

Propaganda, Persuasion & Deception

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***Over 1,120 Selected Quotations for the Ideological  
Skeptic***

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***Compiled by  
Laird Wilcox  
[www.lairdwilcox.com](http://www.lairdwilcox.com)***

***([lwilcox3@aol.com](mailto:lwilcox3@aol.com))***

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# Foreword

These quotations come from a wide variety of sources, primarily previous collections I have authored or coauthored, most particularly, *Selected Quotations for the Ideological Skeptic* (Editorial Research Service, 1992). *Be Reasonable: Selected Quotations for Inquiring Minds*, by Laird Wilcox and John George (Prometheus, 1994), and *The Degeneration of Belief*, by Laird Wilcox (Editorial Research Service, 1999). Other sources include my own notes, quotations sent to me by friends, internet searching, and the reading of a very large number of books.

It's important to bear in mind that quotations are, almost by definition, statements removed from their original context, i.e., brief statements taken from an often vastly larger work. Even in cases where the quotation is brief, to the point and matter-of-fact, the larger work may frame it in a particular way that might get lost or muted when considered apart from it. In addition, people are often inconsistent. A person may say one thing in a particular work and then say something quite the opposite in another, or sometimes even the same work.

Another factor to consider is state of mind. I have heard writers say, "I knew what I was thinking when I wrote that," implying that it was somehow different from what the statement appears to mean now when read by others, perhaps of a different persuasion. People are often inconsistent in their beliefs and double standards often appear in their writings. For example, a person may defend freedom of expression and write glowing statements in its behalf, and then advocate denying that same freedom when it is claimed by a hated person or group. Politicians are particularly prone to this distressing behavior.

Having said all of this, nevertheless the vast majority of quotations in this volume do, in fact, mean what they appear to say in plain language. However, it's important to realize that there may be cases in which the author or others may dispute this. My advice is this: if you are going to use a quote from this volume in an important way, i.e., in an academic thesis or dissertation or in work for publication, it may be to your advantage to go to the original source and determine its suitability and/or accuracy for yourself.

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Laird Wilcox



Laird Wilcox - 2005

# *Propaganda, Persuasion & Deception*

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1. Reality does not come nearly packaged in two- or three-minute lengths; raw history is filled with perversities, contradictions, ratted edges. ... TV is a storytelling medium. It abhors ambiguities, ragged edges, and unresolved issues. ... The effect all too frequently is to impose upon an event or situation a preconceived form that alters reality, heightening one aspect at the expense of another for the sake of a more compelling story, blocking out complications that get in the way of the narrative. ELIE ABEL, "Television in International Conflict," in *The News Media and National and International Conflict* (Andrew Arno & Wimal Dissayanake, eds.), 1984.
2. Government by idea tends to take in everything, to make the whole of society obedient to the idea. Spaces not so governed are unconquered, beyond the border, unconverted, unconvinced, a future danger. LORD ACTON (1834-1902).
3. When a man you like switches from what he said a year ago, or four years ago, he is a broad-minded person who has courage enough to change his mind with changing conditions. When a man you don't like does it, he is a liar who has broken his promise. FRANKLIN P. ADAMS (1861-1960).
4. Images are not arguments, they rarely even lead to proof, but the mind craves them. HENRY BROOKS ADAMS (1838-1918), *The Education of Henry Adams*, 1907.
5. The whispering campaign, disgusting as it is, would appear to be a permanent campaign method with us. So long, at least, as our politics are primarily concerned with men rather than with measures, it will be the men who will be attacked; characters, not ideas. JAMES TRUSLOW ADAMS (1878-1949), "Our Whispering Campaigns," *Harper's*, September 1932.
6. The 'hidden meaning' emerges simply by the way the story looks at human beings; thus the audience is invited to look at the characters in the same way [as the story] without being made aware that indoctrination is present. ... th[e] message is hidden only by a style which does not pretend to touch anything serious and expects to be regarded as featherweight. Nevertheless, even such amusement tends to set patterns for the members of the audience without their being aware of it. THEODOR W. ADORNO (1903-1969), "How To Look At Television," *Quarterly of Film, Radio, and Television*, 8, 1954.
7. Now how is this network news determined? A small group of men...settle upon the 20 minutes or so of film and commentary to reach the public... They can elevate men from obscurity to national prominence within a week. They can reward some politicians with national exposure and ignore others... Nor is their power confined to the substantive. A raised eyebrow, an inflection of the voice, a caustic remark dropped in the middle of a broadcast, can raise doubts in a million minds... SPIRO AGNEW, Vice-President of the United States, *Speech, Midwest Republican Conference*, 13 November 1969,
8. The American people would not rightly tolerate this concentration of power in government. It is not fair and relevant to question its concentration in the hands of a tiny, enclosed fraternity of privileged

men elected by no one and enjoying a monopoly sanction and licensed by government? SPIRO AGNEW, Vice-President of the United States, *Speech, Midwest Republican Conference*, 13 November 1969.

9. If you could master one element of personal communications that is more powerful than anything we've discussed, it is the quality of being *likable*. I call it the magic bullet, because if your audience likes you, they'll forgive just about everything else you do wrong. If they don't like you, you can hit every rule right on target and it doesn't matter. ROGER AILES, *You Are The Message*, 1988.
10. The first information survival skill we all need is the ability to decode propaganda and demythologize the highly commercialized and entertainment-based U. S. culture. Psychologists politely call it 'resistance to enculturation.' Writer Ernest Hemingway had a less elegant term: 'crap detecting.' KARL ALBRECHT, article in *Training and Development*, February 2001.
11. Who speaks to the instincts speaks to the deepest in mankind, and finds the readiest response. AMOS BRONSON ALCOTT (1799-1888).
12. The flow of ideas, the capacity to make informed choices, the ability to criticize, all of the assumptions on which political democracy rests, depend largely on communications. And you [the media] are the guardians of the most powerful and effective means of communication ever designed. DEAN ALGER, *The Media and Politics*, 1989.
13. Choice is at the core of democracy; the absence of choice means that democracy is lessened to one degree or another, depending on the nature of the lost choice. DEAN ALGER, *The Media and Politics*, 1989.
14. [A] non-scientific way of speaking about public opinion, sometimes encountered in popular usage and even in the literature, represents the opinion content as a kind of essence which, like a platonic "idea," is distributed into the minds of all those who endorse it. The expression that a certain opinion is "public" illustrates this usage. FLOYD ALLPORT, "Toward a Science of Public Opinion," *Public Opinion Quarterly* 1, 1937.
15. Charisma, as a psychological quality or emanation, may be thought of as a surcharge of personality or leadership characteristics that fill most easily the emptinesses of another person's psyche: especially those created by boredom, depression, and developmental deficits. Charisma, through its power to overstimulate, can effectively mask the narcissistically seductive and self-service aims are often blatantly evident. GERALD ALPER, *The Puppeteers: Studies of Obsessive Control*, 1994.
16. What bothers me is that the hyper-adversarialism that has ruined the American legal system is now really corroding journalism. ... It is driven by the TV shows. You get two people who are adversaries and watch them fight. The more they fight, the better TV is. ... It's adversarialism as pure sport. JONATHAN ALTER, in *Breaking the News* (James Fallows), 1997.
17. The propagandist tries to stimulate others to accept without challenge his own assertions.... Propaganda makes use of slogans, but it also makes effective use of symbols. A symbol is a concrete representation of an idea, action, or thing - a sign that stands for something.... A symbol can be a word, a mark, an object, a song, a flag, an image, a picture, a statue, or some collective group representation -- anything that conveys a common thought to masses of people. AMERICAN HISTORICAL ASSOCIATION, *What Is Propaganda?* 1944.
18. There is no such thing as ideational morale without bias. Hopes, aspirations, duties, and the hierarchy of values, in which first things are put first and means are subordinated to ends, are all

forms of bias. They cannot be implanted by cultivating an attitude of neutral detachment. AMERICAN ASSOCIATION OF SCHOOL ADMINISTRATORS, *Morale for a Free World*, 1944.

19. The finding is almost universal that the ethos of the sources is related in some way to the impact of the message. This generalization applies not only to political, social, religious, and economic issues but also to matters of aesthetic judgment and personal taste. KENNETH ANDERSON & THEODORE CLEVENGER, JR., "A Summary of Experimental Research in Ethos," *Speech Monographs* 30 (1963).
20. There is undoubtedly an intimate and compelling relationship between persuasion and coercion. The persuader, in his examination of alternatives, may find his position greatly strengthened when one alternative offered is the surrender to coercive methods. ... While persuasion may be viewed by some as the antithesis of coercion, persuasion may often depend on its opposite to achieve its goal. J. R. ANDREWS, "The Rhetoric of Coercion and Persuasion: The Reform Bill of 1832," *The Quarterly Journal of Speech*, 56, 1970.
21. The secret agent is a journalist who assumes prominence in the opposition for his strident calls to violence; he is the speaker who addresses proletarian meetings and urges them to put an end to capitalism... [Revolutionaries] suspicion of each other contributes far more to their helplessness than to their safety. L. ANDRIEUX, *Recollections of a Prefect of Police, Paris; Vol 1*, 1885.
22. The vested interests - if we explain the situation by their influence - can only get the public to act as they wish by manipulating public opinion, by playing either upon the public's indifference, confusions, prejudices, pugnacities or fears. SIR NORMAN ANGELL (1874-1967), *The Great Illusion*, 1933.
23. Propaganda is a soft weapon; hold it in your hands too long, and it will move about like a snake, and strike the other way. JEAN ANOUILH (1910-1987), *The Lark*, 1955.
24. Once upon a time, this country divided itself neatly along party lines. ... Television has changed all that. Now, we are split by a new division: between loyalists and apathetics. On the one hand, media propaganda can often shore up loyalists to vote for their traditional party; on the other hand, the same propaganda is increasingly peeling off a band of citizens who turn from independence to apathy, even antipathy, toward our political institutions. STEPHEN ANSOLABEHERE & SHANTO IYENGAR, *Going Negative: How Political Advertisements Shrink and Polarize the Electorate*, 1995.
25. The brevity of the [political] advertising message may actually strengthen its information value. The typical person's attention span for political information is notoriously short lived ... The great majority of voters bypass or ignore information that entails more than minimal acquisition costs, preferring to use messages that are simple to digest and easily obtained. STEPHEN ANSOLABEHERE & SHANTO IYENGAR, *Going Negative: How Political Advertisements Shrink and Polarize the Electorate*, 1995.
26. The most useful piece of learning for the uses of life is to unlearn what is untrue. ANTISTHENES (444-365 BC).
27. Lenin made ideology into a form of philosophical propaganda. He was both ideologue and ideologist. In his hand, communism became a revolutionary dogma. DAVID E. APTER, *Ideology and Discontent*, 1964.
28. The fundamental reason for the superiority of totalitarian propaganda over the propaganda of other parties and movements is that its content, for members of the movement at any rate, is no longer an objective issue about which people may have opinions, but has become as real and untouchable an

element in their lives as the rules of arithmetic. HANNAH ARENDT (1906-1975), *The Origins of Totalitarianism*, 1968.

29. The trouble with lying and deceiving is that their efficiency depends entirely upon a clear notion of the truth that the liar and the deceiver want to hide. HANNAH ARENDT (1906-1975), *Crisis of the Republic*, 1972.
30. The successful propagandist does not behave when on the platform in a relaxed, informal, and 'familiar' style; on the contrary, he has the 'presence' and dramatizes himself and his message by a certain amount of showmanship. Schizophrenics and hysterics have often been successful in the past as religious leaders, probably because their intense conviction or dramatic self-presentation courted authority with their audiences. MICHAEL ARGYLE (1925-2002), *The Psychology of Interpersonal Behavior*, 1969.
31. He is making decisions when, in reality, it has all been managed by the persuader armed with the results from experimental social psychology. ... So we have a world in which the client is to feel genuinely better about himself as a human being because he has had an encounter with a canvasser who was schooled in winning and controlling others. C. ARGYRIS, "Dangers in Applying Results from Experimental Social Psychology," *American Psychologist*, 30, 1975.
32. You will develop your case mainly by arguing that what been done is, for example, noble and useful. The facts themselves are to be taken on trust; proof of them is only admitted on those rare occasions when they are not easily credible or when they are set down to someone else. ARISTOTLE (384-322 BC), *Rhetoric*.
33. Of the modes of persuasion furnished by the spoken word there are three kinds. The first kind depends upon the personal character of the speaker; the second on putting the audience into a certain frame of mind; the third on the proof, or apparent proof, provided by the words of the speech itself. ... Secondly, persuasion may come through the hearers when a speech stirs their emotions. ... Thirdly, persuasion is effected through the speech itself when we have proved a truth or an apparent truth by means of the persuasive arguments suitable to the case in question. ARISTOTLE (384-322 BC), *Rhetoric*.
34. Often beliefs that we hold are never called into question; when they are not, it is relatively easy for us to lose sight of why we hold them. Thus, if subjected to severe attack, such beliefs may crumble. ELLIOT ARONSON, *The Social Animal*, 1976.
35. Those who produce television news can exert a powerful influence on our opinions simply by determining which events are given exposure – and how much exposure they are given. ELLIOT ARONSON, *The Social Animal*, 1976.
36. Depending on the context, objects and alternatives can be made to look better or worse. Often we do not pay much attention to the influence of context, much less question the validity of the alternatives presented. This greatly enhances the power of "context makers" such as politicians, advertisers, journalists, and sales agents. ELLIOT ARONSON, *The Social Animal*, 1976.
37. The cinema implies a total inversion of values, a complete upheaval of optics, of perspective and logic. It is more exciting than phosphorus, more captivating than love. ANTONIN ARTAUD (1895-1948).
38. The marketing strategies used to appeal to utilitarian and hedonic needs are very different. Advertising that appeals to utilitarian needs tends to be more informative and rational. ... Advertising

that appeals to hedonic needs tends to be more symbolic and emotional. HENRY ASSAEL, *Consumer Behavior and Marketing Action*, 1998.

39. Self-concept (or self-image) theory holds that individuals have a concept of self based on who they think they are (the actual self) and a concept of who they think they would like to be (the ideal self). ... The greater the difference between the actual self and the ideal self, the lower an individual's self-esteem. In a marketing context, dissatisfaction with oneself could influence purchases, particularly for products that could enhance self-esteem. HENRY ASSAEL, *Consumer Behavior and Marketing Action*, 1998.
40. [I]f you do not structure your messages properly, they are not likely to be received as you intended them to be, and the responses may be unsatisfactory. Conversely, properly structured messages "turn on" and influence the thinking process of your target audience, they feed data suitable to the mind-set of your receiver. NORBERT AUBUCHON, *The Anatomy of Persuasion*, 1997.
41. Thus, as we think about the task of creating messages to mesh with the thinking process of the receiver, we also need to think about what that person is trying to do. Then we need to learn how he or she thinks through the task. What are the priorities, the logic, the flow? Once we know these things, we can decide how to influence that process with a structured message that will mesh and interact effectively. NORBERT AUBUCHON, *The Anatomy of Persuasion*, 1997.
42. Remember that what pulls the strings is the force hidden within; there lies the power to persuade. MARCUS AURELIUS (121-180 AD), Roman Emperor.
43. The opinion of 10,000 men is of no value if none of them know anything about the subject. MARCUS AURELIUS (121-180 AD), Roman Emperor.
44. Public opinion is no more than this; What people think that other people think. ALFRED AUSTIN (1835-1913), Poet Laureate of England, 1887.

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45. It is not the lie that passeth through the mind, but the lie that sinketh in, and setteth in it, that does the hurt. FRANCIS BACON (1561-1626), *Essays*.
46. Words are but the images of matter; and except they have a life of reason and invention, to fall in love with them is all one as to fall in love with a picture. FRANCIS BACON (1561-1626), *The Advancement of Learning*, 1605.
47. The deeper social loss of giantism in the media is not in its unfair advantage in profits and power. This is real and it is serious. But there gravest loss is in the self-serving censorship of political and social ideas, in news, magazine articles, books, broadcasting and movies. Some intervention is direct and blunt. But most of the screening is subtle, not even occurring at the conscious level, as when subordinates learn by habit to conform to the owners ideas. But subtle or not, the ultimate result is a distorted reality and impoverished ideas. BEN BAGDIKIAN, *The Media Monopoly*, 1983.
48. You may talk of the tyranny of Nero and Tiberius, but the real tyranny is the tyranny of your next-door-neighbor...Public opinion is a permeating influence and it exacts obedience to itself; it requires us to think other men's thoughts, to speak other men's words, to follow other men's habits. WALTER BAGEHOT (1826-1877), *The Character of Sir Robert Peel*, 1856.

49. How do you persuade another person? Our culture distinguishes two ways. The first is the Platonic way, the use of reason... The other form of persuasion (direct use of the passions) seeks to eliminate the mind and critical faculties. It provokes feeling rather than thought. It is employed when the persuader suspects that the logical steps in the argument will not survive critical examination. F. G. BAILEY, *The Tactical Uses Of Passions*, 1983.
50. Lying to the strong is a generalized version of the Fifth Amendment: truth could be dangerous because it might give the dominant adversary another weapon. ... The power I get from a successful lie is your loss, and you gain is the secret I fail to keep or the deception you uncover. F. G. BAILEY, *The Prevalence of Deceit*, 1991.
51. Collusive lying occurs when two parties, knowing full well that what they are saying or doing is false, collude in ignoring the falsity. They hold it between them as an open secret. F. G. BAILEY, *The Prevalence of Deceit*, 1991.
52. Muck is raked to find sinners and sins, not to identify defects in a system. These are like witchcraft accusations in tribal Africa. ... [This] provides a simulacrum of criticism and the illusion of an open society and a governing class responsive to those below it. But in fact the dominant ideology is left intact; and is even fortified by putting the blame on individuals rather than on the social order. F. G. BAILEY, *The Prevalence of Deceit*, 1991.
53. Advertisers, not governments, are the primary censors of media content in the United States today. C. EDWIN BAKER, *Advertising and the Democratic Press*, 1994.
54. When I began to think about it, I realized that I had been doing what every writer, unconsciously, is always doing: a writer is never listening to what is being said, he is never listening to what he is being told. He is listening to what is *not* being said, he is listening to what is *not* being told, which means that he is trying to discover the purpose of the communication. JAMES A. BALDWIN (1924-1987), *The Evidence of Things Not Seen*, 1985.
55. Warfare is often defined as the employment of military means to advance political ends. ... Another, more subtle means – political warfare – uses images, ideas, speeches, slogans, propaganda, economic pressures, even advertising techniques to influence the political will of an adversary. JAMES A. BALDWIN (1924-1987), Foreword, *On Political War* (Paul A. Smith), 1990.
56. The power of authority is never more subtle and effective then when it produces a psychological “atmosphere” or “climate” favorable to the life of certain modes of belief, unfavorable, or even fatal, to the life of others. ARTHUR BALFOUR (1848-1930), *The Foundations of Belief*, 1895.
57. The propaganda strategist must combine sufficient semantic rigidity and consistency to retain control over his followers, with sufficient flexibility in the choice of terminology and organizational methods to attract new followers. FREDERICK C. BARGHOORN (1911-1991), “Soviet Political Warfare: Strengths and Weaknesses,” in *Propaganda And The Cold War* (John B. Whitton), 1963.
58. While eschewing pacifism, for example, in doctrinal communications to communists, the Kremlin in its communications to “bourgeois” audiences has often sought to exploit pacifist moods and movements. In establishing links with such moods and movements, they have concealed, played down or even blandly denied the class struggle and violence aspects of their theory. FREDERICK C. BARGHOORN (1911-1991), “Soviet Political Warfare: Strengths and Weaknesses,” in *Propaganda And The Cold War* (John B. Whitton), 1963.



59. Television is the first truly democratic culture – the first culture available to everybody and entirely governed by what the people want. The most terrifying thing is what people do want. CLIVE BARNES, *New York Times*, 30 December 1969.
60. Identification with the listener is everyone's constant aim in speaking: discarding a certain word for a more precise one, choosing this example instead of that, or altering the sequence of ideas from that originally planned. These are decisions to enhance effectiveness and to increase opportunities of securing favorable responses and unity with listeners. HAROLD BARRETT, *Speaking In America*, 1993.
61. Our constitutional guarantee of freedom of the press is equipped to deal with direct and crude assaults on freedom of expression, but is incapable of responding to the more subtle challenge of securing admission for ideas to the dominant media. JEROME BARRON, *Freedom of the Press For Whom?*, 1973.
62. Character assassination is at once easier and surer than physical assault; and it involves far less risk for the assassin. It leaves him free to commit the same deed over and over again, and may, indeed, win him the honors of a hero even in the country of his victim. ALAN BARTH, *The Loyalty of Free Men*, 1951.
63. Propaganda is an organized and public form of the process which the psychologist calls "suggestion." F. C. BARTLETT (1887-1969), *Political Propaganda*, 1940.
64. The fact that political propaganda, is it often been shaped, aims, either wittingly or unwittingly, at producing whole nation groups in which all individuals think, act and feel alike, has profound consequences. For this aim can be realized only in so far as the population concerned can be guarded from other influences. A successful propaganda of this type carries with it a dominant and stringent censorship. F. C. BARTLETT (1887-1969), *Political Propaganda*, 1940.
65. Complete systems and schemes of psychological explanation are the biggest stumbling block in psychology. F. C. BARTLETT (1887-1969), in *A History of Psychology in Autobiography*, Vol. 3, 1936.
66. He who presents his argument first may convert the audience and they in turn may exercise their oft-exercised prerogative of not listening to the opposing case. Hence to have the first word rather than the last word could be decisive in the real world, but for a reason which may seem irrelevant to the relative merits of primacy versus recency. RAYMOND A. BAUER, "The Obstinate Audience," *American Psychologist*, May 1964.
67. Male subjects low in generalized self-confidence are generally the more persuasible. Females are more persuasible in general but on the whole this is not correlated with self-confidence or self-esteem. RAYMOND A. BAUER, "The Obstinate Audience," *American Psychologist*, May 1964.
68. Vilify! Vilify! Some of it will always stick. PIERRE BEAUMARCHAIS (1732-1799).
69. I run the Daily Express purely for propaganda and for no other purpose. LORD BEAVERBROOK (1879-1964), *Evidence to the Royal Commission on the Press*, 1948.
70. Man is...a creature with a name who lives in a world of symbols and dreams and not merely matter. His sense of self-worth is constituted symbolically, his cherished narcissism feeds on symbols feeds on symbols, on an abstract idea of his own worth, an idea composed of sounds, words, and images, in the air, in the mind, on paper. ERNEST BECKER (1924-1974), *The Denial of Death*, 1973.

71. Critics are like eunuchs in a harem: they know how it's done, they've seen it done every day, but they're unable to do it themselves. BRENDAN BEHAN (1923-1964).
72. [Heresy is] the dislocation of a complete and self-supporting scheme by introduction of a novel denial of some essential part therein. HILAIRE BELLOC (1870-1950), *The Great Heresies*, 1939.
73. A great deal of intelligence can be invested in ignorance when the need for illusion is deep. SAUL BELLOW, *To Jerusalem and Back*, 1976.
74. Stereotypes...are over generalized beliefs based on too limited experience...they are like other first-order primitive beliefs in that they appear to the individual to be self-evident...All of us rely upon stereotypes to some extent for "packaging" our perceptual and conceptual worlds. DARYL J. BEM, *Beliefs, Attitudes and Human Affairs*, 1970.
75. Propaganda is sometimes referred to as a Soviet 'secret weapon,' or as an instrument of 'thought control' – which presupposes a substantial degree of official success in shaping public opinion. Yet at other times Soviet communication is assumed to be absurdly crude, inept and dreary; and it is said that no one in Russia believes in Marxism-Leninism any longer. D. W. BENN, "Soviet Propaganda: The Theory and the Practice," *The World Today*, 41, 1985.
76. Journalists say a thing that they know isn't true, in the hope that if they keep on saying it enough it will be true. ARNOLD BENNET (1867-1931), *The Title*, 1918.
77. A metaphor is a direct comparison of two things that equates one thing with a special feature of the other. The use of metaphor often makes it possible to substitute politically useful meanings for potentially damaging realities. W. LANCE BENNETT, *Public Opinion in American Politics*, 1980.
78. If people become slowly conditioned to judge political performances for dramatic qualities rather than other features like truth, principle, or observable consequences, minor annoyances like inconsistency, duplicity, or failure on the part of the political actor may be forgiven in exchange for compelling dramatic performances. W. LANCE BENNETT, *Public Opinion in American Politics*, 1980.
79. We (journalists) can attribute any social problem to official policies, the machinations of those who benefit from it, or the pathology of those who suffer from it. We can trace it back to class or racial inequalities, to ideologies such as nationalism or patriotism, or to resistance to the regime. ... In choosing any such ultimate cause we are also depicting a setting, an appropriate course of action, and sets of virtuous and evil characters, and in doing so in a way that will appeal to some part of the public that sees its own sentiments or interests reflected in that choice of a social scene. W. LANCE BENNETT & MURRY EDELMAN, "Toward a New Political Narrative," *Journal of Communication*, 35, 1985.
80. Given sufficient control over information and enough public distance from the reality of events, even the most unlikely situations can be endowed with powerful emotional trappings. W. LANCE BENNETT, *Public Opinion in American Politics*, 1980.
81. The personalized view of politics gives people little, if any, grasp of political processes or power structures. Without a grasp of these things it is virtually impossible to understand how the political system really works. As a result, the political world becomes a mystical real populated by actors who either have the political "force" on their side or do not. The mysterious possession or loss of power further encourages the audience to abandon political analysis in favor of casting their political fates with the hero of the moment. W. LANCE BENNETT, *News: The Politics of Illusion*, 1983.

82. In order to understand how symbols are used and what makes them effective or ineffective, it is useful to know something about their psychological effects. Each symbol has at least two effects on us. One effect engages our thinking processes. This *cognitive* effect is responsible for the basic meaning of a symbolic message. The second effect engages our emotions, or *affect*, by triggering a feeling about the message. W. LANCE BENNETT, *News: The Politics of Illusion*, 1983.
83. People tend to see or hear communications that are favorable or congenial to their dispositions; they are more likely to see and hear congenial communications than neutral or hostile ones. And the more interested they are in the subject, the more likely is such selective attention. BERNARD BERELSON (1912-1979) & GARY A. STEINER (1931-1966), *Human Behavior: An Inventory of Scientific Findings*, 1964.
84. People tend to misperceive and misinterpret persuasive communications in accordance with their own predispositions, by evading the message or by distorting it in a favorable direction. BERNARD BERELSON (1912-1979) & GARY A. STEINER (1931-1966), *Human Behavior: An Inventory of Scientific Findings*, 1964.
85. Both censorship and propaganda deny the same right: press freedom. Nonetheless, censorship arouses media indignation while propaganda is rarely mentioned. MARIELLA BERGOLI, "The Untold Threat of Propaganda," *Mediachannel.org*, 28 November 2001.
86. I am aware the word "propaganda" carries to many minds an unpleasant connotation. Yet, whether, in any instance, propaganda is good or bad depends on the merit of the cause urged, and the correctness of the information published. EDWARD L. BERNAYS (1891-1995), *Propaganda*, 1928.
87. It was [World War One] which opened the eyes of the intelligent few in all departments of life to the possibilities of regimenting the public mind. EDWARD L. BERNAYS (1891-1995), *Propaganda*, 1928.
88. [People us] pat words or images which stand for a whole group of ideas and experiences [and are] rarely aware of the real reasons which motivate their actions. EDWARD L. BERNAYS (1891-1995), *Propaganda*, 1928.
89. [In dealing with] established beliefs [one] must either discredit the old authorities or create new authorities by making articulate a mass opinion against the old belief or in favor of the new. EDWARD L. BERNAYS (1891-1995), *Crystalizing Public Opinion*, 1923.
90. (Persuasion involves) a conscious attempt by one individual to change the attitudes, beliefs, or the behavior of another person or group of individuals through the transmission of some message. ERWIN BETTINGHAUS, *Persuasive Communications*, 1994.
91. Careful and correct use of language is a powerful aid to straight thinking, for putting into words precisely what we mean necessitates getting our own minds quite clear on what we mean. WILLIAM I. B. BEVERIDGE (1879-1963), *The Art of Scientific Investigation*, 1950.
92. In manipulating the public, he [the propagandist] attempts to discover the emotional opinions which they already accept. He then fastens or conditions the emotions he desires to one of these already established beliefs. WILLIAM W. BIDDLE, *Manipulating The Public*, 1931.
93. It [propaganda] relies upon the drive of certain preponderant emotions to result in the desired behavior. Theoretically, any emotion can be "drained off" into any activity by skillful manipulation. WILLIAM W. BIDDLE, *Propaganda and Education*, 1932.

94. *Education*: That which discloses to the wise and disguises from the foolish their lack of understanding. AMBROSE BIERCE (1842-1914), *The Devil's Dictionary*, 1906.
95. *Oratory*: A conspiracy between speech and action to cheat the understanding. A tyranny tempered by stenography. AMBROSE BIERCE (1842-1914), *The Devil's Dictionary*, 1906.
96. *Persuasion*: A species of hypnotism in which the oral suggestion takes the hindering form of argument or appeal. AMBROSE BIERCE (1842-1914), *The Devil's Dictionary*, 1906.
97. While seeking to legitimize their revolution by sanctifying a place, a process, or even a picture, Frenchmen still sought to define their beliefs in words. There was a trend toward radical simplification, however, as they increasingly tended to use labels for arguments. JAMES H. BILLINGTON, *Fire in the Minds of Men*, 1980.
98. Promotion of any private interest contrary to the general welfare, for whatever reason, is not compatible with honest journalism. So-called news communications from private sources should not be published without public notice of their source or else substantiation of their claims to value as news, both in form and substance. GEORGE L. BIRD & FREDERICK E. MERWIN, *The Newspaper and Society*, 1942.
99. It is obvious that we need to judge and persuade not on the basis of whimsy, falsehood, or inadequate information and methods, but rather on the basis of purposeful deliberation which employees as much truth as the subject admits and proceeds systematically through methods of investigation, evaluation, and communication suited to the subject, the audience, and the purpose. LLOYD F. BITZER, "Political Rhetoric," in *Handbook of Political Communication* (Nimmo & Sanders), 1981.
100. Propaganda is characterized by the following: (1) a heavy or undue use of authority figures as spokesmen, rather than empirical validation, to establish its truths or conclusion; (2) the utilization of unverified and perhaps unverifiable abstract nouns, adjectives, and adverbs, rather than empirical validations, to establish its truths, conclusions, or impressions; (3) a finalistic and fixed view of people, institutions, and situations divided into groups (friends and enemies), situations to be accepted or rejected, (4) a reduction of situations into readily identifiable cause-effect relationships, ignoring multiple causality, (5) a time-perspective characterized by an under or overemphasis on the past...rather than a demonstrated consciousness of time flow. JOHN JAY BLACK, *Another Perspective on Mass Media Propaganda*, (paper prepared for annual convention of the Association for Education in Journalism), Madison, WI, 21-24 August 1977.
101. [O]ne approach to understanding the nature of the growing disconnection between and among journalists, sources, subjects, and audiences might be to use the analytical tools of propaganda, social psychology, semantics and, fundamentally, the tools of ethics. ... The moral and ethical ramifications of all this are significant. They are found in our manipulation of sources, subjects and audiences; in the fuzziness of our claims about truth and the subtle ways in which we discourage critical thinking; in our simplification of inherently complex stories; in any of a number of ways in which we blur the lines among media's foundational but discrete roles of informing, entertaining and persuading. JOHN JAY BLACK, "*Hardening Of The Articles: An Ethicist Looks at Propaganda in Today's News*", Lecture, Washington & Lee University, 1 March 2001.
102. Then I asked: 'Does a firm persuasion that a thing is so, make it so?' He replied: 'All Poets believe that it does, and in ages of imagination this firm persuasion removed mountains; but many are not capable of a firm persuasion of anything.' WILLIAM BLAKE (1757-1827), *The Marriage of Heaven and Hell*, 1793.

103. Freedom of the mind requires not only, or not even specially, the absence of legal constraints but the presence of alternative thoughts. The most successful tyranny is not the one that uses force to assure uniformity but the one that removes the awareness of other possibilities. ALAN BLOOM (1930-1992), *The Closing of the American Mind*, 1987.
104. Public ignorance is useful to the expert. The more ignorant the public, the more dependent and powerless the public is at the hands of the expert and thus the more economically vulnerable. The more uninformed the public, the less that public is able to challenge the word of the expert. Hence public ignorance gives the expert leverage to maintain and enhance his earnings, power and status. PAUL BLUMBERG, *The Predatory Society: Deception in the American Marketplace*, 1989.
105. In a society that prides itself on science, knowledge, precision, rationality, and careful measurement, advertising represents a huge island of the irrational where reason is intentionally obfuscated and decision based on intelligence measurement and comparison are deliberately sabotaged. PAUL BLUMBERG, *The Predatory Society: Deception in the American Marketplace*, 1989.
106. [M]otion pictures not only bring new objects to the attention of people but, what is probably more important, they make what has been remote and vague, immediate and clear. HERBERT R. BLUMER, "Moulding of Mass Behavior Through the Motion Picture," *American Sociology Society Publication* 29, August 1935.
107. Media power is not supposed to be shared: That's an infringement of editorial autonomy. It's not supposed to be controlled: That's censorship. It's not even supposed to be influenced: That's news management! But why should media personnel be exempt from Lord Acton's dictum that all power corrupts and absolute power corrupts absolutely? And if they are not exempt, who exactly is best fitted to guard the press guardians, as it were. JAY BLUMLER, "Purposes of Mass Communications Research: A Transatlantic Perspective," *Journalism Quarterly*, 55, 1978.
108. Many men have got a great name from the false opinions of the crowd. And what could be baser than such a thing? For those who are falsely praised, must blush to hear their praises. And if they are justly won by merits, what can they add to the pleasure of a wise man's conscience? For he measures his happiness not by popular talk, but by the truth of his conscience. BOETHIUS (480-525 AD), *The Consolations of Philosophy*.
109. Whether the "masses" are denied legitimate access to decision makers by reason of despotism, bureaucratic deviousness, or simple technical obfuscation, the resultant erosion of democratic process can be much the same... ROBERT BOGUSLAW (1919-1993), "Systems of Power," in *Information Technology In A Democracy* (Alan Westin), 1971.
110. When the authentic record of events is clear and widely understood, the competing visions must take it into account ... [But] Whenever occasion are so chaotic and indiscriminate that the community has no clear observational impression of the facts, people are given free rein to fantasize within the assumptions of their rhetorical vision. ERNEST G. BORMANN, "Fantasy and Rhetorical Vision: The Rhetorical Criticism of Social Reality," *Quarterly Journal of Speech*, 58, 1972.
111. Once regarded as the herald of enlightenment in all spheres of knowledge, science is now increasingly seen as a strictly instrumental system of control. Its use as a means of social manipulation and its role in restricting human freedom now parallel in every detail its use as a means of natural manipulation. MURRAY BOOKCHIN, *The Ecology of Freedom*, 1982.

112. We are perhaps the first people in history to have a centrally organized mass-produced folk culture. Our kind of popular culture is here today and gone tomorrow – or the day after tomorrow. Or whenever the next semi-annual model appears. And insofar as folk culture becomes advertising, and advertising becomes centralized, it becomes a way of depriving people of their opportunities for individual and small-community expression. DANIEL J. BOORSTIN (1914-2004), *Democracy and it's Discontents*, 1974.
113. The deeper problems connected with advertising come less from the unscrupulousness of “our deceivers” than from our pleasure at being deceived, less from the desire to seduce than from the desire to be seduced. DANIEL J. BOORSTIN (1914-2004), *The Image: A Guide To Pseudo-Events in America*, 1962.
114. The successful advertiser is the master of a new art: the art of making things true by saying they are so. He is a devotee of the technique of the self-fulfilling prophecy. DANIEL BOORSTIN (1914-2004), *The Image: A Guide To Pseudo-Events in America*, 1962.
115. We suffer primarily not from our vices or our weaknesses, but from our illusions. We are haunted, not by reality, but by those images we have in place of reality. DANIEL BOORSTIN (1914-2004), *The Image: A Guide to Pseudo-Events In America*, 1962.
116. “Truth” has been displaced by “believability” as the test of the statements which dominate our lives. DANIEL J. BOORSTIN (1914-1994), *The Image: A Guide To Pseudo-Events In America*, 1962.
117. A deft administrator these days must master “the technique of denying the truth without actually lying.” DANIEL J. BOORSTIN, *The Image: A Guide To Pseudo-Events In America*, 1962.
118. The people whose decisions determine the policies and actions of nations do not respond to the ‘objective’ facts of the situation, whatever that may mean, but to their ‘image’ of the situation. KENNETH E. BOULDING (1910-1993), “National Images and International Systems,” *Journal of Conflict Resolution*, 1959.
119. [A symbolic image] is a kind of rough summation or index of a vast complexity of roles and structures. These symbolic images are of great importance in political life. ... Value images do not usually consist of a long and detailed list of alternatives in a carefully compiled rank order. They consist, rather, of a “posture” which in a sense summarizes an extremely complex network of alternatives and situations. KENNETH E. BOULDING (1910-1993), *The Image: Knowledge in Life and Society*, 1956.
120. A rigorous interpretation of the opinion polls would require an epistemological examination of each of the questions asked, plus concerning the system of the questions, an analysis of the whole system of answers, which together would be the only way to know what were the questions the people really thought they were answering. PIERRE BOURDIEU, “Public Opinion Does Not Exist,” in *Communications and Class Struggle* (Mattelart & Siegelau, eds), 1979.
121. [Slogans are] imperative statements ... single words or short phrases with the imperative mood strongly implied. JOHN WAITE BOWERS & DONOVAN J. OCHS, *The Rhetoric of Agitation and Control*, 1971.
122. Agitation is persistent, long-term advocacy of social change, where resistance to the change is also persistent and long-term. ... [It] is a style of persuasion characterized by highly emotional argument based on citation of grievances and alleged violation of moral principles. JOHN WAITE BOWERS & DONOVAN J. OCHS, *The Rhetoric of Agitation and Control*, 1971.

123. *Signal responses* are immediate, unthinking, largely automatic, and discriminating. *Symbol responses* are to some degree deliberate and discriminating. They modify reaction tendencies to harmonize with the immediate environment and may be said to be made "in context." WINSTON L. BREMBECK & WILLIAM S. HOWELL, *Persuasion: A Means of Social Control*, 1952.
124. Euphemisms are language devices chosen because they are more socially acceptable than their synonyms. Usually, a euphemism is the avoidance of direct communication. WINSTON L. BREMBECK & WILLIAM S. HOWELL, *Persuasion: A Means of Social Control*, 1952.
125. It has been the practice of many persuaders throughout history to use the existing frustration or a receiver or audience, perhaps magnify it, and then direct the aggressive behavior toward some target person or group, or to rhetorically create frustration based on some situation that has not been perceived by the receiver and then to show how the tension created can be reduced or eliminated by attempting the persuaders recommendation. WINSTON L. BREMBECK & WILLIAM S. HOWELL, *Persuasion: A Means of Social Influence*, 1976.
126. The preferred and most common method propagandists used to reach their American audience was through the American media. As the principle link between the government and the citizens, the news media often determined the framework for discussion of public interests. The British aimed to use this agenda-setting function to influence public debates. SUSAN A. BREWER, *To Win The Peace: British Propaganda in the United States During World War II*, 1997.
127. It was the dramatic theme of civilization versus barbarism, rather than their fairly subtle method of cultivating elite opinion, which later won British propagandists their reputation as sensationalist manipulators. SUSAN A. BREWER, *To Win The Peace: British Propaganda in the United States During World War II*, 1997.
128. When the aim is to rouse from indifference, to inspire, or to simulate lagging enthusiasm and faiths, persuasion is a process of vitalizing old desires, purposes or ideals. When the aim is to secure the acceptance of new beliefs or courses of action, persuasion is a process of substituting new desires, purposes, or ideals for old ones. WILLIAM N. BRIGANCE, *Speech Composition*, 1939.
129. (1) When the aim is to arouse from indifference, to inspire, or to stimulate lagging enthusiasm and faiths, persuasion is a process of vitalizing old desires, purposes, or ideals. (2) When the aim is to secure the acceptance of new beliefs or courses of action, persuasion is a process of substituting new desires, purposes, or ideals for old ones. WILLIAM N. BRIGANCE, "Can We Re-Define the James-Winans Theory of Persuasion?," *Quarterly Journal of Speech* 21, 1935.
130. Propaganda is the making of deliberately one-sided statements to a mass audience. It is the art of advocacy in mass communication ... to reach a mass audience, propagandists rely upon every medium of communication – oral, printed, pictorial, plastic, musical or dramatic... ENCYCLOPEDIA BRITANNICA, 1959.
131. [Prohibited topics include] References to controversial politics; Relations of capital and labour, Scenes tending to disparage public characters and institutions; Realistic horrors of warfare; Scenes holding up the King's uniform to contempt or ridicule... BRITISH BOARD OF FILM CENSORS, *Rules*, 1917.
132. [Prohibited topics include] Subjects calculated or possibly intended to foment social unrest or discontent; Scenes or incidents showing 'Soldiers and police firing on defenseless population' and

showing in any way 'Conflicts between the armed forces of the state and the populace.' BRITISH BOARD OF FILM CENSORS, *Rules*, 1923.

133. [Prohibited topics include] Stories in which sympathy is enlisted for the criminals; and in which they are made out to be either victims of unavoidable circumstances or of early environment, and as such held more or less responsible for social delinquencies. BRITISH BOARD OF FILM CENSORS, *Rules*, 1929.
134. Every movie producer realizes that to have a good box office he must produce pictures which will amuse and entertain at the infantile level, and that he cannot long stay in business if he brings out too many pictures which force people to engage in hard, realistic thinking. S. H. BRITT, *Social Psychology of Modern Life*, 1941.
135. It's tricky, trying to generate understanding and insight while not ignoring the entertainment factor. TOM BROKAW, "Overheard," *Newsweek*, 13 July 1987.
136. An appeal to pride results in the creation of a feeling of high esteem... Probably no technique has a longer history of use in man's attempt to influence others through emotional appeal than the pat on the back – the soft-soaping, sweet-talking, complimenting behavior. WILLIAM D. BROOKS, *Speech Communications*, 1971.
137. Sometimes we call a man a fascist simply because we dislike him. HEYWOOD BROWN (1888-1939).
138. Propaganda by censorship takes two forms: the selective control of information to favor a particular viewpoint, and the deliberate doctoring of information in order to create an impression different from that originally intended. JAMES A. C. BROWN (1911-1964), *Techniques of Persuasion*, 1963.
139. The potency of Hitler's propaganda, however, has been grossly exaggerated. Democracy had failed, and the only real choice open to the Germans was between Communism and the Nazis. JAMES A. C. BROWN (1911-1964), *Techniques of Persuasion*, 1963.
140. The most difficult thing in the world is to change minds to directions which conflict with the attitudes deeply embedded in the nuclear self. JAMES A. C. BROWN (1911-1964), *Techniques of Persuasion*, 1963.
141. Ideological types, as they were depicted in TV shows, had little resemblance beyond the external trappings to their objective counterparts in the real world. The psychopath looked like a hippie but was not in any philosophical sense a hippie. Yet the message was: beware the hippie, within lives a psychopath. LES BROWN, *Television: The Business Behind The Box*, 1971.
142. Having no real aim, acquisitiveness, as Aristotle correctly said, has no limit. Hence the psychological premise of a market economy is not, as in classical theory of exchange, that the agents know what they want, but that they do not know what they want. In advanced capitalist countries advertising exists to create irrational demands and keep the consumer confused; without the consumer confusion perpetuated by advertising, the economy would collapse. NORMAN O. BROWN (1913-2002), *Life Against Death*, 1985.
143. Political language is often loaded and ambiguous. For example, *welfare* is often how we refer to governmental help to those we don't like; when help from the government goes to groups we like, we call it a *subsidy* or an *incentive*. M. NEIL BROWNE & STUART M. KEELEY, *Asking The Right Questions: A Guide to Critical Thinking*, 1998.



144. Local TV causes the public to look at each unusual occurrence through the wrong end of a telescope. When one parolee out of 1,000 commits a terrible crime, the media act as if the only policy question were the stupidity of paroling that one aberrant individual. The conclusion, naturally, is to deny parole to everyone else. But the local news says nothing about the enormous costs of keeping the other 1,000 in jail. DAVID BRUCK, in *Breaking The News* (James Fallows), 1997.
145. In the interest of economizing effort we do three things ... we narrow the selectivity of attention more or less to those things that are somehow essential to the enterprises in which we are engaged. ... Secondly, we "recode" into simpler form the diversity of events that we encounter ... Sometimes these recodings of information serve their economical function but lead to a serious loss of information ... Now only is information lost, but misinformation is added. ... Finally, we deal with the overload of information provided by the environment ... by the use of technological aids. JEROME S. BRUNER, "Social Psychology and Perception," in *Readings in Social Psychology* (Maccoby, Newcomb & Hartley, eds), 1958.
146. Whereas logic is the art of demonstrating truth, eloquence is the gift of winning over people's hearts and minds so that you may inspire them and persuade them in whatever way you choose. JEAN de LA BRUYERE (1645-1696), *Les Caracteres*, 1688.
147. Even honest rhetoric is fundamentally concerned with appearances. ... Rhetoric at the command of honest men strives that what is desirable shall appear desirable, that what is vicious shall appear as vicious. It intends that the true or probably true shall seem so, that the false or doubtful shall be vividly realized for what it is. D. C. BRYANT, "Rhetoric: It's Functions and It's Scope," *Quarterly Journal of Speech*, 39, 1953.
148. Public opinion is a congeries of all sorts of discrepant notions, beliefs, fancies, prejudices, and aspirations. It is confused, incoherent, amorphous, varying from day to day and week to week. But in the midst of this diversity and confusion every question as it arises into importance is subject to a process of consolidation and clarification until there emerge and take shape certain views or sets of inter-connected views, each held and advocated in common by bodies of citizens. JAMES BRYCE (1838-1922), *Modern Democracies*, 1921.
149. The best way in which the tendencies at work in any community can be discovered and estimated is by moving freely among all sorts and conditions of men and noting how they are affected by the news or the arguments brought from day to day to their knowledge. JAMES BRYCE (1838-1922), *Modern Democracies*, 1921.
150. Totalitarian propaganda owes an essential part of its effectiveness to political romanticism - romanticism concerning the Reich, romanticism of elites, romanticism of revolution, romanticism of nihilism.... The romantic imagination likes to use even the horrors of totalitarian rule as a suitable background to present most impressively man's "depravity." HANS BUCHHEIM, *Totalitarian Rule*, 1968.
151. I cannot tell what part of me deceives the other. GEORGE BUCHNER (1813-1837), *Danton's Death*.
152. The easiest person to deceive is one's self. EDWARD GEORGE BULWER-LYTTON (1803-1873), *The Disowned*, 1828.
153. People on the whole are very simpleminded, in whatever country one finds them. They are so simple as to take literally, more often than not, the things their leaders tell them. PEARL S. BUCK (1892-1973), *What American Means to Me*, 1943.

154. No man carries further than I do the policy of making government pleasing to the people. But the widest range of this politic complaisance is confined within the limits of justice. I would not only consult the interests of the people, but I would cheerfully gratify their humours. We are all a sort of children that must be soothed and managed. ... I would even myself play my part in, any innocent buffooneries to divert them. EDMUND BURKE (1729-1797), *The Works of the Right Honourable Edmund Burke* (Frank H. Wills), 1906.
155. And however important to us is the tiny sliver of reality each of us has experienced firsthand, the whole overall “picture” is but a construct of our symbol systems. KENNETH BURKE (1897-1993), *Language As Symbolic Action*, 1966.
156. You persuade a man only insofar as you can talk his language by speech, gesture, tonality, order, image, attitude, idea, identifying your ways with his. KENNETH BURKE (1897-1993), *A Rhetoric of Motives*, 1969.
157. Constant repetition of the item to be inculcated unsupported by any reasons will have an immense effect on the suggestible, herd-minded human. An opinion, an idea, or a code acquired in this manner can be so firmly fixed that one who questions its essential rightness will be regarded as foolish, wicked, or insane. Suggestion, then, is the key to inculcating discipline, esprit, and morale. JOHN H. BURNS, *Infantry Journal*, December 1928.
158. More than ever, election campaigns are managed and orchestrated. Each party attempts to shape the agenda so that the media reflects its views on favorite issues. Public opinion is monitored through opinion polls. An election campaign is increasingly seen by those in charge as an exercise in marketing and many of the skills of selling goods and services to customers are now applied to the electorate. D. BUTLER & D. KAVANAGH, *The British General Election of 1992*, 1992.
159. Any fool can tell the truth, but it requires a man of some wit to know how to tell a lie. SAMUEL BUTLER (1835-1902), *Notebooks*, 1912.
160. The essence of language lies in the intentional conveyance of ideas from one living being to another through the instrumentality of arbitrary tokens or symbols agreed upon and understood by both as being associated with the particular ideas in questions. SAMUEL BUTLER (1835-1902), lecture, *Thought and Language*, 1890.



161. The people's right to obtain information does not, of course, depend on any assured ability to understand its significance or use it wisely. Facts belong to the people simply because they relate to interests that are theirs, government that is theirs, and votes that they may desire to cast, for they are entitled to an active role in shaping every fundamental decision of state. EDMOND CAHN, *The Predicament of Democratic Man*, 1961.
162. We must enter and take possession of the consciences of the children, of the consciences of the young, because they do belong and should belong in the revolution. PLUTARCO CALLES (1877-1945), *Speech at Guadalajara*, 19 July 1934.
163. The ideology of mainstream journalism is, when there is conflict, there is news. When there is no conflict, there's no news. That is ideological. It is out of touch with how people experience life. COLE CAMPBELL, in *Breaking The News* (James Fallows), 1996.

164. It would have been impossible even for Cicero to inflame the minds of the people to so high a pitch against oppression, considered in the abstract, as he actually did inflame them against Verres the *oppressor*. Nor he could have incensed them so much against *treason* and *conspiracy* as he did against Catiline the *traitor* and *conspirator*. GEORGE CAMPBELL (1719-1796), *Philosophy of Rhetoric*, 1776.
165. It is ... essential that our machinery should be able to bring us into play all the instruments of modern propaganda. ... Action must be taken through news ... the film, the radio, the sermon, the photograph, the whispered rumour, the Ambassador's press conference, the special interview, the declaration at home, the repercussion of articles in the English press, the voices of our Allies – all these must be used and harmonized in our orchestra. Though the score may be written at home, it must be interpreted by the conductor in this country. And the orchestra must be numerous, disciplined and efficient. SIR GERALD CAMPBELL, June 1941, quoted in *Selling War: The British Propaganda Campaign Against American Neutrality in World War II* (Nicholas John Cull), 1995.
166. You know what charm is: a way of getting the answer “yes” without having asked any clear question. ALBERT CAMUS (1913-1960), *The Fall*, 1956.
167. A person is susceptible to suggestion when (1) he has no adequate mental context for the interpretation of a given stimulus or event or (2) when his mental context is so rigidly fixed that a stimulus is automatically judged by means of this context and without any examination of the stimulus itself. The first condition results from bewilderment; the second from the “will to believe.” HADLEY CANTRIL, *The Psychology of Social Movements*, 1941.
168. Burke said that there were three estates in Parliament; but in the reporters gallery yonder, there sat a fourth estate, more important by far than all. THOMAS CARLYLE (1795-1881), *On Heroes, Hero-Worship, and the Heroic in History*, 1841.
169. Hardened around us, encasing wholly every notion we form, is a wrappage of traditions, hearsays, mere words. THOMAS CARLYLE (1795-1881), *Heroes and Hero Worship*, 1841.
170. Can there be a more horrible object in existence than an eloquent man not speaking the truth. THOMAS CARLYLE (1795-1881), *Address, Edinburgh University*, 1866.
171. For the “superior morality” of which we hear so much, we too would desire to be thankful: at the same time, if we were but blindness to deny that this “superior morality” is properly rather an “inferior criminality,” produced not by greater love of virtue, but by greater perfection of Police; and of that far subtler and stronger police, called Public Opinion. THOMAS CARLYLE (1795-1881), *Signs of the Times*, 1838.
172. Wonderful “Force of Public Opinion!” We must act and walk in all points as it prescribes, follow the traffic it bids us, realize the sum of money, the degree of “influence” it expects of us, or we shall be lightly esteemed; certain mouthfuls of articulate wind will be blown at us, and this what mortal courage can front? THOMAS CARLYLE (1795-1881), *Signs of the Times*, 1829.
173. It is not honest inquiry that makes anarchy; but it is error, insincerity, half-belief and untruth that make it. THOMAS CARLYLE (1795-1881), *On Heroes, Hero-Worship and the Heroic in History*, 1841.
174. Current confusion over the respective roles of the new media comes largely from a misconception of their function. They are art-forms, not substitutes for human contact. Insofar as they attempt to

usurp speech and personal, living relations, they harm. EDMUND S. CARPENTER, *They Became What They Beheld*, 1970.

175. Propaganda itself, pretending to be truth, does not rest solely on people's love of truth. It is more subtle. It is aimed partly at their love of wish fulfillment -- to make them feel safe, proud, and strong. JOYCE CARY (1888-1957), *Power in Men*, 1939.
176. Man has...discovered a new method of adapting himself to his environment. Between the receptor system and the effector system, which are to be found in all animal species, we find in man a third link which we may describe as the symbolic system. ERNST CASSIRER (1874-1945), *An Essay on Man*, 1944.
177. The reporter is the recorder of government but he is also a participant [helping] to shape the course of government. ... He can choose from among the myriad events that seethe beneath the surface of government which to describe, which to ignore... DOUGLAS CATER, *The Fourth Branch of Government*, 1959.
178. As long as people will accept crap, it will be financially profitable to dispense it. DICK CAVETT, *Playboy Magazine*, March 1971.
179. Your noblest natures are most credulous. GEORGE CHAPMAN (1559-1634), *Bussy d'Ambois*, 1604.
180. In the last analysis, we see only what we are prepared to see, what we have been taught to see. We eliminate and ignore everything that is not part of our prejudices. JEAN MARTIN CHARCOT (1825-1893), *De l'expectation*, 1857.
181. The most imaginative people are often the most credulous, for to them everything is possible. ALEXANDER CHASE, *Perspectives*, 1966.
182. Semantics teaches us to watch our prejudices, and to take our exercise in other ways than jumping to conclusions. Semantics is the propagandist's worst friend. STUART CHASE (1888-1985), *Guide to Straight Thinking*, 1956.
183. Labels for essences and qualities, such as "the sublime," "individualism," "truth" [have] no discoverable referents in the outside world, and by mistaking them for substantial entities somewhere at large in the environment, we create a fantastic wonderland. This zone is the especial domain of philosophy, politics, and economics. STUART CHASE (1888-1985), *The Tyranny of Words*, 1938.
184. Children are prone to uncritical identification. They appreciate resemblances more than differences. They love big things and little tiny things, and are unmindful of the middle ground where most things lie. They see some elements in a situation but leave out many of its characteristics. They frequently generalize from one or two instances. STUART CHASE (1888-1985), *The Tyranny of Words*, 1938.
185. We seldom come down to earth, but allow our language forms of symbolic machinery to fashion a demonology of absolutes and high-order abstractions, in which we come to believe as firmly as Calvin believes in the Devil. STUART CHASE (1888-1985), *The Tyranny of Words*, 1938.
186. He makes people pleased with him by making them first pleased with themselves. LORD CHESTERFIELD (1694-1773).

187. An opinion may be defined as an expression of attitude in words. An attitude is said to be a person's disposition or tendency to act or react in a particular manner. HARWOOD L. CHILDS (1898-1972), *Public Opinion: Nature, Formation, and Role*, 1965.
188. Never before have government officials had the tools and streamlined facilities and equipment for molding public opinion for good or evil that they have today. HARWOOD L. CHILDS (1898-1972), *Public Opinion: Nature, Formation, and Role*, 1965.
189. The newspaper exerts its influence...by screening and selecting the items to be printed, by the way these items are presented, the emphasis and treatment accorded them, the headlines and pictures used, the typography and format employed, the position in the paper, and the skill employed in the writing and pictorial presentation. HARWOOD L. CHILDS (1898-1972), *Public Opinion: Nature, Formation, and Role*, 1965.
190. We live in a world of conflicting ideologies and philosophical systems. All of them start with certain assumptions, certain premises incapable of absolute proof. The only certainty is that every listing of human values us back ultimately to a premise, an assumption, a mere opinion. HARWOOD L. CHILDS (1898-1972), *An Introduction to Public Opinion*, 1940.
191. The strategy of persuasion comprises those techniques which are primarily concerned with stimulating the sense to produced favorable responses. Often such techniques serve as short cuts to results that would not be reached if reflective processes were invoked. The distinguishing feature of the strategy of persuasion, therefore, is the attempt to bring about favorable responses without bringing into play serious mental activity. HARWOOD L. CHILDS (1898-1972), *An Introduction to Public Opinion*, 1940.
192. The smart way to keep people passive and obedient is to strictly limit the spectrum of acceptable opinion, but allow very lively debate within that spectrum – even encourage the more critical and dissident views. This gives people the sense that there's free thinking going on, while all the time the presuppositions of the system are being reinforced by the limits put on the range of debate. NOAM CHOMSKY, *The Common Good*, 1998.
193. To ask serious questions about the nature and behavior of one's own society is often difficult and unpleasant: difficult because the answers are generally concealed, and unpleasant because the answers are often not only ugly ... but also painful. ... In contrast, the easy way is to succumb to the demands of the powerful, to avoid searching questions, and to accept the doctrine that is hammered home incessantly by the propaganda system. NOAM CHOMSKY, *Toward a New Cold War*, 1982.
194. Any expert in indoctrination will confirm, no doubt, that it is far more effective to constrain all possible thought within a framework of tacit assumption than to try to impose a particular explicit belief with a bludgeon. NOAM CHOMSKY, *Toward a New Cold War*, 1982.
195. Indoctrination is to democracy what coercion is to dictatorship--naturally, since the stick that beats the people is labeled "the people's stick." NOAM CHOMSKY, *Toward a New Cold War*, 1982.
196. The public is moved by mood more than logic, by instinct more than reason – that is something that every politician must make use of or guard against. JEAN CHRETIEN, *Straight From The Heart*, 1985.
197. The data provide strong evidence that cultural difference exists in the persuasibility of the Americans and Chinese, the latter being significantly more persuasible. This may be regarded as a major difference in the modal personalities of the two peoples. This difference is consistent with the Chinese core value of authoritarian submission and the corresponding stress on self-reliance in

American culture... GODWIN C. CHU, "Culture, Personality and Persuasibility," *Sociometry*, June 1966.

198. A modern dictator with the resources of science at his disposal can easily lead the public on from day to day, destroying all persistency of thought and aim, so that memory is blurred by the multiplicity of daily news and judgment baffled by its perversion. WINSTON CHURCHILL (1874-1965), *The Second World War*, 1959.
199. The former peacetime structure of society had been ... superseded and life had been raised to a strange intensity by the war spell. Under that mysterious influence, men and women had been appreciably exalted above death and pain and toil. Unities and comradeships had become possible between men and classes and nations and grown stronger while the hostile pressure and common cause endured. WINSTON CHURCHILL (1874-1965), *The World Crisis, Vol 4*, 1928.
200. There is a principle in human perception, the contrast principle, that affects the way we see the difference between two things that are presented after one another. Simply put, if the second item is fairly different from the first, we will tend to see it as more different than it actually is. ... Be assured that the nice little weapon of influence provided by the contrast principle does not go unexploited. The great advantage of this principle is ... that it is virtually undetectable. ROBERT B. CIALDINI, *Influence: How and Why People Agree To Things*, 1984.
201. "...foot-in-the-door experts seem to be excited about the same thing: You can use small commitments to manipulate a person's self-image; you can use them to turn citizens into "public servants," prospects into "customers," prisoners into "collaborators." And once you've got a man's self-image where you want it, he should comply naturally with a whole range of your requests that are consistent with his view of himself. ROBERT B. CIALDINI, *Influence: How and Why People Agree to Things*, 1984.
202. Nothing is so swift as calumny; nothing is more easily uttered; nothing more readily received; nothing more widely dispersed. MARCUS TULLIUS CICERO (106-43 B. C.).
203. We must make a personal attack when there is no argumentative basis for our speech. MARCUS TULLIUS CICERO (106-43 B.C.), *Pro Flacco*, c. 58 B.C.
204. Nothing is so unbelievable that oratory cannot make it acceptable. MARCUS TULLIUS CICERO (106-43 B.C.).
205. Our major mistakes have not been the result of democracy, but of the erosion of democracy made possible by the mass media's manipulation of public opinion. ROBERT CIRINO, *Don't Blame The People*, 1971.
206. Man, in extending his eye and ear through technology, has had to hand over to those who operate his electronically extended eyes and ears the major organizing and editing decisions that he used to make for himself. ROBERT CIRINO, *Don't Blame The People*, 1971.
207. Strategic propaganda carried on for years can be successful in developing, modifying or changing an individual's fundamental beliefs and self concept. Media owners' capacity to produce this kind of propaganda gives them their real power – much more potent a force than the power to endorse a particular candidate or help him with biased presentation of photographs at election time. ROBERT CIRINO, *Don't Blame The People*, 1971.

208. The only purpose of deception is to make one's opponent *act* in a manner calculated to assist one's own plans and to prejudice the success of his. In other words, to make him *do* something. Too often in the past we have set out to make him *think* something, without realizing that this was no more than a means to an end. LT. COL. DUDLEY CLARK, quoted in *Deception In War* (Jon Latimer), 2001.
- 209.
210. Advertising is far from impotent or harmless; it is not a mere mirror image. Its power is real, and on the brink of a great increase. Not the power to brainwash overnight, but the power to create subtle and real change. The power to prevail. ERIC CLARK, *The Want Makers: Insider the World of Advertising*, 1988.
211. The most fundamental requirement in constructing a persuasive message is to select arguments that are consistent with the beliefs and values of the audience. RUTH ANNE CLARK, *Persuasive Messages*, 1984.
212. As implemented by state communism, national programs of reconstruction, like industrialization or the collectivization of agriculture, were intended to have profound effects on people's habits of thought and behavior, to an extent that would far exceed the mere propaganda of words and images. In practice, communist regimes have represented social change through a screen of censorship and illusion, producing a condition which some have described as dream-like because the official version of reality is so far at odds with everyday life. TOBY CLARK, *Art and Propaganda in the Twentieth Century*, 1997.
213. Fascist propaganda seldom promised material comforts, claiming instead to replace the materialism of capitalist life with a realm of spontaneous feeling, physical immediacy and the reintegration of individuals with the collective soul of their nation. TOBY CLARK, *Art and Propaganda in the Twentieth Century*, 1997.
214. The art of power and its minions is the same in all countries and in all ages. It marks the victim; denounces it; and excites the public odium and the public hatred, to conceal its own abuses and encroachments. HENRY CLAY (1777-1853), *Speech, U. S. Senate*, 14 March 1834.
215. The ideologue does not perform miracles. Very fittingly he confines himself to the deceptive charm of the realized abstraction. GEORGES CLEMENCEAU (1841-1929), Premier of France, *In the Evening of My Thought*, 1929.
216. For the Communist, freedom, democracy, equality and, above all, peace can come only when communism is firmly established throughout the world. Whatever forces oppose communism, they are by their very nature reactionary, undemocratic, fascist, anti-popular and repressive. When we study the communist viewpoint, we must consider it in terms of these double values. JOHN C. CLEWS, *Communist Propaganda Techniques*, 1964.
217. A lie is defined here as a statement intended to deceive others. ... The essence of lying then is not the truth or falsity of the statements, but the conscious intention to mislead. Whether or not someone is lying depends on their intentions and beliefs, what they believe to be true or untrue. LIONEL CLIFFE & MAUREEN RAMSAY, *The Politics of Lying: Implications for Democracy*, 2000.
218. Omission, evasion and silence can be ways of misleading people. ... The public can be the subject of governments 'manufacturing consent', a process of managing and orchestrating information received by the public so as to set and limit agendas and color opinions. They can be deceived by other forms of institutionalized lying, by misinformation, the distribution of official lies to give a misleading account of the truth; or by disinformation, the spreading of false information to conceal the truth. LIONEL CLIFFE & MAUREEN RAMSAY, *The Politics of Lying: Implications for Democracy*, 2000.

219. The very real danger of these docudrama films is that people take it for granted that they're true and -- unlike similar fictionalized history in movies and the theater -- they are seen on a medium which also presents straight news. VICTOR B. CLINE, quoted in *Four Arguments For The Elimination of Television* (Jerry Mander), 1978.
220. A "just war" is hospitable to every self-deception on the part of those waging it, none more than the certainty of virtue, under whose shelter every abomination can be committed with a clear conscience. ALEXANDER COCKBURN.
221. [The mass media] may not be successful much of the time in telling people what to think, but it is stunningly effective in telling its readers what to think about. And it follows from this that the world looks different to different people, depending not only on their personal interests, but also on the map that is drawn for them by the writers, editors, and publishes of the papers they read... BERNARD COHEN, *The Press and Foreign Policy*, 1963.
222. There is a sickness in the media when it comes to handling allegations against public figures... I know it because I've been part of it. Journalist suspend their critical faculties, accept allegation as unimpeachable fact, and treat any refutation as simply an attempt to confuse the issue or deny the undeniable, rather than as equally plausible new evidence. TIM COLEBATCH, "Presumption of Innocence Falls Prey To The Media Pack," *The Age*, 26 February 2002.
223. A pattern underlies many of the events we hear about in the news every day. ... The pattern is called the "copycat effect." It is also known as "imitation" or the "contagion effect." And what it deals with is the power of the mass communication and culture to create an epidemic of similar behaviors. LOREN COLEMAN, *The Copycat Effect*, 2004.
224. The validity of the copycat effect is undeniable. ... The media's graphic coverage of rampage shootings, celebrity suicides, bridge jumpers, school shootings, and the like is triggering vulnerable and angry people to take their own lives and that of others. LOREN COLEMAN, *The Copycat Effect*, 2004.
225. Falsehood is never so successful as when she baits her hook with the truth, and no opinions so fastly mislead us as those that are not wholly wrong, as no watch so effectually deceives as those that are sometimes right. CHARLES CALEB COLTON (1780-1832), *Lacon*, 1825.
226. If a cause be good, the most violent attack of its enemies will not injure it so much as an injudicious defense of it by its friends. WALTER COLTON (1797-1851).
227. A society trained to accept the preposterous claims, the deceptions, and the vulgarities of American advertising can perhaps be manipulated into accepting anything. HENRY STEELE COMMAGER (1902-1998).
228. *Suasion* is the root term for the process of sociative communication, of how we are "swayed" through social learning.... Beliefs, values, and acts we learn through suasion are often "caught, not taught," to use a figure of speech. JAMES E. COMBS & DAN NIMMO, *The New Propaganda*, 1993.
229. In analyzing all communications, overtly propagandistic or not, we must be cautious about one particular word: *is*. To say in any form that something "is" too frequently implies an identification that does not exist in reality. *Is* creates fuzzy abstractions; they purport to state precise relations between things -- between words and persons, concrete objects, specific events -- when they do not.



The “tyranny of language” stems from *is*; to relieve the tyranny, the semanticist warns “Beware the *is*.” JAMES E. COMBS & DAN NIMMO, *The New Propaganda*, 1993.

230. The new propaganda is...communications play, social learning through a combination of poetic and pragmatic messages that appeal to our imagination and our interests. For threat masses of people, then, propaganda has an evocative power denied to scientific and rhetorical communication. JAMES E. COMBS & DAN NIMMO, *The New Propaganda*, 1993.
231. Metaphors are persuasive so long as they are suasive. That is, metaphors require people to see the connection between the familiar, say “overgrown and overweight,” and the abstract, “federal government.” If they make the connection, then audiences are seedbeds for the propagation of appeals. JAMES E. COMBS & DAN NIMMO, *The New Propaganda*, 1993.
232. The most obvious contribution of television to American life is the absorption of time that otherwise would be spent differently. By taking time from other activities, it has changed the character and availability of other options as well as coloring the way each day is lived out in the average home. The attention of the mass media for which television is responsible represents one of the defining characteristics of life in the second half of our century. GEORGE COMSTOCK, *Television in America*, 1980.
233. The modern press itself is a new phenomenon. Its typical unit is the great agency of mass communication. These agencies can facilitate thought and discussion. They can stifle it... They can play up or down the news and its significance, foster and feed emotions, create complacent fictions and blind spots, misuse the great words and uphold empty slogans. COMMISSION ON FREEDOM OF THE PRESS, *A Free and Responsible Press*, 1947.
234. Some of mankind’s most terrible misdeeds have been committed under the spell of certain magic words or phrases. JAMES BRYANT CONANT (1893-1978), *Baccalaureate Address*, Harvard University, 17 June 1934.
235. Slogans are both exciting and comforting, but they are also powerful opiates for the conscience. JAMES BRYANT CONANT (1893-1978), *Baccalaureate Address*, Harvard University, 17 June 1934.
236. Unless one understands the power of words, he will never understand men. JOSEPH CONRAD (1857-1924), *A Personal Record*, 1912.
237. There is a weird power in a spoken word... And a word carries far – very far – deals destruction time as bullets go flying through space. JOSEPH CONRAD (1857-1924), *Lord Jim*.
238. He who wants to persuade should put his trust not in the right argument, but in the right word. The power of sound has always been greater than the power of sense. JOSEPH CONRAD (1857-1924), *Lord Jim*.
239. Words, as is well known, are the great foes of reality. JOSEPH CONRAD (1857-1924).
240. Public opinion is no mere aggregate of separate individual judgments, but an organization, a cooperative product of communication and reciprocal influence. It may be as different from the sum of what the individuals could have thought out in separation as a ship built by and hundred men is from a hundred boats built by one man. CHARLES H. COOLEY (1864-1929), *Social Organization*, 1909.

241. Whoever deals with current public questions is compelled to rely greatly upon the information and judgments of experts and specialists. Unfortunately, not all experts are to be trusted as entirely disinterested. ... Of education and real information we cannot get too much. But of propaganda, which is tainted or perverted, we cannot have too little. CALVIN COOLIDGE (1872-1933), U. S. President, *Address, American Society of Newspaper Editors*, 17 January 1925.
242. When people are bewildered they tend to become credulous. CALVIN COOLIDGE (1872-1933), U. S. President, *Newspaper Column*, 28 November 1930.
243. Education is to teach men not what to think but how to think. CALVIN COOLIDGE (1872-1933), U. S. President, *Speech*, Tremont Temple, Boston, MA, 2 November 1918.
244. It is a besetting vice of democracies to substitute public opinion for law. This is the usual form in which masses of men exhibit their tyranny. JAMES FENNIMORE COOPER (1759-1851), *The American Democrat*, 1838.
245. Far from being detached observers, reporters constantly call oppo staffs looking for tidbits and sometimes trading information. ... Because they often have much more money, more staff and more time than news organizations, the campaigns are almost always ahead of the reporters – and they're usually happy to help. MATTHEW COOPER, et. al., "Dirty Tricks? Cheap Shots? Says Who?", *U. S. News & World Report*, 2 July 1992.
246. [Propaganda], that branch of the art of lying which consists to very nearly deceiving your friends without quite deceiving your enemies. FRANCIS CORNFORD (1874-1943), *Microcosmo-graphia Academica*, 1922.
247. How shall I speak thee, or thy pow'r address, Thou god of our idolatry, the Press? By thee, religion, liberty and laws, Exert their influence, and advance their cause; By thee, worse plagues than Pharaoh's land befell, Diffused, make earth the vestibule of hell; Thou fountain, at which drink the good and wise; Thou ever-bubbling spring of endless lies; Like Eden dread probationary tree, Knowledge of good and evil is from thee. WILLIAM COWPER, *The Progress of Error*, 1782.
248. Persuasion uses language and symbolic action. Symbolic action includes all the behaviors we engage in that are meaningful – that is, that come to represent to others our attitudes, beliefs or intentions. MARTHA D. COOPER & WILLIAM L. NOTHSTINE, *Power Persuasion: Moving An Ancient Art Into The Media Age*, 1992.
249. All human beings have an innate need to hear and tell stories and to have a story to live by. ... Religion, whatever else it has done, had provided one of the main ways of meeting this abiding need. HARVEY COX, *The Seduction of the Spirit*, 1973.
250. The creation of an external enemy is one of the most important elements in motivating soldiers to fight and in galvanizing societies to support a war effort. This is as true for counter-terrorism and criminal justice as it for warfare – conventional or unconventional. At the definitional level of analysis, much of the impetus for broadening the scope of counter-terrorism discourse ... is the need to create a new enemy to replace that of the cold war. RONALD D. CRELINSTEN, "The Discourse and Practice of Counter-Terrorism in Liberal Democracies," *Australian Journal of Politics and History* 44, 1998.
251. By promoting public fear and loathing of the dangerous outsiders, the media can shape public attitudes both about the controller – the government agencies that deal with security threats – and the controlled – the targets of control by those agencies. RONALD D. CRELINSTEN, "The Discourse and

Practice of Counter-Terrorism in Liberal Democracies," *Australian Journal of Politics and History* 44, 1998.

252. [I]n a mass media-dominated political arena, such as the United States, the struggle to define issues and disseminate information and opinions favorable to one's own goals is often played out in public with the objective of shifting, harnessing, or tapping into existing popular opinions and beliefs. Political power lies with those who strike the resonant chord, turning the discourse toward or away from particular issues. ANN N. CRIGLER, "Making Sense of Politics; Constructing Political Messages and Images," in *The Psychology of Political Communication* (Ann N. Crigler, ed), 1998.
253. We could benefit by a journalism course for consumers. If we could teach people how to read a newspaper, how to listen to radio and watch television...we could create an understanding of media, of the individual strengths and weaknesses of each medium. We could lead them away from a dependence on television, back to good newspapers, magazines and books. WALTER CRONKITE, *Speech*, University of South Dakota, 1989.
254. The first law in advertising is to avoid the concrete promise...and cultivate the delightfully vague. JOHN CROSBY, 1947.
255. Polling is not democracy, and it is not truth. Most important, it often is not even public opinion. Public opinion is a great billowing cloud, impossible to capture with a few quick measurements. The doubt inherent in it distinguishes opinion from belief and conviction. CYNTHIA CROSSEN, *Tainted Truth: The Manipulation of Fact in America*, 1994.
256. Polling looks scientific because of the way the results are expressed – percentage points, cross-tabulations, margins of error, statistical significance. But much of polling ... is a soft science built on the shifting sands of human language and psychology. In hard science, research should be replicable, with identical results. But because public opinion is constantly changing and polls can never be exactly duplicated, there is no way to judge their accuracy. CYNTHIA CROSSEN, *Tainted Truth: The Manipulation of Fact in America*, 1994.
257. Language, whether written or vocal, is the chief medium through which propaganda operates. To many people, indeed, "controlling beliefs and attitudes through language" is equated with "propaganda." RICHARD S. CRUTCHFIELD (1912-1977) & DAVID B. KRECH (1909-1977), *Theory and Problems of Social Psychology*, 1948.
258. From the eve of the German invasion of Poland to the moment of Japan's attack on Pearl Harbor, the British government mounted a concerted effort to draw the United States into the war. ... By 1941 they had established a sizable propaganda machine on both sides of the Atlantic. The full scale and impact of this activity has never been revealed. NICHOLAS JOHN CULL, *Selling War: The British Propaganda Campaign Against American "Neutrality" in World War II*, 1995.
259. Propaganda cannot be defined by the nature of the material propagated; the definition must rest on the intent underlying the dissemination or, as is the case of censorship, the suppression of the material in question. NICHOLAS JOHN CULL, *Selling War: The British Propaganda Campaign Against American "Neutrality" in World War II*, 1995.
260. [Propaganda] comprises a whole family of epistemic disservices abetted mostly (but not entirely) by the media: It plays upon perplexity; it cultivates confusion; it poses and information and knowledge; it generates belief systems and tenacious convictions; it prefers credibility and belief states to knowledge; it supplies ersatz assurances and certainties; it skews perceptions; it systematically disregards superior epistemic values such as truth, understanding and knowledge; it discourages

reasoning and a healthy respect for rigor, evidence and procedural safeguards; it promotes the easy acceptance of unexamined belief and supine ignorance. This, in sum, is the quintessential core of propaganda: it's utter indifference to superior epistemic values and protocols. STANLEY CUNNINGHAM, *Responding to Propaganda: An Ethical Enterprise*, Paper, Colloquium 2000 in Applied Media Ethics, 2000.

261. Nazi Germany, at its peak...was a society in which force, ostracism, ridicule, occupational control, belief systems, spheres of intimates, the contract, and deception were applied with great energy. The result was one of the most efficient and effectively organized large-scale social systems in history. RAY P. CUZZORT (1926-1999), *Using Social Thought*, 1989.
262. Whatever it is that makes ridicule work among human beings, a small amount of it seems to go a long, long way. Ridicule is powerful as a control agent. RAY P. CUZZORT (1926-1999), *Using Social Thought*, 1989.

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263. It is worthy of remark that a belief constantly inculcated during the early years of life, whilst the brain is impressible, appears to acquire almost the nature of an instinct; and the very essence of an instinct is that it is followed independently of reason, CHARLES DARWIN (1809-1882), *The Descent of Man*, 1871.
264. Objectivity is all right if it is really objective, if it conveys as accurate an impression of the truth as can be obtained. But to let demonstrably false statements stand with no warning of their falsity is not what I would call objectivity. ELMER DAVIS (1890-1958), *Speech*, University of Minnesota, 1951.
265. The communicator's audience is not a passive recipient – it cannot be regarded as a lump of clay to be molded by the master propagandist. Rather ... they must get something from the manipulator if he is to get something from them. A bargain is involved. W. PHILLIPS DAVISON, "On The Effects of Communication," *Public Opinion Quarterly*, 23, 1959.
266. Decision is meaningful only if there are alternatives from which to choose; it is intelligent only if the alternatives are understood. Thus, the prime requisite which must be met if debate is to provide sound decisions is that it be thorough and complete, that all arguments and information relevant to decision be known and understood. ... [Which is only possible if there is] full confrontation of opposing opinions, arguments, and information relevant to decision. DENNIS G. DAY, "The Ethics of Democratic Debate," *Central States Speech Journal* 17, February 1966.
267. The act of suppression is no less harmful to the decision-making process because it is covert instead of over. The social effects are the same: decision based on incomplete debate. The covert suppression of argument and information is as ethically culpable as is over suppression. And personal conviction I no justification for either. Covert suppression is the greater threat to democratic processes because it is clandestine and is more difficult to overcome because of the ego-involvement that usually accompanies personal conviction. DENNIS G. DAY, "The Ethics of Democratic Debate," *Central States Speech Journal* 17, February 1966.
268. Television's power lies not only in the way it structures the flow of daily life, but in its consequent ability to interrupt this flow. Media events are an example of this interruptive dimension. They cancel all other programs, bring television's clock to a stop and while they are on the air, cannot themselves be interrupted. Their performance belongs to "sacred time," bringing all social activity to a standstill.

For a while, the event occupies society's "center." No matter what happens, the event has to go on. D. DAYAN & E. KATZ, *Media Events: The Live Broadcasting of History*, 1992.

269. Once disinformation becomes a habit in any sphere, once people become careless about the exact truth, then we are all at risk. It is not the deliberate lie which we have to fear (something that in a democracy can usually be spotted as blatant propaganda), but the half-truth, the embellished truth and the truth dressed up to appear as something quite different. RICHARD DEACON, *The Truth Twisters*, 1986.
270. When disinformation comes in the guise of forged documents, and when that forging is most skillfully done, the dire effects can last much longer. ... Some forgeries ... are not designed for public dissemination, but rather are intended to circulate privately. Their purpose is to influence individual leaders and opinion makers. RICHARD DEACON, *The Truth Twisters*, 1986.
271. The whole life of those societies in which modern conditions of production prevail presents itself as an immense accumulation of *spectacles*. All that once was directly lived has become mere *representation*. ... Understood on its own terms, the spectacle proclaims the predominance of appearances and asserts that all human life, which is to say all social life, is mere appearance. GUY DEBORD, *The Society of the Spectacle*, 1995.
272. Goody-goody words are like the currants in a currant cake. There is no doubt about the goodness of such words. Their value is inbuilt and accepted by everyone. The words have long been established as convenient ways to saying: good, right, proper, ought to be done. The response to such words is emotional because they were set up in the first place as emotional capsules. ... Such goody-goody words include: *dignity, honesty, courage, justice, tradition, firmness, decisive, flexible, responsible*. EDWARD DeBONO, *Practical Thinking*, 1971.
273. The first nucleus of fighters will be divided into small propaganda patrols which will cover the mountain areas, going into villages, holding meetings, speaking here and there, in order to explain the social goals of the Revolution, to denounce the enemies of the peasantry, to promise agrarian reform and punishment for traitors. REGIS DEBRAY, *Revolution in the Revolution*, 1968.
274. Television, as a medium, especially tends to reduce abstract or ideological principles to human, personal components. Political issues and actions are linked to individuals. We have choices not among policies but between actors. Victims, villains, and heroes are easier to identify than issues, causes or ideas. ROBERT E. DENTON, JR., "Primetime Politics," in *Ethical Dimensions of Political Communication*, 1991.
275. In addition to telling us *what* to think about, the media also tell us *how* to think. With the reporting of facts comes a subsequent judgment. There is always a conclusion, point, or reason for a presentation, but there is little or no time for synthesis or analysis. Awareness is valued more than understanding. ROBERT E. DENTON, JR., "Primetime Politics," in *Ethical Dimensions of Political Communication*, 1991.
276. On television, the news tends to be more political, personal and critical than in other media. Television demands drama and a visual slice of life rather than comprehensive coverage of life, people, and events..... In truth, television is simply unreliable in providing sufficient and accurate political information for citizens to make electoral or policy decisions. ROBERT E. DENTON, JR., "Primetime Politics," in *Ethical Dimensions of Political Communication*, 1991.

277. **Obtain Disapproval:** This technique is used to get the audience to disapprove of an action or idea by suggesting the idea is popular with groups hated, feared, or held in contempt by the target audience. DEPARTMENT OF THE ARMY, *Psychological Operations Field Manual No. 33-1*, 31 August 1979.
278. **Virtue Words:** These are words in the value system of the target audience which tend to produce a positive image when attached to a person or issue. Peace, happiness, security, wise leadership, freedom, etc., are virtue words. DEPARTMENT OF THE ARMY, *Psychological Operations Field Manual No. 33-1*, 31 August 1979.
279. **Insinuation:** Insinuation is used to create or stir up the suspicions of the target audience against ideas, groups, or individuals in order to divide an enemy. The propagandist hints, suggests, and implies, allowing the audience to draw its own conclusions. DEPARTMENT OF THE ARMY, *Psychological Operations Field Manual No. 33-1*, 31 August 1979.
280. **Card Stacking or Selective Omission:** This is the process of choosing from a variety of facts only those which support the propagandist's purpose. In using this technique, facts are selected which most effectively strengthen and authenticate the point of view of the propagandist. DEPARTMENT OF THE ARMY, *Psychological Operations Field Manual No. 33-1*, 31 August 1979.
281. **Covert Operations:** Operations which are so planned and executed as to conceal the identity of or permit plausible denial by the sponsor. They differ from clandestine operations in that emphasis is placed on concealment of identity or sponsor rather than on concealment of the operation. DEPARTMENT OF DEFENSE, *Propaganda and Psychological Warfare Studies Glossary*, 1987.
282. **Psychological Operations:** Planned psychological activities in peace and war directed to enemy, friendly, and neutral audiences in order to influence attitudes and behavior affecting the achievement of political and military objectives. DEPARTMENT OF DEFENSE, *Propaganda and Psychological Warfare Studies Glossary*, 1987.
283. The instruments of authority are education and propaganda, force and violence, and economic measures and economic manipulation, depending upon whether or not acts are considered legitimate. Political leadership (whatever may be true of other kinds of leadership) in part depends upon skill in working with these instruments of authority. ALFRED DeGRAZIA, *Politics and Government: Political Behavior*, 1962.
284. You shall not have in your bag two kinds of weights, a large and a small. You shall not have in your house two kinds of measures, a large and a small. ... For all who do such things, all who act dishonestly, are an abomination to the Lord your God. DEUTERONOMY 25:13-16.
285. [The] tendency is for the mind to be lulled by regularity and routine. It tends to pay less attention to events which occur again and again and is not good at spotting marginal or gradual changes. COL. MICHAEL DEWAR, *The Art Of Deception in Warfare*, 1989.
286. Opinion casually formed and formed under the direction of those having something at stake in having a lie believed can be public opinion only in name. JOHN DEWEY (1859-1952), *The Public And Its Problems*, 1946.
287. There exists at any given time a body of beliefs, convictions, sentiments, accepted principles, or firmly rooted prejudices, which taken together make up the public opinion of a particular era... ALBERT V. DICEY, *Lectures on the Relation Between Law and Public Opinion in the Nineteenth Century*, 1905.

288. One of the main jobs of the advertiser in this conflict between pleasure and guilt is not so much to sell the product as to give moral permission to have fun without guilt. ERNEST DICHTER (1907-1992), President, Institute for Motivational Research, Inc., quoted in *The Hidden Persuaders* (Vance Packard), 1957.
289. To most people ... the world as it surrounds them and confronts them is somewhat confusing and disturbing. There are no simple and clear-cut political and economic developments; there are no naïve dichotomies of good and bad people. Every single problem, when answered more thoroughly and truthfully, is loaded with "ifs." The very first people to use mass media – the storytellers – realized that they had to structure and simplify meanings of events in order to perform their functions. They introduced fairies and devised heroes and villains for the sake of young and older children; and the modern mass media – radio, film, television, newspapers, and magazines – found it wise to follow suite. ERNEST DICHTER (1907-1992), *The Strategy of Desire*, 1960.
290. The basic tool for the manipulation of reality is the manipulation of words. If you can control the meaning of words, you can control the people who must use the words. PHILIP K. DICK (1928-1982), *I Hope I Shall Arrive Soon*, 1985.
291. Do not people talk in society of a man being a great actor? They do not mean by that that he feels, but that he excels in simulating, though he feels nothing. DENNIS DIDEROT, *Paradox of Acting*.
292. The student of symbolism knows that this is often true, but does not avoid the less reassuring aspect of the political process: that government can often shape people's wants before it reflects them. To the extent that governmental actions create popular beliefs and wants, the political process is not democratic but potentially antidemocratic, for political processes are not always based on the people's will even when they seem to be. It is tempting to take the appearance for the reality. KENNETH M. DOLBEARE & MURRAY J. EDELMAN, *American Politics: Policies, Power & Change*, 1977.
293. The metaphors we use, usually unconsciously, to describe political events and issues also subtly shape our political thought. ... Political metaphors help shape both what we see as fact and how we evaluate political developments. ... The metaphoric mode in which people perceive complex political issues and events is an obstacle to complete understanding and to changes in perception and belief as new information becomes available. KENNETH M. DOLBEARE & MURRAY J. EDELMAN, *American Politics: Policies, Power & Change*, 1977.
294. [Propaganda is]...a systematic attempt by an interested individual (or individuals) to control the attitudes of groups of individuals through the use of suggestion and to control their actions. LEONARD W. DOOB (1909-2000), *Public Opinion and Propaganda*, 1966.
295. "it is later than you think" -- almost every propagandist tries to employ this slogan in a direct or indirect form during his propaganda campaign. The impression he wishes to create is that time is running out; he who hesitates is lost; the moment for action is now. LEONARD W. DOOB (1909-2000), *Public Opinion and Propaganda*, 1966.
296. Among intentional propagandists the Idea is worshipped above all else... For international propagandists are convinced that is Ideas which make the world go round and which therefore are peculiarly a symptom of their own genius. LEONARD W. DOOB (1909-2000), *Public Opinion and Propaganda*, 1966.
297. Propagandas flourish not only because leaders are powerful but also because propagandeers already possess impulses that can be touched off by propagandists. People may be seduced by advertising

into purchasing products, but in a real sense they themselves are in the market to be seduced: they have certain unsatisfied needs and ambitions which the advertiser manages to channel in his own rather than in some other direction. LEONARD W. DOOB (1909-2000), "Propagandists vs. Propagandeas," in *Studies in Leadership* (Alvin W. Gouldner, ed), 1950.

298. The Press, Watson, is a most valuable institution, if you only know how to use it. ARTHUR CONAN DOYLE (1859-1939), *The Adventure of the Six Napoleons*.
299. Even when predictions have no advice or warning built into them, they still act powerfully on their audiences because they naturally function in the same way that promises do in the sense that they create expectations. MAX DUBLIN, *Futurehype: The Tyranny of Prophecy*, 1989.
300. It is in the nature of caricature to oversimplify and to represent an exaggerated aspect of reality as the whole thing. MAX DUBLIN, *Futurehype: The Tyranny of Prophecy*, 1989.
301. False predictions are destructive in the same way that lies are because, when uttered with conviction, they disarm and inspire us and put us into false positions. Furthermore, these false positions, like all false positions, encourage us to act in ways we never would if we really understood where we stood and what we were doing, in ways that are typically self-defeating. MAX DUBLIN, *Futurehype: The Tyranny of Prophecy*, 1989.
302. Man creates the significant symbols he uses in communication. Symbols are not "given" by God, "evoked" by natural needs, "forged" in the class struggle, or "perfected" in the "pure realms" of art. They are used to related, and when we have new needs in relationships, we need new symbols. But needs, or at least social needs, are invented or created.... Wants are never given; they are created. HUGH DUNCAN, "The Search For A Social Theory of Communications," *Human Communication Theory: Original Essays* [Frank Dance, ed], 1967.
303. It is the ambiguity of symbols which makes them so useful in human society. Ambiguity is a kind of bridge that allows us to run back and forth from one kind of meaning to another, until we take firm resolve to cross the bridge into new, and fixed meanings. HUGH DUNCAN, *Symbols in Society*, 1968.
304. Symbols, then, create and sustain beliefs in ways of acting because their function as names which signify proper, dubious, or improper ways of expressing relationships. HUGH DUNCAN, *Symbols in Society*, 1968.
305. What was once thought can never be unthought. FRIEDRICH DURRENMATT, *The Physicist*, 1962.
306. Methods of communication and propaganda give modern dictators a hold over nations which bears no comparison with ancient tyrants... Today authority has powerful arms at its disposal which makes any resistance on the part of citizens more difficult. MAURICE DUVERGER, *The Ideas of Politics*, 1964.
307. Masters of political communication have always understood this, and in addition to being able to fire the hearts of men with words they have been capable of performing the deeds that gave those words force. It can never be forgotten that what the propagandist is after is action. MURRAY DYER, *The Weapon On The Wall: Rethinking Psychological Warfare*, 1959.
308. [T]he premises on which black operations are undertaken must accept as their first and basic rule of operation the position that any decision to undertake a particular piece of work, in secret, must be subjected to the test of whether, if it becomes known, the damage it will do to our acknowledged aims, openly stated, will do more harm than is acceptable if we are still to maintain that we are an



honorable and ethical people. MURRAY DYER, *The Weapon on the Wall: Rethinking Psychological Warfare*, 1959.

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309. According to the heuristic conceptualization, people sometimes exert little cognitive effort in judging message validity. Instead, recipients may base their agreement with a message on a rather superficial assessment of a variety of persuasion cues, such as surface or structural characteristics of persuasive messages (e.g. their length or number of arguments), communicator characteristics (e.g. likability or expertise), and audience characteristics (e.g., positive or negative audience reactions to the message.) ALICE EAGLY & SHELLY CHAIKEN, "Cognitive Theories of Persuasion," in *Advances in Social Psychology* (Leonard Berkowitz), 1984.
310. Other ways to lie include: misdirecting, acknowledging an emotion but misidentifying what causes it; telling the truth falsely, or admitting the truth but with such exaggeration or humor that the target remains uninformed or misled, half-concealment, or admitting only part of what is true, so as to deflect the target's interest in what remains concealed; and the incorrect inference dodge, or telling the truth but in a way that implies the opposite of what is said. PAUL ECKMAN, *Telling Lies*, 1985.
311. There are two kinds of clues to deceit: leakage, when the liar inadvertently reveals the truth; and deception clues, when the liar's behavior reveals only that what he says is untrue. PAUL ECKMAN, *Telling Lies*, 1985.
312. There are two major forms of lying: concealment, leaving out true information; and falsification, or presenting false information as if it were true. PAUL ECKMAN, *Telling Lies*, 1985.
313. When there is a choice about how to lie, liars usually prefer concealing to falsifying. There are many advantages. For one thing, concealing usually is easier than falsifying. Nothing has to be made up. There is no chance of getting caught without having the whole story worked out in advance. PAUL ECKMAN, *Telling Lies*, 1985.
314. Semiotics is concerned with everything that can be taken as a sign. A sign is everything which can be taken as significantly substituting for something else. This something does not necessarily have to exist or to actually be somewhere at the moment in which a sign stands for it. Thus semiotics is in principle the discipline studying everything that can be used in order to lie. UMBERTO ECO, *A Theory of Semiotics*, 1976.
315. The critical element in political maneuver for advantage is the creation of meaning: the construction of beliefs about the significance of events, of problems, of crisis, of policy changes, and of leaders. The strategic need is to immobilize opposition and mobilize support. While coercion and intimidation help to check resistance in all political systems, the key tactic must always be the evocation of meanings that legitimize favored courses of action.... MURRAY EDELMAN, "Political Language and Political Reality," *PS*, Winter 1985.
316. The enemy themes that most surely and consistently evoke mass arousal and anger are those that make it hardest to take the enemy as a significant other: those that emphasize the respects in which he does not share our human traits and potentialities for empathy, for compassion, and for social attachments. The alien, the stranger, or the subhuman are the themes struck repeatedly. MURRAY EDELMAN, *Politics As Symbolic Action*, 1971.

317. Only rarely do the media, officials, or interest groups point to historical change in institutions or in material conditions as the explanation of controversial elements. ... They thrive upon heroes, villains, contests for votes, legislative and judicial victories and defeats, and especially upon the evocation of leaders with whom people can identify or whom they can blame for their discontents. MURRAY EDELMAN, "Constructing the Political Spectacle," in *Public Policy: The Essential Readings* (Theodoulou & Cahn), 1988.
318. The speaker who advocates "true" freedom is invariably arguing for restraints on some group's freedom, just as the insertion of the word "true" before "equality" is a sign that some inequality is being rationalized. MURRAY EDELMAN, "Political Language and Political Reality," *PS*, Winter 1985.
319. One-sidedness was considered to be propagandistic; a two-sided message was not. Skilled propagandists know, however, that two-sided messages often are persuasive as propaganda and appeal to members of a popular culture. ALEX EDELSTEIN, *Total Propaganda*, 1997.
320. Mass propaganda emphasized emotional appeals rather than rational assertions; in a popular culture more knowledge-based propaganda is projected. ALEX EDELSTEIN, *Total Propaganda*, 1997.
321. The media ... protect business interests for their own economic well being. The suppression of anti-business news is common. The media also "front" for government by assuming its actions to be more legitimate than those who oppose it, and by generally ignoring its victims. HOWARD J. EHRLICH, *The Politics of Media Control*, 1974.
322. People are not free if the critical events of their society are systematically unreported or distorted. HOWARD J. EHRLICH, *The Politics of Media Control*, 1974.
323. A man's ethical behavior should be based effectually on sympathy, education, and social ties; no religious basis is necessary. Man would indeed be in a poor way if he had to be restrained by fear of punishment and hope of reward after death. ALBERT EINSTEIN (1875-1955).
324. The mere fact of naming an object tends to give definiteness to our conception of it – we have then a sign that at once calls up in our minds the distinctive qualities which mark out for us that particular object from all others. GEORGE ELIOT (1918-1880), *The George Eliot Letters* (Gordon Haight, ed), 1954.
325. For action makes propaganda's effect irreversible. He who acts in obedience to propaganda can never go back. He is now obliged to believe in that propaganda because of his past action...He is what one calls committed. JACQUES ELLUL, *Propaganda: The Formation Of Men's Attitudes*, 1965.
326. To be effective, propaganda must constantly short-circuit all thought and decision. It must operate on the individual at the level of the unconscious. He must not know that he is being by outside forces. JACQUES ELLUL, *Propaganda: The Formation of Men's Attitudes*, 1965.
327. The public will accept news if it is arranged in a comprehensive system, and if it does not speak only to the intelligence but to the "heart." This means, precisely, that the public wants propaganda, and if the State does not wish to leave it to a party, which will provide explanations for everything (i.e., the truth), it must itself make propaganda. JACQUES ELLUS, *Propaganda: The Formation of Men's Attitudes*, 1965.
328. To study the propaganda, information or 'cultural' policies of nation-states is one way, perhaps the most concrete, of discovering how they see their role in the international arena, how they perceive their own influence, how they measure their own prestige. D. W. ELLWOOD, "Showing the World

What it Owed To Britain: Foreign Policy and Cultural Propaganda, 1935-45," in *Propaganda, Politics and Film: 1918-45*, 1982.

329. The relative attractiveness of two options can change when they are described differently, even if logically the two descriptions are equivalent. I may be ready to pay two dollars for a glass that is half full, but pay no more than \$1.50 for one that is half empty. There is by now a long list of phenomena of this kind. JON ELSTER, *Political Psychology*, 1993.
330. Condense some daily experience into a glowing symbol, and an audience is electrified. RALPH WALDO EMERSON (1803-1882), *Eloquence*, 1877.
331. The moment our discourse rises above the ground line of familiar facts, and is inflamed with passion or exalted by thought, it clothes itself in images. RALPH WALDO EMERSON (1803-1882), *Nature*, 1836.
332. The media do not control what people prefer; they influence public opinion by providing much of the information people think about and by shaping how they think about it. ROBERT M. ENTMAN, *Democracy Without Citizens*, 1989.
333. The findings suggest that media messages can indeed move audiences in directions counter to their predominant dispositions...opinion toward the unfamiliar are more susceptible to media influence than those toward the familiar. ROBERT M. ENTMAN, *Democracy Without Citizens*, 1989.
334. Framing essentially involves selection and salience. To frame is to select some aspects of perceived reality and make them more salient in the communicating text, in such a way as to promote a particular problem definition, causal interpretation, moral evaluation and/or treatment recommendation for the item describes. Frames then, define problems ... diagnose causes ... make moral judgments ... offer and justify treatments for the problem and predict their likely effects. ROBERT M. ENTMAN, "Framing: Toward a Clarification of a Fractured Paradigm," *Journal of Communication* 43, 1993.
335. The ceremonial permits a group to behave in a symbolically ornamental way so that it seems to present an ordered universe; each particle achieves an identity by its mere interdependence with all others. ERIK ERIKSON (1902-1994), *Young Man Luther*, 1962.
336. The [idealized notion] of a public opinion originated with the informed public and moving "upward" to affect social institutions. With the modern media, influence moves directly "downward" from the mass media – and the institutions they reflect – to public opinion as a mass audience. ROBERT S. ERIKSON & KENT L. TEDIN, *American Public Opinion: It's Origins, Content and Impact*, 1995.
337. Propaganda is persuading people to make up their minds while withholding some of the facts from them. HAROLD EVANS.

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338. For TV purposes, the ideal world is one in which whatever is on the screen at this moment is entirely engrossing. One event is not necessarily more important than another, because they all are supposed to claim our attention in the brief *now* during which they exist. JAMES FALLOWS, *Breaking The News: How The Media Undermine American Democracy*, 1996.

339. Very few events come entirely out of the blue, even if headlines about them do. ... Before World War II Josef Stalin rounded up most of the men in the Caucasus mountain region now called Chechnya and shipped them off to Siberia, fearful that they would collaborate with the Nazis. Those who eventually made it back found the most of their land had been appropriated. To grasp what happened in 1995, it was necessary to know what had happened in 1945. JAMES FALLOWS, *Breaking The News: How The Media Undermine American Democracy*, 1996.
340. Tremendous potential power comes with being a reporter. You have the negative power to say things about other people, in public, to which they can never really respond in kind. You have the positive power to expand other people's understanding of reality by bringing new parts of the world to their notice. Taking this power seriously means taking your calling seriously, which in turn means recognizing the impact of the tool or weapon in your hands. JAMES FALLOWS, *Breaking The News: How The Media Undermine American Democracy*, 1996.
341. Journalists have published thousands of hoaxes. ... The media's hoaxes are usually to entertain – not cheat – the public. Thus, hoaxes are a form of practical joking, but on a grand scale. ... Each time journalists created a hoax, something peculiar happened. Other Americans swore that the stories they created were true. Strangers claimed that they witnessed every event the journalists described, or that they possessed other evidence proving that every detail was true. FRED FEDLER, *Media Hoaxes*, 1989.
342. Employing the term “conspiracy theory” serves as a strategy of delegitimation in political discourse. Conspiracy theory has come to represent a political Other to a “proper” democratic politics – a set of illegitimate assumptions that seem to question that the United States is a benign, pluralistic democracy... MARK FENSTER, *Conspiracy Theories*, 1999.
343. Force alone is not enough to secure compliance to a central will. Some degree of acquiescence on the part of the oppressed is necessary, whether this is conditioned by propaganda, surveillance or simply despair. VICTOR FERKISS, *Technological Man: The Myth and the Reality*, 1969.
344. Government have ever been careful to hold a high hand over the education of the people. They know, better than anyone else, that their power is based almost entirely on the school. Hence, they monopolize it more and more. FRANCISCO FERRER (1859-1909), *The Modern School*.
345. Were a portrait of man to be drawn, one in which there would be highlighted whatever is most human, be it noble or ignoble, we would surely place well in the foreground man's enormous capacity for self-delusion. HERBERT FINGARETTE, *Self-Deception*, 1969.
346. The move into self-deception is, as we know intuitively, a morally ambiguous move. So long as we take ignorance and knowledge to be central to self-deception, we can do nothing to resolve this ambiguity or to deepen our insight into it; we are left with the paradoxical truth that the self-deceiver “in his heart” knows what he sincerely denies. HERBERT FINGARETTE, *Self-Deception*, 1969.
347. The self-deceiver is “unable” to admit the truth to himself (even though he knows in his heart it's so). There is a kind of genuineness to his “ignoring”; it is not simple hypocrisy, or lying, or duping of others. Yet we also feel that in some sense, he *could* admit the truth if only he *would*. HERBERT FINGARETTE, *Self-Deception*, 1969.
348. Researchers, filmmakers...and others involved in virtual-reality simulations know the basic elements in creating visual illusions of reality. The most important factor is to create a simulation that enables you to believe. [This] involves visual cues such as color, sensory richness, vividness, contrast, resolution, and the similarity to the natural world. ... researchers have found that...larger images, as

well as being close...make people feel more involved in the action. ... A related feature is the proportion of the visual field occupied by the image. JERI FINK, *Cyberseduction: Reality In The Age Of Psychotechnology*, 1999.

349. Television news programs eagerly air reports of American bombings. It doesn't matter which "war" – the visual is the same. ... Suddenly you see it happen – a switch is flipped and the bomb drops, leaving billows of smoke rising in its wake. You don't see the homes, you don't hear the people scream, you only know the hit. Score! JERI FINK, *Cyberseduction: Reality In The Age Of Psychotechnology*, 1999.
350. It's not difficult to imagine a world where virtual-reality simulations dominate our consciousness, controlled by the inventors, designers, and policy-makers who direct the content. Who are these people? Can we trust them...? JERI FINK, *Cyberseduction: Reality In The Age Of Psychotechnology*, 1999.
351. When television news is a major component of an individual's symbolic reality, we contend that it is also a dominant factor in his or her construction of subjective reality. Not only will individual priorities reflect those of the broadcasts (the first level of agenda setting), but to some extent understanding and attitudes will be shaped by the salience of attributes in the television coverage (the second level of agenda setting). ANAT FIRST, "Television and the Construction of Social Reality: An Israeli Case Study," in *Communication and Democracy* (McCombs, Shaw & Weaver), 1997.
352. Our society's values are being corrupted by advertising's insistence on the equation: Youth equals popularity, popularity equals success, success equals happiness. JOHN FISHER, *The Plot To Make You Buy*, 1968.
353. Mass eliminates the individual and intensifies the many. Hence mass communication (whatever device is employed) works like a giant sausage machine. Again and again it must turn out its product with the same density, texture, and flavor. MARSHALL W. FISHWICK, "The Ethics of Popular Culture," in *Ethical Dimensions of Political Communication* (Robert E. Denton, ed), 1991.
354. An opinion may serve purposes for an individual that [are dependent] on the special psychological significance the opinion may have for that individual. The danger or disadvantage of psychological attachments of this kind is that the opinions so based are not responsible to ordinary influence because of their psychological importance to the individual. WILLIAM H. FLANIGAN & NANCY H. ZINGALE, *Political Behavior of the American Electorate*, 1975.
355. Opinions serve a social function if they aid the individuals in adjusting to others or in becoming part of a group. In some cases individuals may use opinions to set themselves apart from others....Nevertheless, for highly salient issues an individual is apt to find that holding a socially unacceptable view is both uncomfortable and costly. WILLIAM H. FLANIGAN & NANCY H. ZINGALE, *Political Behavior of the American Electorate*, 1975.
356. The individual within the [thought] collective is never, or hardly ever, conscious of the prevailing thought style which almost always exerts an absolutely compulsive force upon his thinking, and with which it is not possible to be at variance. LUDWIK FLECT (1896-1961), *The Genesis and Development of a Scientific Fact*, 1935.
357. Propagandists use vague, abstract, positive terms – "virtue" words ... to win approval. They want reactions to the positive label, not to evidence. For example, a group might be called "patriotic" in hopes that people would react positively to that vague term and not to reality. ...The "patriotic" label is an abstract of something, and the propagandist hopes the audience won't realize the label is

personal, projective and incomplete, like all abstractions. CHARLES A. FLEMING, "Understanding Propaganda From A General Semantics Perspective," *ETC: A Review of General Semantics*, 52, 1995.

358. Give me the making of the songs of a nation and I care not who makes the laws. ANDREW FLETCHER (1653-1716), *Convention Concerning a Right Regulation of Government for the Common Good of Mankind*, 1703.
359. To make rancid food edible, chefs douse it with spices. To make horrible things palatable to the public, it's necessary to dress them up in euphemism. DANIEL J. FLYNN, *Intellectual Morons: How Ideology Makes Smart People Fall for Stupid Ideas*, 2004.
360. The enemy aggressor is always pursuing a course of larceny, murder, rapine, and barbarism. We are always moving forward with a high mission, a destiny imposed by the Deity to regenerate our victims while incidentally capturing their markets, to civilize savage and senile and paranoid peoples while blundering accidentally into their oil wells and metal mines. JOHN T. FLYNN (1883-1964), *As We Go Marching*, 1944.
361. Be advised that all flatterers live at the expense of those who listen to them. JEAN de la FONTAINE (1668-1694), *The Crow and the Fox*.
362. "Freedom" and "Democracy" are charismatic terms in our culture. We demand sacrifice in the name of these terms, yet the referents most of us attach to them are obscure and often contradictory. S. K. FOSS, et. al., *Contemporary Perspectives on Rhetoric*, 1985.
363. [The Nazi] has long ceased to be a real historical being. He now inhabits the demonic twilight of the entertainment world; the mass-produced collective subconscious within which Zulu Warriors coexist with invaders from outer space and the Waffen SS. ... Propaganda does not often come marching towards us waving swastikas and chanting 'Seig Heil'; its real power lies in its capacity to conceal itself, to appear natural, to coalesce completely and indivisibly with the values and accepted power symbols of the given society. A. P. FOULKES, *Literature and Propaganda*, 1983.
364. "For your own good" is a persuasive argument that will eventually make a man agree to his own destruction. JANET FRAME, New Zealand Novelist, Poet.
365. When you would persuade, speak of interest, not of reason. BENJAMIN FRANKLIN (1706-1790), 1732.
366. There is some reason to believe that people may even be immunized against persuasive appeals by being "inoculated" with a mild dose of the "enemy idea." ... The alien ideas, like the germs [in an inoculation], stimulate the organism into developing its defenses. ... He needs to practice "answering" opposing arguments; with enough of an attack on his beliefs to motivate – but not overwhelm – him, he would have no reason to build his defenses. ANNE E. FREEDMAN & P. E. FREEDMAN, *The Psychology of Political Control*, 1975,
367. Groups have never thirsted after truth. They demand illusions, and cannot do without them. They constantly give what is unreal precedence over what is real; they are almost as strongly influenced by what is untrue as by what is true. SIGMUND FREUD (1856-1939), *Group Psychology and the Analysis of the Ego*.
368. [The] attempt to procure a certainty of happiness and a protection against suffering through a delusional remoulding of reality is made by a considerable number of people in common. The religions of mankind must be classed among the mass-delusions of this kind. No one, needless to

say, who shares a delusion ever recognizes it as such. SIGMUND FREUD (1856-1939), *Civilization and its Discontents*, 1961.

369. Propaganda of the act, if multiplied beyond a certain limit, also creates an atmosphere of total emergency, not merely crisis, which readies the public for an autocratic takeover by the military or by some totalitarian movement, be it Communist or Fascist. CARL J. FRIEDRICH, *The Pathology of Politics*, 1972.
370. No mighty king, no ambitious conqueror, no pope, or prophet ever dreamt of such an awesome pulpit, so potent a magic wand [television]. FRED W. FRIENDLY (1915-1998), *Foreword, Presidential Television*, 1973.
371. A vast sector of modern advertising...does not appeal to reason but to emotion; like any other kind of hypnoid suggestion, it tries to impress its objects emotionally and then make them submit intellectually. ERIC FROMM (1900-1980), *To Have Or To Be?*, 1976.
372. Even doubtful accusations leave a stain behind them. THOMAS FULLER (1654-1734), *Gnomologia*, 1734.



373. We should bear in mind a basic premise: There is no reason why the reader should accept the writer as an authority on any subject at any time, regardless of whether he is a specialist or whether his byline is well known. The only effective reporting and writing is that which convinces the reader by the recitation and logical presentation of facts. This requires that the reporter know the subject thoroughly and be able to explain it clearly. WES GALLAGHER, Associated Press, in *The Fourth Estate* (Hulteng & Nelson), 1971.
374. The advantage of media frames for journalists is that they serve as guidelines in helping select what information to spotlight and what to ignore. Facts take on their meaning from being framed in some fashion. Many facts are spotlighted by certain frames and ignored or discounted by others. WILLIAM A. GAMSON, *Talking Politics*, 1992.
375. We are apt to be deluded into false security by political catchwords, devised to flatter rather than instruct. JAMES A. GARFIELD (1831-1881), U. S. President, *Speech, Hudson College*, 2 July 1873.
376. Such words are symbol words, used to influence mental and emotional attitudes. How can they be precisely defined? Moreover, can you imagine the Republican Party being able to agree on what they mean, e.g., isolationist or liberal? ... Symbol words not only keep people from thinking: they keep us from thinking, too. GARET GARRETT (1878-1954), 1943.
377. Anonymous people lie. Anonymous people pass along unfounded stories. Anonymous people launch trial balloons. Anonymous people are not held to account for their statements, their views, their accusations.... Read almost any newspaper, and you'll find it riddled with quotes, cheap shots, allegations and trial balloons from a "high government official," "a person knowledgeable about the matter," "an insider at the company," "a neighbor," "an industry observer," "an informed source" and the like. MICHAEL GARTNER, "Who is that Senior State Department Official Anyway?", *The Wall Street Journal*, 11 January 1990.
378. Propaganda involves identifying one's cause with values which are unquestioned. TIMOTHY GARTON-ASH, *The Uses of Authority*, 1989.

379. Persuaders try to create, reinforce, modify or extinguish the connections that exist among ... [associative] networks. They want to link their messages with favorable attitudes and avoid associations with unfavorable attitudes. ROBERT H. GASS & JOHN S. SEITER, *Social Influence and Compliance Gaining*, 1999.
380. People who are more cognitively complex, compared to those who are not, are better at seeing their world from their listener's perspective. As a general rule, they are better at adapting their messages to their listeners and are much more persuasive. ... While people high in the need for cognition pay close attention to messages, evaluating and scrutinizing all the time, people low in the need for cognition are less motivated to attend messages and are persuaded by peripheral cues instead. ROBERT H. GASS & JOHN S. SEITER, *Social Influence and Compliance Gaining*, 1999.
381. Public displays that were visually imposing could act as intimidation propaganda.... The physical displays of magnificence as seen in the processions and journeys around the kingdom were an effective propagandist method for assuring the subjects that all was well: they were essentially integrationist propaganda. SARAH GAUNT, "Visual Propaganda in England in the Later Middle Ages," in *Propaganda* (Taithe & Thornton), 1999.
382. This is indeed one of the most general traits of a modern society: cultural homogeneity, the capacity for context-free communication, the standardization of expression and comprehension. ERNEST GELLNER, *Conditions of Liberty*, 1996.
383. One cannot doubt that if the mass media were non-existent or differently structured our politics would be different... The mass media have many more subtle and complex effects both through what they say and through their existence as institutions. GEORGE GERBNER, "Mass Media and Human Communication Theory," *Human Communication Theory* [Frank Dance, ed], 1967.
384. How options are framed affects decision making. Studies have shown that the wording of examples leads people to choose differently. If a situation is presented to a person in terms of losses, the decision is very different than if it is presented to that person in terms of gains. SALMA GHANEM, "Filling In The Tapestry: The Second Level of Agenda Setting," in *Communication and Democracy* (McCombs, Shaw & Weaver), 1997.
385. [Advertising's main goal is to] focus consumers' attention on what values, products, brands, or attributes to *think about* rather than try to persuade consumers what to think of these. SHAILENDRA GHORPADE, "Agenda Setting: A Test of Advertising's Neglected Function," *Journal of Advertising Research*, August/September 1986.
386. The various modes of worship which prevailed in the Roman world were all considered by the people as equally true; by the philosopher as equally false, and by the magistrate as equally useful. EDWARD GIBBON (1737-1794), *Decline and Fall of the Roman Empire*, 1776.
387. In particular, the English language is full of metaphors so concealed it is forgotten that they are metaphors. Metaphors defamiliarise the familiar to reorient thinking. R. W. GIBBS, *The Poetics of the Mind: Figurative Thought, Language, and Understanding*, 1994.
388. It is easier to lead men to combat, stirring up their passions, than to restrain them and direct them toward the patient labors of peace. ANDRE GIDE (1869-1951), *Journals*.
389. The interests of dominant groups are bound up with the preservation of the status quo. Forms of signification which 'naturalize' the existing state of affairs, inhibiting recognition of the mutable,



historical character of human society thus act to sustain such interests. ANTHONY GIDDENS, *Central Problems in Social Theory*, 1982.

390. One of the most common sources of...inaccuracy is the dissemination of unfounded or fallacious claims by news and other media organizations that try to entice an audience by their ability to entertain.... Inaccuracies and fabrications propagated by the media are a particularly powerful cause of people's erroneous beliefs, in part because of the reputation much of the media have for objectivity and accuracy, a reputation that is not always deserved. THOMAS GILOVICH, *How We Know What Isn't So*, 1991.
391. These words can give extra power to your message. In addition, these words can help develop the positive side of the contrast you should create with your opponent, giving your community something to be for!: *Activly, building, caring, challenge, children, choice, commitment, confident, conflict, control, courage, crusade, debate, duty, humane, learn, liberty, light, listen, mobilize, moral, opportunity, peace, pioneer, premise, preserve, principled, protect, provide, reform, rights, share, strength, success, tough, truth, vision* [partial list]. NEWT GINGRICH, *Language: A Key Mechanism of Control*, 1990.
392. Often we search hard for words to define our opponents. Sometimes we are hesitant to use contrast. Remember that creating a difference helps you. These are powerful words that can create a clear and easily understood contrast. Apply these to the opponent, their record, proposals and their party: *Abuse of power, betray, bosses, bureaucracy, collapse, corrupt, crisis, cynicism, decay, destructive, devour, disgrace, endanger, hypocrisy, ideological, incompetent, lie, obsolete, pathetic, radical, self-serving, shallow, steal, threaten, traitors, waste* [partial list]. NEWT GINGRICH, *Language: A Key Mechanism of Control*, 1990.
393. Using polling, media, and public relations techniques, modern sates have learned a good deal about the manipulation and management of mass opinion. Indeed, in the modern era the censor has been supplanted -- or at least joined - by the public relations officer as the government functionary most responsible for dealing with public opinion. BENJAMIN GINSBERG, *The Captive Mind*, 1986.
394. Like all scapegoat makers, they consider their victim to be guilty. For them, therefore, there are no scapegoats. RENE GIRARD, *The Scapegoat*, 1989.
395. Media frames are persistent patterns of cognition, interpretation, and presentation, of selection, emphasis and exclusion, by which symbol-handlers routinely recognize discourse. TODD GITLIN, *The Whole World Is Watching*, 1980.
396. Governments after World War I created war memorials, holidays, and rituals to link service in war and service to country and how the myth of the war experience and cult of the fallen soldier became powerful symbols helping the modern nation-state consolidate control over its citizenry. DAVID GLASSBERG & J. MICHAEL MOORE, "Patriotism In Orange: The Memory of World War I in A Massachusetts Town," in *Bonds of Affection: Americans Define Their Patriotism* (John Bodnak, Ed), 1996.
397. We focus on the figure [in our view], not the [back]ground; we are more likely to notice shapes that are moving, rather than those that are stationary. Such examples indicate that perception is selective. ... Our ability to take in and interpret the myriad stimulations around us is finite, and so our perceptual system is forced to chose among them... HENRY GLEITMAN, *Psychology*, 1986.
398. It is the absolute right of the state to supervise the formation of public opinion. PAUL JOSEPH GOEBBELS (1897-1945), *Speech*, October 1933.

399. Not every item of news should be published: rather must those who control news policies endeavor to make every item of news serve a certain purpose. PAUL JOSEPH GOEBBELS (1897-1945), *Diary*, 14 March 1943.
400. It is not enough to reconcile people more or less to our regime, to move them toward a position of neutrality towards us, we want rather to work on people until they are addicted to us. PAUL JOSEPH GOEBBELS (1897-1945), 15 March 1933, in *The Third Reich: Politics and Propaganda* (David Welch), 1993.
401. When an idea is wanting, a word can always be found to take its place. JOHANN WOLFGANG Von GOETHE (1749-1832).
402. Cynicism in our world is a form of legitimation through disbelief. There exists an odd but by now common practice. Leaders use rhetoric which neither they nor their constituencies believe, but which leaders and followers nonetheless use to justify their actions. ... Cynicism dominates the assumptions of our political and cultural life. We not only do not recognize the cynicism; we confuse it with democratic deliberation and political wisdom. JEFFREY C. GOLDFARB, *The Cynical Society: The Culture of Politics and the Politics of Culture in American Life*, 1991.
403. He who best knows how to conceal his necessity and desire is the most likely person to find redress. ... the true use of speech is not so much to express our wants, as to conceal them. OLIVER GOLDSMITH, "On The Use of Language," *The Bee*, 20 October 1759.
404. Withholding the news from the public is only one of the many activities that reporters in Washington engage in which they should be embarrassed about.... The temptations that reporters, especially in Washington, feel to participate in politics and policymaking are felt by [media] owners as well. TOM GOLDSTEIN, *The News At Any Cost*, 1985.
405. Much of what journalists do that is ethically suspect is not illegal – it does not violate a specific statute. For example, there is no statute against lying. There is no statute against entrapment by a journalist. There is no statute against the ambush interview. TOM GOLDSTEIN, *The News At Any Cost*, 1985.
406. The frame around a picture is a visual directive focusing our gaze toward what it surrounds and away from everything else. It defines what is in the picture and what is out. The framer's art is to build margins that blend with a picture so we notice what is framed rather than the frame itself. DANIEL GOLEMAN, *Vital Lies, Simple Truths: The Psychology of Self-Deception*, 1985.
407. The defenses – our bastions against painful information – operate in a shadow world of consciousness, beyond the fringes of awareness. Most often we are oblivious to their operation and remain the unknowing recipient of the version of reality they admit into our ken. The craft of teasing out and capturing defences in vivo is a trick endeavor. DANIEL GOLEMAN, *Vital Lies, Simple Truths: The Psychology of Self-Deception*, 1985.
408. When we manipulate people we cause them to do something they would not otherwise have done – which is to say, manipulation of human agents runs contrary to their putative will. ROBERT E. GOODIN, *Manipulatory Politics*, 1980
409. Since 1990, the effect of media coverage on suicide rates has been documented in many countries besides the U.S. – Western countries, including Austria, Germany, Hungary, Australia, and East Asian

countries such as Japan. ... The evidence to date suggests that suicide contagion is a real effect. MADELYN S. GOULD, *Suicide Prevention: Clinical and Scientific Aspects*, 2001.

410. Politics is largely a word game. Politicians rise to power because they can talk persuasively to voters and political elites. Once in power, their daily activities are largely verbal – commands, dialogues, debates, formulation of proposals, laws, orders, decisions, and legal opinions. DORIS A. GRABER, *Political Language*, in *Handbook of Political Communication* (Nimmo & Sanders, eds), 1981.
411. Political stories in the mass media are significant in furnishing raw material for the formation of political images. Most people do not invent political images out of thin air. Rather, they combine current political data supplied by the mass media with existing knowledge and attitudes and then weave these strands into a plausible and pleasing gestalt. DORIS A. GRABER, “Personal Qualities in Presidential Images: The Contribution of the Press,” *Midwest Journal of Political Science*, 16.
412. The media often serve as attitude and behavior models. In the process of image creation, the media indicate which views and behaviors are acceptable and even praiseworthy in a given society and which are unacceptable or outside the mainstream. ... Media stories also indicate what is deemed important or unimportant by America’s dominant groups, which conforms to prevailing standards of justice and morality, and how various events are related to each other. DORIS A. GRABER, *Mass Media and American Politics*, 1989.
413. The bulk of information that young people acquire about the nature of their political world comes from the mass media. It reaches them either directly through exposure to the electronic and print media or indirectly through exposure to the media of their families, teachers, acquaintances, and peers. DORIS A. GRABER, *Mass Media and American Politics*, 1989.
414. By painting the enemy in dark hued imagery of vice, corruption, evil, and weakness, one may more easily convince himself of his own superior virtue and thereby gain a symbolic victory of ego-enhancement. RICHARD B. GREGG, “The Ego-Function of the Rhetoric of Protest,” *Philosophy and Rhetoric*, 4, 1971.
415. Political elites throughout recorded history have tried to control political communication. They have attempted to foster the construction of favorable images in the minds of potential supporters through the symbolism of majestic architectural creations and elaborate public ceremonies. They have sought to mold human minds through propaganda and terror in internal struggles and external wars. They have used public relations tactics and political advertising as gentler forms of political persuasion. They have attempted to shape the flow of political communication through official secrecy and through controls over mass media. DORIS A. GRABER, “Whither Research on the Psychology of Political Communication?” in *The Psychology of Political Communication* (Ann N. Crigler, ed), 1998.
416. The central task of Communist propaganda is to instill in the toilers the Marxist-Leninist worldview, loft ideological and political qualities, and the norms of communist morality and to encourage conscious, creative participation by all in the process of the socialist and communist transformation of society. *GREAT SOVIET ENCYCLOPEDIA*, Vol. 24, “Propaganda,” 1973-1983.
417. Political labels are image-laden, appealing as much to the emotions as to the intellect. Although they provide basic categories of rational analysis, they may simultaneously evoke responses that are neither analytical nor rational. This broader evocative power, the power to reach both mind and heart, gives the labels a political importance they would not have were their meanings precise and limited. DAVID GREEN, *The Language of Politics in America*, 1987.

418. To rely on denigrative labels is to define one's position negatively (in terms of what one is against), concede the intellectual initiative to one's opponents, and admit one has no positive program. DAVID GREEN, *The Language of Politics in America*, 1987.
419. The progressive label is a metaphor built on the discordant yet harmonizable elements of "movement" and "stability." As a political self-designation, the metaphor implies "forward movement" or progress without loss of "stability." DAVID GREEN, *The Language of Politics in America*, 1987.
420. Television has left its mark on a generation raised in front of this seductive monster, this shifting parade of images and emotions, all separated by a demanding succession of commercial impulses that trivializes what precedes and what follows it. THOMAS GRIFFITH, *How True: A Skeptic's Guide To Believing The News*, 1974.
421. I trust polls least when they profess to record public reaction to such amorphous subjects as abortions, welfare or pollution. So much turns on the phrasing of questions, which then give a false authority to the numerically specific. THOMAS GRIFFITH, *How True: A Skeptic's Guide To Believing The News*, 1974.
422. Advocacy journalists, the other branch of the new journalism, are not fictionalists but polemicists. ... Yet finally, advocacy is destructive of what journalism is all about, to the degree that it feels no need to scruple about accuracy, get the whole story or to give the other side its due. THOMAS GRIFFITH, *How True: A Skeptic's Guide To Believing The News*, 1974.
423. Communist propagandists rely on three tested principles of their profession: (1) The language must be so simple that everyone can understand it. (2) The emphasis must be made in emotional rather than intellectual terms, stressing hate, love, sympathy, etc. (3) The message must not only be stated simply and emotionally, but it also must be reiterated so extensively that the listener will repeat it in his sleep. PETER GROTHE, *To Win The Minds of Men*, 1958.
424. The distinction between "honesty" and "rhetoric" is traditional and customary. Rhetoric is supposed to be indirect and artful; honesty, direct and artless. But this distinction tends to wear thin we remember that all discourse, spoken or written, has distinct and palpable form. What we see and think and feel must be translated into words and this translation is a creative process. Thus, even honesty uses a kind of art, and the person speaking honestly must be as alert and convincing as the sales pitcher or the liar. ROBERT GRUDIN, *On Dialogue: An Essay In Free Thought*, 1996.

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425. By the public sphere we mean first of all a real of our social life in which something approaching public opinion can be formed. ... Citizens behave as a public body when they confer in an unrestricted fashion – that is, within the guarantee of freedom of assembly and the association and the freedom to express and publish their opinions JURGEN HABERMAS, quoted in *Jurgen Habermas* (M. Pusey), 1978.
426. The hidden persuader, whether he aware of it or not, is engaging in a non-democratic practice. He takes advantage of the fact that although men may have the latest capacity for making rational, conscious choices, they are also part animal and as such can be exploited. They can, within limits, be made to respond reflexively. They can be moved to action by suggestions in the fringes of their consciousness. FRANKLYN S. HAIMAN, "Democratic Ethics and the Hidden Persuaders," December 1958,

427. Like so much else in American life today, it [the news] comes second to salesmanship. News, is in fact, being used as a kind of entertainment. WILLIAM HALEY, "News and Documentaries on U. S. Television," in *Survey of Broadcast Journalism, 1968-69* (Marvin Barrett, ed), 1969.
428. The ethics of salesmanship have infected every area of life. Politics has become a branch of public relations. Persuasion has been substituted for debate and the search for the right image has replaced the search for the right policy. STUART HALL & PADDY WHANNEL, *The Popular Arts*, 1964.
429. As a foundation, it is important to recognize that public relations work fundamentally involves the *construction of social reality*. ... Constructionists contend that representations of objects or problems in people's minds vary from the corresponding actual objects on which they are based. More important, constructionists contend that people act based on these perceptions, or what [Walter] Lippmann (1922) deftly described as "the pictures inside our heads," rather than "objective reality." KIRK HALLAHAN, "Seven Models of Framing: Implications for Public Relations," *The Journal of Public Relations Research* 11, 1999.
430. Framing operates by biasing the cognitive processing of information by individuals. ... Framing affects cognitive processing by selectively influencing which memory nodes, or sets of memory traces organized as schemas, are activated to interpret a particular message. KIRK HALLAHAN, "Seven Models of Framing: Implications for Public Relations," *The Journal of Public Relations Research* 11, 1999.
431. The sector of public opinion generally most vulnerable to ideological propaganda is constituted by that peculiar class concentrated in the great cities, called the intellectuals. Their principle characteristic is a preoccupation with ideological formulations, a preoccupation that tends to blind them to what actually is as opposed to what is said. They live in the Socratic world of ideas, a nominal world that is more real to them than the real world. LOUIS J. HALLE, *The Cold War As History*, 1967.
432. Men do not commonly see what is before their eyes or hear what rings in their ears unless it is pointed out to them in a tone of accepted authority and given public importance. LOUIS J. HALLE, *Spring In Washington*, 1963.
433. *Guilt By Association*: The propaganda technique of associating a position or person with an undesirable position or person in order to create a negative impression. DIANE F. HALPERN, *Thought and Knowledge: An Introduction to Critical Thinking*, 1996.
434. *Arguments Against The Person*: A form of propaganda that attacks the people who support a cause and not the cause itself. DIANE F. HALPERN, *Thought and Knowledge: An Introduction to Critical Thinking*, 1996.
435. *Popularity*: A propaganda technique in which the only reason for the conclusion is that it endorsed by "everyone." DIANE F. HALPERN, *Thought and Knowledge: An Introduction To Critical Thinking*, 1996.
436. Among men who have overturned the liberties of republics, the greatest number have begun by paying obsequious court to the people; commencing demagogues, and ending tyrants. ALEXANDER HAMILTON (1757-1805), U. S. President, *The Federalist*, 1787.
437. Propaganda, as inverted patriotism, draws nourishment from the sins of the enemy. If there are no sins, invent them! The aim is to make the enemy appear so great a monster that he forfeits the rights

of a human being. He cannot bring a libel action, so there is no need to stick at trifles. SIR IAN HAMILTON (1853-1947), *The Soul and Body of an Army*, 1921.

438. If your cause is too bad, call in aid the party; if the party is bad, call in aid the cause. If neither is good, wound the opponent. WILLIAM GERARD HAMILTON (1729-1796), *Parliamentary Logic*.
439. Successful propagandists have succeeded because the doctrine they bring into form is that which their listeners have for some time felt without being able to shape. THOMAS HARDY (1840-1928), *The Return of the Native*, 1878.
440. [I]f a person is *primed* by exposure to a prior story about the economy, associations from that initial concept will travel in one's memory to activate related information on that topic to a higher level than other information, thereby setting the agenda that that is important when it comes to processing later information such as political ad. ... [E]ither a prior ad or a news story could serve a priming function and set the agenda for interpreting a subsequent ad. RICHARD JACKSON HARRIS, *A Cognitive Psychology of Mass Communication*, 1994.
441. An important general cognitive principle is that information processing is constructive; that is, people do not literally store and retrieve information they read or hear in the media (or anywhere else). Rather, he can modify it in accordance with their beliefs and the context in which it is received. RICHARD JACKSON HARRIS, *A Cognitive Psychology of Mass Communication*, 1994.
442. Instead of television being a more or less accurate reflection of some external reality, it has become the reality against which the real world is compared. RICHARD JACKSON HARRIS, *A Cognitive Psychology of Mass Communication*, 1994.
443. The natural inclination of one who speaks for a living is to become audience driven, to become less and less inclined to examine one's own thoughts analytically and more and more attentive to the often uncritical reactions of popular assemblages. RODERICK P. HART, *The Sound of Leadership: Presidential Communication in the Modern Age*, 1987.
444. The presidency has been transferred from a formal, printed-oriented world into an electronic environment specializing in the spoken word and rewarding casual, interpersonally adept politicians. ... Presidents and their staff [have] become expert in the [sociology of persuasion], and much of their time is devoted to discovering the best social superstructure for insuring a given rhetorical event will proceed smoothly and persuasively. RODERICK P. HART, *The Sound of Leadership: Presidential Communication in the Modern Age*, 1987.
445. Eight Steps of Propaganda Analysis: (1) who is the propagandist and what is his position in his environment?; (2) What is the aim of the propagandist?; (3) Whom is he propagandizing?; (4) What attitudes are being exploited?; (5) What organizational machinery is being employed?; (6) What techniques are used?; (7) What media of communication are used?; (8) Is the propagandist successful in accomplishing his aim? D. LINCOLN HARTER & JOHN SULLIVAN, *Propaganda Handbook*, 1953.
446. Exaggeration means magnifying an object, a word, a picture, or a fact, so that it stands out from its surroundings. Exaggeration is a standard weapon in the propagandist's armory because of its triple function of attracting attention, expediting perception, and biasing the facts. D. LINCOLN HARTER & JOHN SULLIVAN, *Propaganda Handbook*, 1953.
447. Simplification and over-simplification are excellent tools for quickening perception. Scientists stress the law of "multiple causation." Seldom is an effect derived from a single cause. ... But the

propagandist has the comfort and intellectual limitations of his propagandees in mind. ... So he simplifies the complex and forbidding situation. D. LINCOLN HARTER & JOHN SULLIVAN, *Propaganda Handbook*, 1953.

448. Stereotyping is establishing a thought pattern which the public adopts and applies to things, people, or ideas which seem to deserve a common name. It is one of the handiest tools of the propagandist in molding public opinion. It allows him to imply that persons or things of a certain kind have essentially identical characteristics. D. LINCOLN HARTER & JOHN SULLIVAN, *Propaganda Handbook*, 1953.
449. In order to function effectively as citizens the people must have access to the unfettered truth. Without this access, our whole foundation of government will crumble. MARK HATFIELD, U. S. Senator, quoted in *Don't Blame the People* (Robert Cirino), 1971.
450. [In the young Communist state] the film [was] an elastic, extremely malleable, unexhausted form which offers no inner resistance to the expression of new ideas. It is an unsophisticated, popular means of communication, making a direct appeal to the broad masses, an ideal instrument of propaganda. ARNOLD HAUSER (1892-1978), *The Social History of Art*, 1951.
451. Manipulative photography is a state of political advertising and journalism. Pictures of a candidate's political opponents in TV ads are almost always in unflattering black and white, sometimes projected in slow motion to give the opponent a menacing, dinosaurlike quality. Newspeople have a tendency to seize on photos that "illustrate" their point, but often distort reality. CARL HAUSMAN, *Lies We Live By*, 2000.
452. [A] strategy used ... to get around telling the truth [is] redefining one of the words that determines the truth. Torturing a definition is a powerful strategy because people usually don't check all the premises on which you've based your argument, and if they do – and you're caught – you can always claim honesty because the results actually do follow from your mutated definition. CARL HAUSMAN, *Lies We Live By*, 2000.
453. And it is only tradition and old custom, founded on an obsolete state of things, that assigns any value to parliamentary oratory. The world has done with it, except as an intellectual pastime. The speeches have no effect till they are converted into newspaper paragraphs; and they had better be composed as such, in the first place, and oratory reserved for churches, courts of law and public dinner tables. NATHANIEL HAWTHORNE (1804-1864), "Notes on Travel (1858)," in *The Complete Writings of Nathaniel Hawthorne*, 1888.
454. [Every person] is affected every hour of his life not only by the words he hears and uses, but also by his unconscious assumptions about language. These unconscious assumptions determine the way he takes words – which in turn determines the way he acts, whether wisely or foolishly. Words and the way he takes them determine his beliefs, his prejudices, his ideals, his aspirations – they constitute the moral and intellectual atmosphere in which he lives. S. I. HAYAKAWA (1906-1992), *Language in Action*, 1941.
455. Calumny requires no proof. The throwing of malicious imputations against any character leaves a stain which no after-refutation can wipe out. To create an unfavorable impression, it is not necessary that certain things be true, but only that they have been said. WILLIAM HAZLITT (1778-1830), *Selected Essays*.
456. Wit is the salt of conversation, not the food. WILLIAM HAZLITT (1778-1830), *Lectures on the English Comic Writers*.

457. I had thought I was humoring [my captors] by parroting their clichés and buzzwords without personally believing in them. ... In trying to convince them I convinced myself. PATRICIA CAMPBELL HEARST, *Every Secret Thing*, 1982.
458. The man who lacks sense enough to despise public opinion expressed in gossip will never do anything great. GEORGE HEGEL (1770-1831), *The Philosophy of Right*, 1821.
459. In all major socializing forces you will find an underlying movement to gain and maintain power through the use of words. From witch doctor to priest to bureaucrat it is all the same. A governed populace must be conditioned to accept power-words as actual things, to confuse the symbolized system with the tangible universe. FRANK HERBERT (1920-1986), *Dune*, 1965.
460. We are less convinced by what we hear than by what we see. HERODOTUS (ca 484-425 B.C.), *Histories*, ca. 430 B.C.
461. A man calumniated is doubly injured – first by him who utters the calumny, and then by him who believes it. HERODOTUS (ca. 484-425 B.C.), *Histories*, ca. 430 B.C.
462. The way that we process information, even unambiguous information, is heavily influenced by information that we have previously encountered. ... Various known as “category accessibility,” “implicit memory,” and “priming,” the impact of prior experience on ongoing perception and cognition is pervasive. JAMES L. HILTON & WILLIAM Von HIPPEL, “Stereotypes,” *Annual Review of Psychology* 47 (1996).
463. When a nation goes to war, it fights not only on the side of God but also on the side of ballyhoo and bullshit, together with the darker divinities of bowdlerization and blue pencil. The public must be informed and persuaded to do what is expected of it. JOHN HILVERT, *Blue Pencil Warriors: Censorship and Propaganda During World War II*, 1984.
464. Where...does propaganda start or stop in a dramatic work? ... The American stage was consciously political and social virtually from the beginnings of the Republic, when the Tories and the Revolutionists exchanged insults in their amateur stage productions. Then ensued the considerable vogue of comedies like *The Contrast* and *Fashion*, favorable to our frontier virtues and democratic ideals. In the middle of the nineteenth century, abolitionism found popular expression in an immensely successful stage version of *Uncle Tom’s Cabin*... MORGAN Y. HIMMELSTEIN, *Drama Was A Weapon: The Left-Wing Theater in New York, 1929-1941*, 1963.
465. The legitimate stage was thus changing, and the Communists sought to change it even further into a new theatre to propagandize their planned revolt. ... But they were not alone in seeking to create a new theatre movement for the thirties. They were aided by the intellectual Marxists, the fellow travelers who followed the Party line but did not want to do the dirty work of the revolution. MORGAN Y. HIMMELSTEIN, *Drama Was a Weapon: The Left-Wing Theater in New York, 1929-1941*, 1963.
466. The broad masses of a population are more amenable to the appeal of rhetoric than to any other force. ADOLPH HITLER (1889-1945), *Mein Kampf*, 1933.
467. The receptive powers of the masses are very restricted and their understanding is feeble. On the other hand, they quickly forget. Such being the case, all effective propaganda must be confined to a few bare necessities and then must be expressed in stereotyped formulas. ADOLPH HITLER, *Mein Kampf* (1889-1945), 1933.



468. The state therefore must proceed with ruthless determination and take control of this instrument of popular education [the press] and put it in the service of the state and nation. ADOLPH HITLER (1889-1945), *Mein Kampf*, 1933.
469. The function of propaganda is, for example, not to weigh and ponder the rights of different people, but exclusively to emphasize the one right which it has set out to argue for. Its task is not to make an objective study of the truth, in so far as it favors the enemy, and then set it before the masses with academic fairness; its task is to serve our own right, always and unflinchingly. ... As soon as our own propaganda admits so much as a glimmer of right on the other side, the foundation of doubt in our own right has been laid. ADOLPH HITLER (1889-1945), *Mein Kampf*, 1933.
470. In particular the use of reductive labels pre-empts even an acknowledgement of an element of causation in what is, of course, a far more complex reality. It is as if the political and social structures in which acts of political violence are clearly embedded are theoretically and politically irrelevant to their understanding. From this intellectual closure too easily stems the crude denunciation of those who seek to understand causative factors in these attacks, as also condoning them. JENNY HOCKING, "Counter-Terrorism and the Criminalization of Politics," *The Australian Journal of Politics and History*, 49. 2003.
471. Words are wise men's counters, -- they do but reckon by them; but they are the money of fools. THOMAS HOBBES (1588-1679), *Leviathan*, 1651.
472. Perhaps it is time for academics, journalists, and policy-makers to stop trying to place all issues and all people along a single liberal-conservative dimension if most people do not use such a dimension. Why should we not stop expecting citizens to conform to elite standards of ideological consistency, and start expecting elites to change in response to ordinary citizens' patterns of belief? JENNIFER L. HOCHSHILD, *What's Fair?: American Beliefs About Distributive Justice*, 1981.
473. The real persuaders are our appetites, our fears and above all our vanity. The skillful propagandist stirs and coaches these mental persuaders. ERIC HOFFER (1902-1983).
474. The thought control of dictatorships is imposed by force, but discussion, criticism and debate can be stifled by fear as well as by force. Persecution [by] public opinion can be as powerful as purges and pogroms. Frightened men are, at best, irresponsible in their actions and, at worst, dangerous. Of all the forms of tyranny over the mind of man, none is more terrible than fear -- to be afraid of being one's self among one's neighbors. PAUL G. HOFFMAN (1891-1974), *Address, Freedom House*, 1951.
475. The growth of the mass media of communication and their use in politics have brought politics closer to the people than ever before and have made politics a form of entertainment in which the spectators feel themselves involved. Thus it has become, more than ever before, an arena in which private emotions and personal problems can be readily projected. Mass communications have made it possible to keep the mass man in an almost constant state of political mobilization. RICHARD HOFSTADTER (1916-1970), *The Paranoid Style in American Politics*, 1965.
476. The temptation is great, under the pressures of daily journalism, to leap to conclusions, to act as an advocate, to make assumptions based on previous experience, to approach a story with preconceived notions of what is likely to happen. ... An open mind is the mark of the journalist; the propagandist has made up his mind in advance. JOHN HOHENBERG, *The Professional Journalist*, 1969.
477. [A] venerable and well known technique of silencing potential moral indignation consists of dehumanizing the victim. In doing so, the morally repugnant acts are not denied but are made irrelevant -- they do not count since the victims do not inhabit a moral universe, as it were; therefore,

moral considerations or criteria simply do not apply to them... PAUL HOLLANDER, *Political Pilgrims*, 1981.

478. The strength of a suggestion depends in part on the degree to which it seems to be of spontaneous origin, an act of the individual's own initiative. Arrogance and domination are at once and instinctively resented and resisted. The more indirect the suggestion, the more it can be made as to be an original determination or plan or conclusion on the part of the listener, the greater its dynamic power. H. L. HOLLINGSWORTH (1880-1956), *The Psychology of the Audience*, 1935.
479. [E]veryone who is now between the ages of thirty-odd and forty-odd [in 1965] had already shared a common experience by the time they entered the armed services. It was the experience of moviegoing in the 1930's and early 1940's, and it gave us all a fantasy life in common, from which we are still dragging up the images that obsess us... JOHN CLELLON HOLMES, "15 cents before 6:00 PM: The Wonderful Movies of the Thirties," *Harper's*, December 1965.
480. Men are idolaters, and want something to look at and kiss, or throw themselves down before; they always did, they always will; and if you don't make it of wood, you must make it of words. OLIVER WENDALL HOLMES, SR. (1809-1894), *The Poet at the Breakfast Table*, 1872.
481. The differentiating characteristic of the psychological instrument of statecraft is that it attempts to manipulate people's perception of the world independently or relatively independently of any changes in the material world. ROBERT T. HOLT, "A New Approach to Political Communications," in *Propaganda and the Cold War* (John B. Whitton), 1963.
482. One who is asked to present a "new approach" often adopts a favorite trick of the rhetorician. He erects a straw man that he labels the "old approach." It is formidable in appearance, but of no real substance. It can easily be destroyed, and the new proposals appear in striking contrast to the demolished straw man. ROBERT T. HOLT, "A New Approach to Political Communications," in *Propaganda and the Cold War* (John B. Whitton), 1963.
483. But now change your theme and sing to us of the stratagem of the Wooden Horse, which Epeius built with Athene's help, and which the good Odysseus contrived to get taken one day into the citadel of troy as an ambush, manned by the warriors who then sacked the town. HOMER, Greek Poet.
484. Truth of fact and wisdom of policy can be more readily achieved through the lively interchange of ideas and opinions than by unchallengeable edicts on the part of a self-perpetuating elite. SIDNEY HOOK (1902-1989), "The Ethics of Controversy," *Ethics and Persuasion* (Richard Johannesen, ed), 1967.
485. It is touching to see how these flocks of men are duped by the printed and spoken word, how marvelously deficient their critical faculty. The sacrosanct word "democracy" is able to fabricate a catechism even richer in miraculous fair stories than the old one, and these people are quite ready to gulp it down devoutly. ALISTAIRE HORNE, *The Fall of Paris*, 1968.
486. A relatively low degree of fear arousal will sometimes be the optimal level – that too strong a fear appeal can evoke some form of interference which reduces the effectiveness of the communication. CARL I. HOVLAND (1912-1961), et. al., *Communication and Persuasion*, 1953.
487. One way a communication can reinforce the acceptance of new beliefs is to arouse and then alleviate emotional tension. CARL I. HOVLAND (1912-1961) et. al., *Communication and Persuasion*, 1953.

488. Persons who are chronically disturbed by feelings of shyness, personal inadequacy and social inhibition in coping with everyday situations are predisposed to change their opinions more readily than others when exposed to persuasive communication. CARL I. HOVLAND (1912-1961), et. al., *Communication and Persuasion*, 1953.
489. If you can't answer a man's arguments all is not lost; you can still call him names. ELBERT G. HUBBARD (1856-1915), *The Notebook*.
490. The need for absolute goodies and absolute baddies runs deep in us, but it drags history into propaganda and denies the humanity of the dead. ROBERT HUGHES, *Culture of Complaint*, 1993.
491. Power has always been one of the reasons why men sought ownership or direction of the press or any part of it. Ambitious political figures have used party newspapers as mouthpieces. Chain owners have attempted to condition the community opinion of a dozen cities at once by using the gatekeeper control to keep some kinds of news out of the daily stream. JOHN L. HULTENG & ROY PAUL NELSON, *The Fourth Estate: An Informal Appraisal of the News and Opinion Media*, 1971.
492. Nothing appears more surprising to those who consider human affairs with a philosophical eye, than the ease with which the many are governed by the few, and the implicit submission with which men resign their own sentiments and passions to those of the rulers. When we inquire by what means this wonder is effected, we shall find out that, as Force is always on the side of the governed, the governors have nothing to support them but opinion. It is, therefore, on opinion only that government is founded, and the maxim extends to the most despotic and most military governments as well as the most free and popular. DAVID HUME (1711-1766), *First Principles of Government*, 1742.
493. A motion picture may have a real propaganda point – you will remember *The Grapes of Wrath*, *Mission to Moscow*, and *Gentlemen's Agreement* ... are likely to be more effective than any number of factual reports. WILLIAM HUMMEL & KEITH HUNTRESS, *The Analysis of Propaganda*, 1949.
494. In propaganda, as in life, we seldom have difficulty with concrete terms, terms whose referents are obvious and understood. But with abstractions the situation is entirely different. For almost every abstraction we have our own private system of referents, either derived from experience or graciously supplied to us by interested propagandists. WILLIAM HUMMEL & KEITH HUNTRESS, *The Analysis of Propaganda*, 1949.
495. We are inclined to call reports which favor our own interests true; reports from the opposition are called propaganda. WILLIAM HUMMEL & KEITH HUNTRESS, *An Analysis of Propaganda*, 1949.
496. The old idea that words possess magical powers is false, but its falsity is the distortion of a very important truth. Words do have a magical effect -- but not in the way that magicians supposed, and not on the objects that they are trying to influence. Words are magical in the way they affect the minds of those who use them. ALDOUS HUXLEY (1894-1963).
497. Political and religious propaganda is effective, it would seem, only upon those who are already partly or entirely convinced of its truth. ... The propagandist is a man who canalizes an already existing stream. In a land where there is no water, he digs in vain. ALDOUS HUXLEY (1894-1963), "Notes on Propaganda," *Harper's Monthly Magazine*, December 1936.
498. The propagandist's purpose is to make one set of people forget that the other set of people are human. ALDOUS HUXLEY (1894-1963), *The Olive Tree*, 1937.



499. The biggest danger I encountered in my years as an editor was a reflective cynicism among some reporters that led them to assume they knew what a story was about, before they had actually done the reporting. They would begin with an assumption of who the good guys and the bad guys were, and then organize the facts around that hypothesis. Sometimes, reporters were so confident about their a priori hypotheses that they would make only the most perfunctory, last-minute efforts to contact the “bad guys.” DAVID IGNATIUS, “Just the Facts,” *Washington Monthly*, January-February 1999.
500. Americans’ view of their society and nation are powerfully shaped by the stories that appear on the evening news. We found that people who were shown network broadcasts edited to draw attention to a particular problem assigned greater importance to that problem... SHANTO IYENGAR & DONALD KINDER, *News That Matters*, 1987.
501. By calling attention to some matters while ignoring others, television news influences the standards by which governments, presidents, policies, and candidates for public office are judged. SHANTO IYENGAR & DONALD KINDER, *News That Matters*, 1987.
502. The power of television news to set the public agenda depends partly on which public we have in mind. Television coverage is particularly effective in shaping the judgments of citizens with limited political resources and skills. Those who rarely get caught up in the world of politics find network news presentations particularly compelling. ... The more removed the viewer is from the world of public affairs, the stronger the agenda-setting power of television news. SHANTO IYENGAR & DONALD KINDER, *News That Matters*, 1987.
503. [T]he classical agenda setting effect may be a particular manifestation of a general inclination in human inference – an inclination to overvalue “salient” evidence. ... Conspicuous evidence is general accorded importance exceeding its inferential value; logically consequential but perceptually innocuous evidence is accorded less. SHANTO IYENGAR, et. al., “Experimental Demonstrations of the ‘Not-So-Minimal’ Consequences of Television News Programs,” *American Political Science Review*, 76, 1982.
504. Situations sometimes arise in practical propaganda in which the logical mode (*ad rem*) does not produce the necessary effect, despite the convincingness of the arguments and correctness of the propagandist’s position. The psychological mode (*ad hominem*) proves to be more effective, for the propagandist takes into account the usual course of reasoning and conclusions to which the listener resorts proceeding from his interests and convictions. Psychological arguments make the propagandist’s words more convincing, comprehensible, and clear. INSTITUTE OF SOCIAL SCIENCES (USSR), *Social Psychology and Propaganda*, 1985.
505. Because public opinion in the United States is popularly regarded as a moral force, one note of caution regarding its influence should be sounded here. Public opinion as a social phenomenon *per se* has nothing within it making it inherently a power either for good or evil; without direction it is amoral. If it is to serve as an aid to democracy, this result can accrue only through the determination and efforts of people-of-good-will; otherwise the possibility of enslavement of people through public opinion, directed by propaganda, is always present. FREDERICK C. IRION, *Public Opinion and Propaganda*, 1950.



506. The public opinion apparatus equipped government officials with two capabilities, the ability to *manipulate and to respond* to public opinion. The aspect of the apparatus that was developed first and most extensively was the capacity to conduct public relations campaigns aimed at shaping popular preferences. The second capacity involved gathering intelligence on public opinion; in particular, polling became a central aspect of government efforts to gain a regular and reliable grip on public opinion. LAWRENCE R. JACOBS, "The Recoil Effect: Public Opinion and Policy Making in the United States and Britain," *Comparative Politics*, 24, 1992.
507. There is no worse lie than a truth misunderstood by those who hear it. WILLIAM JAMES, *Varieties of Religious Experience*, 1902.
508. The language of the television screen is the language of close-ups. ... These typical close-up shots reflect the personal and social contact that is characteristic of television. ... Distance is related to intimacy. Television simulates intimate relationships. ... The reliance on close-ups creates new rules for our sense of interpersonal space. KATHLEEN H. JAMIESON & KARLYN CAMPTTELL, *The Interplay of Influence*, 1983.
509. Speaking effectively on television requires an ability to create both the illusion of eye contact with an unseen audience and to converse with a camera. Delivering from a ghosted text requires a skill at speaking someone else's words as if they were your own and investing a script with the illusion of spontaneity. Most televised speechmaking is built on these minor, but not insignificant, forms of deception. KATHLEEN H. JAMIESON, *Eloquence In An Electronic Age*, 1988.
510. Messages that induce fear dampen our disposition to scrutinize them for gaps in logic. When the message is fear arousing, personal involvement and interest in it minimize systemic evaluation. KATHLEEN M. JAMIESON, *Dirty Politics: Deception, Distraction and Democracy*, 1992.
511. Television can pair previously disconnected images with a speed and seamlessness that defies the scrutiny of the suspicious. Inviting us to impute a causal link to things only associatively tied is such a stock-in-trade of product advertising that over time we have lost our awareness of how strange some of the paired associations are. KATHLEEN M. JAMIESON, *Dirty Politics: Deception, Distraction and Democracy*, 1992.
512. [Eloquent images] rivet photographic attention because little or no commentary is required – the picture is the story. ... It is both the freshness of the symbols and the ability to stand for more than themselves that make the attractive to news photographers. KATHLEEN JAMIESON & KARLYN KOHRS CAMPBELL, *The Interplay of Influence*, 1997.
513. Implicit in the use of fear appeals is the assumption that when emotional tension is aroused, the audience will become more highly motivated to accept the reassuring beliefs or recommendations advocated by the communicator. IRVING L. JANIS & S. FESHBACH, "Effects Of Fear-Arousing Communications," *Journal of Abnormal and Social Psychology* 19, 1956.
514. I know of no safe depository of the ultimate powers of the society but the people themselves; and if we think them not enlightened enough to exercise their control with a wholesome discretion, the remedy is not to take it from them, but to inform their discretion. THOMAS JEFFERSON (1743-1845), *Letter to William Charles Jarvis*, 28 September 1820.

515. If the eighteen-year old is no simple carbon copy of his parents – as the results clearly indicate – then it seems most likely that other socializing agents have ample opportunity to exert their impact. ... Not the least of these are the transformation in the content and form of the mass media and communication channels, phenomena over which the family and the school have relatively little control. M. KENT JENNINGS & RICHARD G. NIEMI, “The Transmission of Political Values from Parent to Child,” *American Political Science Review*, 62, 1968.
516. [A] formidable obstacle to honest thinking is laziness – the reluctance to face “the insupportable fatigue of thought. ... How much easier it is to fall in with accepted opinion than to question it! Hence is derived the tendency to accept without question whatever one sees in print, or the expressed opinions of so-called “authorities.” R. W. JEPSON, *Clear Thinking*, 1936.
517. Propaganda, in fact, has its best changes of success when those to whom it is addressed are in a passive receptive and uncritical mood, or when their will or power to resist is weak. If the propagandist has reason to suspect that these conditions are not present, he may try to create them artificially, and so predispose his hearers to listen. R. W. JEPSON, *Clear Thinking*, 1936.
518. In Germany, under Hitler’s Nazi influence, the ends of national survival and National Socialist justified any persuasive means. The soundness of political persuasion was measured, not by objective truth, but solely by effectiveness of results. RICHARD L. JOHANNESSEN, *Ethics in Human Communication*, 1983.
519. Heroes are created by popular demand, sometimes out of the scantiest materials, or none at all. GERALD W. JOHNSON (1890-1980), *American Heroes and Hero-Worship*, 1943.
520. Nothing changes more consistently than the past. The past that influences our lives [is] not what actually happened but what [we] believe happened. GERALD W. JOHNSON (1890-1980), *Heroes and Hero-Worship*, 1943.
521. The first casualty when war comes is truth. HIRAM WARREN JOHNSON (1866-1945), U. S. Senator, 1917.
522. When a man voluntarily engages in an important controversy, he is to do all he can to lessen his antagonist, because authority from personal respect has much weight with most people, and often more than reasoning... SAMUEL JOHNSON (1709-1784), *The Life of Samuel Johnson* (James Boswell), 1791.
523. Propaganda is a form of communication that is different from persuasion because it attempts to achieve a response that furthers the desired intent of the propagandist. Persuasion is interactive and attempts to satisfy the needs of both persuader and persuadee. GARTH JOWETT and VICTORIA O’DONNELL, *Propaganda and Persuasion*, 1986.
524. The ability of the movies to transport an audience outside of its local cultural experience is a significant one and accounts for much of the concern about “movie influence.” Thus, while movies may alienate people from the own local experience, they also prepare people for a wider cross-section of society as a whole. GARTH JOWETT & JAMES M. LINTON, *Movies as Mass Communication*, 1980.
525. [T]he movies are most effective in creating and reinforcing stereotypes, for where initial familiarity is least, the depiction of a definitive and familiar way becomes the norm. GARTH JOWETT & JAMES M. LINTON, *Movies as Mass Communication*, 1980.

526. One should be suspicious of “love” as a political slogan. A government which purports to “love” its citizens invariably desires all of the prerogatives of a lover; to share the loved one’s thoughts and to keep him in bondage. ERIC JULBER, *Esquire magazine*, 1969.
527. Every Roman was surrounded by slaves. The slave and his psychology flooded ancient Italy, and every Roman became inwardly, and of course, unwittingly, a slave. Because living constantly in the atmosphere of slaves, he became infected through the unconscious with their psychology. No one can shield himself from such an influence. CARL GUSTAV JUNG (1875-1961), *Contributions to Analytic Psychology*, 1928.
528. There is holy, mistaken zeal in politics, as well as in religion. By persuading others, we convince ourselves. JUNIUS (1740-1818), Anonymous British Letter Writer.

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529. We have now, in our political process, reached a point where the press, politicians and the formulation of policy have become so intertwined that we are dealing with one huge process. MARVIN KALB, “Marvin Kalb Quits NBC,” *Miami Herald*, 24 March 1987.
530. A communicator’s effectiveness is increased if he initially expresses some views that are also held by his audience. MARVIN KARLINS and HERBERT I. ABELSON, *Persuasion: How Opinions and Attitudes are Changed*, 1970.
531. The persuasiveness of a low-credibility communicator can be enhanced when he argues against his own best interest, or when he is identified after, rather than before, presentation of his appeal. MARVIN KARLINS and HERBERT I. ABELSON, *Persuasion: How Opinions and Attitudes are Changed*, 1970.
532. When the audience is generally friendly, or when your position is the only one that will be presented, or when you want immediate, though temporary, opinion change, present one side of the argument. ... When the audience initially disagrees with you, or when it is probable that the audience will hear the other wise from someone else, present both sides of the argument. ... Arguments presented at the beginning or at the end of a communication will be remembered better than arguments presented in the middle. MARVIN KARLINS & HERBERT I. ABELSON, *Persuasion: How opinions and Attitudes are Changed*, 1970.
533. Persuasion requires, ideally speaking, complete emotional and effective resonance between the persuader and the audience. As the propagandist develops his master theme, “These are the sources of your deprivations, and here are the means for removing them,” he must not encounter any emotional or affective resistance. PAUL KECSKEMETI, “Propaganda,” in *Handbook of Communication* (Ithiel de Sola Pool, et. al.), 1975.
534. To be persuasive, the propaganda theme has to be perceived as *coming from within*. The propagandist’s ideal role in relation to the propagandee is that of alter ego, someone giving expression to the recipient’s own concern, tensions, aspirations, and hopes. PAUL KECSKEMETI, “Propaganda,” in *Handbook of Communication* (Ithiel de Sola Pool, et. al.), 1975.
535. The coming age of the mass media, technocracy, and the techniques of mass persuasion have had a marked impact on the political system. A new politics has emerged that is dominated by image-makers and technical experts of all kinds... WILLIAM J. KEEFE, *Parties, Politics and Public Policy in America*, 1988.

536. The purpose of propaganda is to paralyze thought, to prevent discrimination and condition individuals to act as a mass. SAM KEEN, *Faces of the Enemy*, 1986.
537. A basic finding in social psychology is that the attitudes a person holds depend in part upon his social contacts and particularly upon the groups in which he holds membership. HAROLD H. KELLEY, "Salience of membership and Resistance to Change of Group-Anchored Attitudes," *Human Relations* 8, 1955.
538. A revolution requires of its leaders a record of unbroken infallibility. If they do not possess it they are expected to invent it. MURRAY KEMPTON, *Part of Our Time*, 1955.
539. Social scientist, no doubt unwittingly, have often defined propaganda in such a way as to make their definition into an ideological weapon. They have searched for a definition that covers only the activities whose point of view they do not like. PETER KENEZ, *The Birth of the Propaganda State*, 1985.
540. The Bolsheviks, who possessed an all-encompassing ideology, assumed that their opponents, the liberal democrats of the West, did so as well. Because they were determined to propagandize their ideology, they took it for granted that believers in other worldviews were doing the same. When Westerners denied that they carried out propaganda, the Bolsheviks regarded such denials as sheer hypocrisy. Indeed, to some of the Russian leaders it seemed precisely the covert nature of "bourgeois" propaganda that make it so effective. PETER KENEZ, *The Birth of the Propaganda State*, 1985.
541. First, people pay special attention to behaviors and events relevant to their expectations, and often even seek information that confirms their expectations. ... Second, we tend to interpret ambiguous events and behaviors in ways that support our expectations. ... Third, we tend to remember people and events consistent with our expectations. DOUGLAS T. KENRICK, et. al., *Social Psychology: Unraveling the Mystery*, 1999.
542. Population segments most susceptible to media management usually think they think independently, critically, clearly, and can readily discriminate between truth and falsity, reality and fantasy. This self-perception of autonomy is a basic indoctrination-priming tool. Humans who think they think for themselves often do not. The better primed by cultural values, the more vulnerable to manipulation. WILSON BRIAN KEY, *The Age of Manipulation*, 1989.
543. Symbols circumvent conscious thought and logic. They evoke vague, unspecified feelings. Symbolism constitutes a subliminal technique of communication. Sophisticated, carefully researched, and powerful symbolic communication is basic to commercial manipulation. Symbols directly affect perception, feelings, and behavior. They do not depend upon conscious definitions or explanations. WILSON BRIAN KEY, *The Age of Manipulation*, 1989.
544. Just as an army cannot fight without arms, so the party cannot do ideological work successfully without such a sharp and militant weapon as the press. We cannot put the press in unreliable hands. It must be in the hands of the most faithful, most trustworthy, most politically steadfast people devoted to our cause. NIKITA KHRUSHCHEV (1894-1971), *New York Times Magazine*, 19 September 1957.
545. The ability to weigh up the evidence impartially, to write a story open to confirmation or falsification by the evidence, and to draw out reasoned conclusions rather than being led by mere intuition,



feeling, or commitment, is the essence of good journalism. MATTHEW KIERAN, *Media Ethics: A Philosophical Approach*, 1997.

546. *Normative social influence* occurs when an individual acts as others do to gain approval or avoid the disapproval of other group members. ... When subjects indicated their judgments in face-to-face situation where the others could identify their response, they conformed more than when others did not know their responses. CHARLES EMERSON KIMBLE, *Social Psychology: Studying Human Interaction*, 1990.
547. *Identification* occurs when a person adopts a behavior or expresses an attitude because some person or persons whom he or she admires display that behavior or attitude. ... One way that identification has been exploited occurs when advertisers get celebrities who are widely respected or admired to endorse their products. CHARLES EMERSON KIMBLE, *Social Psychology: Studying Human Interaction*, 1990.
548. *Inoculation theory*: Theory that exposing a receiver to a weak, refutable argument for a topic will make that receiver more resistant to persuasion on that topic. CHARLES EMERSON KIMBLE, *Social Psychology: Studying Human Interaction*, 1990.
549. The media, sometimes intentionally, but often unintentionally, have the function of providing models for behavior. In some instances, propaganda is used in a deliberate attempt to influence values and beliefs. In other instances, the content of the ads and entertainment functions to convey particular norms of society. JOHN W. KINCH, *Social Psychology*, 1973.
550. Psychological operations wield words as nonviolent weapon systems, set stages, exploit successes, and minimize failures when properly employed. ... [Specialists must] rather intelligence that enables them to determine the predispositions, vulnerabilities, and susceptibilities of targeted audiences. ROBERT C. KINGSTON, *Intelligence for Low Intensity Conflicts*, 1991.
551. Gays must be cast as victims in need of protection so that straights will be inclined by reflex to assume the role of the protector. ... The public should be shown images of ranting homophobes whose secondary traits and beliefs disgust middle America ... the Ku Klux Klan demanding that gays be burned alive or castrated ... Nazi concentration camps. MARSHALL KIRK & ERASTES PILL, "The Overhauling Of Straight America," *Guide Magazine*, November 1987.
552. Pejorative as well as laudatory labels and appellations, be they "terrorist," "tyrant," "and "dictator," or conversely, "political prisoner," "asylum seeker," and "freedom fighter," are potent instruments in the struggle between competing political camps. Often they are indiscriminately used by contesting parties to either dignify or vilify, reward or punish, both the labelers and their adversaries. Frequently, labels and appellations not only describe what people already are but further help determine what they might become. NICHOLAS N. KITTRIE, *Rebels With A Cause: The Minds and Morality of Political Offenders*, 1999.
553. Denigrating political opponents by slanders, slurs, innuendos, rumors, invective, or embarrassing charges is both a deplored and a time-honored practice. ... The method is politically attractive because it is cheap and easy. Rumor has the advantage of anonymity and is almost impossible to combat effectively; name-calling is cheap because it gathers up a battery of vague charges into one ball that can be hurled. The damage is done without a chance for defense. ORRIN E. KLAPP, *Symbolic Leaders: Public Dramas and Public Men*, 1964.
554. Bias may be shown...in the manner in which a paper reports an event and in its selection of which events to report and which to omit. An outside observer, lacking the newspapers' access to the

events on which they base their reporting, can only judge their treatment...by comparing the way in which the various newspapers dealt with the same events. JOSEPH KLAPPER & CHARLES Y. GLOCK, *Scientific American*, February, 1949.

555. There is [an] area in which mass communication is extremely effective, and that is in the creation of opinion on new issues. By “new issues” I mean issues on which the individual has no opinion... The individual has no disposition to defend, and so the communication falls, as it were, on defenseless soil. And once the opinion is created, then it is this new opinion which becomes easy to reinforce and hard to change. JOSEPH KLAPPER, *Modern Communications and Foreign Policy*, 1967.
556. Communications research strongly indicates that persuasive mass communication is in general more likely to reinforce the existing opinions of its audience than it is to change such opinions. Minor attitude change appears to be a more likely effect than conversion and a less likely effect than reinforcement. JOSEPH KLAPPER, *The Effects of Mass Communication*, 1960.
557. The war [WWI] was made to appear one of defence against a menacing aggressor. The Kaiser was painted as a beast in human form. ... The Germans were portrayed as only slightly better than the hordes of Genghis Kahn, rapers of nuns, mutilators of children, and destroyers of civilization. PHILIP KNIGHTLY, *The First Casualty*, 1995.
558. The most persistent sound which reverberates through men’s history is the beating of drums. ARTHUR KOESTLER (1904-1983), *Janus: A Summing Up*, 1979.
559. At the dawn of the new millennium, the transformation of mainstream journalism is now complete. The aim of today’s newspaper is not merely to gather and impart the news but to influence public opinion. News gathering and reporting have become merely a means to that end. The tools of propaganda have found a new home. BOB KOHN, *Journalistic Fraud*, 2003.
560. A newspaper can effectively disparage those who oppose its political views by lacing its news stories with eggs thrown by others. This is just a variation of the Quote-Someone-Who-Agrees-With-Us technique. BOB KOHN, *Journalistic Fraud*, 2003.
561. A classic technique of propaganda is to link a person or an idea to a positive or negative symbol. The propagandist hopes that the reader’s receptivity to the substance of the issue will be tainted by the negative label or aided by the positive label. BOB KOHN, *Journalistic Fraud*, 2003.
562. Biased headlines are important. Most people don’t read newspapers; they scan them – that is, they read the headlines... To influence the headlines is to influence public opinion. BOB KOHN, *Journalistic Fraud*, 2003.
563. In its appeal to the patriotic and conservative bourgeoisie, the regime played on the people’s need for security and order and stresses those moderate aspects of fascist that would guarantee harmony. TRACY H. KOON, *Believe, Obey, Fight: Political Socialization of Youth in Fascist Italy, 1922-1943*, 1985.
564. Fascistization took many different forms: an increase in the blatantly political content of school curricula and the introduction of state textbooks; ever-tighter control and subordination of teachers to make them faithful servants of the state and eliminate academic freedom; more rigid centralization of the school administration to bring all academic personnel under the close supervision of the ministry... TRACY H. KOON, *Believe, Obey, Fight: Political Socialization of Youth in Fascist Italy, 1922-1945*, 1985.

565. The problem of what to report and how to report it will never be resolved, because the line between fact and the subjective view of that fact remains elusive. Then, too, he who burns with zeal to correct the errors of one side risks error on the other side. Still, we can do a good job of it – as long as we keep the flag of objectivity flying high. That will give a more honest and more accurate view of this imperfect world than trusting a latter-day Trotsky, or any other partisan on any side, to tell us what's what. ANDREW KOPKIND, "What's Wrong With Objectivity," *Saturday Review*, 11 October 1969.
566. Without television, terrorism becomes rather like the philosopher's hypothetical tree falling in the forest: no one hears it fall and therefore it has no reason for being. And television, without terrorism, while not deprives of all interesting things in the world, is nonetheless deprived of one of the most interesting. TED KOPPEL, quoted in "Terrorism and the Mass Media" (R. F. FARNEN), *Terrorism*, 2, 1990.
567. Propaganda is a bit like pornography – hard to define but most people think they will know it when they see it. A widely accepted definition holds that "propaganda is the expression of opinions or actions carried out deliberately by individuals or groups with a view to influencing the opinions or actions of other individuals or groups for predetermined ends and through psychological manipulations." CLAYTON R. KOPPES & GREGORY D. BLACK, *Hollywood Goes To War*, 1987.
568. The ads were lurid even by Hollywood standards. A huge Japanese figure, blood dripping from its buck-toothed fangs, rose from the sea. His octopus tentacles swatted American planes from mid-air and crushed American ships on the high seas. CLAYTON R. KOPPES & GREGORY D. BLACK, *Hollywood Goes To War*, 1987.
569. In *Tarzan Triumphs* (RKO, 1942) Nazi agents parachute into Tarzan's peaceful kingdom and occupy a fortress, hoping to exploit oil and tin. Johnny Wiesmiller, a slightly flabby but still commanding noble savage, rallies his natives (all of them white) against the Axis. "Kill Nazis!" Tarzan commands the natives. They nod eagerly. The Germans are so despicable even the animals turn against them. CLAYTON R. KOPPES & GREGORY D. BLACK, *Hollywood Goes To War*, 1987.
570. The affairs of men are conducted by our own man-made rules and according to man-made theories. Man's achievements rest upon the use of symbols. For this reason, we must consider ourselves as a symbolic, semantic class of life, and those who rule the symbols rule us. ALFRED KORZBSKI, *Science and Sanity*, 1941.
571. When we say "our rulers" we mean those who are engaged in the manipulation of symbols. There is no escape from the fact that they do, and that they always will, rule mankind, because we constitute a symbolic class of life, and we cannot cease from being so. ALFRED KORZBSKI (1879-1950), *Science and Sanity*, 1941.
572. [Social marketing is] the design, implementation, and control of programs seeking to increase the acceptability of a social idea or practice in a target group(s). It utilizes concepts of market segmentation, consumer research, idea configuration, communication, facilitation, incentives, and exchange theory to maximize target group response. P. KOTLER, *Marketing For Nonprofit Organizations*, 1975.
573. [T]he mass media *alter* "reality" in many ways. Errors of fact appearing in the media and intentional bias distort or change our notions of "what really happened" in a given situation. The media often reshape events, causing perceptions among the media's audience members to differ from those held by "on-the-scene" participants and observers of those events. SIDNEY KRAUS & DENNIS DAVIS, *The Effects of Mass Communication on Political Behavior*, 1976.

574. The first step in liquidating a people ... is to erase its memory. Destroy its books, its culture, its history. Then have somebody write new books, manufacture a new culture, invent a new history. Before long the nation will begin to forget what it is and what it was. MILAN KUNDERA, *The Book of Laughter and Forgetting*, 1978.



575. Anything pleasant easily persuades, and while it gives pleasure it fixes itself in the heart. LACTANCIUS (ca 240-320 A.D.), *Device Institutions*, ca. 310 A.D.

576. One reason why people hold inconsistent opinions is that they have different opinions for different social situations. ... An opinion is an “answer” that is given to “a question” in a given situation. When the question or situation varies somewhat, a somewhat different response can be expected. Differences in the wording of questions often give quite different results. ROBERT E. LAND & DAVID O. SEARS, *Public Opinion*, 1964.

577. Stereotypes are the mind’s shorthand for dealing with complexities. They have two aspects: they are much blunter than reality; they are shaped to fit a man’s preferences or prejudgments. Thus two principles are involved: differentiation or its lack, and biased preferential perception. ROBERT E. LANE, *Political Ideology*, 1962.

578. The mass media force attention to certain issues. They build up public images of political figures. They are constantly presenting objects suggesting what individuals in the mass should think about, know about, have feelings about. KURT LANG & GLADYS ENGEL LANG, in *Reader in Public Opinion and Communication* (Berelson & Janowitz), 1966.

579. The way television handles the day-to-day flow of news by presenting a series of headline stories tends to highlight the unusual and extraordinary. Conflicts and crises predominate. KURT LANG & GLADYS ENGEL LANG, *Politics and Television*, 1968.

580. People are difficult to govern because they have too much knowledge. LAO TZU, *The Way of Lao-Tzu*, 65 A.D.

581. If the media succeed with their spectacles and grand simplifications, it is because their audiences define happiness as the state of being well and artfully deceived. People like to listen to stories, to believe what they’re told, to imagine that the implacable forces of history speak to them with a human voice. Who can bear to live without myths? LEWIS LAPHAM, “Gilding the News,” *Harper’s*, July 1981.

582. Today the label “demagogue” frequently is used to render a negative ethical judgment of a communicator. Too often the label is left only vaguely defined; the criteria we are to use to evaluate a person as a demagogue are unspecified. In ancient Greece, a demagogue simply was a leader or orator who championed the cause of the common people. CHARLES U. LARSON, *Persuasion*, 1983.

583. Persuaders, like the rest of us, like to see the world as divided into neat categories. They also use these categories to try to persuade others are often successful. One of these category sets is the creation of God terms and Devil terms... CHARLES U. LARSON, *Persuasion*, 1983.

584. Pragmatic persuaders, because they must win an audience, cannot afford to take the risk of appealing to abstract ideals. They must be concrete, focusing on facts instead of images, emphasizing that

which cannot be disputed or interpreted so easily... Their orientation is toward the present instead of the future. CHARLES U. LARSON, *Persuasion*, 1983.

585. Advertising serves no so much to advertise products as to promote consumption as a way of life. ... The propaganda of commodities serves a double function. First, it upholds consumption as an alternative to protest or rebellion. ... In the second place, the propaganda of consumption turns alienation itself into a commodity. It addresses itself to the spiritual desolation of modern life and proposes consumption as the cure. CHRISTOPHER LASCH (1932-1994), *The Culture of Narcissism*, 1979.
586. How one thinks and what one thinks about are molded by the language one uses to express one's thoughts. JOHN LASKI, "Basic Confusions," *Times Educational Supplement*, 13 November 1981.
587. The real power of the press comes from the effect of its continuous repetition of an attitude reflected in the facts which its readers have no chance to check, or by its ability to surround those facts by an environment of suggestion which, often half-consciously, seeps its way into the mind of the reader and forms his premises for him without his even being aware that they are really prejudices to he has scarcely given a moment of thought. HAROLD J. LASKY (1893-1950), *The American Democracy*, 1948.
588. A well-established ideology perpetuates itself with little planned propaganda by those whom it benefits most. When thought is taken about ways and means of sowing conviction, conviction has already languished, the basic outlook of society has decayed. HAROLD D. LASSWELL (1902-1978), *Politics: Who Gets What, When, How*, 1958.
589. The illusion of victory must be nourished because of the close connection between the strong and the good. If we win, God is on our side. If we lose, God may have been on the other side. HAROLD D. LASSWELL (1902-1978), *Propaganda Technique in the World War*, 1927.
590. The psychological function of revolutionary propaganda, like war propaganda, is to control aggressiveness, guilt, weakness, affection. Marxism, for example, fosters the projection of aggressiveness by denouncing "capitalism" as predatory. HAROLD D. LASSWELL (1902-1978), *Politics: Who Gets What, When, How*. 1958.
591. Revolutionary propaganda selects symbols which are calculated to detach the affections of the masses from the existing symbols of authority and to attach their affections to challenging symbols and to direct hostilities toward existing symbols of authority. HAROLD D. LASSWELL (1902-1978), *World Politics and Personal Security*, 1965.
592. Propaganda...is developing its practitioners, its professors, its teachers and its theories. ... Governments will rely increasingly upon professional propagandists for advice and aid. HAROLD D. LASSWELL (1902-1978), "The Study and Practice of Propaganda," in *Propaganda and Promotional Activities: An Annotated Bibliography*, 1935.
593. The task of maintaining the ascendancy of a given elite requires the coordinated use of symbols, property and violence. Propaganda may be devoted to extending and defending the ideology which preserves the existing methods of gaining wealth and distinction. ... Under such conditions the ceremony is one of the most potent means of preserving the traditional order. HAROLD D. LASSWELL (1902-1978), "The Study and Practice of Propaganda," in *Propaganda and Promotional Activities: An Annotated Bibliography*, 1935.

594. More propaganda is needed the more heterogeneous is the public whose opinion is to be controlled, and the more the desired opinion deviates from the established perspectives... HAROLD D. LASSWELL(1902-1978) & ABRAHAM KAPLAN, *Power and Society*, 1950.
595. Deception is created by manipulating perceptions. The first task is to identify a bias or, if necessary, to create one. It is always much easier to reinforce a perception than to change one, and if one knows what an enemy expects will happen (or better still, hopes for) than any deception will be on firm foundations. JON LATIMER, *Deception In War*, 2001.
596. The credibility of a cover story can be enhanced when the story is confirmed by a variety of sources. Good intelligence will always seek corroboration of information and deceivers must seek to provide it. JON LATIMER, *Deception In War*, 2001.
597. The public, which is feeble-minded like an idiot, will never be able to preserve its individual reactions from the tricks of the exploiter...because it can't distinguish between its own original feelings and feelings which are diddled into existence by the exploiter. D. H. LAWRENCE (1885-1930).
598. The audiences of mass media apparently subscribe to the circular belief: "If you really matter, you will be at the focus of mass attention and, if you are at the focus of mass attention, then surely you must really matter. PAUL LAZARFIELD (1901-1976) & ROBERT K. MERTON (1910-2003), "Mass Communication, Popular Taste and Organized Social Action," in *The Communication of Ideas* (L. Bryson, ed), 1948.
599. The mass media bestow prestige and enhance the authority of individuals and groups by *legitimizing their status*. Recognition by the press or radio or magazines or newsreels testifies that one has arrived, that one is important enough to have been singled out from the large anonymous masses, that one's behavior and opinions are significant enough to require public notice. PAUL LAZARFIELD (1901-1976) & ROBERT K. MERTON (1910-2003), "Mass Communication, Popular Taste and Organized Social Action," in *The Communication of Ideas* (L. Bryson, ed.), 1948.
600. [Mass media may be] among the most respectable and efficient of social narcotics. They may be so fully effective as to keep the addict from recognizing his own malady. PAUL LAZARFIELD (1906-1976) & ROBERT K. MERTON (1910-2003), in *The Process and Effects of Mass Communication* (Schramm & Roberts), 1971.
601. Mental contagion is the most powerful factor in the propagation of a revolutionary movement. In certain men, the revolutionary spirit is a mental condition independent of the object on which it is exercised. No concession could appease them. GUSTAVE Le BON (1841-1931), *Aphorisms of Present Times*, 1913.
602. Reason and argument are incapable of combating certain words and formulas. They are uttered with solemnity in the presence of crowds, and as soon as they have been pronounced an expression of respect is visible on every countenance, and all heads are bowed. GUSTAVE Le BON (1841-1931), *The Crowd*, 1895.
603. The power of words is bound up with the images they evoke, and is quite independent of their real significance. Words whose sense is the most ill-defined are sometimes those that possess the most influence. Such, for example, are the terms democratic, socialism, equality, liberty, etc., whose meaning is so vague that thick volumes do not suffice to fix it precisely. GUSTAVE Le BON (1841-1931), *The Crowd*, 1895.

604. Conventions are ideal types of thought and behavior derived over long periods of time through processes of generalization and rationalization from the patterns esteemed and idealized by the various groups, classes ... and other divisions of society. ALFRED McCLUNG LEE (1907-1982), "Social Determinants of Public Opinion," *Journal of Opinion and Attitude Research*, 1, 1947.
605. *Name calling* -- giving an idea a bad label -- is used to make us reject and condemn the idea without examining the evidence...*Glittering generality* -- associating something with a "virtue word" -- is used to make us accept and approve the thing without examining the evidence. *Testimonial* consists in having some respected or hated person say a given idea or program or product or person is good or bad. *Card stacking* involves the selection or use of facts or falsehoods, illustrations or distractions, and logical or illogical statements in order to give the best or worst possible case for an idea, program, person, or product. ALFRED McCLUNG LEE (1907-1982) and ELIZABETH BRIANT LEE (1908-1999), *The Fine Art of Propaganda*, 1939.
606. [The press] emphasizes the existing and superficial and neglects socially important economic and political developments. ... International affairs are stereotyped or caricatured, reduced to positive and negative generalities ... political campaigns for office and for reforms are dramatized in simplistic and personality terms with basic issues avoided, glossed over or presented in a biased manner. ALFRED McCLUNG LEE (1907-1982) & ELIZABETH LEE (1908-1999), "Whatever Happened to Propaganda Analysis," *Humanity and Society*, 10:1, 1986.
607. If a word is not what it represents, then whatever you might say about anything will not be *it*. If in doubt, you might try eating the word *steak* when hungry, or wearing the word *coat* when cold. In short, the universe of discourse is *not* the universe of direct experience. ... This suggests a general principle: our adjustment (and ultimately, survival) is correlated with our expectations, that is, our ability to predict happenings accurately. This is a way of saying that the correctness of our expectations depends upon the similarity of structure of the language used and the happenings represented. IVY J. LEE, *Language Habits in Human Affairs*, 1941.
608. Social proof is the tendency to believe what most people believe. If an advocate creates the impression that "everyone knows" that someone is lying and covering up facts, there is a subtle implication that those who disagree are somehow flawed in credibility. ... Repeated affirmations create the impression that the assertion is true. PAUL R. LEES-HALEY, "*Propaganda Techniques Related to Environmental Scares*, 1997.
609. The surest way of discrediting a new political idea, and of damaging it, is to reduce it to absurdity while ostensibly defending it. For every truth is "exorbitant," if it is exaggerated, if it is carried beyond the limits in which it can be actually applies, can be reduced to absurdity, and is even found to become an absurdity under the conditions. V. I. LENIN (1870-1924), *Left-Wing Communism: An Infantile Disorder*, 1920.
610. The excitement of war propaganda, like the appeal of muckraking itself, came in the opportunity to build shock upon shock. ... Muckraking was a triumph of story telling, reaching those citizens who had earlier shown little interest in hearing about these political or social problems. The selling of the war was done in the same spirit, making popular entertainment accommodate serious appeals to the public good. THOMAS C. LEONARD, *The Power Of The Press: The Birth of American Political Reporting*, 1986.
611. The Seven Deadly Sins of the Press: Concentrated power over the big press; Passing of competition and the coming of monopoly; Government control of the press; Timidity, especially in the face of group and corporate pressures; Big business mentality; Clannishness among the newspaper

**publishers that has prevented them from criticizing each other; Social blindness. MAX LERNER (1902-1994).**

- 612. The art of advertisement, after the American manner, has introduced into all our life such a lavish use of superlatives, that no standard of value whatever is intact. WYNDHAM LEWIS, 1932.**
- 613. The language of the totalist environment is characterized by the thought-terminating cliché. The most far-reaching and complex of human problems are compressed into brief, highly reductive, definitive-sounding phrases, easily memorized and easily expressed. These become the start and finish of any ideological analysis. ROBERT J. LIFTON, *Thought Reform And The Psychology Of Totalism*, 1961.**
- 614. The skilled interrogator can play on people's need not to feel a terrible person. The totalist can stir up guilt about past behavior and then plant the idea that such behavior could only have been indulged in because the victim's ideology was wrong. By embracing the new ideology, he can absolve himself of guilt. ... Society operates by the manipulation of guilt, by the setting of rules which induce guilt if broken. ROBERT J. LIFTON, *Thought Reform And The Psychology of Totalism*, 1961.**
- 615. People vary greatly in their susceptibilities to guilt and shame, depending upon patterns developed in early life. But since guilt and shame are basic to human existence, this variation can be no more than a matter of degree. Each person is made vulnerable through his profound inner sensitivities to his own limitations and to his unfulfilled potential... ROBERT J. LIFTON, *Thought Reform And The Psychology of Totalism*, 1961.**
- 616. We live in a propaganda age. Public opinion no longer is formulated by the slow processes of ... shared experience. In our time opinion is primarily a response to propaganda stimuli. ... Propaganda is a method, a device for conditioning behavior. It represents nothing new in human affairs except a refinement of techniques and the appropriation of new instruments for exerting stimuli. EDUARD C. LINDEMAN (1885-1953) & CLYDE R. MILLER, in *War Propaganda and the United States* (Lavine & Wechsler), 1940.**
- 617. Propaganda consists of the planned use of any form of communications designed to affect the minds, emotions, and action of a given group for a specific purpose. PAUL A. LINEBARGER (1913-1966) *Psychological Warfare*, 1948.**
- 618. Psychological warfare comprises the use of propaganda against an enemy, together with such other operational measures of a military, economic, or political nature as may be required to supplement propaganda. PAUL A. LINEBARGER (1913-1966) *Psychological Warfare*, 1948.**
- 619. Propaganda vs. Truth. How can I tell them apart? The answer is simple: if you agree with it, it is the truth. If you don't agree, it's propaganda. PAUL LINEBARGER (1913-1966), *Psychological Warfare*, 1948.**
- 620. Political warfare consists of the framing of national policy in such a way as to assist propaganda or military operations, whether with respect to the direct political relations of governments with one another or in relation to groups of people possessing a political character. PAUL A. LINEBARGER (1913-1966), *Psychological Warfare*, 1948.**
- 621. Popular U.S. films operate as dramas of reassurance. The beliefs, attitudes and values presented in the Hollywood films tend to resonate with the dominant beliefs, attitudes and values of American society. In other words, the dominant ideology of a society tends to be reinforced by the ideology presented in its films. JAMES LINTON, "But it's Only a Movie," *Jump Cut*, 17, April 1978.**



622. [Propaganda is when the] complex is made into the simple, the hypothetical into the dogmatic, and the relative into the absolute. WALTER LIPPMAN (1889-1974).
623. Politicians tend to live “in character,” and many a public figure has come to imitate the journalism which describes him. WALTER LIPPMANN (1889-1974), *A Preface to Politics*, 1914.
624. We are told about the world before we see it. We imagine most things before we experience them. And these preconceptions, unless education has made us acutely aware, govern deeply the whole process of perception. WALTER LIPPMAN (1889-1974), *Public Opinion*, 1922.
625. The significant revolution of modern times is ... the revolution taking place in the art of creating consent among the governed. ... None of us begins to understand the consequences, but it is no daring prophecy to say that the knowledge of how to create consent will alter every political premise. WALTER LIPPMAN (1889-1974), *Public Opinion*, 1922.
626. Without some form of censorship, propaganda in the strict sense of the word is impossible. In order to conduct a propaganda there must be some barrier between the public and the event. WALTER LIPPMAN (1889-1974), *Public Opinion*, 1922.
627. Patriotic spectacles serve an important function. In the midst of agonizing changes, the imagined power and majesty of the nation-state compensates for the loss of individual and collective power. As we control our lives less and less, we look increasingly to images outside ourselves for signs of the power and worth that we have lost. GEORGE LIPSITZ, “Dilemmas Of Beset Nationhood,” in *Bonds of Affection: Americans Define Their Patriotism*, (John Bodnar, Ed.), 1996.
628. The attention devoted to ceremonial commemoration of past wars may be not so much evidence of how easy it is for people to go to war, but rather how much persuasion, rationalization, and diversion are required to make warfare acceptable. GEORGE LIPSITZ, “Dilemmas Of Beset Nationhood,” in *Bonds of Affection: Americans Define Their Patriotism* (John Bodnar, Ed), 1996.
629. Terrorism has become one of the cant words of our time, used to justify all manner of sin on the part of governments seeking to discredit or oppress their political opposition. By characterizing one’s opponents as “terrorists,” even the most venal and thuggish governments know they are likely to win some...support.” NEIL C. LIVINGSTONE, *The Cult of Counterterrorism*, 1990.
630. Teleological theories hold that the ultimate standard of what is morally right is the non-moral value that is brought into being. Right and wrong are exclusively a function of results and outcomes. Very roughly speaking, the ends justify the means in teleological theories. SCOTT LLOYD, “A Criticism of Social Responsibility Theory: An Ethical Perspective,” *Journal of Mass Media Ethics* 6, 1991.
631. Deontological theories, on the other hand, deny that what is morally right is exclusively a function of non-moral consequences. They affirm that there are more considerations that may make a rule or an action morally right than simply the goodness or badness of its consequences. Intent, motive, and the inherent nature of an act or rule – features of the act itself instead of the value it brings into existence – all serve as justification in defining what is right or wrong in deontological theories. SCOTT LLOYD, “A Criticism of Social Responsibility Theory: An Ethical Perspective,” *Journal of Mass Media Ethics* 6, 1991.
632. The strength of our persuasions is no evidence at all of their own rectitude; crooked things may be as stiff and inflexible as straight; and men may be as positive and peremptory in error as in truth. JOHN LOCKE (1632-1704), *An Essay Concerning Human Understanding*, 1690.

633. Modern behavior technology ... presents us with the possibility that, following some initial coercive step, consent can be flawlessly engineered in ways that justify the coercion in the first place. ... The danger is that such use risks the erosion of personal freedom whenever it takes place by the decision of someone other than the person it is used on. PERRY LONDON, *Behavior Control*, 1969.
634. Propagandist tendency in any art, in poetry or in painting, means the final desecration and is altogether evil. KONRAD LORENZ (1903-1989), *On Aggression*, 1963.
635. Public opinion is not strictly the opinion of the numerical majority, and in no form of its expression measures the mere majority, for individual views are always to some extent weighed as well as counted. ... When we speak of the opinion of a majority we mean, not the numerical, but the effective majority. ABBOTT LOWELL (1956-1943), *Public Opinion and Popular Government*, 1926.
636. Public opinion to be worthy of the name, to be the proper motive force in a democracy, must really be public... ABBOTT LOWELL, *Public Opinion and Popular Government*, 1926.
637. Fantasy ... often represents a convenient way for man to temporarily lie to himself in order to make life more palatable. Although he may not fully believe in the actual reality of his fantasy, he can invest enough belief in them to offer himself some degree of satisfaction. ARNOLD M. LUDWIG, *The Importance of Lying*, 1965.
638. As the ultimate expression of social engineering, many rulers aspire to control the minds of their subjects. Part of the utopian mentality is to create a society of like-minded individuals who not only do the rulers bidding but affirm whatever he says to be true. When a ruler can fill the minds of others with "correct thoughts and values, he has achieved the ultimate in interpersonal control. ARNOLD M. LUDWIG, *King of the Mountain: The Nature of Political Leadership*, 2002.
639. [M]edia coverage and terrorism are soul mates – virtually inseparable. They feed off each other. They together create a dance of death – the one for political or ideological motives, the other for commercial success. JAMES E. LUKASZEWSKI, "The Media and the Terrorist: A Dance of Death, *Executive Speeches*, June 1987.
640. Propaganda is promotion which is veiled in one way or another as to (1) its origin or sources, (2) the interests involved, (3) the methods employed, (4) the content spread, and (5) the results accruing to the victims -- any one, any two, any three, any four, or all five. FREDERICK E. LUMLEY (1880-1954), *The Propaganda Machine*, 1933.
641. Cinema's strength lies in the fact that, like any art, it imbues an idea with feeling and with captivating form but, unlike the other arts, cinema is actually cheap, portable and unusually graphic. Its effects reach where even the book cannot reach and it is, of course, more powerful than any kind of narrow propaganda. ANATOLI LUNARCHARSKY, "Revolutionary Ideology and Cinema – Theses", 1924, in *The Film Factory: Russian and Soviet Cinema in Documents 1896-1939* (Taylor & Christie, eds), 1988.
642. Doublespeak is language that pretends to communicate but really doesn't. ... Doublespeak is a language that avoids or shifts responsibility, language that is at variance with its real or purported meaning. It is language that conceals or prevents thought; rather than extending thought, doublespeak limits it. WILLIAM LUTZ, *Doublespeak*, 1989.
643. Statistical doublespeak is a particularly effective form of doublespeak, since statistics are not likely to be closely scrutinized. Moreover, we tend to think that numbers are more concrete, more "real" than

mere words. Quantify something and you give it a precision, a reality that it did not have before. WILLIAM LUTZ, *Doublespeak*, 1989.

644. Word is but wind; leave word and take the deed. JOHN LYDGATE, *Secrets of Old Philosophers*, 15<sup>th</sup> Century.
645. The credential system provides a method of rejecting important kinds of belief transmission from the uncredentialed. Those holding a doctorate, professional license, or clergy post thereby gain more access to minds than those lacking such distinctions. AARON LYNCH, *Thought Contagion*, 1996.
646. Beliefs affect retransmission in so many ways that they set off a colorful, unplanned growth race among diverse “epidemic” of ideas. Actively contagious ideas are now called *memes* ... by students of the newly emerging science of *memetics*. AARON LYNCH, *Thought Contagion*, 1996.
647. The ways that memes retransmit fit into several general patterns called *modes*: the quantity parental, efficiency parental, proselytic, preservational, adversative, cognitive, and motivational modes. Each one involves a thought contagion’s “carrier,” or *host*, serving to increase the idea’s “infected” group, or *host population*. AARON LYNCH, *Thought Contagion*, 1996.
648. Cartoon drawings will enhance persuasion by creating liking for the source, ironic wisecracks will enhance persuasion by serving as a distraction from counterarguments, and self-effacing humor will enhance persuasion by improving source credibility. JIM LYTTLE, “The Effectiveness of Humor in Persuasion,” *Journal of General Psychology*, April 2001.
649. [In the] elaboration likelihood model, receivers assess persuasive messages differently depending on (among other things) their involvement with the issue. If the issue is salient to them, then they will focus systematically on the message itself and analyze it according to traditional criteria such as logos, pathos, and ethos. ... However, when the issue is less urgent, people are willing to rely on heuristic factors such as source qualities and situational elements. JIM LYTTLE, “The Effectiveness of Humor in Persuasion,” *Journal of General Psychology*, April 2001.



650. The object of oratory is not truth, but persuasion. THOMAS BABINGTON MACAULAY (1800-1859), *The Athenian Orators*, 1824.
651. Logicians may reason about abstractions. But the great mass of men must have images. The strong tendency of the multitude in all ages and nations to idolatry can be explained on no other principle. THOMAS BABINGTON MACAULAY (1800-1859), *Critical and Historical Essays*, 1843.
652. The question of just what characteristics of a screen character will produce fullest identification among viewers is a fascinating and still largely unexplored issue. The ability to lead viewers into identification with the character is a major part of the screenwriter’s skill... ELEANOR E. MACCOBY, “The Effects of the Mass Media,” in *Violence and the Mass Media* (O. Larsen, ed.), 1968.
653. Manipulating the traditions and historic commonalities within a nation, propaganda reiterates mutually respected values, skews events and phenomena to harmonize with the national viewpoint, and reaffirms the correctness of national policies and goals. J. FRED MacDONALD, “Propaganda and Order in Modern Society,” in *Propaganda: A Pluralistic Perspective* (Ted J. Smith, ed), 1989.

654. It is therefore the duty of princes and heads of republics to uphold the foundations of the religion of their countries, for then it is easy to keep their people religious, and consequently well conducted and united. NICCOLO MACHIAVELLI (1469-1527), *Discourses on the First Ten Books of Livy*, 1517.
655. The great majority of mankind is satisfied with the appearances, as though they were realities, and is often even more influenced by the things that seem than by those that are. NICCOLO MACHIAVELLI (1469-1527), *Discourses on the First Ten Books of Livy*, 1517.
656. The vulgar crowd is always taken in by appearances, and the world consists chiefly of the vulgar. NICCOLO MACHIAVELLI (1469-1527), *The Prince*, 1513.
657. Armed prophets always win and unarmed prophets lose. Apart from all [other] factors...it is the nature of people to be fickle; to persuade them of something is easy, but to make them stand fast in that conviction is hard. Hence things must be arranged to that when they no longer believe they can be compelled to believe by force. NICCOLO MACHIAVELLI (1469-1527), *The Prince*, 1513.
658. Men are so simple of mind, and so much dominated by their immediate needs, that a deceitful man will always find plenty who are ready to be deceived... The masses are always impressed by the superficial appearance of things... NICCOLO MACHIAVELLI (1469-1527), *The Prince*, 1513.
659. One of the great secrets of the day is to know how to take possession of popular prejudices and passions, in such a way as to introduce a confusion of principles which makes impossible all understanding between those who speak the same language and have the same interests. NICCOLO MACHIAVELLI (1469-1527), *The Prince*, 1513.
660. [Myth is] the value-impregnated beliefs and notions that men hold, that they live by or live for. Every society is held together by a myth-system, a complex of dominating thought-forms that determines and sustains all its activities. All social relations, the very textures of human society, are myth-born and myth-sustained. ROBERT M. MACIVER, *The Web of Government*, 1947.
661. Give me the writing of a nation's advertising and propaganda, and I care not who governs its politics. HUGH MACLENNAN, *MacLean's*, 5 November 1960.
662. Television feeds us poison ivy by lying to us about what life is really like, what people are really like. Communication between people is increasingly out of sync. Television has lied to us about ourselves, and because it shovels information at us in such quantities so relentlessly and with such impact, we believe it instead of believing our own guts. We find it harder to understand each other. We find it harder to understand ourselves. LORING MANDEL, "Television Pollutes Us All", *New York Times*, 25 March 1970.
663. It is almost impossible for public opinion to form any kind of verdict based on actual facts. Newspapers nowadays use facts merely as the raw material of propaganda. By suppression, or alteration, or overemphasis, or by the trick of false perspective, or by scare headlines and editorial comment, the "facts" are made to convey exactly the particular idea which the newspaper desires to suggest to its readers. A. E. MANDER, *Public Enemy The Press*, 1944.
664. Living within artificial, reconstructed, arbitrary environments that are strictly the products of human conception, we have no way to be sure that we know what is true and what is not. We have lost context and perspective. What we know is what other humans tell us. Therefore, whoever controls the processes of re-creation, effectively defines reality for everyone else, and creates the entire world of human experience, our field of knowledge. We become subject to them. The confinement of our

experience becomes the basis of their control of us. JERRY MANDER, *Four Arguments For The Elimination of Television*, 1978.

665. Television limits and confines human knowledge. It changes the way humans receive information from the world. In place of natural multidimensional information reception, it offers a very narrow-gauged sense experience, diminishing the amount and kind of information people receive. Television keeps awareness contained within its own rigid channels, a tiny fraction of the natural information field. Because of television we believe we know more, but we know less. JERRY MANDER, *Four Arguments For The Elimination of Television*, 1978.
666. I don't think the advertisers have any real idea of their power not only to reflect but also to mold society. MARYA MANNES, *But Will It Sell?*, 1964.
667. People's reactions to contemporary information will be affected by the order in which they receive that information. ... Information received first will affect the encoding of later information. GEORGE E. MARCUS, et. al., *With Malice Towards Some: How People Make Civil Liberties Judgments*, 1995.
668. Symbols that evoke basic and fundamental responses include such stimuli as "communists," "the KKK," "drug kingpins," "Woodstock," "homeboys," and "Saddam." These symbols are powerful, so much so that when linked to less emotionally charged stimuli, they can extend their reach quite broadly. GEORGE E. MARCUS, et. al., *With Malice Towards Some: How People Make Civil Liberties Judgments*, 1995.
669. Introjection implies the existence of an inner dimension distinguished from and even antagonistic to the external exigencies – an individual consciousness and an individual unconscious apart from public opinion and behavior. The idea of "inner freedom" here has its reality: it designates the private space in which man may become and remain "himself." HERBERT MARCUSE (1898-1979), *One-Dimensional Man: Studies in the Ideology of Advanced Industrial Society*, 1964.
670. Mass production and mass distribution claim the *entire* individual, and industrial psychology has long since ceased to be confined to the factory. ... The result is, not adjustment but *mimesis*, an immediate identification of the individual with *his* society and, through it, with the society as a whole. HERBERT MARCUSE (1898-1979), *One-Dimensional Man: Studies in the Ideology of Advanced Industrial Society*, 1964.
671. The behaviorist is inclined to ask, "What has the subject learned to do?" The cognitivist, on the other hand, would be inclined to ask, "How has the subject learned to perceive the situation?" The cognitivist is interested in examining a learning situation in terms of such factors as motivation, the personality of the subject – in short, the entire range of the subject's psychological field. ROM J. MARKIN, JR., *Consumer Behavior: A Cognitive Orientation*, 1974.
672. While tactical victories may be won by tricks and perversions of the truth, strategy demands a long-distance and coherent war policy, into the framework of which all propaganda should fall. ... propaganda must be based on a long-term calculation of realities ... it must be consistent with geographic, economic and psychological facts; ... whatever propaganda you make for the war will dog your steps in the peace and after it. KINGSLEY MARTIN (1897-1969), *Propaganda's Harvest*, 1941.
673. The interpretation of our reality through patterns not our own, serves only to make us ever more unknown, ever less free, ever more solitary. GABRIEL GARCIA MARQUEZ, *Nobel Prize Lecture*, 8 December 1982.

674. I can only insist that many of us genuinely shared a dream in those days, that together we imagined that it was possible to create an open and democratic culture. And the center of that dream was rock & roll. DAVID MARSH, *Before I Get Old: The Story of the Who*, 1983.
675. This impact of mass media – the ability to effect cognitive change among individuals – has been labeled the agenda-setting function of mass communication. Here may lie the most important effect of modern mass communication, the ability of media to structure our world for us. MAXWELL E. McCOMBS & DONALD L. SHAW, quoted in *The Effects of Mass Communication on Political Behavior* (Sidney Kraus & Dennis Davis), 1976.
676. In choosing and displaying news, editors, newsroom staff, and broadcasters play an important part in shaping political reality. Readers learn not only about a given issue, but also how much importance to attach to that issue from the amount of information in a news story and its position. In reflecting what candidates are saying during a campaign, the mass media may determine the important issues -- that is, the media may set the “agenda” of the campaign. MAXWELL E. McCOMBS & DONALD L. SHAW, “The Agenda-Setting Function of Mass Media,” *Public Opinion Quarterly*, Summer, 1972.
677. This basic, primitive notion of agenda-setting is a truism. If the media tell us nothing about a topic or event, then in most cases it will simply not exist in our personal agenda or in our life space. MAXWELL E. McCOMBS, “Agenda-Setting Research: A Bibliographic Essay,” *Political Communications Review*, 1976.
678. Persuasion as a means of control always involves the introduction of a consideration not materially relevant to the situation but deliberately made relevant. The persuader must deliberately create and alleviate discomforts in order to control behavior. NEIL A. McDONALD, *Politics: A Study of Control Behavior*, 1965.
679. With the coming of television, and the knowledge of how it could be used to seduce voters, the old political values disappeared. Something new, murky, undefined started to rise from the mists. JOE MCGINNIS, *The Selling of the President*, 1969.
680. It is not surprising ... that politicians and advertising men should have discovered one another. And, once, they recognized that the citizen did not so much vote for a candidate as make a psychological purchase of him, not surprising that they began to work together.... JOE MCGINNIS, *The Selling of the President*, 1969.
681. Advertising, in many ways, is a con game, too. Human beings do not need new automobiles every third year; a color television brings little enrichment of the human experience; a higher or lower headline no expansion of consciousness, no increase in the capacity to love. ... It is not surprising, then, that politicians and advertising men should have discovered one another. JOE MCGINNIS, *The Selling of the President*, 1969.
682. Once we have surrendered our senses and nervous systems to the private manipulation of those who would try to benefit from taking a lease on our eyes and ears and nerves, we don't really have any rights left. Leasing our eyes and ears and nerves to commercial interests is like handing over the common speech to a private corporation, or like giving the earth's atmosphere to a company as a monopoly. MARSHALL McLUHAN (1911-1980), *Understanding Media*, 1964.
683. “The Medium is the Message” because it is the medium that shapes and controls the search and form of human associations and actions. MARSHALL McLUHAN (1911-1980), *Understanding Media*, 1964.

684. Today the tyrant rules not by club or fist but, disguised as a market researcher, he shepherds his flock in the ways of utility and comfort. MARSHALL McLuhan (1911-1980), *The Mechanical Bride*, 1951.
685. The effects of technology do not occur at the level of opinions or concepts, but alter sense ratios or patterns of perception steadily and without resistance. MARSHALL McLuhan (1911-1980), *Understanding Media*, 1964.
686. The successor to politics will be propaganda. Propaganda, not in the sense of a message or ideology, but as the impact of the whole technology of the times. MARSHALL McLuhan (1911-1980), *MacLean's*, June 1971.
687. Politics will eventually be replaced by imagery. The politician will be only too happy to abdicate in favor of his image, because the image will be much more powerful than he could ever be. MARSHALL McLuhan (1911-1980).
688. The citizen's right to choose presupposed the available of alternatives from which a meaningful selection could be made, and a rational, knowledgeable electorate capable of exercising its rights. Democracy was real, in other words, only when it involved the participation of an informed, rational electorate. BRIAN McNAIR, *An Introduction to Political Communication*, 1995.
689. To say that the media have important cognitive and agenda-setting effects in modern democracies is perhaps, by this stage of our history, a statement of the obvious. BRIAN McNAIR, *An Introduction to Political Communication*, 1995.
690. The media are active in defining political 'reality.' Through the processes of newsgathering and production described in the previous chapter, the audience is finally presented with a 'finished' articulation of what 'really' matters in political affairs at any given time. Journalists communicate to us the 'meaning' of politics. They insert the events of political life into *narrative frameworks* which allow them to be told as news stories. BRIAN McNAIR, *An Introduction to Political Communication*, 1995.
691. Control of the mass media offers several important possibilities. First, the media can attract and direct attention to problems, solutions or people in ways that can favour those with power and correlatively divert attention from rival individuals and groups. Second, the mass media can confer status and confirm legitimacy. Third ... the media can be a channel for persuasion and mobilization. Fourth, the mass media can help to bring certain kinds of publics into being and maintain them. DENIS McQUAIL, *Media Performance: Mass Communication and the Public Interest*, 1992.
692. It's clearly destructive to any sense of community when we come to know Roseanne's TV family better than we know the real-life neighbors next door. MICHAEL MEDVED, *Policy Review*, Winter 1995.
693. The curse of man, and clearly the cause of nearly all of his woes, is his stupendous capacity for believing the incredible. H. L. MENCKEN (1800-1956), *A Mencken Chrestomathy*, 1949.
694. A sound American is simply one who has put out of his mind all doubts and questionings, and who accepts instantly, and as incontrovertible gospel, the whole body of official doctrine of his day, whatever it may be and no matter how often it may change. H. L. MENCKEN (1880-1956), *Baltimore Evening Sun*, 12 March 1923.

695. The public, with its yearning to be instructed, edified, and pulled by the nose, demands certainties. H. L. MENCKEN (1880-1956), *Prejudices*, 1924.
696. The whole aim of practical politics is to keep the populace alarmed (and hence clamorous to be led to safety) by menacing it with an endless series of hobgoblins, all of them imaginary. H. L. MENCKEN (1800-1956), *The Smart Set*, December 1921.
697. Speech can be a form of direct magic strategy – naming of things and persons to reduce them and hence their threatening aspects. Man uses vilification, cursing, and excommunication in his magic need to control. JOOST A. MERLOO, “Contributions of Psychiatry,” *Human Communication Theory: Original Essays*, 1967.
698. The word serves as camouflage and defense mechanism. It fills the need to deceive, disguise, to utter falsehoods, to conceal thought or absence of thought, to confuse others. Not being understood often gives the feeling of magic power. This is why we so often use redundancy to suppress meaning and to gain in magic power. JOOST A. MERLOO, “Contributions of Psychiatry,” *Human Communication Theory: Original Essays*, 1967.
699. In my own experience, I have been amazed to see how unrealistic are the bases for political opinion in general. Only rarely have I found a person who has chosen any particular political party -- democratic or totalitarian -- through study and comparison of principles. JOOST A. MERLOO, *The Rape Of The Mind*, 1956.
700. Man, the symbolizing animal, often mistakes the map for the land, the symbol for the real thing. There even lives in man the desire for symbols only rather than for the thing itself. In his labelomania – his urge to tack names and labels on everything – he runs away from action and reality. JOOST A. MERLOO, “Contributions of Psychiatry,” *Human Communication Theory* [Frank Dance, Ed], 1967.
701. The more an individual feels himself to be part of the group, the more easily can he become the victim of mass suggestion. This is why primitive communications, which have a high degree of social integration and identification, are so sensitive to suggestion. JOOST A. MERLOO, *The Rape Of The Mind*, 1956.
702. *Use of Stereotypes*: The mass media, in their news and interpretation aspects, simplify the reality of events with regularity. The present men and events as one dimensional and static. They not only create stereotypes but they perpetuate and spread them through repetition and emphasis. The journalist who wants to propagandize finds this an easy and effective tactic. JOHN C. MERRILL & RALPH L. LOWENSTEIN, *Media Messages and Men: New Perspectives in Communication*, 1971.
703. Political conditioning should not be confused with training, persuasion, or even indoctrination. It is more than that. It is taming. It is taking possession of both the simplest and most complicated nervous patterns of man ... The totalitarian wants first the required response from the nerve cells, then control of the individual and finally control of the masses. JOOST MERLOO, *Mental Seduction and Menticide: The Psychology of Thought Control and Brainwashing*, 1957.
704. *Biased Photographs*: Present your heroes from the best perspective, smiling, positive, calm. Show your enemies from the worst possible perspective, frowning, negative, nervous. Photographs may not lie, but they can mislead. They, like facts and quotations in a story, can be selected for a purpose. Anyone who has ever taken news photographs or shot television film knows that the potential for propaganda is extremely great. JOHN C. MERRILL & RALPH LOWENSTEIN, *Media Messages and Men: New Perspectives in Communication*, 1971.



705. Objectivity is a show of good faith. It is the conscious attempt on the part of the reporter to be objective; it indicates a desire, an ideal on the part of the reporter. And, the objectivists insist, if the reporter does not keep trying to be objective he will slip quickly and deeply into the slough of pure opinion, carelessness, and polemic. JOHN C. MERRILL & RALPH LOWENSTEIN, *Media Messages and Men: New Perspectives in Communication*, 1971.
706. [tactics of the technicians in sentiment] typically ... seek out sources of guilt and inner conflict among her listeners and direct their thrusts toward these areas of moral vulnerability. Having reinforced the conflict, they at once suggest a ready solution. ... By utilizing the tensions between disinterested moral obligation and narrow self-interest, they motivate the listener to follow their suggestion. An immediate act promises surcease from moral conflict. ROBERT K. MERTON, *Mass Persuasion*, 1946.
707. For the fully-developed, well-trained Communist, there is no conceivable area of life, of action, even of speculation, in which the judicious use of Marxist-Leninist theory cannot quickly yield certainties and clarities which fit with precision into the well-ordered pattern of his total outlook. FRANK S. MEYER, *The Moulding of Communists*, 1961.
708. The first studies warning that cigarettes were a health hazard appeared during the early 1950s. Ted Bates & Company, whose largest client at the time was Brown & Williamson Tobacco, stood to lose a lot of money if the public took this research seriously and cut down on its smoking. ... Determined not to let this happen [they] countered...by developing a "reassurance campaign" for Viceroy cigarettes. ... The copywriter's sales pitch sounded so authoritative that it convinced millions of people to continue puffing away. WILLIAM MEYERS, *The Image Makers: Power & Persuasion on Madison Avenue*, 1984.
709. Obedience is the psychological mechanism that links individual action to political purpose. It is the dispositional cement that binds men to systems of authority. STANLEY MILGRAM, *Obedience To Authority*, 1974.
710. A substantial proportion of people do what they are told to do, irrespective of the content of the act and without limitations of conscience, so long as they perceive that the command comes from a legitimate authority. STANLEY MILGRAM, *Obedience to Authority*, 1974.
711. A person who, with inner conviction, loathes stealing, killing and assault may find himself performing these acts with relative ease when commanded by authority. Behavior that is unthinkable in an individual who is acting on his own may be executed without hesitation when carrying out orders... STANLEY MILGRAM, *Obedience to Authority*, 1974.
712. Facts of recent history and observation in daily life suggest that, for many people, obedience may be a deeply ingrained behavior tendency, indeed a prepotent impulse overriding training or ethics, sympathy and moral considerations. STANLEY MILGRAM, *Obedience to Authority*, 1974.
713. Deceptive communication strives for persuasive ends; or, stated more precisely, deceptive communication is a general persuasive strategy that aims at influencing the beliefs, attitudes, and behaviors of others by means of deliberate message distortion. GERALD R. MILLER & JAMES B. STIFF, *Deceptive Communication*, 1993.
714. The principle distinction between argument and persuasion [is that] argument seeks to clarify thought, while persuasion often seeks to obscure it. Argument relies upon evidence or widely accepted truths and does not necessarily dictate any one particular course of action. Persuasion, on the other hand, can work altogether independent of the facts as we know them ... and is almost always designed to inspire action. ROBERT K. MILLER, *The Informed Argument*, 1992.

715. Persuasion is ... a form of domination. Its object is to make people agree with the will of the persuader, regardless of whether the persuader is “right” or simply selling his or her services by the hour. ROBERT K. MILLER, *The Informed Argument*, 1992.
716. A term becomes *loaded* when it is asked to carry more emotional weight than its context can legitimately support. A loaded term is a word or phrase that goes beyond connotation into the unconvinced world of the heavy handed and narrow minded. To put it simply, it is *slanted* or *biased*. ROBERT K. MILLER, *The Informed Argument*, 1992.
717. The power elite is not so noticeable as the celebrities, and often does not want to be; the “power” of the professional celebrity is the power is distraction. C. WRIGHT MILLS (1916-1962), *The Power Elite*, 1956.
718. Two things are needed in a democracy: articulate and knowledgeable publics, and political leaders who if not men of reason are at least reasonably responsible to such knowledgeable publics as exist. C. WRIGHT MILLS (1916-1962), *The Power Elite*, 1956.
719. Little difference exists in their mind between what they have seen and what they have thought. Chains of unconnected facts are fitted together. An inoperable course from the imagination to supposition to suspicion takes place, and soon a system of invalid and unshakable belief has been created. THEODORE MILTON, *Disorders of Personality*, 1982.
720. The inability to draw a strong, sharp line between journalism and show business -- which is ultimately to say, between fact and fiction - - is one of the most critical problems in modern-day American journalism because of the crucial role television occupies in conveying news. DALE MINOR, *The Information War*, 1970.
721. [Persuasion is] discourse, written or oral, in which the author controls all appropriate communication variables in an attempt to determine the response of the receiver toward a particular choice of belief or conduct. WAYNE C. MINNICK, *The Art of Persuasion*, 1968.
722. A slogan is a short is a short, catchy phrase or sentence intended for general consumption and often designed to terminate thought and promote action in favor of the slogan maker. MALCOLM G. MITCHELL, *Propaganda, Polls, and Public Opinion*, 1970.
723. The most effective way of attacking vice is to expose it to ridicule. We can stand rebukes, but not laughter; we don't mind seeming wicked, but we hate to look silly. MOLIERE (1622-1673), *Tartuffe*, 1664.
724. The news media increases control when it acts as a prophet, using its alleged vision to predict what will happen and thereby direct the public's thinking. Forecasting is frequently used to create or spice up a story. Whether intended or not, forecasting often guides the citizenry to decisions. PAUL MONGERSON, *The Power Press: Its Impact on America*, 1997.
725. The media says much about lobbying politicians and nothing about influencing journalists. This does not mean journalists are not subjected to special interest pressure. It only means the media does not talk about it. PAUL MONGERSON, *The Power Press: Its Impact on America*, 1997.
726. On TV, knowing what is news, entertainment, fiction and advocacy can be very difficult. There is a new genre of TV show known as infotainment. They have a format indicating they are news shows,

but many of their stories report rumor and entertain more than inform. PAUL MONGERSON, *The Power Press: Its Impact on America*, 1997.

727. The detectable warning signs that the “news” is propaganda is any use of labels, inferences, false associations or unidentified sources instead of logic to make a point. Other warning flags should go up when the journalist acts like a prophet, mind reader or judge. Any guesses about a subjects motivation is an alert to either propaganda or a manufactured story. PAUL MONGERSON, *The Power Press: Its Impact on America*, 1997.
728. What kind of truth is this which is true on one side of the mountain and false on the other? MICHEL de MONTAIGNE (1533-1592), *Essays*, 1580.
729. Lying is an accursed vice. It is only our words which bind us together and makes us human. If we realized the horror and weight of lying we would see that it is more worthy of the stake than other crimes. MICHEL de MONTAIGNE (1533-1592), *Essays*, 1580.
730. All human society amounts to manipulation of human beings by each other. Everything depends upon who is doing the manipulating and for what purpose. BARRINGTON MOORE, JR., *Injustice: The Social Basis of Obedience and Revolt*, 1973.
731. Bait and switch – a method by which the gullible are led to believe one thing; or are offered one product; or are offered an inducement; but sadly are shorn like so many sheep when expectations and reality diverge. DOMINIC W. MOREO, *Games of Persuasion*, 2000.
732. For propagandists it is important to obliterate distinctions between molehills and mountains or between minor and major matters. DOMINIC W. MOREO, *Games of Persuasion*, 2000.
733. The daily bombardment of television commercials, political announcements, sermons, and editorials constantly enjoins us with appeals to our feelings and emotions: anxiety, guilt, sympathy, psychological well-being, physical comfort, security, pleasure, joy. A plethora of injunctions are aimed at attributes of loyalty, generosity, devotion, compassion, dedication, and patriotism. C. D. MORTENSEN, *Communication: The Study of Human Interaction*, 1972.
734. [History will see advertising] “as one of the real evil things in our time. It is stimulating people constantly to want things, want this, want that. MALCOLM MUGGERIDGE (1903-1990), quoted in *The Want Makers: Inside the World of Advertising*, 1988.
735. As is ever the case with deceit, the camera’s deceitfulness varies in direct ration with its plausibility; because it has the reputation of not being able to lie, it lies the more effectively. In this sense, “good” photographs are more harmful than bad ones, and the greater the photographer the greater is liable to be the lie projected. MALCOLM MUGGERIDGE (1903-1990), in “Introduction,” *The Man From M.A.L.I.C.E.* (David Levine), 1966.
736. Governmental constraints on political communication, the mobilization of bias by powerful interests, and the commercial character of the media create a situation where news items that would invite challenges of the status quo are either omitted or embedded in interpretations which depreciate them. CLAUS MUELLER, *The Politics of Communication*, 1973.
737. The true propagandist is almost invariably a man of action. His words are directed toward action, are indeed a form of action, and he constantly tends to participate in the action which his words inspire. GORHAM MUNSON, *Twelve Decisive Battles of the Mind*, 1942.

738. Our minds are continually active, fabricating an anxious, usually self-preoccupied veil which partially conceals the world. IRIS MURDOCH (1919-1999), *The Sovereignty of Good*, 1970.
739. In the struggle for existence there are no philosophical sentimentalities, but only the wish to kill off one's opponent by the shortest and most practical method. There, everyone is a positivist. ROBERT MUSIL (1880-1942), *The Man Without Qualities*, 1930.
740. A politician is...trained in the art of inexactitude. His words tend to be blunt or rounded, because if they have a cutting edge they may later return to wound him. EDWARD R. MURROW (1908-1965), *Speech*, 19 October 1959.
741. [M]ass media play an indispensable role in the construction of social problems in the public mind. Their role in helping to create an impersonal social reality is more clear when there is evidence that public reality is operating independently of the aggregate of private realities. DIANA C. MUTZ, *Impersonal Influence: How Perceptions of Mass Collectives Affect Political Attitudes*, 1998.
742. By making some issues more accessible in people's minds than others, news priorities prime the public to attach greater weight to certain issues when they evaluate the performance of political leaders. DIANA C. MUTZ, *Impersonal Influence: How Perceptions of Mass Collectives Affect Political Attitudes*, 1998.
743. Preconceptions may control interpretations. Typically, reporters "go after an idea," which may then affect how they interpret information. Beginning with the idea..., a reporter may interpret ambiguous information accordingly while discounting other complicating factors. DAVID G. MYERS, *Social Psychology*, 1993.



744. History is the version of past events that people have decided to agree upon. NAPOLEON BONAPARTE (1769-1821).
745. Religion is excellent stuff for keeping the common people quiet. NAPOLEON BONAPARTE (1769-1821), *Maxims*, 1815.
746. There are different ways of assassinating a man -- by pistol, sword, poison, or moral assassination. They are the same in their results except that the last is more cruel. NAPOLEON BONAPARTE (1769-1821), *Maxims*, 1815.
747. In the East, where people have grown accustomed to thinking primarily in images, the cinema is the sole possible means to propaganda because it does not require the preliminary, gradual preparation of the masses. The Eastern peasant accepts everything that he sees on the screen as the most fundamental and genuine reality. NARIMAN NARIMANOV, in *The Politics of Soviet Cinema, 1917-1929* (Richard Taylor), 1979.
748. Only fools, pure theorists, or apprentices in moral philosophy fail to take public opinion into account in their public undertakings. JACQUES NECKER (1732-1804).
749. Slogans are apt to petrify man's thinking...every slogan, every word almost, that is used by the socialist, the communist, the capitalist. People hardly think nowadays. They throw words at each other. JAWAHARLAL NEHRU (1889-1964), Prime Minister of India.

750. Nothing is more common than for men to think that because they are familiar with words, they understand the ideas they stand for. JOHN HENRY NEWMAN (1801-1890).
751. It is not in human nature to deceive others for a long time without in a measure deceiving ourselves. JOHN HENRY NEWMAN (1801-1890), *Parochial and Plain Sermons*, 1837-1842.
752. Ideology arises in association with processes of communication and exchange. ... Ideology uses the fabrication of images and the process of representation to persuade us that how things are is how they ought to be and place provided for us is the place we ought to have. BILL NICHOLS, *Ideology and the Image*, 1981.
753. The cinema is a kind of communication overlapping numerous other categories: art, entertainment, essay, myth, propaganda, and advertising. ... Its goal is to render possible changes in our ways of seeing that will help unveil the political implications of acts we have either taken for granted or excised from the realm of the "really" political... BILL NICHOLS, *Ideology and the Image*, 1981.
754. Morality is the best of all devices for leading mankind by the nose. FRIEDRICH NIETZSCHE (1844-1900), *The Anti-Christ*, 1895.
755. With all great deceivers there is a noteworthy occurrence to which they owe their power. In the actual act of deception they are overcome by belief in themselves: it is this which then speaks miraculously and compellingly to those who surround them. FRIEDRICH NIETZSCHE (1844-1900), 1878.
756. The beating of drums, which delights young writers who serve a party, sounds to him who does not belong to the party line like a rattling of chains, and excites sympathy rather than admiration. FRIEDRICH NIETZSCHE (1844-1900), *Miscellaneous Maxims and Opinions*, 1879.
757. In man [the] art of simulation reaches its peak: here deception, flattery, lying and cheating, talking behind the back, posing, living in borrowed splendor, being masked, the disguise of convention, acting a role before others and before oneself. ... They are deeply immersed in illusions and dream images; their eye glides only over the surface of things and sees 'forms'; their feeling nowhere leads into truth, but contents itself with the reception of stimuli, playing, as it were, a game of blindman's bluff on the backs of things. FRIEDRICH NIETZSCHE (1844-1900), *On Truth and Lie in an Extra-Moral Sense*.
758. One of the important ethical problems associated with persuasion ... stems from the difficulty of deciding where persuasion ends and coercion begins. It is hard to determine whether there are forces operating from the outside or inside that are in a real sense "forcing" a particular choice. If, for example, a man fears reprisal for following a course of action, he may still be "free" to act or not, but it is a moot question whether his decision is a result of free choice or of coercion. THOMAS R. NILSEN, *Ethics of Speech Communication*, 1974.
759. If freedom of choice is to have meaning there must be adequate information upon which to base the choice, and if self-determination is to have meaning there must be significant alternatives whose implications are known among which to choose. THOMAS R. NILSEN, "Free Speech, Persuasion, and the Democratic Process," *Quarterly Journal of Speech* 44, 1958.
760. [Democratic rhetoric means] more than the usual expenditures, public and private, must be made to create channels through which adequate information can flow. It means fostering more debate. ... It means more explicit statements of meanings and more adequate statements about sources of information. THOMAS R. NILSEN, "Persuasion and Human Rights," *Western Speech Communication Journal* 24, 1960.

761. The highly involved individual contrasts opposing views with his own and resists any persuasive effort to change; the less-committed person, however, assimilates alternative positions into his own point of view and accepts any one of a broad range of options as suitable behavior, without changing the attitude with which he has a low degree of involvement. ... Following this reasoning, then, the purpose of persuasion is not to change the attitudes of the committed, but to shift the perceptions of voters with low involvement. DAN NIMMO, *The Political Persuaders*, 1970.
762. [T]he thesis that mass media do not change attitudes but only reinforce them cannot be upheld under conditions of consonance and cumulation. ... It is true there exists a tendency to protect attitudes through selective perception. Yet the more selective perception is being restricted – by consonance of reporting and editorial comment, reinforced by cumulation of periodical repetition in the media – the more attitudes can be influenced or molded by the mass media. ELIZABETH NOELLE-NEUMANN, “Return to the Concept of the Powerful Mass Media,” *Studies of Broadcasting* 9 (H. Equchi & K Sata, eds), 1973.
763. The voice of protest, of warning, of appeal is never more needed than when the clamor of fife and drum, echoed by the press and too often by the pulpit, is bidding all men fall in and keep step and obey in silence the tyrannous word of command. Then, more than ever, it is the duty of the good citizen not to be silent. CHARLES ELIOT NORTON, *True Patriotism*, 1898.
764. In Stalin’s Russia, Mao’s China, as in Orwell’s *1984*, the truth is the same as what is “politically correct.” ... Such extreme contempt for truth works away at the distinction between what is true and what is false until the difference is no longer recognizable even to the functionaries. DAVID NYBERG, *The Varnished Truth*, 1993.
765. [The modes of response television evokes] are gestalt, nonanalytic, inarticulate, immediate, present-oriented, nonreflective, and emotional. Television focuses on the interpersonal and the affective, compresses experience, and stress instantaneity. It promotes appositive rather than logical thinking, a high level of excitement, and an intellectually passive response. CHRISTINE L. NYSTROM, “Immediate Man: The Symbolic Environment of Fanaticism,” *ETC: A Review Of General Semantics* 59, 2002.
766. [O]ur culture has undergone a massive shift, in its symbolic environments, from the discursive (rational, analytic, logical, reflective) to non-discursive (gestalt, appositional, emotional, presentational) forms of information and response. CHRISTINE L. NYSTROM, “Immediate Man: The Symbolic Environment of Fanaticism,” *ETC: A Review of General Semantics* 59, 2002.



767. [Persuasion is] a complex, interactive process in which a sender and a receiver are linked by verbal and non-verbal symbols through which the persuader attempts to influence the persuadee to change a response. VICTORIA O'DONNELL & J. KABLE, *Persuasion: An Interactive Dependency Approach*, 1982.
768. Give people a taste of Old Crow, and tell them it's Old Crow. Then give them another taste of Old Crow, but tell them it's Jack Daniel's. Ask them which they prefer. They'll think the two drinks are quite different. They are tasting images. DAVID OGILVY (1911-1999), *Ogilvy On Advertising*, 1985.

769. There is one category of advertising which is totally uncontrolled and flagrantly dishonest: the television commercials for candidates in Presidential elections. DAVID OGILVY (1911-1999), *Ogilvy On Advertising*, 1985.
770. Propaganda is any effort to change opinions or attitudes...The propagandist is anyone who communicates his ideas with the intent of influencing others. MARBURY B. OGLE, *Public Opinion and Political Dynamics*, 1950.
771. Abstraction may be defined as the process of using language or word symbols to take the place of real objects and the manipulation of these word symbols as if they were real. MARBURY B. OGLE, *Public Opinion and Political Dynamics*, 1950.
772. One of the most worrisome problems connected with democracy both as an ideology as a working form of government has always been occasioned by the belief that the citizen-at-large, the so-called "average man," is capable of arriving at opinions by means of rational, relatively unemotional thought processes. Indeed, as we have seen, democracy as a form of government is especially dependent upon an "informed" public opinion for its successful functioning. MARBURY B. OGLE, *Public Opinion and Political Dynamics*, 1950.
773. It is the choice of just the right adjective or verb to sum up a situation that evokes from the receiver the response the mass communicator feels should be adopted toward a story. ... The word and the situation it describes become almost inseparable, so that the use of the word triggers a standardized response in the receiver. ROBERT O'HARA, *Media For the Millions*, 1961.
774. The use stock words and phrases to describe the same situations, which give the news an appearance of sameness. The event being described is news, but it is described in terms applied over the years to similar events. The impression of sameness obscures understanding and limits the range of possible responses for the receiver. ROBERT O'HARA, *Media For the Millions*, 1961.
775. His reporting may be 'straight' in that it contains no overt expression of approval or disapproval, but his vocal inflections, intonation and significant pauses, as well as his facial expressions, can frequently have the same effect as an editorial comment. ROBERT O'HARA, *Media For the Millions*, 1961.
776. Message material that *does* induce greater fear or anxiety will, as a rule, enhance the effectiveness of the message. DANIEL J. O'KEEFE, *Persuasion: Theory and Research*, 1990.
777. When two cognitions are in a dissonant relation, the person with those two cognitions is said to have dissonance, or to experience dissonance, or to be in a state of dissonance. Dissonance is taken to be an aversive motivational state; persons will want to avoid experiencing dissonance, and if they do encounter dissonance they will attempt to reduce it. DANIEL J. O'KEEFE, *Persuasion: Theory and Research*, 1990.
778. Admitting that perpetual distrust attends on those who are known to be frequent violators of truth, it seems to me that the liar is, as if he is not. He is, as it were, annihilated for all important purposes of life. That man or woman is no better than a nonentity whose simple assertion is not credited immediately. AMELIA OPIE, *Adeline Mowbray, or the Mother and Daughter*, 1805.
779. There is no place in journalism for the dissembler; the distorter; the prevaricator; the suppressor, or the dishonest thinker. OREGON CODE OF ETHICS FOR JOURNALISM, adopted by the Oregon State Editorial Association, 1922.

780. Words are weapons, and it is dangerous in speculation, as in politics, to borrow them from your enemies. JOSE ORTEGA y GASSET (1883-1955), *Obiter Scripta*, 1936.
781. The whole aim of Newspeak is to narrow the range of thought. In the end we shall make thoughtcrime literally impossible, because there will be no words in which to express it. Every concept that can ever be needed will be expressed by exactly one word, with its meaning rigidly defined and all its subsidiary meanings rubbed out and forgotten. GEORGE ORWELL (1903-1950), *Nineteen Eighty-Four*, 1949.
782. A person growing up with Newspeak as his sole language would no more know that equal had once had the secondary meaning of “politically equal,” or that free had once meant “intellectual free.” GEORGE ORWELL (1903-1950), *Nineteen Eighty-Four*, 1949.
783. The real enemies of the working class are not those who talk them in a too highbrow manner; they are those who try to trick them into identifying their interests with those of their exploiters. GEORGE ORWELL (1903-1950), *Collected Essays, Journalism and Letters*, 1968.
784. Propaganda is not only a means by which states and organizations can sustain their power and continuity, but also offers their miniature enemies a means of opposing them, such as the propaganda of direct action, and also, for anyone who can afford a computer, cyber-propaganda. NICHOLAS JACKSON O'SHAUGHNESSY, *Politics and Propaganda: Weapons of Mass Seduction*, 2004.
785. Much of propaganda works, essentially, by subversion. Never in fact was the word more appropriate, since propaganda will rarely succeed by directly challenging a deeply held belief or value, but rather proceeds by misrepresentation that insinuates the individual's ideological defences. Gaining agreement with a certain definition and the ideological perspective it illuminates is the key, then perfectly logical arguments can then be deployed (and this essentially is what the activity of spin-doctoring refers to). NICHOLAS JACKSON O'SHAUGHNESSY, *Politics and Propaganda: Weapons of Mass Seduction*, 2004.
786. In elections where people's enduring commitments are relevant, political propaganda generally serves merely to reinforce their existing attitudes. But in elections where enduring commitments are not called into play, attitudes and votes are more labile, and political persuasion may have major effects. STUART OSKAMP, *Attitudes and Opinions*, 1977.
787. Each one of us has a very limited range of experiences which we have actually participated in first-hand. Beyond that range, all of our knowledge, beliefs and attitudes come from others, and the great majority probably come from some mass communication medium (ranging from books to billboards to radio and television). STUART OSKAMP, *Attitudes and Opinions*, 1977.
788. Advertising depends upon the simple precepts of human persuasion. And these have to do, for the most part, with treating the other party as a unique, important individual letting him recognize your distinct positive identity and starting off by getting him nodding in agreement. JOHN O'TOOLE, *The Trouble With Advertising*, 1981.
789. Political commercials encourage the deceptive, the destructive and the degrading. JOHN O'TOOLE, in *The Want Makers: The Inside World of Advertising* (Eric Clark), 1988.
790. [Myth] serves as a symbolic statement about the social order, and as such it reinforces social cohesion and functional unity by presenting and justifying the traditional order. Mythic discourse reminds a community of its own identity through the public process of specifying and defining for



that community its distinctive social norms. Whether or not people believe in the irrational content is myth is irrelevant, for the symbols of myth have metaphoric value and serve a crucial social function in maintaining the given social order. JOANNA OVERING, "The Role of Myth: An Anthropological Perspective," in *Myths and Nationhood* (Hosking & Schopflin), 1997.

791. *Disinformation, noun.* The dissemination of deliberately false information, esp. when supplied by a government or its agent to a foreign power or to the media, with the intention of influencing the policies or opinions of those who receive it; false information so supplied. *OXFORD ENGLISH DICTIONARY*, 2<sup>nd</sup> Edition, 1989.
792. *Opinion.* What one thinks or how one thinks about something; judgment rested on grounds insufficient for complete demonstration; belief of something as probable, or seeming to one's own mind to be true, though not certain or established. (Distinguished from *knowledge, conviction, or certainty*; but sometimes = belief). *OXFORD ENGLISH DICTIONARY*, n.d.
793. *Propaganda, noun.* The systematic propagation of information or ideas by an interested party, esp. in a tendentious way in order to encourage or instill a particular attitude or response. Also, the ideas, doctrines, etc., disseminated thus; the vehicle of such propagation. *OXFORD ENGLISH DICTIONARY*, 2<sup>nd</sup> Edition, 1989.

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794. The cosmetic manufacturers are not selling lanolin: they are selling hope... We no longer buy oranges, we buy vitality. We do not buy just an auto, we buy prestige. VANCE PACKARD (1914-1996), *The Hidden Persuaders*, 1957.
795. Large-scale efforts are being made, often with impressive success, to channel our unthinking habits, our purchasing decisions, and our thought processes by the use of insights gleaned from psychiatry and the social sciences. Typically these efforts take place beneath our level of awareness; so that the appeals which move us are often, in a sense, 'hidden.' VANCE PACKARD (1914-1996), *The Hidden Persuaders*, 1957.
796. Psychological warfare in itself is not a policy, but an instrument. There are things it cannot do. It cannot, in the long run, get away with systemic falsehoods. It cannot impose an alien system of values on one that already exists. It cannot alter basic institutions or satisfy physical needs or permanently substitute words for deeds. SAUL K. PADOVER (1905-1981), "Psychological Warfare and Foreign Policy," in *Propaganda and International Relations* (Urban G. Whitaker, Jr., ed), 1962.
797. A long habit of not thinking a thing wrong, gives it a superficial appearance of being right. THOMAS PAINE (1737-1809), *Common Sense*, 1776.
798. Much of what most adults learn about government – its institutions and members, their activities, decisions, defects, strengths, capabilities – stems from the mass media. The self-same media have the power to decide which issues will be brought before the public, the terms in which they will be presented, and who will participate, under what conditions... DAVID L. PALETZ & ROBERT M. ENTMAN, *Media Power Politics*, 1981.
799. Even decision-makers acquire much of their knowledge about and attitudes toward interest groups from the media. Favorable coverage can generate public sympathy, activate reference groups, encourage existing members to stay and new ones to join, and stimulate financial support and foundation grants. Such coverage makes a group's policy agenda politically salient, legitimizes the

groups demands and actions, and strengthens its ability to influence policy-makers in its favor. DAVID L. PALETZ & ROBERT M. ENTMAN, *Media Power Politics*, 1981.

800. For one person who is impressed by a speech, ten are convinced by a cartoon. Even the best election speech is diffuse, and your ordinary elector finds it as difficult to detect the points as to find a needle in a bundle of hay. But a political cartoon is all point and no padding. PALL MALL GAZETTE, in *The Language of Democracy* (Andrew W. Robertson), 1995.
801. The most pervasive effect of television – aside from its actual content – may be its very existence, its readily available, commanding, and often addictive presence in everybody's home, its ability to reduce hundreds of millions of citizens to passive spectators for major portions of their lives. MICHAEL PARENTI, *Make-Believe Media: The Politics of Entertainment*, 1992.
802. Make-believe. The term connotes the playful fantasies of our childhood, a pleasant way of pretending. But in the world created by movies and television, make-believe takes on a more serious meaning. In some way or another, many people come to believe the fictional things they see on the big and little screens. The entertainment media are the make-believe media; they make us believe. MICHAEL PARENTI, *Make-Believe Media: The Politics of Entertainment*, 1992.
803. Getting repeated justifications from news laws harmonizing with their doctrines, political enthusiasts and unwise philanthropists push their agitations with growing confidence and success. Journalism, ever responsive to popular opinion, daily strengthens it by giving it voice; while counter-opinions, more and more discouraged, finds little utterance. J. NORTHCOTE PARKINSON, *Left Luggage*, 1967.
804. Psychologically, a catch-phrase often plays the part of a cigarette or a pipe in times of fear or nervousness, in periods of stress or distress. In a world momentarily or temporarily strange or bewildering or hostile or dangerous it serves the ordinary person, you and me and the other fellow, much as a floating spar does a shipwrecked mariner or as, to a lonely traveler, a known face glimpsed in a foreign land. ERIC PARTRIDGE (1894-1975), *Words At War, Words Of Peace*, 1948.
805. Arab speech...tends to express ideal thoughts, and to represent what is desired or hoped for as if it were an actual fact. There is thus among the Arabs a relatively greater discrepancy between thought and speech on one hand and action on the other. R. PATAI, *The Arab Mind*, 1973.
806. Emotional factors tend to make us select evidence we like and neglect evidence we don't like. Such an emotionally based partial selection clouds our view of reality and is an error in thinking. BERNARD M. PATTEN, *Truth, Knowledge, Or Just Plain Bull: How To Tell The Difference*, 2004.
807. Association is not enough to understand complex human situations. Further consideration and clear, intelligence thinking are often needed to fully understand the reality and the truth. BERNARD M. PATTEN, *Truth, Knowledge, Or Just Plain Bull: How To Tell The Difference*, 2004.
808. For over a hundred years we have suffered from regimes that have been at the service of feudal oligarchies but have utilized the language of freedom. OCTAVIO PAZ, *The Labyrinth of Solitude*.
809. Psychological warfare uses mental bullets. It is bloodless and inexpensive, sometimes unethical, and often ineffective. It is an offensive weapon that attempts to exploit the enemy's weaknesses to further tactical or strategic ends. STEPHEN E. PEASE, *Psywar: Psychological Warfare in Korea, 1950-1953*, 1992.
810. Your enemy is painted as a big guy beating up the poor little guy, a world power using its limitless might against accepted standards of international behavior. You claim his soldiers are professionals,

murdering without a conscience. They slaughter civilians and drop germs and poison gas. They are planning to nuke you into oblivion. In short, no matter what the “truth” is, you are the oppressed good guy and the enemy of Satan, the image of death. STEPHEN E. PEASE, *Psywar: Psychological Warfare in Korea, 1950-1953*, 1992.

811. He who does not bellow the truth when he knows the truth makes himself the accomplice of liars and forgers. CHARLES PEGUY (1873-1914), *Basic Verities: Prose and Poetry*.
812. Doubt is an uneasy and dissatisfied state from which we struggle to free ourselves and pass into a state of belief; while the latter is a calm and satisfactory state which we do not wish to avoid, or to change to a belief in anything else. CHARLES S. PEIRCE (1839-1914), *The Fixation of Belief*, 1877.
813. Media agendas have a strong impact on those low in political involvement, the segment of the population that has little interest in politics. Lacking the motivation and perhaps the skills to process political information deeply, these citizens take their cues from the media and accept journalists’ views of what is most important. RICHARD M. PERLOFF, *Political Communication: Politics, Press, and Public in America*, 1998.
814. The media frame issues in a variety of ways. The news media may accept, reject, or questions the frames that policymakers employ to interpret events. They may decide, for example, whether to describe urban riots as understandable political protests or intolerable threats to law and order. RICHARD M. PERLOFF, *Political Communication: Politics, Press, and Public in America*, 1998.
815. One of the most powerful ways that attitudes are formed is through association with positive and negative images. Association is the core notion in one of the oldest theories of human learning – classical conditioning. RICHARD M. PERLOFF, *The Dynamics of Persuasion*, 1993.
816. Let the people think they govern and they will be governed. WILLIAM PENN (1644-1718), *Reflections and Maxims*, 1693.
817. The horror is television is that the information goes in, but we don’t react to it. It goes right into our memory pool and perhaps we react to it later, but we don’t know what we’re reacting to. When you watch television you are training yourself not to react and so later on, you’re doing things without knowing why you’re doing them or where they came from. DR ERIK PEPPER, quoted in *Four Arguments For The Elimination of Television*, 1978.
818. The music that is used to enhance a religious is an appropriate tool. It is music as propaganda. In fact, sound itself may be a nonverbal statement of clear intent and effectiveness. ... Beethoven’s choral *Ode to Joy* (titled in the suggestive words of Friedrich Schiller), as used in his Ninth Symphony, was intended to “spread ideas” about the brotherhood of man. ARNOLD PERRIS, *Music as Propaganda: Art to Persuade, Art to Control*, 1985.
819. The most familiar song of the [civil rights] movement, still sung, and one of the most widely known songs of our time, is *We Shall Overcome*. ... The tempo is slow, the tune is easy to sing, and there is much repetition. A skill song leader (and propagandist) can supply topical lines to a sympathetic audience and make a powerful impact. ARNOLD PERRIS, *Music as Propaganda: Art to Persuade, Art to Control*, 1985.
820. Music is doing something to everyone who hears it all the time. It is an art which reaches the emotions easily, often (perhaps always) ahead of intellectual awareness. ... To the modern, urban listener, music is most often a passive experience. ARNOLD PERRIS, *Music as Propaganda: Art to Persuade, Art to Control*, 1985.

821. American society is perhaps the best example of a social in which direct coercion is at a minimum. Here those who wish to control opinions and beliefs turn less to physical force than to mass persuasion in the form of news and views and entertainment. They use the advertising campaign and the public-relations program instead of the threat of firing squad or concentration camp. THEODORE B. PETERSON, et. al, *The Mass Media and Modern Society*, 1965.
822. But even if modern democracies use psychological manipulation instead of totalitarianism's direct and violent forms of social control, the results are not necessarily less effective. Never before have such pervasive and ubiquitous means of communication existed; never before has public opinion been so completely at the mercy of whoever may control the instrument. THEODORE B. PETERSON, et. al, *The Mass Media and Modern Society*, 1965.
823. Those who wish to control opinions and beliefs turn less to physical force than to mass persuasion in the form of news and views and entertainment. They use the advertising campaign and public relations programs instead of the threat of the firing squad or the concentration camp. THEODORE B. PETERSON, et. al, *The Mass Media and Modern Society*, 1965.
824. Have you ever wondered why the first 60 degree F day after a bitterly cold winter seems quite warm, but the first 60 degree F day after an intensely hot summer seems rather cool? Clearly, how we judge something depends upon what we are comparing it to. Our evaluations of social objects are also affected by our comparison points. ... In other words, how positive or negative something feels or how it is rated on some attitude scale depends upon what our frame of reference is. RICHARD E. PETTY & JOHN T. CACIOPPO, *Attitudes and Persuasion: Classic and Contemporary Approaches*, 1996.
825. A child is increasingly persuasible until around the age of eight, after which time the child becomes less persuasible each year until some stable level of persuasibility is reached. RICHARD E. PETTY & JOHN CACIOPPO, *Attitudes and Persuasion: Classic and Contemporary Approaches*, 1996.
826. Because people are often persuaded by the arguments that others in a group discussion generate, an interesting may occur as a result of a face-to-face discussion – *group polarization*. That is, people's attitudes after group discussion are often more extreme than the attitudes held prior to discussion. RICHARD E. PETTY & JOHN CACIOPPO, *Attitudes and Persuasion: Classic and Contemporary Approaches*, 1996.
827. To make their messages more credible, warriors often use "gray propaganda." By influencing media outlets in a target country, a government can launder the origins of its messages and make them appear to come from neutral sources. JOHN J. PITNEY, JR., *The Art of Political Warfare*, 2000.
828. Good analysis requires detachment, a willingness to discount one's own propaganda. For this job, it helps to be a cynic. JOHN J. PITNEY, JR., *The Art of Political Warfare*, 2000.
829. The people have always some champion whom they set over them and nurse into greatness... This and no other is the root from which a tyrant springs; when he first appears he is a protector. PLATO (427-347 B.C.), *The Republic*.
830. To the rulers of the state then, if to any, it belongs of right to use falsehood, to deceive either enemies or their own citizens, for the good of the state; and no one else may meddle with this privilege. PLATO (427-347 B.C.).

831. We must take care, my friend, that the sophist does not deceive us when he praises what he sells, like the dealers ... who sell the food of the body; for they praise indiscriminately all their goods. ... In like manner those who carry about the wares of knowledge, and make the round of the cities, and sell them to any customer who is in want of them, praise them all alike.... PLATO (437-347 B.C.), *Protagoras*.
832. The nose of the mob is its imagination. By this, at any time, it can be quietly led. EDGAR ALLAN POE (1809-1849), *Marginalia*, 1844-49.
833. To vilify a man is the readiest way in which a little man can himself attain greatness. EDGAR ALLAN POE (1809-1849), *Marginalia*, 1844-49.
834. There is nothing magical or sacred about the relationships of a symbol (a word, a coin, a flag, etc.) to the object it represents. H. R. POLLIO, *The Psychology of Symbolic Activity*, 1974.
835. The transmission of knowledge from one generation to the other must be predominantly tacit. MICHAEL POLANYI (1891-1976), *The Tacit Dimension*, 1983.
836. Falsehood is a recognized and extremely useful weapon in warfare, and every country uses it quite deliberately to deceive its own people, to attract neutrals, and to mislead the enemy. ARTHUR PONSONBY (1871-1946), *Falsehood in Wartime*, 1928.
837. O what a tangled web we weave, When first we practice to deceive! But when we've practiced quite a while, How vastly we improve our style. J. R. POPE, *A World Of Encouragement*, 1996.
838. The open society is one in which men have learned to be to some extent critical of taboos, and to base decisions on the authority of their own conscience. KARL POPPER (1902-1994), *The Open Society and Its Enemies*, 1966.
839. Disinformation does not mean false information. It means misleading information -- misplaced, fragmented, irrelevant or superficial information -- information that creates the illusion that one knows something but which, in fact, leads one away from knowing. NEIL POSTMAN, *Kettering Review*, Winter 1987.
840. Tradition is, in fact, nothing but the acknowledgment of the authority of symbols and the relevance of the narratives that gave birth to them. NEIL POSTMAN, *Technopoly*, 1992.
841. What I and people of my kind expect is to be allowed to live our lives in decent privacy. I own newspapers, but I don't like them. I regard them as a constant menace to whatever privacy we have left. Their constant yelping about a free press means, with a few honorable exceptions, freedom to peddle scandal, crime, sex, sensationalism, hate, innuendo and the political and financial uses of propaganda. A newspaper is a business to make money through advertising revenue. That is predicated on its circulation and you know what the circulation is predicated on. HARLAN POTTER, newspaper owner, in *The Long Goodbye* (Raymond Chandler), 1953.
842. In [Soviet] antireligious films of the postwar period, for example, Catholicism was singled out for particular abuse. In *Conspiracy of the Doomed* (1950), a Catholic Cardinal directs a gang of murderers, spies, and saboteurs. In *Dawn Over the Neman* (1952), Catholic clergymen spread poisoned seeds, set fires, conceal murders in their churches, and help those resisting Soviet "liberation" of Lithuania. DAVID E. POWELL, *Antireligious Propaganda in the Soviet Union*, 1975.

843. The [Communist] Party has tried to break down traditional authority patterns and relationships that it considers inappropriate to the modern world, and to develop in their place a new set of attachments. It has chosen to shape the values of an entire people through a massive program of education and indoctrination. DAVID E. POWELL, *Antireligious Propaganda in the Soviet Union*, 1975.
844. Few outsiders who have watched news reporting over any extended period of time doubt that anonymous quotes are occasionally cooked up or rewritten. But it is one of the most difficult offenses to prove since it involves the logical impossibility of proving a nonevent. JODY POWELL, *The Other Side of The Story*, 1984.
845. [Propaganda] is a manipulation designed to lead you to a simplistic conclusion rather than a carefully considered one. It is an abuse of persuasion techniques because it tries to short-circuit critical scrutiny, thoughtful evaluations and counter-arguments. ANTHONY PRATKANIS, *New York Times*, 27 October 1992.
846. Modern propaganda promotes the use of the peripheral route to persuasion and is designed to take advantage of the limited processing abilities of the cognitive miser. The characteristics of modern persuasion – the message-dense environment, the thirty-second ad, the immediacy of persuasion – make it increasingly more difficult to think deeply about important issues and decisions. ANTHONY PRATKANIS and ELLIOT ARONSON, *Age of Propaganda*, 1991.
847. The power of guilt to convince and persuade stems, as with most emotional appeals, from its power to direct our thoughts and to channel our energies. When we feel guilty we typically pay little attention to the cogency of the argument, to the merits of a suggested course of action. Instead, our thoughts and actions are directed to removing the feeling of guilt -- to somehow making things right or doing the right thing. We fall into the rationalization trap. ANTHONY PRATKANIS and ELLIOT ARONSON, *The Age of Propaganda*, 1991.
848. Globalized television and the Internet have created new spheres of public involvement – “virtual” communities – organized around various forms of simulation. Given the increased opportunities for manipulation of mass opinion through propaganda, such forces reflect the art of directed simulation and the propagation of illusion. RAY PRATT, *Projecting Paranoia: Conspiratorial Visions in American Film*, 2001.
849. Television seems to confirm the “reality” of events, which do not seem to have occurred unless shown on television. Thus, by maintaining control over what is “on” television, the public sense of reality is manipulated. ... The content is selected by anonymous individuals from a large and unknown subset of information, according to principles which the audience remain unaware of. RAY PRATT, *Projecting Paranoia: Conspiratorial Visions in American Film*, 2001.
850. The press is the most powerful means for the Communist upbringing of the masses, for the strengthening of their socialist consciousness, speeding up the forward movement of Soviet society, and increasing the sources of its power and glory. The press should inculcate in the people an unwavering and courageous spirit and unyielding faith in our great endeavor. PRAVDA, Soviet Press Day, 1947, quoted in *To Win The Minds of Men* (Peter Grothe), 1958.
851. Once the point was firmly grasped that the real function of censorship was not so much the removal of particular shots but the creation of the desired ‘balance’ with in an apparently unimpeded and unguided flow of information, the full potential of the British news media could be mobilized for war service. NICHOLAS PRONAY, in *Propaganda, Politics and Film: 1918-1945* (Nicholas Pronay & D. W. Spring), 1982.

852. As far as the press was concerned, the point is that the British system of *pre-censorship* as opposed to *post-censorship*, and that it sought to achieve its aims in the first instance by cooperation rather than confrontation with those who produced the newspapers. It was the information upon which the actual stories could be written that was censored rather than the finished article after it had been written. NICHOLAS PRONAY, in *Propaganda, Politics and Film: 1918-1945* (Nicholas Pronay & D. W. Spring), 1982.
853. Each generation writes its own history of the world. This is not because of any pernicious desire to case aside the worldview of their fathers and mothers or even to rewrite history more to their liking! Although these motives may not be totally absent, each generation creates a history differing in significant details from previous versions principally because they came of age under a new set of circumstances. DAVID PROTESS & MAXWELL McCOMBS, *Agenda Setting: Readings on Media, Policymaking and Public Opinion*, 1991.
854. A journalist is the lookout on the bridge of the ship of state. He notes the passing sale, the little things of interest that dot the horizon in fine weather. ... He peers through fog and storm to give warning of dangers ahead. ... He is there to watch over the safety and welfare of the people who trust him. JOSEPH PULITZER, *The North American Review*, 1904.
855. In Europe we felt that our enemies, horrible and deadly as they were, were still people. But over here [the Pacific] I soon gathered that the Japanese were looked upon as something subhuman or repulsive; the way some people feel about cockroaches or mice. ERNIE PYLE (1900-1945), quoted in *Hollywood Goes To War* (Clayton Koppes & Gregory Black), 1987.

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856. Given a greatly expanded franchise, with its corollary of the need to base authority on the support of public opinion, political society invited the attention of the professional controller of public opinion. TERRENCE H. QUALTER, *Propaganda and Psychological Warfare*, 1962.
857. The cliché thus becomes, not a mark of laziness or ignorance, but an essential tool in newspaper communication. Carefully selected, it will almost automatically elicit the desired response from the casual reader. ... The constant repetition of the same phrases to cover certain situations or to convey certain situations saves the reader the effort of thought and interpretation. TERRENCE H. QUALTER, *Propaganda and Psychological Warfare*, 1962,
858. Any act of promotion can be propaganda only if and when it becomes part of a deliberate campaign to influence action through influencing attitudes. Once it is established that any statement book, poster or rumor, any parade or exhibition, any statue or historic monument, any scientific achievement or abstract of statistics, whether true or false, rational or irrational in appeal or presentation, originates as the deliberate policy of someone trying to control or alter attitudes, then that thing or activity becomes part of a propaganda process. TERRENCE H. QUALTER, *Opinion Control in Democracies*, 1985.
859. If you have a weak candidate and a weak platform, wrap yourself up in the American flag and talk about the constitution. MATTHEW QUAY (1833-1904).

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860. Whereas democracy is built upon the assumption that “the people” are capable of rational self-governance, propagandists regard rationality as an obstacle to efficient indoctrination. Since propaganda is often aimed at persuading people to do things that are not in their own best interests, it often seeks to bypass the rational brain altogether and manipulate us on a more primitive level, appealing to emotional symbolism. SHELDON RAMPTON & JOHN STAUBER, *Weapons of Mass Deception*, 2003.
861. A statement is true or false if what is said to be corresponds to what actually exists or is. ... Someone is being truthful when what they say, they believe to be true. If they intend to deceive, they are not being truthful – they are lying. ... The liar pretends that circumstances are other than they are. MAUREEN RAMSAY, “Justifications For Lying In Politics,” in *The Politics of Lying: Implications for Democracy* (Cliffe & Ramsay), 2000.
862. The public can be subject of governments ‘manufacturing consent’, a process of managing and orchestrating information received by the public so as to set and limit agendas and color opinions. They can be deceived by other forms of institutionalized lying, by misinformation, the distribution of official lies to give a misleading account of the truth; or by disinformation, the spreading of false information to conceal the truth. Rather than an explicit lie being told, the truth can be evaded by manipulating information and presenting it in such a way so as to disguise a problem from public view. MAUREEN RAMSAY, “Justifications for Lying in Politics,” in *The Politics of Lying: Implications for Democracy* (Cliffe & Ramsay), 2000.
863. In addition to setting the issue agenda and telling us what criteria to use to evaluate the candidates, the media also influence our perceptions of which candidates merit consideration. There is little doubt that people learn about the candidates through the media. This learning in turn has impact on perceptions and eventually on the choices voters make at the polls. GRAHAM P. RAMSDEN, “Media Coverage of Issues and Candidates,” *Political Science Quarterly* 111 (1996).
864. [British Prime Minister Stanley] Baldwin’s technique was above all that of keeping his message simple, speaking for the most part in short sentences and always in easy vocabulary. He could therefore establish a rapport with the audience even when it was invisible; there was little danger that the message would go over the viewers’ heads, or that his main thrust would be left unclear. This was especially important in newsreels... J. A. RAMSEY, “Baldwin and Film,” in *Propaganda, Politics and Film: 1918-45* (Nicholas Pronay and D. W. Spring), 1982.
865. The abuse of language occurs when its metaphorical nature is hidden, if the representation is identified with the thing represented. Therefore the linguistically hygienic use of metaphor depends on the full recognition of its limitations, that is, on critical consciousness of the generalizations, analogies, and abstractions involved. ANATOLE RAPOPORT, *Operational Philosophy*, 1953.
866. Metaphor...is the synthesis of several units of observation into one commanding image; it is the expression of a complex idea, not by analysis, nor by abstract statement, but by a sudden perception of an objective relation. The complex idea is translated into a concrete equivalent. HERBERT READ (1983-1968), in *Forms of Rhetoric* (T. Kakonis and J. C. Wilcox), 1969.
867. The Communist plan for Hollywood was remarkably simple. (Part of it would be) “to gradually work into the movies the requisite propaganda attitudes...to soften the American public’s hardening attitude toward Communism.” RONALD REAGAN (1911-2004), U. S. President, *Where’s The Rest of Me*, 1981.
868. During the nearly all of the 200,000 years in which *Homo Sapiens* have existed, anything that acted socially really was a person, and anything that appeared to move toward us was in fact doing just that.



Because these were absolute truths through virtually all of human evolution, the social and physical world encouraged automatic responses that were and still are present-day bases for negotiating life. Acceptance of what only *seems* to be real, even though at times inappropriate, is automatic. BYRON REEVES AND CLIFFORD NASS, *The Media Equation: How People Treat Computers, Television, and New Media Like Real People and Places*, 1996.

869. While propaganda might be good at reinforcing existing attitudes, it was largely ineffective in changing values that were determined to a far greater extent by family, peers and other important social influences. NICHOLAS REEVES, *The Power of Film Propaganda: Myth or Reality*, 1999.
870. Of the films that did reach that mass audience, those that were positively received were almost always films that confirmed and reinforced existing ideas and attitudes – films that set out to challenge and change those ideas and attitudes were almost entirely unsuccessful. NICHOLAS REEVES, *The Power of Film Propaganda: Myth or Reality*, 1999.
871. [Forbidden is] anything which in any manner is misleading to the public, mixes selfish aims with community aims, tends to weaken the strength of the German Reich, outwardly or inwardly, the common will of the German people, the defense of Germany, its culture and economy...or offends the honor and dignity of Germany. REICH PRESS LAW [Nazi], 4 October 1933.
872. We are fascinated by events but not by the things that cause the events. We will send 500 correspondents to Vietnam after the war breaks out, and fill the front pages with their reports, meanwhile ignoring the rest of the world, but we will not send five reporters there when the danger of war is developing. JAMES RESTON (1904-1995), *Sketches In The Sand*, 1967.
873. Nothing sways the stupid more than arguments they can't understand. CARDINAL De RETZ (1614-1679), *Memoires*, 1762-79.
874. The best way to compel weak-minded people to adopt our opinion is to terrify them from all others, by magnifying their dangers. CARDINAL De RETZ (1614-1679), *Political Maxims*.
875. The fact is that we do not use our mind to seek out the truth or to establish particular facts with absolute certainty. Above all and in the great majority – if not the totality – of cases, we use our intellectual faculties to protect convictions, interests, and interpretations that are especially dear to us. JEAN-FRANCOIS REVEL, *The Flight From Truth*, 1991.
876. If you give me six lines written by the most honest man, I will find something in them to hang him. CARDINAL RICHELIEU (1585-1642).
877. The story of wartime manipulation of the masses by propaganda has been told elsewhere; the important fact for modern times is that the skillful propaganda methods of wartime have been made a part of the regular peacetime policy of nations. In other words, war in the sense of armed conflict and bursting shells and poison gasses, has become only incidental to the enduring effort to regiment the public mind and to use it to augment national power in the community of nations. O. W. RIEGEL (1903-1997), *Mobilizing for Chaos: The Story of the New Propaganda*, 1934.
878. A person, whenever he is free to do so, chooses to read certain messages or listen to certain programs, and not to others. In general, whether he is aware of it or not, he listens to what he wants to hear and reads messages in support of what he wants to believe. JOHN W. WILEY, JR. & MATILDA WHITE RILEY, "Mass Communication and the Social System," in *Sociology Today: Problems and Prospects*, (Robert K. Merton, et al.) 1959.

879. There is little doubt that the public's knowledge of government depends not upon experience and observation, but rather on the news media, which set the agenda for public discussion. WILLIAM L. RIVERS, *Mass Media Issues*, 1977.
880. We believe good men more fully and more readily than others; this is true generally whatever the question is, and absolutely true where exact certainty is impossible and opinions are divided. ... It is not true, as some writers assume in their treatises on rhetoric, that the personal goodness revealed by the speaker contributes nothing to his power of persuasion; on the contrary, his character may almost be called the most effective means of persuasion he possesses. W. R. ROBERTS, *Aristotle*, 1954.
881. Demonstrative rhetoric in both spoken and written form used panegyric or invective, that is, praise or blame, in appealing to the moral sensibility of a mass audience. Demonstrative rhetoric offered an audience the choice of accepting or rejecting a candidate according to its estimation of his moral qualities. ANDREW W. ROBERTSON, *The Language of Democracy: Political Rhetoric in the United States and Britain, 1790-1900*, 1995.
882. Horatory rhetoric was a cry of "Fire!" in the theater. It linked the audience in an immediate, emotional way to events, principles, or politics, mostly real, often exaggerated, sometimes illusory. ... Horatory rhetoric urged its audience to choose policies as well as personalities, measures as well as men. ANDREW W. ROBERTSON, *The Language of Democracy: Political Rhetoric in the United States and Britain, 1790-1900*, 1995.
883. Where Jacksonian rhetoric differed from Jeffersonian language was in its intimacy and its accessibility. Office seekers acquired nicknames; hack writers scrutinized lives for telling facts (or fictions) about politicians. ... Rhetoric became more conversational and editors framed their appeals in folk diction and idiom. ... Log cabins, liberty poles, cornucopias, laurel wreaths and the Stars and stripes adorned the mastheads of party newspapers. ANDREW W. ROBERTSON, *The Language of Democracy: Political Behavior in The United States and Britain, 1790-1900*, 1995.
884. Those who rely upon television in following politics are more confused and more cynical than those who did not. And those who rely totally upon television are the most confused and cynical of all.... The themes which the networks offer are predominantly negative. ... But the more important aspect of thematic reporting is inherent conflict, either personal or organizational. MICHAEL J. ROBINSON, "American Political Legitimacy in an Era of Electronic Journalism: Reflections on the Evening News," in *Television As A Social Force* (Cater & Adler, eds.), 1975.
885. Political campaigns are designedly made into emotional orgies which endeavor to distract attention from the real issues involved, and they actually paralyze what slight powers of cerebration man can normally muster. J. H. ROBINSON, *The Human Comedy as Devised and Directed by Mankind Itself*, 1937.
886. Credibility and truth do not necessarily march in step in psychological warfare. What is said, written, printed or broadcasted in the field must be credible within the terms in which it is projected; it need not necessarily be the truth in every instance. In fact the truth can in certain circumstances defeat credibility. CHARLES ROETTER, *Psychological Warfare*, 1974.
887. Advertising persuades people to buy things they don't need with money they ain't got. WILL ROGERS.

888. Agenda setting] is a process through which the mass media communicate the relative importance of various issues and events to the public. EVERETT ROGERS & JAMES DEARING, "Agenda-setting Research," *Communications Yearbook II*, 1988.
889. The feeble tremble before opinion, the foolish defy it, the wise judge it, the skillful direct it. MADAME JEANNE-MARIE ROLAND (1754-1793), executed during French Revolution.
890. And while I am talking to you mothers and fathers, I will give you one more assurance. I have said this before, but I shall say it again and again and again: Your boys are not going to be sent into any foreign wars. FRANKLIN DELANO ROOSEVELT (1882-1945), *Campaign speech*, 1940.
891. Actively conducting a propaganda campaign can function to reduce anxieties of the clients, media men and supporters who have an emotional involvement. ... Distant and difficult goals are thus replaced by tangible, and immediately realizable goals... Such problems can be relieved now, whereas winning an election cannot. The substitution of goals is, of course, a normal phenomenon of human behavior. RICHARD ROSE, *Influencing Voters*, 1967.
892. Objectivity is one of the culture's ways of expressing ... hope that the political community will be presented with a common object, so that members of the community can take different views of that object and be able to disagree productively about it. ... The pursuit of disinterested truth is vitally important to any democratic political community. This is why objectivity is important. It encourages us to agree on some things so that we can disagree productively on others. JAY ROSEN, "Beyond Objectivity," *Nieman Reports*, 47, 1993.
893. Objectivity is most valuable, most indispensable when people need a fair description of what's going on in order to engage in a purposeful activity. They need to know what's happening in order to take action, make a move, protect their interests. When business people have investments in, say, Thailand, they need to know what business conditions are like in Thailand. And they'll usually want "objective" reports. JAY ROSEN, "Beyond Objectivity," *Nieman Reports*, 47, 1993.
894. Individuals are more highly persuasible by messages arguing in a direction which increases consistency [within the personality] and are more resistant to those arguing in a direction that increases inconsistency. MILTON J. ROSENBERG, et al., "Attitude Organization and Change: An Analysis of Consistency Among Attitude Components," in *Yale Studies in Attitude and Communications*, Vol III, 1960.
895. Black operations ... are designed to be attributed to the other side and must be carried out by a secret agency in order to hide the actual source of the propaganda. HARRY ROSITZKE, *The CIA's Secret Operations*, 1988.
896. There is no subjugation so perfect as that which keeps the appearance of freedom, for in that one way one captures volition itself. JEAN-JACQUES ROUSSEAU (1712-1778), *Emile*, 1762.
897. The most absolute authority is that which penetrates into a man's inmost being and concerns itself no less with his will than with his actions. JEAN-JACQUES ROUSSEAU (1712-1778), *The Social Contract*, 1762.
898. The study of propaganda, especially its impact on those at the receiving end, presents a challenge for the historian. The most effective propaganda is that of which people are unaware. Propaganda is not merely the dissemination of lies, in opposition to a well-defined, generally accepted 'truth.' MICHAEL ROWE, "Forging a 'New Frenchmen': State Propaganda in the Rhineland, 1794-1814," in *Propaganda* (Taithe & Thornton), 1999.

899. Cleverly-chosen language has the effect of simplifying ideas, to the relief of those who are intellectually lazy. Life is rarely as simple as the language we use to describe it. Still, we all generalize, and by doing so we fall into the trap of believing that all things in a certain category are the same. *Royal Bank Letter* (Royal Bank of Canada), Jan/Feb 1991.
900. If one group calls another “terrorists” or says that they are using “violence” or accuses them of “committing genocide,” we should decide for ourselves, on the balance of the evidence, whether terrorism or violence or genocide is actually being perpetrated. We should guard against attempts to hijack our thinking by slogans, catchwords, or rhetoric designed to inflame our opinions or turn us against enemies manufactured by “wordfact” techniques. *Royal Bank Letter* (Royal Bank of Canada), Jan/Feb 1991.
901. Contemporary Western culture is characterized by an anarchy of meanings. We have no effective way to select memes out of circulation because any efforts to do so are prohibited by one form or another of entitlement. There is no heresy, just variations of piety; there is no treason, just nuances of loyalty; there is no pornography, just art. Any meaning, *all* meaning, is legitimate. Every charge of unacceptable meaning is counter-charged as a violation of human rights. LOYAL D. RUE, *Amythia: Crisis in the Natural History of Western Culture*, 1989.
902. The dynamics of deceptive interactions can be important factors in the process of evolution. When deceptive traits appear in nature, they tend to be favored. These traits then become significant elements in the process of natural selection; that is, the presence of deceivers bears upon the fitness of their dupes. LOYAL D. RUE, *By The Grace of Guile*, 1994.
903. The popular media deliver reports on a carefully chosen set of events in vivid detail. Owing to its concrete, personal, and emotional flavor, this biased sample of information is easy retrievable from memory and therefore exerts a disproportionate influence on our judgments and decisions. This results in the media paradox: The more we rely on the popular media to inform us, the more apt we are to misplace our fears. JOHN RUSCIO, “Risky Business: Vividness, Availability, and the Media Paradox,” *Skeptical Inquirer*, March/April 2000.
904. Events must be somewhat unusual in order to be considered newsworthy, but the very fact of their appearance in the news leads us to overestimate their frequency of occurrence. We may therefore come to believe that relatively rare events are common, taking precautionary measures against unlikely dangers at the expense of more significant hazards. JOHN RUSCIO, “Risky Business: Vividness, Availability, and the Media Paradox,” *Skeptical Inquirer*, March/April 2000.
905. We must come to terms with the fact that the media events provoking real social change are more than simple Trojan horses. They are media viruses. This term is not being used as a metaphor. The media events are not like viruses. They are viruses. ... The attacking virus uses its protective and sticky protein casing to latch onto a healthy cell and then inject its own genetic code... A particularly virulent strain will transform the host cell into a factory that replicates the virus. DOUGLAS RUSHKOFF, *Media Virus*, 1994.
906. There appear to be three main kinds of media virus. The most obvious variety ... are constructed and launched intentionally, as a way of spreading a product or ideology. There are also we can call ... “bandwagon” viruses ... that no one necessarily launches intentionally, but which are quickly seized upon and spread by groups who hope to promote their own agendas. ... Finally, there are completely self-generated viruses ... that elicit interest and spread of their own accord because they hit upon a social weakness or ideological vacuum. DOUGLAS RUSHKOFF, *Media Viruses*, 1994.

907. The essence of lying is in its deception, not in words; a lie may be told by silence, by equivocation, by the accent on a syllable, by a glance of the eyes attaching a peculiar significance to a sentence.... JOHN RUSKIN (1819-1900), *Modern Painters*, 1872.
908. It is not calumny or treachery that do the largest sum of mischief in the world. But it is the glistening and soft spoken lie; the amiable fallacy; the patriotic lie of the historian; the provident lie of the politician; the zealous lie of the partisan; the merciful lie of the friend, the careless lie of each man to himself, that cast the black mystery over humanity. JOHN RUSKIN (1819-1900).
909. Why is propaganda so much more successful when it stirs up hatred than when it tries to stir up friendly feeling? BERTRAND RUSSELL (1872-1970), *The Conquest of Happiness*, 1936.
910. Public opinion is always more tyrannical towards those who obviously fear it than towards those who feel indifferent to it. BERTRAND RUSSELL (1872-1970), *The Conquest of Happiness*, 1936.
911. The formal conventions – narrative closure, image continuity, nonreflexive camera, character identification, voyeuristic objectification, frame balance, realist intelligibility, etc. – help to instill ideology by creating an illusions that what happens on the screen is a neutral recording of objective events, rather than a construct operating from a certain point of view. MICHAEL RYAN & DOUGLAS KELLNER, *Camera Politica: The Politics and Ideology of Contemporary Hollywood Film*, 1988.
912. The political stakes of film are thus very high because film is part of a broader system of cultural representation which operates to create psychological dispositions that result in a particular construction of social reality, a commonly held sense of what the world is and ought to be that sustains social situations. This conception of the role of film necessitates expanding the traditional Marxist notion of ideology... MICHAEL RYAN & DOUGLAS KELLNER, *Camera Politica: The Politics and Ideology of Contemporary Hollywood Film*, 1988.



913. Your side disseminates information, deals with the issues, communicates the facts, publicizes the truth, gets the message to the people; the other side engages in pseudo events, puffer, deliberate distortion, the big lie, smoke screens, media hype, and propaganda. WILLIAM SAFIRE, *Safire's New Political Dictionary*, 1993.
914. One of the saddest lessons of history is this: If we've been bamboozled long enough, we tend to reject any evidence of the bamboozle. We're no longer interested in finding out the truth. The bamboozle has captured us. It is simply too painful to acknowledge--even to ourselves--that we've been so credulous. So the old bamboozles persist as the new bamboozles arise. CARL SAGAN (1934-1996), "The Fine Art of Baloney Detection," *Parade*, 1 February 1987.
915. The plain truth will influence half a score of men at the most in a nation while mysteries will lead millions by the nose. HENRY SAINT JOHN, LORD BOLINGBROKE, 1728.
916. Fashion is something barbarous, for it produces innovation without reason and imitation without benefit. GEORGE SANTAYANA, *The Life of Reason*.
917. All that we call progressive, pragmatic, or social-minded education, all that calls itself the constructive attitude, or the positivistic theory of science as economy of thought, or the empirical approach to a growing world, or education for life, or adjustment to a mature outlook, or sociological

anthropology or anthropological sociology and such like double-ended catchwords – all are Sophistic. GIORGIO SANTILLANA, *The Origins of Scientific Thought*, 1961.

918. Isolation [is] probably the most terrifying of all human experiences. Primitive societies have always recognized this terror. Isolation or ostracism, means death to them and they use it to punish offenders. The custom -- and the dread as well -- survives in our prison mores where to be put “in solidarity” is the severest punishment meted out to criminals. MILTON R. SAPERSTEIN, *Paradoxes of Everyday Life*, 1955.
919. Languages are more to us than systems of thought transference. They are invisible garments that drape themselves about our spirit and give a predetermined form to all its symbolic expression. EDWARD SAPIR (1884-1939), *Language*, 1921.
920. If we lose the words, may we not also lose the feelings and emotions they represent. JOSE SARAMAGO, *Financial Times*, 9 January 1999.
921. Human beings think, perceive, imagine, and make moral choices according to narrative structures. Present two or three pictures, or descriptive phrases, to a person and he she will connect them to form a story, an account that related the picture or meanings of the phrases in some patterned way. T. SARBIN, *Narrative Psychology: The Storied Nature of Human Conduct*, 1986.
922. Through words, sounds and pictures, the various media produce a likeness of the “real” world. Through a process of mediation, they re-present the world to an audience. This re-presentation of reality is apparently similar to the way in which we interpret the world and create meaning for ourselves through our own physical senses. By constructing a representation of reality, the media constructs meanings about the world. ZIAUDDIN SARDAR & BORIN VAN LOON, *Introducing Media Studies*, 2000.
923. Agenda Setting: the need to tie up news with political agenda and the pressure to manufacture social issues. Even “established facts” are filtered through a number of processes. Facts and impartiality are always at loggerheads with ideology. Most newspapers present their “facts” through their chosen political filters. ZIAUDDIN SARDAR & BORIN VAN LOON, *Introducing Media Studies*, 2000.
924. [Propaganda] must be perceived as satisfying basic needs and wishes or as solving underlying frustrations and anxieties...Effective propaganda harmonizes with already existing values, attitudes and opinions... When a situation is confused and ambiguous, propaganda which clarifies it is likely to be accepted. S. STANSFIELD SARGENT, *Social Psychology*, 1950.
925. Public opinion refers to the beliefs and attitudes held by the members of a sizable group with respect to a particular issue. It rests in considerable part upon the existing opinions and attitudes of individuals, which frequently become stereotyped through interaction with others. S. STANSFIELD SARGENT, *Social Psychology*, 1950.
926. The moment a word or phrase begins to rise in public value, a variety of interest groups seek either to destroy its reputation or, more often, to co-opt it. In this latter case they don't necessarily adopt the meaning of the word or phrase. They simply want control of it in order to apply a different meaning that suits their own purposes. JOHN RALSTON SAUL, *The Doubter's Companion*, 1994.
927. Desire and fear are the two chief motivations for human behavior, no matter what sophisticated language we may use to say this in order to appear humane or civilized. It is by the manipulation of

these motivations that power maintains itself. STEPHEN SCHAFER, *The Political Criminal: The Problem of Morality and Crime*, 1974.

928. The system operates largely through processes of which people are unaware. Stratification and isolation and segregation are to a great extent the unconscious or semiconscious by-products of the way the social system operates to organize the community. ...The point is that the process is automatic, unconscious, and thoughtless. People reconcile their democratic faith and their undemocratic behavior by remaining comfortably unaware of the inconsistency of theory and practice. E. E. SCHATTSCHEIDER, *The Semisovereign People*, 1975.
929. The threats of sanction and the ideals of the institution are often incongruent.... Institutions traditionally place regulations and restriction on mobility and conduct of members.... Members of the institution are indoctrinated to believe these selected ideas, so that information is more carefully controlled than it is in a network of peers or friends. And...a particular institution [may use] procedures that scapegoat factions and individuals for contextual problems. ALBERT E. SCHEFLEN, MD, *Body Language and Social Order: Communication as Behavioral Control*, 1972.
930. This scapegoating mechanism can be used for the control of institutional members, for the usurpation of political power, and for the exclusion and control of “undesirables.” Since being blamed can be such a frightful experience, even the threat of its occurrence serves to control the behavior of members. ALBERT E. SCHEFLEN, *Body Language and Social Order: Communication as Behavioral Control*, 1972.
931. Brainwashing is more than a scareword. It is also a strangely attractive idea. ... We do not want to confront Pogo’s famous insight, “We have met the enemy and he is us”. How much more comforting to thing, “We have met the enemy and he is Satan” or “she is a witch.”... Thus the idea of brainwashing paralyzes thought because it places responsibility somewhere else. ALAN W. SCHEFLIN & EDWART M. OPTON, JR., *The Mind Manipulators*, 1978.
932. There is a world of difference in the content of what is transmitted in religious orders, prisons, educational institutions, mental hospitals and thought reform centers. But there are striking similarities in the manner in which influence occurs. EDGAR SCHEIN, *Coercive Persuasion*, 1961.
933. The creative process of charismatic imaging is as timeless as projection; it is something that has been intuitively known to mankind long before radio and television, projected as it always has been onto certain public figures through the available media of any historical period... IRVINE SCHIFFER, *Charisma*, 1973.
934. The opinion poll is a social invention that cannot be considered apart from the institutional web in which it functions. In American society today, this means that opinion survey, however scientifically conceived, is first and foremost an instrument designed for political ends. HERBERT I. SCHILLER, *The Mind Managers*, 1973.
935. Polling presents itself as a means of registering opinions and expressing choices but, in reality and as it has worked to date, it is a choice-restricting mechanism. Because ordinary polls reduce, and sometimes eliminate entirely, the meaningful context that provides the true spectrum of possible options, the possibilities and preferences they express are better viewed as “guided” choices. HERBERT I. SCHILLER, *The Mind Managers*, 1973.
936. Myths are used to dominate people. When they are inserted unobtrusively into popular consciousness as they are by the cultural-informational apparatus, their strength is great because

most individuals remain unaware that they have been manipulated. HERBERT I. SCHILLER, *The Mind Managers*, 1973.

937. For manipulation to be most effective, evidence of its presence should be nonexistent. When the manipulated believe things are the way they are naturally and inevitably, manipulation is successful. In short, manipulation requires a false reality that is a continuous denial of its existence. ... It is essential, therefore, that people who are manipulated believe in the neutrality of their key social institutions. They must believe that government, the media, education, and science are beyond the clash of conflicting social interests. HERBERT I. SCHILLER, *The Mind Managers*, 1973.
938. The insurgent terrorist news promoter, as source of news, has at times considerable influence on the way the media report his actions. Yet his opponents, the government and the security forces, are in fact the main sources for the media. A. SCHMIDT & J. DeGRAFF, *Violence in Communication*, 1982.
939. There is no absurdity so palpable but that it may be firmly planted in the human head if you can only begin to inculcate it before the age of five, by constantly repeating it with an air of great solemnity. ARTHUR SCHOPENHAUER (1783-1860), *Parerga and Paralipomena*, 1851.
940. The cognitive delimiting created by myth can have a very negative result in blocking rational inquiry and the understanding of change. By using myth to elicit a largely emotional response, political leaders can seek to block reform or soften the impact of a change in circumstances. ... But there is a stage beyond this, where a political elite deploys myth in order to preserve its power by erecting barriers to comprehension, by stressing myth to ensure that its actions cannot be challenged because the means of making that challenge are not there. GEORGE SCHOPFLIN, *Myths and Nationhood* (Geoffrey Hosking & George Schopflin (eds), 1997.
941. One secret of effective communication is the ability to keep one's language within the level of abstraction that the audience can handle and to vary the levels of abstraction within it so that the more abstract are built on a concrete base and the reader or listener can move easily from and simple and homely image to an abstract proposition or summary and back again if necessary. WILBUR SCHRAMM, *Men, Messages and Media: A Look at Human Communication*, 1973.
942. [The conditions for success in communication are] 1.) The message must be so designed and delivered as to get the attention of the intended destination. 2.) The message must employ signs which refer to experience common to source and destination. 3.) The message must arouse personality needs in the destination and suggest some ways to meet those needs. 4.) The message must suggest a way to meet those needs which is appropriate to the group situation in which the destination finds himself at the time when he is moved to make the desired response. WILBUR SCHRAMM, *The Process and Effects of Mass Communication*, 1955.
943. The theory of Agenda-Setting is based on two ideas -- that the media are necessarily gatekeepers for reporting the news of the world ... and, secondly, that people feel a continuing need for orientation to the complex world of politics. WILBUR SCHRAMM and WILLIAM E. PORTER, *Men, Women, Messages and Media*, 1982.
944. Although few people admit to being greatly influenced by ads, surveys and sales figures show that a well-designed advertising campaign...works below the level of conscious awareness and it works even on those who claim immunity to its message. Ads are designed to have an effect while being laughed at, belittled, and all but ignored. JEFFREY SCHRANK, "The Language of Advertising Claims," in *The Power To Persuade* (S. D. Spurgin), 1989.



945. A pseudo-choice should not be confused with the absence of choice. A pseudo-choice is a real choice exercised by a person using what is commonly recognized as free will, but the choice has carefully controlled boundaries that often exclude what the person choosing really wants...We are free to answer questions only in terms of the options presented. ... Pseudo-choices are often supported by advertising or public relations efforts which invariably attempt to make them appear far more significant than they really are. JEFFREY SCHRANK, *Snap, Crackle and Popular Taste*, 1977.
946. Advertisements ordinarily work their wonders, to the extent that they work at all, on an inattentive public;. MICHAEL SCHUDSON, *Advertising, the Uneasy Persuasion: It's Dubious Impact on American Society*, 1984.
947. Political advertising involves tuning in on attitudes and beliefs of the voter and then affecting these attitudes with the proper auditory and visual stimuli. ... Commercials that attempt to *tell* the listener something are inherently not as effective as those that attach to something that is already in him. We are not concerned with getting things *across* to people as much as *out* of people. Electronic media are particularly effective tools in this regard because they provide us with direct access to people's minds. T. SCHWARTZ, *The Responsive Chord*, 1973.
948. No area can match religion in its reliance on "ethos" to establish the credibility of a person, or to compel belief in a specific creed or course of action. ... This kind of lunacy is so pervasive it's impossible to describe the limitless deceptions that feed on it, in our social, business or political activities. So, if your maneuver can be married to some aspect of religious ethos, even if only marginally legitimate, you have in invaluable aid. SYDNEY C. SCHWEITZER, *Winning With Deception and Bluff*, 1979.
949. Use percentages whenever you can. They have the Largest Manipulative Potential. Percentages have a responsibility all their own. "Six out of ten" conveys the message, but "60%" is more impressive, more authoritative, hinting of research and analytical study. SYDNEY C. SCHWEITZER, *Winning With Deception and Bluff*, 1979.
950. Correlation to the Rescue. Look for helpful correlations, even is distant as the moon, provided they have a measure of plausibility. It may help sell your product or prove your point. SYDNEY C. SCHWEITZER, *Winning With Deception and Bluff*, 1979.
951. Ridicule often checks what is absurd and fully as often smothers that which is noble. SIR WALTER SCOTT (1771-1832), *Quentin Durwood*, 1823.
952. Oh what a tangled web we weave, When first we practice to deceive. WALTER SCOTT (1771-1832), *Marmion*.
953. The central implication of the agenda-setting approach is that the media can make certain political symbols salient, and in that way determine which predisposition form the basis of voter choice. DAVID SEARS, "Political Psychology," *The Annual Review of Psychology*, 38, 1987.
954. Political symbols often evoke and mobilize human emotions. Virtually every American war has been fought around such rallying symbols. ... Symbols are particularly useful for distinguishing the bad guys from the good guys. ... When presented to us ... political symbols rivet our attention and evoke strong emotions. Usually, I will argue, it is emotion based on some enduring predisposition rather than on the tangible costs and benefits of the matters to which the symbol refers. DAVID SEARS, "Symbolic Politics: A Socio-Psychological Theory," *Explorations in Political Psychology* (Iyengar & McGuire), 1993.

955. The human being has high capacity to produce his own reinforcements to his own actions, as well as engage in a dazzling variety of perceptual distortions that may obscure relationships involving his own behavior and the effects it produces. MARSHALL H. SEGALL, *Human Behavior and Public Policy*, 1976.
956. Media owners are but one of several gatekeepers past whom the content of the mass media must flow. They exercise their power principally through the selection of station managers and newspaper editors, who, in turn, select the first line of gatekeepers, the producers, directors, reporters, and writers. MARTIN H. SEIDEN, *Access To The American Mind*, 1991.
957. The slow daily and weekly creation of a climate favorable to certain ideas, the unnoticed gentle nudges and pressures that turn people in one direction rather than another, the constant supply of images to populate our subconscious minds. GILBERT SELDES (1893-1970), *The Great Audience*, 1950.
958. One of the great dangers of the new technologies is voter manipulation. Persuasive strategies that play less to reason and more to emotional and visceral reactions are plied best on small, homogeneous groups. The new technologies cultivate micro strategies designed to exploit the vulnerabilities of individual voters. GARY W. SELNOW, in "Polls and Computer Technologies: Ethical Considerations," in *Ethical Dimensions of Political Communication* (Robert E. Denton, Jr., ed), 1991.
959. Voter manipulation is a product of political agenda setting. When we set the agenda – when we tell people what to think about – we direct attention to an issue of our choosing. ... Agenda setting is an important component of the persuasion process because it both focuses and distracts the attention, and thereby affects the priorities. GARY W. SELNOW, in "Polls and Computer Technologies: Ethical Considerations," in *Ethical Dimensions of Political Communication* (Robert E. Denton, Jr., ed), 1991.
960. Are you aware that Claude Pepper is known all over Washington as a shameless *extrovert*? Not only that, but this man is reliably reported to practice *nepotism* with his sister-in-law, and he has a sister who was once a *Thespian* in wicked New York. Worst of all, it is an established fact that Mr. Pepper, before his marriage, habitually practiced *celibacy*. CONGRESSMAN SMITHERS, campaign speech, quoted in "The Art of Vituperation," (Winthrop Sargeant), *Life Magazine*, 23 October 1950.
961. It is difficult to produce a television documentary that is both incisive and probing when every twelve minutes one is interrupted by twelve dancing rabbit singing about toilet paper. ROD SERLING (1924-1975).
962. Farewell the neighing steed and the shrill trump, The spirit-stirring drum, th'ear piercing fife, The royal banner, and all quality, Pride, pomp, and circumstance, of glorious war! WILLIAM SHAKESPEARE (1564-1616), *Othello, III:3*, 1605.
963. It is said that every people has the Government it deserves. It is more to the point that every Government has the electorate it deserves; for the orators of the front bench can edify or debauch an ignorant electorate at will. GEORGE BERNARD SHAW (1856-1950), *Heartbreak House*, 1919.
964. Murder and capital punishment are not opposites that cancel one another, but similars that breed their kind. It is the deed that teaches not the name we give it. GEORGE BERNARD SHAW (1856-1950).
965. The concentration of effective power in the State not only provides a ruler with means of direct control of the population. That concentration will also tend to exert a variety of psychological pressures and influences on the people which will not only reduce their ability to control the ruler, but

even their desire to do so. The individual is subject to the extreme influence of the mass and is under pressure to accept opinions without the opportunity for reasoned consideration, especially pressure in the forms of please of morality, ideology, patriotism, and expertise. GENE SHARP, *Social Power and Political Freedom*, 1980.

966. We are a visual species. Television, graphic novels, picture magazines, and multimedia are just some examples of the visual media that we're exposed to. ... We are surrounded by icons of all types, conveying myriad kinds of specialized information. ... We don't think much in words per se. Vision is the primary medium of thought. Simply, visual perception is visual thinking. Graphic images are the most powerful way of enhancing our perceptual thinking. S. M. SHELTON, "Visual Communication: Introduction," *Technical Communication*, 4<sup>th</sup> Quarter, 1993.
967. There can be no music without ideology. ... We, as revolutionaries, have a different conception of music. Lenin himself said that "music is a means of unifying broad masses of people." It is not a leader of masses, perhaps, but certainly an organizing force. ... Music is no longer an end in itself, but a vital weapon of the struggle. DMITRI SHOSTAKOVICH (1906-1975), in *Eight Soviet Composers* (Gerald Abraham), 1943.
968. [Christianity] was a religion perfectly tailored to appeal to the lower classes; it preached that those who do live well have done wrong and that those who have done nothing constructive are the most worthy of all. ROBERT SHEAFFER, *Resentment Against Achievement*, 1988.
969. Docudramas have removed the last remaining inhibitions against the assault on reality. At best they simplify reality, at worst pervert it....It tends to loosen the viewers' grip on reality...relying on emotional manipulation. DANIEL SHORR, *Channels of Communication*, 1986.
970. The United States...is a country where public opinion plays an important role... Nothing can be achieved or endure without it, and its veto is final. It is more spontaneous than anywhere else in the world and also more easily directed by efficient propaganda than in any other country. ANDRE SIEGFRIED (1875-1959), *America at Mid-Century*, 1955.
971. Important though deliberate indoctrination is, it is probably that incidental learning – precisely because it is incidental – has a more lasting effect on the acquisition of political values and behavior...[including] the learning of social values which in and of themselves are not political but which carry in themselves the potentials for later political orientation. ROBERTA SIGEL, "Assumptions About the Learning of Political Values," *Annals of the AAPSS* 361 (1965).
972. The reduction of political discourse to sound bites is one of the worst things that's happened in American political life. JOHN SILBER, *USA Today*, 1 October 1990.
973. Persuasion is a form of influence that predisposes, but does not impose. It alters others' judgments, and not just their behavior. It affects their sense of what is true or false, probably or improbable ; their evaluations of people, events, ideas, proposals; their private and public commitments to take this or that action; perhaps even their basic values and ideologies. HERBERT W. SIMONS, *Persuasion: Understanding, Practice and Analysis*, 1986.
974. A metaphor is an implied comparison between things which are essentially unlike each other. Ordinary discourse is infused with metaphor: "the face of a clock," "the flow of ideas," "the heart of the matter." ... Metaphors enable us to see one thing in terms of another. As rhetorical devices, they help persuaders to shave a receiver's view of a phenomenon that is susceptible to varying interpretations. HERBERT W. SIMONS, *Persuasion: Understanding, Practice and Analysis*, 1986.

975. Every event, once it has occurred, can be made to appear inevitable by a competent historian. LEE SIMONSONA (1888-1967).
976. Effective persuasion and propaganda were (and are) widely viewed as a relatively rational alternative to the extraordinary brutality and expense of conventional war. Persuasive mass communication can improve military operation without increasing casualties. CHRISTOPHER SIMPSON, *Science of Coercion: Communication Research & Psychological Warfare*, 1945-1960, 1994.
977. At heart modern psychological warfare has been a tool for managing empire, not for settling conflicts in any fundamental sense. ... Its primary utility has been its ability to suppress or distort unauthorized communication among subject peoples, including domestic U. S. dissenters who challenged the wisdom or morality of imperial policies. CHRISTOPHER SIMPSON, *Science of Coercion: Communication Research & Psychological Warfare*, 1945-1960, 1994.
978. Repeat your thesis often, for people tend to shun the unfamiliar and embrace the familiar. Use phrases mellifluous to the ear, for people like to identify with the pleasant. Make it sound vital, for people incline to align with the important. Announce your intentions to accomplish something, which is actually well on the way. Promise something that seems difficult but is within ready reach of your unseen reserves. R. G. H. SIU, *The Craft of Power*, 1979.
979. Effective propagandists know just how to limn their line with attachments to some basic human susceptibilities. As an advertising agent once remarked, "the cosmetic manufacturers are not selling lanolin; they are selling hope." R. G. H. SIU, *The Craft of Power*, 1979.
980. We have been willing, without thought, to sacrifice both truth and human individuality in order to bring about given mass responses to war stimuli. We have thought in terms of fighting dictatorship-by-force through the establishment of dictatorship-by-manipulation. DONALD SLESINGER, 1939, quoted in *The Nervous Liberals* (Brett Gary), 1999.
981. In a culture which is constantly told lies, one wants to know not merely the truth but the naked truth. P. SLOTENDIJK, *Critique of Cynical Reason*, 1988.
982. Wish-fulfillment in magical thought, then, involves the operation of a generalized power which can, in its most extreme form, make any wish come true. This force is most explicit in magical and religious cosmologies. In rumors, which are often truncated and fleeting, the generalized forces are frequently implicit. NEIL J. SMELSER, *Theory of Collective Behavior*, 1962.
983. The words men fight and die for are the coins of politics, where by much usage they are soiled and by much manipulating debased. This has evidently been the fate of the word "democracy." It has come to mean whatever anyone wants it to mean. BERNARD SMITH, *The American Spirit*, 1941.
984. Propaganda is essentially different from education. The purpose of education is to develop an individual who will maintain suspended judgment until the evidence is all in and to give him a range of knowledge that will enlarge the outlook of his mind. The purpose of propaganda is to get an individual to make a certain judgment whether the evidence is partial or complete, and to build attitudes that will lead him to jump to certain conclusions without paying much attention to the evidence. CHARLES W. SMITH, *Public Opinion In A Democracy*, 1939.
985. The opinions of a public are not to be ascertained merely by counting heads... Intensity of opinion is important. CHARLES W. SMITH, *Public Opinion In A Democracy*, 1939.

986. If one man argues one way, we seem duty bound to get somebody, whether he's right or wrong, who will argue the opposite. They balance each other off, and leave the impression that the truth lies somewhere half way in between. The method is misleading in most cases, because truth is where it is and not between anything. HOWARD K. SMITH (1914-2002), *Columbia Journalism Review*, Fall 1965.
987. The primary characteristic of propaganda is its reliance on irrational techniques of persuasion. ... For present purposes, a technique will be considered irrational if it serves to induce belief in an audience without providing independent support for that belief. Put somewhat differently, a technique is irrational if it produces a claim that cannot survive the unrestricted critical scrutiny of reasonable men. TED J. SMITH, III, *Moscow Meets Main Street*, 1982.
988. The crudest form of suggestion is *name-calling*, which offers not proof for a claim but a mere label. For example, by calling someone a "scoundrel" the audience is encouraged to believe that he is one, although no evidence of this has been provided. A common positive variant of this is the technique of role reference, which describes a person in terms of one of his marginal roles in hopes that the audience will falsely ascribe the assumed characteristics of that role to the person. TED J. SMITH, III, "Techniques of Deception," in *Propaganda: A Pluralistic Perspective* (Ted J. Smith, ed), 1989.
989. The multiplying forms of information may well spawn disinformation more insidious than any we have yet known. Studies show that when people become inundated with data they will seek simple, clear-cut messages. Confusion provides fertile ground for future warriors of disinformation with a clearly defined mission. What replaces 1980's-style disinformation may make it seem wholesome by comparison. ALVIN A. SNYDER, *Warriors of Disinformation*, 1995.
990. Hastiness and superficiality – these are the psychic diseases of the 20<sup>th</sup> Century and more than anywhere this is manifested in the press. ALEXANDER SOLZHENITSYN, *Commencement Address*, Harvard University, 1978.
991. [For brainwashing] to be successful, it demands a uniquely structured and controlled environmental setting and an inordinate investment in time and manpower. Despite the cost entailed, its effectiveness is limited to individual subjects or, even under optimum conditions, to a small group of persons. A. SOMIT, "Brainwashing," in *International Encyclopedia of the Social Sciences*, Vol. 2, 1968.
992. The news media are like the real estate market in over-dramatizing the trend of the moment, underbuying or overselling political candidates. It may be the "big feet" journalists who are the political bosses as the twenty-first century nears. BARTHOLOMEW H. SPARROW, *Uncertain Guardians: The News Media as a Political Institution*, 1999.
993. The point is that, in the end, there is no real moral or political distinction between the small lies and the large, the false quotes and the false policies. All sprang from an abiding mistrust, fear and contempt of the public, a deep-seated refusal and inability to conduct the truly open and honest government on which a democracy depends. LARRY SPEAKES, presidential speechwriter, *Los Angeles Times*, 15 April 1988.
994. It was when the ritual was formally agreed upon – indeed it was almost canonized – that I first became aware the whole thing was meant to be taken literally. I had always believed all the parades, processions, and initiation ceremonies to be part of a virtuoso propagandistic review. It was now clear that for Hitler it was a matter of founding a church. ALBERT SPEER (1905-1981), *Spandau Diaries*.

995. [Propaganda] may indulge in exaggeration or minimization, as the case may be, but it must mind its limits, which lie where remote facts become immediate, that is, where stories can be checked. HANS SPEIER (1905-1990), "Morale and Propaganda," in *Propaganda In War and Crisis* (Daniel Lerner, ed), 1951.
996. The Nazis do not attach any intrinsic value and any stable meaning to the ideas which according to their claims are important to them. The elasticity of those ideas which are most intimately connected with Nazi ideology proves that these ideas, too, are used instrumentally. These ideas, too, are subordinate to what really matters to the Nazis: success and power. HANS SPEIER & MARGARET OTIS, "German Radio Propaganda in France During the Battle of France," in *Propaganda in War and Crisis* (Daniel Lerner, ed), 1951.
997. An analysis of any aspect of the media, such as the newsreels, in the Soviet Union must begin with an examination of the contemporary political and ideological line of the Communist Party, which was the only body responsible for controlling and directing the dissemination of ideas, the interpretation of events and the selection of news. D. W. SPRING, "Soviet Newsreel and the Great Patriotic War," in *Propaganda, Politics and Film: 1918-45* (Nicholas Pronay & D. W. Spring), 1982.
998. The individual who is extremely anxious is likely to show this intolerance of ambiguity in extreme form. This, clinicians tell us, leads to both perceptual rigidity and behavioral rigidity. It gives rise to the sharp polarization of good and bad... ROSS STAGNER, "Personality Dynamics and Social Conflict," *Journal of Social Issues*, Vol 17, 1961.
999. Print is the sharpest and strongest weapon of our party. JOSEPH STALIN (1879-1844), *Speech*, 19 April 1923.
1000. [T]he conscious decision not to emulate Goebbels cost the [Roosevelt] administration nothing. Americans were not asked to overcome their natural suspicion of official pronouncements, but only to form their own judgments based on "facts" supplied them in the most palatable forms from the most credible sources. ... At its most successful, during the international crisis of 1941-1941, the administration's efforts produced a propaganda din so pervasive so diverse in its sources that by the end of 1941 it had become an unexceptional element of daily life. RICHARD W. STEELE, *Propaganda in an Open Society: The Roosevelt Administration and the Media, 1933-1941*, 1985.
1001. [Pro-war] propaganda was extensive but not excessively intrusive. Rather, it blended into the film fare to which Americans had become accustomed and as a result was generally accepted (and presumably absorbed) even by audiences suspicious of propaganda. RICHARD W. STEELE, *Propaganda in an Open Society: The Roosevelt Administration and the Media, 1933-1941*, 1985.
1002. [Pro-war] propaganda could not be left to speechmakers, journalists, ideologues, politicians, or the others associated with the craft in the past. It must be entrusted to practical experts who understood how to motivate and manipulate the public. RICHARD W. STEELE, *Propaganda in an Open Society: The Roosevelt Administration and the Media, 1933-1941*, 1985.
1003. I am not a scientist. I am a journalist. I did not gather with indifference all the facts and arrange them patiently for permanent preservation and laboratory analysis. I did not want to preserve, I wanted to destroy the facts. My purpose was not more scientific than the spirit of my investigation and reports, it was...to see of the shameful facts, spread out in all their shame, would not burn through our civil shamelessness and set fire to American pride. That was the journalism of it. I wanted to move and to convince. LINCOLN STEFFANS (1866-1936), *The Shame of the Cities*, 1904.

1004. What is the difference between unethical and ethical advertising? Unethical advertising uses falsehoods to deceive the public, ethical advertising uses truth to deceive the public. VILHJALMUR STEFANSSON (1879-1962), "Discovery," 1964.
1005. Euphemism is a deft, elusive, and powerful trickster we use to deceive ourselves, to hide our own motives and feelings from ourselves. It is an evasion we make to look like directness. HOWARD F. STEIN, *Euphemism, Spin and the Crisis in Organizational Life*, 1998.
1006. Part of the sinister work of euphemism is that we are so much in its thrall that we are certain we are talking about reality, when we are in fact talking about our imagination we have legislated into reality. Through euphemism, we replace, we override and reinvent reality, by the magic of language. HOWARD F. STEIN, *Euphemism, Spin and The Crisis in Organizational Life*, 1998.
1007. The war of metaphors is a conflict over core values, over worldviews, over entire philosophies of life, over internal versus external constraints, and over internalization versus resistance. HOWARD F. STEIN, *Euphemism, Spin and The Crisis in Organizational Life*, 1998.
1008. The shepherd always tries to persuade the sheep that their interests and his own are the same. STENDAHL (1783-1842)
1009. The doctrines which men ostensibly hold do not become operative upon their conduct until they have generated an imaginative symbolism. LESLIE STEPHEN (1832-1904), *History of English Thought in the Eighteenth Century*, 1876.
1010. It is in the nature of an hypothesis, when once a man has conceived it, that it assimilates everything to itself as proper nourishment, and, from the first moment of begetting it, it generally grows the stronger by everything you see, hear, read, or understand. LAURENCE STERNE (1713-1768), *Tristram Shandy*.
1011. Slogans, with us for centuries, act as social symbols and symbolic justifications. Social movements employ them to create impressions, to alter perceptions, to elicit emotional responses, to make demands, and to pressure oppositions. The ambiguity of slogans enable them to serve as verbal bridges from one meaning to another... They simplify complex problems, solutions, and situations while demanding instant corrective actions, many slogans are unique to and readily identifiable with specific social movements or social movement organizations. CHARLES J. STEWART, et. al., *Persuasion and Social Movements*, 1989.
1012. Every social movement identifies one or more devils and then heaps abuse upon them in the form of name-calling, ridicule, negative associations, and metaphors. Special invective is heaped upon individuals who refuse to support the movement that is fighting for them. CHARLES J. STEWART, et. al., *Persuasion and Social Movements*, 1989.
1013. The power of identification accrues to established orders because they are the keepers, protectors, and proselytizers of the sacred symbols, emblems, places, offices, documents, codes, values, and myths of the institution or order. CHARLES J. STEWART, et. al., *Persuasion and Social Movements*, 1989.
1014. Junk journalism is the evidence of a society that has got at least one thing right, that there should be nobody with the power to dictate where responsible journalism begins. TOM STOPPARD, *Night and Day*, 1978.

1015. Coercion, in the purest sense, is that which includes forced compliance through physical domination. Coercive-persuasion ranges from threats of violence ... to unspoken potential for punishing and rewarding. ... Persuasion, in the purest sense, is gaining the compliance of one who is completely free to comply or not to comply with the persuasive message. Thus, *persuasion uses argument to compel power to give way to reason while coercion uses force to compel reason to give way to power*. W. F. STRONG, et. al., *Persuasion: Strategies For Public Influence*, 1996.
1016. Although we are said to be living in the information age, it may be misnamed. We may be living, more appropriately, in the age of misinformation, of mass-communicated influence and of mass-manipulation. Never before have the lines between information and persuasion been so blurred. W. F. STRONG, et. al., *Persuasion: Strategies For Public Influence*, 1996.
1017. Over the long run, if people are repeatedly bombarded with observations concerning their inconsistent opinions and actions, and if they are eventually convinced that such observations are essentially correct, then their psychological need for consistence will likely cause them to make some changes in the way they think and act. W. F. STRONG, et. al., *Persuasion: Strategies For Public Influence*, 1996.
1018. There is a simple human premise often used to gain advantage: Give something to somebody and you automatically engender a feeling of reciprocity. One of guilt. That person will often give you more in return than you gave him or her. JOE SUGARMAN, *Triggers*, 2003.
1019. Depending on the circumstances, we can also perceive a lie as a sign of contempt – the liar has decided we do not deserve to know the truth – or, in milder cases, of a high-handed decision that we do not need to know what is really going on and are better off without knowing. EVELYN SULLIVAN, *The Concise Book of Lying*, 2001.
1020. The lies most likely to be successful must not only be believable; they must also take advantage of the prejudices, weaknesses, and fears of those lied to. Any lie custom-tailored to the psychological makeup and biases ... will be compelling in a way in which few other things are. EVELYN SULLIVAN, *The Concise Book of Lying*, 2001.
1021. All warfare is based on deception. Therefore, when capable, feign incapacity; when active, inactivity... Offer the enemy a bait to lure him... Pretend inferiority and encourage his arrogance. SUN TZU (ca 500 BC), *The Art of War*.
1022. The skillful leader subdues the enemy's troops without any fighting; he captures their cities without laying siege to them; he overthrows their kingdom without lengthy operations in the field. SUN-TZU (ca 500 BC), *The Art of War*.
1023. One need not destroy one's enemy. One need only destroy his willingness to engage. SUN TZU (ca 500 BC), *The Art of War*.
1024. Integration propaganda suggests that all is well with the world, and that one should accept one's society and participate passively within it. Most integration propaganda is covert. It must be constantly present if a technological society is to function smoothly. GEORGE H. SZANTO, *Theater & Propaganda*, 1978.
1025. If propaganda is one form of activated ideology, then theatrical texts and their presentation are among the media within which ideological activity may be witnessed by audiences and by critical reader. GEORGE H. SZANTO, *Theater & Propaganda*, 1978.



1026.A newspaper, for example, with its primarily linear format, can cater to an audience's reason; it's principle is to present one piece of information at a time, in an order presumably logical. ... Television, on the other hand, utilizes a simultaneity of presentation: both the image and the spoken word ... contain their charged and controllable impact. Simultaneity on television can be used to reinforce information ... or to undercut information by placing the image and the verbal presentation at odds with each other. ... GEORGE H. SZANTO, *Theater & Propaganda*, 1978.

1027.As the base rhetorician uses language to increase his own power, to produce converts to his own cause, and to create loyal followers of his own person – so the noble rhetorician uses language to wean men away from their inclination to depend on authority, to encourage them to think and speak clearly, and to teach them to be their own masters. THOMAS SZASZ, Psychiatrist.

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1028.Propaganda is often most fully discussed in counter-propaganda. Denouncing the other's devious techniques and lack of credibility, while displaying similar methods, makes this a paradoxical and in some ways self-undermining process. BERTRAND TAITHE & TIM THORNTON, "Propaganda: A Misnomer of Rhetoric and Persuasion," in *Propaganda* (Taithe & Thornton), 1999.

1029.Controlling propaganda can be more dangerous than initiating it. State censorship only gives greater credibility to subversive propaganda in a pluralist environment. BERTRAND TAITHE & TIM THORNTON, "Propaganda: A Misnomer of Rhetoric and Persuasion," in *Propaganda* (Taithe & Thornton), 1999.

1030.The information mill seems to churn even faster these days, and with little regard to the validity of the "facts," which, whether true or false, can sometimes have devastating effects. For example, a politician's off-hand comments about an opponent can be transmitted via television to tens of millions of homes within hours, thus creating a serious campaign issue; a stock rumor heard in New York can reach Tokyo in seconds... BOB TAMARKIN, *Rumor Has It: A Curio of Lies, Hoaxes and Hearsay*, 1993.

1031.An important art of politicians is to find new names for institutions which under old names have become odious to the people. CHARLES-MAURICE TALLEYRAND (1754-1838).

1032.Many slogans and catchphrases are so general and abstract as to be practically meaningless to critical perception.... if they are taken merely at their face value, they can easily become a substitute for analytical thinking and serious argument, thus preventing meaningful debate. WILLIAM E. TANNER & J. DEAN BISHOP, *Rhetoric and Change*, 1985.

1033.To the academician, the language of the reporter is excessively casual, trivializing, and simple-minded, if not downright wrong or silly. To the journalist, the language of the academicians is excessively passive, technical, and complication, if not downright wordy or pompous. ... Academic language strives to be informative and accurate. ... To the reporter, though, the result sounds like nit-picking; it encumbers the research with so many qualifications and exceptions that the results seem meaningless. CAROL TAVRIS, "How to Publicize Science: A Case Study," in *Reporting Science: The Case Of Aggression* (J. H. Goldstein, ed.), 1986.

1034.The problem today ... is not so much one of securing acceptance for the use of psychological warfare, but rather one of securing an understanding of what it means and can do. ... It cannot be stated too strongly that psychological warfare is an arm, not only of military operations, but, like

military operations themselves, of national policy. GEORGE E. TAYLOR, "Rearming With Ideas," *Virginia Quarterly Review*, Spring 1951.

1035. We must remove the mystique of the 'hidden persuaders' so that we can realize how our perceptions are being influenced by them. The medium should not necessarily be the message, although it is in danger of becoming increasingly so. We therefore need to understand how the medium actually works, how it actually functions in mediating information and opinions between one section of society and another. PHILIP M. TAYLOR, *Munitions of the Mind: A History of Propaganda From The Ancient World to the Present Day*. 1995.
1036. Propaganda ... forces us to think and do things in ways we might not otherwise have done had we been left to our own devices. It obscures our windows on the world by providing layers of distorting condensation. When Nations fight, it thickens the fog of war. Propaganda thus becomes the enemy of independent thought and an intrusive and unwanted manipulator of the free flow of information and ideas... It suggests the triumph of emotion over reason in a bureaucratic struggle by the machinery of power for control over the individual. PHILIP M. TAYLOR, *Munitions of the Mind: A History of Propaganda From The Ancient World To The Present Day*, 1995.
1037. Whenever there is an organized movement to persuade people to believe or do something, whenever an effort is made to "propagate" a creed or set of opinions or convictions or to make people act as we want them to act, the means employed are called propaganda. EDWARD A. TENNEY, *A Primer For Readers*, 1942.
1038. Some things you do not do unless you are intent on failing. You don't insult your audience, but you may kid it; you don't patronize it or talk down to it; you don't apologize to it for your convictions; you don't whine about being "misunderstood"; you don't beg for favor. You assume and may occasionally appeal to an audience's spirit of fair play, its sporting instinct, its desire to know what you think. You seek a point of contact... Be sure of your facts and be very sparing in imputing to your opponents base motives. In the minds of some men, honest, well-supported denunciation may stick and bring forth later fruit. NORMAN THOMAS (1884-1968), *Mr. Chairman, Ladies and Gentlemen*, 1955.
1039. The goal of persuasion is to generate voluntary compliance. ... The great communicators have that art. They somehow get people to do what they want them to do by getting them to want to do it. ... What force options are available to generating voluntary compliance? The first, surprisingly enough, is your mere presence: the way you show up, the way you approach, carry yourself, stand around, even the way you project your feelings onto your face. GEORGE J. THOMPSON, *Verbal Judo*, 1993.
1040. Here then is the powerful sentence that will allow you to interrupt anyone without fear of bodily harm: "Let me be sure I heard what you just said." This simple sentence is so empathetic, so full of conciliation and cooperation, so pregnant with sincerity, that you'll hardly ever see someone let it slide by. GEORGE J. THOMPSON, *Verbal Judo*, 1993.
1041. In the case of propaganda using purely rational material the style is factual, information or logical, and the act of persuasion lies mainly in the selection of facts favorable to the argument and the leaving out or discounting of those which are not. ... The purely emotional [style of propaganda] relies on the use of subjective ideas projected with a high level of emotive force accompanied probably by an exploitation of some or all of the techniques of event management. OLIVER THOMSON, *Easily Led: A History of Propaganda*, 1999.
1042. Music has the capacity to contribute to propaganda penetration in a variety of different ways, but most are based on its ability to change the pulse rate of the listener and gain a physical response.

Thus it can generate belligerent feelings – as Plutarch put it, ‘music and valour are allied’ – helping to inspire nations to go to war. OLIVER THOMSON, *Easily Led: A History of Propaganda*, 1999.

1043. The novel has on the whole been more successful as a propaganda medium of oppositions than of establishments. As prose took over from poetry as the natural idiom of storytelling, the novel came into its own. OLIVER THOMSON, *Easily Led: A History of Propaganda*, 1999.
1044. Propaganda is deliberate promotion, usually emotional, by an individual or a group, using any form of communication, to create, change or control the attitudes and actions of others. GLADYS & MARCELLA THUM, *The Persuaders: Propaganda in War and Peace*, 1972.
1045. Selection by *False Emphasis* – Someone or something is selected and then given too much or too little importance by receiving too much or too little newspaper space or radio-television time. In other words, if a hundred-dollar robbery is spread all over the front page and a million-dollar robbery is hidden in a one-paragraph story on the last page of a newspaper... GLADYS & MARCELLA THUM, *The Persuaders: Propaganda in War and Peace*, 1972.
1046. *Card Stacking* – In Card Stacking, certain details are selected and then presented as if they represent the complete picture of a situation, an organization or a person. GLADYS & MARCELLA THUM, *The Persuaders: Propaganda In War and Peace*, 1972.
1047. Early indoctrination would be ineffectual if it were subsequently neutralized. Neutralization, however, is rare because our society is constructed so as to provide every person with consecutive waves of relatively like-minded associates. HANS TOCH, *The Social Psychology of Social Movements*, 1966.
1048. All those who seek to destroy the liberties of a democratic nation out to know that war is the surest and the shortest means to accomplish it. This is the first axiom of the science. ALEXIS de TOCQUEVILLE (1805-1859), *Democracy in America*, 1935.
1049. There are times when it is to the advantage of a communicator to encourage cognitive responses, and times when it is not. If the message is a strong one and the audience is generally well disposed to the message, the speaker should encourage message-related thinking because it is likely to lead to attitude change. If, however, the message is a weak one and the audience is hostile, it may be to the advantage of the communicator to inhibit cognitive response. One way this can be done is through distraction. When competing stimuli distract receivers, they have trouble coming up with counterarguments, and are thus more likely to accept the speaker’s message. ... [A] heckler might actually help out a speaker whose audience is hostile. SARAH TRENHOLM, *Persuasion and Social Influence*, 1989.
1050. The most powerful forms of social control maybe found not in dramatic coercive situations, but in everyday institutions that shape our lives: family, community, school, church. SARAH TRENHOLM, *Persuasion and Social Influence*, 1989.
1051. The most important thing to realize about systems of animal communication is that they are not expected to be systems for the dissemination of truth. Instead, they are expected to be systems by which individual organisms attempt to maximize their fitness by communicating to others things that may be true or false. ROBERT TRIVERS, “Sociology and Politics,” in *Sociobiology and Human Politics* (E. White, ed.), 1981.
1052. One prime objective of all advertising is to heighten expectations. To create the illusion that the produce or service will perform the miracles you expect. ALRIES & JACK TROUT, *Positioning: The Battle For Your Mind*, 1981.

1053. The prevailing explanation of the cognitive mechanism behind agenda setting is currently framed in terms of the “activation” of cognitive constructs in memory (sometimes called “nodes”) in response to media messages. The media make certain information salient in audience memory and depress the importance of other information. YARIV TSFATL, “Does Audience Skepticism Of The Media Matter in Agenda Setting?,” *The Journal of Broadcasting & Electronic Media* 47 (2003).
1054. At the extreme, the process of stereotyping eventuates in dehumanization: the enemy is judged to be so inhumanely evil or contemptible that anything may be done to “it” without subjectively compromising one’s own humanity and sense of loyalty. AUSTIN J. TURK, *Political Criminality*, 1982.
1055. The most effective kind of field control of dissent, as of other behavior, is that imposed by the political environment itself, insofar as people are continually socialized to think and behave in terms of politically tolerable beliefs and values. AUSTIN J. TURK, *Political Criminality*, 1982.
1056. If there is such a thing as a basic human quality, self-deception is it. COLIN M. TURNBULL (1924-1994)
1057. The history of our race, and each individual’s experience, are sown thick with evidence that a truth is not hard to kill and that a lie told well is immortal. MARK TWAIN (1835-1910), *Advice To Youth*.
1058. Many a small thing has been made large by the right kind of advertising. MARK TWAIN (1835-1910), *A Connecticut Yankee in King Arthur’s Court*, 1889.
1059. A powerful agent is the right word. Whenever we come upon one of those intensely right words in a book or a newspaper, the resulting effect is physical as well as spiritual, and electrically prompt. MARK TWAIN (1835-1910).

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1060. [L]anguage is does more than merely express reality; it actively structures experience ... language and linguistic devices structure how we think about things. DEBRA UMBERSON & KRISTIN HENDERSON, “The Social Construction of Death in the Gulf War,” *Omega: Journal of Death and Dying*, 25:1, 1992.
1061. During the early 1960s it became “in” to suggest that to look at both sides of an issue and probe deeply was old fashioned. The new way of the “new journalism” would be advocacy followed by so-called proof of the original opinion. The trouble in starting with a conclusion is that everybody suspects the facts used to sustain the opinion. THOMAS VAIL, “Editorial,” *Cleveland Plain Dealer*, 11 February 1973.
1062. A man who wishes to impose his opinions on others is unsure of their value. He has to uphold them by all possible means. He adopts a special tone of voice, thumps the table, smiles on some and browbeats others. In short, he borrows from his body the wherewithal to bolster up his mind. PAUL VALERY (1871-1945), *Bad Thoughts and Not So Bad*, 1942.
1063. The premises of a rhetorical argument must be chosen so that they have cogency for the audience. By the use of a deductive or inductive syllogism, the conclusion is then also cogent in the eyes of the audience. The audience must *accept* the step from the premises to the conclusion; whether the reasoning is valid by demonstrative or dialectical criteria, is not important. To persuade the audience,

then, two conditions must be met: both the premises *and* the inference must have cogency. FRANS H. Van EEMEREN, et al., *Fundamentals of Argumentation Theory*, 1996.

1064. Over the last two decades, straightforward advertising has given way to branding – given products and services an emotional dimension with which people can identify. In this way, Singapore and Ireland are no longer merely countries one finds in an atlas. They have become “brand states”, with geographical and political settings that seem trivial compared to their emotional resonance among an increasingly global audience of consumers. A brand is best described as a customer’s ideas about a product, the “brand state” comprises the outside world’s ideas about a particular country. P. Van HAM, “The Rise of the Brand State: The Postmodern Politics of Image and Reputation,” *Foreign Affairs*, October 2001.
1065. A striking expression, with the aid of a small amount of truth, can surprise us into accepting a falsehood, MARQUIS de VAUVENARGUES (1715-1747), *Reflections and Maxims*, 1746.
1066. A liar is a man who does not know how to deceive, a flatterer one who only deceives fools: he alone can pride himself on his cleverness who knows how to make skillful use of the truth. MARQUIS de VAUVENARGUES (1715-1747), *Reflections and Maxims*, 1746.
1067. When moral crusaders strive to arouse public awareness about a newly recognized social evil, they must be able to offer explanations of the causes of that evil and propose credible ways of getting rid of it. They must cut through the inevitable complexity and ambiguity by framing the problem in a way that can be widely comprehended. Framing the problem sets the evil within a much broader scope of moral concerns. It provides the basic interpretive assumptions through which the evil can be redefined and linked to other social evils in society. JEFFREY S. VICTOR, *Satanic Panic*, 1993.
1068. The double of a successful career combined with sensational, often decadent pleasure is standard with such women’s magazines as *Cosmopolitan*. Their advertising and articles show the contemporary social value attached to the two responses of career and consumerism, the crippling strategies of so many. Multinational corporations and government bureaucracies alike need hard-working professional types who are not tied down and are interchangeable across organizations, people who promptly spend their salaries to keep the consumer economy going. PAUL C. VITZ, *Psychology as Religion: The Cult of Self-Worship*, 1977.
1069. The subversion of existing value systems and social structures in political cinema ranges from criticism of particular issues to propagandistic attacks on a country or power bloc, from the subtle to the intentionally direct, from the reformist to the revolutionary. AMOS VOGEL, *Film As A Subversive Art*, 1974.
1070. Never before had there existed a state-financed, nationalized cinema entirely devoted to subversion as was built in Russia after the October revolution. The creation of a new consciousness, the destruction of reactionary values, the demolition of myths of state, church, and capital – these objectives to permeate the ideological superstructure of the proletarian state, its arts, its education. AMOS VOGEL, *Film As A Subversive Art*, 1974.
1071. [H]uman beings are extremely sensitive to coincidence. We are fascinated and bewildered by events that come together despite seemingly impossible odds. Their very improbability leads us to search for their deeper significance. STUART A. VYSE, *Believing In Magic: The Psychology of Superstition*, 1997.

1072. "Did the 1980's really even happen?" asked Brian Duffy in an essay in the news magazine *U. S. News & World Report* at the end of the decade. Then he answered his own question. "Yes. On television. In a decade when the world's most powerful man was an actor, the planet seemed finally to conclude that it wasn't on TV, it wasn't real." EDWARD WAKIN, *How TV Changed America's Mind*, 1996.
1073. Most falsehoods ... are complicated matters. Instead of being bad words, they may be bad combinations of good words. HUGH WALPOLE (1884-1941), *Semantics: The Nature of Words and their Meanings*, 1941.
1074. A symbol is a word used referentially. It is a special sort of sign. ... Symbols, however, can be clearly distinguished from other signs. In a symbol-situation intentional communication occurs – there is a speaker as well as a listener, a writer as well as a reader. ... A symbol differs from other signs in a second way. It is more abstract, and demands more discrimination from its interpreter. HUGH WALPOLE (1884-1941), *Semantics: The Nature of Words and their Meanings*, 1941.
1075. When our thinking goes wrong, it is nearly always because we have forgotten the simple truth that there is a difference between the name of a thing and the thing for which the name stands. ... The signpost is not the city. The map is not the country. ... The symbol is not the referent. HUGH WALPOLE (1884-1941), *Semantics: The Nature of Words and their Meanings*, 1941.
1076. The State is invisible; it must be personified before it can be seen, symbolized before it can be loved, imagined before it can be conceived. MICHAEL WALZER, "On The Role of Symbolism In Political Thought," *Political Science Quarterly* 82, Spring 1967.
1077. Using the technique of instrumental (operant) conditioning, a prisoner's behavior may be modified by rewarding or punishing behavior which may be modified by rewarding or punishing him according to principles laid down by the captors. These principles are not necessarily readily apparent to the captive. For example, a prisoner may be fed only when he talks about the general area in which the interrogators are interested. This way the prisoner "finds it easier" to talk about some topics rather than other. Gradually, imperceptibly, the field is narrowed down so that the prisoner is talking about what the guard wants. PETER WATSON, *War On The Mind*, 1978.
1078. The "brainy" economy designed to produce ... happiness is a fantastic vicious circle which must either manufacture more and more pleasures or collapse – providing a constant titillation of the ears, eyes, and nerve ends with incessant streams of ... noise and visual distractions. ... His eyes flit without rest from television screen, to newspaper, to magazine, keeping in a sort of orgasm-without-release through a series of teasing glimpses of shiny automobiles, shiny female bodies, and other sensuous surfaces. ALAN WATTS (1915-1973), *The Wisdom of Insecurity*, 1951.
1079. Activity or inactivity, words or silence, all have message value: they influence others and these others, in turn, cannot *not* respond to these communications and are thus themselves communicating. PAUL WATZLAWICK, et. al., *Pragmatics of Human Communication*, 1967.
1080. Concentration by the media over time on relatively few issues leads to the public perceiving these issues as more salient or more important than other issues. DAVID WEAVER, "Agenda-Setting and Public Opinion: Is There A Link?," *Communication Yearbook* 8, 1984.
1081. Unlike the newspaper story, which is designed not to be read in its entirety while still achieving intelligibility, the television news story is a whole that is designed to be fully intelligible only when view in its entirety. It's focus is therefore upon a theme which runs throughout the story and which develops as the story moves from its beginning to its middle and to its end. PAUL H. WEAVER,

“Newspaper News and Television News,” in *Television as A Social Force*, (Douglas Cater & Richard Adler, eds), 1975.

1082.A [God term is an expression] about which all other expressions are ranked as subordinate and serving dominations and powers. Its force imparts to others their lesser degree of force. RICHARD WEAVER (1910-1963), *The Ethics of Rhetoric*, 1953.

1083.[Charismatic terms are] terms of considerable potency whose referents it is virtually impossible to discover... Their meaning seems inexplicable unless accept the hypothesis that their contents proceeds out of a popular will that they *shall* mean something. RICHARD WEAVER (1910-1963), *The Ethics of Rhetoric*, 1953.

1084.If one has to select the one term which in our day carries the greatest blessing ... one will not go far wrong in naming “progress.” This seems to be the ultimate generator of force flowing down through many links of ancillary terms. It one can “make it stick,” it will validate almost anything. RICHARD WEAVER (1910-1963), *The Ethics of Rhetoric*, 1953.

1085.Our constitutions of civil government are not yet firmly established; our national character not yet formed...systems of education should be adopted and pursued which...may implant in the minds of the American youth the principles of virtue and liberty and inspire them with just and liberal ideas of government and with an inviolable attachment to their own country. NOAH WEBSTER (1758-1843), *On The Education of Youth in America*.

1086.To the extent that a relatively homogeneous symbolic environment is provided by the media, either through governmental direction or through common actions of private controllers, uniformity of political and social behavior is fostered. WALTER WEISS, *Mass Communications*, 1949.

1087.Perhaps the most outstanding device in film propaganda is the use of contrasts. Not only do strong contrasts contain a greater emotional intensity than the more subtle nuances, but they also guide the audience’s sympathies with more certainty. DAVID WELCH, *Propaganda and the German Cinema: 1933-1945*, 1983.

1088.Propaganda has its best chance of success when it clearly designates a target as the source of all misery and suffering... One of the most striking means by which the cinema has influenced social attitudes - changing or reinforcing opinions - is through the use of stereotypes...conventional figures that have come to be regarded as representative of particular classes, races, and so on. DAVID WELCH, *Propaganda and the German Cinema: 1933-1945*, 1983.

1089.Information distortion is the very heart of propaganda. In our world of rapid communication, propaganda surrounds us like the air we breathe, and it may be the most vile form of pollution, for propaganda may inhibit our abilities and misdirect our actions in regard to all our other problems. CHARLES K. WEST, *The Social Psychology of Distortion of Information*, 1981.

1090.Stereotypes held about another may determine how that person’s behavior is judged. Stereotypes also influence the extent to which one accepts or rejects information or opinion supplied by the stereotyped person or groups of person. In general, we are likely to accept information from persons whom we have stereotyped positively. Conversely, we suspect information provided by those about whom we hold negative stereotypes. CHARLES K. WEST, *The Social Psychology of Distortion of Information*, 1981.

1091.We want the facts to fit the preconceptions. When they don’t, it is easier to ignore the facts than to change the preconceptions. JESSAMYN WEST, *The Quaker Reader*, 1962.

1092. When the occasion or object in question is not such as calls for, or as it likely to excite in those particular readers or hearers, the emotions required, it is a common rhetorical artifice to turn their attention to some object which will call for these feelings; and when they are too much excited to be capable of judging calmly, it will not be difficult to turn their passions, once roused, in the direction required, and to make them view the case before them in a very different light. When the metal is heated, it may easily be moulded into the desired form. BISHOP RICHARD WHATELY (1787-1863), *Rhetoric*.
1093. [Intolerance of ambiguity] can be defined as an inability to recognize that a situation is ambiguous, that is, that the situation cannot yet be put clearly and confidently into a single familiar category, and consequently an inability to suspend judgment while examining the available evidence more carefully. RALPH K. WHITE, *Nobody Wanted War*, 1970.
1094. The power of conformity helps to explain the momentum and staying power of the black-and-white picture in any group, once it has become the view of a large majority of the articulate members of that group. Once that point is reached, conformity with "what everybody is saying" provides a kind of momentum. RALPH K. WHITE, *Nobody Wanted War*, 1970.
1095. The power of the press in America is a primordial one. It sets the agenda of public discussion; and the sweeping political power is unrestrained by any law. It determines what people will talk and think about -- an authority that other nations is reserved for tyrants, priests, parties and mandarins. THEODORE WHITE (1915-1986), *The Making of the President*, 1972.
1096. The literature, songs, aesthetics, etc., of a country are of importance principally because they furnish the materials and suggestions of personality for the women and men of that country, and enforce them in a thousand effective ways. WALT WHITMAN (1819-1892), *Democratic Vistas*.
1097. [Public opinion] is an opinion that gradually takes root among a whole people; especially among those who have the most influence when they work together as a group. In this way it wins the upper hand to such an extent that no one meets it everywhere. It is an opinion that without being noticed takes possession of most heads, and even in situations where it does not dare express itself out loud it can be recognized by the louder and louder muffled murmur. It then only requires some small opening that will allow it air, and it will break out with force. Then it can change whole nations in a brief time and give whole parts of the worlds a new configuration. CHRISTOF WIELAND (1733-1813), 1798.
1098. It has been said that the camera does not lie. But the camera does lie. It is a notorious, compulsive, unashamed and mischievous liar. RUSSELL WIGGINS, Editor, Washington Post, in *The Fourth Estate: An Informal Appraisal of the News and Opinion Media*, 1971.
1099. He knew the precise psychological moment when to say nothing. OSCAR WILDE (1854-1900), *The Picture of Dorian Gray*, 1891.
1100. Unhappily, times of military crisis promote a fear, a hatred, a callousness, and a submissiveness -- among leaders as well as followers -- which make it difficult for anyone to make a humane yet realistic assessment of costs and consequences. RUPERT WILKINSON, *The Broken Rebel: A Study in Culture, Politics and Authoritarian Character*, 1972.
1101. [Hegemony is] an order in which a certain way of life and thought is dominant, in which one concept of reality is diffused throughout society in all its institutional and private manifestations, informing with its spirit all taste, morality, customs, religions and political and all social relations, particularly in



their intellectual and moral connotations. GWYNN WILLIAMS, quoted in *The State in Capitalist Society* (Ralph Miliband), 1973.

1102. Given a social group which is a “going concern,” a sensed outside threat *to the group as a whole* will result in heightened internal cohesion. ROBIN WILLIAMS, *SRCC Bulletin* 57, 1947.
1103. One must be careful not to equate untruthfulness with ambiguity... To encode a vague message is not necessarily to encode a lie or untruthful statement... We must remember that all words contain some degree of vagueness, and instead of being inherently bad, vagueness, like rhetoric, appears to be an amoral means which can be applied to produce many different ends. LEE WILLIAMS and BLAINE GOSS, “Equivocation: Character Insurance,” *Human Communication Research*, Spring, 1975.
1104. Advertising cannot change objective, four-dimensional reality, but it can powerfully change perceptual, three-dimensional reality. Your customer’s expectations are three dimensional, perceptual realities. The right words can modify, change, and adjust these. ROY WILLIAMS, *The Magical Words of the Wizard of Ads*, 2001.
1105. Film, in our view, is a uniquely powerful instrument; the close-up, fast cutting, the sophistication of modern make-up and special effects techniques, the heightening effect of sound effects and music, all combine on the large screen to produce an effect which no other medium can create. WILLIAMS *REPORT ON OBSCENITY & FILM CENSORSHIP*, United Kingdom, 1979.
1106. Thus, according to priming theory, the media not only affect the perceived salience of issues, but also influence the degree to which issues are used as criteria to evaluate political leaders... Thus, even prime cues that are not directly related to the prime target can influence political judgments by passively priming people to consider semantically related aspects or issues when evaluating political leaders. LARS WILLNAT, “Agenda Setting and Priming: Conceptual Links and Differences,” *Communication and Democracy* (McCombs, Shaw & Weaver), 1997.
1107. ‘Soft-core’ altruism... is ultimately selfish... It’s psychological vehicles are lying, pretense, and deceit, including self-deceit, because the actor is most convincing who believes that his performance is real. EDWIN O. WILSON, *On Human Nature*, 1978.
1108. We tend to cling tenaciously to our first impressions, even in the event of later information contradicting them – the primacy effect in psychological jargon. Similarly, a strong reaction to one aspect of a person’s character or abilities may color our judgment of the rest – the halo and horns effect. DENISE WINN, *The Manipulated Mind: Brainwashing, Conditioning and Indoctrination*, 2000.
1109. Indoctrination, defined at its simplest, means to imbue with a doctrine. To ‘imbue’ means to permeate or to saturate, implying a process that can be much more subtle than the repetitious reciting of approved slogans. DENISE WINN, *The Manipulated Mind*, 1983.
1110. Indoctrination or beliefs once established are constantly reinforced by what psychologists call perceptual set: we tend to pick up only information that we are ‘set’ to receive.... The ardent feminist is likely to be more highly ‘set’ to notice instances of male oppression than the, to her, occasional example of sexual fairness or even male subordination. The arch reactionary will see only wayward youth. DENISE WINN, *The Manipulated Mind*, 1983.
1111. Effective propaganda, then, cannot be forced on closed minds. It can only work on what is already within. Rather than impose new opinions, propaganda works as it articulates forcefully and graphically passions and fears and resentments that are constantly simmering below consciousness. DENISE WINN, *The Manipulated Mind*, 1983.

1112. You cannot hope to bribe or twist Thank God! The British journalist. But, seeing what the man will do Unbribed, there's no reason to. HUMBERT WOLFE, quoted in "Questions and Answers," *New York Times*, 7 May 1961.
1113. The media as a whole are not interested in ideas and process – in how government gets from point A to point B in dealing with public problems or how it should get there. It focuses on spot-news events and personalities. LEWIS WOLFSON, *The Untapped Power of the Press*, 1985.
1114. When the news is edited for him, the individual does not have to sift and sort, interpret and evaluate. He is free to accept or reject prefabricated views about the world around him as presented by the mass media. But at some point, it can be argued, the consumer of predigested ideas, opinions, and views becomes an ineffectual citizen, less capable of functioning as a rational man. CHARLES WRIGHT, *Mass Communications: A Sociological Perspective*, 1959.

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1115. [Propaganda is]...the more or less deliberately planned and systematic use of symbols, chiefly through suggestion and related psychological techniques with a view to altering and controlling opinions, ideas and values, and ultimately to changing overt actions along predetermined lines. Propaganda may be open and its purpose avowed, or it may conceal its intentions. KIMBALL YOUNG (1893-1972), *Handbook of Social Psychology*. 1944.
1116. Opinion means a belief or conviction more verifiable and stronger in intensity than a mere hunch or impression but less valid and strong than truly verifiable or positive knowledge. We thus distinguish between a fact and an opinion. KIMBALL YOUNG (1893-1972), "Comments on the Nature of "Public" and "Public Opinion," *Journal of Opinion and Attitude Research*, 1948.
1117. [Suggestion is] a form of symbol-communication by words, pictures, of some similar medium inducing acceptance of the symbol without any self-evident or logical ground for its acceptance. KIMBALL YOUNG, *Handbook of Social Psychology*, 1944.
1118. *Repression*: The process by which unacceptable views and actions are excluded from the public sphere. A given social paradigm is constructed and maintained by a wide range of repressive activities from moral condemnation to editing, "correcting," ignoring, or judicious use of rewards. Control over the means to produce meaning (the media) is a major approach in modern repressive technique. T. R. YOUNG (ed), *Red Feather Dictionary of Socialist Sociology*, 1977.
1119. *Propaganda*: The use of language by which one social paradigm is celebrated and other, radically different social paradigms are degraded. T. R. YOUNG (ed), *Red Feather Dictionary of Socialist Sociology*, 1977.
1120. Many citizens ... are blown about by whatever current of information manages to develop the greatest intensity. ... Most of the rest respond mechanically on the basis of partisan cues. JOHN R. ZALLER, *The Nature and Origins of Mass Opinion*, 1992.
1121. We comply, conform, become committed, are persuaded daily in the endless procession of influence situations that we enter, yet each of us continues to maintain an attitude of personal invulnerability. PHILIP ZIMBARDO, "The Tactics and Ethics of Persuasion," in *Attitudes, Conflicts and Social Change* (King & McGinnies, eds), 1972.

1122.If the message transmitted across all of these diverse channels of communication is consistent, then there is no reason to question that it is a statement of *fact* and not of *opinion* or biased perspective. As evidence of reality it goes unchallenged, becoming part of an ideology which then selectively guides subsequent processing of relevant information to accommodate it to these established "truths." PHILIP ZIMBARDO & W. MEADOW, *Paper*, Western Psychological Association, April 1974.

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# Appendix

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What is Political Extremism?

By Laird Wilcox

If it's a despot you would dethrone, see first that his throne
erected within you is destroyed? Kahlil Gibran, 1923.

Roger Scruton, in the *Dictionary of Political Thought* defines "extremism" as:

1. Taking a political idea to its limits, regardless of unfortunate repercussions Impracticalities, arguments and feelings to the contrary, and with the intention not only to confront, but to eliminate opposition.
2. Intolerance toward all views other than one's own.
3. Adoption of means to political ends which show disregard for the life, liberty and human rights of others.

A related view is found in the work of Milton Rokeach, whose book *The Open and Closed Mind* is a classic in the field of dogmatic thinking, prejudice and intolerance. He observes:

To study the organization of belief systems, we find it necessary to concern ourselves with the structure rather than the content of beliefs. The relative openness or closedness of a mind cuts across specific content; that is, it is not uniquely restricted to any particular ideology, or religion, or philosophy. ... Thus, a basic requirement is that the concepts to be employed in the description of belief systems must not be tied to a particular belief system; they must be constructed to apply to all belief systems.

These views basically reflect my own experience that political "extremism" in the behavioral sense is much more a matter of style than content. In the forty years I have been studying political groups of the left and right, I have found that many people can hold radical or unorthodox views and still entertain them in a more or less reasonable, rational, and non-dogmatic manner, fully cognizant of honest disagreement among people of good will. On the other hand, I have known people whose views were in the political "mainstream" but who presented them in a shrill, uncompromising, bullying, or distinctly authoritarian manner. The latter exhibited an unambiguous behavioral extremist mentality while the former demonstrated only ideological unorthodoxy, which is hardly to be feared in a free society.

The use of "extremist" as an epithet tends to confuse this issue. If the term is to have a legitimate meaning it's important to be clear on what it is. As used here, it's taken to mean anyone who exhibits an "extremist" behavioral style, examples of which will be given. What one wants to avoid is the name-

calling trap, as in calling someone a “pervert” or a “subversive,” based primarily on the fact that you don’t like them or disagree over some issue. Using emotionally-loaded epithets are characteristic of what one should be trying to avoid. Political ideologues are fully aware of the thought-stopping power of name-calling and labeling, and often attempt one-sided definitions of “extremism” that condemn the views of their political opponents while leaving their equally strident and intolerant behavior untouched. For the term to have any objective meaning, it must apply equally across the board. The late Robert F. Kennedy recognized this when he observed,

What is objectionable, what is dangerous about extremists is not that they are extreme, but that they are intolerant. The evil is not what they say about their cause, but what they say about their opponents.

An important point here is that the extremist behavioral style is not found only on the statistical fringes of the political or religious spectrum, but sometimes in the “middle” as well. An individual or group that is uncompromisingly “centrist” may be far more dogmatic and prejudiced than someone with more radical or unorthodox views but who expresses them in an open, tolerant and amiable manner.

In many years of observing the behavior of political ideologues of the right and left in American politics I have compiled a list of behavioral traits that appear to be commonplace among the more strident, intolerant and dogmatic among them. To the extent that they represented a “threat” to anything, it was through this expressed stridency, intolerance and dogmatism, and most generally in the sense of their incapacity to participate in the rational give and take that democratic systems require. Only in very unusual cases do they represent any sort of physical threat to the general safety. This list has been passed around among other observers of this phenomenon over the years and there’s a general consensus of its general validity. These traits are:

1. The use of *slogans, buzzwords, epithets and clichés* are common among people of extremist temperament. These devices allow complex issues and problems to be dramatically simplified. Cognitive shortcuts of this kind are useful in order to suppress awareness of troublesome facts and counterarguments and to bolster group solidarity.
2. An emphasis on emotional responses and corresponding devaluation of reasoning and rational analysis is a common extremist trait. Extremists have an unspoken reverence for *propaganda* and *persuasion*, which they may call “getting educated” or “consciousness-raising.” Harold D. Lasswell, in his book *Psychopathology and Politics* says, “The essential mark of the agitator is the high value he places on the emotional responses of the public.”
3. Extremists often practice and openly advocate flagrant *double standards*. They generally tend to judge themselves and their allies in terms of their intentions, which they view generously, and judge their opponents by their acts, which they view very critically. This is known as the *sinister attribution error*, referring to the tendency to attribute bad intentions or untrustworthiness to the oppositional other. They want you to accept their claims on faith or authority, but demand strict proof from those of their opponents. They tend to view arguments that call their premises into question as hostile propaganda or provocation but use similar arguments when attacking others.
4. *Confusing of mere similarity with essential sameness* is a common extremist trait. Hence, for the extremist socialized medicine may be “just like” Communism or the appearance of ethnic pride is “just like” Nazi Germany. Instead of trying to understand complex phenomena in its own context, they tend to associate it with a *God word* or a *Devil word* in order to stereotype and reduce cognitive complexity.
5. Extremists often attack the character or reputation of an opponent rather than deal with the more concrete issues and views they present. Through this kind of *character assassination* or *ad hominem* attack, they may question motives, qualifications, associations, personality, mental health and so on as a diversion. In some cases these matters may not be entirely irrelevant, but they shouldn’t obscure the issues in question.

6. Some extremists tend to *identify themselves in terms of their enemies*, i.e., who they hate and who hates them. Accordingly, extremists may become emotionally bound to their opponents in a strange *symbiotic relationship*, where their lives have meaning primarily in terms of conflict and opposition to one another. Because they view their opponents as unprincipled and powerful, they tend, perhaps subconsciously, to emulate them and adopt their tactics.

7. A *Manichean worldview* tends to characterize many extremists, in which they see the world in terms of absolutes of good and evil, with no middle ground, gray areas or intermediate positions. Issues tend to be framed in a strongly polarized sense of right and wrong, with the “right” position happily coinciding with their interests. All issues tend to become “life and death” issues. Their slogan is “*those who are not for me are against me.*”

8. *Hypersensitivity* and *vigilance* are hallmarks of the extremist style. They may perceive hostile innuendo in casual comments; imagine hostility and rejection “concealed” in honest disagreement and dissent, and manage to discover “subtle” manifestations of one thing or another in ordinarily innocuous events.

9. An inclination toward *groupthink* permeates extremist organizations. They are prone to the kind of inward-looking group cohesiveness that Irving Janus discussed in his book, *Victims of Groupthink*. This involves a strong tendency to conform to group norms and to preserve solidarity at the expense of dealing with conflicting evidence and disquieting observations or criticisms that may call into question their shared assumptions and beliefs of the group. Reality testing is often diminished among extremists.

10. Extremists tend to believe that it’s OK to do what would otherwise be instantly recognized as *bad things* in the service of a *good cause*. This may include shouting down speakers, harassment, intimidation, threats, censorship, and even violence in some cases. Defeating heretics, deniers, critics or other “enemies” becomes an all-encompassing goal to which other values become subordinate. In this case, for extremists the *end justifies the means*.

11. Finally, extremists often have problems tolerating *ambiguity* and *uncertainty*. Indeed, the ideologies and belief systems extremists tend to adopt often represent grasping for certainty and absolute truth and security in an uncertain world. The anxiety and uncertainty attendant to making complex decisions and value judgments is overcome by quick decisions based on strong feelings, tradition, patriotism, ideology or some other defining abstraction.

Adapted from *Nazis, Communists, Klansmen and Others on the Fringe* (Prometheus Books, 1992) by John George and Laird Wilcox.

The Protocols of Ritual Defamation

***How values, opinions and beliefs are
controlled in democratic societies.***

By Laird Wilcox

2002

"The critical element in political maneuver for advantage is the creation of meaning: the construction of beliefs about the significance of events, of problems, of crisis, of policy changes, and of leaders. The strategic need is to immobilize opposition and mobilize support. While coercion and intimidation help to check resistance in all political systems, the key tactic must always be the evocation of meanings that legitimize favored courses of action..." MURRAY EDELMAN, "Political Language and Political Reality," *PS*, Winter 1985.

“At the extreme, the process of stereotyping eventuates in dehumanization: the enemy is judged to be so inhumanly evil or contemptible that anything may be done to “it” without subjectively compromising one’s own humanity and sense of loyalty.” AUSTIN TURK, *Political Criminality*, 1982.

“Freedom of the mind requires not only, or not even especially, the absence of legal constraints but the presence of alternative thoughts. The most successful tyranny is not the one that uses force to assure uniformity but the one that removes the awareness of other possibilities.” ALAN BLOOM, *The Closing of the American Mind*, 1987.

Definitions: The term “*protocol*” refers to a set of rules or established method. The term “*ritual*” refers to a predictable, stereotyped pattern that embraces number of elements, as in a ritual. The term “*defamation*” refers to the destruction or attempted destruction of the reputation, status, or standing in the community of a person or group of like-minded persons by deliberately unfair, false, misleading or hateful communication.

Defamation might be confused with mere criticism, opposition or expression of opinion, which is necessary for a free society. The essence of a democratic system depends on a large degree of freedom of expression and of give and take in the marketplace of ideas. It is only through the vigorous exploration of alternative explanations and sorting of conflicting facts and competing ideas that wise and reasonably just decisions can take place. Hypersensitive individuals or groups often claim to have been unfairly defamed when they have merely been criticized or challenged with results unsatisfactory to themselves. It is important to differentiate between deliberate ritual defamation on the one hand, and mere criticism and disagreement on the other.

For the purposes of this brief essay, the central element is defamation and the necessarily accompanying stigmatization in retaliation for the real or imagined attitudes, opinions or beliefs of the subject, with the intention of silencing or neutralizing his or her influence, and/or making an example of them so as to discourage similar independence and “insensitivity” or non-observance of taboos on the part of others.

Ritual defamation differs in nature and degree from simple criticism or disagreement in that it is aggressive, organized, premeditated and skillfully applied with the idea of neutralizing or eliminating an opponent rather than simply refuting or proving him incorrect. Ritual defamation is often performed by an organization or representative of a special interest group.

The elements of a Ritual Defamation are these:

- 1. In a ritual defamation the subject (hereinafter referred to as the “offender”) must have violated a particular taboo in some way, usually by expressing or identifying with a forbidden attitude, opinion or belief. It is not necessary that he “do” anything about it or undertake any particular course of action, only that they engage in some form of communication or expression. In some cases even that is not necessary, only that they are associated with or “linked” to a taboo idea or behavior in some way. It is largely directed against presumed attitudes, opinions or beliefs.**
- 2. The primary method of attack in a ritual defamation is to assail the character of the offender, and never to offer more than a perfunctory challenge to the particular attitudes, opinions or beliefs expressed or implied. Any kind of debate with the offender is absolutely forbidden. The primary tool of ritual defamation is stigmatization through character assassination.**
- 3. An important rule in ritual defamation is to avoid engaging in any kind of debate over the truthfulness or reasonableness of what has been expressed, only to condemn it. To debate the issue opens the issue up for examination and discussion of its merits and to consider the**

evidence or arguments that may support the forbidden views, which is just what the ritual defamer is trying to avoid. The primary goal of a ritual defamation is censorship and repression and marginalization of the offender.

4. The offender is often somebody in the public eye - someone who is vulnerable to public opinion - although perhaps in a very modest way. It could be a businessman, schoolteacher, public official, newspaper writer, scholar, or merely an outspoken citizen. Visibility enhances vulnerability to ritual defamation.

5. An attempt, often successful, is made to involve others in the ritual defamation. In the case of a public official, other public officials will be urged to denounce the offender. In the case of a student, other students will be called upon to reject and ostracize them, in the case of a teacher, other teachers will be recruited, and so on.

6. In order for a ritual defamation to be effective, the offender must be dehumanized to the extent that he becomes thoroughly identified with the offending attitude, opinion or belief, and in a manner which distorts it to the point where it appears at its most extreme. For example, a victim who is defamed as a "subversive" will be identified with the worst images of subversion, such as espionage, terrorism and treason. An offender defamed as a "pervert" will be identified with the worst images of perversion, including child molestation and rape. An offender defamed as a "racist" or "anti-Semite" will be identified with the worst images of racism or hatred of Jews, such as lynchings or gas chambers.

7. To be maximally successful, a ritual defamation must bring pressure and humiliation on the offender from every quarter, including family and friends. If the offender has schoolchildren, they may be taunted and ridiculed as a consequence of adverse publicity. If the offender is employed they may be ostracized or fired from their job. If the offender belongs to clubs or associations, other members may be urged to expel them.

8. Ritual defamation is highly symbolic and emotional and is designed to largely bypass rational cognitive processes. In its modern form it is a relatively sophisticated method of focusing hatred through skillful (albeit unprincipled) manipulation of symbols, prejudices and ideas.

9. Any explanation the offender may offer, including the claim of being wronged or misunderstood, is considered irrelevant. To claim truth as a defense for a politically incorrect value, opinion or belief is interpreted as defiance and only compounds the problem. Ritual defamation, it must be emphasized, is not necessarily an issue of being wrong or incorrect about a matter, but rather of "insensitivity" and failing to observe social taboos.

An interesting aspect of ritual defamation as a practice is its universality. It is not specific to any value, opinion or belief or to any group or subculture. It may be used against any political, ethnic, national or religious group. It may, for example, be used by anti-Semites against Jews, or by Jews against anti-Semites; by right-wingers against left-wingers, or vice-versa, and so on.

The power of ritual defamation lies entirely in its capacity to intimidate and terrorize through the use of stigmatization. It embraces some elements of primitive superstitious behavior, as in placing a "curse" or "hex" upon selected victims. It results in the tainting, labeling or marking of a person as "impure," somehow less than human and as an outcast. It is a tool often used against rebels and dissenters. In totalitarian societies it is a primary means of control.

A literary example of ritual defamation is Nathaniel Hawthorne's novel, *The Scarlet Letter*, where a young woman was forced to wear a large "A" on her clothing to indicate that she had committed adultery. A

historical example might be the witch hunts that occurred in colonial America. A more modern example might be the McCarthy period of the 1950's, where both Communist and non-Communist leftists were charged with disloyalty and subversion, and recent crusades for "political correctness" in American society have produced a large number of victims unfairly linked to ideas or beliefs they do not hold.

Ritual defamation plays into the subconscious fear most people have of being shunned, abandoned or rejected by the tribe or community and its accompanying psychological support systems. For some victims the experience can be terrifying. Only the strongest psyches can survive it undamaged.

The weakness of ritual defamation lies in its tendency toward overkill and in its obvious maliciousness. More analytical or reflective citizens might perceive it as bullying, harassment or mere cruelty. Occasionally a ritual defamation will fail because of poor planning and failure to correctly judge the vulnerability of the offender, or because its unprincipled viciousness generates sympathy for them.

It is important to recognize and identify the patterns of a ritual defamation. Like virtually all propaganda and disinformation campaigns it is accomplished primarily through the manipulation of meaning and the use of words and symbols that characterize, identify and stigmatize. It is not used to persuade an opponent or to promote an opposing viewpoint but to inflict public *punishment* and *humiliation*. Dr. Edward Manner, professor of philosophy at Notre Dame University, observes that "*stigmatization is one of the most oppressive, inhumane forms of punishment any group of human beings can inflict on one of its members.*" He notes that it is "*a form of social control a civilized society will use rarely, and only with the greatest of care.*"

Permission to reprint *What is Political Extremism?* and/or *The Protocols of Ritual Defamation* in full is granted providing no changes are made.

Laird Wilcox

Email: lwilcox3@aol.com

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Campus Journal

Far Left and Far Right Meet in a Midwest Library

Special to the New York Times

Lawrence, Kan – This town of 68,000, home to mainstream icons like the University of Kansas Jayhawks sports teams and a Hallmark Cards plant, might seem an unusual choice of locales for what many experts call the pre-eminent collection of American extremist political literature.

But for 27 years, the manifestoes, broadsides, books and taped speeches of Communists and crypto-fascists, witches, white supremacists and U.F.O. conspiracy theorists, not to mention countless other fringe ideologies, have been growing in number in the climate-controlled rooms of the Wilcox Collection of Contemporary Political Movements at the University of Kansas Library.

The chief nurturer of this eponymous collection is Laird Wilcox, a 49-year-old writer and retired carpenter who studied at the university in the early 60's, became a member of the radical Students for a Democratic Society, dropped out of college and began collecting what he calls "my monument to the great diversity of free speech in this country." He sold three file drawers of political material for \$1,100 to the university in 1965, and the Wilcox Collection was born. For the 27 years since then, he has been donating an average of two or three boxes of extremist literature a month.

The Wilcox Collection now includes more than 10,000 books, pamphlets and periodicals, 800 audio tapes, and close to 100,000 other pieces, including correspondence, posters and clippings from more than 8,000 organizations from the 1920's to the present. University officials declined to estimate the collection's value, but Mr. Wilcox says it is worth \$2 million. Among the rarities in the collection, Mr. Wilcox said, is a tape of a pro-Fascist speech by Charles A. Lindbergh in the 1930's and American Communist documents from the same era.

He collects his material through his network of contacts in extremist political movements and through reading their publications, which often have advertisements for books and tapes. "I've bought, been given, or traded for all of it," he said. A steady stream of students and researchers used the closed-stack collection, which has minimal restrictions.

"It is so far the leading collection of its kind; it is extraordinary," said Lyman Tower Sargent, a professor of political science at the University of Missouri in St. Louis, who has used the collection for a textbook on contemporary political ideologies.

Mr. Wilcox, the son of a construction accountant who moved his family frequently, has had a near-lifelong fascination with extremists; he grew up listening to intense political debates between relatives who ran the political gamut, from socialists to members of the John Birch Society.

"Why does someone become a Communist?" he asks. "Why does someone become a Bircher? What makes them vulnerable to extremist politics – and not necessarily the particular kind they end up with, which really is almost accidental?"

Mr. Wilcox, who describes himself as a "classical free-speech liberal," has a few theories, based on his acquaintance with a number of extremists. He says all extremists take a political notion to its limits, regardless of the price they may pay in their personal lives. They brook no opposition to their views, often feeling morally superior to others. They also often show a disturbing fondness for letting the ends justify the means.

Despite what he sees as almost a pathetic cast to many extremists' lives, he argues that they are sometimes prophetic, and that today's fringe movement may be tomorrow's mainstream organization. "Most of the social movement that has taken place in the United States in the last century started out as being viewed as the work of extremist groups," Mr. Wilcox said. "The women's movement, you know, was like a bunch of nuts, a bunch of feminists, suffragettes, crackpots, cooks. That's how they were viewed.

“The civil rights movement was viewed as marginal also, watched by the F.B.I., suspected of all kinds of terrible things,” he said. “Yet these were groups that developed a significant following that actually attached themselves to legitimate issues.”

B2 THE WALL STREET JOURNAL, THURSDAY, APRIL 27, 1995.

Emergence of Extremist Groups Reflects Changing U. S. Society, Researcher says.

By Dennis Farney

Staff Reporter of the Wall Street Journal

Olathe, Kan. – “Extremists are the first to sense that society is changing – and, often, the first to get it wrong.” So says Laird Wilcox, who ought to know. For three decades now, this intriguing man with the look and burly build of a motorcycle rider – has been studying extremists the way a lepidopterist studies moths. He has interviewed their leaders and collected their often-paranoid literature. Along the way, he founded the Wilcox Collection of Contemporary Political Movements at the nearby University of Kansas. It is one of the largest collections of extremist literature in the U. S.

Eroding Freedoms

Now, as a civil libertarian, the 52-year-old Mr. Wilcox is worried. He fears the growing backlash against Oklahoma City’s tragic bombing will result in new laws that erode the freedoms of everyone. “This is a fairly typical civil liberties crisis, where a notorious, horrifying crime has been committed and they’re casting a very wide net,” he said. “What I think is going to happen is a civil-liberties rollback from the great gains made in the 60s What they’re going to do is go back to the FBI of the ‘50s, with all of the abuses that existed then.”

Mr. Wilcox is the first to concede that his is an unpopular view, especially now. Violence, of course, cannot be tolerated. But violence and perceptions are two different things, and he argues that extremist groups aren’t *always* wrong in their perceptions that society is changing around them – or that it needs changing. Until the ‘60s, after all, many civil rights groups were regarded as extreme for protesting segregation. Extremist groups are like the miner’s canary, the first indicators that the political atmosphere is changing.

So what kind of change is “the populist right,” as he calls it, sensing now. From its perspective, he said, it senses an American society growing steadily less tolerant of lower-middle-class values and lifestyles even as – indeed, precisely because – it is growing more tolerant of gays, of careerist women, of nonsmokers in restaurants, of endangered species. “There has been a reversal of roles,” he said. “The left is becoming the law and order group in society.”

As a case in point, he said civil-rights attorney Morris Dees was the first to propose tighter security laws in the wake of the Oklahoma City bombing. Now, in something rare, President Clinton, Newt Gingrich and Orrin Hatch seem to have united in a push to tighten security laws; indeed, a kind of political bidding war seems to be in its early stages.

“What I think the militias picked up on is that there are huge changes coming in society,” he said. One is a growing “intolerance” of dissent – from the left as well as the right. Another is the growing role of women in politics: women are more alarmed by gun ownership than men, and their concern is being translated into laws that gun owners find threatening. Still another is the growing erosion of the importance of national boundaries by the ever-more-important global economy. All these trends, while comforting to many, are threatening to many, particularly those in the lower-middle class. “They sense a theft of their culture,” he said.

Individualists’ Rage

It’s doubtful that the typical right-wing militia member would voice his sense of loss this articulately, though. “They’re not deep thinkers,” said John George, the co-author with Mr. Wilcox of a 1991 study of political extremism in America. This, the authors say, hints at one of the major differences between right-wing and left-wing extremist groups. Leftists tend to be more articulate and more inclined to cluster around a shared ideology; rightists, in general, are too individualistic to share any elaborate ideology and less verbal when it comes to expressing their rage.”

Mr. Wilcox himself, who joined the leftist Students for a Democratic Society in his 1960’s college days at the University of Kansas, left that group after becoming disenchanted with the rigid ideology that progressively enveloped it. Today, he has grown skeptical of ideologies – all ideologies. He sees them as traps for the mind. As an antidote, he compiled a book entitled “Selected Quotations for the Ideological Skeptic.”

Taken as a whole, the quotations constitute a warning against extremism == and a warning against government overreaction to extremism.

One the one hand is James Baldwin, the novelist, who warned: “A devotion to humanity ... is too easily equated with a devotion to a Cause, and Causes, as we know, are notoriously bloodthirsty.”

But on the other is James Madison, who wrote in 1778: “I believe there are more instances of the abridgement of the freedom of the people by gradual and silent encroachments by those in power than by violent and sudden usurpations.”