

integrity of their basic assumptions. I believe that much of the reform of the present Administration is a fulfillment of these principles.

But my observations of history, and, what is more important, of human nature, have led me to believe that the tendency of reform is always to sweep beyond its planned objectives and to lurch irrationally into positions which expose it to the devastating counter-attack of reaction. The signs of such excessive zeal first appear in the perversions of original designs. I see such perversions already appearing,

and I have described them tonight. The responsible leaders of both parties can check them if, in this campaign, they will temper their partisanship with a serious regard for the public interest.

Truly to believe in progress is to wish to save and consolidate what enlightened thought has achieved, to move ahead in the light of dependable facts and tested inferences from these facts. There is no other way toward progress. But there are myriad ways to reaction. And America, rich as it is, cannot afford reaction.

Freedom of Propaganda

THE CONSTRUCTIVE FORMING OF PUBLIC OPINION

By EDWARD L. BERNAYS, *Public Relations Counsel, New York, N. Y.*

At Institute of Public Affairs, University of Virginia, July 16, 1936

PROPAGANDA is the voice of the people in the democracy of today. Freedom of propaganda is as important as the other civil liberties—freedom of worship, freedom of the press, freedom of speech, freedom of radio, and freedom of assembly. The use of propaganda provides, for the people, an open forum for the conflict of ideas and for the competition of the market-place, which are integral parts of our present-day system. Propaganda offers everyone a free choice as to the basis of the course of action to be pursued. With only one kind of propaganda, only one kind of special pleading, we are left in the position of the individuals in a Fascist or Communist state, who have no free choice, and who must accept the edict of those who are in power.

Propaganda is an important tool of sound social evolution and change. Propaganda makes it possible for minority ideas to become effective more quickly. This extends over into other fields as well—political, economic, industrial. The industrial product of science and invention, of laboratory and workshop, penetrates the inertia of the public and is accepted by the public more quickly as the result of propaganda.

The acceptance of the automobile, the radio, the X-ray, toxins and antitoxins, preventive and therapeutic medicine, the use of electricity for all kinds of socially sound purposes, have all been accelerated by propaganda. So has the use of countless sound products such as leather and rubber, glass and metal, and many others.

What is this propaganda that takes ideas and facts, and gains quicker acceptance for them—that modifies the motives, the thoughts, and the actions of millions?

Propaganda is applied psychology. Propaganda is an attempt to give currency to an idea by finding the common denominator between the idea and the public interest, and stating it. It is bringing an old or a new idea to acceptance by the public. Leaders recognize that in a democracy, life is a conflict, a competition of symbols for the good will of the public. The methods of propaganda are readily available to all forces in society that wish to effect change or to maintain the status quo. That is why it is particularly vital that they be employed for sound social purposes, since propaganda is a powerful weapon that can be abused as well

as used constructively. That is why, it seems to me, men and women who are interested in their civilization should have a thorough knowledge of the scope of propaganda, its functions, and its limitations.

Let me be specific. The victory for women's suffrage would have been utterly impossible without the brilliant and vigorous propaganda technique employed. The propaganda had to convince women as well as men. It had to convince liberals as well as conservatives. It had to convince the rank and file as well as legislators. It had to consolidate its own group while it fought its group's battle. This is undoubtedly one of the great propaganda exploits of the United States, a tribute to the organizing and propagandizing ability of Mrs. Carrie Chapman Catt and the handful of women who directed the campaign for years. This propaganda employed many of the techniques of modern propaganda. The symbols utilized were women leaders drawn from every grouping of society, as well as men leaders. They organized effective pressure groups that acted upon recalcitrant legislators. They dramatized their activities in petitions, mass meetings, and parades. They appealed to the emotions and the thoughts of their constituency, and those who were not their constituency, by presenting their cause on the basis of its justice, its historical precedent, the tradition of equality upon which America was founded, the gallantry and chivalry of the American man, the admiration of America for the accomplishment of its women, the force and effect of their viewpoint upon their men folks, and thus upon the legislators.

Both the passage of prohibition and its consequent repeal were the results of effective propaganda technique. Both movements certainly were predicated upon the social sense of the proponents.

Peace propaganda has been attempted since even before the dawn of Christianity. It is still the hope of millions that war may be prevented through public education. Today, numerous propagandas carried on by the Church as well as by private organizations are attempting to meet the need for an effective propaganda that will prevent war. Such propagandas cannot rest on incantations against evils or cruelties of war. They must use every channel of approach to the public, and every appeal to make valid their

premises and their conclusions. Even then they may fail, for counter-propagandas, developed by those who will profit from war, appealing to the profit-motive of the masses, may win. It seems to me that there is a great field for the propagandist in attempting to rationalize to the public that even though there may be an immediate profit, in the long run the public pays and pays for wars.

The great foundations, such as the Carnegie Foundation, the Rockefeller Foundation, the Twentieth Century Fund, are many of them working in the field of propaganda. Not that they call it by that direct word. To them it is public education. The Social Science Research Council, for instance, has recently sponsored a study of, and projected to the people its findings on, better public service personnel, and what it would mean to the public—a splendid piece of propaganda for the public good.

The Committee on the Cost for Medical Care for five years studied that question, at a cost of one million dollars, and made its findings available to the American people for the purpose of building up and developing a new attitude and new actions towards the question of medical care. The important work on Social Trends was a vital contribution to American knowledge and American thinking and acting on many of the questions of today—a propaganda effort to bring about a socially most desirable objective.

From the broad social standpoint, propaganda can be used in industry for a variety of purposes. It can be utilized to hasten or slow up the normal time lag in the public acceptance of a product. For instance, the prosperity and continued existence of thousands of workers, growers, and other enterprises dependent upon the silk industry or the velvet industry or the woolen industry must depend upon the public attitude toward the particular product. Instead of leaving this matter to the whims of individual French dressmakers, or to the whims of fashion, the propagandist enters the situation, and through his technique, attempts to crystallize a public opinion in favor of his clients' objectives.

This, of course, leads to a battle of propagandas for the attention and favor of the public. But such a battle of propagandas re-enforces the other armies in the competitive conflict, and often tends to stabilize what might otherwise produce sudden uneconomic and disastrous changes, throwing finance out of kilter, industry out of balance, and workers out of jobs. Propagandas for the consumer's favor carry broad consequences in their wake, and serve a useful purpose in the economic system. They serve to stabilize life for the producing as well as the consuming elements. They tend to eliminate the shocks and sudden changes which it is clear our system cannot stand. They take advantage of the inertias and the momentums of the public, so that equilibrium and progress are brought about through the free choice of the public, rather than through domination or pressure by groups in power. Propaganda makes public interest the deciding factor, for the more propagandas there are vying for public interest and public attention, the freer is the public to choose on the basis of its real wants.

Let us examine one of these industrial propaganda battles to see just what the broad consequences of the success or failure of propaganda may be. Every evening, for

example, there is a battle of propagandas over your dinner table, as to what you have on it. The success or failure of these skirmishes, battles and wars, carries with it economic success or failure in different parts of the United States and of the world—to producers, distributors, consumers, and other sections of the public.

The sterling silver tableware makers compete with the plated silver tableware makers to serve you, and your decision—sterling or plated—will have repercussions in the silver mines of Montana, Arizona, Colorado, and Nevada, and in the zinc mines of New Jersey, Wisconsin, Kansas, and New Mexico. Glass dishware vies with china or porcelain; paper napkins with those made of linen from Scotland, Ireland, or Czechoslovakia, and cotton or rayon. Fruits, in salad or juice form, fight for favor against tomato juice or countless other appetizers. The fisheries compete against the meat packers as your menu is determined. The vegetables you eat represent the war between potato growers and macaroni manufacturers, asparagus growers and green pea growers, beet growers and carrot growers. Bread fights an internecine warfare; rye against white, and white against whole wheat. If wine is served, is it imported or domestic? Or perhaps beer is successful in winning a place at the dinner table, at the expense of the vineyard owners. For your dessert, the bakers vie with the fruit growers, and these, in turn, war on the ice cream manufacturers. Brazilian coffee merchants are aligned against those of the Dutch Indies. Together they compete against the tea growers of Ceylon.

A similar battle of propaganda is carried on so that you may decide on the clothes you wear. Your choice of underwear—cotton, silk, or rayon—may spell success or failure to one or another of these industries. Shirts of silk (from Japan or from Italy) compete with cotton shirts, imported or domestic. Light felt hats fight for favor against panama and straw hats from Central America. Neckties of silk or cotton, wool or rayon, compete against each other. And lightweight suits of a dozen materials and styles fight for acceptance against the traditional heavier men's clothing.

What, you may ask, can be the rationalization of these propagandas? Namely this—that as interest and attention are focused on these battles, disinterested authority will align itself on the basis of merit with one side or another, and the presumption is that that side will win in public favor which is in the public interest and at the same time satisfies the private-profit motive that is at the basis of our present system.

Industry employs many means of bringing its message to the public. It has developed, over the years, techniques that embrace almost every method for the dissemination of thoughts and ideas. Propaganda today is recognized as an important one of these. The fact that the large corporations of this country have continuously employed public relations counsel, the professionals in the field of public education and propaganda, over a period of years, would appear to be proof indeed of the soundness of the use of propaganda.

Industry and business, in our democracy, have not taken advantage of the new science of propaganda in the broadest sense. While they have employed modern propaganda to sell goods, they have not made clear to the public the underlying

philosophy and attitudes of industry and business. Industry and business have not as yet seen that they need to consolidate their position; that that is a deeper and more vital problem of existence than that of raising the quota of sales of a specific company.

Individuals, industries, and organizations have not heretofore regarded themselves as part of a larger whole that must present a unified front to the public. The capitalistic system has entirely neglected the larger implications of selling itself against competitive systems to the public.

I need scarcely point out that the happenings of the last six years have created instability in the social and economic system in the United States. If we are to safeguard the principles of democracy on which our country was founded, if we are to safeguard democracy itself, we must first understand and then utilize effectively the science of propaganda in its behalf. Both as individuals, as industry, and as a gov-

ernment, we must think of our problem as one of meeting competitive and hostile symbols and conquering them. We must find and make use of symbols that will reflect our present system and that will evoke responses favorable to that system from the public we are seeking to influence.

The task of the propagandist is, in essence, the effective management of the symbols at his command to bring about desired responses from the public in order to achieve the desired end.

Today, everyone interested in democracy must consider himself as having an essential duty to perform on behalf of this democracy. Americans must recognize that in the science of propaganda they have at their command a real weapon with which to consolidate and make effective the work and contributions of past and present generations that have built up our present-day system—an economic and governmental system which we do not desire to exchange for any other.

The Most Expensive Amateur Hour in History

By COLONEL FRANK KNOX, *Republican Candidate for Vice-President*

Before West Virginia State Republican Convention, Huntington, West Virginia, August 13, 1936

MR. CHAIRMAN, members of the Republican party of West Virginia:

I judge from the size of this gathering that there are a good many Republicans in West Virginia. It is a great pleasure to greet you. You are veterans of the political wars, and the political wars in your state are real wars. The state of West Virginia was born in a time of national division on issues vital to the life of the nation. Your people were nurtured in political controversy. I have the feeling that a West Virginia Republican is a very real Republican, with a large chip on his shoulder.

I judge, also, from the greeting you have given me, that you Republicans of West Virginia are enthusiastic about the future. You are right. From Maine to California there is a great ground-swell of public support of the Republican campaign and of the Republican candidate for the Presidency, Governor Alf Landon. You have good reason for your confidence in the results of the November election.

Let me tell you the real reason why our ticket will win next November. The fundamental reason is that the American people are a practical people. They cannot be fooled indefinitely. It was the first Republican president in our history who said you can fool all the people some of the time and some of the people all the time, but you cannot fool all the people all the time.

In the American people there is a canny streak of common sense. The abstractions of economic theory have little appeal to them. But they are themselves shrewd and practical economists. They understand the eternal verities in a hard practical sense. And they know that the present administration is too expensive a luxury to continue four more years.

As Al Smith would say, let's look at the record. In the summer of 1932 the people of America were in deep distress.

They were at the bottom point of a grievous depression that had been for three years bringing misery and heart-ache to this country and to all the world. Our factories were idle, our stores were stagnant, our mines were shut down, our farms were bankrupt. Finance was discouraged and investment was stopped. Unemployment and destitution had their grip on the lives of the people. It was that darkest period before the dawn. The source of all this misery was a world war, which had destroyed capital and demoralized currencies and ruined international trade.

At this lowest point of distress the Democratic party set out to sell the American people the false proposition that the Republican administration then in office was responsible for the depression. It set out to sell the American people the false proposition that a depression caused by a world war was due to mistakes of the Republican administration. It set out to sell the American people the false proposition that it could and would end the depression by establishing a better government. It held out to a suffering people false promises that it would cure unemployment and restore markets and revive industry by act of Congress.

Do you recall what those promises were? Read the Democratic platform of 1932. Read the speeches of its candidate for the presidency. There was a promise to reduce the cost of government. There was a promise to balance the budget. There was a promise to reduce taxes. There was a promise to keep government out of private business. There was a promise to encourage private enterprise. There was a promise to restore agricultural production. There was a promise to lower the tariff. There was a promise to preserve a sound currency. Believe it or not, there was a promise to reduce the number of Federal employees and to abolish government commissions, committees, corporations, and agencies. A majority of the American people, beaten and worn by depression, accepted these promises and entrusted their govern-

