Propaganda in democracy

Bruno Cariou on September 13, 2017 by Elements of Racial Education

Propaganda was born in the “era of crowds”, which began, according to Taine, under the “French” Revolution (α), with the politicization of the masses (β).

Propaganda is a psychological action exerted on a politicized mass, conceived as a "bundle of psychic contagions essentially produced by physical contact" (γ), to propagate a doctrine by means of all means of information. Who says masses says propaganda. Due to the characteristics of crowds, namely impulsivity, mobility, irritability, suggestibility and credulity, exaggeration and simplism of feelings and emotions, intolerance and conservatism (δ), a great lack of memory and a very limited faculty of assimilation (ε), it is only possible to act on them through propaganda. Propaganda remains propaganda, in any political regime whatsoever.The whole question is to know what ideological content it presents and for what ends and according to what modalities it is exercised.

Whatever opinion one has on the Third Reich, it is undeniable, as the twenty-five points of the NSDAP program show and the translation they had in the social and economic measures which were taken by the authorities Hitlerite from 1933, that the nationalist and racist policy of this one went in the direction of the interests of the German people, that this one understood it or not, that it wanted it or not; the propaganda, orchestrated by Goebbels, was there precisely to persuade him, willy-nilly.

Propaganda is harmful to the people it is used to manipulate to the exact extent that the ideology in the service of which it is put at the service is universalist, egalitarian and mercantilist; in a democracy, propaganda is so insidious that it does not dare to bear its name: it modestly masks itself under the term “communication”. However, propaganda is inextricably linked with democracy. It was in the Dictionary of the Academy of 1798 that the word took on the meaning in which it is used today (until then was called "Propaganda" the Roman Congregation Propaganda fide, founded for the propagation of the Christian faith. ). “The semantic fixation under the Revolution is not surprising as the revolutionary governments tried to disseminate their ideas.The Girondine Convention had thus created a Bureau d'Esprit in charge of acting on the press to reduce opposition to the government and guide public opinion. It sets up representative Commissioners on mission whose name suggests the idea of ​​bringing the revolutionary faith to the borders of the Republic, such as the Jesuits of the Counter-Reformation ”(ζ). In the second decade of the 19th century, “Propaganda appears […] in the texts of Republicans and Socialists as a sort of lever for transforming the world. So it is with the League of education, one of the first names of which in 1868 was “Parisian circle for the propaganda of education in the departments”. Its use became widespread under the Second Empire ”.Many “associations make it their own to define their information dissemination activities. Thus begins a health propaganda. The use of "medical propaganda" characterizes the actions of committees against alcoholism or tuberculosis. The word covers in this case an activity of popularization by the means of illustrated texts or not and of conferences. This philanthropic activity shifts the implicit nature of propaganda from the spiritual field to more material concerns. Making propaganda becomes a means of influencing people's minds to change social situations in order to reform society in depth ”(η). It will therefore come as no surprise that from the 1880s onwards it was used mainly by the Socialists. It is undoubtedly Lenin, in What to do? (1902),who first associated propaganda with the idea of ​​manipulation. “The question of dissemination is no longer a question of superior reason alone, of the validity of doctrine. It depends on tactics of seduction and on a social psychology which assure the agitator of the understanding of the people ”(θ). “On the eve of the First World War, far from having a negative connotation, the term has the aura of a useful technique, which all forces are ready to use. The hawkish explosion is an opportunity to extend the legitimacy of these practices and terminology. "Propaganda services" were created in diplomacy and in the armies from 1914 in France. The other countries at war do the same ”, except that the British prefer there to the term“ propaganda ”the expression“ psychological warfare ”(ι). Population,who is not yet totally stupefied and therefore gullible and fooled, generally speaks of "brainwashing".

Propaganda had until then been the domain of political professionals and its techniques were crude and direct: it was based on the mechanical repetition of slogans: "... all effective propaganda," Hitler asserts, in terms that no advertiser or "Communicating" will not contradict - at least in private -, must be limited to few strong points and put forward using stereotypical formulas for as long as necessary, so that the last of the listeners is able to grasp the 'idea'. Any advertiser or "communicator" would however find Hitler's conception of propaganda simplistic, even naive, he who uses images as much as words to suggest and manipulate the masses. The first to have had the idea of ​​massively introducing the image, namely cinema and photography,in the propaganda was Walter Lippmann, journalist of Jewish origin, theorist of "neo-liberalism", member of the very socialist and very globalist Fabian Society and of the cocaine-addicted vermin wrapped and invertebrate of the "Council on Foreign Relations". For him, politicians are neither capable of fully understanding for themselves the complex environment in which the affairs of the modern state must be conducted, nor qualified to make decisions, nor even, which is necessary in a democracy, to do so. inform the public and persuade it of their validity, especially since the masses are insensitive to logical argumentation and not always permeable to feeling; by virtue of which this task should be entrusted to a “class of experts”. Propaganda "... is now based on analysis and no longer on empirical methods",analysis which is itself based on “psychological research” (κ). The keystone of this new form of propaganda is the “symbolic image”. Lippmann adopted Freud's theory of dreams and adapted it to the government of the masses. “For Freud, dreams represented unexpressed anxieties and provided visual indications allowing psychoanalysts to unlock the individual's unconscious. These symbols, according to Lippmann, gave access to the unconscious of the masses rather than that of the individual ”(λ). Propaganda thus becomes "the art of persuasion", or, as he still calls it, the "fabrication of consent", which is based on the "manipulation of the masses" - Lippmann is the first to have used the expression (μ) -,"Manipulation of the masses" which is made possible by the rise of "modern means of communication".

In "Public Opinion" (1922), Lippmann assured that "important improvements" (ν) would be made in the "fabrication of consent", which remained theoretical. They were, on a practical level, during the same decade, by Freud's own nephew. “The systematic study of mass psychology,” declares Edward Bernays in 'Propaganda' (1928), has revealed the possibilities offered to the invisible government of society by manipulating the motives which make man act in the collective. Trotter and Le Bon who tackled the subject scientifically, Graham Wallas, Walter Lippmann and others, who have deepened the research on group spirit,have established that the group has mental characteristics that are different from those of the individual and is driven by impulses and emotions that cannot be explained by what we know about individual psychology. The question has therefore obviously arisen: if we succeed in understanding the mechanism and the motivations of the group spirit, can we not control and remote guide the masses as we please without them realizing it? A more or less rhetorical question, since, at the time he asked it, it had been a few years since he had the opportunity to verify that the propaganda techniques he had developed were working perfectly.if we succeed in understanding the mechanism and motivations of group spirit, can we not control and remote guide the masses as we please without them realizing it? A more or less rhetorical question, since, at the time he asked it, it had been a few years since he had the opportunity to verify that the propaganda techniques he had developed were working perfectly.If we succeed in understanding the mechanism and the motivations of the group spirit, can we not control and remote guide the masses as we please without them realizing it? A more or less rhetorical question, since, at the time he asked it, it had been a few years since he had the opportunity to verify that the propaganda techniques he had developed were working perfectly.

He had exposed them in “Crystallizing Public Opinion” (1923). They had been inspired by the reading of a work by his uncle Sigmund Freud entitled "Vorlesungen zur Einführung in die Psychoanalyse" (1917), which he had almost immediately had translated into English under the name of "A General Introduction to Psychoanalysis. »(1920). He applied Freudian theory and methodology first to marketing and advertising, then, from the early 1930s, to "public relations"; as "public relations counsel", a term known to be the inventor, he had clients as prestigious and shady as General Motors, Procter & Gamble, American Tobacco, General Electric , United Fruit Company, John D. Rockefeller, whose image he smoothed out to the general public,Coolidge, whose election he won the presidency of the United States in 1923. In his eyes, public relations consulting was "an" applied social science "which used knowledge of psychology, sociology and others. disciplines to lead and scientifically manipulate the thinking and behavior of an irrational and "gregarious" public "(public), be it" cigarettes, a political movement, or child food "(ο). As the preface to the first French translation of “Propaganda” rightly says, “How to impose a new brand of laundry? How to elect a president? In the logic of “market democracies”, these questions merge ”.public relations consulting was' an 'applied social science' which used knowledge from psychology, sociology and other disciplines to scientifically direct and manipulate the thinking and behavior of an irrational and 'gregarious' public' '( ξ), whether it is “cigarettes, a political movement or food for children” (ο). As the preface to the first French translation of “Propaganda” rightly says, “How to impose a new brand of laundry? How to elect a president? In the logic of “market democracies”, these questions merge ”.public relations consulting was' an 'applied social science' which used knowledge from psychology, sociology and other disciplines to scientifically direct and manipulate the thinking and behavior of an irrational and 'gregarious' public' '( ξ), whether it is “cigarettes, a political movement or food for children” (ο). As the preface to the first French translation of “Propaganda” rightly says, “How to impose a new brand of laundry? How to elect a president? In the logic of “market democracies”, these questions merge ”.sociology and other disciplines to scientifically direct and manipulate the thinking and behavior of an irrational and "gregarious" public "(ξ), be it" cigarettes, political movement, or food for children ”(ο). As the preface to the first French translation of “Propaganda” rightly says, “How to impose a new brand of laundry? How to elect a president? In the logic of “market democracies”, these questions merge ”.sociology and other disciplines to scientifically direct and manipulate the thinking and behavior of an irrational and "gregarious" public "(ξ), be it" cigarettes, political movement, or food for children ”(ο). As the preface to the first French translation of “Propaganda” rightly says, “How to impose a new brand of laundry? How to elect a president? In the logic of “market democracies”, these questions merge ”.these questions merge ”.these questions merge ”.

It is almost needless to say that the propaganda techniques devised by Bernays have continued to be explored since then by advertisers, whatever product, human or not, it is to sell, even if the goal ultimate advertising may not be to promote products. What it is above all about, since these techniques derive essentially from psychoanalytic practice, is "to bring to the surface, by making it clearly conscious, all the content of these" bas-fonds "of the being which form what is properly called the "subconscious" "and therefore to lead man in the direction of the infra-human (π).

We are offering the first chapter of "Propaganda" in a new translation below.

The conscious and intelligent manipulation of the opinions and organized habits of the masses is an essential element of democratic society. Those who manipulate this imperceptible social mechanism form an invisible government and it is this invisible government that really runs the country (1).

We are governed, our minds are shaped, our tastes are formed, our ideas are suggested to us by men whom we have never heard of. This is the logical consequence of the organization of our democratic society. A great many men have to cooperate in this way, if they are to live together in a well-functioning society.

Our invisible leaders, for the most part, do not know the identity of other members of the small government to which they belong.

They govern us by virtue of their natural authority, their ability to provide the ideas we need and the key positions they occupy in the social structure. Whatever attitude we decide to adopt in the face of this situation, the point is that in most actions of daily life, whether in politics or business, in the way we do business. Acting in society or in our moral conduct, we are dominated by that relatively small number of people - a tiny fraction of the nation's 120 million people - who understand the mental processes and social models of the masses. They are the ones who pull the strings that control public opinion, mobilize old social forces, and invent other ways of ordering and running the world.

We usually don't realize how essential these invisible leaders are to the smooth running of our group life. Theoretically, all citizens can vote for the candidate of their choice. Our Constitution does not consider political parties to be part of the machinery of government and its drafters do not seem to have imagined that there could be formed in our political life an electoral machine such as the one that exists there today. But American voters quickly realized that, for lack of organization and leadership, the dispersion of their votes among a dozen, or even, why not, thousands of candidates could only sow confusion. The invisible government arose almost overnight, in the form of embryonic political parties. Since then,for the sake of simplicity and for practical reasons, we have agreed that the party apparatus be limited to the choice of two, at most three or four, candidates. In theory, everyone makes their own opinion on matters of public interest and those of private life. In practice, if all citizens were to study for themselves all the abstruse economic, political and moral data that enter into all questions, it would be impossible for them to come to a conclusion on anything. We have voluntarily agreed to let an invisible government filter the information and deal with the main issues, in order to focus on the choices that are realistically possible for us to make (2).We immediately accept that our leaders and the media outlets they use to reach the public determine matters of public interest and that a moral authority, be it a pastor, an essayist, or simply dominant opinion prescribes a standardized code of social conduct to which we most of the time.

Theoretically, everyone buys the best and cheapest products available on the market. In practice, if everyone started to fix the price and to do a chemical analysis of the dozens of soaps, fabrics or industrial bars that are on sale, before buying them, economic life would be irreparably paralyzed. To avoid such confusion, society consents to its choice being limited to ideas and objects which are brought to its attention by propaganda instruments of all kinds. Therefore, great effort is continuously made to win us over to a policy, product or idea. It would be better to replace propaganda and fallacy with wise counsel who would choose our leaders, dictate our behavior, public and private,decide for us what clothes and foods are best for us (3). But we have chosen the opposite method, that of open competition. We have to make this free competition work reasonably well. To this end, this society agreed to let the ruling class and the propaganda organize free competition (4).

Some of the phenomena of this process - the manipulation of information, the exaltation of individuality, and the hype around politicians, business products, or social ideas - are criticized. Instruments for organizing and focusing public opinion can be misused. This organization and this focus are nonetheless necessary for an organized life.

Techniques of opinion control were invented and then developed as civilization became more and more complex and the need for an invisible government grew.

Through the printing press and newspapers, the railroad, the telephone, the telegraph, the radio, the airplanes, ideas can spread quickly, if not instantly, across America.

HG Wells shows that he sensed the immense potential of these inventions when he writes in the New York Times: "Modern means of communication - the possibility offered by the printing press, telephone, radio station and so on to transmit strategic or technical directives to a large number of coordination centers, to obtain rapid responses and '' have effective discussions - open up new horizons for political processes. Ideas and slogans can now be more effective than any person and greater than any particular interest. The common project can be supported and defended without being perverted or betrayed. It can be elaborated and developed gradually and until its completion, despite the sources of misunderstanding that are questions of persons, particularism and sectarianism. "

What Mr. Wells says about political processes also applies to business and social processes and to all forms of collective activity. In today's society, groups and affiliations are no longer subject to "particularist and partisan" limitations. When the Constitution was adopted, society was based on the village community. Most of the staple food that the village needed was produced there and collective ideas and opinions were formed there through personal contacts and exchanges between its members. But, today, due to the geographical integration that results from the possibility of instantly transmitting ideas to any distance and to a large number of people, there are many other types of groupings,so that people with the same opinions or the same interests can be brought together and controlled for collective action, even though they live thousands of kilometers from each other.

It is extremely difficult to get an idea of ​​the number and the diversity of these cleavages that exist in our society (5). They can be social, political, economic, racial, religious or moral and each include hundreds of subdivisions. Here, for example, the groupings which are under the letter A in The World Almanac: League for the Abolition of the Death Penalty; Association for the Abolition of War; American Institute of Accountants; Union of actors; Actuarial Association of America; International Advertising Association; National Aeronautical Association; Albany Institute of Art and History; Amen Bible Society; American Academy of Rome; American Association of Antiquarians; American League for Civil Rights; Federation of American Workers; Amorc (Order of the Rose-Croix); Andiron Club; American-Irish Historical Society; Anti-tobacco league; League Against Blasphemy; Archaeological Association of America; National Archery Association; Arion Singing Society; American Association of Astronomers; Ayrshire Cattle Breeders Association; Aztec Club of 1847…;to name only the first of a list which contains many more.

The American Newspaper Annual and Directoryfrom 1928 lists 22,128 periodicals in the United States. I have chosen at random all the titles published in Chicago that begin with the letter N: Narod (Bohemian daily); Narod-Polski (Polish monthly); NARD (pharmaceutical industry); National Corporation Reporter; National Culinary Progress (intended for chefs); National Dog Journal; National Drug Clerk; National Engineer; National Grocer; National Hotel Reporter; National Income Tax Magazine; National Jeweler; National Journal of Chiropractic; National Live Stock Producer; National Miller; National Nut News; National Poultry, Butter and Egg Bulletin; National Provisioner (to slaughterhouse workers); National Real Estate Journal; National Retail Clothier; National Retail Lumber Dealer; National Safety News; National Spiritualist;National Underwriter; The Nation's Health; Naujienos (daily in Lithuanian); New Comer (Republican weekly for Italians); Daily News; The New World (Catholic weekly); North American Banker; North American Veterinarian. The circulation of some of these publications is amazing. The National Live Stock Producer has a certified circulation of 155,978 copies, The National Engineer of 20,328 and The News World's circulation is estimated at 67,000 copies. Most of the periodicals listed - chosen at random from 22,128 titles - have more than 10,000 copies.The circulation of some of these publications is amazing. The National Live Stock Producer has a certified circulation of 155,978 copies, The National Engineer of 20,328 and The News World's circulation is estimated at 67,000 copies. Most of the periodicals listed - chosen at random from 22,128 titles - have a circulation of more than 10,000 copies.The circulation of some of these publications is amazing. The National Live Stock Producer has a certified circulation of 155,978 copies, The National Engineer of 20,328 and The News World's circulation is estimated at 67,000 copies. Most of the periodicals listed - chosen at random from 22,128 titles - have a circulation of more than 10,000 copies.

The diversity of these publications is evident at first glance. However, this list can only give a vague idea of ​​the countless divisions in our society which disseminate information and opinions to influence the different groups that compose them.

5500 conferences and exhibitions are scheduled this year around the world. Here, listed in a recent issue of World Convention Dates, the various associations that organize one in Cleveland, Ohio: the Association of Independent Photo Engravers of America; the Association of Writers Specialized in Outdoor Reporting; the Knights of Saint John; the Walther League; National Association of Knit Outerwear Manufacturers; the Knights of Saint Joseph; the Royal Order of the Sphinx; Association of Mortgage Companies; the International Association of Public Employees; the Kiwanis Clubs of Ohio; the American Photogravure Association; the Cleveland Auto Manufacturers Show; Association of heating engineers and thermicians.

Also to be held in 1928 were the congresses of: the Association of manufacturers of prostheses; the National Association of Circus Fans of America; the American Naturopathic Association; the American Pigeon Shooting Association; the Texas Folk Association; the Association of Hotel Receptionists; the Fox Breeders Association; the Association of Insecticide and Disinfectant Manufacturers; National Association of Manufacturers of Egg Cartons and Crates; American Association of Soft Drink Bottlers; the National Association of Pickle Canning Workers, not to mention the Turtle Race (6). If we could list these thousands of institutions and official organizations (no complete list has ever been established),they would still represent only a small part of all those which, even if they exist in a less official way, are nonetheless very active. Ideas are scrutinized and opinions stereotyped at the neighborhood bridge club. Leaders assert their authority over the community by providing services or organizing amateur theater performances. Thousands of women belong without always being aware of it to a circle which follows the fashions launched by a prominent personality. The magazineLeaders assert their authority over the community by providing services or organizing amateur theater performances. Thousands of women belong without always being aware of it to a circle which follows the fashions launched by a prominent personality. The magazineLeaders assert their authority over the community by providing services or organizing amateur theater performances. Thousands of women belong without always being aware of it to a circle which follows the fashions launched by a prominent personality. The magazineLife states this idea in a satirical way in an American response to a Briton who praises American society for having no castes or upper or lower classes: “Yes, all we have are the Four. One Hundred (7) White Collars, Smugglers, Barons of Wall Street, Criminals, Daughters of the American Revolution, the Ku Klux Klan, Colonial Ladies, Freemasons, Kiwanis and Rotarians, Knights of Columbus, the Order of the Elks, Censorship, Experts, Fools, Heroes like Lindbergh, WCTU, Politicians, Menckenites and Ignorite (8), Immigrants, Broadcasters and ... the Rich and the Poor . "

However, we must not forget that all these groups are intertwined. In addition to being a member of Rotary, Mr. John Jones is also a member of a church, fraternity, political party, charity, professional association, chamber of commerce. local, of a prohibitionist or anti-prohibitionist league, of an association which aims either to fight or to support the reduction of customs tariffs and a golf club. He will tend to spread the opinions instilled in him in Rotary to other groups in which he can have influence.

This invisible interweaving of groups and associations is the mechanism by which democracy has organized its collective mind and simplified its collective thinking. To deplore the existence of this mechanism is to want a society which has never existed and which will never exist (9). It would be equally absurd to admit that it exists, while hoping that it is not exploited.

Emil Ludwig says of Napoleon that he was constantly on the lookout for clues about public opinion; always listening to the voice of the people, a voice that defies calculation. “Do you know,” he asked at the time, “what I admire most in the world? It is the powerlessness of the force to organize something. The aim of this book is to explain the structure of the mechanism of control of public opinion, to show how it is manipulated by parties which seek to make the public accept a particular idea or a particular product. At the same time, it will endeavor to clarify the place to be occupied by this new propaganda in the modern democratic system and to give an overview of the progressive evolution of the moral code and of the practice which are linked to it.

Edward L. Bernays, Propaganda , chap. 1, Oswald Liveright, New York, 1928, translated from the American by BK

(α) Serge Moscovici, The Age of Crowds: A Historical Treatise on Mass Psychology, Éd. Complex, Brussels, 1991, p. 16.

(β) See Paul Veyne, L'Empire gréco-romain, le Seuil, coll. “Des travaux”, 2005.

(γ) Gabriel Tarde, The Opinion and the Crowd, Félix Alcan, coll. "Library of contemporary philosophy", Paris, 1901, p. 9.

(δ) See Gustave Le Bon, Psychologie des foules, Félix Alcan, Paris, 1895.

(ε) see Adolph Hitler, Mon Combat, t. 1, Nouvelles éditions latines, Paris, 1926, p. 321.

(ζ) Fabrice D'Almeida, “Propaganda, story of a disgraced word”, Mots. Les langages du politique, n ° 69, 2002, available at the following address: <http://mots.revues.org/10673> , consulted on September 4, 2017.

(η) Ibid.

(θ) Ibid.

(ι) Ibid.

(κ) Walter Lippmann, Public Opinion, Harcourt, Brace and Company ,, New York, chap. XV, 1922. Lippmann's decisive contribution to the transformation of propaganda into a science of manipulation is for two reasons. The first is that while political science focused on studying the behavior of political institutions, Lippmann chose to analyze the behavior of citizens. The second is that he was the first to explain the political implications of mass communication.

Lippmann's fundamental hypothesis is that "[the] real environment is purely and simply too vast, too complex and too ephemeral for us to have direct knowledge of it", so that in order to face it and be able to act on it, we have no choice but to "reconstruct it mentally according to a simpler model" (chap. I [any chapter indication in this note refers to "Public Opinion"]), which constitutes the "pseudo- environment ”. We reconstitute this "pseudo-environment" from "images" that we have "in the head", images which are either conceived by ourselves, or which are given to us and according to which we act. They are characterized by simplicity and a relative opposition to change. They are shared by many people,transmitted from generation to generation and propagated by the mass media. Lippmann calls them “stereotypes; it was he who introduced the term into the vocabulary of the social sciences (Vincent Yzerbyt and Georges Schadron, “Stéréotypes etjudgment social”. In Richard Y. Bourhis and Jacques-Philippe Leyen [eds.], Stéréotypes, discrimination et relations intergroupes , 2nd ed., Mardaga, 1999, p. 130). Together they form “maps” that individuals must use to “travel through the world”. This "pseudo-environment" may well be a "fiction", it is not "misleading", insofar as it remains more or less faithful to the real environment (chap. I).it was he who introduced the term into the vocabulary of the social sciences (Vincent Yzerbyt and Georges Schadron, “Stéréotypes etjudgment social”. In Richard Y. Bourhis and Jacques-Philippe Leyen [eds.], Stéréotypes, discrimination et relations intergroupes , 2nd ed., Mardaga, 1999, p. 130). Together they form "maps" that individuals must use to "travel through the world". This "pseudo-environment" may well be a "fiction", it is not "misleading", insofar as it remains more or less faithful to the real environment (chap. I).it was he who introduced the term into the vocabulary of social sciences (Vincent Yzerbyt and Georges Schadron, “Stéréotypes etjudgment social”. In Richard Y. Bourhis and Jacques-Philippe Leyen [eds.], Stéréotypes, discrimination et relations intergroupes , 2nd ed., Mardaga, 1999, p. 130). Together they form "maps" that individuals must use to "travel through the world". This "pseudo-environment" may well be a "fiction", it is not "misleading", insofar as it remains more or less faithful to the real environment (chap. I).This "pseudo-environment" may well be a "fiction", it is not "misleading", insofar as it remains more or less faithful to the real environment (chap. I).This "pseudo-environment" may well be a "fiction", it is not "misleading", insofar as it remains more or less faithful to the real environment (chap. I).

The frequency of the terms "actors", "spectators" and "shows" in Lippmann's writings is striking and will lead us to develop here some considerations on the capital importance that the theories of this Jewish journalist had in the development. techniques of "psychological warfare" and even, in fact, of "psychic warfare" which allowed the establishment of what is now called "virtual reality", a prerequisite for the establishment of self- saying "new world order".

According to P. Friedland, political practice and theatrical practice became virtually identical and inseparable during the revolutionary period due to a parallel evolution of theatrical performance theory and political theory. Before the middle of the 18th century, actors, whether on the theatrical or political stage, saw themselves as embodying a fictitious entity: in the first case, the character of a play; in the second case, the mystical body of the French nation, “civic incarnation of the corpus christi” (Kenneth R. Stow, Popes, Church, and Jews in the Middle Ages: Confrontation and Response, Ashgate Variorum, Aldershot, 2007, p. 379). The role of both was redefined in parallel from the 1750s.Dramatic actors were trained to perform their roles abstractly, in a way that seemed realistic to the audience. The creation of the National Assembly marked the triumph of abstract representation in the political arena. Breaking with the past, this deliberative body did not claim to be the nation, but claimed to speak on its behalf. This new form of representation caused a rift between the actors - whether dramatic actors or political actors - and their audience: spectators, at the show as in political life, were relegated to the role of passive observers of a show. which was given for them, but in which they no longer participated directly. The Lippmannian theory of public opinion is a direct extension of this new conception of representation,which is the foundation of modern democracy and which derives from the Diderotian concept of "fourth wall".

The “fourth wall” constitutes a virtual border erected between the stage and the room, so that “the actors perform their actions as if no one is looking at them, as if they were caught in a closed and independent space, [in the goal] to give reality the most perfect reflection ”(Muriel Plana, Roman, theater, cinema: adaptations, hybridizations and dialogue of the arts, Bréal Editions, coll.“ Amphi Lettres ”, 2004, p. 242); "[This] wall was opaque on one side, translucent on the other and nothing could pass through, except the gaze of the beholder, gaze that was now fixed on something that had never before existed: an artificial reality fully autonomous. Previously,the performances took place almost in the midst of a crowd of spectators [often loud and unruly] who could choose to pay attention either to the show or to what was happening in the hall [which was lit]. Now there were two completely separate worlds. Down in the darkness were isolated spectators who could no longer communicate with each other and formed a homogeneous body only because they were all watching the action on the stage together and no longer through their interactions […] The fourth wall therefore made possible something greater than the sum of the individual illusions produced by each actor's acting. A stage empty of spectators [until the beginning of the 18th century it was common for spectators to attend a performance on the stage,sitting on a chair] suddenly made possible the creation of something that could never have existed before: a new world, a world purged of all prosaic reality and made entirely of realistic fictions, a universe physically and conceptually separated from the world inhabited by viewers, a world with its own space and with its own time and which paid no attention to any of those who lived and nothing that existed outside of its borders that somehow seemed more interesting, more likely and more intoxicating to viewers than their fragmented reality. This was the theoretical premise of modern theater and it was also the theoretical premise of modern political representation ”.a world purged of all prosaic reality and made entirely of realistic fictions, a universe physically and conceptually separated from the world inhabited by the spectators, a world with its own space and with its own time and which paid no attention to any of those who lived and to nothing that existed outside its borders that seemed somehow more interesting, more likely and more intoxicating to viewers than their fragmented reality. This was the theoretical premise of modern theater and it was also the theoretical premise of modern political representation ”.a world purged of all prosaic reality and made entirely of realistic fictions, a universe physically and conceptually separated from the world inhabited by the spectators, a world with its own space and with its own time and which paid no attention to any of those who lived and to nothing that existed outside its borders that somehow seemed more interesting, more likely, and more intoxicating to viewers than their fragmented reality. This was the theoretical premise of modern theater and it was also the theoretical premise of modern political representation ”.a world with its own space and with its own time and which paid no attention to any of those who lived and nothing that existed outside its borders and which somehow seemed more interesting, more plausible and more intoxicating viewers that their reality fragmented. This was the theoretical premise of modern theater and it was also the theoretical premise of modern political representation ”.a world with its own space and with its own time and which paid no attention to any of those who lived and nothing that existed outside its borders and which somehow seemed more interesting, more plausible and more intoxicating viewers that their reality fragmented. This was the theoretical premise of modern theater and it was also the theoretical premise of modern political representation ”.

This was the theoretical premise of modern theater and it was also the theoretical premise of modern political representation, ”founded on the principle of national sovereignty whereby the people rule through elected representatives.

“If, in spite of institutions and practices known to the Greeks and to which we would be retrospectively tempted to give the name of representation, the latter had neither the name nor the thing. Although Latin, however, it is not certain that we can attribute the beginnings of modern representation to Rome. In classical Latin, in fact, representation is understood in the elementary sense to "produce or show again" and is only used for inanimate objects and not for individuals and even less for a collectivity of individuals "( Pierre Brunet. The justifying principles: The Representation. 2011, ffhalshs-00661840, p. 10) In France, Philippe le Bel was the first king who convened the States General, of which nothing is known of the method of convocation and appointment of members of the three orders,no more about the form and results of the deliberations. What we do know is that, from the beginning of the 14th century, appearance in the states was considered an imperative duty. The deputies of the cities, almost always chosen among the mayors, the aldermen or the consuls, had to appear there provided with a written power of attorney attesting to their full power of representation of their commune. They were not ex officio deputies. The representative of an order was not necessarily taken from that order, particularly with regard to the nobility, who saw these assemblies in a bad light. But, once deputies, the nobles, like bishops, abbots and priors, were required to appear in person. Universal suffrage appears to have been the method of electing deputies from the bourgeoisie (see Edgard Boutaric,The First Estates General. 1302-1314, Library of charters, 21st year, t. 1, 5th series). »|…] The chosen one was only an emissary in charge of transmitting the wishes of the group which had appointed him. He had no vocation to play a role of his own, his very person having to step aside behind those who had appointed him: the voters themselves recorded the sum of their demands and their suggestions and then appointed one of them. between them to transmit it to the king ”(Pierre Brunet, op. cit., p. 13). “In the XVth century, we went from personal participation to a representative system in which the bailiff or the seneschal summoned the nobility and the clerics of the king's order in their area and each order appointed its deputies and if the towns continued to send delegates,the peasants of the flat country elected their deputies instead of being, as before, represented by their lords. The representation was not political in nature. The deputies did not represent "the public good of the country" but only the interests of their order. They were agents and not representatives since they were invested with a mandate passed before a notary, narrowly defined and always revocable. The deputies had no possibility of negotiation and transaction. Their mandate was imperative, in the sense of civil law ”(Dmitri Lavroff, On the subject of political representation in contemporary France, OpenEdition Books, Presse Universitaire de Marseille, 2015, p. 451-67). On the other hand, all "subjects" of the kingdom who wished, from the most humble to the noblest, were consulted.The notebooks of grievances that the delegates of the three orders took with them to the States General were a compilation of the grievances entered in the “cahiers de governments”, which were themselves a revised compilation of the grievances entered in the “cahiers de bailliages”, which were themselves the synthesis of the grievances expressed in the “parish notebooks” (see Gabriel Lepointe, History of institutions and social facts, Éditions Montchrestien, 1963; see also Edme Jacques Benoît Rathéry, History of the States General of France, Paris, 1845). Admittedly, the States General were an extraordinary assembly and were convened only thirty-six times in five centuries, five centuries during which, however, the king had the obligation to “inform himself” near the three orders,“Make numerous and frequent consultations and answer them regularly” (Dmitri Lavroff, op. Cit.) (\*).

The “French” Revolution swept away this effectively representative building. The mandatory mandate was replaced by the representative mandate (\*\*); the performance itself was no longer in name, was no longer only theatrical, fictitious, but plausible, because, as indicated above, the creation of the National Assembly marked the triumph of abstract representation in the political arena . As Lally-Tolendal told the Assembly on July 7, 1789, “[every] part of society is subject; sovereignty resides only in the whole united; I say the whole, because legislative law does not belong to the part of the whole; I say united, because the nation cannot exercise legislative power when it is divided, and it cannot then deliberate in common. This joint deliberation can only exist by representatives;where I see the representatives of twenty-five million men, there I see the whole in which resides the fullness of sovereignty; and if there was a part of all that wanted to rise up against the nation, I only see one subject who claims to be stronger than the whole. It is not allowed to protest, to reserve; it is an attack on the power of the majority. The principles that rise up against protests are the same against imperative mandates. What harmony could there be? What would be the Assembly where each member would arrive armed with a protest or a mandate that would force him to fight general opinion? (Parliamentary Archives, t. 8: From May 5, 1789 to September 15, 1789, Session of Tuesday, July 7, 1789, p. 204 -there I see the whole in which resides the fullness of sovereignty; and if there was a part of all that wanted to rise up against the nation, I only see one subject who claims to be stronger than the whole. It is not allowed to protest, to reserve; it is an attack on the power of the majority. The principles that rise up against protests are the same against imperative mandates. What harmony could there be? What would be the Assembly where each member would arrive armed with a protest or a mandate that would force him to fight general opinion? (Parliamentary Archives, t. 8: From May 5, 1789 to September 15, 1789, Session of Tuesday, July 7, 1789, p. 204 -there I see the whole in which resides the fullness of sovereignty; and if there was a part of this whole that wanted to rise up against the nation, I only see one subject who claims to be stronger than the whole. It is not allowed to protest, to reserve; it is an attack on the power of the majority. The principles that rise up against protests are the same against imperative mandates. What harmony could there be? What would be the Assembly where each member would arrive armed with a protest or a mandate that would force him to fight general opinion? (Parliamentary Archives, t. 8: From May 5, 1789 to September 15, 1789, Session of Tuesday, July 7, 1789, p. 204 -I only see one subject who claims to be stronger than the whole. It is not allowed to protest, to reserve; it is an attack on the power of the majority. The principles that rise up against protests are the same against imperative mandates. What harmony could there be? What would be the Assembly where each member would arrive armed with a protest or a mandate that would force him to fight general opinion? (Parliamentary Archives, t. 8: From May 5, 1789 to September 15, 1789, Session of Tuesday, July 7, 1789, p. 204 -I only see one subject who claims to be stronger than the whole. It is not allowed to protest, to reserve; it is an attack on the power of the majority. The principles that rise up against protests are the same against imperative mandates. What harmony could there be? What would be the Assembly where each member would arrive armed with a protest or a mandate that would force him to fight general opinion? (Parliamentary Archives, t. 8: From May 5, 1789 to September 15, 1789, Session of Tuesday, July 7, 1789, p. 204 -What harmony could there be? What would be the Assembly where each member would arrive armed with a protest or a mandate that would force him to fight general opinion? (Parliamentary Archives, t. 8: From May 5, 1789 to September 15, 1789, Session of Tuesday, July 7, 1789, p. 204 -What harmony could there be? What would be the Assembly where each member would arrive armed with a protest or a mandate that would force him to fight general opinion? (Parliamentary Archives, t. 8: From May 5, 1789 to September 15, 1789, Session of Tuesday, July 7, 1789, p. 204 -<https://frda.stanford.edu/fr/catalog/bm916nx5550_00_0273>). The Assembly had therefore imposed itself as "the only voice of the general will." On the other hand, the French, because they could not assemble or deliberate in the same place, were considered as incapable of expressing anything other than particularizations of the general will. Just like the professionals of the new theater, who believed that a more realistic performance required a stage without spectators, the representatives of the new National Assembly, by rejecting the imperative mandate, effectively removed political spectators from the stage. Only in this way could they give a portrayal that seemed plausible - a more real portrayal of the actual people for whose benefit they [claimed to be working] ”(Paul Friedland, Parallel Stages. In Colin Jones and Dror Wahrman (eds.),The Age of Cultural Revolutions: Britain and France, 1750-1820, University of California Press, Berkeley, Los Angeles and London, 2002, p. 248).

Lippmann's theory of public opinion took the process even further, by redefining the role of the people in political and public life, or rather by removing their role in them. At home, if there are still political actors, there are no longer political spectators. He "eliminated the public from politics and politics from public life" (Eve Stryker Munson and Catherine A. Warren (eds.), James Carey: A Critical Reader, University of Minnesota Press, Minneapolis and London, 1997, p . 23)

Of course, most individuals are alternately "actors" and "spectators", depending on the circumstances; “Actors”, they are however not in the sense of “people who act”, including in the political or public domain, but in the theatrical and psychological sense; moreover, they cannot be: “The individual has no opinions on public affairs. He does not know how to manage public affairs. He doesn't know what is going on, why it is happening and what should be happening. I do not see how he could know it and there is not the slightest reason to think that […] the ignorance of each of the individuals who make up the mass could constitute a guiding force in public affairs ”(Walter Lippmann, The Phantom Public, Harcourt, Brace and Co., New York, 1925, p. 39); "Spectators", individuals are,or, at any rate, should be, essentially with their own lives. Having stated that any analysis of public opinion must start from the principle that there is "a triangular relation between the scene of the action, the image that man conceives of this scene and the reaction of man to the image that is formed on the scene of the action ”, Lippmann makes this comparison which, apart from his convoluted character, clearly indicates that he envisaged the life of individuals in their“ pseudo-environment ”as a spectacle, more or less private: "A little," he said, "as if it were a play which had been suggested to the actors by their own experience and in which the plot is transacted" into real life. actors and not just on the stage. Ideally, this is a filmed piece, because, he adds,"[The] animated image [the cinema] often happily underlines this double drama between the interior motif and the exterior behavior" (chap. I), which is to say, in passing, accentuates the schizophrenic character of the experience. Comparisons between citizen and film viewer are very frequent in Lippmann's writings. We'll come back to this point.

The political actors themselves are seen more or less as "ghosts". The problems in modern society are of such magnitude and complexity that not only is it impossible for citizens to participate actively in public affairs, but also for politicians to be able to understand and manage them properly and effectively. public affairs. “… Representative government, either in what is commonly called politics or in industry, cannot function properly, whatever the principle of election, without an independent organization of experts who make the facts clear. invisible to those who must make the decisions ”(chap. I). This class of experts is made up of scientists (engineers, statisticians, etc.) and specialists in the human sciences.The expert must be content to give technical advice to the politician, without trying to influence in any way the decision-making, which is up to the politician. The expert - the sentence seems straight out of a treatise on demonology - “is there to represent the invisible. It represents the people who are not voters, the functions of the voters which are not obvious, the events which are out of sight, the dumb, the unborn, the relations between things and people. He has an intangible electoral district ”(chapter XXVI). Isn't the class of experts that Lippmann has in mind an invisible form of government, or rather an intermediate layer between the prominent police class and the real invisible government?prominent and the real government invisible?prominent and the real government invisible?without trying to influence in any way the decision-making, which is up to the politician. The expert - the sentence seems straight out of a treatise on demonology - “is there to represent the invisible. It represents the people who are not voters, the functions of the voters which are not obvious, the events which are out of sight, the dumb, the unborn, the relations between things and people. He has an intangible electoral district ”(chapter XXVI). Isn't the class of experts that Lippmann has in mind an invisible form of government, or rather an intermediate layer between the prominent police class and the real invisible government?without trying to influence in any way the decision-making, which is up to the politician. The expert - the sentence seems straight out of a treatise on demonology - “is there to represent the invisible. It represents the people who are not voters, the functions of the voters which are not obvious, the events which are out of sight, the dumb, the unborn, the relations between things and people. He has an intangible electoral district ”(chapter XXVI). Isn't the class of experts that Lippmann has in mind an invisible form of government, or rather an intermediate layer between the prominent police class and the real invisible government?The expert - the sentence seems straight out of a treatise on demonology - “is there to represent the invisible. It represents the people who are not voters, the functions of the voters which are not obvious, the events which are out of sight, the dumb, the unborn, the relations between things and people. He has an intangible electoral district ”(chapter XXVI). Isn't the class of experts that Lippmann has in mind an invisible form of government, or rather an intermediate layer between the prominent police class and the real invisible government?The expert - the sentence seems straight out of a treatise on demonology - “is there to represent the invisible. It represents the people who are not voters, the functions of the voters which are not obvious, the events which are out of sight, the dumb, the unborn, the relations between things and people. He has an intangible electoral district ”(chapter XXVI). Isn't the class of experts that Lippmann has in mind an invisible form of government, or rather an intermediate layer between the prominent police class and the real invisible government?the relationships between things and people. He has an intangible electoral district ”(chapter XXVI). Isn't the class of experts that Lippmann has in mind an invisible form of government, or rather an intermediate layer between the prominent police class and the real invisible government?relationships between things and people. He has an intangible electoral district ”(chapter XXVI). Isn't the class of experts that Lippmann has in mind an invisible form of government, or rather an intermediate layer between the prominent police class and the real invisible government?

For Lippmann, “[…] public opinion is neither the voice of God nor the voice of society, but the voice of the spectators interested in the action” (Clinton Rossiter and James Lare [eds.], The Essential Lippmann: A Political Philosophy for Liberal Democracy, Harvard University Press, Cambridge, MS, 1982, p. 92). To interest them, you have to inform them and this is where journalism comes in. “The primary responsibility of journalism, according to Lippmann, is to translate the technical discussions and actions of political leaders and experts [who help them make decisions] into language that is understandable to citizens […]” (Tanni Haas, The Pursuit of Public Journalism: Theory, Practice and Criticism, Routledge, 2012, p. 7). Journalists also depend on the knowledge and know-how of these experts,to shape opinion, or, to use Lippmann's famous expression, to organize "the fabrication of consent" (chap. XV). Oddly enough, the Jewish journalist, who had worked as a propagandist for the US administration during World War I, saw the political leader as a better-placed person than the journalist to do propaganda (\*\*\*) and considered that only the government had to do this and it was dangerous to leave it in the hands of "unregulated private companies" (Liberty and the News, Harcourt, Brace and Howe, New York, 1920, p. 5). Yet, says Lippmann, “[t] o carry out propaganda, there must be some barrier between the public and the event. Access to the real environment must be limited,before anyone can create a pseudo-environment that they consider reasonable or desirable ”(chap. II). This “barrier” is constituted by censorship (\*\*\*\*) and is equivalent to the “fourth wall”.

The animated image represents for Lippmann the privileged medium of the “censorship” which journalism must exercise in order to keep the citizen in his role of passive observer of political representation, to keep him in the illusion that he is represented politically. He compares censorship to a "painted screen" (Liberty and the News, p. 12). That "censorship" first involves the broadcasting of visual programs is clear from the precision it brings to the idea, mentioned above, that "[t] o carry out propaganda, there must be a certain barrier between the public and the event ”and that“ [i] access to the real environment must be limited, before anyone can create a pseudo-environment that they consider reasonable or desirable ”:“ [i] i, said he,people who have direct access [to the environment] may misunderstand what they are seeing, no one else can decide how they will misunderstand it, unless one can decide where to look and what to watch ":" where to look and what to watch "and not" what to read "or" what to listen ".

Lippmann congratulates himself on the passivity that exposure to the cinematographic image entails: “Photographs have the same kind of power over the imagination today that the written word had yesterday and the spoken word once. They seem totally real. They come to us, we believe, directly, without human interference, and one cannot conceive of food that is easier for the mind to consume. Any written description or even any fixed image requires an effort to be visualized, while the screen observes for you, describes for you, observes for you, imagines for you, does everything for you ”(chap. VI). And, in the modern world, notes Lippmann, the “stereotypes” that people have “in their heads” are to a large extent, and even to a large extent, increasingly broad,not images designed by the individuals themselves, but images constructed by the media and in particular the cinema.

Thus, with Lippmann, the term "censorship" receives a much broader extension than that which is generally given there and it is precisely for this that he assimilates it to a "barrier" rather than to a filter. Concretely, it is constituted by the “screen”, which, like any surface on which images are projected, “represents a hermetically closed world which unfolds magically, indifferent [as are the theater actors behind the“ fourth wall ”] to the presence of the public, to which he gives a sensation of separation and on the voyeuristic fantasies of which he plays ”(Laura Mulvey,“ Visual Pleasure and Narrative Cinema. ”Film Theory and Criticism: Introductory Readings. Eds. Leo Braudy and Marshall Cohen , Oxford University Press, New York, 1999, p. 835-6). Freudian,Lippmann was aware that one of the fundamental impulses of the human being is the scopic impulse, namely the "pleasure of looking" and by extension, the "pleasure of watching sexual antics" or "another person as a as an erotic object ”, entirely narcissistic pleasure and, characteristic of this emotional state in the modern world, entirely cerebral.

In 1789, the members of the Constituent Assembly had no technology of the type of that of the screen; by the time Lippmann published "Public Opinion", cartoon screenings had become relatively common and enjoyed public favor. The first public live television broadcast was made in London in 1926, and by the end of the 1960s most homes in the “western world” were equipped with televisions. Then came the computer, the laptop, the mobile phone and the “tablet”. Everywhere today is the screen, that is to say, materialized, the "fourth wall".

(\*) “If the principle is clear, the methods of consultation vary: Estates General, Assemblies of Notables, Provincial Estates, these are the most striking. But the isolated orders held assemblies, more or less large until the middle of the seventeenth century; and the Clergy of France held their orderly assembly until the end. On the other hand, the towns which belong to the common state are often consulted by the king and can always send him remonstrances. Likewise, the orders which have a permanent organization can always remonstrate to it and often promptly send their complaints spontaneously […] And so, even after the disappearance of the States General and in countries which no longer had States provincial governments, the government with grand council remains, in another way,practice […] Until the Revolution, very varied grievances, received through the channel of the competent Secretary of State, were examined by the Council and “answered” by the king ”(F.-R. Olivier-Martin, Précis d'Histoire du Droit français, 3rd ed., Librairie Dalloz, Paris, 1938, p. 264. Cited in Dmotri Lavroff, op. Cit., Note 7).

(\*\*) On the decree of June 23, 1789 on the inviolability of Friedland deputies (Parallel Stages. In Colin Jones and Dror Wahrman [eds.], The Age of Cultural Revolutions: Britain and France, 1750-1820, University of California Press, Berkeley, Los Angeles and London, 2002, p. 249) remarks: “Although the principle of inviolability was apparently intended to protect the young assembly against the forces of reaction, critics of the assembly were quick to declare that the principle of inviolability constituted less a protection against the royal troops than a protection against the French people themselves. And so it is that, like theater actors who, on the stage, ignore the spectators on the other side of the fourth wall, the political representatives, freed from the imperative mandate and sheltered behind their wall of inviolability,could pretend [the people] didn't exist. »See, on the subject of the correspondence between democratic representation theory and theatricality, Eric Avocat,“ From theater to theatricality: the parliamentary scene and the plurality of dramaturgical worlds ”. In Dramaturgies of advice and deliberation, Proceedings of the conference organized at the University of Rouen in March 2015, published by Xavier Bonnier and Ariane Ferry.

(c) CÉRÉdI digital publications, “Proceedings of conferences and study days, n ° 16, 2016, available at the following address: <http://ceredi.labos.univ-rouen.fr/public/?du>- theater-a-la-theatralite-la.html , consulted on September 13, 2017.

(\*\*\*) All the more curious - or hypocritical - that, in "Liberty and the News" (Harcourt, Brace and Howe, New York , 1920, pp. 48-9), he rightly declares: “[…] the newspaper is literally the Bible of democracy, the book from which a people derives its conduct. It is the only serious book that most people read. It's the only book they read every day. However, the power to determine each day what will seem important and what should be neglected is a power unique in its kind since the Pope lost his grip on the laity. "

(\*\*\*\*) In "Liberty and the News" (Harcourt, Brace and Howe, New York, 1920, p. 12, - in which Lippmann is moreover very critical of propaganda - the propagandist and the censor are assimilated to each other.

(λ) Kevin Hora, Propaganda and Nation Building: Selling the Irish Free State, Routledge, London and New York, 2017, p. 17.

(μ) Walter Lippmann, Public Opinion, chap. XVXVI .

(ν) Ibid., chap. XV. One of the “important improvements” that Bernays will bring to Lippman's theory of public opinion is that, while Lippmann proposed to the consumer to channel his “unconscious desires”, Bernays will encourage him to release them (see Dominique Trudel, Guerre, communication, public: Walter Lippmann and the emergence of a problem, Doctoral thesis, Université de Montréal, 2013, p. 189).

(ξ) Stuart M. Levy, Public Relations and Integrated Communications, Lotus Press, New Delhi, 2006, p. 2.

(ο) Quoted in Adam Sheingate, Building a Business of Politics: The Rise of Political Consulting and the Transformation of the American Society, Oxford University Press, New York, NY, 2016, p. 52.

(π) René Guénon, The Reign of Quantity and the Signs of the Times, Gallimard, Paris, 1945, p. 168.

(1) The first puppet of the invisible government to have revealed the existence of an "invisible government" was B. Disraeli, it is true in a novel, "Coningsby", in which the Jewish politician and novelist is not afraid to put in the mouth of the Jew Sidonia the following words: "The world is ruled by characters quite different from those by whom people who are not behind the scenes imagine it is ruled" (vol. 2, 1844, p. 204). Theodor Roosevelt is credited with the statement that "[Behind the apparent government lies an invisible government which has not pledged allegiance to the people and accepts no responsibility to them." Destroy this invisible government,to desecrate the holy alliance between corrupt business circles and corrupt political circles is the first mission of a government in our time ”. It was not made by Roosevelt, but by a member of his party, the Progressive Party, during the presidential campaign of 1912 (see An Autobiography by Theodore Roosevelt, The MacMillian Company, New York, NY, 1913) and no. is not as far as it is accorded by many opponents of the so-called "New World Order". Here, "invisible government" does not have the meaning that it has in Bernays or in Disraeli, that is to say, a group of all-powerful people secretly leading a government whose members are only their puppets; the "invisible government" that is referred to by Roosevelt is the set of business lawyers that President Taft,his political opponent, in the White House since 1909, had appointed in his administration and who obviously worked for private capital more than for the "public interest" (O'Toole, Patricia, June 25, 2006, "The War of 1912" , Time Magazine) Rather than an “invisible government” - the average American was aware of the presence of these business lawyers in the Taft administration - it would therefore be appropriate to speak, at the limit, of “government”. in government ”.Time Magazine) Rather than an “invisible government” - the average American was aware of the presence of these business lawyers in the Taft administration - it would therefore be appropriate to speak, at the limit, of “government in the government ".Time Magazine) Rather than an “invisible government” - the average American was aware of the presence of these business lawyers in the Taft administration - it would therefore be appropriate to speak, at the limit, of “government in the government ".

(2) The author has the nerve to act as if the man in the street is aware that the real government of the country is invisible and to attribute to it an intention that, not being aware of it, he could not have. The government that he "voluntarily agreed to let [...] filter information and deal with major issues" is the apparent government, not the invisible.

(3) Could it be out of cynicism that the author confronts the reader with this specious alternative between “propaganda and sophism” on the one hand and, more or less inspired by the Platonic sophocracy, “advice from the wise” d on the other hand and that he assimilates "propaganda" and "sophism"? It is in no way to deceive a people to subject them to propaganda for economic protectionism or to propaganda against colonizing immigration.

(4) There would be a lot to say about the famous “free competition” in practice. We will be satisfied here to point out that Bernays, without realizing it, is not far from "selling the wick", when he speaks paradoxically of "organizing free competition".

(5) The use of the term “cleavages” by an author versed in psychoanalysis to describe a social reality is undoubtedly neither accidental nor innocent, for “cleavage”, in the psychoanalytic jardon, means “coexistence, in within the ego, of two psychic attitudes towards external reality when this comes to thwart an instinctual experience ”and therefore relates to a schizophrenic state.

(6) Apart from the need in which the author finds himself to illustrate his point with long lists of associations of all kinds, he seems to take a malicious pleasure in mixing the most serious with the most fanciful, those of which, eight decades earlier, de Tocqueville (De la Démocratie en Amérique, t. 2, 13th ed., Pagnerre, 1850, p. 120) "[confessed that he] did not even have the idea".

Where Bernays does nothing but note the extent of the associative phenomenon in the United States and its link with democracy, de Tocqueville tries to explain it and it is from these explanations that we will start to try to understand the reason for the success of associations in democracy.

For the French historian, the tendency to form civil associations is one of the necessary consequences of life in a democracy. While “[aristocratic societies always contain in their midst, in the midst of a multitude of individuals who can do nothing on their own, a small number of very powerful and very rich citizens; each of these can carry out large enterprises on its own ”; that "[i] n aristocratic societies, men do not need to unite in order to act because they are held together strongly" and that "[every citizen, rich and powerful, forms there like the head of a permanent and forced association which is made up of all those whom it holds in its dependence and which it makes contribute to the execution of its designs ”, well,“ | c} hez democratic peoples, on the contrary,all citizens are independent and weak; they can hardly do anything on their own, and none of them can oblige his fellows to lend him their assistance. They all therefore fall into powerlessness if they do not learn to help each other freely ”. Under these conditions, de Tocqueville envisioned associations as one of the antidotes to the various evils of democracy that he had identified, in particular individualism (ibid., P. 121) (understood in the sense of "a reflective and peaceful feeling which disposes of each citizen to isolate himself from the mass of his fellows and to retire apart with his family and friends; so that, after having thus created a small society for his own use, he willingly abandons the large society to itself ”[ibid., p. 110]) and, from the point of view of institutions, centralization. In short,he saw associations as so many checks and balances against the centralizing state. Ironically, it is the State, in the United States as in France (think of the 1901 law relating to the association contract), which, from the beginning of the 20th century, has continued to boost the development of associative sector; in France, where the Republic had conflicting relations with associations since the Revolution, the legalization of the associative act under the Third Republic served to channel the workers' movement, while solidarism, developed by the radical deputy Léon Bourgeois in his work " Solidarity "(1896)," deeply contributed to establishing the legitimacy of the new Republic ", by spreading the conception according to which" [t] he citizens are not, first of all, the holders of political sovereignty,but first and foremost solidarity associates ”(Philippe Chanial,“ The Republic, the social question and the association. Associationism, solidarism and socialism at the turn of the 19th century ”, Les Annales de la recherche urbaine, 2001, vol. 89, no. 1, [p. 6-14], p. 8).

To a certain extent, association has appeared since that time at least as an extension, or even an instrument, of democratic power, characterized by two phenomena: proliferation and infinite duplication.

The first is so well known that it is useless to dwell on it. A few numbers will suffice. In France, there are today more than one million three hundred thousand associations, more than thirteen thousand of them were born in 1975, nearly fifty miles in 1985, more than seventy thousand are carried on the baptismal font for the Republic every year since 1999. More than one in two French people is a member of one or more associations (see Charles Debbasch and Jacques Bourdon, Les associations, PUF, coll. “Que sais-je?”, no. 2209, Paris, 2006). The figures are proportionally roughly the same in all Western countries, although a number of sad records in this area are held by France.

The second phenomenon seems to be of little interest to researchers. At the time when de Tocqueville wrote "On Democracy in America", as numerous as the associations were in the United States, none duplicated at the same level, regional or national. There might be, for example, an American association of photoengravers and, in every state of the United States, an association of photoengravers, but there were not twelve American associations of photoengravers, nor, in each state, twelve associations. of photoengravers. Not only did associations proliferate as the types of interests, work, and hobbies multiplied, but associations with identical goals soon proliferated. For example, in the United States there are thousands of associations for the disabled - in France,they are more than one thousand three hundred -, of which only a part is specialized in a particular handicap, while the treatment of the same given handicap can be the declared goal of several tens of associations.

Besides the one offered by Tocquevile, there are two main reasons for the proliferation of associations. One is psychological, the other material. This is vanity; the latter, money, which he saw clearly as the great passion of "democratic peoples" (Alexis de Tocqueville, op. cit., p. 256).

“The great skill of leaders […] is to make people believe that they are governing themselves; and the people allow themselves to be persuaded all the more readily because they are flattered by it and, moreover, they are incapable of thinking enough to see what is impossible there. It is to create this illusion that “universal suffrage” was invented ”(René Guénon, La Crise du Monde Moderne, Gallimard, Paris, 1927, p. 88). Of all the low feelings, vanity is perhaps the one that in a democracy they seek to flatter the most; this is because, as de Tocqueville has also clearly seen (op. cit, p. 254), vanity, among "democratic peoples", is "restless and insatiable"; that it is "the predominant essence in the blood of all French people" (Play and official acts of the monitor, 1st part, Saturday April 15, 1815, Paris, 1815, p.427) is perhaps no stranger to the fact that, another sad record, France has nearly one million five hundred thousand (association) presidents. The sense of self-satisfaction and the self-indulgent display of the desire to appear find a powerful stimulus in the performance of such a function and, as far as white French "presidents" are concerned, more than compensate for the feeling of racial guilt. that the mass media maintain in them.As far as white French “presidents” are concerned, they more than compensate for the feeling of racial guilt that the mass media have in them.As far as white French “presidents” are concerned, they more than compensate for the feeling of racial guilt that the mass media have in them.

Hunting for subsidies is one of the main activities of associations (see Didier Minot, Citizens associations for tomorrow, CL Mayer, 2013, p. 256). It is open most of the year. According to the figures, false by definition, since they are published on "government" sites, in France, around thirty billion euros in subsidies are granted annually by the "State" and "local communities"; "No more", we assure you without laughing, 20 to 25 percent of associations share the cake (see, about this scourge, <http://www.observatoiredesgaspillages.com/2013/03/enquete>- on-the-scandal-of-grants-to-associations ; <https://www.lecercledesliberaux.com/?p=4872>): those who have their tickets at the Town Hall. In general, one will object that the associative sector is a source of jobs: associations effectively employ nearly two million full-time or part-time employees, of which, “parity” requires, 70% of women. To this objection, we will answer that these two million subsidized jobs are hideouts that can only exist in an essentially parasitic economy and that, in an economy based on an industrial capitalism framed by the State, these two million workers would be employed. productively in the truly economic sectors which, today necrotized by the action of an illegitimate political power at the orders of international high finance and stateless, would be rebuilt, in a country which,led by national forces with a racialist backbone, would have regained its independence.

Even if these figures were correct, the fact remains that the subsidy interventionism specific to the Republic is fueling the pathological multiplication of associations. To take the example of the United States, from the 1930s onwards, the government encouraged the proliferation of non-governmental organizations even more than before through direct and indirect subsidies, so much so that between 1950 and 1968 the number of publicly funded charities rose from 12,500 to over 250,000, to limit us to those that were tax-exempt, to reach 1.5 million at the end of the twentieth century (Peter Dobkin Hall, A Historical Overview of Philanthropy, Voluntary Associations, and Nonprofit Organizations in the United States, 1600–2000, p. 51 -<http://earthfolk.net/pathB/voluntarysocieties.pdf> ).

From the exponential multiplication of associations it should have resulted, if de Tocqueville's analysis had been completely correct, a decline in individualism, a stronger social cohesion and a rebalancing of the balance of power constituting democracy between the populace and its pseudo-leaders. However, it is just the opposite that happened. There is strength in union, only to the extent that the people who join together for a determined goal are strong and join forces, their forces; the addition of weaknesses, however numerous they may be, has never been a strength. The weakness of the democratic man, according to de Tocqueville, lies in his isolation. Democracy, because, by making citizens seemingly independent, it isolates them from one another, atomizes the social body.What de Tocqueville did not see is that democracy has a tendency to atomize everything that is within it, including the associative body. “Each is locked into its own action […] Associations are like hundreds of thousands of islands of democracy and shared life in the middle of a great ocean of anonymity, each isolated from the others” (Didier Minot, op . cit.). Therefore, individualism, which the fact of belonging to an association would make pass to the latent state in each of its members, is transferred, in the quasi-psychoanalytic sense, to the association, The tendency of citizens to associate with a view to this or that determined goal is reflected in group individualism.“Each is locked into its own action […] Associations are like hundreds of thousands of islands of democracy and shared life in the middle of a great ocean of anonymity, each isolated from the others” (Didier Minot, op . cit.). Therefore, individualism, which the fact of belonging to an association would make pass to the latent state in each of its members, is transferred, in the quasi-psychoanalytic sense, to the association, The tendency of citizens to associate with a view to this or that determined goal is reflected in group individualism.“Each is locked into its own action […] Associations are like hundreds of thousands of islands of democracy and shared life in the middle of a great ocean of anonymity, each isolated from the others” (Didier Minot, op . cit.). Therefore, individualism, which the fact of belonging to an association would make pass to the latent state in each of its members, is transferred, in the quasi-psychoanalytic sense, to the association, The tendency of citizens to associate with a view to this or that determined goal is expressed by group individualism.that the fact of belonging to an association would make pass to the latent state in each of its members, is transferred, in the quasi-psychoanalytic sense, to the association, The tendency of citizens to associate with a view to such or such determined goal is reflected in group individualism.that the fact of belonging to an association would make pass to the latent state in each of its members, is transferred, in the quasi psychoanalytic sense, to the association, The tendency of citizens to associate with a view to such or such determined goal is reflected in group individualism.

(7) The expression "The Four Hundred" was coined by an arbiter of New York elegance named Samuel Ward McAllister (1827 –1895). According to him, it was the number of people that really mattered in New York City (see Edward Morris, Rogues and Heroes of Newport's Gilded Age, The History Press, Charleston, SC, 2012).

(8) “Booboisie” is a word made up of “ boob ” (“idiot”) and “ bourgeoisie ”, which means “social class made up of ignorant and uneducated people.

(9) Bernays has obviously forgotten that he had just recalled a few lines above that this mechanism did not exist in the pre-revolutionary era, when society was founded on the village community.