

DOWNLOAD PDF PUBLIC RELATIONS, EDWARD L. BERNAYS AND THE AMERICAN SCENE

Chapter 1 : Public relations, Edward L. Bernays and the American scene (edition) | Open Library

Full text of "Public relations, Edward L. Bernays and the American scene; annotated bibliography of, and reference guide to writings by and about Edward L. Bernays from to "

His great grandfather was Isaac Bernays , chief rabbi of Hamburg. The Bernays family moved from Vienna to the United States in the s. Ely Bernays became a grain exporter at the Manhattan Produce Exchange, then sent for his wife and children. She was the first married woman to be issued a U. Later, however, she changed her mind and her name, becoming Doris Bernays. By all accounts, Fleischman played a major though quiet role in the Bernays public relations businessâ€”including ghost-writing numerous memos and speeches, and publishing a newsletter. He went to Paris and worked for Louis Dreyfus and Company reading grain cables. By December of the same year he had returned to New York. They took editorial positions in favor of showers and against corsets and distributed free copies to thousands of physicians across the country. After publishing a positive review of the play, Bernays and Robinson wrote to its lead actor, Richard Bennett: You can count on our help. Already, he was using a variety of techniques which would become hallmarks of his later practice. He promoted the Daddy Long Legs stage play by tying it in with the cause of charity for orphans. He built up Enrico Caruso as an idol whose voice was so sensitive that comically extreme measures were taken to protect it. Bernays, along with Lieutenant F. Ackerman, focused on building support for war, domestically and abroad, focusing especially on businesses operating in Latin America. A scandal arose from his reference to propaganda in a press release. There was one basic lesson I learned in the CPIâ€”that efforts comparable to those applied by the CPI to affect the attitudes of the enemy, of neutrals, and people of this country could be applied with equal facility to peacetime pursuits. In other words, what could be done for a nation at war could be done for organizations and people in a nation at peace. Counsel on public relations[edit] After returning to New York, Bernays opened a public relations business. In he published a book, " Crystallizing Public Opinion ", outlining his profession, and taught a course at New York University. Both of these are considered firsts in the modern field of public relations. Bernays, who pursued his calling in New York City from to , styled himself a "public relations counsel". He had very pronounced views on the differences between what he did and what people in advertising did. A pivotal figure in the orchestration of elaborate corporate advertising campaigns and multi-media consumer spectacles, he nevertheless is among those listed in the acknowledgments section of the seminal government social science study "Recent Social Trends in the United States" Bernays attempted to help Venida hair nets company to get women to wear their hair longer so they would use hairnets more. The campaign failed but did get government officials to require hairnets for some jobs. The campaign successfully convinced people that Ivory soap was medically superior to other soaps. He also promoted soap through sculpting contests and floating contests because the soap floated better than competing products. Yet another client, department store visionary Edward A. The event, which spanned across several major cities in the U. The publicity elements of the Jubilee â€” including the special issuance of a U. A follow-up event for the 75th anniversary, produced for television by David O. Political clients[edit] In Bernays set up a vaudeville "pancake breakfast" for Calvin Coolidge to change his stuffy image before the election. Newspapers reported enthusiastically that Coolidge had laughed. Bernays advised Hoover to create disunity within his opposition and to present an image of himself as an invincible leader. For example, he should tell Irish voters about his actions against the Italian mafia â€”and Italian voters about his plans to reform the police department. To Jews he should appear as a committed opponent of the Nazis. Freedom of the press, freedom of speech, freedom of religion, freedom of assembly, and freedom of petition were added to the Constitution of India. His campaign was considered successful because there was no violence at the convention. His campaign focused on the important contributions of African-Americans to Whites living in the South. His relationship with Freud was always in the forefront of his thinking and his counseling. Tobacco[edit] In , Bernays worked briefly for Liggett and Myers , makers of Chesterfield cigarettes. He

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pulled a stunt against the competing brand, Lucky Strike, which involved mocking the endorsements of opera singers who said Lucky Strikes were "kind to your voice". The first strategy was to persuade women to smoke cigarettes instead of eating. Bernays began by promoting the ideal of thinness itself, using photographers, artists, newspapers, and magazines to promote the special beauty of thin women. Medical authorities were found to promote the choice of cigarettes over sweets. Home-makers were cautioned that keeping cigarettes on hand was a social necessity. Torches of Freedom The first campaign succeeded; women smoked more cigarettes; American Tobacco Company brought in more revenue; and Lucky Strike led the market in growth. But a taboo remained on women smoking in public. The event was carefully scripted to promote the intended message. Of course they are not to smoke simply as they come down the church steps. They are to join in the Easter parade, puffing away. The march went as planned, as did the ensuing publicity, with ripples of women smoking prominently across the country. When Bernays suggested changing the package to a neutral color, Hill refused, saying that he had already spent millions advertising the package. Bernays then endeavored to make green a fashionable color. The pretext for the ball and its unnamed underwriter was that proceeds would go to charity. Famous society women would attend wearing green dresses. Manufacturers and retailers of clothing and accessories were advised of the excitement growing around the color green. Intellectuals were enlisted to give highbrow talks on the theme of green. Staff were instructed never to mention his name. Third parties were used, and various notable people received payments to promote smoking publicly as if on their own initiative. Promote them he did, by linking bananas to good health and to American interests, and by placing them strategically in the hands of celebrities, in hotels, and other conspicuous places. Bernays also argued that United Fruit needed to put a positive spin on the banana-growing countries themselves, and for this purpose created a front group called the Middle America Information Bureau, which supplied information to journalists and academics. We recommend that immediate steps be undertaken to safeguard American business interests in Latin American countries against comparable action there. News knows no boundaries today. To disregard the possibilities of the impact of events one upon another is to adopt a head-in-the-sand-ostrich policy. He recommended a campaign in which universities, lawyers, and the U. A Bernays memo in July recommended that this wave of media attention should be translated into action by promoting: This technique proved highly effective and was repeated four more times. The CIA backed a minimal military force, fronted by Carlos Castillo Armas, with a psychological warfare campaign to portray military defeat as a foregone conclusion. During the coup itself, Bernays was the primary supplier of information for the international newswires Associated Press, United Press International and the International News Service. In , Bernays produced a pamphlet comparing the Communist way and the Christian way. In order to promote sales of bacon, for example, he conducted research and found that the American public ate very light breakfast of coffee, maybe a roll and orange juice. He went to his physician and found that a heavy breakfast was sounder from the standpoint of health than a light breakfast because the body loses energy during the night and needs it during the day. He asked the physician if he would be willing, at no cost, to write to 5, physicians and ask them whether their judgment was the same as hisâ€”confirming his judgment. About 4, answered back, all concurring that a more significant breakfast was better for the health of the American people than a light breakfast. Strother Walker and Paul Sklar wrote in *Business Finds Its Voice* that Bernays had offered a solution to popular skepticism of business which arose in the depression: The recent practice of propaganda has proved that it is possible, at least up to a certain point and within certain limits. This phrase quite simply means the use of an engineering approachâ€”that is, action based only on thorough knowledge of the situation and on the application of scientific principles and tried practices to the task of getting people to support ideas and programs. But instead of a mind, universal literacy has given [the common man] a rubber stamp, a rubber stamp inked with advertising slogans, with editorials, with published scientific data, with the trivialities of tabloids and the profundities of history, but quite innocent of original thought. Instead, their preconceived hazy ideas that a certain gray is almost black or almost white are brought into sharper focus. Their prejudices, notions, and convictions are used as a starting point, with the result that they are drawn by a

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thread into passionate adherence to a given mental picture. The individual is "a cell organized into the social unit. Touch a nerve at a sensitive spot and you get an automatic response from certain specific members of the organism. Through the use of mass production, big business could fulfill the cravings of what Bernays saw as the inherently irrational and desire-driven masses, simultaneously securing the niche of a mass-production economy even in peacetime , as well as sating what he considered to be dangerous animal urges that threatened to tear society apart if left unquelled. Bernays touted the idea that the "masses" are driven by factors outside their conscious understanding, and therefore that their minds can and should be manipulated by the capable few. Those who manipulate this unseen mechanism of society constitute an invisible government which is the true ruling power of our country. We are governed, our minds are molded, our tastes formed, our ideas suggested, largely by men we have never heard of. This is a logical result of the way in which our democratic society is organized. Vast numbers of human beings must cooperate in this manner if they are to live together as a smoothly functioning society. In almost every act of our daily lives, whether in the sphere of politics or business, in our social conduct or our ethical thinking, we are dominated by the relatively small number of persons It is they who pull the wires which control the public mind. Marvin Olasky calls his book *Take Your Place at the Peace Table* "a clear appeal for a form of mild corporate socialism. According to Scott Cutlip , "Bernays was a brilliant person who had a spectacular career, but, to use an old-fashioned word, he was a braggart. Reviewers praised *Crystallizing Public Opinion* as a pioneering study of the importance of something called public opinion. Propaganda drew more criticism for its advocacy of mass manipulation. As the leading figure in public relations and a notorious advocate of "propaganda", Bernays was compared to European fascists such as Joseph Goebbels and Adolf Hitler.

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Chapter 2 : Public relations campaigns of Edward Bernays - Wikipedia

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Cigarettes[edit] In the s, it was considered taboo for women to smoke in public. Hill, president of the American Tobacco Company, realized that his company was missing a share of the market. He hired Bernays to change the taboo and persuade women to start smoking. Bernays contacted psychoanalyst Abraham Brill to understand the societal perceptions that discouraged women from smoking. Brill told him that for feminists, cigarettes were like "torches of freedom" that symbolized their nonconformity and freedom from male oppression. Bernays used this information to build a strategy. He contacted a female friend and asked her to find a group of women to march in the New York City Easter Day parade. The women lit Lucky Strike cigarettes in front of the eager photographers. The New York Times 1 April printed: Letters were written to interior and fashion designers, department stores, and prominent women of society pushing green as the new hot color for the season. Balls, gallery exhibitions, and window displays all featured green after Bernays got through with them. The result was that green did indeed become a very popular color for the season and Lucky Strike kept their pack color and female clientele intact. Water Fluoridation[edit] Bernays helped the Aluminum Company of America Alcoa and other special interest groups to convince the American public that water fluoridation was safe and beneficial to human health. This was achieved by using the American Dental Association in a highly successful media campaign. He secured cake mix sales by adding a symbolic egg to the list of necessary ingredients. Political propaganda[edit] Bernays once engineered a "pancake breakfast" with vaudevillians for Calvin Coolidge in what is widely considered one of the first overt publicity stunts for a US president. Although the campaign failed to influence many women, it convinced government officials to require hairnets for certain jobs. The campaign successfully convinced people that Ivory soap was medically superior to other soaps. In the s, his Dixie Cup campaign was designed to convince consumers that only disposable cups were sanitary by linking the imagery of the overflowing cup with subliminal images of vaginas and venereal disease. Please help improve this section by adding citations to reliable sources. Unsourced material may be challenged and removed. His campaign was considered successful because there was no violence at the convention. His campaign focused on the important contributions of African-Americans to Whites living in the South. The event, which spanned across several major cities in the U. The publicity elements of the Jubileeâ€”including the special issuance of a U. A follow-up event for the 75th anniversary, produced for television by David O. The arts[edit] In , Bernays secured one of his first consulting contracts. American actor Richard Bennett hired him to defend a play that promoted sex education against police interference.

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Chapter 3 : The manipulation of the American mind: Edward Bernays and the birth of public relations

Public Relations, Edward L. Bernays and the American Scene Annotated Bibliography of and Reference Guide to Writings by and About Edward L. Bernays From to by F. W. Faxon Company Annotated Bibliography of and Reference Guide to Writings by and About Edward L. Bernays From to

Anna Freud was the sister of Sigmund Freud. Man with mustache In , he married Doris Fleischman, [8] and they had two daughters: Anne Bernays and Doris Bernays Held. Among Bernays more well known campaigns are the following: While working for the Medical Review of Reviews, Bernays played a role in the creation of a play called Damaged Goods, which focused on the effects of the disease syphilis. To help sell more paper cups, Bernays created a "Committee for the Study and Promotion of the Sanitary Dispensing of Food and Drink", [21] [22] [23] which is just as fictitious sounding as it really was. But back then, Americans had not see the massive use of science by progressives to achieve their goals the way we see today. United Fruit Company, in order to increase sales of bananas. This particular campaign included Bernays once again calling on his media pals, similar to the Torches of Freedom campaign, resulting in a coup against the communist regime of Guatemala. The New York Times , Newsweek , and others helped Bernays by publishing articles portraying the looming red threat. Bernays understood very well how much weight reporting from the New York Times was, so that was his primary target. It was a word that he used over and over: People must be trained to desire, to want new things even before the old have been entirely consumed. He was years old. Another highly controversial aspect of Bernays legacy, is the use of his work in Nazi propaganda. Bernays most infamous follower was Joseph Goebbels. Edward Bernays was not a Nazi and did not support Nazi causes. However, Bernays wrote in his own autobiography: Karl von Wiegand, foreign correspondent of the Hearst newspapers, an old hand at interpreting Europe and just returned from Germany, was telling us about Goebbels and his propaganda plans to consolidate Nazi power. Goebbels had shown Wiegand his propaganda library, the best Wiegand had ever seen. Goebbels, said Wiegand, was using my book Crystallizing Public Opinion as a basis for his destructive campaign against the Jews of Germany. This shocked me, but I knew any human activity can be used for social purposes or misused for antisocial ones. Obviously the attack on the Jews of Germany was no emotional outburst of the Nazis, but a deliberate, planned campaign. Crystallizing Public Opinion was written only three years after the Committee on Public Information was shut down. Those who manipulate this unseen mechanism of society constitute an invisible government which is the true ruling power of our country. We are governed, our minds are molded, our tastes formed, our ideas suggested, largely by men we have never heard of. This is a logical result of the way in which our democratic society is organized. Vast numbers of human beings must cooperate in this manner if they are to live together as a smoothly functioning society. In almost every act of our daily lives, whether in the sphere of politics or business, in our social conduct or our ethical thinking, we are dominated by the relatively small number of persons It is they who pull the wires which control the public mind. It is not generally realized to what extent the words and actions of our most influential public men are dictated by shrewd persons operating behind the scenes.

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Chapter 4 : Edward Bernays | American publicist | calendrierdelascience.com

Public relations, Edward L. Bernays and the American scene; annotated bibliography of, and reference guide to writings by and about Edward L. Bernays from to Publication date [] Topics Bernays, Edward L., , Public opinion -- Bibliography.

While no single person can claim exclusive credit for the ascendancy of advertising in American life, no one deserves credit more than a man most of us have never heard of: The fact that 20 years have elapsed since his death provides a fitting opportunity to reexamine his legacy. The conscious and intelligent manipulation of the organized habits and opinions of the masses is an important element in democratic society. Those who manipulate this unseen mechanism of society constitute an invisible government which is the true ruling power of our country. We are governed, our minds are molded, our tastes formed, and our ideas suggested, largely by men we have never heard of. It is they who pull the wires that control the public mind. The year after his birth, the Bernays family moved to New York, and Bernays later graduated from Cornell with a degree in agriculture. But instead of farming, he chose a career in journalism, eventually helping the Woodrow Wilson Administration promote the idea that US efforts in World War I were intended to bring democracy to Europe. The success of this effort was manifested in innumerable window displays and fashion shows. In the s, he promoted cigarettes as both soothing to the throat and slimming to the waistline. But at home, Bernays was attempting to persuade his wife to kick the habit. When would find a pack of her Parliaments in their home, he would snap every one of them in half and throw them in the toilet. While promoting cigarettes as soothing and slimming, Bernays, it seems, was aware of some of the early studies linking smoking to cancer. Bernays used the same techniques on children. To convince kids that bathing could be fun, he sponsored soap sculpture competitions and floating contests. These were designed to prove that Ivory bars were more buoyant than competing products. Bernays also used fear to sell products. For Dixie cups, Bernays launched a campaign to scare people into thinking that only disposable cups were sanitary. In the s, Joseph Goebbels became an avid admirer of Bernays and his writings despite the fact that Bernays was a Jew. Bernays learned that the Nazis were using his work in , from a foreign correspondent for Hearst newspapers. He later recounted in his autobiography: They were using my books as the basis for a destructive campaign against the Jews of Germany. This shocked me, but I knew any human activity can be used for social purposes or misused for antisocial ones. Its underlying purpose, in large part, is to make money. By convincing people that they want something they do not need, Bernays sought to turn citizens and neighbors into consumers who use their purchasing power to propel themselves down the road to happiness. Without a moral compass, however, such a transformation promotes a patronizing and ultimately cynical view of human nature and human possibilities, one as likely to destroy lives as to build them up.

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Chapter 5 : Propaganda by Edward Bernays ()

Reading Public relations, Edward L. Bernays and the American scene; annotated bibliography of, and reference guide to writings by and about Edward L.

About the author Edward L. Throughout his career, he provoked intense reactions. People loved him or hated him. Even today, those who knew him describe him as either the grand patriarch of public relations or as a pompous, over-bearing braggart. But, none of them denies his importance to the evolution of public relations and its literature. Bernays may have even edited some of them. That was certainly the public persona he tried to project. However, he thought he might be able to fall back on the journalism skills he had acquired while working on the college newspaper and before that on his high school, grammar school, and summer camp papers. Within a year, he was working as a theatrical press agent in New York City. This was shortly before World War I broke out in Europe, and Bernays seemed to handle this new venture fairly well, even when he was challenged by a couple of particularly controversial and unusual productions. But, when the U. He was turned down for military service for medical reasons but was so intent on contributing to the war effort, that he accepted a position working for the U. Committee on Public Information which was popularly-known as the Creel Committee. It was the federal agency responsible for all propaganda and what is now called "public relations" for the U. However, to hear Bernays tell it decades later, you might think he ran the entire operation virtually by himself. It divided the nation for years, and the U. It also spoiled things for Bernays who self-importantly claimed that he personally had been made a scapegoat for the U. Angry and disillusioned, he left government service and opened a private consulting firm that he said would offer "publicity direction" to its clients. The firm, known as Edward L. Fleischman, a former newspaper editor, writer, and feminist. She remained is matrimonial and business partner until her death in In its early years, the firm made a point of avoiding government-related clients and preferred big-name, commercial clients such as Thomas Edison, Henry Ford, and the American Tobacco Company. In time, Bernays softened this position, or perhaps the money or the requests became too much to ignore. He eventually added at least four more U. Presidents and one first lady to his list of clients. Bernays was one of them. Maybe not even the best. Ivy Lee and others had been on the scene and operating their own agencies more than a decade earlier. He saw the big picture when few others did, and he was the first to appreciate the nexus between theory and practice or, as he would have said, between the art of PR and the science. This meant public relations practitioners and their clients should listen to their publics at least as much as they spoke to them. It was more modern, more scientific, and more effective than all of the earlier one-way approaches to publicity and public relations that were solely based on issuing press releases and transmitting message. That made Bernays uniquely influential is that in addition to practicing public relations, he published his thinking about it. Crystallizing Public Opinion, published in , was not only his first book, it was the first-known book focused on public relations. In time, it became THE de facto public relations textbook and was repeatedly reprinted and remained in use well into the s. He did so at the invitation of New York University. It was how he defined public relations. The catchphrase he developed in that book, and never gave up despite recurring criticism, was: In reality, it was probably more widely talked about than it was actually read but, either way, it prompted a lot of discussion, both within and outside of the public relations community. It continued to use the phrase "engineering of consent" and, even worse, used the terms "propaganda" and "public relations" almost interchangeably. At least part of the reason for such negative reactions was bad timing. Before World War I, the term and concepts of "propaganda" had had widespread and honorable usage in European and English-speaking countries for centuries. They were used in both religious and civic contexts, for example: But, the war changed all that, especially in the United States. People who had opposed U. And, once we were in it, many other people were appalled by the extreme, sometimes gross and racist, and definitely hard-core and aggressive propaganda they saw issued by both sides during the war. The term "propaganda" itself took on incredibly negative connotations that only grew worse in later

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decades with increased exposure to the propaganda of Russian Communists and, still later, of the Nazi Party. Bernays had simply picked the wrong time to use the word "propaganda" as the title of a book. Not learning from these early mistakes, Bernays repeated them and once again waved a red flag in front of his critics by publishing a book titled *The Engineering of Consent*. Beyond its really troublesome title, a lot of this book and some of his others, including *Public Relations* and *The Later Years: Public Relations Insights*, presented old and recycled material rather than fresh ideas. Most eulogies lauded him as "the father of public relations," although a few of the more cynical ones phrased it as "the self-proclaimed father of public relations. Rockefeller and a number of other successful businessmen, Bernays only came to be seen as a lovable and paternal figure in his old age. In his younger days, he was more often seen as brash, arrogant, over-bearing, and sometimes hypocritical in promoting ideas or products e. Regardless of whether they loved or hated Edward Bernays, people acknowledge him as a pioneer of the public relations profession and one of its mainstays throughout the 20th century. The practices he introduced and promoted in his writing helped shape the field through all three phases of its evolution from emphasizing publicity to promoting explanations to encouraging mutual satisfaction.

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Chapter 6 : Edward Bernays - Conservapedia

Public relations: Edward L. Bernays and the American scene ; annotated bibliography of and reference guide to writings by and about Edward L. Bernays from to Author: Bulletin of bibliography and dramatic index.

We need to go into the business of PR in more depth and who better to be our guide than Bernays himself. Bernays was a leader in his field and was given an eminence that few modern authorities attain. A book, *Public Relations, Edward L. Bernays and the American Scene*, by Keith A. Larson - over pages was written to catalogue his works and teachings. First published in this book was enlarged and republished. This, for someone barely known outside of academia, must be rare. It is interesting that Bernays was born in Vienna and was a nephew of the infamous Sigmund Freud author of a rather discredited system of psychoanalysis. It is also interesting that introduction of the dubious, forced medication fluoridation beginning in the USA in and spread world-wide was aided if not guided by this same propaganda expert. It seems that this is a family that would be high in the favour of any behind-the-scenes elitist establishment. Let us take a better look at his writings on scientific public relations; the following quotes, unless otherwise specified, are from his book called very appropriately PROPAGANDA; quote: The conscious and intelligent manipulation of the organized habits and opinions of the masses is an important element in democratic society. Those who manipulate this unseen mechanism of society constitute an invisible government which is the true ruling power of our government. We are governed, our minds are molded, our tastes formed, our ideas suggested, largely by men we have never heard of. This is the logical result of the way in which our democratic society is organized. That comment, from the founder of the modern manipulative science called Public Relations, is something you are unlikely to know of unless you have studied PR or some related subject. He was writing a frank technical essay for the use of a new, elitist-sympathetic, educated class of people who would be making a living out of public manipulation. We who use words may have some sympathy with him that a word which started out honourably as meaning the propagation of truth has fallen into disrepute. Nevertheless, for a person who makes a living out of understanding human nature, we must also wonder if he is really so naive as to believe that any system that is designed to establish beliefs in the human mind no matter how honest the intent will not be eagerly seized on for the promotion of self-interest. Certainly his advocacy of the word did not change the public perception of it. As time has passed the word has come into more and more public disrepute. But then, there was never any "public" Public Relations exercise to change the public image of the word. May we be excused for thinking that this little public relations exercise was to soothe the conscience of students only. The students who read Bernays are among those who are taught that there is no conspiracy and obviously, if public manipulation is your line of business, you will not want to think of creating delusions within the trusting herd as service in conspiracy. The PR way of persuasion is, according to Bernays, a way of life that is an essential of organized society. It seems young and unworldly students either believe this or are too intent on success in their studies to challenge it. There, I think, is the answer to the question that puzzles many people. How can it be that so many people can be involved and yet public manipulation is not exposed? The educated manipulate us for our own good; if it turns out that they are the ones to benefit, well.. When students accept an authority then their first dedication is to put into effect what they have learned. They are very conscious of this and very involved. By the time they have established themselves they have a psychological commitment: So far as Bernays himself is concerned I think the weakness of his argument for PR, and the weakness of the whole academic argument against true constitutional government, is very apparent in *Propaganda*; perhaps more so in this work than in his other books or those of his less expert, or more cautious, followers. Let us now continue the quote where we left off on our previous page: Vast numbers of human beings must cooperate in this manner if they are to live together as a smoothly functioning society. Our invisible governors are, in many cases, unaware of the identity of their fellow members in the inner cabinet. They govern us by their qualities of natural leadership, their ability to supply needed ideas and by

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their key position in the social structure. Whatever attitude one chooses to take toward this condition, it remains a fact that in almost every act of our daily lives, whether in the sphere of politics or business, in our social conduct or our ethical thinking, we are dominated by the relatively small number of persons - a trifling fraction of our hundred and twenty million [USA s] - who understand the mental processes and mental patterns of the masses. It is they who pull the wires which control the public mind, who harness old social forces and contrive new ways to bind and guide the world. It is not usually realized how necessary these invisible governors are to the orderly functioning of our life group. In theory, every citizen may vote for whom he pleases. Our constitution does not envisage political parties as part of the mechanism of government, and its framers seem not to have pictured to themselves the existence in our national politics of anything like the modern political machine. But American voters soon found that without organization and direction their individual votes, cast, perhaps, for dozens or hundreds of candidates, would produce nothing but confusion. Ever since then we have agreed, for the sake of simplicity and practicality, that party machines should narrow down the field of choice to two candidates, or at most three or four. In theory, every citizen makes up his mind on public questions and matters of private conduct. In practice, if all men had to study for themselves the abstruse economic, political, and ethical data involved in every question, they would find it impossible to come to a conclusion about anything. We have voluntarily agreed to let an invisible government sift the data and high-spot the outstanding issues so that our field of choice shall be narrowed to practical proportions. EA Well, that is the essence of his argument; are you convinced? In fact the political parties took over almost as soon as the Constitution came into effect. In the USA their Constitution had even less time for trial than did our own; here we had about fifteen years over which time non-party government worked well. In Australia, States governments enjoyed longer periods of party-free government and in England non-party government lasted for over years before elitism worked out that democracy could be by-passed by the introduction of parties. Have you heard of there having been a referendum in the USA or anywhere else where the people have agreed to let an invisible government rule their lives, beliefs and attitudes? Would not any mature-minded and worldly person be immediately appalled at the huge power placed so conveniently in so few hands and hidden from public sight or question? Would it not be quickly obvious that powerful and egocentric people if they did not in fact set it up would soon gain control of such a system? We may well agree that every individual cannot be an expert on every subject, but then it is not necessary. Are leading politicians experts about everything - or anything? Every person does not need to be a doctor in order to know if he is sick. One does not need to deny the possible advantages of having teams of SPECIALIST planners to advise government, but any responsible person must deny the right of secret private organizations to plan our lives and deaths. The principles of social behaviour are no more complicated today than they were or even years ago. The only difference is that we need to more responsibly obey the rules as society becomes more complex and powerful in its ability to manipulate life. Technology does not make us different humans! True civilization, given the aid of technology, should make us more aware of our human nature and more responsible in our care of it, but neither civilization nor technology, honestly employed, will make life less understandable. Bernays has written openly and with obvious confidence in the natural security of a system of higher education far more elitist than in Australian universities today. We are indeed fortunate that this window on the real world of social manipulation has remained open; obviously the danger of leakage, even today, is or has been considered small. We now go to p27 where he says; quote: Formerly the rulers were the leaders. They laid out the course of history by the simple process of doing what they wanted. And if nowadays the successors of the rulers, those whose position or ability gives them power, can no longer do what they want without the approval of the masses, they find in propaganda a tool which is increasingly powerful in gaining that approval. Therefore, propaganda is here to stay. It was, of course, the astounding success of propaganda during the war that opened the eyes of the intelligent few in all departments of life to the possibilities of regimenting the public mind. The American government and numerous patriotic agencies developed a technique which, to most persons accustomed to bidding for public acceptance, was new. They

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not only appealed to the individual by means of every approach - visual, graphic, and auditory - to support the national endeavour, but they also secured the cooperation of the key men in every group - persons whose mere word carried authority to hundreds of thousands of followers. They thus automatically gained the support of fraternal, religious, commercial, patriotic, social and local groups whose members took their opinions from their accustomed leaders and spokesmen, or from the periodical publications which they were accustomed to read and believe. At the same time, the manipulators of patriotic opinion made use of the mental clichés and the emotional habits of the public to produce mass reactions against the alleged atrocities, the terror and tyranny of the enemy. It was only natural, after the war ended, that intelligent persons should ask themselves whether it was not possible to apply a similar technique to the problems of peace. As a matter of fact, the practice of propaganda since the war has assumed very different forms from those prevalent twenty years ago. This new technique may fairly be called the new propaganda. It takes account not merely of the individual, nor even of the mass mind alone, but also and especially of the anatomy of society, with its interlocking group formations and loyalties. It sees the individual not only as a cell in the social organism but as a cell organized into the social unit. Touch a nerve at a sensitive spot and you get an automatic response from certain specific members of the organism. That last sentence is a very visible part of social manipulation in Australia when related to, what we call, the conservative movement. From time to time quite outrageous rumours are leaked into this fraternity to cause traumatic responses. We may doubt the newness of the need for leaders to have the public on side. I doubt there has ever been a time when a leader could ignore the feelings of his subjects for long and in fact Bernays himself accepts this in a later book, *Public Relations*, in which he gives a history of the profession. We know well that this desire to manipulate and deceive has been of long standing. However it is also apparent that the 20th century introduced a new ball game in both the technology of deceit and the numbers to be deceived. There was a need to recruit an expanded generation of elitist supporters and structure the propaganda more carefully and with more detailed understanding of the behaviour of a more educated and organized populace. Modern psychology played a big part in providing the "behavioural studies" to support this new technique. Many of the experiments are made on the very available university student but the response of this group may well be quite different from that of a more senior and worldly sample or even from a group of similar age in a different setting. Apart from that, it can be expected that a percentage of the experiments are flawed by the wrong perceptions of the experimenter. It should be discernible that an experiment to test human responses may give very different results when carried out on people subject to very different levels of brainwash - or BY people who have been given different perceptions of what is human. However, for the purposes of elitist manipulation, the testing of immature and brainwashed people is very important as such tests may measure the efficiency of their brainwashing techniques and indicate where new work may be best applied. Because of the conflicting interests involved it is very naive to take the public or educational presentation of psychiatry and human behaviour research at face value. To be able to sort the grain from the chaff requires some study, understanding and aptitude for this subject. Bernays tells of how markets were regained for a group of textile manufacturers. Velvet had gone out of fashion and its manufacturers in the USA were facing ruin. Study showed that the market could not be revived by action taken within America so where was the vital spot? It was determined to substitute purpose for chance and to utilize the regular sources for fashion distribution. An intelligent Parisian was enlisted in the work.

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Chapter 7 : Public Relations, Edward L. Bernays and the American Scene

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Those who manipulate this unseen mechanism of society constitute an invisible government which is the true ruling power of our country. We are governed, our minds are molded, our tastes formed, our ideas suggested, largely by men we have never heard of. This is a logical result of the way in which our democratic society is organized. Vast numbers of human beings must cooperate in this manner if they are to live together as a smoothly functioning society. Our invisible governors are, in many cases, unaware of the identity of their fellow members in the inner cabinet. They govern us by their qualities of natural leadership, their ability to supply needed ideas and by their key position in the social structure. Whatever attitude one chooses to take toward this condition, it remains a fact that in almost every act of our daily lives, whether in the sphere of politics or business, in our social conduct or our ethical thinking, we are dominated by the relatively small number of persons—a trifling fraction of our hundred and twenty million—who understand the mental processes and social patterns of the masses. It is they who pull the wires which control the public mind, who harness old social forces and contrive new ways to bind and guide the world. It is not usually realized how necessary these invisible governors are to the orderly functioning of our group life. In theory, every citizen may vote for whom he pleases. Our Constitution does not envisage political parties as part of the mechanism of government, and its framers seem not to have pictured to themselves the existence in our national politics of anything like the modern political machine. But the American voters soon found that without organization and direction their individual votes, cast, perhaps, for dozens or hundreds of candidates, would produce nothing but confusion. Invisible government, in the shape of rudimentary political parties, arose almost overnight. Ever since then we have agreed, for the sake of simplicity and practicality, that party machines should narrow down the field of choice to two candidates, or at most three or four. In theory, every citizen makes up his mind on public questions and matters of private conduct. In practice, if all men had to study for themselves the abstruse economic, political, and ethical data involved in every question, they would find it impossible to come to a conclusion about anything. We have voluntarily agreed to let an invisible government sift the data and high-spot the outstanding issues so that our field of choice shall be narrowed to practical proportions. From our leaders and the media they use to reach the public, we accept the evidence and the demarcation of issues bearing upon public questions; from some ethical teacher, be it a minister, a favorite essayist, or merely prevailing opinion, we accept a standardized code of social conduct to which we conform most of the time. In theory, everybody buys the best and cheapest commodities offered him on the market. In practice, if every one went around pricing, and chemically testing before purchasing, the dozens of soaps or fabrics or brands of bread which are for sale, economic life would become hopelessly jammed. To avoid such confusion, society consents to have its choice narrowed to ideas and objects brought to its attention through propaganda of all kinds. There is consequently a vast and continuous effort going on to capture our minds in the interest of some policy or commodity or idea. It might be better to have, instead of propaganda and special pleading, committees of wise men who would choose our rulers, dictate our conduct, private and public, and decide upon the best types of clothes for us to wear and the best kinds of food for us to eat. But we have chosen the opposite method, that of open competition. We must find a way to make free competition function with reasonable smoothness. To achieve this society has consented to permit free competition to be organized by leadership and propaganda. Some of the phenomena of this process are criticized—the manipulation of news, the inflation of personality, and the general ballyhoo by which politicians and commercial products and social ideas are brought to the consciousness of the masses. The instruments by which public opinion is organized and focused may be misused. But such organization and focusing are necessary to orderly life. As civilization

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has become more complex, and as the need for invisible government has been increasingly demonstrated, the technical means have been invented and developed by which opinion may be regimented. With the printing press and the newspaper, the railroad, the telephone, telegraph, radio and airplanes, ideas can be spread rapidly and even instantaneously over the whole of America. Wells senses the vast potentialities of these inventions when he writes in the New York Times: Ideas and phrases can now be given an effectiveness greater than the effectiveness of any personality and stronger than any sectional interest. The common design can be documented and sustained against perversion and betrayal. It can be elaborated and developed steadily and widely without personal, local and sectional misunderstanding. Wells says of political processes is equally true of commercial and social processes and all manifestations of mass activity. The groupings and affiliations of society to-day are no longer subject to "local and sectional" limitations. When the Constitution was adopted, the unit of organization was the village community, which produced the greater part of its own necessary commodities and generated its group ideas and opinions by personal contact and discussion directly among its citizens. But to-day, because ideas can be instantaneously transmitted to any distance and to any number of people, this geographical integration has been supplemented by many other kinds of grouping, so that persons having the same ideas and interests may be associated and regimented for common action even though they live thousands of miles apart. It is extremely difficult to realize how many and diverse are these cleavages in our society. They may be social, political, economic, racial, religious or ethical, with hundreds of subdivisions of each. There are many more under the "A" section of this very limited list. The American Newspaper Annual and Directory for lists 22, periodical publications in America. The circulation of some of these publications is astonishing. The greater number of the periodicals listed—chosen at random from among 22,—have a circulation in excess of 10, The diversity of these publications is evident at a glance. Yet they can only faintly suggest the multitude of cleavages which exist in our society, and along which flow information and opinion carrying authority to the individual groups. Here are the conventions scheduled for Cleveland, Ohio, recorded in a single recent issue of "World Convention Dates"—a fraction of the 5, conventions and rallies scheduled. Other conventions to be held in were those of: If all these thousands of formal organizations and institutions could be listed and no complete list has ever been made, they would still represent but a part of those existing less formally but leading vigorous lives. Ideas are sifted and opinions stereotyped in the neighborhood bridge club. Leaders assert their authority through community drives and amateur theatricals. Thousands of women may unconsciously belong to a sorority which follows the fashions set by a single society leader. John Jones, besides being a Rotarian, is member of a church, of a fraternal order, of a political party, of a charitable organization, of a professional association, of a local chamber of commerce, of a league for or against prohibition or of a society for or against lowering the tariff, and of a golf club. The opinions which he receives as a Rotarian, he will tend to disseminate in the other groups in which he may have influence. This invisible, intertwining structure of groupings and associations is the mechanism by which democracy has organized its group mind and simplified its mass thinking. To deplore the existence of such a mechanism is to ask for a society such as never was and never will be. To admit that it exists, but expect that it shall not be used, is unreasonable. Emil Ludwig represents Napoleon as "ever on the watch for indications of public opinion; always listening to the voice of the people, a voice which defies calculation. The impotence of force to organize anything. It will attempt at the same time to find the due place in the modern democratic scheme for this new propaganda and to suggest its gradually evolving code of ethics and practice. But times have changed. The steam engine, the multiple press, and the public school, that trio of the industrial revolution, have taken the power away from kings and given it to the people. The people actually gained power which the king lost For economic power tends to draw after it political power; and the history of the industrial revolution shows how that power passed from the king and the aristocracy to the bourgeoisie. Universal suffrage and universal schooling reinforced this tendency, and at last even the bourgeoisie stood in fear of the common people. For the masses promised to become king. To-day, however, a reaction has set in. The minority has discovered a powerful help in influencing majorities. It has been found possible so to mold

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the mind of the masses that they will throw their newly gained strength in the desired direction. In the present structure of society, this practice is inevitable. Whatever of social importance is done to-day, whether in politics, finance, manufacture, agriculture, charity, education, or other fields, must be done with the help of propaganda. Propaganda is the executive arm of the invisible government. Universal literacy was supposed to educate the common man to control his environment. Once he could read and write he would have a mind fit to rule. So ran the democratic doctrine. But instead of a mind, universal literacy has given him rubber stamps, rubber stamps inked with advertising slogans, with editorials, with published scientific data, with the trivialities of the tabloids and the platitudes of history, but quite innocent of original thought. It may seem an exaggeration to say that the American public gets most of its ideas in this wholesale fashion. The mechanism by which ideas are disseminated on a large scale is propaganda, in the broad sense of an organized effort to spread a particular belief or doctrine. I am aware that the word "propaganda" carries to many minds an unpleasant connotation. Yet whether, in any instance, propaganda is good or bad depends upon the merit of the cause urged, and the correctness of the information published. In itself, the word "propaganda" has certain technical meanings which, like most things in this world, are "neither good nor bad but custom makes them so. Hence, in later years the word came to be applied to any institution or scheme for propagating a doctrine or system. Any society, whether it be social, religious or political, which is possessed of certain beliefs, and sets out to make them known, either by the spoken or written words, is practicing propaganda. If they realize, as they quickly must, that this spreading of the truth can be done upon a large scale and effectively only by organized effort, they will make use of the press and the platform as the best means to give it wide circulation. Propaganda becomes vicious and reprehensive only when its authors consciously and deliberately disseminate what they know to be lies, or when they aim at effects which they know to be prejudicial to the common good. The fact that it should to-day be carrying a sinister meaning merely shows how much of the child remains in the average adult. A group of citizens writes and talks in favor of a certain course of action in some debatable question, believing that it is promoting the best interest of the community. Not a bit of it. Just a plain forceful statement of truth. But let another group of citizens express opposing views, and they are promptly labeled with the sinister name of propaganda. Page one of the New York Times on the day these paragraphs are written contains eight important news stories. Four of them, or one-half, are propaganda. The casual reader accepts them as accounts of spontaneous happenings. Here are the headlines which announce them: What it says is less important than what it is. Its source gives it authority, and the American public tends to accept and support the State Department view. The report of Dr. Pritchett, a trustee of the Carnegie Foundation for International Peace, is an attempt to find the facts about this Jewish colony in the midst of a restless Arab world. These examples are not given to create the impression that there is anything sinister about propaganda. They are set down rather to illustrate how conscious direction is given to events, and how the men behind these events influence public opinion.

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The manipulation of the American mind: Edward Bernays and the birth of public relations July 9, am EDT Richard Gunderman, Indiana University-Purdue University Indianapolis.

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