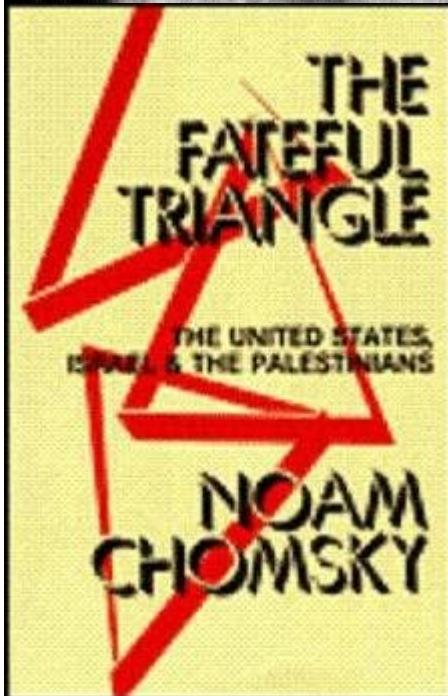
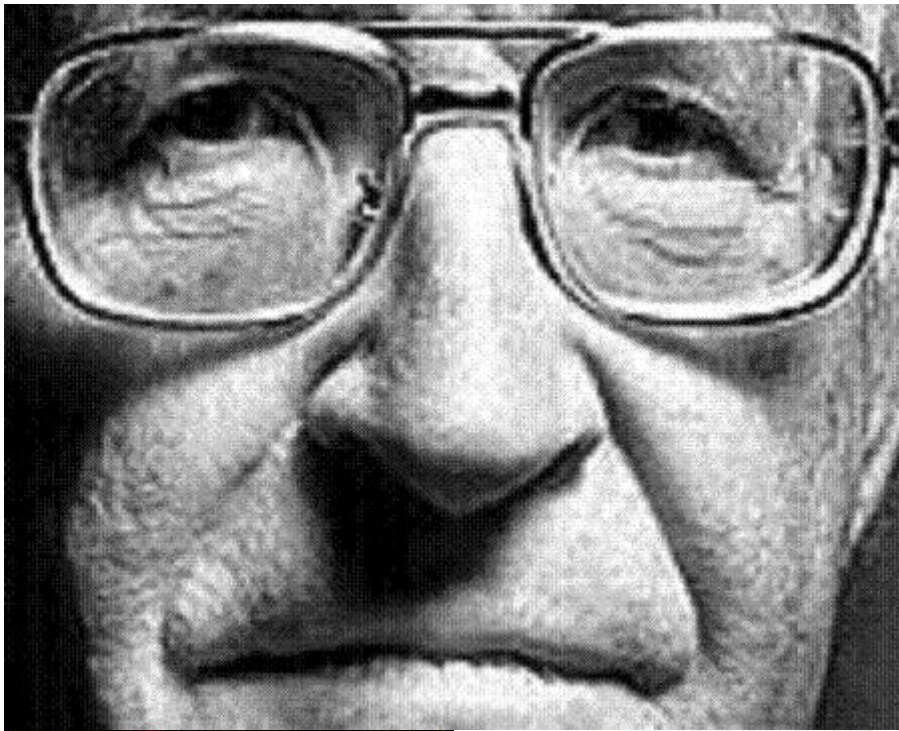


# The Devil State: Chomsky's War Against Israel

By Paul Bogdanor



**ROBERT FAURISSON**

**MEMOIRE EN DEFENSE**

Contre ceux qui m'accusent de falsifier l'Histoire.

La question des chambres à gaz.

Précédé d'un avis de  
**NOAM CHOMSKY**

**LA VIEILLE TAUPE**

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## Introduction

I'm not a maniac.  
- Noam Chomsky<sup>1</sup>

In Noam Chomsky's political campaigns stretching back for decades, one theme is constant: his portrayal of Israel as the devil state in the Middle East, a malevolent institutional psychopath whose only redeeming feature is the readiness of its own left-wing intelligentsia to expose its uniquely horrifying depravity. Although he is the son of Hebrew teachers and a former kibbutz resident, for much of his adult life Chomsky has been in the grip of an obsessive hatred of the Jewish homeland. It began in the 1970s, when he demanded the extinction of Zionism in the name of the socialist revolution; it escalated in the 1980s, with his discovery that Israel was an imperialist terror state incubating a genocidal "final solution" for the human race; and it continues in the new century with an avalanche of increasingly hysterical books, essays, speeches and interviews.<sup>2</sup> But Chomsky's diatribes on the Arab-Israeli conflict are not only the product of his uniquely paranoid and vituperative mind; they also bear the hallmarks of his intellectual repertoire – massive falsification of facts, evidence, sources and statistics, conducted in the pursuit of a fanatical and totalitarian ideological agenda.

Those who wish to sample Chomsky's lucubrations on the wickedness of the Zionists will find that they have much to discover. From Chomsky they will learn that the establishment of Israel was "wrong and disastrous... There is not now and never will be democracy in Israel."<sup>3</sup> From Chomsky they will learn that the Jewish state – a country one-tenth the size of Ecuador – is "a Middle East Sparta in the service of American power." From Chomsky they will learn that "Israel aided the US in penetrating Black Africa with substantial secret CIA subsidies." From Chomsky they will learn that Israel's reach extended "beyond the Middle East, Africa and Latin America, to Asia as well" and that "Israel showed how to treat Third World upstarts properly." From Chomsky they will learn that no nation is safe from the Zionist peril, which includes "direct involvement in terrorism in Europe," as well as "Mossad efforts to aid the Red Brigades in an apparent effort to destabilize Italy."<sup>4</sup> From Chomsky they will learn that the Jewish state has been "part of an international terror network that also included Taiwan, Britain, Argentine neo-Nazis, and others, often with Saudi funding."<sup>5</sup> From Chomsky they will learn all of these "facts" – unless they are prepared to question his sanity.

No allegation is so horrible, no libel so scurrilous, that Chomsky will not put it to use against the Zionist devil. Mass killings are routine: in parts of Lebanon, "All teen-age and adult males were blindfolded and bound, and taken to camps, where little has been heard about them since."<sup>6</sup> Weapons of mass destruction are merely par for the course: "Israel is in effect using chemical warfare with our support right now," causing "a substantial number of abortions, infant deaths, and so on."<sup>7</sup> Quite generally, Israelis can be divided into two categories of evil: "If you are a beautiful Israeli, you cry when you shoot. If you are not a beautiful Israeli, you just shoot."<sup>8</sup> Indeed, the "greatest danger" posed by Israel is "the 'collective version' of Samson's revenge against the Philistines... pressures on Israel to accept a political settlement could lead to an international conflagration."<sup>9</sup> Fortunately, the oracle of MIT is at hand to expose the Jewish state's nefarious plans to re-enact Samson's revenge against the Philistines with the aid of Saudi money, the Italian Red Brigades and chemically-induced abortions.

In Chomsky's mental universe, there are few questions about Israel and the Middle East that cannot be resolved by equating Jews with Nazis. Does Israel have a right to preemptive self-defense? Such arguments recall "Hitler's moves to blunt the Czech dagger pointed at the heart of Germany... Hitler's conceptions have struck a responsive chord in current Zionist commentary."<sup>10</sup> Does Israel face threats to its security? "Hitler and Goebbels... gave a similar justification for their resort to force."<sup>11</sup> Does Israel conduct

military operations against terrorists? “Gestapo operations in occupied Europe also ‘were justified in the name of combating “terrorism”...’”<sup>12</sup> Has Israel shown a commitment to the peace process? “Does it deserve to be described as a ‘peace process’? Hitler’s campaign to conquer Europe was also dubbed a ‘peace process.’”<sup>13</sup> How much time and effort Chomsky would save if he simply programmed his computer to spew out “Hitler” and “Goebbels” and “Gestapo” and “Nazi” at every mention of the wicked Zionists!

In parallel with Chomsky’s hatred for Israel is an abiding contempt for American Jews, who “get their psychological thrills from seeing Israel, a superman, stomping on people’s faces.”<sup>14</sup> They are responsible for “a very efficient defamation campaign of the sort that would have made the old Communist Party open-mouthed in awe... you just tell as many lies as you can and hope that some of the mud will stick. It’s a standard technique used by the Stalinist parties, by the Nazis and by these guys.”<sup>15</sup> The methods employed by their “thought police” include “furious articles and letters to the press, circulation of fabricated defamatory material concerning the heretics,” and so on.<sup>16</sup> One can well appreciate the wounded innocence of this sensitive soul, tormented by letters to the press, as he pursues his transcendent vocation in the art of Socratic dialogue.

### **The Destruction of Israel**

Embodied in the political institutions of a Jewish state, concepts of purity of nation and race can prove quite ugly.  
- Noam Chomsky<sup>17</sup>

The central theme of Chomsky’s anti-Zionist propaganda – the *idée fixe* that underlies all his books, articles, speeches and interviews on the subject – is that the Jewish state must cease to exist. This desideratum is set out in his earliest writings: “In a Jewish state,” he maintains, “there can be no full recognition of basic human rights... Such limitations are inherent in the concept of a Jewish state that also contains non-Jewish citizens.”<sup>18</sup> Blessed with this unique revelation, he will march forth to defend the Gentiles from the Jewish oppressor. Of course, Chomsky gives no reason why a Jewish state must deprive its non-Jewish citizens of the right to vote, form political parties, or hold elective office; nor does he explain why it must deny them freedom of speech, freedom of religion, freedom of association, or other important liberties. Nor does he reveal why Israel is notably deficient in comparison with the many brutal and bloodstained dictatorships to which he has been attracted – for example, Maoist China, which he considered “quite admirable”; or Stalinist Vietnam, where he found “a miracle of reconciliation and restraint”; or Pol Pot’s Cambodia, which he compared favorably with the American Revolution, with liberated France, and – to return to our topic – the Israeli kibbutz system.<sup>19</sup>

For Chomsky, the Jewish character of Israel is a hideous mutation, a crippling deformity that turns the entire country into a living abomination. In his view, Israel’s Jewishness “resides in discriminatory institutions and practices... expressed in the basic legal structure of the state,” which defines it as the home of all Jews, wherever they live.<sup>20</sup> Here is a typical example of the selective morality for which he is infamous. The Armenian constitution seeks “the protection of Armenian historical and cultural values located in other countries” and permits individuals “of Armenian origin” to acquire citizenship through “a simplified procedure.” The Lithuanian constitution proclaims: “Everyone who is ethnically Lithuanian has the right to settle in Lithuania.” The Polish constitution stipulates: “Anyone whose Polish origin has been confirmed in accordance with statute may settle permanently in Poland.” And the Ukrainian constitution promotes “the consolidation and development of the Ukrainian nation” and provides for “the satisfaction of national and cultural and linguistic needs of Ukrainians residing beyond the borders of the State.”<sup>21</sup> Yet Chomsky, obsessed with the dread threat of Jewish national independence, does not rail against the existence of these countries. His abhorrence of the democratic nation-state is reserved for Israel.

In Chomsky's eyes, a Jewish state with non-Jewish citizens is no more legitimate than "a White State with Black citizens" or "a Christian State with Jewish citizens." Here, yet again, his arguments are riddled with ignorance and incompetence. He compares the principle that Israel is a Jewish state, "a democracy dominated by Jews," to the suggestion that "England is a Christian state, a democracy dominated by Christians," which he apparently regards as a *reductio ad absurdum*.<sup>22</sup> In fact, as every high school student knows, there is no state called England; but there is a country called Britain, which is indeed a Christian state, with an official Protestant church, a Protestant head of state, a Protestant state education system, etc.<sup>23</sup> Does Chomsky doubt the legitimacy of Britain, a Christian state with non-Christian citizens? Does he oppose the existence of other democratic Christian states, including Denmark, Finland, Greece and Norway? Does he campaign against the creation of a Basque state with a Catalan minority, a Tibetan state with a Chinese minority, a Tamil state with a Sinhalese minority, or a Kurdish state with an Arab minority? By the standards he applies to Israel, the list of illegitimate states must be rather long, incorporating not only the examples just mentioned but also every Arab or Muslim society - although it does not seem to include his preferred communist tyrannies in Vietnam, which expelled its Chinese population, drowning up to 250,000 boat people; or in Cambodia, where ethnic and religious minorities were slaughtered by the Khmer Rouge.<sup>24</sup> For Chomsky, the establishment of democratic Israel was "wrong and disastrous," but terrorist revolutions entailing the murder of hundreds of thousands or even millions of people are "constructive achievements" in the finest traditions of socialism.

Not content with sophistical meditations on the immorality of Israel's very existence, Chomsky embarrasses himself still further by venturing into the history of Zionist politics. He refers to "the powerful influence of Bolshevik ideas on the Labor Party, particularly its leader, David Ben-Gurion," adding that "the Revisionists, the precursors of [Menachem] Begin's Herut, were in fact an offshoot of European fascism."<sup>25</sup> Presumably the "Bolshevik ideas" of the Labor Zionists would include Ben-Gurion's insistence that the Jewish state must guarantee "the general voting right of all its adult citizens" as well as "freedom of worship and conscience," along with the principle that "there will be no discrimination among citizens of the Jewish state on the basis of race, religion, sex, or class."<sup>26</sup> As for the "fascism" of the Revisionist Zionists, this was articulated by their leader, Vladimir Jabotinsky, who warned that "where there are no guarantees for freedom of the individual, there can be no democracy," avowing that in a Jewish state, "the minority will not be rendered defenseless," since the "aim of democracy is to guarantee that the minority too has influence on matters of state policy. After all, that minority comprises individuals who were also created in the image of God."<sup>27</sup> Contrast these sentiments with Chomsky's profound admiration for the murderers of millions in China, Vietnam and Cambodia.

Chomsky's alternative to the Jewish state is "socialist binationalism." And this proves to be far more objectionable than a Jewish state with non-Jewish citizens: in his ideal scheme there would be Jewish cantons with Arab inhabitants, and Arab cantons *with no Jewish inhabitants*. At one point he does stipulate that any individual "will be free to live where he wants." But then he abandons this principle in favor of "the most desirable" binational system, one in which "Palestinian Arabs who wish to return to their former homes within the Jewish-dominated region would have to abandon their hopes," while "Jews who wish to settle in the Arab-dominated region would be unable to do so."<sup>28</sup> In other words, Arabs would not become a *majority* in Jewish areas, while Jews would be forbidden even to live as a *minority* in Arab areas. The founders of apartheid would surely applaud.

The details of Chomsky's plans are even more sinister. His binational socialist state would re-enact the "successful social revolution" in communist Yugoslavia, where 70,000-100,000 people were butchered in the post-war massacres alone.<sup>29</sup> And it would have to be "integrated into a broader federation" even though "support for compromising Israeli

independence is virtually non-existent in Israel.”<sup>30</sup> So Chomsky demands that Israelis accept a revolutionary socialist state on the model of totalitarian Yugoslavia, which would then be absorbed into the Arab world by force. The suspicion is that this program would require a great deal of killing. Perhaps this explains why Chomsky sponsored a lecture tour by the leader of Israel’s Marxist-Leninist Matzpen party, who openly advocated terrorist atrocities against his compatriots and promised that unless they were “split from Zionism,” they would suffer “another Holocaust,” because “the Arab revolution is going to win.”<sup>31</sup> This, apparently, is the true meaning of the “successful social revolution” prescribed by Chomsky’s ideology.

With the passage of time, even Chomsky came to understand that there was little immediate hope of establishing a socialist binational state in order to re-enact the horrors of Yugoslavia’s communist bloodbath. Rather, an independent Palestine in the West Bank and Gaza was the prerequisite for Israel’s demise. Indeed, Chomsky has redefined the term “rejectionism” to include both the Arab aim of conquering Israel and Israel’s alleged reluctance to accept a PLO terror state next to its cities. Thus he equates the destruction of a free country and the massacre of its population with the refusal to establish a terrorist dictatorship intent on accomplishing that goal.<sup>32</sup> Is it really too much to ask of the author of *Language and Responsibility* that he refrain from manipulating the meaning of words? Would it not be better if Chomsky unambiguously renounced his dreams of Israel’s destruction? Pressed for details, he freely admits that his two-state proposal is a mere ruse. “The first [step] is to implement a two-state settlement,” he explains. “The second step is to proceed from there. For reasons that are clear to anyone familiar with the region, two states in cis-Jordan [Palestine] make little sense...”<sup>33</sup> In other words, the Jewish state must cease to exist. Such is Noam Chomsky’s considered contribution to the struggle for peace in the Middle East.

#### **Arab “Moderation” in Fact and Fantasy**

... the formation of al-Fatah might prove to be a significant step towards peaceful reconciliation.  
- Noam Chomsky<sup>34</sup>

If Chomsky’s desire for the destruction of Israel makes him less than reliable in the definition of words, such peccadilloes are as nothing compared to the mendacity of his misstatements on matters of fact. So extreme is his commitment to the deep structure of ideological falsehood that there is hardly a single event in the entire history of the Arab-Israeli conflict that he fails to twist, embroider, mutilate or falsify.

When the United Nations voted for a two-state solution in 1947, the Jewish community under the British Mandate overwhelmingly accepted the plan, while the Arab world unanimously rejected it. Fighting immediately erupted, with Arab leaders frankly admitting that they were the aggressors.<sup>35</sup> As the Arab armies invaded the new State of Israel, the Secretary-General of the Arab League, Azzam Pasha, declared “a war of extermination and a momentous massacre which will be spoken of like the Mongolian massacres and the Crusades.”<sup>36</sup> This was the first in a long series of genocidal outbursts displaying Arab attitudes towards Israel - a record that Chomsky (with his unique interpretation of the responsibility of the intellectuals) is determined to suppress.

Thus it should occasion little surprise that in Chomsky’s diatribes, we find no mention of the Egyptian military orders in 1956 calling for “the annihilation of Israel and her extermination in the shortest possible time, in the most brutal and cruel battles”; no mention of the Saudi reaction to the capture of Adolf Eichmann, “who had the honor of killing five million Jews”; no mention of the Jordanian demand for “the liquidation of the remaining six million” to avenge Eichmann’s memory; no mention of the promise by Egyptian dictator Gamal Abdel Nasser that “we shall not enter Palestine with its soil covered in sand,” but “with its soil saturated in blood”; no mention of the pledge by Syrian Defense Minister Hafez

al-Assad to “take the initiative in destroying the Zionist presence in the Arab homeland.”<sup>37</sup> All of these expressions of fascist hatred and Nazi fanaticism are simply consigned to oblivion by the mandarin of MIT - even as he insists that the facts are being “reconstructed to serve the desired illusions” of the omnipotent Zionist propaganda machine.<sup>38</sup>

Chomsky’s suppression of the crucial historical background is matched by his apologetics for the PLO, a movement built on the premise that “armed struggle” is the only way to liberate Palestine, that the state of Israel is “entirely illegal, regardless of the passage of time,” and that “the liberation of Palestine will destroy the Zionist and imperialist presence.”<sup>39</sup> In Chomsky’s ethical code, “the PLO has the same sort of legitimacy that the Zionist movement had in the pre-state period,” an insight that might have been valid if the pre-state Zionist movement had been founded with the goal of destroying a country and murdering its population, or if it had been armed and financed by the surrounding dictatorships in order to facilitate this war of annihilation.<sup>40</sup> But such comparisons are only to be expected from a man who believes (as we have already seen) that modern Zionists are inspired by Hitler, that Israel sponsored the Red Brigades in a plot to destabilize Italy, or that the Jewish state is in league with Argentine neo-Nazis and financed by Saudi Arabia.

The list of absurdities culminates in Chomsky’s main argument: there is an “international consensus,” embracing “the major Arab states, the population of the occupied territories, and the mainstream of the PLO,” in support of “a two-state political settlement,” which is being frustrated only by America and Israel.<sup>41</sup> The capitalist propaganda system is guilty of “suppressing the efforts of the Arab states and the PLO to advance a nonrejectionist settlement, depicting the PLO in particular as violent extremists.”<sup>42</sup>

Descending into this vortex of fantasy, Chomsky pretends to believe in Nasser’s public overtures, a sign that Arab rejectionism “began to erode” after 1967.<sup>43</sup> But Nasser had made his intentions crystal clear: “The real Palestine problem,” according to his regime, was “the existence of Israel in Palestine. As long as a Zionist existence remains even in a tiny part of it, that will mean occupation.”<sup>44</sup> In fact, Nasser was planning “a far-reaching operation” against Israel. Conscious of the need to “hide our preparations under political activity,” he instructed his generals: “You don’t need to pay any attention to anything I may say in public about a peaceful solution.”<sup>45</sup> And Chomsky’s account of the ensuing developments is no less deceitful:

After Nasser’s death, the new President, Anwar Sadat, moved at once to implement two policies: peace with Israel and conversion of Egypt into an American client state. In February 1971, he 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...<sup>46</sup>

But Egyptian planners were telling a very different story: “There are only two specific Arab goals at present,” declared Sadat’s official mouthpiece: “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... we should learn from the enemy how to move step by step.”<sup>47</sup> Chomsky’s central thesis is thus directly contradicted by the evidence, which he twists to suit his ideological agenda.

The 1973 war, Chomsky admits, “was a clear case of an Arab attack,” but this was directed against “territory occupied by Israel, after diplomatic efforts at settlement had been rebuffed.”<sup>48</sup> Unfortunately for his credibility, Arab leaders refuted this argument when they started their assault. Hafez Assad, by this time Syrian dictator, vowed “to strike at enemy forces until we regain our positions in our occupied land *and continue then until we liberate the whole land.*”<sup>49</sup> Mohammed Heikal, the prominent Egyptian government adviser, was at pains to emphasize that “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?"<sup>50</sup> Zionist propaganda had ensnared the Arab leaders themselves, if we are to believe Chomsky's rhetoric.

Further "diplomatic efforts" occurred in 1974, when the PLO approved its infamous "Phased Plan," advocating "armed struggle" to establish a "combatant national authority" in the West Bank and Gaza before achieving "a union of the confrontation countries" with the aim of "completing the liberation" of Palestine.<sup>51</sup> Chomsky consigns this event to an Orwellian memory hole, pretending that the Arab states and the PLO made "an important effort to bring about a peaceful two-state settlement." As an example of this effort, he repeatedly adduces the draft UN Security Council resolution of January 1976, which he depicts in glowing terms:

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... The resolution was backed by the "confrontation states" (Egypt, Syria, Jordan), the PLO, and the USSR... Israel refused to attend the January 1976 Security Council session, which had been called at Syrian initiative.<sup>52</sup>

Entirely suppressed in Chomsky's account of this "important effort" is a rather crucial fact: the resolution endorsed the PLO's "Right of Return" for millions of Palestinian Arabs, which would reduce Israeli Jews to minority status as a prelude to their ultimate disappearance.<sup>53</sup> Heralding the "important effort" were Farouk Kaddoumi, head of the PLO's Political Department, who vowed that "this Zionist ghetto of Israel must be destroyed," and PLO deputy leader Salah Khalaf (Abu Iyad), who exclaimed: "Let us all die, let us all be killed, let us all be assassinated, but we will not recognize Israel." But Chomsky is undeterred: "The Arab states and the PLO continued to press for a two-state settlement," he assures us, "and Israel continued to react with alarm and rejection."<sup>54</sup> Such falsehoods abound in Chomskyan propaganda. How else does he expect to persuade his readers that the Soviets, the Syrians and the PLO were forlornly begging for peace, only to be thwarted by the fanaticism of the State Department and the Israeli Labor Party?

Chomsky's fictitious history of the conflict proceeds in this vein. When Israel surrendered the Sinai Peninsula to Egypt and agreed to Palestinian self-government in the West Bank and Gaza in 1979, PLO leader Yasser Arafat declared that "when the Arabs set off their volcano there will be only Arabs in this part of the world," pledging "to fuel the torch of the revolution with rivers of blood until the whole of the occupied homeland is liberated, the whole of the homeland is liberated, not just a part of it."<sup>55</sup> One year later, Arafat delivered another outburst:

Peace for us means the destruction of Israel. We are preparing for an all-out war, a war which will last for generations... We shall not rest until the day when we return to our home, and until we destroy Israel... The destruction of Israel is the goal of our struggle, and the guidelines of our struggle have remained firm since the establishment of Fatah in 1965.<sup>56</sup>

Shortly afterwards, Arafat's Fatah faction reiterated its founding commitment to "the complete liberation of Palestine" and "the liquidation of the Zionist entity economically, militarily, politically, culturally and intellectually."<sup>57</sup> A prominent PLO representative helpfully explained: "We wish at any price to liquidate the State of Israel."<sup>58</sup> Surveying this record, Chomsky reaches the inevitable conclusion: "it is quite clear" that the PLO "has been far more forthcoming than either Israel or the US with regard to an accommodationist settlement."<sup>59</sup> Would the editors of *Pravda* dare to compete with Chomsky?



While Chomsky offers every conceivable excuse for Arab racism and fascism, he applies very different standards to his fellow Jews. In his version of reality, one of the “constant themes” of Israel’s first Prime Minister, David Ben-Gurion, was conquest of the whole region, “including southern Lebanon, southern Syria, today’s Jordan, all of cis-Jordan [Palestine], and the Sinai,” thus establishing Zionist hegemony “from the Nile to Iraq” in line with his “long-term vision,” which extended “from the Nile to the Euphrates.”<sup>60</sup> Indeed, Israel’s “long-term goal” may be “a return to something like the system of the Ottoman empire.” Israeli missiles are meant to “put US planners on notice” that genuine peace efforts “may lead to a violent reaction” intended to cause a confrontation between the superpowers, “with a high probability of global nuclear war.” These threats are manifestations of Israel’s “Samson complex,” the product of an “Israeli Sparta” which has become the world’s “fourth greatest military power,” menacing the Saudi oil fields and even the USSR, and inexorably traveling “the road to Armageddon,” which will terminate in “a final solution from which few will escape.”<sup>61</sup>

That last assertion is a striking innovation in the field of hate literature. After all, *The Protocols of the Elders of Zion*, perhaps the most notorious antisemitic forgery of the twentieth century, merely asserted that Jews were planning to subjugate the world. We are indebted to the unique intellect of the sage of MIT for the revelation that the Jews are actually plotting to annihilate the human race.

### **Lebanon: Heroes and Criminals**

... it was considered legitimate to round up all teen-age and adult males and ship them off to concentration camps...  
- Noam Chomsky<sup>62</sup>

Perhaps the most elaborate product of Chomsky’s warped perception is his massive coverage of the war in Lebanon. Here, again, the heroes are the terrorists of the PLO, while the criminals are the democratically elected leaders of Israel. Thus Chomsky assigns “unique credibility” to an Arab journalist who discovered “relative peace” in PLO-controlled areas of Lebanon. His source was writing in the midst of the 1982 Israeli invasion,<sup>63</sup> when PLO terrorists could no longer perpetrate acts of slaughter such as this:

An entire family had been killed, the Can’an family, four children all dead and the mother, the father, and the grandfather. The mother was still hugging one of the children. And she was pregnant. The eyes of the children were gone and their limbs were cut off. No legs and no arms.

After the PLO “fighters” had butchered and raped their way through this defenseless Christian town, they left the survivors to enumerate the corpses: “Many of the bodies had been dismembered, so they had to count the heads to number the dead. Three of the men they found had had their genitals cut off and stuffed into their mouths.” The murderers slaughtered 582 people in this massacre, one of numerous examples.<sup>64</sup> In another case, 100 civilians, “mostly women, children and old men,” were slaughtered with knives and bayonets, some of them decapitated; in yet another, 65 villagers “were locked in a church by PLO fighters and machine-gunned to death.”<sup>65</sup>

Many other incidents are omitted from Chomsky’s argument in support of the claim that there were “no cases of murder or rape” under PLO rule and that “atrocities were rare.” These include the following:

The PLO men killed Susan’s father and her brother, and raped her mother, who suffered a haemorrhage and died. They raped Susan “many times.” They cut off her breasts and shot her. Hours later she was found alive, but with all four of her limbs so

badly broken and torn with gunshot that they had to be surgically amputated. She now has only the upper part of one arm.

After Israel evicted the PLO from Beirut in 1982, “some Christian women conceived the idea of having Susan’s picture on a Lebanese stamp, because, they said, her fate symbolizes what has happened to their country – ‘rape and dismemberment by the PLO,’” but they were dissuaded.<sup>66</sup> We can also learn of a pregnant mother of eleven children who was murdered “just for the fun of it” along with her infant; small children mutilated and killed when terrorists threw a grenade at them; a man whose limbs were chained to four vehicles which were then driven in opposite directions, tearing him to pieces; a newspaper editor found with his fingers cut off joint by joint, his eyes gouged out and his limbs hacked off; a local religious leader whose family was forced to watch as his daughter was raped and murdered, with her breasts torn away; a dead girl with both hands severed and part of her head missing; men who were castrated during torture sessions; men and women chopped to pieces with axes; and various other manifestations of “relative peace” under the benevolent rule of the PLO.<sup>67</sup>

Chomsky’s delusions about the PLO were not shared by its victims. The American Lebanese League stated that the country had been “occupied by PLO terrorists” who “committed an orgy of atrocities and desecration against women and children, churches and gravesites... From 1975 through 1981 the toll among civilians was 100,000 killed, 250,000 wounded, countless thousands made homeless,” with 32,000 orphans and the capital city “held hostage by PLO criminals.”<sup>68</sup> Many years later, the World Lebanese Organization, the World Maronite Union, and multiple human rights groups concerned with the Middle East issued a public declaration accusing the PLO of genocide in Lebanon and addressing Yasser Arafat in these terms: “You are responsible for the killing of 100,000 Lebanese civilians... The United States government should have asked you to appear at the Hague for the crimes you perpetrated in Lebanon...”<sup>69</sup> But while the victims commemorate the “rape and dismemberment” of their country by the PLO, Chomsky ponders a slightly different question: whether “the PLO will be able to maintain the image of heroism with which it left Beirut.”<sup>70</sup>

The “heroism” of the PLO was frequently on display. Lebanese medical staff in Sidon demanded “an international investigating committee to look into the crimes against humanity” of PLO terrorists who turned their hospital into a battleground, sacrificing the lives of patients.<sup>71</sup> Palestinian residents of Ein Hilweh testified that PLO forces trapped them inside the camp: “the militiamen were shooting civilians who tried to escape,” and in one case, “three children had been riddled with bullets before their parents’ eyes because their father had dared to suggest calling an end to the fighting so at least the children of Ein Hilweh could be saved.”<sup>72</sup> Elsewhere, a Palestinian witness recalled that “the PLO would not let anybody out” of his camp, and murdered a neighbor who tried to leave. With respect to casualties from the fighting, he asked, “Who is to blame for their death? Write it down – the PLO.”<sup>73</sup> According to *New York Times* Jerusalem bureau chief David Shipler:

The huge sums of money the PLO received from Saudi Arabia and other Arab countries seem to have been spent primarily on weapons and ammunition, which were placed strategically in densely populated civilian areas in the hope that this would either deter Israeli attacks or exact a price from Israel in world opinion for killing civilians... crates of ammunition were stacked in underground shelters and anti-aircraft guns were emplaced in schoolyards, among apartment houses, next to churches and hospitals.

In addition, the “PLO conscription program drafted Palestinian boys as young as 12,” but Palestinian children are less eager to die than their foreign admirers would wish: the draft “apparently stirred resentment,” and the PLO was obliged to establish checkpoints to catch children who were trying to run away, another sign of its courage and valor.<sup>74</sup>

But Chomsky will not allow facts to get in the way of his totalitarian allegiances. He finds it perfectly obvious that the PLO withdrew from Beirut for humanitarian purposes, “to save the city from total destruction” at the hands of the criminal Israelis - so obvious, in fact, that he regards anyone who disagrees as a disciple of Goebbels and Stalin.<sup>75</sup> Needless to say, this is the exact opposite of the truth. Far from attempting to save the population, the PLO was threatening its annihilation. Arafat made it clear 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.”<sup>76</sup> No doubt Chomsky would regard this as yet another manifestation of “the heroic PLO resistance against overwhelming odds.”<sup>77</sup>

Deploping Israel’s conduct of the fighting, Chomsky writes that in a comparable case, “few would have hesitated to recall the Nazi monsters.”<sup>78</sup> He believes that if Israel “cannot be compared to Nazi Germany,” there are nevertheless “points of similarity, to which those who draw the analogies want to draw attention.” He constantly refers to Israeli “concentration camps,” and, for good measure, he recalls “the genocidal texts of the Bible.”<sup>79</sup> He is even prepared to equate Israeli tactics with the barbarism of Pol Pot (having previously argued that the brutality of the Khmer Rouge “may actually have saved many lives.”)<sup>80</sup> By contrast, military historian Richard Gabriel observes that “concern for civilian casualties marked almost all IDF [Israel Defense Forces] operations throughout the war,” to the extent that it “reduced the speed with which the Israelis were able to overcome enemy opposition.”<sup>81</sup> After witnessing the combat first-hand, Trevor Dupuy and Paul Martell concluded:

As military historians we can think of no war in which greater military advantages were gained in combat in densely populated areas at such a small cost in civilian lives lost and property damaged. And this despite the PLO’s deliberate emplacement of weapons in civilian communities, and in and around hospitals...<sup>82</sup>

A specialist in the international law of war recorded that military experts he had consulted were “unanimous” in their confirmation of Israel’s “exercise of care for the civilian population in light of the PLO’s efforts at using that population as a shield from attack,” noting the PLO practice of placing “artillery and aircraft weapons on top of or immediately adjacent to hospitals, churches and mosques.”<sup>83</sup> Perhaps we should see all of this as just another sign of the insidious power of the capitalist propaganda system, in which “Israel has been granted a unique immunity from criticism,” such that expert observers simply cannot perceive the truths that are so obvious from the seminar rooms in Cambridge, Massachusetts.<sup>84</sup>

Chomsky’s evidence that Israel was running “concentration camps” and generally acting in accord with “the genocidal texts of the Bible” leaves much to be desired. A typical source is the “Canadian surgeon” Chris Giannou, who testified before Congress that he had witnessed “the blind, savage indiscriminate destruction of refugee camps”; the shelling of hospitals, with one shell killing 40-50 people; the use of cluster bombs and phosphorus bombs; 300 corpses during the evacuation of a government hospital; “savage and indiscriminate beatings” of prisoners; and so on. Chomsky dismisses the Israeli charge that Giannou was “a liar suspected of working for the PLO,” ignoring Giannou’s own testimony that he was an employee of the Palestine Red Crescent Society, an official PLO institution; Giannou’s sponsors subsequently admitted that he had been in contact with Arafat “on a daily basis.”<sup>85</sup> Chomsky, however, insists that Giannou’s tales were “confirmed” by a “Norwegian doctor and social worker” who reported “extensive violence” against prisoners, including lethal beatings, although readers who take the trouble to check his source – it is, of course, the PLO’s *Journal of Palestine Studies* – will discover that the pair were working “in accordance with an agreement between the Norwegian Palestine Front and the Palestine Red Crescent Society.”<sup>86</sup> Chomsky’s remaining “evidence” is equally trustworthy.

Manipulation of statistics is a classic propaganda technique, and Chomsky is an expert in the field. Consider the subject of casualty figures. In the first week of the Israeli invasion, the PLO concocted an estimate of 10,000 dead in south Lebanon, with 600,000 homeless, more than the total population of the area. The PLO fabrications, adopted by the Red Cross and the Lebanese authorities, rapidly circulated around the world. "It is clear to anyone who has traveled in southern Lebanon" that these numbers were "extreme exaggerations," wrote David Shipler.<sup>87</sup> Nevertheless, the PLO news agency soon became the "primary source of information both for Western reporters and for the Lebanese state radio and television."<sup>88</sup> As a result, official Lebanese casualty estimates came to mirror the PLO inventions, recording 19,085 dead, 57% combatants and 43% civilians.<sup>89</sup> Chomsky, in turn, recycles the Lebanese official statistics derived from PLO propaganda, and then edits the numbers to suggest that nearly all of the dead were civilians.<sup>90</sup> Thus he maintains that "there seems little reason to doubt the final estimates of close to 20,000 killed, *overwhelmingly civilian*..."<sup>91</sup> Entirely absent from his mathematical manipulations is a rather pertinent fact: in 1984 these inflated estimates were publicly repudiated by the Lebanese authorities, who announced that "about 1,000 Lebanese were killed as a result of the Israeli invasion."<sup>92</sup>

This is only the beginning of Chomsky's statistical legerdemain. "Since the end of Israel's invasion of Lebanon in 1982," he writes, "some 25,000 Lebanese and Palestinians have been killed, according to Lebanese officials and international relief agencies, along with 900 Israeli soldiers." As evidence, he relies on a single sentence in a newspaper report citing an anonymous estimate that plainly applies to the period *including* the Israeli invasion.<sup>93</sup> Thus Chomsky, having falsified statistics which were themselves based on PLO disinformation and later repudiated by the Lebanese authorities, refers the reader to a single unsourced comment in a newspaper article and then distorts its meaning so that he can count the same set of figures twice. This further deception allows him to deduce that "during the 22 years that Israel illegally occupied southern Lebanon... they killed about maybe [sic] 45,000 or 50,000 Lebanese and Palestinians."<sup>94</sup> Elsewhere he writes with mock-indignation:

The 1982 invasion and its immediate aftermath left some 20,000 dead; according to Lebanese sources, the toll in the following years was about 25,000. The topic is of little concern in the West, on the principle that crimes for which we are responsible require no inquiry, let alone punishment or reparations.<sup>95</sup>

He contends that "Israeli terrorist acts" have "undoubtedly claimed far more victims than those of the PLO."<sup>96</sup> Recall that the actual death toll from the Israeli invasion was 1,000, according to the Lebanese. These examples call to mind Walter Laqueur's observation that "even on the rare occasions when Mr. Chomsky is dealing with facts and not with fantasies, he exaggerates by a factor of, plus or minus, four or five" – or, in this case, forty or fifty.<sup>97</sup>

Discussing the Phalangist massacre of hundreds of people in the Sabra and Shatila refugee camps, Chomsky refers to "high-level planning and complicity" by the Israelis.<sup>98</sup> The Kahan Commission, by contrast, found that Israeli commanders first attempted to persuade the Lebanese army to search the camps; only when these efforts failed did they turn to the Phalangists, repeatedly warning them "not to harm the civilian population."<sup>99</sup> American courts judged as "false and defamatory" the claim that Ariel Sharon had intended the deaths of civilians.<sup>100</sup> Robert Hatem, security chief to the Phalangist commander Elie Hobeika, recently published a book, *From Beirut to Damascus*, which was promptly banned in Syrian-occupied Lebanon; there he related that "Sharon had given strict orders to Hobeika... to guard against any desperate move," and that Hobeika perpetrated the massacre "to tarnish Israel's reputation worldwide" for the benefit of Syria.<sup>101</sup> Hobeika subsequently joined the Syrian occupation government and lived as a prosperous businessman under Syrian protection; further massacres in Sabra and Shatila occurred under the Syrian aegis in 1985, initiating the slaughter of 3,781 people by Syrian-backed Amal terrorists and their PLO opponents - a bloodbath which evoked no reaction from Chomsky.<sup>102</sup>

Chomsky's determination to convict Israel for the crimes of Lebanese Christians who were retaliating for previous PLO atrocities contrasts rather starkly with his bizarre contention that the Phalangists themselves had no cause to investigate their actions, for to do so "would have destroyed what minimal possibilities may exist for the restoration of a Lebanese state" under Phalangist control.<sup>103</sup> It is remarkable, if not very surprising, that as soon as he has finished exploiting the Sabra and Shatila massacres to blacken the image of the Jewish state, Chomsky hastens to forgive the perpetrators.

### **The Methods of an Intellectual Crook**

It is the responsibility of intellectuals to speak the truth and to expose lies.  
- Noam Chomsky<sup>104</sup>

No-one should think that Chomsky's propaganda efforts are limited to the mutilation of historical fact. Deliberate misquotation of statements plays a central role in his anti-Zionist polemics. Diligent readers will find many examples to ponder.

Typical of Chomsky's methods is his portrayal of Ben-Gurion as a fanatical imperialist whose devilish designs mandated a Jewish state from the Nile to the Euphrates. According to Chomsky – citing the Marxist-Leninist "historian" Simha Flapan – Ben-Gurion demanded "expansion into the whole of Palestine by a Jewish-Arab agreement" and promised that the Zionist state would preserve order "not only by preaching morality but by machine guns." Chomsky explains: "The 'agreement' that Ben-Gurion had in mind was to be with King Abdullah of Jordan, who would be induced to cede areas of cis-Jordan under his control, while many of the Arab residents would leave... circumstances would later permit a further expansion of the borders of the Jewish state..."<sup>105</sup> Turning to the original text, we find that Ben-Gurion intended nothing of the kind. His goal was "Arab agreement to *mass Jewish immigration*," and since the Jewish state would be only a stage in the realization of Zionism, "we are obliged to run the state *in such a way that will win us the friendship of the Arabs both within and outside the state*." He continued:

The state will of course have to enforce order and security and will do this not only by moralizing and preaching "sermons on the mount" but also by machine guns should the need arise. *But the Arab policy of the Jewish state must be aimed not only at full equality for the Arabs but at their cultural, social and economic equalization, namely, at raising their standard of living to that of the Jews.*<sup>106</sup>

Chomsky's deception is transparent. Contrary to Chomsky, Ben-Gurion's aim was not the expansion of the Jewish state's borders but Arab agreement to Jewish settlement outside its borders; the agreement was not to be made with the King of Jordan but with the Arabs of Palestine; and far from seeking to dispossess the Arabs, he wanted to offer them complete equality. In his own words, "Arab inhabitants of Palestine should enjoy all the rights of citizens and all political rights, *not only as individuals, but as a national community, like the Jews.*"<sup>107</sup> Is it possible to imagine a more extreme falsification of the historical record than Chomsky's rendition of these sentiments?

On a similar level of veracity, Chomsky explains that the "military doctrine of attacking defenseless civilians derives from David Ben-Gurion," who is supposed to have confided in his diary: "If we know the family – strike mercilessly, women and children included. Otherwise the reaction is inefficient. At the place of action there is no need to distinguish between guilty and innocent."<sup>108</sup> This is an interesting illustration of Chomsky's technique: the alleged quotation is not from Ben-Gurion, but an adviser, Gad Machnes. And the latter's comments were very different from Chomsky's version: "These matters necessitate the utmost precision – in terms of time, place, and whom and what to hit... only a

direct blow and *no touching of innocent people!*"<sup>109</sup> Moreover, Ben-Gurion's own views were clear and explicit: "There is no other way than by sharp, aggressive reprisal, *without harming women and children*, to prevent Jews from being murdered..."<sup>110</sup> As these examples indicate, any resemblance between Chomsky's quotations and the real world is entirely coincidental.

Falsification and misquotation also play a central role in Chomsky's prolonged and increasingly bizarre campaign to portray the PLO as the epitome of moderation and the Israeli Labor Party as the fountainhead of extremism in the Middle East. Obsessed with vindicating this curious dogma, Chomsky succeeds only in revealing the depths of his own mendacity:

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."<sup>111</sup>

The actual declaration was somewhat different: it confirmed the PLO's total rejection of UN Security Council Resolution 242, as well as "negotiations at the Arab and international levels based on this resolution"; its "determination to continue the armed struggle," i.e., terrorist atrocities against Israeli civilians; and its commitment to waging that struggle "*without any peace or recognition of Israel.*"<sup>112</sup> Only within these constraints was the PLO prepared to consider establishing an independent state or participating in an international conference. Even more revealing, however, is the second part of Chomsky's argument. If we turn to the source cited in his footnote, we discover that his summary of Rabin's response omits a rather crucial detail: "Prime Minister Yitzhak Rabin said the decisions adopted today by the Palestine National Council *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."<sup>113</sup> Thus, far from spurning the PLO because of its commitment to the peace process, Rabin dismissed the declaration precisely because it rejected any possibility of peace with Israel. Would anyone understand this after reading Chomsky?

Other examples abound. Chomsky selectively quotes the Labor Party diplomat Abba Eban, who observed that as a result of Israel's reprisal policy, "there was a rational prospect, ultimately fulfilled, that affected populations would exert pressure for the cessation of hostilities." Chomsky reproduces the statement under the headline: "The Rational Basis For Attacking the Civilian Population."<sup>114</sup> Readers are informed that Eban "does not contest" the allegations he is discussing, namely the picture "of an Israel wantonly inflicting every possible measure of death and anguish on civilian populations," in a mood reminiscent of regimes he would not "dare to mention by name." Eban, of course, does contest these allegations, which he describes, in the very same article, as "a demonological version of Israel's history." Rejecting "the monster-image of Israel" concocted by Arab spokesmen, he adds with the utmost disdain: "I do not think it necessary to 'prove' that Israel's political and military leaders in our first decades were no senseless hooligans when they ordered artillery response to *terrorist concentrations* [emphasis added]," whereupon he launches into a detailed (and typically grandiloquent) discussion of the morality of warfare:

For as long as men and women have talked about war, they have talked about it in terms of right and wrong... the fact that even this tragic domain finds human beings engaged in such impulses as deliberation, choice, criticism and even remorse illustrates the paradox of war itself and points to its incompatibility with the human condition... Anyone who aspires to leadership must find a way of reconciling his political nature with his moral destiny.<sup>115</sup>

Are these the callous deliberations of a Zionist terrorist seeking to establish “The Rational Basis For Attacking the Civilian Population” in a mood reminiscent of Nazi Germany? Or has Chomsky supplied one more example of his compulsion to play fast and loose with facts and quotations?

In his obsessive need to prove that Israel is a demonic terror state, Chomsky is not content with mere distortion. Occasionally he resorts to outright invention:

The veteran paratroop commander Dubik Tamari, who gave the orders to level the Palestinian camp of Ain el-Hilweh by air and artillery bombardment “to save lives” of troops under his command (another exercise of the fabled “purity of arms”), justified the action with the comment that “the State of Israel has been killing civilians from 1947,” “purposely killing civilians” as “one goal among others.”<sup>116</sup>

As his source for these incredible statements, Chomsky cites an interview with Tamari in *Monitin*, a now-defunct Israeli tabloid magazine. The relevant issue of *Monitin* contains no such interview with Tamari; nor does it contain any article in which Tamari is quoted.<sup>117</sup> Has Chomsky manufactured the entire interview? Or has he merely concocted the source? Whatever the explanation, Chomsky knows that the vast majority of his readers will not take the time to verify alleged quotations from a little-known figure in a long-extinct Hebrew-language publication, which is now obtainable only in the largest libraries of a foreign country. What are we to make of the fact that such fabrications pass undetected?

Another Chomsky tactic involves reiterating statements which were reported in the media and then exposed as misquotations. Hence an example from the first intifada:

Prime Minister Shamir warns that Palestinians who resist the occupation will be “crushed like grasshoppers,” with their heads “smashed against the boulders and walls”; “We say to them from the heights of this mountain and from the perspective of thousands of years of history that they are like grasshoppers compared to us.”<sup>118</sup>

Here Chomsky has recycled falsifications from a news story which had been discredited long before he wrote.<sup>119</sup> Contrast his version with Shamir’s actual comments:

There are those who say... that the true owners of the land are the rioters, the murderers and the terrorists, who seek to destroy any remnant of the Jewish people in the land of Israel. We say to them - when we look from here on the thousands of years of our past and all that we have established in the present - that they are as grasshoppers in our sight.<sup>120</sup>

In other words, Shamir was pledging that Israeli Jews would not be defeated by “the rioters, the murderers, and the terrorists” who were fighting for their destruction, a point which he illustrated with a well-known Biblical verse.<sup>121</sup> Nowhere did he describe “Palestinians who resist the occupation” as “grasshoppers”; nowhere did he say that they, or anyone else, would be “crushed like grasshoppers”; nowhere did he say that their heads would be “smashed against the boulders and walls”; and nowhere will readers who rely on Chomsky divine the true content of his remarks.

Comparable distortions appear in Chomsky’s coverage of the peace process. To substantiate his argument that the Oslo Accords were a conspiracy to cement Israeli dominance in the West Bank and Gaza, he quotes two sources: Ariel Sharon, at that time a leading figure in the Likud opposition, and Yisrael Harel, a prominent Israeli settler.<sup>122</sup> Outlining the reception of the Oslo II agreement, Chomsky announces that “Sharon does not appear too dissatisfied with the outcome,” quoting a news report which states the exact opposite: “Sharon’s plan would differ from the current one in two key ways. No further land

or authority would be handed over to the Palestinians and Israel would maintain the right of pre-emptive action and hot pursuit in Palestinian-controlled cities.”<sup>123</sup> As for Harel, Chomsky alleges that he “agrees with Sharon and the governing Labor Party: ‘If they keep to the current plan, I can live with it,’ he says.” But Harel’s remarks, quoted at length, convey an altogether different message:

“If they keep to the current plan, I can live with it,” said Yisrael Harel, a founder of the Yesha Council and editor of a settler newspaper, *Nekudah*. But like many settlers, Mr Harel believed the Rabin Government was really moving toward *abandoning the settlements and the greater dream of the Land of Israel*... “I did not come to this country for this... to be under Arafat’s sovereignty.”

The headline of this newspaper report reads: “West Bank Settlers Talking of Betrayal: Religious or Not, West Bank Settlers Feel Betrayed by Israel.”<sup>124</sup> Can there be any question at all whether Chomsky is intentionally deceiving his readers?

The same applies to another set of quotations that appears constantly in Chomsky’s recent writings. This time the target is Shlomo Ben-Ami, key negotiator at the failed Camp David talks before the collapse of the Oslo Accords:

Just before he joined the Barak government as Minister of Internal Security, historian Shlomo Ben-Ami observed in an academic study that “in practice, the Oslo agreements were founded on a neocolonialist basis, on a life of dependence of one on the other forever.” With these goals, the Clinton-Rabin-Peres agreements were designed to impose on the Palestinians “almost total dependence on Israel,” creating “an extended colonial situation,” which is expected to be the “permanent basis” for a “situation of dependence.” ... Step by step, the US and Israel have labored for 30 years to construct a system of permanent neocolonial dependency.<sup>125</sup>

Those inclined to accept Chomsky’s portrayal of Ben-Ami as a remorseless advocate of colonial domination disguised as peace may be surprised to discover that Ben-Ami had firmly and explicitly attacked this very notion:

Another fallacy is the neo-colonialist approach that seeks salvation for the Palestinians only through economic development and foreign investments. Important as they are, these can never be a substitute for political rights and national dreams. It is now fair to say that economic co-operation with the Palestinians is accepted as the way to cement the peace process. Those among us who advocate a political separation between Israel and the Palestinians should support a policy of wise investments in the territories as the best way to free the Palestinians of their economic dependency on Israel, and to disentangle them from what is now a truly colonial situation: their absorption as unequal partners in the socio-economic tissue of Israeli life.<sup>126</sup>

Hence the true contents of the passage that Chomsky is so determined to mangle: “The economic protocol that was written immediately following Oslo is one of the expressions of this [error]. Instead of directing the focus of the Palestinian economy eastward, to Jordan and the Arab world, it fixed its sight on an almost total dependence on Israel.” Ben Ami goes on to deplore the assumption that “even in a time of lasting peace between us and the Palestinians, there would be a situation of obvious inequality between the two entities.”<sup>127</sup> To summarize, Ben-Ami’s remarks explicitly affirmed that there could be no substitute for Palestinian self-determination; his goal was not to prolong the economic dependence of the Palestinian Authority, but to make it self-sufficient; and so he was not *advocating* a “permanent neocolonial dependency,” but examining ways to *avert* such a solution – hardly the picture that Chomsky conveys to his unsuspecting audience.



Blatant misrepresentations also permeate Chomsky's polemics with his American Jewish critics. To the respected philosopher Michael Walzer he attributes the demand that "non-Jews must be expelled" from Israel. What is the basis for this scurrilous allegation?

The democratic socialist Michael Walzer observes with reference to Israel that "nation building in new states is sure to be rough on groups marginal to the nation," and sometimes "the roughness can only be smoothed... by helping people to leave who have to leave," even if these groups "marginal to the nation" have been deeply rooted in the country for hundreds of years, and constituted the overwhelming majority not many years ago.<sup>128</sup>

Chomsky gives no page reference in his footnote, and when we turn to Walzer's text, it is not hard to see why:

Having established boundaries, it remains to fight for *minority rights, equal protection, and all the liberal safeguards with them...* But whatever we do, nation building in new states is sure to be rough on groups marginal to the nation... For them, very often, the roughness can only be smoothed a little... by helping people to leave who have to leave, like the Indians of Kenya and Tanzania, the colons of North Africa, the Jews of the Arab world... *There must be a place to go; there must be havens for refugees.*<sup>129</sup>

Suppressing Walzer's insistence on minority rights and equal protection for all, Chomsky has perverted his observations on the need to help the *victims* of ethnic cleansing into an actual *demand* for ethnic cleansing! Indeed, far from maintaining that "non-Jews must be expelled" from Israel, Walzer was defending Israel's existence as a safe haven for *Jews expelled from the Arab world*. By quoting a few phrases out of context, Chomsky has simply reversed Walzer's meaning. How does he expect to get away with such crude defamations?

Sometimes Chomsky's misrepresentations of opponents border on the comical. There is, for example, his discussion of Zionist attitudes "familiar throughout the history of European colonialism," manifested by those who "fulminate over the Arab 'crazed in the distinctive ways of his culture' and committed to 'pointless' though 'momentarily gratifying' acts of 'bloodlust'" – quotations which he attributes to Martin Peretz, editor of *The New Republic*.<sup>130</sup> The mind boggles: did the editor of America's most respected liberal magazine really denigrate Arabs in these terms? As his source on "Peretz's racist outpourings," Chomsky refers his readers to some comments by Christopher Hitchens in a seminar discussion recorded in the PLO's *Journal of Palestine Studies*. And here we discover that Peretz, far from engaging in "racist outpourings" against the Arab peoples, was offering a description of the portrayal of a fictional Arab character in a play performed at the American Repertory Theater!<sup>131</sup> We may be forgiven for wondering whether Chomsky will shortly enlighten his disciples with his thoughts on the "sexist outpourings" of feminist drama critics who chronicle the murderous ways of Lady Macbeth.

In general, it is clear that the extensive apparatus of quotations and footnotes in Chomsky's polemical work is merely an elaborate hoax designed to mislead the unwary reader. Perhaps the most astonishing aspect of the whole charade is that Chomsky is almost never called to account for his deceptions.

### **The World's Leading Terrorist Commanders**

The record of Israeli terrorism goes back to the origins of the state... The victims, by definition, are PLO "partisans," hence terrorists.  
- Noam Chomsky<sup>132</sup>

In recent years, Chomsky has surveyed the field of terrorism, where he discovers, yet again, that Israel is a paragon of evil. He makes his case by inflating or distorting each and every Israeli action involving civilian casualties. Thus, in his superficial review of the 1948 war, he tells us that Menachem Begin “took pride” in the infamous Irgun attack on Deir Yassin, “in which 250 defenseless people were slaughtered.”<sup>133</sup> In fact, far from taking pride in slaughter, Begin had ordered his followers to give the villagers advance warning and “to keep casualties to a minimum.” The Arab death toll was not 250 but 120, and the Jewish forces suffered 40 casualties in the battle for this “defenseless” village.<sup>134</sup> But Chomsky is just getting started. He also refers to “the massacre of 250 civilians” at Lydda and Ramle, conclusively disproved by recent scholarship.<sup>135</sup> And he invokes “the massacre of hundreds of others at the undefended village of Doueimah [Dawayima],” citing a possible death toll of 1,000 – a figure dismissed at the time by Arab officials, who reported 27 killings, apparently carried out in revenge for atrocities against Jews.<sup>136</sup> Of course, while he casually inflates the rare Jewish excesses against Arabs, Chomsky has nothing to say about Arab terror which killed 2,000 Jewish civilians, let alone the fate of nearly 600 Jewish captives who were “slaughtered amid scenes of gang rape and sodomy... dismembered, decapitated, mutilated and then photographed.”<sup>137</sup> These horrors are conveniently absent from his chronicles of Zionist barbarity.

Chomsky has other revelations in store, including a “recently-discovered Israeli intelligence report” which “concludes that of the 391,000 Arab refugees [in 1948]... at least 70 percent fled as a result of Jewish military operations...”<sup>138</sup> Turning to the scholarly literature, we learn that far from being an “intelligence report,” this document was an unclassified “review” by anonymous authors found in the private papers of Aharon Cohen, who was “convicted of treason in 1960 for illegal contacts with Soviet agents” – surely “the last place to look for official IDF documents,” as historian Shabtai Teveth observes.<sup>139</sup> No doubt the flight of Arab civilians during a war initiated by their own side with the intention of destroying the Jewish population was a major tragedy. Equally tragic was the Arab ethnic cleansing of 800,000 Middle Eastern Jews once the hostilities were over, a crime that elicits no great concern in Chomsky’s writings.<sup>140</sup>

Very often, Chomsky’s dishonesty is so extreme that the reader can only gasp in disbelief. Consider this example: “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.”<sup>141</sup> Turning to his source, we find no trace of this atrocity. Instead we learn that Red Cross representatives in Tel Aviv were “investigating the possibility of using helicopters for dropping water and emergency rations to the stranded Egyptians,” who were believed to number in the “hundreds rather than thousands.” Meanwhile,

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. Colonel Perlmann estimated that some 6,000 Egyptians had succeeded in reaching the canal across the desert during the past two days.<sup>142</sup>

Thus Chomsky’s source contradicts him at every point. Far from blocking relief efforts while thousands of Egyptian soldiers died, Israel was using vast military resources to save them. This example alone is more than enough to justify Arthur Schlesinger’s famous denunciation of Noam Chomsky – who had just admitted to faking “quotations” from President Truman – as an “intellectual crook.”<sup>143</sup>

Chomsky’s other examples of Israeli “terrorism” include “the expulsion by bombing” of “a million and a half civilians from the Suez Canal” during the War of Attrition in 1967-

70.<sup>144</sup> In academic studies, however, we find that Egypt launched a massive artillery attack on Israeli forces, which “returned fire, targeting Egyptian artillery, the Suez refineries, and oil storage tanks,” whereupon “Nasser continued to evacuate the canal cities,” so that “by mid-September the town of Suez had only 60,000 of its original 260,000 citizens, and Ismailiya 5,000 of 173,000.”<sup>145</sup> In other words, Israel was not perpetrating “the expulsion by bombing” of vast numbers of civilians but reacting to Egyptian attack, and it was not Israel but Egypt which removed the population from the war zone. Again, Schlesinger’s comment comes to mind.

Chomsky has further proof of Israel’s depravity: the total number of victims of PLO atrocities in northern Israel “is approximately the same as the number killed when Israel shot down a civilian Libyan airplane over the occupied Sinai in February 1973; the plane had become lost in bad weather and was one minute flight time from the Suez Canal, towards which it was heading, when shot down by the Israeli air force.”<sup>146</sup> This is a most barbaric crime in Chomsky’s telling, although he does not explain how Israeli pilots were supposed to deduce that an innocent Libyan passenger plane had become lost in a war zone after receiving an erroneous weather forecast from its own meteorological service, incorrect information from an Egyptian control tower, and instructions from Egypt to land when it was already deep inside Israeli-controlled territory; or that an aircraft with no hostile intentions had managed to penetrate over 100 kilometers into an Israeli military no-fly area, approach an Israeli military base and then fly back towards Israeli positions along the Suez Canal, mistake Israeli fighters for Egyptian jets, and misinterpret repeated Israeli signals to land, followed by warning shots, as friendly gestures from an Egyptian air escort. Nor does Chomsky see fit to mention the testimony of Israel’s Chief of Staff (had Israel known that it was simply a civilian airliner with passengers aboard that had lost its way, “there would have been no dilemma – we never would have used fire to force it down”), Israel’s air force commander (“We tried desperately to force it down, not to shoot it down”) and the Israeli fighter pilot (“I thought they would land easily”), confirmed by the international investigative committee (the Israelis were not trying to destroy the plane and kill the passengers but merely “to force the plane to land in the Sinai”).<sup>147</sup> That Chomsky is prepared to equate this tragedy, in which there was no lethal intent, with deliberate PLO massacres in schools, synagogues, hotels, apartment buildings, airports and – of course – passenger aircraft, is a striking manifestation of his intellectual chicanery.

Of course, not all of Chomsky’s propaganda claims are his own inventions. Sometimes they are other people’s inventions. Witness his complaint that insufficient attention has been paid to “the 700 civilians reported killed in the Israeli bombing of Damascus” during the 1973 war.<sup>148</sup> His evidence consists of a single sentence in a newspaper column on post-war diplomacy by the notorious PLO apologist David Hirst, who supplies no citation or justification of any kind.<sup>149</sup> In contemporary reports, we learn that the major Israeli raid on Damascus was “an air attack against the Syrian general military headquarters and Syrian Air Force headquarters,” with no suggestion of 700 dead civilians.<sup>150</sup> How seriously would we take an allegation of 700 civilian dead in a *Syrian* attack on an *Israeli* target, based on comparable evidence: a single sentence in a newspaper column on a different subject by a well-known supporter of far-right Jewish terrorists who offered no source or attribution, when other reports spoke of operations against military targets without even hinting at such a death toll? How seriously can we take anything Chomsky says?

Another Chomsky tactic involves alluding to selected PLO atrocities against Israeli civilians, which he sanitizes as far as possible, and then equating them with Israeli operations against terrorists, which he depicts as premeditated attacks on civilians. In May 1974, PLO terrorists attacked Ma’alot, murdering a father, a pregnant mother and their four-year-old child, and shooting their five-year-old daughter in the stomach. The terrorists then took over 100 schoolchildren hostage and threatened to slaughter them all unless their demands were met, ultimately murdering 22 teenagers before perishing in the Israeli rescue attempt.<sup>151</sup>

Chomsky's version of the massacre is that "members of a paramilitary youth group were killed in an exchange of fire."<sup>152</sup> To this atrocity he counterposes the allegation that Israel was then engaged in "'napalm bombing of Palestinian refugee camps in southern Lebanon,' with over 200 killed." His source is Edward Said, a member of the PLO's ruling council. Not to be outdone, Chomsky reveals that Israel was involved in "large-scale scorched earth operations," with "probably thousands killed," although "no accurate figures are available," perhaps because his source for this claim is an article by a far-left journalist in a short-lived fringe publication which cites unverified estimates by anonymous "observers."<sup>153</sup> Then there is his claim that Israel bombed the Lebanese town of Nabatiya in 1975, "killing dozens of Lebanese and Palestinian civilians," citing a newspaper report that says nothing of the kind.<sup>154</sup> We might also mention his assertion that 2,000 people died when Lebanese cities, towns and villages were "mercilessly attacked" by Israel in 1978 – a figure derived from a single uncorroborated guess in a magazine article, and contradicted by the Red Cross, which estimated 300 dead (terrorist and civilian); by other news reports, which gave death tolls in the low hundreds; and by PLO propagandists, who offered similar figures.<sup>155</sup> These examples are matched by his allegation that over 200 people were killed by Israeli bombing of Sabra and Shatila in June 1982, based on an "eyewitness account" by an anti-Zionist activist in the PLO's *Journal of Palestine Studies*.<sup>156</sup> The list is endless.

Many of Chomsky's judgments border on the surreal. In June 1976, PLO terrorists hijacked an Air France plane and diverted it to Idi Amin's Uganda, where the passengers were to be held hostage. A week later, Israeli commandos rescued the victims in the famous raid on Entebbe. Reacting to public admiration for this blow against international terrorism, Chomsky lamented "the outpouring of hatred and contempt for popular movements of the Third World." He felt that Israel's rescue mission should be compared with "other military exploits, no less dramatic, that did not arouse such awed admiration in the American press," notably the Japanese attack on Pearl Harbor. For Chomsky, the liberation of innocent hostages ranks with the fascist aggression which drew the United States into World War II.<sup>157</sup>

Extending his catalogue of Israeli "terrorism," Chomsky describes an Israeli bombing raid against Baalbek in Lebanon in January 1984, "killing about 100 people, mostly civilians, with 400 wounded, including 150 children in a bombed-out schoolhouse." He then ponders the likely reaction "if the PLO or Syria were to carry out a 'surgical strike' against 'terrorist installations' near Tel Aviv, killing 100 civilians and wounding 400 others, including 150 children in a bombed-out schoolhouse along with other civilian victims."<sup>158</sup> But his own sources report that the target area was "the headquarters of the militant Shi'ite Moslem group known as Islamic Amal. About 350 Iranian Revolutionary Guards have been operating there as well, reportedly helping to train Lebanese and foreign volunteers in terrorist tactics, especially the use of bombs." The Lebanese government (plainly a most impartial and reliable observer) claimed 100 dead in total (not 100 civilian dead, as Chomsky pretends) and 400 wounded, while a media correction the following day noted that "the figures were not independently confirmed" and that "the 'civilian' identification of the casualties was an assertion, not an agreed fact."<sup>159</sup> The Shi'ite militias had perpetrated suicide bombings which killed 63 people at the American embassy as well as 241 American peacekeepers and 58 French soldiers, along with 29 Israeli soldiers and 32 Arab prisoners, but these facts are of no interest to Chomsky, who is concerned solely with Israel's belated response.

Chomsky also describes an incident in which "Israel hijacked a ferryboat operating between Cyprus and Lebanon," but suppresses media reports that "the ferry was captured after intelligence information indicated several key Palestinian guerrillas were aboard" and that "there were indications the men were planning attacks on Israel."<sup>160</sup> These facts might be of interest to those who think that countries have the right to intercept vessels believed to be carrying terrorists preparing to slaughter innocent civilians in their territory. Having lambasted the Israeli interception of suspected terrorists who were promptly released unharmed when found to be innocent, Chomsky proceeds to compare the PLO massacre of

schoolchildren at Ma'alot with Israeli bombardment of a Lebanese island near Tripoli, where casualties included "children at a Sunni boy scout camp" in his words.<sup>161</sup> The reader who attempts to verify this claim will find that the Israelis actually bombed an ammunition dump on the island, which was "known to be a training facility for the fundamentalist Sunni Moslem Tawheed faction," which "worked closely with pro-Arafat guerrillas." Sources in the terrorist faction "said that there had been 150 men on the island at the time and that 25 of the men were hit," with no hint of "children at a Sunni boy scout camp."<sup>162</sup>

Chomsky's coverage of other Israeli operations is equally inventive. He informs us that in Lebanon, Israel "carries out attacks with impunity and abandon," offering as evidence the fact that in July 1985, "Israeli warplanes bombed and strafed Palestinian camps near Tripoli, killing at least 20 people, most of them civilians..."<sup>163</sup> But the targets were not civilians: according to press reports, "Ahmed Jibril's Libyan-supported Popular Front for the Liberation of Palestine-General Command said seven of its guerrillas were killed and 20 others wounded," while the Syrian-backed Fatah rebel faction led by Abu Musa had its headquarters "demolished." The operation came after a series of Palestinian attacks on innocent Israelis, including "bombings of bus stops in two Tel Aviv suburbs, a bomb explosion on a Tel Aviv beach, two explosions in Jerusalem, the stabbing of a religious Jew in Jerusalem's Arab quarter and the killing of a couple in Bet Shemesh," all of which Chomsky ignores, as usual.<sup>164</sup>

Elsewhere in his catalogue of Israeli "hijacking," Chomsky draws attention to the fact that Syrians released during a prisoner exchange in June 1984 included Druze residents of the Golan Heights; a brief check reveals that he is referring to a dozen alleged terrorists who were released along with hundreds of Syrian POWs in return for a handful of Israelis.<sup>165</sup> He also relates that in April 1985, "several Palestinians were kidnapped from civilian boats operating between Lebanon and Cyprus and sent to secret destinations in Israel," a discovery which stems from his careful reading of *News From Within*, a Marxist-Leninist publication in Jerusalem.<sup>166</sup> And he laments that "Israel's hijacking of a Libyan civilian jet on February 4, 1986 was accepted with equanimity, criticized, if at all, as an error based on faulty intelligence" – not surprisingly, one might add, when we learn that the aircraft was an executive jet carrying official passengers after a major terrorist congress attended by PLO commanders such as George Habash, Ahmed Jibril, Nayef Hawatmeh and Abu Musa, and that the interception was based on intelligence information that the haul might include Abu Nidal.<sup>167</sup> As it happened, the wanted fugitives were not aboard, and Israel promptly released the travelers unharmed, permitting the Syrian Ba'ath Party officials to return to Damascus after their visit to a rogue dictatorship during a gathering of international terrorist leaders. Perhaps they were there to enjoy the scenery.

By falsifying facts and manipulating sources in his trademark fashion, Chomsky is able to generate his desired conclusion: that the American President and the Israeli Prime Minister – Ronald Reagan and Shimon Peres, respectively – are "two of the world's leading terrorist commanders."<sup>168</sup> The pretext for this claim is Israel's bombing of the PLO headquarters in Tunis. If Chomsky's verdict is accepted then this attack on a prime terrorist target - involving a few dozen casualties - is worse than the slaughter of 100,000 civilians during the years of PLO terror and destruction in Lebanon; worse than the massacre of up to 55,000 inhabitants of Hama by the neo-Nazi rulers of Syria; worse than the murder of 450,000 victims by the Ba'athist criminals in Iraq; worse than the execution of 30,000 opponents by the fundamentalist ayatollahs in Iran; worse than the genocide of 2 million people by theocratic fascists in Sudan.<sup>169</sup> These examples of Chomsky's mendacity can easily be multiplied.

### **The Treachery of the PLO**

Before discussing prospects for peace in the Middle East, let me make a few

preliminary comments... If Hitler had conquered the world, there would be peace but not the kind we would like to see.

- Noam Chomsky<sup>170</sup>

We turn, finally, to Chomsky's version of the Israeli-Palestinian peace process, whose successes are now manifested in scenes of burning corpses and scattered body parts in Jerusalem and Tel Aviv. The origin of the so-called Oslo Accords lies in the events of 1988, when the PLO supposedly renounced terrorism and recognized Israel. In Chomsky's view, the PLO was "once again accepting Israel's existence in return for withdrawal from the occupied territories." Nevertheless, "the United States has imposed a satisfying form of humiliation on the victims of US-Israeli repression and rejectionism, righteously forcing them to concede that they, and they alone, have sinned," yet another symptom of the "imperial arrogance and racist contempt for those in our way."<sup>171</sup>

The PLO disagreed with Chomsky's verdict: "There was no PLO recognition of Israel," explained deputy leader Salah Khalaf (Abu Iyad), not long before Yasser Arafat issued a joint statement with Colonel Gaddafi announcing that "the so-called 'State of Israel' was one of the consequences of World War II and should disappear, like the Berlin Wall..."<sup>172</sup>

By 1993, a left-wing Israeli government had accepted the PLO's *bona fides* and agreed to permit the creation of a PLO dictatorship in the West Bank and Gaza.<sup>173</sup> Chomsky had a ready explanation for this *volte-face*. Having once lauded the PLO for its "heroism," he now made a shocking discovery: the PLO was crippled by "corruption, personal power plays, opportunism, and disregard for the interests and opinions of the people it claimed to represent... With its popular support in decline and its status deteriorating in the Arab world, the PLO became more tolerable to US-Israeli policymakers..."<sup>174</sup> In short, the PLO had sold out to the insidious forces of capitalism and Zionism. The Oslo Accords were "a complete capitulation to US-Israeli demands," while Arafat had become "a virtual Israeli agent," helping to re-enact "the traditional pattern of the European conquest of most of the world."<sup>175</sup> Worldwide support for the peace process merely indicated "the power of doctrinal management" and the fact that "the intellectual culture is obedient and unquestioning," as manifested by "the state of international opinion, now so submissive on this issue that commentators and analysts have literally forgotten the positions they and their governments advocated only a few years ago..."<sup>176</sup> Apparently the entire human race, apart from Chomsky and a few brave disciples, was now in the grip of Zionist propaganda.

In the midst of Chomsky's delirium, the Egyptian Minister of War intimated that it was "important to use the phase of peace to prepare for emergencies," and a former Chief of Staff added: "The combined weaponry of the Arab states today exceeds that of Israel. If all these weapons were directed against Israel, the Arab states could defeat Israel."<sup>177</sup> The neo-Nazi regime in Syria anticipated the day when "the unjust, criminal Israeli terrorists breathe their last by Arab bullets or Arab knives."<sup>178</sup> And the PLO expressed similar thoughts. "We plan to eliminate the State of Israel," declared Arafat. "We will make life unbearable for Jews by psychological warfare and population explosion; Jews won't want to live among us Arabs."<sup>179</sup> Meanwhile terrorist atrocities escalated to unprecedented levels, and Israelis were subject to suicide massacres within their own borders for the first time in the history of their country.<sup>180</sup>

While damning the PLO for its "complete capitulation," Chomsky did not totally abandon his former heroes. "There has been *one* elected leader in the Middle East, *one*, who was elected in a reasonably fair, supervised election... namely Yasser Arafat," so he informed us. In Chomsky's parallel universe, the leaders of Israel and Turkey were mere usurpers, while the terrorist dictator who ran the Palestinian Authority – a man who rigged elections, silenced the media and crushed the opposition; a man whose own colleagues compared him to Idi Amin and Saddam Hussein – was the only true democrat in the Middle East!<sup>181</sup>

As the Oslo Accords progressed toward their inevitable climax of bloodbath and slaughter, Chomsky ranted and raved about the “Labor/Likud program of establishing a Bantustan-style settlement” in the West Bank and Gaza. He placed great stress on the Israeli settlements, knowing full well that the vast majority of the settlers live next to the pre-1967 borders and pose no obstacle to a major withdrawal. And he portrayed Ehud Barak’s two-state proposal as a “rejectionist” plan entailing “cantonization” of the disputed territories, with the Palestinian Authority now “playing the role traditionally assigned to indigenous collaborators under the several varieties of imperial rule.”<sup>182</sup> But PLO strategist Faisal Husseini offered a rather different interpretation:

Barak agreed to a withdrawal from 95% of the occupied Palestinian lands... no other party will be able to conduct a dialogue with us except from the point where Barak stopped, namely, from the right to 95% of the territory... our eyes will continue to aspire to the strategic goal, namely, to Palestine from the [Jordan] River to the [Mediterranean] Sea.<sup>183</sup>

Husseini was “a leading West Bank moderate” in Chomsky’s eyes.<sup>184</sup> “We are ambushing the Israelis and cheating them,” proclaimed this heroic figure: “our ultimate goal is the liberation of all historic Palestine from the river to the sea.” As for the two-state solution, “we distinguish the strategic, long-term goals from the political phased goals, which we are compelled to temporarily accept due to international pressure... Palestine in its entirety is an Arab land, the land of the Arab nation.”<sup>185</sup> On similar lines, the chairman of the Palestinian Legislative Council, Ahmad Qurei (Abu Ala), boasted that “it was the first intifada that brought about Oslo, and this is *an important and great achievement* because it did so *without us giving anything*.”<sup>186</sup> Evidently the leaders of the PLO have yet to be convinced by Chomsky’s insights into their predicament.

The climax of the Oslo Accords was the second intifada, a savage campaign of massacres directed at innocent Israelis, including pregnant women and infants. This outcome would seem to belie Chomsky’s thesis that the Palestinian Authority is “a virtual agency of the Israeli government.”<sup>187</sup> As the burned and mutilated corpses of women and children lay scattered in Israel’s buses and streets, its nightclubs and cafes, the Palestinian Authority demanded more of the same:

All spears should be directed at the Jews, at the enemies of Allah, the nation that was cursed in Allah’s book. Allah has described them as apes and pigs... We blow them up in Hadera, we blow them up in Tel Aviv and in Netanya... until the Jew will hide behind a stone or a tree, and the stone or the tree will say: Oh Muslim, Oh servant of Allah, a Jew is hiding behind me, come kill him.<sup>188</sup>

Meanwhile Egypt offered “thanks to Hitler, of blessed memory” for his actions against “the most vile criminals on the face of the earth,” while conceding that “we do have a complaint” against the Fuhrer, in that “his revenge on them was not enough.” Lebanon’s Hezbollah vowed “to finish off the entire cancerous Zionist project.” Syria proclaimed that “the intifada is the countdown for the destruction of Israel.” Saudi clerics affirmed the religious duty to “destroy the tyrant Jews” because “the Jews are the helpers of Satan.”<sup>189</sup> But Chomsky’s readers will search in vain for any acknowledgment of these facts in his writings on the Middle East.

Chomsky’s fanatical hatred of Israel is such that even simple consistency is too much for him. At the height of the suicide bombings, he signed a petition demanding that American universities divest from Israel.<sup>190</sup> Critics pointed out that Chomsky had not proposed comparable measures against any of the racist and fascist dictatorships in the region: the terrorist Palestinian Authority, the apartheid regimes in Egypt or Saudi Arabia, the neo-Nazi

rulers of Syria or the genocidal criminals in Sudan. Having initiated his campaign, Chomsky was then quick to renounce it: "I've probably been the leading opponent for years of the campaign for divestment from Israel," he averred, in a display of doublethink that would make Orwell cringe.<sup>191</sup>

## Conclusion

The Hebrew press is much more open than the English language press, and there's a very obvious reason: Hebrew is a secret language, you only read it if you're inside the tribe. Like most cultures it's a tribal culture.

- Noam Chomsky<sup>192</sup>

In light of this horrifying record of apologetics for Nazi-style fanaticism, we can only ask: What is Chomsky's motive for pretending that Arab regimes are falling over themselves to make peace, that the PLO is a bastion of moderation, that Israel is plotting the destruction of the whole world? Why does he demand that the Jewish state re-enact the "successful social revolution" which began with 70,000-100,000 murders in communist Yugoslavia? Why does he complain that Israel did not support the FLN terrorists who massacred 30,000-150,000 innocent people after Algerian independence?<sup>193</sup> Why does he spin his ridiculous tales of Zionist designs extending from the Nile to the Euphrates; his fables of Zionist conspiracies involving CIA money, the Italian Red Brigades, and the oil sheikhs of Saudi Arabia? Where is the method behind the madness?

A simple answer suggests itself. In his first writings on the subject, Chomsky warned that a key barrier to a "just peace" in the Middle East was "commitment to a Jewish state."<sup>194</sup> Shortly afterwards, he complained that his "peace" plan, entailing abolition of this Jewish state, had been thwarted by "the commitment of the Israeli government to Jewish dominance throughout the region."<sup>195</sup> He soon came to believe that the Jewish homeland was "a place where racialism, religious discrimination, militarism and injustice prevail," with non-Jews subject to persecution "all too reminiscent of the pogroms from which our forefathers fled."<sup>196</sup> As we have seen, he constantly equates Jews with Nazis, referring to "Israeli concentration camps" and the "genocidal texts of the Bible," and warning of a Zionist "final solution" that will annihilate the human race - an accusation without parallel even in the pages of *Mein Kampf*. At the same time, he believes that there are "no antisemitic implications in denial of the existence of gas chambers, or even denial of the holocaust," or in the claim "that the holocaust (whether one believes it took place or not) is being exploited, viciously so, by apologists for Israeli repression and violence."<sup>197</sup>

Nor can we forget the unadulterated bile that Chomsky has seen fit to pour upon his fellow Diaspora Jews. In a discussion of race and IQ, he wrote that it "might conceivably be the case" that "Jews have a genetically determined tendency toward usury and domination."<sup>198</sup> Subsequently he discovered that American Jews were "a substantial part of the dominant privileged elite groups in every part of the society... they're very influential, particularly in the ideological system, lots of writers, editors, etc. and that has an effect."<sup>199</sup> Asked why his books were ignored by the American Jewish press, he responded: "The Jewish community here is deeply totalitarian. They do not want democracy, they do not want freedom."<sup>200</sup> Elsewhere he invoked the status of New York, with its "huge Jewish population, Jewish-run media, a Jewish mayor, and domination of cultural and economic life."<sup>201</sup> And he offered a novel explanation for public concern about antisemitism: "By now Jews in the US are the most privileged and influential part of the population... privileged people want to make sure they have total control, not just 98% control."<sup>202</sup> Shocked by this injustice, the "dissident" from MIT will bravely struggle to protect the suffering masses from their privileged Jewish oppressors.

In sum, the entire corpus of Chomsky's writings on the Arab-Israeli conflict is simply



a spectacular propaganda hoax, a mass of distortions, falsifications and ludicrous fantasies, all of which serve to incriminate the victims and exonerate the aggressors in this ongoing tragedy. Every crime by Israel's foes is portrayed as a regrettable but understandable lapse, a mere detour from the course of moderation and compromise which they pursue with such extraordinary benevolence, notwithstanding the demonic depravity of the nation they are fighting to annihilate. It is hardly surprising that for the advocate of such a worldview, fellow Jews are hated enemies, and Holocaust deniers cherished allies.

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<sup>1</sup> Interview, *Cambridge Chronicle*, April 9, 2003.

<sup>2</sup> For the different phases of this campaign, see Noam Chomsky, *Peace in the Middle East?* (London: Fontana, 1975); *Fateful Triangle: United States, Israel and the Palestinians* (1983; rev. ed. London: Pluto Press, 1999); *Pirates and Emperors, Old and New: International Terrorism in the Real World* (1986; rev. ed. London: Pluto Press, 2002); *Middle East Illusions* (Lanham, Maryland: Rowman & Littlefield, 2003). This is a mere sample.

<sup>3</sup> *The Harvard Crimson*, November 30, 1972.

<sup>4</sup> *Fateful Triangle*, 21, 26, 29, 256-7n.

<sup>5</sup> *Middle East Illusions*, 179.

<sup>6</sup> *Fateful Triangle*, 217.

<sup>7</sup> Noam Chomsky and C.P. Otero, *Language and Politics* (Oakland, CA: AK Press, 2004), 670.

<sup>8</sup> *Ibid.*, 676.

<sup>9</sup> Noam Chomsky, *Deterring Democracy* (London: Vintage, 1992), 438.

<sup>10</sup> *Fateful Triangle*, 208, 208n.

<sup>11</sup> *Ibid.*, 271.

<sup>12</sup> *Pirates and Emperors*, 45.

<sup>13</sup> Interview, *Challenge*, No. 44, July-August 1997.

<sup>14</sup> *Language and Politics*, 499.

<sup>15</sup> *Ibid.*, 568-9.

<sup>16</sup> *Pirates and Emperors*, 28-9. He adds that "Israeli intelligence apparently contributes to these efforts." *Fateful Triangle*, 11n.

<sup>17</sup> *Peace in the Middle East*, 119.

<sup>18</sup> *Ibid.*, 17.

<sup>19</sup> See his remarks in *Dissent, Power and Confrontation*, ed. Alexander Klein (New York: McGraw-Hill, 1971), 118; Noam Chomsky and Edward Herman, *The Washington Connection and Third World Fascism* (Boston: South End Press, 1979), 20-1, 28; Chomsky and Herman, *After the Cataclysm* (Boston: South End Press, 1979), 140, 149, 205.

<sup>20</sup> Noam Chomsky, Bernard Avishai, "An Exchange on the Jewish State," *New York Review of Books*, July 17, 1975.

<sup>21</sup> See the constitutions of Armenia, arts. 11, 14; Lithuania, art. 32; Poland, art. 52; Ukraine, arts. 11, 12. See also the constitutions of Albania, art. 8; Bulgaria, art. 25; Hungary, art. 6; Macedonia, preamble, art. 49; Romania, art. 7.

<sup>22</sup> Chomsky and Avishai, "An Exchange on the Jewish State."

<sup>23</sup> This factual blunder recurs in Chomsky's writings: "While it is commonly argued that Israel is Jewish only in the sense that England is English... that is a flat falsehood. A citizen of England is English..." *Fateful Triangle*, 157.

<sup>24</sup> See e.g. Henry Kamm, *New York Times*, July 22, 1979 (ethnic cleansing in Vietnam); *San Diego Union*, July 20, 1986 (boat people deaths, citing UN figures); Ben Kiernan, *The Pol Pot Regime: Race, Power and Genocide in Cambodia under the Khmer Rouge, 1975-79* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1998).

<sup>25</sup> *Fateful Triangle*, 160.

<sup>26</sup> Ben-Gurion, "Lines of Action," Jewish Agency Executive, June 7, 1938, quoted in Efraim Karsh, *Fabricating Israeli History: The "New Historians"* (London: Frank Cass, 1997), 54-5.

<sup>27</sup> Vladimir Jabotinsky, "The Social Question," *Hayarden*, October 21, 1938, quoted in *The Political and Social Philosophy of Ze'ev Jabotinsky*, ed. Mordechai Sarig (London: Vallentine Mitchell, 1999), 50.

<sup>28</sup> *Peace in the Middle East?*, 43, 39, 114.

<sup>29</sup> *Ibid.*, 69 (successful social revolution); *New York Times*, July 9, 1990 (Yugoslav massacres).

<sup>30</sup> *Peace in the Middle East?*, 69, 115.

<sup>31</sup> Carl Gershman, "Matzpen and its Sponsors," *Commentary*, August 1970; Arie Bober, Noam

Chomsky, Letters, *Commentary*, October 1970.

<sup>32</sup> *Fateful Triangle*, 39-40.

<sup>33</sup> Noam Chomsky, "Advocacy and Realism: A Reply to Noah Cohen," ZNet, August 26, 2004: <http://www.zmag.org/content/showarticle.cfm?SectionID=22&ItemID=6110>.

<sup>34</sup> *Peace in the Middle East*, 70.

<sup>35</sup> Jamal Husseini, of the Arab Higher Committee of Palestine, informed the United Nations: "The representative of the Jewish Agency told us yesterday that they were not the attackers, that the Arabs had begun the fighting. We did not deny this. We told the whole world that we were going to fight." Security Council Official Records, April 16, 1948.

<sup>36</sup> BBC News Broadcast, May 15, 1948. On the mendacity of far-left "revisionist historians" who deny the facts, see Karsh, *Fabricating Israeli History*; id., *Rethinking the Middle East* (London: Frank Cass, 2003), 107-203.

<sup>37</sup> Yehoshafat Harkabi, *Arab Attitudes to Israel* (London: Valentine Mitchell, 1972), 38, 279 (Egypt, Jordan); Bernard Lewis, *Semites and Anti-Semites* (London: Weidenfeld and Nicolson, 1986), 162 (Saudi Arabia); Michael B. Oren, *Six Days of War: June 1967 and the Making of the Modern Middle East* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2002), 78 (Syria).

<sup>38</sup> *Fateful Triangle*, 32.

<sup>39</sup> Palestine National Charter, 1968, arts. 9, 19, 22; for text and commentary, see Yehoshafat Harkabi, *The Palestinian Covenant and its Meaning* (London: Valentine Mitchell, 1979).

<sup>40</sup> *Fateful Triangle*, 164; also *Language and Politics*, 407.

<sup>41</sup> *Fateful Triangle*, 3.

<sup>42</sup> Noam Chomsky, *Necessary Illusions: Thought Control in Democratic Societies* (Boston: South End Press, 1989), 289. Chomsky repeatedly cites the assessments of Israeli "doves" as evidence of Arab moderation, just as Nazi apologists might have illustrated the Fuhrer's peaceful intentions by invoking the delusions of British appeasers in the 1930s.

<sup>43</sup> *Fateful Triangle*, 64.

<sup>44</sup> *Radio Cairo*, March 17, 1968, quoted in Gil Carl AlRoy, "Do the Arabs Want Peace?" *Commentary*, February 1974.

<sup>45</sup> Oren, *Six Days of War*, 319, 326.

<sup>46</sup> *Fateful Triangle*, 64; see also *Language and Politics*, 411, 511, 703, 747; *Pirates and Emperors*, 25-6, 73, 116, 167-8; *Middle East Illusions*, 180-1.

<sup>47</sup> *Al-Ahram* (Egypt), February 25, 1971, quoted in Theodore Draper, "The Road to Geneva," *Commentary*, February 1974.

<sup>48</sup> *Fateful Triangle*, 99.

<sup>49</sup> *Radio Damascus*, October 15, 1973, reprinted in *The Israel-Arab Reader*, ed. Walter Laqueur (New York: Bantam Books, rev. ed., 1976), 459, emphasis added.

<sup>50</sup> *Al-Ahram* (Egypt), October 19, 1973, quoted in Draper, "Road to Geneva," and AlRoy, "Do the Arabs Want Peace?"

<sup>51</sup> *Wafa* (Beirut), June 9, 1974; *Journal of Palestine Studies*, Summer 1974, 224.

<sup>52</sup> *Fateful Triangle*, 67; see also *Language and Politics*, 746; *Pirates and Emperors*, 23; *Deterring Democracy*, 424; *Middle East Illusions*, 182.

<sup>53</sup> UN Security Council Draft Resolution, January 26, 1976; text in *The Times* (London), January 28, 1976. Similar considerations apply to the 1982 Fez Plan (based on the 1981 Fahd Plan), which calls for "peaceful coexistence," according to Chomsky, *Fateful Triangle*, 344. This plan also included a thinly veiled endorsement of the "Right of Return."

<sup>54</sup> Kaddoumi, *Newsweek*, January 5, 1976; Khalaf, *New York Times*, February 17, 1976; Chomsky, *Fateful Triangle*, 68.

<sup>55</sup> Associated Press, March 12, 1979.

<sup>56</sup> *El Mundo*, Venezuela, February 11, 1980; cited in John Laffin, *The PLO Connections* (London: Corgi Books, 1982), 43-4.

<sup>57</sup> Associated Press, June 5, 1980.

<sup>58</sup> Ibrahim Souss, PLO representative in Paris, *Europe No. 1 Radio* (France), June 16, 1980; *The Times* (London) August 5, 1980.

<sup>59</sup> *Fateful Triangle*, 41.

<sup>60</sup> *Ibid.*, 161 ("constant themes"); *Pirates and Emperors*, 58 ("Nile to Iraq"); *Deterring Democracy*, 435 ("Nile to Euphrates"). Ben-Gurion's views were the exact opposite: "There is no reason for including the Sinai Peninsula, Lebanon, or regions of Syria and Saudi Arabia." Further, "The State of Israel is not identical with Eretz Israel [Hebrew: The Land of Israel]." Zaki Shalom, *David Ben-Gurion, the State of Israel and the Arab World, 1949-1956* (Brighton, UK: Sussex Academic Press, 2002), 150.

See Daniel Pipes, "Imperial Israel: The Nile-to-Euphrates Calumny," *Middle East Quarterly*, March 1994.

<sup>61</sup> *Fateful Triangle*, 455, 467-9 ("The Road to Armageddon" is the chapter title); see also *Deterring Democracy*, 438.

<sup>62</sup> *Fateful Triangle*, 230.

<sup>63</sup> *Ibid.*, 186-8, also citing two left-wing Israeli journalists who made the same points, again writing in the midst of the Israeli invasion, not during the peak years of PLO barbarism and massacre. Worse still, his footnote, 316n10, cites a report by David K. Shipler, *New York Times*, July 25, 1982, as if it supports his claims; in fact Shipler's article is devoted to accounts of PLO tyranny and oppression.

<sup>64</sup> Jillian Becker, *The PLO: The Rise and Fall of the Palestine Liberation Organization* (London: Weidenfeld & Nicholson, 1984), 123-6.

<sup>65</sup> *Washington Post*, July 17, 1976 (100 civilians); Becker, *PLO*, 264n9 (65 villagers).

<sup>66</sup> Becker, *PLO*, 154.

<sup>67</sup> *Ibid.*, 143, 153, 159, 268n13; *PLO in Lebanon: Selected Documents*, ed. Raphael Israeli (London: Weidenfeld & Nicholson, 1983), 240, 244-6, 234-53 *passim*.

<sup>68</sup> American Lebanese League, "The PLO Must Quit Lebanon!" *New York Times*, July 14, 1982, advertisement.

<sup>69</sup> World Lebanese Organization *et al.*, "Who is the Oppressor in the Middle East?" *Washington Times*, October 7, 1996, advertisement.

<sup>70</sup> *Fateful Triangle*, 314.

<sup>71</sup> Becker, *PLO*, 153.

<sup>72</sup> Ze'ev Schiff and Ehud Ya'ari, *Israel's Lebanon War* (New York: Simon and Schuster, 1984), 147.

<sup>73</sup> Becker, *PLO*, 280n10.

<sup>74</sup> *New York Times*, July 25, 1982.

<sup>75</sup> *Fateful Triangle*, 309.

<sup>76</sup> Schiff and Ya'ari, *Israel's Lebanon War*, 220.

<sup>77</sup> *Fateful Triangle*, 206.

<sup>78</sup> *Ibid.*, 217, referring to a hypothetical Syrian conquest of northern Israel. On the "destruction" caused by Israeli tactics, he cites a report by David Shipler, who in fact stresses that the PLO had caused the carnage by placing military targets beside churches, mosques, schools and other civilian locations; *New York Times*, July 3, 1982.

<sup>79</sup> *Ibid.*, 313n (points of similarity); 141, 217, 230, 233, 240, 307, 333, 335, 390, 398, 404, 417 (concentration camps); 444 (Bible).

<sup>80</sup> *Ibid.*, 229 (Israeli conduct); *After the Cataclysm*, 160 ("saved many lives").

<sup>81</sup> Richard A. Gabriel, *Operation Peace for Galilee* (New York: Hill & Wang, 1984), 86-7.

<sup>82</sup> Trevor N. Dupuy and Paul Martell, *Flawed Victory: The Arab-Israeli Conflict and the 1982 War in Lebanon* (Fairfax, Va.: Hero Books, 1986), 173.

<sup>83</sup> W. Hays Parks, "Air War and the Law of War," *Air Force Law Review*, Winter 1990, 165-6.

<sup>84</sup> *Fateful Triangle*, 31.

<sup>85</sup> *Ibid.*, 229-30; *New York Times*, July 14, 1982 (Palestine Red Crescent Society); "Notebook," *New Republic*, March 5, 1984 (Arafat contacts).

<sup>86</sup> *Fateful Triangle*, 229-30, 322n144; "Eyewitness: Israeli Captivity – A Report by Dr. Steinar Berge and Oyvind Moller From Norway," *Journal of Palestine Studies*, Summer/Autumn 1982, 85.

<sup>87</sup> *New York Times*, July 14, 1982.

<sup>88</sup> *New York Times*, July 26, 1982.

<sup>89</sup> I.e. 12,310 killed outside Beirut and 6,775 dead inside Beirut; Associated Press, December 1, 1982; *Christian Science Monitor*, December 21, 1982.

<sup>90</sup> *Fateful Triangle*, 221.

<sup>91</sup> *Necessary Illusions*, 170, emphasis added. See also Noam Chomsky, "Middle East Diplomacy: Continuities and Changes," *Z Magazine*, December 1991: "The 1982 invasion was far more devastating, with over 20,000 killed, mostly civilians."

<sup>92</sup> *Washington Post*, *The Times* (London), November 16, 1984. Presumably this number excludes the PLO terrorists and the Phalangist killings at Sabra and Shatila.

<sup>93</sup> *Fateful Triangle*, xx, xxii n20, citing Aliza Marcus, *Boston Globe*, March 1, 1999, who writes: "More than 900 Israeli soldiers have died since 1982. As many as 25,000 Lebanese and Palestinians have been killed during the same period, according to Lebanese officials and international relief agencies."

<sup>94</sup> Noam Chomsky, "The Current Crisis in the Middle East," Lecture, Massachusetts Institute of Technology, December 14, 2000: [http://web.media.mit.edu/~nitin/mideast/chomsky\\_lecture.html](http://web.media.mit.edu/~nitin/mideast/chomsky_lecture.html). See

also *Pirates and Emperors*, 8: “Some 20,000 were killed during the 1982 Israeli invasion... The Lebanese government reports 25,000 killed after the 1982 invasion.”

<sup>95</sup> Noam Chomsky, *Hegemony or Survival: America’s Quest for Global Dominance* (London: Penguin Books, 2004), 167.

<sup>96</sup> *Fateful Triangle*, 74.

<sup>97</sup> Walter Laqueur, “The Politics of Adolescence,” *The New Republic*, March 24, 1982. Laqueur goes on to describe the Chomsky volume he is reviewing as “such a squalid tract, such a clumsy piece of propaganda, such a ludicrous fabrication, intellectually worthless and morally grotesque, a parody of scholarship that reminds me of the worst excesses of Hitlerism and Stalinism...”

<sup>98</sup> *Fateful Triangle*, 405.

<sup>99</sup> “Report of the Commission of Inquiry into the Events at the Refugee Camps in Beirut (The Kahan Commission),” February 8, 1983; text in the *Jerusalem Post*, February 9, 1983.

<sup>100</sup> *New York Times*, January 25, 1985.

<sup>101</sup> See the report by the Jerusalem Center for Public Affairs, “Elie Hobeika’s Assassination: Covering Up the Secrets of Sabra and Shatilla,” *Jerusalem Issue Brief*, January 30, 2002. Hobeika was assassinated before testifying to Belgian investigators: he had “specifically stated that he did not plan to identify Sharon as being responsible for Sabra and Shatilla.” Ibid.

<sup>102</sup> *New York Times*, March 10, 1992, citing figures from the Lebanese police, who added that another 144,000 died in the civil war, 1975-90, with 13,968 abducted by Christian and Muslim militias, most presumed dead, and 857 killed in the 1982 Sabra and Shatila massacre.

<sup>103</sup> *Fateful Triangle*, 409.

<sup>104</sup> “The Responsibility of the Intellectuals,” *New York Review of Books*, February 23, 1967.

<sup>105</sup> *Fateful Triangle*, 161-2.

<sup>106</sup> Jewish Agency Executive, June 7, 1938; reproduced in Karsh, *Fabricating Israeli History*, 44-5. Emphases added.

<sup>107</sup> Shabtai Teveth, *Ben-Gurion and the Palestinian Arabs* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1985), 170. Emphasis added. There is, incidentally, an important error on page 189, where Ben-Gurion is quoted as saying: “We must expel the Arabs and take their places.” The actual quote reads: “We do not wish and do not need to expel Arabs and take their place.” Karsh, *Fabricating Israeli History*, 49.

<sup>108</sup> *Fateful Triangle*, 182, 382; also *Pirates and Emperors*, 73.

<sup>109</sup> Protocol of Meeting Concerning Arab Affairs, January 1-2, 1948, Kibbutz Meuhad Archive, Ramat Efal, Israel; quoted in Efraim Karsh, “Benny Morris and the Reign of Error,” *Middle East Quarterly*, March 1999. Emphasis added.

<sup>110</sup> Protocol of Mapai Central Committee Meeting, September 16, 1954, Ben-Gurion Archive, Sdeh Boker, Israel; quoted in David Tal, “Israel’s Road to the 1956 War,” *International Journal of Middle East Studies*, February 1996, 67. Emphasis added.

<sup>111</sup> *Fateful Triangle*, 68.

<sup>112</sup> Political Resolutions of the 13<sup>th</sup> Palestine National Council, arts. 1,2,9; reproduced (with commentary) in Harkabi, *The Palestinian Covenant and its Meaning*, 149-59. Emphasis added.

<sup>113</sup> *New York Times*, March 21, 1977. Emphasis added.

<sup>114</sup> *Fateful Triangle*, 182; also *Pirates and Emperors*, 73, 132; *Language and Politics*, 703; *Middle East Illusions*, 184, 237, where Eban’s statement is further twisted into a reference to Israeli operations in Lebanon.

<sup>115</sup> Abba Eban, “Morality and Warfare,” *Jerusalem Post*, August 16, 1981. Eban’s article was a reply to a self-serving column by Menachem Begin which sought to deflect criticism of Israeli air strikes in Lebanon by accusing Labor leaders of deliberately bombing civilians when in government.

<sup>116</sup> *Pirates and Emperors*, 73-4, 197n95.

<sup>117</sup> *Monitin*, October 1985.

<sup>118</sup> *Fateful Triangle*, 482.

<sup>119</sup> The misquotation originated in the *New York Times*, April 1, 1988, and was repeated many times over the next few days. It was exposed by Charles Krauthammer, *Washington Post*, April 15 & 21, 1988.

<sup>120</sup> See Moshe Yegar, Israeli Consul-General, Letters, *New York Times*, April 20, 1988.

<sup>121</sup> Numbers 13:33: “And there we saw giants... and we were in our own sight as grasshoppers, and so we were in their sight.”

<sup>122</sup> *Fateful Triangle*, 543, 566n15.

<sup>123</sup> *Boston Globe*, November 17, 1995.

<sup>124</sup> *New York Times*, November 17, 1995. Emphasis added.

<sup>125</sup> *Pirates and Emperors*, 180. See also *Language and Politics*, 743; *Middle East Illusions*, 215, 227-8;

*Hegemony or Survival*, 170; Interview, *Haaretz*, December 29, 2000; “Neocolonial Invitation to a Tribal War,” *Los Angeles Times*, August 13, 2001; “Back in the USA,” *Red Pepper* (UK), May 2002; “The Solution is the Problem,” *The Guardian* (UK), May 11, 2002; “Reshaping History,” *Al-Ahram Weekly* (Egypt), November 18-24, 2004; etc.

<sup>126</sup> Shlomo Ben-Ami, “From Oslo to a Lasting Peace,” *The Independent* (UK), December 7, 1994.

<sup>127</sup> Shlomo Ben-Ami, *Makom Le-Khulam* [Hebrew] (Ha-Kibuts Ha-Me’uhad, 1998), 113.

<sup>128</sup> Noam Chomsky, *Towards a New Cold War* (New York: Pantheon Books, 1982), 236; see also *Fateful Triangle*, 117; *Pirates and Emperors*, 186n8.

<sup>129</sup> Michael Walzer, “Nationalism, Internationalism and the Jews: The Chimera of a Binational State,” in *Israel, the Arabs and the Middle East*, ed. Irving Howe and Carl Gershman (New York: Bantam Books, 1972), 195. Emphases added.

<sup>130</sup> *Fateful Triangle*, 482, 511n23.

<sup>131</sup> *Journal of Palestine Studies*, Winter 1987, 97.

<sup>132</sup> *Pirates and Emperors*, 78.

<sup>133</sup> *Fateful Triangle*, 95-6.

<sup>134</sup> Michael S. Arnold, *Jerusalem Post*, April 3, 1998 (advance warning, minimum casualties); Danny Rubinstein, *Ha’aretz*, January 28, 1998 (Arab death toll, citing historians at Bir Zeit University).

<sup>135</sup> *Pirates and Emperors*, 78; the massacre allegation was demolished by Alon Kadish, Avraham Sela and Arnon Golan, *Kibush Lod, 1948* (Tel Aviv: Haganah Archive, 2000) [in Hebrew]. The figure of 250 dead was the number of Arab casualties reported by the local Israeli commander after the suppression of an armed rebellion. Arab propaganda initially claimed that 3,000 had been massacred. Israel’s far-left “new historians” have produced some noteworthy atrocity fabrications; see Meyrav Wurmser, “Made-Up Massacre,” *The Weekly Standard*, September 10, 2001, discussing the Tantura hoax.

<sup>136</sup> *Pirates and Emperors*, 30, 78; Noam Chomsky, *Turning the Tide* (Boston: South End Press, 1985), 76; Yoav Gelber, *Palestine 1948* (Brighton, UK: Sussex Academic Press, 2001), 209 (27 killings; 80 died in the conquest of the village); Associated Press, August 24, 1984 (revenge for anti-Jewish atrocities).

<sup>137</sup> Netanel Lorch, *The Edge of the Sword: Israel’s War of Independence, 1947-1949* (New York: G.P. Putnam’s Sons, 1961), 450 (2,000 civilians); Sarah Honig, *Jerusalem Post*, March 1, 2001 (600 captives).

<sup>138</sup> *Pirates and Emperors*, 198n105.

<sup>139</sup> Shabtai Tevet, “The Palestine Arab Refugee Problem and its Origins,” *Middle East Studies*, April 1990, 216-7.

<sup>140</sup> Ya’acov Meron, “Why Jews Fled the Arab Countries,” *Middle East Quarterly*, September 1995; Moshe Gat, *The Jewish Exodus from Iraq, 1948-1951* (London: Frank Cass, 1997); *The Forgotten Millions: The Modern Jewish Exodus from Arab Lands*, ed. Malka Hillel Shulewitz (New York: Continuum, 2001); Itamar Levin and Rachel Neiman, *Locked Doors: The Seizure of Jewish Property in Arab Countries* (Westport, CT: Praeger, 2001).

<sup>141</sup> *Peace in the Middle East?*, 182n20. See also *Fateful Triangle*, 236.

<sup>142</sup> *The Times* (London), June 15, 1967.

<sup>143</sup> Letters, *Commentary*, December 1969.

<sup>144</sup> *Pirates and Emperors*, 73.

<sup>145</sup> Jonathan Shimshoni, *Israel and Conventional Deterrence: Border Warfare From 1953 to 1970* (New York: Cornell University Press, 1988), 137-8.

<sup>146</sup> *Fateful Triangle*, 74; also *Pirates and Emperors*, 77-8.

<sup>147</sup> *New York Times*, February 23, 24, 25, June 7, 1973; *Washington Post*, February 23, 1973; *Hotam* (Israel), February 10, 1984.

<sup>148</sup> *Peace in the Middle East?*, 182n20.

<sup>149</sup> *The Guardian* (London), January 26, 1974.

<sup>150</sup> *The Times* (London), October 10, 1973.

<sup>151</sup> Becker, *PLO*, 186-7.

<sup>152</sup> *Pirates and Emperors*, 65.

<sup>153</sup> *Fateful Triangle*, 189; *Pirates and Emperors*, 65, 132; Chomsky’s source for the claim of “thousands killed” appears to be the article by far-left writer Judith Coburn quoted in *Fateful Triangle*, 190-1.

<sup>154</sup> *Pirates and Emperors*, 51, 191n41, citing James Markham, *New York Times*, December 4, 1975 (9 dead according to the local hospital, 17 according to the PLO press service, with no breakdown between combatants and civilians).

<sup>155</sup> *Towards a New Cold War*, 296, 452n115 (citing *Time*, April 3, 1978, which gives no source); *Fateful Triangle*, 99, 192 (citing *TNCW*); *Washington Post*, March 19, 1978 (Red Cross, 300 dead); *US News & World Report*, March 27, 1978 (400 dead, no source); Paul Findley, "Arab Victims of Recent Israeli Raids," *Journal of Palestine Studies*, Spring 1980, 202 (list of 344 dead in total, 1977-80).

<sup>156</sup> *Fateful Triangle*, 197, 318n42.

<sup>157</sup> *Seven Days*, July 1976; reprinted in *Journal of Palestine Studies*, Autumn 1976.

<sup>158</sup> *Pirates and Emperors*, 76; also *Language and Politics*, 417, 474, where the figures escalate to "about 500 casualties, including approximately 200 children who were killed or wounded in an attack which destroyed a schoolhouse."

<sup>159</sup> *New York Times*, January 5 & 6, 1984; also *Boston Globe*, January 5, 1984: "Most of the targets were strongholds of the Islamic Amal Movement and the Hezbollah, or Party of God - Lebanese extremist groups whose members are Shi'ite Moslems. They are supported by Iranian Revolutionary Guards who preach Ayatollah Ruhollah Khomeini's brand of revolution."

<sup>160</sup> *Pirates and Emperors*, 64 (hijack); *Boston Globe*, July 3, 1984 (guerrillas).

<sup>161</sup> *Pirates and Emperors*, 64-5.

<sup>162</sup> *Washington Post*, June 28, 1984. Chomsky cites the *New York Times*, June 30, 1984, which naively reports the Lebanese police claim that the casualties were "boy scouts belonging to a militant Moslem fundamentalist faction, Al Tawhid." In Chomsky's dictionary of distortion, this becomes "children at a Sunni boy scout camp."

<sup>163</sup> *Pirates and Emperors*, 75.

<sup>164</sup> Associated Press, July 11, 1985.

<sup>165</sup> *Pirates and Emperors*, 64-5; *New York Times*, June 28, 1984.

<sup>166</sup> *Pirates and Emperors*, 64, 194n71.

<sup>167</sup> *Ibid.*, 64 (hijacking); *New York Times*, *Los Angeles Times*, February 5, 1986 (terrorist congress).

<sup>168</sup> *Pirates and Emperors*, 38.

<sup>169</sup> On Syria, see *The Massacres of Hama: Law Enforcement Requires Accountability*, Syrian Human Rights Committee, London, 2002, reporting 30,000-40,000 massacred and 10,000-15,000 disappeared; on Iraq, Gerard Alexander, "A Lifesaving War," *The Weekly Standard*, March 29, 2004; on Iran, Christina Lamb, "Khomeini Fatwa 'Led to Killing of 30,000 in Iran,'" *Sunday Telegraph* (UK), February 4, 2001; on Sudan, *Quantifying Genocide in Southern Sudan and the Nuba Mountains, 1983-1998*, US Committee for Refugees, 1998.

<sup>170</sup> *Middle East Illusions*, 199.

<sup>171</sup> *Necessary Illusions*, 296, 311.

<sup>172</sup> Khalaf, *Al-Watan* (Kuwait), February 11, 1989; Arafat, *BBC Summary of World Broadcasts*, January 8, 1990. See Jeane Kirkpatrick, "How the PLO Was Legitimized," *Commentary*, July 1989.

<sup>173</sup> For an account of Israel's surrender in the negotiations, see Yigal Carmon, "The Story Behind the Handshake," *Commentary*, March 1994.

<sup>174</sup> *Fateful Triangle*, 536.

<sup>175</sup> Noam Chomsky, *Powers and Prospects* (Boston: South End Press, 1996), 148, 150. These absurdities were compounded by blatantly erroneous predictions, e.g.: "It is also hardly to be expected that Israel will end its illegal occupation of southern Lebanon," 231. Israel withdrew to the international border soon afterwards.

<sup>176</sup> *Fateful Triangle*, 558.

<sup>177</sup> *Ruz-el-Yusuf* (Egypt), January 23, 1995; see David Bar-Illan, "Egypt Against Israel," *Commentary*, September 1995.

<sup>178</sup> *BBC Summary of World Broadcasts*, March 25, 1995.

<sup>179</sup> *Jerusalem Post*, February 23, 1996. See Yedidya Atlas, "Arafat's Secret Agenda Is to Wear Israelis Out," *Insight on the News*, April 1, 1996, citing multiple Israeli and Scandinavian reports. Ehud Ya'ari, "Bend or Break!" *Jerusalem Report*, April 4, 1996, confirmed the authenticity of the speech. See also Efraim Karsh, *Arafat's War: The Man and His Struggle for Israeli Conquest* (New York: Grove Press, 2003).

<sup>180</sup> For documentation of the Palestinian Authority's alliance with Hamas, see Morton A. Klein, "Focus on Hamas: The PLO's Friend or Foe?" *Middle East Quarterly*, June 1996. In the words of Farouk Kaddoumi, head of the PLO's political department, "We were never different from Hamas. Hamas is a national movement. Strategically, there is no difference between us." *Kul Al-Arab* (Israel), January 3, 2003; *Jerusalem Post*, January 4, 2003.

<sup>181</sup> Chomsky interview, February 17, 2004, <http://www.usamnesia.com/interviews/nc/chomsky.htm>, <http://www.chomsky.info/interviews/20040217.htm> (one elected leader); Daniel Polisar, "Yasser Arafat and the Myth of Legitimacy," *Azure*, Summer 2002 (rigged elections); *US News and World*

Report, December 27, 1993 (Idi Amin/Saddam Hussein analogy from senior PLO official Yasser Abd Rabbo).

<sup>182</sup> *Fateful Triangle*, 563 (Bantustans); *Middle East Illusions*, 217 (Barak offer). Israel could abandon 89% of the West Bank while annexing over 70% of the settlers, according to the former director of the Jaffee Center for Strategic Studies at Tel Aviv University: *Jerusalem Post*, July 27, 1998. Settlements take up only 1.36% of the West Bank, according to Peace Now: David Makovsky, "Middle East Peace Through Partition," *Foreign Affairs*, March/April 2001.

<sup>183</sup> *Al-Safir* (Lebanon), March 21, 2001. For analysis of the negotiations, see Saul Singer, "Camp David, Real and Invented," *Middle East Quarterly*, Spring 2002, debunking the claims of Arafat apologists Robert Malley and Hussein Agha.

<sup>184</sup> *Necessary Illusions*, 298.

<sup>185</sup> *Al-Arabi* (Egypt), June 24, 2001.

<sup>186</sup> *Al-Nahar* (Lebanon), June 12, 2003, emphasis added.

<sup>187</sup> *Powers and Prospects*, 162.

<sup>188</sup> Palestinian Authority Television, August 3, 2001.

<sup>189</sup> *Al-Akhbar* (Egypt), April 18 & 25, 2001 ("most vile criminals"); *Financial Times*, Europe Edition, April 25, 2001 (Hezbollah); *Agence France Presse*, July 25, 2001 (Syria); Kenneth R. Timmerman, *Preachers of Hate: Islam and the War on America* (New York: Crown Forum, 2003), 147 ("tyrant Jews"); "Friday Sermons in Saudi Mosques: Review and Analysis," Middle East Media Research Institute, September 26, 2002 ("helpers of Satan").

<sup>190</sup> Vicky Hsu, "MIT, Harvard Faculty Petition Universities' Israel Investments," *The Tech* (MIT), May 1, 2002; George Bradt, "Hundreds Support Call For Divestment," *The Harvard Crimson*, May 8, 2002; Alan Dershowitz, "Noam Chomsky's Immoral Petition," *Jerusalem Post*, May 15, 2002.

<sup>191</sup> David Weinfeld, "Chomsky's Gift," *The Harvard Crimson*, December 12, 2002.

<sup>192</sup> Noam Chomsky, Speech to the Scottish Palestine Solidarity Campaign (delivered by live video from MIT), October 11, 2002; published as "Anti-Semitism, Zionism and the Palestinians," *Variant* (a Scottish arts magazine), Winter 2002.

<sup>193</sup> *Peace in the Middle East?*, 73; on the FLN massacres, see Alistair Horne, *A Savage War of Peace: Algeria 1954-1962* (New York: Viking Press, 1977), 538.

<sup>194</sup> *Peace in the Middle East?*, 33.

<sup>195</sup> "An Exchange on the Jewish State," *New York Review of Books*, July 17, 1975.

<sup>196</sup> "Time to Dissociate From Israel," *Christian Science Monitor*, March 4, 1988, advertisement signed by Noam Chomsky *et al.*

<sup>197</sup> See W.D. Rubinstein, "Chomsky and the Neo-Nazis," *Quadrant*, October 1981. This comment alone belies the subsequent pretense that his writings on Holocaust deniers were limited to the issue of "free speech."

<sup>198</sup> Noam Chomsky, "The Fallacy of Richard Herrnstein's IQ," *Social Policy*, May/June 1972.

<sup>199</sup> *Language and Politics*, 570.

<sup>200</sup> *Ibid.*, 685.

<sup>201</sup> Noam Chomsky, "The Middle East Lie," *Lies of Our Times*, January 1990.

<sup>202</sup> "Anti-Semitism, Zionism and the Palestinians," *Variant*, Winter 2002.