

Propaganda & Persuasion

Selected Quotations

Compiled by Laird Wilcox

2001

1. 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).
2. 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).
3. 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.
4. 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.
5. 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.
6. 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.
7. 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.
8. 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.
9. 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.
10. 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 BALDWIN, *The Evidence of Things Not Seen*, 1985.
11. 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.
12. 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.
13. Propaganda is an organized and public form of the process which the psychologist calls "suggestion." F. C. BARTLETT, *Political Propaganda*, 1940.
14. Vilify! Vilify! Some of it will always stick. PIERRE BEAUMARCHAIS (1732-1799).

15. 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, *The Denial of Death*, 1973.
16. 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).
17. [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.
18. 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.
19. 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*.
20. 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.
21. 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.
22. 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 and GARY A. STEINER, *Human Behavior: An Inventory of Scientific Findings*, 1964.
23. 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, *Propaganda*, 1928.
24. 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.
25. 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.
26. 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.
27. 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.
28. 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... (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... 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.
29. 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, *The Closing of the American Mind*, 1987.
30. 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.
31. 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 BOORSTIN, *The Image*, 1962.
32. 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, *The Image*, 1962.
33. 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, *The Image*, 1962.
34. Sometimes we call a man a fascist simply because we dislike him. HEYWOOD BROWN (1888-1939).

35. 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.
36. 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, *Techniques of Persuasion*, 1963.
37. 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.
38. 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 mans "depravity." HANS BUCHHEIM, *Totalitarian Rule*, 1968.
39. 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.
40. 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.
41. 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.
42. 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.
43. 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.
44. 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.
45. 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.
46. 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.
47. 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.
48. 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.
49. Your noblest natures are most credulous. GEORGE CHAPMAN (1559-1634), *Bussy d'Ambois*, 1604.
50. 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.
51. 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.
52. The most imaginative people are often the most credulous, for to them everything is possible. ALEXANDER CHASE, *Perspectives*, 1966.
53. 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.
54. 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.
55. 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.).
56. 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.
57. 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.

58. 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.
59. 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. DR VICTOR B. CLINE, quoted in Four Arguments For The Elimination of Television, 1978.
60. [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... I. BERNARD COHEN, quoted in *Communication Yearbook II* (Rogers and Dearing), 1988.
61. 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.
62. 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.
63. 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.
64. 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.
65. 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.
66. Unless one understands the power of words, he will never understand men. JOSEPH CONRAD (1857-1924), A Personal Record, 1912.
67. 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.
68. 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.
69. 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, Using Social Thought, 1989.
70. 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, Using Social Thought, 1989.
71. [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, Public Opinion and Propaganda, 1966.
72. "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, Public Opinion and Propaganda, 1966.
73. 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, Public Opinion and Propaganda, 1966.
74. What was once thought can never be unthought. FRIEDRICH DURRENMATT, The Physicist, 1962.
75. 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.
76. 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.
77. 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.
78. 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.

79. 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.
80. When there is a choice about how to lie, liars usually prefer concealing to falsifying. There are many advantages. For one thing, concealing is easier than falsifying. Nothing has to be made up. There is no chance of getting caught with having the whole story worked out in advance. PAUL ECKMAN, *Telling Lies*, 1985.
81. 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.
82. 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.
83. 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.
84. 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.
85. 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.
86. Condense some daily experience into a glowing symbol, and an audience is electrified. RALPH WALDO EMERSON (1803-1882), *Eloquence*, 1977.
87. 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.
88. 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.
89. Propaganda is persuading people to make up their minds while withholding some of the facts from them. HAROLD EVANS.
90. 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.
91. 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*.
92. 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.
93. 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.
94. 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.
95. When you would persuade, speak of interest, not of reason. BENJAMIN FRANKLIN (1706-1790), 1732.
96. PR, Friedrich. 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.
97. 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, *Foreword, Presidential Television*, 1973.

98. Even doubtful accusations leave a stain behind them. THOMAS FULLER (1654-1734), *Gnomologia*, 1734.
99. PR, Garfield. 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.
100. Propaganda involves identifying one's cause with values which are unquestioned. TIMOTHY GARTON-ASH, *The Uses of Authority*, 1989.
101. 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.
102. Using polling, media, and public relations techniques, modern states 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.
103. It is the absolute right of the state to supervise the formation of public opinion. PAUL JOSEPH GOEBBELS (1897-1945), Address, October 1933.
104. 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.
105. When an idea is wanting, a word can always be found to take its place. JOHANN WOLFGANG Von GOETHE (1749-1832).
106. 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.
107. Attitude is the predisposition of the individual to evaluate some symbol or object or aspect of his world in a favorable or unfavorable manner. Opinion is the verbal expression of an attitude... Attitudes include both the affective, or feeling core of liking or disliking, and the cognitive, or belief, elements which describe the object of the attitude, its characteristics, and its relations to other objects. All attitudes thus include beliefs, but not all beliefs are attitudes. When specific attitudes are organized into a hierarchical structure, they comprise value systems. FRED I. GREENSTEIN & MICHAEL LERNER, *A Source Book for the Study of Personality and Politics*, 1971.
108. 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.
109. 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.
110. 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.
111. 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,
112. 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*.
113. 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.
114. 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.
115. 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.
116. 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*.
117. 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.
118. Outlets for propaganda are necessary in any society, and they are particularly necessary in a democracy. Our freedom of the press is really only a freedom to be propagandized, but it deserves to be defended on that ground. One of the great dangers of our

time is the threat against freedom of speech and freedom of the press, two liberties that are unknown today through a large part of our world. WILLIAM HUMMELL and KEITH HUNTRESS, *The Analysis of Propaganda*, 1949.

119. 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).

120. 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.

121. 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.

122. 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.

123. 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, *Heroes and Hero-Worship*, 1943.

124. The first casualty when war comes is truth. HIRAM WARREN JOHNSON (1866-1945), U. S. Senator, 1917.

125. 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.

126. 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.

127. 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.

128. 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.

129. 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.

130. 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.

131. 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.

132. 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.

133. 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.

134. 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.

135. 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.

136. 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.

137. 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.
138. 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.
139. 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.
140. 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.
141. 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.
142. 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).
143. 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.
144. 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 (1811-1931), *The Crowd*, 1895.
145. PR, LeBon. 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 (1811-1931), *The Crowd*, 1895.
146. 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 and ELIZABETH BRIANT LEE, *The Fine Art of Propaganda*, 1939.
147. 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 applied, 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.
148. The language of the totalitarian 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.
149. [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).
150. 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.
151. 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.
152. 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.
153. The object of oratory is not truth but persuasion. THOMAS BABINGTON MACAULAY (1800-1859), *The Athenian Orators*, 1824.
154. 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.

155. 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.
156. 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.
157. 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.
158. 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.
159. 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.... The confinement of our experience becomes the basis of their control of us. JERRY MANDER, *Four Arguments For The Elimination of Television*, 1978.
160. Television limits and confines human knowledge. It changes the way humans receive information from the world.... 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.
161. 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.
162. 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.
163. "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.
164. 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.
165. 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.
166. The public, with its yearning to be instructed, edified, and pulled by the nose, demands certainties. H. L. MENCKEN (1880-1956), *Prejudices*, 1924.
167. 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.
168. 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.
169. The more an individuals 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.
170. Propaganda techniques consisting of: (1) the use of stereotypes in simplifying reality; (2) the presentation of opinion disguised as fact; (3) the use of biased attribution; (4) the process of information selection or card stacking (when the pattern of selection becomes evident); (5) the use of misleading headlines; (6) biased photographs; (6) censorship or "exercising news prerogatives" through a) selective control of information to favor a particular viewpoint of editorial position, and b) deliberate doctoring of information in order to create a certain impression; (8) repetition of certain themes, persons, ideas, and slogans; (9) an emphasis on the negative, selecting targets in line with preexisting dispositions of the audiences; (10) appeal to authorities., well known and reliable sources; (11) fictionalizing, creatively filling the gaps in a story, making up direct quotations, etc. JOHN C. MERRILL, in *Media, Messages, and Men* (J. Merrill & R. Lowenstein), 1971.
171. 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.
172. Little difference exist 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.

173. 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.
174. 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.
175. 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.
176. 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.
177. 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), *Address*, 19 October 1959.
178. History is the version of past events that people have decided to agree upon. NAPOLEON BONAPARTE (1769-1821).
179. Religion is excellent stuff for keeping the common people quiet. NAPOLEON BONAPARTE (1769-1821), *Maxims*, 1815.
180. 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.
181. 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*.
182. 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).
183. Morality is the best of all devices for leading mankind by the nose. FRIEDRICH NIETZSCHE (1844-1900), *The Anti-Christ*, 1895.
184. 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.
185. 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.
186. 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.
187. 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.
188. 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.
189. 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.
190. 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.
191. Let the people think they govern and they will be governed. WILLIAM PENN (1644-1718), *Reflections and Maxims*, 1693.
192. 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.
193. 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, *The Mass Media and Modern Society*, 1965.
194. 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 c-relations programs instead of the threat of the firing squad or the concentration camp. THEODORE B. PETERSON, *The Mass Media and Modern Society*, 1965.

195. 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.
196. 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.
197. 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.
198. 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.
199. 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.
200. [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.
201. Cults can insure members' obedience by establishing a spiral of escalating commitment; the cult member, at first, agrees to simple requests that become increasingly more demanding. ANTHONY PRATKANIS and ELLIOT ARONSON, *Age of Propaganda*, 1991.
202. 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.
203. 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. T. H. QUALTER, *Propaganda and Psychological Warfare*, 1962.
204. 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).
205. 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.
206. 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 (1893-1968), in *Forms of Rhetoric* (T. Kakonis and J. C. Wilcox), 1969.
207. Nothing sways the stupid more than arguments they can't understand. CARDINAL De RETZ (1614-1679), *Memoires*, 1762-79.
208. 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*.
209. 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).
210. 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.
211. 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: Your boys are not going to be sent into any foreign wars. FRANKLIN DELANO ROOSEVELT (1882-1945), *Campaign speech*, 1940.
212. 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.
213. 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.
214. 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.
215. 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.

216. 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.
217. 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.
218. 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.
219. 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.
220. 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.
221. [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.
222. 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.
223. 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.
224. 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.
225. 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.
226. 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.
227. Ridicule often checks what is absurd and fully as often smothers that which is noble. SIR WALTER SCOTT (1771-1832), *Quentin Durwood*, 1823.
228. 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.
229. 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, *America at Mid-Century*, 1955.
230. 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.
231. Every event, once it has occurred, can be made to appear inevitable by a competent historian. LEE SIMONSONA (1888-1967).
232. 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.
233. Print is the sharpest and strongest weapon of our party. JOSEPH STALIN (1879-1844), *Speech*, 19 April 1923.
234. The doctrines which men ostensibly hold do not become operative upon their conduct until they have generated an imaginative symbolism. LESLIE STEPHEN, *History of English Thought in the Eighteenth Century*, 1927.

235. 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*.
236. 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).
237. 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.
238. 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.
239. 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.
240. 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.
241. 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.
242. A striking expression, with the aid of a small amount of truth, can surprise us into accepting a falsehood, MARGUIS de VAUVENARGUES (1715-1747), *Reflections and Maxims*, 1746.
243. 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.
244. 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.
245. 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.
246. 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.
247. 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.
248. 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.
249. [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.
250. 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.
251. 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 is other nations is reserved for tyrants, priests, parties and mandarins. THEODORE WHITE, *The Making of the President*, 1972.
252. 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.

253. 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.

254. [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, *Handbook of Social Psychology*.