513–14. ランス・バニングはLance Banning, in *The Sacred Fire of Liberty: James Madison and the Founding of the Federal Republic* (Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 1995)の中で、マディソンは民衆による支配を良しとしていたと強く主張しつつも、憲法の意図に関するウッズの意見には同意している(245)。
- 注10 James Madison to Thomas Jefferson, 9 December 1787, <http://founders.archives.gov/documents/Madison/0110020197>. Ralph Louis Ketcham, *James Madison: A Biography* (Charlottesville: University of Virginia Press, 1990), 236, 247, 298 も参照
- 注11 Edward Thorndike, “How May We Improve the Selection, Training, and Life Work of Leaders?” *Teachers College Record*, April 1939, 593–605.

- 注12 “Terrorist Group Profiles,” Department of State, January 1989. Robert Pear, “US Report Stirs Furor in South Africa,” *New York Times*, 14 January 1989 も参照。
- 注13 United Nations InterAgency Task Force, Africa Recovery Programme/Economic Commission for Africa, *South African Destabilization: The Economic Cost of Frontline Resistance to Apartheid*, 1989, 13.
- 注14 Noam Chomsky, “The Evil Scourge of Terrorism,” (speech to the International Erich Fromm Society, Stuttgart, Germany, 23 March 2010).
- 注15 スタンフォード大学フーヴァー研究所のMartin AndersonとAnnelise Andersonによるレーガン評。出典はPaul Boyer, “Burnishing Reagan’s Disarmament Credentials,” *Army Control Today*, September 2009.
- 注16 John Coatsworth, “The Cold War in Central America, 1975–1991,” in *The Cambridge History of the Cold War: Volume 3: Endings*, Melvyn P. Leffler and Odd Arne Westad, eds., (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2010).
- 注17 Noam Chomsky, *Hopes and Prospects* (Chicago: Haymarket Books, 2010), 272.
- 注18 Papers of John F. Kennedy, Presidential Papers, National Security Files, Meetings and Memoranda, National Security Action Memoranda [NSAM]: NSAM 134, Report on Internal Security Situation in South America, JFKNSF335013, John F. Kennedy Presidential Library and Museum, Boston, Massachusetts.
- 注19 Lars Schoultz, *Human Rights and United States Policy Toward Latin America* (Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press, 1981); Charles Maechling Jr., “The Murderous Mind of the Latin American Military,” *Los Angeles Times*, 18 March 1982.
- 注20 Adam Isacson and Joy Olson, *Just the Facts* (Washington, DC: Latin America Working Group and Center for International Policy, 1999), ix より。
- 注21 Noam Chomsky, “Humanitarian Imperialism: The New Doctrine of Imperial Right,” *Monthly Review*, 1 September 2008.
- 注22 Noam Chomsky, *Rogue States* (Chicago: Haymarket Books, 2015), 88.
- 注23 Noam Chomsky, *Deterring Democracy* (New York: Hill and Wang, 1991), 131.

- 注24 Chomsky, *Hopes and Prospects*, 261.
- 注25 Daniel Wilkinson, “Death and Drugs in Colombia,” *New York Review of Books*, 23 June 2011.
- 注26 Anthony Lewis, “Abroad at Home,” *New York Times*, 2 March 1990.
- 注27 Mary McGrory, “Havel’s Gentle Rebuke,” *Washington Post*, 25 February 1990.
- 注28 Mark Mazzetti, Helene Cooper, and Peter Baker, “Behind the Hunt for Bin Laden,” *New York Times*, 2 May 2011.
- 注29 Eric Alterman, “Bin Gotten,” *Nation*, 4 May 2011.
- 注30 Elaine Scarry, “Rules of Engagement,” *Boston Review*, 8 November 2006.
- 注31 Russell Baker, “A Heroic Historian on Heroes,” *New York Review of Books*, 11 June 2009.
- 注32 Mark Mazower, “Short Cuts,” *London Review of Books*, 8 April 2010.
- 注33 Eric S. Margolis, “Osama’s Ghost,” *American Conservative*, 20 May 2011.
- 注34 Daniel Trotta, “Cost of War at Least \$3.7 Trillion and Counting,” Reuters, 29 June 2011.
- 注35 Michael Scheuer, *Imperial Hubris: Why the West Is Losing the War on Terror* (Washington, DC: Potomac Books, 2004). マイケル・ショワー著『帝国の傲慢』松波俊二郎訳／日経BP出版センター
- 注36 Geoffrey Hawthorn, *Enlightenment and Despair: A History of Social Theory* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1976), 117に引用された、ドレフュス派による非難。

第二章 『世界』に追われるテロリストたち

- 注 1 Nada Bakri and Graham Bowley, “Top Hezbollah Commander Killed in Syria,” *New York Times*, 13 February 2008.
- 注 2 Associated Press, “Intelligence Chief: Hezbollah Leader May Have Been Killed by Insiders or Syria,” 17 February 2008.

- 注3 Cynthia O'Murchu and Farid Shamsuddin, "Seven Days," *Financial Times* (London), 16 February 2008.
- 注4 Ferry Biedermann, "A Militant Wanted the World Over," *Financial Times* (London), 14 February 2008.
- 注5 A media review by Jeff Nygaardのメディア批評によれば、ギャラップ調査への言及が1つ見つかった。Omaha World-Herald紙の短い記事だが、「結果を完全に誤って伝えていた」。Nygaard *Notes Independent Weekly News and Analysis*, 16 November 2001, reprinted in *Counterpoise* 5, nos. 3/4 (2002).
- 注6 Biedermann, "A Militant Wanted the World Over."
- 注7 Noam Chomsky, *Middle East Illusions* (London: Rowman & Littlefield, 2004), 235.
ノーム・チョムスキー著『中東虚構の和平』中野真紀子訳／講談社
- 注8 Amnon Kapeliouk, *Yediot Ahronot*, 15 November 1985.
- 注9 Bernard Gwertzman, "U.S. Defends Action in U.N. on Raid," *New York Times*, 7 October 1985.
- 注10 *Yearbook of the United Nations*, Vol. 39, 1985, 291.
- 注11 Bernard Weinraub, "Israeli Extends 'Hand of Peace' to Jordanians," *New York Times*, 18 October 1985.
- 注12 Noam Chomsky, *Necessary Illusions* (Toronto: House of Anansi, 1995), chapter 5 を参照.
- 注13 例えばAviv Lavie, "Inside Israel's Secret Prison," *Ha'aretz*, 23 August 2003 を参照.
- 注14 Yoav Biran, Minister Plenipotentiary, Embassy of Israel, letter, *Manchester Guardian Weekly*, 25 July 1982; Gad Becker, *Yediot Ahronot*, 13 April 1983; Reuters, "Shamir Promises to Crush Rioters," *New York Times*, 1 April 1988.
- 注15 Yoram Peri, *Davar*, 10 December 1982.
- 注16 Justin Huggler and Phil Reeves, "Once Upon a Time in Jenin," *Independent* (London), 25 April 2002.
- 注17 Amira Hass, *Ha'aretz*, April 19, 2002, reprinted in Hass, *Reporting from Ramallah*:

An Israeli Journalist in an Occupied Land (Los Angeles: Semiotext(c), distributed by MIT Press, 2003). アミラ・ハス著『パレスチナから報告します：占領地の住民となって』くぼたのぞみ訳／筑摩書房

- 注18 Biedermann, “A Militant Wanted the World Over.”
- 注19 Bob Woodward and Charles Babcock, “Anti-Terrorist Unit Blamed in Beirut Bombing,” *Washington Post*, 12 May 1985.
- 注20 Nora Boustany, “Beirut Bomb’s Legacy Suspicion and Tears,” *Washington Post*, 6 March 1988.
- 注21 Ethan Bronner, “Israel Lets Reporters See Devastated Gaza Site and Image of a Confident Military,” *New York Times*, 16 January 2009.
- 注22 Julie Flint, “Israeli Soldiers in New Terror Raid on Shi’ite Village,” *Guardian* (London), 6 March 1985.
- 注23 Adam Goldman and Ellen Nakashima, “CIA and Mossad Killed Senior Hezbollah Figure in Car Bomb,” *Washington Post*, 30 January 2008.
- 注24 Three Decades of Terror,” *Financial Times*, 2 July 2007.
- 注25 Fawaz A. Gerges, *Journey of the Jihadist: Inside Muslim Militancy* (New York: Mariner Books, 2007).
- 注26 Text of Reagan’s Letter to Congress on Marines in Lebanon,” *New York Times*, 30 September 1982. Micah Zenko, “When Reagan Cut and Run,” *Foreign Policy*, 7 February 2014 も参照.
- 注27 Jimmy Carter, *Palestine: Peace Not Apartheid* (New York: Simon & Schuster, 2006). ジミー・カーター著『カーター、パレスチナを語る：アパルトヘイトではなく平和を』北丸雄二・中野真紀子訳／晶文社
- 注28 Tobias Buck, “Israel Denies Killing Hizbollah Commander,” *Financial Times* (London), 13 February 2008.
- 注29 Noam Chomsky, *Fateful Triangle: The United States, Israel, and the Palestinians* (Chicago: Haymarket Books, 2015), 591.
- 注30 同上.

- 注31 同上, 589.
- 注32 Henry Kamm, “Ruins of War Litter Hills and Valleys of Lebanon,” *New York Times*, 20 June 1982.
- 注33 Chomsky, *Fateful Triangle*, 590.
- 注34 同上.
- 注35 Isabel Kershner, “Israel Reduces Electricity Flow to Gaza,” *New York Times*, 9 February 2008.
- 注36 James Astill, “Strike One,” *Guardian* (London), 2 October 2001.

第三章 洗練された拷問と歴史的健忘症

- 注 1 Inquiry into the Detainees in U.S. Custody, Report of the Committee on Armed Services, U.S. Senate, 20 November 2008, <http://documents.nytimes.com/reportby-thesenatearmedservicescommitteeondetainee-treatment#p=72>. Jonathan Landay, “Abusive Tactics Used to Seek Iraq-al Qaida Link,” *McClatchyDC*, 21 April 2009.
- 注 2 Paul Krugman, “Reclaiming America’s Soul,” *New York Times*, 23 April 2009.
- 注 3 Hans Morgenthau, *The Purpose of American Politics* (New York: Knopf, 1964).
- 注 4 同上.
- 注 5 Roger Cohen, “America Unmasked,” *New York Times*, 24 April 2009.
- 注 6 Richard Drinnon, *Facing West: The Metaphysics of Indian-Hating and Empire-Building* (Norman: University of Oklahoma Press, 1997)を参照。ソックスの発言は Reginald Horsman, *Expansion and American Indian Policy 1783–1812* (Norman: University of Oklahoma Press, 1992), 64 の引用より。
- 注 7 Krugman, “Reclaiming America’s Soul.”
- 注 8 Horsman, *Expansion and American Indian Policy 1783–1812*; William Earl Weeks, *John Quincy Adams and American Global Empire* (Lexington: University Press of Kentucky, 1992)の議論を参照。

- 注9 プロヴィデンスシャリストが衝撃的な犯罪をどのように正当化したかの記録と、「アメリカの理念」形成に果たした役割については、Nicholas Guyatt, *Providence and the Invention of the United States, 1607–1876* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2007)を参照。
- 注10 Lars Schoultz in *That Infernal Little Cuban Republic: The United States and the Cuban Revolution* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 2009), 4 の引用より。
- 注11 Arthur M. Schlesinger Jr., *Robert Kennedy and His Times* (Boston: Mariner Books, 2002), 480.
- 注12 共和党綱領: “Republican Party Platform of 1900,” June 19, 1900. Online by Gerhard Peters and John T. Woolley, *The American Presidency Project*, <http://www.presidency.ucsb.edu/ws/?pid=29630>.
- 注13 Alfred McCoy, *Policing America's Empire: The United States, the Philippines, and the Rise of the Surveillance State* (Madison: University of Wisconsin Press, 2009).
- 注14 Jennifer Harbury, *Truth, Torture, and the American Way: The History and Consequences of U.S. Involvement in Torture* (Boston: Beacon Press, 2005).
- 注15 Alfred McCoy, *A Question of Torture: CIA Interrogation, from the Cold War to the War on Terror* (New York: Metropolitan Books, 2006). McCoy, “The U.S. Has a History of Using Torture,” History News Network, 6 December 2006 も参照。
- 注16 Noam Chomsky, *Hopes and Prospects* (Chicago: Haymarket Books, 2010), 261.
- 注17 Allan Nairn, “The Torture Ban That Doesn’t Ban Torture: Obama’s Rules Keep It Intact, and Could Even Accord with an Increase in USSponsored Torture Worldwide,” www.allannairn.org, 24 January 2009.
- 注18 Chomsky, *Hopes and Prospects*, 261.
- 注19 Lars Schoultz, “U.S. Foreign Policy and Human Rights Violations in Latin America: A Comparative Analysis of Foreign Aid Distributions,” *Comparative Politics* 13, no. 2 (January 1981): 149–70; Herman in Noam Chomsky and Edward S. Herman, *The Washington Connection and Third World Fascism: The Political Economy of Human Rights: Volume I* (Boston: South End Press, 1999); Noam Chomsky and Edward S. Herman, *After the Cataclysm: Postwar Indochina and the Reconstruction of Imperial Ideology: The Political Economy of Human Rights—Volume II* (Chicago: Haymarket Books, 2014); Edward S. Herman, *The Real Terror Network: Terrorism in Fact and Propaganda*

(Boston: South End Press, 1982).

- 注20 McCoy, “The U.S. Has a History of Using Torture”; Danford Levinson, “Torture in Iraq and the Rule of Law in America,” *Daedalus* 133, no. 3 (Summer 2004).
- 注21 Linda Greenhouse, “Justices, 54, Back Detainee Appeals for Guantánamo,” *New York Times*, 13 June 2008.
- 注22 Glenn Greenwald, “Obama and Habeas Corpus—Then and Now,” *Salon*, 11 April 2009.
- 注23 同上.
- 注24 Daphne Eviatar, “Obama Justice Department Urges Dismissal of Another Torture Case,” *Washington Independent*, 12 March 2009.
- 注25 William Glaberson, “U.S. May Revive Guantánamo Military Courts,” *New York Times*, 1 May 2009.
- 注26 Michael Kinsley, “Down the Memory Hole with the Contras,” *Wall Street Journal*, 26 March 1987.
- 注27 Patrick Cockburn, “Torture? It Probably Killed More Americans than 9/11,” *Independent* (London), 6 April 2009.
- 注28 Rajiv Chandrasekaran, “From Captive to Suicide Bomber,” *Washington Post*, 22 February 2009.
- 注29 Chomsky, *Hopes and Prospects*, 266.
- 注30 同上。267.
- 注31 同上。268.

第四章 権力の見えざる手

- 注1 Tareq Y. Ismael and Glenn E. Perry, *The International Relations of the Contemporary Middle East: Subordination and Beyond* (London: Routledge, 2014), 73; Noam Chomsky, *Hegemony or Survival: America's Quest for Global Dominance* (New York: Metropolitan Books, 2003), 150 ノーム・チョムスキー著『覇権か、生存か』鈴木主税 訳／集英社; Daniel Yergin, *The Prize: The Epic Quest for Oil, Money and*

Power (New York: Free Press, 1991) ダニエル・ヤーギン著『石油の世紀：支配者たちの興亡』日高義樹・持田直武訳／日本放送出版協会。

- 注 2 Noam Chomsky, *Hopes and Prospects* (Chicago: Haymarket Books, 2010), 55.
- 注 3 Laurence H. Shoup and William Minter, *Imperial Brain Trust: The Council on Foreign Relations and United States Foreign Policy* (New York: Monthly Review Press, 1977), 130.
- 注 4 Chomsky, *Hopes and Prospects*, 238.
- 注 5 Gerard Van Bilzen, *The Development of Aid* (Newcastle upon Tyne, UK: Cambridge Scholars Publishing, 2015), 497.
- 注 6 White House, “Declaration of Principles for a LongTerm Relationship of Cooperation and Friendship Between the Republic of Iraq and the United States of America,” press release, 26 November 2007, <http://georgewbushwhitehouse.archives.gov/news/releases/2007/11/2007112611.html>.
- 注 7 Charlie Savage, “Bush Declares Exceptions to Sections of Two Bills He Signed into Law,” *New York Times*, 15 October 2008.
- 注 8 Marina Ottoway and David Ottoway, “Of Revolutions, Regime Change, and State Collapse in the Arab World,” Carnegie Endowment for International Peace, 28 February 2011, <http://carnegieendowment.org/2011/02/28/ofrevolutionsregime-changeandstatecollapseinarabworld>.
- 注 9 Pew Research Center, “Egyptians Embrace Revolt Leaders, Religious Party and Military, As Well,” 25 April 2011, <http://pewglobal.org/files/2011/04/PewGlobal-AttitudesEgyptReportFINALApril252011.pdf>.
- 注10 Marwan Muasher, “Tunisia’s Crisis and the Arab World,” Carnegie Endowment for International Peace, 24 January 2011, <http://carnegieendowment.org/2011/01/24/tunisiacrisisandarabworld>.
- 注11 Thom Shanker, “U.S. Fails to Explain Policies to Muslim World, Panel Says,” *New York Times*, 24 November 2004.
- 注12 Afaf Lutfi AlSayyid Marsot, *Egypt in the Reign of Mubammad Ali* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1984). 第二次大戦後のエジプトに関するより広範な議論は、Noam Chomsky, *World Orders Old and New* (New York: Columbia

University Press, 1994), chapter 2 を参照。

- 注13 Adam Smith, *The Wealth of Nations* (New York: Bantam Classics, 2003), 309. アダム・スミス著『国富論』
- 注14 Noam Chomsky, *Year 501: The Conquest Continues* (Chicago: Haymarket Books, 2014), 150.
- 注15 Chomsky, *Hopes and Prospects*, 80.
- 注16 David Ricardo, *The Works of David Ricardo: With a Notice of the Life and Writings of the Author by J. R. McCulloch*, (London: John Murray, 1846), 77.
- 注17 Tony Magliano, “The Courageous Witness of Blessed Oscar Romero,” *National Catholic Reporter*, 11 May 2015.
- 注18 Martin van Creveld, “Sharon on the Warpath: Is Israel Planning to Attack Iran?,” *New York Times*, 21 August 2004.
- 注19 Clayton Jones, “China Is a Barometer on Whether Israel Will Attack Nuclear Plants in Iran,” *Christian Science Monitor*, 6 August 2010.
- 注20 Kim Ghattas, “US Gets Serious on Iran Sanctions,” *BBC News*, 3 August 2010.
- 注21 Thom Shanker, “Pentagon Cites Concerns in China Military Growth,” *New York Times*, 16 August 2010.
- 注22 Joshua Kurlantzick, “The Belligerents,” *New Republic*, 17 February 2011.
- 注23 Stephen Braun and Jack Gillum, “2012 Presidential Election Cost Hits \$2 Billion Mark,” *Associated Press*, 6 December 2012; Amie Parnes and Kevin Cirilli, “The \$5 Billion Presidential Campaign?,” *The Hill*, 21 January 2015.
- 注24 Editors, “The Secret Behind Big Bank Profits,” *Bloomberg News*, 21 February 2013.
- 注25 Christine Harper and Michael J. Moore, “Goldman Sachs CEO Blankfein Is Awarded \$12.6 Million in Stock,” *Bloomberg Business*, 29 January 2011.
- 注26 Eszter Zalan, “Hungary’s Orban Wins Another Term, Jobbik Support Jumps,” *EU Observer*, 7 April 2014.

- 注27 Wikipedia, “Austrian Legislative Election, 2008,” https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Austrian_legislative_election,_2008#Resultsを参照。
- 注28 Donny Gluckstein, *Nazis, Capitalism, and the Working Class* (Chicago: Haymarket Books, 1999), 37.
- 注29 Matthew Weaver, “Angela Merkel: German Multiculturalism Has ‘Utterly Failed,’” *Guardian* (London), 17 October 2010.
- 注30 Darren Samuelsohn, “John Shimkus Cites Genesis on Climate Change,” *Politico*, 10 December 2010.
- 注31 Joseph Stiglitz, “Some Lessons from the East Asian Miracle,” *World Bank Research Observer*, August 1996, https://feb.kuleuven.be/public/ndaag37/1996_Some_Lessons_from_the_East_Asian_Miracle.pdf.

第五章 米国はなぜ衰退し、何を引き起こしたのか？

- 注1 Giacomo Chiozza, review of *America's Global Advantage: US Hegemony and International Cooperation*, by Carla Norrlof, *Political Science Quarterly* (Summer 2011): 336–37.
- 注2 Geoffrey Warner, “The Cold War in Retrospect,” *International Affairs* 87, no. 1 (January 2011): 173–84.
- 注3 Noam Chomsky, *On Power and Ideology* (Chicago: Haymarket Books, 2015), 15.
- 注4 “The Chinese Revolution of 1949,” U.S. Department of State, Office of the Historian, <https://history.state.gov/milestones/19451952/chineserev>.
- 注5 Robert Kagan, “Not Fade Away,” *New Republic*, 2 February 2012.
- 注6 Noam Chomsky, *Powers and Prospects: Reflections on Human Nature and the Social Order* (Chicago: Haymarket Books, 2015), 185.
- 注7 このような発言の数々についてはNoam Chomsky, *New Military Humanism: Lessons from Kosovo* (Monroe, ME: Common Courage, 2002)およびNoam Chomsky, *A New Generation Draws the Line: Kosovo, East Timor, and the Responsibility to Protect Today, Updated and Expanded Edition* (Boulder, CO: Paradigm, 2011)を参照。ノーム・チョムスキー著『アメリカの「人道的」軍事主義：コソボの教訓』益岡賢・大野裕・ステファニー・クーブ訳／現代企画室、『新世代は一線を画す：

- 注 8 Noam Chomsky, *Hopes and Prospects* (Chicago: Haymarket Books, 2010), 277.
- 注 9 Samuel P. Huntington, "The Lonely Superpower," *Foreign Affairs* 78, no. 2 (March/April 1999); Robert Jervis, "Weapons Without Purpose? Nuclear Strategy in the Post-Cold War Era," review of *The Price of Dominance: The New Weapons of Mass Destruction and Their Challenge to American Leadership*, by Jan Lodol, *Foreign Affairs* 80, no. 4 (July/August 2001).
- 注10 Jeremy White, "Obama Approval Rating in Arab World Now Worse Than Bush," *International Business Times*, 13 July 2011.
- 注11 Department of State Bulletin, 8 December 1969, 506–07, as cited in David F. Schmitz, *The United States and Right-Wing Dictatorships, 1965–1989* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2006), 89.
- 注12 Bill Keller, "The Return of America's Missionary Impulse," *New York Times Magazine*, 17 April 2011.
- 注13 Yochi Dreazen, Aamer Madhani, and Marc Ambinder, "The Goal Was Never to Capture bin Laden," *Atlantic*, 4 May 2011.
- 注14 Nick Turse, "Iraq, Afghanistan, and Other Special Ops 'Successes,'" *TomDispatch*, 25 October 2015, <http://www.tomdispatch.com/blog/176060/>.
- 注15 Nick Turse, *The Changing Face of Empire: Special Ops, Drones, Spies, Proxy Fighters, Secret Bases, and Cyberwarfare* (Chicago: Haymarket Books/ Dispatch Books, 2012)およびNick Turse, *Tomorrow's Battlefield: U.S. Proxy Wars and Secret Ops in Africa* (Chicago: Haymarket Books/Dispatch Books, 2015)も参照。
- 注16 Robert Westbrook, *John Dewey and American Democracy* (Ithaca, NY: Cornell University Press, 1991), 440.
- 注17 Jennifer Epstein, "Poll: Tax Hike Before Medicare Cuts," *Politico*, 20 April 2011.
- 注18 Jon Cohen, "Poll Shows Americans Oppose Entitlement Cuts to Deal with Debt Problem," *Washington Post*, 20 April 2011.
- 注19 University of Maryland–College Park, "Public's Budget Priorities Differ

Dramatically from House and Obama,” press release, Newswise.com, 2 March 2011, <http://www.newswise.com/articles/publicsbudgetprioritiesdifferdramaticallyfrom-houseandobama>.

- 注20 Catherine Lutz, Neta Crawford, and Andrea Mazzarino, “Costs of War,” Brown University Watson Institute for International and Public Affairs, <http://watson.brown.edu/costsofwar/>.
- 注21 Martin Wolf, “From Italy to the US, Utopia vs. Reality,” *Financial Times* (London), 12 July 2011.
- 注22 Lawrence Summers, “Relief at an Agreement Will Give Way to Alarm,” *Financial Times* (London), 2 August 2011.
- 注23 “Health Care Budget Deficit Calculator,” Center for Economic and Policy Research, <http://www.cepr.net/calculators/hc/hccalculator.html>.
- 注24 Matthew L. Wald and John M. Broder, “Utility Shelves Ambitious Plan to Limit Carbon,” *New York Times*, 13 July 2011.
- 注25 Thomas Ferguson, “Best Buy Targets are Stopping a Debt Deal,” *Financial Times* (London), 26 July 2011.
- 注26 Robert Pear, “New Jockeying in Congress for Next Phase in Budget Fight,” *New York Times*, 3 August 2011.
- 注27 Stephanie Clifford, “Even Marked Up, Luxury Goods Fly Off Shelves,” *New York Times*, 3 August 2011.
- 注28 Louis Uchitelle, “Job Insecurity of Workers Is a Big Factor in Fed Policy,” *New York Times*, 27 February 1997.
- 注29 Ajay Kapur, “Plutonomy: Buying Luxury, Explaining Global Imbalances,” 16 October 2005, as found at <http://delong.typepad.com/plutonomy1.pdf>.
- 注30 Noam Chomsky, *Making the Future: Occupations, Interventions, Empire and Resistance* (San Francisco: City Lights, 2012), 289.

第六章 本当に米国は終わったのか？

- 注1 Elizabeth Becker, “Kissinger Tapes Describe Crises, War and Stark Photos of

Abuse,” *New York Times*, 27 May 2004.

- 注2 John F. Kennedy, “The President and the Press,” (address before the American Newspaper Publishers Society, WaldorfAstoria Hotel, New York, NY, 27 April 1961) http://www.jfklibrary.org/Research/ResearchAids/JFKSpeeches/American-NewspaperPublishersAssociation_19610427.aspx.
- 注3 ケネディの発言はThomas G. Paterson, “Fixation with Cuba: The Bay of Pigs, Missile Crisis, and Covert War Against Castro,” in *Kennedy’s Quest for Victory: American Foreign Policy, 1961–1963*, ed. Thomas G. Paterson (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1989), 136 の引用より。
- 注4 Edward S. Herman and Noam Chomsky, *Manufacturing Consent: The Political Economy of the Mass Media* (New York: Pantheon, 1988), 183. ノーム・チョムスキー、エドワード・S・ハーマン著『マニファクチャリング・コンセンスト：マスメディアの政治経済学』中野真紀子 訳／トランスビュー
- 注5 Jimmy Carter: “The President’s News Conference,” March 24, 1977. Online by Gerhard Peters and John T. Woolley, *The American Presidency Project*, <http://www.presidency.ucsb.edu/ws/?pid=7229>.
- 注6 Suzanne Goldenberg, “Bush Commits Troops to Iraq for the Long Term,” *Guardian* (London), 26 November 2007. See also Guy Raz, “LongTerm Pact with Iraq Raises Questions,” *Morning Edition*, National Public Radio, 24 January 2008 も参照。詳細な分析は, Noam Chomsky, *Making the Future: Occupations, Interventions, Empire and Resistance* (San Francisco: City Lights Books, 2012), 64–66; Charlie Savage, “Bush Asserts Authority to Bypass Defense Act,” *Boston Globe*, 30 January 2008 を参照。
- 注7 Joseph M. Parent and Paul K. MacDonald, “The Wisdom of Retrenchment,” *Foreign Affairs* 90, no. 6 (November/December 2011).
- 注8 Yosef Kuperwasser and Shalom Lipner, “The Problem Is Palestinian Rejectionism,” *Foreign Affairs* 90, no. 6 (November/December 2011).
- 注9 Ronald R. Krebs, “Israel’s Bunker Mentality,” *Foreign Affairs* 90, no. 6 (November/December 2011).
- 注10 Matthew Kroenig, “Time to Attack Iran,” *Foreign Affairs* 90, no. 1 (January/February 2012).
- 注11 Xizhe Peng, “China’s Demographic History and Future Challenges,” *Science* 333,

no. 6042, 29 July 2011, 581–87.

- 注12 Daniel Yergin, “US Energy Is Changing the World Again,” *Financial Times* (London), 16 November 2012.
- 注13 Fiona Harvey, “World Headed for Irreversible Climate Change in Five Years, IEA Warns,” *Guardian* (London), 9 November 2011.
- 注14 “‘Monster’ Greenhouse Gas Levels Seen,” Associated Press, 3 November 2011.
- 注15 Noam Chomsky, *Powers and Prospects* (Chicago: Haymarket Books, 2015), 220.
- 注16 John W. Dower, “The Superdomino In and Out of the Pentagon Papers,” in *The Pentagon Papers: The Senator Gravel Edition, Volume 5*, eds. Noam Chomsky and Howard Zinn (Boston: Beacon Press, 1972), 101–42.
- 注17 Seymour Topping, “Slaughter of Reds Gives Indonesia a Grim Legacy,” *New York Times*, 24 August 1966.
- 注18 James Reston, “A Gleam of Light in Asia,” *New York Times*, 19 June 1966.
- 注19 David Sanger, “Why Suharto Is In and Castro Is Out,” *New York Times*, 31 October 1995.
- 注20 Noam Chomsky, *Hegemony or Survival* (New York: Henry Holt, 2003), 150. ノーム・チョムスキー著『覇権か、生存か』鈴木主税訳／集英社
- 注21 Alan J. Kuperman, “Obama’s Libya Debacle,” *Foreign Affairs* 94, no. 2 (March/April 2015).
- 注22 Barbara Ferguson, “Israel Defies US on Illegal Settlements,” *Arab News*, 6 September 2006.
- 注23 Herb Keinon, “EU Condemns Building in Har Homa, Neveh Ya’akov, Pisgat Ze’ev,” *Jerusalem Post*, 6 February 2014.
- 注24 “U.S. Daily Warns of Threat of ‘Nasserite Virus’ to Moroccan, Algerian Jews,” Jewish Telegraphic Agency, 21 February 1961, <http://www.jta.org/1961/02/21/archive/usdailywarnsofthreatofnasseritevirustomoroccanalgerianjews>.
- 注25 Debbie Buchwald, “Israel’s HighTech Boom,” *inFocus Quarterly* II, no.2 (Summer

2008).

- 注26 Noam Chomsky, *Making the Future: Occupations, Interventions, Empire and Resistance* (San Francisco: City Lights, 2012), 251.
- 注27 Peter Beaumont, “Israel Outraged as EU Poll Names It a Threat to Peace,” *Guardian* (London), 19 November 2003. 調査は2003年10月8～16日にTaylor Nelson Sofres/EOS Gallup Europeが行なった。
- 注28 2010 Arab Public Opinion Survey, Zogby International/Brookings Institution, 2010, http://www.brookings.edu/~media/research/files/reports/2010/8/05arabopinion-polltelhami/0805_arabic_opinion_poll_telhami.pdf.
- 注29 同上。「あなたにとって最大の脅威と思われる国を2つ挙げてください」という質問に、回答者の88%がイスラエルを、77%が米国を挙げた。イランを挙げたのは36歳以上で9%、36歳以下で11%だった。
- 注30 Scott Clement, “Iranian Threat: Public Prefers Sanctions over Bombs,” *Washington Post*, 14 March 2012; Steven Kull et al., “Public Opinion in Iran and America on Key International Issues, January 24, 2007: A WorldPublicOpinion.org Poll,” http://www.worldpublicopinion.org/pipa/pdf/jan07/Iran_Jan07_rpt.pdf.
- 注31 Department of Defense, “Unclassified Report on Military Power of Iran, April 2010,” http://www.politico.com/static/PPM145_link_042010.html.
- 注32 Gavan McCormack, “‘All Japan’ versus ‘All Okinawa’—Abe Shinzo’s Military Firstism,” *Asia-Pacific Journal* 13, issue 10, no. 4 (March 15, 2015).
- 注33 Paul Godwin, “Asia’s Dangerous Security Dilemma,” *Current History* 109, no. 728 (September 2010): 264–66.

第七章 失われた「マグナ・カルタ(大憲章)」

- 注1 William Blackstone, *The Great Charter and the Charter of the Forest* (Oxford, 1759), 大英図書館所蔵。
- 注2 Winston S. Churchill, *A History of the English Speaking Peoples, Volume 2: The New World* (London: Bloomsbury, 2015).
- 注3 James Kendall Hosmer, *The Life of Young Sir Henry Vane, Governor of Massachusetts Bay, and Leader of the Long Parliament: With a Consideration of the English*

Commonwealth as a Forecast of America (Boston: Houghton Mifflin, 1888), held by Cornell University Library, 462.

- 注 4 *The Famous Old Charter of Rhode Island, Granted by King Charles II, in 1663* (Providence, RI: I. H. Cady, 1842). Wikipedia, “Rhode Island Royal Charter,” https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Rhode_Island_Royal_Charter も参照。
- 注 5 Peter Linebaugh, *The Magna Carta Manifesto: Liberties and Commons for All* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 2009).
- 注 6 Dudley Jones and Tony Watkins, eds., *A Necessary Fantasy?: The Heroic Figure in Children's Popular Culture*, (New York: Taylor and Francis, 2000).
- 注 7 Emily Achtenberg, “From Water Wars to Water Scarcity: Bolivia’s Cautionary Tale,” *NACLA Report on the Americas*, 6 June 2013, <https://nacla.org/blog/2013/6/5/waterwaterscarcitybolivia%E2%80%99scautionarytale>.
- 注 8 Randal C. Archibold, “El Salvador: Canadian Lawsuit over Mine Allowed to Proceed,” *New York Times*, 5 June 2012.
- 注 9 Erin Banco, “Is Your Cell Phone Fueling Civil War in Congo?,” *Atlantic*, July 11, 2011.
- 注10 Garrett Hardin, “The Tragedy of the Commons,” *Science* 162, no. 3859 13 December 1968, 1243–48.
- 注11 Paul Corcoran, “John Locke on the Possession of Land: Native Title vs. the ‘Principle’ of *Vacuum domicilium*” を参照。Paper presented at the Australian Political Studies Association Annual Conference, September 2007, https://digital.library.adelaide.edu.au/dspace/bitstream/2440/44958/1/hdl_44958.pdf.
- 注12 Norman Ware, *The Industrial Worker 1840–1860: The Reaction of American Industrial Society to the Advance of the Industrial Revolution* (Chicago: Ivan Dee, 1990). 1924 年の初版の復刻版。
- 注13 Michael J. Sandel, *Democracy's Discontent: America in Search of a Public Philosophy* (Cambridge, MA: Belknap Press, 1996). マイケル・J・サンドエル著『民主政の不満：公共哲学を求めるアメリカ』千葉大学人文社会科学研究所公共哲学センター訳／勁草書房
- 注14 Thorstein Veblen, *The Theory of the Leisure Class: An Economic Study of Institutions*

(London: Macmillan, 1899). ソースティン・ヴェブレン著『有閑階級の理論』

- 注15 Clinton Rossiter and James Lare, eds., *The Essential Lippmann: A Political Philosophy for Liberal Democracy* (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1892), 91–92 (C・ロシター、J・レーア編『リップマンの真髓：自由民主主義のための政治哲学』矢部貞治訳／時事新書)、Edward Bernays, *Propaganda* (Brooklyn, NY: Ig Publishing, 2005) (エドワード・バーネイズ著『プロパガンダ』中田安彦訳・解説／成甲書房)。
- 注16 Scott Bowman, *The Modern Corporation and American Political Thought: Law, Power, and Ideology* (University Park: Penn State University Press, 1996), 133.
- 注17 Desmond King, “America’s Hidden Government: The Costs of a Submerged State,” review of *The Submerged State: How Invisible Government Policies Undermine American Democracy*, by Suzanne Mettler, in *Foreign Affairs* 91, no. 3 (May/June 2012).
- 注18 Robert W. McChesney, “Public Scholarship and the Communications Policy Agenda,” in . . . *And Communications for All: A Policy Agenda for a New Administration*, ed. Amit M. Schejter (New York: Lexington Books, 2009), 50.
- 注19 Ralph Waldo Emerson, *The Prose Works of Ralph Waldo Emerson: In Two Volumes* (Boston: Fields, Osgood, and Company, 1870).
- 注20 Michael Crozier, Samuel P. Huntington, and Joji Watanuki, *The Crisis of Democracy: Report on the Governability of Democracies to the Trilateral Commission* (New York: New York University Press, 1975), http://www.trilateral.org/download/doc/crisis_of_democracy.pdf. サミュエル・P・ハンチントン、ミッシェル・クロジエ、綿貫譲治著『民主主義の統治能力(ガバナビリティ)：その危機の検討』日米欧委員会編、綿貫譲治監訳／サイマル出版会
- 注21 Margaret E. McGuinness, “Peace v. Justice: The Universal Declaration of Human Rights and the Modern Origins of the Debate,” *Diplomatic History* 35, no. 5 (November 2011), 749.
- 注22 William Blackstone, *Commentaries on the Laws of England, Vol. 1* (University of Chicago Press, 1979).
- 注23 *Somerset v. Stewart*, 1772, English Court of King’s Bench, <http://www.commonlii.org/int/cases/EngR/1772/57.pdf>.
- 注24 Samuel Johnson, *Taxation No Tyranny; An Answer to the Resolutions and Address of the*

American Congress (London, 1775).

- 注25 Douglas Blackmon, *Slavery by Another Name: The Re-Enslavement of Black Americans from the Civil War to World War II* (New York: Anchor Books, 2009).
- 注26 Ian Cobain, “Revealed: How Blair Colluded with Gaddafi Regime in Secret,” *Guardian* (London), 23 January 2015; Benjamin Wieser, “Appeals Court Rejects Suit by Canadian Man over Detention and Torture Claim,” *New York Times*, 3 November 2009.
- 注27 Department of Justice, “Lawfulness of a Lethal Operation Directed Against a US Citizen Who Is a Senior Operational Leader of AlQa’ida or an Associated Force,” undated white paper released by NBC, 4 February 2013.
- 注28 Anthony Shadid and David D. Kirkpatrick, “As the West Celebrates a Cleric’s Death, the Mideast Shrugs,” *New York Times*, 1 October 2011.
- 注29 Jo Becker and Scott Shane, “Secret ‘Kill List’ Proves a Test of Obama’s Principles and Will,” *New York Times*, 29 May 2012.
- 注30 *Convention (IV) Relative to the Protection of Civilian Persons in Time of War*, Article 3, Geneva, 12 August 1949, <https://www.icrc.org/applic/ihl/ihl.nsf/Article.xsp?action=openDocument&documentId=A4E145A2A7A68875C12563CD0051B9AE>.
- 注31 Matthew Yglesias, “International Law Is Made by Powerful States,” *Think-Progress*, 13 May 2011.
- 注32 *Holder v. Humanitarian Law Project*, 561 U.S. 1 (2010), <http://www.supremecourt.gov/opinions/09pdf/081498.pdf>.
- 注33 Paul Beckett, “Shutdown of Al Barakaat Severs Lifeline for Many Somalia Residents,” *Wall Street Journal*, 4 December 2001.
- 注34 Ibrahim Warde, *The Price of Fear: The Truth Behind the Financial War on Terror* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 2007), 101–02. イブラヒム・ワルド著『対テロ金融戦争の虚妄』立木勝訳／三交社
- 注35 同上。102.
- 注36 Nnimmo Bassey, *To Cook a Continent: Destructive Extraction and Climate Crisis in Africa* (Oxford: Pambazuka Press, 2012), 25.

- 注37 Melvyn P. Leffler, *A Preponderance of Power: National Security, the Truman Administration, and the Cold War* (Palo Alto, CA: Stanford University Press, 1993), 144.
- 注38 John M. Broder, “Bashing E.P.A. Is New Theme in G.O.P. Race,” *New York Times*, 17 August 2011.
- 注39 “57% Favor Use of ‘Fracking’ to Find More US Oil and Gas,” Rasmussen Reports, 26 March 2012, http://www.rasmussenreports.com/public_content/business/gas_oil/march_2012/57_favor_use_of_fracking_to_find_more_u_s_oil_and_gas; “Who’s Holding Us Back: How CarbonIntensive Industry Is Preventing Effective Climate Change Legislation,” report by Greenpeace, November 2011, <http://www.greenpeace.org/international/Global/international/publications/climate/2011/391%20%20WhosHoldingUsBack.pdf>.
- 注40 “Remarks by the President in State of the Union Address,” White House Office of the Press Secretary, 24 January 2012, <https://www.whitehouse.gov/the-press-office/2012/01/24/remarks-president-state-union-address>.
- 注41 Guy Chazan, “US on Path to Energy SelfSufficiency,” *Financial Times* (London), 18 January 2012.
- 注42 市民合意書と世界宣言の全文は<https://pwccc.wordpress.com/programa/>で読める。

第八章 世界が静止した一週間

- 注1 Sheldon Stern, *The Week the World Stood Still: Inside the Secret Cuban Missile Crisis* (Palo Alto, CA: Stanford University Press, 2005), 5.
- 注2 Noam Chomsky, *Hegemony or Survival* (New York: Henry Holt, 2003), 74. ノーム・チョムスキー著『覇権か、生存か』鈴木主税訳／集英社
- 注3 Michael Dobbs, *One Minute to Midnight: Kennedy, Khrushchev, and Castro on the Brink of Nuclear War* (New York: Vintage, 2008), 251. マイケル・ドブズ著『核時計零時1分前：キューバ危機13日間のカウントダウン』布施由紀子訳／NHK出版
- 注4 同上, 310.
- 注5 同上, 311.

- 注 6 同上, xiii.
- 注 7 Chauncey G. Parker III, “Missile Crisis: Cooked Up for Camelot?” *Orlando Sentinel*, 18 October 1992; Robert McNamara, CNNのRichard Rothによるインタビュー。2003 年 11 月 28 日放送。CNN.comの以下のページに書き起こしがある。
http://www.cnn.com/TRANSCRIPTS/0311/28/i_dl.00.html.
- 注 8 “The Submarines of October,” in *National Security Archive Electronic Briefing Book No. 75*, William Burr and Thomas S. Blanton, eds., 21 October 2002, <http://nsarchive.gwu.edu/NSAEBB/NSAEBB75/>.
- 注 9 Edward Wilson, “Thank You Vasili Arkhipov, the Man Who Stopped Nuclear War,” *Guardian* (London), 27 October 2012.
- 注10 Graham Allison, “The Cuban Missile Crisis at 50: Lessons for U.S. Foreign Policy Today,” *Foreign Affairs* 91, no. 4, (July/August 2012).
- 注11 Don Clawson, *Is That Something the Crew Should Know?: Irreverent Anecdotes of an Air Force Pilot* (Twickenham, UK: Athena Press, 2003), 80–81.
- 注12 Office of Air Force History, Oral History Interview of General David A. Burchinal, USAF, by Col. John B. Schmidt and Lt. Col. Jack Straser, 11 April 1975, Iris No. 01011174, in USAF Collection, AFHRA.
- 注13 Stern, *The Week the World Stood Still*, 146.
- 注14 同上。147.
- 注15 同上。148.
- 注16 同上。149. Italics in the original.
- 注17 同上。154.
- 注18 Summary Record of the Seventh Meeting of the Executive Committee of the National Security Council, 27 October 1962, John F. Kennedy Presidential Library and Museum, <http://microsites.jfklibrary.org/cmc/oct27/doc1.html>.
- 注19 Jorge I. Domínguez, “The @#\$%& Missile Crisis (Or, What Was ‘Cuban’ About U.S. Decisions During the Cuban Missile Crisis,” *Diplomatic History* 24, no. 5 (Spring 2000): 305–15.

- 注20 Ernest R. May and Philip D. Zelikow, *The Kennedy Tapes: Inside the White House During the Cuban Missile Crisis*, concise edition (New York: W. W. Norton, 2002), 47.
- 注21 Jon Mitchell, “Okinawa’s First Nuclear Missile Men Break Silence,” *Japan Times*, 8 July 2012.
- 注22 Dobbs, *One Minute to Midnight*, 309. マイケル・ドブズ著『核時計零時1分前』
- 注23 Sheldon M. Stern, *Averting “The Final Failure”: John F. Kennedy and the Secret Cuban Missile Crisis Meetings* (Palo Alto, CA: Stanford University Press, 2003), 273.
- 注24 Piero Gleijeses, *Conflicting Missions: Havana, Washington, and Africa, 1959–1976* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 2003), 26.
- 注25 Ervand Abrahamian, *The Coup: 1953, the CIA, and the Roots of Modern U.S.-Iranian Relations* (New York: New Press, 2013).
- 注26 “Most Americans Willing to ReEstablish Ties with Cuba,” Angus Reid Public Opinion Poll, February 2012, https://www.american.edu/clals/upload/20120206_PollingonCuba_USA1.pdf.
- 注27 Dobbs, *One Minute to Midnight*, 337. マイケル・ドブズ著『核時計零時1分前』
- 注28 同上。333.
- 注29 Stern, Averting “The Final Failure.”
- 注30 同上。406.
- 注31 Raymond L. Garthoff, “Documenting the Cuban Missile Crisis,” *Diplomatic History* 24, no. 2 (Spring 2000): 297–303.
- 注32 Papers of John F. Kennedy, Presidential Papers, National Security Files, Meetings and Memoranda, National Security Action Memoranda [NSAM]: NSAM 181, Re: Action to be taken in response to new Bloc activity in Cuba (B), September 1962, JFKNSF338009, John F. Kennedy Presidential Library and Museum, Boston, Massachusetts.
- 注33 Garthoff, “Documenting the Cuban Missile Crisis.”

- 注34 Keith Bolender, *Voices From the Other Side: An Oral History of Terrorism Against Cuba* (London: Pluto Press, 2010).
- 注35 Montague Kern, review of *Selling Fear: Counterterrorism, the Media, and Public Opinion* by Brigitte L. Nacos, Yaeli BlochElkon, and Robert Y. Shapiro, *Political Science Quarterly* 127, no. 3 (Fall 2012): 489–92.
- 注36 Stern, *The Week the World Stood Still*, 2.
- 注37 Dobbs, *One Minute to Midnight*, 344. マイケル・ドブズ著『核時計零時1分前』
- 注38 Gleijeses, *Conflicting Missions*, 16.
- 注39 Arthur M. Schlesinger Jr., *Robert Kennedy and His Times* (Boston: Mariner Books, 2002), 480; Noam Chomsky, *Hegemony or Survival: America's Quest for Global Dominance* (New York: Henry Holt, 2003), p. 83. ノーム・チョムスキー著『覇権か、生存か』鈴木主税訳／集英社
- 注40 Chomsky, *Hegemony or Survival*, 78–83. ノーム・チョムスキー著『覇権か、生存か』
- 注41 Stern, *The Week the World Stood Still*, 2.
- 注42 Desmond Ball, *Politics and Force Levels: The Strategic Missile Program of the Kennedy Administration* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1980), 97.
- 注43 Garthoff, “Documenting the Cuban Missile Crisis.”
- 注44 Dobbs, *One Minute to Midnight*, 342. マイケル・ドブズ著『核時計零時1分前』
- 注45 Allison, “The Cuban Missile Crisis at 50.”
- 注46 Sean M. LynnJones, Steven E. Miller, and Stephen Van Evera, *Nuclear Diplomacy and Crisis Management: An International Security Reader* (Cambridge, MA: The MIT Press 1990), 304.
- 注47 William Burr, ed., “The October War and U.S. Policy,” National Security Archive, published 7 October 2003, <http://nsarchive.gwu.edu/NSAEBB/NSAEBB98/>.
- 注48 The phrase “supersudden first strike” was 「スーパー急襲先制攻撃」はマクジョー

ジ・バンディが作った言葉。McGeorge Bundy and cited in John Newhouse, *War and Peace in the Nuclear Age* (New York: Knopf, 1989), 328 に引用されている。

- 注49 Noam Chomsky, *Failed States: The Abuse of Power and the Assault on Democracy* (New York: Henry Holt, 2006), 3. ノーム・チョムスキー著『破綻するアメリカ 壊れゆく世界』鈴木主税・浅岡政子訳／集英社

第九章 「オスロ合意」というまやかし

- 注 1 例えばDavid M. Shribman, “At White House, Symbols of a Day of Awe,” *Boston Globe*, 29 September 1995; Maureen Dowd, “Mideast Accord: The Scene; President’s Tie Tells It All: Trumpets for a Day of Glory,” *New York Times*, 14 September 1993 (“the jaded were awed”) を参照。
- 注 2 George H. W. Bush, interview on *NBC Nightly News*, 2 February 1991.
- 注 3 Deputy Permanent Observer of the Palestine Liberation Organization to the United Nations secretary general, 16 November 1988, <http://domino.un.org/UNISPAL.NSF/0/6EB54A389E2DA6C6852560DE0070E392>.
- 注 4 R. C. Longworth, “Shultz Helps Arafat Get Right Words,” *Chicago Tribune*, 15 December 1988.
- 注 5 George P. Shultz, *Turmoil and Triumph: My Years as Secretary of State* (New York: Scribner, 1993), 1043.
- 注 6 “Israel’s Peace Initiative,” U.S. Embassy in Israel Archive, 14 May 1989.
- 注 7 Elaine Sciolino, “Mideast Accord: The Ceremony; Old Enemies Arafat and Rabin to Meet,” *New York Times*, 12 September 1993.
- 注 8 Anthony Lewis, “Abroad at Home; A Chance to Live,” *New York Times*, 13 September 1993.
- 注 9 Edward W. Said, “Intifada and Independence,” in *Intifada: The Palestinian Uprising Against Israeli Occupation*, eds. Zachary Lockman and Joel Beinin (Boston: South End Press, 1989), 5–22.
- 注10 Dan Fisher, “Israeli Settlers Kill Arab Girl, 17, at Gaza Protest,” *Los Angeles Times*, 11 November 1987.

- 注11 Avi Raz, *The Bride and the Dowry: Israel, Jordan, and the Palestinians in the Aftermath of the June 1967 War* (New Haven, CT: Yale University Press, 2012).
- 注12 Noam Chomsky, *Fateful Triangle: The United States, Israel, and the Palestinians* (Chicago: Haymarket Books, 2015), 542–87.
- 注13 国連安保理決議 446, 22 March 1979, <http://domino.un.org/UNISPAL.NSF/0/ba123cded3ea84a5852560e50077c2dc>.
- 注14 “Legal Consequences of the Construction of a Wall in the Occupied Palestinian Territory,” International Court of Justice, 30 January 2004, <http://www.icjij.org/docket/files/131/1591.pdf>; Gershom Gorenberg, *The Accidental Empire: Israel and the Birth of the Settlements, 1967–1977* (New York: Times Books, 2006).
- 注15 Danny Rubinstein, *Ha'aretz*, 23 October 1991. 以下、出典に言及がない場合は Noam Chomsky, *World Orders Old and New* (New York: Columbia University Press, 1994)を参照。
- 注16 Chomsky, *Fateful Triangle*, 612.
- 注17 Chomsky, *World Orders Old and New*, 261–64.
- 注18 Dean Andromidas, “Israeli ‘Peace Now’ Reveals Settlements Grew Since Oslo,” *EIR International* 27, no. 49 (15 December 2000); Chomsky, *World Orders Old and New*, 282.
- 注19 Chomsky, *World Orders Old and New*, 282.
- 注20 *The Other Front*, October 1995; *News from Within*, November 1995. Noam Chomsky, *World Orders Old and New* and *Powers and Prospects* (Chicago: Haymarket Books, 2015)も参照。
- 注21 特に言及のない限り、ここまでの情報はLamis Andoni, “Arafat and the PLO in Crisis,” *Middle East International* 457 (28 August 1993) and Lamis Andoni, “Arafat Signs Pact Despite Misgivings All Around Him,” *Christian Science Monitor*, 5 May 1994 から引用した。
- 注22 Chomsky, *World Orders Old and New*, 269.
- 注23 Youssef M. Ibrahim, “Mideast Accord: Jericho; Where P.L.O Is to Rule, It Is Nowhere to Be Seen,” *New York Times*, 6 May 1994.

- 注24 Chomsky, *World Orders Old and New*, p. 269.
- 注25 ロスの見解に関する詳細な分析は、Norman Finkelstein, *Dennis Ross and the Peace Process: Subordinating Palestinian Rights to Israeli "Needs"* (Washington, DC: Institute of Palestine Studies, 2007)を参照。
- 注26 国連安保理決議 242, 22 November 1967, <http://domino.un.org/unispal.nsf/0/7D35E1F729DF491C85256EE700686136>; 国連安保理決議 338, 22 October 1973, <https://unispal.un.org/DPA/DPR/unispal.nsf/181c4bf00c44e5fd85256cef0073c426/7fb7c26fcbe80a31852560c50065f878?OpenDocument>.
- 注27 IsraeliPalestinian Interim Agreement on the West Bank and the Gaza Strip, Article XI, 28 September 1995, <http://www.unsco.org/Documents/Key/Israeli-Palestinian%20Interim%20Agreement%20on%20the%20West%20Bank%20and%20the%20Gaza%20Strip.pdf>.
- 注28 Chomsky, *World Orders Old and New*, 248.
- 注29 IsraeliPalestinian Interim Agreement on the West Bank and the Gaza Strip, Article XI, 28 September 1995.
- 注30 Chomsky, *World Orders Old and New*, 278.
- 注31 Hilde Henriksen Waage, "Postscript to Oslo: The Mystery of Norway's Missing Files," *Journal of Palestine Studies* 38 (Autumn 2008).
- 注32 例えばEdward Said, "Arafat's Deal," *Nation*, 20 September 1993, and "The IsraelArafat Agreement," *Z Magazine*, October 1993 を参照。
- 注33 Waage, "Postscript to Oslo."

第一〇章 現代は“破滅の前夜”なのか？

- 注1 ウゴ・チャベスの第61回国連総会での発言。2006年9月20日。 <http://www.un.org/webcast/ga/61/pdfs/venezuelae.pdf>.
- 注2 National Security Archive, "Kissinger Gave Green Light for Israeli Offensive Violating 1973 CeaseFire," press release, 7 October 2003, <http://nsarchive.gwu.edu/NSAEBB/NSAEBB98/press.htm>.

- 注 3 Nate Jones, “The Able Archer 83 Sourcebook,” National Security Archive, 7 November 2013, <http://nsarchive.gwu.edu/nukevault/ablearcher/>.
- 注 4 Jillian Kestler-D’Amours, “Opportunity Missed for Nuclear-Free Middle East,” Inter Press Service, 2 December 2012.
- 注 5 戦争犯罪としての堤防爆撃については、例えばGabriel Kolko, “Report on the Destruction of Dikes: Holland, 1944–45 and Korea, 1953,” in *Against the Crime of Silence: Proceedings of the Russell International War Crimes Tribunal, Stockholm and Copenhagen, 1967*, ed. John Duffett (New York: O’Hare Books, 1968), 224–26 を参照; Jon Halliday and Bruce Cumings, *Korea: The Unknown War* (New York: Viking, 1988), 195–96; Noam Chomsky, *Towards a New Cold War: Essays on the Current Crisis and How We Got There* (New York: Pantheon, 1982), 121–22 も参照。(J・ハリデイ, B・カミングス著『朝鮮戦争：内戦と干渉』清水知久訳／岩波書店)
- 注 6 Oded Granot, “Background on North Korea–Iran Missile Deal,” *Ma’ariv*, 14 April 1995.
- 注 7 Fred Kaplan, “Rolling Blunder: How the Bush Administration Let North Korea Get Nukes,” *Washington Monthly*, May 2004.
- 注 8 Shreeya Sinha and Susan C. Beachy, “Timeline on North Korea’s Nuclear Program,” *New York Times*, 19 November 2014; Leon Sigal, “The Lessons of North Korea’s Test,” *Current History* 105, no. 694 (November 2006).
- 注 9 Bill Gertz, “U.S. B52 Bombers Simulated Raids over North Korea During Military Exercises,” *Washington Times*, 19 March 2013.

第十一章 イスラエルとパレスチナ。真の選択肢とは？

- 注 1 Yuval Diskin, “Israel Nears Point of No Return on Two-State Solution,” *Jerusalem Post*, 13 July 2013.
- 注 2 Clive Jones and Beverly Milton-Edwards, “Missing the ‘Devils’ We Knew? Israel and Political Islam Amid the Arab Awakening,” *International Affairs* 89, no.2 (March 2013): 399–415.
- 注 3 Yonatan Mendel, “New Jerusalem,” *New Left Review* 81 (May/June 2013).
- 注 4 Amos Harel, “West Bank Fence Not Done and Never Will Be, It Seems,” *Ha’aretz*, 14 July 2009.

- 注5 以下を参照。United Nations Office for the Coordination of Humanitarian Affairs, “How Dispossession Happens: The Humanitarian Impact of the Takeover of Palestinian Water Springs by Israeli Settlers,” March 2012; United Nations Office for the Coordination of Humanitarian Affairs, “10 Years Since the International Court of Justice Advisory Opinion,” 9 July 2014; United Nations Office for the Coordination of Humanitarian Affairs, “Case Study: The Impact of Israeli Settler Violence on Palestinian Olive Harvest,” October 2013; United Nations Office for the Coordination of Humanitarian Affairs, Humanitarian Monitor Monthly Report, December 2012.
- 注6 UN Office for the Coordination of Humanitarian Affairs, “The Humanitarian Impact of the Barrier,” July 2013.
- 注7 “A Dry Bone of Contention,” *The Economist*, 25 November 2010.
- 注8 David BarIlan, “Palestinian SelfRule, Israeli Security,” *Palestine-Israel Journal* 3, nos. 3–4 (1996).
- 注9 “Obama Calls Israeli Settlement Building in East Jerusalem ‘Dangerous,’ ” *Fox News*, 18 November 2009.
- 注10 “United States Vetoes Security Council Resolution on Israeli Settlement,” United Nations News Service, 18 February 2011, <http://www.un.org/apps/news/story.asp?NewsID=37572#.VoLKpxUrKhc>.
- 注11 United Nations Security Council Official Records, 1879th Meeting Notes, 26 January 1976.
- 注12 Noam Chomsky, *Hegemony or Survival: America's Quest for Global Dominance* (New York: Henry Holt, 2003), 168. ノーム・チョムスキー著『覇権か、生存か』鈴木主税訳／集英社
- 注13 Marwan Bishara, “Gauging Arab Public Opinion,” *Al Jazeera*, 8 March 2012.
- 注14 Joyce Battle, “Shaking Hands with Saddam Hussein, The US Tilts Toward Iraq 1980–1984,” National Security Archive Briefing Book No. 82, 25 February 2003, <http://nsarchive.gwu.edu/NSAEBB/NSAEBB82/>.
- 注15 Gary Milhollin, “Building Saddam Hussein’s Bomb,” *New York Times Magazine*, 8 March 1992, 30.

注16 国連安保理決議 687, 1991, <http://www.un.org/Depts/unmovic/documents/687.pdf>.

第二章 すべての物、他者には何も与えない

注1 Norman Ware, *The Industrial Worker 1840-1860* (Chicago: Ivan Dee, 1990).

注2 David Montgomery, *The Fall of the House of Labor: The Workplace, the State, and American Labor Activism, 1865-1925* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1989).

注3 Charles Lindholm and John A. Hall, "Is the United States Falling Apart?" *Daedalus* 26, no. 2 (Spring 1997), 183-209.

注4 Montgomery, *The Fall of the House of Labor*.

注5 Alex Carey, *Taking the Risk out of Democracy: Corporate Propaganda Versus Freedom and Liberty* (Champaign: University of Illinois Press, 1997), 26.

注6 Adam Smith, *The Wealth of Nations* (New York: Bantam Classics, 2003). アダム・スミス著『国富論』

注7 Kate Bronfenbrenner, "We'll Close! Plant Closings, Plant Closing Threats, Union Organizing and NAFTA," *Multinational Monitor* 18, no. 3 (March 1997): 8-14.

注8 Richard B. Freeman, "Do Workers Still Want Unions? More than Ever," Economic Policy Institute, 22 February 2007, <http://www.sharedprosperity.org/bp182.html>; Gallup Poll, "In U.S. Majority Approves of Unions, but Say They'll Weaken," 30 August 2013, <http://www.gallup.com/poll/164186/majorityapprovesunionssay-weaken.aspx>.

注9 Richard Fry and Rakesh Kochhar, "America's Wealth Gap Between Middle Income and Upper Income Families Is Widest on Record," Pew Research Center, 17 December 2014, <http://www.pewresearch.org/facttank/2014/12/17/wealthgapupper-middleincome/>.

注10 "Income and Poverty in the United States: 2013, Current Population Report," U.S. Census Bureau Publication, September 2014.

注11 John Bellamy Foster and Robert W. McChesney, *The Endless Crisis: How Monopoly-*

Finance Capital Produces Stagnation and Upheaval from the USA to China (New York: Monthly Review Press, 2012), 21.

- 注12 特に言及のない限り、ここまでの情報はWare, *The Industrial Worker 1840–1860* から引用した。
- 注13 Abraham Lincoln, “First Annual Message,” December 3, 1861. Online by Gerhard Peters and John T. Woolley, *The American Presidency Project*, <http://www.presidency.ucsb.edu/ws/?pid=29502>.
- 注14 John Stuart Mill, *Principles of Political Economy with Some of Their Applications to Social Philosophy*, 3rd ed. (London: John W. Parker, 1852). ジョン・スチュアート・ミル 著『経済学原理』
- 注15 G. D. H. Cole, *Guild Socialism: A Plan for Economic Democracy* (New York: Frederick A. Stokes Company, 1921).
- 注16 Lawrence Goodwyn, *The Populist Moment: A Short History of the Agrarian Revolt in America* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1978).
- 注17 Ware, *The Industrial Worker 1840–1860*.

第一三章 誰のための安全保障／安全なのか？

- 注1 Don Shannon, “U.N. Assembly Condemns U.S. Invasion,” *Los Angeles Times*, 30 December 1989.
- 注2 “National Security Strategy of the United States,” White House, March 1990, https://bush41library.tamu.edu/files/selectdocuments/national_security_strategy_90.pdf.
- 注3 同上。
- 注4 Noam Chomsky, *Hopes and Prospects* (Chicago: Haymarket Books, 2010), ch. 12 を参照。
- 注5 同上。
- 注6 “U.S. Economic and Industrial Proposals Made at InterAmerican Conference,” *New York Times*, 26 February 1945.

- 注7 David Green, *The Containment of Latin America: A History of the Myths and Realities of the Good Neighbor Policy* (New York: Quadrangle Books, 1971), 175.
- 注8 同上。vii.
- 注9 “United States Objectives and Courses of Action with Respect to Latin America,” *Foreign Relations of the United States, 1952–1954, Vol. IV*, Document 3, 18 March 1953.
- 注10 Luis Paiz to Noam Chomsky, 13 June 2014, 著者所有。
- 注11 Richard Immerman in “Confession of an Eisenhower Revisionist: An Agonizing Reappraisal,” *Diplomatic History* 14, no. 3 (Summer 1990)に引用されたドワイト・アイゼンハワーの発言;ジョン・フォスター・ダレスによる、アラン・ダレスとの電話中の発言, “Minutes of Telephone Conversations of John Foster Dulles and Christian Herter,” 19 June 1958, Dwight D. Eisenhower Presidential Library.
- 注12 Noam Chomsky, *Rogue States* (Chicago: Haymarket Books, 2015), 114.
- 注13 Piero Gleijeses, *Conflicting Missions: Havana, Washington, and Africa, 1959–1976* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 2003), 22.
- 注14 Noam Chomsky, *Hegemony or Survival: America’s Quest for Global Dominance*. (New York: Henry Holt, 2003), 90. ノーム・チョムスキー著『覇権か、生存か』鈴木主税訳／集英社
- 注15 同上。
- 注16 Walter LaFeber, *The New Empire: An Interpretation of American Expansion, 1860–1898* (Ithaca, NY: Cornell University Press, 1963), 4.
- 注17 Ernest R. May and Philip D. Zelikow, eds., *The Kennedy Tapes: Inside the White House During the Cuban Missile Crisis* (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1997), xi.
- 注18 Chomsky, *Hopes and Prospects*, 116.
- 注19 Somini Sengupta, “U.N. Will Weigh Asking Court to Investigate War Crimes in Syria,” *New York Times*, 22 May 2014.
- 注20 H. R. 4775, 2002 Supplemental Appropriations Act for Further Recovery from and

Response to Terrorist Attacks on the United States, 107th Congress (2001–02), <https://www.congress.gov/bill/107thcongress/housebill/4775>.

- 注21 Samuel P. Huntington, *American Politics: The Promise of Disharmony* (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1981), 75.
- 注22 Stanley Hoffmann, Samuel P. Huntington, Ernest R. May, Richard N. Neustadt, and Thomas C. Schelling, “Vietnam Reappraised,” *International Security* 6, no. 1 (Summer 1981): 3–26.
- 注23 Justin Elliott and Theodor Meyer, “Claim on ‘Attacks Thwarted’ by NSA Spreads Despite Lack of Evidence,” *ProPublica*, 23 October 2013, <http://www.propublica.org/article/claimonattacks thwartedby nsaspreadsdespitelackofevidence>.
- 注24 James Ball, “US and UK Struck Secret Deal to Allow NSA to ‘Unmask’ Britons’ Personal Data,” *Guardian* (London), 20 November 2013.
- 注25 Gallup Poll, “Americans Show Low Levels of Concern on Global Warming,” 4 April 2014, <http://www.gallup.com/poll/168236/americansshowlowlevelsconcern-globalwarming.aspx>.
- 注26 Robert S. Eshelman, “The Danger of Fair and Balanced,” *Columbia Journalism Review*, 1 May 2014.

第一四章 アウトレイジ（残虐行為）

- 注 1 Katie Zezima, “Obama: Plane Crash in Ukraine an ‘Outrage of Unspeakable Proportions,’” *Washington Post*, 18 July 2014.
- 注 2 “Explanation of Vote by Ambassador Samantha Power, US Permanent Representative to the United Nations, After a Vote on Security Council Resolution 2166 on the Downing of Malaysian Airlines Flight 17 in Ukraine,” United States Mission to the United Nations, 21 July 2014, <http://usun.state.gov/remarks/6109>.
- 注 3 Timothy Garton Ash, “Putin’s Deadly Doctrine,” Opinion, *New York Times*, 18 July 2014.
- 注 4 ウィリアム・テイラー、CNNのアンダーソン・クーパーによるインタビュー。2014年7月18日。<http://www.cnn.com/TRANSCRIPTS/1407/18/acd.01.html>に書き起こしが公開されている。

- 注 5 United Press International, “Vincennes Too Aggressive in Downing Jet, Officer Writes,” *Los Angeles Times*, 2 September 1989.
- 注 6 David Evans, “Vincennes Medals Cheapen Awards for Heroism,” *Daily Press*, 15 April 1990.
- 注 7 Ronald Reagan, “Statement on the Destruction of an Iranian Jetliner by the United States Navy over the Persian Gulf,” 3 July 1988. Online by Gerhard Peters and John T. Woolley, *The American Presidency Project*, <http://www.presidency.ucsb.edu/ws/?pid=36080>.
- 注 8 Michael Kinsley, “Rally Round the Flag, Boys,” *Time*, 12 September 1988.
- 注 9 Philip Shenon, “Iran’s Chief Links Aid to Better Ties,” *New York Times*, 6 July 1990.
- 注10 Dominic Lawson, “Conspiracy Theories and the Useful Idiots Who Are Happy to Believe Putin’s Lies,” *Daily Mail* (London), 20 July 2014.
- 注11 Dilip Hiro, *The Longest War: The Iran-Iraq Military Conflict* (New York: Psychology Press, 1989).
- 注12 John Crewdson, “New Revelations in Attack on American Spy Ship,” *Chicago Tribune*, 2 October 2007.
- 注13 Miron Rezun, *Saddam Hussein’s Gulf Wars: Ambivalent Stakes in the Middle East* (Westport, CT: Praeger, 1992), 58f.
- 注14 Michael OmerMan, “This Week in History: IAF Shoots Down Libyan Flight 114,” *Jerusalem Post*, 25 February 2011.
- 注15 Edward W. Said and Christopher Hitchens, *Blaming the Victims: Spurious Scholarship and the Palestinian Question* (New York: Verso, 2001), 133.
- 注16 Somini Sengupta, “Why the U.N. Can’t Solve the World’s Problems” *New York Times*, 26 July 2014.
- 注17 同上。
- 注18 Laura BarronLopez, “Obama Pushes for ‘Immediate’ CeaseFire Between Israel, Hamas,” *The Hill*, 27 July 2014.

- 注19 “A resolution expressing the sense of the Senate regarding United States support for the State of Israel as it defends itself against unprovoked rocket attacks from the Hamas terrorist organization,” Senate Resolution 498, 113th Congress (2013–14), <https://www.congress.gov/bill/113thcongress/senateresolution/498>.
- 注20 Gallup Poll, “Congress Approval Sits at 14% Two Months Before Elections,” 8 September 2014, <http://www.gallup.com/poll/175676/congressapprovalsitstwomonthselections.aspx>.
- 注21 Mouin Rabbani, “Institutionalised Disregard for Palestinian Life,” LRB Blog, 9 July 2014.
- 注22 Mads Gilbert, “Brief Report to UNRWA: The Gaza Health Sector as of June 2014,” University Hospital of North Norway, 3 July 2014.
- 注23 同上.
- 注24 Roma Rajpal Weiss, “Interview with Raji Sourani,” *Qantara*, 16 July 2014.
- 注25 Ari Shavit, “The Big Freeze,” *Ha'aretz*, 7 October 2004.
- 注26 Conal Urquhart, “Gaza on Brink of Implosion as Aid CutOff Starts to Bite,” *Guardian* (London), 15 April 2006.
- 注27 Jimmy Carter, *Palestine: Peace Not Apartheid* (New York: Simon & Schuster, 2006).
ジミー・カーター著『カーター、パレスチナを語る：アパルトヘイトではなく平和を』北丸雄二・中野真紀子訳／晶文社
- 注28 Archived Copy of Knesset website, “Likud—Platform,” http://web.archive.org/web/20070930181442/http://www.knesset.gov.il/elections/knesset15/elikud_m.htm.
- 注29 “Israel: Gaza Beach Investigation Ignores Evidence,” Human Rights Watch report, 19 June 2006, <https://www.hrw.org/news/2006/06/19/israelgazabeachinvestigation-ignoresevidence>.
- 注30 Nathan Thrall, “Hamas’s Chances,” *London Review of Books* 36, no. 16 (21 August 2014): 10–12.
- 注31 Jodi Rudoren and Said Ghazali, “A Trail of Clues Leading to Victims and Heartbreak,” *New York Times*, 1 July 2014.

- 注32 同上。
- 注33 “Live Updates: July 7, 2014: Rockets Bombard South, Hamas Claims Responsibility,” *Ha’aretz*, 8 July 2014.
- 注34 同上。
- 注35 Jason Burke, “Gaza ‘Faces Precipice’ as Death Toll Passes 1,400,” *Guardian* (London), 31 July 2014.
- 注36 “Live Updates: Operation Protective Edge, Day 21,” *Ha’aretz*, 29 July 2014.
- 注37 Jodi Rudoren and Anne Barnard, “Israeli Military Invades Gaza, with Sights Set on Hamas Operations,” *New York Times*, 17 July 2014.
- 注38 “UNRWA Strongly Condemns Israeli Shelling of Its School in Gaza as a Serious Violation of International Law,” United Nations Relief and Works Agency for Palestine Refugees, 30 July 2014, <http://www.unrwa.org/newsroom/official-statements/unrwastronglycondemnsisraelishellingitsschoolgazaserious>.
- 注39 同上。
- 注40 “SecretaryGeneral’s Remarks to Media on Arrival in San Jose, Costa Rica,” United Nations, 30 July 2014, <http://www.un.org/sg/offthecuff/index.asp?nid=3503>.
- 注41 Barak Ravid, “UN Chief Condemns ‘Shameful’ Shelling of School in Gaza,” *Ha’aretz*, 30 July 2014.
- 注42 Sudarsan Raghavan, William Booth, and Ruth Eglash, “Israel, Hamas Agree to 72Hour Humanitarian CeaseFire,” *Washington Post*, 1 August 2014.
- 注43 United Nations Security Council Document 337, S/1996/337, 7 May 1996, http://www.un.org/ga/search/view_doc.asp?symbol=S/1996/337.
- 注44 Annemarie Heywood, *The Cassinga Event: An Investigation of the Records* (National Archives of Namibia, 1996).
- 注45 Amira Hass, “Reaping What We Have Sown in Gaza,” *Ha’aretz*, 21 July 2014.
- 注46 “Gaza: Catholic Church Told to Evacuate Ahead of Israeli Bombing,” *Independent Catholic News*, 29 July 2014.

- 注47 “Five Latin American Countries Withdraw Envoys from Israel,” *Middle East Monitor*, 30 July 2014.
- 注48 Al Mezan Center for Human Rights, “Humanitarian Truce Fails and IOF Employ Carpet Bombardment in Rafah Killing Dozens of People,” press release, 1 August 2014, <http://www.mezan.org/en/post/19290/Humanitarian+Truce+Fails+and+IOF+Employ+Carpet+Bombardment+in+Rafah+Killing+Dozens+of+people%3Cbr%3EA1+Mezan%3A+Death+Toll+Reaches+1,497%3B+81.8%25+Civilians%3B+358+Children+and+196+Women%3B+Excluding+Rafah>.
- 注49 Ezer Weizman, lecture recorded in *Ha'aretz*, 20 March 1972.
- 注50 Lou Pingeot and Wolfgang Obenland, “In Whose Name? A Critical View on the Responsibility to Protect,” Global Policy Institute, May 2014, [https:// www.globalpolicy.org/images/pdfs/images/pdfs/In_whose_name_web.pdf](https://www.globalpolicy.org/images/pdfs/images/pdfs/In_whose_name_web.pdf)を参照.
- 注51 Piero Gleijeses, *Visions of Freedom: Havana, Washington, Pretoria, and the Struggle for Southern Africa, 1976–1991* (University of North Carolina Press, 2013)を参照.
- 注52 “Fuelling Conflict: Foreign Arms Supplies to Israel/Gaza,” Amnesty International, 23 February 2009, https://www.amnesty.ie/sites/default/files/report/2010/04/Fuelling%20conflict_Final.pdf.
- 注53 Barak Ravid, “US Senator Seeks to Cut Aid to Elite IDF Units Operating in West Bank and Gaza,” *Ha'aretz*, 16 August 2011.

第一五章 真夜中まで、あと何分？

- 注1 Wesley F. Craven and James L. Cate, eds., *The Army Air Forces in World War II, Volume 5* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1953), 732–33; Makoto Oda, “The Meaning of ‘Meaningless Death,’ ” *Tenbo*, January 1965, translated in the *Journal of Social and Political Ideas in Japan*, August 1966, 75–84. Noam Chomsky, “On the Backgrounds of the Pacific War,” *Liberation*, September/October 1967, reprinted in Noam Chomsky, *American Power and the New Mandarins: Historical and Political Essays* (New York: New Press, 2002)も参照.
- 注2 リー・バトラー将軍、Canadian Network Against Nuclear Weaponsへのスピーチ。Montreal, Canada, 11 March 1999.
- 注3 General Lee Butler, “At the End of the Journey: The Risks of Cold War Thinking in

a New Era,” *International Affairs* 82, no. 4 (July 2006): 763–769.

- 注 4 リー・バトラー将軍、Canadian Network Against Nuclear Weaponsへのスピーチ。Montreal, Canada, 11 March 1999.
- 注 5 McGeorge Bundy, *Danger and Survival: Choices About the Bomb in the First Fifty Years* (New York: Random House, 1988), 326.
- 注 6 同上。
- 注 7 James Warburg, *Germany: Key to Peace* (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1953), 189; Adam Ulam, “A Few Unresolved Mysteries About Stalin and the Cold War in Europe,” *Journal of Cold War Studies* 1, no. 1 (Winter 1999): 110–116.
- 注 8 Melvyn P. Leffler, “Inside Enemy Archives: The Cold War Reopened,” *Foreign Affairs* 75, no. 4 (July/August 1996).
- 注 9 Noam Chomsky and Irene Gendzier, “Exposing Israel’s Foreign Policy Myths: The Work of Amnon Kapeliuk,” *Jerusalem Quarterly* 54, Summer 2013.
- 注10 Benjamin B. Fischer, “A Cold War Conundrum: The 1983 Soviet War Scare,” Center for the Study of Intelligence, 7 July 2008, <https://www.cia.gov/library/centerforthestudyofintelligence/csipublications/booksandmonographs/acoldwar-conundrum/source.htm>; Dmitry Dima Adamsky, “The 1983 Nuclear Crisis—Lessons for Deterrence Theory and Practice,” *Journal of Strategic Studies* 36, no.1 (2013): 4–41.
- 注11 Pavel Aksenov, “Stanislav Petrov: The Man Who May Have Saved the World,” BBC News Europe, 26 September 2013, <http://www.bbc.com/news/world-europe24280831>.
- 注12 Eric Schlosser, *Command and Control: Nuclear Weapons, the Damascus Accident, and the Illusion of Safety* (New York: Penguin, 2013).
- 注13 ビル・クリントン大統領、国連総会でのスピーチ。1993年9月27日。<http://www.state.gov/p/io/potusunga/207375.htm>; Secretary of Defense William Cohen, Annual Report to the President and Congress: 1999 (Washington, DC: Department of Defense, 1999) http://history.defense.gov/Portals/70/Documents/annual_reports/1999_DoD_AR.pdf.
- 注14 “Essentials of Post–Cold War Deterrence,” declassified portions reprinted in Hans

Kristensen, *Nuclear Futures: Proliferation of Weapons of Mass Destruction and US Nuclear Strategy*, British American Security Information Council, Appendix 2, Basic Research Report 98.2, March 1998.

注15 Michael Sherry, *The Rise of American Airpower: The Creation of Armageddon* (New Haven, CT: Yale University Press, 1987).

注16 Jon B. Wolfstahl, Jeffrey Lewis, and Marc Quint, *The Trillion Dollar Nuclear Triad: US Strategic Nuclear Modernization over the Next Thirty Years*, James Martin Center for Nonproliferation Studies, January 2014, http://cns.miiis.edu/opapers/pdfs/140107_trillion_dollar_nuclear_triad.pdf. Tom Z. Collina, “Nuclear Costs Undercounted, GAO Says,” *Arms Control Today*, July/August 2014 も参照。

注17 White House, Office of the Press Secretary “Remarks by the President at the National Defense University,” press release, 23 March 2013, <https://www.whitehouse.gov/the-press-office/2013/05/23/remarks-president-national-defense-university>.

注18 Jeremy Scahill, *Dirty Wars: The World Is a Battlefield* (New York: Nation Books, 2013), 450, 443. ジェレミー・スケイヒル著『アメリカの卑劣な戦争』横山啓明訳／柏書房

第一六章 破られ続ける停戦協定

注 1 Ari Shavit, “The Big Freeze,” *Ha'aretz*, 7 October 2004.

注 2 Idith Zertal and Akiva Eldar, *Lords of the Land: The War for Israel's Settlements in the Occupied Territories, 1967–2007* (New York: Nation Books, 2007), xii.

注 3 United Nations, “United Nations Relief, Works Agency for Palestine Refugees Copes with Major Crises in Three Fields of Operations, Commissioner General Tells Fourth Committee,” press release, 29 October 2008, <http://www.un.org/press/en/2008/gaspd413.doc.htm>.

注 4 United Nations Security Council, “Security Council Calls for Immediate, Durable, Fully Respected Ceasefire in Gaza Leading to Full Withdrawal of Israeli Forces,” press release, 8 January 2009, <http://www.un.org/press/en/2009/sc9567.doc.htm>.

注 5 Isabel Kershner, “Gaza Deaths Spike in 3rd Day of Air Assaults While Rockets Hit Israel,” *New York Times*, 10 July 2014.

- 注 6 Amos Harel, Avi Issacharoff, Gili Cohen, Allison Kaplan Sommer, and news agencies, “ Hamas Military Chief Ahmed Jabari Killed by Israeli Strike,” *Ha’aretz*, 14 November 2012.
- 注 7 Reuters, “Text: CeaseFire Agreement Between Israel and Hamas,” *Ha’aretz*, 21 November 2012.
- 注 8 Nathan Thrall, “ Hamas’s Chances,” *London Review of Books* 36, no. 16 (21 August 2014): 10–12.
- 注 9 Amos Harel, “Notes from an Interrogation: How the Shin Bet Gets the LowDown on Terror,” *Ha’aretz*, 2 September 2014.
- 注10 Akiva Eldar, “Bibi Uses Gaza as Wedge Between Abbas, Hamas,” *Al-Monitor*, 1 September 2014.
- 注11 同上。
- 注12 Gideon Levy and Ariel Levac, “Behind the IDF Shooting of a 10YearOld Boy,” *Ha’aretz*, 21 August 2014.
- 注13 Gideon Levy, “The IDF’s Real Face,” *Ha’aretz*, 30 August 2014.
- 注14 Zertal and Eldar, *Lords of the Land*, 13.
- 注15 Noam Chomsky, *Detering Democracy* (New York: Hill and Wang, 1991),435.

第一七章 テロリスト大国・アメリカ

- 注 1 Mark Mazzetti, “C.I.A. Study of Covert Aid Fueled Skepticism About Helping Syrian Rebels,” *New York Times*, 14 October 2014.
- 注 2 Piero Gleijeses, *Visions of Freedom: Havana, Washington, Pretoria and the Struggle for Southern Africa, 1976–1991* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 2013).
- 注 3 Noam Chomsky, *Pirates and Emperors, Old and New: International Terrorism in the Real World* (Chicago: Haymarket Books, 2015), p. viii. ノーム・チョムスキー著『テロの帝国アメリカ』海輪由香子ほか訳／明石書店
- 注 4 Kenneth B. Nobel, “Savimbi, Trailing, Hints at New War,” *New York Times*, 4 October 1992.

- 注 5 Isaac Risco, “Mandela, a Loyal Friend of Cuba’s Fidel,” *Havana Times*, 7 December 2013.
- 注 6 William M. LeoGrande and Peter Kornbluh, *Back Channel to Cuba: The Hidden History of Negotiations Between Washington and Havana* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 2014), 145.
- 注 7 国際司法裁判所の裁定“The Military and Paramilitary Activities In and Against Nicaragua,” *Nicaragua v. United States of America*, 27 June 1986, <http://www.icjij.org/docket/?sum=367&tp1=38&tp2=38&case=70&tp3=5> の要約.
- 注 8 Keith Bolender, *Voices From the Other Side: An Oral History of Terrorism Against Cuba* (London: Pluto Press, 2010).
- 注 9 WIN/Gallup International, “End of Year Survey 2013,” http://www.wingia.com/en/services/end_of_year_survey_2013/7/.

第一八章 オバマは本当に“歴史的役割”を果たしたのか？

- 注 1 Jon Lee Anderson, “Obama and Castro Seize History,” *New Yorker*, 18 December 2014.
- 注 2 Papers of John F. Kennedy, Presidential Papers, National Security Files, Meetings and Memoranda Series, National Security Action Memoranda, National Security Action Memorandum Number 263, John F. Kennedy Presidential Library and Museum, Boston, Massachusetts.
- 注 3 Michael Glennon, “Terrorism and ‘Intentional Ignorance,’ ” *Christian Science Monitor*, 20 March 1986.
- 注 4 U.S. State Department Office of the Historian, Foreign Relations of the United States, 1961–1963, Document 158, “Notes on Cabinet Meeting,” 20 April 1961, <https://history.state.gov/historicaldocuments/frus196163v10/d158>.
- 注 5 Ernest R. May and Philip D. Zelikow, eds., *The Kennedy Tapes: Inside the White House During the Cuban Missile Crisis* (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1998), 84.
- 注 6 Tacitus, *Annals of Tacitus, Book XI* (New York: Macmillan, 1888), 194. タキトゥス『年代記』

- 注 7 Michael R. Beschloss, *Taking Charge: The Johnson White House Tapes 1963–1964* (New York: Simon & Schuster, 1998), 87.
- 注 8 Lars Schoultz, *That Infernal Little Cuban Republic: The United States and the Cuban Revolution* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 2011), 5.
- 注 9 Nancy Reagan, *My Turn: The Memoirs of Nancy Reagan* (New York: Random House, 2011), 77. ナンシー・レーガン著『マイ・ターン』広瀬順弘訳／読売新聞社
- 注10 Theodore Roosevelt to Henry L. White, 13 September 1906, Roosevelt Papers, Library of Congress.
- 注11 Noam Chomsky, *Hopes and Prospects* (Chicago: Haymarket Books, 2010), 50.
- 注12 William M. LeoGrande and Peter Kornbluh, *Back Channel to Cuba: The Hidden History of Negotiations Between Washington and Havana* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina, 2014).
- 注13 White House, Office of the Press Secretary, “Statement by the President on Cuba Policy Changes,” press release, 17 December 2014, <https://www.whitehouse.gov/the-pressoffice/2014/12/17/statementpresidentcubapolicychanges>.
- 注14 CNN/ORC Poll, 18–21 December 2014, <http://i2.cdn.turner.com/cnn/2014/images/12/23/cuba.poll.pdf>.
- 注15 Chomsky, *Hopes and Prospects*, 116; Dennis Merrill and Thomas Paterson, *Major Problems in American Foreign Relations, Volume II: Since 1914* (Boston: Cengage Learning, 2009), 394.
- 注16 Noam Chomsky, *Deterring Democracy* (New York: Hill and Wang, 1991), 228.

第十九章 「テロはテロだ、二つの解釈はない」という欺瞞

- 注 1 Dan Bilefsky and Maïa de la Baume, “French Premier Declares ‘War’ on Radical Islam as Paris Girds for Rally,” *New York Times*, 10 January 2015.
- 注 2 Jodi Rudoren, “Israelis Link Attacks to Their Own Struggles,” *New York Times*, 9 January 2015.
- 注 3 Liz Alderman, “Recounting a Bustling Office at Charlie Hebdo, Then a ‘Vision of

Horror,' " *New York Times*, 8 January 2015; Anand Giridharadas, <https://twitter.com/anandwrites/status/552825021878771713>.

注 4 Steven Erlanger, "Days of Sirens, Fear and Blood: 'France Is Turned Upside Down,'" *New York Times*, 9 January 2015.

注 5 特に言及のない限り、ここまでの情報はSteven Erlanger, "Crisis in the Balkans: Belgrade; Survivors of NATO Attack on Serb TV Headquarters: Luck, Pluck and Resolve," *New York Times*, 24 April 1999 から引用した。

注 6 Amy Goodman, "Pacifica Rejects Overseas Press Club Award," *Democracy Now!*, Pacifica Radio, 23 April 1999.

注 7 Roy Gutman and Mousab Alhamadee, "U.S. Airstrike in Syria May Have Killed 50 Civilians," McClatchyDC, 11 January 2015.

注 8 David Holley and Zoran Cirjakovic, "ExChief of Serb State TV Gets Prison," *Los Angeles Times*, 22 June 2002; United Nations International Criminal Tribunal for the former Yugoslavia, "Final Report to the Prosecutor by the Committee Established to Review the NATO Bombing Campaign Against the Federal Republic of Yugoslavia," <http://www.icty.org/x/file/Press/nato061300.pdf>.

注 9 Floyd Abrams, "After the Terrorist Attack in Paris," letter to the editor, *New York Times*, 8 January 2015.

注10 Richard A. Oppel Jr., "Early Target of Offensive Is a Hospital," *New York Times*, 8 November 2004.

第二〇章 ある『ニューヨーク・タイムズ』読者の一日

注 1 Jonathan Mahler, "In Report on Rolling Stone, a Case Study in Failed Journalism," *New York Times*, 5 April 2015.

注 2 Thomas Fuller, "One Woman's Mission to Free Laos from Millions of Unexploded Bombs," *New York Times*, 5 April 2015.

注 3 同上。

注 4 Fred Branfman, *Voices from the Plain of Jars: Life Under an Air War* (Madison: University of Wisconsin Press, 2013). フレッド・ブランフマン編著『ジャール平原』仙名紀訳／二見書房（1973年）

- 注 5 同上, 36.
- 注 6 Fuller, “One Woman’s Mission to Free Laos from Millions of Unexploded Bombs.”
- 注 7 Thomas Friedman, “Iran and the Obama Doctrine,” *New York Times*, 5 April 2015.
- 注 8 同上.
- 注 9 Enrique Krauze, “Cuba: The New Opening,” *New York Review of Books*, 2 April 2015.
- 注10 David Martosko and Associated Press, “Obama Tries ‘New Approach’ on Cuba with Normalized Trade Relations and Diplomacy Between Washington and Havana for the First Time in a Half-Century,” *Daily Mail* (London), 17 December 2014.
- 注11 Peter Baker, “A Foreign Policy Gamble by Obama at a Moment of Truth,” *New York Times*, 2 April 2015.
- 注12 Jessica Matthews, “The Road from Westphalia,” *New York Review of Books*, 19 March 2015.

第二章 世界平和にとってもっとも危険なのは誰か？

- 注 1 Kelsey Davenport, “The P5+1 and Iran Nuclear Deal Alert, August 11,” Arms Control Association, 11 August 2015, <http://www.armscontrol.org/blog/ArmsControlNow/08112015/TheP5plus1andIranNuclearDealAlertAugust11>.
- 注 2 Scott Clement and Peyton M. Craighill, “Poll: Clear Majority Supports Nuclear Deal with Iran,” *Washington Post*, 30 March 2015; Laura Meckler and Kristina Peterson, “U.S. Public Split on Iran Nuclear Deal—WSJ/NBC Poll,” Washington Wire, 3 August 2015, <http://blogs.wsj.com/washwire/2015/08/03/americanpublic-splitoniranucleardealwsjnbcpoll/>.
- 注 3 Philip Weiss, “Cruz Says Iran Could Set Off Electro Magnetic Pulse over East Coast, Killing 10s of Millions,” *Mondoweiss*, 29 July 2015.
- 注 4 Simon Maloy, “Scott Walker’s Deranged Hawkishness: He’s Ready to Bomb Iran During His Inauguration Speech,” *Salon*, 20 July 2015.
- 注 5 Amy Davidson, “Broken,” *New Yorker*, 3 August 2015; “Former Top Brass to

Netanyahu: Accept Iran Accord as 'Done Deal,' " *Ha'aretz*, 3 August 2015.

- 注 6 Thomas E. Mann and Norman J. Ornstein, "Finding the Common Good in an Era of Dysfunctional Governance," *Daedalus* 142, no. 2 (Spring 2013).
- 注 7 Helene Cooper and Gardiner Harris, "Top General Gives 'Pragmatic' View of Iran Nuclear Deal," *New York Times*, 29 July 2015.
- 注 8 Dennis Ross, "How to Make Iran Keep Its Word," *Politico*, 29 July 2015.
- 注 9 Dennis Ross, "Iran Will Cheat. Then What?" *Time*, 15 July 2015; "Former Obama Adviser: Send B52 Bombers to Israel," *Ha'aretz*, 17 July 2015.
- 注10 Javad Zarif, "Iran Has Signed a Historic Nuclear Deal—Now It's Israel's Turn," oped, *Guardian* (London), 31 July 2015.
- 注11 Jayantha Dhanapala and Sergio Duarte, "Is There a Future for the NPT?" *Arms Control Today*, July/August 2015.
- 注12 WIN/Gallup, "Optimism Is Back in the World," 30 December 2013, <http://www.wingia.com/web/files/services/33/file/33.pdf?1439575556>.
- 注13 Anthony H. Cordesman, "Military Spending and Arms Sales in the Gulf," Center for Strategic and International Studies, 28 April 2015, http://csis.org/files/publication/150428_military_spending.pdf.
- 注14 Department of Defense, Unclassified Report on Military Power of Iran, April 2010, http://www.politico.com/static/PPM145_link_042010.html.
- 注15 SIPRI Military Expenditure Database, http://www.sipri.org/research/armaments/milex/milex_database; Trita Parsi and Tyler Cullis, "The Myth of the Iranian Military Giant," *Foreign Policy*, 10 July 2015.
- 注16 Parsi and Cullis, "The Myth of the Iranian Military Giant."
- 注17 Cordesman, "Military Spending and Arms Sales in the Gulf," 4.
- 注18 Seyed Hossein Mousavian and Shahr Shahidsaless, *Iran and the United States: An Insider's View on the Failed Past and the Road to Peace* (New York: Bloomsbury, 2014), 214–19.

- 注19 William A. Dorman and Mansour Farhang, *The U.S. Press and Iran: Foreign Policy and the Journalism of Deference* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1988).
- 注20 Pervez Hoodbhoy and Zia Mian, “Changing Nuclear Thinking in Pakistan,” Asia Pacific Leadership Network for Nuclear NonProliferation and Disarmament and Centre for Nuclear NonProliferation and Disarmament, Policy Brief No. 9, February 2014, <http://www.princeton.edu/sgs/facultystaff/ziamian/HoodbhoyMianChanging-NuclearThinking.pdf>.
- 注21 Haroon Siddique, “Bush: Iran ‘the World’s Leading Supporter of Terrorism,” *Guardian* (London), 28 August 2007.
- 注22 Peter Bergen and Paul Cruickshank, “The Iraq Effect: War Has Increased Terrorism Sevenfold Worldwide,” *Mother Jones*, 1 March 2007.
- 注23 Somini Sengupta, “U.N. Moves to Lift Iran Sanctions After Nuclear Deal, Setting Up a Clash in Congress,” *New York Times*, 20 July 2015.
- 注24 Helene Cooper, “U.S. Defense Secretary Visits Israel to Soothe Ally After Iran Nuclear Deal,” *New York Times*, 20 July 2015.
- 注25 Anne Barnard, “120 Degrees and No Relief? ISIS Takes Back Seat for Iraqis,” *New York Times*, 1 August 2015.
- 注26 WIN/Gallup, “Happiness Is on the Rise,” 30 December 2014, http://www.wingia.com/web/files/richeditor/filemanager/EOY_release_2014__FINAL.pdf.
- 注27 James Chace, “How ‘Moral’ Can We Get?” *New York Times Magazine*, 22 May 1977.
- 注28 Leon Wieseltier, “The Iran Deal and the Rut of History,” *Atlantic*, 27 July 2015.
- 注29 Shane Harris and Matthew M. Aid, “Exclusive: CIA Files Prove America Helped Saddam as He Gassed Iran,” *Foreign Policy*, 26 August 2013.
- 注30 Alex Boraine, “Justice in Iraq: Let the UN Put Saddam on Trial,” *New York Times*, 21 April 2003 を参照。
- 注31 Gary Milhollin, “Building Saddam Hussein’s Bomb,” *New York Times Magazine*, 8 March 1992.

- 注32 Robert Litwak, “Iran’s Nuclear Chess: Calculating America’s Moves,” Wilson Center report, 18 July 2014, 29, <https://www.wilsoncenter.org/publication/irans-nuclearchesscalculatingamericasmoves>.
- 注33 例えばDavid E. Sanger, “Obama Order Sped Up Wave of Cyberattacks Against Iran,” *New York Times*, 1 June 2012; Farnaz Fassihi and Jay Solomon, “Scientist Killing Stokes U.S.Iran Tensions,” *Wall Street Journal*, 12 January 2012; Dan Raviv, “US Pushing Israel to Stop Assassinating Iranian Nuclear Scientists,” *CBSNews.com*, 1 March 2014.
- 注34 “Contemporary Practices of the United States,” *American Journal of International Law* 109, no. 1 (January 2015).
- 注35 Charlie Savage, “Bush Asserts Authority to Bypass Defense Act,” *Boston Globe*, 30 January 2008.
- 注36 Elaine Sciolino, “Iran’s Nuclear Goals Lie in HalfBuilt Plant,” *New York Times*, 19 May 1995.
- 注37 Mousavian and Shahidsaless, *Iran and the United States*, 178.
- 注38 CIA report (declassified by NSA and published on NSA archive), “Special National Intelligence Estimate 4174: Prospects for Further Proliferation of Nuclear Weapons,” 23 August 1974, <http://nsarchive.gwu.edu/NSAEBB/NSAEBB240/snief.pdf>.
- 注39 Roham Alvandi, *Nixon, Kissinger, and the Shah: The United States and Iran in the Cold War* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2014); Mousavian and Shahidsaless, *Iran and the United States*, 178.
- 注40 Farah Stockman, “Iran’s Nuclear Vision Initially Glimpsed at Institute,” *Boston Globe*, 13 March 2007.
- 注41 Dafna Linzer, “Past Arguments Don’t Square with Current Iran Policy,” *Washington Post*, 27 March 2005.
- 注42 Samuel P. Huntington, “The Lonely Superpower,” *Foreign Affairs* 78, no. 2 (March/April 1999).
- 注43 Robert Jervis, “Weapons Without Purpose? Nuclear Strategy in the Post–Cold War Era,” review of *The Price of Dominance: The New Weapons of Mass Destruction and Their*

Challenge to American Leadership, by Jan Lodal, *Foreign Affairs* 80, no. 4 (July/August 2001).

- 注44 Bill Clinton, “A National Security for a New Century,” National Security Strategy Archive, 1 December 1999, <http://nssarchive.us/nationalsecuritystrategy20002/>.

第二章 世界の破滅を告げる時計

- 注1 “2015: It Is Three Minutes to Midnight,” *Bulletin of the Atomic Scientists*, <http://thebulletin.org/clock/2015>.
- 注2 “In Greenland, Another Major Glacier Comes Undone,” Jet Propulsion Lab, California Institute of Technology, 12 November 2015, <http://www.jpl.nasa.gov/news/news.php?feature=4771>.
- 注3 Hannah Osborne, “COP21 Paris Climate Deal: Laurent Fabius Announces Draft Agreement to Limit Global Warming to 2C,” *International Business Times*, 12 December 2015. <http://www.ibtimes.co.uk/cop21parisclimatedeall Laurentfabius-announcesdraftagreementlimitglobalwarming2c1533045>.
- 注4 Coral Davenport, “Paris Deal Would Herald an Important First Step on Climate Change,” *New York Times*, 29 November 2015.
- 注5 Coral Davenport, “Nations Approve Landmark Climate Accord in Paris,” *New York Times*, 12 December 2015.
- 注6 アイオワ州で行なわれた共和党の最初の予備選では、福音派が非常に優勢だった。世論調査によれば、共和党に投票すると思われる人の「6割近くが、気候変動は作り話だという。半数以上は不法移民の集団国外退去を望み、6割が歳入庁を廃止したいと考えている（そうなれば大富豪や企業は大いに得をする）。Trip Gabriel, “Ted Cruz Surges Past Donald Trump to Lead in Iowa Poll,” *New York Times*, 12 December 2015.
- 注7 社会学者のローリー・マクヴェイとデイヴィッド・カニンガムによれば、現在の南部における共和党支持者の投票パターンは、1960年代にクー・クラックス・クラン（KKK）の強力な支部があったかどうかで大体予測できるといふ。Bill Schaller, “Ku Klux Klan’s Lasting Legacy on the U.S. Political System,” *Brandeis Now*, 4 December 2014. <https://www.brandeis.edu/now/2014/december/cunninghamkkkimpact.html>.
- 注8 Shawn Donnan and Sam Fleming, “America’s MiddleClass Meltdown: Fifth of US

Adults Live in or near to Poverty,” *Financial Times* (London), 11 December 2015.

- 注9 Sewell Chan and Melissa Eddy, “Republicans Make Presence Felt at Climate Talks by Ignoring Them,” *New York Times*, 10 December 2015; David M. Herszenhorn, “Votes in Congress Move to Undercut Climate Pledge,” *New York Times*, 1 December 2015; Samantha Page, “America’s Scientists to House Science Committee: Go Away,” *ClimateProgress*, 25 November 2015.
- 注10 Giovanni Russonello, “TwoThirds of Americans Want U.S. to Join Climate Change Pact,” *New York Times*, 30 November 2015.
- 注11 Melvin Goodman, “The ‘War Scare’ in the Kremlin, Revisited: Is History Repeating Itself?” *Counterpunch*, 27 October 2015.
- 注12 Aaron Tovish, “The Okinawa Missiles of October,” oped, *Bulletin of the Atomic Scientists*, 25 October 2015.
- 注13 David Hoffman, “Shattered Shield: ColdWar Doctrines Refuse to Die,” *Washington Post*, 15 March 1998.
- 注14 Seth Baum, “Nuclear War, the Black Swan We Can Never See,” *Bulletin of the Atomic Scientists*, 21 November 2014.
- 注15 Eric Schlosser, *Command and Control: Nuclear Weapons, the Damascus Accident, and the Illusion of Safety* (New York: Penguin, 2013).
- 注16 Fiona S. Cunningham and M. Taylor Fravel, “Assuring Assured Retaliation: China’s Nuclear Posture and U.S.China Strategic Stability,” *International Security*, Fall 2015.
- 注17 反政府運動でウクライナに親欧米政権が成立した後、ウクライナ議会は「303対8で非同盟政策を撤回し、代わりに欧米と軍事的・戦略的結びつきを強化することを議決……NATO加盟に向けて前進した」。David M. Herszenhorn, “Ukraine Vote Takes Nation a Step Closer to NATO,” *New York Times*, 23 December 2014.
- 注18 Jonathan Steele, review of *Frontline Ukraine: Crisis in the Borderlands*, by Richard Sakwa, *Guardian* (London), 19 February 2015.
- 注19 Lauren McCauley, “In Wake of Turkey Provocation, Putin Orders Antiaircraft Missiles to Syria,” *Common Dreams*, 25 November 2015.

- 注20 Michael Birnbaum, “U.S. Military Vehicles Paraded 300 Yards from the Russian Border,” *WorldViews*, 24 February 2015, <http://www.washingtonpost.com/blogs/worldviews/wp/2015/02/24/usmilitaryvehiclesparaded300yardsfromtherussian-border/>.
- 注21 Ian Kearns, “Avoiding War in Europe: The Risks From NATO-Russian Close Military Encounters,” *Arms Control Today*, November 2015.

第二章 人類の支配者

- 注1 Mark Weisbrot, *Failed* (New York: Oxford University Press, 2015); David Kotz, *The Rise and Fall of Neoliberal Capitalism* (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 2015); Mark Blyth, *Austerity: History of a Dangerous Idea* (New York: Oxford University Press, 2013) (マーク・ブライズ著『緊縮策という病: 「危険な思想」の歴史』若田部昌澄監訳・田村勝省訳/NTT出版)等を参照。
- 注2 Alison Smale and Andrew Higgins, “Election Results in Spain Cap a Bitter Year for Leaders in Europe,” *New York Times*, 23 December 2015, paraphrasing François Lafond, head of EuropaNova. スペインの選挙と、その背景であるネオリベラル緊縮策の大失敗については、Marc Weisbrot, *Al Jazeera America*, 23 December 2015 を参照, <http://america.aljazeera.com/opinions/2015/12/spainvotesnotofailed-economicpolicies.html>.
- 注3 これはウォルター・リップマンの民主主義に関する評論の重要なテーマである。
- 注4 John Shy, *A People Numerous and Armed* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1976), 146.
- 注5 William Polk, *Violent Politics: A History of Insurgency, Terrorism and Guerrilla War from the American Revolution to Iraq* (New York: HarperCollins, 2007). 優秀な中東研究家であり歴史一般に通じていたポークの見解は、現場や米政府の政策立案に最高レベルで関わった体験にも基づいている。
- 注6 Patrick Tyler, “A New Power in the Streets,” *New York Times*, 17 February 2003.
- 注7 Bernard B. Fall, *Last Reflections on a War* (New York: Doubleday, 1967).
- 注8 Gideon Rachman, “Preserving American Power After Obama,” *National Interest*, January/February 2016.

- 注9 Jeremy Page and Gordon Lubold, “U.S. Bomber Flies over Waters Claimed by China,” *Wall Street Journal*, 18 December 2015.
- 注10 Tim Craig and Simon Denver, “From the Mountains to the Sea: A Chinese Vision, a Pakistani Corridor,” *Washington Post*, 23 October 2015; “China Adds Pakistan’s Gwadar to ‘String of Pearls,’” <http://store.businessmonitor.com/article/475258>. More generally, Alfred McCoy, “Washington’s Great Game and Why It’s Failing,” *Tomdispatch*, 7 June 2015, http://www.tomdispatch.com/blog/176007/tomgram%3A_alfred_mccoy%2C_washington%27s_great_game_and_why_it%27s_failing.
- 注11 Jane Perlez, “Xi Hosts 56 Nations at Founding of Asian Infrastructure Bank,” *New York Times*, June 19, 2015.
- 注12 Richard Sakwa, *Frontline Ukraine: Crisis in the Borderlands* (New York: I. B. Tauris, 2015), 55.
- 注13 同上。46.
- 注14 同上。26.
- 注15 On these matters, the definitive scholarly study today is Mary Elise Sarotte, *1989: The Struggle to Create Post-Cold War Europe* (Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press, 2011).
- 注16 Noam Chomsky, *Hopes and Prospects* (Chicago: Haymarket, 2010), 185–86 を参照。
- 注17 Sakwa, *Frontline Ukraine*, 4, 52.
- 注18 John J. Mearsheimer, “Why the Ukraine Crisis Is the West’s Fault: The Liberal Delusions That Provoked Putin,” *Foreign Affairs* 93, no. 5 (September/October 2014); Sakwa, *Frontline Ukraine*, 234–35.
- 注19 Polk, *Violent Politics*, 191.
- 注20 Richard A. Clarke, *Against All Enemies: Inside America’s War on Terror* (New York: Free Press, 2004) (リチャード・クラーク著『爆弾証言』楡井浩一訳／徳間書店)。議論については、国際法学者Francis A. Boyleの“From 2001 Until Today: The Afghanistan War Was and Is Illegal,” 9 January 2016, <http://www.larsschall.com/2016/01/09/from2001untilltodaytheafghanistanwarwasandisillegal/>を参照。他の批評や情報源については、Noam Chomsky, *Hegemony or Survival: America’s*

Quest for Global Dominance (New York: Henry Holt, 2003), (ノーム・チョムスキー著『覇権か、生存か』鈴木主税訳／集英社) chap. 8 を参照。

- 注21 H. C. van Sponeck, *A Different Kind of War: The UN Sanctions Regime in Iraq* (New York: Bergbahn, 2006)を参照。米英ではほとんど取り上げられないが、きわめて重要な研究である。名目上は制裁措置を課したのは国連だが、「米英の制裁措置」で正しい。主にクリントンの犯罪だ。
- 注22 Brian Katulis, Siwar alAssad, and William Morris, “One Year Later: Assessing the Coalition Campaign against ISIS,” *Middle East Policy* 22, no. 4 (Winter 2015).
- 注23 Timo Kivimäki, “First Do No Harm: Do Air Raids Protect Civilians?,” *Middle East Journal* 22, no. 4 (Winter 2015). Chomsky, *Hopes and Prospects*, 241 も参照。
- 注24 Alan Kuperman, “Obama’s Libya Debacle,” *Foreign Affairs* 94, no. 2 (March/ April 2015); Alex de Waal, “African Roles in the Libyan Conflict of 2011,” *International Affairs* 89, no. 2 (2013): 365–79.
- 注25 Peter Bergen and Paul Cruickshank, “The Iraq Effect: War Has Increased Terrorism Sevenfold Worldwide,” *Mother Jones*, 1 March 2007.
- 注26 Physicians for Social Responsibility, “Body Count: Casualty Figures After 10 Years of the ‘War on Terror,’ Iraq, Afghanistan, Pakistan,” March 2015, [http:// www.psr.org/assets/pdfs/bodycount.pdf](http://www.psr.org/assets/pdfs/bodycount.pdf).
- 注27 Kivimäki, “First Do No Harm.”
- 注28 Andrew Cockburn, *Kill Chain: The Rise of the High-Tech Assassins* (New York: Henry Holt, 2015); Bruce Hoffman, “ISIS Is Here: Return of the Jihadi,” *National Interest*, January/February 2016.
- 注29 Polk, *Violent Politics*, 33–34.
- 注30 Scott Atran, “ISIS Is a Revolution,” *Aeon*, 15 December 2015, <https://aeon.co/essays/whyyisishasthepotentialtobeaworldalteringrevolution>; Hoffman, “ISIS Is Here.”
- 注31 Thomas Friedman speaking on *Charlie Rose*, PBS, 29 May 2003, https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=ZwFaSpca_3Q; Dan Murphy, “Thomas Friedman, Iraq War Booster,” *Christian Science Monitor*, 18 March 2013.

- 注32 Atran, “ISIS Is a Revolution.”
- 注33 William R. Polk, “Falling into the ISIS Trap,” *Consortiumnews*, 17 November 2015, <https://consortiumnews.com/2015/11/17/fallingintotheisistrap/>.
- 注34 Ayse Tekdal Fildis, “The Troubles in Syria: Spawned by French Divide and Rule,” *Middle East Policy* 18, no. 4 (Winter 2011), cited by Anne Joyce, editorial, *Middle East Policy* 22, no. 4 (Winter 2015).
- 注35 米移民政策の卑しむべき歴史については、Aviva Chomsky, *Undocumented: How Immigration Became Illegal* (Boston: Beacon Press, 2014)を参照。

二〇一七年版あとがき

- 注 1 Past Five Years Hottest on Record, Says UN weather agency,” United Nations News Centre, 8 November 2016, <http://www.un.org/apps/news/story.asp?NewsID=55503>.
- 注 2 Ben Geman, “Ohio Gov. Kasich Concerned by Climate Change, But Won’t ‘Apologize’ for Coal,” *The Hill*, 2 May 2012, <http://thehill.com/policy/energy-environment/225073kashichtoutsclimatebeliefbutwontapologizeforcoal>.
- 注 3 Coral Davenport, “Donald Trump Could Put Climate Change on Course for ‘Danger Zone,’” *New York Times*, 10 November 2016.
- 注 4 Rahman quoted in Gardiner Harris, “Facing Rising Seas, Bangladesh Confronts the Consequences of Climate Change,” *New York Times*, 28 March 2014.
- 注 5 Avaneesh Pandey, “India Says 330 Million People Reeling Under Severe Drought Triggered By Heat Wave, Low Monsoon Rains,” *International Business Times*, 20 April 2016.
- 注 6 Alan Greenspan, “The Revolution in Information Technology,” remarks before the Boston College Conference on the New Economy, Boston, Massachusetts, 6 March 2000, <https://www.federalreserve.gov/boarddocs/speeches/2000/20000306.htm>; and Alan Greenspan, “Performance of the U.S. Economy,” testimony before the Joint Economic Committee, United States Congress, Washington, D.C., 20 March 1997, <https://www.federalreserve.gov/boarddocs/testimony/1997/199703202.htm>.
- 注 7 Lawrence Mishel, Elise Gould, and Josh Bivens, “Wage Stagnation in Nine Charts,” Economic Policy Institute, 6 January 2015, <http://www.epi.org/publication/chartingwagestagnation/>.

- 注 8 Lawrence Mishel and Colin Gordon, “Real Hourly Wage Growth: The Last Generation,” Economic Policy Institute, 10 October 2012, <http://www.epi.org/blog/realhourlywagegrowthlastgeneration/>.
- 注 9 John Schmitt, “The Minimum Wage is Too Damn Low,” Center for Economic and Policy Research report, March 2012, http://cepr.net/documents/publications/minwage1_201203.pdf.
- 注10 Jesus Christ’s Return to Earth,” Pew Research Center, 14 July 2010; Frank Newport, “In U.S., 46% Hold Creationist View of Human Origins,” Gallup, 1 June 2012.
- 注11 Lawrence M. Krauss, “Donald Trump’s War on Science,” *The New Yorker*, 13 December 2016.
- 注12 Bertram Gross, *Friendly Fascism: The New Face of Power in America* (New York: M. Evans, 1980). バートラム・グロス著『笑顔のファシズム』吉野壮児・鈴木健次訳／日本放送出版協会)