

NOTES

1 SECURING POLITICAL FREEDOM AND SUSTAINABLE DEMOCRACY

1. Brief descriptions of the shocking stories of these three charismatic cult leaders can be found in Dumas, Lloyd J., *Lethal Arrogance: Human Fallibility and Dangerous Technologies* (New York, NY: St. Martin's Press, 1999), pp. 203–210.
2. Senator Lloyd Bentsen of Texas is probably responsible for the term “astroturf” NGOs, having commented about them in the 1980s, that he knew the difference between astroturf and real grass.
3. As quoted from *Campaigns and Elections* in Holmes, Paul, “Who’s Poisoning the Grassroots?” *Reputation Management* (July/August 1998), p. 1 (see http://www.prcentral.com/rm_cover1_july98.htm).
4. See Note 3, p. 2.
5. See Note 3, pp. 3, 9, and 10. See also, Sanchez, Samantha, “How the West Is Won: Astroturf Lobbying and the ‘Wise Use’ Movement”, *The American Prospect* no. 25 (March/April 1996), pp. 37–42 (<http://epn.org/prospect/25/25sanc.html>).
6. Americans for Nonsmokers Rights, “National Smokers’ Alliance Exposed” (www.no-smoke.org/getthefacts.php?id=95, accessed on November 26, 2016).
7. SourceWatch, Coalition for Vehicle Choice, (www.sourcewatch.org/index.php/coalition_for_vehicle_choice, accessed on November 26, 2016).
8. Madison, James, *Federalist Paper #51*, as in Frederick Quinn, editor, *The Federalist Papers Reader* (Washington, DC: Seven Locks Press, 1993), pp. 131–136.
9. It was the concern of James Madison and his colleagues Alexander Hamilton and John Jay about such possibilities that led to their belief that representative democracy was superior to direct democracy. Attacked by their critics as elitist, they believed that representative

- democracy, with checks and balances, would provide “filters” that would refine the will of the people to the general benefit of society. See *The Federalist Papers*.
10. Packard, Vance, *The Hidden Persuaders* (New York, NY: Ig Publishing, 2007, originally published by David McKay Publishers, Inc. in 1957).
 11. See Note 10, p. 214.
 12. See Note 10, p. 187.
 13. Eisenhower, Dwight D., “Farewell Radio and Television Address to the American People”, delivered from the President’s Office (8:30 p.m., January 17, 1961), section IV.
 14. Nelson, Dr Teresa D., in conversation with the author.
 15. Zakaria, Fareed, “The Rise of Illiberal Democracy”, *Foreign Affairs* (November/December 1997).
 16. See Note 10, p. 155.

2 THE MARKET SYSTEM: ACHIEVING EQUITY AND MATERIAL ABUNDANCE

1. See Dumas, Lloyd J., *The Overburdened Economy: Uncovering the Causes of Chronic Unemployment, Inflation and National Decline* (Berkeley, CA: University of California Press, 1986), pp. 53–57.
2. Akerlof, George A. and Shiller, Robert J., *Phishing for Phools: The Economics of Manipulation and Deception* (Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press, 2015), pp. vii and xii.
3. US Securities and Exchange Commission, (www.sec.gov/answers/mortgagesecurities.htm, accessed on December 30, 2016) “Mortgage-backed securities (MBS) are debt obligations that represent claims to the cash flows from pools of mortgage loans, most commonly on residential property. Mortgage loans are purchased from banks, mortgage companies, and other originators and then assembled into pools by a governmental, quasi-governmental, or private entity. The entity then issues securities that represent claims on the principal and interest payments made by borrowers on the loans in the pool, a process known as securitization.”
4. This concept is discussed in Dumas, Lloyd J., *The Overburdened Economy: Uncovering the Causes of Chronic Unemployment, Inflation and National Decline* (Berkeley, CA: University of California Press, 1986).

5. Dawson, Michael, *The Consumer Trap: Big Business Marketing in American Life* (Champaign, IL: University of Illinois Press, 2003), p. 1, as cited by Richard York in a book review, “Manufacturing the Love of Possession” (“Other News”, distributed via email by journalist Roberto Savio; soros@topica.email-publisher.com, February 2, 2004).
6. Mack, Joanna, *Absolute and Overall Poverty* (<http://poverty.ac.uk/definitions-poverty/absolute-and-overall-poverty>, accessed on January 3, 2017). In 1995, the United Nations defined absolute poverty as “a condition characterised by severe deprivation of basic human needs, including food, safe drinking water, sanitation facilities, health, shelter, education and information. It depends not only on income but also on access to services.” Relative poverty refers to having a minimal standard of living as compared to the minimum standard of living common in the particular society at hand, not necessarily as compared to minimum people require to survive.
7. Weber, Max, *The Protestant Ethic and the Spirit of Capitalism* (Translated by Parsons, Talcott; New York, NY: Charles Scribner’s Sons, 1958).
8. See Note 1, pp. 41–44.
9. The Glass–Steagall Act was repealed in 1999 to allow any given financial institution to engage in a wide range of financial activities going well beyond the purpose were originally formed to serve.
10. Louis O. Kelso was one of the founders of the ESOP movement. See for example, Kelso, Louis and Adler, Mortimer, *The Capitalist Manifesto* (Westport, CT: Greenwood Press, 1975).
11. Melman, Seymour, *After Capitalism: From Managerialism to Workplace Democracy* (New York, NY: Alfred A. Knopf, 2001), p. 266.
12. Ellerman, David P., “ESOPs and CO_OPs: Worker Capitalism and Worker Democracy”, *Labor Research Review*, no. 5 (Spring 1985), as cited in Note 11, p. 263.
13. See Note 12, p. 264.
14. See Note 13.
15. The priest, Don José Maria Arrizmendiarieta, and a small group of students he had helped to train, set out the basic principles by which the co-op was to operate. See Note 11, p. 352.
16. http://www.mondragon-corporation.com/wp-content/themes/Mondragon/docs/Perfil-Corporativo-MONDRAGON.pdf?utm_source=Perfil%20Corporativo-eng&utm_medium=pdf&utm_content=Enlace%20

- WEB&utm_campaign=Perfil%20Corporativo%20Anual_eng_pdf%202016, accessed on January 6, 2017, p. 4.
17. See Note 11, p. 355.
 18. The ratio has reached a level of 8:1 “in certain exceptional cases of top-level managers” (<http://www.mondragon-corporation/eng/co-operative-experience/FAQs>, accessed on January 6, 2017).
 19. Each new worker at one of the coops was required to open that capital account with a deposit roughly equal to one year’s salary. If they did not have the cash, the bank lent them the money, and the payments to their capital account were initially used to pay off that loan. See Note 11, pp. 352–355.
 20. “Mondragon: Trouble in Workers’ Paradise”, *The Economist* (November 9, 2013).

3 ATTITUDES: PROMOTING PROGRESS OR DESTROYING DIGNITY?

1. For a detailed analysis of the potential for human fallibility to trigger disaster with nuclear weapons and other dangerous technologies, see Dumas, Lloyd J., *The Technology Trap: Where Human Error and Malevolence Meet Powerful Technologies* (Santa Barbara, CA: Praeger/ABC-CLIO Publishers, 2010).
2. Agence France Presse, “Last Country to Abolish Slavery Adopts Roadmap to End Practice”, huffingtonpost.com (posted February 27, 2014).
3. Free the Slaves, “Trafficking and Slavery Fact Sheet” (<https://www.freetheslaves.net/document.doc?id=34>, accessed on July 28, 2014).
4. DeLuca, Matthew, NBC News staff writer, “‘Modern Day Slavery’: State Dept Says Millions of Human Trafficking Victims Go Unidentified” (June 19, 2013) (http://usnews.nbcnews.com/_news/2013/06/19/19042103-modern-day-slavery-state-dept-says-millions-of-human-trafficking-victims-go-unidentified#, accessed on August 8, 2014).
5. Both GDP and GNP are flawed though tolerable measures of economic size, i.e. the gross amount of economic activity within the area in question. Neither the GDP nor the GNP is a reasonable measure of economic wellbeing or prosperity. See Dumas, Lloyd J., *The Peace-keeping Economy: Using Economic Relationships to Build a More*

- Peaceful, Prosperous, and Secure World* (New Haven, CT: Yale University Press, 2011), pp. 63–64.
6. Dawson, Michael, *The Consumer Trap: Big Business Marketing in American Life* (Urbana and Chicago, IL: University of Illinois Press, 2003), p. 1.
 7. Some of the earliest and most important work on the impact of work environment on life outside the job was done by Robert Karasek. See for example, Karasek, Robert and Theorell, Töres, *Healthy Work: Stress, Productivity, and the Reconstruction of Working Life* (New York, NY: Basic Books, 1990).
 8. “Societal” or “social” costs and benefits are those that affect any or all of those individuals in the society other than those people who are directly involved in running and/or owning the entity generating them. They are the costs and benefits that fall on “the rest of us”.
 9. Media Center, World Health Organization, “Ebola Virus Disease”, Fact sheet No. 103 (updated January 2016, retrieved from <http://www.who.int/mediacentre/factsheets/fs103/en/>, accessed on August 27, 2016).
 10. Sparks, Hannah, “Nurse Who Fought Ebola Quarantine Plans to Leave Maine with Her Boyfriend”, *Boston Globe* (November 8, 2014). About a week after Kaci returned to the US, a judge ruled that she could not be forced into quarantine, although he imposed the requirement that she allow daily monitoring of her health and agree to keep state officials current on her health status and travel plans.
 11. Much more detail on matters related to this experiment is available on the website <http://www.prisonexp.org>.
 12. See Note 11.
 13. See Note 11.
 14. Milgram, Stanley, *Obedience to Authority: An Experimental View* (New York, NY: Harper & Row, 1974).
 15. See Note 14, p. 31.
 16. Burger, Jerry, “Replicating Milgram: Would People Still Obey Today?” *American Psychologist* (January 2009).
 17. See Note 16.
 18. See Note 14, pp. 179–180.
 19. See, for example, Sharp, Gene, *Social Power and Political Freedom* (Boston, MA: Porter Sargent, 1980); *Civilian-Based Defense* (Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press, 1990); and *Waging Nonviolent Struggle*:

- 20th Century Practice and 21st Century Potential* (Boston, MA: Porter Sargent, 2005).
20. Much has been written about Gandhi, his philosophy and its practice. See, for example, Easwaran, Eknath, *Gandhi the Man* (Berkeley, CA: Nilgiri Press, 1978), or Kripilani, Krishna, editor, *All Men Are Brothers: Life and Thoughts of Mahatma Gandhi as Told in His Own Words* (New York, NY: Columbia University Press, 1972).
 21. The sole exception was Romania, where the revolution that overthrew the government of the brutal dictator Nicolai Ceausescu was short but bloody. It is interesting to note that Romania subsequently had a much harder time moving forward, economically and otherwise, than did the other nations of Eastern Europe.
 22. See Kandelaki, Giorgi, “Georgia’s Rose Revolution: A Participant’s Perspective” (United States Institute of Peace, Special Report No. 167, July 2006); and *BBC News*, “Profile: Eduard Shevardnadze” (November 23, 2003); retrieved from <http://news.bbc.co.uk/1/hi/world/europe/3257047.stm>, accessed on August 16, 2008.
 23. Karatmycky, Adrian, “Ukraine’s Orange Revolution”, *Foreign Affairs* (March/April 2005), p. 1.
 24. See Note 23, pp. 6, 7, and 9.
 25. Wright, Robin, *Rock the Casbah: Rage and Rebellion Across the Islamic World* (New York, NY: Simon & Schuster, 2011), p. 3.
 26. Much more detailed descriptions of some 20 additional cases can be found in Sharp, Gene, *Waging Nonviolent Struggle: 20th Century Practice and 21st Century Potential* (Boston, MA: Porter Sargent, 2005), pp. 69–356.
 27. Dumas, Lloyd J., *The Technology Trap: Where Human Error and Malevolence Meet Powerful Technologies* (Santa Barbara, CA: Praeger/ABC-CLIO, 2010), pp. 3–4.
 28. Cohn, Carol, “Slick ’Ems, Glick ’Ems, Christmas Trees, and Cookie Cutters: Nuclear Language and How We Learned to Pat the Bomb”, *Bulletin of the Atomic Scientists* (June 1987), p. 17.
 29. In a very short story, “The War Prayer,” published only after he died, Mark Twain forcefully made the point of how much the language we use can detach us from the reality of what we are actually saying. In his story, a country is caught up in the patriotic fervor of preparing to go to war. In his church on Sunday morning, in front of his congregation, a minister gives a passionate prayer for their soldiers to be victorious,

ending with the fervent words, “Bless our arms, grant us victory, O Lord our God, Father and Protector of our land and flag.” Then Twain has another character translate that prayer into what granting that prayer implies – the terrible violence, the death and destruction these good people are asking a loving God to visit on other human beings. He then asks if the people still want what they have just prayed for. Twain, Mark, “The War Prayer” (<http://www.midwinter.com/lurk/making/warprayer.html>, accessed on March 19, 2015).

30. Bamford, James, “The Most Wanted Man in the World” (<https://www.wired.com/2014/08/edward-snowden/>, accessed on June 11, 2015).
31. Viereck, George Sylvester (26 October 1929). “What Life Means to Einstein”, *The Saturday Evening Post*, p. 117. Retrieved May 19, 2013.
32. As of mid-2015, New Zealand’ population had grown to an estimated 4.6 million (http://www.stats.govt.nz/tools_and_services/population_clock.aspx, accessed on June 18, 2015).
33. Dumas, Lloyd J., *The Peacekeeping Economy: Using Economic Relationships to Build a More Peaceful, Prosperous and Secure World* (New Haven, CT: Yale University Press, 2011).
34. Frankl, Viktor E., *Man’s Search for Meaning: An Introduction to Logotherapy* (New York, NY: Simon & Schuster, Third edition, 1984), p. 75.
35. See Note 34, p. 113.

4 INSTITUTIONS AND ORGANIZATIONS: CONSTRUCTING THE SOCIAL FOUNDATION

1. Some of the earliest and most creative work on this issue was done by Robert A. Karasek. His early works include “Job Socialization: A Longitudinal Study of Work, Political, and Leisure Activity in Sweden” (presented at the Ninth World Congress of Sociology, Uppsala, Sweden. 15 August 1978) and “Job Demands, Job Decision Latitude, and Mental Strain: Implications for Job Redesign,” *Administrative Science Quarterly* 24 (June 1979).
2. The consumer analog to the idea that workers do not care about the type of product they produce is the assumption that people who buy goods and services don’t particularly care about how they are produced. This may be true of many consumers, but it is certainly not true

- of all. Some consumers try to avoid goods and services produced by child labor, slave labor or labor forced to work under very dangerous and unhealthy conditions. Some avoid buying products from companies that use more environmentally damaging production processes. In extremis, this has led to organized consumer boycotts of the products of offending companies, which have sometimes been effective against even very large and powerful companies. See for example, Dumas, Lloyd J., *The Peacekeeping Economy: Using Economic Relationships to Build a More Peaceful, Prosperous and Secure World* (New Haven, CT: Yale University Press, 2011), pp. 111–116.
3. Unpaid work, even if it is pleasant, is not the same as leisure. However, some types of activity that are commonly considered to be leisure are actually unpaid work. For instance, a hobbyist carpenter building furniture for his or her own use or as a gift for someone else is performing unpaid work, as is a home gardener growing vegetables in the backyard. But there are many leisure activities that are clearly not work. Playing recreational sports for exercise and amusement, listening to music and lying on the beach are examples.
 4. Yudken, Joel S., *The viability of craft in advanced industrial society: case study of the contemporary crafts movement in the United States*, Thesis (PhD), Stanford University, 1987.
 5. Lee, Harper, *To Kill a Mockingbird* (New York, NY: J.B. Lippincott Company, Popular Library Edition, 1974), p. 34.
 6. See, for example, the Institute for Civil Society, One Bridge Street (Suite 101), Newton, Massachusetts 02458.
 7. For example, Robert Gilpin, “Considered in relation to the size of national economies and of the international economy, trade, investment and financial flows were greater in the late 1800s than they are at the end of the 1900s. And even though the industrial economies have become much more open, imports and inward investments are still small compared to the size of each domestic economy. ... At the opening of the twenty-first century, we should remember that many important aspects of globalization are not novel developments....” Gilpin, Robert, *The Challenge of Global Capitalism: The World Economy in the 21st Century* (Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press, 2000), pp. 294–295.
 8. Inevitable, that is, if we managed to avoid fighting an all-out war with weapons of mass destruction that our technological prowess also

provided – or in some other way doing intolerable damage to the natural environment on which our lives depend – and thus becoming the first species responsible for its own extinction.

9. “Approximately 40% of all US international trade is intrafirm trade, or international trade that occurs within the firm”, in Clausing, Kimberly, “Tax-Motivated Transfer pricing and US International Trade”, *Journal of Public Economics* 87 (2003), p. 2207. According to Stephen Kobrin (“Technological Determinism, Globalization, and the Multinational Firm”; Wharton School, University of Pennsylvania, 2003, p. 15) “While estimates are hard to come by, it appears that between 30 and 50 % of world ‘trade’ is actually composed of intra-firm transfers between units of multinational firms.” The World Trade Organization’s estimate for 1995 falls within that range: “about one third of the \$6.1 trillion total for world trade in goods and services in 1995 was trade within companies” (See World Trade Organization, *Understanding the WTO*, 2005 edition, online at www.wto.org, p. 72).
10. Dumas, Lloyd J., *The Peacekeeping Economy: Using Economic Relationships to Build a More Peaceful, Prosperous, and Secure World* (New Haven, CT: Yale University Press, 2011) includes much more discussion and analysis of the principles of economic peacekeeping, how to implement them, and the kinds of institutions that would be useful in supporting them.
11. This concept of balance and benefit is consistent with Aristotle’s dictum that “the well-being of every polis depends on each of its elements rendering to others an amount equivalent to what it received from them”, though in a very different context (See Aristotle, *Politics*, translated by Earnest Barker. London: Oxford University Press, 1958, p. 41.).
12. Kapstein, Ethan, *Economic Justice in an Unfair World: Toward a Level Playing Field* (Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press, 2006), pp. 35–36.
13. See Note 10, p. 43.
14. Leitenberg, Milton, “Deaths in Wars and Conflicts in the 20th Century”, Occasional Paper #29, 3rd edition, Cornell University Peace Studies Program (August 2006), p. 79 estimates 40, 968,000 fatal casualties were suffered in all wars between 1945 and 2000. The Polynational War Memorial, “Wars Since 1900”

- (http://www.war-memorial.net/wars_all.asp?Y1=1945&y2=2015, accessed September 10, 2016), lists 162 wars between 1945 and 2015.
15. The formation of the ECSC was the result of a proposal by Robert Schuman, the Minister for Foreign Affairs of France. This proposal was based on provisions in the Marshall Plan, the American plan for the postwar economic reconstruction of Europe. Rittberger, B. "Which Institutions for Post-War Europe? Explaining the Institutional Design of Europe's First Community", *Journal of European Public Policy* (2001: 8(5)), pp. 673–708.
 16. France has intervened militarily in Africa multiple times since the 1970s. Britain fought a war with Argentina over the Falkland (Malvinas) Islands in the early 1980s, and intervened in Sierra Leone in 2000 and in Libya in 2011. As members of the NATO military alliance, all of these nations were directly or indirectly involved in NATO's bombing of Kosovo in the late 1990s and subsequent occupation. The NATO decision to bomb Kosovo had to be agreed by all 19 member nations. Thirty-six nations contributed troops to the so-called "KFOR" military force, including Belgium, France, Germany, Italy, Portugal, Spain, and the UK.
 17. It may take some time yet to see just how the UK's withdrawal from the EU affects its behavior.
 18. The origin of this poetic phrase is in dispute. Some have attributed it (possibly inaccurately), to a speech made in 1854 to the US Congress by Chief Seattle of the Suquamish tribe of Native Americans from what was later to become the State of Washington.
 19. For a more complete analysis of the nature of the climate change problem and sensible strategies for dealing with it, see Dumas, Lloyd J., *Seeds of Opportunity: Climate Change Challenges and Solutions* (a 20,000 word monograph), Civil Society Institute (Cambridge, MA: April 2006; <http://www.resultsforamerica.org/calendar/files/041906%20Seeds%20of%20Oppty%20Dumas%20report%20FINAL.pdf>).
 20. World Trade Organization, *Understanding the WTO* (Geneva: 2005 edition), p. 65 (accessible online at www.wto.org), p. 66.
 21. Barnett, Richard J. and Muller, Ronald E., *Global Reach: The Power of the Multinational Corporations* (New York, NY: Simon & Schuster, 1974), p. 13.

5 LIMITS AND INCENTIVES: TOOLS FOR AN EFFICIENT,
FAIR, AND RESPONSIBLE SOCIETY

1. Nye, Joseph, "Limits of American Power", *Political Science Quarterly* (117, no. 4, 2002–2003).
2. "CEO-To-Worker Pay Ratio Ballooned 1,000 Percent Since 1950: Report" https://www.huffpost.com/entry/ceo-to-worker-pay-ratio_n_3184623, accessed on December 26, 2015). See also, Smith, Elliot Blair and Kuntz, Phil, "CEO Pay 1,1795-to-1 Multiple of Wages Skirts US Law", *Bloomberg Business* (April 29, 2013).
3. The issue in the Nestles boycott was not that the company was selling substandard product, but – among other things – that the conditions required to use the infant formula properly (such as access to clean water) were not readily available to Third World purchasers, and that the expense of the formula was such that poorer purchasers were tempted to dilute it too much.
4. Jackson, Janice E., "Crisis Management Lessons: When Push Shoved Nike – Boycott of Nike by People United to Serve Humanity", *Business Horizons* (January–February 1993).
5. Mueller, William, "Who's Afraid of Food?" *American Demographics* (September 1990), p. 40, as cited in Note 4.
6. It must be noted that some of Nike's critics remained unsatisfied that it has fulfilled the commitments made in Knight's speech to the National Press Club. Consequently, a variety of organizations continued to call for consumer action against the company. See Connor, Tim, "Nike's Labor Practices in the Three Years Since CEO Phil Knight's Speech to the National Press Club", *Global Exchange* (May 2001) published on-line at https://papers.ssrn.com/sol3/papers.cfm?abstract_id=2496327.
7. Ballentine, Karen, "Peace Before Profit: the Challenges of Governance" in *Profiting from Peace: Managing the Resource Dimensions of Civil War*, editors, Karen Ballentine and Heiko Nitzschke (Boulder, CO: Lynne Rienner, 2005) p. 473. For more details on the Kimberly Process see Smillie, Ian, "What Lessons from the Kimberly Process Certification Scheme?" in the same volume, pp. 47–68.
8. Martin, Andrew, "Burger King Shifts Policy on Animals", *New York Times* (March 28, 2007).

9. Barbaro, Michael, "Home Depot to Display an Environmental Label", *New York Times* (April 17, 2007).
10. Nierenberg, Danielle, "21 Organizations Fighting for Labor Rights in the Food System", *Huffington Post* (November 18, 2015).
11. Speth, James Gustave, *America the Possible: Manifesto for a New Economy* (New Haven, CT: Yale University Press, 2012), pp. 28–29.
12. See Note 11, p. 29.
13. Carnegie, Andrew, "Wealth", *North American Review* (June 1889), No. CCCXCI (<http://www.swarthmore.edu/SocSci/rbannis1/AIH19th/Carnegie.html>, accessed on January 6, 2015).
14. See Note 11, pp. 82–83. Speth cites Myers, David, "What Is the Good Life?" *Yes! A Journal of Positive Futures* (Summer 2004), p. 15. See also Myers, David G., *The American Paradox: Spiritual Hunger in an Age of Plenty* (New Haven, CT: Yale University Press, 2000).
15. By 1911, the Standard Oil Trust, which had come to control 90 percent of the oil market in the US, was broken into more than 30 independent rival companies by government antitrust action. In the mid-1940s, competition was restored to the aluminum industry when the government artificially created two rivals for the Aluminum Company of America (ALCOA) – which had come to nearly completely dominate that industry – by selling off government aluminum manufacturing facilities that had been built as part of the WWII war effort to other firms. See Stelzer, Irwin M., *Selected Antitrust Cases* (Homewood, IL: Richard D. Irwin, 1976); see also Thompson, George C. and Brady, Gerald P., *Texts, Cases and Materials: Antitrust Fundamentals* (St Paul, MN: West Publishing Company, 1974).
16. Madison, James, *Federalist Paper #51*, as in Frederick Quinn, editor, *The Federalist Papers Reader* (Washington, DC: Seven Locks Press, 1993), pp. 131–136.
17. Dr Teresa Nelson, in conversation with the author.
18. For example, see Falk, Richard, "On (Not) Loving Henry Kissinger" (May 21, 2016) <https://richardfalk.wordpress.com/2016/05/21/on-not-loving-henry-kissinger/>, accessed on May 23, 2016.
19. Seidman, Bianca, "Drug Price Increases 5000 percent Overnight", *CBS News* (September 21, 2015; <http://www.cbsnews.com>).

6 DEMOCRATIC TRANSITIONS: CREATING, PROTECTING,
AND SUSTAINING THE GOOD SOCIETY

1. These nations included Bulgaria, Czechoslovakia, East Germany, Hungary, Poland, Romania, and Yugoslavia.
2. These nations, formerly republics of the Soviet Union, included Armenia, Azerbaijan, Belarus, Estonia, Georgia, Kazakhstan, Kyrgyzstan, Latvia, Lithuania, Moldavia, Tajikistan, Turkmenistan, Ukraine, Uzbekistan, and of course Russia.
3. See Kandelaki, Giorgi, “Georgia’s Rose Revolution: A Participant’s Perspective” (United States Institute of Peace, Special Report No. 167, July 2006); and *BBC News*, “Profile: Eduard Shevardnadze” (November 23, 2003); retrieved from <http://news.bbc.co.uk/1/hi/world/europe/3257047.stm>, accessed on August 16, 2008.
4. Karatnycky, Adrian, “Ukraine’s Orange Revolution”, *Foreign Affairs* (March/April 2005), p. 1.
5. See Note 4, p. 5. and Quinn-Judge, Paul and Zarakhovich, Yuri, “The Orange Revolution”, *Time* (November 28, 2004), p. 3.
6. See Note 4, pp. 6, 7, and 9.
7. Nathan, Andrew J., “The Tiananmen Papers”, *Foreign Affairs* (January/February 2001), pp. 1–2.
8. “Tiananmen Square Protest”, *Microsoft Encarta Online Encyclopedia 2008*, <http://encarta.msn.com>, accessed on August 19, 2008; “1989: Massacre in Tiananmen Square” *BBC, On This Day* (June 4, 1989), <http://news.bbc.co.uk/onthistoday>, accessed on August 19, 2008. For a much more detailed account of this period and the events leading up to it, see Nathan, Andrew J., “The Tiananmen Papers”, *Foreign Affairs* (January/February 2001).
9. Wright, Robin, *Rock the Casbah: Rage and Rebellion Across the Islamic World* (New York, NY: Simon & Schuster, 2011), p. 3.
10. Villamor, Felipe, “Duterte says, ‘My only Sin is the Extrajudicial Killings’”, *New York Times* (September 27, 2018).
11. Albright, Madeleine, and Woodward, Bill, *Fascism: A Warning* (New York, NY: HarperCollins, 2018), p. 210.
12. See Note 11.
13. *Encyclopedia Britannica*, “Vladimir Putin, President of Russia” (<https://www.britannica.com/biography/Vladimir-Putin>, accessed on May 23, 2019).

14. Glasser, Susan B., “Our Putin”, *New York Times* (February 19, 2019).
15. See Note 13.
16. Much more detailed descriptions of some 20 additional cases can be found in Sharp, Gene, *Waging Nonviolent Struggle: 20th Century Practice and 21st Century Potential* (Boston, MA: Porter Sargent, 2005), pp. 69–356.
17. “Grandfather Clauses, Literacy Tests, and the White Primary”, USLegal.com (<http://civilrights.uslegal.com/voting-rights/grandfather-clauses-literacy-tests-and-the-white-primary/>, accessed on June 23, 2016).
18. Prokop, Andrew, editor, “Gerrymandering Explained: What is Gerrymandering?” (May 15, 2015) (<http://www.vox.com/cards/gerrymandering-explained/what-is-gerrymandering>, accessed on June 23, 2016).
19. As of this writing, there are some NGOs in the US that use or even focus on fact checking (such as Mediamatters.org and Factcheck.org). But there need to be more and they need to have much wider public outreach.
20. “*The Candidate*” (1972) directed by Michael Ritchie; screenplay by Jeremy Lerner; director of cinematography, John Korty; editors, Richard A. Harris and Robert Estrin; produced by Walter Coblenz; distributed by Warner Brothers.
21. Eisenhower, Dwight D., “Farewell Radio and Television Address to the American People”, delivered from the President’s Office (8:30 p.m., January 17, 1961), section IV.
22. Dumas, Lloyd J., Wedel, Janine R., and Callman, Greg, *Confronting Corruption, Building Accountability: Lessons from the World of International Development Advising* (New York, NY: Palgrave Macmillan, 2010), p. 24.

CONCLUSION: THE CORE PRINCIPLES OF A GOOD SOCIETY

1. See Karasek, Robert and Theorell, Töres, *Healthy Work: Stress, Productivity and the Reconstruction of Working Life* (New York, NY: Basic Books, 1990), especially pp. 31–34.
2. The origin of this poetic phrase is in dispute. Some have attributed it (possibly inaccurately), to a speech made in 1854 to the US Congress by Chief Seattle of the Suquamish tribe of Native Americans from what was later to become the State of Washington.
3. Environment Canada (The Environmental Ministry of the Canadian Government), “The Science of Climate Change” (http://www.ec.gc.ca/climate/overview_science-e.html, September 10, 2005), p. 1.