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Propaganda analysis and teaching secondary social studies

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PROPAGANDA ANALYSIS AND TEACHING
SECONDARY SOCIAL STUDIES

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INTRODUCTION

This paper endeavors to present a comprehensive picture of propaganda and the need for the inclusion of material on propaganda analysis in the teaching of secondary social studies.

The writer has aimed at three specific goals: (1) to determine the nature and meaning of propaganda, (2) to analyze the psychology of propaganda, and (3) to determine the significance of the study of propaganda analysis during the past two decades and its contribution to secondary social studies instruction. A resource unit on propaganda analysis has been included in this work, as well.

The writer has found his task to be a most absorbing one. He feels that a consideration of this area is most timely in view of the current world crisis and the need for clear-headed thinking.
CHAPTER I
THE NATURE OF PROPAGANDA

The definition of terms.-- To arrive at an acceptable definition of a word or term can be both simple and complex. Such a project may be looked upon as simple in that the writer of a definition is oft-times inclined to develop that definition which suits his particular preference or aim. On the other hand, the evolution of an intelligent definition may be an extremely complex procedure in view of the fact that the meanings and connotations which are associated with a word cannot be chosen arbitrarily simply because society has assigned specific overtones to the word in question. Social customs and traditions must be taken into consideration since an arbitrary, "anti-social" definition would prevent communication and conjure up many difficulties.

The word propaganda is an abstract term which has gradually evolved into common property throughout the world. It is a word which has slowly acquired a multitude of connotations, in fact, almost as many meanings as there are writers who have ventured to formulate definitions. This fact alone is of especial importance to the social studies teacher who, in dealing with the material of the social sciences, is frequently faced with a clear-cut problem of semantics, that is, when abstract concepts are being discussed in the classroom. Clear-
ly, there is a need for the Socratic method and the initial
definition of terms. And therefore, attention must be devoted
to the problem of determining the nature of propaganda.

Two approaches to the problem. -- It must be remembered
that the definition of the word propaganda, oft-times in the
past, has been approached from two different viewpoints. Some
writers have chosen to focus their attention upon the purely
sociological aspects of propaganda, while others have tended
to dwell upon the psychological facets of propaganda.

In the case of the first approach, Leon N. Flint and C.
F. Higham have preferred, in their writings to stress the
more selfish aspects of propaganda.¹ This view looks upon
propaganda as essentially a means of social control, an impor-
tant force in the shaping of public opinion. And this outlook
also presumes that propaganda is developed and disseminated
by groups and individuals which seek to perpetuate their own
interests. An example of this is the propaganda which is used
by shrewd, governmental leaders in their attempts to foster
popular support.

On the other hand, those educators and social scientists
who are psychologists tend to emphasize in their analyses the
effect of propaganda on persons with stress upon the assumed
psychological tendencies of human personality. From this
viewpoint, propaganda is seen as part of a dynamic process
which "triggers off" the latent potentialities of man's deli-
cate balance of attitudes and interests.

¹See Leon N. Flint, The Conscience of the Newspaper, D. Apple-
Walter L. Biddle is among those who have espoused a psychological interpretation of propaganda. Dr. Biddle has advanced a theory of emotional conditioning in which he emphasizes the significance of pre-existing, related attitudes. According to his theory, emotions and attitudes can be channeled into any activity through skilled manipulation. But Biddle does not mention the broad, social consequences of the psychology of propaganda. And hence, in the writer's estimation, he tends to restrict his explanation to an excessive degree.

Another view of propaganda.--To confuse the scene even further, in the search for a definition, other writers have synthesized the psychological and sociological approaches and describe the factors influenced by social change in psychological language. An example of this type of analysis is that of Harold D. Lasswell who believes that the term propaganda refers exclusively to the control of opinion through significant symbols, or to express it more concretely, through stories, rumors, reports, pictures, and other forms of social communication.

Lasswell points out that propaganda is concerned with the management of opinions and attitudes through the direct manipulation of social suggestion rather than the altering of environmental conditions. The writer is not fully in accord with this

2/Ibid., pp. 283-295.
definition, however, since it offers no way to differentiate propaganda from education. And the writer is of the opinion that, in many instances, knowledge can be transmitted without the embellishment of emotionally-tinged symbols. Thus, from at least one viewpoint, Lasswell's definition tends towards narrowness.

A comprehensive approach to propaganda.-- Another writer has produced a brief, yet apparently all-encompassing definition in which he states that propaganda uses words and "word substitutes" in an attempt to control the attitudes and consequently the behavior of a number of persons regarding a "controversial matter." At first glance, this definition would seem to be fairly comprehensive and perhaps adequate. But the expression "controversial matter" brings forth a host of connotations which may not necessarily be germane to all types of propaganda. And hence, the thoughtful perusal of a few more definitions is in order, prior to the formulation of any definite conclusions regarding the nature of propaganda.

Another attempt at definition.-- Professor Norman John Powell, in his volume, Anatomy of Public Opinion, has defined propaganda as "....the spreading of ideas or attitudes that influence opinions or behavior, or both...." The virtues of this point are considerable.

In the first place, Powell has clearly avoided the all-too-common tendency in such definitions to segregate and "fence off" from analysis certain areas of communication or opinion. Secondly, this definition is good as a basis for further understanding of the opinion-forming and behavior-developing process. This is especially true in that none of the factors related to the evolution and dissemination of propaganda are marked "off-limits" for the student. Thus, the propaganda analyst finds it more nearly possible to collect, coordinate, and interpret a greater amount of relevant data.

But this definition fails to take into consideration the fact that any idea or attitude, regardless of its intrinsic truth, will tend to influence opinions or behavior. Hence, Powell has neglected to provide for the psychological differentiation between intentional falsehood and unintentional propaganda. This, in the writer's estimation, is a serious omission which can unwittingly result in the relegation of both education and biased opinion to a rather uneasy coexistence under the common label of propaganda. Although the writer is fully aware that education and propagandistic indoctrination tend, in many instances, to overlap, especially in areas like politics and religion which fall under the domain of the social studies, the writer is still convinced that objective truth can very definitely be distinguished from bias, prejudice, and intentional lies of a propagandistic nature. For this reason, the writer believes that Powell's definition is inade-
A moral view of propaganda.-- E. L. Clarke, in his interesting book *The Art of Straight Thinking*, has endeavored to escape the less satisfactory aspects of Powell’s analysis of propaganda by taking the position that propaganda may be subdivided into two chief types, honest and dishonest. Clarke defines the latter as "...the creation of public opinion by the spread of misinformation which is known to be such by those who spread it." ¹

The present writer feels, however, that even though this definition points a finger at the moral aspects of propaganda, it, nevertheless, has certain vague connotations which make such a definition unsatisfactory. For example, Clarke’s analysis does not take into consideration the fact that sincere, honest people oft-times disseminate ideas which are capable of touching off more trouble than the misinformation spread around by many dishonest people. Clearly, much depends upon what meaning is assigned to the term misrepresentation. Clarke’s position can perhaps be simply stated thus: dishonest propagandists are those who disseminate lies. In the present writer’s estimation, such a definition offers a rather one-sided picture of propaganda, and hence is not sufficiently satisfactory.

Still another point of view.-- A. Gordon Dewey has met the challenge of attempting to define propaganda thus: "Propaganda is concerned distinctively with the manipulation of opinion," ²

i. e., we should not include such direct and subterranean methods as bribery or intimidation in their various forms. Moreover, it relates essentially to specific issues or groups of issues, and ordinarily seeks immediate results even if it has the ulterior objective of conditioning the social heritage."

At first glance, this would seem to be a highly acceptable definition. But in the writer's opinion, there are certain glaring deficiencies even in this penetrating analysis of the nature of propaganda. In the first place, propaganda does not always necessarily relate to specific issues of a self-evident character. In fact, in many instances, propaganda is such that it may aim at merely inculcating a general, hazy impression into the minds of propandees. Propaganda of this type tends to "soften up" the attitudes of the propagandee in readiness for propaganda of a more direct kind in which a definite course of action is indicated. A good example of such propaganda is much of the material distributed by the National Association of Manufacturers which brings forth many films and pamphlets that subtly extoll the capitalist system and free enterprise. Such propagandistic devices are extremely effective in that no specific issue is directly referred to. And hence, the propagandee is oft-times unaware of the fact that his attitudes and opinions are under fire.

The writer also criticizes the glib fashion in which Dewey asserts that propaganda seeks immediate results in all

instances. The writer is convinced that the validity of this assumption rests upon the truth of Dewey's belief that propaganda is always related to specific issues. As the present critic has pointed out, there is evidence which indicates that specific issues are not always involved in propaganda. For this reason, the writer feels justified in reasoning deductively that no immediate results are envisaged by the propagandist in those instances where a specific issue is not at stake. Clearly, Dewey's analysis of the nature of propaganda is not entirely satisfactory.

A sensible approach to the problem. -- According to Harold Benjamin, the tests of the proper usage and interpretation of a term are these: "(1) a common element of meaning throughout the variations of meaning, and (2) the essential element of meaning in the use of the most noted authorities."¹

It is conceivable that there is a common core of meaning which persists throughout the variable shades and hues of interpretation associated with the term propaganda. What that common core of meaning is and what constitutes "the most noted authorities" in this highly controversial area are questions which are not easily answered.

The view of a social psychologist. -- Thus, the writer feels that he is justified in resolving the problem by arbitrarily presenting the definition of propaganda offered by

¹Harold Benjamin, An Introduction to Human Problems, Chapter III. Cited in Ibid., p. 43.
Professor Leonard W. Doob of Yale University, a distinguished social psychologist. Doob has become a recognized authority in the field of public opinion and propaganda through his many writings on the subject as well as through his work for the Institute for Propaganda Analysis.

According to Doob's definition, propaganda can be referred to as "...the attempt to affect the personalities and to control the behavior of individuals towards ends considered unscientific or of doubtful value in a society at a given time." 1

On the other hand, Doob distinguishes propaganda from education by defining the latter as "...the imparting of knowledge or skill considered to be scientific or to have survival value in a society at a particular time." 2

In the present writer's estimation, these definitions are satisfactory in that they take into consideration the peripheral fringe-line of disagreement which separates propaganda from education. More than this, these definitions are concerned with both the psychological and sociological aspects of propaganda, and, for this reason, are sufficiently comprehensive.

Although criticisms might well be directed towards even Doob's definitions, the present writer is, nevertheless, convinced that they offer a reasonable point of departure.

from which a study of propaganda can be built.\footnote{For additional material on the nature of propaganda, see Edward L. Bernays, \textit{Propaganda}, Liveright Publishing Corporation, New York, 1928, pp. 9-12.}

Clearly, the semantic problem of determining an adequate definition is not easily resolved. But the writer is convinced that the arbitrary acceptance of Doob's definitions of propaganda is not only reasonable but justified in view of the many attempts to explain the meaning of propaganda.
CHAPTER II
THE PSYCHOLOGY OF PROPAGANDA

1. Psychological Principles

Stereotypes.-- Walter Lippmann, in his stimulating volume *Public Opinion*, has pointed out that men can probably never possess a completely accurate understanding of the nature of ultimate reality. And thus, men develop a psychological impression of the world in which they live, a mental picture which is of grave significance to the propagandist in that it exerts influence upon behavior. Plato long ago alluded to this interaction between men and their environment when he stated that: "The actual conditions which surround people are not as important as their conception of these conditions."²

The modern psychologist would probably prefer to use the term, stereotype, as a more convenient way of describing such phenomena. Clearly, a stereotype represents the knowledge which men believe is in their possession. And knowledge of this type may psychologically assume the form of a mental image, a specific reaction, or a nebulous feeling.

**Stereotypes are of great importance to the propagandist since the "pseudo-knowledge" represented by such concepts**

usually results in the formulation of attitudes. And it is these attitudes which the propagandist seeks to control and direct. Since most attitudes are developed from stereotypes, attention must be focused upon the formation of attitudes and the psychological processes involved in this "growth" or development of motivational ideas. For in the final analysis, propaganda aims at the crystallization of attitudes.

Central attitudes.-- Central attitudes represent the more enduring, more consistent facets of the individual's mental processes. It can be said that most central attitudes "serve as a dynamic, directive, or at least as a determinative influence upon more specific attitudes."¹ The propagandist is at all times aware of the fact that almost every individual has several primary or central attitudes which include viewpoints towards social relations, the world of business, religion, government, and other important areas.

Professor Floyd H. Allport has pointed out the existence of non-central attitudes which are not closely related to the higher integration of the individual personality. These secondary attitudes are referred to by Allport as segmental attitudes, attitudes which indicate only minor aspects of a personality.² For example, it may be assumed that the average citizen has his central attitudes directed towards personal

institutions such as his family, while the very same person would probably have a segmental attitude towards the United Nations since only a portion of his personality is connected with this institution, at least as far as personal contact is concerned. Clearly, the fine art of propaganda hinges upon the control, stimulation, and formation of attitudes. And hence, a knowledge of these psychological phenomena is essential to an understanding of the propagandist's strategy.

**Dominant and latent attitudes.**--Psychologists have broken down the general area of attitudes into dominant and latent attitudes. Dominant attitudes are viewpoints which are already crystallized and which exert influence upon behavior. The latter are attitudes that have not yet jelled. ¹Skilled propaganda can do much to guide the potential learnings of individuals, especially in those instances where attitudes are latent.

**Related attitudes.**--When attitudes are integrated and inter-related, attitudes are referred to as related attitudes, attitudes which are closely associated with one another. Those attitudes that are not properly integrated can be termed auxiliary attitudes. ²Such attitudes are of importance to the propagandist who seeks to control the behavior of his fellowmen.

¹/ Doob, *op. cit.*, p. 41.
²/ Ibid., p. 42.
Stereotypes and Attitudes.-- At this point, it may be asked what the relationship is between stereotypes and attitudes. A concrete illustration can perhaps shed light upon this problem.

For example, to the average Boston University student, it can probably be assumed that the symbol, learning, conjures up much more than simply a mental image of an encyclopedia. The specific, component parts of learning such as books, research papers, teachers, classrooms, and laboratories are not necessarily called to mind. Instead, a vague, nebulous idea appears upon our stream of consciousness, a hazy concept which transcends concrete events. Clearly, a symbol would seem to consist of a combination of stereotypes, attitudes, and social values. And thus, symbols like "law," "virtue," and "piety" are associated with vague connotations which are of grave consequence to social relations.

Suggestion.-- The question may now be asked as to how symbols and propaganda influence action. Or to phrase the query a little differently, it may be questioned regarding the nature of the psychological process which controls and affects human personality and therefore society.

The answer is suggestion.2

1/Ibid., p. 50.
The term, suggestion, is one which requires further explanation. It must be remembered that suggestion does not necessarily mean the direct "control" of attitudes. Many persons are of the erroneous belief that suggestion and resultant action have the same relationship as a finger might have to the operative switch on a control panel. This is a false impression. Actually, the behavior which is elicited by propaganda and other vehicles of expression will, to a great extent, depend upon the propagandee's previous attitudes and impressions regarding the area of action in question. Thus, "control" is, in many instances, only partially successful.\(^1\)

Those who support the principles of "stimulus-response" psychology would venture the thought that suggestion "triggers off" attitudes. For example, the smoker of cigarettes is offered a cigarette during the course of a conversation. The first person in our miniature drama complies and immediate action is engendered. A dominant attitude has been "tapped."

The writer, however, would like to point out that the recipient of the cigarette did not necessarily have to accept the proffered article. Alternatives and variable factors must be taken into consideration and it is here where individuality of personality can assert itself.

The writer is admittedly opposed to the viewpoint of those who espouse the principles of vector psychology, a view which

assumes that man is completely controlled by the pressures of environment. The writer is fully aware of the importance of external forces, but he is convinced that man, through knowledge and understanding of human psychology, can better analyze the never-ceasing stream of events which impinge upon his senses. Thus, although persuasion is significant, it is, by no means, a complete explanation of behavior. And thus, in the writer's opinion, man can be free, at least to a greater extent than many psychologists would care to admit.

Suggestion and attitudes. -- Professor Floyd H. Allport has stressed the idea that suggestion is a primary factor in the evolution of an attitude.¹ And the alert propagandist is very much aware of this fact.

A classic example of this principle is the disgruntled housewife who purchases a vacuum cleaner from a "door-to-door" salesman even though she "did not really want the appliance." But the fact that the irate housekeeper did buy the vacuum cleaner would seem to indicate that there were very definite, related, pre-existing attitudes which tended to precipitate the purchase of the machine. Clearly, actions are probably never completely spontaneous, and therefore are almost always conditioned by latent attitudes. Suggestion acts as a catalyst which hastens the response to a given situation.²

¹/Floyd H. Allport, op. cit., pp. 245-246.
²/Leonard W. Doob, Propaganda, p. 54.
Professor Doob has developed what the writer believes to be an adequate psychological analysis of suggestion. Doob states that suggestion results from "...the manipulation of stimulus-situations in such a way that, through the consequent arousal of pre-existing, related attitudes, there occurs within the mental field a new integration which would not have occurred under different stimulus-situations."¹

According to this definition, suggestion may be regarded as a strictly psychological phenomenon. Clearly, suggestion represents the psychological crux of propaganda, since it is through suggestion, by definition of both propaganda and suggestion itself, that the propagandist seeks to exercise control over the minds of his fellowmen. Suggestion offers a reasonable point of departure from which types of propaganda may be established.

2. Types of Propaganda

Revealed propaganda.—Most people are probably influenced by direct suggestion. This kind of propaganda is perhaps best referred to as revealed propaganda. Such propaganda can be called "revealed" in that the majority of people are, no doubt, aware of the propagandist's aim in spreading his words and images of suggestion.² An example of this is the television commercial in which audio-visual symbols advise us to use, for instance, a particular brand of soap powder. Clearly, under such circumstances, the propagandee has ample opportunity to

¹/ Leonard W. Doob, Public Opinion and Propaganda, p. 54.
²/ Ibid., p. 252.
determine the propagandist's purpose which is simply to stimulate the prospective customer to the extent that he will purchase the product.

Concealed propaganda.-- On the other hand, a large number of people are influenced through indirect suggestion. In this case, the term concealed propaganda is applicable, since the propagandee is presumably not aware of the propagandist's aim. A good example of this type of propagandee is the social studies teacher who propagandizes the cause of a specific pressure group in the classroom.

It should not be presumed, however, that revealed and concealed propaganda represent two distinct types which never merge. In many instances, the propagandist may use only one of these types of propaganda, and yet, even more often, he will utilize both, especially in the case of an extended propaganda campaign. Clearly, concealed and revealed propaganda are commonly employed and may be regarded as the two basic kinds of propaganda.

Delayed-revealed propaganda.-- There is still another type of propaganda, however, in which the propagandist may cloak his aims at first in order to arouse auxiliary and related attitudes. Once the interest of the propagandee has been secured, the propagandist then proceeds to make known his intentions. This is an intermediate variety of salesman-
ship which combines both revealed and concealed propaganda. Probably the best term of reference for this type of propaganda is delayed-revealed propaganda. This particular technique is used by many of the more urbane advertisements. In these instances, the advertiser usually reveals his purpose in the last paragraph of the ad by inconspicuously referring to the particular product or cause which he seeks to promote. In this type of advertising or propaganda, the introduction is cleverly constructed in such a way that related attitudes are aroused and gradually intensified in preparation for the climax or so-called "punch-line." ¹

The three kinds of propaganda.—The relationships between the three types of propaganda thus far discussed can be more lucidly shown now that a working vocabulary of terms has been developed.

Concealed propaganda is the direct antithesis of revealed propaganda in that the propagandist, in this case, aims at the dissemination of ideas without the revelation of intention. Here the propagandist gambles upon the hope that indirect suggestion will rouse related attitudes to blend together and form a new attitude which will predispose the propagandee towards carrying out the propagandist's objective.²

In revealed propaganda, not only related attitudes must be roused and integrated, but the aim of the propagandist must

¹/Leonard W. Doob, Propaganda, pp. 104-106.
²/Ibid., p. 106.
be made known as well.\textsuperscript{1}

In the case of delayed-revealed propaganda, when the initial stimulus-situation has been perceived and related attitudes have been roused, the propagandist then changes the situation in order that the propagandee may discern his goal. This change is made at that moment when comprehension of the aim can be most likely integrated with already existing related attitudes.\textsuperscript{2} Here there is a need for skilled psychological timing. For example, during a war, propagandists rouse related patriotic attitudes. Once the people are enthused, the plea for volunteers into the armed forces is made or Mr. John Q. Public is requested to buy a government bond. Timing is all-important in this type of propaganda.

To those who query as to which of the three types of propaganda is most effective, perhaps no definite answer can be given. Common sense and good judgement will usually determine that form of propaganda which is most appropriate for a given situation.

For example, the subversive organization which has "evil" connotations associated with its activities would be extremely rash and impulsive if revealed propaganda were employed. A wiser course of action would be to first arouse an atmosphere of favorable attitudes and then reveal the identity of the cause or personality (delayed-revealed propaganda) or to

\textsuperscript{1}\textit{Ibid.}, p. 106.
\textsuperscript{2}\textit{Ibid.}, p. 106.
simply withhold such information until a more opportune moment (concealed propaganda).

Where the propagandist is "sowing his seeds" for a cause which already has a good reputation, the use of revealed propaganda would be a sensible course of action. Prestige is always of positive value to the propagandist. It is clear that expediency and good timing will invariably guide the strategist who seeks to control the public mind. Regardless of the type of propaganda which is being used, patience and skill are needed if results are to be secured.

Counter-propaganda.—Still another aspect of propaganda must be examined. When the propagandist is no longer able to make his public submissive, when pointing out a course of action is not in itself sufficient, and when the idea salesman cannot perfect the initial integration, the propagandist must then revert to the use of counter-propaganda. Counter-propaganda is important wherever competing propagandists are engaged in a battle of ideas. And clearly, there are few communities or societies where only one source of propaganda interacts with the public.

In view of the fact that modern societies are highly competitive, each propagandist must not only convince the people of the "truth" of his words, but must attempt to prevent these very same people from being influenced by others.

The propagandist is rarely, if ever, amid a group of people which is enthusiastic or eager to receive his message. Many of these people may possess dominant attitudes which tend to conflict with the desired integration. When the tensions engendered by these attitudes are strong, the propagandist cannot run the risk of disregarding them. And hence, the intentional propagandist usually retaliates through direct attack. In this instance, the propagandist endeavors to change or destroy existing attitudes through a process of negative suggestion.\(^1\)

Illustrations of this propagandistic technique abound in every-day life. For example, the newspaper advertisements for Lucky Strike cigarettes often cast aspersions, in a subtle fashion, against the manufacturing processes used by other cigarette companies. By stressing that "Lucky" are made better, these ads attempt to modify or change the direction of the propagandee's attitudes towards the brand of cigarettes which he is currently using. In this way, the consumer's buying habits are constantly under the fire of advertising propaganda.

A negativistic approach is not always fruitful, however. This is probably due to the fact that people like to anchor themselves to fixed stereotypes, and hence tend to resist any idea which challenges their mental composure.

A quick glance at any newspaper or magazine will show that most propagandists prefer to use a more positive approach in their propaganda, whenever such an approach is feasible.

\(^1\) Leonard W. Doob, *op. cit.*, p. 144.
Through positive suggestion, the propagandist attempts to develop new stereotypes and new attitudes which will have sufficient tension to overwhelm the conflicting attitudes. Many cigarette manufacturers have seemed prone towards using this type of attack. Hence, they prudently ignore the spiels and sales talks of their competitors and choose to stress the virtues which they ascribe to their own products. 

More than anything else, the propagandist must know when to ignite his campaign of counter-propaganda. Frequently, the public relations man misjudges the efficacy of his opponents' work in building up related attitudes of a conflicting nature. The propagandist who has not properly evaluated his position may find that his self-confidence has been erected upon a foundation of clay.

Even today, our current hysteria against Communism, a hysteria which, to be sure, is understandable, may blind us to the point that the people of the United States will underestimate the influence of other dangerous forces like Fascism. Clearly, a keen awareness of the proper time and place to propagandize is all important to a clear-headed use of propaganda.

**Persuasion.**-- Up to now, discussion has dwelled upon propaganda's relationship to groups of individuals. In fact, it has become almost common-place to think of propaganda

\[1/\text{Ibid.}, \text{pp. 144-146.}\]
in terms of a mass phenomenon which involves great throngs of people. This is not always true, however. The popular miscon-
ception that propaganda is always concerned with mass media
can be easily understood in view of the far-reaching web of
propaganda which permeates modern society.

Actually, propaganda can influence one person or a small
group. This particular aspect of propaganda is known as
persuasion in that it involves direct contact in a face-to-
face situation unlike most propaganda which is more impersonal
in technique.¹

The tactics employed in regular propaganda are adapted to
no one specific individual. But in the case of persuasion,
the strategy is directed towards the individual in order that
the propagandist may establish "control." Clearly, this
technique possesses marked advantages, since the persuasionist
can actively participate in the give-and-take of direct
discussion. Unhampered by the limitations of mass media in
this respect, the idea salesman can shift his tactics to meet
the exigencies of the moment.

In addition to this, the propagandist will utilize
suggestion in conjunction with other psychological approaches
as means of achieving his purpose.² Clearly, the propagandist
holds many "aces" in the game of propaganda, since he can

¹Ibid., p. 147.
²See Bruce L. Smith, Harold D. Lasswell, and Ralph D. Casey,
Propaganda, Communication, and Public Opinion, Princeton
better calculate the course of action which he must take in the spreading of ideas.

Persuasion is a valuable tool in the hands of the skilled propagandist. For example, at an important moment, the propagandist may set up a *vis-a-vis* contact with those who have been perhaps "partially" influenced through the usual channels of propaganda. More intimate contact may wipe away any undesirable doubts and bring about the desired integration of attitudes.¹

To use another example, a social cause may have wide appeal among the ranks of the people and yet exert little influence upon the action of legislators who are in a key position to effect this hypothetical reform. In order to achieve his objectives, the propagandist necessarily narrows his range of attack and levels his barrage of propaganda at Congressmen and Senators. And who has not heard of the lobbyists and pressure group representatives who lurk in the corridors and offices of our nation's Capitol in an attempt to persuade our governmental officers? Clearly, persuasion is an important technique in the fine art of propaganda.

3. Other Psychological Principles

*Prestige.* — The propagandist often makes people more suggestive by arousing a submissive attitude. This is usually effected by cloaking the propagandistic message with an air of respectability and prestige. And the usage of objects and persons with positive social values is a simple, yet effective

¹/Ibid., p. 146.
technique for gaining respect. In the case of objects, the American flag offers a good example of this principle at work. The very appearance of the Stars and Stripes upon the platform of any meeting will assist in dispelling resistance from the minds of prospective propagandees and thus make them more likely to accept a one-sided message.

On the other hand, the propagandist frequently enlists the support of prominent persons with prestige. This is a particularly good technique in that a favorable, submissive attitude can usually be elicited among the ranks of the propagandees. And feelings of goodwill towards the organization can usually be expected, when such tactics are used. An example of this is the political "front" organization which dupes unsuspecting luminaries into membership and later capitalizes upon such planning by using the names of these personalities as draws for popular support.

Other groups have also employed such propagandistic techniques. For example, United World Federalists Incorporated has always stressed the fact that people like Cornelia Otis Skinner, Oscar Hammerstein II, and Supreme Court Justice William O. Douglas have actively lent support to this movement for a strong, world federation.

But the people of America have perhaps become "hardened"

to this psychological approach, since this method has been used too indiscriminately and too extensively by both commercial advertisers and politicians. In the former case, few people have not heard the testimonials of motion picture stars and famed athletes, testimonials which state that they prefer a certain brand of cosmetic or a particular kind of razor blade. Probably most prospective consumers are fully aware of the fact that a signed contract is usually the prime basis for such endorsements. In any case, propagandists will undoubtedly continue to utilize the prestige factor as a means of forwarding their ends.¹

**Universality.**—Another principle of great importance to the psychology of propaganda is that of universality. Here the propagandist endeavors to give the impression that countless other persons are lending their support to a cause or movement.¹ In this instance, the propagandist relies upon the wisdom of the age-old maxim, "There's safety in numbers." And evidently many people are prone to believe this, since they seem to be more suggestible when they have been led to accept the idea that a great many other people are following the words of the propagandist. Clearly, the "everybody's-for-it" technique is important to effective propaganda.²

**Direction.**—Another technical aspect of propaganda is sometimes referred to as direction. Here the propagandist

²/Thid., pp. 70-71.
points out or directs the propagandee along a specific path of action. Thus, propaganda aims at not only a favorable integration of attitudes, but attempts to guide the propagandee towards a definite goal, as well. Only in the case of concealed propaganda is there an absence of any direct indication of a course of action.

Variation.-- Another principle of propaganda is that which is known as variation. Through the application of this principle, the propagandist endeavors to stimulate favorable attitudes to the point that action is elicited upon the part of the propagandee. To achieve this end, the content of propaganda is varied and changed to insure perception and to assist in bringing about sufficient motivation to effect action. This is done by constant repetition and psychological reinforcement. For example, a product which uses radio and television commercials will change the wording or approach of these commercials from time to time. In this way, the interest of the propagandee is presumably sustained and the possibility of winning popular support is greatly increased. By repeating the basic message again and again, propagandists are oft-times able to effect the proper integration of attitudes and thus bring forth action.

Distortion.-- One of the most widely-used techniques of the propagandist is that of distortion of facts or "card

1/ Leonard W. Doob, Propaganda, pp. 136-137.
stacking," an unscrupulous, yet valuable tool for the development of favorable attitudes. Clearly, if the propagandist admitted all the facts, he would frequently alienate the support of many persons. And thus, materials are "rearranged" in such a way that "objectionable" elements are withheld, and, through outright fabrication, "additions" are added.\(^1\) Hence, distortion, suppression, and fabrication are used by the propagandist whenever their employment can further the achievement of his aim. The spreader of ideas is interested in building only those attitudes and stereotypes which conform to his own blueprint of specifications. When such is the case, it is unlikely that attitudes hostile to the desired integration will be aroused.

**Censorship.**— Actually, there is a relationship here between distortion and censorship. For in the final analysis, the withdrawal of significant facts is nothing but another way of distorting the truth. Hence, any censor, whether he is a school board administrator or an officer of the U. S. Department of State, is, in reality, employing the handmaiden of effective propaganda. When propaganda alone cannot achieve a given task, censorship is oft-times needed to win the objective.

Teachers and scholars probably have especial reason to resent the tampering or manipulation of truth, although they themselves are frequently quick to compromise their principles and censor or suppress materials at their own personal

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\(^1\)Professor Roy C. Billett of the Boston University School of Education has pointed out in lectures that the maturational level of the child must always be taken into consideration.
discretion. For example, the social studies teacher may shy away from controversial areas like religion, politics, sex education, or birth control for the simple reason that they fear the exertion of hostile pressures by "outside" groups which disapprove of such classroom discussions.

On the other side of the ledger, it can be stated that a certain amount of censorship may be necessary in some instances. In the case of students in the secondary schools, pupils may not have matured sufficiently to deal with all of the facts which pertain to a given controversial issue. In these instances, the instructor may be justified in withholding data provided that he does not do so in the attempt to steer the pupils towards conclusions previously established by the teacher as "correct." But to withhold facts absolutely essential to the understanding of a problem cannot be justified in the secondary classroom. Here the teacher would distort fact to the extent that one-sided propaganda appears upon the scene. And, in the writer's estimation, this is not good if we are to foster critical thinking upon the part of the students in preparation for their responsibilities as citizens of a democracy. Clearly, the use of censorship must be tempered by good judgement, careful analysis, and a keen appreciation of democratic values. At all times, the classroom must be looked upon as a citadel of democracy.  

In the case of censorship outside of the schoolroom, a good example of this may be found in war-time propaganda. During such times of crisis, governments carefully restrict and withhold information in the interests of national security. And, when necessary, censorship is accompanied by "card stacking" and the outright distortion of facts. Herr Goebbels and his wholesale sacrifice of truth upon the altar of expediency have become almost symbolic of war-time propaganda of the most insidious type.

Although many people are repelled by the maliciousness of the propaganda disseminated by propagandists like Goebbels, it should be remembered that the sincere orator who intuitively feels that he is offering much of value to his listeners may differ only in degree from the shrewd public relations man who purposefully spreads a wake of lies. Both may be employing censorship and distortion, whether intentionally or unintentionally, and hence, in the final analysis, both may be far afield from the truth. Feelings of allegiance are more easily directed towards the devout speaker rather than the professional propagandist, but the line of demarcation which distinguishes "honorable" propaganda from dishonest propaganda is indeed a hazy one that is difficult to identify.

**Primacy.** There is still another psychological principle in the psychology of propaganda which is frequently employed as a means of reducing the area of unpredictability. This

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technique is known as the principle of primacy. Here the propagandist endeavors to establish the desired integration before competing propagandists have an opportunity to imprint their ideas onto the minds of propagandees.¹

Psychological evidence shows that an initial stereotype has a marked tendency to persist.² Such an attitude does not lend itself so readily to the reintegration sought by the propagandist. Hence, to achieve his goal, the idea salesman, through the application of the primacy principle, attempts to make certain that he is the first one to promote his particular end.

A study of totalitarianism during the past two decades would probably indicate that the early indoctrination of youth is of great consequence and value to the promulgation of a political creed.³ Fascism and Nazism were convinced that children must be thoroughly trained and "educated" before they have had the psychological opportunity to think for themselves.

In other countries, with the exception of the Soviet Union, children are "baptized" in the waters of unintentional propaganda. Although a process of indoctrination is probably always in operation, the differences between the propaganda of a dictatorial regime and the propaganda of other forms of government are perhaps a matter of quantitative degree rather

¹/Leonard W. Doob, Propaganda, p. 139.
²/Ibid., p. 140.
than intrinsic qualitative character.

The principle of primacy is very much engrained in the fabric of everyday life in a complex, industrial society. A good example of this principle at work in the business world of the United States today is the familiar case of the advertiser who attempts to foster a preference for his particular product among the ranks of the "younger set." Cereal manufacturers and other producers well illustrate the principle of primacy through their repeated attempts to cultivate the friendship of youthful consumers via special radio and television programs which are designed to attract the interest of school boys and school girls. Thus, Space Patrol, Jack Armstrong: the All-American Boy, Howdy Doody, and a host of other shows have built up tremendous juvenile audiences and have presumably effected skyrocketing increases in the sales of their respective sponsors.

It can probably be assumed that children possess fewer attitudes than adults, and, therefore, tend to be more credulous. It can also be assumed that little "tots" rarely appreciate the fundamental aim of the propagandist or advertiser, even though they may eventually come to know the name of a product and possibly realize that the manufacturer desires that they use that product. It is very unlikely, however, that children will comprehend the full significance of the commercial transaction involved in this example of manufacturer-consumer relations. And thus, most propaganda and

1/Leonard W. Doob, op. cit., p. 140.
advertising among the ranks of children will be presented psychologically in either concealed or delayed-revealed form.\(^1\)

Some manufacturers give premiums to the "kiddies" in return for coupons and box-tops. These premiums cover a wide range of items from coloring books and hand puppets to model airplanes and so-called "supersonic" finger rings. In this way, the propagandist endeavors to touch off related attitudes which will ultimately result in the purchase of the manufacturer's product. Although the premium may be the basic motivating factor which engenders the initial sale, use of the product may develop a favorable attitude towards it. And such attitudes may be carried over into later life. The parents, in continually buying products which their children desire, may also become devoted customers.\(^2\)

The principle of primacy is not restricted to commercial advertising alone, since propagandists often attempt to influence young minds in areas which include the school curriculum. For example, the American Legion, the Veterans of Foreign Wars, the Daughters of the American Revolution, and the United Daughters of the Confederacy are excellent examples of vocal groups in the United States which have sought to control that which is taught in the schools. These organizations have consistently advocated a peculiar brand of chauvinism and supernationalism. They have demonstrated what the writer believes to be an extremely conservative, almost reactionary social and

\(^1\)Ibid., p. 140.
economic philosophy.1 These groups have repeatedly attacked schools, teachers, and texts because they do not always necessarily conform to the principles held sacred by these pressure groups. And, in many instances, such groups have gone to the extreme of exerting pressure upon politicians to enact legislation and school board regulations which seriously interfere with every phase of the educational process, including the nature of the curriculum and the selection of teachers.2 Clearly, organized interests are fully aware of the importance of shaping young minds before competitive propagandists have an opportunity to "sow their seeds."

Psychology and propaganda.— At this point, it becomes clear that most communication in modern society involves propaganda in some form or another. And it also becomes evident that an understanding of the dynamic principles used by the propagandist is essential to an intelligent comprehension of propaganda.

The devices employed by the propagandist have been reduced to a set of principles which indicate concretely how the skilled persuasionist endeavors to cope with the unpredictability created by the complexity of people and their environment. And attention has been devoted extensively to the various


kinds of propaganda which are used by propagandists.

The terms and labels adopted by this chapter should not be regarded as an absolute typology that must be employed arbitrarily in any discussion on the psychology of propaganda. Clearly, there are peripheral areas where many of the principles enumerated tend to overlap one another. But the writer is convinced that a predetermined typology will eliminate the semantic difficulties which often arise when an area like propaganda is being discussed. The terms used by the writer are terms which are employed by experts in the psychology of propaganda. And hence, a knowledge of them will help to foster a better understanding of propaganda and its techniques.

Clearly, the consideration of psychological principles is important to any clear-headed study of propaganda.

1/For additional material on the psychology of propaganda, see Edward L. Bernays, "The Engineering of Consent," The Annals, (March, 1947), 250: 113-120.

2/For information on the kinds of propagandists, see Alfred McClung Lee, op. cit., pp. 86-108.
CHAPTER III
THE SHORTHAND OF PROPAGANDA

Symbols.-- As has been determined, propaganda can probably best be understood as a technique of conveying ideas to people. Through the skilled use of "...words, personalities, music, drama, pageantry, and other symbols..."1 the propagandist endeavors to conjure up psychological impressions which, in many instances, are aimed at the masses. Such psychological impressions are often vivid and charged with emotional implications. "These very same impressions may be either wholly or partly true; and, in other cases, may be extremely confusing or entirely false."2

There can be little doubt but that the transmission of such concepts and ideas in a detailed, highly authoritative form would perhaps prove to be ineffective. The academic is shunned by the masses as snobbish and "high-hat," and the immediate reaction to such a presentation is often one of boredom.

Simplicity and vividness in approach.-- Nevertheless, vividness and emotion are usually capable of "triggering off" split-second decisions where objectivity, common sense, and an

2/Ibid., p. 2.
intelligent demand for accurate facts and discussion are disregarded.\(^1\) Clearly, effective propaganda strives for simplicity and vividness coupled with emotional impact in order that reason may be inundated by blind irrationality. At all times, the propagandist is interested in stimulating those psychological drives which are most likely to advance his objectives.

**Drama in propaganda.**—Propaganda also has dramatic qualities, and frequently is used as a tool or instrumentality for competition or combat. In 1937, James P. Selvage of the National Association of Manufacturers well illustrated this latter point in his interesting statement: "Now, more than ever before, strikes are being won or lost in the newspapers and over the radio."\(^2\) Clearly, the struggle of competing words has come to be an important aspect of life in a modern, industrial society.

**Other aspects of propaganda.**—Propaganda has other distinct features in that it often stresses heroic effort, assigns guilt, and pledges victory. Ringing words and spine-tingling concepts are extensively used and their spirit is captured in the stylized jargon of slogans and catch-phrases.\(^3\)

**Emotional aspects of propaganda.**—The effectiveness of platitudes and sonorous expressions in securing popular approval can easily be shown.

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For example, the thundering words of James Otis have lived on since that fateful day when he asserted: "Taxation without representation is tyranny."

And thus, Thomas Paine cried out: "Tyranny, like hell, is not easily conquered; yet we have this, that the harder the conflict, the more glorious the triumph."¹

Propaganda and politics.—To further illustrate how propagandists can further causes other than the cause of democracy through the employment of similar techniques, perhaps the words of a would-be Alexander, Benito Mussolini, should be examined. In 1926, Il Duce screamed out: "Comrades, this is still our program: fight. Life for the Fascist is a continuous, ceaseless fight which we accept with ease, with great courage, with the necessary intrepidity."²

Clearly, these are literally "fighting" words, words which the historical record has shown to be of great motivational potential. Even today, such terms and concepts have the power to stir the souls of men to the extent that they oft-times "hitch their wagons" and their futures to the hollow promises of modern Caesars. The past thirty years can well testify to the effectiveness of such propaganda in winning the popular support of the masses.

Propaganda and commercial advertising.—It is not wise, however, to be lulled into a complacent feeling that propaganda

¹ Quoted in Ibid., p. 3.
² Quoted in Ibid., pp. 3-4.
lurks only in the shadows of the political arena. In a perhaps less colorful fashion, the propagandists rack their brains for new slogans and gimmicks to achieve similar results in the world of business.\(^1\)

And thus, ears ring and eyes smart from the never-ceasing stream of "selling words" which abound in a highly industrialized society.

Again and again, can be heard the familiar themes:

"You can be \textbf{sure} if it's Westinghouse."

"Elgin: the Watch with the Heart that never breaks."

"Be happy, go Lucky."

"Ask the man who owns one."

"Good to the last drop."

These words have potential selling power. And the skilled use of them by large corporations and advertising agencies can stimulate the movement of goods and satisfy the wants and needs of many people. There can be little doubt but that propaganda is \textbf{inextricably} entwined in the fabric of modern society.\(^2\)

\textbf{Selling words.}-- Buy this; join that; work for this; fight that. All around emerges the ever-growing wave of messages.

Clearly, the emotional heartstrings of American sentiment are easily tugged by such familiar terms as Democracy,

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\(^1\)Ibid., p. 4.
Communism, Square Deal, New Deal, Fair Deal, Liberty, George Washington, Capital, Labor, United Nations, CIO, AFL, NAM, and "Minute Men."

On the other hand, the people of England presumably react either favorably or unfavorably to concepts like Monarchy, Anglicanism, Democratic Socialism, Churchill, Queen Elizabeth, and National Health Service.

Those who are Russian citizens probably react similarly when the terms Lenin, Stalin, Bolshevism, and Stakhanovism appear upon the scene. Clearly, these are symbols which stimulate positive and negative emotional reactions in majorities. 1

Conversely, there are many symbols which elicit responsive chords in minority groups. Here may be found ammunition for the agitator who plays upon upon the woes and frustrations of the oppressed, the inadequate, and the distressed.

Such a propagandist frequently uses the catch-words of political extremists, both right and left, that is, Communists, Nazis, and Fascists. Scapegoats are usually set up by the propagandist to attract the libidinous aggression of those who are disturbed. And thus, Catholics or Jews, Management or Labor, Communists or Fascists become symbols of iniquity, the targets of attack.

Omnibus words. -- Clearly, catch-phrases and slogans can be referred to as omnibus words, that is, words which have no single, carefully defined meanings. Omnibus words carry vague

1/Alfred McClung Lee, op. cit., pp. 5-6.
meanings of a broad, general nature. Thus, they are words which mean "all things to all men," since every group ascribes a different meaning to verbal expressions of this kind.¹

For example, George Washington and Thomas Jefferson would probably view with mixed feelings of chagrin and amazement the many caricatures bearing their names which propagandists are prone to use. And even a word like Democracy can be identified with a number of concepts which range from mob rule to the Soviet conception of a "people's democracy."

The same can also be said for other symbolic phenomena. In the case of music, the martial strains of the Marsielle perhaps cause most Frenchmen to walk a little straighter. And the Stars-and-Stripes waving in a brisk breeze is a source of inspiration to those who believe in America. But these very same symbols will probably be negatively received by persons who declare their allegiance to the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics. Clearly, all these plus a myriad of other symbols as expressed in motion pictures, television, and pageantry are of grave significance to the shrewd propagandist in his attempts to control public opinion.²

The use of such a shorthand for the transmission of ideas to large numbers of people makes possible mass action in the arenas of business and politics. Clearly, the utilization of mass media is an effective way to ring up higher sales upon

¹Ibid., pp. 5-6.
the cash registers of business and to draw more votes at the polls. Irrespective of the virtues of a particular political candidate or a particular brand of perfume, of a reform for "good government" or a religious belief, most people are greatly influenced in their judgement of these things through the "thunder" of emotionally charged words and other symbols.1

Another aspect of omnibus words.-- It must be remembered that omnibus symbols also tend to be dogmatic, that is, they emphasize the justice and injustice of ideas and institutions. Thus, such words, in effect, become "virtue" and "name-calling" labels.2

Omnibus words and the propagandee.-- The broad, rough conceptions which are absorbed by the propagandee frequently prove to be of great significance in the formulation of his decisions. Since few persons have adequate patience and opportunity to form more accurate impressions through the critical media of fact and deliberation, it is probable that a greater degree of truth can be brought forth in the forum of democracy where there exists a competitive, give-and-take of ideas. When discussion and clear-headed thought become limited and circumscribed by orthodoxy, too many impressions remain untried and uncertain. It is here where propaganda has the greatest likelihood of being successful. And it is here where emotionally tinged omnibus words run roughshod over reason and careful investigation.

CHAPTER IV
PROPAGANDA ANALYSIS

The need for propaganda analysis.-- The editor of the Bloomington (Illinois) Daily Pantagraph pointed to a sound, middle-of-the-road philosophy for the consumer of propaganda when he wrote that: "...it is not propaganda that should worry us, but (rather) our individual response to it."1

Propaganda is not necessarily all lies. Propaganda may be the simple, unadulterated truth. Or, on the other hand, propaganda may serve selfish, unscrupulous interests. And therefore it may be either safe or dangerous.

The thing that should concern the so-called "man in the street" is the way in which he allows himself to react to propaganda. And clearly no man can escape the never-ending stream of special-interest messages which has apparently become an integral part of life in a modern, industrial society. There can be but little doubt but that the average person has a definite need to understand the symbols and techniques that are used by the propagandist to stimulate mass action. The very fact that people's emotions become roused to the point that they delude themselves into believing that they have "fought somebody else's war" or purchased merchandise which they "really didn't want" would seem to indicate that the mass man has need of enlightenment. And the present writer is quoted in Henry McClung Lee, How to Understand Propaganda, Henry Holt and Company, New York, 1932, p. 24.
convinced that the study of propaganda analysis in the secondary schools is a sensible first step towards the development of a thinking citizenry which is capable of shouldering its responsibilities in a democracy.

A middle-of-the-road approach to propaganda. A sound, middle-of-the-road approach to the understanding of propaganda is one in which the student is neither credulous nor negativistic, neither starry-eyed nor cynical. Many attempts have been made in educational circles to work out techniques of propaganda analysis for the guidance of those who choose to meet the challenge of intelligent thinking which confronts all who live in mass societies.

Prodigious workers in the field like Harold D. Lasswell have developed systematic plans for the analysis of propaganda in a refined and quantitative manner. But since almost everyone has an aversion towards numbers and their mathematical manipulation, the contributions of such a technique of analysis have been limited, at least in the case of the average citizen.

The Institute for Propaganda Analysis produced a less sophisticated technique of analysis which analyzed propaganda in terms of seven devices which it sometimes referred to as the "ABC's of Propaganda Analysis." Each device was represented by a visual symbol, which like the title of the device itself,

can easily be memorized. "Glittering Generality," for example, is symbolized by a glittering jewel, and "Plain Folks," another propagandistic device, is visually pictured by that traditional analogue for an old friend, an old shoe. Clearly, the laudable purpose which motivated such a technique of analysis was the desire to establish a system that could be easily comprehended by even students in the public schools. But the need to oversimplify also gave rise to the elimination of crucial problems or to an informal treatment of them which, at times, became superficial. Nevertheless, the Institute for Propaganda Analysis did much to help citizens detect the strategy of the propagandist and to gain a better understanding of the psychological principles involved in effective propaganda.

**The need for a broad, social view of propaganda.**— But a sound, middle-of-the-road approach to propaganda analysis should not be limited to a formal study of the content of propaganda messages *per se*. In the writer's estimation, such a view would be unrealistic in that it would segregate propaganda from its broad, social context. Propaganda must be seen as an important aspect of the social unrest and competitive struggles for power which have come to typify life in a complex, industrial society. Thus, although content analysis will be the focal point of any study of propaganda, the writer is convinced that the social functions of propaganda must also be examined in order that a well-balanced picture may be secured.
The study of propaganda symbols.— In the case of content analysis, however, much attention must be devoted to the study of the symbolic devices which constitute the major weapons of the propagandist. It can probably be said that the examination of symbols is to the propagandist what the inspection of a person's blood pressure is to the doctor. The doctor treats heart beat and blood count as indices of the metabolism of the body. And similarly, he who analyzes propaganda should regard propagandistic symbols as symptoms or mirrors which reflect complex social situations. And thus, the skilled propaganda analyst can well be referred to as a trouble shooter of social problems, one who can analyze the motives behind the words of competing propagandists. In view of the all-pervasive qualities of propaganda in this, the twentieth century, clear-headed analysis is essential to effective living in a democratic society.

The consumer analyst.— The present writer believes that the average person does not require a highly technical knowledge in the skills of propaganda analysis. Some aspects of propaganda are extremely complex and require a thorough understanding of social psychology to be adequately coped with. But in the writer's opinion, this does not create an insurmountable problem. The writer is convinced that the study of propaganda analysis in the secondary schools can provide the average person with enough of a grasp of propaganda analysis to help

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him in his role as citizen of a democracy. Thus, the "man in the street" can develop a somewhat more critical attitude towards the propaganda which seeks to control him.

**Social change and the growth of propaganda.**—At this point, the question may be asked why propaganda has come to be of such importance to the fabric of social relations and why there has developed an increasing need for critical analysis as an antidote to the never-ceasing wave of propagandistic messages.

The answer is **social change**.

World War I probably did more than anything else to center the spotlight of attention upon the possibilities of opinion-control. It is true that for many centuries political and social leaders were aware of the importance of propaganda. For example, Samuel Adams in this country fully understood its implications, as is evinced by his interesting political career. But World War I and the propaganda activities of both the Allied and Central Powers clearly demonstrated the tremendous possibilities of this weapon as an instrumentality of political and social control. It was during those years of war that the art of twentieth century propaganda was born, at least in the writer's opinion.

Nevertheless, it is conceded that other factors have also helped precipitate the growth of propaganda. Of great

importance has been the spread of democracy and the extension of suffrage.\textsuperscript{1} The fact that the proportion of the people which takes part in public affairs has grown has, in turn, resulted in an expansion of civic responsibility. And hence, it has naturally followed that the manipulation of public opinion through the skilled use of propaganda is now established as a social institution of significance to the democratic process.

The spread of democracy had other implications as well. Educational facilities were greatly expanded and illiteracy became progressively less commonplace. The public support of schools and colleges, the initiation of compulsory school-attendance requirements, and extensive legislation restricting child labor gradually made possible the use of the printed word as a means of appeal.\textsuperscript{2} And propagandists quickly took advantage of this new medium of attack.

At the same time, other changes were taking place. The march of science during the past fifty years was steadily improving and perfecting the technology of communication. The development and advancement of great mass media: the press, motion pictures, radio, and more recently, television, have resulted in a tremendous revolution in the growth of instruments for mass impression. Such changes have ushered in a new era of propaganda, the age of mass media.

\textsuperscript{1} Ibid., pp. 3-4.
\textsuperscript{2} Ibid., pp. 5-6. Also see Leonard W. Doob, \textit{op. cit.}, Chapters 18, 19, and 20.
More than this, the development of more efficient techniques of communication has been accompanied by widespread economic transformations. Of these, one of the most significant is the rapid growth of large-scale production. Thus, there has evolved an ever-expanding stream of vigorous attempts to sell products. Clearly, mass production requires mass consumption. And hence, commercial advertising has mushroomed to tremendous proportions. The methods and techniques of such advertisers has proven to be so effective that churches, professional, economic, political, and special-interest groups of all kinds have borrowed from them.

Clearly, the causative chain of events is certainly an extended one which offers a reasonable explanation of the great propaganda arena that has circumscribed modern society. Never before has there been such a volume of propaganda. And never before has there been such stress upon the understanding of mass psychology. As a result, the number of propagandas which bombard the individual have multiplied in number. New doctrines and ideologies, which in the past could not be brought before the public except by a gradual process of percolation, can now be disseminated easily through mass media. And pressure groups actively take part in the struggle to control public opinion through application of the principles of social psychology.

In the case of pressure groups, many organizations and blocs exerted a tremendous amount of pressure upon the schools and educational institutions during the late 1930's. Their aim was to mould public opinion to attitudes favorable to the ends of these groups. Public utilities and other organizations like the National Association of Manufacturers were, and still are motivated by the desire to foster an educational climate of opinion which approves of the values respected by business interests.¹ And, in the writer's estimation, this fact alone is of prime importance to the educational trend towards the study of propaganda analysis which typified the period 1937-1941. This, in addition to the new surge of war propaganda which inundated the international scene upon the outbreak of World War II, focussed eye-widening attention on propaganda as a tool of social control. And hence many people became increasingly aware of the widespread need for an understanding of the character and techniques of propaganda. Thus, propaganda analysis and its study have fulfilled a definite social need, the need for an intelligent awareness of the nature of propaganda.

Propaganda analysis and education.-- Some educators feel, even today, that propaganda analysis is an important aspect of a truly liberal education, especially in the high schools and colleges. And the present writer is inclined to agree with this opinion. In fact, the writer is convinced that the social

studies teacher should keep on file materials pertaining to the teaching of propaganda analysis. Professor Edgar B. Wesley, eminent scholar in the area of the social studies, would seem to back up this opinion of the present writer in his statement "...the social studies teacher will do well to work up an outline and have some handy references for a unit on propaganda." Clearly, propaganda analysis is still of importance to the teaching profession.

Propaganda analysis reaches its zenith. -- Propaganda analysis reached its high point during the period 1937-1941 amid the tensions and anxieties of World War II. In October 1937, Edward A. Filene, a liberal Boston philanthropist, fathered the establishment of the Institute for Propaganda Analysis which aimed at developing a sensible technique for the dissection of propaganda. It is interesting to note that the Institute disappeared shortly after the United States entered the War.

By that time, there was pressure from good friends and former supporters of the Institute who became convinced that since the Institute could not be partisan in its analyses of propaganda, contributions of a more positive nature could be rendered to the United States elsewhere. In other words, people became very much concerned with the problem of winning the War and hence, were less prone to criticize the reams of propaganda which were ground out by the grist-mill of Allied

1/Edgar Bruce Wesley, Teaching the Social Studies, D. C. Heath and Company, Boston, 1942, pp. 52-53.
"psychological warfare" experts. 1

During the brief existence of the Institute, much was done, however, to educate the public in the ways of effective propaganda. Subscribers received a monthly bulletin which analyzed a contemporary campaign of propaganda such as "Mr. Roosevelt's Foreign Policy" or "War Aims in War Propaganda." Courses on propaganda analysis were organized, especially in the secondary schools. Teachers were supplied with a manual which outlined a method for the analysis of propaganda. And, for a while, a speakers' bureau was maintained for adult groups which were interested in the study of propaganda. 2 But the outbreak of War and the loss of financial support finally had their effect. The Institute ceased to exist.

Effects on education.—Yet even though this organization has ceased to function, the impact which it made upon teaching methods and social studies curricula has persisted. Materials produced by the Institute are often reprinted in high school, college, and adult education textbooks. 3 And even today, forward-looking educational systems still offer units on the study of propaganda analysis.

The attack on the teaching of propaganda analysis.—But propaganda analysis has never been fully accepted as an important aspect of sound educational training. As Arthur T. Robb,

1/Henry McClung Lee, op. cit., p. 27.
3/Henry McClung Lee, op. cit., p. 27.
editor of the daily newspaper publishers' trade paper, Editor and Publisher observed in October, 1947 at the outset of the Institute for Propaganda Analysis' work: "...propaganda analysts are likely to step on the exposed and tender toes of propagandists."¹ And certainly, there is much truth to this observation.

But more important than the objections of those who oppose propaganda analysis because of possible embarrassment are the criticisms directed by other writers who contend that the study of propaganda breeds cynicism and disillusionment.

Professor Bruce Lannes Smith of New York University has asserted: "I have myself attempted to teach propaganda analysis, and have talked with other teachers who have tried. Although we have not sampled the field statistically, we all seem to feel that an extremely high ...degree of cynicism develops, especially among adolescents...."² Clearly, Smith takes issue with the teaching of propaganda analysis, at least with the methods with which he was then acquainted.

Shirley A. Star, co-author of an important study of the armed forces, contended as recently as 1949 that propaganda analysis grew out of "the re-evaluation which followed the First World War, ...a debunking process which challenged the worth-whileness of the most recent major cause to which (Americans) had given their allegiance."³ Thus, people came

to believe that propaganda is a kind of trickery which attempts to take advantage of those who are naive and unsuspecting. The product was a certain bitterness and cynicism.

It is highly possible, however, that cynicism does not necessarily mean a "bury-your-head-in-the-sand" outlook. What is sometimes called cynicism merely means the wiping away of illusions. And by seeing things in a fresh, more realistic way, people may be better capable of achieving happiness. As Reverend Samuel M. Shoemaker once pointed out, "...disillusionment is what...makes great prophets and reformers." 1

Perhaps the most noisy opponents of the study of propaganda analysis are those people who desire orthodoxy and there are many of them. Groups and persons of established social prestige have good reason to resent the questioning attitude of the propaganda analyst who attempts to determine the truth or falsity of ideas. Conditions have progressed to the extent that "...teachers find safety not in orthodox ideas—for they will never know surely just which ideas are orthodox—but in no ideas...." 2 Henry Steele Commager, the eminent historian who wrote these penetrating words, has perhaps pointed out the growth of what the philosopher, Ortega Y Gasset has termed the "mass man." Clearly, the suppression of critical thinking is a serious development which can endanger the very foundations of democracy. The writer is convinced that propaganda analysis and its study can help develop the

1 Quoted in Henry McClung Lee, op. cit., p. 29.
clear-headed thinking which is so essential to a healthy society.

**Educators and propaganda analysis.**—On the whole, most educators during the late 1930's took the stand that propaganda analysis can help equip the individual in order that he may withstand the pressures of propaganda not in his interests. Educators like Hadley Cantril of Princeton University were extremely vocal in their insistence that propaganda analysis be included in secondary school curricula.¹ And countless articles appeared in the educational journals which merely reiterated the demand that propaganda analysis be dealt with in both social studies and English classes in secondary schools.

By 1936, in the Sixth Yearbook of the National Council for the Social Studies could be discerned a great stress upon education for citizenship and the need for critical analysis in the study of history and social problems. Howard E. Wilson points out in this publication that: "There should be increased use of source materials and contradictory accounts and items of testimony in order to give pupils practice in the weighing of evidence and to acquaint them with the true complexity of historical situations."² Although the term propaganda analysis is not specifically used, there is clearly a relation between Wilson's goals and the aims of the propaganda analyst.

In the following year 1937, the entire Seventh Yearbook of the National Council for the Social Studies was devoted to the consideration of propaganda and the teaching of the social studies. Roy A. Price asserted in that work: "No list of objectives of social-studies teaching in the public schools would be complete which did not include the aim of teaching students to recognize and guard against propaganda in all of its aspects."\(^1\) Clearly, here is a direct statement in favor of propaganda analysis in the schools.

But most interesting of all, in the writer's estimation, was an article in this very same Yearbook entitled "The Evaluation of Propaganda by the Historical Method."\(^2\) Here may be found the thought-provoking idea that the aim of propaganda analysis, critical thinking, can be achieved by methods other than the use of units strictly devoted to the study of propaganda analysis. An examination of the record would seem to show that this philosophy has grown in importance during the past few years.

Despite the fact that propaganda analysis took the teaching of the social studies by storm during the late 1930's, an examination of the Education Index throughout the years indicates that propaganda analysis has had relatively little written about it, since 1944. In the writer's opinion, this

can probably be attributed to the fact that there has evolved,
during the past decade, a shift of emphasis to critical thinking
as a significant aspect of all social studies instruction. The
result has been a stress upon problem-solving and action research.
The latter is a kind of social investigation in which the group
involved "...defines its own problems, develops its own hypo-
theses, tests these hunches in process as it gathers its own
data on the spot and draws conclusions as to the effectiveness
of the research and its implications for resolving the problem."1
Clearly, such techniques of analysis are extremely good for the
development of critical thinking.

Professor Edgar Bruce Wesley has hinted that propaganda
analysis has passed its educational zenith simply because the
core of the movement was to make popular the principles imbedded
in other techniques like the historical method.2 In other words,
Wesley would seem to feel that critical thinking is the funda-
mental aim of propaganda analysis and that this very same goal
can be achieved through the use of methods other than the teach-
ing of propaganda analysis per se. But, it is interesting to
note that as late as 1950 and the publication of his most
recent text on social studies methods, Wesley still suggests
that the social studies teacher have materials on file
for the teaching of a unit on propaganda. Hence, in the writer's

1 Prudence Bostwick (Chrn.), "The Nature of Critical Thinking
and Its Use in Problem Solving," Skilis in Social Studies,
Twenty-Fourth Yearbook, Helen McCracken Carpenter (Ed.), National
2 Edgar Bruce Wesley, Teaching Social Studies in High School,
interpretation, Professor Wesley apparently is sympathetic
to the aims of propaganda analysis in secondary social studies.

Despite the fact that the teaching of propaganda analysis
is probably not as popular today as it was during the period
1937-1943, the present writer is admittedly convinced that it
has a definite place in the social studies program, especially
on the senior high school level of instruction.

Although skilled teaching in the historical method and
other techniques can probably achieve the same basic goal,
critical thinking, the writer is of the opinion that a clear-
cut unit on propaganda and a detailed consideration of the
symbols of propaganda can be of immeasurable value in the
development of thinking minds. But the writer is convinced that
such a study should be tied in with current events and the
study of mass media in order that the pupil may see the broad,
social context of which propaganda is a part. From personal
experience, the writer has found the study of propaganda to be
a most fascinating one. He firmly believes that the study of
propaganda can, in the long run, prove of great value to the
individual by opening his eyes to the reality of mass impression
in modern, industrial society.

Democracy challenges the common man to make vital decisions.
Propaganda analysis can help him make those decisions by sweeping
away many of the illusions which blind men to the truth. Clearly,
the ability to analyze propaganda is of great consequence
to the functioning of democracy.
CHAPTER V

RESOURCE UNIT ON PROPAGANDA ANALYSIS

1. Statement of Expected Outcomes

Behaviors.— A student who has studied Propaganda Analysis should attain growth in understanding, skill, and attitude which would influence his behavior to the extent he will:

1. formulate opinions on important social issues after analysis of those issues.

2. pursue his interest in propaganda analysis through continued reading of newspaper editorials and other literature and careful analysis of the words and ideas contained in such messages.

3. maintain a critical attitude towards the meaning of words and thus reserve judgment on issues until all phases of a problem are understood.

4. distinguish in literature between realistic presentation of the emotional aspects of social problems, and over-drawn, sentimentalized approaches.

5. understand the important role which propaganda plays in the arena of social relations.

6. appreciate the need for developing greater resistance to conscious attempts by pressure groups to influence public opinion in the furtherance of their own selfish ends.

7. participate in discussions of social importance not only in the classroom but also in school activities, in community meetings, and elsewhere.

8. support and participate in organized efforts to develop a better understanding of social issues.

9. develop critical powers of analysis which will enable him to better evaluate the intentions and motives of pressure groups and organized interests.
Understandings.-- A student who has studied Propaganda Analysis should have increased understanding of:

1. the importance of propaganda as a means of social control.

2. the devices and techniques used by the professional propagandist.

3. the significance of mass media as a propagandistic tool in a highly industrialized society.

4. ways in which the propagandee can resist the sugar-coated words of the propagandist.

5. psychological principles which underlie the use of propaganda symbols.

6. the dangers of emotion when clear thinking is required.

Skills.-- A student who has studied Propaganda Analysis should have increased skills in:

1. the use of the historical method in estimating the validity of written materials.

2. the ability to distinguish between reliable and unreliable sources of information.

3. the ability to distinguish between statements of fact and statements of opinion.

4. the ability to analyze a given piece of propaganda and determine the propagandistic devices which are used in that literature.

5. the ability to develop reports which objectively consider all aspects of a problem.

6. the ability to interpret and use information gained in reading in an unbiased, well-balanced fashion.

7. the ability to express one's self fluently in the discussion of important social problems.

8. the ability to determine the biases and prejudices of writers and speakers.

9. the ability to interpret charts and tables which are pertinent to the study of propaganda.
10. the ability to understand the psychological implications of any propaganda device.

Attitudes.-- A student who has studied Propaganda Analysis should have developed certain attitudes which will result in:

1. an awareness of the fallacies involved in much commercial advertising.
2. a more critical attitude towards the meaning of words.
3. a recognition of the dangers of "yellow journalism."
4. an awareness that prejudice and bias are often the products of ignorance and misinformation.
5. an appreciation of the importance of propaganda in the life of a complex society.
6. an awareness of the need to suspend judgement until all the facts pertinent to an issue are known.
7. an increased sensibility to the reality of propaganda and its effect upon individuals and the community.
8. a respect for emotional detachedness as a requisite for the clear-headed consideration of any issue.
9. an awareness of the heritage of every citizen of the United States.
10. a desire to participate in the solution of social problems caused by the activities of many pressure groups.
11. the respect of all peoples and races and the elimination of prejudice and bias with regard to our fellow citizens.
12. a desire to steer a course between cynicism and gullibility.
13. a willingness to evaluate one's own prejudices and biases.
14. a more critical attitude towards sources of information.
2. Statement of Varied Pupil Activities

**Initiatory activities.**—The following activities might be employed to initiate the study of propaganda:

1. Conduct a class discussion on selected editorials, news clippings, and advertisements which illustrates such propagandistic devices as name-calling, glittering generality, and testimonial.

2. On the bulletin board arrange news items, graphs, editorials, and other material which relates to the use of propaganda. Give the class an opportunity to examine them and ask questions. List all questions on the blackboard. Discuss with class whether these problems are important to the citizens of a democracy. Then, the class may plan the unit.

3. From newspapers or magazines, the teacher may select editorials or articles which present different points of view regarding some social issue. Have the class discuss these points of view and attempt to determine the reasons for differences of opinion between the articles under consideration. Point out how propagandistic devices are used to sway the reader's thinking. The class may then plan the unit.

4. In preparation for the introduction of the new unit, assign the reading of specific magazine article or newspaper editorial which presents one view of an important issue. In class, conduct a discussion on the viewpoint of the material. Attempt, through discussion, to determine in what ways the writer has tried to gain support for his cause or ideas. Point out omissions of fact which might tend to produce an inaccurate picture. Show how the propagandist endeavors to bend the thought of the reader, through the use of the testimonial device or other devices. Discuss whether it is important for citizens of a democracy to understand the ways of propaganda. The class may then plan the unit.

5. Refer back to issues which were dealt with in previous units. Show how an understanding of propaganda and its symbols can assist one in better evaluating social problems. Choose an issue previously discussed by the class and endeavor to approach this issue as a propagandist analyst. Recall this issue to the class and plan activities to explore the problem.
6. Show a film on propaganda. Have the class identify the important points in the film. Discuss the ways in which propaganda influences the individual and the community. Have the class discuss whether a knowledge of propaganda and its techniques can help them to be better citizens. Have the class plan the unit.

7. Take some of the generalizations drawn at the close of the preceding unit. List them on the blackboard. If possible, use these ideas as an introduction to a planning session for a unit on propaganda analysis. Allow students to discuss the dangers of exaggerated generalizations. Show how such generalizations are often used by propagandists and those who seek to forward a specific cause. Discuss with class whether the study of propaganda is essential to clear thinking. Then have the class outline and plan the unit.

8. Have the class conduct an informal survey on some issue of interest to them. Have members of class gather data from friends, relatives, and acquaintances in readiness for a discussion on public opinion. Discuss why people have differences of opinion in many areas. Discuss how propagandists may have influenced such differences of opinion. Have class discuss the importance of public opinion and the effects exerted upon it by propagandistic sources. Have class plan the unit on propaganda analysis.

9. Have a general planning session. Allow class to determine those points necessary for a good understanding of the nature of propaganda. Group all points and questions into categories which are to be listed on the blackboard. Allow students to determine what outcomes should result from the study of propaganda analysis. Have the class decide how certain problems will be explored. Plan activities with class.

10. In preparation for the introductory class, ask students to bring to school clippings and news items which present different views regarding some issue already discussed in a preceding unit. Conduct a discussion as to why much of the material brought into the classroom by the pupils is propaganda. Discuss the nature of propaganda. Have class discuss why propaganda is important to them. Have the class plan the unit on propaganda analysis.

Developmental activities:--

1. For each of the major problems (such as the devices
of propaganda, the techniques of propagandists, the use of mass media, and the psychology of propaganda), committees may investigate possible sources of information. Bibliographies of material can then be formulated by the students. The material may then be studied by the pupils in preparation for group reports or panel discussions. As the lists of material are being compiled, there may be class discussions on ways in which the location of materials can be facilitated.

2. The class may decide to make a study of community resources for the study of propaganda. Lists of pressure groups and organized interests can be developed. And committees can be formed to interview prominent businessmen and possibly local politicians for information regarding techniques of propaganda. Any literature produced by such persons and pressure groups can be collected, analyzed for content, and reported upon in the classroom.

3. A list of topics pertaining to propaganda analysis can be developed by both teacher and pupils in a planning session. Topics are then distributed among the members of the class, each pupil performing the necessary research in preparation of an oral talk to be presented before the class. Discussion will follow the presentation of each talk.

4. A committee can be set up which will apply the technique of propaganda analysis set forth by the Institute for Propaganda Analysis to current editorials in local newspapers regarding some issue decided upon by the committee. Pupils will illustrate in their report how various propaganda devices are used in these editorials to curry public favor.

5. Show a film on propaganda. Have the students identify the major points in the film. Allow the students to gain further information on these points through subsequent readings in periodicals, journals, and books. Pupils must arrive at their own conclusions. And reports will be given orally before the class.

6. Students may bring to class clippings and news items from metropolitan newspapers which will be subjected to analysis by members of the class.

7. Students might develop lists of words which they have found to be vague or misleading. Discussion might be held on the problem of defining many of these over-used words and expressions. Students will be asked as to how the use of such terms can further the aims
8. Pupils may choose to analyze and compare editorials on some crucial issue from newspapers of different parts of the country on a given day. In this way, classroom discussion can take place, with stress upon the comparison and analysis of sectional differences and prejudices.

9. Hold a discussion on movies of the past and present. Attention should be centered upon the use of symbols in motion pictures and the economic and political philosophy which is often transmitted by many films.

10. Have a committee report on evidence on evidence of social propaganda in history textbooks. The same can also be done for textbooks in other areas of the social studies as well.

11. Have members of the class develop a scrapbook of commercial advertisements which appeal to health, beauty, success and chauvinism.

12. A committee will report on lobbyists and their activities. Discussion will then take place in the classroom.

13. Allow students to report on conflict experiences in their own lives which were decided emotionally. Have pupils discuss whether emotional reactions to a situation are necessarily effective responses.

14. The class may want to dramatize a day in the life of a public relations man. Students will have to develop a bibliography of materials on pertinent aspects of advertising. With teacher assistance, students will prepare scripts and present skit before class. As a summary, they will conclude by discussing the techniques of the propagandist and the way such propaganda influences them as individuals.

15. Prepare a poster on "Propaganda and You." Use data gathered by a class committee, and ask suggestions of the art teacher regarding layout and appropriate form.

16. Have students make a list of "good" symbols like Plymouth Rock, the little red school house, Abraham Lincoln’s picture, and the United States Constitution. Discuss in class how such symbols are used in advertisements to lend prestige to the propagandistic message.
17. Consider in class how acceptance of a fashionable "authority" is often highly questionable. Find examples of fashionable authorities like, for example, Helena Rubenstein in the case of cosmetics. Discuss in class how testimonials are constantly used in modern advertising.

18. Test statements such as: "Try Camels, America's Finest Cigarette." Have members of the class develop lists of such commercial "plug lines." Discuss and analyze the tendencies towards over-exaggeration which permeate these advertising slogans.

19. Write an essay or prepare material for classroom discussion on the subject "Modern Advertising and Its Appeals." Students may select other topics for individual oral report with the instructor's permission.

20. The class may wish to plan a panel, a forum, or general discussion on any aspect of propaganda decided upon by the class.

21. List the seven devices of propaganda as determined by the Institute for Propaganda Analysis. Explain to the class how such symbols are used by propagandists to attract support. Have lists of these devices mimeographed and passed out to members of the class. Have pupils collect news items and editorials which use utilize such propagandistic devices. Conduct a discussion in class on the pupils' findings.

22. Have a committee collect propaganda cartoons and develop reports on them.

23. Have students find advertisements which appeal to the senses— to the eye, ear, and nose. Display such materials on bulletin board. Discuss the nature of this type of psychological appeal.

24. Have a committee study the importance of mass media to modern propaganda. Students may conduct a panel discussion on the problem.

25. Have pupils listen to radio and television commentators. Pupils will analyze the views of such commentators and determine what propaganda symbols are being used. Reports may be made in either oral or written form.

Culminating activities.—

1. Arrange a forum on some important social issue. After both sides of the issue have been argued pro and con,
students may analyze many of the arguments presented during the course of the program for propaganda.

2. Invite a journalist or local newspaperman to visit the school and speak on the subject of propaganda. Allow students to speak to the visitor and ask questions regarding aspects of propaganda which interest them especially.

3. Have the pupils plan and write a series of articles for the school newspaper or some local newspaper on the viewpoints of propaganda which the students have found to be important.

4. Place an exhibit of the posters and collections of material developed by the class in the school library or in the local community library.

5. Select one of the dramatizations of the class for presentation in the school auditorium or over a local radio station.

6. Arrange a debate on some aspect of the study of propaganda. Have students conduct research in preparing materials. Allow students to select members of a board of judges which will analyze the arguments of both teams of speakers. The entire class will then discuss the various points brought out by the speakers.

7. Plan a similar program for presentation at one of the Parent-Teacher Association meetings. An open forum will then be held.

8. From the topics and problems studied by the class, select, with the class, those problems which the class would like to devote further study and analysis. These may be used as possible initiating activities for the next unit.

3. Statement of Varied Materials of Instruction

Reading materials for students.-- The following bibliography is presented with hesitation. Pupils should develop their own list of references to meet the needs of the class.


Building America, Lincoln School, Teachers College, Columbia University, NYC, October 1937.


Consumers Union Reports, Consumers Union of United States, Inc., 55 Vandam Street, New York City.


Dale, Edgar, How to Read a Newspaper, Ohio State University, Columbus, Ohio, 1937.


Hughes, R.O., A Textbook in Citizenship, Allyn and Bacon, New York, 1933.

Institute for Propaganda Analysis, monthly letters, beginning October, 1937.


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Counts, George S., Dare the Schools Build a New Social Order?, The John Day pamphlets, New York, 1932.


Institute for Propaganda Analysis, monthly letters beginning October 1937.


Seldes, George, You Can't Print That, Harcourt, New York, 1929.


Films on Propaganda. -- The following films are listed in the Educational Film Guide, The H. W. Wilson Company, New York. The Annual Editions in which specific films are listed are indicated below.

June, 1946 Edition:

Divide and Conquer, German propaganda, 14 min. 16-sd-loan NY, 1946, OWI 1942.

Does it Matter What You Think, BIS, 15 min. sd. rent. $2.00

1948 Edition:

Public Opinion, EBF 11 min. sd. rent. $2.50 Collaborator Harold D. Lasswell.

1950 Edition:

Propaganda Techniques, Coronet 10 min. $45.00 Color $90.00.

1951 Edition:

Public Opinion in Our Democracy, Coronet 10 min. $50.00 Color $100.00.

The War for Men's Minds, German propaganda, Brandon 21 min. rent. $5.00

Recordings for propaganda analysis. --

In the American Tradition. Speeches by Jefferson, Lincoln, W. Wilson, and FDR. Read by Orson Welles. Four 12 inch 78 rpm records. Decca.
State Department Speeches. Discussions by well-known people connected with the activities of the U. S. Department of State. Federal Radio Education Committee, 16 in. 33 1/3 rpm.

4. Statement of Suggested Evaluation Devices

a. Test items on real meanings of words as compared with varied suggested meanings supplied by students. Define each of the following words:

1. democracy.
2. communist.
3. common people.
4. capitalism.
5. socialism.
6. dictator.
7. fascist.
8. the American Way.
9. patriotic.
10. radical.

Students will later consult a dictionary and determine the accuracy of their interpretations and definitions.

b. Test to determine the student's ability to read and understand the biases and prejudices of propaganda.

By using the letters for the meanings given below indicate your opinion of the classification of the policy behind the writing:

a. Conservative.
b. Conservative, but tending toward progressive.
c. Progressive.
d. Progressive with radical leanings.
e. Radical or Extreme Leftist.

Indicate whether there is any attempt to influence you in each selection:

a. No intention of influencing the reader.
b. one-sided, but no deliberate influence, a constructive point of view.
c. definitely directing influence, not ultimately constructive.
d. a distortion of fact, completely misleading.

d. Test for understanding of propaganda devices. Have students compose a piece of propaganda on a given subject. Pupils must
label the devices used in their propagandistic message.

d. Degree of truth Test. Mark 1 before statements which are true; mark 2 before statements which are probably true; mark 0 before completely false statements; and mark 3 before doubtful statements.

___ The Soviet Union wants to start World War III.
___ The United States should go back to the gold standard.
___ The United States wishes to own Canada.
___ The present armament program is to enable us to enter a war.
___ The United States has fallen behind Russia in production.

e. Have students list the arguments pro and con some well-known issue. Students must evaluate the strengths and weaknesses of arguments on both sides of the issue.

f. Test of critical thinking. Mimeograph copies of an editorial which takes a definite stand on some important issue. Have students analyze the passage in terms of the devices enumerated by the Institute for Propaganda Analysis.
BIBLIOGRAPHY


Other materials of value in the preparation of this paper include:


