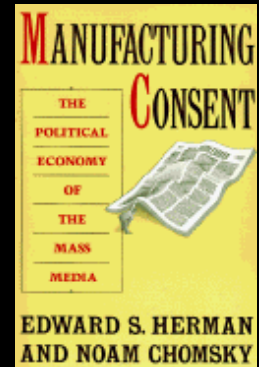


# Manufacturing Consent

## Manufacturing Consent: The Political Economy of the Mass Media

by **Edward S. Herman** and **Noam Chomsky**

Pantheon Books, 1988; ISBN 0-679-72034-0



Contrary to the commonly believed image of the press as cantankerous, obstinate and thorough in its search for truth, Edward Herman and Noam Chomsky show that, in fact, a highly prejudiced elite consensus creates the state propaganda that is presented daily as “news.”

They skillfully dissect the way in which the marketplace and the economics of publishing significantly shape the news. They reveal how issues are framed and topics are chosen. As a prime example, they reveal the fact that totally dishonest double standards are used by the corporate media when “reporting” about countries which are puppets of the U.S., and countries which attempt to be free of the U.S.

In the corporate mass-media’s propagandistic accounts of so-called “free elections,” a “free press,” and governmental repression, Herman and Chomsky contrast the double standards which were used between Nicaragua and El Salvador; between the Russian invasion of Afghanistan and the American invasion of Vietnam; between the genocide in Cambodia under a pro-American government and genocide under Pol Pot (which was later supported by the U.S. government).

They explore how Watergate and the Iran-Contra hearings manifested not an excess but a lack of investigative zeal into the accumulating illegalities of the executive branch.

What emerges from this pathbreaking work is the fact that the mainstream mass media are nothing more than highly sophisticated propaganda organs of the corporate state, and that a knowledge of their methods allows us to see them for what they are.

## Reviews

“[A] compelling indictment of the news media’s role in covering up errors and deceptions in American foreign policy of the past quarter century.”

— **Walter LaFeber**

*The New York Times Book Review*

“An intellectual dissection of the modern media to show how an underlying economics of publishing warps the news.”

— Book Description

“A tour de force, co-authored by one of the world’s leading experts on language and meaning. In this book, Herman and Chomsky put forward a ‘propaganda model’ to explain the bias in Western (mostly US) media on international affairs. Their thesis is that, although the US is not a dictatorship where a single leader can censor the press, the very market forces that lead people to believe in the freedom of their press actually work to create a self-imposed censorship which creates a biased media, more intent on delivering audiences to their advertisers and vital corporate sponsors than in providing their readers with balanced and informed news.

“The authors back up their theory with a large number of examples, and focus on 3 main topics: Latin America, Vietnam and the attempt on the life of the Pope in 1981. Using extensive quotations from US contemporary media reports, and comparing them with official sources such as government documents, White House memos, State Department press releases, as well as reports in non-US-based media, Herman and Chomsky are able to bolster their thesis of a propaganda model, and show that US media reports are nearly always skewed to show the US and its allies as the ‘good guys’, and other (enemy) states as the ‘bad guys’.

“When ‘they’ do it, it’s called ‘terrorism’, when ‘we’ do it, it’s called ‘fighting for democracy and freedom.’”

— **sheffi**

[Amazon.com](https://www.amazon.com) reviewer  
from Nara, Japan

# About the Authors

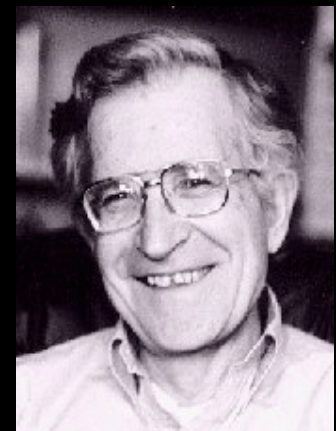
**Edward S. Herman** is Professor Emeritus of Finance, Wharton School, University of Pennsylvania. He received his Ph.D. in Economics from the University of California, Berkeley. At the Wharton School his specialties were corporate control and power, financial regulation, and issues relating to conflict of interest. He also taught for years in the Annenberg School of Communication at Penn. He is a regular columnist for *Z magazine* and a frequent contributor to *Dollars & Sense* as well as *Extra!*.

He is the author of over 20 books and numerous articles on the corporate system, the media and American foreign policy. His books include:

- *Degraded Capability: The Media & the Kosovo Crisis*  
Pluto Press, 2000
- *The Myth of the Liberal Media: An Edward Herman Reader*  
Peter Lang Publishing Inc., 1999
- *The Global Media: The Missionaries of Global Capitalism*  
(with Robert McChesney)  
Cassell, 1997
- *Triumph of the Market: Essays on Economics, Politics, & the Media*  
South End Press, 1995
- *Beyond National Sovereignty: International Communications in the 1990s*  
Greenwood Publishing Group Inc, 1993
- *Beyond Hypocrisy: Decoding the News in an Age of Propaganda*  
South End Press, 1992
- “Terrorism” as Ideology and Cultural Industry  
(with Gerry O’Sullivan)  
chapter 3 of the book [\*Western State Terrorism\*](#)  
Routledge, 1991; Polity-Blackwell, 1991
- *The Terrorism Industry*  
(with Gerry O’Sullivan)  
Pantheon, 1990
- *Manufacturing Consent: The Political Economy of the Mass Media*  
(with Noam Chomsky)  
Pantheon, 1988
- *New Ways of Knowing The Sciences, Society & Reconstructive Knowledge*  
Rowman & Littlefield Publishers Inc., 1987

- *Demonstration Elections*  
(with Frank Brodhead)  
South End Press, 1984
- *The Real Terror Network*  
South End Press, 1982
- *Corporate Control, Corporate Power*  
Cambridge University Press, 1981
- *The Washington Connection and Third World Fascism*  
(with Noam Chomsky)  
South End Press, 1980
- *After the Cataclysm: Postwar Indochina and the Reconstruction of Imperial Ideology*  
(with Noam Chomsky)  
South End Press, 1979

**Noam Chomsky** is a major figure in twentieth-century linguistics. He has taught since 1955 at the Massachusetts Institute of Technology, where he became a full professor at the age of 32. His 1957 work *Syntactic Structures* revolutionized the field of linguistics, fundamentally changing the current understanding of language and mind. In 1976 he was appointed Institute Professor in the Department of Linguistics and Philosophy at MIT. Currently he is also the Ferrari P. Ward Professor of Modern Languages and Linguistics.



Chomsky has received honorary degrees from the University of London, University of Chicago, Georgetown University and Cambridge University. He is a fellow of the American Academy of Arts and Sciences and the National Academy of Sciences. His work in linguistics, which has been internationally acclaimed, has earned Chomsky the Distinguished Scientific Contribution Award of the American Psychological Association, the Kyoto Prize in Basic Sciences and the Helmholtz Medal.

Born in Philadelphia on December 7, 1928, Chomsky became politically conscious at a very young age, writing his first political article, on the fight against fascism in Spain, when he was only ten years old.

Chomsky has written many books on contemporary issues and is an outspoken critic of U.S. foreign policy and corporate power. His political talks have been heard, typically by standing-room only audiences, all over the country and the globe.

In a saner world, his tireless efforts to promote justice would have long since won him the Nobel Peace Prize. But no, the committee prefers to give it to sleazy war criminals like Henry Kissinger.

Chomsky's books include:

- *Acts of Aggression:*  
*Policing "Rogue States"*  
(with Ramsey Clark and Edward W. Said)
- *After the Cataclysm: Postwar Indochina and the Reconstruction of Imperial Ideology*  
(with Edward S. Herman)  
South End Press, 1980
- *Aspects of the Theory of Syntax*
- *At War with Asia*  
Pantheon, 1970
- *The Chomsky Trilogy*
- *The Chomsky Reader*
- *Chronicles of Dissent*
- *Class Warfare*
- *The Cold War and the University*
- *The Common Good*
- *The Culture of Terrorism*  
South End Press, 1988
- *Deterring Democracy*  
Routledge, Chapman & Hall, 1991; Verso 1991
- *Fateful Triangle:*  
*The United States, Israel, and the Palestinians*  
South End Press, 1983; Noontide, 1986
- *For Reasons of State*  
Pantheon, 1973
- "International Terrorism: Image and Reality"  
chapter 2 of the book *Western State Terrorism*  
Routledge, 1991; Polity-Blackwell, 1991
- *Keeping the Rabble in Line*
- *Language and Mind*
- *Language and Problems of Knowledge*

- *Latin America*
- *Letters from Lexington*
- *Manufacturing Consent: The Political Economy of the Mass Media*  
(with Edward S. Herman)  
Pantheon, 1988
- *Media Control:*  
*The Spectacular Achievements of Propaganda*
- *Mobilizing Democracy: Changing the U.S. Role in the Middle East*  
(edited by Greg Bates)  
Common Courage Press, 1991
- *Necessary Illusions: Thought Control in Democratic Societies*  
South End Press, 1989
- *The New Military Humanism*
- *The New World Order*  
(speech)  
Open Magazine Pamphlet Series, 1991
- *On Power and Ideology: the Managua Lectures*  
South End Press, 1987
- *Paths to Peace in the Middle East*
- *Pirates and Emperors: International Terrorism in the Real World*  
Claremont, 1986; Black Rose Books, 1987; Amana, 1988
- *Powers and Prospects*
- *Profit Over People*
- *The Prosperous Few and the Restless Many*
- *Radical Priorities*  
Black Rose Books, 1981
- *Rethinking Camelot*
- *Secrets, Lies and Democracy*
- *Syntactic Structures*  
1957  
“...*Syntactic Structures* revolutionized the field of linguistics, fundamentally changing the current understanding of language and mind.” — South End Press

- *Terrorizing the Neighborhood: American Foreign Policy in the Post-Cold War Era* (speech)  
Pressure Drop Press, 1991
- *Towards a New Cold War: Essays on the Current Crisis and How We Got There*  
Pantheon, 1982
- *Turning the Tide: U.S. Intervention in Central America and the Struggle for Peace*  
South End Press, 1985
- [\*The Umbrella of U.S. Power:\*](#)  
*The Universal Declaration of Human Rights and the Contradictions of U.S. Policy*
- *U.S. Gulf Policy*  
(speech)  
Open Magazine Pamphlet Series, 1990
- *The Washington Connection and Third World Fascism*  
South End Press, 1979
- *World Orders; Old and New*
- [\*What Uncle Sam Really Wants\*](#)  
Odonian Press, 1992
- *Year 501: The Conquest Continues*

#### Audio books:

- *The New Military Humanism*
- *Paths to Peace in the Middle East*

#### Other works:

- Introduction to [\*Censored 2001\*](#)
- Introduction to [\*Colombia: the Genocidal Democracy\*](#)
- Introduction to *Bridge of Courage*
- Contributor to *Corporations Are Gonna Get Your Mama*
- Introduction to *East Timor*

## Related sites

### **The Pacifica Counterrevolution Hits WBAI: Another Call for Action**

by **Edward S. Herman**

[http://www.radio4all.org/fp/endgame/herman\\_counterrev.html](http://www.radio4all.org/fp/endgame/herman_counterrev.html)

“Given the importance of the media in hegemonic processes, and in contesting those processes, what is happening to Pacifica, and now WBAI, should be first order business for the left. This was our only radio network, and it is being destroyed!”

### ***Extra!* Articles by Edward S. Herman**

<http://www.fair.org/extra/writers/herman.html>

### **The Noam Chomsky Archive**

<http://www.zmag.org/chomsky/>

“This archive is hosted by ZNet, the web site of *Z Magazine*. It contains the full text to many of Chomsky’s major works, the complete audio to several important lectures, and numerous articles, interviews and speeches.”

### **Media Beat**

<http://www.fair.org/media-beat/>

“Media Beat is the insightful weekly syndicated column on media and politics written by FAIR associate Norman Solomon. It runs in newspapers across the country.

“*Utne Reader* called Solomon one of ‘the fiercest and most articulate media critics around.’ A *Los Angeles Times* reviewer wrote: ‘The bold, muckraking



tone of these columns offers a welcome respite from the decerebrated discourse that too often passes for contemporary journalism.””

## Fairness & Accuracy In Reporting — FAIR

<http://www.fair.org/>

“FAIR, the national media watch group, has been offering well-documented criticism of media bias and censorship since 1986. We work to invigorate the First Amendment by advocating for greater diversity in the press and by scrutinizing media practices that marginalize public interest, minority and dissenting viewpoints.

“As an anti-censorship organization, we expose neglected news stories and defend working journalists when they are muzzled. As a progressive group, FAIR believes that structural reform is ultimately needed to break up the dominant media conglomerates, establish independent public broadcasting and promote strong non-profit sources of information.”

## Related books

### Inventing Reality:

The Politics of News Media  
by **Michael Parenti**

### The Habits of Highly Deceptive Media:

Decoding Spin and Lies in Mainstream News  
by **Norman Solomon**

### The Real Terror Network:

Terrorism in Fact and Propaganda  
by **Edward S. Herman**

## What Uncle Sam Really Wants

by Noam Chomsky

## Corporate Media and the Threat to Democracy

by Robert W. McChesney

## Censored 2000:

The Year's Top 25 Censored Stories

by Peter Phillips & Project Censored

## Body of Secrets

by James Bamford

Doubleday, 2001

In 1962, U.S. military leaders had a plan for conducting terrorist acts against Americans while blaming Cuba. Codenamed "Operation Northwoods", the plan was intended to provide the propaganda necessary to create popular sentiment for an invasion of Cuba.

## War, Lies & Videotape:

How media monopoly stifles truth

edited by Lenora Foerstel; multiple authors

## The Fire This Time:

U.S. War Crimes in the Gulf

by Ramsey Clark

## The Culture of Terrorism

by Noam Chomsky

## Western State Terrorism

Alexander George, editor; essays by Noam Chomsky, Edward S. Herman, Gerry O'Sullivan and others

**Terrorizing the Neighborhood:  
American Foreign Policy in the Post-Cold War Era**  
by **Noam Chomsky**  
Pressure Drop Press, 1991

**Pirates and Emperors:  
International Terrorism in the Real World**  
by **Noam Chomsky**  
Claremont, 1986; Black Rose Books, 1987; Amana, 1988

**Deadly Deceits:**  
My 25 years in the CIA  
by **Ralph W. McGehee**

**The Hidden Persuaders:**  
What makes us buy, believe – and even vote – the way we do?  
by **Vance Packard**

**Derailing Democracy:**  
The America the Media Don't Want You to See  
by **David McGowan**

**Toxic Sludge is Good for You!:**  
Lies, Damn Lies and the Public Relations Industry  
by **John Stauber and Sheldon Rampton**

**The Decline and Fall of the American Empire**  
by **Gore Vidal**

**Rogue State:**  
A Guide to the World's Only Superpower  
by **William Blum**

**Killing Hope:**

U.S. Military and CIA Interventions Since WWII  
by **William Blum**

**Blackshirts and Reds:**

Rational Fascism and the Overthrow of Communism  
by **Michael Parenti**

**The Beast Reawakens**

by **Martin A. Lee**

**To Kill A Nation:**

The Attack on Yugoslavia  
by **Michael Parenti**

**Hidden Agenda:**

U.S./NATO Takeover of Yugoslavia  
by **Ramsey Clark, Nadja Tesich, Michel Chossudovsky, Slobodan Milosevic**, numerous authors

**NATO in the Balkans:**

Voices of Opposition  
by **Ramsey Clark, Nadja Tesich, Sean Gervasi, Sara Flounders, Thomas Deichmann, Gary Wilson and Richard Becker**

**Against Empire**

by **Michael Parenti**

**The Sword and the Dollar:**

Imperialism, Revolution and the Arms Race  
by **Michael Parenti**

**Apocalypse 1945:**

The Destruction of Dresden  
by **David Irving**

**A People's History of the United States:**

1492 — Present  
by **Howard Zinn**

**Bloody Hell:**

The Price Soldiers Pay  
by **Daniel Hallock**

**Colombia:**

The Genocidal Democracy  
by **Javier Giraldo**

**Corporate Predators:**

The Hunt for Mega-Profits and the Attack on Democracy  
by **Russell Mokhiber** and **Robert Weissman**

**Saving Private Power:**

The Hidden History of “The Good War”  
by **Michael Zezima**

**The Continuing Terror Against Libya**

by **Fan Yew Teng**

**The Decision to Use the Atomic Bomb**

by **Gar Alperovitz**

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