

The Top 100 Chomsky Lies

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A. Top 10 Chomsky Lies About Communist Mass Murderers

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 4.5-5 million people in Ukraine; 400,000 in Poland; 360,000 in Romania; 300,000 in Belarus; 200,000 in Hungary; 100,000 in East Germany; 100,000 in Lithuania; 70,000-100,000 in Yugoslavia; 30,000-40,000 in Bulgaria; 20,000 in Czechoslovakia; and 5,000 in Albania. Other atrocities included the murder of over 500,000 POWs in Soviet captivity and the mass rape of at least 2 million women by the Red Army in Soviet-occupied areas of Germany.²

9.

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.”³

The Truth: The communists officially declared that they had killed 800,000 in the first few years of their dictatorship; unofficially, they admitted to the murder of 2 million in just a single year.⁴ China’s forced collectivization culminated in the Great Leap Forward, the worst catastrophe in human history, in which 30 million died.⁵

8.

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... in fact there is no evidence that the leadership ordered or organized mass executions of peasants.”⁶

The Truth: North Vietnam announced that 30% of the victims were innocent and that 15,000 were executed by mistake, implying 50,000 massacred. Reports from North Vietnamese defectors indicated that 50,000 were massacred. A Hungarian diplomat was told by an official source that 60,000 had been massacred. A French leftist working in North Vietnam wrote that

¹ Letter reprinted in Alexander Cockburn, *The Golden Age Is In Us* (Verso, 1995), pp149-51.

² Alec Nove, “Victims of Stalinism: How Many?” in J. Arch Getty and Roberta T. Manning, eds., *Stalinist Terror* (Cambridge University Press, 1993), p266 (Ukraine); Jan T. Gross, *Revolution From Abroad* (Princeton University Press, 2002), pp228-9 (Poland); Martyn Rady, *Romania in Turmoil* (I.B. Tauris, 1992), p31 (Romania); *Washington Post*, January 16, 1994 (Belarus); Karel Bartosek, “Central and Southeastern Europe,” in Stephane Courtois, ed., *The Black Book of Communism* (Harvard University Press, 1999), p395 (Hungary, Bulgaria); *Los Angeles Times*, October 27, 1991 (East Germany); *US News & World Report*, October 20, 1997 (Lithuania); *New York Times*, July 9, 1990 (Yugoslavia); *Philadelphia Inquirer*, November 3, 1999 (Czechoslovakia); *New York Times*, July 8, 1997 (Albania); David M. Glantz and Jonathan House, *When Titans Clashed: How the Red Army Stopped Hitler* (University Press of Kansas, 1995), p307 (POWs); Anthony Beevor, *The Fall of Berlin 1945* (Penguin, 2003), p410 (rapes).

³ *American Power and the New Mandarins* (rev. ed., The New Press, 2002), p137n56.

⁴ *New York Times*, June 13, 1957 (official figures); November 15, 1970 (unofficial figures).

⁵ Basil Ashton, Kenneth Hill, Alan Piazza, Robin Zeitz, “Famine in China, 1958-61,” *Population and Development Review*, December 1984, p614.

⁶ *The Washington Connection and Third World Fascism* (South End Press, 1979), pp342, 432n168.

100,000 had been slaughtered. The total death toll would have been several times higher since the families of those executed were starved to death under the policy of “isolation.”⁷

7.

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.”⁸

The Truth: By conservative estimates, Viet Cong death squads assassinated 37,000 civilians in South Vietnam; the real figure was far higher since only a small fraction of the murders were recorded before 1967 and the data only extend to 1972. Viet Cong terrorists also waged a campaign of mass murder against civilian hamlets and refugee camps; at the height of the war, nearly a third of all civilian deaths were the result of deliberate Viet Cong atrocities.⁹

6.

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 was constructed on flimsy evidence indeed.”¹⁰

The Truth: The communists boasted of murdering thousands in the South Vietnamese city of Hue. One regiment reported that its units alone killed 1,000 victims. Another report stated that 2,867 people were killed. Yet another captured document spoke of an “enormous victory” in which more than 3,000 people were killed. A further document catalogued 2,748 executions.¹¹

5.

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.”¹²

The Truth: Defector Nguyen Cong Hoan stated that 50,000-100,000 people were massacred by the communists. Political prisoner Doan Van Toai and communist official Nguyen Tuong Lai reported that 200,000 Viet Cong deserters were targeted for execution. An estimated 165,000 dissidents and POWs died in concentration camps. Mass expulsions led to the drowning of 200,000-250,000 boat people, according to UN figures.¹³

⁷ J. Price Gittinger, “Communist Land Policy in North Vietnam,” *Far Eastern Survey*, August 1959, p118 (percentage, mistake); Robert F. Turner, *Vietnamese Communism: Its Origins and Development* (Hoover Institution Press, 1975), pp141-3, 155-7 (defectors, diplomat, isolation); Gerard Tongas, *J'ai vécu dans l'enfer communiste au Nord Viêt-Nam* (Paris: Nouvelles Editions Debresse, 1960), p222 (French leftist). Chomsky cites former Diem official Nguyen Van Chau, who branded the story a Saigon fabrication, but Chau had been purged by the Saigon authorities and was active in support of the Viet Cong: *New York Times*, November 23, 1963 (purge); Vietnam News Agency, Paris, December 21, 1972 (Viet Cong).

⁸ *The Washington Connection and Third World Fascism* (South End Press, 1979), pp340-1.

⁹ Guenter Lewy, *America in Vietnam* (Oxford University Press, 1978), pp272-3, 448-9.

¹⁰ *The Washington Connection and Third World Fascism* (South End Press, 1979), p352.

¹¹ Stephen T. Hosmer, *Viet Cong Repression and its Implications for the Future* (Rand Corporation, 1970), pp73-4.

¹² *The Washington Connection and Third World Fascism* (South End Press, 1979), p28.

¹³ *Human Events*, August 27, 1977 (Nguyen Cong Hoan); Al Santoli, ed., *To Bear Any Burden* (Indiana University Press, 1999), pp272, 292-3 (Doan Van Toai, Nguyen Tuong Lai); *Orange County Register*, April 29, 2001 (concentration camps); *San Diego Union*, July 20, 1986 (boat people).

4.

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.”¹⁴

The Truth: They were not remotely in the same range. American forces caused approximately 40,000 Khmer Rouge and civilian casualties in Cambodia during 1970-5. The Khmer Rouge killed more than 1.8 million civilians during 1975-9.¹⁵

3.

The Lie: “One comparison that we presented in great detail was particularly illuminating: the ‘benign bloodbath’ conducted by Indonesia after its invasion of East Timor in 1975, and the ‘nefarious bloodbath’ of the Khmer Rouge when they took over Cambodia in the same year... the two slaughters were comparable in scale and character.”¹⁶

The Truth: They were comparable neither in scale nor in character. The Indonesian invasion of East Timor caused 100,000-180,000 deaths.¹⁷ The Khmer Rouge genocide in Cambodia caused well over 1.8 million deaths.¹⁸ The Indonesian military carried out brutal repression of armed resistance in a foreign territory. The Khmer Rouge bloodbath was an ideologically motivated attack on a defenseless population in its own country.

2.

The Lie: “If 2-2½ million people, about 1/3 of the population, 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 but rather attributable in large measure to peasant revenge, undisciplined military units out of government control, starvation and disease that are direct consequences of the US war, or other such factors.”¹⁹

The Truth: Not one serious observer thinks that only 25,000 died under the Khmer Rouge or that the mass deaths were the result of anything other than systematic slaughter and starvation organized by the state. Even Khmer Rouge leader Khieu Samphan acknowledged 2 million deaths, which he attributed to the Vietnamese invasion.²⁰

1.

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. It is striking that the crucial facts rarely appear in the chorus of condemnations.”²¹

¹⁴ *Manufacturing Consent: The Political Economy of the Mass Media* (Vintage, 1994), pp264-5.

¹⁵ Marek Sliwinski, *Le Génocide Khmer Rouge: Une Analyse Démographique* (Paris: L’Harmattan, 1995), pp41-8, 57.

¹⁶ *Deterring Democracy* (Vintage, 1992), p380.

¹⁷ *Washington Post*, January 21, 2006, citing the UN Truth Commission.

¹⁸ Marek Sliwinski, *Le Génocide Khmer Rouge: Une Analyse Démographique* (Paris: L’Harmattan, 1995), p57.

¹⁹ *After the Cataclysm* (South End Press, 1979), pp138-9.

²⁰ Interview, *Time*, March 10, 1980.

²¹ *After the Cataclysm* (South End Press, 1979), p160.

The Truth: At least 30,000 very young children died as a direct result of the Khmer Rouge evacuation of Phnom Penh.²² In total, at least 870,000 men, women and children from Phnom Penh died under the Khmer Rouge dictatorship.²³

²² Ea Meng-Try, "Kampuchea: A Country Adrift," *Population and Development Review*, June 1981, p214.

²³ Marek Sliwinski, *Le Génocide Khmer Rouge: Une Analyse Démographique* (Paris: L'Harmattan, 1995), p57.

B. Top 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... Take just north of the Rio Grande, where there were maybe 10 or 12 million Native Americans... Many of them were just totally murdered or wiped out, others succumbed to European-brought diseases. This is massive genocide...”²⁴

The Truth: These population figures were fabricated by anthropologist Henry Dobyns and have been discredited.²⁵ More than 90% of the American Indians were killed by disease, not by war and massacre, according to recent scholarship.²⁶

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.”²⁷

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.”²⁸ 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.²⁹

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.”³⁰

The Truth: America fought both Nazi Germany and Imperial Japan; Britain fought the war primarily against Nazi Germany. The Soviets were Nazi allies until 1941; America then saved them from the Nazi attack by providing massive military and economic aid.³¹ America and

²⁴ *Language and Politics* (AK Press, 2004), p479.

²⁵ David Henige, *Numbers From Nowhere: The American Indian Contact Population Debate* (University of Oklahoma Press, 1998), pp66-87.

²⁶ Noble David Cook, *Born to Die: Disease and New World Conquest, 1492-1650* (Cambridge University Press, 1998), p206.

²⁷ *Turning the Tide* (South End Press, 1985), p88.

²⁸ James A. LeRoy, “The Philippines and the Filipinos,” *Political Science Quarterly*, June 1906, p303.

²⁹ John M. Gates, “War-Related Deaths in the Philippines, 1898-1902,” *Pacific Historical Review*, August 1984, p376.

³⁰ Larissa MacFarquhar, “The Devil’s Accountant,” *The New Yorker*, March 31, 2003.

³¹ Albert L. Weeks, *Russia’s Life-Saver: Lend-Lease Aid to the USSR in World War II* (Lexington Books, 2004).

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, America and Britain were never 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?”³²

The Truth: There is not a shred of evidence that America and Britain used Nazi armies to attack the Soviet Union and prolong the Holocaust. Chomsky subsequently denied making this allegation (see final section below).³³

6.

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.”³⁴

The Truth: Justice Pal was an apologist for Imperial Japan who voted to acquit all of the defendants at the Tokyo war crimes tribunal. The crimes of the Japanese defendants – including 10 million killed in the post-Pearl Harbor years alone – vastly exceeded the death toll from the atomic bombings. Nagasaki was not bombed as an experiment, but because Japan had not surrendered after Hiroshima.³⁵

5.

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.*”³⁶

The Truth: Chomsky wrote this not long after 750,000-1.5 million had been massacred in the Chinese Cultural Revolution; 200,000 boat people had been driven to their deaths by communist Vietnam; 100,000 tribespeople had been massacred in communist Laos; 1.8-2 million had been murdered in communist Cambodia; and the communists had commenced the slaughter of 1.5-2 million people in Afghanistan and 1.25 million people in Ethiopia.³⁷

³² Larissa MacFarquhar, “The Devil’s Accountant,” *The New Yorker*, March 31, 2003.

³³ See John Williamson, “Chomsky, Language, World War II and Me,” in Peter Collier and David Horowitz, eds., *The Anti-Chomsky Reader* (Encounter Books, 2004), pp236-9.

³⁴ “An Exchange on ‘The Responsibility of Intellectuals,’” *New York Review of Books*, April 20, 1967.

³⁵ Robert P. Newman, *Truman and the Hiroshima Cult* (Michigan State University Press, 1995), pp149, 139, 105-13.

³⁶ *The Washington Connection and Third World Fascism* (South End Press, 1979), p16. Emphasis in original.

³⁷ Andrew G. Walder and Yang Su, “The Cultural Revolution in the Countryside,” *China Quarterly*, March 2003 (China); *Washington Post*, August 3, 1979 (Vietnam); *Forced Back and Forgotten* (Lawyers Committee for Human Rights, 1989), p8 (Laos); Sylvain Boulouque, “Communism in Afghanistan,” in Stephane Courtois, ed., *The Black Book of Communism*, (Harvard University Press, 1999), p725 (Afghanistan); *New York Times*, December 14, 1994 (Ethiopia). On the absurdity of Chomsky’s argument, see Stephen J. Morris, “Chomsky on US Foreign Policy,” *Harvard International Review*, December-January 1981.

4.

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.”³⁸

The Truth: Amnesty International accused the Shah of carrying out 300 political executions. During the same period, Macias Nguema murdered 50,000 in Equatorial Guinea, Idi Amin massacred 300,000 in Uganda and Pol Pot slaughtered up to 2 million in Cambodia.³⁹

3.

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 American air raid].”⁴⁰

The Truth: Libya’s international terrorism included military intervention in support of mass murderers in Uganda and Ethiopia; sponsorship of terrorists responsible for thousands killed in the Philippines; creation of terrorist training camps for thousands of international terrorists; complicity in massacres, bombings and hijackings of Western civilians; and direct involvement in violent subversion and civil wars throughout Africa and the Middle East.⁴¹

2.

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.”⁴²

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. Only 1% came from America or Britain.⁴³ In other words, the major opponents of the invasion, whose position Chomsky shared, supplied over 80 times as many weapons as the major supporters of the invasion, whose position he condemned.

1.

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.”⁴⁴

The Truth: According to genocide scholar Milton Leitenberg, “All alleged post-1990 figures on infant and child mortality in Iraq are supplied by the Iraqi government agencies.”⁴⁵ Iraq

³⁸ *Pirates and Emperors, Old and New* (rev. ed., Pluto Press, 2002), p112.

³⁹ *Washington Post*, March 23, 1980.

⁴⁰ *Pirates and Emperors, Old and New* (rev. ed., Pluto Press, 2002), pp84, 99.

⁴¹ *Washington Post*, July 27, 1980.

⁴² Interview, *International Socialist Review*, September-October 2002.

⁴³ *The Times*, UK, April 8, 2003.

⁴⁴ *9-11* (Seven Stories Press, 2001), p88.

⁴⁵ Milton Leitenberg, “Saddam is the Cause of Iraqis’ Suffering,” *Institute for the Study of Genocide Newsletter*, No. 28, n.d.

rejected UN requests to admit independent experts to assess living conditions.⁴⁶ After the invasion, Iraqi doctors said that the issue had been a “propaganda campaign” and that “sanctions did not kill these children – Saddam killed them... their mothers lived in impoverished areas neglected by the government.”⁴⁷

⁴⁶ *New York Times*, September 12, 2000.

⁴⁷ *Sunday Telegraph*, UK, May 25, 2003.

C. Top 10 Chomsky Lies About the Cold War:-

10.

The Lie: “In its second phase, from 1945, major events of the Cold War on the Russian side were its repeated interventions in the Eastern European satellites and the invasion of Afghanistan... Internal crimes abated; 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.”⁴⁸

The Truth: In 1947, the Soviet regime deliberately withheld food from the population during a famine, causing 1-1.5 million deaths.⁴⁹ During 1945-53, there were over 300,000 officially recorded deaths in the Gulag; by 1953, the slave labor population had increased to more than 5.2 million men, women and children.⁵⁰ No American satellite – whether in Europe or Latin America – was responsible for anything even remotely comparable.

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.”⁵¹

The Truth: NSC 68 said nothing about reconstituting Nazi Germany, Fascist Italy and Imperial Japan under American leadership in order to destroy the Soviet Union. It advocated policies “consistent with the principles of freedom and democracy” and proposed increased defense spending to counter Soviet expansion.⁵²

8.

The Lie: “As all recognize, a major Soviet crime has been Moscow’s assistance to Third World countries or movements that the United States intends to subvert or crush... the Soviet Union supported indigenous movements resisting the forceful imposition of US designs – a criminal endeavor, as any right-thinking intellectual comprehends.”⁵³

The Truth: The major Soviet clients in the Third World were mass murderers in China (Mao Zedong, pre-Sino/Soviet split), North Korea (Kim Il Sung), North Vietnam (Ho Chi Minh), Uganda (Idi Amin), Ethiopia (Mengistu Haile Mariam), Syria (Hafez Assad) and Iraq (Saddam Hussein). Among other atrocities, Soviet advisors designed the Chinese Gulag, in which millions were killed.⁵⁴

7.

The Lie: “[In 1965, America facilitated] the flow of arms and other military equipment to implement the announced policy ‘to exterminate the PKI’ (the Indonesian Communist

⁴⁸ *World Orders, Old and New* (Columbia University Press, 1996), p39.

⁴⁹ Michael Ellman, “The 1947 Soviet Famine and the Entitlement Approach to Famines,” *Cambridge Journal of Economics*, September 2000, pp603-30.

⁵⁰ Anne Applebaum, *Gulag: A History* (Doubleday, 2003), pp583, 579, 581.

⁵¹ *Deterring Democracy* (Vintage, 1992), pp10-1.

⁵² “NSC 68: United States Objectives and Programs for National Security,” April 14, 1950, in *Naval War College Review*, May-June, 1975.

⁵³ *Deterring Democracy* (Vintage, 1992), p99.

⁵⁴ Jung Chang and Jon Halliday, *Mao: The Unknown Story* (Jonathan Cape, 2005), p338.

Party)... The Indonesian Generals had liquidated the party of the poor, destroyed the threat of democracy, and opened the country to foreign plunder.”⁵⁵

The Truth: Far from posing the threat of democracy, the communists had tried to seize power by force after openly demanding the mass extermination of capitalists and “enemies of the people.”⁵⁶ American officials were so surprised by the 1965 crisis that at first they could not even identify General Suharto, who led the anti-communist forces.⁵⁷ America refused to supply weapons to implement the massacre of Indonesian communists.⁵⁸

6.

The Lie: “Virtually all parties concerned, apart from the United States, were making serious efforts in the early 1960s to avoid an impending war by neutralizing South Vietnam, Laos and Cambodia – the official stand of the National Liberation Front, the ‘Viet Cong’ of US propaganda, essentially the southern branch of the Viet Minh.”⁵⁹

The Truth: By its own admission, North Vietnam decided to start an armed revolt in South Vietnam in 1959. North Vietnam created the Viet Cong and sent 20,000 men to attack the South. In 1961, North Vietnam used 30,000 men to build invasion routes through Laos and Cambodia.⁶⁰ By 1964, 10,000 North Vietnamese troops a year were entering the South, rising to 100,000 a year in 1966. By its own admission, North Vietnam “played a decisive role” in bringing to power the Pathet Lao in Laos and the Khmer Rouge in Cambodia.⁶¹

5.

The Lie: “Administration spokesmen have held to the view that by destroying Vietnam we are somehow standing firm against Chinese or Russian aggression... there were determined efforts, always unavailing, to establish a direct link showing control of the Viet Minh by Moscow or Peking, though failure to do so in no way shook the belief, virtually a dogma, that the Vietnamese revolutionaries must be Chinese or Russian agents... so far as we know, a figment of [the] imagination.”⁶²

The Truth: Chinese and Soviet involvement was absolutely crucial to the North Vietnamese attack on South Vietnam. By July 1965, China was sending \$200 million in military and economic aid, while in October 1966, the Soviets offered \$1 billion: the “decision to move to conventional war could not have been made without these pacts.” By 1971, the year before Chomsky wrote, Chinese assistance to the war effort amounted to \$1 billion and Soviet assistance had reached \$3 billion.⁶³

4.

⁵⁵ *Powers and Prospects* (Pluto Press, 1996), pp178, 199.

⁵⁶ Arnold C. Brackman, *The Communist Collapse in Indonesia* (W.W. Norton & Co., 1969), pp63-5.

⁵⁷ H.W. Brands, “The Limits of Manipulation: How the United States Didn’t Topple Sukarno,” *Journal of American History*, December 1989, p801.

⁵⁸ *Ibid.*, p803. Journalist Kathy Kadane alleged that the American Embassy supplied a “death list” of 5,000 communists, but her report was discredited: see *New York Times*, July 12, 1990; *AIM Report*, September 1990.

⁵⁹ *Manufacturing Consent: The Political Economy of the Mass Media* (Vintage, 1994), p181.

⁶⁰ *The Economist*, February 26, 1983.

⁶¹ *Washington Post*, April 23, 1985.

⁶² “Vietnam: How Government Became Wolves,” *New York Review of Books*, June 15, 1972.

⁶³ Spencer C. Tucker, ed., *Encyclopedia of the Vietnam War* (Oxford University Press, 2001), pp448-9.

The Lie: “Vietnam’s crime of terminating the atrocities of Pol Pot [in Cambodia] was punished by a US-backed Chinese invasion, while the US turned to overt diplomatic and military support for the displaced Pol Pot regime...”⁶⁴

The Truth: Vietnam did not invade Cambodia to end the Khmer Rouge atrocities but to install a more obedient communist dictatorship led by ex-Khmer Rouge killers. The new regime enslaved 380,000 peasants, killing 30,000 civilians.⁶⁵ Vietnam apologists such as John Pilger then accused America and Britain of arming the Khmer Rouge. Pilger’s fabrications ended in an admission of libel and payment of “very substantial” damages.⁶⁶ The evidence shows that all Western aid went to the non-communist resistance forces led by Son Sann and Prince Sihanouk, not to the Khmer Rouge.⁶⁷

3.

The Lie: “The defense of Angola was one of Cuba’s most significant contributions to the liberation of Africa. How remarkable these contributions were was unknown [until recently].”⁶⁸

The Truth: Cuban military intervention to assure exclusive rule by the communist MPLA dictatorship in Angola led to three decades of civil war in which 1 million people died. Other Cuban “contributions to the liberation of Africa” include military intervention in support of the communist dictatorship in Ethiopia, which murdered 1.25 million people through massacre and forced starvation.⁶⁹

2.

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.’”⁷⁰

The Truth: The UN study estimated the losses from civil wars in these countries and simply blamed them all on South Africa.⁷¹ In fact the combatants were Third World revolutionaries (MPLA versus UNITA in Angola; Frelimo versus Renamo in Mozambique), and the major foreign interventions were carried out by Marxist dictatorships (Cuba in Angola; Zimbabwe in Mozambique).⁷² The Reagan and Thatcher governments opposed the South-African-backed rebels in Mozambique.

1.

⁶⁴ *Rogue States: The Rule of Force in World Affairs* (Pluto Press, 2000), p9.

⁶⁵ Craig Etcheson, *After the Killing Fields* (Praeger, 2005), pp24, 27.

⁶⁶ *The Guardian*, UK, July 6, 1991.

⁶⁷ Stephen J. Morris, “ABC Flacks For Hanoi,” *Wall Street Journal*, April 26, 1990 and “Skeletons in the Closet,” *The New Republic*, June 4, 1990.

⁶⁸ *Hegemony or Survival* (Penguin Books, 2004), p94.

⁶⁹ Médecins Sans Frontières, “Angola: An Alarming Nutritional Situation,” August 1999 (Angola death toll); *Washington Post*, March 18, 1978 (Ethiopia intervention); *New York Times*, December 14, 1994 (Ethiopia death toll).

⁷⁰ *Powers and Prospects* (Pluto Press, 1996), p199.

⁷¹ *South African Destabilization: The Economic Cost of Frontline Resistance to Apartheid* (UN Economic Commission for Africa, 1989).

⁷² The left-wing mythology about these wars is ably debunked in W. Martin James, *A Political History of the Civil War in Angola, 1974-1990* (Transaction, 1991); David Hoile, *Mozambique, Resistance and Freedom: A Case For Reassessment* (London: Mozambique Institute, 1994). Hoile dismantles the State Department’s infamous Gersony Report on alleged Renamo atrocities.

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 government [i.e., the MPLA], the United States did nothing [to stop UNITA]... The atrocities, apparently surpassing Bosnia, are scarcely reported...”⁷³

The Truth: Eight opposition parties rejected the 1992 election as rigged. An official election observer wrote that there was little UN supervision, that 500,000 UNITA supporters were disenfranchised and that 100 clandestine polling stations were built. UNITA sent peace negotiators to the capital, where the MPLA murdered them, along with 20,000 UNITA supporters. Savimbi was still ready to continue the elections. The MPLA then massacred tens of thousands of UNITA supporters nationwide, whereupon the civil war resumed. African human rights observers accused the MPLA of “genocidal atrocities,” “systematic extermination,” “war crimes” and “crimes against humanity.”⁷⁴

⁷³ *World Orders, Old and New* (Columbia University Press, 1996), p62.

⁷⁴ National Society for Human Rights, *Ending the Angolan Conflict*, Windhoek, Namibia, July 3, 2000 (opposition parties, massacres); John Matthew, Letters, *The Times*, UK, November 6, 1992 (election observer); NSHR, Press Releases, September 12, 2000, May 16, 2001 (MPLA atrocities).

D. Top 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.”⁷⁵

The Truth: Arab-Islamic conquests included the territories of Portugal, Spain, Sardinia, Sicily, Crete, and the southern areas of France and Italy. The Ottoman Empire expanded as far as Hungary and southern Poland, as well as the whole of central Europe, including parts of Greece, the former Yugoslavia, Romania and Bulgaria.⁷⁶

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.”⁷⁷

The Truth: Arab-Islamic conquests in Europe involved countless atrocities. Nazi aggression and terror killed 200,000-250,000 civilians in France, 200,000 civilians in Holland, over 150,000 civilians in Greece, 60,000 civilians in Britain and many others throughout Western Europe.⁷⁸

8.

The Lie: “For the United States, this is the first time since the War of 1812 that the national territory has been under attack, or even threatened. Many commentators have brought up a Pearl Harbor analogy, but that is misleading. On December 7, 1941, military bases in two US colonies were attacked – not the national territory, which was never threatened.”⁷⁹

The Truth: Japan attacked Pearl Harbor in Hawaii and Clark Field in the Philippines. Both Hawaii and the Philippines were part of the national territory. Japan also attacked Guam, Wake, Kiska and Attu, all of which were part of the national territory.⁸⁰

7.

The Lie: “The bin Laden network, I doubt if anybody knows it better than the CIA, since they were instrumental in helping construct it.”⁸¹

The Truth: Charges that America created the bin Laden network “are not supported by the evidence” (Peter Bergen). The charges are “not true” and CIA funds “went exclusively to the

⁷⁵ *9-11* (Seven Stories Press, 2001), p12.

⁷⁶ Paul Fregosi, *Jihad in the West: Muslim Conquests from the 7th to the 21st Centuries* (Prometheus Books, 1998).

⁷⁷ “There’s Good Reason to Fear US,” *Toronto Star*, September 7, 2003.

⁷⁸ Peter Calvocoressi, John Wint and Guy Pritchard, *The Penguin History of the Second World War* (rev. ed., Penguin, 1999), pp453, 577-8.

⁷⁹ *9-11* (Seven Stories Press, 2001), pp11-2.

⁸⁰ Ronald Spector, *Eagle Against the Sun: The American War With Japan* (Vintage Books, 1985), pp101, 178.

⁸¹ Interview, *Monthly Review*, November 2001.

Afghan mujahideen groups, not the Arab volunteers” (Jason Burke). Bin Laden was “outside of CIA eyesight” and there is “no record of any direct contact” (Steve Coll).⁸²

6.

The Lie: “This is certainly a turning point: for the first time in history the victims are returning the blow to the motherland.”⁸³

The Truth: Islamist terrorists were not “victims” of America before 9/11: they had already tried to kill 250,000 Americans in the World Trade Center and they had massacred hundreds in their attacks on American targets in Kenya, Tanzania and elsewhere.⁸⁴

5.

The Lie: “They [the attackers] 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.”⁸⁵

The Truth: The terrorists carried out their attacks because they were Islamist fanatics.⁸⁶ Other acts of mass murder had been committed by Islamists in Muslim countries such as Algeria, Egypt, Indonesia, Iran and Sudan, and in non-Muslim countries such as India, Israel, the Philippines and Russia.

4.

The Lie: “The 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).”⁸⁷

The Truth: After al-Qaeda destroyed American embassies in Kenya and Tanzania, killing hundreds, America bombed an alleged chemical weapons factory in Sudan. The bombing was conducted at night so that civilians would not be hurt.⁸⁸ One security guard died. Amnesty International, Human Rights Watch, Oxfam and Doctors Without Borders were free to investigate the results; none alleged that the bombing caused mass deaths.

3.

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

⁸² Peter Bergen, *Holy War, Inc. Inside the Secret World of Osama Bin Laden* (Touchstone, 2002), p66; Jason Burke, *Al-Qaeda: The True Story of Radical Islam* (Penguin, 2003), p59; Steve Coll, *Ghost Wars: The Secret History of the CIA, Afghanistan and Bin Laden, From the Soviet Invasion to September 10, 2001* (Penguin, 2004), p87.

⁸³ *La Jornada*, Mexico, September 15, 2001.

⁸⁴ Steve Coll, *Ghost Wars: The Secret History of the CIA, Afghanistan and Bin Laden, From the Soviet Invasion to September 10, 2001* (Penguin, 2004), pp249-50, 404.

⁸⁵ *La Jornada*, Mexico, September 15, 2001.

⁸⁶ See e.g. Daniel Pipes, *Militant Islam Reaches America* (W.W. Norton & Co., 2002); David Cook, *Understanding Jihad* (University of California Press, 2005).

⁸⁷ “On the Bombings,” *ZNet*, September 11, 2001: <http://www.zmag.org/chomnote.htm>.

⁸⁸ *Washington Post*, August 21, 1998.

entirely possible that bin Laden's telling the truth when he says that he didn't know about the operation."⁸⁹

The Truth: Shortly after 9/11, bin Laden said that he had known of the plan and had used his civil engineering skills to calculate how much damage the planes would inflict on the World Trade Center.⁹⁰ The masterminds of the 9/11 attacks, Khalid Sheikh Mohammed and Ramzi Binalshibh, said that they "executed the death flights with the approval of bin Laden."⁹¹

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..."⁹²

The Truth: UNICEF estimates indicate that the deaths of 112,000 children and 7,500 pregnant women will be prevented every year as a result of the American occupation of Afghanistan.⁹³

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?"⁹⁴

The Truth: America 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.⁹⁵ The UN's Global Ambassador on Hunger announced that there was "no starvation this winter in Afghanistan," thanks to "a humanitarian assistance budget wisely provided by the Bush administration."⁹⁶ The head of the World Food Program in Kabul said that "it was clear that a possible famine had been averted."⁹⁷

⁸⁹ *9-11* (Seven Stories Press, 2001), pp59-60.

⁹⁰ Jason Burke, *Al-Qaeda: The True Story of Radical Islam* (Penguin, 2003), p248.

⁹¹ *Sunday Times*, UK, September 8, 2002.

⁹² "The New War Against Terror," Lecture, Massachusetts Institute of Technology, October 18, 2001.

⁹³ *New York Times*, February 1, 2002.

⁹⁴ *Pirates and Emperors, Old and New* (Pluto Press, 2002), p150.

⁹⁵ *Los Angeles Times*, January 4, 2002.

⁹⁶ Letters, *Wall Street Journal*, February 5, 2002.

⁹⁷ *The Spectator*, UK, November 30, 2002.

E. Top 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 in June 1954... 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, and it eventually ended that experiment.”⁹⁸

The Truth: Arbenz was not democratically elected, as there was no secret ballot. Arbenz considered himself a communist and formally joined Communist Party in 1957. His land reform - the “brainchild” of the Communist Party - was declared unconstitutional by the Supreme Court, which he then purged. He backed a parliamentary resolution praising Stalin; he relied on the Communist Party for all major decisions; and he was being armed by the Soviet bloc.⁹⁹ He killed hundreds of political opponents.¹⁰⁰ The CIA “supported the objectives of the Guatemalan reform”; it acted because it feared “a potential Soviet beachhead in the Western Hemisphere.”¹⁰¹

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... But when we do it to them, it’s like you know, a mistake...”¹⁰²

The Truth: Marxist leader Salvador Allende, not Henry Kissinger, was formally condemned by the Chilean parliament for destroying democracy in Chile.¹⁰³ Claims that Kissinger instigated the 1973 military coup have been repeatedly debunked; the Nixon Administration’s policy was to support the democratic opposition and independent press against Allende.¹⁰⁴

8.

The Lie: “[America 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.”¹⁰⁵

The Truth: America supported or imposed democratic transitions in Ecuador (1979), Peru (1980), Bolivia (1982), Honduras (1982), Argentina (1983), Brazil (1985), Uruguay (1985),

⁹⁸ *Manufacturing Consent: The Political Economy of the Mass Media* (Vintage, 1994), pp71-2.

⁹⁹ Piero Gleijeses, *Shattered Hope: The Guatemalan Revolution and the United States, 1944-1954* (Princeton University Press, 1991), pp84, 147, 145, 155, 181-2. This book is a virtual hagiography of Arbenz.

¹⁰⁰ “Antecedentes Inmediatos (1944-1961): El derrocamiento de Arbenz y la intervención militar de 1954,” in Comisión para el Esclarecimiento Histórico (CEH), *Guatemala: Memoria Del Silencio* (Guatemala, 1999), Capítulo primero.

¹⁰¹ Nicholas Cullather, *Secret History: The CIA’s Classified Account of its Operation in Guatemala, 1952-1954* (Stanford University Press, 1999) pp24-7, a study based on the CIA archives.

¹⁰² Interview, *Hot Type With Evan Solomon*, CBC Newsworld, Canada, December 9, 2003.

¹⁰³ “Declaration of the Breakdown of Chile’s Democracy,” Resolution of the Chamber of Deputies, Chile, August 22, 1973.

¹⁰⁴ Mark Falcoff, *Modern Chile, 1970-1989* (Transaction, 1989), pp199-251 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.

¹⁰⁵ *The Harvard Crimson*, March 20, 1985.

Guatemala (1986), Suriname (1987), El Salvador (1989), Panama (1989), Chile (1990), Nicaragua (1990), Guyana (1992) and Paraguay (1993). Colombia and Venezuela had been democratic for decades; Belize and Costa Rica were democratic from independence. Apart from communist Cuba, the entire Western hemisphere is now democratic.

7.

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.’”¹⁰⁶

The Truth: The only American military interventions were the imposition of democracies in Grenada and Panama, with minimal loss of life. America did not fight anywhere else in the region, let alone attack the Catholic Church. Soviet and Cuban support for communist forces caused civil wars in Nicaragua, El Salvador, Honduras and Guatemala.¹⁰⁷ Most of the deaths occurred in Guatemala, while the country was subject to an American arms embargo on human rights grounds.

6.

The Lie: “The US-organized massacres [in El Salvador] escalated as Reagan took over [in America]. A year later, the [Salvadoran] Church reported that some 30,000 civilians had been killed and 600,000 made refugees... The numbers of killed and refugees have doubled since, very likely.”¹⁰⁸

The Truth: Human rights groups relied for their civilian death statistics on the Legal Aid Office of the Archdiocese of San Salvador. The first Legal Aid Office, Socorro Juridico, was repudiated by the Salvadoran Catholic Church because of its bias in favor of the communist guerrillas. Its replacement, Tutela Legal, was shown to have invented an army massacre of 250 people. A communist defector reported that Tutela Legal was a guerrilla front. An El Salvador-based journalist found that Tutela Legal simply falsified army press releases by reporting guerrilla deaths as murdered civilians.¹⁰⁹

5.

The Lie: “... the [Salvadoran] death squads 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.”¹¹⁰

The Truth: America supported the center-left Christian Democrats, many of whom were being killed by death squads. The security forces were split between pro-American reformists and far-right fanatics, who organized death squads in the hope of preventing democracy and land reform. The death squads were so hostile to America that they made plans to kill the

¹⁰⁶ *9-11* (Seven Stories Press, 2001), p79.

¹⁰⁷ Roger Miranda and William Ratliff, *The Civil War in Nicaragua* (Transaction, 1993), pp97-125, 135-50.

¹⁰⁸ *Turning the Tide* (South End Press, 1985), p117.

¹⁰⁹ *Washington Post*, May 15, 1982 (Socorro Juridico); August 19, 1984 (invented massacre); August 6, 1986 (defector); *Human Events*, September 15, 1990 (falsified press releases).

¹¹⁰ *Turning the Tide* (South End Press, 1985), p168.

American Ambassador.¹¹¹ During the period of American aid, death squad killings were massively reduced and then totally eliminated.

4

The Lie: “even if all minimally credible charges are accepted, the Sandinista record [in Nicaragua] compares favorably with that of US clients in the region today, and in the past, and elsewhere, to put it rather mildly.”¹¹²

The Truth: The Sandinistas were far worse than most Latin American rulers. Nicaragua’s Permanent Commission on Human Rights reported 2,000 political killings in the six first months of the regime, with 3,000 disappearances in the same period. The Commission has now documented 14,000 cases of torture, rape, kidnapping, mutilation and murder.¹¹³ By contrast, killings and disappearances in Brazil, Paraguay, Mexico, Uruguay, Bolivia and Honduras numbered in the low hundreds.¹¹⁴ In Belize, Costa Rica, Panama, Ecuador, Venezuela, Guyana and Suriname there were no killings or disappearances.

3.

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 source: the USSR and its clients... only the Soviet bloc is permitted to provide Nicaragua with arms for self-defense against our attack.”¹¹⁵

The Truth: Since it was clear that the Sandinistas were being armed by the Soviets, Chomsky tried to lay the blame on American support for the Contras. In fact the Sandinistas were receiving Soviet arms immediately after seizing power in 1979. Tanks and artillery began to arrive in mid-1980, and by late 1981 the Sandinistas had signed a treaty with the Soviets to allow expansion of the Nicaraguan army to 120,000 troops, the largest in the region. Leading official Roger Miranda explains that the Sandinistas aligned with the Soviets because they were “building a communist society in Nicaragua and because Washington could not ignore Sandinista efforts to overthrow Central American governments...”¹¹⁶

2.

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.”¹¹⁷

The Truth: The 1984 elections were for the National Assembly, the President and the Vice-President. All posts were subordinate to the nine Sandinista Commandantes, whose “position

¹¹¹ *New York Times*, June 24, 1984; *Washington Post*, June 27, 1984.

¹¹² *Turning the Tide* (South End Press, 1985), p72.

¹¹³ John Norton Moore, *The Secret War in Central America* (University Publications of America, 1987) p143n94 (2,000 killings); Roger Miranda and William Ratliff, *The Civil War in Nicaragua* (Transaction, 1993), p193 (3,000 disappearances); *Insight on the News*, July 26, 1999 (14,000 atrocities).

¹¹⁴ Associated Press, September 9, 1990 (Brazil, 350 dead); *Rule by Fear: Paraguay After Thirty Years Under Stroessner* (Americas Watch, 1985), p99 (Paraguay, 340 dead); *Los Angeles Times*, December 9, 2001 (Mexico, 275 dead); *New York Times*, April 17, 1989 (Uruguay, 200 dead); *New York Times*, March 14, 1999 (Bolivia, 200 dead); *New York Times*, December 21, 1995 (Honduras, 184 dead).

¹¹⁵ *Turning the Tide* (South End Press, 1985), p54.

¹¹⁶ Roger Miranda and William Ratliff, *The Civil War in Nicaragua* (Transaction, 1993), pp116-8.

¹¹⁷ *Deterring Democracy* (Vintage, 1992), p306.

of power has been neither called into question nor confirmed by the electorate. These nine persons are no more subject to approval by vote than the Central Committee of the Communist Party is in countries of the East Bloc...” The Sandinistas were able to rig the election (while fooling many observers) by circumventing the requirement for a secret ballot, so that “the authorities had had the opportunity to check on how individuals had voted.”¹¹⁸

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.”¹¹⁹

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.”¹²⁰

¹¹⁸ Martin Kriele, “Power and Human Rights in Nicaragua,” *German Comments*, April 1986, pp56-7, 64-5.

¹¹⁹ *LA Weekly*, January 24-30, 2003.

¹²⁰ *Ibid.*

F. Top 10 Chomsky Lies About the Arab-Israeli Conflict:-

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.”¹²¹

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.¹²² 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.¹²³

9.

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...”¹²⁴

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.”¹²⁵

8.

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.’”¹²⁶

The Truth: Syria pledged: “Our forces... will continue to strike at enemy forces until we regain our positions in our occupied land and continue then until we liberate the whole land.”¹²⁷ Egypt announced: “The issue is not just the liberation of the Arab territories occupied since June 5, 1967... 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?”¹²⁸

¹²¹ “Middle East Diplomacy: Continuities and Changes,” *Z Magazine*, December 1991.

¹²² Reuven Pedatzur, “Coming Back Full Circle: The Palestinian Option in 1967,” *Middle East Journal*, Spring 1995, pp273-6, 278; see also *Washington Post*, July 6, 1967.

¹²³ 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), p194.

¹²⁴ *Fateful Triangle* (rev. ed., Pluto Press, 1999), p64.

¹²⁵ *Al-Ahram*, Egypt, February 25, 1971, quoted in Theodore Draper, “The Road to Geneva,” *Commentary*, February 1974.

¹²⁶ *Fateful Triangle* (rev. ed., Pluto Press, 1999), pp99-100.

¹²⁷ Radio Damascus, October 15, 1973, reprinted in Walter Laqueur, ed., *The Israel-Arab Reader* (rev. ed., Bantam Books, 1976), p459.

¹²⁸ *Al-Ahram*, Egypt, October 19, 1973, quoted in Theodore Draper, “The Road to Geneva,” *Commentary*, February 1974.

7.

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.”¹²⁹

The Truth: The draft resolution endorsed the PLO’s “Right of Return” for millions of Palestinian Arabs, which entails the dissolution of Israel. The PLO publicly declared that “this Zionist ghetto of Israel must be destroyed” and stressed that “we will not recognize Israel.”¹³⁰

6.

The Lie: “[By 1982] The PLO was getting extremely annoying [to Israel] with its insistence on [a] negotiated settlement of the conflict.”¹³¹

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.” The PLO announced: “We wish at any price to liquidate the state of Israel.” The PLO also declared: “We shall never allow Israel to live in peace... We shall never recognize Israel...”¹³²

5.

The Lie: [On Israel’s 1982 siege of Beirut:] “holding the city hostage in an effort to compel the PLO to withdraw completely, as it did, to save the city from total destruction.”¹³³

The Truth: Far from attempting 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.”¹³⁴

4.

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.”¹³⁵

The Truth: Israel bombed the global terrorist headquarters of the PLO in a suburb of Tunis. The raid “heavily damaged or destroyed buildings used by Force 17, the PLO’s elite security wing... while leaving others in the [building] complex untouched.”¹³⁶

3.

¹²⁹ *Fateful Triangle* (rev. ed., Pluto Press, 1999), p67.

¹³⁰ Draft UN Security Council Resolution, January 23, 1976; *Newsweek*, January 5, 1976; *New York Times*, February 17, 1976.

¹³¹ *Power and Terror* (Seven Stories Press, 2003), p52.

¹³² *El Mundo*, Venezuela, February 11, 1980; *The Times*, UK, August 5, 1980; *Der Stern*, West Germany, July 30, 1981.

¹³³ *Fateful Triangle* (rev. ed., Pluto Press, 1999), p309.

¹³⁴ Ze’ev Schiff and Ehud Ya’ari, *Israel’s Lebanon War* (Simon and Schuster, 1984), p220.

¹³⁵ *Power and Terror* (Seven Stories Press, 2003), p54.

¹³⁶ *Washington Post*, October 2, 1985.

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.”¹³⁷

The Truth: At the end of the 1980s, PLO deputy leader Salah Khalaf (Abu Iyad) declared: “There was no PLO recognition of Israel.” 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.”¹³⁸

2.

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.”¹³⁹

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.”¹⁴⁰

1.

The Lie: “The only issue now is suicide bombers. And when did the suicide bombings begin? Last year [i.e., 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.”¹⁴¹

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

¹³⁷ *Deterring Democracy* (Vintage, 1992), p425.

¹³⁸ Khalaf, *Al-Watan*, Kuwait, February 11, 1989; Arafat, *BBC Summary of World Broadcasts*, January 8, 1990.

¹³⁹ “Back in the USA,” *Red Pepper*, UK, May 2002.

¹⁴⁰ Faisal Hussein, *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.

¹⁴¹ Interview, May 21, 2002, in *Power and Terror* (Seven Stories Press, 2003), p32.

G. Top 10 Chomsky Lies About His Collaboration With Neo-Nazi 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.’”¹⁴²

The Truth: According to Thion’s collaborator, Pierre Guillaume, Chomsky signed and promoted the petition months after their prior meeting, without any request from Thion.¹⁴³ According to Faurisson, the petition was written and circulated by the American Nazi activist Mark Weber.¹⁴⁴

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.”¹⁴⁵

The Truth: Chomsky had previously boasted of his refusal to sign a petition advocating 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 American media “would distort and exploit it for their propagandistic purposes.”¹⁴⁶

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...”¹⁴⁷

The Truth: The petition, which Chomsky signed, implicitly recommended Faurisson’s “research” by (a) affirming his scholarly credentials (“a respected professor” of “document criticism”); (b) dignifying his propaganda as “extensive historical research”; (c) placing the term “Holocaust” in derisory quotes; and (d) portraying his lies as “findings.”¹⁴⁸

7.

The Lie: “is it true that Faurisson is an anti-Semite or a neo-Nazi? As noted earlier, I do not know his work very well. But from what I have read... I find no evidence to support either conclusion. Nor do I find credible evidence in the material that I have read concerning him,

¹⁴² “His Right to Say It,” *The Nation*, February 28, 1981.

¹⁴³ Pierre Guillaume, “Une mise au point,” in *Droit et Histoire* (Paris: La Vieille Taupe, 1986), p152.

¹⁴⁴ Werner Cohn, *Partners in Hate: Noam Chomsky and the Holocaust Deniers* (Avukah Press, 1995), pp55-6.

¹⁴⁵ *Réponses inédites à mes détracteurs parisiens* (Paris: Cahiers Spartacus, 1984); *Language and Politics* (AK Press, 2004), p290.

¹⁴⁶ Unpublished interview, March 28, 1977; *Language and Politics* (AK Press, 2004), p176.

¹⁴⁷ “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).

¹⁴⁸ The text of the petition is reproduced in Werner Cohn, *Partners in Hate: Noam Chomsky and the Holocaust Deniers* (Avukah Press, 1995), pp53-4.

either in the public record or in private correspondence. As far as I can determine, he is a relatively apolitical liberal of some sort.”¹⁴⁹

The Truth: Chomsky was well aware of Faurisson’s antisemitic and Nazi views, e.g. that Jews had to wear the yellow star because “Hitler was concerned perhaps less with the Jewish question than with ensuring the security of the German soldier... the Jews tell us that from earliest childhood they participated in all kinds of illicit activity or resistance against the Germans.” Faurisson had written for neo-Nazi publications and spoken at neo-Nazi meetings.¹⁵⁰

6.

The Lie: “Serge Thion [is] a libertarian socialist scholar with a record of opposition to all forms of totalitarianism...”¹⁵¹

The Truth: Serge Thion is a longstanding denier of the Khmer Rouge genocide in Cambodia as well as the Nazi Holocaust. He had published a book in support of Faurisson’s Holocaust denial.¹⁵²

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’).”¹⁵³

The Truth: The phrase in Chomsky’s *Peace in the Middle East?* occurred in a passage setting out “the Zionist case” for Jewish statehood, which he opposed.¹⁵⁴

4.

The Lie: [Denying that he allowed Holocaust deniers to publish the 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.”¹⁵⁵

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.”¹⁵⁶

¹⁴⁹ “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).

¹⁵⁰ See Nadine Fresco, “The Denial of the Dead: On the Faurisson Affair,” *Dissent*, Fall 1981.

¹⁵¹ “His Right to Say It,” *The Nation*, February 28, 1981.

¹⁵² Serge Thion, *Vérité historique ou Vérité politique? Le dossier de l’affaire Faurisson. La question des chambres à gaz* (Paris: La Vieille Taupe, 1980).

¹⁵³ “His Right to Say It,” *The Nation*, February 28, 1981.

¹⁵⁴ *Peace in the Middle East?* (Fontana, 1975), p53.

¹⁵⁵ Letter, *Outlook* (a Canadian communist magazine), June 1, 1989.

¹⁵⁶ Pierre Guillaume, “Une mise au point,” in *Droit et Histoire* (Paris: La Vieille Taupe, 1986), p154. Translated from French.

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].”¹⁵⁷

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.”¹⁵⁸

2.

The Lie: “I see no antisemitic implications in denial of the existence of gas chambers, or even denial of the holocaust.”¹⁵⁹

The Truth: The idea of denying the existence of gas chambers and the Holocaust was the brainchild of antisemites and neo-Nazi activists. Denial of the existence of gas chambers and the Holocaust is a central propaganda tactic of antisemitic and neo-Nazi individuals and movements all over the world.¹⁶⁰

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.”¹⁶¹

The Truth: Chomsky lied about the views of Holocaust deniers (Faurisson and 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), helped to prepare an essay (“Une mise au point”) by a Holocaust denier (Guillaume), and insisted that Holocaust denial itself is not antisemitic. He has praised Holocaust deniers, endorsed their political and academic credentials, collaborated in their propaganda campaigns, and whitewashed their antisemitic and neo-Nazi agenda.

¹⁵⁷ Letter, *Outlook* (a Canadian communist magazine), June 1, 1989.

¹⁵⁸ Pierre Guillaume, “Une mise au point,” in *Droit et Histoire* (Paris: La Vieille Taupe, 1986), p170. Translated from French.

¹⁵⁹ Quoted in W.D. Rubinstein, “Chomsky and the Neo-Nazis,” *Quadrant*, October 1981.

¹⁶⁰ As observers had already noted: see Lucy Dawidowicz, “Lies About the Holocaust,” *Commentary*, December 1980.

¹⁶¹ *Réponses inédites à mes détracteurs parisiens* (Paris: Cahiers Spartacus, 1984); *Language and Politics* (AK Press, 2004), p291.

H. Top 10 Chomsky Misquotations:-

10.

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*).”¹⁶²

The Truth: *Time* referred to the “boiling bloodbath” at the start of its report and concluded that the prospects of regional peace and of Indonesian neutrality in the Cold War were “the West’s best news for years in Asia.”¹⁶³ A *New York Times* column described strategic changes in Indonesia, India, Pakistan, Japan, the Philippines and China under the headline: “Washington: A Gleam of Light in Asia.” The “staggering mass slaughter” was mentioned in an editorial a month later.¹⁶⁴

9.

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.”¹⁶⁵

The Truth: Chomsky’s source said the exact 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.”¹⁶⁶

8.

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.”¹⁶⁷

The Truth: Bundy was not referring to the anti-war left but to the conservative 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.”¹⁶⁸

7.

The Lie: “Professor 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

¹⁶² “An Island Lies Bleeding,” *The Guardian*, UK, July 5, 1994.

¹⁶³ *Time*, July 15, 1966.

¹⁶⁴ James Reston, “Washington: A Gleam of Light in Asia,” *New York Times*, June 19, 1966; Editorial, *New York Times*, August 25, 1966.

¹⁶⁵ *Peace in the Middle East?* (Fontana, 1975), p182n20.

¹⁶⁶ *The Times*, UK, June 15, 1967.

¹⁶⁷ “Memories,” *Z Magazine*, July-August, 1995.

¹⁶⁸ McGeorge Bundy, “The End of Either/Or,” *Foreign Affairs*, January 1967, p191.

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.”¹⁶⁹

The Truth: Huntington’s very 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.”¹⁷⁰

6.

The Lie: “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; that these were localized in areas of limited Khmer Rouge influence and unusual peasant discontent... These reports also emphasize... repeated discoveries that massacre reports were false.”¹⁷¹

The Truth: The “analyses by highly qualified specialists” amounted to a journalist’s report relying on a statement by Pol Pot (*Far Eastern Economic Review*); a reader’s letter to the editor (*Economist*); and an article by a left-wing student in an undergraduate magazine (*Melbourne Journal of Politics*).¹⁷²

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.’”¹⁷³

The Truth: The declaration affirmed the PLO’s “determination to continue the armed struggle” and its commitment to fighting “without any peace or recognition of Israel.”¹⁷⁴ Rabin responded that the declaration “showed 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.”¹⁷⁵

4.

¹⁶⁹ “After Pinkville,” *New York Review of Books*, January 1, 1970; *At War With Asia* (Vintage Books, 1970), pp87-8.

¹⁷⁰ Samuel P. Huntington, “The Bases of Accommodation,” *Foreign Affairs*, July 1968, p653.

¹⁷¹ “Distortions at Fourth Hand,” *The Nation*, June 25, 1977.

¹⁷² Nayan Chanda, *Far Eastern Economic Review*, October 29, 1976; W.J. Sampson, Letters, *The Economist*, March 26, 1977; B. Kiernan, “Cambodia in the News; 1975/76,” *Melbourne Journal of Politics*, December 1975-January 1976. Kiernan later acknowledged the genocide and became an apologist for the dictatorship imposed by communist Vietnam.

¹⁷³ *Fateful Triangle* (rev. ed., Pluto Press, 1999), p68.

¹⁷⁴ Political Resolutions of the 13th Palestine National Council, arts. 1,2,9, in Yehoshafat Harkabi, *The Palestinian Covenant and its Meaning* (Vallentine Mitchell, 1979), pp149-59.

¹⁷⁵ *New York Times*, March 21, 1977.

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.”¹⁷⁶

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.”¹⁷⁷

3.

The Lie: “[*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...”¹⁷⁸

The Truth: The editorial outlined and criticized the argument that government spokesmen would have to make if they understood the facts. It concluded: “if you are serious about preventing a guerrilla victory, you must be serious about human rights... [i.e.,] about the abolition of mass murder... [so] the only moral choice may be military intervention – not in alliance with the death squads but in opposition to them.”¹⁷⁹

2.

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.’”¹⁸⁰

The Truth: Buchanan actually 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.”¹⁸¹

1.

The Lie: “That one bombing [of the al-Shifa plant 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.”¹⁸²

The Truth: The “estimate” by the German Embassy was an ex-ambassador’s self-described “guess” based on no evidence. Human Rights Watch publicly denied giving any estimate.¹⁸³

¹⁷⁶ “Law and Imperialism in the Central American Conflict,” *Journal of Contemporary Studies*, Spring-Summer 1985, p40.

¹⁷⁷ *New York Times*, November 23, 1984.

¹⁷⁸ *Deterring Democracy* (Vintage, 1992), p308.

¹⁷⁹ Editorial, *The New Republic*, April 2, 1984.

¹⁸⁰ “Industry vs. Labor,” *Lies of Our Times*, June 14, 1994.

¹⁸¹ James Buchanan, *The Limits of Liberty* (University of Chicago Press, 1975), p92.

¹⁸² Interview, *Salon.com*, January 16, 2002.

¹⁸³ Werner Daum, “Universalism and the West,” *Harvard International Review*, Summer 2001; Carroll Bogert, Communications Director of Human Rights Watch, “Noam Needs a Fact-Checker,” *Salon.com*, January 22, 2002.

I. Top 10 Chomsky Statistical 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...”¹⁸⁴

The Truth: According to Korean War scholar John Merrill’s history of the period, “the war was preceded by a major insurgency in the South and serious clashes along the thirty-eighth parallel,” and about 100,000 people died in “political disturbances, guerrilla warfare, and border clashes.”¹⁸⁵

9.

The Lie: “Recall Bernard Fall’s estimate that by April 1965, before the first North Vietnamese battalion was detected in the South, more than 160,000 ‘Viet Cong’ had fallen ‘under the crushing weight of American armor, napalm, jet bombers, and, finally, vomiting gases.’”¹⁸⁶

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.”¹⁸⁷

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.”¹⁸⁸

The Truth: Ponchaud was reporting Khmer Rouge propaganda claims: the bombing killed 200,000 people “according to the revolutionaries’ calculations,” and “the authorities of Kampuchea declared 800,000 dead and 240,000 disabled as a result of the war.”¹⁸⁹ By misattributing these figures to Ponchaud, Chomsky implies that he habitually exaggerates and so cannot be trusted as a source on Khmer Rouge atrocities.

7.

The Lie: “the [American] bombing [of Cambodia], which the CIA estimates killed around 600,000 people, mobilised the Khmer Rouge...”¹⁹⁰

The Truth: The CIA estimate referred to “war-related deaths” caused by both 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.”¹⁹¹ The 600,000

¹⁸⁴ *Deterring Democracy* (Vintage, 1992), p335.

¹⁸⁵ John Merrill, *Korea: The Peninsular Origins of the War* (University of Delaware Press, 1989), p181.

¹⁸⁶ *Towards a New Cold War* (Pantheon Books, 1982), p145.

¹⁸⁷ 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), p261.

¹⁸⁸ “Distortions at Fourth Hand,” *The Nation*, June 25, 1977.

¹⁸⁹ Francois Ponchaud, *Cambodia Year Zero* (Holt, Rinehart and Winston, 1978), pp170, 71.

¹⁹⁰ “A Rational Reaction,” *The Liberal*, UK, December 2004-January 2005.

¹⁹¹ *Kampuchea: A Demographic Catastrophe* (Central Intelligence Agency, 1980).

figure may have been invented by Pol Pot himself, and is more than twice the actual number of war-related deaths.¹⁹²

6.

The Lie: “suppose that their [i.e., American] 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.”¹⁹³

The Truth: The American prediction referred not to the effects of war, but to mass deaths expected to result from the brutal Khmer Rouge takeover, especially the death march from Phnom Penh.¹⁹⁴

5.

The Lie: “Ponchaud... estimated the numbers killed [by the Khmer Rouge] at 100,000 or more...”¹⁹⁵

The Truth: Ponchaud estimated the numbers initially *executed* by the Khmer Rouge at 100,000 or more; he estimated the total death toll from Khmer Rouge brutality (mass executions, death marches, slave labor, forced starvation) at 800,000-1.4 million in the first year, and 2 million by the end of the regime.¹⁹⁶

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...”¹⁹⁷

The Truth: The CIA demographic study estimated that 250,000 were targeted for execution and that 50,000-100,000 were actually executed in just one Khmer Rouge purge, from April 1975 to January 1977. The report placed the total population decline under the Khmer Rouge at 1.2-1.8 million.¹⁹⁸

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...”¹⁹⁹

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.²⁰⁰ As a result, by late 1982 the Lebanese government estimated

¹⁹² Marek Sliwinski, *Le Génocide Khmer Rouge: Une Analyse Démographique* (Paris: L’Harmattan, 1995), p48.

¹⁹³ *After the Cataclysm* (South End Press, 1979), p162.

¹⁹⁴ *Washington Post*, June 4 & 23, 1975.

¹⁹⁵ Letter, *Encounter*, July 1980.

¹⁹⁶ Francois Ponchaud, *Cambodia Year Zero* (Holt, Rinehart and Winston, 1978), p71 (800,000-1.4 million dead); William Shawcross, “The Third Indochina War,” *New York Review of Books*, April 6, 1978 (2 million dead).

¹⁹⁷ *Manufacturing Consent: The Political Economy of the Mass Media* (Vintage, 1994), pp383-4n32.

¹⁹⁸ *Kampuchea: A Demographic Catastrophe* (Central Intelligence Agency, 1980).

¹⁹⁹ *Rogue States: The Rule of Force in World Affairs* (Pluto Press, 2000), p36.

²⁰⁰ *New York Times*, July 14 & 26, 1982.

over 19,000 dead, mostly combatants.²⁰¹ In 1984 the Lebanese government abandoned this figure, announcing that “about 1,000 Lebanese were killed as a result of the Israeli invasion.”²⁰²

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].”²⁰³

The Truth: Chomsky is double-counting Arab propaganda inventions. The first figure was abandoned by the Lebanese government years ago (see above). The second figure comes from a single sentence in a press report offering an unsupported estimate that plainly *includes* the 1982 war.²⁰⁴

1.

The Lie: “The US and Britain... killed maybe 100,000 people [in Iraq] by last October [2004] - obviously more now.”²⁰⁵

The Truth: A 2004 study claimed that the Iraq war led to 100,000 excess deaths.²⁰⁶ It included deaths from crime, accidents, heart attacks, strokes, infections, etc. It included combatants as well as civilians. It included enemy killings as well as allied killings. An independent analysis of its figures suggested that 39,000 were killed by either side and that the rest died from other causes.²⁰⁷

²⁰¹ Associated Press, December 1, 1982; *Christian Science Monitor*, December 21, 1982.

²⁰² *Washington Post*, November 16, 1984.

²⁰³ *Hegemony or Survival* (Penguin Books, 2004), p167.

²⁰⁴ *Fateful Triangle* (rev. ed., Pluto Press, 1999), pp xx, xxii n20, citing Aliza Marcus, *Boston Globe*, March 1, 1999.

²⁰⁵ Interview, *Socialist Review*, July 2005.

²⁰⁶ Les Roberts *et al.*, “Mortality Before and After the 2003 Invasion of Iraq: Cluster Sample Survey,” *The Lancet*, November 20-6, 2004.

²⁰⁷ Reuters, July 11, 2005.

J. Top 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.”²⁰⁸

The Truth: A decade earlier, Chomsky had stated: “in my opinion, a Marxist-anarchist perspective [on politics] is justified quite apart from anything that may happen in linguistics.” Later he said: “I don’t see any reason to abandon the notion of anarchism... [just] like I wouldn’t abandon Marxism...”²⁰⁹

9.

The Lie: “My own writings include considerable discussion of the criminal nature of Marxist-Leninist doctrine and practice.”²¹⁰

The Truth: Chomsky had earlier declared: “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 suppressed his fellow communists.²¹¹

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.”²¹²

The Truth: Chomsky told a North Vietnamese audience: “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.”²¹³ He wrote that North Vietnam was “creating a modern, egalitarian, democratic industrial society” that “offers the peasant hope for the future.” He added: “Its achievements are, indeed, quite remarkable.”²¹⁴ He called postwar communist Vietnam a “miracle of reconciliation and restraint.”²¹⁵

7.

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

²⁰⁸ Interview, *Revolution*, France, March 13, 1980; *Language and Politics* (AK Press, 2004), p259.

²⁰⁹ Interview, *New Left Review*, September-October 1969; Interview, *Black Rose*, No. 1, 1974; both reprinted in *Language and Politics* (AK Press, 2004), pp113, 153.

²¹⁰ *Réponses inédites à mes détracteurs parisiens* (Paris: Cahiers Spartacus, 1984); *Language and Politics* (AK Press, 2004), p293.

²¹¹ Interview, *New Left Review*, September-October 1969; *Language and Politics* (AK Press, 2004), p110.

²¹² *New Statesman & Society*, UK, June 3, 1994.

²¹³ Radio Hanoi, April 14, 1970; Foreign Broadcast Information Service, April 16, 1970. Chomsky admitted to making the speech in his exchange with Sidney Hook, *The Humanist*, March-April 1971.

²¹⁴ *At War With Asia* (Vintage Books, 1970), pp279, 281-2.

²¹⁵ *The Washington Connection and Third World Fascism* (South End Press, 1979), p28.

suppressing our conclusion and noting only our qualification that ‘care and caution are necessary’ for reasons we mentioned, which, as we added, are commonplace.”²¹⁶

The Truth: Chomsky clearly argued 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 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...”²¹⁷

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...”²¹⁸

The Truth: In 1976, Chomsky wrote the preface to a book by Sabri Jiryis of the PLO Research Center in Beirut.²¹⁹ Jiryis described himself as “a hard-headed old terrorist,” adding that after 1967 he had been responsible for “supervising clandestine Fatah actions [i.e., terrorist attacks]” in northern Israel.²²⁰

5.

The Lie: [Disowning his claim that America and Britain used Nazi armies to attack the Soviet Union and prolong the Holocaust:] “too ridiculous to merit comment... No one can seriously use this as a source... childish diatribes in journals attempting to discredit political enemies... an attempt to discredit a hated political enemy... I had nothing to do with it... almost all gossip... a ridiculous gossip column in the *New Yorker*.”²²¹

The Truth: Chomsky’s claim, as quoted in the *New Yorker*, was recorded on videotape.²²²

4.

The Lie: “I’ve probably been the leading opponent for years of the campaign for divestment from Israel.”²²³

The Truth: Earlier that year, Chomsky had signed a petition demanding that universities divest from Israel. “Divestment will be a long and slow process,” he lamented, a week before appearing as keynote speaker at a university teach-in to support the divestment campaign.²²⁴

3.

²¹⁶ Letters, *Encounter*, July 1980.

²¹⁷ “Distortions at Fourth Hand,” *The Nation*, June 25, 1977.

²¹⁸ 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.

²¹⁹ Foreword, Sabri Jiryis, *The Arabs in Israel* (Monthly Review Press, 1976).

²²⁰ David K. Shipler, *Arab and Jew: Wounded Spirits in a Promised Land* (rev. ed., Penguin Books, 2002), p56.

²²¹ Email 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), p238.

²²² *Ibid.*, pp238-9.

²²³ *The Harvard Crimson*, December 12, 2002.

²²⁴ *The Tech*, MIT, May 1, 2002; *The Harvard Crimson*, May 8, 2002; also *The Daily Pennsylvanian*, October 4, 2002.

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.”²²⁵

The Truth: Chomsky stated that “unknown numbers of starving Afghans will die... maybe millions of starving Afghans.” He announced 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 he observed that the “sensible administration plan would be to pursue the ongoing program of silent genocide.”²²⁶ No such genocide has occurred, then or since.

2.

The Lie: “The term ‘conspiracy theory’ is particularly revealing. I’ve always explicitly and forcefully opposed ‘conspiracy theories,’ and even am well known for that.”²²⁷

The Truth: Chomsky views sports, quiz shows and sex as part 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.”²²⁸

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. Not that you’ll actually be shot in this country, as you would be in many murderous societies, but there are definitely penalties – in terms of your career, your status, your income.”²²⁹

The Truth: Far from imposing penalties for his views, the American government gave Chomsky his career, status and income. As he once admitted, “MIT pays only thirty or forty per cent of my salary. The rest comes from other sources - most of it from the Defense Department.”²³⁰

²²⁵ *The Independent*, UK, December 4, 2003.

²²⁶ *9-11* (Seven Stories Press, 2001), pp55, 95, 105.

²²⁷ Quoted in Jeffery Klaehn, “A Critical Review and Assessment of Herman and Chomsky’s ‘Propaganda Model,’” *European Journal of Communication*, June 2002, p149.

²²⁸ “Interview: An Hour With Noam Chomsky,” *Interventions: International Journal of Postcolonial Studies*, April 2002, p119.

²²⁹ Interview, *NRC Handelsblad*, Netherlands, December 6, 2003.

²³⁰ Quoted in Konrad Koerner, “The Anatomy of a Revolution in the Social Sciences: Chomsky in 1962,” *Dhumbadji!* Winter 1994.