

Reviews

Iraq: Deception and Cover-up

Brian Jones, *Failing Intelligence: The true story of how we were fooled into going to war in Iraq*, bitebackpublishing, 332 pages, paperback ISBN 9781906447113, £9.99

The Transport and General Workers' Union used to award the Frank Cousins Peace Prize. It was named in honour of the Union's distinguished General Secretary during the 1950s and '60s, who upheld the cause of peace and nuclear disarmament during the most dangerous years of the Cold War. Frank was described as the 'Awkward Warrior' by his biographer, Geoffrey Goodman. Awkward because he would not give in or stay quiet in the face of wrongdoing. A warrior, not because he was warlike, but because he took the struggle to those who would do down his members and their families and communities, and also to those who would, indeed, beat the drum for war.

'Awkward', in the sense described above, is the word that comes to mind whilst reading Brian Jones' account of the Iraq War, and his dissenting role in it. He has given us an extraordinarily important book, written by an insider who retained integrity whilst his superiors, and most of the politicians, compromised theirs.

Dr Jones goes back to the first Gulf War, in 1991, to establish the context for a long descent into war on Iraq. He identifies Clinton's Iraq Liberation Act of 1998 as indicative of long-term US policy to remove Saddam, years before 9/11. The attacks on New York and Washington in 2001 were to provide the opportunity to follow through on that policy.

In the second section of his book, entitled 'Deception', Dr Jones focuses on the period from early 2002 up to the beginning of the war, in March 2003. The 'Deception' in question is several fold. First of all, there is the Prime Minister's attempt to deceive the public into believing that, after 9/11, Saddam posed a real threat to his neighbours and the wider region, including British military bases in Cyprus, because of his supposed possession of weapons of mass destruction. 'Where's your evidence?' a sceptical public asked. Thus began the abortive attempts to win over public opinion to the coming war, which culminated in the publication of the dodgiest dossier, of September 2002, complete with the Prime Minister's harrowing Foreword.

But there was also another level of deception. This was within and

around the ‘intelligence community’, of which Dr Jones was a long-serving member. In attempting to make a case for an unnecessary war, the Prime Minister called on the Joint Intelligence Committee, or JIC, to do much of the job for him. This was a complete subversion of the established role of the JIC, which was to provide the Prime Minister of the day with objective and measured assessments of perceived threats to the United Kingdom and its many interests. However, some senior intelligence personnel were ready to countenance such deceit, it seems, not least the JIC Chairman, John Scarlett, and the head of MI6, Richard Dearlove.

Perhaps they hadn’t reckoned on awkward questions from the Defence Intelligence Staff (DIS) at the Ministry of Defence. As successive drafts of the September 2001 Dossier were circulated, Dr Jones and his colleague specialising in chemical warfare at the Nuclear, Chemical and Biological Weapons section of the DIS, which Jones headed, warned that the supposed intelligence about Iraq’s weapons of mass destruction, and any threat they might pose, was misleadingly overstated. But their repeated warnings, about the spurious 45-minute period from instruction to launch of some chemical and biological battlefield weaponry and other key details, went unheeded by those drafting the dossier, who were closely attended by Alastair Campbell, the Prime Minister’s press secretary. Then, at the last minute, MI6 remarkably turned up ‘intelligence’ about Iraq’s production of biological and/or chemical agents, which Jones and his colleagues at DIS were not allowed to see. It ‘confirmed’ the Dossier’s claims about Iraq’s WMD. Dearlove briefed Blair about ‘Report X’ (X for unknown, as Jones has styled it, as he has not been allowed to see it). Report X would haunt the deceivers for years to come, even though it may have been withdrawn as unreliable as early as December 2002!

As the Dossier was about to go to press, Dr Jones hastily put his objections in writing to his superior at the Defence Intelligence Staff. A more detailed written objection was also submitted, subsequently, by his colleague specialising in chemical weapons.

This was to no avail, or so it seemed at that time. The September dossier, soberly titled *Iraq’s Weapons of Mass Destruction: The Assessment of the British Government*, was published to suitably sensational headlines such as ‘45 Minutes from Attack’. The UN’s weapons inspectors returned to Iraq. In accordance with UN resolution 1441, Iraq submitted its declaration of what weapons and programmes it had. The early inspections found nothing, and Hans Blix gave reports to the UN Security Council about Iraq’s varying level of co-operation with the inspections. In London, on one freezing Saturday in February 2003, millions of people brought

London to a halt in an attempt to avert the coming onslaught. But not enough MPs were listening, and Parliament duly failed to support an amendment which sought simply to give the inspectors more time to complete their work. In truth, the countdown to shock and awe on Iraq had started in earnest in summer 2002, and the Bush Administration was not to be deprived of its war by a tidal wave of public opposition in Britain. Nor was Mr Blair.

Was there a measure of self-deception on the part of Bush and Blair? Probably. Certainly, there was growing consternation at the top as the occupiers spread out across Iraq, but no weapons of mass destruction were found. ‘Give it time,’ we were told, but quite soon the cover-up of the deception (that there was substantial intelligence about Iraq’s WMD) was in full swing. The Defence Intelligence Staff memos were to prove central to exposing the cover-up of the deception, which forms the third section of Dr Jones’ narrative, though this is only now becoming clear due to the publication of this most valuable book.

In his conclusions, Dr Jones proposes major organisational change for the intelligence services. He does not discuss the advent of the United Kingdom’s National Security Council, ushered in with the arrival of the Coalition Government (see Spokesman 109). Some of us question the utility of many of these functions, which are unaccountable, undemocratic, and very costly. They closely bind the United Kingdom into the foreign policy priorities of the United States. But that is a wider discussion. For the moment, we celebrate the publication of *Failing Intelligence*, which is a genuine blow for freedom.

Tony Simpson

Chomsky

Jean Bricmont and Julie Franck (editors), *Chomsky Notebook*, Columbia University Press, 360 pages, paperback ISBN 9780231144759, £20.50. Originally published in French in 2007.

As a linguist, my interest in reading *Chomsky Notebook* came from a knowledge of the subject’s contributions to the realms of language acquisition and generative grammar. Anyone involved in this field knows the unparalleled esteem in which Noam Chomsky is regarded, and his work over the last 50 years has formed the basis of much important linguistic theory and research.

The first thing to note about the *Chomsky Notebook*, therefore, is the relative lack of attention paid to linguistics. As a collection of works by different authors (including two by Chomsky himself) there are just three articles devoted to linguistics – Boeckx and Hornstein’s review of the development of generative linguistics in general, Chierchia’s exploration of ‘Language, Thought and Reality After Chomsky’ and Grodzinsky’s quite advanced exploration of how generative syntax relates to brain function. Most of the book provides a whistle stop tour of some of Chomsky’s other interests.

Herein lies both the strength and the downfall of this book. An overview of Chomsky’s political engagements – particularly America’s involvement in Vietnam and, more recently, Afghanistan – was welcome. However, when discussing education, nature and the media, the information was frequently second-hand – ‘influenced’ by Chomsky rather than dealing with his own actual contributions – or pitched at a very high level. ‘Linguistic Theory and Language Processes’ was, for me, the most interesting section, but how accessible would it be to anyone who hasn’t a fairly high level of linguistic training? As an introduction to Chomsky’s many and varied areas of academic involvement, this is a challenging and useful collection, but I recommend choosing articles of particular relevance or interest, rather than tackling the book as a whole.

The chapter on ‘Chomsky and the University’ by Pierre Guerlain provides an interesting, though perhaps unintentional, suggestion that such a dichotomy might be applied to Chomsky himself. Guerlain proposes that, too often, Chomsky has been attacked, misquoted or misrepresented in the media or in academic circles because of his involvement in a wide range of fields. Despite the fact that he has probably read more and formed more balanced and intelligent opinions than most academics in their chosen fields, it is suggested that Chomsky is often marginalised on the grounds that he is viewed distrustfully – especially with regards to his involvement in politics. The eternal problem facing his critics is that Professor Chomsky is unquestionably regarded as one of the most influential scholars in linguistics, so his opinion on any matter carries a deserved credence.

The interview with Chomsky, conducted by one of the editors, is a fascinating snapshot of this in action. Several times Chomsky corrects points of view that have been incorrectly attributed to him, or clarifies material produced by him that has been taken out of context. The overriding impression from the interview, and the book as a whole, is that he spends a lot of time having to do just that.

Gareth Carrol

Curious scholarship

Patrick J McDonald, *The Invisible Hand of Peace*, Cambridge University Press, 352 pages, hardback ISBN 9780521761369, £45, paperback ISBN 9780521744126, £16.99

A publisher's introduction states that

The Invisible Hand of Peace shows that the domestic institutions associated with capitalism, namely private property and competitive market structures, have promoted peace between states over the past two centuries. It employs a wide range of historical and statistical evidence to illustrate both the broad applicability of these claims and their capacity to generate new explanations of critical historical events ...

A promise of peace delivered invisibly, and almost inevitably, has to be taken seriously and examined further. When I had read no further than page 13, I was satisfied that this was not an unconditional offer. One large imposed condition was that of capitalism with competitive markets structured in a very particular way. To explain this the author, an Assistant Professor in the Department of Government at the University of Texas at Austin, (later described as 'Professor McDonald') quotes F A Hayek (1899-1992) in *The Road to Serfdom* (1944 and 1994 editions, University of Chicago Press):

If 'capitalism' means here a competitive system based on free disposal of private property, it is far more important to realise that only with this system is democracy possible

and the author goes on to say

This possibility suggests that the peace observed between democratic states may be caused by the tendency to possess relatively liberal market institutions rather than their embrace of open political competition in elections.

First we have to examine the meaning of *free disposal of private property*. To be free to dispose of it one must be sure that one has not already lost it by taxation, for example, or that one's disposal to beneficiaries will not be impaired by inheritance tax. Economists of the Chicago School care a great deal about taxation, and they would surely not be so careless as to confuse free disposal of private property with disposal only of such residues of wealth as might remain after taxation. So one of the essential conditions, not only for democracy, believe it or not, but also for the success of *the invisible hand* is that there be no taxation of private

property. The law describes companies as persons. Would the government have enough money to conduct elections? Or to start a war? Perhaps not quite what the author had in mind.

It is hard to take such arguments seriously when one recalls the effects of Hayek's influence in Chile. Friedrich Hayek's tenure as a professor at the University of Chicago predated the recognition of the Chicago School of Economics under Milton Friedman, whose economic liberalism also enjoys the endorsement of the author and some right wing western leaders. Hayek was invited to the White House to advise President Ronald Reagan, in 1988, and he was awarded the Presidential Medal of Freedom by George H W Bush in 1991. He visited Chile several times in the 1970s and 1980s, during the dictatorship of General Pinochet and, in translation, was attributed the statement

Personally I prefer a liberal dictator to democratic government lacking liberalism.

He wrote to *The Times* of London with the opinion that

Personal freedom was greater under Pinochet than it had been under Allende.

and he recommended liberal economic reforms for Britain to Mrs Thatcher. In the late 1970s, she endorsed Hayek's book, *The Constitution of Liberty*, saying 'This is what we believe'. She befriended Pinochet when he was under arrest in Britain on the application of a Spanish judge citing human rights violations.

Military dictatorship in Chile was formed in 1973 under Pinochet, with United States gunboats offshore and other assistance from the USA. The democratically elected President Allende was confined, and died when the Presidential Palace was bombarded. Thousands more supporters of democracy were imprisoned, tortured or never heard of again. So much for free market freedom and democracy.

Democracy and peace are not to be so easily conflated either. In fairness, the author has not, so far as I read, attempted it. A democracy such as the United States, which spends a trillion dollars annually on weapons and maintains more than 700 military bases in more than 120 countries abroad, can hardly be peaceful. Nor has it been.

I paused before reading more of this book with such curious scholarship. If it has value, it is the caution that its extremism invites for the UK Coalition Government's free market and small government policies. I turned to Naomi Klein's *Disaster Capitalism*, and found it more convincing.

Christopher Gifford

Cruelty

Medical Justice, *'State Sponsored Cruelty': Children in immigration detention (Summary Report)*, 16 pages

Since early 2009, I have been in correspondence with the Home Office regarding the detention of children at Yarl's Wood Immigration Removal Centre. In nearly all the communications I was assured that 'the welfare of children is a primary concern of the UK Borders Agency', but never was there any mention that this draconian practice was to end. So when, in July 2010, Nick Clegg stated at Prime Minister's Questions that he could 'confirm that the Government will come forward shortly with an announcement about how we will deliver on our pledge to end child detention and to close the Yarl's Wood Detention Centre for good', I was delighted.

This elation was short lived. I received a copy of *'State Sponsored Cruelty': Children in immigration detention (Summary Report)* by Medical Justice and was horrified to read there have been a 'number of reports that children have continued to be detained' at Yarl's Wood, including a child still in detention as the report was being published on 5th September 2010. I read through the 16 pages with a heavy heart.

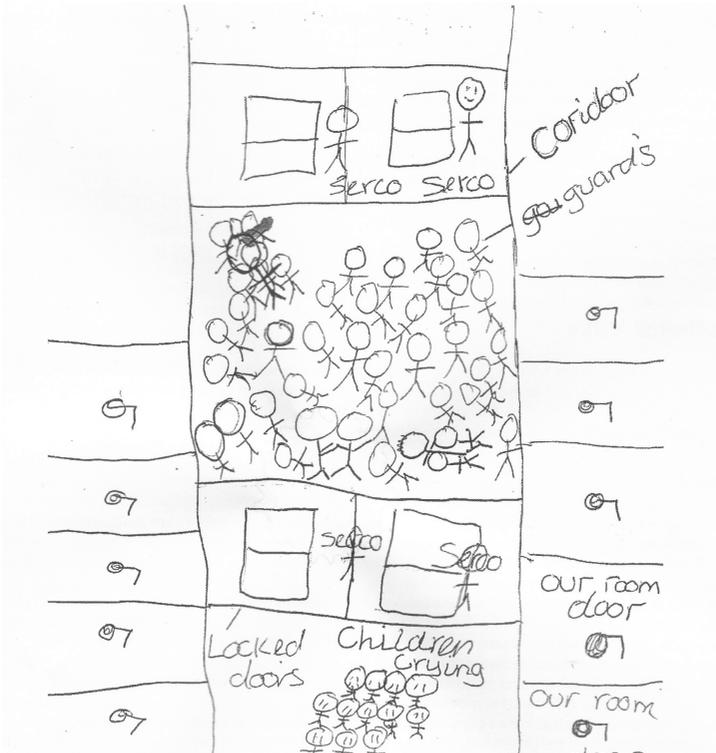
In 2001, the New Labour Government decided to detain families for the purposes of immigration in the same way that they were detaining individual adults. So, for nine years the custom of locking up children in one of the three detention facilities around the UK has been practised. What is fortunate, however, is that it hasn't gone unnoticed. Medical Justice, the 11 Million Campaign, OutCry!, and End Child Detention Now (to name a small number of non-governmental organisations in this field) have carried out detailed investigations into the effects of detention on children and their families.

The key findings of this summary report are based on the cases of 141 children from 87 families who were detained between 2004 and April 2010. Amongst them, 74 children had psychological impairment as a result of detention, symptoms including bed wetting, anxiety, food refusal and panic attacks; 61 children said they were arrested in dawn raids and 44 of them later developed behavioural changes as a result, with six of them reporting the use of excessive violence during these raids; 92 children had physical health conditions that were made worse or caused by immigration detention, but they didn't receive appropriate medical attention for their condition.

Each case study in this report, and all the others like it, describe nightmare scenarios where children and their families are treated without

little apparent regard to the fact that they are human beings. In the majority of cases the adults have fled countries where they have experienced torture, rape and mutilation, and they worry about being sent back for fear of reprisals. A number of the women in detention have suffered female genital mutilation and do not want their daughters, who were born in the UK in most cases, to undergo this barbaric practice.

If the Coalition Government wants to change the country for the good, as it repeatedly claims it does, then it needs to end the detention of children for immigration purposes with immediate effect. On 10th June, the United Kingdom Border Agency sent a letter stating that there would be a ‘review’ by David Wood, the director of criminality and detention for UKBA, into ending the detention of children that would run until the 13th July 2010, and that the findings would be made public. So far, Medical Justice reports, no findings have been made public and there have been no further announcements from the government. ‘State Sponsored Cruelty’ – *Children in immigration detention (Summary Report)* calls on the



A child's picture of life inside Yarl's Wood

Coalition Government to live up to their ‘potentially positive’ pledge by decommissioning Immigration and Removal Centres before 1st December 2010. I add to this recommendation by suggesting to Nick Clegg he would do well to keep in mind Bertrand Russell’s appeal to ‘remember your humanity and forget the rest’.

Abi Rhodes

*The full 84-page report may be downloaded
(<http://www.medicaljustice.org.uk/content/view/1420/89/>)*

Americas

Grace Livingstone, *America’s Backyard: The United States and Latin America from the Monroe Doctrine to the War on Terror*, Zed Books, 256 pages, paperback ISBN 9781848132146, £19.99

All those committed to Britain’s ‘special relationship’ with America, on the grounds that it is the major force for democracy in the world, should read this book, which surveys US policy towards Latin America from the Monroe Doctrine of 1823 to the edicts of President George W. Bush. It’s a record of gross bullying, the undermining of progressive governments, military interventions, the training of repressive armed forces, support for military coups and the backing of privileged oligarchies and American business interests against the elementary rights of the mass of the population.

Between 1898 and 1934 alone, the United States sent its armed forces into Costa Rica, Guatemala and Haiti once; into Panama twice; into Cuba, the Dominican Republic, Mexico and Nicaragua four times; and into Honduras seven times.

After 1945, in the name of containing communism, America supported and, in some cases, aided the advent to power of military juntas and ruthless dictators. It trained their forces and conspired – particularly through the CIA – to destabilise unco-operative governments.

When, in 1954, a progressive president in Guatemala, Jacobo Arbenz, sought to take over uncultivated lands from its largest landowner, the American company, United Fruit, and others, President Eisenhower authorised the CIA to remove him. An army of Guatemalan exiles under a disaffected officer, Carlos Castillo Armas, was recruited and trained in order to invade. Arbenz was overthrown and a 36 year long civil war was initiated, leading to the deaths of 200,000 Guatemalans.

When the Cuban dictator, Fulgencio Batista, was overthrown by a guerrilla army led by Fidel Castro, in 1959, as soon as the new government enacted policies to take over lands and enterprises owned by Americans, President Eisenhower approved a campaign to oust it. As Castro countered US measures to hit the Cuban economy by agreeing to sell sugar to the USSR in return for Soviet oil, and nationalised the refineries when they refused to refine it, the CIA organised an army of dissidents to invade. However, the invaders were defeated at the Bay of Pigs in 1961, leading to an even tougher embargo and other efforts to overthrow the regime which have continued up to the present time.

Having lost this endeavour, the US launched the Alliance for Progress, which purported to aim at reform but poured military and other aid into Latin America and trained thousands of soldiers in methods of neutralising rebels. This included the use of fear, payment of bounties for enemy dead, beatings, false imprisonment, executions and use of truth serum, according to manuals quoted by Grace Livingstone [p.41].

After 1961, a series of right wing military coups occurred, which the US helped to engineer or subsequently supported. In the Dominican Republic, the dictator Rafael Trujillo was overthrown by a coup in 1961, but when a progressive president, Juan Bosch, was elected and ousted, President Lyndon Johnson sent in American troops to prevent him regaining office.

In Brazil, the populist president Joao Goulart was the victim of a military coup in 1964. In Argentina there were several unconstitutional changes of ruler until, in 1976, Isabel Peron, the widow of former president Juan Peron, was removed from office by an utterly ruthless military junta under General Jorge Videla. This organised the torture and 'disappearance' of many thousands of people suspected of opposing it. Some were thrown out of helicopters into the Atlantic Ocean. A vicious dictatorship was also established in Uruguay.

In Chile, the CIA worked for years to prevent the election of Salvador Allende, a socialist, as president. When he eventually won in 1970, US President Richard Nixon, Secretary of State Henry Kissinger, and CIA Director Richard Helms conspired to remove him. His chief of staff, General René Schneider, was assassinated and the CIA then secretly helped prepare the ground for his successor, General Augusto Pinochet, to launch a military coup in August 1973. This succeeded and resulted in barbaric repression and thousands of deaths, but the new regime was swiftly recognised by the US.

In Central America, the US administration sought to prevent the victory of the Sandinistas against the Somoza dictatorship and its successors in

Nicaragua. In El Salvador, it backed the fourteen families and the ruling oligarchy against the Frente Farobundo Marti, leading to the assassination of Archbishop Romero in March 1980 and mass murders by death squads organised by Roberto D'Aubuisson who, in 1981, founded the right wing Arena party.

President Jimmy Carter did try to moderate the hardline US policies, but his secretary of state, Zbigniew Brzezinski, largely frustrated this. When President Ronald Reagan was elected, support for reactionary, undemocratic governments and movements knew no limits.

Despite this, the dictatorships in Argentina, Brazil and Chile came to an end in the 1980s and peace agreements were eventually made to conclude the civil wars in Central America. The 1980s and 1990s were lost decades for Latin America as a result of the neo-liberal policies implemented by the right wing governments with US support. Poverty and inequality soared.

This trend was, however, gradually reversed by the subsequent advent to power of more left wing governments which, to a greater or lesser extent, moved away from neo-liberalism and unmitigated free market economics. With the victories of Hugo Chavez in Venezuela, Luis Ignacio da Silva (Lula) in Brazil, moderate progressives in Chile, Evo Morales in Bolivia, Raphael Correa in Ecuador, Fernando Lugo in Paraguay, the Kirchners in Argentina and Daniel Ortega in Nicaragua, the Latin American scene was transformed.

American policy, however, did not change. Even President Bill Clinton – apart from support for a short-lived restoration of Jean Bertrand Aristide in Haiti – remained committed to traditional right wing US policies. The Torricelli and Helms Burton Acts sought to tighten the embargo on Cuba, and the North Atlantic Free Trade Area was promoted, with adverse effects on numerous aspects of Latin American economies.

Upon his election, President George W. Bush appointed ultra right wing officials like Paul Wolfowitz, Dick Cheney, John Bolton and Donald Rumsfeld to direct policy.

In making this carefully researched study of American policy in Latin America, Grace Livingstone has produced an invaluable book which should be purchased, read and kept for reference by all who wish to obtain a true picture of Latin American affairs. Hopefully, the peak of US domination of the continent has passed, but it is high time that the enormities of American imperialism throughout the region were more generally known and fully recognised. This text is an important contribution towards this end.

Stan Newens

Bloodbaths

Edward S. Herman and David Peterson, *The Politics of Genocide*, Monthly Review Press, 160 pages, ISBN 9781583672129, £10.95

Distorting and manipulating the truth for popular consumption is, of course, an important element in sustaining the power élite's control over the public psyche, and for the United States and the United Kingdom it is particularly important at present, given their active military role and consequent martial fatalities. It is a process which Noam Chomsky and one of the co-authors referred to as 'manufacturing consent', and it is therefore altogether fitting that Chomsky should have contributed the foreword to this important book.

The Politics of Genocide is firmly written in the tradition of Chomsky and Herman's 'Propaganda Model', and defines the bloodbaths into four 'partly ironic and partly serious' categories: 'constructive, benign, nefarious and mythical (the latter a sub-category under nefarious)'. With 29 'extremely serious' military interventions since 1945, the United States has need of a pliant media to explain its warlike hyperactivity, and this book seeks to expose the lies, double standards, obfuscations and the total failure to mention uncomfortable contradictory facts practised by the US media and politicians.

The categorisation of the bloodbaths will be clearer with examples, so under 'constructive' are the Iraq sanctions regime and the subsequent invasion, which were carried out by the United States and its allies for particular reasons associated with its direct immediate interests. The text catalogues the terrible price these two 'bloodbaths' have exacted on the Iraqi people, including over 500,000 sanctions-related child deaths. The approach of the US media to these events is carefully analysed: a table of newspaper usage of the word 'genocide' reveals that economic sanctions on Iraq resulted in 80 such references, and yet there were 323 relating to Kosovo, 1,172 to Darfur, and 3,199 to Rwanda. The economic sanctions levelled on Iraq, the authors are convinced, were the worst atrocity in 30 years. Madeline Albright, we recall, made the statement that the 500,000 early child deaths was a price 'worth paying'.

The 'nefarious' outrages encompass Darfur, Kosovo and Rwanda. These are events targeted by the US because they are associated with nations such as Sudan and Serbia, which have fallen foul of US concerns. Darfur, for example, presses many of the right buttons for Western and US interests – Chinese economic penetration, a supposed fundamentalist light-skinned Muslim Arab government pitted against black African Christian herdsmen. In fact, most of the population of Sudan is of the same skin colour, including Darfur. The major cause of the conflict is not religion nor tribalism, but a changed environmental situation, most likely caused by global warming.

The events in Rwanda, as portrayed here, espouse a completely different narrative from that provided by the media, which has concentrated on the Hutu killings, giving little insight into the motives of the participants besides tribal rivalry. Herman and Peterson accuse Kagame, leader of the *Rwanda Patriotic Front* and now Prime Minister, together with the Ugandan President Museveni and the US and other European states of conspiring to destabilise Rwanda by provoking mass murder, all in the interests of grabbing the mineral wealth of the Democratic Republic of Congo, the adjacent utterly chaotic traumatised giant which over the last few years has endured upwards of five million civilian deaths, according to some experts. The book does an excellent job in exposing the duplicity of the media and politicians in a searing investigation that makes the inexplicable make sense. The authors have scrupulously established the connections between those involved in the geopolitics of the region and its great prize: the vast mineral wealth of the Democratic Republic of Congo where Ugandan and Rwandan troops have been active.

The 'benign genocides' are massacres carried out by the nations aligned with the US, which need to be minimised, ignored or explained away. Afghanistan, El Salvador, Croatia's Operation Storm, East Timor all get a mention, and the book includes the Israeli's recent invasion of Gaza and the horrific massacres at the Sabra and Shatila refugee camps in Beirut in 1982. The final analysis is of the 'mythic' massacre in Kosovo at Racak, which provided a 'war justification' for NATO's bombardment of Serbia.

The International Criminal Court, established in July 2002, also comes in for criticism from the authors, who note in passing that the Court has so far been able to indict only black Africans from three countries. No Court action has been taken over Iraq, a blatant case of aggression and, to avoid embarrassment, the United States has revoked its signing of the Rome Statute which set up the Court's parameters. These parameters include the crime of genocide, crimes against humanity, war crimes and the crime of aggression. The latter crime of aggression is not operable by the Court owing to an inability to define what actually constitutes aggression!

The authors have performed a vital task in gathering together, and meticulously using, the data to show the bias, double standards and manipulation practised by the media, all in the cause of providing a smokescreen to disguise the real intentions of American foreign policy. *The Politics of Genocide* is concise, well documented and an important contribution to providing a uniform standard for judgments on human rights. It deserves to become a classic of its kind, endorsing the dictum of George Orwell, 'in a time of deceit telling the truth is a revolutionary act'.

John Daniels