

Edward Bernays
With an Introduction by Mark Crispin Miller

P ropaganda

Only through the active energy of the intelligent few can the public at large become aware of and act upon new ideas.

Propaganda bears the same relation to education as to business or politics. It may be abused. It may be used to over-advertise an institution and to create in the public mind artificial values. There can be no absolute guarantee against its misuse.

A presidential candidate may be "drafted" in response to "overwhelming popular demand," but it is well known that his name may be decided upon by half a dozen men sitting around a table in a hotel room.

Governments, whether they are monarchical, constitutional, democratic or communist, depend upon acquiescent public opinion for the success of their efforts and, in fact, government is government only by virtue of public acquiescence.

As civilization has become more complex, and as the need for invisible government has been increasingly demonstrated, the technical means have been invented and developed by which opinion may be regimented.

Nowadays the successors of the rulers, those whose position or ability gives them power, can no longer do what they want without the approval of the masses, they find in propaganda a tool which is increasingly powerful in gaining that approval.

Democracy is administered by the intelligent minority who know how to regiment and guide the masses.

An entire party, a platform, an international policy is sold to the public, or is not sold, on the basis of the intangible element of personality.

"Bernays's honest and practical manual provides much insight into some of the most powerful and influential institutions of contemporary industrial-state capitalist democracies."
—Noam Chomsky



Propaganda

By Edward Bernays

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Book Summary by Lies are Unbekoming

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Introduction – Mark Crispin Miller

Executive summary:

This introduction provides a historical context for the term "propaganda" and its evolving connotations. The author traces the origins of the word, which initially had a neutral meaning related to the spread of faith but later became associated with secret associations and negative perceptions.

The introduction explores how World War I influenced the reputation of propaganda, as governments used modern media to rally their populations, leading to the demonization of the term. It discusses the paradoxical effect of Allied propaganda, which tarnished the word while simultaneously legitimizing the field of public suasion.

Edward Bernays's book "Propaganda," aims to redeem the term and present propaganda as a legitimate and essential practice for managing public opinion.

The book explores the myth of propaganda as a detached, rational endeavor carried out by expert manipulators. Edward Bernays, a renowned propagandist, sold the idea that propaganda was a methodical process controlled by skilled individuals who could manipulate public opinion. He presented himself as a supreme manipulator who could control the actions of a receptive population without their awareness.

The introduction delves into the historical background and mindset behind this myth, tracing its roots to the positivism of the 19th century and the influence of Sigmund Freud's ideas. It also examines the dichotomy between the detached image of the propagandist and the fiery commitment and conviction that successful propagandists often possess.

Key Takeaways:

1. The war propaganda campaigns, while successful, made the word "propaganda" associated with deceit and corruption.
2. Edward Bernays's book "Propaganda" seeks to rehabilitate the word and promote propaganda as a crucial tool for managing public opinion.
3. Bernays emphasizes the role of an elite group of propagandists who shape public perceptions and guide society.
4. The book serves as a sales pitch for Bernays's own public relations expertise, mainly targeting corporate clients.
5. Bernays's approach to propaganda focuses on transforming the prevailing customs and creating circumstances that modify public acceptance.
6. The introduction highlights the tension between the negative perception of propaganda and its increasing importance in shaping public discourse and behavior.
7. Edward Bernays sold the myth of propaganda as a rational endeavor conducted by expert manipulators who could control public opinion.
8. The myth of the detached propagandist and compliant crowd was pervasive in the 20th century, portraying the crowd as female and easily influenced.
9. Successful propagandists often possess a combination of fanatical commitment and cynicism, working within a mental borderland where conviction and calculation intertwine.

10. The propagandist's power lies in the inner murkiness and enigmatic nature of their manipulative abilities, which cannot be easily explained through simplistic dualistic formulas.
11. Propaganda is not limited to agitators and orators but also involves gradual, incremental, and dispersed efforts by admakers, public relations experts, and other professionals.
12. The propagandist's belief in the cause they promote, even if temporary or superficial, is crucial for effective propaganda.
13. Propagandists, including Bernays, may let their clients' needs shape "the truth," presenting a major occupational hazard that can lead to a detachment from reality.
14. Corporate propaganda often suppresses inconvenient truths and undermines investigative journalism, hindering the dissemination of important information to the public.

Excerpts:

1. "The word seems to have retained its strongly Catholic aura well into the 19th century... However, while the word then could be used to make a sinister impression, it did not automatically evoke subversive falsehood, as it has since the 1920s."
2. "In World War I, it was the propaganda of our side that first made 'propaganda' so opprobrious a term. Fouled by close association with 'the Hun,' the word did not regain its innocence—not even when the Allied propaganda used to tar 'the Hun' had been belatedly exposed to the American and British people."
3. "The propagandist rules. The propagandized do whatever he would have them do, exactly as he tells them to, and without knowing it."
4. "From what we know about the most ferocious demagogues of yesteryear, successful mass incitement does tend to bespeak, and seemingly requires, a fiery core of radical commitment, even if the agitator consciously distorts his facts or trots out this or that rhetorical device."

Chapter 1 – Organizing Chaos

Executive summary:

This chapter discusses the concept of "Organizing Chaos" and explores the role of invisible governors in democratic society. It highlights how the manipulation of the masses through organized habits and opinions is a crucial element in governing a nation.

The chapter emphasizes that our minds, tastes, and ideas are shaped by individuals we are often unaware of, who hold positions of natural leadership and possess an understanding of mass psychology and social patterns.

It acknowledges the necessity of invisible governors for the orderly functioning of society, even though their identities may remain unknown to each other.

The chapter also examines how the need for invisible government has increased with the complexity of civilization and the technological advancements that allow for the rapid spread of ideas and opinions.

Key Takeaways:

1. Democratic society relies on the manipulation of organized habits and opinions of the masses by invisible governors.
2. Our minds, tastes, and ideas are largely influenced by individuals we have never heard of.
3. Invisible governors govern through natural leadership and the ability to supply ideas, holding key positions in the social structure.
4. The organization and direction provided by invisible government help avoid confusion and narrow down choices for citizens.
5. The media and ethical teachers play a significant role in shaping public opinion and social conduct.
6. Society consents to the narrowing down of choices through propaganda and the focus of attention on specific ideas and objects.
7. Cleavages in society are diverse and can be based on social, political, economic, racial, religious, or ethical factors.
8. The structure of groupings and associations in society forms the mechanism by which democracy organizes its group mind and simplifies mass thinking.

Excerpts:

1. "Those who manipulate this unseen mechanism of society constitute an invisible government which is the true ruling power of our country."
2. "The instruments by which public opinion is organized and focused may be misused. But such organization and focusing are necessary to orderly life."

Chapter 2 – The new propaganda

Executive summary

This chapter delves into the power of propaganda in shaping public opinion and influencing the masses. It highlights the shift in power from kings to the people due to advancements like the steam engine, the press, and universal suffrage.

It explores how propaganda has become an essential tool in modern society, employed by various institutions and groups to sway public support for their causes. It emphasizes that propaganda is not inherently good or bad, but its impact depends on the merit of the cause and the accuracy of the information being disseminated.

The chapter also examines the anatomy of society, the role of propaganda in business, and the importance of intelligent minorities in driving progress through propaganda.

Key Takeaways:

1. The power has shifted from kings to the people, and propaganda plays a significant role in influencing public opinion.
2. Universal literacy has not necessarily led to original thought but has produced individuals with rubber-stamped ideas and susceptibility to external influences.
3. Propaganda is a pervasive force in society and is used to shape public support for various enterprises, ideas, or groups.
4. Propaganda works by creating circumstances and influencing the minds of millions, often through conscious direction and appeals to authority figures.
5. The effectiveness of propaganda is demonstrated by its widespread use in post-war times, as it proved successful in mobilizing public opinion during the war.
6. The new propaganda takes into account the anatomy of society and targets specific group formations and loyalties to achieve its goals.
7. Propaganda can be harnessed by both proponent and opponent groups, but the intelligent few have a greater capacity to shape public opinion.
8. The organized and continuous use of propaganda by minorities can drive progress and introduce new ideas to the broader public.

Excerpts:

1. "Modern propaganda is a consistent, enduring effort to create or shape events to influence the relations of the public to an enterprise, idea, or group."
2. "Business offers graphic examples of the effect that may be produced upon the public by interested groups, such as textile manufacturers losing their markets."

Chapter 3 – The new propagandists

Executive summary:

This chapter delves into the individuals who shape public opinion, often unnoticed, and control the ideas, beliefs, and preferences of the masses.

The chapter emphasizes the influential figures, both visible and invisible, who mold public opinion and highlights the extent to which our thoughts and habits are influenced by these authorities.

It introduces the idea of an "invisible government" and discusses how the concentration of power in the hands of a few is driven by the cost of manipulating social machinery.

Key Takeaways:

1. The chapter exposes the influence of individuals who shape public opinion, often unknown to the general public.
2. It highlights that even prominent public figures are guided by unseen advisors and decision-makers.
3. The power of invisible wirepullers in various domains, such as politics, fashion, religion, and commerce, is discussed.
4. The chapter examines the ways in which our thoughts and habits are modified by these authorities.
5. It explores how public relations professionals, also known as "public relations counsel," play a crucial role in interpreting ideas to the public and securing public support for them.
6. The chapter emphasizes that public opinion is a vital factor for the success of governments, industries, and various groups.
7. It explains that the public relations counsel analyzes the client's problems, public reactions, and attitudes to shape their actions and gain public approval.
8. The chapter reveals that corporations and organizations began employing public relations counsel to improve their public image and foster goodwill, leading to the profession's growth.

Excerpts:

1. "Such persons typify in the public mind the type of ruler associated with the phrase invisible government. But we do not often stop to think that there are dictators in other fields whose influence is just as decisive as that of the politicians I have mentioned."
2. "The public relations counsel, then, is the agent who, working with modern media of communications and the group formations of society, brings an idea to the consciousness of the public. But he is a great deal more than that. He is concerned with courses of action, doctrines, systems and opinions, and the securing of public support for them."

Chapter 4 - The psychology of public relations

Executive summary:

This chapter explores the psychology behind public relations and the manipulation of group behavior. It begins by discussing the distinct mental characteristics and motivations of groups as opposed to individuals.

The chapter highlights the possibility of controlling and regimenting the masses without their awareness through an understanding of the mechanisms and motives of the group mind.

Although mass psychology is not an exact science, the practice of propaganda has shown some success in influencing public opinion by operating on the principles derived from the study of the group mind.

Key takeaways:

1. Mass psychology reveals that groups have distinct mental characteristics and motivations different from those of individuals.
2. The study of mass psychology raises the possibility of controlling and manipulating the masses according to one's will.
3. Propaganda, while not a laboratory science, draws upon the knowledge of mass psychology to effect change in public opinion.
4. The modern propagandist conducts systematic and objective studies of the target audience to understand their preferences and motivations.
5. Group behavior and conformity play a significant role in influencing individual actions and decisions.
6. Clichés and symbolic associations are powerful tools used by propagandists to manipulate group emotions.
7. People are often unaware of the true motives that drive their actions, and they may be influenced by hidden desires and social pressures.
8. The success of propaganda lies in understanding and appealing to human desires, which serve as the driving force behind social behavior.

Excerpts:

1. "If you can influence the leaders, either with or without their conscious cooperation, you automatically influence the group which they sway. But men do not need to be actually gathered together in a public meeting or in a street riot to be subject to the influences of mass psychology."
2. "Men are rarely aware of the real reasons which motivate their actions... The successful propagandist must understand the true motives and not be content to accept the reasons which men give for what they do."

Chapter 5 – Business and the public

Executive summary:

This chapter explores the evolving relationship between business and the public. In the past few decades, business has recognized the importance of engaging with the public and has transitioned from a position of disregard to actively seeking partnership. This shift has been driven by various factors, including economic considerations and a growing public understanding of business and its societal impact.

Businesses now understand that their relationship with the public extends beyond their products and encompasses their overall image and values. To thrive in the modern era, businesses must maintain a healthy cooperation with the public by understanding its demands, values, and preferences.

This chapter emphasizes the increasing importance of public relations in the context of public ownership of big businesses through investments in stocks and bonds. It highlights how the success of issuing stocks or bonds depends not only on the financial status of the company but also on public opinion and goodwill.

The chapter explains that public acceptance plays a crucial role in the successful merger of companies and in attracting investments from both domestic and foreign sources. Additionally, it explores the use of propaganda as a tool to combat unethical advertising practices and establish trust in industries. The chapter concludes by discussing the need for businesses to adapt their sales appeals, utilize new modes of communication, and effectively handle public relations in emergency situations.

Key takeaways:

1. The growth of mass production has necessitated active efforts to create demand for products through advertising and propaganda.
2. Improvements in advertising techniques, including reaching larger audiences and employing persuasive methods, have facilitated closer interactions between businesses and the public.
3. Businesses engage in competition not only within their own industry but also in altering public perceptions and preferences.
4. Business success increasingly depends on public opinion, as investors and consumers scrutinize a company's reputation and conduct.
5. Public relations strategies can involve continuous interpretation to shape public perception and high-spotting to focus attention on key aspects of a business.
6. Public opinion and goodwill are essential for the success of issuing stocks or bonds.
7. Public acceptance can determine the success or failure of mergers and acquisitions.
8. Public loans to foreign countries depend on the goodwill and reputation of those nations.
9. Public relations complements legitimate advertising and helps counter unfair competition.
10. Ethical members of an industry can use propaganda to convey the truth and combat unethical advertising practices.

11. Competition in the modern era extends beyond individual products to inter-commodity and inter-industrial competition.
12. Businesses must develop sales appeals beyond low prices and establish unique product attributes to differentiate themselves.
13. Public relations can be used to handle emergency situations, counter false rumors, and protect a company's reputation.

Excerpts:

1. "In the face of an aroused public conscience, the large corporations were obliged to renounce their contention that their affairs were nobody's business. If today big business were to seek to throttle the public, a new reaction similar to that of twenty years ago would take place, and the public would rise and try to throttle big business with restrictive laws."
2. "The tendencies of big business are to get bigger, intensifying and multiplying its relationships with the public. The responsibilities of business extend to various stakeholders, including stockholders, dealers, industry as a whole, retailers, consumers, and the general public. Businesses must understand and fulfill these responsibilities to maintain favorable relationships."
3. "The success of such issues depends upon the general record of the concern in the business world, and also upon the goodwill which it has been able to create in the general public."

Chapter 6 – Propaganda and political leadership

Executive summary:

In this chapter, the author discusses the challenge of inducing political leaders to lead effectively in modern democracies. The prevalent belief that the voice of the people represents divine wisdom often results in elected officials becoming subservient to the will of their constituents, leading to political sterility. The author argues that the voice of the people actually reflects the ideas and symbols propagated by group leaders and those who understand public opinion manipulation.

Fortunately, skilled politicians can shape public will through the use of propaganda. However, political campaigns have been slow to adapt their methods to the changing public mindset, unlike the business sector, which has effectively utilized advertising techniques. The chapter emphasizes the need for politicians to learn from business methods in terms of understanding and reaching the masses.

The author explores the role of propaganda in political leadership and the effective use of emotions and media in political campaigns. The overuse of emotional appeals, such as parades and mass meetings, has diminished their impact on the public. The author emphasizes the importance of synchronizing emotional events with the overall campaign message and platform.

Furthermore, the chapter highlights the significance of personality in present-day politics and the need for politicians to align their campaigns with the interests of specific groups within the public. The author suggests that political campaigns should utilize various media channels and carefully plan their events and activities to engage and persuade the public effectively.

Key takeaways:

1. The challenge in modern democracies is to motivate political leaders to lead effectively.
2. The voice of the people is shaped by group leaders and those skilled in manipulating public opinion.
3. Propaganda is a powerful tool that sincere and gifted politicians can use to mold public will.
4. Politicians must learn from business methods of mass distribution of ideas and products.
5. Political leaders should apply the principles of careful planning and budgeting used in big businesses.
6. The platform and pledges of a political campaign should be honest and carry guarantees.
7. Personality plays a significant role in politics, but the party's program and its ability to be carried out are more important.
8. Political campaigns should target specific groups within the public based on their interests and concerns.
9. Various media channels should be used strategically to disseminate campaign messages.

10. Dramatizing and creating events can capture public attention and generate discussion about campaign issues.
11. Propaganda should be truthful and socially responsible, adapting to the changing sophistication and intelligence of the public.
12. Political leaders can utilize trial balloons to gauge public opinion, but skilled propagandists can lead the public rather than merely following it.
13. The effective use of propaganda can bridge the gap between intellectual and practical classes, ensuring a strong relationship between the government and the public.

Excerpts:

1. "Fortunately, the sincere and gifted politician is able, by the instrument of propaganda, to mold and form the will of the people."
2. "Politics was the first big business in America. Therefore there is a good deal of irony in the fact that business has learned everything that politics has to teach, but that politics has failed to learn very much from business methods of mass distribution of ideas and products."
3. "The haphazard staging of emotional events without regard to their value as part of the whole campaign is a waste of effort."

Chapter 7 – Women’s activities and propaganda

Executive summary:

This chapter explores the role of women in contemporary America and their use of propaganda to influence political and social spheres. Despite achieving legal equality with men, women still have distinct interests and activities beyond their economic pursuits.

Organized women's groups have made significant contributions to city councils, legislatures, and public opinion by utilizing propaganda effectively. The chapter emphasizes that women's influence is primarily seen through organized groups rather than individual political leadership.

Women's organizations have achieved legislative successes, welfare legislation, and social welfare activities by strategically using propaganda techniques.

Key Takeaways:

1. Women's organizations have achieved welfare legislation, such as the eight-hour workday, prohibition enforcement, and the Shepard-Towner Bill.
2. The National League of Women Voters and other organizations utilize propaganda techniques to disseminate their principles and achieve their objectives.
3. The effectiveness of women's organizations in politics can be attributed to professional training during suffrage campaigns and the participation of prominent women in peacetime activities.
4. Women's organizations have made an impact on various nonpolitical fields, such as health education, fine arts appreciation, and social welfare initiatives.
5. Women's clubs focus on efforts not covered by existing agencies and actively promote community welfare.
6. Women's clubs can contribute to education, public health, music, art, literature, and other areas, becoming an organized channel for women to influence public opinion and bring about positive change.

Excerpts:

1. "If the suffrage campaign did nothing more, it showed the possibilities of propaganda to achieve certain ends."
2. "There is a tremendous field for women as active protagonists of new ideas and new methods of political and social housekeeping."

Chapter 8 – Propaganda for education

Executive summary:

This chapter delves into the relationship between education and public interest, highlighting the need for improved recognition and understanding of education's value in a democratic society.

The author discusses the role of educators as propagandists and emphasizes the importance of educators establishing a meaningful connection with the general public.

The chapter explores the challenges faced by educators, including the psychological attitude of teachers towards the outside world and the financial dependency of educational institutions on public support or private endowments. It also discusses the use of propaganda by colleges and universities to enhance their public image and attract support.

Key Takeaways:

1. Education is not receiving the desired level of public interest and recognition, despite adequate material and financial support.
2. Educators should bear a meaningful relationship with the general public and engage in education as both teachers and propagandists.
3. The mental attitude of teachers towards the outside world can affect the perception of education in society.
4. Educational institutions face challenges in balancing their academic pursuits with public demands and expectations.
5. The training of educators should include a broader perspective on their relationship with the general public.
6. Colleges and universities must effectively communicate their educational achievements and engage in public relations efforts.
7. Propaganda can play a role in promoting the larger purposes of education and improving the public's perception of the teaching profession.
8. The ethical use of propaganda in education is crucial to avoid over-advertising and the creation of artificial values.

Excerpts:

1. "The public is not cognizant of the real value of education and does not realize that education as a social force is not receiving the kind of attention it has the right to expect in a democracy."
2. "The colleges used to resent outside interest in their affairs. They might, somewhat reluctantly and contemptuously, admit reporters to their Commencement Day exercise, but no further would they go... Today, if a newspaper reporter wants to interview a Harvard professor, he has merely to telephone the Secretary for Information to the University."

Chapter 9 – Propaganda in social service

Executive summary:

This chapter explores the role of propaganda in social service, highlighting how social work relies on voluntary support and the use of propaganda to bring about change.

The author emphasizes the power of inertia in maintaining established ideas and traditions and discusses how social service organizations need to understand public opinion and mass psychology to achieve their objectives.

The chapter provides an example of social service propaganda, focusing on the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People's campaign against lynching and discrimination.

It also examines how churches and various social service campaigns employ propaganda techniques to alter people's habits and opinions.

Key Takeaways:

1. Social service organizations use propaganda as a tool to address social issues and rely on the voluntary support of the wealthy.
2. Inertia and tradition can hinder attempts to change societal habits and attitudes.
3. Public opinion plays a vital role in shaping social progress, and anyone can attempt to sway public opinion and assume leadership for their ideas.
4. Social service campaigns, such as those against lynching or tuberculosis, require an understanding of public opinion and effective propaganda techniques.
5. Propaganda is used to dramatize social service campaigns and gain support from diverse groups, including leaders from different regions or communities.
6. The media, including newspapers, plays a significant role in disseminating social service propaganda and influencing public opinion.
7. Churches and denominations employ advertising committees and propaganda activities as part of their regular activities.
8. Social progress is closely linked to the education and enlightenment of the public mind regarding social problems.

Excerpts:

1. "The social settlement, the organized campaigns against tuberculosis and cancer, the various research activities aiming directly at the elimination of social diseases and maladjustments... have need of knowledge of the public mind and mass psychology if they are to achieve their aims."
2. "Social service, in fact, is identical with propaganda in many cases... Social progress is simply the progressive education and enlightenment of the public mind in regard to its immediate and distant social problems."

Chapter 10 – Art and science

Executive summary:

This chapter discusses the role of propaganda in the realms of art and science. The author highlights the importance of propaganda in educating the American public about art appreciation and creating public acceptance for artists' works.

In the field of applied and commercial art, propaganda provides opportunities for artists to collaborate with industry, improve public taste, and inject beauty into everyday products.

The chapter also explores the connection between propaganda and scientific progress, noting how big businesses support scientific research and have the responsibility to interpret scientific advancements to the public.

Key Takeaways:

1. Propaganda plays a crucial role in educating the public and creating acceptance for art.
2. In applied and commercial art, propaganda offers opportunities for artists to collaborate with industry and improve public taste.
3. Businesses capitalize on aesthetic values to increase markets and profits, providing opportunities for artists.
4. Propaganda can shape public perception of beauty and raise the level of American culture.
5. The association of art with recognized artists and institutions, such as museums, helps promote public appreciation.
6. Museums have a responsibility to interpret their art treasures and establish aesthetic standards in the community.
7. Propaganda aids in marketing new inventions and making scientific ideas more accessible to the public.
8. Propaganda helps acclimate the public to change and progress, contributing to scientific and technological advancements.

Excerpts:

1. "In the education of the American public toward greater art appreciation, propaganda plays an important part... To increase public appreciation a deliberate propagandizing effort must be made."
2. "Big business of course gains heavily when the invention emerges. But at that very moment it assumes the responsibility of placing the new invention at the service of the public. It assumes also the responsibility of interpreting its meaning to the public."

Chapter 11 – The mechanics of propaganda

Executive summary:

This chapter explores the various tools and mechanisms used in propaganda to transmit messages to the public. It emphasizes that any means of human communication can be employed for propaganda, as it aims to establish reciprocal understanding between individuals and groups.

The chapter discusses the shifting value of different propaganda instruments over time, highlighting the importance of taking advantage of these changes to maximize message reach. It examines the role of newspapers, magazines, lectures, radio, motion pictures, personalities, and other avenues in propaganda dissemination.

The chapter concludes by acknowledging that the public is becoming more aware of propaganda methods, but it will always respond to appeals that cater to its basic needs, interests, and desires.

Key Takeaways:

1. Propaganda uses various media and communication channels to transmit messages to the public.
2. The value of different propaganda instruments is constantly changing, and propagandists must adapt to these shifts.
3. Newspapers are primary vehicles for propaganda, selecting news based on its news value and reaching large groups of readers.
4. Magazines tend to have specific policies and can be used as propagandist organs for particular ideas or interests.
5. Lectures have diminished in importance as propaganda instruments, but their value lies in the repercussions they have on the general public.
6. Radio is currently a crucial tool for propagandists, with the potential to compete with newspapers as an advertising medium.
7. Motion pictures serve as powerful carriers of propaganda, reflecting and emphasizing popular tendencies rather than stimulating new ideas.
8. Personalities play a significant role in propaganda, as they can typify and represent corporations or enterprises, but misuse can lead to absurdity.

Excerpts:

1. "There is no means of human communication which may not also be a means of deliberate propaganda because propaganda is simply the establishing of reciprocal understanding between an individual and a group."
2. "The newspaper cannot assume, nor is it its function to assume, the responsibility of guaranteeing that what it publishes will not work out to somebody's interest... The fact of its accomplishments makes it news."