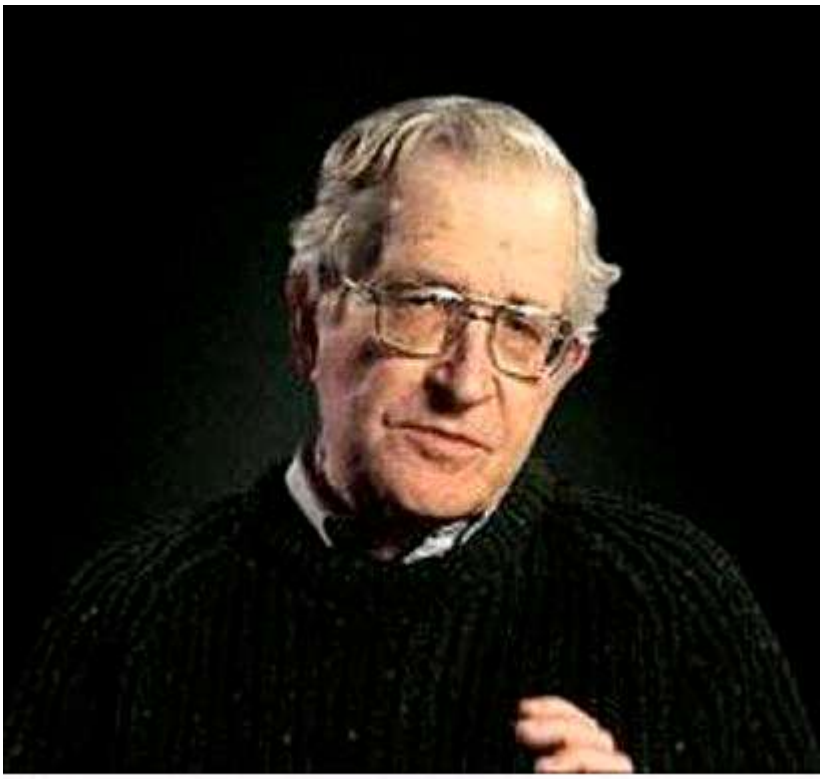
The Top 200 Chomsky Lies

Version 3.0

Compiled by Paul Bogdanor



“He begins as a preacher to the world and ends as an intellectual crook.”

– Arthur Schlesinger
(*Commentary*, December 1969)

“Noam Chomsky skittles and skithers all over the political landscape to distract the reader’s attention from the plain truth.”

– Sidney Hook
(*The Humanist*, March-April 1971)

“In his ideological fanaticism he constantly shifts his arguments and bends references, quotations and facts, while declaring his ‘commitment to find the truth.’”

– Leopold Labedz
(*Encounter*, July 1980)

“Even on the rare occasions when Mr. Chomsky is dealing with facts and not with fantasies, he exaggerates by a factor of, plus or minus, four or five.”

– Walter Laqueur
(*The New Republic*, March 24, 1982)

“After many years, I came to the conclusion that everything he says is false. He will lie just for the fun of it. Every one of his arguments was tinged and coded with falseness and pretense. It was like playing chess with extra pieces. It was all fake.”

– Paul Postal
(*The New Yorker*, March 31, 2003)

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10.

The Lie: "in comparison to the conditions imposed by US tyranny and violence, East Europe under Russian rule was practically a paradise."[1]

The Truth: The communists murdered over 4 million people in Ukraine;[2] 200,000 in Hungary;[3] 185,000 in East Germany;[4] 180,000 in Yugoslavia;[5] 150,000 in Poland;[6] 120,000 in Romania;[7] 100,000 in Lithuania;[8] at least 69,000 in Belarus;[9] 30,000-40,000 in Bulgaria;[10] 30,000 in Estonia;[11] 20,000 in Czechoslovakia;[12] 15,000 in Latvia;[13] and 5,000 in Albania.[14] Other crimes included the murder of over 500,000 POWs[15] and the rape of at least 2 million women by the Red Army.[16]

9.

The Lie: "Western norms require that we compare Eastern and Western Europe to demonstrate our virtue and their vileness, a childish absurdity… Elementary rationality would lead someone interested in alternative social and economic paths to compare societies that were more or less alike before the Cold War began, say Russia

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[1] Letter reprinted in Alexander Cockburn, *The Golden Age Is In Us* (Verso, 1995), pp. 149-51.

[2] Some 3.934 million – including 1.31 million young children – were starved to death in Ukraine in the Holodomor: Sergei Maksudov, "Victory Over the Peasantry," *Harvard Ukrainian Studies*, Fall 2001, pp. 228-9. Another 123,421 were shot in the Great Terror: Timothy Snyder, *Bloodlands: Europe Between Hitler and Stalin* (Basic Books, 2010), p. 107.

[3] Tamas Stark, "Genocide or Genocidal Massacre? The Case of Hungarian Prisoners in Soviet Custody," *Human Rights Review*, April-June 2000, pp. 109-18.

[4] Timothy Snyder, *Bloodlands: Europe Between Hitler and Stalin* (Basic Books, 2010), p. 318.

[5] Michael Portmann, "Communist Retaliation and Persecution on Yugoslav Territory During and After WWII (1943-1950)," *Tokovi istorije*, Nos. 1-2, 2004, p. 74.

[6] Agence France Presse, August 26, 2009, citing Poland's Institute of National Remembrance.

[7] *The Scotsman*, July 13, 2013.

[8] *US News & World Report*, October 20, 1997, citing Lithuania's Genocide and Resistance Research Department.

[9] Some 39,000 were starved to death in the famine: "Famine Lecture Presents Findings of Holodomor Demography Research Team": http://www.lucorg.com/news.php/news/4724. At least another 30,000 were shot in the purges: David R. Marples, "Kuropaty: The Investigation of a Stalinist Historical Controversy," *Slavic Review*, Summer 1994, p. 515. Estimates of the numbers buried in mass graves run as high as 300,000: Ronald J. Hill, "Post-Soviet Belarus: In Search of Direction," in Stephen White *et al.*, *Postcommunist Belarus* (Rowman & Littlefield, 2005), p. 4.

[10] Karel Bartosek, "Central and Southeastern Europe," in Stephane Courtois, ed., *The Black Book of Communism* (Harvard University Press, 1999), p. 395.

[11] Estonian State Commission on Examination of the Policies of Repression, *The White Book: Losses Inflicted on the Estonian Nation by Occupation Regimes, 1940-1991* (Republic of Estonia, 2005), pp. 27, 32. This is the approximate sum of figures given there: 7,400-7,800 dead under arrest + "about half" of 9,267 deportees + 179 executed + 2,199 murdered without trial + another 16,000 dead in the second Soviet occupation.

[12] *Philadelphia Inquirer*, November 3, 1999.

[13] Ritvars Jansons, "Repressive Action of the Communist Regime and its Consequences in Latvia": http://www.kgbdocuments.eu/index.php?1553820310. This is the approximate sum of figures given there: 6,081 deportees + the "majority" of 7,670 deportees + 183 dead in transit + 4,941 deportees.

[14] *New York Times*, July 8, 1997, citing the Association of Former Political Prisoners.

[15] David M. Glantz and Jonathan House, *When Titans Clashed: How the Red Army Stopped Hitler* (University Press of Kansas, 1995), p. 307.

[16] Anthony Beevor, *The Fall of Berlin 1945* (Penguin, 2003), p. 410.

or Brazil… Such comparisons, if honestly undertaken, would elicit some self-reflection among decent people…"[17]

The Truth: In Russia, Lenin's food confiscations inflicted famine on over 33 million people, including 7 million children, and left 4-5 million dead;[18] Stalin's assault on the peasants killed another 8.5 million, half of them children.[19] Brazil experienced nothing of the kind.

8.

The Lie: "Internal [Soviet] crimes abated [after 1945]; though remaining very serious they were scarcely at the level of typical American satellites, a commonplace in the Third World, where the norms of Western propriety do not hold."[20]

The Truth: In 1947, the Soviets withheld food from famine victims, causing up to 1.5 million deaths.[21] During 1945-53, there were over 300,000 officially recorded deaths in the Gulag; by 1953, the slave/deportee population exceeded 5.2 million.[22] No US satellite in Europe or in Latin America was guilty of anything even remotely comparable.

7.

The Lie: "In the Soviet sphere of influence, torture appears to have been on the decline since the death of Stalin… Since it has declined in the Soviet sphere since the death of Stalin, it would appear that this cancerous growth is largely a Free World phenomenon."[23]

The Truth: Until the late 1980s, the Soviets ran 1,000 concentration camps where inmates endured constant violence.[24] Torture was systematic in Soviet satellites in the Third World.[25]

6.

The Lie: "Imagine the reaction if the Soviet police were to deal with refuseniks in any way comparable to the Israeli [anti-riot] practices that briefly reached the television screens."[26]

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[17] *World Orders, Old and New* (Pluto Press, 1994), p. 40.
[18] Richard Pipes, *Russia Under the Bolshevik Regime* (Vintage, 1995), pp. 410-19; Roman Serbyn, "The Famine of 1921-1923" in Roman Serbyn and Bohdan Krawchenko, eds., *Famine in Ukraine 1932-1933* (Canadian Institute of Ukrainian Studies, 1986), p. 169.
[19] Sergei Maksudov, "Victory Over the Peasantry," *Harvard Ukrainian Studies*, Fall 2001, p. 229.
[20] *World Orders, Old and New* (Columbia University Press, 1996), p. 39.
[21] Michael Ellman, "The 1947 Soviet Famine and the Entitlement Approach to Famines," *Cambridge Journal of Economics*, September 2000, pp. 603-30.
[22] Anne Applebaum, *Gulag: A History* (Doubleday, 2003), pp. 583, 579, 581.
[23] *The Washington Connection and Third World Fascism* (South End Press, 1979), p. 8.
[24] *US News & World Report*, May 19, 1986. See also Avraham Shifrin, *The First Guidebook to Prisons and Concentration Camps of the Soviet Union* (Bantam Books, 1982).
[25] See, e.g., Armando Valladares, *Against All Hope* (Coronet, 1987), pp. 400-26; Nghia M. Vo, *The Bamboo Gulag: Political Imprisonment in Communist Vietnam* (McFarland, 2004), pp. 133-6.
[26] *Fateful Triangle* (rev. ed., Pluto Press, 1999), p. 486.

The Truth: The Soviet police held 10,000 dissidents in psychiatric prisons and concentration camps. An estimated 50,000 were sent to uranium mines to die of radiation poisoning.[27] Such practices elicited little reaction abroad because the Soviets did not allow them to reach the television screens.

5.

The Lie: "[Regarding] China's actions in Tibet… it is a bit too simple to say that 'China did indeed take over a country that did not want to be taken over.' This is by no means the general view of Western scholarship."**[28]**

The Truth: The Chinese invasion provoked massive popular uprisings, which Mao welcomed because they could be crushed by force.[29] State terror and man-made famine had killed up to 500,000 Tibetans by the mid-1960s.[30]

4.

The Lie: "It's clear, I believe, that the emphasis on the use of terror and violence in China was considerably less than in the Soviet Union and that the success was considerably greater in achieving a just society."[31]

The Truth: China's communists officially stated that they had executed 800,000 in the first few years of their dictatorship.[32] Unofficially, they admitted to the massacre of 2 million in just one year.[33] In the first decade of communism, 4 million died in the Chinese Gulag.[34] The communists publicly declared that they had persecuted 20-30 million as class enemies in their first decade[35] and that there were 100 million victims of persecution during the Cultural Revolution.[36]

3.

The Lie: "There are many things to object to in any society. But take China, modern China; one also finds many things that are really quite admirable… [In China] a good deal of the collectivization and communization was really based on mass participation and took place after a level of understanding had been reached in the peasantry that led to this next step."**[37]**

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[27] *US News & World Report*, May 19, 1986; see also *Wall Street Journal*, December 21, 1984, *The Times*, UK, July 11, 1986.
[28] Letters, *New York Review of Books*, April 20, 1967.
[29] Warren W. Smith, *Tibetan Nation: A History of Tibetan Nationalism and Sino-Tibetan Relations* (Westview Press, 1996), pp. 399-412, 440-50, 548-51, 600; Jung Chang and Jon Halliday, *Mao: The Unknown Story* (Jonathan Cape, 2005), pp. 473-7.
[30] Patrick French, *Tibet, Tibet* (HarperCollins, 2003), p. 292.
[31] Alexander Klein, ed., *Dissent, Power, and Confrontation* (McGraw-Hill, 1971), p. 112.
[32] *New York Times*, June 13, 1957.
[33] Richard Hughes, exchange with Allen S. Whiting, "In Mao's China," *New York Times Magazine*, November 15, 1970. Hughes cites Kung Peng, the information adviser to the Chinese Foreign Ministry.
[34] Klaus Mühlhahn, *Criminal Justice in China: A History* (Harvard University Press, 2009), p. 270.
[35] *The Times*, UK, November 14, 1984.
[36] *New York Times*, November 17, 1980.
[37] Alexander Klein, ed., *Dissent, Power, and Confrontation* (McGraw-Hill, 1971), pp. 117-8.

The Truth: The communists reduced 550 million peasants to slavery. They forced at least 90 million to work on furnace-building projects alone. When famine resulted, they cut the food ration and used mass terror to stop the peasants eating their own harvest. Victims, including children, were tortured, buried alive, strangled or mutilated.[38]

2.

The Lie: "Also relevant is the history of collectivization in China, which, as compared with the Soviet Union, shows a much higher reliance on persuasion and mutual aid than on force and terror, and appears to have been more successful."[39]

The Truth: Its culmination was the Great Leap Forward, the worst man-made catastrophe in history, in which tens of millions died.[40]

1.

The Lie: "Of course, no one supposed that Mao literally murdered tens of millions of people [in the famine], or that he 'intended' that any die at all."[41]

The Truth: Mao spoke of sacrificing 300 million people, or half of China's population. He warned that the policies he later adopted would kill 50 million people. Grain exported by the communists was sufficient to feed the numbers who starved to death, which they privately estimated at 30 million.[42]

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[38] Jung Chang and Jon Halliday, *Mao: The Unknown Story* (Jonathan Cape, 2005), pp. 450, 452-4.
[39] *American Power and the New Mandarins* (rev. ed., The New Press, 2002), p. 137n56.
[40] Frank Dikötter, *Mao's Great Famine* (Bloomsbury, 2010); Yang Jisheng, *Tombstone: The Untold Story of Mao's Great Famine* (Allen Lane, 2012).
[41] "Second Reply to Casey," ZNet, September 2001: http://www.webcitation.org/6IJYbusnc
[42] Jung Chang and Jon Halliday, *Mao: The Unknown Story* (Jonathan Cape, 2005), pp. 457-8. Cf. Carl Riskin, "Seven Questions About the Chinese Famine of 1959-61," *China Economic Review*, Autumn 1998, p. 119: "enough was known [among the communist leadership] to let us conclude that ignorance is not even an accurate excuse."

II. 10 Chomsky Lies About Communist Mass Murderers – Indochina

10.

The Lie: "the basic sources for the larger estimates of killings in the North Vietnamese land reform were persons affiliated with the CIA or the Saigon Propaganda Ministry… there is no evidence that the leadership ordered or organized mass executions of peasants."[43]

The Truth: Reports from North Vietnamese defectors suggested that 50,000 were massacred; a Hungarian diplomat was told that 60,000 were massacred.[44] A French leftist witness wrote that 100,000 had been slaughtered.[45] Land reform cadres reported 120,000-160,000 killed.[46] A former communist official has stated that 172,000 were killed or driven to suicide in a "genocide triggered by class discrimination."[47]

9.

The Lie: "Revolutionary success in Vietnam both in theory and practice was based primarily on understanding and trying to meet the needs of the masses… A movement geared to winning support from the rural masses is not likely to resort to bloodbaths among the rural population."[48]

The Truth: Viet Cong death squads killed at least 37,000 civilians in South Vietnam. They also waged a mass murder campaign against civilian hamlets and refugee camps; in the peak war years, nearly a third of all civilian deaths were the result of Viet Cong atrocities.[49]

8.

The Lie: "given the very confused state of events and evidence plus the total unreliability of US-Saigon 'proofs,' at a minimum it can be said that the NLF-DRV 'bloodbath' at Hue [in South Vietnam] was constructed on flimsy evidence indeed."[50]

The Truth: The communists boasted of murdering thousands in Hue. One regiment reported that its units alone killed 1,000 victims. Another report mentioned 2,867 killed. Yet another document boasted of over 3,000 killed. A further document listed 2,748 executions.[51]

7.

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[43] *The Washington Connection and Third World Fascism* (South End Press, 1979), pp. 342, 432n168.
[44] Robert F. Turner, *Vietnamese Communism: Its Origins and Development* (Hoover Institution Press, 1975), pp. 141-3, 155-7.
[45] Gerard Tongas, *L'enfer communiste au Nord Viêt-Nam* (Nouvelles Editions Debresse, 1960), p. 222.
[46] Lam Thanh Liem, "Chinh sach cai cach ruong dat cua Ho Chi Minh," in Jean-Francois Revel *et al.*, *Ho Chi Minh* (Nam A, 1990), p. 203.
[47] Nguyen Minh Can, interviewed by Radio Free Asia, June 8, 2006.
[48] *The Washington Connection and Third World Fascism* (South End Press, 1979), pp. 340-1.
[49] Guenter Lewy, *America in Vietnam* (Oxford University Press, 1978), pp. 272-3, 448-9.
[50] *The Washington Connection and Third World Fascism* (South End Press, 1979), p. 352.
[51] Stephen T. Hosmer, *Viet Cong Repression and its Implications for the Future* (Rand, 1970), pp. 73-4.

The Lie: "In a phenomenon that has few parallels in Western experience, there appear to have been close to zero retribution deaths in postwar Vietnam. This miracle of reconciliation and restraint… has been almost totally ignored."[52]

The Truth: According to one defector, at least 50,000 were executed.[53] According to other defectors, 200,000 Viet Cong deserters were targets for execution.[54] Between 1.5 million and 2.5 million were sent to "re-education camps."[55] These camps had a 10% annual death rate from 1975 to 1979.[56] Mass expulsions caused the drowning of 200,000-400,000 boat people, according to the UN High Commission for Refugees.[57]

6.

The Lie: "When the war ended in 1975, the victorious Pathet Lao appear to have made some efforts to achieve a reconciliation with the mountain tribesmen who had been organized in the CIA clandestine army [in Laos]."[58]

The Truth: The communist Pathet Lao waged a campaign of genocide, murdering an estimated 100,000 tribespeople.[59] Their methods included massacres, terror bombing, concentration camps and mass rape.[60]

5.

The Lie: "it seems fair to describe the responsibility of the United States and Pol Pot for atrocities during 'the decade of the genocide' as being roughly in the same range."[61]

The Truth: Demographic evidence indicates that the US killed about 40,000 Khmer Rouge fighters and Cambodian civilians during 1970-5, and that the Khmer Rouge murdered at least 1.8 million civilians during 1975-9.[62]

4.

The Lie: "The harshest critics claim that perhaps 100,000 people have been slaughtered [in Cambodia]… Comparing East Timor with Cambodia, we see that the time frame of alleged atrocities is the same, the numbers allegedly slaughtered are

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[52] *The Washington Connection and Third World Fascism* (South End Press, 1979), p. 28.
[53] *Human Events*, August 27, 1977.
[54] Al Santoli, ed., *To Bear Any Burden* (Indiana University Press, 1999), pp. 272, 292-3.
[55] Hanoi's official admissions, quoted in Jacqueline Desbarats and Karl D. Jackson, "Political Violence in Vietnam: The Dark Side of Liberation," *Indochina Report*, No. 6, April June 1986, p. 16.
[56] *Violations of Human Rights in the Socialist Republic of Vietnam, April 1975-December 1988* (Aurora Foundation, 1989), p. 16. See Nghia M. Vo, *The Bamboo Gulag: Political Imprisonment in Communist Vietnam* (McFarland, 2004).
[57] Associated Press, June 23, 1979, *San Diego Union*, July 20, 1986. See generally Nghia M. Vo, *The Vietnamese Boat People, 1954 and 1975-1992* (McFarland, 2006).
[58] *After the Cataclysm* (South End Press, 1979), p. 122.
[59] *Forced Back and Forgotten* (Lawyers' Committee for Human Rights, 1989), p. 8.
[60] Jane Hamilton-Merritt, *Tragic Mountains: The Hmong, the Americans, and the Secret Wars for Laos, 1942-1992* (Indiana Uniersity Press, 1999), pp. 337-460.
[61] *Manufacturing Consent* (Vintage, 1994), pp. 264-5.
[62] Marek Sliwinski, *Le Génocide Khmer Rouge: Une Analyse Démographique* (L'Harmattan, 1995), pp. 41-8, 57.

roughly comparable in absolute terms, and five to ten times as high in East Timor relative to population… my own conclusion is that the sources in the [case of] East Timor are more credible…"[63]

The Truth: A Truth Commission found that the Indonesian war in East Timor involved 18,600 violent killings by both sides and 75,000-183,000 deaths from hunger and illness.[64] Genocide investigators have determined that the Khmer Rouge perpetrated 1.1 million violent killings and murdered 2.2 million victims overall.[65]

3.

The Lie: "If 2-2½ million people... have been systematically slaughtered by a band of murderous thugs who have taken over the government, then [Senator] McGovern is willing to consider international military intervention. We presume that he would not have made this proposal if the figure of those killed were, say, less by a factor of 100 – that is 25,000 people... [or] if the deaths in Cambodia were not the result of systematic slaughter and starvation organized by the state..."[66]

The Truth: No honest observer thought that only 25,000 people had died under the Khmer Rouge. No honest observer denied that the mass deaths had been the result of systematic slaughter and starvation. A UN investigation reported 2-3 million dead, while UNICEF estimated 3 million dead.[67] Even the Khmer Rouge acknowledged 2 million deaths – which they attributed to the Vietnamese invasion.[68]

2.

The Lie: "the evacuation of Phnom Penh [by the Khmer Rouge], widely denounced at the time and since for its undoubted brutality, may actually have saved many lives."[69]

The Truth: At least 30,000 very young children died as a direct result of the Khmer Rouge evacuation of Phnom Penh.[70] In total, at least 870,000 men, women and children from Phnom Penh died under the Khmer Rouge dictatorship.[71]

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[63] *Radical Priorities* (rev. ed., AK Press, 2003), p. 80.
[64] *Final Report of the Commission for Reception, Truth and Reconciliation in East Timor (CAVR)*, 2006, part 6, paras. 47, 56-7: http://www.cavr-timorleste.org/chegaFiles/finalReportEng/06-Profile-of-Violations.pdf. Of the unlawful violent killings, 70% (about 13,100) were committed by the Indonesian side, 29.6% (about 5,500) by the Fretilin rebels: see ibid., part 7.2, paras. 12, 889: http://www.cavr-timorleste.org/chegaFiles/finalReportEng/07.2-Unlawful-Killings-and-Enforced-Disappearances.pdf.
[65] Craig Etcheson, *After the Killing Fields* (Praeger, 2005), p. 119.
[66] *After the Cataclysm* (South End Press, 1979), pp. 138-9.
[67] William Shawcross, *The Quality of Mercy: Cambodia, Holocaust and Modern Conscience* (Touchstone, 1985), pp. 115-6.
[68] Khieu Samphan, Interview, *Time*, March 10, 1980.
[69] *After the Cataclysm* (South End Press, 1979), p. 160.
[70] Ea Meng-Try, "Kampuchea: A Country Adrift," *Population and Development Review*, June 1981, p. 214.
[71] Marek Sliwinski, *Le Génocide Khmer Rouge: Une Analyse Démographique* (L'Harmattan, 1995), p. 57.

The Lie: "At the end of 1978 Cambodia [under the Khmer Rouge] was the only country in Indochina that had succeeded at all in overcoming the agricultural crisis that was left by the American destruction."[72]

The Truth: Famine killed over 950,000 people under the Khmer Rouge.[73] By late 1979, UN and Red Cross officials were warning that another 2.25 million faced starvation thanks to "the near destruction of Cambodian society under the regime of the ousted Prime Minister Pol Pot." They found starving children wherever they went.[74]

[72] *Language and Politics* (AK Press, 2004), pp. 245-6. Cf.: "it was a condition of survival to turn (or return) the populations to productive work. The victors in Cambodia undertook drastic and often brutal measures to accomplish this task… At a heavy cost, these measures appear to have overcome the dire and destructive consequences of the US war by 1978," *After the Cataclysm* (South End Press, 1979), p. viii.
[73] Marek Sliwinski, *Le Génocide Khmer Rouge: Une Analyse Démographique* (L'Harmattan, 1995), p. 82.
[74] *New York Times*, August 8, 1979.

III. 10 Chomsky Lies About Modern History

10.

The Lie: "Let's just take our own history, the history of the conquest of the Western Hemisphere… Current anthropological work indicates that the number of native people in the Western Hemisphere may have approached something like 100 million…"[75]

The Truth: This figure was fabricated by anthropologist Henry Dobyns and has been totally discredited.[76] More than 90% of the American Indians were killed by disease, according to recent scholarship.[77]

9.

The Lie: "The scale of US achievements in pursuing its 'good intentions' [in the Philippines] can only be guessed. General James Bell, who commanded operations in southern Luzon, estimated in May 1901 that one-sixth of the natives of Luzon had been killed or died from dengue fever, considered the result of war-induced famine; thus, over 600,000 dead in this island alone."[78]

The Truth: In 1906 it was shown that this estimate came from "an unverified newspaper interview, not with the well-known General James F. Bell, but with General James M. Bell, a different man entirely, whose personal experience was practically confined to the three southernmost provinces of Luzon, where there was comparatively little fighting. If the interview was authentic, the soldier in question had not the data on which to base such a statement."[79] In 1984 historian John M. Gates concluded that the maximum wartime death toll was 234,000, of which up to 200,000 resulted from a cholera epidemic largely unrelated to the war.[80]

8.

The Lie: "The United States and Britain fought the war, of course, but not primarily against Nazi Germany. The war against Nazi Germany was fought by the Russians… you have to ask yourself whether the best way of getting rid of Hitler was to kill tens of millions of Russians. Maybe a better way was not supporting him in the first place, as Britain and the United States did." [81]

The Truth: The US fought both Nazi Germany and Imperial Japan; Britain fought the war primarily against Nazi Germany. The Soviets were Nazi allies until 1941; the US then saved them from the Nazi attack by providing massive military and economic

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[75] *Language and Politics* (AK Press, 2004), p. 479.
[76] David Henige, *Numbers From Nowhere: The American Indian Contact Population Debate* (University of Oklahoma Press, 1998), pp. 66-87.
[77] Noble David Cook, *Born to Die: Disease and New World Conquest, 1492-1650* (Cambridge University Press, 1998), p. 206.
[78] *Turning the Tide* (South End Press, 1985), p. 88.
[79] James A. LeRoy, "The Philippines and the Filipinos," *Political Science Quarterly*, June 1906, p. 303.
[80] John M. Gates, "War-Related Deaths in the Philippines, 1898-1902," *Pacific Historical Review*, August 1984, p. 376.
[81] Larissa MacFarquhar, "The Devil's Accountant," *The New Yorker*, March 31, 2003.

aid.[82] The US and Britain did not kill tens of millions of Russians; the Nazi attack killed tens of millions of Soviet citizens, many of them non-Russians. Unlike the Soviet Union, the US and Britain were never wartime allies of Nazi Germany.

7.

The Lie: "By Stalingrad in 1942, the Russians had turned back the German offensive, and it was pretty clear that Germany wasn't going to win the war. Well, we've learned from the Russian archives that Britain and the US then began supporting armies established by Hitler to hold back the Russian advance. Tens of thousands of Russian troops were killed. Suppose you're sitting in Auschwitz. Do you want the Russian troops to be held back?"[83]

The Truth: There is no evidence that the US and Britain used Nazi armies to attack the Soviet Union and prolong the Holocaust. Chomsky has since denied saying this (see final section below).[84]

6.

The Lie: "In fact the United States is having a lot more trouble in Iraq than Germany ever had in occupied Europe, or than Russia had in Eastern Europe, which is kind of remarkable."[85]

The Truth: Germany lost over 4 million dead in Europe during the Second World War.[86] The Red Army lost nearly 6.9 million killed in action during the same period; its post-war losses included 20,000 dead from counterinsurgency in Lithuania alone.[87]

5.

The Lie: "If you had interviewed German soldiers in Norway during the Second World War, what do you think they would have said? It's not the fault of the soldier, that's why they didn't try soldiers at Nuremberg. They tried Von Ribbentrop and they hanged him, for one reason, because he supported the pre-emptive war against Norway."[88]

The Truth: The Nuremberg Tribunal convicted Ribbentrop on all counts of crimes against peace, war crimes and crimes against humanity: "Ribbentrop participated in all of the Nazi aggressions from the occupation of Austria to the invasion of the

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[82] Albert L. Weeks, *Russia's Life-Saver: Lend-Lease Aid to the USSR in World War II* (Lexington Books, 2004).
[83] Larissa MacFarquhar, "The Devil's Accountant," *The New Yorker*, March 31, 2003.
[84] See John Williamson, "Chomsky, Language, World War II and Me," in Peter Collier and David Horowitz, eds., *The Anti-Chomsky Reader* (Encounter Books, 2004), pp. 236-9.
[85] Interview, *Haaretz*, November 10, 2005.
[86] Gerhard L. Weinberg, *A World at Arms* (Cambridge University Press, 2005), p. 894.
[87] Richard Overy, *Russia's War* (Penguin, 1998), pp. 288, 311.
[88] Interview, *Global Knowledge*, Norway, June 2006: http://www.chomsky.info/interviews/200606--.htm

Soviet Union… Ribbentrop also assisted in carrying out criminal policies, particularly those involving the extermination of the Jews."[89]

4.

The Lie: "Do we celebrate Pearl Harbor Day every year? It's well understood that the Japanese attack on the colonial outposts of the United States, England, and Holland was in some respects highly beneficial to the people of Asia. It was a major factor in driving the British out of India, which saved maybe tens of millions of lives. It drove the Dutch out of Indonesia."[90]

The Truth: Far from being "highly beneficial to the people of Asia," Imperial Japan killed 10 million Asians between Pearl Harbor and V-J Day. Its impact on India included the Bengal famine, which claimed 1.5 million lives. The invasion of Indonesia left 4 million dead.[91]

3.

The Lie: "If there had been no resistance to the Japanese attack, they might not have turned to the horrifying atrocities that did ultimately turn many Asians against them."[92]

The Truth: Imperial Japan's mass murders of Asians – including the Rape of Nanking and large-scale biological warfare in China – started years before the attack on Pearl Harbor.[93]

2.

The Lie: "the leading Asian representative on the Tokyo Tribunal, Justice R. Pal of India, stated in his dissenting opinion that the decision to use the atom bomb 'is the only near approach' in the Pacific war to the Nazi crimes. And that 'nothing like this could be traced to the credit of the present accused.' For what it is worth, I think that he is right, and that the bombing of Nagasaki, in particular, was history's most abominable experiment."[94]

The Truth: Pal was an apologist for Imperial Japan who voted to acquit all of the Tokyo war crimes defendants. Their mass murders vastly exceeded the death toll from the atomic bombs. Nagasaki was not bombed as an "experiment," but because Japan had not surrendered after Hiroshima.[95]

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[89] *Judgment of the International Military Tribunal For The Trial of German Major War Criminals* (His Majesty's Stationery Office, 1951), p. 90.
[90] Interview, *International Socialist Review*, September-October 2002.
[91] Robert P. Newman, *Truman and the Hiroshima Cult* (Michigan State University Press, 1995), pp. 138-9.
[92] Interview, *International Socialist Review*, September–October 2002.
[93] See, e.g., Timothy Brook, *Documents on the Rape of Nanking* (University of Michigan Press, 1999); Daniel Barenblatt, *A Plague Upon Humanity* (HarperCollins, 2004).
[94] "An Exchange on 'The Responsibility of Intellectuals,'" *New York Review of Books*, April 20, 1967.
[95] Robert P. Newman, *Truman and the Hiroshima Cult* (Michigan State University Press, 1995), pp. 149, 139, 105-13.

1.

The Lie: "It turns out, therefore, that if we cut through the propaganda barrage, *Washington has become the torture and political murder capital of the world*."[96]

The Truth: Chomsky wrote this not long after 750,000-1.5 million were massacred in the Chinese Cultural Revolution;[97] 200,000-400,000 boat people were driven to their deaths by communist Vietnam;[98] 100,000 were slaughtered in communist Laos;[99] 2 million were killed in communist Cambodia;[100] and the communists initiated the murder of 1.5 million people in Afghanistan[101] and 1.25 million people in Ethiopia.[102]

[96] *The Washington Connection and Third World Fascism* (South End Press, 1979), p. 16, emphasis in original.
[97] Andrew G. Walder and Yang Su, "The Cultural Revolution in the Countryside," *China Quarterly*, March 2003, pp. 74-99.
[98] Associated Press, June 23, 1979, *Washington Post*, August 3, 1979.
[99] *Forced Back and Forgotten* (Lawyers Committee for Human Rights, 1989), p. 8.
[100] William Shawcross, *The Quality of Mercy: Cambodia, Holocaust and Modern Conscience* (Touchstone, 1985), pp. 115-6.
[101] Sylvain Boulouque, "Communism in Afghanistan," in Stephane Courtois, ed., *The Black Book of Communism*, (Harvard University Press, 1999), p. 725.
[102] *New York Times*, December 14, 1994.

IV. 10 Chomsky Lies About the Cold War

10.

The Lie: "In fact Stalin was supporting Chiang Kai-Shek against the Chinese revolution. The subsequent and rather brief alliance was in part the result of US policies."[103]

The Truth: During 1945-9, Stalin directed the transfer of 400,000 Chinese communist troops and 20,000 cadres, provided military equipment for 600,000 men, supplied critical tanks and artillery, helped to build munitions factories essential to the Chinese communist victory, and guided the political and economic decisions of the Chinese communist leadership.[104]

9.

The Lie: "The orthodox version is sketched in stark and vivid terms in what is widely recognized to be the basic US Cold War document, NSC 68 in April 1950… Five years after the USSR was virtually annihilated by the Axis powers, they must be reconstituted within a US-dominated alliance committed to the final elimination of the Soviet system that they failed to destroy."[105]

The Truth: NSC 68 did not propose to reconstitute Nazi Germany, Fascist Italy and Imperial Japan under US leadership in order to destroy the Soviet Union. Advocating policies "consistent with the principles of freedom and democracy," it sought an increase in military spending to counter global Soviet expansionism.[106]

8.

The Lie: "military spending nearly quadrupled… on the pretext that the [North Korean] invasion of South Korea was the first step in the Kremlin conquest of the world – despite the lack of compelling evidence, then or now, for Russian initiative in this phase of the complex struggle over the fate of Korea."[107]

The Truth: Stalin "planned, prepared and initiated" the war (David Dallin).[108] It was a "Soviet war plan" (David Rees).[109] It was "preplanned, blessed and directly assisted by Stalin and his generals, and reluctantly backed by Mao at Stalin's insistence" (Sergei N. Goncharov *et al.*).[110] "Stalin had approved the North Korean attack"

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[103] *On Power and Ideology: The Managua Lectures* (South End Press, 1987), p. 52.
[104] Douglas J. Macdonald, "Communist Bloc Expansion in the Early Cold War," *International Security*, Winter 1995-6, pp. 172-3. See also Michael M. Sheng, *Battling Western Imperialism: Mao, Stalin and the United States* (Princeton University Press, 1997) and Chen Jian, *Mao's China and the Cold War* (University of North Carolina Press, 2001), pp. 38-48.
[105] *Deterring Democracy* (Vintage, 1992), pp. 10-1.
[106] "NSC 68: United States Objectives and Programs for National Security," April 14, 1950, in *Naval War College Review*, May-June, 1975.
[107] *Deterring Democracy* (Vintage, 1992), p. 11.
[108] David Dallin, *Soviet Foreign Policy After Stalin* (J. B. Lippincott, 1961), p. 60.
[109] David Rees, *Korea: The Limited War* (Penguin, 1964), p. 19.
[110] Sergei N. Goncharov, John W. Lewis and Xue Litai, *Uncertain Partners: Stalin, Mao and the Korean War* (Stanford University Press, 1993), p. 213.

(William Stueck).[111] "The detailed plans for the invasion were drawn up by the Soviets and then communicated to the [North] Koreans" (Douglas J. Macdonald).[112] "Kim [Il Sung] got a green light from Stalin" (John Lewis Gaddis).[113]

7.

The Lie: "[After the Bay of Pigs] the crushing [US] embargo was maintained, ensuring that Cuba would be driven into the hands of the Russians. Throughout, the pretext was the Soviet threat. Its credibility is easily assessed. When the decision to overthrow Castro was taken [by Eisenhower] in March 1960, Washington was fully aware that the Russian role was nil."[114]

The Truth: Fidel Castro had already appealed for Soviet weapons during his guerrilla war. His regular contacts with the KGB began in 1956. The following year, Che Guevara wrote that "the solution to the problems of this world lies behind what is called the Iron Curtain." In mid-1959, Cuban intelligence initiated an alliance with the Soviet bloc. By March 1960, Cuba was negotiating arms purchases from Eastern Europe.[115]

6.

The Lie: "There is very little serious criticism of the decisions that were made… during the Cuban missile crisis, when we did bring the world very close to total destruction in order to establish the principle that we have a right to have missiles on the borders of the Soviet Union while they do not have the same right to have missiles on our border."[116]

The Truth: It was Cuba's communists who wanted to fight a nuclear war. Che Guevara said: "If the [Soviet nuclear] rockets had remained, we would have used them all and directed them against the very heart of the United States, including New York, in our defense against aggression."[117] Nikita Khrushchev wrote that according to Fidel Castro, "we needed to immediately deliver a nuclear missile strike against the United States… a proposal that placed the planet on the brink of extinction." Fidel Castro admitted: "I would have agreed to the use of nuclear weapons… we took it for granted that it would become a nuclear war anyway, and that we were going to disappear."[118]

5.

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[111] William Stueck, *The Korean War: An International History* (Princeton University Press, 1995), p. 69.
[112] Douglas J. Macdonald, "Communist Bloc Expansion in the Early Cold War," *International Security*, Winter 1995-6, p. 180.
[113] John Lewis Gaddis, *We Know Now: Rethinking Cold War History* (Oxford University Press, 1997), p. 71.
[114] *World Orders, Old and New* (Columbia University Press, 1996), p. 68.
[115] Christopher Andrew and Vasili Mitrokhin, *The KGB and the World: The Mitrokhin Archive II* (Penguin, 2006), pp. 34-6.
[116] "The Student Movement," *The Humanist*, September-October 1970.
[117] Jorge G. Castañeda, *Compañero: The Life and Death of Che Guevara* (Bloomsbury Publishing, 1997), p. 231.
[118] James G. Blight *et al.*, *Cuba on the Brink: Castro, the Missile Crisis, and the Soviet Collapse* (Rowman & Littlefield, 2002), pp. 29, 252.

The Lie: "[In 1965, the US facilitated] the flow of arms and other military equipment to implement the announced policy 'to exterminate the PKI' (the Indonesian Communist Party)… The Indonesian Generals had liquidated the party of the poor, destroyed the threat of democracy, and opened the country to foreign plunder."[119]

The Truth: Far from seeking democracy, the communists had tried to seize power by force after demanding the mass murder of capitalists and "enemies of the people."[120] US officials were so unprepared for the crisis that at first they misidentified the anti-communist leader, General Suharto.[121] The Johnson Administration expressly refused to supply weapons for the mass killing of Indonesian communists.[122]

4.

The Lie: "The defense of Angola was one of Cuba's most significant contributions to the liberation of Africa."[123]

The Truth: Cuban military intervention in support of the communist MPLA dictatorship in Angola led to decades of civil war that cost 1 million lives.[124] Other Cuban "contributions to the liberation of Africa" include fighting for the communist dictatorship in Ethiopia,[125] which killed 1.25 million people by massacre and forced starvation.[126]

3.

The Lie: "The scale of these crimes [in Angola and Mozambique] is indicated by a UN study that estimates over US$60 billion in damages and 1.5 million dead during the Reagan years alone, by way of South Africa, with US-British support under the guise of 'constructive engagement.'"[127]

The Truth: The UN study estimated the losses from civil wars in these countries and simply blamed them all on South Africa.[128] But the main combatants were domestic forces (MPLA versus UNITA in Angola; Frelimo versus Renamo in Mozambique) and there were interventions by Marxist dictatorships (Cuba in Angola; Zimbabwe in Mozambique). The Reagan and Thatcher governments opposed the South-African-backed Renamo rebels in Mozambique.

2.

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[119] *Powers and Prospects* (Pluto Press, 1996), pp. 178, 199.
[120] Arnold C. Brackman, *The Communist Collapse in Indonesia* (W.W. Norton & Co., 1969), pp. 63-5.
[121] H. W. Brands, "The Limits of Manipulation: How the United States Didn't Topple Sukarno," *Journal of American History*, December 1989, p. 801.
[122] Ibid., p. 803. Journalist Kathy Kadane alleged that the American Embassy supplied a "death list" of 5,000 communists, but her report was discredited long ago: see *New York Times*, July 12, 1990; *AIM Report*, September 1990.
[123] *Hegemony or Survival* (Penguin, 2004), p. 94.
[124] Médecins Sans Frontières, "Angola: An Alarming Nutritional Situation," August 1999.
[125] *Washington Post*, March 18, 1978.
[126] *New York Times*, December 14, 1994.
[127] *Powers and Prospects* (Pluto Press, 1996), p. 199.
[128] *South African Destabilization: The Economic Cost of Frontline Resistance to Apartheid* (UN Economic Commission for Africa, 1989).

The Lie: "In Angola, US-backed 'freedom fighter' Jonas Savimbi [of UNITA] lost a UN-monitored election, at once resorting to violence, exacting a horrendous toll. While finally joining the rest of the world in recognizing the elected [MPLA] government, the United States did nothing… The atrocities, apparently surpassing Bosnia, are scarcely reported…"[129]

The Truth: Eight opposition parties rejected the 1992 election as rigged.[130] An official observer wrote that there was little UN supervision, that 500,000 UNITA voters were disenfranchised and that there were 100 clandestine polling stations.[131] UNITA sent peace negotiators to the capital, where the MPLA murdered them, along with 20,000 UNITA members. Savimbi was still ready to continue the elections. The MPLA then massacred tens of thousands of UNITA voters nationwide.[132]

1.

The Lie: "[In the Third World] the Soviet Union supported indigenous movements resisting the forceful imposition of US designs..."[133]

The Truth: Far from being "indigenous movements resisting the forceful imposition of US designs," the major Soviet clients in the Third World were authoritarian or totalitarian mass murderers – in China (Mao Zedong before the Sino/Soviet split), North Korea (Kim Il Sung), North Vietnam (Ho Chi Minh/Le Duan), Uganda (Idi Amin), Ethiopia (Mengistu Haile Mariam), Syria (Hafez Assad) and Iraq (Saddam Hussein). Soviet crimes in the Third World included designing the Chinese Gulag, which killed millions.[134]

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[129] *World Orders, Old and New* (Columbia University Press, 1996), p. 62.
[130] National Society for Human Rights, *Ending the Angolan Conflict*, Windhoek, Namibia, July 3, 2000.
[131] John Matthew, Letter, *The Times*, UK, November 6, 1992.
[132] National Society for Human Rights, *Ending the Angolan Conflict*, Windhoek, Namibia, July 3, 2000.
[133] *Deterring Democracy* (Vintage, 1992), p. 99.
[134] Jung Chang and Jon Halliday, *Mao: The Unknown Story* (Jonathan Cape, 2005), p. 338.

V. 10 Chomsky Lies About the Indochina Wars

10.

The Lie: "The US was deeply committed to the French effort to reconquer their former colony, recognizing throughout that the enemy was the nationalist movement of Vietnam."[135]

The Truth: It was the communist Viet Minh that collaborated with French colonial forces to massacre supporters of the Vietnamese nationalist movements in 1945-6. When the Viet Minh went to war against France, they continued their campaign to wipe out the nationalists. The US refused to back the French against the communists until 1950.[136]

9.

The Lie: "The record is quite clear that the Viet Minh, the forces that had fought and defeated the French, accepted the Geneva Accords [of 1954] in good faith and made a serious effort to initiate discussions that would lead to the [reunification] elections promised in 1956."[137]

The Truth: The Viet Minh violated the Geneva Accords by building up clandestine armed units in South Vietnam and by strengthening the military forces in North Vietnam.[138] The Viet Minh established a totalitarian dictatorship that made free elections impossible in the North.

8.

The Lie: "Captured documents also emphasize the essential role of [Viet Minh] social programs and political organization… the [US] aggressor succeeded in shifting the struggle to the arena of sheer violence."[139]

The Truth: In North Vietnam, the communists took power through mass murder.[140] In South Vietnam they used terror to disrupt social and political progress, explaining that "the honest hamlet chief who has done much for the people" was a "traitor" who had to be "eliminated." They consciously escalated the violence: "we had to make the people suffer, suffer until they could no longer endure it. Only then would they carry out the Party's armed policy."[141]

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[135] "Visions of Righteousness," *Cultural Critique*, Spring 1986, p. 19.
[136] Robert F. Turner, *Vietnamese Communism: Its Origins and Development* (Hoover Institution Press, 1975), pp. 57-9, 67-9, 74 and "Myths of the Vietnam War," *Southeast Asian Perspectives*, September 1972, pp. 14-18; also Arthur J. Dommen, *The Indochinese Experience of the French and the Americans* (Indiana University Press, 2001), pp. 153-4.
[137] *At War With Asia* (Vintage, 1970), p. 45.
[138] Robert F. Turner, *Vietnamese Communism: Its Origins and Development* (Hoover Institution Press, 1975), pp. 100-8; Jeffrey Race, *War Comes to Long An* (University of California Press, 1972), pp. 34-6; Mark Moyar, *Triumph Forsaken: The Vietnam War, 1954-1965* (Cambridge University Press, 2006), pp. 56-9.
[139] *Turning the Tide* (South End Press, 1985), pp. 107-8.
[140] Arthur J. Dommen, *The Indochinese Experience of the French and the Americans* (Indiana University Press, 2001), pp. 120-1, 154, 252.
[141] Jeffrey Race, *War Comes to Long An* (University of California Press, 1972), pp. 83, 112.

7.

The Lie: "By the early 1960s, virtually all parties concerned, apart from the United States and its various local clients, were making serious efforts to avoid an impending war by neutralizing South Vietnam, Laos and Cambodia…"[142]

The Truth: In 1959, by its own admission, North Vietnam decided on war in South Vietnam. North Vietnam created the Viet Cong and sent 20,000 men to attack the South. In 1961, North Vietnam used 30,000 troops to build invasion routes via Laos and Cambodia. North Vietnam also admitted that it "played a decisive role" in bringing to power the Pathet Lao in Laos and the Khmer Rouge in Cambodia.[143]

6.

The Lie: "[The US] finally bombed the North in 1965… There were no North Vietnamese troops in South Vietnam then as far as anybody knew."[144]

The Truth: By its own admission, North Vietnam was sending 10,000 troops a year to attack South Vietnam by 1964, rising to 100,000 a year in 1966.[145]

5.

The Lie: "Surveying such evidence as exists, United States government claims with regard to DRV control of the NLF prior to 1965 are not compelling, though as DRV forces were drawn into the war by American aggression… the degree of influence and control exercised by Hanoi undoubtedly increased, as had been anticipated by American planners."[146]

The Truth: North Vietnam created the NLF/Viet Cong and ran it from the start. Jeffrey Race noted that communist defectors found denials of this fact "very amusing" and "commented humorously that the Party had apparently been more successful than was expected in concealing its role." The aim was to hide the fact that "there was an invasion from the North."[147]

4.

The Lie: "Administration spokesmen have held to the view that by destroying Vietnam we are somehow standing firm against Chinese or Russian aggression… [This] fear of a Kremlin-directed conspiracy or Chinese aggression [is] so far as we know, a figment of [our] imagination."[148]

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[142] *After the Cataclysm* (South End Press, 1979), p. 2; cf. *Manufacturing Consent* (Vintage, 1994), p. 181.
[143] *The Economist*, February 26, 1983; *Washington Post*, April 23, 1985.
[144] *Language and Politics* (AK Press, 2004), p. 315.
[145] *Washington Post*, April 23, 1985.
[146] *The Backroom Boys* (Fontana, 1973), pp. 133-4.
[147] Jeffrey Race, *War Comes to Long An* (University of California Press, 1972), pp. 107, 122.
[148] "Vietnam: How Government Became Wolves," *New York Review of Books*, June 15, 1972.

The Truth: Chinese and Soviet involvement was vital to North Vietnam's war effort. China sent 320,000 troops and annual arms shipments of $180 million. The Soviets trained North Vietnam's military commanders and sent 15,000 military advisers and annual arms shipments of $450 million.[149]

3.

The Lie: "The horrendous situation in Phnom Penh (as elsewhere in Cambodia) as the war drew to an end was a direct and immediate consequence of the US assault… The United States bears primary responsibility for these consequences of its intervention."[150]

The Truth: North Vietnam brought the war to Cambodia by using it as a base for attacks on South Vietnam. North Vietnam invaded at the request of the Khmer Rouge in 1970.[151] North Vietnam and the Khmer Rouge had seized two-thirds of Cambodia by 1972.[152] The American bombing ended in 1973; it was the Khmer Rouge that besieged and shelled Phnom Penh from 1974. Reports stated that Khmer Rouge shelling "tortured the capital almost continuously," inflicting "random death and mutilation" on several million trapped civilians.[153]

2.

The Lie: "There is, to be sure, an element of absurdity in the constant refrain that socialism equals Gulag… But despite the inherent absurdity of attributing, say, revenge killings by Cambodian peasants who were bombed out of their homes by Western force to 'Marxism' or 'atheism,' the practice is common and quite successful as a tactic in engineering consent to the priorities and structures of contemporary state capitalism."[154]

The Truth: The Khmer Rouge bloodbath was not peasant revenge for Western bombing but a planned mass murder motivated by communist ideology. The Khmer Rouge boasted that "we will be the first nation to create a completely communist society," hailed Mao as "the most eminent teacher… since Marx, Engels, Lenin and Stalin" and drew up a plan to "eliminate the capitalist class" in order to "construct socialism."[155]

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[149] Qiang Zhai, *China and the Vietnam Wars, 1950-1975* (University of North Carolina Press, 2000), p. 135; Gen. Oleg Sarin and Col. Lev Dvoretsky, *Alien Wars: The Soviet Union's Aggressions Against the World, 1919 to 1989* (Presidio Press, 1996), pp. 93-4.
[150] *After the Cataclysm* (South End Press, 1979), p. 162.
[151] Dmitry Mosyakov, "The Khmer Rouge and the Vietnamese Communists: A History of Their Relations as Told in the Soviet Archives," in Susan E. Cook, ed., *Genocide in Cambodia and Rwanda* (Yale Genocide Studies Program Monograph Series No. 1, 2004), p. 54ff.
[152] *Washington Post*, July 2, 1972.
[153] John Barron and Anthony Paul, *Murder of a Gentle Land* (Reader's Digest Press, 1977), pp. 1-2; cf. *Washington Post*, January 28, 1974 and *Chicago Tribune*, March 4, 8, 12, 1975; on communist terror and the resulting refugees, see *Christian Science Monitor*, March 15, 1974, *Chicago Tribune*, July 14, 1974 and March 17, 1975.
[154] *After the Cataclysm* (South End Press, 1979), p. 297.
[155] Quotations from Karl D. Jackson, ed., *Cambodia 1975-1978: Rendezvous With Death* (Princeton University Press, 1989), pp. 221ff, 274ff.

The Lie: "Vietnam's crime of terminating the atrocities of Pol Pot was punished by a US-backed Chinese invasion, while the US turned to overt diplomatic and military support for the displaced Pol Pot regime…"[156]

The Truth: Vietnam did not invade Cambodia to halt Khmer Rouge atrocities but to impose an obedient dictatorship led by ex-Khmer Rouge officers. These new rulers enslaved 380,000 peasants at the cost of 30,000 lives.[157] Western aid went to the non-communist forces of Son Sann and Prince Sihanouk, not to the displaced Pol Pot regime. As Cambodia specialist Nate Thayer wrote, there is "no credible evidence" that the US gave "any material aid whatsoever to the Khmer Rouge."[158]

[156] *Rogue States: The Rule of Force in World Affairs* (Pluto Press, 2000), p. 9.
[157] Craig Etcheson, *After the Killing Fields* (Praeger, 2005), pp. 24, 27.
[158] Nate Thayer, "Cambodia: Misperceptions and Peace," *Washington Quarterly*, Spring 1991. See also Stephen J. Morris, "Vietnam's Vietnam," *Atlantic Monthly*, January 1985; "ABC Flacks For Hanoi," *Wall Street Journal*, April 26, 1990; and "Skeletons in the Closet," *The New Republic*, June 4, 1990. On the fighting between the non-communists and the Khmer Rouge, see *Far Eastern Economic Review*, December 22, 1988. Hanoi apologist John Pilger, who accused the West of arming the Khmer Rouge, had to pay "very substantial" libel damages: *The Guardian*, UK, July 6, 1991.

VI. 10 Chomsky Lies About Latin America

10.

The Lie: "The modern history of Guatemala was decisively shaped by the US-organized invasion and overthrow of the democratically elected regime of Jacobo Arbenz… Arbenz's modest and effective land reform was the last straw… The US establishment found the pluralism and democracy of the years 1945-54 intolerable…"[159]

The Truth: Arbenz was elected without a secret ballot. He considered himself a communist and joined the Communist Party in 1957. His land reform, designed by the Communist Party, was ruled unconstitutional by the Supreme Court, which he then purged. His regime openly praised Stalin, relied on the communists for key decisions, and received arms from the Soviet bloc.[160] He killed hundreds of opponents.[161] The CIA intervened because it feared that a communist dictatorship would become a Soviet beachhead in the Western Hemisphere.[162]

9.

The Lie: "The other 9/11 is September 11, 1973, when operations supported and backed by Henry Kissinger among others, led to the bombing of the presidential palace in Chile, the overthrow of the parliamentary government and the killing, by conservative estimates, of about 3,000 people."[163]

The Truth: Marxist leader Salvador Allende, not Henry Kissinger, was formally condemned by Chile's parliament for destroying democracy in Chile.[164] Claims that Kissinger instigated the 1973 military coup have been repeatedly debunked.[165]

8.

The Lie: "[The US has] opposed with tremendous ferocity any improvements in human rights, raise [sic] of living standards and democratization in Latin America. The very essence of American policy has been to increase massacre and repression."[166]

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[159] *Manufacturing Consent* (Vintage, 1994), pp. 71-2.
[160] Piero Gleijeses, *Shattered Hope: The Guatemalan Revolution and the United States, 1944-1954* (Princeton University Press, 1991), pp. 84, 147, 145, 155, 181-2. This book is heavily pro-Arbenz.
[161] "Antecedentes Inmediatos (1944-1961): El derrocamiento de Arbenz y la intervención militar de 1954," in Comisión para el Esclaracimiento Histórico (CEH), *Guatemala: Memoria Del Silencio* (Guatemala, 1999), Capítulo primero.
[162] Nicholas Cullather, *Secret History: The CIA's Classified Account of its Operation in Guatemala, 1952-1954* (Stanford University Press, 1999) pp. 24-7, based on the CIA archives.
[163] Interview, *Hot Type With Evan Solomon*, CBC Newsworld, Canada, December 9, 2003.
[164] "Declaration of the Breakdown of Chile's Democracy," Resolution of the Chamber of Deputies, Chile, August 22, 1973.
[165] Mark Falcoff, *Modern Chile, 1970-1989* (Transaction, 1989), pp. 199-251 and "Kissinger and Chile: The Myth That Will Not Die," *Commentary*, November 2003; Joaquin Fermandois, "The Persistence of a Myth: Chile in the Eye of the Cold War Hurricane," *World Affairs*, Winter 2005.
[166] *The Harvard Crimson*, March 20, 1985.

The Truth: Kennedy's Alliance for Progress sought to promote democracy and land reform, inspired by democratic movements in Chile, Peru and Venezuela. Carter reduced or stopped aid to military regimes in Argentina, Bolivia, Brazil, Chile, El Salvador, Guatemala, Mexico, Nicaragua, Paraguay and Uruguay.[167] Reagan and Bush I supported democratic transitions in Bolivia, Honduras, Argentina, Brazil, Uruguay, Guatemala, Suriname, El Salvador, Panama, Chile and Nicaragua.

7.

The Lie: "While throughout the whole region that the United States supports and backs, you have torture, murder, starvation, slave labor, and so on and so forth, there is one little corner of Latin America that has actually come to match the standard of living of the United States… Cuba is one of the poorest countries in the world and it has approximately the same quality of life index, in terms of health and so on, that the United States has."[168]

The Truth: Many countries in the region (Belize, Costa Rica, Panama, Ecuador, Venezuela before Chavez, Guyana, Suriname) have been free of state terror. Others had regimes that killed hundreds (Brazil,[169] Paraguay,[170] Mexico,[171] Uruguay,[172] Bolivia,[173] Honduras[174]) or thousands (Argentina,[175] Chile[176]). Cuba's communists killed thousands of dissidents and boat people[177] while holding tens of thousands of political prisoners.[178] Cuba was among the area's healthiest nations before communist rule; other Latin American states have surpassed its subsequent health care results.[179]

6.

The Lie: "in the 1980s the US fought a major war in Central America, leaving some 200,000 tortured and mutilated corpses, millions of orphans and refugees, and four countries devastated. A prime target of the US attack was the Catholic Church, which had committed the grievous sin of adopting the 'preferential option for the poor.'"[180]

The Truth: The US imposed democracy in Grenada and Panama, with minimal loss of life, but did not fight elsewhere in the region, let alone wage war on the Catholic

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[167] Tony Smith, *America's Mission: The United States and the Worldwide Struggle For Democracy in the Twentieth Century* (Princeton University Press, 1995), pp. 217, 220, 245.
[168] *Latin America: From Colonization to Globalization* (Ocean Press, 1999), p. 42.
[169] Associated Press, September 9, 1990.
[170] *Rule by Fear* (Americas Watch, 1985), p. 99.
[171] *Los Angeles Times*, December 9, 2001.
[172] *New York Times*, April 17, 1989.
[173] *New York Times*, March 14, 1999.
[174] *New York Times*, December 21, 1995.
[175] *New York Times*, March 25, 1995.
[176] *New York Times*, December 2, 2000.
[177] *Wall Street Journal*, December 30, 2005, Cox News Service, September 5, 2006.
[178] Frank Calzon, *Castro's Gulag* (Council for Inter-American Security, 1979), pp. 9-10, 43-4.
[179] Nick Eberstadt, *The Poverty of Communism* (Transaction Publishers, 1990), pp. 188, 196-206, 240-6. Eberstadt points out that Latin America's most impressive reduction in infant mortality occurred under the right-wing military regime in Chile.
[180] *9-11* (Seven Stories Press, 2001), p. 79.

Church. The civil wars in Nicaragua, El Salvador and Guatemala, in which 200,000 died, were the result of Soviet and Cuban support for communist violence.[181]

5.

The Lie: "According to the US government, the [FMLN] guerrillas [in El Salvador] are able to sustain their operations only because of support from Nicaragua... they have never been able to provide any credible evidence for this crucial support…"[182]

The Truth: In 1980, Cuba and Nicaragua unified the Salvadoran communist groups and gave them a base in Nicaraguan territory for waging war on El Salvador. The Soviet bloc supplied enough weapons to arm several battalions.[183] In 1983, an FMLN broadcast boasted of Cuban and Nicaraguan backing;[184] an FMLN commander stated that the war was directed by Cuba and that nearly all of his weapons came from Nicaragua.[185] In 1985, the Sandinistas offered to stop military aid to forces in El Salvador in return for an end to the Contra insurgency.[186]

4.

The Lie: "[El Salvador's] death squads [are institutions] that we helped to establish and have since maintained, that grew inevitably out of the intelligence and paramilitary apparatus we constructed in our interest and the social conditions breeding dissidence and revolt that are in significant measure our legacy."[187]

The Truth: In El Salvador, the US supported the centrist Christian Democrats, who were targets of death squads.[188] The Carter Administration repeatedly intervened to prevent right-wing coups.[189] The Reagan Administration repeatedly threatened aid suspensions to halt right-wing atrocities.[190]

3.

The Lie: "[President] Duarte's role [in El Salvador] has been to facilitate the slaughters and repression by exploiting his image as a democratic reformer, ensuring that Congress provides the support to allow them to proceed effectively... Duarte refuses negotiation and cease-fire offers despite the pleas of his own supporters…"[191]

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[181] Alberto R. Coll, "Soviet Arms and Central American Turmoil," *World Affairs*, Summer 1985, pp. 7-17; Roger Miranda and William Ratliff, *The Civil War in Nicaragua* (Transaction, 1993), pp. 97-125, 135-50; Robert P. Hager, "Soviet Bloc Involvement in the Salvadoran Civil War," *Communist and Post-Communist Studies*, Vol. 28, No. 4, 1995, pp. 437-70.
[182] *The Culture of Terrorism* (South End Press, 1988), p. 231.
[183] Roger Miranda and William Ratliff, *The Civil War in Nicaragua* (Transaction, 1993), pp. 138-48; Christopher Andrew and Vasili Mitrokhin, *The KGB and the World: The Mitrokhin Archive II* (Penguin, 2006), pp. 123-4.
[184] *Los Angeles Times*, March 14, 1983.
[185] *New York Times*, July 28, 1983, July 12, 1984.
[186] *New York Times*, April 28, 1985. See in general Robert P. Hager, "Soviet Bloc Involvement in the Salvadoran Civil War," *Communist and Post-Communist Studies*, December 1995, pp. 437-70.
[187] *Turning the Tide* (South End Press, 1985), p. 168.
[188] *Los Angeles Times*, June 1, 1982.
[189] *Washington Post*, February 24, July 13, 1980.
[190] *New York Times*, November 20, 26, December 12, 1983.
[191] *Turning the Tide* (South End Press, 1985), pp. 116-17.

The Truth: The death squads denounced President Duarte as a traitor and threatened his life because he had publicly met the FMLN leaders for peace talks.[192]

2.

The Lie: "El Salvador became the leading recipient of US military aid and training (Israel-Egypt aside) by the mid-1980s, as atrocities were peaking."[193]

The Truth: Atrocities fell as US military aid increased. The UN Truth Commission received direct complaints of almost 2,600 victims of serious violence occurring in 1980. It received direct complaints of just over 140 victims of serious violence occurring in 1985.[194]

1.

The Lie: "[In the film *Power and Terror*] Chomsky argues that while we mourn the 3,000 who died in the twin towers [on 9/11], we pay no attention to the roughly equivalent number of civilians who perished when – he says – the US bombed the Panamanian neighborhood of Chorillo during the American invasion of 1989."[195]

The Truth: Journalist Marc Cooper comments: "I was in that neighborhood mere days after it was razed, and Chomsky is just plain wrong: It wasn't bombed. It burned down after a firefight between US and Panamanian troops. And as reprehensible as the US invasion was, Panama's own human-rights commission claims that a total of maybe 400 people – soldiers and civilians – died during the entire conflict."[196]

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[192] *Wall Street Journal*, October 17, 1984.
[193] *Hegemony or Survival* (Penguin, 2004), p. 107.
[194] *Report of the UN Truth Commission on El Salvador*, UN Security Council S/25500, April 1, 1993, pp. 29, 36.
[195] *LA Weekly*, January 24-30, 2003.
[196] Ibid.

VII. 10 Chomsky Lies About the Nicaraguan Civil War

10.

The Lie: "The Carter Administration supported Somoza until the very end. Then the American-supported military intervention against the Sandinistas began immediately in 1979. But the Carter Administration did attempt to find a way to support the more conservative and pro-American elements in the Sandinista coalition and bring them to power. The Reagan Administration gave up that attempt and simply turned to war against Nicaragua."[197]

The Truth: Somoza openly blamed Carter for his downfall.[198] The Sandinistas spoke of Carter's support.[199] The Carter Administration was the single largest donor to Sandinista Nicaragua, sending $108 million in direct aid and arranging $262 million in loans. The aid stopped when Nicaragua continued to arm communist insurgents in El Salvador. The Reagan Administration twice offered to resume aid if the Sandinistas ended their military build-up and their attack on El Salvador.[200]

9.

The Lie: "The US is intent on winning its war against Nicaragua in the same way. Nicaragua must first be driven into dependence on the USSR, to justify the attack that must be launched against it..."[201]

The Truth: The Sandinistas' founder, Carlos Fonseca Amador, was a KGB agent.[202] On seizing power in 1979, Sandinista leaders drew up a plan for military expansion in alliance with Cuba and the Soviet bloc.[203] The KGB reported that they had decided to form a Marxist-Leninist party and that Daniel Ortega saw the Soviet regime as an ally and model for Nicaragua.[204] From 1980, the Sandinista Interior Ministry collaborated with the KGB and other Warsaw Pact agencies, especially the Stasi, which created Nicaragua's secret police, the DGSE.[205]

8.

The Lie: "To ensure that Nicaragua will become part of 'the Communist-dominated bloc of slave states,' the US has been waging a proxy war of mounting intensity against Nicaragua while blocking any source of arms from other than the preferred

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[197] *Latin America: From Colonization to Globalization* (Ocean Press, 1999), p. 20.
[198] *Washington Post*, August 23, 1979.
[199] *New York Times*, July 16, 1979.
[200] Dissenting Opinion of Judge Schwebel, *Nicaragua v. United States of America – Merits*, ICJ, June 27, 1986, Factual Appendix, paras. 15-18, 22-5. See also Sandinista admissions in *Miami Herald*, July 18, 1999.
[201] *Turning the Tide* (South End Press, 1985), p. 71.
[202] Christopher Andrew and Vasili Mitrokhin, *The KGB and the World: The Mitrokhin Archive II* (Penguin, 2006), p. 41.
[203] Roger Miranda and William Ratliff, *The Civil War in Nicaragua* (Transaction, 1993), pp. 4-5, 14-15.
[204] Christopher Andrew and Vasili Mitrokhin, *The KGB and the World: The Mitrokhin Archive II* (Penguin, 2006), pp. 120-1.
[205] John O. Koehler, *Stasi: The Untold Story of the East German Secret Police* (Westview Press, 1999), pp. 297-310.

source: the USSR and its clients… only the Soviet bloc is permitted to provide Nicaragua with arms for self-defense against our attack."[206]

The Truth: The Sandinistas began receiving Soviet arms in 1979, adding tanks and artillery in mid-1980. They signed a treaty with the Soviets to expand Nicaragua's army to 120,000 troops – the largest in Central America – in 1981.[207]

7.

The Lie: "the Sandinistas, among these Central American countries, are unique in that the government doesn't slaughter its population."[208]

The Truth: Nicaragua's Permanent Commission on Human Rights reported 2,000 murders in the first six months[209] and 3,000 disappearances in the first few years.[210] It has since documented 14,000 cases of Sandinista torture, rape, kidnapping, mutilation and murder.[211]

6.

The Lie: "Another major charge against the Sandinistas has to do with their treatment of the Miskitos… That they were treated very badly by the Sandinistas is beyond question; they are also among the better treated Indians in the hemisphere."[212]

The Truth: The Sandinistas sent Soviet helicopter gunships and elite army units to attack the Indians; carried out mass arrests, jailings and torture; burned down 65 Indian communities; inflicted ethnic cleansing on thousands of Indians; and tried to starve the Indians by cutting off food supplies. The Sandinistas boasted that they were "ready to eliminate the last Miskito Indian to take Sandinism to the Atlantic Coast."[213]

5.

The Lie: "[Sandinista Nicaragua] is one of the nicest places I have ever visited… one of the few places where a decent person can live with a certain sense of integrity and hope… I was extremely impressed by the openness of Nicaraguan society… The

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[206] *Turning the Tide* (South End Press, 1985), p. 54. Cf.: "the United States is devoting itself with desperate intensity to drive Nicaragua into the hands of the Soviet Union," *On Power and Ideology: The Managua Lectures* (South End Press, 1987), p. 89.
[207] Roger Miranda and William Ratliff, *The Civil War in Nicaragua* (Transaction, 1993), pp. 116-18.
[208] *Language and Politics* (AK Press, 2004), p. 555. Cf.: "the Sandinista record compares favorably with that of US clients in the region today, and in the past, and elsewhere, to put it rather mildly," *Turning the Tide* (South End Press, 1985), p. 72; "the Sandinista leadership is positively saintly in comparison with the gangsters that the US has supported throughout Central America and beyond, not to speak of Washington," *On Power and Ideology: The Managua Lectures* (South End Press, 1987), p. 38; "the opposition in Nicaragua… can at least function without fear of being slaughtered," *The Culture of Terrorism* (South End Press, 1988), p. 137.
[209] John Norton Moore, *The Secret War in Central America* (University Publications of America, 1987), p. 143n94.
[210] Roger Miranda and William Ratliff, *The Civil War in Nicaragua* (Transaction, 1993), p. 193.
[211] *Insight on the News*, July 26, 1999.
[212] *Turning the Tide* (South End Press, 1985), p. 74.
[213] Roger Miranda and William Ratliff, *The Civil War in Nicaragua* (Transaction Publishers, 1993), pp. 253-4.

place is completely open. You can go anywhere you want and talk about anything you want."[214]

The Truth: In Managua alone, investigators from the OAS Inter-American Commission on Human Rights met 400 torture victims. The UN International Commission of Jurists found that the Sandinista People's Courts aimed to suppress all political opposition. The Permanent Commission on Human Rights identified 6,000 political prisoners. The Sandinistas admitted to forcing 180,000 peasants into resettlement camps.[215] Another 400,000 people fled to the US, and several hundred thousand more to Costa Rica and Honduras.[216]

4.

The Lie: "The crime of the Sandinistas was to carry out successful development… they immediately began to divert resources to the poor part of the population."[217]

The Truth: For decades, Nicaragua had experienced some of the fastest economic growth in the hemisphere. Within a few years of Sandinista rule, wages had been fixed below poverty level and there was mass unemployment. There were shortages of nearly all basic goods, with inflation at 30,000%. Government studies found that three-quarters of schoolchildren suffered from malnutrition, while living standards were lower than Haiti. The World Bank found that Nicaragua was on the economic level of Somalia. Even the Soviet bloc blamed the regime for wrecking the country.[218]

3.

The Lie: "Since there is no popular force within Nicaragua that is carrying out any substantial opposition to the [Sandinista] regime, they have to attack the country from outside."[219]

The Truth: Leading Sandinistas saw the revolt as a popular uprising. The Contras became "a *campesino* movement with its own leadership" (Luis Carrion); they had "a large social base in the countryside" (Orlando Nunez); "the integration of thousands of peasants into the counter-revolutionary army" was provoked by "the policies, limitations and errors of *Sandinismo*" (Alejandro Bendana); "many landless peasants went to war" to avoid the state collectives, and Contra commanders "were small farmers, many of them without any ties to *Somocismo*, who had supplanted the former [Somoza] National Guard officers" (Sergio Ramirez).[220]

2.

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[214] *Latin America: From Colonization to Globalization* (Ocean Press, 1999), pp. 52-3.
[215] Humberto Belli, *Breaking Faith* (Puebla Institute, 1985), pp. 124, 126-8.
[216] *Miami Herald*, July 18, 1999.
[217] *Latin America: From Colonization to Globalization* (Ocean Press, 1999), p. 57.
[218] Roger Miranda and William Ratliff, *The Civil War in Nicaragua* (Transaction, 1993), pp. 183-4.
[219] *Latin America: From Colonization to Globalization* (Ocean Press, 1999), p. 20.
[220] Robert S. Leiken, *Why Nicaragua Vanished* (Rowman & Littlefield, 2003), pp. 148-9, 159. See also Robert P. Hager, "The Origins of the Contra War in Nicaragua," *Terrorism and Political Violence*, Spring 1998, pp. 133-64.

The Lie: "Even the fact that Nicaragua had a popular elected government is inexpressible in the US propaganda system, with its standards of discipline that few respectable intellectuals would dare to flout."[221]

The Truth: The 1984 election was for posts subordinate to the Sandinista Directorate, a body "no more subject to approval by vote than the Central Committee of the Communist Party is in countries of the East Bloc," according to a detailed study. By evading the secret ballot, "the authorities had had the opportunity to check on how individuals had voted." Also, "the finally announced results of the election were determined through administrative manipulation – that is, they were rigged."[222]

1.

The Lie: "anyone who called the 1990 Nicaraguan elections [which the Sandinistas lost] 'free and fair,' a welcome step towards democracy, was not merely a totalitarian, but one of a rather special variety."[223]

The Truth: Nicaraguan voters thought otherwise: "The longer they were in power, the worse things became. It was all lies, what they promised us" (unemployed person); "I thought it was going to be just like 1984, when the vote was not secret and there was not all these observers around" (market vendor); "Don't you believe those lies [about fraud], I voted my conscience and my principles, and so did everyone else I know" (young mother); "the Sandinistas have mocked and abused the people, and now we have given our vote to [the opposition] UNO" (ex-Sandinista officer).[224] The Sandinistas admitted: "It was the peasants, not the oligarchs, that voted us out of office," and "in the end, most of the peasants were against us" (Vice-President Sergio Ramirez).[225]

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[221] *Deterring Democracy* (Vintage, 1992), p. 306.
[222] Martin Kriele, "Power and Human Rights in Nicaragua," *German Comments*, April 1986, pp. 56-7, 63-7, a chapter excerpted from his *Nicaragua: Das blutende Herz Amerikas* (Piper, 1986). See also Robert S. Leiken, "The Nicaraguan Tangle," *New York Review of Books*, December 5, 1985 and "The Nicaraguan Tangle: Another Exchange," *New York Review of Books*, June 26, 1986; Alfred G. Cuzan, Letter, *Commentary,* December 1985 and "The Latin American Studies Association vs. the United States," *Academic Questions*, Summer 1994.
[223] *Deterring Democracy* (Vintage, 1992), p. 318.
[224] *New York Times*, March 5, 1990.
[225] *Washington Post*, September 4, 1993, *Miami Herald*, July 18, 1999.

VIII. 10 Chomsky Lies About Terrorist Atrocities

10.

The Lie: "we might consider one of the early exploits of our most favored client state [Israel], the massacre on Oct. 28, 1948 at Doueimah [sic]… leaving 580 civilians killed according to the accounting by its Mukhtar – 100 to 350, according to Israeli sources, 1,000 according to testimonies preserved in US State Department records…"[226]

The Truth: Arab officials investigated these stories at the time, concluding that 27 had been murdered and that "the information on the slaughter in Duwayma was exaggerated." The IDF also investigated and requested a field trial for the guilty officer.[227] The crime was committed in revenge for Arab terrorist attacks.[228] Those attacks killed 2,000 Jewish civilians during the war.[229]

9.

The Lie: "None [of the attacks on Israel] is remembered with more horror than the atrocity at Ma'alot in 1974, where 22 members of a paramilitary youth group were killed in an exchange of fire…"[230]

The Truth: The PLO attack commenced with the murder of a father, a pregnant mother and their four-year-old child, with their five-year-old daughter shot in the stomach. The terrorists took more than 100 schoolchildren hostage and threatened to massacre them unless their demands were met. They murdered 22 teenagers, and wounded 56, during an Israeli rescue attempt.[231]

8.

The Lie: "We might tarry a moment over the Israeli attack on the island off Tripoli north of Beirut [in 1984], in which Lebanese fishermen and boy scouts at a camp were killed… One might ask why the murder of Lebanese boy scouts is a lesser atrocity [than the death of Israeli children at Ma'alot]."[232]

The Truth: Israel bombed an ammunition dump on the island, known as a training facility for a jihadist faction allied to the PLO. Sources in the jihadist faction reported that there were 150 terrorists on the island and that 25 of them were hit.[233]

7.

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[226] *Turning the Tide* (South End Press, 1985), pp. 76-7.
[227] Yoav Gelber, *Palestine 1948* (Sussex Academic Press, 2001), p. 209.
[228] Associated Press, August 24, 1984.
[229] Netanel Lorch, *The Edge of the Sword: Israel's War of Independence, 1947-1949* (Putnam, 1961), p. 450.
[230] *Pirates and Emperors, Old and New* (rev. ed., Pluto Press, 2002), p. 65.
[231] Jillian Becker, *The PLO: The Rise and Fall of the Palestine Liberation Organization* (Weidenfeld & Nicholson, 1984), pp. 186-7.
[232] *Pirates and Emperors, Old and New* (rev. ed., Pluto Press, 2002), p. 65.
[233] *Washington Post*, June 28, 1984.

The Lie: "What were the worst terrorist acts in the Middle East in the peak year, 1985? … The second candidate would be the Israeli bombing of Tunis… Tunis was attacked with smart bombs. People were torn to pieces, and so on, and the attack killed about seventy-five people, Tunisians and Palestinians. They were civilians… This was, again, international terrorism."[234]

The Truth: Israel bombed the PLO's headquarters in a suburb of Tunis. A report stated that the raid "heavily damaged or destroyed buildings used by Force 17, the PLO's elite security wing… while leaving others in the complex untouched."[235]

6.

The Lie: "the heroine of the popular struggle that overthrew the vicious Somoza regime in Nicaragua, Dora María Téllez, was denied a visa to teach at the Harvard Divinity School, as a terrorist. Her crime was to have helped overthrow a US-backed tyrant and mass murderer. Orwell would not have known whether to laugh or weep."[236]

The Truth: In 1978, Dora Maria Téllez led a Sandinista attack on Nicaragua's parliament building. The terrorists captured 1,500 civilian hostages, including children, and threatened to murder them unless their demands were met. The demands included a prisoner release and a $10 million ransom.[237]

5.

The Lie: "[In November 1983,] UNITA in Angola took credit for shooting down an Angolan civilian airline with over a hundred people killed… South Africa and the United States support them… so that whenever they shoot down a civilian airliner, that's fine."[238]

The Truth: UNITA claimed to have shot down a plane carrying government soldiers. The authorities said that it was a passenger airliner that crashed because of technical faults.[239]

4.

The Lie: "Only a few months before he spoke [in June 1984], [George] Shultz's UNITA friends in Angola were boasting of having shot down civilian airliners with 266 people killed…"[240]

The Truth: UNITA claimed to have shot down government planes carrying hundreds of military personnel. The authorities said that the first plane made an emergency landing because of technical problems, with no-one killed.[241]

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[234] *Power and Terror* (Seven Stories Press, 2003), p. 54.
[235] *Washington Post*, October 2, 1985.
[236] "War on Terror," Amnesty International Annual Lecture Hosted by Trinity College, Dublin, January 18, 2006: http://www.chomsky.info/talks/20060118.pdf
[237] Shirley Christian, *Nicaragua: Revolution in the Family* (Vintage, 1986), pp. 72-7.
[238] *Language and Politics* (AK Press, 2004), p. 402.
[239] Associated Press, November 10, 1983.
[240] *Pirates and Emperors, Old and New* (Pluto Press, 2002), p. 69.

3.

The Lie: "[UNITA] had also announced 'a new campaign of urban terror,' Associated Press reported [in April 1984], noting a bombing in Luanda in which 30 people were killed and more than 70 injured when a jeep loaded with dynamite exploded in the city."[242]

The Truth: UNITA claimed responsibility for bombing an army building in Huambo, not Luanda, adding "that the attack marked the beginning of UNITA's urban *guerrilla* campaign" [emphasis added].[243] AP reported UNITA's claim to have bombed an army building and cited an official communist report from Luanda "that about 30 people were killed and more than 70 injured when a jeep loaded with dynamite exploded in the town [of Huambo]."[244]

2.

The Lie: "[In Bosnia] there was one famous incident which has completely reshaped the Western opinion and that was the photograph of the thin man behind the barb-wire [at the Trnopolje camp]… the place was ugly, but it was a refugee camp, I mean, people could leave if they wanted…"[245]

The Truth: Trnopolje was a concentration camp where victims were imprisoned during the process of ethnic cleansing and subjected to systematic starvation and rape, as well as random violence and murder.[246]

1.

The Lie: "The [9/11] terrorist attacks were major atrocities. In scale they may not reach the level of many others, for example, Clinton's bombing of the Sudan with no credible pretext, destroying half its pharmaceutical supplies and killing unknown numbers of people (no one knows, because the US blocked an inquiry at the UN and no one cares to pursue it)."[247]

The Truth: After al-Qaeda destroyed US embassies in Kenya and Tanzania, killing hundreds, the US bombed a factory in Sudan. The bombing was conducted at night so that civilians would not be hurt.[248] One security guard died. Amnesty International, Human Rights Watch, Oxfam and Doctors Without Borders were all free to investigate and none alleged that the bombing caused mass deaths surpassing 9/11.

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[241] Associated Press, February 13, 1984; United Press International, February 20, 1984.
[242] *Pirates and Emperors, Old and New* (Pluto Press, 2002), p. 69.
[243] BBC Summary of World Broadcasts, April 23, 1984.
[244] Associated Press, April 22, 1984.
[245] Interview, *Radio Television of Serbia*, April 25, 2006: http://www.youtube.com/watch?v=AapFe-C6tB4
[246] International Criminal Tribunal for the Former Yugoslavia (ICTY), *Prosecutor v. Dusko Tadic*, Case No. IT-94-1-T, Opinion and Judgment, May 7, 1997, paras. 172-8; David Campbell, "Atrocity, Memory, Photography: Imaging the Concentration Camps of Bosnia," *Journal of Human Rights*, March and June 2002.
[247] "On the Bombings," *ZNet*, September 11, 2001: http://www.webcitation.org/6IJZ3wKdg
[248] *Washington Post*, August 21, 1998.

IX. 10 Chomsky Lies About the War on Terrorism

10.

The Lie: "European powers conquered much of the world with extreme brutality. With the rarest of exceptions, they were not under attack by their foreign victims… It is not surprising, therefore, that Europe should be utterly shocked by the terrorist crimes of September 11."[249]

The Truth: Arab and Islamic invasions of Europe conquered Spain, Sardinia, Sicily, Crete, and parts of France and Italy. The Ottoman Empire expanded as far as Hungary and southern Poland, as well as occupying parts of Greece, Yugoslavia, Romania and Bulgaria.[250]

9.

The Lie: "On 9/11, the world reacted with shock and horror, and sympathy for the victims. But it is important to bear in mind that for much of the world, there was a further reaction: 'Welcome to the club.' For the first time in history, a Western power was subjected to an atrocity of the kind that is all too familiar elsewhere."[251]

The Truth: Arab and Islamic invaders in Europe committed huge atrocities, including mass murders of tens of thousands in Spain and elsewhere; enslavement of at least 1 million people from Italy, Spain, France, England and other countries, with a huge death toll; enslavement of 500,000-1 million adolescent boys from the Balkans; and enslavement of 3 million people from Russia, Ukraine and Poland.[252] The Nazis and the Soviets also enslaved, tortured, raped and murdered millions of innocent Europeans.

8.

The Lie: "The bin Laden network, I doubt if anybody knows it better than the CIA, since they were instrumental in helping construct it."[253]

The Truth: This is "not true" since CIA money "went exclusively to the Afghan mujahideen groups, not the Arab volunteers" (Jason Burke).[254] Bin Laden was "outside of CIA eyesight" and there is "no record of any direct contact" (Steve Coll).[255] There is "no evidence" of funding, "nor is there any evidence of CIA personnel meeting with bin Laden or anyone in his circle" (Peter Bergen).[256] There is

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[249] *9-11* (Seven Stories Press, 2001), p. 12.
[250] Paul Fregosi, *Jihad in the West: Muslim Conquests from the 7th to the 21st Centuries* (Prometheus Books, 1998); Efraim Karsh, *Islamic Imperialism: A History* (Yale University Press, 2006).
[251] "There's Good Reason to Fear US," *Toronto Star*, September 7, 2003.
[252] Robert C. Davis, *Christian Slaves, Muslim Masters* (Palgrave Macmillan, 2003), pp. 4, 23, 16-8; Andrew Bostom, ed., *The Legacy of Jihad* (Prometheus Books, 2005), pp. 56-60, 664-6, 70-2, 91, 679-81.
[253] Interview, *Monthly Review*, November 2001.
[254] Jason Burke, *Al-Qaeda* (Penguin, 2003), p. 59.
[255] Steve Coll, *Ghost Wars: The Secret History of the CIA, Afghanistan and Bin Laden* (Penguin, 2004), p. 87.
[256] Peter Bergen, *The Osama bin Laden I Know* (Free Press, 2006), pp. 60-1.

"no support" in any "reliable source" for "the claim that the CIA funded bin Laden or any of the other Arab volunteers who came to support the mujahideen" (Christopher Andrew and Vasili Mitrokhin).[257]

7.

The Lie: "The planning [of the 1993 World Trade Center attack] was traced to followers of Sheikh Omar Abdel Rahman, who had been helped to enter the US and was protected within the country by the CIA."[258]

The Truth: The 9/11 Commission showed that Rahman was admitted to the US thanks to the bureaucratic incompetence of officials who did not know that his name was on government terrorism watch lists. He was able to gain permanent residency as a result of their repeated bureaucratic blunders and his own manipulation of the asylum and benefits systems.[259]

6.

The Lie: "This [i.e., 9/11] is certainly a turning point: for the first time in history the victims are returning the blow to the motherland."[260]

The Truth: The terrorists were not "victims" of America before 9/11: they had already tried to kill tens of thousands of Americans in the World Trade Center in 1993 and they had massacred hundreds in their attacks on American targets in Kenya, Tanzania and elsewhere.[261]

5.

The Lie: "They [i.e., the terrorists] are carrying out enormous atrocities in response to the real atrocities for which we're responsible and which continue to this day… It may matter little to us here, and virtually no one in the West cares. But that doesn't imply that it doesn't matter to the victims."[262]

The Truth: They commit enormous atrocities because they are jihadist fanatics.[263] Islamic extremists have committed mass murder in Muslim countries such as Algeria, Iran, Iraq and Sudan, and in non-Western countries such as India and the Philippines.

4.

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[257] Christopher Andrew and Vasili Mitrokhin, *The Mitrokhin Archive II: The KGB and the World* (Penguin, 2006), p. 579n48.
[258] *Hegemony or Survival* (Penguin, 2004), p. 111.
[259] *9/11 and Terrorist Travel: Staff Report of the National Commission on Terrorist Attacks Upon the United States*, August 21, 2004, ch. 3, Box: The Case of the Blind Sheikh, pp. 49-52; available at http://www.9-11commission.gov/staff_statements/index.htm
[260] *La Jornada*, Mexico, September 15, 2001.
[261] Steve Coll, *Ghost Wars: The Secret History of the CIA, Afghanistan and Bin Laden* (Penguin, 2004), pp. 249-50, 404.
[262] *La Jornada*, Mexico, September 15, 2001.
[263] See, e.g., David Cook, *Understanding Jihad* (University of California Press, 2005).

The Lie: "Many who know the conditions well are also dubious about bin Laden's capacity to plan that incredibly sophisticated operation from a cave somewhere in Afghanistan… It's entirely possible that bin Laden's telling the truth when he says that he didn't know about the operation."[264]

The Truth: Shortly after 9/11, bin Laden said that he had known of the plan and had used his engineering skills to calculate how much damage the planes would inflict on the World Trade Center.[265] The 9/11 planners, Khaled Sheikh Mohammed and Ramzi Binalshibh, said that they "executed the death flights with the approval of bin Laden."[266]

3.

The Lie: "The [Afghanistan] war aim announced on October 12, five days after the bombing began, was that the Taliban leadership should hand over to the United States people who [sic] the US suspected of participating in terrorist actions."[267]

The Truth: The war aim, announced by President Bush on the first day of bombing, was "to disrupt the use of Afghanistan as a terrorist base of operations, and to attack the military capability of the Taliban regime."[268]

2.

The Lie: "Western civilization is anticipating the slaughter of, well do the arithmetic, 3-4 million people or something like that [in Afghanistan]… Looks like what's happening is some sort of silent genocide… we are in the midst of apparently trying to murder 3 or 4 million people…"[269]

The Truth: Far from killing millions, the US overthrow of the Taliban saved lives. UNICEF figures indicated that the deaths of 112,000 children and 7,500 pregnant women would be prevented every year as a result.[270]

1.

The Lie: "It is acceptable to report the 'collateral damage' by bombing error, the inadvertent and inevitable cost of war, but not the conscious and deliberate destruction of Afghans who will die in silence, invisibly – not by design, but because it doesn't matter, a deeper level of moral depravity… People do not die of starvation instantly. They can survive on roots and grass, and if malnourished children die of disease, who will seek to determine what factors lie in the background?"[271]

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[264] *9-11* (Seven Stories Press, 2001), pp. 59-60.
[265] Jason Burke, *Al-Qaeda* (Penguin, 2003), p. 248.
[266] *Sunday Times*, UK, September 8, 2002.
[267] Interview, *International Socialist Review*, September-October 2002.
[268] *New York Times*, October 8, 2001.
[269] "The New War Against Terror," Lecture, Massachusetts Institute of Technology, October 18, 2001.
[270] *New York Times*, February 1, 2002.
[271] *Pirates and Emperors, Old and New* (Pluto Press, 2002), p. 150.

The Truth: The US had been the largest supplier of food to Afghanistan for a decade and provided two-thirds of food aid after 9/11, saving the country from famine.[272] The UN Global Ambassador on Hunger wrote that there was "no starvation this winter in Afghanistan," thanks to "a humanitarian assistance budget wisely provided by the Bush administration."[273] The head of the World Food Program in Kabul said that "it was clear that a possible famine had been averted."[274]

[272] *Los Angeles Times*, January 4, 2002.
[273] Letters, *Wall Street Journal*, February 5, 2002.
[274] *The Spectator*, UK, November 30, 2002.

X. 10 Chomsky Lies About Middle East Politics

10.

The Lie: "Iran remained 'moderate' until the fall of the Shah in 1979 while compiling one of the worst human rights records in the world, as Amnesty International and other human rights groups regularly documented, not affecting the classification of the Shah as a 'moderate' or the applause for him among US elites."[275]

The Truth: Amnesty International accused the Shah of carrying out 300 political executions. He was not even remotely comparable to the world's worst human rights violators. During the same period, Macias Nguema murdered 50,000 in Equatorial Guinea, Idi Amin massacred 300,000 in Uganda and Pol Pot slaughtered 2 million in Cambodia.[276]

9.

The Lie: "Libya is indeed a terrorist state, but in the world of international terrorism, it is a bit player… [Its terrorist attacks] have [been] reduced from near zero to near zero [by the US air raid]."[277]

The Truth: Libya's terrorist record included military intervention in support of mass murders in Uganda and Ethiopia; sponsorship of terrorists responsible for thousands killed in the Philippines; provision of training camps for thousands of international terrorists; massacres, bombings and hijackings of Western civilians; and involvement in subversion and civil wars throughout Africa and the Middle East.[278]

8.

The Lie: "There was a time when Saddam Hussein was dangerous, had committed major crimes, and was capable of committing much worse ones, and those who are now saying he is too dangerous to exist were supporting him and helping him become more of a danger."[279]

The Truth: Saddam Hussein's weapons mostly came from countries that later opposed the Iraq war. According to the Stockholm International Peace Research Institute, 57% came from Russia, 13% from France and 12% from China. Just 1% came from the US or Britain.[280] The main opponents of the Iraq war supplied over 80 times as many weapons as the main proponents of the war.

7.

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[275] *Pirates and Emperors, Old and New* (rev. ed., Pluto Press, 2002), p. 112.
[276] *Washington Post*, March 23, 1980.
[277] *Pirates and Emperors, Old and New* (rev. ed., Pluto Press, 2002), pp. 84, 99.
[278] *Washington Post*, July 27, 1980.
[279] Interview, *International Socialist Review*, September-October 2002.
[280] *The Times*, UK, April 8, 2003.

The Lie: "I have already mentioned the devastation of Iraqi civilian society [by US-backed sanctions], with about 1 million deaths, over half of them young children, according to reports that cannot simply be ignored."[281]

The Truth: Genocide scholar Milton Leitenberg pointed out: "All alleged post-1990 figures on infant and child mortality in Iraq are supplied by the Iraqi government agencies."[282] Iraq denied UN requests to admit independent experts to assess living conditions.[283] The claim that sanctions doubled Iraq's child mortality rate has been exposed as a "remarkable fiction" created by Saddam Hussein's regime.[284]

6.

The Lie: "Presidents commonly have 'doctrines,' but Bush II is the first to have 'visions' as well… The most exalted of these, conjured up after all pretexts for invasion of Iraq had to be abandoned, was the vision of bringing democracy to Iraq and the Middle East."[285]

The Truth: Congress formally endorsed the vision of bringing democracy to Iraq during the Clinton Administration.[286] And the bipartisan war resolution cited the need "to support efforts to remove from power the current Iraqi regime and promote the emergence of a democratic government to replace that regime."[287]

5.

The Lie: "In 2002 the US and United Kingdom proclaimed the right to invade Iraq because it was developing weapons of mass destruction… It was also the sole basis on which Bush received congressional authorisation to resort to force."[288]

The Truth: The war resolution also cited Iraq's role in "supporting and harboring terrorist organizations," "brutal repression of its civilian population," "refusing to release, repatriate, or account for non-Iraqi citizens wrongfully detained by Iraq," etc. It permitted the use of force to "defend the national security of the United States against the continuing threat posed by Iraq" and to "enforce all relevant United Nations Security Council resolutions" on Iraq.[289]

4.

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[281] *9-11* (Seven Stories Press, 2001), p. 88.
[282] Milton Leitenberg, "Saddam is the Cause of Iraqis' Suffering," *Institute For the Study of Genocide Newsletter*, No. 28, n.d.
[283] *New York Times*, September 12, 2000.
[284] Tim Dyson and Valeria Cetorelli, "Changing Views on Child Mortality and Economic Sanctions in Iraq: A History of Lies, Damned Lies and Statistics," *BMJ Global Health*, 2017: http://gh.bmj.com/content/2/2/e000311.
[285] "Understanding the Bush Doctrine," *Information Clearing House*, October 2, 2004.
[286] H. R. 4655, Iraq Liberation Act, 1998.
[287] H. J. R. 114, Joint Resolution to Authorize the Use of United States Armed Forces Against Iraq, 107th Congress, 2nd Session, October 10, 2002.
[288] "It's Imperialism, Stupid," *Khaleej Times*, July 4, 2005.
[289] H. J. R. 114: Joint Resolution to Authorize the Use of United States Armed Forces Against Iraq, 107th Congress, 2nd Session, October 10, 2002.

The Lie: "They knew perfectly well that Iraq was defenseless. They probably knew where every pocketknife was in every square inch of Iraq by that time."[290]

The Truth: They knew nothing of the kind. In Chomsky's words, later in the same interview, "US analysis, including the CIA and intelligence agencies... all assumed that he must have some weapons of mass destruction capacity, as I did and everyone did..."[291]

3.

The Lie: "the Bush administration's original reason for going to war in Iraq was to save the world from a tyrant developing weapons of mass destruction and cultivating links to terror. Nobody believes that now, not even Bush's speech writers."[292]

The Truth: The regime "trained Iraqis, Palestinians, Syrians, Yemeni, Lebanese, Egyptian, and Sudanese operatives," including a group "primarily comprised of suicide bombers" (Iraq Survey Group).[293] It "planned for attacks in major Western cities," made "preparations for a regime-directed wave of terror, codenamed 'Blessed July,' against targets outside of Iraq," and ran "paramilitary training camps" for thousands of Iraqis and "Arab volunteers from Egypt, Palestine, Jordan, the Gulf and Syria" (Iraqi Perspectives Project).[294]

2.

The Lie: "US forces surround Iran, and it's surrounded by other nuclear-armed states. So, yes, it is a real threat, and you refuse to discuss it, you increase the threats, you impose harsh economic strangulation, you intimidate the Europeans, which is pretty easy, so that they pull out. That's just asking them to develop nuclear weapons."[295]

The Truth: Iran's nuclear weapons drive has nothing to do with security; the regime has even spoken of provoking a nuclear war. According to a sermon by former President Rafsanjani, "the use of even one nuclear bomb inside Israel will destroy everything. However, it will only harm the Islamic world. It is not irrational to contemplate such an eventuality."[296]

1.

The Lie: "The US media tend to ignore [Ayatollah] Khamenei's statements, especially if they are conciliatory. It's widely reported when Ahmadinejad says Israel shouldn't exist – but there is silence when Khamenei says that Iran supports the Arab

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[290] Interview, *International Socialist Review*, November-December, 2003.
[291] Ibid.
[292] "Selective Memory and a Dishonest Doctrine," *Toronto Star*, December 21, 2003.
[293] *Comprehensive Report of the Special Advisor to the DCI on Iraq's WMD*, Vol. 1: Regime Strategic Intent, Annexe B: pp. 78-9: available online at http://www.gpo.gov/fdsys/search/pagedetails.action?granuleId=&packageId=GPO-DUELFERREPORT
[294] Kevin M. Woods et al., *The Iraqi Perspectives Report* (Naval Institute Press, 2006), pp. 53-4.
[295] Interview, *Global Knowledge*, Norway, June 2006.
[296] Voice of the Islamic Republic of Iran, December 14, 2001, translated by BBC Worldwide Monitoring.

League position on Israel-Palestine, calling for normalisation of relations with Israel if it accepts the international consensus of a two-state settlement."[297]

The Truth: Khamenei was demanding "the annihilation and destruction of the Zionist state."[298] He added that "this cancerous tumor of a state should be removed from the region."[299] His media were boasting that "just as in one 33-day war more than 50% of Israel was destroyed… it is likely that in the next battle, the second half will also collapse."[300] Other Iranian officials declared that Israel faced "final and total defeat" and is "on the threshold of annihilation."[301]

[297] "A Predator Becomes More Dangerous When Wounded," *The Guardian*, March 9, 2007.
[298] *Daily Telegraph*, UK, January 1, 2000.
[299] Reuters, December 15, 2000.
[300] *Kayhan*, Iran, October 19, 2006.
[301] *New York Sun*, October 25, 2006.

XI. 10 Chomsky Lies About the Arab-Israeli Wars

10.

The Lie: "Israel and Jordan were acting in accord with a secret agreement to partition Palestine in 1947-8, both of them regarding the Palestinian leadership as a primary enemy."[302]

The Truth: The Zionists told Jordan's King Abdallah that "we could not promise to help his incursion into the country, since we would be obliged to observe the UN Resolution" for "the establishment of two states in Palestine" (Golda Meir). Israel's leaders took "the unanimous view that an Arab Palestine is here to stay" (Moshe Sharett) and that "we will not be able to agree lightly to the annexation of parts of Palestine to Transjordan" (David Ben-Gurion).[303]

9.

The Lie: "It might be noted that the 'boundaries of Zionist aspirations' in Ben-Gurion's 'vision' were quite broad, including southern Lebanon, southern Syria, today's Jordan, all of cis-Jordan, and the Sinai."[304]

The Truth: The archives show that Ben-Gurion rejected expansionism: "When we agreed to the Partition Plan, we accepted it in all honesty. We did this not because the plan was good or just, but because a small area received through peaceful means was preferable to us than a large area won by fighting."[305]

8.

The Lie: "[An Israeli expert] observes that 'the Arabs' objective of destroying the state of Israel… drives them to [seek] genocide…' This is a possible, but not an absolutely necessary, interpretation of such proposals."[306]

The Truth: In 1947, the Arab League announced "a war of extermination and momentous massacre."[307] In 1967, Syria wanted "to explode Zionist existence" and Iraq planned "to get rid of the Zionist cancer in Palestine."[308] The PLO vowed that "no-one will remain alive."[309] The 1968 PLO covenant pledged to "destroy the Zionist and imperialist presence" in Palestine.[310] In 1979, the PLO warned that "there will be

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[302] *Fateful Triangle* (rev. ed., Pluto Press, 1999), p. 97.
[303] Efraim Karsh, "The Collusion That Never Was: King Abdallah, the Jewish Agency and the Partition of Palestine," *Journal of Contemporary History*, October 1999, pp. 573, 580-1.
[304] *Fateful Triangle* (rev. ed., Pluto Press, 1999), p. 161.
[305] Zaki Shalom, *David Ben-Gurion, the State of Israel and the Arab World, 1949-1956* (Sussex Academic Press, 2002), p. 151. See also Daniel Pipes, "Imperial Israel: The Nile-to-Euphrates Calumny," *Middle East Quarterly*, March 1994.
[306] *Peace in the Middle East?* (Fontana, 1975), p. 71.
[307] *Akhbar al-Yom*, Egypt, October 11, 1947, quoted in David Barnett and Efraim Karsh, "Azzam's Genocidal Threat," *Middle East Quarterly*, Fall 2011.
[308] *New York Times*, May 21, 1967.
[309] Moshe Shemesh, "Did Shuqayri Call For 'Throwing the Jews into the Sea?'" *Israel Studies*, Summer 2003, p. 72.
[310] Palestine National Covenant, 1968, art. 22.

only Arabs in this part of the world" and promised to shed "rivers of blood" when destroying Israel.[311]

7.

The Lie: "It is not even controversial that in 1967 Israel attacked Egypt. Jordan and Syria entered the conflict much as England and France went to war when Germany attacked their ally Poland in 1939 [i.e., to defend an ally]."[312]

The Truth: Israel was defending itself against forcible blockade by Egypt. Nasser had stated: "We knew that by closing the Gulf of Aqaba it might mean war with Israel… the objective [of a war] will be to destroy Israel."[313] Egypt had warned Israel that "either it will die by strangulation in the wake of the Arab military and economic blockade, or it will die by shooting from the Arab forces surrounding it in the south, north and east."[314] Syria and the other Arab regimes also declared that their goal was to destroy Israel.[315]

6.

The Lie: "The 1973 war was a clear case of an Arab attack, but on territory occupied by Israel, after diplomatic attempts at [a] settlement had been rebuffed… Hence it is hardly 'an undisputed historical fact' that in this case the war had to do with 'the existence of the Jewish state.'"[316]

The Truth: Syria pledged to "regain our positions in our occupied land and continue then until we liberate the whole land."[317] Egypt announced: "The issue is not just the liberation of the Arab territories occupied since June 5, 1967… [for] if the Arabs are able to liberate their territories occupied since June 5, 1967 by force, what can prevent them in the next stage from liberating Palestine itself by force?"[318]

5.

The Lie: "Whether the PLO will be able to maintain the image of heroism with which it left Beirut [in 1982] is another question… as Israel and its partisans desperately hope, the PLO, under conditions of dispersal and disarray, may return to random terrorism and abandon its dangerous posture of political accommodation."[319]

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[311] Associated Press, March 12, 1979.
[312] *Deterring Democracy* (Vintage, 1992), p. 189.
[313] *Washington Post*, May 27, 1967.
[314] Radio Cairo, May 27, 1967.
[315] Michael B. Oren, *Six Days of War* (Oxford University Press, 2002), pp. 78, 132, 136-7, 163-4.
[316] *Fateful Triangle* (rev. ed., Pluto Press, 1999), pp. 99-100.
[317] Radio Damascus, October 15, 1973, reprinted in Walter Laqueur, ed., *The Israel-Arab Reader* (rev. ed., Bantam Books, 1976), p. 459.
[318] *Al-Ahram*, Egypt, October 19, 1973, quoted in Theodore Draper, "The Road to Geneva," *Commentary*, February 1974.
[319] *Fateful Triangle* (rev. ed., Pluto Press, 1999), p. 314.

The Truth: Before the 1982 war, the PLO sponsored terrorists all over the world, including neo-Nazis;[320] made preparations to bombard Israeli cities;[321] and committed extensive atrocities in Lebanon.[322] During the war, PLO "heroism" included using child soldiers and placing military targets next to schools, hospitals, churches and apartment buildings.[323]

4.

The Lie: "[Israel was] holding the city [of Beirut] hostage in an effort to compel the PLO to withdraw completely, as it did, to save the city from total destruction."[324]

The Truth: Far from trying to save the population, the PLO was threatening its annihilation. Yasser Arafat warned that "if the Israelis attempted to break into West Beirut, the PLO would simultaneously blow up 300 ammunition dumps and bring holocaust down on the city."[325]

3.

The Lie: "[In 1982] the US-backed Israeli attack on Lebanon… brought the superpowers close to nuclear confrontation as Israel attacked the forces of a Soviet ally, Syria, which had not attempted to impede the Israeli onslaught…"[326]

The Truth: The superpowers did not come close to nuclear confrontation; the Soviets did not threaten war in support of Syria and barely reacted to the first Syrian-Israeli clashes.[327]

2.

The Lie: "as soon as the current fighting began last September 30 [2000], Israel immediately, the next day, began using US helicopters… to attack civilian targets. In the next couple of days they killed several dozen people in apartment complexes and elsewhere. The fighting was all in the occupied territories, and there was no Palestinian fire. The Palestinians were using stones."[328]

The Truth: Palestinian forces were using gunfire. Reports spoke of "Palestinians sniping… from rooftops and inside abandoned buildings"; referred to "gunmen shooting at the Israelis," causing the army to send "helicopter gunships to provide

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[320] Raphael Israeli, ed., *PLO in Lebanon: Selected Documents* (Weidenfeld & Nicholson, 1983), p. 191ff; Jillian Becker, *The PLO: The Rise and Fall of the Palestine Liberation Organization* (Weidenfeld & Nicholson, 1984), pp. 189-93.
[321] Raphael Israeli, ed., *PLO in Lebanon: Selected Documents* (Weidenfeld & Nicholson, 1983), pp. 26ff, 206ff.
[322] Raphael Israeli, ed., *PLO in Lebanon: Selected Documents* (Weidenfeld & Nicholson, 1983), pp. 240, 244-6, 234-53; Jillian Becker, *The PLO: The Rise and Fall of the Palestine Liberation Organization* (Weidenfeld & Nicholson, 1984), pp. 123-6, 143, 153-4, 159, 268n13.
[323] *New York Times*, July 25, 1982.
[324] *Fateful Triangle* (rev. ed., Pluto Press, 1999), p. 309.
[325] Ze'ev Schiff and Ehud Ya'ari, *Israel's Lebanon War* (Simon and Schuster, 1984), p. 220.
[326] *Turning the Tide* (South End Press, 1985), p. 176.
[327] *Christian Science Monitor*, June 23, 1982.
[328] Interview, *Monthly Review*, November 2001.

cover fire" for rescuers; and stated that "Israeli troops and Palestinian gunmen shot at each other."[329]

1.

The Lie: "The only issue now is suicide bombers. And when did the suicide bombings begin? Last year [2001], on a major scale… One year of Palestinian crimes against Israel after thirty-four years of quiet. Israel had been nearly immune. I mean, there were terrorist attacks on Israel but not from within the occupied territories."[330]

The Truth: Suicide bombings in Israel began in 1994, less than a year after the Oslo Accords that created the Palestinian Authority. Hundreds of Israelis died in suicide bombings and other terrorist attacks from the West Bank and Gaza before the collapse of the peace process in late 2000.

[329] *New York Times*, October 1, Associated Press, October 2, 2000.
[330] Interview, May 21, 2002, in *Power and Terror* (Seven Stories Press, 2003), p. 32.

XII. 10 Chomsky Lies About the Arab-Israeli Peace Process

10.

The Lie: "Much is made in US propaganda about Israel's eagerness to make peace after the 1967 war… in August 1967, Yigal Allon had advanced his 'Allon plan,' which became official policy a year later… No other Israeli initiatives are known… The terms 'territorial compromise' and 'land for peace' are used to refer to one or another version of the Allon plan, always rejecting entirely the Palestinian right to self-determination."[331]

The Truth: In July 1967, Prime Minister Levi Eshkol publicly confirmed Israel's readiness to establish a Palestinian state. Similar ideas were voiced by Yigal Allon, Yitzhak Rabin and Moshe Dayan.[332] In January 1976, Prime Minister Yitzhak Rabin considered another plan for a Palestinian state. This was supported by Golda Meir, Yigal Allon and Ariel Sharon.[333]

9.

The Lie: "Keeping to the diplomatic record… both sides, of course, rejected [UN Security Council Resolution] 242."[334]

The Truth: Israel, Jordan, Lebanon and Egypt accepted the resolution – while disagreeing over interpretation – and began discussions with the UN Special Representative appointed to implement it.[335]

8.

The Lie: "In February 1971, [Sadat] offered Israel a full peace treaty on the pre-June 1967 borders, with security guarantees, recognized borders and so on… Sadat's offer was in line with the international consensus of the period…"[336]

The Truth: Egypt explained its policy as follows: "There are only two specific Arab goals at present: elimination of the consequences of the 1967 aggression through Israel's withdrawal from all the lands it occupied that year, and elimination of the consequences of the 1948 aggression through the eradication of Israel."[337]

7.

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[331] "Middle East Diplomacy: Continuities and Changes," *Z Magazine*, December 1991.
[332] Reuven Pedatzur, "Coming Back Full Circle: The Palestinian Option in 1967," *Middle East Journal*, Spring 1995, pp. 273-6, 278; see also *Washington Post*, July 6, 1967.
[333] Avraham Wachman, "A Peace Plan," *The New Republic*, September 5, 1988; *Jerusalem Post*, July 27, 1990. At this time "Sharon agreed to the transfer of the entire West Bank to Palestinian sovereignty on condition that all security arrangements be left in the hands of Israel": Uzi Benziman, *Sharon: An Israeli Caesar* (Robson Books, 1985), p. 194.
[334] Debate with Alan Dershowitz, Kennedy School of Government, Harvard, November 29, 2005.
[335] *Report by the Secretary-General on the Activities of the Special Representative to the Middle East*, Security Council S/10070, January 4, 1971, para. 2: http://www.webcitation.org/5PG5TdN2o
[336] *Fateful Triangle* (rev. ed., Pluto Press, 1999), p. 64.
[337] *Al-Ahram*, Egypt, February 25, 1971, quoted in Theodore Draper, "The Road to Geneva," *Commentary*, February 1974.

The Lie: "In January 1976, the US was compelled to veto a UN Security Council Resolution calling for a settlement in terms of the international consensus, which now included a Palestinian state alongside Israel… [Israel alleged] that the PLO not only backed this peace plan but in fact 'prepared' it; the PLO then condemned 'the tyranny of the veto' (in the words of the PLO representative) by which the US blocked this important effort to bring about a peaceful two-state settlement."[338]

The Truth: Far from aiming at a two-state solution, the draft UN resolution endorsed the "right" of millions of Palestinians to "return" to pre-1967 Israel, a euphemism for the country's destruction.[339] The PLO warned that "this Zionist ghetto of Israel must be destroyed"[340] and stressed that "we will not recognize Israel."[341]

6.

The Lie: "The PLO [by 1982] was getting extremely annoying [to Israel] with its insistence on negotiated settlement of the conflict."[342]

The Truth: The PLO stated: "Peace for us means the destruction of Israel… We shall not rest until the day when we return to our home and until we destroy Israel."[343] The PLO announced: "We wish at any price to liquidate the state of Israel."[344] The PLO declared: "We shall never allow Israel to live in peace… We shall never recognize Israel…"[345]

5.

The Lie: "These facts are automatically cut out of history, along with others unacceptable to US power, including repeated PLO initiatives through the 1980s calling for negotiations with Israel leading to mutual recognition."[346]

The Truth: At the end of the 1980s, PLO deputy leader Salah Khalaf (Abu Iyad) declared: "There was no PLO recognition of Israel."[347] PLO leader Yasser Arafat issued a joint statement with Libyan dictator Muammar Gaddafi avowing that "the so-called 'State of Israel' was one of the consequences of World War II and should disappear, like the Berlin Wall."[348]

4.

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[338] *Fateful Triangle* (rev. ed., Pluto Press, 1999), p. 67.
[339] Draft UN Security Council Resolution S/11940, January 23, 1976, para. 1(b): https://unispal.un.org/DPA/DPR/unispal.nsf/0/696D540FD7821BCE0525651C00736250.
[340] *Newsweek*, January 5, 1976.
[341] *New York Times*, February 17, 1976.
[342] *Power and Terror* (Seven Stories Press, 2003), p. 52.
[343] *El Mundo*, Venezuela, February 11, 1980; *The Times*, UK, August 5, 1980.
[344] *The Times*, UK, August 5, 1980.
[345] *Der Stern*, West Germany, July 30, 1981.
[346] *Deterring Democracy* (Vintage, 1992), p. 425.
[347] *Al-Watan*, Kuwait, February 11, 1989.
[348] BBC *Summary of World Broadcasts*, January 8, 1990.

The Lie: "Clinton-Barak advanced a few steps towards a Bantustan-style settlement… three cantons [in the West Bank], under Israeli control, virtually separated from one another and from the fourth enclave, a small area of East Jerusalem… In the fifth canton, Gaza, the outcome was left unclear except that the population were also to remain virtually imprisoned. It is understandable that maps are not to be found in the US mainstream, or any of the details of the proposals."[349]

The Truth: The PLO leadership boasted that "Barak agreed to a withdrawal from 95% of the occupied Palestinian lands" and pledged that "our eyes will continue to aspire to the strategic goal, namely, to Palestine from the river to the sea."[350]

3.

The Lie: "There has been *one* elected leader in the Middle East, *one*, who was elected in a reasonably fair, supervised election... namely Yassir Arafat. So how do the great 'democrats' like Wolfowitz and Rumsfeld treat him? Lock him up in a compound so that he can be battered by US-provided arms to their local client under military occupation."[351]

The Truth: Israel and Turkey both had freely elected leaders at the time. The Palestinian elections were rigged,[352] and Arafat's PLO colleagues compared him to Idi Amin and Saddam Hussein.[353] Arafat was trapped in his compound after he sabotaged the peace process and started a campaign of violence.[354]

2.

The Lie: "[Hezbollah's] Nasrallah has a reasoned argument and persuasive argument that they [i.e., arms] should be in the hands of Hezbollah as a deterrent to potential aggression..."[355]

The Truth: Hezbollah's goal is not to deter aggression but to wage war "until the elimination of Israel and until the death of the last Jew on earth."[356] Nasrallah has pledged to "finish off the entire cancerous Zionist project."[357] He has stated: "If they [i.e., Jews] all gather in Israel, it will save us the trouble of going after them worldwide."[358]

1.

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[349] "Back in the USA," *Red Pepper*, UK, May 2002.
[350] Faisal Husseini, *Al-Safir*, Lebanon, March 21, 2001. For maps of the Clinton-Barak proposals, see Dennis Ross, *The Missing Peace* (Farrar, Straus and Giroux, 2004), pp. xxiv-xxv.
[351] "On Historical Amnesia, Foreign Policy, and Iraq," Interview*, American Amnesia*, February 17, 2004; http://www.chomsky.info/interviews/20040217.htm
[352] Daniel Polisar, "Yasser Arafat and the Myth of Legitimacy," *Azure*, Summer 2002, pp. 29-87.
[353] *US News and World Report*, December 27, 1993.
[354] Efraim Karsh, *Arafat's War* (Grove Press, 2003), pp. 171-99.
[355] Interview, Al Manar TV, May 13, 2006.
[356] United Press International, March 24, 1992.
[357] *Financial Times*, April 25, 2001.
[358] *Daily Star*, Lebanon, October 23, 2002.

The Lie: "the policies of Hamas are more forthcoming and more conducive to a peaceful settlement than those of the United States or Israel… There is a long-standing international consensus that goes back over thirty years that there should be a two-state political settlement on the international border… Hamas is willing to accept that as a long-term truce."[359]

The Truth: Hamas is committed to the destruction of Israel and the extermination of Jews: "Before Israel dies, it must be humiliated and degraded... Allah willing, we will make them lose their eyesight, we will make them lose their brains" (Hamas leader Khaled Mashal);[360] "Oh Allah, vanquish the Jews and their supporters… count their numbers and kill them all, down to the very last one" (Hamas parliamentary speaker Ahmad Bahr). [361]

[359] Interview, LBC TV, Lebanon, May 23, 2006.
[360] Al-Jazeera TV, February 3, 2006.
[361] *New York Post*, May 5, 2007.

XIII. 10 Chomsky Lies About His Collaboration With Holocaust Deniers

10.

The Lie: "In the fall of 1979, I was asked by Serge Thion… to sign a petition calling on authorities to insure Robert Faurisson's 'safety and the free exercise of his legal rights.'"[362]

The Truth: According to Serge Thion's collaborator Pierre Guillaume, Chomsky signed and promoted the petition months after their meeting, without being asked by them.[363] According to Robert Faurisson, the petition was written and circulated by the Holocaust denier Mark Weber.[364]

9.

The Lie: "I was asked to sign a petition calling on authorities to protect Faurisson's civil rights, and I did so. I sign innumerable petitions of this nature, and do not recall ever having refused to sign one."[365]

The Truth: Chomsky had already boasted of his refusal to sign a petition for human rights in communist Vietnam. On that occasion, he had explained that "public protest is a political act, to be judged in terms of its likely human consequences," including the likelihood that the media "would distort and exploit it for their propagandistic purposes."[366]

8.

The Lie: "I was asked to sign a petition in defense of Robert Faurisson's 'freedom of speech and expression.' The petition said absolutely nothing about the character, quality or validity of his research, but restricted itself quite explicitly to a defense of elementary rights that are taken for granted in democratic societies…"[367]

The Truth: The petition that Chomsky signed dignified Faurisson's writings by (a) affirming his scholarly credentials ("a respected professor" of "document criticism"); (b) describing his lies as "extensive historical research"; (c) placing the term "Holocaust" in derisory quotation marks; and (d) portraying his lies as "findings."[368]

7.

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[362] "His Right to Say It," *The Nation,* February 28, 1981.
[363] Pierre Guillaume, "Une mise au point," in *Droit et Histoire* (Paris: La Vieille Taupe, 1986), p. 152.
[364] Werner Cohn, *Partners in Hate: Noam Chomsky and the Holocaust Deniers* (Avukah Press, 1995), pp. 55-6.
[365] *Réponses inédites à mes détracteurs parisiens* (Paris: Cahiers Spartacus, 1984), *Language and Politics* (AK Press, 2004), p. 290.
[366] Unpublished interview, March 28, 1977, *Language and Politics* (AK Press, 2004), p. 176.
[367] "Some Elementary Comments on the Rights of Freedom of Expression," October 11, 1980, published as the preface to Robert Faurisson, *Mémoire en défense contre ceux qui m'accusent de falsifier l'histoire* (Paris: La Vieille Taupe, 1980): http://www.chomsky.info/articles/19801011.htm
[368] The text of the petition is reproduced in Werner Cohn, *Partners in Hate: Noam Chomsky and the Holocaust Deniers* (Avukah Press, 1995), pp. 53-4.

The Lie: "is it true that Faurisson is an anti-Semite or a neo-Nazi? … I find no evidence to support either conclusion... As far as I can determine, he is a relatively apolitical liberal of some sort."[369]

The Truth: Chomsky was well aware of Faurisson's Nazi-style bigotry, including his claim that "with good war logic, Hitler would have been led to intern all the Jews who had fallen into his hands… It was necessary to avoid all contact between the Jew and the German soldier." Faurisson even defended the imposition of the yellow star on Jewish children. He had written for neo-Nazi publications and he had spoken at neo-Nazi meetings.[370]

6.

The Lie: "Serge Thion [is] a libertarian socialist scholar with a record of opposition to all forms of totalitarianism…"[371]

The Truth: Serge Thion was a longstanding denier of the Khmer Rouge bloodbath in Cambodia as well as the Nazi Holocaust. He had published a book reprinting and defending Faurisson's denials of the Holocaust.[372]

5.

The Lie: "Faurisson's conclusions are diametrically opposed to views I hold and have frequently expressed in print (for example, in my book *Peace in the Middle East?*, where I describe the holocaust as 'the most fantastic outburst of collective insanity in human history')."[373]

The Truth: The phrase in *Peace in the Middle East?* occurred in a passage setting out "the Zionist case" for Jewish statehood, which Chomsky opposed.[374]

4.

The Lie: [Denying that he allowed Holocaust deniers to publish a French translation of his *Political Economy of Human Rights*:] "I make no attempt to keep track of the innumerable translations of books of mine in foreign languages… I contacted the publisher, who checked their files and located the contract for the French translation – with Albin-Michel, a mainstream commercial publisher, to my knowledge."[375]

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[369] "Some Elementary Comments on the Rights of Freedom of Expression," October 11, 1980, published as the preface to Robert Faurisson, *Mémoire en défense contre ceux qui m'accusent de falsifier l'histoire* (Paris: La Vieille Taupe, 1980).
[370] Interview with Robert Faurisson, *Storia illustrata*, Italy, August 1979, reprinted in the neo-Nazi *Journal of Historical Review*, Winter 1981; see Nadine Fresco, "The Denial of the Dead: On the Faurisson Affair," *Dissent*, Fall 1981.
[371] "His Right to Say It," *The Nation,* February 28, 1981.
[372] Serge Thion, *Vérité historique ou Vérité politique? Le dossier de l'affaire Faurisson. La question des chambres à gaz* (Paris: La Vieille Taupe, 1980).
[373] "His Right to Say It," *The Nation,* February 28, 1981.
[374] *Peace in the Middle East?* (Fontana, 1975), p. 53.
[375] Letter, *Outlook* (a Canadian communist magazine), June 1, 1989.

The Truth: According to Holocaust denier Pierre Guillaume, "Chomsky accepted without demurring that his book should be published in a series that I controlled, and proposed Serge Thion and Michele Noel for the translation. That is, he accepted that his personal work would suffer harshly from the backlash of the vile reputation given to us [i.e., Holocaust deniers]… His book appeared with Hallier-Albin Michel Publishing, in my series."[376]

3.

The Lie: "I never wrote a 'joint article' with [Holocaust denier Pierre] Guillaume… [there is] no hint of any collaboration with me [in preparing Guillaume's article]."[377]

The Truth: Near the end of his article, Guillaume wrote: "The first version of the preceding text included numerous errors of detail and an error of evaluation that Chomsky indicated to us while reaffirming that his position was fixed and unchanged. We corrected in the text errors that did not affect the reasoning and we give, below, Chomsky's comments." [378]

2.

The Lie: "I see no antisemitic implications in denial of the existence of gas chambers, or even denial of the holocaust."[379]

The Truth: The idea of denying the existence of gas chambers and the Holocaust was the brainchild of antisemites and neo-Nazis. Denial of the existence of gas chambers and the Holocaust is a propaganda tactic of antisemites and neo-Nazis all over the world.[380]

1.

The Lie: "Returning to my involvement in the Faurisson affair, it consists of signature to a petition, and, after that, response to lies and slander. Period."[381]

The Truth: Chomsky lied about the views of Holocaust deniers (Faurisson, Thion), published one of his books (*Political Economy*) in a series directed by a Holocaust denier (Guillaume), allowed his writings on the subject (*Réponses inédites*) to be published in book format by a Holocaust denier (Guillaume), assisted with an essay ("Une mise au point") by a Holocaust denier (Guillaume), and argued that there is nothing antisemitic about Holocaust denial. He has praised Holocaust deniers, endorsed their political and academic credentials, collaborated in their propaganda campaigns, and whitewashed their antisemitic and neo-Nazi agenda.

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[376] Pierre Guillaume, "Une mise au point," in *Droit et Histoire* (Paris: La Vieille Taupe, 1986), p. 154. Translated from French.
[377] Letter, *Outlook* (a Canadian communist magazine), June 1, 1989.
[378] Pierre Guillaume, "Une mise au point," in *Droit et Histoire* (Paris: La Vieille Taupe, 1986), p. 170. Translated from French.
[379] Quoted in W.D. Rubinstein, "Chomsky and the Neo-Nazis," *Quadrant*, October 1981.
[380] As observers had already noted: see Lucy Dawidowicz, "Lies About the Holocaust," *Commentary*, December 1980.
[381] *Réponses inédites à mes détracteurs parisiens* (Paris: Cahiers Spartacus, 1984); *Language and Politics* (AK Press, 2004), p. 291.

XIV. 10 Chomsky Falsifications – Indochina

10.

The Lie: "[An analyst wrote that] 'the DRV proceeded to mobilize its total societal resources scarcely without pause from the day the peace was signed, as though to substantiate the declaration' of Pham Van Dong that 'we shall achieve unity.' Thus, by mobilizing its total societal resources for social and economic reconstruction, the DRV clearly demonstrated its intent to upset the [peace] accords… The DRV could have demonstrated its sincerity only by succumbing to the famine that appeared imminent in 1954…"[382]

The Truth: The analyst argued that North Vietnam had used its resources to prepare to absorb South Vietnam, not for internal reconstruction, let alone famine relief. He referred to "North Vietnam's drive to satisfy its unrequited nationalism and expansionism."[383]

9.

The Lie: "the United States was unwilling to accept… a Vietnamese-negotiated deal leading to a reunified Vietnam, Communist-led and hostile to China, its ambitions limited to Laos and Cambodia. Therefore the planners quickly moved to heightened aggression."[384]

The Truth: The cited passage showed that the planners *were* willing to accept such a default outcome, which they listed under the heading, "advantages."[385]

8.

The Lie: "[Opposition to Ho Chi Minh] 'seemed the wiser choice' [to Americans], given the likelihood that all of South-east Asia might have fallen under Ho's leadership (obviously not by military conquest, say, in Indonesia)."[386]

The Truth: The cited passage *did* express US fears of the Vietnamese communists attacking other countries in "a dangerous period of Vietnamese expansionism. Laos and Cambodia would have been easy pickings for such a Vietnam… Thailand, Malaya, Singapore, and even Indonesia, could have been next."[387]

7.

The Lie: "[US] intelligence concluded that 'the basic elements of Communist strength in South Vietnam remain indigenous' … though the 'high VC morale' is sustained in part by 'receipt of outside guidance and support.'"[388]

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[382] *The Backroom Boys* (Fontana, 1973), p. 44. All Chomsky references are to the Gravel Edition of *The Pentagon Papers* (Beacon Press, 1971), 4 Vols.
[383] *The Pentagon Papers* (Beacon Press, 1971), vol. 1, p. 250.
[384] *The Backroom Boys* (Fontana, 1973), p. 51.
[385] *The Pentagon Papers* (Beacon Press, 1971), vol. 3, p. 661.
[386] *The Backroom Boys* (Fontana, 1973), p. 54.
[387] *The Pentagon Papers* (Beacon Press, 1971), vol. 1, p. 52.
[388] *The Backroom Boys* (Fontana, 1973), p. 137.

The Truth: The report continued: "The DRV contribution is substantial. The DRV manages the VC insurrection… It provides the VC senior officers, key cadre, military specialists and certain key military and communications equipment… There appears to be a rising rate of infiltration, providing additional DRV stiffening to VC units."[389]

6.

The Lie: "The Pentagon Papers now demonstrate conclusively that when the United States undertook the February [1965] escalation, it knew of no regular North Vietnamese units in South Vietnam."[390]

The Truth: The Pentagon study said the exact opposite: "The presence of this regular North Vietnamese unit [of the 325th Division], which had first been reported as early as February, was a sobering harbinger of things to come."[391]

5.

The Lie: "Such questions occur only to 'wild men in the wings,' to borrow McGeorge Bundy's useful description in 1967 of those who failed to perceive the nobility of the US crusade in Vietnam."[392]

The Truth: Bundy was not referring to the anti-war left but to the hardline right: "There are wild men in the wings, but on the main stage even the argument on Viet Nam turns on tactics, not fundamentals. This was the meaning of the overwhelming defeat of Senator Goldwater. He may not have been as wild as he sounded, but the country would not take the chance."[393]

4.

The Lie: "Samuel Huntington… explains that the Viet Cong is 'a powerful force which cannot be dislodged from its constituency so long as the constituency continues to exist.' The conclusion is obvious, and he does not shrink from it. We can ensure that the constituency ceases to exist… to crush the people's war, we must eliminate the people."[394]

The Truth: Huntington's next sentence rejected this conclusion: "the Viet Cong will remain a powerful force which cannot be dislodged from its constituency so long as the constituency continues to exist. Peace in the immediate future must hence be based on accommodation."[395]

3.

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[389] *The Pentagon Papers* (Beacon Press, 1971), vol. 3, p. 653.
[390] *The Backroom Boys* (Fontana, 1973), p. 130.
[391] *The Pentagon Papers* (Beacon Press, 1971), vol. 3, p. 438.
[392] "Memories," *Z Magazine*, July-August, 1995.
[393] McGeorge Bundy, "The End of Either/Or," *Foreign Affairs*, January 1967, p. 191.
[394] *At War With Asia* (Vintage, 1970), pp. 87-8.
[395] Samuel P. Huntington, "The Bases of Accommodation," *Foreign Affairs*, July 1968, p. 653.

The Lie: "Reporters have long been aware of the nature of these tactics, aware that 'by now the sheer weight of years of firepower, massive sweeps, and grand forced population shifts have reduced the population base of the NLF,' so that conceivably, by brute force, we may still hope to 'win.'"[396]

The Truth: The reporter said that the people "dislike the Viet Cong more than they do the government… [the] less oppressive side is the government. By now the sheer weight of years of firepower, massive sweeps, and grand forced population shifts have reduced the population base of the NLF and made the Viet Cong squeeze their remaining peasants ever harder and less discriminatingly for recruits, porters, and rice taxes. By contrast, government control tends to be much less disciplined…"[397]

2.

The Lie: "Nixon at one point informs Kissinger, his right-hand Eichmann, that he wanted bombing of Cambodia. And Kissinger loyally transmits the order to the Pentagon to carry out 'a massive bombing campaign in Cambodia. Anything that flies on anything that moves.' That is the most explicit call for what we call genocide when other people do it that I've ever seen in the historical record… In fact, nobody has even found a document like that connecting Hitler to the Holocaust."[398]

The Truth: The quotation was an excerpt from one of several phone conversations in which Kissinger ridiculed Nixon's views about the war: "when Nixon proposed an escalation in the bombing of Cambodia, Kissinger and Haig felt obliged to humor the president while laughing at him behind his back."[399] Hitler repeatedly referred to the annihilation of the Jews during the Holocaust.[400]

1.

The Lie: "[Barron and Paul] claim that Ponchaud attributes to a Khmer Rouge official the statement that people expelled from the cities 'are no longer needed, and local chiefs are free to dispose of them as they please,' implying that local chiefs are free to kill them. But Ponchaud's first report on this… quotes a military chief as stating that they 'are left to the absolute discretion of the local authorities,' which implies nothing of the sort."[401]

The Truth: Ponchaud's report quoted the Khmer Rouge as follows: "Everything that reminds [us] of colonial and imperial culture must be eradicated not only on the land but also in each individual. One million inhabitants is enough for rebuilding the New Kampuchea. We don't need any more prisoners of war (population deported in 1975) which should be left at the complete mercy of the local chiefs."[402]

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[396] *At War With Asia* (Vintage, 1970), pp. 87-8.
[397] Elizabeth Pond, "Peasants Side With Saigon Regime – For the Moment," *Christian Science Monitor*, November 8, 1969.
[398] Interview, *International Socialist Review*, September-October 2004.
[399] *Washington Post*, May 27, 2004.
[400] See, e.g., Fritz Redlich, *Hitler: Diagnoss of a Destructive Prophet* (Oxford University Press, 1998), p. 170ff.
[401] "Distortions at Fourth Hand," *The Nation,* June 25, 1977.
[402] *Le Monde*, February 18, 1976, translated in *Congressional Record – Senate*, April 7, 1976, p. 9754.

XV. 10 Chomsky Falsifications – Other

10.

The Lie: "Winston Churchill was enthusiastic about the prospects of 'using poisoned gas against uncivilised tribes'… deploring the 'squeamishness about the use of gas': ... chemical weapons are merely 'the application of Western science to modern warfare.'"[403]

The Truth: Churchill wanted to use tear gas, and his aim was to minimise casualties: "It is sheer affectation to lacerate a man with the poisonous fragment of a bursting shell and to boggle at *making his eyes water by means of lachrymatory gas*. I am strongly in favour of using poisoned gas against uncivilised tribes. The moral effect should be so good that *the loss of life should be reduced to a minimum*. It is not necessary to use only the most deadly gasses: gasses can be used which cause great inconvenience and would spread a lively terror and yet would *leave no serious permanent effects on most of those affected*."[404]

9.

The Lie: "In early 1964, the State Department Policy Planning Council expanded on these concerns: 'The primary danger we face in Castro is… in the impact the very existence of his regime has upon the leftist movement in many Latin American countries… The simple fact is that Castro represents a successful defiance of the US, a negation of our whole hemispheric policy of almost a century and a half.'"[405]

The Truth: The passage continued: "Until Castro did it, no Latin American could be sure of getting away with *a communist-type revolution and a tie-in with the Soviet Union*. As long as Castro endures, Communists in other Latin American countries can, to use Stalin's words, 'struggle with good heart.'"[406]

8.

The Lie: "The US responded eagerly to the [Indonesian] army's request for weapons 'to arm Moslem and nationalist youth in Central Java for use against the PKI' in the context of the proclaimed policy 'to eliminate the PKI.'"[407]

The Truth: The US stonewalled the request. Embassy staff reported Indonesia's request for "communications equipment and small arms to arm Moslem and nationalist youths in Central Java for use against the PKI" and sought "more explicit guidance as to how this matter is to be handled here." The State Department replied: "There was to be no implication of providing anything more than medical supplies

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[403] "Rogue States," *Z Magazine*, April 1998.
[404] Martin Gilbert, *Winston S. Churchill, Companion Volume 4, Part 1* (Houghton Mifflin, 1988), p. 649. Emphases added.
[405] *Hegemony or Survival* (Penguin, 2004), p. 90.
[406] Piero Gleijeses, *Conflicting Missions: Havana, Washington, and Africa, 1959-1976* (University of North Carolina Press, 2002), p. 26. Emphasis added.
[407] "Memories," *Z Magazine*, July-August, 1995.

already authorized, but the US officials could ask questions to clarify any Indonesia requests for additional aid."[408]

7.

The Lie: "Indonesia has been an honoured ally ever since General Suharto came to power in 1965 with a 'boiling bloodbath' that was 'the West's best news for years in Asia' (*Time*), a 'staggering mass slaughter of Communists and pro-Communists,' mostly landless peasants, that provided a 'gleam of light in Asia' (*New York Times*)."[409]

The Truth: *Time* mentioned the "boiling bloodbath" at the start of its report, concluding that the prospects of regional peace and of Indonesian neutrality in the Cold War – *not* the bloodbath – were "the West's best news for years in Asia."[410] A *New York Times* op-ed listed strategic changes in Indonesia, India, Pakistan, Japan, the Philippines and China under the headline: "Washington: A Gleam of Light in Asia."[411] The "staggering mass slaughter" phrase is from an editorial written a month later.[412]

6.

The Lie: "After the Six-Day War, Israel reportedly blocked a Red Cross rescue operation for five days, while thousands of Egyptian soldiers died in the Sinai desert."[413]

The Truth: Chomsky's source said the opposite: "Hundreds of Israeli lorries, in a vast rescue operation, were today collecting the remnants of the Egyptian Army in Sinai and carrying the rescued soldiers to the Suez Canal… The Israel Air Force is to launch an operation tomorrow to recover soldiers still roaming about in the Sinai desert. Colonel Mosche Perlmann, the spokesman for General Dayan, the Defence Minister, said that Red Cross representatives would take part."[414]

5.

The Lie: "The Palestinian National Council, the governing body of the PLO, issued a declaration on March 20, 1977 calling for the establishment of 'an independent national state' in Palestine – rather than a secular democratic state *of* Palestine – and authorizing Palestinian attendance at an Arab-Israeli peace conference. Prime Minister Rabin of Israel responded 'that the only place the Israelis could meet the Palestinian guerrillas was on the field of battle.'"[415]

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[408] Telegram From Embassy in Thailand to Department of State, November 5, 1965; reply, November 6, 1965; available at http://www.state.gov/r/pa/ho/frus/johnsonlb/xxvi/4446.htm
[409] "An Island Lies Bleeding," *The Guardian*, UK, July 5, 1994.
[410] *Time*, July 15, 1966.
[411] James Reston, "Washington: A Gleam of Light in Asia," *New York Times*, June 19, 1966.
[412] Editorial, *New York Times*, August 25, 1966.
[413] *Peace in the Middle East?* (Fontana, 1975), p. 182n20.
[414] *The Times*, UK, June 15, 1967.
[415] *Fateful Triangle* (rev. ed., Pluto Press, 1999), p. 68.

The Truth: The PNC affirmed the PLO's "determination to continue the armed struggle" and to fight "without any peace or recognition of Israel."[416] Rabin commented "that even when so-called moderates dominated it, the organization still called for the elimination of Israel. He said that the only place the Israelis could meet the Palestinian guerrillas was on the field of battle."[417]

4.

The Lie: "FDN [a Contra faction] commander Adolfo Calero stated (in Miami) that 'There is no line at all, not even a fine line, between a civilian farm owned by the Government and a Sandinista military outpost,' so that arbitrary killing of civilians is legitimate."[418]

The Truth: Calero's very next words denied that killing of civilians was legitimate: "What they call a cooperative is also a troop concentration full of armed people. We are not killing civilians. We are fighting armed people and returning fire when fire is directed at us."[419]

3.

The Lie: "the CIA… recruited radical Islamists from many countries and organized them into a military and terrorist force that Reagan anointed 'the moral equivalent of the founding fathers' ..."[420]

The Truth: Reagan was referring to the Nicaraguan Contra rebels, not to "radical Islamists."[421]

2.

The Lie: "[An editorial in *The New Republic*] advised Reagan & Co. that we must send military aid to 'Latin-style fascists… regardless of how many are murdered,' because 'there are higher American priorities than Salvadoran human rights.' … [The editors are] passionate advocates of state terror… these values, familiar from the Nazi era, in no way diminish the reputation of the journal…"[422]

The Truth: The editorial was outlining and rejecting the argument that Reagan's spokesmen would have to make if they understood the facts about El Salvador. It concluded: "if you are serious about preventing a guerrilla victory, you must be serious about human rights," including "the abolition of mass murder," and so "the only moral choice may be military intervention – not in alliance with the death squads but in opposition to them."[423]

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[416] Political Resolutions of the 13th Palestine National Council, arts. 1,2,9, in Yehoshafat Harkabi, *The Palestinian Covenant and its Meaning* (Vallentine Mitchell, 1979), pp. 149-59.
[417] *New York Times*, March 21, 1977.
[418] "Law and Imperialism in the Central American Conflict," *Journal of Contemporary Studies*, Spring-Summer 1985, p. 40.
[419] *New York Times*, November 23, 1984.
[420] "Wars of Terror," *New Political Science*, March 2003.
[421] *New York Times*, *Washington Post*, *Los Angeles Times*, March 2, 1985.
[422] *Deterring Democracy* (Vintage, 1992), p. 308.
[423] Editorial, *The New Republic*, April 2, 1984.

1.

The Lie: "In fact, if you look at the British parliamentary inquiry, they actually reached the astonishing conclusion that, until January 1999, most of the crimes committed in Kosovo were attributed to the KLA guerrillas."[424]

The Truth: The inquiry said the exact opposite: Albanians in Kosovo "were suffering greater atrocities than the Serb population," and furthermore, "KLA attacks were mostly focussed on Serb policemen, while Serb action often focussed on unarmed civilians."[425]

[424] Interview, *New Statesman*, June 19, 2006.
[425] House of Commons, UK, Foreign Affairs Select Committee Report HC 28-I, May 23, 2000, para. 55: http://www.publications.parliament.uk/pa/cm199900/cmselect/cmfaff/28/2809.htm

XVI. 10 Chomsky Citations of Worthless Sources – Indochina

10.

Citation: "According to a Vietnamese Catholic now living in France, Colonel Nguyen Van Chau, head of the Central Psychological War Service for the Saigon Army from 1956 to 1962, the 'bloodbath' figures for the [North Vietnamese] land reform were '100% fabricated' by the intelligence services of Saigon."[426]

Source: Chau had been one of dozens of officers dismissed from their positions while under investigation in South Vietnam.[427] In his interview, he showed his true loyalties by justifying the murder of several hundred fellow Catholics by the communists in North Vietnam.[428]

9.

Citation: "On the basis of an analysis of official figures and credible documents, plus an estimate made by the Diem government [in South Vietnam] in 1959, [Gareth] Porter concluded that a realistic range of executions taking place during the land reform [in North Vietnam] would be between 800 and 2,500."[429]

Source: Porter's "analysis" relied entirely on North Vietnamese state publications such as official Communist Party histories, which he took at face value. He concluded with a paean to the Vietnamese communist revolution.[430]

8.

Citation: "The North Vietnamese land reform has been subjected to a more recent and exhaustive study by Edwin E. Moise… [who says that land reform historian] Hoang Van Chi, in 1955 interviews, did not make any accusations about atrocities; 'It was only in later years that his memories began to alter,' that is, after the United States and Saigon regimes learned about the land reform problems from the discussion in the Hanoi press..." [431]

Source: Moise was being less than truthful. In his 1955 interviews, Chi described North Vietnam as a terrorist state where "the village guards would dig tombs" before every trial; where "ghastly" and "barbarous" torture was used; where the communists "starve the people in order to enslave them more surely"; where dissidents were either "in the other world [i.e., dead] or in the concentration camps"; and where non-

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[426] *The Washington Connection and Third World Fascism* (South End Press, 1979), p. 342.
[427] *New York Times*, *Los Angeles Times*, November 23, 1963.
[428] *St. Louis Post-Dispatch*, September 24, 1972. It seems that soon afterwards he removed all doubt at a public appearance alongside North Vietnamese, Viet Cong and Franch Communist Party representatives: Vietnam News Agency, Paris, December 21, 1972.
[429] *The Washington Connection and Third World Fascism* (South End Press, 1979), p. 344.
[430] D. Gareth Porter, *The Myth of the Bloodbath: North Vietnam's Land Reform Reconsidered* (Cornell International Relations of East Asia Project, 1972); an abridged version appeared under the same title in *Bulletin of Concerned Asian Scholars*, September 1973. On Porter's record as a propagandist, see Stephen J. Morris, "Ho Chi Minh, Pol Pot and Cornell," *The National Interest*, Summer 1989, pp. 56-60.
[431] *The Washington Connection and Third World Fascism* (South End Press, 1979), p. 344.

communists had been "classified as landowners" and either "sentenced to hard labour" or "shot on the spot."[432]

7.

Citation: "After a detailed discussion of sources, Moise concludes that '… the total number of people executed during the land reform was probably in the vicinity of 5,000… and that the slaughter of tens of thousands of innocent victims, often described in anti-Communist propaganda, never took place.'"[433]

Source: Moise relied on official sources such as the Communist Party newspaper. These sources, he wrote, were "extremely informative" and showed "a fairly high level of honesty." His approach – comparable to writing a study of Soviet crimes based on reports in *Pravda* – resulted in massive blunders such as denying the Chinese role in the land reform.[434]

6.

Citation: "The most intensive attacks are therefore unreported in the West. We do, however, have Vietnamese reports, which will perhaps be given somewhat greater credence than heretofore now that the incident at Song My [My Lai], which they described with accuracy at the time, has finally been made public. To select one such report virtually at random: [long quotation follows]…"[435]

Source: Chomsky cites an official communist press release. Such sources were, of course, worthless. For example, the communists accused South Vietnam of holding 200,000-300,000 political prisoners when there were 35,000 prisoners of all kinds in the whole country.[436]

5.

Citation: "In the case of Vietnam, we literally do not know within *millions* the real number of civilian casualties. The official estimates are around two million, but the real number is probably around four million."[437]

Source: The "official estimates" came from Vietnam's communist news agency.[438] The most detailed demographic study estimated under a million war dead, including

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[432] Interviews, August 17 and July 30, 1955, reprinted in Hoang Van Chi, *The Fate of the Last Viets* (Saigon: Hoa Mai Publishing, 1956), pp. 30-40.
[433] *The Washington Connection and Third World Fascism* (South End Press, 1979), p. 344.
[434] Edwin E. Moise, "Land Reform and Land Reform Errors in North Vietnam," *Pacific Affairs*, Spring 1976, pp. 70-92; also *Land Reform in China and North Vietnam* (University of North Carolina Press, 1983). On the Chinese role, see Qiang Zhai, *China and the Vietnam Wars, 1950-1975* (University of North Carolina Press, 2000), pp. 39ff, 75ff.
[435] *At War With Asia* (Vintage, 1970), pp. 293-4.
[436] Guenter Lewy, *America in Vietnam* (Oxford University Press, 1978), pp. 294-5.
[437] *Imperial Ambitions* (Penguin, 2005), p. 125.
[438] Associated Press, April 3, 1995.

North and South Vietnamese soldiers, Viet Cong terrorists and civilians killed by both sides.[439]

4.

Citation: "[George] Hildebrand and [Gareth] Porter present a carefully documented study [*Cambodia: Starvation and Revolution*] of the destructive American impact on Cambodia and the success of the Cambodian revolutionaries in overcoming it, giving a very favorable picture of their programs and policies, based on a wide range of sources."[440]

Source: Their conclusions about the Khmer Rouge were based on official Khmer Rouge sources and French communist publications.[441]

3.

Citation: "such journals as the *Far Eastern Economic Review*, the London *Economist*, the *Melbourne Journal of Politics*, and others elsewhere, have provided analyses by highly qualified specialists who have studied the full range of evidence available, and who concluded that executions have numbered at most in the thousands [and] that these were localized in areas of limited Khmer Rouge influence and unusual peasant discontent…"[442]

Source: The "analyses" were a journalist's report relying on a statement by Pol Pot (*Far Eastern Economic Review*);[443] a reader's letter to the editor (*Economist*);[444] and an essay by a far-left student in an undergraduate magazine (*Melbourne Journal of Politics*).[445]

2.

Citation: "Another example that would appear to merit attention is a lengthy and detailed account of the evacuation of Phnom Penh by Chou Meng and Shane Tarr… The detailed participant account by the Tarrs of the actual evacuation from Phnom Penh as they perceived it, which is quite unique, is not so much as mentioned in the mass media..."[446]

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[439] Charles Hirschman *et al.*, "Vietnamese Casualties During the American War: A New Estimate," *Population and Development Review*, December 1995, pp. 783-812.
[440] "Distortions at Fourth Hand," *The Nation,* June 25, 1977.
[441] Stephen J. Morris, "Ho Chi Minh, Pol Pot and Cornell," *The National Interest*, Summer 1989, p. 58. For a more detailed discussion of their book, see Sophal Ear, "Romanticizing the Khmer Revolution": http://www.csua.berkeley.edu/~sophal/romanticize.pdf
[442] "Distortions at Fourth Hand," *The Nation,* June 25, 1977.
[443] Nayan Chanda, *Far Eastern Economic Review*, October 29, 1976.
[444] W.J. Sampson, Letters, *The Economist*, March 26, 1977.
[445] Ben Kiernan, "Cambodia in the News; 1975/76," *Melbourne Journal of Politics*, December 1975-January 1976. Three years later, Kiernan acknowledged the Pol Pot slaughter and became an apologist for the brutal dictatorship imposed by Stalinist Vietnam.
[446] *After the Cataclysm* (South End Press, 1979), pp. 235, 239.

Source: As Stephen J. Morris pointed out, their "principal claim to fame is the pro-Pol Pot newsletter they co-edit."[447]

1.

Citation: "Richard Boyle of Pacific News Service is a correspondent with considerable experience in Vietnam… Boyle states that 'stories of a bloodbath [in Cambodia], as reported by other news agencies, cannot be verified and there is every indication that the accounts are lies.' … [This was] in the left-wing New York *Guardian*, also with a tiny reading public."[448]

Source: The New York *Guardian* was a communist tabloid advocating "the principles of scientific socialism as developed principally by Marx, Engels and Lenin, further developed in the modern era by Mao Tse-tung, amplified by the contributions of Stalin, Ho Chi Minh, Kim Il Sung, Enver Hoxha," etc.[449]

[447] Stephen J. Morris, "Chomsky on US Foreign Policy," *Harvard International Review*, December-January 1981, p. 30.
[448] *After the Cataclysm* (South End Press, 1979), pp. 238-9.
[449] Special Supplement, "On Building the New Communist Party," *The Guardian*, New York, June 1, 1977. See also Max Elbaum, *Revolution in the Air: Sixties Radicals Turn to Lenin, Mao and Che* (Verso, 2002), pp. 107-9, 238-40. Pacific News Service is a far-left media outfit. Richard Boyle is now remembered as the hero of Oliver Stone's movie *Salvador*.

XVII. 10 Chomsky Citations of Worthless Sources – Other

10.

Citation: "William Hinton's magnificent study *Fanshen*… is unparalleled, to my knowledge, as an analysis of a moment of profound revolutionary change. What seems to me particularly striking in his account of the early stages of [communist] revolution in one Chinese village is not only the extent to which party cadres submitted themselves to popular control, but also… the consciousness and insight of those who took part in the revolution…"[450]

Source: Hinton was a lifelong Maoist identified with communist splinter groups.[451]

9.

Citation: "Among the many dedicated and honorable Americans who went to see for themselves, one of the most impressive is Charles Clements… A committed pacifist, he went to El Salvador in March 1982 and spent a year as the only trained physician in the rebel-controlled Guazapa region… There he witnessed the terror of the US-run war against rural El Salvador at first hand…"[452]

Source: Clements went to El Salvador as a medical volunteer for the communist FMLN insurgents. On his return he became an FMLN lobbyist.[453]

8.

Citation: "The Legal Aid Office of the San Salvador Archdiocese… provides a regular and detailed accounting of killings... It would be a useful exercise to compare these regular reports of the Archdiocese Legal Aid Office with reports at the same time in the US press…"[454]

Source: The first Legal Aid Office, Socorro Juridico, was repudiated by the Church because of its FMLN loyalties.[455] The second, Tutela Legal, was caught inventing an army massacre of 250 people.[456] A communist defector stated that Tutela Legal was an FMLN front.[457] An independent researcher found that its *modus operandi* was to falsify army press releases by counting dead insurgents as murdered civilians.[458]

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[450] *American Power and the New Mandarins* (rev. ed., The New Press, 2002), p. 137n56.
[451] Harvey Klehr, *Far Left of Center: The American Radical Left Today* (Transaction Publishers, 1991), p. 93; Max Elbaum, *Revolution in the Air: Sixties Radicals Turn to Lenin, Mao and Che* (Verso, 2002), pp. 101, 220.
[452] *Turning the Tide* (South End Press, 1985), pp. 5-7.
[453] J. Michael Waller, *The Third Current of Revolution: Inside the North American Front of El Salvador's Civil War* (University Press of America, 1991), pp. 132, 161n45.
[454] *Towards a New Cold War* (Pantheon Books, 1982), pp. 39, 390n142.
[455] *Human Events*, March 6, 1982; *Washington Post*, May 15, 1982.
[456] *Washington Post*, August 19, 1984.
[457] *Washington Post*, August 6, 1986.
[458] *Human Events*, September 15, 1990.

Citation: "[In 1986] most of the members of the nongovernmental human rights commission of El Salvador (CDHES) were arrested and tortured, including its director Herbert Anaya... [In prison] they compiled a 160-page report of sworn testimony of 430 political prisoners, who gave precise and extensive details of their torture by the US-backed security forces… Anaya was not the subject of tributes on Human Rights Day. Rather, he was released in a prisoner exchange, then assassinated, probably by the US-backed security forces…"[459]

Source: The former publicity director of CDHES admitted that the group was a front for the communist FMLN insurgents. CDHES would report released prisoners as disappearances and dead insurgents as murdered civilians.[460] Herbert Anaya Sanabria belonged to the ERP, one of the FMLN factions. A fellow ERP member was convicted of his murder. The UN Truth Commission was unable to resolve the killing.[461]

6.

Citation: "According to Edward Said, the Ma'alot attack [by the PLO] was 'preceded by weeks of sustained Israeli napalm bombing of Palestinian refugee camps in southern Lebanon,' with over 200 killed."[462]

Source: Edward Said was a former speechwriter for Yasser Arafat and a member of the Palestine National Council, the ruling assembly of the PLO. He gave no source whatsoever on the bombing and did not mention 200 dead.[463]

5.

Citation: "The Palestinian refugee camps of Sabra and Shatila (later to become famous as the site of the September [1982] massacres) were bombed for four hours [by Israel]. The local (Gaza) hospital was hit. Over 200 people were killed, according to the eyewitness account of an American observer."[464]

Source: The "observer" was a longstanding anti-Israel activist writing in the PLO's major English-language propaganda journal.[465]

4.

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[459] *Necessary Illusions* (South End Press, 1989), p. 138.
[460] J. Michael Waller, *The Third Current of Revolution: Inside the North American Front of El Salvador's Civil War* (University Press of America, 1991), pp. 115, 266. Hence the "close correlation of figures on human rights abuses" from CDHES, Socorro Juridico and Tutela Legal, whose claims were repeated "without question" by Amnesty International, Americas Watch and the media.
[461] *Report of the UN Truth Commission on El Salvador: From Madness to Hope: The 12-Year War in El Salvador*, UN Security Council S/25500, April 1, 1993, pp. 157-61.
[462] *Fateful Triangle* (rev. ed., Pluto Press, 1999), p. 189; *Pirates and Emperors, Old and New* (rev. ed., Pluto Press, 2002), p. 65.
[463] Edward W. Said, *The Question of Palestine* (Vintage, 1992), p. 172.
[464] *Fateful Triangle* (rev. ed., Pluto Press, 1999), p. 197.
[465] Cheryl Rubenberg, "Eyewitness: Beirut Under Fire," *Journal of Palestine Studies*, Summer-Autumn 1982, p. 62. For PLO control of this journal, see, e.g., interview with Sabri Jiryis, *Haaretz*, November 17, 2004.

Citation: "Canadian surgeon Chris Giannou's testimony before Congress that he had seen prisoners beaten to death by Israeli soldiers and other atrocities [in 1982]... [was balanced by] Israeli government denials and allegations that Giannou was a liar suspected of working for the PLO…"[466]

Source: Giannou himself admitted to being an employee of the Palestine Red Crescent Society, an official PLO institution.[467] His sponsors later conceded that he had been in contact with Arafat "on a daily basis."[468]

3.

Citation: "The Norwegian doctor and social worker [arrested in Lebanon in 1982] told the story of their captivity in a report issued by the Norwegian Department of Foreign Affairs. Under Israeli captivity, they were forced to sit, hands tied, for 36 hours without permission to move, while they heard 'screams of pain' from nearby."[469]

Source: Their report, which was reprinted by the PLO, stated that they were working in Lebanon "in accordance with an agreement between the Norwegian Palestine Front and the Palestine Red Crescent Society."[470]

2.

Citation: "A great deal of information about [Israeli] human rights violations, particularly in the occupied territories, has been made available by the Israeli League for Human and Civil Rights. Its Chairman from 1970, Dr. Israel Shahak, has compiled a personal record of courage and commitment to human rights that few people anywhere can equal…"[471]

Source: Shahak was an antisemitic crank known for propaganda hoaxes.[472] He wrote: "If we believe the rabbis, they will restore the old Jewish barbarism."[473] In a lecture with Chomsky, he said: "Jews can become Nazis."[474] In a book endorsed by Chomsky, he accused pious Jews of "worshipping Satan," alleged that Jews have "no respect towards non-Jewish corpses and cemeteries," and argued that Judaism is "motivated by the spirit of profit."[475]

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[466] *Fateful Triangle* (rev. ed., Pluto Press, 1999), p. 229.
[467] *New York Times*, July 14, 1982.
[468] "Notebook," *New Republic*, March 5, 1984.
[469] *Fateful Triangle* (rev. ed., Pluto Press, 1999), p. 230.
[470] "Eyewitness: Israeli Captivity – A Report by Dr. Steinar Berge and Oyvind Moller From Norway," *Journal of Palestine Studies*, Summer-Autumn 1982, p. 85.
[471] *Fateful Triangle* (rev. ed., Pluto Press, 1999), p. 142.
[472] Paul Bogdanor, "Chomsky's Ayatollahs," in Edward Alexander and Paul Bogdanor, eds., *The Jewish Divide Over Israel* (Transaction Publishers, 2006), pp. 115-24.
[473] Letter, *Jerusalem Post*, February 16, 1989.
[474] *The Tech*, MIT, November 8, 1994.
[475] Israel Shahak, *Jewish History, Jewish Religion* (Pluto Press, 1997), pp. 34, 36-7, 48-9.

Citation: "That one [US] bombing [of a factory in Sudan], according to the estimates made by the German Embassy in Sudan and Human Rights Watch, probably led to tens of thousands of deaths."[476]

Source: The German Embassy's "estimate" was an ex-Ambassador's self-described "guess" based on no evidence.[477] Human Rights Watch publicly denied giving any estimate.[478]

[476] Interview, *Salon.com*, January 16, 2002.
[477] Werner Daum, "Universalism and the West," *Harvard International Review*, Summer 2001, pp. 19-23.
[478] Carroll Bogert, Communications Director of Human Rights Watch, "Noam Needs a Fact-Checker," *Salon.com*, January 22, 2002: http://www.salon.com/2002/01/22/chomsky_4/

XVIII. 10 Chomsky Numerical Distortions

10.

The Lie: "In South Korea, about 100,000 people were killed in the late 1940s by security forces installed and directed by the United States. This was before the Korean War…"[479]

The Truth: According to Korea historian John Merrill, "the war was preceded by a major insurgency in the South and serious clashes along the thirty-eighth parallel," and 100,000 died in "political disturbances, guerrilla warfare, and border clashes."[480]

9.

The Lie: "Recall Bernard Fall's estimate that by April 1965… more than 160,000 'Viet Cong' had fallen 'under the crushing weight of American armor, napalm, jet bombers, and, finally, vomiting gases.'"[481]

The Truth: Fall was reporting a Viet Cong propaganda estimate: "the NLF's own claim [is] that over 160,000 South Vietnamese (on its side, presumably) have thus far been killed in this war."[482]

8.

The Lie: "[Francois] Ponchaud cites a Cambodian report that 200,000 people were killed in American bombings from March 7 to August 15, 1973. No source is offered… Ponchaud cites 'Cambodian authorities' who give the figures 800,000 killed and 240,000 wounded before liberation. The figures are implausible."[483]

The Truth: Ponchaud was reporting Khmer Rouge propaganda claims: the bombing killed 200,000 "according to the revolutionaries' calculations," and "the authorities of Kampuchea declared 800,000 dead and 240,000 disabled as a result of the war."[484] By falsely attributing these figures to Ponchaud, Chomsky implies that he habitually exaggerates and so cannot be trusted as a source on Khmer Rouge mass murder.

7.

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[479] *Deterring Democracy* (Vintage, 1992), p. 335.
[480] John Merrill, *Korea: The Peninsular Origins of the War* (University of Delaware Press, 1989), p. 181.
[481] *Towards a New Cold War* (Pantheon Books, 1982), p. 145.
[482] Bernard B. Fall, "Viet-Cong – The Unseen Enemy in Viet-Nam," *New Society*, UK, April 22, 1965; reprinted in Marcus G. Raskin and Bernard B. Fall, *The Vietnam Reader* (Random House, 1965), p. 261.
[483] "Distortions at Fourth Hand," *The Nation,* June 25, 1977. Cf.: "Ponchaud… cites the Cambodia report of 200,000 deaths from the Kissinger-Nixon terror-bombings," Letter, *Christian Science Monitor*, June 1, 1977; "According to the [Ponchaud] book, which might or might not have been right, 800,000 people were killed during the American war. The US was responsible for killing 800,000 people," *Language and Politics* (AK Press, 2004), p. 634; "Ponchaud gives the figure of 800,000 killed, but… seems to have exaggerated the toll of the US bombing," *Manufacturing Consent* (Vintage, 1994), p. 383n31.
[484] Francois Ponchaud, *Cambodia Year Zero* (Holt, Rinehart and Winston, 1978), pp. 170, 71.

The Lie: "the [American] bombing [of Cambodia], which the CIA estimates killed around 600,000 people, mobilised the Khmer Rouge…"[485]

The Truth: The CIA estimate referred to "war-related deaths" caused by all sides, not to the death toll from the bombing, which was not discussed. The CIA noted that the figures were "debatable" and concluded: "None of these estimates is well founded."[486] The 600,000 figure may have been invented by Pol Pot himself, and is more than twice the actual number of war-related deaths.[487]

6.

The Lie: "suppose that their [i.e., US] postwar estimates [of deaths in Cambodia] are correct. Since the situation at the war's end is squarely the responsibility of the United States, so are the million or so deaths that were predicted as a direct result of that situation."[488]

The Truth: The US prediction referred not to the effects of war, but to mass deaths expected from the Khmer Rouge takeover, especially the death march from Phnom Penh.[489]

5.

The Lie: "Ponchaud… estimated the numbers killed [by the Khmer Rouge] at 100,000 or more…"[490]

The Truth: Ponchaud estimated initial *executions* at no less than 100,000, and the full death toll from Khmer Rouge atrocities (mass executions, death marches, slavery, forced starvation) at 800,000-1.4 million in the first year,[491] and 2 million by the end of the regime.[492]

4.

The Lie: "the CIA demographic report [on Cambodia] gives the figure of 50,000 to 100,000 for people who 'may have been executed,' and an estimate of deaths from all causes that is meaningless…"[493]

The Truth: The CIA study estimated that 250,000 were targets for execution and that 50,000-100,000 were actually executed in just one purge, from April 1975 to January

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[485] "A Rational Reaction," *The Liberal*, UK, December 2004-January 2005. Cf.: "from the time of the first sustained US bombings [of Cambodia] in March 1969 through April 1975… 600,000 people were killed, according to CIA estimates," *Deterring Democracy* (Vintage, 1992), p. 72.
[486] *Kampuchea: A Demographic Catastrophe* (Central Intelligence Agency, 1980); available online at http://www.mekong.net/cambodia/demcat.htm
[487] Marek Sliwinski, *Le Génocide Khmer Rouge: Une Analyse Démographique* (L'Harmattan, 1995), p. 48.
[488] *After the Cataclysm* (South End Press, 1979), p. 162.
[489] *Washington Post*, June 4 & 23, 1975.
[490] Letter, *Encounter*, July 1980.
[491] Francois Ponchaud, *Cambodia Year Zero* (Holt, Rinehart and Winston, 1978), p. 71.
[492] William Shawcross, "The Third Indochina War," *New York Review of Books*, April 6, 1978.
[493] *Manufacturing Consent* (Vintage, 1994), pp. 383-4n32.

1977. The study put the total population decline under the Khmer Rouge at 1.2-1.8 million.[494]

3.

The Lie: "Many Israeli attacks are not retaliatory at all, including the 1982 invasion that devastated much of Lebanon and left 20,000 civilians dead…"[495]

The Truth: In the first week of the 1982 war, the PLO estimated 10,000 dead. Despite these "extreme exaggerations," the PLO news agency became the "primary source of information" for the Lebanese authorities.[496] So in late 1982 the Lebanese government estimated 19,000 dead, mostly combatants.[497] In 1984 the Lebanese government abandoned this number, stating that "about 1,000 Lebanese were killed as a result of the Israeli invasion."[498]

2.

The Lie: "The 1982 [Israeli] invasion [of Lebanon] and its immediate aftermath left some 20,000 dead; according to Lebanese sources, the toll in the following years was about 25,000 [i.e., Israel has killed 45,000 Lebanese]."[499]

The Truth: Chomsky is double-counting propaganda inventions. The Lebanese government abandoned the first figure decades ago. The second comes from a single sentence in a press report offering an unsupported estimate that plainly *includes* the 1982 war.[500]

1.

The Lie: "The US and Britain… killed maybe 100,000 people [in the occupation of Iraq] by last October [2004]..."[501]

The Truth: A 2004 study by anti-war researchers blamed the Iraq war for 100,000 deaths.[502] It counted both enemy killings and allied killings; counted both combatants and civilians; and included deaths from crime, accidents, heart attacks, strokes, infections, etc. An independent analysis of its figures suggested that 39,000 had been killed by either side and that the rest had died from other causes.[503]

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[494] *Kampuchea: A Demographic Catastrophe* (Central Intelligence Agency, 1980); available online at http://www.mekong.net/cambodia/demcat.htm

[495] *Rogue States: The Rule of Force in World Affairs* (Pluto Press, 2000), p. 36. Cf.: "the Israeli invasion, with perhaps 20,000 or more civilian casualties…" *Necessary Illusions* (South End Press, 1989), p. 277; "Israel's US-backed 1982 invasion that devastated much of Lebanon and left 20,000 civilians dead…" *The New Military Humanism: Lessons From Kosovo* (Pluto Press, 1999), p. 32.

[496] *New York Times*, July 14 & 26, 1982.

[497] Associated Press, December 1, 1982; *Christian Science Monitor*, December 21, 1982.

[498] *Washington Post*, November 16, 1984.

[499] *Hegemony or Survival* (Penguin, 2004), p. 167.

[500] *Fateful Triangle* (rev. ed., Pluto Press, 1999), pp. xx, xxii n20, citing Aliza Marcus, *Boston Globe*, March 1, 1999.

[501] Interview, *Socialist Review*, July 2005.

[502] Les Roberts *et al*., "Mortality Before and After the 2003 Invasion of Iraq: Cluster Sample Survey," *The Lancet*, November 20-6, 2004, pp. 1857-64.

[503] Reuters, July 11, 2005.

XIX. 10 Chomsky Lies About Political Ideas

10.

The Lie: "Aristotle's *Politics*, the sort of founding book of political theory… is a very careful and thoughtful analysis of the notion of democracy. Aristotle recognizes that, for him, that democracy had to be a welfare state; it had to use public revenues to insure lasting prosperity for all and to insure equality. That goes right through the Enlightenment…"[504]

The Truth: Plato's contributions to political theory (e.g., the *Republic*, the *Laws*) preceded Aristotle's *Politics*, which attacked democracy as inherently corrupt while defending slavery, the inferiority of women and the exclusion of workers from citizenship.[505]

9.

The Lie: "the classic work of [Wilhelm von] Humboldt, *The Limits of State Action*… is in its essence profoundly, though prematurely, anticapitalist… Humboldt's vision of a society in which social fetters are replaced by social bonds and labor is freely undertaken suggests the early Marx…"[506]

The Truth: Humboldt's book included an entire chapter – "On the Solicitude of the State For the Positive Welfare of the Citizen" – arguing that no restrictions should be placed on private trade for the sake of advancing the population's material welfare.[507]

8.

The Lie: "The founders of classical liberalism, people like Adam Smith and Wilhelm von Humboldt… were what we would call libertarian socialists…"[508]

The Truth: They were not socialists at all. Smith was a champion of the free market who wrote that anyone should be allowed "to bring both his industry and capital into competition with those of any other man."[509] Humboldt advocated a minimal state that would guarantee its citizens "the full enjoyment of their due rights of person and property."[510]

7.

The Lie: "the [Zionist] Revisionists, the precursors of [Menachem] Begin's Herut, were in fact an offshoot of European fascism, with an ideology of submission of the mass to a single leader, strike-breaking, chauvinist fanaticism, and the rest of the familiar paraphernalia of the 1930s."[511]

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[504] Interview, *Capital Times*, March 3, 1997.
[505] See., e.g., Richard Kraut, *Aristotle: Political Philosophy* (Oxford University Press, 2002).
[506] "Notes on Anarchism" in *For Reasons of State* (rev. ed., The New Press, 2003), p. 375.
[507] Wilhelm von Humboldt, *The Limits of State Action* (Liberty Fund, 1993), ch. 3.
[508] *Class Warfare* (Common Courage Press, 1996), pp. 21-2.
[509] Adam Smith, *The Wealth of Nations* (Liberty Fund, 1981) IV:IX:51.
[510] Wilhelm von Humboldt, *The Limits of State Action* (Liberty Fund, 1993), p. 84.
[511] *Fateful Triangle* (rev. ed., Pluto Press, 1999), p. 160.

The Truth: Revisionist Zionism was the ideology of Vladimir Jabotinsky, who wrote: "Man was created to be free… where there are no guarantees for freedom of the individual, there can be no democracy… The aim of democracy is to guarantee that the minority too has influence on matters of state policy. After all, the minority comprises individuals who were also created 'in the image of God.'"[512]

6.

The Lie: "Orwell did occasionally say something about the much more significant and more important topic, namely, doctrinal controls in free societies… Orwell did have one essay in particular on 'Literary Censorship in England' [sic] which was written as an introduction to *Animal Farm*… that's the one case that I know of in which Orwell dealt with the challenging and morally significant problem for us of what we're like. It's always easy to denounce some other guy."[513]

The Truth: Orwell was attacking his colleagues for combining criticism of their own country with suppression of criticism of another country, i.e., the Soviet regime: "though you are not allowed to criticise the Soviet government, at least you are reasonably free to criticise our own. Hardly anyone will print an attack on Stalin, but it is quite safe to attack Churchill…"[514]

5.

The Lie: "[perhaps] the United States will stop short of using its awesome resources of violence and devastation to impose its passionately held ideology and its approved form of social organization on large areas of the world… the principles that were crudely outlined by President Truman… when he suggested in a famous and important speech that the basic freedom is freedom of enterprise and that the whole world should adopt the American system, which could survive in America only if it became a world system…"[515]

The Truth: Truman was urging business to abandon protectionism and support membership of a UN free trade body. His speech endorsed the freedoms of worship, speech and enterprise; nowhere did it suggest that his country's ideology and social system should be imposed on the world through violence and devastation.[516]

4.

The Lie: "right-wing anarchism… [is] an extreme form of authoritarianism… under the formulations of someone like, say, Murray Rothbard, you will get such

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[512] Vladimir Jabotinsky, "The Social Question," *Hayarden*, October 21, 1938, reprinted in Mordechai Sarig, ed., *The Political and Social Philosophy of Ze'ev Jabotinsky: Selected Writings* (Vallentine Mitchell, 1999), p. 50.
[513] Interview, Canadian Broadcasting Corporation, March 21, 1995.
[514] George Orwell, "The Freedom of the Press," *Times Literary Supplement*, September 15, 1972.
[515] *American Power and the New Mandarins* (rev. ed., The New Press, 2002), pp. 318-9. Infamously, in the first edition, Chomsky pretended that this paraphrase was a direct quotation from Truman: Letters, *Commentary*, December 1969, February 1970, March 1970.
[516] Harry S. Truman, Address on Foreign Economic Policy, Baylor University, March 6, 1947; available at http://www.presidency.ucsb.edu/ws/?pid=12842

inequalities of power that it would be like living under Genghis Khan or something like that. Even though everyone would be technically free, they'll be free to make contracts with the person who has all the power, who owns the police, and so on, or they'll be free not to."[517]

The Truth: Rothbard's anarcho-capitalism proposed the exact opposite – that *anyone* should be able to start a new police force, court system, etc.: "if every man has the right to defend his person and property against attack, then he must also have the right to hire or accept the aid of other people to do such defending: he may employ or accept defenders just as he may employ or accept the volunteer services of gardeners on his lawn."[518]

3.

The Lie: "a very different conception of human nature has been crafted, one better suited to rule of the economy and social life by the absolutist, unaccountable, totalitarian institutions of the corporate world. For example, the conception expressed by Nobel laureate in economics James Buchanan, who instructs us that in 'any person's ideal situation,' 'each person seeks mastery over a world of slaves.'"[519]

The Truth: Buchanan wrote: "Man's universal thirst for freedom is a fact of history… In a strictly personalized sense… each person seeks mastery over a world of slaves. In a generalized social setting, however… the anarchistic regime of free men, each of whom respects the rights of others, becomes the utopian dream."[520]

2.

The Lie: "The US is officially committed to what is called 'low-intensity warfare.' … If you read the definition of low-intensity conflict in army manuals and compare it with official definitions of 'terrorism' in army manuals, or the US Code, you find they're almost the same. Terrorism is the use of coercive means aimed at civilian populations in an effort to achieve political, religious, or other aims."[521]

The Truth: The US army defines low-intensity conflict as "political-military confrontation between contending states or groups below conventional war and above the routine, peaceful competition among states." Far from justifying attacks on civilians, the definition says that US security assistance should enable allied armed forces to "provide security for their citizens and government."[522]

1.

The Lie: "[Israel's] Orthodox rabbinate imposes its interpretation of religious law... [Jewish identity requires] either conversion or a proper genealogy going back four

[517] *Language and Politics* (AK Press, 2004), p. 153.
[518] Murray Rothbard, *The Ethics of Liberty* (New York University Press, 1998), p. 77.
[519] "Industry vs. Labor," *Lies of Our Times*, June 14, 1994.
[520] James Buchanan, *The Limits of Liberty* (University of Chicago Press, 1975), p. 92.
[521] Interview, *Monthly Review*, November 2001.
[522] *Military Operations in Low Intensity Conflict: Field Manual No. 100-20/Air Force Pamphlet No. 3-20* (Washington, DC: Headquarters, Departments of the Army and the Air Force, December 5, 1990), pp. 1.1ff; available online at http://www.gwu.edu/~nsarchiv/NSAEBB/NSAEBB63/doc4.pdf

generations. Were similar principles to apply to Jews elsewhere, we would not hesitate to condemn this revival of the Nuremberg laws."[523]

The Truth: Orthodox rabbis use a religious definition that accepts converts to Judaism and draws no distinction between different races. The same definition applies to all Jews everywhere. The Nazis defined Jews as an inferior race whose identity was fixed by descent and evident from their physical appearance.

[523] Foreword, Sabri Jiryis, *The Arabs in Israel* (Monthly Review Press, 1976), p. viii.

XX. 10 Chomsky Lies About Himself

10.

The Lie: "I have never considered myself a 'Marxist,' and in fact regard such notions as 'Marxist' (or 'Freudian,' etc.) as belonging more to the domain of organized religion than of rational analysis."[524]

The Truth: Previously, Chomsky had said: "in my opinion, a Marxist-anarchist perspective [on politics] is justified quite apart from anything that may happen in linguistics." He had also declared: "I wouldn't abandon Marxism."[525]

9.

The Lie: "My own writings include considerable discussion of the criminal nature of Marxist-Leninist doctrine and practice."[526]

The Truth: Chomsky once suggested: "It would be a grotesque error to say that Stalin was simply the realization of Leninist principles," since Lenin's *State and Revolution* "is basically fine." His major criticism was not that Lenin was a mass murderer, but that he had suppressed his fellow communists.[527]

8.

The Lie: "If you look at all the stuff I wrote about the Vietnam war, there's not one word supporting the Vietcong. The left was all backing Ho Chi Minh: I was saying that North Vietnam is a brutal Stalinist dictatorship."[528]

The Truth: Chomsky told the North Vietnamese: "Your heroism reveals the capabilities of the human spirit and human will. Decent people throughout the world see in your struggle a model for themselves."[529] He also praised North Vietnam for "creating a modern, egalitarian, democratic industrial society" that "offers the peasant hope for the future." He added: "Its achievements are, indeed, quite remarkable."[530] He hailed postwar Vietnam as a "miracle of reconciliation and restraint."[531] He argued that support for totalitarian Vietnam "is justified" in order to "reinforce democratic tendencies" and "reduce human misery."[532]

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[524] *Language and Politics* (AK Press, 2004), p. 259.
[525] Ibid., pp. 113, 153.
[526] *Language and Politics* (AK Press, 2004), p. 293. Also: "I have been a committed opponent of Leninist doctrine and its various manifestations for over thirty years": *New Politics*, Winter 1978, p. 44.
[527] *Language and Politics* (AK Press, 2004), p. 110.
[528] Interview, *New Statesman*, UK, June 3, 1994.
[529] Radio Hanoi, April 14, 1970; *Asia-Pacific Daily Report*, FBIS, April 16, 1970, pp. K2-K3. Chomsky admitted that the speech was genuine in his exchange with Sidney Hook in *The Humanist*, March-April 1971.
[530] *At War With Asia* (Vintage, 1970), pp. 279, 281-2.
[531] *The Washington Connection and Third World Fascism* (South End Press, 1979), p. 28.
[532] *Language and Politics* (AK Press, 2004), p. 280.

The Lie: "[A critic] claims that I argued 'that the refugees from Cambodia were not to be given credence,' basing himself on a review-article… in which we wrote that 'their reports must be considered seriously.' How does he turn our conclusion into its opposite? Simple. By suppressing our conclusion and noting only our qualification that 'care and caution are necessary' for reasons we mentioned, which, as we added, are commonplace."[533]

The Truth: Chomsky was clear that the refugees were not to be given credence. Referring to "the extreme unreliability of refugee reports," he explained: "Refugees are frightened and defenseless, at the mercy of alien forces. They naturally tend to report what they believe their interlocuters [sic] wish to hear. While these reports must be considered seriously, care and caution are necessary. Specifically, refugees questioned by Westerners or Thais have a vested interest in reporting atrocities on the part of Cambodian revolutionaries…"[534]

6.

The Lie: "As it is difficult to believe that the editors take their readers for complete fools, I presume that it must be a matter of a printing error, and that the editors really meant to write that I have never prefaced any 'publication of the PLO.' The latter would at least have the merit of being true…"[535]

The Truth: In 1976, Chomsky wrote the preface to a book by Sabri Jiryis of the PLO Research Center in Beirut.[536] Describing himself as "a hard-headed old terrorist," Jiryis admitted responsibility for "supervising clandestine Fatah actions [i.e., terrorist attacks]" in northern Israel.[537]

5.

The Lie: [Disowning his assertion that the West used Nazi armies against the Soviets:] "too ridiculous to merit comment… childish diatribes in journals attempting to discredit political enemies… I had nothing to do with it… a ridiculous gossip column in the *New Yorker*."[538]

The Truth: Chomsky's assertion, quoted in the *New Yorker*, was recorded on tape.[539]

4.

The Lie: "I've probably been the leading opponent for years of the campaign for divestment from Israel."[540]

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[533] Letter, *Encounter*, July 1980.
[534] "Distortions at Fourth Hand," *The Nation,* June 25, 1977.
[535] Letter, *Nouvelles littéraires*, France, December 2-8, 1982; reprinted in Noam Chomsky, *Réponses inédites à mes détracteurs parisiens* (Paris: Cahiers Spartacus, 1984). Translated from French.
[536] Foreword, Sabri Jiryis, *The Arabs in Israel* (Monthly Review Press, 1976).
[537] David K. Shipler, *Arab and Jew* (rev. ed., Penguin, 2002), p. 56.
[538] Quoted in John Williamson, "Chomsky, Language, World War II and Me," in Peter Collier and David Horowitz, eds., *The Anti-Chomsky Reader* (Encounter Books, 2004), p. 238.
[539] Ibid., pp. 238-9.
[540] *The Harvard Crimson*, December 12, 2002.

The Truth: Earlier that year, Chomsky signed a petition calling on universities to divest from Israel. "Divestment will be a long and slow process," he warned,[541] a week before appearing as keynote speaker at a university teach-in to support the divestment campaign.[542]

3.

The Lie: "I predicted nothing [about a 'silent genocide' in Afghanistan]… The warnings remain accurate as well, a truism that should be unnecessary to explain."[543]

The Truth: Chomsky warned that "unknown numbers of starving Afghans will die… maybe millions of starving Afghans." He wrote that "Washington acted at once to ensure the death and suffering of enormous numbers of Afghans, millions of them already on the brink of starvation" and that the "sensible administration plan would be to pursue the ongoing program of silent genocide."[544] No such genocide occurred.

2.

The Lie: "I've always explicitly and forcefully opposed 'conspiracy theories,' and even am well known for that."[545]

The Truth: Chomsky views sports, quiz shows and sex as tools of the media conspiracy: "As far as the general population is concerned, where the real mass media are directed, the main thing is just to get them off our backs. Get them interested in something else. Professional sports… *Who Wants to be a Millionaire?*, who's going to win the World Series, sex, anything that doesn't matter. And if you look at the mass media, that's what they do."[546]

1.

The Lie: "There is so much that prevents you from looking at the structures you are embedded in, and anyone who drifts out of line is taking a serious risk... there are definitely penalties – in terms of your career, your status, your income."[547]

The Truth: Far from imposing penalties for his views, the Pentagon gave Chomsky his career, status and income. In his own words, "MIT pays only thirty or forty per cent of my salary. The rest comes from other sources – most of it from the Defense Department."[548]

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[541] *The Tech*, MIT, May 1, 2002.
[542] *The Harvard Crimson*, May 8, 2002; also *The Daily Pennsylvanian*, October 4, 2002.
[543] *The Independent*, UK, December 4, 2003.
[544] *9-11* (Seven Stories Press, 2001), pp. 55, 95, 105.
[545] Quoted in Jeffery Klaehn, "A Critical Review and Assessment of Herman and Chomsky's 'Propaganda Model,'" *European Journal of Communication*, June 2002, p. 149.
[546] "Interview: An Hour With Noam Chomsky," *Interventions: International Journal of Postcolonial Studies*, April 2002, p. 119.
[547] Interview, *NRC Handelsblad*, Netherlands, December 6, 2003.
[548] Quoted in Konrad Koerner, "The Anatomy of a Revolution in the Social Sciences: Chomsky in 1962," *Dhumbadji!* Winter 1994. In his early academic work, Chomsky acknowledged funding from all three branches of the military: see the preface to his *Syntactic Structures* (Mouton, 1957).