

These notes accompany the Pocket Penguin *Doctrines and Visions* by Noam Chomsky

Priorities and Prospects

- 1 Mayr, 'Can SETI Succeed? Not Likely,' *Bioastronomy News* 7.3, 1995.
- 2 Elizabeth Becker, 'US Unilateralism Worries Trade Officials,' *New York Times*, 17 March 2003. Roger Thurow and Scott Miller, 'Empty Shelves: As US Balks on Medicine Deal, African Patients Feel the Pain,' *Wall Street Journal*, 2 June 2003, reporting that the US stood alone against 143 countries in the World Trade Organization, 'under heavy lobbying' from the pharmaceutical industry, which 'had spent more than \$50 million to help Republicans gain control of Congress in November 2002.'
- 3 Kennedy, Editor-in-Chief, editorial, *Science* 299, 21 March 2003.
- 4 Howard LaFranchi, 'At the UN, it's not just about Iraq,' *Christian Science Monitor*, 30 October 2002.
- 5 Patrick Tyler, 'A New Power In the Streets,' *New York Times*, 17 February 2003.
- 6 Pew Research Center, 'America's Image Further Erodes, Europeans Want Weaker Ties,' 18 March 2003. The figures showed far deeper decline for Bush than for the country. On the effect of the Iraq war, see *Hegemony or Survival*, Chapter 8 at notes 68--71
- 7 For sources on what follows, and review from the 17th century, see my *Deterring Democracy* (Verso, 1991; extended edition, Hill & Wang, 1992), Chapter 12. Also my *Profit over People* (Seven Stories, 1999), Chapter 2; and for more discussion and contemporary scholarly sources, my 'Consent without Consent: Reflections on the Theory and Practice of Democracy,' *Cleveland State Law Review*

44.4, 415-37 (1996). Minor changes are introduced here for ease of reading (spelling, etc.).

8 See, among others, Stuart Ewen, *Captains of Consciousness* (McGraw-Hill, 1976); *PR: A Social History of Spin* (Basic Books, 1996). The classic manual of advocacy is Edward Bernays, *Propaganda* (Liveright, 1998). See Michael Dawson, *The Consumer Trap* (Illinois, 2003), for review of the technique of ‘off-job control’ developed from the 1920s as a counterpart to the ‘on-job control’ of Taylorism, designed to turn people into controlled robots in life as well as work. On corporate propaganda and its roots, see Alex Carey, *Taking the Risks out of Democracy* (University of New South Wales, 1995; Illinois, 1997), and also Elizabeth Fones-Wolf, *Selling Free Enterprise* (Illinois, 1995). On the general history of propaganda, see Randal Marlin, *Propaganda & the Ethics of Persuasion* (Broadview, 2002).

9 Cited by David Foglesong, *America’s Secret War Against Bolshevism* (North Carolina, 1995), 28.

10 Andrew Bacevich, *American Empire* (Harvard, 2003), 200f., referring mainly to foreign policy. The public generally agrees. See *Hegemony and Survival*, Chapter 5, at notes 112-4.

11 M.J. Crozier, S.P. Huntington, and J. Watanuki, *The Crisis of Democracy* (New York University, 1975), report to the Trilateral Commission. Huntington, *American Politics* (1981), cited by Sidney Plotkin and William Scheurman, *Private Interests, Public Spending* (South End, 1994), 223.

12 Marlin, *op. cit.*, 62f.

13 For discussion of this vast disinformation campaign, see my *Culture of Terrorism* (South End, 1988) and *Necessary Illusions* (South End, 1989), drawing particularly on the important but mostly neglected exposures by Alfonso Chardy of the *Miami Herald*.

14 Editors, *Washington Post*; Tom Wicker, *New York Times*. For details on the narrow range of discussion, see *Necessary Illusions*, Chapter 3; and generally on the ways the facts were reshaped for transmission to a US audience. For case studies illustrating the typical pattern over a wider range, see Edward Herman and Noam Chomsky, *Manufacturing Consent* (Pantheon, 1988; updated edition 2002).

15 *Torture in Latin America*, LADOC (Peruvian Church, *Latin American Documentation*), Lima, 1987. Godoy, *Nation*, 5 March 1990. On US reactions to the travail and the performance of the media in Central America, see *Necessary Illusions*, Chapter 5, app. V.6-8; also for comparison of press freedom in enemy Nicaragua and the US and its allies.

16 Juan Hernández Pico, *Envío* (Research journal, UCA, Jesuit University, Managua), March 1994. See *Deterring Democracy*, Chapter 12, and my *World Orders Old and New* (Columbia, 1994; extended edition 1996), Chapter 1, for more extensive quotes, context, and sources.

17 Duncan Campbell, 'Murdered with impunity, the street children who live and die like vermin,' *Guardian*, 29 May 2003.

Realities, 2004

1 'Iraq Is Becoming Bush's Most Difficult Challenge,' *Chicago Tribune*, 11 August 2002. Kissinger was commenting on Bush's West Point address where the NSS was presented in outline.

2 Pew Research Center, 'A Year After Iraq War Mistrust of America in Europe Ever Higher, Muslim Anger Persists,' 16 March 2004. Council on Hemispheric Affairs, *Washington Report on the Hemisphere*, 9 December 2003.

3 Gerges quoted by Howard LaFranchi, 'Feeling Under Attack, Arabs Turn to Islam for Answers,' *Christian Science Monitor*, 3 November 2003. Jessica Stern,

'How America Created a Terrorist Haven,' *New York Times* op-ed., 20 August 2003; 'The Protean Enemy,' *Foreign Affairs*, July–August 2003. Scott Atran, 'What's Worse than Al Qaeda? Swarms of Individual Terrorist Cells Around the World,' *New York Times* op-ed, 16 March 2004; Atran, 'Combating Al Qaeda's Splinters,' *Washington Quarterly*, Summer 2004. Among many other reports, see Mark Mathews, 'Iraq War Providing a Boost to al-Qaida,' *Baltimore Sun*, 22 November 2003, quoting an array of terrorism specialists; Raymond Bonner and Don van Natta, Jr., 'Regional Terrorist Groups Pose Growing Threats, Experts Warn,' *New York Times*, 8 February 2004; Walter Pincus, 'Spread of Bin Laden Ideology Cited,' *Washington Post*, 4 April 2004.

4 Among many others, see Selig Harrison, 'N. Korean 'Good Guys' Require US Assistance,' *USA Today*, 7 January 2004. Graham Allison, 'How to Stop Nuclear Terror,' *Foreign Affairs*, January–February 2004. Morton Halperin, 'Safe at Home,' *American Prospect*, November 2003.

5 Gerges, 'A Change of Arab Hearts and Minds,' *Christian Science Monitor*, 4 February 2004. Hiro, *Secrets and Lies: Operation 'Iraqi Freedom' and After: A Prelude to the Fall of US Power in the Middle East?* (NationBooks, 2004).

6 Program on International Policy Attitudes, '7 in 10 Now Say UN Should Take Lead,' 3 December 2003; 'Americans on America's Role in the World After the Iraq War,' 29 April 2003. For summary of PIPA and other studies on misperceptions, and their correlation with support for war and with news sources, see Steven Kull, Clay Ramsay, and Evan Lewis, 'Misperceptions, the Media, and the Iraq War,' *Political Science Quarterly* 118.4 (December 2003).

7 Ron Hutcheson, 'Bush, Putin Disagree on Iraq, Iran,' Knight-Ridder, *Boston Globe*, 28 September 2003.

8 Richard Stevenson, 'White House Cites Iraq's History of Seeking Arms as a Reason for War,' *New York Times*, 30 January 2004, reporting Rice's claim that Saddam was harboring and funding terrorists.

9 Burke, *Al-Qaeda* (I.B. Tauris, 2003).

10 Nuclear physicist Pervez Hoodbhoy, 'Pakistan Inside the Nuclear Closet,' 3 March 2004, www.opendemocracy.net; 'The Nuclear Noose Around Pakistan's Neck,' *Washington Post*, 1 February 2004. Tim Weiner, 'US And China Helped Pakistan Build Its Bomb,' *New York Times*, 1 June 1998.

11 See also Steve Coll, *Ghost Wars* (Penguin, 2004), 412, on how the missile strikes were bin Laden's 'biggest publicity payoff to date.'

12 Gordon Wood, '“Freedom Just Around the Corner”: Rogue Nation,' *New York Times Book Review*, 28 March 2004. He writes that the book reviewed courageously tells the truth about 'who and why we are what we are,' revealing the unpleasant side of the 'rogue nation': a penchant for swindling. To deflect irrelevancies, the issue is not comparison of monstrous crimes, each unique in its horror, but the downgrading of numbers by a factor of 10.

13 See *Hegemony and Survival*, Chapter 2. Philip Jones Griffiths, *Agent Orange* (Trolley Ltd London, 2003).

14 Sachs, 'The World Must Not Let America Set Its Agenda,' *Financial Times*, 15 October 2003. On the role of the international financial institutions in preparing the ground for the Rwanda genocide, see Brooke Schoepf, Claude Schoepf, and Joyce Millen, 'Theoretical Therapies, Remote Remedies: SAPs and the Political Ecology of Poverty and Health in Africa,' in Jim Yong Kim, Joyce Millen, Alec Irwin, and John Gershman, *Dying for Growth: Global Inequality and the Health of the Poor* (Partners in Health/Common Courage, 2000). The massacres had precursors in Burundi that were also ignored. See Chomsky and Edward Herman, *Political Economy of Human Rights*, vol. 1 (South End, 1979). There is a critically important colonial role as well, along with intervention by the Western powers leading up to the massacre.

15 Amira Hass, 'Words Have Failed Us,' *Ha'aretz*, 3 March 2004. As she and others report regularly, deaths are only a fraction of the misery of those crushed under the US-Israeli jackboot, and deaths are significantly understated: they do not, for example, include the premature twins who died because the car bringing their mother to a hospital, and an ambulance, were blocked by the army, not permitted to pass a checkpoint set up not for security, but to protect settlers from the annoyance of seeing Arabs on a stretch of road near their illegal settlement. Gideon Levy, 'And the Twins Died,' *Ha'aretz*, 8 January 2004. There are many similar cases.

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17 Burke, *Al-Qaeda*, 239, 249. See *Hegemony and Survival*, Chapter 8.

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19 Agence France-Presse, 'Unknown Group Claims Responsibility for Fallujah Killings,' 1 April 2004; United Press International, 2 April 2004. Jeffrey Gettleman, 'War's Full Fury Is Suddenly Everywhere,' *New York Times*, 11 April 2004. The highly significant connection, known at once, was virtually ignored.

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May Lead to Tougher Policy by Moscow, Official Says,' *Los Angeles Times*, 26 March 2004. Vladimir Isachenkov, 'Russia Deploys Strategic Missiles,' Associated Press, *Boston Globe*, 23 December 2003. Blair, 'Rogue States: Nuclear Red Herrings,' *Defense Monitor*, January–February 2004. Mark Odell, 'Warfare Propelled to New Era as Flight Goes Hypersonic,' *Financial Times*, 30 March 2004.

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25 Blair, 'Rogue States.' See Chalmers Johnson, *The Sorrows of Empire* (Metropolitan, 2004), 288, citing Pentagon review of computer failure that revealed 'the ease with which adversaries could hack into, jam, or deceive our cyberwarfare technology.' On the history of near disasters, see Marko Beljac, ' "Global Attack": Washington's Doomsday Machine,' Infoshop.org, 19 October 2002 (www.infoshop.org/inews/stories.php?story=02/10/19/1757783).

26 Janne Nolan, 'Measuring the Unthinkable,' *Science*, 19 March 2004, review of Lynn Eden, *Whole World on Fire* (Cornell, 2004).

27 James Glanz, 'Pointed Questions on Missile Defense System,' *New York Times*, 12 March 2004.

28 Hans Kristensen, Matthew McKinzie, and Robert Norris, 'The Protection Paradox,' *Bulletin of the Atomic Scientists*, March–April 2004.

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'restoration of democracy' in 1994, see my 'Democracy Restored,' *Z* magazine, November 1994. On the predicted descent into chaos, see my *Profit over People* (Seven Stories, 1999), Chapter 4, and *New Military Humanism* (Common Courage, 1999), and sources cited.

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2002; Interview with Wolfowitz, 21 November 2002,

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