I. The Social Construction of “Unreality”: War

“The truth is not a thing to be discovered but a thing to be created through artful world choices and careful arrangement of appearances.”

“The conscious and intelligent manipulation of organized habits and opinions of the masses are an indispensable feature of democratic society.”

1. Five stories

1. Gulf War I: Nayirah

1. Powell: “Weapons of Mass Destruction”
2. Saddam’s Statue
3. Saving Private Lynch
4. Classical Collective Behavior: Social Psychology

1. Le Bon: “The Crowd”

a. defintion

i. spatially proximate

i. interactions: face to face

ii. alienated “masses”

b. psychology

i. emotional

ii. irrational

iii. law of mental unity

iv. suggestible

c. manipulable

i. charismatic leaders

ii. appeals: illusions and dreams

iii. affirmation and repetition

2. Tarde and Park: “The Public”

a. defintion

i. millions of people

ii. spacially dispersed

iii. gesellschaft: atomized/isolated

iv. interactions: mediated

v. inclusive

b. psychology of public

i. passive

ii. alienated

iii. irrational

iv. suggestible

3. manipulable

i. appeals to unconscious and emotions

ii.images and fantasies

iii. mass media

1. Propaganda and Classical Collective Behavior

1. public mind could be manipulated

1. manufacturing public mind is necessary
2. means: mass media
   1. symbols of persuasion

b. appeal to unconscious

1. Application and Success: WWI and U.S. Committee on Public Safety
   1. WWI: background
   2. U.S. Public Opinion

3. The House of Truth

1. Fear

i. spies

ii. defeat: Heineapolis, Denverburg, Gulf of Hate

1. good vs evil

i. demonization

ii. “they kill and eat children”

c. patriotism

1. CPI or Creel Commission
   1. Division of News

i. “Official War News”

ii. newspaper Official Bulletin

b. Division of Advertising

i. advertisements, billboards.

ii. graphic art: posters

c. Division of Films

1. power of film: Birth of a Nation

ii. Hollywood: Pershing’s Crusaders

d. Division of Four Minute Men

i. 75,000/ 150,000

ii. Four Minute Man Bulletin: “appeal to unconscious”

iii. Junior Four Minute Men, Colored Four Minute Men

iv. National School Service Bulletin

v. Why We Are Fighting, Unmasking German Propaganda

1. Advances in Propaganda

1. Technology

a. radio: technology that conquered living space

b. television: dream machine

2. Social Sciences and propaganda

* 1. social sciences

i. discovery of knowledge for science based governance

ii. discovery of knowledge for social control

3. Walter Lippmann: “Public Opinion”

1. Mass democracy

i. average individual

thought process: common fictions

content: euphemisms, platitutes

ii. governance

scientific elite

“bureau of experts”

make policy decisions

iii. social control

“manufacture consent”

“understanding and controlling subjective life

of the public”

means: classical collective behavior

3. Propaganda and Public Relations

a. Edward Bernays: “Propaganda” “The Engineering of Consent”

i. Father of public relations

ii. Le Bon

b. Bernays and Lippmann

4. Techniques of PR/Propaganda

a. appeals to unconscious: emotions, dreams, values

b. third person technique

i. front groups

ii. experts

iii. think tanks

c. focus groups

d. media “events”

5. Manufacturing Consent, PR and the Iraq War

1. Weapons of mass destruction

i. “event”: Colin Powell

ii. third person:

“anonymous source”

Iraqi National Congress

Committee for the Liberation of Iraq

iii. front groups

Iraq Public Diplomacy Group

b. Nayirah

i. media event

ii. focus group: Hill and Knowton

iii. front group: Citizens for a Free Kuwait

c. Saddam’s Statue

i. psy ops

ii. media event

iii. front group

d. Saving Private Lynch: Combat Camera

i. “anonymous source”

ii. images!

II. Weapons of Mass Deception

1. Propaganda vs Reality
   1. The Problem of 9/11
   2. Public relations

a. hiring and techniques

b. “brand freedom”

3. History U.S. and Middle East

1. problems

i. “communism”

ii. Arab nationalism

iii. who gets the oil?

b. solutions

i. National Security Archives: “electronic briefing book”

ii. “psychological objectives”: selling Americanism

iii. Walt Disney

c. contradictions

i. support for dictators and authoritarian governments

ii. support for Israel

iii. Iran and democracy

iv. CIA and Shah

v. Jimmy Carter, Human Rights, and the Shah

vi. Reagan

Iran: The Ayatolla and “Nuke Iran”

Iraq: Saddam and Iran

ally against Muslim extremists

using chemical weapons

killing his own people

biological weapons

d. “All the Shah’s Men” and “Overthrow” Church Committee

e. foreign policy or public relations problem?

4. Branding America, Success, Failure and Reality

1. Beers for America

i. Selling Uncle Ben’s and Head and Shoulders

ii. Powell: “There is nothing wrong with getting someone who knows how to sell something.

iii. emotional underpinning of the brand

iv. American tolerance: athletes, wanted posters, “Muslim Life in America”

v. media events: taking Muslim holidays seriously *iftar*

vi. media events: Beers “Dialogue with Muslims”

vii. advertising “Shared Values”

viii. TV show: “Next Chapter”

ix. third party: authors (Ken Pollack)

x. front group: Council of American Muslims for Understanding

b. Beers and Reality: War in Afghanistan

i. support for Israel

ii. continued support for authoritarian regimes

iii. UN resolutions and their application

iv. War against Muslims

1. “abject failure”
2. Other failure: understanding the problem

III. Beyond the Sell

C. Constructing a Myth

1. “A New Chosen People” Puritans

a. Puritans viewed themselves as the New Israelites

b. The “New “World” was the New Promised Land

Psalms 2:8 “Ask of me, and I shall give thee, the heathen for thine inheritance, and the uttermost parts of the earth for thy possession”

c. New Covenant:

i. “As a City upon a Hill”

**“for we must Consider that we shall be as a City upon a Hill, the eyes of all people are upon us” (John Kennedy, Ronald Reagan, George W. Bush, Barack Obama, Mitt Romney)**

ii.. task: “errand in the wild” to a Christian utopia

d. “the Other”

e. nature

2. Becoming a Nation-State: American Exceptionalism and the Declaration of Independence

a. the status that “the Laws of Nature and Nature’s God entitle . . .”

b. “. . .protection of divine Providence”

c. grievances

He has excited domestic insurrections amongst us, and has endeavoured to bring on the inhabitants of our frontiers, the merciless Indian Savages, whose known rule of warfare, is an undistinguished destruction of all ages, sexes and conditions.

3. Manifest Destiny

a. term emerged in 1840s in newspaper article, but idea preexisted the term

b. God has ordained the white race (Anglo-Saxon) to expand to the Pacific

c. The new geography, new institutions from sea to sea are god’s will and inevitable

"Texas has been absorbed into the Union in the inevitable fulfillment of the general law which is rolling our population westward.... It was disintegrated form Mexico in the natural course of events, by a process perfectly legitimate on its own part, blameless on ours.... (its) incorporation into the Union was not only inevitable, but the most natural, right and proper thing in the world.... California will, probably, next fall away from...Mexico.... Imbecile and distracted, Mexico never can exert any real governmental authority over such a country.... The Anglo-Saxon foot is already on its borders. Already the advance guard of the irresistible army of Anglo-Saxon emigration has begun to pour down upon it armed with the plow and the rifle, and markings its trail with schools and colleges, courts and representative halls, mills and meeting houses. A population will soon be in actual occupation of California, over which it will be idle for Mexico to dream of dominion... All this without agency of our government, without responsibility of our people- -**in natural flow of events, the spontaneous working of principles, and the adaptation of the tendencies and wants of the human race to the elemental circumstances** in the midst of which they find themselves placed." ([Blum](http://www.let.rug.nl/usa/essays/1801-1900/manifest-destiny/references-cited.php#blum) 277)

\*\* Mythology as identity: special peoples (white race), w/ God., excluded and inferior others. As justification: removal, taking land, enslaving, removing and killing peoples, and “war with nature.”

d. Excluded

i. White Trash

ii. Black

iii. Native Americans

iv. Hispanics

4. Manifest Destiny: Spanish-American War

a. McKinley

I walked the floor of the White House night after night until midnight; and I am not ashamed to tell you, gentlemen, that I went down on my knees and prayed Almighty God for light and guidance more than one night. And one night late it came to me this way—I don’t know how it was, but it came: (1) That we could not give them back to Spain—that would be cowardly and dishonorable; (2) that we could not turn them over to France and Germany—our commercial rivals in the Orient—that would be bad business and discreditable; (3) that we could not leave them to themselves—they were unfit for self-government—and they would soon have anarchy and misrule over there worse than Spain’s was; and (4) that there was nothing left for us to do but to take them all, and to educate the Filipinos, and uplift and civilize and Christianize them, and by God’s grace do the very best we could by them, as our fellow-men for whom Christ also died. And then I went to bed, and went to sleep. . .

b. Benevolent Assimilation

\*\*Identity and the Other: other is inferior, and the groups or races or peoples elimination through U.S. actions is justified because of evolution and progress.

c. Latin America

i. Monroe Doctrine

ii. Roosevelt Corollary

5. Manifest Destiny and Social Darwinism: First Guilded Age

a. Robber Barons

b. People

i. wage labor

ii. urban slums

iii. mules vs humans

c. American Exceptionalism

i. Churches and Sermons “Acres of Diamonds”

ii. Newspapers: “The Gospel of Wealth”

iii. Universities, Politicians, Robber Barons:

Social Darwinism

6. Social Darwinism: “Evolution” meets American Exceptionalism

a. William Graham Sumner

“Let it be understood that we cannot go outside of this alternative: liberty. Inequality, survival of the fittest; not-liberty, equality, survival of the unfittest. The former carries society forward and favors all its best members, the latter carries society downwards and favors all its worst members.

b. Thesis: Society is progressing (social evolutionism) through competition between individuals, racial groups, and nations

c. humans “struggle for existence”

i. society is site of struggle, not nature

ii. free market and competition

ii. measure of fittest: success and failure in market place

v. rich have proven to be the “fittest”

superior intelligence

work ethic

d. survival of the fittest guarantees

i. social progress

ii. wealth of a nation

\*\*Identifies American society with “natural” forces (Progress and “evolution” ) Legitimates status quo, economic system, inequality, and justifies it (not just personal, but social benefits)

e. government policy to help poor undermines evolution

f. government intervention

i. distorts the natural competitive environment of capitalism

ii. allows the weak to survive

ii. weakens the species

iii. undermines natural evolutionary process