THE

HANDBOOK

OF

PROPAGANDA

by

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CHAPTER ONE

The Nature of Propaganda
by Eustace & Mishin

Propaganda is a representation of facts aimed at a given political situation. First of all, propaganda is political. Second, it is aimed at a situation, just as one aims a gun. Third, it is a representation.

It is the manner of presenting the facts, rather than the facts themselves, which may change the political situation. Propaganda which fails to
affect the political situation is worse than useless, because it only serves
to clog the media of communications, which otherwise could be transmitting effective propaganda. Before any propaganda is sent out, the correct
medium must be chosen, and the potential effect carefully calculated,

The three R's of propaganda are race, religion and revenge. Sex need not be treated as a separate technique. It is present as a principal motivating force in each of the three R's: in race as the desire to perpetuate the species; in religion as a mystical experience; and in revenge as an expression of frustration.

The task of the propagandist is to ascertain which of the three R's will be most effective in putting across his point to the group he wishes to influence. For those whom racial propaganda will not reach, religious propaganda is usually indicated, for most religions are inter-racial in their desire to recruit as many souls as possible. For those unaffected by either racial or religious incitation, a call to revenge is almost certain to do the job. The very type which is scornful of racial and religious affiliations is often the type which broods about real or imagined injustices, either personal or national.

Propaganda in its earliest manifestations was merely teaching, the indoctrination of the young in the mores of society and the preservation of life.

Later it was developed into a broader program, the indoctrination of other societies in the principles of one's own society, which became the conversion of the heathen to one 's own political or religious system. This technique was mastered as an improvement upon the system of recruiting slaves or vassals by armed conquest. Forcible recruitment often resulted in the death or crippling of the would-be slave. Consequently, the technique of enslaving them by peaccefully indoctrinating them with a political or a religious ideology was perfected.

At first, these alien emissaries were often killed by members of primitive societies, who rightly supposed that the foreign devils, even when unarmed, intended to harm them. As these peoples were conquered, a new era began, the Age of Propaganda, in which men's minds, rather than their bodies, were the first goals of the conquerors.

History's most effective propagandist was Jesus Christ. History's most boring propagandist was Karl Marx. Yet each of them succeeded in reaching many millions of persons with their messages.

One of the first propagandists to set down a modus operandi was Machiavelli. The State of his time was administered by the Prince, and Machiavelli set
down the most reliable procedural methods for the Prince's guidance.

When the day of world overpopulation arrived, Gustav LeBon developed the psychology of the crowd, for with excess population, the surplus became the world mob, and only the leader who could handle this massive force could hope for power. In our time, we have seen three men become adepts in moving the crowd. They were Lenin, Mussolini, and Hitler. Any one of the three could have become master of the world, but for the fact that each of them won the leadership of a people neither ready nor able to assume the duties of world leadership.

Russia needed at least another century to bring to reality the pan-blavic predictions of Homer Lea; Italy had neither a Carthage nor a Greece to aid her in Ewentieth century ambitions; and Germany lacked the personnel to administer her possessions.

One of the fundamental realities of propaganda is that it must never go against the nature of the group toward which it is directed. Much inter-racial propaganda is ineffective because it goes against the grain. In this regard, carpenters are often more logical than propagantists. One successful leader, the late Adolf Hiter, is quoted in "Hitler's Table-Talks", recorded by Martin Bormann, as saying that "Propaganda destined for abroad must not in any way bebased upon that used for home consumption." This same expert pointed out that "Good propaganda must be stimulating. That is why our radio programs constantly refer to "the drunkard Churchill', and 'the crippled degenerate Roosevelt'." In opposition, Allied propaganda usually depicted Hitler as a carpet-chewing maniac.

The word "propaganda" has not always carried an unfavorable connotation. It came into use after 1622, when the Roman Catholic Church founded the Congregation for the Propagation of the Faith. In 1627, Pope Gregory XV founded the College for the Propagation of the Faith. These were known as institutions for spreading Catholic information, or "propaganda." The College is reputed to have spent four billion dollars in the Nineteenth Century, and undoubtedly has exceeded this figure in the Twentieth Century. In comparison, it should be noted that the United States spends about one billion dollars a year for psopaganda, and the Soviet Union about twice this much.

These figures include salaries of propagandists (the smallest item), dissemination of literature at home and abroad, and expenses for radio and television programs. They do not include the vast amounts of free propaganda which accrue to the group holding sovereignty. For instance, a Hollywood film glorifying

Army life costs the government nothing except the use of military personnel and equipment as props, yet it is worth millions in terms of propaganda. At least half of all government and religious propaganda is carried on this free basis.

It was not until the First World War that the word "propaganda" acquired its unfavorable connotation. This resulted from the flood of manufactured atrocity stories produced by the British. Based upon sex and sadism, these tales described nude women being violated by mobs of lusty German soldiers, after which their breasts were cut off. Belgian babies were carried along on the tips of German bayonets, and Belgian boys had their hands cut off at the wrists by the invading "Huns."

After the war, these stories were investigated by impartial authorities and found to be false. But it was too late. By that time, the Germans had lost the war. They neither understood the game nor the rules. They had the best disciplined soldiers in the world, and they could not believe that anyone would take credence in the atrocity stories of the British. But England was playing for high stakes, the intervention of the United States on her behalf. She won by understanding her audience. Not only did the Americans savor the stories of the violated women and the line drawings of the bodies with mutilated breasts, but also their sense of moral indignation was aroused. Sex thrills and Puritan reactions explained the entry of the United States into World War I, despite the heavy tomes which were later written to ascribe it to economic or other factors.

Thus we see that propaganda must be bold and creative. The material is best presented as a "revelation" of some sort, whether it is the Ten Command-ments or a secret plot to destroy the world. One indication of a stable regime is dull propaganda... A government which has the situation well in hand can afford to issue tiresome statements, and indeed should avoid references to issues which might

stir up the populace.

The present United States administration rarely employs the three R's of propaganda, because it is an uneasy alliance of conflicting racial groups and political allegiances, which havevery real and basic differences. Any effort to cater to one endangers its support from the others. Consequently, it maintains the comfortable fiction that it caters to all of them. This is the essence of the liberal position, that it glosses over political realities with the sweets of fiction in this "bestof all possible worlds." However, as the time approaches when the realities of American political life can no longer be swept under the rug, the liberals will be swept out of power.

Today's government propaganda is mostly confined to the release of production figures. The fascination of the liberal mind with statistics is one evidence of the immaturity. This type imagines that news of increased production or population growth is wildly exciting to everyone, and that the masses will drop whatever they are doing and go tripping down the streets in gay costumes, shouting, "We made six million autos this year! Willie Mays' batting average is .320!"

One might suppose that, thirty years of this sort of thing in Sovbet Russia, the series of dreary love affairs between stocky Slavic girls and graceful tractors, would have discouraged the liberal propagandists. Apparently this represents the limit of their imaginations. There are types, of course, who will pause in their work or recreation to listen to the news that Willie Mays has pushed his batting average up two points, and these types will then go into a slow shuffle of joy, heads bobbing up and down as they repeat the magic figure, but it is unwise to base government institutions upon such types.

Both advertising and propaganda techniques have the fundamental goal of persuasions and both rely heavily upon symbols. The symbols, however, are quite different. Advertising uses symbols representing everyday needs or luxuries.

Propaganda is, or should be, based upon symbols which aim for man's deepest instincts.

The present American school of propaganda bases its appeals upon proven advertising techniques. This is effective up to a point, but it fails conspicuously when it tries to put across a basic issue. The technique for selling soap will not necessarily arouse a man's political passions. For such work, the three R's must be employed.

Neither race, religion nor revenge can be used safely for advertising products, although sex is a mainstay in this field. The symbols of advertising seek only to oil the tastebuds of the masses, but the symbols of propaganda must enable the individual to transfer his private hopes and loves and hates and fears to the slogans, aspirations and leaders of a political movement. Above all, he must be appealed to as an individual, and not as a unit of a faceless mass. Everyone likes to believe that it is difficult to seduce him, but seduction is simple if one finds out what it is which the individual really wants. An alternative is to make him forget what he wants and persuade him to want something else.

These are the days for mass movements, the time for mobilizing the strength and emotions of the masses. Just as the United States was able to finance the Robin Hood advetures of two world wars by the financial system which Paul Warburg termed "the mobilization of credit", that is, the full employment of not only all the moneys but also the future credit of a papele, so their opponents, Lenin, Hitler, and Mussolini nearly outdistanced them by their mobilization of the dreams and the frustrations of the masses.

The first task of the propagandist is to understand the motives of the masses.

Then he must ask himself, "What are the motives of their leaders?" Man often finds himself hopelessly lost and doomed to wander in the labyrinth of human experience.

One who offers him a way out is always regarded as a saviour. Then there is man moving toward his fate, the march through life which was most graphically depicted by the image of Christ bearing his cross as he walks up Calvary, the Calvary of Everyman. This was one of the basic symbols which caused Christianity to be accepted by the masses. Its success was finally challenged by an equally fundamental approach, the daily economic struggle of the masses which was dramatized by Marx. However, this was almost incidental in Communism. It actually was an attempt to solve the problems raised by the Industrial Revolution, the Machine Age, and mass production.

The old and inadequate methods of distribution created economic chaos. The answer, or at least the easiest answer, was cheap money, but this was never conceived of by Marx or his followers. It arose from the central bank and the pyramiding of credit and debt upon which cheap money is based, and was brought to pass by the old order. Consequently, Marxism became obsolete as those early reforms which it espoused came to pass. The compulsory regimentations of capital and labor upon which it expected to base its rule have preven to be impractical in a modern industrial economy. Thus Marxism is a temporary philosophy which has survived only by making a truce with pan-Slavic nationalism.

One hundred years ago, Marxism reached its peak of creativity with the publication of the Communist Manifesto of 1848. It boldly announced that a specter was stalking the world, the specter of Communism. Indeedit was a specter to the traditional landholding classes. A century later, its strength lies more in pan-Slavism and the predictions of Homer Lea than in the revolutionary appeal to the masses of other nations.

A fundamental manifestation of the life of the masses is the relationship between the people and Hero. Hero is at once the father figure, the disciplinarian, the representation of the divine life-bringer, and the future. The masses need the Hero so badly that they often elevate quite ridiculous figures to the position, but most Heroes have obvious qualities which endear them to their followers. The short, dark Hitler was appointed spokesman for the tall, blond Nordics because of his oratorical power and his deep understanding of the needs of the German people. His boyish look and expression of stern adolescent resolve evoked the mother instinct in German womanhood and was a powerful factor in his success.

Mussolini, with his locker-room brand of virility, excited the admiration of both men and women in his appearances before the Italian people. Lenin, with his brooding intensity, won the leadership of the little group of intellectuals who seized the reins of leadership from the half-hearted Kerensky. Too weak to administer a large country, Lenin was soon replaced by the benevolent cruelty of Stalin, whose iron patience was exactly what the Slavs desired. Trotsky, a creature breathing lifelong revolution, was never capable of assuming any administrative position. When the time came for his bid for absolute power, he dropped out of the race. The rest of his life was spent in vain recrminiations against Stalin, who finally had him killed, not because he was dangerous, but because he was a nuisance.

In the United States, the people's passionate embrace of the rites of production and consumption has bypassed the need for a Hero. Sporadic attempts to enshrine amorphius figures such as Wilson and Roosevelt were defeated by the apathy of the people. Because of the ambigous political outlook of Americans, propaganda in the United States outside of the government confines itself largely to the efforts of group-leaders to retain their personal positions and to prevent their groups from disappearing into the maw of American anonymity. The daily press and the nationally-circulated magazines stress universalism and the vanity of any certain conviction. The group-propaganda presses, in strong and often ludicrous contrast, make lurid appeals to the racial and religious constitutions of their followers. All told, the group-propaganda press does not reach more than five per cent

of the American people, and see completely ignored by the other ninety-five per cent.

Great Britain operated three separate propaganda agencies during the Second World War. The Political Warfare Executive, a secret group, was responsible for propaganda to enemy and enemy-occupied countries. The Ministry of Pformation carried British propaganda to Great Britain, allied and neutral countries. The Overseas Service of the British Broadcasting Company broadcast to all foreign countries.

One can safely say that Great Britain's army of propagandists, rather than her army of soldiers, brought her through two world wars. The postwar battles of production, however, have proven that a nation cannot live by propaganda alone. Germans, the incredibly inept propagandists, are winning the production race in Europe, while the British are forced to admit that cleverness and an unequalled diplomatic staff cannot always feed a nation.

The British have always been willing to spend millions on propaganda, even though most of it, bytthe very nature of this work, is wasted. Sir William Wiseman, chief British propagandist in the United States during World War I, confided to his German counterpart and friend, George Sylvester Viereck, that at least seventy-five per cent of all money spent on propaganda was wasted. However, the twenty-five per cent which was effective was better than an army. He revealed that all of the money paid by the Germans to Hindus during World War I for propaganda was promptly invested in real estate. We are also indebted to Sir William for the astute remark that "You can buy men, but they won't stay bought."

Propaganda increases its effect by taking advantage of departures from equilibrium. The masses of uprooted or displaced peoples in many areas, as well as the development of rapid mass communications, offer many opportunities for exploiting and accelerating states of disequilibrium. The propagandist

can see possibilities in the need for a new religious movement, industrial change, geographical insecurity, and the threat of atomic warfare. He can consider the chances of deflation, which will create great gaps in the present stratification of political economy. This may be the deflation of money, the deflation of international political power, or the deflation of population through war, famine or disease. In any of these situations, power will fall to those who are masters of propaganda, and those who fail to appease the masses will be swept away and forgotten.

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