

*Fanaticism,
Dogmatism &
Ideological
Thinking*

~~~~~

*Over 1,050 Selected Quotations for the  
Ideological Skeptic*

*ISBN 0-9761337-1-7*

*Compiled by  
Laird Wilcox  
www.lairdwilcox.com*

*(lwilcox3@aol.com)*

*2005*

# Foreword

These quotations come from a wide variety of sources, primarily previous collections I have authored or coauthored, most particularly, *Selected Quotations for the Ideological Skeptic*, (Editorial Research Service, 1992). *Be Reasonable: Selected Quotations for Inquiring Minds*, by Laird Wilcox and John George (Prometheus, 1994), and *The Degeneration of Belief*, (Editorial Research Service, 1999). Other sources include my own notes, quotations sent to me by friends, internet searching, and the reading of a very large number of books.

It's important to bear in mind that quotations are, almost by definition, statements removed from their original context, i.e., brief statements taken from an often vastly larger work. Even in cases where the quotation is brief, to the point and matter-of-fact, the larger work may frame it in a particular way that might get lost or muted when considered apart from it. In addition, people are often inconsistent. A person may say one thing in a particular work and then say something quite the opposite in another, or sometimes even the same work.

Another factor to consider is state of mind. I have heard writers say, "I knew what I was thinking when I wrote that," implying that it was somehow different from what the statement appears to mean now when read by others, perhaps of a different persuasion. People are often inconsistent in their beliefs and double standards often appear in their writings. For example, a person may defend freedom of expression and write glowing statements in its behalf, and then advocate denying that same freedom when it is claimed by a hated person or group. Politicians are particularly prone to this distressing behavior.

Having said all of this, nevertheless the vast majority of quotations in this volume do, in fact, mean what they appear to say in plain language. However, it's important to realize that there may be cases in which the author or others may dispute this. My advice is this: if you are going to use a quote from this volume in an important way, i.e., in an academic thesis or dissertation or in work for publication, it may be to your advantage to go to the original source and determine its suitability and/or accuracy for yourself.

**Fair Use Notice:** This compilation contains copyrighted quotations the use of which has not always been specifically authorized by the copyright holder. I am making these quotations available in an effort to advance understanding of political, social, philosophical, legal and scientific issues. I believe this constitutes a "fair use" of any such copyrighted quotations as provided for in section 107 of the U. S. Copyright Law. In accordance with Title 17 U.S.C. Section 107 the quotations in this compilation are distributed without profit to those who have expressed a prior interest in receiving the information for research and educational purposes. For further information please go to the web site maintained by the Cornell University School of Law: [law/cornell.edu/uscode/17/107](http://law/cornell.edu/uscode/17/107). If you wish to use copyrighted material from this compilation for purposes of your own that go beyond 'fair use', you must obtain permission from the copyright holder.

Laird Wilcox



Laird Wilcox - 2005

# ***Fanaticism, Dogmatism & Ideological Thinking***

## **~A~**

1. I have noted that persons with bad judgment are most insistent that we do what they think best. LIONEL ABEL (1911-2001), *Important Nonsense*, 1986.
2. Fanaticism in religion is the alliance of the passions she condemns with the dogmas she professes. LORD ACTON (1834-1902).
3. Power tends to corrupt, and absolute power corrupts absolutely. Great men are almost always bad men... There is no worse heresy than that the office sanctifies the holder of it. LORD ACTON (1834-1902), *Letter to Mandell Creighton*, April 1887.
4. Patriotism is in political life what faith is in religion, and it stands to the domestic feelings and to homesickness as faith to fanaticism and to superstition. LORD ACTON (1834-1902), *The Home and Foreign Review*, July 1832.
5. I am more and more convinced that man is a dangerous creature, and that power, whether vested in many or a few, is ever grasping, and like the grave, cries, "Give, Give!" ABIGAIL ADAMS (1744-1818), *Letter to John Adams*, 27 November 1775.
6. Modern politics is, at bottom, a struggle not of men but of forces. The men become every year more and more creatures of force, massed around central powerhouses. HENRY BOOKS ADAMS (1838-1918), *The Education of Henry Adams*, 1907.
7. The effect of power and publicity on all men is the aggravation of self, a sort of tumor that ends by killing the victim's sympathies. HENRY BROOKS ADAMS (1838-1918), *The Education of Henry Adams*, 1907.
8. Ideologists do not speak of themselves as developing doctrine or dogma; for one of the rules of the game, so to speak, is the presentation of belief as objective knowledge where demonstration is adequate and faith unnecessary. But ideologists do develop doctrine just as theologians do; only they call it "theory." IAN ADAMS, *The Logic Of Political Belief*, 1989.
9. To be possessed of a set of political beliefs, an ideology, is to understand the word in a certain way. And to have an understanding is to be master of a vocabulary, to be able to apply it appropriately. Each of the various sets of political beliefs -- Liberalism, Nazism, Marxism and the rest -- has a distinctive vocabulary of its own. IAN ADAMS, *The Logic of Political Belief*, 1989.
10. Ideology is inseparable from totalitarianism, which is the antithesis of all the Liberal holds dear, embodying the very opposite of liberty, tolerance and rationality, of enlightenment and progress. An ideology is a 'closed' system of ideas which inevitably leads to a 'closed society' in which freedom has no place. IAN ADAMS, *The Logic of Political Belief*, 1989.
11. It is weakness rather than wickedness that renders men unfit to be trusted with unlimited power. JOHN ADAMS (1735-1826), U. S. President, 1788.

12. Despotism, or unlimited sovereignty, or absolute power, is the same in a majority of a popular assembly, an aristocratic council, and oligarchical junta, or a single emperor. JOHN ADAMS (1735-1826), U. S. President, *Letter to Thomas Jefferson*, 13 November 1815.
13. The jaws of power are always open to devour, and her arm is always stretched out, if possible, to destroy the freedom of thinking, speaking, and writing. JOHN ADAMS (1735-1826), U. S. President, 1765.
14. We may observe the behavior of some of the most zealous for orthodoxy, who have often great friendships and intimacies with vicious and immoral men, provided they do but agree with them in the same scheme of belief. JOSEPH ADDISON (1672-1719), *The Spectator*, 1714.
15. Ambition raises a secret tumult in the soul; it inflames the mind, and pits it into a violent hurry of thought. JOSEPH ADDISON (1672-1719), *The Spectator*, December 24, 1711.
16. Dogma is the convictions of one man imposed authoritatively upon others. FELIX ADLER (1851-1933).
17. Obstinacy, standing alone is the weakest of all things, in one whose mind is not possessed by wisdom. AESCHYLUS (525-456 B.C.).
18. From a “pragmatic” point of view, political philosophy is a monster, and wherever it has been taken seriously, the consequence, almost invariably, has been revolution, war, and eventually, the police state. HENRY DAVID AIKEN, *Commentary*, April 1964.
19. What [Marx and Engles] ... called “ideology” includes not only the theory of knowledge and politics, but also metaphysics, ethics, religion, and indeed any “form of consciousness” which expresses the basic attitudes or commitments of a social class. HENRY DAVID AIKEN, quoted in *The Age Of Ideology: The Nineteenth Century Philosophers*, 1956.
20. Nothing is more dangerous than an idea, when a man has only one idea. ALAIN (1868- 1951), *Propos sur la religion*, 1938.
21. He has the courage of his conviction and the intolerance of his courage. He is opposed to the death penalty for murder, but he would willingly have anyone electrocuted who disagreed with him on the subject. THOMAS BAILY ALDRICH (1836-1907), *Ponkapog Papers*, 1903.
22. Wherever possible, go outside the experience of the enemy. Here you want to cause confusion, fear and retreat. SAUL ALINSKY (1909-1972), *Rules for Radicals*, 1972.
23. In order to understand “ideological thinking,” we must first grasp the importance of the ideology’s claim to “knowledge.” The fear of moving into an unknown future forms the attraction to the ideology... [The prime function of] an ideology...is to explain every thing and every occurrence by deducing it from the premise of ideology. It seeks to make itself the method of knowing the world. This is a magnetic claim to “knowledge” which attracts the individual because the ideology makes thinking necessary. WAYNE ALLEN, *The World and I*, 1989.
24. The presence of fear mixed with hatred animates the followers of all ideologies and totalizing theories. Thematic hostility toward outside the ideology is justified on the grounds of self-preservation. All outsiders are seen as potential enemies. WAYNE ALLEN, *The World and I*, 1989.
25. No fact of cult life is more important, when it comes to successful indoctrination of new members, that its isolation. Anyone who enters the inner recesses of a cult soon realizes that what is being left behind is the world as we know it. GERALD ALPER, *The Puppeteer: Studies of Obsessive Control*, 1994.

26. A cult represents a compromise against a threatened psychotic loss of reality: one the one hand, it denies or loses...an unbearable outer reality; on the other hand, it reinvents it in a manner that, (unlike with the psychotic), elicits considerable and comforting consensual validation. GERALD ALPER, *The Puppeteer: Studies of Obsessive Control*, 1994.
27. [Ideology refers to] 1. The body of doctrine, myth, and symbols of a social movement, institution, class, or large group. 2. Such a body of doctrine, etc., with reference to some political and cultural plan, as that of fascism, along with the devices for putting it into operation. 3. *Philos*: A. the science of ideas. B. a system which derives ideas exclusively from sensation. 4. Theorizing of a visionary of unpractical nature. AMERICAN COLLEGE DICTIONARY, 1947.
28. Action and faith enslave thought. Both of them in order not to be troubled by reflection, criticism and doubt. HENRI FREDERIC AMIEL (1821-1881), *Journal*.
29. There is an illusion of central position, justifying one's own purposes as right and everybody else's as wrong, and providing a proper degree of paranoia. Righteous ends, thus approved, absolve of guilt the most violent means. HENRI FREDERIC AMIEL (1821-1881), *Journal*.
30. Man never knows what he wants; he aspires to penetrate mysteries and as soon as he has, he wants to reestablish them. Ignorance irritates him and knowledge cloy. HENRI FREDERIC AMIEL (1821-1881), *Journal*, 1884.
31. We are always making God our accomplice so that we may legalize our own inequities. Every successful massacre is consecrated by a *Te Deum*, and the clergy have never been wanting in benedictions for any victorious enormity. HENRI FREDERIC AMIEL (1821-1881), *Journal*, 1866.
32. Theory; when you have ideas. Ideology; when ideas have you. ANONYMOUS.
33. [All human beings] are born from the state, sustained by the state and brought up in the history and traditions of the state. Individuals can only exist as links in an infinite and vast chain of life called the state... Individuals participate in the highest and greatest value when they serve the states as parts of it. The highest life for the Japanese subject is to offer him in perfect loyalty to the imperial throne so that he may participate in its glorious life. ANONYMOUS, *The Way of the Subject*, 1941, quoted in *Tokyo Record* (Otto Tolischus), 1943.
34. In part, the totalitarian state is sustained because individuals terrorize themselves – they become accomplices in their own tyrannization, censoring what they say and even what they allow themselves to think and feel. WILLA APPEL, *Cults In America: Programmed For Paradise*, 1983.
35. Ideology and outrage have affinities, which reflect something of what men claim to strive for even when their thinking is contrived and dull. The vaguest of ideologies can be made to shine in the reflected glow of moral indignation. DAVID E. APTER, *Ideology and Discontent*, 1964.
36. Powerful ideologies and creative ideologists ... do much to enlarge the role of the individual. That is why the role of ideology is central to the thinking of revolutionaries. Working out an ideology is for them a way of stipulating the moral superiority of new ideas. DAVID E. APTER, *Ideology and Discontent*, 1964.
37. There is an illusion of central position, justifying one's own purposes as right and everybody else's as wrong, and providing a proper degree of paranoia. Righteous ends, thus approved, absolve of guilt the most violent means. ROBERT ARDREY (1908-1980).
38. The most radical revolutionary will become a conservative the day after the revolution. HANNAH ARENDT (1906-1975), *The New Yorker*, 12 September 1970.
39. In ideology is quite literally what its name indicates; it is the logic of an idea... The ideology treats the course of events as though it followed the same "law" as the logical exposition of its "idea."

HANNAH ARENDT (1906-1975), *The Origins of Totalitarianism*, 1973.

40. Revolutions do not make revolutionaries. The revolutionaries are those who know when power is lying in the street and they can pick it up. Armed uprising by itself has never yet led to revolution. HANNAH ARENDT (1906-1975).
41. Totalitarianism is never content to rule by external means, namely, through the state and a machinery of violence; thanks to its particular ideology and the role assigned to it in this apparatus of coercion, totalitarianism has discovered a means of dominating and terrorizing human beings from within. HANNAH ARENDT (1906-1975), *The Origins of Totalitarianism*, 1951.
42. Angry men are blind and foolish, for reason at such a time takes flight and, in her absence, wrath plunders all the riches of the intellect, while the judgment remains the prisoner of its pride. PIETRO ARETINO (1492-1556), *Letter*, 1537.
43. Agitators are like those who fish for eels. When the water is tranquil they catch nothing, but if they stir up the mud they make a haul. ARISTOPHANES (455-322 B.C.).
44. Revolutions in democracies are mainly the work of demagogues. Partly by persecuting men of property and partly by arousing the master against them, they induce them to unite, for a common fear brings even enemies together. ARISTOTLE (384-322 B.C.), *Politics*.
45. The paranoid is a person who at first is possessed by an ... impelling need to believe in something which is not supported by ordinary logic. What he must believe in is of threat importance to him. For this belief re-creates a meaning to his life....The paranoid starts by accepting some premises as undeniable truths. These truths, however, have to be defended by uncovering hidden connections and by discovering a plan, a plot, or a structure which was not apparent. SILVANO ARIETI, *The Intrapsychic Self*, 1967.
46. If tolerance is born of doubt, let us teach everyone to doubt all the models and utopias, to challenge all the prophets of redemption and the heralds of catastrophe. RAYMOND ARON (1905-1983), *The Opium of the Intellectuals*, 1962.
47. The fact that so many hypotheses are necessary to reconcile a theory with the facts should persuade one to abandon the theory itself. RAYMOND ARON (1905-1983), *The Opium of the Intellectuals*, 1962.
48. The intellectual who no longer feels attached to anything is not satisfied with opinion merely; he wants certainty, he wants a system. The revolution provides him with his opium. RAYMOND ARON (1905-1983), *The Great Debate*, 1965.
49. Intellectuals cannot tolerate the chance event, the unintelligible: they have a nostalgia for the absolute, for a universally comprehensive scheme. RAYMOND ARON (1905-1983), *The Great Debate*, 1965.
50. The Christian opium makes the people passive, the Communist opium invites them to revolt. RAYMOND ARON (1905-1983), *The Great Debate*, 1965.
51. The myth of the Revolution serves as a refuge for utopian intellectuals; it becomes the mysterious, unpredictable intercessor between the real and the ideal. RAYMOND ARON (1905-1983), *The Great Debate*, 1965.
52. Often beliefs that we hold are never called into question; when they are not, it is relatively easy for us to lose sight of why we hold them. Thus, if subjected to severe attack, such beliefs may crumble. ELLIOT ARONSON, *The Social Animal*, 1976.
53. Fanaticism is a more powerful combatant than avarice. GERTRUDE ATHERTON (1857-1948), *Doomswoman*, 1892.

54. The most fatal illusion is the settled point of view. Since life is growth and motion, a fixed point of view kills anybody who has one. BROOKS ATKINSON (1894-1984), *Once Around The Sun*, 1951.
55. Where so many hours have been spent in convincing myself that I am right, is there not some reason to fear I may be wrong? JANE AUSTIN (1775-1817).
56. The function of the boarding schools increasingly will be to withdraw all children from parental influence and place their “upbringing” under the complete role of the regime. ... The boarding schools, in other words, represent the beginning of an attempt to eliminate the family as a significant agency of political socialization and as a final, natural...limit to the consolidation of totalitarian power. They represent a decisive attempt to lay the basis for the establishment of a “consensual” or “popular” totalitarianism. JEREMY R. AZRAEL, “Soviet Union,” in *Education and Political Development* (James S. Coleman, ed), 1968.
57. Thinkers prepare the revolution, bandits carry it out. MARIONO AZUELA (1873-1952), *The Flies*, 1918.

## ~B~

58. I guess I have been to over a hundred of these wonderful evenings. Beautiful people. Soft. Gentle. Spiritual. Visionary. Fascinating. But underlying all of this beauty lurks a darkness, only thinly veiled by beatific platitudes of sweetness. I call this beast New Age Fundamentalism, a belief that I am right and everyone else is wrong, stupid or evil; a belief that I represent the forces of light and goodness, while everyone else is duped by the forces of evil. JOHN BABBS, in *Meeting The Shadow* (C. Zweig and J. Abrams), 1991.
59. In every age Natural Philosophy had a troublesome adversary and hard to deal with; namely, superstition, and the blind and immoderate zeal of religion. SIR FRANCIS BACON (1561-1626), *Novum Organum*, 1620.
60. Man prefers to believe what he prefers to be true. SIR FRANCIS BACON (1561-1626), *Aphorisms*, 1625.
61. A man that hath no virtue in himself, ever envieth virtue in others ... and whoso is out of hope to attain another’s virtue, will seek to come at even hand by depressing another’s fortune. ... Deformed persons, and eunuchs, and old men, and bastards are envious. For he that cannot possibly mend his own case will do what he can to impair another’s. SIR FRANCIS BACON (1561-1626), “Of Envy,” *The Philosophical Works of Francis Bacon* (John M. Robertson), 1970.
62. So long as there are earnest believers in the world, they will always wish to punish opinions, even if their judgment tells them it unwise, and their conscience it is wrong. WALTER BAGEHOT (1826-1877), *Literary Studies*, 1879.
63. The whole history of civilization is strewn with creeds and institutions that were invaluable at first, and deadly afterward. WALTER BAGEHOT (1826-1877), *Physics and Politics*, 1869.
64. True believers in one ideology have trouble communicating with those of a different persuasion and often seem not to be trying to understand any position other than their own: at the level of debate the end up, whatever the façade of reason, essentially shouting slogans and abuse. F. G. BAILEY, *The Prevalence of Deceit*, 1991.
65. It should be remembered that there has been in Marxism a continued, if often disputed, insistence on superior people, the “vanguard,” who would provide progressive leadership for a working class incapable of working for, even of knowing, its own best interests. F. G. BAILEY, *The Prevalence of Deceit*, 1991.

66. Usually, terrible things that are done with the excuse the progress requires them are not really progress at all, but just terrible things. RUSSELL BAKER.
67. Intellectual slavery, of whatever nature it may be, will always have as a natural result both political and social slavery. MIKHAIL A. BAKUNIN (1814-1876), *Federalism, Socialism and Anti-Theologism*, 1868.
68. Our first work must be the annihilation of everything as it now exists. The old world must be destroyed and replaced by a new one. When you have freed your mind from the fear of God, and that childish respect for the fiction of right, then all the remaining chains that bind you -- property, marriage, morality, and justice -- will snap asunder like threads. MIKHAIL A. BAKUNIN (1814-1876), *God and the State*, 1882.
69. The state is force incarnate, its essence is command and compulsion. MIKHAIL A. BAKUNIN (1814-1876), *God and the State*, 1882.
70. Until now all human history has been only a perpetual and blood immolation of millions of poor human beings in honor of some pitiless abstraction -- God, country, power of State, national honor, historical, judicial rights, political liberty, public welfare. MIKHAIL A. BAKUNIN (1814-1876), *God and the State*, 1882.
71. No one is more dangerous than he who imagines himself pure in heart; for his purity, by definition, is unassailable. JAMES BALDWIN (1924-1987), *Nobody Knows My Name*, 1961.
72. It is unfortunate, considering that enthusiasm moves the world, that so few enthusiasts can be trusted to speak the truth. ARTHUR BALFOUR (1848-1930), 1918.
73. The symptomology indicated by rightist and leftist discontent may hold out promise for an eventual revolutionary cure, but it also suggests the pathology of fascism. The danger is not simply that rebellion may invite repression.... The danger is that the rebels are themselves driven by needs for which fascism provides one kind of answer. BENJAMIN R. BARBER, "The Revolution As Reality: Common Man and the Future of Democracy, *Modern Occasions*, Spring 1971.
74. Our ideals and our aspirations must be cut close enough to the pattern of the actual to give hope the aspect of the possible. Without noble ambitions, we are yoked to the present as bequeathed to us by a burdensome and deterministic past; yet with a too exalted ambition, we are bound to be disappointed, and, what is worse, in political terms, we are likely to transform our impatience and frustration into a dictatorship in the name of the good. BENJAMIN BARBER, "An Epitaph For Marxism", *Society*, November/December 1995.
75. Almost by definition, charismatic leaders are unpredictable, for they are bound by neither tradition nor rules; they are not answerable to other human beings. EILEEN BARKER, *New Religious Movements*, 1992.
76. That's the worst of acting on principle ... one begins thinking of one's attitude instead of the use of what one is doing. HARLEY GRANVILLE BARKER (1877-1946).
77. The principle of ideological interpretation of cultural and intellectual life is to deny the autonomy of mind and the existence of universal truths. HANS BARTH, *Truth and Ideology*, 1976.
78. The mere mention of the word 'conspiracy' seems to set off an internal alarm bell which causes scholars to close their minds... So strong is this prejudice among academics that even when clear evidence of a plot is inadvertently discovered in the course of their own research, they frequently feel compelled, either out of a sense of embarrassment or a desire to defuse anticipated criticism, to preface their account of it by ostentatiously disclaiming a belief in conspiracies. JEFFREY M. BALE, "Conspiracy Theories and Clandestine Politics," *Lobster* 29, June 1995.

79. [Fanaticism is] that which is founded on pride and which glories in persecution. CESARE BECCARIA (1738-1794), *On Crimes and Punishments*, 1764.
80. The idea of death, the fear of it, haunts the human animal like nothing else; it is a mainspring of human activity -- activity designed largely to avoid the fatality of death, to overcome it by denying...it. ERNEST BECKER (1925-1974), *The Denial of Death*, 1973.
81. The simple fact is that we live in an impersonal world. ... our lives are subject to complete catastrophe by the simplest accident, the merest chance occurrence. This is the thing we can't stand. ... And this is the heart of much paranoia for the sensitive soul: he can't stand the impersonality of evil. He wants motives and living power behind the fateful events. ERNEST BECKER (1925-1974), *Angel in Armor*, 1975.
82. One of the major consequences of a successful crusade, of course, is the establishment of a new rule or set of rules, usually with the appropriate enforcement machinery. ... [The crusader] becomes a professional discoverer of wrongs to be righted... HOWARD S. BECKER, *Outsiders: Studies in the Sociology of Deviance*, 1963.
83. Just as radical political movements turn into organized political parties and lusty evangelical sects become staid religious denominations, the final outcome of the moral crusade is a police force. To understand, therefore, how the rules creating a new class of outsiders are applied to particular people, we must understand the motives and interests of police, the rule enforcers. ... The enforcer, then, may not be interested in the content of the rule as such, but only in the fact that the existence of the rule provides him with a job, a profession, and a *raison d'être*. HOWARD S. BECKER, *Outsiders: Studies in the Sociology of Deviance*, 1963.
84. Doctrine is nothing but the skin of truth set up and stuffed. HENRY WARD BEECHER (1813-1887), *Life Thoughts*.
85. They are not reformers who simply abhor evil. Such men become in the end abhorrent themselves. HENRY WARD BEECHER (1813-1887), *Life Thoughts*, 1858.
86. You cannot make a man by standing a sheep on its hindlegs. But by standing a flock of sheep in that position you can make a crowd of men. MAX BEERBOHM (1872-1956), *Zuleka Dobson*.
87. Beliefs exist to "correct" reality, and to the extent that reality is -- or represents -- the truth, beliefs are necessarily a variant of lies. Our need to believe becomes dominant precisely where our knowledge of reality is either insufficient or unpleasant or both. It should come as no surprise to us that (people) use their systems of belief as congenial forms of denying crucial truths. M. BELDOCH, "On Liars and Lying," *Salmagundi* 29, Spring 1975.
88. A social movement can rouse people when it can do three things: simplify ideas, establish a claim to truth, and, in the union of the two, demand a commitment to action. Thus, not only does ideology transform ideas, it transforms people as well. DANIEL BELL, *The End of Ideology*, 1960.
89. A total ideology is an all-inclusive system of comprehensive reality, it is a set of beliefs, infused with passion, and seeks to transform the whole of a way of life. This commitment to ideology -- the yearning for a "cause," or the satisfaction of deep moral feelings -- is not necessarily the reflection of interests in the shape of ideas. Ideology, in this sense, and in the sense that we use it here, is a secular religion. DANIEL BELL, *The End of Ideology*, 1960.
90. The way you hold beliefs is more important than what you hold. If somebody's been a rigid Communist, he becomes a rigid anti-Communist -- the rigidity being the constant. DANIEL BELL, quoted in *Christian Science Monitor*, 12 March 1990.
91. What gives ideology its force is its passion. Abstract philosophical inquiry has always sought to

eliminate passion.... For the ideologue, truth arises in action, and meaning is given to experience by the “transforming moment.” He comes alive not in contemplation, but in “the deed.” One might say, in fact, that the most important, latent, function of ideology is to tap emotion. DANIEL BELL, *The End Of Ideology*, 1960.

92. Another consequence of this primitive form of splitting of good and evil to which Americans have been so prone is the notion that the good, being good, can do no evil. Any action taken against groups seen to be evil is justified, for the good can have only good ends in view. ROBERT N. BELLAH, in *Sanctions for Evil* (Sanford and Comstock), 1971.
93. In every community there is a class of people profoundly dangerous to the rest. I don't mean the criminals. For them we have punitive sanctions. I mean the leaders. Invariably the most dangerous people seek the power. SAUL BELLOW, *Herzog*, 1964.
94. There are few catastrophes so great and irremediable as those that follow an excess of zeal. R. H. BENSON (1871-1914).
95. Among the several cloudy appellatives which have been commonly employed as cloaks for misgovernment, there is none more conspicuous in this atmosphere of illusion than the word Order. JEREMY BENTHAM (1748-1832), *The Book of Fallacies*, 1824.
96. Perhaps a new century is beginning, a century in which the intellectuals and the cultivated class will dream of the means of avoiding utopias and returning to a non-utopian society, less “perfect” and more free. NICHOLAS BERDYAEV (1874-1948).
97. As a religion, Marxism is a secularized form of the idea of predestination. NICHOLAS BERDYAEV (1874-1948), *The Realm of Spirit and the Realm of Caesar*, 1952.
98. Intellectuals have a dangerous facility to imagine themselves occupying the seats of power in the wake of, so to speak, the revolution of the choice. With revolutionaries as with generals, one ought to beware of those who manage to philosophize about their lust for battle.... PETER L. BERGER, *Pyramids of Sacrifice: Political Ethics and Social Change*, 1974.
99. Revolutionary warfare (contrary to the ideology of revolutionary intellectuals) is very largely not a matter of “winning the hearts and minds of the people,” but rather a competition as to which side can make more people afraid of it. PETER L. BERGER, *Pyramids of Sacrifice: Political Ethics and Social Change*, 1974.
100. Ideal goals lead to endless frustration and exaggerate the hostilities that are no longer supposed to be present, all under the guise of creating “a new heaven and a new earth.” JOSEPH H. BERKE, *The Tyranny Of Malice*, 1988.
101. Ultimately egalitarianism leads to the idealization of the State. The contradiction is that when people try to solve the problems of life by imbuing the State or party or collective with omnipotent maternal (and paternal) powers, their greed and envy tend to turn toward these entities, too. JOSEPH H. BERKE, *The Tyranny Of Malice*, 1988.
102. Herd transactions are popular because they allow negative feelings to be disguised, yet also acted upon. But even more useful, they appear to reverse hostility into positively-toned ties of mutual support and solidarity. Therefore the shame and guilt provoked by envy, greed and jealousy can be denied, while the participants bask in the self-righteous identification with the common good. JOSEPH H. BERKE, “When Little Men Become Big,” *History Today*, April 1995.
103. He who says there is no such thing as an honest man, you may be sure is himself a knave. GEORGE BERKELEY (1685-1753), *Maxims Concerning Patriotism*.
104. Few men think; yet all will have opinions. GEORGE BERKELEY (1685-1753), *Three Dialogues*

*Between Hylas and Philonous*, 1713.

105. The revolutionist has no personal right to anything. Everything he has or earns belongs to the cause. Everything, even his affections. ALEXANDER BERKMAN (1870-1936), *Prison Memoirs of an Anarchist*, 1912.
106. But to manipulate men, to propel them towards goals which you -- the social reformers -- see, but they may not, is to deny their human essence, to treat them as objects without wills of their own, and therefore to degrade them. SIR ISAIAH BERLIN (1909-1997), *Two Concepts of Liberty*, 1958.
107. One belief, more than any other, is responsible for the slaughter of individuals on the alter of the great historical ideas -- justice or progress or happiness of future generations...or emancipation of a nation or race or class...this is the belief that somewhere...there is a final solution. SIR ISAIAH BERLIN (1909-1997), *Two Concepts Of Liberty*, 1958.
108. All forms of tampering with human beings, getting at them, shaping them against their will to your own pattern, all thought control and conditioning is therefore a denial of that in man which makes them men and their values ultimate. SIR ISAIAH BERLIN (1909-1997), *Two Concepts of Liberty*, 1958.
109. When a man speaks of the need for realism one may be sure that this is always the prelude to some bloody deed. SIR ISAIAH BERLIN (1909-1997), *London Times*, 1981.
110. The first sign of corruption in a society that is still alive is that the end justifies the means. GEORGES BERNANOS (1888-1948), *Last Essays of George Bernanos*, 1955.
111. Men who have excessive faith in their theories are not only ill-prepared for making discoveries; they also make poor observations. CLAUDE BERNARD (1813-1878), *Introduction to the Study of Experimental Medicine*, 1865.
112. In paranoia, the primary function of the enemy is to provide a definition of the real that makes paranoia necessary. We must therefore begin to suspect the paranoid structure itself as a device by which consciousness maintains the polarity of self and nonself, thus preserving the concept of identity. LEO BERSANI, "Pynchon, Paranoia, and Literature," *Representations*, 25, 1989.
113. If we hope to live not just from moment to moment, but in true consciousness of our existence, then our greatest need and most difficult achievement is to find meaning in our lives. BRUNO BETTELHEIM (1903-1990), *The Uses Of Enchantment*, 1978.
114. "Mad" is a term we use to describe a man who is obsessed with one idea and nothing else. UGO BETTI (1892-1953), *Struggle till Dawn*, 1949.
115. We know well enough when we're being unjust or despicable. But we don't restrain ourselves because we experience a certain pleasure, a primitive sort of satisfaction in moments like that. UGO BETTI (1892-1953), *Landslide*, 1936.
116. Our recent revolutionists have offered us hatred. They despise and dehumanize the persons, and they condemn the concerns and aspirations of the vast majority of their countrymen. ALEXANDER BICKEL, *The Morality of Consent*, 1975.
117. Rebel, n. A proponent of a new misrule who has failed to establish it. AMBROSE BIERCE (1842-1914), *The Devil's Dictionary*, 1881-1914.
118. The true fanatic is a theocrat, someone who sees himself as acting on behalf of some super-personal force: the Race, the Party, History, the Proletariat, the Poor, and so on. These absolve him from evil, hence he may safely do anything in their service. LLOYD BILLINGSLEY, *Religion's Rebel Son: Fanaticism In Our Time*, 1986.

119. What the fanatical theocrat lacks in artistic imagination, he makes up in paranoia. There can be no pluralism, no diversity, no individuality in his kingdom. Such things are, to him, manifestations of evil.... On every hand, so he imagines, are heretics, saboteurs, wreckers, hatching their sinister conspiracies. From such paranoia comes the purge, the assassination. LLOYD BILLINGSLEY, *Religion's Rebel Son: Fanaticism In Our Time*, 1986.
120. An ideology is a belief system which explains the nature of the world and man's place in it. It explains the nature of man and the derivative relationships of humans to one another. GORDON C. BJORK, *Ideology and the American Experience* (Roth and Whittemore), 1986.
121. In all tyrannical governments the supreme majesty, or the right of both *making* and *enforcing* the laws, is vested in one and the same man, or one and the same body of men; and wherever these two powers are united together there can be no public liberty. SIR WILLIAM BLACKSTONE (1723-1780), *Commentaries on the Laws of England*, 1765-69.
122. Just as people can be talked into buying things they do not need, so the political leader can talk the desire for revenge into people. ... The rhetoric of enemies is a potent means of gaining and sustaining social integration in modern society. MICHAEL BLAIN, "Righting Words: What We Can Learn From Hitler's Hyperbole," *Symbolic Interaction*, 11:2, 1988.
123. I must create a system or be enslaved by another man's. WILLIAM BLAKE (1757-1827), *The Marriage of Heaven and Hell*, 1790.
124. The hand of Vengeance sought the bed, To which the purple tyrant fled; The iron hand crush'd the tyrant's head, and became a tyrant in his stead. WILLIAM BLAKE (1757-1827), "I Saw a Monk of Charlemagne," in *Jerusalem*, 1803.
125. We tend to think of Utopians as being starry-eyed philosophers or wild-eyed reformers but there is a new breed of utopians afoot, threatening to rush down all the existing pathways and blind alleys frequented since the days of Plato. These people are known by such titles as system engineer, computer manufacturer, and system designers ... The new utopians are concerned with non-people and people substitutes... They are concerned with neither souls nor stomachs. ROBERT BOGUSLAW, *The New Utopians: A Study in System Design and Social Change*, 1965.
126. In the domain of natural science such a work as Marx's would even now be impossible. In the very young social sciences it was able to attain influence, great influence, and it will probably only lose it very slowly, and that because it has its most powerful support not in the convinced intellect of its disciples, but in their hearts, their wishes, and their desires. EUGEN VON BOHM-BAWERK, (1851-1914), *Unsolved Contradictions in the Marxian Economic System*, 1896.
127. A belief is not merely an idea the mind possesses; it is an idea that possesses the mind. RICHARD BOLTON (1814-1877).
128. It is only a short step from exaggerating what we can find in the world to exaggerating our power to remake the world. Expecting more novelty than there is, more greatness than there is, and more strangeness than there is, we imagine ourselves masters of a plastic university. But a world we can shape to our will...is a shapeless world. DANIEL J. BOORSTIN (1914-2004), *The Image: A Guide to Pseudo-Events in America*, 1961.
129. Men who set too much store by their dogmas and who will not allow themselves to be guided by the give-and-take between ideas and experience are more likely to suffer defeat in one way, if not another. DANIEL BOORSTIN (1914-2004), *The Americans: The Colonial Experience*, 1988.
130. A system is nothing more than the subordination of all aspects of the universe to any one such aspect. JORGE LUIS BORGES (1899-1986), *Labyrinths*, 1962.
131. [Revolutions] begin as anarchistic movements against bureaucratic state organization, which they

inevitably destroy; they continue by setting in place another, in most cases stronger, bureaucratic organization, which suppresses all free mass movements. FRANZ BORKENAU (1900-1957), *Sociological Review*, Vol 29 (1937).

132. The image of the world becomes an ideology if it creates in the mind of the person holding it a role for himself which he values highly.... To create a role, however, an ideology must create a drama. The first essential characteristic of an ideology is then an interpretation of history sufficiently dramatic and convincing so that the individual feels that he can identify with it and which in turn can give the individual a role in the drama it portrays. KENNETH BOULDING (1910-1993), *The Meaning of the Twentieth Century*, 1964.
133. The puritan ... gets satisfaction of his will to power through the turning of his self-abasement into purposes of self-regard. Renunciation is the raw material for this positive sense of power. RANDOLPH BOURNE (1886-1918), "The Puritan's Will to Power," in *The History of a Literary Radical*, 1920.
134. The essence of a heretic, that is, of someone who has a particular opinion, is that he clings to his own ideas. JACQUES-BENIGNE BOUSSUET (1627-1704), *Histoire de variations*.
135. We define ideological statements as being expressive of a set of values and beliefs rather than being instrumental. A strictly ideological statement is not made to persuade or to alter behavior. It is made to define the position of an individual or group. JOHN WAITES BOWERS & DONAVAN J. OCHS, *The Rhetoric of Agitation and Control*, 1971.
136. Authority without wisdom is like a heavy axe without an edge, fitter to bruise than to polish. ANNE BRADSTREET (1612-1672), *Meditations Divine and Moral*, 1670.
137. The crowd will follow a leader who marches twenty paces ahead of them, but if he is a thousand paces ahead of them, they will neither see nor follow him. GEORG BRANDES (1842-1927), *Ferdinand Lasalle*, 1881.
138. A heretic....is a fellow who disagrees with you regarding something that neither one of you knows anything about. WILLIAM COWPER BRANN (1855-1898).
139. Intellectuals are people who believe that ideas are of more importance than values...their own ideas and other people's values. GERALD BRENAN (1894-1987).
140. Religious conflict can be the bloodiest and cruelest conflicts that turn men into fanatics. WILLIAM. J. BRENNAN, U. S. Supreme Court Justice, *Interview*, National Public Radio, 29 January 1987.
141. The process of shaping new principles or changing old ones is not without its tensions. One could almost say that there is a kind of "dialectical" relationship between an ideologically oriented party and reality. A. K. BRZEZINSKI, *Ideology and Power in Soviet Politics*, 1962.
142. Absolutism in morals is a guarantee of objectionable morals in the same way as absolutism in government is a guarantee of objectionable government. ROBERT BRIFFAULT (1876-1948), 1931.
143. Even though a crowd of persons does not have a collective nervous system, it is psychologically different from the same persons when they are by themselves. Their interaction in a crowd produces unique behavior patterns. S. H. BRITT, *Social Psychology of Modern Life*, 1941.
144. Under the spell of an emotional situation or owing to skillful manipulation by a leader, a typical crowd tends to accept irrational ideas as though they were rational. ... As individuals we may lose ourselves so completely in the crowd that we may not only give up our rational ideas but actually increase our prestige and ego feelings by being one of the crowd and "joining in." S. H. BRITT, *Social Psychology of Modern Life*, 1941.

145. Every poet is a bit of a Fuehrer himself; he wants to rule minds for he is tempted to think that he knows better. JOSEPH BRODSKY, *Less Than One: Selected Essays*, 1986.
146. There is no absolute knowledge. And those who claim it, whether they are scientists or dogmatists, open the door to tragedy. All information is imperfect. We have to treat it with humility. J. BRONOWSKI (1908-1974), *The Ascent Of Man*, 1973.
147. The wish to hurt, the momentary intoxication with pain, is the loophole through which the pervert climbs into the minds of ordinary men. J. BRONOWSKI (1908-1974), *The Face of Violence*.
148. Vain are the thousand creeds that move men's hearts; unutterably vain; Worthless as wither'd weeds. EMILY BRONTE (1818-1848), *Last Lines*.
149. The radical tends to cut himself off from the rest of the community and depends more on his political associates for love and friendship. The radical organization is likely to loose members who fail to find satisfying primary relations within the group or find them elsewhere. LEONARD BROOM & PHILIP SELZNIK, *Sociology*, 1957.
150. Good intentions unaided by knowledge will perhaps produce more injury than benefit. CHARLES BROCKTON BROWN (1771-1810), *Arthur Mervyn*, 1800.
151. Just as every conviction begins as a whim so does every emancipator serve his apprenticeship as a crank. A fanatic is a great leader who is just entering the room. HEYWOOD BROUN (1888-1939), 1928.
152. Communism and Fascism or Nazism, although poles apart in their intellectual content are similar in this, that both have emotional appeal to the type of personality that takes pleasure in being submerged in a mass movement and submitting to superior authority. JAMES. A. C. BROWN (1911-1964), *Techniques of Persuasion*, 1963.
153. There exists a "fear of freedom" of selfhood, which makes people want to submerge themselves in the mass and confession is one of the obvious means by which they can do so, for thereby the lose those traits which cause them to feel separate. The other, of course, is to lose one's sense of personal identity by submerging it in the collective behavior of the crowd. JAMES A. C. BROWN (1911-1964), *Techniques of Persuasion*, 1963
154. A good cause needs not be patroned by passion, but can sustain itself upon a temperate dispute. SIR THOMAS BROWNE (1605-1682), *Religio Medici*, 1642.
155. It may be laid down as an axiom that a man who does not live the life of the mob will not think its thoughts either. LEWIS BROWNE (1897-1949).
156. Yea, even among the wiser militants, how many wounds have been given, and credits slain, for the poor victory of an opinion, or the beggarly conquest of a distinction. SIR THOMAS BROWNE (1605-1682), *Religio Medici*, 1642.
157. [A demagogue is] one who maximizes his appeal to the frustrated, to the dispossessed of the earth. He offers vivid and dramatic, simplistic solutions to all of life's problems. EUGENE E. BRUSSELL.
158. [A fanatic is] one compelled to action [by the need to find a strong meaning in life. A fanatic determines for himself what role he is to play in life, and his intense devotion to a cause is the means. EUGENE E. BRUSSELL.
159. To what excesses will men not go to for the sake of a religion in which they believed so little and which they practice to imperfectly. JEAN de LA BRUYERE (1645-1696), *Les Caracteres*, 1688.
160. The "syndrome" or pattern of interrelated traits, of the totalitarian dictatorship consists of an

ideology, a single party typically led by one man, a terroristic police, a communications monopoly, a weapons monopoly, and a centrally directed economy... ZBIGNIEW K. BRZEZINSKI, *Totalitarian Dictatorship and Autocracy*, 1956.

161. Moral rigidity cultivates a positive contempt for political orientation in that it grants a higher value to words and deeds the more uncompromisingly they conform to ideals and ignore reality. HANS BUCHHEIM, *Totalitarian Rule*, 1968.
162. The totalitarian claim to sole control, which not only limits the individual in his free development but also forces him into the scheme of a planned world and thus overpowers him, contains in its essence an offer than corresponds to one of man's most deeply rooted yearnings; the desire for a closed intellectual system, based on simple suppositions, which explains all existence and offers the guarantee of being able to cope with fate. HANS BUCHHEIM, *Totalitarian Rule*, 1962.
163. I read in a Chicago paper the oft-repeated tale of the "fanaticism and boundless energy" of the Communists... I happen to know that in countless cases this endless activity arises from a feverish desire to get away from the deep challenges of life. LOUIS BUDENZ (1891-1972), *This is My Story*, 1947.
164. This dream of absolute universal equality is amazing, terrifying and inhuman. And the moment it captures people's minds, the result is mountains of corpses and rivers of blood, accompanied by attempts to straighten the stooped and shorten the tall. VLADIMIR BUKOVSKY, *To Build A Castle*, 1979.
165. A reform is a correction of abuses; a revolution is a transfer of power. EDWARD GEORGE BULWER-LYTTON (1803-1873), *Speech, House of Commons*, 1866.
166. In the manifest failure of their abilities, they take credit for their intentions. EDMUND BURKE (1729-1797), *Observations*, 1769.
167. Make the revolution a parent of settlement, not a nursery of future revolutions. EDMUND BURKE (1729-1797), *Reflections on the Revolution in France*, 1790.
168. Rage and frenzy will pull down more in half an hour, than prudence, deliberation, and foresight can build up in a hundred years. EDMUND BURKE (1729-1797), *Reflections on the Revolution in France*, 1790.
169. An ideologue -- one who thinks ideologically -- can't lose. He can't lose because his answer, his interpretation and his attitude have been determined in advance of the particular experience or observation. They are derived from the ideology, and not subject to the facts. JAMES BURNHAM (1905-1987), *Suicide Of The West*, 1964.
170. As a rule, a man, when his ideological lenses are shattered, is in haste to replace them with another set ground to a new prescription. The unfiltered world is not his dish of tea. JAMES BURNHAM (1905-1987), *Suicide of the West*, 1964.
171. A credulous mind...finds most delight in believing strange things, and the stranger they are the easier they pass with him; but never regards those that are plain and feasible, for every man can believe such. SAMUEL BUTLER (1612-1680), *Characters*, 1667-79.
172. It is in the uncompromisingness with which dogma is held and not in the dogma, or want of dogma, that the danger lies. SAMUEL BUTLER (1835-1902), *The Way Of All Flesh*, 1903.
173. Some men delight in things for no reason but because they are ugly and infamous. SAMUEL BUTLER (1835-1902), *Prose Observations*, 1860-80.
174. There is no such source of error as the pursuit of absolute truth. SAMUEL BUTLER (1835-1902),

*Notebooks*, 1912.

175. But the greatest menace to our civilization today is the conflict between giant organized systems of self-righteousness – each system only too delighted to find that the other is wicked. HERBERT BUTTERFIELD (1900-1979), Vice-Chancellor, Cambridge University.
176. They never fail who die in a great cause. The block may soak their gore; Their heads may sodden in the sun; Their limbs be strung to city gates and castle walls. But still their spirit walks about. LORD BYRON (1788-1824), *Marino Faliero*.



177. People readily believe what they want to believe. JULIUS CAESAR (100-44 B.C.), *Gallic Wars*, 49 B.C.
178. The interval between the decay of the old and the formation of the new, constitutes a period of transition, which must always necessarily be one of uncertainty, confusion, error, and wild and fierce fanaticism. JOHN C. CALHOUN (1782-1850), *A Disquisition on Government*, 1950.
179. The question of how the world around us functions and who, if anyone or anything, is in control has been asked for hundreds, even thousands of years. ... [A]mong certain groups in American society ... there is a haunting fear that things in politics, economics, and society in general are not as they appear on the surface. Over the past two hundred years this fear has taken the shape of a belief that an unknown but immensely powerful secret cabal has sought to gain world domination. Belief in a worldwide conspiracy is not confined to any particular political or religious belief. GREGORY S. CAMP, *Selling Fear: Conspiracy Theories and End-Times Paranoia*, 1997.
180. Conspiracy theory can and often does degenerate into scapegoating on an enormous scale. An ideology of this sort provides the believer in such a theory with easy answers for how and why things happen as they do. Instead of random events and unforeseen happenings, believers in this theory see directors with a very definite script acting as a hidden hand behind the scenes to further an evil agenda. GREGORY S. CAMP, *Selling Fear: Conspiracy Theories and End-Times Paranoia*, 1997.
181. On behalf of emotional conviction a man will sacrifice position, wealth, honor, honesty, ethics, and life. The most honorable of men considers it his honorable duty to lie, cheat, steal, and murder for his emotional convictions. It is essential, if we are to understand the real problems of the world in which we actually live, that we recognize and acknowledge that emotional conviction outweighs any and all other considerations. JOHN W. CAMPBELL, *Analog*, December 1960.
182. Every kind of socialism is Utopian, most of all scientific socialism. Utopia replaces God by the future. Then it proceeds to identify the future with ethics; the only values are those which serve this particular future. For that reason Utopias have always been coercive and authoritarian. ALBERT CAMUS (1913-1960), *The Rebel*, 1951.
183. All modern revolutions have ended in a reinforcement of the power of the state. ALBERT CAMUS (1913-1960), *The Rebel*, 1951.
184. Absolute justice is achieved by the suppression of all contradictions, therefore it destroys freedom. ALBERT CAMUS (1913-1960), *The Rebel*, 1951.
185. The welfare of the people...has always been the alibi of tyrants, and it provides the further advantage of giving the servants of tyranny a good conscience... ALBERT CAMUS (1913-1960), *Resistance, Rebellion and Death*, 1955.
186. The revolution, first of all, proposes to satisfy the spirit of rebellion which has given rise to it; then it is compelled to deny it, the better to affirm itself. There is, it would seem, an ineradicable opposition

- between the movement of rebellion and the attainments of revolution. ALBERT CAMUS (1913-1960), *The Rebel*, 1951.
187. Every revolutionary ends by becoming either an oppressor or a heretic. ALBERT CAMUS (1913-1960), *The Rebel*, 1951.
188. We suffocate among people who think they are absolutely right, whether in their machines or their ideas. ALBERT CAMUS (1913-1960), *Neither Victims Nor Executioners*.
189. How many crimes are committed simply because their authors could not endure being wrong. ALBERT CAMUS (1913-1960), *The Fall*, 1956.
190. [The 'mob mind' includes] (1) Confusion of causal relationships; jumping at oversimplified explanations; (2) Restriction of the individual's 'world,' so that immediate action may occur in terms of temporary, limited values uninhibited by the usual cultural norms and values, (3) Identification with the situation; the individual 'loses himself' in the crowd or mob. HADLEY CANTRIL (1906-1969), *Psychology of Social Movements*, 1941.
191. Human beings seek some value or system of beliefs to which they can commit themselves. ... People who have long been frustrated and who have searched for means to alleviate their situation are, of course, particularly susceptible to a commitment to a new system of beliefs or an ideology that they feel holds promise of effective action. HADLEY CANTRIL (1906-1969), "The Human Design," *Journal of Individual Psychology*, 20, 1964.
192. ... Commitment to a value or belief system becomes more difficult among well-informed and sophisticated people who self-consciously try to reconcile what they believe with what they know and what they know with what they believe. In such circumstances, beliefs become more secular and less important as personal identification. HADLEY CANTRIL (1906-1969), "The Human Design," *Journal of Individual Psychology*, 20, 1964.
193. The prophet and the martyr do not see the hooting of the throng. Their eyes are fixed on the eternities. BENJAMIN CARDOZO (1870-1938), U. S. Supreme Court Justice, *Law and Literature*, 1931.
194. We must get rid of fear; we cannot act at all till then. A man's acts are slavish, not true but specious; his very thoughts are false, he thinks too as a slave and coward, till he have got fear under his feet. THOMAS CARLYLE (1795-1881), *The French Revolution*, 1837.
195. The utopian sets up an ethical standard which purports to be independent of politics, and seeks to make politics conform to it. The realist cannot logically accept any standard of value save that of fact. E. H. CARR (1892-1982), *The Twenty Years Crisis - 1919-1939*, 1946.
196. The utopian, fixing his eyes on the future, thinks in terms of creative spontaneity; the realist, rooted in the past, in terms of causality. E. H. CARR (1892-1982), *The Twenty Years Crisis - 1919-1939*, 1946.
197. Everyone, whether cardinal or scientist, who believes that his own truth is complete and final must become a dogmatist. ... The more sincere his faith, the more he is bound to persecute, to save others from falling into error. JOYCE CARY (1888-1957).
198. All extremes are error. The reverse of error is not truth, but error still. Truth lies between these extremes. WILLIAM CECIL (1520-1598).
199. In short, his wits being quite gone, he hit upon the strangest notion that every madman in this world hit upon, and that was that he fancied it was right and requisite, as well as for the support of his own honor as for the service of his country, that he should make a knight errant of himself, roaming the world over in full armor and on horseback in quest of adventures. MIGUEL de CERVANTES (1547-1616), *The History of Don Quixote of La Mancha* (John Ormsby, trans.), 1980.

200. The Communist lives in permanent revolt and anger against the injustice of the world around him. But he will suffer almost any degree of injustice, stupidity, and personal outrage from the party that he serves. WHITTAKER CHAMBERS (1901-1961), *Witness*, 1952.
201. All passions exaggerate; it is only because they exaggerate that they are passions. NICHOLAS SEBASTIEN CHAMFORT (1741-1794), 1805.
202. Man as an individual is a genius. But men in the mass form the Headless Monster, a great, brutish idiot that goes where prodded. CHARLES CHAPLIN (1889-1977).
203. One is not superior merely because one sees the world in an odious light. FRANCOIS RENE, VICOMTE De CHATEAUBRIAND (1768-1848).
204. Love, friendship, respect, do not unite people as much as a common hatred for something. ANTON CHEKHOV (1860-1904), *Notebooks*, 1892-1904.
205. Observe any meetings of people, and you will always find their eagerness and impetuosity rise or fall in proportion to their numbers: when the numbers are very great, all sense and reason seem to subside, and one sudden frenzy to seize on all, even the coolest of them. LORD CHESTERFIELD (1694-1773), *Letter to his son*, 13 September 1748.
206. Each generation of rebels in turn is remembered by the next, not as the pioneers who began the march, or started to break away from the old conventions; but as the old convention from which only the very latest rebels have dared to break. GILBERT KEITH CHESTERTON (1874-1936), *All I Survey*, 1934.
207. Forms of expression always appear turgid to those who do not share the emotions they represent. GILBERT KEITH CHESTERTON (1874-1936), *A Handful of Authors*.
208. Materialists and madmen never have doubts. GILBERT KEITH CHESTERTON (1874-1936), *Orthodoxy*, 1909.
209. The modern world is filled with men who hold dogmas so strongly they do not even know they are dogmas. GILBERT KEITH CHESTERTON (1874-1936), *Heretics*, 1905.
210. There are two kinds of people in the world: the conscious and the unconscious dogmatists. I have always found that the unconscious dogmatists were by far the most dogmatic. GILBERT KEITH CHESTERTON (1874-1936), *Generally Speaking*, 1928.
211. There is the fallacy of values defined as facts. Ideologies frequently dress their values in the garb of facts, leading people to falsely believe that they are correcting their knowledge of the facts, not changing their values. REO M. CHRISTENSON, et. al., *Ideologies and Modern Politics*, 1975.
212. Ideology thereby makes the future more predicable. The potency of this human need for predictability, and its fulfillment by ideology, is indicated by the human tendency to think in black-and-white stereotypes and simplified either-or dichotomies, and to overlook apparent contradictions and incongruities in their own ideologies. REO M. CHRISTENSON, et. al., *Ideologies and Modern Politics*, 1975.
213. Political ideology helps people avoid ambiguity in their lives and provides them with a sense of certainty and security. If people see powerful and unpredictable forces around them, ideological faith becomes a sanctuary. It permits them to believe in something outside and beyond themselves, in ideas and prospects derived from a higher power, whether religious, historical, or scientific. REO M. CHRISTENSON, et al., *Ideologies and Modern Politics*, 1975.
214. Although the force of fanatical passion is far greater than that exerted by philosophical belief, its sanction is just the same. It gives men something which they think is sublime to fight for. WINSTON

CHURCHILL (1874-1965), *The River War*, 1899.

215. The history of ideas is the history of the grudges of solitary men. E. MICHEL CIORAN (1911-1995).
216. Those who believe in their truth – the only ones whose imprint is retained by the memory of men – leave the earth behind them strewn with corpses. Religions number in their ledgers more murders than the bloodiest tyrannies account for, and those whom humanity has called divine far surpass the most conscientious murders in their thirst for slaughter. E. MICHEL CIORAN (1911-1995).
217. No human being is more dangerous than those who have suffered for a belief: the great persecutors are recruiting from the martyrs not quite beheaded. Far from diminishing the appetite for power, suffering exasperates it. E. MICHAEL CIORAN (1911-1995).
218. There is nothing that can help you understand your beliefs more than trying to explain them to an inquisitor. FRANK CLARK, *Reader's Digest*, July, 1978.
219. Moderation is fatal to factions, just as it is the vital principle of established power. To ask malcontents to be moderate is like asking them to destroy the foundations of their existence. PRINCE CLEMENS von METTERNICH (1773-1859), *Letter*, 1834.
220. There is revolution in reaction, as well as radicalism, and Toryism speaking a jargon of law and order may often be a graver menace to liberty than radicalism bellowing the empty phrases of the soapbox demagogue. FRANK L. COBB (1869-1923), *LaFollette's Magazine*, January 1920.
221. A crowd has no intellect, only passions. J. M. COETZEE, *The Master of Petersburg*, 1994.
222. The temptation to moralize is strong; it is emotionally satisfying to have enemies rather than problems, to seek out culprits rather than the flaws in the system. REV. WILLIAM SLOANE COFFIN, *The Courage to Love*, 1982.
223. Above all, calamities caused by unseen or unknown agencies – plague or family, gross inflation or mass unemployment ... -- may then produce an emotional disturbance so widespread and acute, such an overwhelming sense of being exposed, cast out and helpless, that the only way in which it can find effective relief is through ... a sudden, collective and fanatical pursuit of the Millennium. NORMAN COHN, *Pursuit of Millennium*, 1957.
224. A world purified of all evil and in which history is to find its consummation – these ancient imaginings are with us still. NORMAN COHN, *Pursuit of Millennium*, 1957.
225. [Paranoid cognition includes] persecutory delusions and false beliefs whose prepositional content clusters around ideas of being harassed, threatened, harmed, subjugated, persecuted, accused, mistreated, wronged, tormented, disparaged, vilified, and so on, by malevolent others, either specific individuals or groups. K. M. COLBY, "Modeling a Paranoid Mind," *Behavioral and Brain Sciences*, 4, 1981.
226. Every reform, however necessary, will by weak minds be carried to an excess which will itself need reforming. SAMUEL TAYLOR COLERIDGE (1772-1834).
227. The wise only possess ideas; the greater part of mankind are possessed by them. SAMUEL TAYLOR COLERIDGE (1772-1834), *Daniel Defoe*, 1820.
228. For when the people refuse to believe as they should, it becomes necessary to make them believe by force. It is the unbelieving people who require the "Revolutionary Watch Committees" to keep tabs on their neighborhoods, the gulags to dispose of their intractable elements, the censors to keep them in ignorance, and the police to keep them afraid. PETER COLLIER & DAVID HOROWITZ, *Destructive Generation*, 1989.

229. He that dies a martyr proves that he was not a knave, but by no means that he was not a fool. CHARLES CALEB COLTON (1780-1832), *Lacon*, 1825.
230. What are the triumphs of war, planned by ambition, executed by violence, and consummated by devastation? The means are the sacrifice of many, the end the bloated aggrandizement of the few. CHARLES CALEB COLTON (1780-1832), *Lacon*, 1825.
231. In politics as in religion, it so happens that we have less charity for those who believe the half of our creed, than for those who deny the whole of it. CHARLES CALEB COLTON (1780-1832), *Lacon*, 1825.
232. Attempts at reform, when they fail, strengthen despotism, as he that struggles tightens those cords he does not succeed in breaking. CHARLES CALEB COLTON (1780-1832), *Lacon*, 1825.
233. We hate some persons because we do not know them; and we will not know them because we hate them. CHARLES CALEB COLTON (1780-1832), *Lacon*, 1825.
234. The intoxication of anger, like that of the grape, shows us to others, but hides us from ourselves. We injure our own cause in the opinion of the world when we too passionately defend it. CHARLES CALEB COLTON (1780-1832), *Lacon*, 1825.
235. Some scientists take the position that there is no relationship between science and society: they believe that science exists in and of itself, as a kind of religion... BARRY COMMONER, *The Ecological Crisis*, 1969.
236. Destroy him as you will, the bourgeois always bounces up. Execute him, expropriate, starve him out en mass, and he reappears in your children. CYRIL CONNOLLY (1903-1975), 1937.
237. An agitation to attain a political or economic end must rest upon an implied willingness and ability to use force. Without that it is mere wind and attitudinizing. JAMES CONNOLLY (1870-1916), *Forward*, 14 March 1914.
238. A violent revolution falls into the hands of narrow-minded fanatics and tyrannical hypocrites at first. Afterward comes the turn of all the pretentious intellectual failures of the time. The scrupulous and the just, the noble...may begin a movement...but it passes from them... They are its first victims. JOSEPH CONRAD (1857-1924), *Under Western Eyes*, 1911.
239. Action is consolatory. It is the enemy of thought and the friend of illusions. JOSEPH CONRAD (1857-1924), 1904.
240. The revolutionary spirit is mightily convenient in this: that it frees one from all scruples as regards ideas. JOSEPH CONRAD (1857-1924), *A Personal Record*, 1912.
241. As in political so in literary action a man wins friends for himself by the passion of his prejudices and by the consistent narrowness of his outlook. JOSEPH CONRAD (1857-1924), *A Personal Record*, 1912.
242. The way of even the most justifiable revolutions is prepared by personal impulses disguised into creeds. JOSEPH CONRAD (1857-1924), *The Secret Agent*, 1907.
243. The conquerors of our days, people or princes, want their empire to possess a unified surface over which the superb eye of power can wander without encountering any inequality which hurts or limits its view. The same code of law, the same measures, the same rules, and if we gradually get there, the same language; that is what is proclaimed as the perfection of the social organization. ... The great slogan of the day is uniformity. BENJAMIN CONSTANT, *De l'esprit de conquete*, quoted in *Seeing Like A State* (James C. Scott), 1998.
244. The demagogue is one who advances his own interests by affecting a deep devotion to the interests

of the people. JAMES FENNIMORE COOPER (1759-1851), *On Demagogues*.

245. By "ideology" is meant here any intellectual structure consisting of a set of beliefs about man's nature and the world in which he lives; a claim that the two sets are interdependent; and a demand that those beliefs should be professed...by anyone who is to be considered a full member of a certain social group. PATRICK CORBETT, *Ideology*, 1965.
246. It will escape not but the simplest devotee that ideologies serve the interests of certain institutions, and therefore of those who hold office in those institutions ... the social functions of ideologies is to condition man intellectually to obedience. PATRICK CORBETT, *Ideology*, 1965.
247. To have a grievance is to have a purpose in life. ALAN CORN, *The Sanity Inspector*, 1974.
248. In a world increasingly filled with complex choices and few corresponding certainties, it is understandable that we search for security in absolutes. There is no shortage of movements, groups, and systems, both religious and secular, that promulgate such absolutes. However, absolutes are not consistent with the ambivalence and elegant complexity inherent in the human condition. CARLTON CORNETT, *The Soul of Psychotherapy*, 1998.
249. The narcissistic god demands that his followers continually worship and fear him, and he demands as well that his supplicants continually acknowledge their unworthiness of his love, appreciation, or concern. CARLTON CORNETT, *The Soul of Psychotherapy*, 1998.
250. Fanaticism soberly defined, is the false fire of an overheated mind. WILLIAM COWPER (1731-1808).
251. Real rebels are rarely anything but second rate outside their rebellion; the drain of time and temper is ruinous to any other accomplishment. JAMES GOULD COZZENS (1903-1978), *Children and Others*, 1964.
252. Ideology simplifies things at the same time it constructs its elaborate theoretical edifices; if it is philosophy, it is philosophy for the masses at the same time as it is philosophy for the rootless, rebellious intellectual class in whom our culture's "self-loathing" is most pronounced. MAURICE CRANSTON, *The American Spectator*, 1985.
253. Where ideology differs from even the most heretical forms of religion is that it is entirely centered on this world and claims to depend entirely on reason, as opposed to faith or revelation. MAURICE CRANSTON, *The American Spectator*, June 1985.
254. Terrorism appears to have strengthened the old order, underscored the primacy of force in international relations. ... The major risk of international conflict lies less in revolutionary terrorism than in the state use of terrorism as an instrument of foreign policy. MARTHA CRENSHAW, *Terrorism, Legitimacy, and Power: The Consequences of Political Violence*, 1983.
255. Totalitarian rule marks the sharpest contrast imaginable with political rule, and ideological thinking is an explicit and direct challenge to political thinking. The totalitarian believes that everything is relevant to government and that the task of government is to reconstruct society according to the goals of an ideology. BERNARD CRICK, *In Defense Of Politics*, 1964.
256. My advice to a young man seeking deathless fame would be to espouse an unpopular cause and devote his life to it. GEORGE W. CURTISS (1824-1892).
257. Fear and simplistic explanations lead people to develop inflexible attitudes and beliefs. Carried to the extreme these attitudes become authoritarian thinking ... characterized by extreme rigidity and a total dedication to the belief that there is one correct way of doing things while all others are wrong. RAY P. CUZZORT (1926-1999), *Using Social Thought*, 1989.

## ~D~

258. The worst atrocities are probably committed by those who are most afraid. LORD D'ABERNON (1857-1941).
259. When the mind is dissatisfied, whether upon groups just or unjust, it ever views objects through an exaggerated medium. CHARLOTTE DACRE (1782-1842), *Zofloya*, 1806.
260. Political terror is generally effective in making possible the attainment of immediate goals -- the liquidation of real, potential, or imaginary rivals for power and authority; the elimination or isolation of those suspected of actually or potentially holding beliefs and attitudes at variance with the official ones. ALEXANDER DALLIN and GEORGE W. BRESLAUER, *Political Terror in Communist Systems*, 1970.
261. Whereas coercion is the most effective in securing short-term compliance, it is least effective in securing subjective commitment over long periods. Normative power, in contrast, is the most economical and thorough but also the most difficult to manipulate with discrimination. Coercion is most effective in deterring with punishing behavior; it is least effective in promoting voluntary cooperation with commitment. ALEXANDER DALLIN and GEORGE W. BRESLAUER, *Political Terror In Communist Systems*, 1970.
262. The distinguishing characteristic of the fanatic is his highly simplified and rigidly held view of social reality. He casts aside the complex and unintegrated beliefs about causality ... in favor of a tendency to see the cause of all problems in a single force for evil and the solutions for all those problems in a single force for good. WILLIAM T. DALY, "Reflections On Fanaticism," *ETC: A Review of General Semantics* 59, 2002.
263. The world is made up for the most part of morons and natural tyrants, sure of themselves, strong in their own opinions, never doubting anything. CLARENCE S. DARROW (1857-1938), *Personal Liberty*, 1928.
264. It is not just a dry philosophical system stored away in dusty tomes, but a way of thinking which has enormous impact upon twentieth-century minds, and wields consequentially enormous power over their concepts and judgments. We see Dialectical Man as a kind of robot of state, a human being reduced to an animal status, an ant living in a highly disciplined anthill ... the ideas behind Dialectical Materialism ... are not wholly confined to communism. They are, rather, endemic to the twentieth century. RUSSELL W. DAVENPORT, *The Dignity of Man*, 1955.
265. Fanaticism is ... over-compensation for doubt. ROBERTSON DAVIES, *The Manticore*, 1972.
266. The word "paranoid" is...highly misleading unless we acknowledge that we all have our paranoid moments, and that the fear of conspiracy is sometimes reasonable and may also serve important social functions. DAVID BRION DAVIS, *The Fear of Conspiracy*, 1971.
267. There has been a continuity in the imagery of subversion that bears no necessary relation to any given enemy...This interchangeability of images and metaphors suggests that the phenomenon of countersubversion might be studied as a special language or cultural form, apart from any preconceptions of its truth or falsity. DAVID BRION DAVIS, *The Fear of Conspiracy*, 1971.
268. Throughout our history there has been a striking discrepancy between the pitiful weakness and incompetence of most conspirators and the willingness of many Americans to believe that a powerful, monolithic, and virtually infallible organization was about to overthrow the Republic. DAVID BRION DAVIS, *The Fear of Conspiracy*, 1971.
269. As time goes on, new and remoter aspects of truth are discovered which can seldom be fitted into

creeds that are changeless. CLARENCE DAY (1874-1935), *This Simian World*, 1926.

270. In logical rightness the emphasis has shifted completely from the nature of the pieces to the goodness of the fit. ... The mechanism of logical rightness can easily construct systems which are impenetrable whether they are right or wrong. EDWARD DeBONO, *Practical Thinking*, 1971.
271. The most characteristic feature of stupidity is not inability to think or lack of knowledge but the certainty with which ideas are held. ... The sheer absence of alternative points of view makes the only point of view seem absolutely right. EDWARD DeBONO, *Practical Thinking*, 1971.
272. And of all the plagues with which mankind is cursed, Ecclesiastic tyranny's the worst. DANIEL DEFOE (1660-1731), *The True-Born Englishman*.
273. Totalitarian society ... has systematically destroyed all independent groups and autonomous opinion. It resembles the atomistic (i.e. mass) society in that the individual again operates without the backing of any group of his own. It differs from the atomistic (i.e. mass) society, however, in the fact that this time the atomized individual faces the full power of the omnipotent Leviathan state. GERARD DeGRE, "Freedom and Social Structure," *American Sociological Review XI*, 1946
274. The future belongs to crowds. DON DELILLO
275. What he wishes to believe, that is what each man believes. DEMOSTHENES (371-322 B.C.), *Olynthiac*, 349 B.C.
276. Integration of government agencies and coordination of authority maybe called the keystone principle of fascist administration. LAWRENCE DENNIS (1893-1977), *The Coming American Fascism*, 1936.
277. If a set of beliefs prescribes a corresponding code of conduct, if the believer has internalized this code, and if he now perceives himself as living up to it, he is also likely to experience a gain in his own feelings of righteousness... KARL W. DEUTSCH (1912-1992), in *Sanity and Survival: Psychological Aspects of War and Peace* (Jerome Frank), 1967.
278. The ... enforcement of decisions [by totalitarian government] depends to a large extent on the compliance habits of the population. Compliance and enforcement are interdependent; they reinforce each other, and in the varying proportions in which they do so, for as it were a continuous spectrum. KARL W. DEUTSCH (1912-1992), "Cracks in the Monolith," in *Totalitarianism* (Karl J. Friedrich, ed), 1954.
279. [F]or every attitude, there is a debased form of it described as an "ism." For liberality, liberalism; for intellectuality, intellectualism,...for objectivity, objectivism. MAX DEUTSCHER, *Subjecting and Objecting*, 1983.
280. In general, values are debased to the degree to which they are treated as absolutes...To treat something as an absolute, is to absolve it of the ordinary everyday demands of experience and reason. MAX DEUTSCHER, *Subjecting and Objecting*, 1983.
281. To lose one's passions is to lose one's capacity for that close and continued involvement with things and people without which one cannot bear with the difficulties, pains, and shocks of discovery and continual acquaintance. MAX DEUTSCHER, *Subjecting and Objecting*, 1983.
282. Certainly nothing can justify or condemn means except ends, results. But we have to include consequences impartially.... It is willful folly to fasten upon some single end or consequence which is liked, and permit the view of that to blot from perception all other undesired and undesirable consequences. JOHN DEWEY (1859-1952), *Human Nature and Conduct*, 1922.
283. Just now the favorite ideological psychological candidate for control of human activity is love of power. JOHN DEWEY (1859-1952), *Freedom and Culture*, 1939.

284. Any doctrine that...weakens personal responsibility and for action...helps create attitudes that welcome and support the totalitarian state. JOHN DEWEY (1859-1952).
285. It was the best of times, it was the worst of times; it was the age of wisdom, it was the age of foolishness; it was the epoch of belief, it was the epoch of incredulity; it was the season of light, it was the season of darkness; it was the spring of hope, it was the winter of despair; we had everything before us, we had nothing before us; we were all going directly to Heaven, we were all going the other way. CHARLES DICKENS (1812-1870), *A Tale of Two Cities*, 1868.
286. Watch out for the fellow who talks about putting things in order! Putting things in order always means getting other people under your control. DENIS DIDEROT (1713-1784).
287. All civil and national institutions eventually degenerate and consecrate themselves and supernatural and divine laws. Similarly all supernatural and divine laws strengthen and maintain themselves by degenerating into civil and national laws. This reciprocal degeneration is one of the metamorphoses most fatal to the happiness and instruction of the human race. DENIS DIDEROT (1713-1754), "Political Fragments," *Complete Works*.
288. Everything carries within itself a hidden germ of destruction. DENIS DIDEROT (1713-1784), "Political Fragments," *Complete Works*.
289. To attempt the destruction of our passions is the height of folly. What a noble aim is that of the zealot who tortures himself like a madman in order to desire nothing, love nothing, feel nothing, and who, if he succeeded, would end up a complete monster! DENIS DIDEROT (1713-1784).
290. Disturbances in society are never more fearful than when those who are stirring up the trouble can use the pretext of religion to mask their true designs. DENIS DIDEROT (1713-1784).
291. Absolute despotism equates itself with the belief in absolute human happiness -- that it is an all-inclusive and universal tyranny. MILOVAN DJILAS (1911-1997), *The New Class*, 1957.
292. [Tyranny is] to compel men not to think as they do, to compel men to express thoughts that are not their own. MILOVAN DJILAS (1911-1997), *The New Class*, 1957.
293. The terrible thing is that one cannot be a Communist and not let oneself in for the shameful act of recantation. One cannot be a Communist and preserve one iota of one's personal integrity. MILOVAN DJILAS (1911-1997), *Encounter*, December 1979.
294. [Ideology] is a system of related beliefs about the political world does and should operate.... One who holds an ideology has, in effect, a series of expectations or a map in his mind, orienting him and telling how things work. Thus, he knows where to fit facts that he perceives and how to understand their significance. KENNETH M. DOLBEARE and PATRICIA DOLBEARE, *American Ideologies*, 1971.
295. The choice or creation of political enemies is often a symbolic way of widening political support. KENNETH M. DOLBEARE & MURRAY J. EDELMAN, *American Politics: Policies, Power & Change*, 1977.
296. People ... who think and perceive in ideological terms may care most about the abstract principles and rhetoric surrounding government. Those who are operationally oriented may be more concerned with solutions to concrete problems. KENNETH M. DOLBEARE & MURRAY J. EDELMAN, *American Politics: Policies, Power & Change*, 1977.
297. The soldier in battle is not forever whispering, "My cause, my cause." He is too busy for that. Ideology functions before battle, to get the man in, and after battle by blocking thoughts of escape. ... Identification with cause is like a joker in a deck of cards. It can substitute for any other card. The man who has it can better bear inferior material, temporary defeat, weariness or fear. JOHN

DOLLARD (1900-1980), *Fear In Battle*, 1943.

298. So long as man remains free he strives for nothing so incessantly and so painfully as to find something to worship.... [W]hat is essential is that all may be together in it. The craving for community of worship is the chief misery of...all humanity. For the sake of common worship they've slain each other with the sword. FYODOR DOSTOEVSKY (1821-1881), *The Brothers Karamazov*, 1879.
299. To crush, to annihilate a man utterly, to inflict on him the most terrible punishment so that the most ferocious murderer would shudder at it beforehand, one need only give him work of an absolutely, completely useless and irrational character. FEODOR DOSTOYEVSKY (1821-1881), *The House of the Dead*.
300. The Golden Age is the most implausible of all dreams. But for it men have given up their life and strength; for the sake of it prophets have died and been slain; without it the people will not live and cannot die. FYODOR DOSTOEVSKY (1821-1881), *The Possessed*, 1870-72.
301. Everyone, it seems, wishes to revenge himself upon someone for his own nullity. FYODOR DOSTOEVSKY (1821-1881), *Diary of a Writer*.
302. They imagine themselves isolated, insecure, stripped of moral uncertainties, locked in some enormous struggle with agencies they cannot readily see but whose existence they dimly sense. Paranoid appeals to those who worry that the traditional narratives that gave meaning to history are spiritually and intellectually bankrupt and have to be replaced by other systems of thought. As such, paranoia addresses the fundamental human need for a worldview that situates seemingly random events in a coherent scenario: in other words, an ideological faith. IAN DOWBIGGIN, *Suspicious Minds: The Triumph of Paranoia in Everyday Life*, 1999.
303. Next to fear, suspicion may be the most communicable, contagious attitude. From an evolutionary standpoint paranoid delusions are the atavistic relics of basic instincts and thought formations that served an adaptive purpose when life was precarious, a residue of primitive existence when human technology did little to protect people from the natural elements. These mental conditions may once have helped people to survive. IAN DOWBIGGIN, *Suspicious Minds: The Triumph of Paranoia in Everyday Life*, 1999.
304. [In] Marx's version of utopia...government of the sort we know would no longer be necessary because of the so-called "withering: of the state into civil society. What is critical here, however, and what makes Marxist prophecy no different from many strains to be found in the West, is that the last stage exists always at some unknown point in the future and justifies the injustices, inconveniences and inequities which must be borne between now and then. MAX DUBLIN, *Futurehype: The Tyranny of Prophecy*, 1989.
305. A fanatic is a man that does what he thinks th' Lord wud do if He knew th' facts iv th' case. FINLEY PETER DUNNE (1867-1936), *Mr. Dooley's Philosophy*, 1900.
306. [During the French Revolution] the State exercised over the manufacturing industry the most unlimited and arbitrary jurisdiction. It disposed without scruple of the resources of manufacturers; it decided who would be allowed to work, what things it should be permitted to make, what materials should be employed, what processes followed, what forms should be given to productions. It was not enough to do well, to o better; it was necessary to do according to the rules. CHARLES DUNOYER (1786-1862), *The Passage To Liberty*.
307. Nothing is clearer in history than the adoption by successful rebels of the methods they were accustomed to condemn in the forces they disposed. WILL DURANT (1885-1981) and ARIEL DURANT (1898-1981), *The Lessons of History*, 1968.
308. [The] ideological method [consists of] the use of notions to govern the collation of facts rather than deriving notions from them. EMIL DURKHEIM (1858-1917), *The Rules of Sociological Method* (S.

Lukes, ed), 1982.

309. In order that the originality of the idealist whose dreams transcend his century may find expression, it is necessary that the originality of the criminal, who is below the level of his time, shall also be possible. One does not exist without the other. EMILE DURKHEIM (1858-1917), *The Rules of Sociological Method*, 1895.
310. If that collective force, the state, is to be the liberator of the individual, it has itself need of some counterbalance; it must be restrained by other collective forces, that is, by ... secondary groups ... it is out of this conflict of social forces that individual liberties are born. EMILE DURKHEIM (1858-1917), *Professional Ethics and Civic Morals*, 1895.
311. No one can go on being a rebel too long without turning into an autocrat. LAWRENCE DURRELL (1912-1990), *Balthazar*, 1958.
312. [O]ne way by which we attempt to recognize terrorist strategies of the state is by identifying the planning and utilization of especially dreadful violence and/or violence which is apt to appear highly unpredictable to the members of identity groups at which it is directed. RAYMOND D. DUVALL & MICHAEL STOHL, "Governance by Terror," in *The Politics of Terrorism* (Michael Stohl), 1988.
313. If terrorism is to be believed to be a relatively more effective means of governance, then, the government must estimate that terrorism will perform better than alternative means in eliminating or quieting some actual or perceived potential challenge or threat. This is a first important principle for a theory of state terrorism. RAYMOND D. DUVALL & MICHAEL STOHL, "Governance by Terror," in *The Politics of Terrorism* (Michael Stohl), 1988.

## ~E~

314. Another and cruder motive undoubtedly swung many once refined liberals into the camp of the brutalitarian tyrants. That is an underlying irresistible wish to associate with power. MAX EASTMAN (1883-1969), *Reflections on the Failure of Socialism*, 1944.
315. One strength of the Communist system ... is that it has some of the characteristics of a religion and inspires the emotions of a religion. ALBERT EINSTEIN (1879-1955), *Out of My Later Years*, 1950.
316. Any power must be the enemy of mankind which enslaves the individual by terror and force, whether it arises under a fascist or Communist gulag. All that is valuable inhuman society depends upon the opportunity for development according to the individual. ALBERT EINSTEIN (1879-1955), 1933.
317. Man is ready to die for an idea, provided that idea is not quite clear to him. PAUL ELDRIDGE (1888-1982).
318. But to minds strongly marked by the positive and negative qualities that create severity – strength of will, conscious rectitude of purpose, narrowness of imagination and intellect, great powers of self control, and a disposition to exert control over others – prejudices come as the natural food of tendencies which can get not sustenance out of that complex, fragmentary, doubt-provoking knowledge which we call truth. GEORGE ELIOT, *The Mill on the Floss*.
319. It is by no means self-evident that human beings are most real when most violently excited. Violent physical passions do not in themselves differentiate men from each other, but rather tend to reduce them to the same state. T. S. ELIOT (1888-1965), *After Strange Gods*, 1934.
320. Half of the harm that is done in this world is due to people who want to feel important. They don't mean to do harm. But the harm does not interest them. T. S. ELIOT (1888-1965).

321. I suspect that in our loathing of totalitarianism, there is infused a good deal of admiration for its efficiency. T. S. ELIOT (1888-1965), 1939.
322. The radical abolitionist movement also revealed the characteristic egalitarian tension between the purity of the movement and reform of society...radical abolitionists constructed a Manichean conflict between good and evil. RICHARD J. ELLIS, *The Dark Side of the Left: Illiberal Egalitarianism in America*, 1998.
323. Sweeping hostility toward the system erodes the ability to make important distinctions between reform and reaction, abuse and legality, democracy and fascism. Every institution seems to be infested with the same malevolent spirit of greed and violence. RICHARD J. ELLIS, *The Dark Side of the Left: Illiberal Egalitarianism in America*, 1998.
324. The romance with the oppressed “other” and the construction of a bipolar battle between good and evil emerge out of an oppositional consciousness shaped by giving primacy to purity. But it is not purity alone that pushes the egalitarian left along illiberal tracks. As important is the egalitarian’s perfectionist faith, the belief that people are naturally good and that established institutions systematically thwart people’s almost infinite potential for goodness. RICHARD J. ELLIS, *The Dark Side of the Left: Illiberal Egalitarianism in America*, 1998.
325. Ritualistic or symbolic politics...usually involves concerns about social status...rather than about moral perfection. People may sometimes use moral issues as weapons in their fight to maintain social status. ALAN C. ELMS, *Personality in Politics*, 1976.
326. An ideology is not a system of ideas, but the justificatory use that can be made of certain ideas. ... Ideology is the whole understood in terms of the logic of a part... JON ELSTER, *Political Psychology*, 1993.
327. Beliefs born of passion serve passion badly. JON ELSTER, *Political Psychology*, 1993.
328. [H]uman beings seem to have a deep need to have sufficient reasons for what they do, and an equally deep aversion to situations in which reason gives no clear answer. They often need a belief – some belief or other – more than they need a correct belief. JON ELSTER, *Political Psychology*, 1993.
329. If a man fasten his attention of a single aspect of truth and apply himself to that alone for a long time, the truth becomes distorted and not itself but falsehood. RALPH WALDO EMERSON (1803-1882), *Essays: First Series*, 1841.
330. The world is always childish, and with each new geegaw or a revolution or new constitution that it finds, thinks it shall never cry any more. RALPH WALDO EMERSON (1803-1882), *Journal*, 1847.
331. Man exists for his own sake and not to add a laborer to the state. RALPH WALDO EMERSON (1803-1882), *Journal*, 1839.
332. A mob is a society of bodies voluntarily bereaving themselves of reason. RALPH WALDO EMERSON (1803-1882), *Essays, First Series*, 1841.
333. Let me never fall into the vulgar mistake of dreaming that I am persecuted whenever I am contradicted. RALPH WALDO EMERSON (1803-1882), *Journals*, 1838.
334. We are reformers in spring and summer, in autumn and winter we stand by the old; reformers in the morning, conservatives at night. Reform is affirmative; conservatism goes for comfort, reform for truth. RALPH WALDO EMERSON (1803-1882).
335. It is not the suffering but the cause which makes the martyr. *ENGLISH PROVERB*.
336. A conspiracy does indeed exist, and ... it is extremely large, deeply entrenched, and therefore

extremely powerful. It is working to achieve absolute and brutal rule over the entire human race by using wars, depressions, inflations and revolutions to further its aims. The conspiracy's one unchanging purpose has been to destroy all religion, all existing governments, and all traditional human institutions, and to build a new world order ... upon the wreckage they have created. A. RALPH EPPERSON, *The Unseen Hand: An Introduction to the Conspiratorial View of History*, 1985.

337. Nothing manifests a weaker will, nothing requires a feebler and weaker mind than the enjoyment of revenge. In trying to appear brave by not allowing an injury to go unpunished, a person displays only immaturity, since he cannot control his mind in a particular situation. DISIDERIUS ERASMUS (1466-1536), *The Essential Erasmus* (John P. Dolan), 1964.
338. Ideological leaders...are subject to excessive fears which they can master only by reshaping their contemporaries; while those contemporaries are always glad to have their thoughts shaped by those who so desperately care to do so. ERIK H. ERIKSON (1902-1994), *Young Man Luther*, 1958.
339. [Ideology is] an unconscious tendency underlying religious and scientific as well as political thought: the tendency at a given time to make facts amenable to ideas, and ideas to facts, in order to create a world image convincing enough to support the collective and the individual sense of identity. ERIK H. ERIKSON (1902-1994), *Young Man Luther*, 1958.
340. Ideologies, then, seem to provide meaningful combinations of the oldest and the newest in a group's ideals. They thus channel the forceful earnestness, the sincere asceticism, and the eager indignation of youth toward that social frontier where the struggle between conservatism and radicalism is most alive. On that frontier, fanatic ideologists do their busy work and psychopathic leaders do their dirty work. ERIK H. ERIKSON (1902-1994), *Identity, Youth and Crisis*, 1968.
341. [I]deologies must ask, as the prize for the promised possession of a future, for uncompromising commitment to some absolute hierarchy of values and some rigid principle of conduct, be that principle total obedience to tradition, if the future is the earthly kingdom of the ancestors; total resignation, if the future is to be of another world altogether; total martial discipline, if the future is reserved for some brand of armed superman; total inner reform, if the future is perceived as an advance facsimile of heaven on earth... ERIK H. ERIKSON (1902-1994), *Identity, Youth and Crisis*, 1968.
342. It is by this very totalism of ideologies that the infantile superego is apt to regain its territory from adolescent identity; for when established identities become outworn or unfinished ones threaten to remain incomplete, special crises compel men to wage holy wars, by the cruelest means, against those who seem to question or threaten their unsafe ideological bases. ERIK H. ERIKSON (1902-1994), *Childhood and Society*, 1950.
343. Perhaps no other form of crime in history has been a better index to social disruption and change, for outbreaks of witchcraft mania have generally taken place in societies which are experiencing a shift in religious focus -- societies, we would say, confronting a relocation of boundaries. KAI T. ERIKSON, *Wayward Puritans: A Study in the Sociology of Deviance*, 1966.
344. The agencies of control often seem to define their job as that of keeping deviance within bounds rather than of obliterating it altogether. KAI T. ERIKSON, *Wayward Puritans: A Study in the Sociology of Deviance*, 1980.
345. A wise fellow who is also worthless always charms the rabble. EURIPIDES (480-405 B.C.), *Hippolytus*, 428 B.C.
346. Passion overcometh sober thought; And this is the cause of direct ills to man. EURIPIDES (480-405 B.C.), *Medea*.
347. A demagogue, puffing up the people with words, sways them to his interest. When calamity follows he escapes from justice. EURIPIDES (480-405 B.C.), *The Suppliant Woman*, 421 B.C.

## ~F~

348. What is usually called stubbornness in the behavior of adult persons is an attempt to use other persons as instruments in the struggle with the superego. By provoking people to be unjust, they strive for a feeling of moral superiority which is needed to increase their self-esteem... OTTO FENICHEL (1897-1946), *The Psychoanalytic Theory of Neuroses*, 1945.
349. The feeling, "Whatever I do is still less wicked than what has been done to me," is needed as a weapon against the superego and, if successful, may bring relief from feelings of guilt. OTTO FENICHEL (1897-1947), *The Psychoanalytic Theory of Neuroses*, 1945.
350. A man is a lion in his own cause. DAVID FERGUSSON (1525-1598), *Scottish Proverbs*, 1641.
351. It is theoretically possible to create a small elite guard psychically isolated from the general populace, a kind of Janissary secret police, and to use them to terrorize a nation to which they are strangers, but should such bodies come into existence it would not be a reflection of technological change, but of the willingness or helplessness of the citizenry that permitted them to be created in the first place. VICTOR FERKISS, *Technological Man: The Myth and the Reality*, 1969.
352. Whenever morality is based on theology, whenever right is made dependent on divine authority, the most immoral, unjust, infamous things can be justified and established. LUDWIG FEUERBACK (1804-1872), *The Essence of Christianity*, 1841.
353. There is no zeal blinder than that which impaired with the love of justice against offenders. HENRY FIELDING (1707-1754), *Tom Jones*, 1749.
354. Let us remember that revolutions do not always establish freedom. Our own free institutions were not the offspring of our own revolution. They existed before. MILLARD FILLMORE (1800-1874), U. S. President, *Message to Congress*, 5 December 1852.
355. In one's absorption in an ideal, it is possible to imagine that one generation can be sacrificed for the sake of its descendants. LOUIS FISCHER (1896-1970), *The God That Failed*, 1949.
356. The Nihilist rejects not only his own existence but also the existences that confirm it: "If I can't be anything, I'll be nothing." He rejects existence without being eliminate it. Like the playwright Samuel Beckett, he comes to the zero point – and zero times anything equals zero. MARSHALL W. FISHWICK, "The Ethics of Popular Culture," in *Ethical Dimensions of Political Communication* (Robert E. Denton, ed), 1991.
357. My generation of radicals and breakers-down never found anything to take the place of the old virtues of work and courage and the old graces of courtesy and politeness. F. SCOTT FITZGERALD (1896-1940), *Letters*, 1963.
358. Political ideology [is] a set of interrelated attitudes that fit together into some coherent and consistent view of or orientation toward the political world..... If everyone had a strong ideology, attitudes would be determined by that ideology. To a considerable extent this appears to happen to the most politically alert and concerned in our society, but this group is only a very small minority of the total adult population. WILLIAM H. FLANIGAN & NANCY H. ZINGALE, *Political Behavior of the American Electorate*, 1975.
359. Fanaticism is faith, the essence of faith, active faith, the faith that works miracles. GUSTAVE FLAUBERT (1821-1880), *Letters*.
360. Nothing great is ever done without fanaticism. Fanaticism is religion; and the eighteenth-century

philosophers who decried the form actually overthrew the latter. GUSTAVE FLAUBERT (1821-1880), *Letters*.

361. Fanaticism is the child of false zeal and of superstition, the father of intolerance and of persecution. JOHN WILLIAM FLETCHER (1729-1789).
362. I lead a bitter life, devoid of all external joy and in which I have nothing to keep me going but a sort of permanent rage, which weeps at times from impotence, but which is constant. GUSTAVE FLAUBERT (1821-1880), *Correspondence*.
363. The wholesale, utopian, social engineer determined to impose his long-term policies no matter what the immediate discontents, is by his cloth precluded from learning from his mistakes. Nor can he take account of the insight that there will always be unintended consequences, whether good, bad, or mixed. ANTONY FLEW, *The Politics of Procrustes*, 1981.
364. Ideologues are prone to mistaking their ideal for the real. Whether consciously or not, they tend to see what they want to see and to find what they want to find. The impulse to evaluate reality by how it vindicates the greater theory leads to a selective use of facts, cooking the books, and simply making things up when the facts don't cooperate. DANIEL J. FLYNN, *Intellectual Morons: How Ideology Makes Smart People Fall For Stupid Ideas*, 2004.
365. Humans desire meaning in their life. With the decline of religion among the well-educated, intellectuals increasingly look for meaning outside the church, temple, and mosque. Ideology can fill this void. It bestows an easy-to-understand explanation for the way the world works. DANIEL J. FLYNN, *Intellectual Morons: How Ideology Makes Smart People Fall For Stupid Ideas*, 2004.
366. Ideologies and worldviews tend to be self-sealing. The Marxist ideology sometimes has this quality. If you fail to see the truth of the Marxist ideology, that just shows that your social consciousness has not been raised. The very fact that you reject Marxist ideology shows that you are not capable of understanding it and that you are in need of reeducation. This is perfect self-sealing. ROBERT J. FOGELIN & WALTER SINOTT-ARMSTRONG, *Understanding Arguments: An Introduction to Informal Logic*, 1991.
367. Man is so made that when anything fires his soul impossibilities vanish. JEAN de LA FONTAINE (1621-1695), *Fables*, 1671.
368. Sire, the desire for perfection is the worst disease that ever afflicted the human mind. JEAN De LA FONTAINE (1757-1821).
369. Education's chief concern is its search for truth; propaganda's chief concern is its determination to incite action or active belief. True education always seeks its goal by discarding all that it discovers to be false, biased and misleading, while propaganda often seeks its goal either by hiding or ignoring the false and the misleading or deliberately distorting and using them to advantage in its efforts to support with emotional fervor biased attitudes and opinions. NICK AARON FORD (1904-1982), *Language in Uniform*, 1967.
370. Positive ideals are becoming a curse, for they can seldom be achieved without someone being killed, maimed, or interned. E. M. FORSTER (1879-1970), 1939.
371. There lies at the back of every creed something terrible and hard for which the worshiper may one day be required to suffer. E. M. FORSTER (1879-1970), *Two Cheers for Democracy*, 1951.
372. "For your own good" is a persuasive argument that will eventually make a man agree to his own destruction. JANET FRAME, *Faces In The Water*, 1982.
373. I like truth. I think mankind needs it; but people have a greater need of lies -- lies that flatter, console, and open endless possibilities. Without lies, humanity would die of boredom and futility. ANATOLE

FRANCE (1844-1924), *La Vie en Fleur*, 1923.

374. To die for an idea is to set a rather high price upon conjecture. ANATOLE FRANCE (1844-1924), *The Revolt of the Angels*, 1914.
375. A man in a passion rides a mad horse. BENJAMIN FRANKLIN (1706-1790), *Poor Richard's Almanac*, 1749.
376. Another dangerous form of addiction is ideological possession, which can make the individual just as "drunk," puffed up, and dissociated as a drug, and in addition misleads him into wanting to impose his ideas on society through force. MARIE-LOUISE VON FRANZ, *Psychotherapy*, 1993.
377. What anthropologists know as "participation mystique," or "a mysterious communal mind," sounds lovely, but it can mean that tribal members all know exactly the same thing and no one knows anything else. MARIE-LOUISE VON FRANZ, in *Meeting the Shadow* (Zweig and Abrams), 1991.
378. It's surprising how the world -- particularly human nature -- is often more precisely observed by people who do not like what they see. Perhaps their feelings are more ambiguous than they suppose. MICHAEL FRAYN, *Constructions*, 1974.
379. Religion is the idol of the mob; it adores everything it does not understand... We know the crimes that fanaticism in religion has caused; let us be careful not to introduce fanaticism in philosophy. FREDERICK THE GREAT (1712-1768), *Letter to Voltaire*, 1775.
380. [Ideologies] aim at cementing the word-concept relationship. By determining the meaning of a concept they can attach a single meaning to a political term. MICHAEL FREEDEN, "Political Concepts and Ideological Morphology," *Journal of Political Philosophy* 2, No. 1, 1994.
381. [W]hen individuals come together in a group all their individual inhibitions fall away and all the cruel, brutal and destructive instincts, which lie dormant in individuals as relics of a primitive epoch, are stirred up to find free expression. SIGMUND FREUD (1856-1939), *Group Psychology and the Analysis of the Ego*, 1921.
382. Any critical examination of Marxist theory is forbidden, doubts of its correctness are punished in the same way as heresy was once punished by the Catholic Church. The writings of Marx have taken the place of the Bible and the Koran as a source of revelation, though they would seem to no more free from contradictions and obscurities than those older sacred books. SIGMUND FREUD (1856-1939), *The Question of a Weltanschauung*, 1964.
383. A group is extraordinarily credulous and open to influence, it has no critical faculty, and the improbably does not exist for it. It thinks in images, which call one another up by association...and whose agreement with reality is never checked by any reasonable agency. The feelings of a group are always very simple and very exaggerated, so that a group knows neither doubt nor certainty. SIGMUND FREUD (1856-1939), *Group Psychology and the Analysis of the Ego*, 1921.
384. Groups have never thirsted after truth. They demand illusions, and cannot do without them. They constantly give what is unreal precedence over what is real; they are almost as strongly influenced by what is untrue as what is true. SIGMUND FREUD (1856-1939), *Group Psychology and the Analysis of the Ego*, 1921.
385. Most Americans would say that they disapproved of violence. But what they really mean is that they believe it should be a monopoly of the state. Not only do people accept violence if it is perpetrated by legitimate authority, they also regard violence against certain kinds of people as inherently legitimate, no matter who commits them. EDGAR Z. FRIEDENBERG, *New York Review of Books*, 1966.
386. [Counterfeit tolerance includes] the opportunism of one who seeks, or accepts, tolerance for himself, as a minority, but who would deny it to others if ever he should be in a position to grant it. CARL J.

FRIEDRICH, *The New Belief In The Common Man*, 1942.

387. The lure of secrecy consists for the possessor of a secret partly in the possibility of betraying it. It gives the possessor of a secret a certain sense of exclusivity whereby he is set apart from ordinary mortals. CARL J. FRIEDRICH, *The Pathology of Politics*, 1972.
388. Paranoid patients make incorrect inferences about the mental states of others – believing that certain people are against you is an example of such an inference. CHRIS FRITH & DANIEL WOLPERT, *The Neuroscience of Social Interaction*, 2003.
389. Guilt feelings have proved to be the most effective means of forming and increasing dependency, and herein lies one of the social functions of authoritarian ethics throughout society. ERICH FROMM (1900-1980), *Man For Himself*, 1947.
390. There is perhaps no phenomenon which contains so much destructive feeling as "moral indignation," which permits envy or hate to be acted out under the guise of virtue. ERICH FROMM (1900-1980), *Man For Himself*, 1947.
391. The aim of sadism is to transform a man into a thing, something animate into something inanimate, since by complete and absolute control the living loses one essential quality of life - freedom. ERICH FROMM (1900-1980), *Escape From Freedom*, 1941.
392. The quest for certainty blocks the search for meaning. Uncertainty is the very condition to impel man to unfold his powers. ERICH FROMM (1900-1980), *Man For Himself*, 1947.
393. Experience suggests that if men cannot struggle on behalf of a just cause because that just cause was victorious in an earlier generation, then they will struggle against the just cause. They will struggle for the sake of struggle. They will struggle, in other words, out of a certain boredom. FRANCIS FUKUYAMA, *The End of History and the Last Man*, 1992.
394. It is a curiosity of human nature that lack of self-assurance seems to breed an exaggerated sense of power and mission. J. WILLIAM FULBRIGHT (1905-1995), U. S. Senator, *The Arrogance Of Power*, 1966.
395. Power tends to confuse itself with virtue and a great nation is peculiarly susceptible to the idea that its power is a sign of God's favor. Once imbued with the idea of a mission, a great nation easily assumes that it has the means as well as the duty to do God's work. J. WILLIAM FULBRIGHT (1905-1995), U. S. Senator, *Speech*, 21 April 1966.
396. When "freedom" is worshipped as a sublime and mystical state rather than as simply a necessary condition for human fulfillment, the faith in freedom itself ceases to express the democratic spirit and becomes something quite different, it ceases to express the conscience of a conservative and becomes instead the faith of a fanatic. J. WILLIAM FULLBRIGHT (1905-1995), U. S. Senator, *Speech*, 1964.
397. The weakest and most timorous are the most revengeful and implacable. THOMAS FULLER (1654-1734), *Gnomologia*, 1732.
398. Zeal without knowledge is fire without light. THOMAS FULLER (1654-1734), *Gnomologia*, 1732.

~G~

399. Imaginal thinking is neither more nor less than constructing an image of the environment, running the model faster than the environment, and predicting that the environment will behave as the model does... E. GALANTER and M. GERSTENHABER, "On Thought: The Extrinsic Theory," *Psychological*

*Review*, 63, 1956.

400. Idealism increases in direct proportion to one's distance from the problem. JOHN GALSWORTHY (1867-1933), *Maid In Waiting*, 1931.
401. The most heinous and the most cruel crimes of which history has record have been committed under the cover of religion or equally noble motives. MOHANDAS K. GANDHI (1869-1948), *Young India*, July 7, 1950.
402. The *Belief System* provides an overriding *raison d'être*, a seemingly new system of values, an external focus of attention. It is furthermore "sanctified" or given a lofty level of spiritual and worldly significance. The [cult] members feel that instead of being preoccupied with materialism, competition, and acquisitiveness, or contemplating their navels in philosophical and existential dilemmas, they are now involved in something which is not only captivating but of vital importance to the group, and by extension, to the world. MARC GALANTER, *Cults and New Religious Movements: A Report of the American Psychiatric Association*, 1989.
403. A charismatic group consists of a dozen or more members, even hundreds or thousands. It is characterized by the following psychological elements: members (1) have a *shared belief system*, (2) sustain a high level of *cohesiveness*, (3) are strongly influenced by the group's *behavioral norms*, and (4) impute *charismatic (or sometimes divine)* power to the group or its leadership. MARC GALANTER, *Cults: Faith, Healing, and Coercion*, 1989.
404. *When people become involved in a charismatic group, an inverse relationship exists between their feelings of emotional distress and the degree to which they are affiliated with that group.* Individual's capacity for commitment to the group is mediated by the relief of neurotic distress, relief that they experience on affiliation and continued membership; the closer they feel toward the group, the less distress they feel. MARC GALANTER, *Cults: Faith, Healing, and Coercion*, 1989.
405. While the public may need ultimately to rally around some kind of a central figure, the choice of a specific leader is largely accidental. The leader who would succeed, then, is the one who best senses and delivers what an audience already desires. HOWARD GARDNER, *Leading Minds: An Anatomy of Leadership*, 1995.
406. Political extremism involves two prime ingredients: an excessively simple diagnosis of the world's ills and a conviction that there are identifiable villains back of it all. JOHN W. GARDNER (1912-2002), *No Easy Victories*, 1968.
407. The Communist Party here never mastered the art of persuading very large numbers of Americans, deceptively or otherwise. The only deception at which is proved adept was self-deception – the basic cause of its demise as an effective political trend. JOHN GATES, *The Story of American Communism*, 1958.
408. The distortion that dominates paranoia is a quasi-delusional or delusional view of the world and one's place in it. The underlying cause that leads to the delusion is invariably a severely damaged and debased sense of self. To protect pride and face – to preserve self-esteem – the paranoid utilizes his imagination to find enemies on whom he can blame his desperate straits. WILLARD GAYLIN, MD, *Hatred: The Psychological Descent Into Violence*, 2003.
409. It is nationalism which engenders nations, and not the other way around. ERNEST GELLNER (1925-1995), *Nations and Nationalism*, 1983.
410. A truly committed movement participant experiences an intensity of involvement over ideological differences that the ordinary person feels only for events which threaten his immediate well-being, his family, or home. LUTHER P. GERLACH, "Movements of Revolutionary Change: Some Structural Characteristics," in *Social Movements of the Sixties and Seventies* (Jo Freeman, ed.), 1983.

411. To the ideologist, reality has at last bared her secrets and the world is waiting for conquest by those who have the necessary knowledge that man himself is the ultimate creator of reality. Knowledge and power are joined in ideology in such a way that the only knowledge deserving of the name is that which is instrumental to attaining power and dominion over the environment and, ultimately, over man himself in his innermost being. Reality to ideological thought is something that needs to be “made up” rather than “made out.” DANTE GERMINO (1932-2002), *The Revival of Political Theory*, 1967.
412. There are those who lust for the simple answers of doctrine or decree. They are on the left and right. They are not confined to a single part of our society. They are the terrorists of the mind. A. BARTLESS GIAMATTI (1838-1989), *Baccalaureate Address*, Yale University, May 26, 1986.
413. Fanaticism obliterates the feelings of humanity. EDWARD GIBBON (1737-1794), *Decline and Fall of the Roman Empire*, 1909.
414. The fierce and partial writers of the times, ascribing all virtue to themselves, and imputing all guilt to their adversaries, have painted the battle of the angels and the demons. EDWARD GIBBON (1737-1794), *Decline and Fall of the Roman Empire*, 1909.
415. If it's a despot you would dethrone, see first that his throne erected within you is destroyed. KAHLIL GIBRAN (1883-1931), *The Prophet*, 1923.
416. The very act of sacrifice magnifies the one who sacrifices himself to the point where his sacrifice is much more costly to humanity than would have been the loss of those for whom he is sacrificing himself. But in his abnegation lies the secret of his grandeur. ANDRE GIDE (1869-1951), *Journals*, 1931.
417. Though a revolution may call itself “national,” it always marks the victory of a single party. ANDRE GIDE (1869-1951), *Journals*, 1941.
418. All ideologies are relative; the only absolute is the torment men inflict on each other. YEVGENIA GINSBURG (1904-1977).
419. Vengeance is a vicious circle whose effect on primitive societies can only be surmised, for us the circle has been broken. We owe our good fortune to one of our social institutions above all: the judicial system, which serves to deflect the menace of vengeance. The system does not suppress vengeance; rather, it effectively limits it to a single act of reprisal, enacted by a sovereign authority specializing in this particular function. The decisions of the judiciary are invariably presented as the final word on vengeance. RENE GIRARD, *Violence and the Sacred*, 1977.
420. All of the evil in the world is the fault of the self-styled pure in heart, a result of their eagerness to unearth secrets and expose them to the light of the sun. JEAN GIRAUDOUX (1882-1944), *Electra*, 1937.
421. While men fondly dote on their private apprehensions, and every conceited Opinionist sets up an infallible chair in his own brain, nothing can be expected but eternal tumult and disorder. JOSEPH GLANVILLE (1636-1680), *Defense of the Vanity of Dogmatizing*, 1665.
422. The mob that would die for a belief seldom hesitates to inflict death upon any opposing heretical groups. ELLEN GLASGOW (1874-1945), *I Believe*.
423. For the fanatic, delusional readings of reality, hallucinations, divinations, revolutions -- all coalesce as claims to power and draw on a community or group's own uncertainty and fear. The fantasy of power depends on domination; it may even become the vehicle for a collective identity, with the delusional world being shared publicly as national policy or revenge. JAMES M. GLASS, *Delusion: Internal Dimensions of Political Life*, 1985.

424. It is not unusual to find in political life a Manichean split between absolute good and absolute evil, nor is it unusual to find such splits in ethical systems that are held together by rigid positions and arguments. Such readings of politics may derive from internal, psychodynamic structures projected in language as ideological or religious dogma, as the isolation of a racial or ethnic group as the bearer of a historical evil, or as the imposition of tyrannical laws. JAMES M. GLASS, *Delusion: Internal Dimensions of Political Life*, 1985.
425. The fantasy of power depends on domination; it may even become the vehicle for a collective identity, with the delusional world being shared publicly as national policy or revenge. As the source for political definition and concepts, delusion may replace more consensually derived or historically conceived values and ideas. JAMES M. GLASS, *Delusion: Internal Dimensions of Political Life*, 1985.
426. Revolution is engendered by an indignation with tyranny, yet is itself pregnant with tyranny... An attempt to scrutinize men's thoughts and punish their opinions is of all kinds of despotism the most odious: yet this is peculiarly characteristic of a period of revolution.... There is no period more at was with the existence of liberty. WILLIAM GODWIN (1756-1836), *An Inquiry Concerning Political Justice*, 1793.
427. Revolutions are the product of passion, not of sober, tranquil reason. There must be obstinate resistance to improvement on the one side, to engender a furious determination of realizing a system at a stroke on the other. WILLIAM GODWIN (1756-1836), *An Inquiry Concerning Political Justice*, 1793.
428. Passionate belief is a sign of ideological thinking when the passion is attached to the ideology itself instead of to the underlying moral or value issues. TED GOERTZEL, *Turncoats and True Believers*, 1992.
429. Perhaps the most general and important indicator of ideological thinking is a tendency to rigidly defend a consistent position regardless of any evidence that may be offered.... Facts are chosen selectively to illustrate and defend ideological beliefs. TED GOERTZEL, *Turncoats and True Believers*, 1992.
430. Reference on a narrow set of well-chosen analogies is a frequent, although not often noted, characteristic of ideological thinking. Ideological thinkers often use analogies when they have difficulty in defending untenable positions. TED GOERTZEL, *Turncoats and True Believers*, 1992.
431. We are so constituted that we believe the most incredible things: and, once they are engraved upon the memory, woe to him who would endeavor to erase them. JOHANN WOLFGANG Von GOETHE (1749-1832), *Sorrows Of Young Werther*, 1771.
432. People have a peculiar pleasure in making converts, that is, in causing others to enjoy what they enjoy, thus finding their own likeness represented and reflected back to them. JOHANN WOLFGANG Von GOETHE (1749-1832).
433. National hatred is strongest and most vehement on the lowest stage of culture. But there is a stage where it totally disappears and where one stands, so to say, above the nations and feels the good fortune or distress of his neighbor people as if it happen to his own. JOHANN WOLFGANG Von GOETHE (1749-1832).
434. Inflated egos develop from collective influences in two ways. First, leaders or celebrities begin to believe the mass projections they receive from dutiful followers, employees, and admirers as to their abilities, talents and wisdom. Second, the individual members of a group so completely identify with a collective mission that they, too, experience tremendous ego-inflation, viewing themselves, through their association with the group, as anointed persons, uniquely gifted and appointed as emissaries of a world-saving cause which, of course, all others must be converted to. JOHN D. GOLDHAGEN, *Under the Influence*, 1996.

435. No revolution ever succeeds as a factor of liberation unless the means used to further be identified with the purpose to be achieved. EMMA GOLDMAN (1869-1940), *My Further Disillusion*, 1925.
436. When anxiety besets groups or nations, it may force individuals into very strange situations and lead them to renounce reason and freedom to a degree that seems unbelievable to the objective observer. KURT GOLDSTEIN, *Human Nature in the Light of Psychopathology*, 1940.
437. In the history of the world it is the Absurd that has claimed the most martyrs. EDMOND de GONCOURT(1822-1896) and JULES de GONCOURT (1830-1870), *Journal*, 31 October 1860.
438. People who intensely believe in any extreme political ideology, whether left or right, are also likely to believe that some small groups conspire to achieve their evil ends by manipulating the social structure. WILLIAM J. GOODE, *The Celebration of Heroes*, 1978.
439. The critique of ideology depends on one of the fundamental distinctions in human thought, the distinction between appearance and reality. Rooted in common experience, it tells us not to put too much trust in appearances. EUGENE GOODHEART, *The Reign of Ideology*, 1997.
440. The person who claims to know the truth and is certain that others with an opposing view are the captives of illusion is a potential despot. The truth of ideology critics is not that they wish to rid the world of the concealed motive, the secret they have discovered. Their position of the secret becomes the basis of solidarity. EUGENE GOODHEART, *The Reign of Ideology*, 1997.
441. Resistance to ideological reduction has its own perils. ... Those who do not subscribe to a particular political ideology and who wish to protect literature and culture from servility to any and all causes may defeat their own purposes by conceiving the conflict in Manichean terms. EUGENE GOODHEART, *The Reign of Ideology*, 1997.
442. One of Oceania's greatest methods of personal disorientation is the dissolution of the family. Breaking the emotional ties between men and women, parents and children, eliminates bonds that would detract from a person's absolute devotion to the state. DAVID GOODMAN, in *Nineteen Eighty-Four to 1984* (C. L. Kuppig, ed.), 1984.
443. The human mind, with arrogance and fragility intermixed, loves to construct grand and overarching theories. ... But solutions often require the humbler, superficially less noble, and effectively opposite task of making proper divisions into different categories of meaning and causation. STEPHEN JAY GOULD (1941-2002), *Leonardo's Mountain of Clams and the Diet of Worms*, 1998.
444. As for the definition of subversion, the difficulty is not in giving it a definition, but that the definitions given conflict with the principles of liberal democracy. Moreover, once the definition is admitted into the law, few if any effective limits can be placed on the 'counter-subversion' activities of the state. ELIZABETH GRACE & COLIN LEYS, "The Concept of Subversion and its Implications," in *Dissent and the State* (C. E. S. Franks, ed), 1989.
445. Never contend with a man who has nothing to lose. BALTASAR GRACIAN (1601-1658), *The Art of Worldly Wisdom*, 1647.
446. [Ideology is] those sets of beliefs which have or are meant to have wide implications for the conduct of political life and even, in some cases, for its complete refashioning. The principle instances are very familiar -- socialism, liberalism, conservative, nationalism, Marxism and fascism. GORDON GRAHAM, *Politics In Its Place*, 1986.
447. Totalitarian governments attempt to create situations in which individuals receive all their cues for action from a state or state-party agency. They do this by capturing or destroying all other institutions and groups – religious, professional, and social – that guide and control human action. MORTON GRODZINS, *The Loyal And The Disloyal*, 1966.

448. Intellectuals and political leaders alike are fond of saying that participation in governmental affairs distinguishes citizens of democratic nations from those of totalitarian states. Nothing could be further from the truth. The totalitarian organization of life makes possible a degree of popular participation in civic affairs that is unknown to democracy. Except for periods of sleep, the totalitarian ideal is unremitting civic activity. MORTON GRODZINS, *The Loyal and the Disloyal*, 1966.
449. Among the masses, even in revolution, aristocracy must ever exist. Destroy it in the nobility, and it becomes centered in the rich and powerful Houses of Commons. Pull them down, and it still survives in the master and foreman in the workshop. FRANCOIS PIERRE GUIZOT (1787-1874), *Recollections to Serve the History of My Time*, 1858-67.
450. Revolutions begin with infatuation and end with incredulity. In their origin proud assurance is dominant; the roiling opinion disclaims doubt, and will not endure contradiction. At their completion, skepticism takes the place of disdain, and there is no longer any care for individual convictions, or any belief in truth. FRANCOIS PIERRE GUIZOT (1787-1874), *Premier of France*, 1851.
451. The men who make revolutions are always despised by those who profit from them. FRANCOIS PIERRE GUIZOT (1787-1874), Premier of France, *Corneille and His Times*, 1855.
452. The spirit of revolution, the spirit of insurrection, is a spirit radically opposed to liberty. FRANCOIS PIERRE GUIZOT (1787-1874), Premier of France, *Speech*, 29 December 1930.
453. Most participants in political violence, revolutionary or otherwise, do not carry complex ideologies around in their heads. The subtleties of justification articulated by revolutionary leaders penetrate to many of their followers in a congeries of phrases, vague ideas and symbols. Slogans invested with recollection of grievance and violence can serve as well or better than ideology to justify political violence. TED ROBERT GURR, *Why Men Rebel*, 1970.
454. Violence tends to stimulate counter-violence, a principle that applies to both dissidents and their opponents. The threat of violence has the same effect. ... Perhaps the best tactic of leaders of dissident groups, if violence occurs at all, is to represent it as the excesses of their followers, who they are capable of controlling if provided with concessions. TED ROBERT GURR, *Why Men Rebel*, 1970.
455. We have a tendency to impugn our opponents' motives, dismissing even respectable arguments as rationalizations for hostility ... When we think of our opponents as immoralists or hypocrites, we are more likely to turn to violence, and less likely to learn from the partial truths of our opponents' perspective. AMY GUTMAN, Democracy and It's Discontents, in *Liberal Modernism and Democratic Individuality* (Austin Sarat & Dana R., Villa, eds), 1996.
456. The terrorist asserts that he loves only the socially redeeming qualities of his murderous act, not the act itself. D. GUTTMAN, "Killers and Consumers: The terrorist and His Audience," *Social Research*, 46, 1979.



457. Movements born in hatred very quickly take on the characteristics of the thing they oppose. J. S. HABGOOD, Archbishop of York, 1986.
458. [For] many intelligent and well-informed terrorists...the unshakable belief that they work, fight, and die for purposes transcending their own narrow interests gives them the fanatic self-righteousness which makes their often self-destructive acts to destructive, dangerous, and contagious. FREDERICK HACKER, *Terrorism*, Vol 4, 1980.
459. In this grandiose identification with a sacred cause and its representatives, the terrorist, by giving up

his individual responsibility, and individual interest, experiences the “high” of “liberation” from his individual problems, guilt and anxiety. FREDERICK HACKER, *Terrorism*, Vol 4, 1980.

460. Personality structure both reflects external conditions and creates them by projection of inner conflict. Witnessing and living the tragic spectacle of battling identities, nobody, least of all the Irish themselves, can tell whether the Irish problem is really religious, national, economic, personal, or all of these. FREDERICK HACKER, *Crusaders, Criminals, Crazyies: Terror And Terrorism In Out Time*, 1976.
461. Democratic society is built [upon] the principle that the end does not justify the means. FRANKLYN S. HAIMAN, *Central States Speech Journal* 3, 1952.
462. It is almost impossible to convince people who are under the influence of ideological bigotry that those whom they regard as belonging to the enemy species are human. LOUIS J. HALLE, *The Ideological Imagination*, 1972.
463. The foundations of every ideology are false, in the sense that every ideology bases itself on some vision of the world that does not correspond to existential reality. LOUIS J. HALLE, *The Ideological Imagination*, 1972.
464. There is genuine idealism and there is the Pharisaism that imitates it; there is the psychological need to be dedicated to a cause;...there is the appeal of comradeship in the cause, the intoxication of marching in step with others, open hand or clenched fist upraised; there is the satisfaction of having an enemy in the form of a monstrous abstraction to whose image one can attach all the evils of our common life. Finally, there is the appeal of being free to indulge as a virtue the destructive impulse we all know. LOUIS J. HALLE, *The Ideological Imagination*, 1972.
465. So strong is this propensity of mankind to fall into mutual animosities, that no substantial occasion presents itself, the most frivolous and fanciful distinctions have been sufficient to kindle their unfriendly passions, and excite their most violent conflicts. ALEXANDER HAMILTON (1757-1804), *Federalist Paper 10*.
466. The power of reiterated suggestion and consecrated platitude...has brought our entire civilization to imminent peril. It is possible by these means to shape [one's] tastes, feelings, hopes...and convert him into a fanatic zealot, ready to torture and destroy and suffer mutilation and death for an obscene faith, baseless in fact, and morally monstrous. LEARNED HAND (1872-1961), U. S. Supreme Court Justice, 1951.
467. One cannot look too closely at and weigh in too golden scales the acts of men hot in their political excitement. SIR HENRY HAWKINS (1817-1907), English Jurist, *Ex Parte Castioni*, 1890.
468. [Ideology] offers human beings the illusion of an identity, of dignity, and of morality while making it easier for them to part with them. VACLAV HAVEL, *The Power of the Powerless*, 1985.
469. From the saintly and singled-minded idealist to the fanatic is often but a step. F. A. HAYEK (1899-1992), *The Road To Serfdom*, 1944.
470. “He who is not with is against us” is a principle basic to all fanaticism. ANDRE HAYNAL, et al., *Fanaticism: A Historical and Psychoanalytical Study*, 1983.
471. Fanaticism can be found in either or both camps in the struggles pitting one party against the other, but it is always to be found whenever the cause takes precedence over the human person, blind devotion over free will, obsession over discernment. ANDRE HAYNAL, et al., *Fanaticism: A Historical and Psychoanalytical Study*, 1983.
472. Irritation at the imperfection of the surrounding world - at other people, parents, etc., - is actually irritation resulting from the realization of the non-reality of megalomaniacal ideas of perfection.

This...is linked to the narcissistic structures of certain intellectuals, pushing them to aggressiveness which can become deadly. ANDRE HAYNAL, et. al, *Fanaticism: A Historical and Psychoanalytical Study*, 1983.

473. The extraordinary persistence of the fanatical discourse, not only in tone and gesture, is the expression of a dualist division of the world into good and evil. ANDRE HAYNAL, et al, *Fanaticism: A Historical and Psychoanalytical Study*, 1983.
474. Violent antipathies are always suspicious, and betray a secret affinity. WILLIAM HAZLITT (1778-1830), *Characteristics*, 1823.
475. So long as we read about revolutions in books, they all look very nice -- like those landscapes which, as artistic engravings on white vellum, look so pure and friendly. Dung heaps engraved on paper do not smell, and the eye can easily wade through an engraved morass. HEINRICH HEINE (1797-1856), *Almansor*, 1823.
476. When once you have plunged into the strife for power, it is the fear of those who are seeking for power over you that so easily persuades to all the great crimes. AUBERON HERBERT (1838-1906), *Westminster Gazzette*, 23 November 1893.
477. One of the most dangerous things in the universe is ignorant people with real grievances. This is nowhere as dangerous, however, as an informed and intelligent society with grievances. The damage that vengeful intelligence can wreak, you cannot even imagine. FRANK HERBERT (1920-1986), *Dune*, 1965.
478. Membership in a conspiracy, as in an army, frees people from the sense of personal responsibility. FRANK HERBERT (1920-1986), *Dune*, 1965.
479. No man ever rules other men for their own good; no man was ever rightly the master of the minds and bodies of his brothers; no man ever ruled other men for anything except for their undoing and for his own brutalization. GEORGE D. HERRON (1862-1925), in *The Cry for Justice* (Upton Sinclair, ed.), 1920.
480. [Conspiracy theorists'] most common excesses: 1) Refusing to admit that institutions can decay from within, and don't really need outside agitators to provoke their decline; 2) Assuming that someone is always "in control" of complex historical events; 3) Viewing your favorite institutions as morally irreplaceable, and 4) Being opposed to elites on principle, instead of asking which ones are relatively destructive or benevolent. R. S. HERTZ, "Conspiracy Critique," in *Conspiracies Unlimited: A Journal of Research and Criticism*, Vol. 2, No. 3, ca. 1977.
481. Why conspiracy research is so often ignored: 1) Conspiracies are immoral, and if you let people study them more plots will get started; 2) Conspiracy theories attribute revolutions to individuals, not to masses, classes, or historical forces; 3) Conspiracy theories often concentrate upon the activity of secret societies; and 4) Conspiracy villains are sometimes made so powerful that they're preposterous. R. S. HERTZ, "Conspiracy Critique," in *Conspiracies Unlimited: A Journal of Research and Criticism*," Vol. 2, No. 2, ca. 1977.
482. I believe the struggle against death, the unconditional and self-willed determination to live, is the motive power behind the lives and activities of all outstanding men. HERMAN HESSE (1877-1962), *Steppenwolf*, 1927.
483. Martyrs are needed to create incidents. Incidents are needed to create revolutions. Revolutions are needed to create progress. CHESTER BOMAR HIMES (1909-1984), "Mary," *Crisis magazine*, 1944.
484. The greatest of every mighty organization embodying an idea in this world lies in the religious fanaticism and intolerance with which, fanatically convinced of his own right, intolerantly imposes its will against others. ADOLPH HITLER (1889-1945), *Mein Kampf*, 1939.

485. There is more that binds us to Bolshevism than separates us from it. There is, above all, genuine revolutionary feeling....I have always made allowances for this circumstance, and given orders that former Communists are to be admitted to the party at once. ADOLPH HITLER (1889-1945), quoted in Herman Rauschnig, *The Voice of Destruction*.
486. The driving force which has brought about the most tremendous revolutions on this earth has never been a body of scientific teaching which has gained force over the masses, but always a devotion which has inspired them, and often a kind of hysteria which has urged them into action. ADOLPH HITLER (1889-1945), *Mein Kampf*, 1939.
487. I fear for a general inclination of all mankind, a perpetual and restless desire of power after power, that ceaseth only in death. And the cause of this is not always that a man hopes for a more intensive delight, that he has already attained to; or that he cannot be content with a moderate power; but because he cannot assure the power and means to live well, which he has at present, without the acquisition of more. THOMAS HOBBS (1588-1679), *Leviathan*, 1651.
488. The prospective member of a Communist party commits himself or herself to an intense and demanding set of activities and duties comparable, for some members at least, to that accepted by religious orders. ERIC J. HOBBSAWN, *Primitive Rebels*, 1958.
489. I doubt if the oppressed ever fight for freedom. They fight for pride and for power -- power to oppress others. The oppressed want above all to imitate their oppressors; they want to retaliate. ERIC HOFFER (1902-1983), quoted in Calvin Thompkins, *Eric Hoffer: An American Odyssey*, 1868.
490. Mass movements can rise and spread without a belief in God, but never without a belief in a devil. ERIC HOFFER (1902-1983), *The True Believer*, 1951.
491. All active mass movements strive ... to interpose a fact-proof screen between the faithful and the realities of the world. They do this by claiming that the ultimate and absolute truth is already embodied in their doctrine and that there is no truth nor certitude outside it. ERIC HOFFER (1902-1983), *The True Believer*, 1951.
492. Vehemence is the expression of a blind effort to support and uphold something that can never stand on its own...Whether it our own meaningless self we are upholding, or some doctrine devoid of evidence, we can do it only in a frenzy of faith. ERIC HOFFER (1902-1983), *The Passionate State of Mind*, 1954.
493. There is a vital difference between the paranoid spokesman in politics and the clinical paranoiac: although both tend to be overheated, overly suspicious, over aggressive, grandiose, and apocalyptic in expression, the clinical paranoid sees the hostile and conspiratorial world in which he feels himself to be living as directed specifically against him; whereas the spokesman of the paranoid style finds it directed against a nation, a culture, a way of life whose fate affects not himself alone but millions of others. RICHARD HOFSTADTER (1916-1070), *The Paranoid Style in American Politics*, 1965.
494. We are all sufferers from history, but the paranoid is a double sufferer, since he is afflicted not only by the real world, with the rest of us, but by his fantasies as well. RICHARD HOFSTADTER (1916-1970), *The Paranoid Style in American Politics*, 1963.
495. There is a great difference between locating conspiracies in history and saying that history is, in effect, a conspiracy, between singling out those conspiratorial acts that do on occasion occur and weaving a vast fabric of social explanation out of nothing but skeins of evil plots. RICHARD HOFSTADTER (1916-1970), *The Age of Reform*, 1955.
496. If there is anything more dangerous to the life of the mind than having no independent commitment to ideas, it is having an excess commitment to some special or constricting idea. RICHARD HOFSTADTER (1916-1970), *Anti-Intellectualism In American Life*, 1963.

497. Permanent anti-terror groups may help to create an enemy to fight. If they are an institutionalized force, they need an adversary. It's easy to convince the American public of a conspiracy and then operate against the "conspiracy" in a rough and clandestine fashion. ... Explanations of their behavior need not rest on laws that govern our behavior. Indeed, they are usually portrayed as organized, efficient, and single minded. FREDERIC D. HOMER, "Terror in the United States: Three Perspectives," in *The Politics of Terrorism* (Michael Stohl), 1988.
498. It is true that the conspiracy may tell of the existence of collectivities that do, in fact, operate, but this explanation also fabricates the existence of conspiracies. Even if a conspiracy really exists, adherents to this theory often give an exaggerated view of the group's influence, powers and determination to destroy others, which in turn obstructs inquiry into the group's real nature. FREDERIC D. HOMER, "Terror in the United States: Three Perspectives," in *The Politics of Terrorism* (Michael Stohl), 1988.
499. The conspiracy view is useful to public officials because it can mobilize public opinion behind enforcement programs. By pointing to a secret enemy (organized and efficient) government officials can expect to generate more funds than by trying to explain complex interrelationships between groups and individuals in crime. FREDERIC D. HOMER, "Terror in the United States: Three Perspectives," in *The Politics of Terrorism* (Michael Stohl), 1988.
- There is a tendency today to tar with the label of "conspiracy" allegations of wrongdoing (or thinking) one wishes to discredit, at the same time there is no shortage of truly fantastic and bizarre notions which richly deserve the conspiratorial designation, thus skepticism coexists with belief. ... In the final analysis the inclination to believe or disbelieve in conspiracies is tied to political values and beliefs: our enemies "conspire," while our friends discreetly plan ahead. PAUL HOLLANDER, Review: Conspiracy: How the Paranoid Style Flourishes and Where it Comes From (Daniel Pipes), *Society*, January-February 1999.
500. Imposing utopia through the state, or leaving its arrival to the voluntary action of self-interested individuals, carries great hazards. Basic human rights are the first casualty of the statist method, and the loss of community values is frequently the result of the second. KENNETH R. HOOVER, *The Elements of Social Scientific Thinking*, 1992.
501. They fell in love so deeply with the generation of tomorrow, with the mankind to come, that there was hardly any love left for those who happened to live in today's world. They were brought up in a manner which only filled their hearts with cold and abstract feelings, and they thought that the generation of the day after tomorrow could be happy even if it was conceived in suspicion and fear. GEORGE PALOCZI-HORVATH (1908-1973), in *Bitter Harvest: The Intellectual Revolt Behind The Iron Curtain*, (Edmond Stillman, Ed) 1959.
502. Sometimes I think all the trouble in the world is caused by intellectuals who have an "idea." DAVID HOWE, *Stuff Happens*, 2003.
503. The history of mankind is one long record of giving revolution another trial, and limping back at lead to sanity, safety and work. EDGAR WATSON HOWE (1853-1937), *Preaching From An Audience*, 1926.
504. The State is still, after individual despots have been largely modified or eliminated, a collective despot, most inexorable, almost irresponsible, and entirely inaccessible to those personal appeals which have sometimes moved the obsolete or obsolescent tyrants to pity. WILLIAM DEAN HOWELLS (1837-1920), *Men of Good Hope*, 1951.
505. Martyrs and persecutors are the same kind of man. As to which is the persecutor and which the martyr, this is only a question of transient power. ELBERT HUBBARD (1856-1915), *The Note Book*, 1927.
506. The Fuhrer is no "representative" of a particular group whose wishes he must carry out. He is no "organ" of the state in the sense of a mere executive agent. He is rather the bearer of the collective

will of the people. In his will the will of the people is realized. He transforms the mere feelings of the people into a conscious will. ERNST HUBBER, in *Political Ideologies: Their Origins and Impact* (Leon P. Baradat), 1988.

507. Many observers have noted that the personality of the terrorist has a depressive effect about it, as reflected in the terrorists death-seeking or death confronting behavior. The terrorist has often been described by psychologists as incapable of enjoying anything (anhedonic) or forming meaningful interpersonal relationships on a reciprocal level. REX HUDSON, *Who Becomes a Terrorist and Why*, 1999.
508. We never see more than one side of things; the other wise is submerged in the darkness of terrifying mystery. Mankind submits to the you without knowing the reasons; all that he can see is short, useless, and fleeting. VICTOR HUGO (1802-1885), *A Villequier*.
509. Every crusader is apt to go mad. He is haunted by the wickedness which he attributes to his enemies; it becomes in some sort a part of him. ALDOUS HUXLEY (1894-1963), *The Devils of Louden*, 1952.
510. There is no dogma so queer, no behavior so eccentric or even outrageous, but a group of people can be found who think it divinely inspired. ALDOUS HUXLEY (1894-1963), *The Olive Tree*.
511. Idealism is the noble toga that political gentlemen drape over their will to power. ALDOUS HUXLEY (1894-1963), *New York Herald Tribune*, 25 November 1963.
512. The end cannot justify the means for the simple and obvious reason that the means employed determine the nature of the ends produced. ALDOUS HUXLEY (1894-1963), *Ends and Means*, 1937.
513. Defined in psychological terms, a fanatic is a man who consciously overcompensates a secret doubt. ALDOUS HUXLEY (1894-1963).
514. Only one more indispensable massacre of Capitalists or Communists or Fascists and there we are -- there we are -- in the Golden Future. ALDOUS HUXLEY (1894-1963), *Time Must Have A Stop*, 1944.
515. The surest way to work up a crusade in favor of some good cause is to promise people they will have a chance of maltreating someone. To be able to destroy with good conscience, to be able to behave badly and call your bad behavior "righteous indignation" -- this is the height of psychological luxury, the most delicious of moral treats. ALDOUS HUXLEY (1894-1963), *Chrome Yellow*, 1921.



516. If there is one safe generalization in human affairs, it is that revolutions always destroy themselves. How often have fanatics proclaimed "the year one." WILLIAM RALPH INGE (1860-1954), *Outspoken Essays: First Series*, 1919.
517. He [Karl Marx] is the apostle of class hatred, the founder of a semi-religion, which resembles some religions in its cruelty, fanaticism and irrationality. WILLIAM RALPH INGE (1860-1945), *Assessments and Anticipation*.
518. What is often called the Age of Ideology came about as a reaction to classic philosophic thought and its apparent lack of concern with processes by which change could be effected." DAVID INGERSON & DONALD MATTHEWS, *The Philosophic Roots of Modern Ideology*, 1986.
519. In the name of religion, one tortures, persecutes, builds pyres. In the guise of ideologies, one massacres, tortures and kills. In the name of equality and brotherhood there is suppression and torture. There is nothing in common between the means and the end...ideologies and religion...are

the alibis of the means. EUGENE IONESCO (1912-1994), *Esquire*, 1974.



520. FN, Jacob. Man is a venerating animal. He venerates as easily as he purges himself. When they take away from him the gods of his fathers, he looks for others abroad. MAX JACOB (1876-1944), 1922.
521. Mere human beings cannot afford to be fanatical about anything. Not even about justice or loyalty. The fanatic for justice ends by murdering a million helpless people to clear a space for his law courts. If we are to survive on this planet there must be compromise. MARGARET S. JAMESON (1891-1986), English Author.
522. An ideology is a complex of ideas or notions which represents itself to the thinker as an absolute truth for the interpretation of the world and his situation within it; it leads the thinker to accomplish an act of self-deception for the purpose of justification, obfuscation and evasion in some sense or other to his advantage. KARL JASPERS (1883-1969), *The Origin and Goal of History*, 1968.
523. The moment a person forms a theory, his imagination sees in every object only the traits that favor that theory. THOMAS JEFFERSON (1743-1826), U. S. President, *Letter to Charles Thompson*, 20 September 1787.
524. Very often the weaker our generalizations are, the more vehemently we propound them. The degree of their weakness may perhaps be measured by the degree of obstinacy and dogmatic confidence with which we utter them. Assertiveness is frequently mistaken for strength of knowledge or the voice of authority; on the other hand, modesty and tolerance are attributed to weakness or ignorance. R. W. JEPSON, *Clear Thinking*, 1936.
525. Two linked manifestations of the preference for seeing a minimum of causal factors are the propensity of people to believe conspiracy theories and the hesitancy of even sophisticated observers to give full credit to the role of chance and confusion. Conspiracies are complicated in one sense – they involve a large number of activities that may seem bewildering. But the underlying causation is simple: everything is knit together into a coherent plan. ROBERT JERVIS, “The Drunkard’s Search,” *Explorations in Political Psychology* (Iyengar & McGuire), 1993.
526. There are those who feel an imperative need to believe, for whom the values of a belief are proportionate not to its truth, but to its definiteness. Incapable of either admitting the existence of contrary judgments or of suspending their own, they supply the place of knowledge by turning other men’s conjectures into dogmas. C. E. M. JOAD (1891-1953), *The Recovery Of Belief*, 1952.
527. The aspect of psychological studies of revolution that we do not find useful is the misinformed generalization of micro-data without reference to a macro-model – namely, the derivation of revolution from psychological studies of individual revolutionaries and the resultant judgment that become some revolutionaries are lunatics, revolution is a form of social lunacy. CHALMERS JOHNSON, *Revolution and the Social System*, 1964.
528. Psychological data on revolutionaries must be related to the social system, otherwise they are only of propaganda value, useful in denigrating movements of which we may disapprove. CHALMERS JOHNSON, *Revolution and the Social System*, 1964.
529. Once Lenin had abolished the idea of personal guilt, and had started to ‘exterminate’ (a word he frequently employed) whole classes, merely on account of occupation or parentage, there was no limit to which this deadly principle might be carried.... There is no essential moral difference between class-warfare and race-warfare, between destroying a class and destroying a race. Thus the modern practice of genocide was born. PAUL JOHNSON, *Modern Times*, 1992.

530. That fellow seems to me to possess but one idea, and that is a wrong one. SAMUEL JOHNSON (1709-1784), *Boswell's Life of Johnson*, 1791
531. Be not too hasty to trust or admire the teachers of morality; they discourse like angels but live like men. SAMUEL JOHNSON (1709-1784), *Rasselas*, 1759.
532. All doctrines, whether religious or anarchist, which wholly deny the value of the existing order of things may produce either puritans or libertines; and a single one of the latter quickly makes the public forget the far greater number of the former. JAMES JOLL (1918-1994), *The Anarchists*, 1964.
533. It is the people with secret attractions to various temptations, who busy themselves with removing those temptation from other people; rally they are defending themselves under the pretext of defending others, because at heart they fear their own weakness. ERNEST JONES (1879-1958), *Papers on Psychoanalysis*, 1918.
534. Passions are spiritual rebels and raise sedition against the understanding. BEN JONSON (1573-1637), *Timber*, 1640.
535. Two deputies, one of whom is a radical, have more in common than two radicals, one of whom is a deputy. ROBERT de JOUVENAL, *La Republique des comarades*, 1914.
536. Man positively needs general ideas and convictions that will give a meaning to his life and enable him to find a place for himself in the universe. He can stand the most incredible hardships when he is convinced they makes sense; he is crushed when, on top of all his misfortunes, he has to admit that he is taking part in a 'tale told by an idiot.' CARL GUSTAV JUNG (1875-1961), *Man and His Symbols*, 1964.
537. There is holy mistaken zeal in politics as well as in religion. By persuading others, we convince ourselves. JUNIUS (1740-1818), *Letters*.
538. When once a man is determined to believe, the very absurdity of the doctrine does but confirm him in his faith. JUNIUS (1740-1818), *Letters*.

~K~

539. Every revolution evaporates and leaves behind only the slime of a new bureaucracy. FRANZ KAFKA (1883-1924).
540. Liberty in the wild and freakish hands of fanatics has once more, as frequently in the past, proved the effective helpmate of autocracy and the twin brother of tyranny. OTTO KAHN (1867-1934), *Speech*, University of Wisconsin, 1918.
541. Followers of various ideologies can derive intense emotional satisfaction from them and can even become fanatical believers... Consequently, some ideologies have been characterized as "secular religions" that provide their adherents, in a modern setting, psychological satisfactions similar to those traditionally provided by religion. HERBERT A. KAMPF, "The Challenge of Marxist-Leninist Propaganda," *Political Communication and Persuasion*, Vol 4, 1987.
542. Ideology is usually defined as a group of generally related thoughts that forms a belief system for viewing the world. This belief system provides its adherents with value judgments about society, economics, government, and most other aspects of life, and with a course of action for coping with problems in these fields. Ideology may also contain explanations about the origins of society and the course of history,....a special analytical method, and answers, whether real or imaginary, to just about any question.... HERBERT A. KAMPF, "The Challenge of Marxist-Leninist Propaganda," *Political*

543. Now it is a fact that humor and revolutionary fervor are never congenial bedfellows. The lack of a sense of humor is doubtless one of the most salient characteristics of the revolutionary. Wit and humor appeared as counterrevolutionary vices.....It reveals a state of mind that the revolutionaries...would not have denied, for they took life very seriously and attached a quasi-religious significance to words. JEFFREY KAPLOW, *New Perspective on the French Revolution*, 1965.
544. [T]hat disturbance of the mind in which everything that the madman says is indeed consistent with the formal laws of thinking ... but in which the subjective impression of a falsely inventive imagination are taken for actual perceptions. Of this class are those who believe they have enemies everywhere; who regard all expressions, remarks, or other indifferent actions of other persons as intended for them as traps set for them. Often, they are, in their unfortunate madness, so ingenuous in analyzing that which others unwittingly do, in order to explain it to their own satisfaction, that, if their date were only accurate, one would have to pay every tribute to their intelligence. IMMANUEL KANT (1724-1804), *The Classification of Mental Disorders*, 1798.
545. They [ideologies] are compounds of projective systems, in the interest of which empirical evidence is mobilized, and have there the same structure as rationalizations. ABRAM KARDINER, et. al, *The Psychological Frontiers of Society*. 1963.
546. I cannot imagine human life without some measure of group identity, but I also cannot imagine a comparatively decent life ... unless group identity is mitigated considerably by the doctrine of individual human rights. GEORGE KATEB, *The Inner Ocean: Individualism and Democratic Culture*, 1992.
547. It seems to me...that in each Communist there is a kind of particle of Stalin. In any true Communist, of course. And this helps him to be sure and calm, to know what to do, to what everything will lead if he acts as the Party commands. A Communist [is] a leader in everything and everywhere, a teacher of life for the people. ELENA KATERLI, *The Stozharovs*, 1948.
548. [T]he functional approach is the attempt to understand the reasons people hold the attitudes they do. The reasons, however, are at the level of psychological motivations and not the accidents of external events and circumstances. Unless we know the psychological need which is met by the holding of an attitude we are in a poor position to predict when and how it will change. DANIEL KATZ, "The Functional Approach to the Study of Attitudes," *Public Opinion Quarterly* 24, 1960.
549. *Deindividuation* [is] the process of losing one's sense of personal identity, which makes it easier to behave in ways inconsistent with one's normal values. DOUGLAS T. KENRICK, *Social Psychology: Unraveling The Mystery*, 1999.
550. The worst barbarity of war is that it forces men collectively to commit acts against which individually they would revolt with their whole being. ELLEN KEY (1849-1926), *War, Peace and the Future*, 1916.
551. Practical men, who believe themselves to be quite exempt from any intellectual influences, are usually the slaves of some defunct economist. Madmen in authority, who hear voices in the air, are distilling their frenzy from some academic scribbler of a few years back. JOHN MAYNARD KEYNES, *Essays in Biography*, 1985.
552. In relation to their systems, most systematizers are like a man who builds an enormous castle and lives in a shack close by; they do not live in their own enormous systematic buildings. SOREN KIERKEGAARD (1813-1855), *Journal*, 1864.
553. The boomerang effect leads one to interesting possibilities ... [and] might be related to the question of how people become more extreme in their attitudes. A committed subject might become more extreme under attack in an attempt to justify his past behavior, since the alternative of abandoning his

opinion to agree with the counter-communication is relatively closed. Since the process of self-justification may not be simple, the person might seek out others who are even more extreme as social support for his previous behavior: perhaps even seeking other behaviors to perform that would justify his own. CHARLES A. KIESLER, *The Psychology of Commitment*, 1971.

554. The utopian's moral goals are invoked to justify his use of power. The utopian's (imagined) monopoly of morality justifies his demand for a monopoly of power. Totalitarianism is rooted in the variety of utopian political philosophy which seeks moral reform ends through political means. Totalitarians use power to remake men. JEAN J. KIRKPATRICK, *Dictatorships and Double Standards*, 1982.
555. Totalitarian ideologues share a general tendency to underestimate the difficulties of achieving a social and cultural character change. The reason doubtless lies in their original assumption that the observed imperfections of man are the result of bad institutions. JEANE J. KIRKPATRICK, *Dictatorships and Double Standards*, 1982.
556. Revolutions conducted in the name of liberty more often than not refine new tools of authority. HENRY KISSINGER, *The White House Years*, 1979.
557. Those who wallow in the imperfections of their society or turn them into an excuse for a nihilistic orgy usually end up by eroding all social and oral restraints; eventually in their pitiless assault on all beliefs they multiply suffering. HENRY KISSINGER, *The White House Years*, 1979.
558. Every crusade tends, by the very difficulty of its struggle and the fervor of its hope, to develop overdrive -- a determination that may go too far. ORRIN E. KLAPP, *Collective Search for Identity*, 1969.
559. The absolute morality of a crusade...leads easily to authoritarianism; indeed, the ideal crusader is close to a fanatic. A crusading movement is basically a political sect. ORRIN E. KLAPP, *Collective Search for Identity*, 1969.
560. The crusader role has an unusual capacity for giving the feeling of "rightness."... The crusade's power of conferring rightness resembles that of a cult in giving a deep moral, rather than technical, sense of rightness, and in making life more exciting. ORRIN E. KLAPP, *Collective Search for Identity*, 1969.
561. The goal of a crusade is to defeat an evil, not merely to solve a problem. This gives it the sense of righteousness...The crusader may think of himself as a hero and his opponents as villains. Indeed, the crusade classifies as a kind of vilifying movement. ORRIN E. KLAPP, *Collective Search For Identity*, 1969.
562. The notion that fascism was a necessary rite of passage toward revolution was widely held by Marxist-Leninists of the time. So was the recognition of a close proximity between the two ideologies. Fascism -- the "icebreaker of the Revolution." STEPHEN KOCH, *Double Lives: Spies and Writers in the Secret Soviet War of Ideas Against The West*, 1994.
563. Devotion to pure utopia, and revolt against a polluted society, are thus the two poles which provide the tension of all militant creeds. ARTHUR KOESTLER (1904-1983), *The God That Failed*, 1949.
564. The rebel turns his indignation against this injustice, now against another; the revolutionary is a consistent hater who has invested all the power of hatred in one object. The rebel has a touch of the Quixotic; the revolutionary is a bureaucrat of Utopia. The rebel is an enthusiast; the revolutionary, a fanatic. ARTHUR KOESTLER (1904-1983), *Arrow In The Blue*, 1952.
565. The reformer is equally apt to forget that hatred, even of the objectively hateful, does not produce the charity and justice on which a utopian society must be based. ARTHUR KOESTLER (1904-1983), *The God That Failed*, 1949.

566. The Revolutionary's Utopia, which in appearance represents a complete break with the past, is always modeled on some image of the Lost Paradise, of a legendary Golden Age. ... All utopias are fed from the source of mythology; the social engineers' blueprints are merely revised editions of the ancient text. ARTHUR KOESTLER (1904-1983), *The God That Failed*, 1949.
567. The crimes of violence committed for selfish, personal motives are historically insignificant to those committed ad majorem goloiam Dei, out of a self-sacrificing devotion to the flag, a leader, a religious faith or political conviction. ARTHUR KOESTLER (1904-1983).
568. To say that one has "seen the light" is a poor description of the mental rapture which only the convert knows... There is now an answer to every question, doubts and conflicts are a matter of the tortured past. ARTHUR KOESTLER (1904-1983), *The God That Failed*, 1949.
569. A faith is not acquired by reasoning. One does not fall in love with a woman, or enter the womb of a church, as a result of logical persuasion. Reason may defend an act of faith – but only after the act has been committed, and the man committed to the act. ARTHUR KOESTLER (1904-1983), *The God That Failed*, 1949.
570. And for the thief, both male and female, cut off their hands. It is the reward for their own deeds, an exemplary punishment from Allah. KORAN, V, 38.
571. People divorced from community, occupation and association are first and foremost among supporters of extremism. WILLIAM KORNHAUSER (1925-2004), *The Politics of Mass Society*, 1959.
572. Intellectuals are especially attracted to movements which themselves are isolated and remote from society, for this kind of movement allows free rein to the messianic tendencies of alienated intellectuals, and provides the opportunity to indulge in abstract problems of doctrine rather than practical considerations of politics. WILLIAM KORNHAUSER (1925-2004), *The Politics of Mass Society*, 1959.
573. Violence in word and deed is the hallmark of the mass movement uncommitted to institutional means. Mass behavior, then, involves direct, activist modes of response to remote symbols. WILLIAM KORNHAUSER, *The Politics of Mass Society*, 1959.
574. Totalitarian society produces a psychological type that is self-alienated, like the mass man, but group-centered, like the tradition-directed person. Totalitarian society engenders this combination by denying respect to the individual by attaching all meaning to the group... Extreme submission to the elite and extreme hostility toward outsiders are characteristic of the totalitarian man. WILLIAM KORNHAUSER (1925-2004), *The Politics of Mass Society*, 1959.
575. Hypervigilance and rumination are posited to contribute to several distinct modes of paranoid-like social misperception and misjudgment, including (a) the sinister attribution error, (b) the overly personalistic construal of social interactions, and (c) exaggerated perceptions of conspiracy. These errors and misperceptions contribute to paranoid behavior. RODERICK M. KRAMER, "Paranoid Cognition in Social Systems: Thinking and Acting in the Shadow of Doubt," *The Journal of Personality and Social Psychology Review*, 2, 1998.
576. In mild form, the cognitive processes associated with paranoid cognition are usually adaptive. For example, vigilance and mindfulness – which can be construed as normal variants of Hypervigilance and rumination – are often useful in helping individuals make sense of social situations and determine appropriate forms of behavior. RODERICK M. KRAMER & JANE WEI, "Social Uncertainty and the Problem of Trust in Social Groups: The Social Self in Doubt," in *The Psychology of the Social Self* (Tom R. Tyler, et. al.), 1999.
577. Often authoritarians align themselves with those in power, because this enables to fulfill simultaneously their needs for strength and submission. Nor surprisingly, in light of these needs to dominate and be dominated, authoritarians also pay careful attention to power relationships... NEIL

J. KRESSEL, *Mass Hate*, 2002.

578. When it comes to thinking, authoritarians abhor the unconventional, preferring instead to adhere rigidly to whatever values prevail in their surroundings. Thus, they often find themselves idealizing the moral authorities of the ethnic, religious, or political groups to which they belong. NEIL J. KRESSEL, *Mass Hate*, 2002.
579. The ideological politics of the Left suffers from a moral flaw, one that is becoming ever more apparent. Its ideology is, in varying degrees, utopian. The future it actually shapes is never anything like the future that was envisioned or hoped for. Most often it is a grotesque caricature. The more rigorous an extreme the ideological effort, the more perverted the actual result. IRVING KRISTOL, *Wall Street Journal*, 11 January 1982.
580. One of the saddest things about conformity is the ghastly sort of nonconformity it breeds: the noisy protesting, the aggressive rebelliousness, the rigid counter-fetishism. LOUIS KRONENBERGER, (1904-1980), *Company Manners*, 1954.
581. Our data on the intellectuals' lives prior to their joining the party, coupled with the data on attractions and functions of membership, strongly suggests that powerful emotional needs were satisfied by membership. It is reasonable to assume that in the process of gaining these gratifications, the intellectual exhibits a greater malleability and striving for personal approval in the group. HERBERT E. KRUGMAN, "The Appeal of Communism to American Middle Class Intellectuals and Trade Unionists," *Public Opinion Quarterly*, Vol 16, 1952.
582. The lack of well-grounded convictions, the absence of belief in truth create a dangerous hunger. And since nature abhors a vacuum, the absolutes of totalitarian systems find ready-made acolytes. ERIK Von KUEHNELT-LEDDIHN, *Leftism Revisited*, 1990.
583. Totalitarianism is not only hell, but also the dream of paradise – the age-old dream of a world where everybody would live in harmony, united by a single common will and faith, without secrets from one another. ... If totalitarianism did not exploit these archetypes, which are deep inside us all ... it could never attract so many people, especially during the early phases of its existence. MILAN KUNDERA, *The Book of Laughter and Forgetting*, 1980.
584. When a convert persecutes non-converts, the reason could be that he is acting out of animosity. But he could also, or alternatively, be motivated by a wish to make his chosen public preference appear genuine – to signal, that is, his sincerity. TIMUR KURAN, *Private Truths, Public Lies*, 1995.
585. It is not power that corrupts but fear. Fear of losing power corrupts those who wield it; and fear of the scourge of power corrupts those who are subject to it. AUNG SAN SUU KYI, Burmese, Nobel Peace Prize Laureate, *Freedom From Fear*, 1990.

~L~

586. These times are times of chaos; opinions are a scramble; parties are a jumble, the language of new ideas has not been created; nothing is more difficult than to give a good definition of oneself in religion, in philosophy, in politics. One feels, one knows, one lives, and at need, one dies for one's cause, but one cannot name it. It is the problem of this time to classify things and men. ... The world has jumbled its catalog. ALPHONSE de LAMARTINE (1790-1869), "Declaration of Principles," in *Introduction to Contemporary Civilization in the West*, 1946.
587. Authoritarianism contains a strictly interpersonal component: the tendency to divide the world into "we" and "they," "in-groups" and "out-groups." This is a product of a more basic tendency to conceive of the world in somewhat hostile terms, in which case the most important question to ask of a person is, "Is he for me or is he against me?" ROBERT E. LANE, *Political Ideology*, 1962.

588. A tendency for someone in the grip of relatively strong aggressive feelings that he cannot accept to develop a philosophy of opposition to aggression. It is the ideology of reaction formation; it is the syndrome of the belligerent pacifist. ROBERT E. LANE, *Political Thinking and Consciousness*, 1969.
589. That a group's way of doing things reflects the highest morality becomes an article of faith in most ideologies and belief systems, for it maintains morale by supporting the self-esteem of group members; it enhances loyalty and provides sanctions and the grounds for sanctions against defectors, heretics, and deviants of all kinds. ROBERT E. LANE, *Political Thinking and Consciousness*, 1969.
590. Fanatic fools, that in those twilight times, With wild religion cloaked the worst of crimes! JOHN LANGHORNE (1735-1779), *The Country Justice*.
591. Religious fanaticism can also be interpreted as a defensive strategy to keep out foreign influences and so preserve the purity of the believer's way of life. In our age, religious fanaticism frequently appears in secular form, or as a mixture of religion and politics. But there can be no doubt about its origins. WALTER LAQUEUR, *The New Terrorism*, 1999.
592. It is unlikely that even the most extreme ideas will turn an otherwise peaceful human being into someone who runs amok. But even this cannot be stated with total certainty, for the laws governing collective behavior are not those of individual psychology. WALTER LAQUEUR, *The New Terrorism*, 1999.
593. Certain personalities are distinguished by haughty rather than persecutory behavior. The analysis of haughty people has often disclosed the functional basis of haughty behavior in the struggle against self-contempt. By displacing contempt for the self upon the environment, and treating the world as contemptible, the personality is enabled to reduce the inner crisis. HAROLD D. LASSWELL (1902-1978), *Politics: Who Gets What, When, How*, 1958.
594. Cruelty is especially common among those who have felt guilty and inferior, and who seek to overcome submissive tendencies by over reaction. Elites and communities which have felt guilty and inferior, and which struggle to overcome lack of self-confidence, are most displaced to orgiastic rage and to acts of collective destruction. HAROLD D. LASSWELL (1902-1958), *Politics: Who Gets What, When, How*, 1958.
595. An ideology, once accepted, perpetuates itself with remarkable vitality. The individuals born into the state direct some of their love toward the symbols which sustain the system: the common name, the common heroes, the common mission, the common demands. HAROLD D. LASSWELL (1902-1978), *Politics: Who Gets What, When, How*, 1958.
596. The reformer, in the eyes of the militant, is the despicable betrayer of the true cause... The revolutionary, in the eyes of the moderate, is the crazed subverter of a fragile social order. He comes to destroy. He adores the fire and longs for the ashes.... His demands can never be met. M. J. LASKEY, *Utopia and Revolution*, 1976.
597. An ideology, once accepted, perpetuates itself with remarkable vitality. The individuals born into the state direct some of their love toward the symbols which sustain the system...Some destructive tendencies are directed against rivals, traitors, heresies and counter-demands. HAROLD D. LASSWELL (1902-1978), *Politics: Who Gets What, When, How?*, 1936.
598. People don't ask for facts in making up their minds. They would rather have one good, soul-satisfying emotion than a dozen facts. ROBERT KEITH LEAVETT.
599. The problem of belief, sometimes confused with that of knowledge, is nevertheless strongly distinct from it. To know and to believe are different things not having the same genesis.....A belief is an act of faith of unconscious origin which forces to admit as an entity an idea, an opinion, an explanation, a

- doctrine. Reason is foreign to its formation. By the time a belief tries to justify itself, it is already formed. GUSTAVE Le BON (1841-1931), *Opinions and Beliefs*, 1911.
600. Civilizations as yet have only been created and directed by a small intellectual aristocracy, never by crowds. Crowds are only powerful for destruction. GUSTAVE Le BON (1841-1931), *The Crowd*, 1896.
601. Whoever be the individuals who compose it, however like or unlike be their mode of life, their occupations, their character, or their intelligence, the fact that they have been transformed into a crowd puts them into possession of a sort of collective mind which makes them think, feel, and act in a manner quite different from that in which each individual of them would think, feel, and act were he in a state of isolation. GUSTAVE Le BON (1841-1931), *The Crowd*, 1896.
602. One of the most constant characteristics of beliefs is their intolerance. The stronger the belief, the greater its intolerance. Men dominated by a certitude cannot tolerate those who do not accept it. GUSTAVE Le BON (1841-1931), *Opinions And Beliefs*, 1911.
603. The leader has most often started as one of the led. He has himself been hypnotized by an idea, whose apostle he has since become. GUSTAVE Le BON (1841-1931), *The Crowd*, 1896.
604. At the bidding of a Peter the Hermit millions of men hurled themselves against the East; the words of an hallucinated enthusiast such as Mahomet created a force capable of triumphing over the Graeco-Roman world; an obscure monk like Luther bathed Europe in blood. The voice of a Galileo or a Newton will never have the least echo among the masses. The inventors of genius hasten the march of civilization. The fanatics and the hallucinated create history. GUSTAVE LeBON (1841-1931), *The Crowd*, 1896.
605. The only choice is – either bourgeois or socialist ideology. There is no middle course (for mankind has not created a “third” ideology, and, moreover, in a society torn by class antagonisms there can never be anon-class or above class ideology). Hence, to belittle the socialist ideology in any way, to turn aside from it in the slightest degree means to strengthen bourgeois ideology. V. I. LENIN (1870-1924), *Selected Works*, 1963.
606. We must be able to agree to any sacrifice, and even, if need be, to resort to all sorts of tricks, slyness, illegal methods, evasion and concealment of truth...” V. I. LENIN (1870-1924), *Collected Works*, Vol. 31, 1917.
607. Every mob, in its ignorance and blindness and bewilderment, is a League of Frightened Men that seeks reassurance in collective action. MAX LERNER (1902-1992), *The Unfinished Century*, 1959.
608. No amount of manifest absurdity could deter those who wanted to believe from believing. BERNARD LEVIN (1928-2004), *The Pendulum Years*, 1971.
609. The idea that community welfare overrides individual rights was a product of self-sacrifice. Under its sway, individuals have been viewed as expendable, leading to predictably bloody consequences. And as long as self-sacrifice - as opposed to its results – is seen as noble, such fanatics will implement their plans with as much bloodshed as seems necessary. ALLAN LEVITE, *Guilt, Blame, and Politics*, 1998.
610. Commitment by its nature, frees us from ourselves and, while it stands us in opposition to some, it joins us with others similarly committed. MICHAEL LEWIS, *Shame*, 1992.
611. The revolutionary denies theology as such, but embraces a secular utopia through images closely related to the spiritual conquest of death and even to an afterlife. His revolutionary “works” are all important, and only to the extent that he can perceive them as enduring can he achieve a measure of acceptance of his own eventual death. ROBERT J. LIFTON, *Revolutionary Immortality: Mao Tse-tung and the Chinese Cultural Revolution*, 1968.

612. By revolutionary immortality I mean a shared sense of participating in permanent revolutionary fermentation, and of transcending individual death by “living on” indefinitely within the continuing revolution. ... Central to this point of view is the concept of symbolic immortality ... of man’s need, in the face of inevitable biological death, to maintain an inner sense of continuity with what has gone on before and what will go on after his own individual existence. ROBERT J. LIFTON, *Revolutionary Immortality: Mao Tse-tung and the Chinese Cultural Revolution*, 1968.
613. Some potential for this form of all-or-nothing emotional alignment exists with everyone. Similarly, any ideology -- that is, any set of emotionally charged convictions about man and his relationship to the natural or supernatural world -- may be carried by its adherents in a totalistic direction...And where totalism exists, a religion, a political movement, or even a scientific organization becomes little more than a cult. ROBERT J. LIFTON, *Thought Reform and the Psychology of Totalism*, 1961.
614. Aum [Shinrikyo’s] environment became one of intense ideological totalism, in which everything had to be experienced on an all-or-nothing basis. A number of psychological patterns characterize such an environment. Most basic is *milieu control*, in which all communication, including even an individual’s inner communication, is monopolized and orchestrated, so that reality becomes the group’s exclusive possession. ROBERT J. LIFTON, *Destroying the World To Save It*, 2000.
615. [A] pattern of the totalistic environment is *mystical manipulation*, systematic hidden maneuvers legitimating all sorts of deceptions and lies in the service of higher mystical truths. ... In such a world, there is often a demand for purity, an insistence upon an absolute separation of the pure and impure, good and evil, in the world in general and inside each person. ROBERT J. LIFTON, *Destroying The World To Save It*, 2000.
616. Communist persuasion differs from fascist. It does not unambiguously exalt unilateral authority. Instead it promises a democratic future. Nor does it exalt elitism. Instead it actively practices a reduction of inequalities on some fronts and promises it on some others. And it appeals...far more than does fascist persuasion, to the rational in man. CHARLES LINDBLOM, *Politics and Markets: The World’s Political-Economic Systems*, 1977.
617. In the crowd, herd or gang, it is a mass-mind that operates -- which is to say, a mind without subtlety, a mind without compassion, a mind, finally, uncivilized. ROBERT LINDNER (1914-1956), *Must You Conform?*, 1956.
618. More than any other system that has offered itself in recent years as a vessel for human hopes and aspirations, Marxism in the guise of communism fulfills the deep compulsion we humans have to defend ourselves against a terrifying outside environment and the raging instinctual forces within us; a compulsion to defend ourselves by believing, and by organizing such beliefs into those patterns that go by the name of religion. ROBERT LINDNER (1914-1956), *Must You Conform*, 1956.
619. Mass Man, the universal psychopath, is born when the individual ego is weakened to the point at which it loses separate identity and is forced, for security, to merge with the mass. ROBERT LINDNER (1914-1956), *Must You Conform?*, 1956
620. An ideology is a system of deep-rooted beliefs about fundamental questions in human life and affairs....If our difference of opinion is so inclusive that we can agree on nothing political, our differences have gone from mere opinion into the depths. Of ideology. PAUL A. LINEBARGER (1913-1966), *Psychological Warfare*, 1948.
621. The governments of the modern world are jealous of their own monopoly on violence. War is the highest exercise of that violence, and modern war is no simple reversion to savagery....A modern battle is a formal, ceremonialized and technically intricate operation. You must kill the right people, in just the right way, with the right timing, in the proper place, for avowed purposes. PAUL A. LINEBARGER (1913-1966), *Psychological Warfare*, 1948.
622. The demagogue, whether of the Right or Left, is an undetected liar. WALTER LIPPMANN (1889-1974),

*Atlantic Monthly*, 1939.

623. There is no arguing with the pretenders to a divine knowledge and to a divine mission. They are possessed with the sin of pride, they have yielded to the perennial temptation. WALTER LIPPMANN (1889-1974), *The Public Philosophy*, 1955.
624. Totalitarian organizations, fascist and Communist alike, expand the integrationist character of political life to the furthest limit possible by defining the world completely in terms of struggle. SEYMOUR MARTIN LIPSET, *Political Man*, 1960.
625. There is evidence that religion, particularly in the form of sects, has served as a functional alternative to political extremism. During the Depression, when organized radicalism made little headway in this country, small religious sects grew rapidly. SEYMOUR MARTIN LIPSET, *Political Man*, 1960.
626. The identities encouraged in the military by identification with the group, denials of difference, unquestioning obedience...and bonding through hatred, anger and violence really better conform to... preoedipal traits – disillusion of the self into a more powerful entity, unleashing normally repressed behaviors and emotions, and fueling hatred for the subjectivities and desires of other people. GEORGE LIPSITZ, “Dilemmas Of Beset Nationhood,” in *Bonds of Affection: Americans Define Their Patriotism* (John Bodnar, Ed), 1996.
627. [T]errorism is often confused with state terror, which is the oppression by the state of its own population. State terror is violence from the top down, in contrast to terrorism, which is violence from the bottom up. Terrorism is war by other means, used by the weak to prey upon the powerful. NEIL C. LIVINGSTONE, *The Cult of Counterterrorism*, 1990.
628. If we could read the secret history of our enemies, we should find in each life sorrow and suffering enough to disarm all hostility. HENRY WADSWORTH LONGFELLOW (1807-1882).
629. We often excuse our own want of philanthropy by giving the name of fanaticism to the more ardent zeal of others. HENRY WADSWORTH LONGFELLOW (1807-1882).
630. The principle of the bond, formed by having something in common which has to be defended against outsiders, remains the same, from cichlids defending a common territory or brood, right up to scientists defending a common opinion and – most dangerous of all – the fanatics defending a common ideology. KONRAD LORENZ, *On Aggression*, 1963.
631. An enemy is fundamentally flawed, a morally depraved person or persons (e.g. a leader, nation, or race) who poses a continuing threat to the survival of our state. In opposing an enemy, “we” unite against “them.” NANCY S. LOVE, *Understanding Dogmas and Dreams*, 1998.
632. Enemies also serve as convenient targets for citizens’ fear and anger. In scapegoating and victim blaming, “evil” traits are displaced or projected on the Other. NANCY S. LOVE, *Understanding Dogmas and Dreams*, 1998.
633. The enemy is conceived of not as a group that stands in the way of achieving a certain objective, but as a super-oppressor, a quasi-biological arch devil of absolute evil and destructiveness. He is irreconcilable, an alien body in society which has no useful productive function. Not even in theory is he amenable to persuasion. There is no bridge which the enemy can cross for repentance. LEO LOWENTHAL (1900-1993) & NORMAN GUTTERMAN, *Prophets of Deceit: A Study of the Techniques of the American Agitator*, 1949.
634. For all their strength, the Simple Americans are apathetic and lethargic, they are like a “slow, muscular, sleeping giant.” This fact fills the agitator with a kind of despair; he argues, implores, cajoles, shouts himself hoarse to arouse them to awareness of their danger... LEO LOWENTHAL (1900-1993) & NORMAN GUTTERMAN, *Prophets of Deceit: A Study of the Techniques of the American Agitator*, 1949.

635. You always desire what is absent, and despise what is at hand. LUCRETIUS (98-55 B.C.), *On The Nature of Things*, c. 45 B.C.
636. Despite its presumed virtues, the notion of authenticity is problematic. From a moral perspective, being selfless or true to our beliefs has no bearing on how others are affected by our actions. Highly principled zealots or fanatics, committed to the greater good as they see it, have perpetrated wars, massacres, inquisitions, crusades, and persecutions against others... ARNOLD M. LUDWIG, *How Do We Know Who We Are?*, 1997.
637. Although a paranoid orientation toward ruling seems more suited for dictatorial rule, it is not uncommon to find instances of it among democratic leaders who feel themselves under siege by their political opponents, the popular press, or public protests against their policies. ARNOLD M. LUDWIG, *King of the Mountain: The Nature of Political Leadership*, 2002.
638. A certain amount of wariness about the intentions of others may let rulers preserve their power and their lives, but when their suspiciousness turns into frank paranoia, it can become a personal monster that eventually devours them. ... A problem with paranoia is that it feeds on itself and so becomes a self-fulfilling prophecy. ARNOLD M. LUDWIG, *King of the Mountain: The Nature of Political Leadership*, 2002.
639. When I am angry I can write, pray, and preach well, for then my whole temperament is quickened, my understanding sharpened, and all mundane vexations and temptations gone. MARTIN LUTHER (1483-1546).
640. A rebel is not worth answering with arguments, for he does not accept them. The answer for such mouths is a fist that brings blood from the nose. MARTIN LUTHER (1483-1546), *Against The Robbing and Murdering Hordes of Peasants*.
641. Let all who are able, hew them down, slaughter and stab them, openly or in secret, and remember that there is nothing more poisonous, noxious and utterly devilish than a rebel. You must kill him as you would a man dog; if you do not fall upon him, he will fall upon you and the whole land. MARTIN LUTHER (1483-1546), *Against The Robbing and Murdering Hordes of Peasants*.

## ~M~

642. Many have dreamed up republics and principalities which have never in truth been known to exist; the gulf between how one should live and how one does live is so wide that a man who neglects what is actually done for what should be done paces the way to self-destruction rather than self-preservation. NICCOLO MACHIAVELLI (1469-1527), *The Prince*, 1513.
643. Because conspiracies rarely succeed, they most often bring about the ruin of those who plan them, and they bring greatness to those against whom they are detected. NICCOLO MACHIAVELLI (1469-1527), *History of Florence*, 1525.
644. A radical may be many things and he may be moved by complex motives, but in the last analysis he is an idealist who feels compelled to right existing wrongs. His rebelliousness may be a form of compensation for suffering from authority or poverty, from thwarted ambition or personal maladjustment. The radical is driven by a messianic urge to remake the world. CHARLES A. MADISON (1895-1985), *Critics and Crusaders*, 1947.
645. When indeed Religion is kindled into enthusiasm, its force like that of other passions is increased by the sympathy of a multitude. But enthusiasm is only a temporary state of Religion, and whilst it lasts will hardly be seen with pleasure at the helm [of state]. Even in its coolest state, it has been much oftener a motive to oppression than a restraint from it. JAMES MADISON (1751-1836), U. S. President,

letter to Thomas Jefferson, 24 October 1787, in *The Writings of James Madison* (Gaillard Hunt, ed), 1900-1910.

646. Belief systems are...based on ideas that are held to be self-evidently true. And as they are self-evident there is obviously no need to prove that they are true. "To those who do not believe no explanation is possible." ANDREW MALCOLM, *The Tyranny of the Group*, 1975.
647. In the struggle for ideological purity, the authorities did everything to encourage "fearless unmaskers" who "without respect for persons," showed up "survivals of the old psychology" in their colleagues. Reputations were pricked like soap bubbles and the "unmaskers" quickly climbed the ladder of promotion. NADEZSHDA MANDELSTAM, *Hope Against Hope: A Memoir*, 1970.
648. If you are possessed by an idea, you will find it expressed everywhere, you even smell it. THOMAS MANN (1875-1955), 1903.
649. By the concept "ideology" reflects the one discovery which emerged from political conflict, namely, that ruling groups can in their thinking become so intensively interest-bound to a situation that they are simply no longer able to see certain facts which would undermine their sense of domination. KARL MANNHEIM (1893-1947), *Ideology and Utopia*, 1936.
650. The distrust and suspicion which men everywhere evidence toward their adversaries, at all states of historical development, may be regarded as the immediate precursor to the notion of ideology. KARL MANNHEIM (1893-1947), *Ideology and Utopia*, 1936.
651. Communism is not love. Communism is a hammer which we use to crush the enemy. MAO TSE-TUNG, *Time*, 18 December 1950.
652. Vengeance is a recognized form of social control, and partly because it receives this recognition, controversies continue over whether these acts are "crimes" or "virtues," and whether the actors are heroes or villains. ... Morality is more commonly invoked as a later rationalization to justify the act. PIETRO MARONGIU & GRAEME NEWMAN, *Vengeance: The Fight Against Injustice*, 1987.
653. All acts of vengeance arise from an elementary sense of injustice, a primitive feeling that one has been arbitrarily subjected to a tyrannical power against which one is powerless to act. The sense of injustice is essentially a product of the interplay between domination and subordination. PIETRO MARONGIU & GRAEME NEWMAN, *Vengeance: The Fight Against Injustice*, 1987.
654. In its primitive form, vengeful rebellion satisfies only the desire for private elimination of the aggressor, and may take on crude aspects. We have seen, however, that this form of rebellion nevertheless lies at the bottom of all rebellions. We see a good example of this process in the transformation of the pre-political form of rebellion, social banditry, into a broader revolutionary movement where a reciprocal ideology prevails. PIETRO MARONGIU & GRAEME NEWMAN, *Vengeance: The Fight Against Injustice*, 1987.
655. A demagogue is a person with whom we disagree as to which gang should mismanage the country. DON MARQUIS (1878-1937).
656. What the religious interest strives to do is to preserve intact an infantile image of the ideal father, perfect and "pure" and sinless. EVERETT DEAN MARTIN (1880-1941), *The Mystery of Religion*, 1924.
657. A crowd is a device for indulging ourselves in a kind of temporary insanity by all going crazy together. EVERETT DEAN MARTIN (1880-1941), *The Behavior of Crowds*, 1920.
658. [A]lmost without exception cultic belief systems all manifest a type of institutional dogmatism and pronounced intolerance for any position but their own....[T]his line of reasoning [is] resistant to change and penetration since the cults thrive on conformity, ambiguity and extremeness of belief. WALTER R. MARTIN (1920-1989), *The Kingdom of the Cults*, 1965.

659. Revolution or dictatorship can sometimes abolish bad things, but they can never create good and lasting ones. Impatience is fatal in politics. THOMAS MASARYK (1850-1937), *The Foundations of Marxist Theory*, 1899.
660. Patriotism is a kind of religion; it is the egg from which wars are hatched. GUY DeMAUPASSANT (1850-1893).
661. The scapegoat has always had the mysterious power of unleashing man's ferocious pleasure in torturing, corrupting, and befouling. FRANCOIS MAURIAC (1885-1970), *Second Thoughts*, 1961.
662. Deeds of violence in our society are performed largely by those trying to establish their self-esteem, to defend their self-image, and to demonstrate that they, too, are significant. Violence arises not out of superfluity of power but out of powerlessness. ROLLO MAY (1909-1994), *Power and Innocence*, 1972.
663. The individual is drawn at an early age into Communist-sponsored groups which monopolize his time, supervise his activities, and encourage him to submerge his individuality into the collective. As far as possible the regime aims to disengage the individual from the traditional attachments.... HERBERT McCLOSKEY and JOHN E. TURNER, *The Soviet Dictatorship*, 1960.
664. Any coherent nationalist program has at least two essential components: an ideology of sameness, and an ideology of obligation. An ideology of sameness bounds the nation, limiting its membership to those who are thought alike in some way, while excluding those thought unlike. STUART McCONNELL, "Reading the Flag: A Reconsideration of the Patriotic Cults of the 1890's," in *Bonds of Affection: Americans Define Their Patriotism* (John Bodnar, ed), 1996.
665. What separates theory or philosophy from ideology is that the first two involve contemplation, organization of ideas and whenever possible, demonstration, ideology incites people into action ... Ideologies are inevitably highly simplified, and even distorted versions of the original [philosophical] doctrines. ROY MACRIDIS, *Contemporary Political Ideologies*, 1997.
666. A crowd is a slow, stupid creature, far less intelligent than any of its members. IAN McEWAN, *Black Dogs*, 1992.
667. With significant exception, the word ideology comes trailing clouds of pejorative connotation. Ideology is someone else's thought, seldom our own. That our thought might be ideological is a suggestion that we almost instinctively reject lest the foundations of our most cherished conceptions turn out to be composed of more shifting sand than we would like. DAVID McLELLAN, *Ideology*, 1995.
668. Unlike many other similarly controversial terms (democracy, say, or liberty), ideology is less than 200 years old. It is the product of the social, political and intellectual upheavals that accompanied the Industrial Revolution... Traditional beliefs, just because they are traditional, tend to be static and to rely on a restricted, hierarchically structured, coherent entities: myths did not compete. Ideologies, on the other hand, were the products of an increasingly pluralist society and were associated with rival groups whose sectional interests they served. DAVID McLELLAN, *Ideology*, 1986.
669. Ideology is best viewed not as a separate system of signs and symbols that could be contrasted with – and eventually replaced by – another, e.g. science of some sort. Ideology is rather an aspect of every system of signs and symbols in so far as they are implicated in an asymmetrical distribution of power and resources. DAVID McLENNAN, *Ideology*, 1986.
670. In many ways the revolutionary societies resembled fanatic religious sects. They aimed at universal salvation and undisputed acceptance of their gospel. They looked upon deviation from approved doctrine as heresy. They had their priests and prophets, their martyrs and saints. HERBERT McCLOSKEY and JOHN E. TURNER, *The Soviet Dictatorship*.

671. Ideological thinking does not begin with the real in order to understand the natures of things, but begins in the mind, that is, with the theoretical system through which the real is interpreted. It begins with an already constituted “scheme”, a ready-made epistemological super-structure ... a structure through which certain data will be interpreted as significant while other data will remain relatively meaningless. DOUG McMANAMAN, *Ideological Thinking and the Need to Be Critical*, 2003.
672. Ideology has been defined as “the conversion of ideas into social levers” or the combination of “factual propositions and value judgments.” As these definitions imply, ideology is a mixture of abstract values and concrete social prescriptions; the values may be enduring but the social prescriptions tend to be time-bound. WILLIAM McPHERSON, *Ideology & Change*, 1973.
673. The increasing appeal of conspiracy theory is directly linked to this newly expanded definition, which accords the conspiracy broad explanatory power and enormous political utility. In its new form, “conspiracy” can be used to label political enemies who are doing nothing more devious or sinister than their accusers. TIMOTHY MELLEY, *Empire of Conspiracy: The Culture of Paranoia In Postwar America*, 2000.
674. Only the continuing appeal of liberalism, and its vision of an autonomous self beleaguered by society, can explain why the controlling “agencies and powers” in postwar narrative are so often “unseen” or elusive, why they so rarely consist of specific conspirators, why they vary from text to text, and why they look nothing like conspiracies in the traditional sense of the word. The broad appeal of liberal individualism also explains why, for at least the past several decades, conspiracy narratives have displayed such extraordinary political flexibility... TIMOTHY MELLEY, *Empire of Conspiracy: The Culture of Paranoia in Postwar America*, 2000.
675. A demagogue is one who preaches doctrines he knows to be untrue to men he knows to be idiots. H. L. MENCKEN (1880-1956).
676. It is not materialism that is the chief curse of the world, as pastors teach, but idealism. Men get into trouble by taking their visions and hallucinations too seriously. H. L. MENCKEN (1880-1956), *Minority Report*, 1956.
677. The world government is the most moral. One composed of cynics is often very tolerant and humane. But when the fanatics are on top there is no limit to oppression. H. L. MENCKEN (1880-1956), *Minority Report*, 1956.
678. The Marxists...possessed a credo that in their eyes allowed them to give objective, scientific answers to virtually all questions; that inspired them in an absolute faith in victory and safeguarded them from disillusioning defeats; and that gave them a sense of fighting for a way of life that at last would satisfy simultaneously all human and social needs. ARTHUR P. MENDEL (ed), *Essential Works of Marxism*, 1961.
679. Totalitarianism is man’s escape from the fearful realities of life into the virtual womb of the leader. The individual’s actions are directed from this womb -- from the inner sanctum. The mystic center is in control of everything; man need no longer assume responsibility for his own life. The order and logic of the prenatal world reign. There is peace and silence, the peace of utter submission. JOOST A. MERLOO, *The Rape Of The Mind*, 1956.
680. The greatest problem confronts those who can never escape from their system of verbal logic. They fight the whole world with causal schemes in order to safeguard themselves and their inner confusion. JOOST A. MERLOO, “Contributions of Psychiatry,” *Human Communication Theory: Original Essays*, 1967.
681. It is important for us to realize that emphasis on conformity and the fear of spontaneous living can have an effect almost as devastating as the totalitarians deliberate assault on the mind... Trained into conformity the child may well grow up into an adult who welcomes with relief the authoritarian demands of a totalitarian leader. JOOST MEERLOO, *Mental Seduction and Menticide: The*

*Psychology of Thought Control and Brainwashing, 1957.*

682. Communist theory is powerful not because it is true; most obviously it is not. It is powerful because it is believed. Each aspect may be intellectually weak enough on its own, but in the total theoretical structure each strengthens the other and a unified view is created. Theories which, standing on their own would be ludicrous take on the seeming luminosity of truth. FRANK S. MEYER (1909-1972), *The Molding of Communists*, 1961.
683. The closer a man approaches tragedy the more intense is his concentration of emotion upon the fixed point of his commitment, which is to say the closer he approaches what in life we call fanaticism. ARTHUR MILLER (1915-2005).
684. To imagine that we are going to be saved by outside intervention, whether in the shape of an analyst, a dictator, a savior, or even a God, is sheer folly. There are not enough lifeboats to go around, and anyway ... what is needed more than lifeboats is lighthouses. A fuller, clearer vision – not more safety appliances. HENRY MILLER, *The Wisdom of the Heart*, 1941.
685. [Conspiracy theories] fulfill two roles – the argumentative role traditionally studied that asserts that some powerful entity is engaged in a grand scheme to control or deceive the masses, and what I shall call the coded social critique role – an underlying message that critiques various social, political, or economic institutions and actors. SHANE MILLER, “Conspiracy Theories: Public Arguments As Coded Social Critiques,” *Argumentation and Advocacy* 39, 2002.
686. The critique inherent to conspiracy theories is limited due to the very nature of conspiracy theories themselves. The simplistic presentation of a small but powerful elite at the core of the problem is incapable of addressing the structural nuances involved in any given situation. SHANE MILLER, “Conspiracy Theories: Public Arguments As Coded Social Critiques,” *Argumentation and Advocacy* 39, 2002.
687. [T]he acceptance of conspiracies depends on the audience’s need for certainty combined with the audience’s lack of specific, particular knowledge. Conspiracy theories are born of uncertainty. SHANE MILLER, “Conspiracy Theories: Public Arguments As Coded Social Critiques,” *Argumentation and Advocacy* 39, 2002.
688. The child who dwells inside us trusts that there are wise men somewhere who know the truth. CZESLAW MILOSZ (1911-2004).
689. Undoubtedly, one comes closer to the truth when one sees history as the expressions of the class struggle than a series of private quarrels among kings and nobles. But precisely because such an analysis of history comes closer to the truth, it is more dangerous. It gives the illusion of full knowledge; it supplies answers to all questions, answers which merely run around in a circle repeating a few formulas. CZESLAW MILOSZ (1911-2004), *The Captive Mind*, 1952.
690. Ideology is systematically destructive of political ideas and values because it represents the imperfections of the human condition as the necessary deficiencies of an oppressive system, judging everything in terms of a concealed absolute constructed from the human essence itself. KENNETH MINOGUE, *Alien Powers: The Pure Theory Of Ideology*, 1985.
691. [The] formal center of ideological understanding ... consists in the view that the evils of life are not ... part of an immemorial human condition which is beyond change, or a set of problems to each of which a specific solution may be hazarded, as politicians often suggest, but that they are part of a single system of dehumanization which determines everything that happens, and which cannot be changed except by a complete transformation. KENNETH MINOGUE, *Alien Powers: The Pure Theory of Ideology*, 1985.
692. Tyranny is always and everywhere the same, while freedom is always various. The well and truly enslaved are dependable: we know what they will say and think and do. The free are quirky.

Tyrannies may be overt and violent or covert and insidious, but they all require the same thing, a subject population in which the power of thought is occluded and the power of deed brought low. RICHARD MITCHELL, *The Graves Of Academe*, 1981.

693. The history of mankind is the history of ideas. For it is ideas, theories and doctrines that guide human action, determine the ultimate ends men aim at and the choice of the means employed for the attainment of these ends. The sensational events which stir the emotions and catch the interest of superficial observers are merely the consummation of ideological changes. LUDWIG VON MISES (1881-1973), *Planned Chaos*, 1947.
694. Ideologies always stem from a real grievance, an intolerable situation, a threat.... Then someone elaborates a theory in the center of which is found that correction of the situation, a redress of the grievance. However, they theory concentrates so exclusively on the originating cause that it becomes one-sided, obliquely relevant to the entirety of man's situation. THOMAS MOLNAR, *Utopia: The Perennial Heresy*, 1967.
695. Man prefers to believe what he prefers to be true. MICHEL de MONTAIGNE (1533-1592), *Essays*.
696. Men are tormented by the opinions they have of things, not by the things themselves. MICHEL de MONTAIGNE (1533-1592), *Essays*, 1580.
697. He who despises his own life may at any time become master of other men's lives. MICHEL de MONTAIGNE (1533-1592), *Essays*.
698. We believe nothing so firmly as what we least know. MICHEL de MONTAIGNE (1553-1592), *Essays*, 1580.
699. History is full of religious wars; but, we must take care to observe, it was not the multiplicity of religions that produced these wars, it was the intolerant spirit which animated the one which thought she had the power of governing. MONTESQUIEU (1689-1755), *Letters Persanes*, 1721.
700. Collective action presents great difficulties to groups with an antiplanning ideology. The carrying out of complex projects that require coordination, subordination of individual desires, and delayed gratification is highly problematic... SALLY F. MOORE & BARBARA G. MYERHOFF, *Symbol and Politics in Communal Ideology*, 1975.
701. Faith, fanatic faith, once wedded fast / To some dear falsehood, hugs it to the last. THOMAS MOORE (1779-1852), *Lalla Rookh*, 1817.
702. [Delusions are] abnormal beliefs held with absolute conviction; experienced as self-evident truths usually of great personal significance; not amenable to reason or modification by experience; whose content is often fantastic or at best inherently unlikely; and which are not shared by those of a common social and cultural background. P. MULLEN, "The Phenomenology of Disordered Mental Function," in *Essentials of Postgraduate Psychiatry*, 1979.
703. Fascism is a religious conception in which man is seen in his immanent relationship with a superior law and with an objective will that transcends the particular individual and raises him to conscious membership of a spiritual society. BENITO MUSSOLINI (1883-1945), "The Doctrine of Fascism", *Encyclopedia Italiana*, 1932.
704. Against individualism, the fascist conception is for the State; and it is for the individual insofar as he coincides with the State... BENITO MUSSOLINI (1883-1945), *The Doctrine of Fascism*, 1933.
705. The Fascist State, the highest and most powerful form of personality, is a force, but a spiritual force, which takes over all the forms of the moral and intellectual life of man. It cannot therefore confine itself simply to the functions or order and supervision as Liberalism desired. BENITO MUSSOLINI (1883-1945), "The Doctrine of Fascism", *Encyclopedia Italiana*, 1932.

706. Fascism conceives of the State as an absolute, in comparison with which all individuals or groups are relative, only to be conceived of in their relation to the state. BENITO MUSSOLINI (1883-1945), *New York Times*, 11 January 1935.



707. Everything that is detrimental to the existing order has our support ... We are promoting catastrophic policies – for only catastrophe that is, the collapse of the Liberal system will clear the way for the new order.. *N. S. Briefe*, No 23 (June 1929), quoted in *Hitler: A Study in Tyranny* (Alan Bullock), 1952.

708. In our movement the two extremes come together: the Communists from the left and the officers and students from the Right. These two have always been the most active elements, and it was the greatest crime that they used to oppose each other in street fights. The Communists were the idealists of Socialism. *N. S. Briefe*, No 23 (June 1929), quoted in *Hitler: A Study in Tyranny* (Alan Bullock), 1952.

709. There is no place in a fanatic's head where reason can enter. NAPOLEON BONAPARTE (1769-1821).

710. It is to ideology, this cloudy metaphysics which, by subtly searching for first causes, wishes to establish on this basis the legislation of people, instead of obtaining its laws from knowledge of the human heart and from the lessons of history.... NAPOLEON BONAPARTE (1769-1821), quoted in *Wahrheit und Ideologie* (H. Barth), 1961.

711. The revolutionary is a doomed man. He has no interests of his own, no affairs, no feelings, no attachments, no belongings, not even a name. ... He is an implacable enemy of this world, and if he continues to live in it, this is only to destroy it more effectively. SERGEI NECHAEV (1947-1882), *Catechism of a Revolutionist*, 1869.

712. The suppression of fear is, in fact, the chief aim of dictatorial organization. The introduction of uniforms fulfills this purpose, as does the observance of strict discipline. SIGMUND NEUMANN, *Permanent Revolution: The Total State in a World at War*, 1965.

713. The modern demagogue realizes that what the mass man longs for is an emotional outlet for active participation... The suppression of fear is, in fact, the chief aim of dictatorial organization. The introduction of uniforms fulfills this purpose, as does the observance of strict discipline. SIGMUND NEUMANN, *Permanent Revolution: The Total State in a World at War*, 1965.

714. In postmodernism, the realization that we cannot achieve absolute knowledge has not wiped out the desire for it. The result frequently manifests itself as a kind of paranoia: a desperate desire to make sense of what we know does not make sense. BRIAN NICHOL, "Reading Paranoia: Paranoia, Epistemophilia and the Postmodern Crisis of Interpretation," *Literature and Psychology*, 1999.

715. If the pursuit of knowledge becomes obsessive enough, there is a point where concealed alternative meanings may be imagined. This is the point where epistemophilia crosses over into paranoia. BRIAN NICHOL, "Reading Paranoia: Paranoia, Epistemophilia and the Postmodern Crisis of Interpretation," *Literature and Psychology*, 1999.

716. Ideology uses the fabrication of images and the process of representation to persuade us that how things are is how they ought to be and that the place provided for us is the place we ought to have. BILL NICHOLS, *Ideology And The Image*, 1981.

717. Ideology arises in association with processes of communication and exchange. ... Ideology uses the fabrication of images and the process of representation to persuade us that how things are is how they ought to be and place provided for us is the place we ought to have. BILL NICHOLS, *Ideology*

*and the Image*, 1981.

718. There is no social evil, no form of injustice, whether of the feudal or capitalist order, which has not been sanctified in some way or another by religious sentiment and thereby rendered more impervious to change. REINHOLD NIEBUHR (1892-1971), *Christian Realism and Political Problems*, 1953.
719. The tendency to claim God as an ally for our partisan value and ends is the source of all religious fanaticism. REINHOLD NIEBUHR (1892-1971).
720. [The communist mind is] tempted by visions of fancy, bribed by a pseudoscience, they come to believe the reality of dreams, submerge themselves in a world of their own intellectual making, and pretend to be masters of creation. As long as such people are effectively organized for political action, the world can have no peace. GERHART NIEMEYER (1907-1997), "The Communist Mind," in *Keeping The Tablets: Modern American Conservative Thought* (William F. Buckley, Jr. & Charles R. Kesler, eds), 1988.
721. Men of fixed convictions do not count when it comes to determining what is fundamental in values and lack of values. Men of convictions are prisoners. FRIEDRICH NIETZSCHE (1844-1900), *The Antichrist*, 1888.
722. Distrust all in whom the impulse to punish is powerful. They can be people of low stock and breeding; out of their countenances peer the hangman and the bloodhound. Distrust all those who talk much of their justice!. FRIEDRICH NIETZSCHE (1844-1900), *Thus Spake Zarathustra*, 1883.
723. The idealist is incorrigible: if he is thrown out of his heaven, he makes an ideal of his hell. FRIEDRICH NIETZSCHE (1844-1900), *Miscellaneous Maxims and Opinions*, 1879.
724. Speaking generally, punishment hardens and numbs, it produces obstinacy, it sharpens the sense of alienation and strengthens the power of resistance. FRIEDRICH NIETZSCHE (1844-1900), *The Genealogy of Morals*, 1887.
725. Whoever fights monsters should see to it that in the process he does not become a monster. And if you gaze long enough into an abyss, the abyss will gaze back into you. FRIEDRICH NIETZSCHE (1844-1900), *Beyond Good And Evil*, 1886.
726. Fanatics are picturesque, mankind would rather see gestures than listen to reasons. FRIEDRICH NIETZSCHE (1844-1900), *The Anti-Christ*, 1895.
727. Belief means not wanting to know what is true. FRIEDRICH NIETZSCHE (1844-1900), *The Anti-Christ*, 1889.
728. Insanity in individuals is something rare – but in groups, parties, nations, and epochs it is the rule. FRIEDRICH NIETZSCHE (1844-1900), *Beyond Good and Evil*, 1886.
729. Whoever is dissatisfied with himself is continually ready for revenge, and we others will have to be his victims. FRIEDRICH NIETZSCHE (1844-1900), *Human All Too Human*, 1878.
730. Extreme positions are not succeeded by moderate ones, but by contrary extreme positions. FRIEDRICH NIETZSCHE (1844-1900), *The Will to Power*, 1888.
731. Disloyalty, however picayune, is unforgivable to the fanatic. Even the appearance of disloyalty is sufficient for banishment of the offender, no matter how many years of unquestioned devotion have been given; they are as nothing compared to the enormity of the moment. ROBERT NISBET (1913-1996), *Prejudices: A Philosophical Dictionary*, 1982.
732. Equality feeds on itself as no other single social value does. It is not long before it becomes more than a value. It takes on the overtones of redemptiveness and becomes a religion rather than a

secular idea. ROBERT NISBET (1913-1996), *Twilight of Authority*, 1981.

733. No dogma or superstition in any religion yet uncovered by anthropologists is more tyrannical, and more intellectually absurd, than that of the historically inevitable or necessary. ROBERT NISBET (1913-1996), *Twilight Of Authority*, 1981.
734. The fanatic has the gift of hate in superlative intensity. Most human beings are unable to sustain hatred for more than a short time...but the fanatic can hate for a lifetime.... The fanatic forgets nothing; no detail is too small to remember for decades and to nourish constantly by the acids of hate. ROBERT NISBET (1913-1996), *Prejudices: A Philosophical Dictionary*, 1982.
735. The users of any system -- scientific, theological, legal -- encounter points where their premises and their practices are inconsistent. These gaps in the system must be bridged or the system changed. To bridge the gaps, those who accept the system employ fictions... Fictions are a necessity of law. JOHN T. NOONAN, JR., *Persons and Masks of the Law*, 1976.
736. The human brain craves understanding. It cannot understand without simplifying, that is, without reducing things to a common element. However, all simplifications are arbitrary and lead us to drift insensibly away from reality. PIERRE LECOMPTE DU NOUY (1883-1947), *Human Destiny*, 1947.
737. My opinion, my conviction, gains infinitely in strength and success, the moment a second mind has adopted it. NOVALIS (1772-1801), German Poet, Mystic.
738. Fanaticism is the triumph of reflex over reflection. It differs from the more primitive reflexes in that it is conditioned – contingent on symbols rather than sensory stimuli – but it is reflex nonetheless ... As a variety of reflex, fanaticism is deeply rooted in human behavior; reflection, on the other hand, is as yet only tenuously established... CHRISTINE L. NYSTROM, “Immediate Man: The Symbolic Environment of Fanaticism,” *ETC: A Review of General Semantics* 59, 2002.



739. Too often the excessive pursuit of one ideal leads to the exclusion of others, perhaps all others; in our eagerness to realize justice we may come to forget charity, and a passion for righteousness has made many a man hard and merciless. MICHAEL OAKESHOTT, *The Tower of Babel*, 1948.
740. Where ego-involvement is intense, the individual will be inflexible in his behavior. Change will come hard for him to him, and he will oppose it sometimes with violence, if that seems to be necessary. MARBURY B. OGLE, *Public Opinion and Political Dynamics*, 1950.
741. Man, in the fascist view, is a corrupt, greedy, altogether Machiavellian creature who must be held in subjection for his own good and must be dominated by strong, courageous, well-informed elites. MARBURY B. OGLE, *Public Opinion and Political Dynamics*, 1950.
742. Oh, to grasp this sorry scheme of things entire, shatter it to bits, and remold it nearer to the heart's desire. OMAR KHAYYAM (1048-1131), *The Rubaiyat*.
743. Hatred is a feeling which leads to the extinction of values. JOSE ORTEGA Y GASSET (1883-1955), *Meditations on Quixote*, 1914.
744. Creeds like pacifism or anarchism, which seem on the surface to imply a complete renunciation of power, rather encourage this habit of mind. For if you have embraced a creed which appears to be free from the ordinary dirtiness of politics....the more you are in the right (and) everybody else should be bullied into thinking otherwise. GEORGE ORWELL (1903-1950), *The Road To Wigan Pier*, 1937.
745. One sometimes gets the impression that the mere words “Socialism” and “Communism” draw

towards then with magnetic force every fruit-juice drinker, nudist, sandal-wearer, sex-maniac, Quaker, “Nature Cure” quack, pacifist and feminist in England. GEORGE ORWELL (1903-1950), *The Road To Wigan Pier*, 1937.

746. Power is not a means, it is an end. One does not establish a dictatorship in order to safeguard a revolution. One makes the revolution in order to establish the dictatorship. The object of persecution is persecution. The object of torture is torture. The object of power is power. GEORGE ORWELL (1903-1950), *Nineteen Eighty-Four*, 1949.
747. History consists of a series of swindles, in which the masses are first lured into revolt by the promise of utopia and then, when they have done their job, enslaved over again by new masters. GEORGE ORWELL (1903-1950), *Collected Essays, Journalism and Letters, Vol 1*, 1968.
748. Power worship blurs political judgment because it leads, almost unavoidably, to the belief that present trends will continue. Whoever is winning at the moment will always seem invincible. GEORGE ORWELL (1903-1950), “James Burnham and the Managerial Revolution,” in *Collected Essays, Journalism and Letters*, 1968.
749. Man...is an animal that can act morally when he acts as an individual, but becomes unmoral when he acts collectively. GEORGE ORWELL (1903-1950), *Collected Essays, Journalism and Letters, Vol 4*, 1968.
750. Collectivism leads to concentration camps, leader worship, and war. There is no way out of this unless a planned economy can be somehow combined with the freedom of the intellect, which can only happen if the concept of right and wrong is installed to politics. GEORGE ORWELL (1903-1950), “As I Please,” *The Observer*, 9 April 1944.
751. Most revolutionaries are potential Tories, because they imagine that everything can be put to rights by altering the shape of society. GEORGE ORWELL (1903-1950), *Nineteen Eighty-Four*, 1949.
752. One defeats a fanatic precisely by not being a fanatic oneself, but on the contrary by using one’s intelligence. GEORGE ORWELL (1903-1950), 1949.
753. Saints should always be judged guilty until proven innocent, though the tests that have to be applied to them are not, of course, the same in all cases. GEORGE ORWELL (1903-1950), “Reflections on Gandhi,” *Partisan Review*, January 1949.
754. Martyrdom is a particularly persuasive way of inflating a sense of moral grandeur, and has been critical in the establishment of religious faiths and nation states. NICHOLAS JACKSON O’SHAUGHNESSY, *Politics and Propaganda: Weapons of Mass Seduction*, 2004.
755. The social construction of an enemy fulfills several important functions. We define ourselves by reference to what we are not. This clarifies our values or where we stand, and gives us a coherent sense of selfhood. Second, it is only by reference to enemies that we become united, and the greater the internal discord within societies the more powerful will our need for enemies be: the propaganda construction of enemies is a source of social integration. NICHOLAS JACKSON O’SHAUGHNESSY, *Politics and Propaganda: Weapons of Mass Seduction*, 2004.

~P~

756. The characteristic of all fundamentalism is that it has found absolute certainty – the certainty of class warfare, the certainty of science, or the literal certainty of the Bible – a certainty of the person who has finally found a solid rock to stand upon which, unlike other rocks, is “solid all the way down.” Fundamentalism, however, is a terminal form of human consciousness in which development is stopped, eliminating the uncertainty and risk that real growth entails. HEINZ PAGELS, *The Dream of*

*Reason*, 1988.

757. Since it would be dangerous or wrong to freely express overt antagonism toward the members of the in-group, it is often psychologically easier to 'displace' the affect onto an out-group in relation which there already exists some basis of antagonism. TALCOTT PARSONS, quoted in *The Functions of Social Conflict* (Lewis Coser), 1956.
758. The problem of ideology arises where there is a discrepancy between what is believed and what can be [established as] scientifically correct. ... The criterion of distortion is that statements are made about society which by social-scientific methods can be shown to be positively in error, whereas selectivity is involved where the statements are, at the proper level 'true,' but do not constitute a balanced account of the available truth. TALCOTT PARSONS, "An Approach to the Sociology of Knowledge," *Transactions of the Fourth World Congress of Sociology*, 1959.
759. Men never do evil so completely and cheerfully as when they do it from a religious conviction. BLAISE PASCAL (1632-1662), *Pensees*, 1670.
760. Thinking too little about things or thinking too much both make us obstinate and fanatical. BLAISE PASCAL (1632-1662), *Pensees*, 1670.
761. The greatest disorder of the mind is to let will direct belief. LOUIS PASTEUR (1822-1895).
762. Fortunately for themselves and the world, nearly all men are cowards and dare not act on what they believe. Nearly all of our disasters come of a few fools having the "courage of their convictions." COVENTRY PATMORE (1823-1896).
763. When a man has quietly made up his mind that there is nothing he cannot endure, his fears leave him. GROVE PATTERSON.
764. Doubt is an uneasy and dissatisfied state from which we struggle to free ourselves and pass into a state of belief; while the latter is a calm and satisfactory state which we do not wish to avoid, or to change to a belief in anything else. CHARLES S. PEIRCE (1839-1914), *The Fixation of Belief*, 1877.
765. Hypothesis substitutes, for a complicated tangle of predicates attached to one subject, a single conception. ... In hypothetic inference this complicated feeling so produced is replaced by a single feeling of greater intensity, that belonging to the act of thinking the hypothetic conclusion... CHARLES S. PEIRCE (1839-1914), *The Fixation of Belief*, 1877.
766. Passion is a sort of Fever in the Mind, which ever leaves us weaker than it found us... It may be termed, the Mob of the Man, that commits a Riot upon his Reason. WILLIAM PENN (1644-1718), *Some Fruits of Solitude*, 1693.
767. A fanatic is dogmatic. He insists that his theories, his ideology, his solutions are the correct ones. A fanatic is obscurantist. He ignores (or cannot perceive) arguments, facts, or consequences that refute his solutions. H. J. PERKINSON, "Fanaticism: Flight from Fallibility," *ETC: A Review Of General Semantics*, 59, 2002.
768. A fanatic is authoritarian. When he has power he tries to impose his answers on others. Dogmatism, obscurantism and authoritarianism are all out of keeping with the human condition of fallibility. And when people become fanatics ... they frequently make life a hell for other people. H. J. PERKINSON, "Fanaticism: Flight from Fallibility," *ETC: A Review of General Semantics*, 59, 2002.
769. As ideological mobilization spreads through the society, social censure becomes an important tool of socialization. To be different is indecent. JAROSLAW PIEKALKIEWICZ & ALFRED WAYNE PENN, *Politics of Ideocracy*, 1995.
770. Participants will identify themselves completely with what they consider to be a sacred community of

believers in the ideology....They will be absolutely committed to the tenets of ideology and will be closed to competing perspectives which challenge, or even differ from, ideologically "correct" views. JAROSLAW PIEKALKIEWICZ & ALFRED WAYNE PENN, *Politics of Ideocracy*, 1995.

771. Man stops growing when he ceases being critical, when he ignores or refuses to admit that what he has created – his knowledge, his social arrangements – contain contradictions and adverse consequences. Man can ignore his condition of fallibility and declare that his knowledge is true, that his actions are good. He can claim to be God. At this point he becomes a fanatic. H. J. PERKINSON, "Fanaticism: Flight From Fallibility," *ETC: A Review of General Semantics*, 59, 2002.
772. A fanatic is dogmatic. He insists that his theories, his ideology, his solutions are the correct ones. A fanatic is obscurantist. He ignores (or cannot perceive) arguments, facts, or consequences that refute his solutions. H. J. PERKINSON, "Fanaticism: Flight From Fallibility," *ETC: A Review of General Semantics*, 59, 2002.
773. I found this province harassed with a most horrible witchcraft or possession of devils which had broke in upon several towns, some scores of poor people with taken with preternatural torments, some scalded with brimstone, some had pins stuck in their flesh, others hurried into the fire and water, and some dragged out of their houses and carried over the tops of trees and hills for many miles together. GOVERNOR WILLIAM PHIPS, "Letters to the Home Government, 1692-1693," in *The Salem Witch Trials Reader* (Francis Hill), 2000.
774. Conspiracism encourages a vortex of illusion and superstition. ... By reducing complex developments to a plot, it obstructs an understanding of historical forces, it shifts blame for all ills to outsiders ... preventing an accurate assessment of causes and thereby prolonging problems. DANIEL PIPES, *Conspiracy: How The Paranoid Style Flourishes and Where It Comes From*, 1997.
775. They all want the truth -- a truth that is: something specific; something concrete! They don't care what it is. All they want is something categorical, something that speaks plainly! LUIGI PIRANDELLO (1867-1936), *It Is So! (If You Think So)*, 1917.
776. You are never dedicated to something you have complete confidence in. When people are fanatically dedicated to political or religious faiths, or any other kind of dogmas or goals, it's always because these dogmas or goals are in doubt. ROBERT M. PIRSIG, *Zen And The Art Of Motorcycle Maintenance*, 1974.
777. Your definition of death and survival determines how long and hard you fight. Pragmatists will yield much to maintain some form of existence, whereas zealots equate surrender with death. JOHN J. PITNEY, JR., *The Art of Political Warfare*, 2000.
778. To be ideological has nothing to do with the intentions of the theorists. ... it has only to do with the motives and feelings of the persons who accept the beliefs and with how they behave as a result of accepting them. J. PLAMENATS, *Ideology*, 1970.
779. History....is not the past. The past is always a created ideology with a purpose, designed to control individuals, or motivate societies, or inspire classes. Nothing has been so corruptly used as concepts of the past. The future of history and historians is to cleanse the story of mankind from those deceiving visions of a purposeful past. J. H. PLUMB, *The Death of the Past*, 1970.
780. [The nihilist] who tries to live without any beliefs [is] starved of social responsibility...Marxism offered them a future, bearing unbounded promise to humanity...it endowed those who accepted it with a feeling of overwhelming moral superiority. They acquired a sense of righteousness. MICHAEL POLYANI (1891-1976), *The Logic of Liberty*, 1951.
781. It is with narrow-souled people as with narrow-necked bottles: the less they have in them, the more noise they make in pouring it out. ALEXANDER POPE (1688-1744), *Thoughts on Various Subjects*, 1727.

782. The ruling passion, be what it will. The ruling passion conquers reason still. ALEXANDER POPE (1688-1744), *Moral Essays*.
783. I do not wish to imply that conspiracies never happen. On the contrary, they are typical social phenomena. They become important, for example, whenever people who believe in the conspiracy theory get into power. And people who sincerely believe that they know how to make heaven on earth are most likely to adopt the conspiracy theory, and to get into a counterconspiracy against nonexistent conspirators. SIR KARL POPPER (1902-1994), *The Open Society and its Enemies*, 1966.
784. To the Communists, words are tools to achieve effects, not means to communicate in the search for truth. STEFAN T. POSSONY (1913-1995).
785. When the autonomous cell comes under external threat, the external danger has the consequence of reducing internal divisiveness and uniting the group against the outside enemy. ... Violent society counteractions can transform a tiny band of insignificant persons into a major opponent of society, making their "fantasy war" ... a reality. JERROLD M. POST, "Terrorist Behavior as a Product of Psychological Forces," in *Origins of Terrorism* (Walter Reich, ed.), 1990.
786. Paranoia is the most political of mental illnesses because, after all, paranoids require enemies. How much better to be all-powerful than to be powerless, to be the center of a worldwide conspiracy than to be insignificant and ignored. JERROLD M. POST, "The Psychopolitics of Hatred," *Peace and Conflict* 5, 1999.
787. The paranoid specializes in projection. He disowns negative destructive feelings by projecting them outward, onto strangers or groups. By so doing, for the most part the paranoid successfully defends himself against devastating despair and emptiness. The persecutor within has been transformed into the enemies without. JERROLD M. POST, "The Psychopolitics of Hatred: Commentary on Ervin Staub's Article," *Peace and Conflict* 5, 1999.
788. Technopoly is a state of culture. It is also a state of mind. It consists in the deification of technology, finds its satisfactions in technology, and takes its orders from technology. This requires the development of a new kind of social order, and of necessity leads to the rapid dissolution of much that is associated with traditional beliefs. NEIL POSTMAN, *Technopoly: The Surrender of Culture to Technology*, 1993.
789. If we define ideology as a set of assumptions of which we are barely conscious but which nonetheless directs our efforts to give shape and coherence to the world, then our most powerful ideological instrument is the technology of language itself. Language is pure ideology. It instructs us not only in the names of things but, more important in what things can be named. It divides the world into subjects and objects. NEIL POSTMAN, *Technopoly: The surrender of Culture to Technology*, 1993.
790. I know that a creed is the shell of a lie. AMY POWELL (1874-1925), *What's O'Clock*, 1925.
791. All revolutionaries become conservative in the very act of effecting their revolution. From the moment a change has been brought about, their concern is to prevent it from being reversed. JOHN ENOCH POWELL, *Freedom and Reality*, 1970.
792. The problem in contemporary societies is either no ideology at all, as in America, or ideologies completely dominating the process of ego identify. The American case is, in some respects, as bad as that of a totally ideological society, for where no ideologies exist there remain only mindless stereotypes instead. ROBERT J. PRANGER, *The Eclipse of Citizenship*, 1968.
793. If there are no real enemies and one truly is powerless, some form of paranoia may be considered "rational," justifying the old saying that "even paranoids have enemies." A "mental state" has a reality if held consciously (or unconsciously), especially if it affects behavior. If it is a subject

reflection of objective conditions, it becomes even more “real.” RAY PRATT, *Projecting Paranoia: Conspiratorial Visions in American Film*, 2001.

794. To believe one has enemies conspiring to do one harm reflects more than a sense of detachment from others; it reveals a feeling of antagonism and hostility. Whether correct or a delusion, it has self-fulfilling tendencies. In either case, the perception has a reality, representing a deep sense of alienation from society. RAY PRATT, *Projecting Paranoia: Conspiratorial Visions in American Film*, 2001.
795. ...to educate in all our people the feeling of the whole-hearted and self-sacrificing love for their country, a feeling of holy hate for the villainous enemy, a feeling of fearlessness and contempt towards death... They should reflect the greatness of our historic days in works worthy of heroes and the heroism of the Patriotic War. PRAVDA, 26 December 1941.
796. Ideology inhibits independent thinking and all the work that thinking entails; it offers support for like-minded folk who have also put their minds out to pasture. PETER S. PRESCOTT, *Newsweek*, 10 October 1988.
797. Creeds are devices to keep heretics out rather than to draw people in. GERALD PRIESTLAND (1927-1991), *Something Understood*.
798. Every successful revolt is termed a revolution, and every unsuccessful one a rebellion. JOSEPH PRIESTLY (1733-1804), *Letter to Edmund Burke*, 1791.
799. A powerful idea communicates some of its power to the man who contradicts it. MARCEL PROUST (1871-1922), *Remembrance of Things Past*, 1911.
800. The fanatic who refused to admit the existence of a feared facet of himself may eventually be confronted with undeniable evidence that he harbors the very attitude or desires he has sought to eradicate in others. SNELL and GAIL PUTNEY, *The Adjusted American*, 1964.
801. The person who vehemently disbelieves is quite aware of the possibility of believing. Even those ideas that a man never learns to take seriously are nonetheless within the scope of his potential belief.....No rejected belief is ever completely discredited. What has once been believed lingers on as a faint possibility. SNELL and GAIL PUTNEY, *The Adjusted American*, 1964.

~R~

802. Men are suffering from the fever of violent emotion, and so they make a philosophy of it. S. RADHAKRISHNAN (1888-1975), *The Reign of Religion in Philosophy*, 1922.
803. For most of the chattering classes – the media and knowledge industry, academics, politicians and their assistants – the epithet ‘conspiracy theorist’ is the kiss of death. One of the bedrocks of the ideology of liberal democracies is that conspiracy theories are always wrong, and those who espouse them are mental incompetents at best. ROBIN RAMSAY, “On Conspiracies and Conspiracy Theories: The Truth Buried By Fantasies,” *Political Notes*, No 128, 1996.
804. Every major horror of history has been committed in the name of an altruistic motive. Has any act of selfishness ever equaled the carnage perpetrated by disciples of altruists? AYN RAND (1905-1982), *For The New Intellectual*, 1961.
805. The ancient Greeks and Romans had no word to correspond to [the] term assassination. A killing was simply means to an end; its moral significance depended entirely on the nature of the person killed. A man who struck a public personality down was either a murderer or a tyrannicide. And the word for tyrannicide was the same as that for ‘liberator,’ one who freed his country. DAVID G.

RAPOPORT, *Assassination and Terrorism*, 1971.

806. By “ideology” I mean here a system of ideas, values, and beliefs, both normative and allegedly factual, which purport to explain complex social phenomena and which also aid to justify and direct public policy and action. ANDREW J. RECK, in *Ideology And The American Experience* (Roth and Whitemore), 1986.
807. Extremes of belief are generally recognizable, not in terms of the content or nature of the idea itself, but in terms of its dominance. If the subject is wrapped up in his belief...if he holds an idea with pronounced intensity and his considerations of it clearly spring from heightened emotion, the observer will have doubts as to whether his evaluation is based on rational analysis. GRAHAM REED, *The Psychology of Anomalous Experience*, 1988.
808. People with overvalued ideas are prominent in political movements and religious cults, as well as in crank organizations and extreme minority groups... In all of these areas of activity, it is not so much the content of the belief that is significant but its preoccupying power, and the degree to which the believer finds it necessary to force his ideas on others. GRAHAM REED, *The Psychology of Anomalous Experience*, 1988.
809. All assemblages of men are different from the men themselves. Neither intelligence nor culture can prevent a mob from acting as a mob. The wise man and the knave lose their identity and merge themselves into a new being. THOMAS BRACKET REED (1839-1902), *Speech* at Bowdoin College, 25 July 1902.
810. This infantile value system knows only absolute perfection and complete destructions; it belongs to the early time in life when only black and white existed, good and bad, pleasure and pain, but nothing in between. There are no shadings, no degrees, there are only extremes. ANNIE REICH, “Pathologic Forms of Self-Esteem Regulation,” *Psychoanalytic Contributions*, 1973.
811. The fact that political ideologies are tangible realities is not a proof of their vitally necessary character. The bubonic plague was an extraordinarily powerful social reality, but no one would have regarded it as vitally necessary. WILHELM REICH (1897-1957), *The Mass Psychology of Fascism*, 1933.
812. What is an ideology? ... The intellectual dispensation consists of retaining only facts favorable to the thesis one is defending, even, if necessary, inventing them, and of denying, omitting, or forgetting others to keep them from being known. ...The practical dispensation suppresses the criterion of effectiveness in judging policies, depriving setbacks and failures of all refutational value. ... The moral dispensation abolishes all notions of good or evil; or rather, for them it is the service due to ideology that replaces morality. JEAN-FRANCOIS REVEL, *The Flight From Truth*, 1991.
813. The frontier is vague, the transition easy between the status of a loyal opponent wielding a privilege built into democratic institutions and that of an adversary subverting those institutions. To totalitarianism, an opponent is by definition subversive; democracy treats subversives as mere opponents for fear of betraying its principles. JEAN-FRANCOIS REVEL, *How Democracies Perish*, 1983.
814. The notion of a holy war against evil – a war in which normal restraints do not apply has all but disappeared from international law [...] But it has had a revival in a special form thanks to the struggle against terrorism. This notion leads, all too easily, to a view that in the struggle between the legitimate authorities on the one hand and terrorists on the other, anything goes: neither ethical nor legal restraints should be allowed to hamper the pursuit and extermination of the terrorists. ADAM ROBERTS, “Ethic, Terrorism and Counter-Terrorism,” *Terrorism and Political Violence*, 1, January 1989.
815. For liberalism, the individual is the end, and society the means. For fascism, society is the end, individuals the means, and its whole life consists in using individuals as instruments for its social

ends. ALFREDO ROCCO (1875-1925), *The Political Doctrine of Fascism*, 1925.

816. Ideology refers to a more or less institutionalized set of beliefs – “the views someone picks up.” Belief-disbelief systems contain these too but, in addition, they contain highly personalized pre-ideological beliefs. MILTON ROKEACH (1918-1988), *The Open and Closed Mind*, 1960.
817. In ideological movements, time perspectives appear to be typically future-oriented. The past hardly exists, and the present is unimportant in its own right. The past hardly exists, and the present is unimportant in its own right. The present is a vestibule to the future rather than something to be enjoyed and appreciated in its own right; it is a means to a future end rather than an end in itself. It is the future that counts and the suffering and injustice existing in the present is sometimes condoned, often glorified, for the sake of securing some future heaven, Utopia, promised land, Platonic or classless society. MILTON ROKEACH (1918-1988), *The Open and Closed Mind*, 1960.
818. The relative openness or closedness of a mind cuts across specific content: that is, it is not restricted to any one particular ideology, or religion, or philosophy, or scientific viewpoint. MILTON ROKEACH (1918-1988), *The Open and Closed Mind*, 1960.
819. The more closed a system, the more is the acceptance of a particular belief assumed to depend on irrelevant internal arrives and/or particular arbitrary reinforcements from external authority. MILTON ROKEACH (1918-1988), *The Open and Closed Mind*, 1960.
820. Oh Liberty! Oh Liberty! What crimes are committed in thy name. MADAME ROLAND (1754-1793).
821. Power relations are the central concern for the paranoids, who tend to alternate between aggression and submissiveness. In situations where they can dominate, they are ruthless in their self-assertion. When faced with a worthy antagonist, however, they retreat into submissiveness. They can not conceive of situations that involve a combination of competition and cooperation. In their world one either dominates or is dominated. STANLEY ROTHMAN, “Ideology, Authoritarianism and Mental Health,” *Political Psychology*, Vol 5, No. 3, 1984.
822. A man who cannot find tranquility within himself will search for it in vain somewhere. FRANCOIS, DUC de LA ROUCHEFOUCAULD (1613-1689), *Maxims*, 1665.
823. Every philosopher knows that his own system rests on no surer foundations than the rest, but he maintains it because it is his own. There is not one of them who, if he chanced to discover the difference between truth and falsehood, would not prefer his own lie to the truth which another had discovered. JEAN-JACQUES ROUSSEAU (1712-1778), *Emile*, 1762.
824. The less reasonable a cult is, the more men seek to establish it by force. JEAN-JACQUES ROUSSEAU (1712-1778).
825. The impossibility of grasping realities threw me into the land of chimeras, and seeing nothing in existence that was worthy of my enthusiasm I sought nourishment for it in an ideal world, which my fertile imagination soon peopled with beings after my own heart. JEAN-JACQUES ROUSSEAU (1712-1778), *Nouvelle Heloise*, 1761.
826. Fantasies of world destruction are also a characteristic of various forms of schizophrenia. It is as if feelings of self-hatred are so great that they cannot be absorbed by projections to single persons but require fantasies involving complete destruction of the world. THEODORE ISAAC RUBIN, *Compassion and Self Hate*, 1975.
827. It is a fact that fanatics of justice always have a “law” according to which the enemy must die. The enemy must be liquidated. Seldom do these “just” ever get the idea that absolute justice cannot be realized on this earth without causing the greatest injustices. JOSEPH RUDIN, *Fanaticism*, 1969.
828. In fanaticism not only the reflex mechanisms are at work but the unconscious psychic mechanisms of

identification and projection are also stirred into action. JOSEPH RUDIN, *Fanaticism*, 1969.

829. It is a fact that in most fanatics we observe exaggerations, simplifications, generalizations, one-sided interpretations, and even misrepresentations of their opponents opinions, so that we speak with some justification of an “autistic,” “dereistic” way of thinking, and at least the impression of an existing delusional system can be given. JOSEPH RUDIN, *Fanaticism*, 1969.
830. The rigid behavior of this type of fanatic generally builds up to a complete identification with the idea he advocates. For in him the ego must not only take a stand for a cause and represent it with the entire person but it becomes swallowed up by this cause... JOSEPH RUDIN, *Fanaticism*, 1969.
831. What strikes us first and foremost in regard to the fanatic is the intensity with which he fights for his cause. The cause itself, the idea, the value for which the fanatic so intensely battles seems to the outsider, and often even to psychological observation and opinion, to be of very secondary importance. JOSEPH RUDIN, *Fanaticism*, 1969.
832. Belief in a Divine Mission is one of the many forms of certainty that have afflicted the human race. BERTRAND RUSSELL (1872-1970), *Unpopular Essays*, 1950.
833. Fanaticism is a camouflage for cruelty. Fanatics are seldom humane, and those who sincerely dread cruelty will be slow to adapt to a fanatical creed. BERTRAND RUSSELL (1872-1970), *Theory and Practice of Bolshevism*, 1920.
834. Most of the greatest evils that man has inflicted upon man have come through people feeling quite certain about something which, in fact, was false. BERTRAND RUSSELL (1872-1970), *Ideas That Have Harmed Mankind*, 1946.
835. Much that passes for idealism is disguised hatred or disguised love of power. BERTRAND RUSSELL (1872-1970), *Atlantic Monthly*, January 1952.
836. The infliction of cruelty with a good conscience is a delight to the moralist. BERTRAND RUSSELL (1872-1970), *Skeptical Essays*.
837. The twin concepts of sin and vindictive punishment seem to be at the root of much that is most vigorous, both in religion and politics. BERTRAND RUSSELL (1872-1970), *Unpopular Essays*, 1961.
838. The whole problem with the world is that the fools and fanatics are always so certain of themselves, but wiser people so full of doubts. BERTRAND RUSSELL (1872-1970).
839. The dynamics of paranoia are fairly well agreed upon: projection and aggression, yet with great sensitivity to social norms. Projection is the basic mechanism in all types of paranoid reaction; there is a minimum of accepted guilt, anxiety, and awareness of the conflict. The organization of the personality is continually strengthened, but at the cost of rigidity. The paranoid personality often gives the impression of self-sufficiency, superiority, and certainty. No powers of argument or reasoning can convince the paranoid of the error of his beliefs. BRENT M. RUTHERFORD, *Journal of Conflict Resolution*, 10, No. 4 (December 1966).
840. People often manifest a diseased desire to express their will. A theory is adopted, not because the facts force it upon them, but because its adoption shows their power. MARK RUTHERFORD (1831-1913), *More Pages from a Journal*, 1910.

~S~

841. The truth or falsity is not a prerequisite for ideational power, the ability of an idea to transform a consciousness. ... The human abhors uncertainty; in the absence of tutelage, whatever philosophy is

current will rush in to fill its vacuum. DORIAN SAGAN, "What Narcissus Saw: The Oceanic "I"/"Eye," in *Speculations: The Reality Club*, 1990.

842. People ascribe certainty to their beliefs, reality to their perceptions. ... Sheer survival requires that we arrive and act on conclusions, no matter how shoddily they are based. Doubt is a stranger to the human heart. To love or live we must believe – in something. DORIAN SAGAN, "What Narcissus Saw: The Oceanic "I"/"Eye," in *Speculations: The Reality Club*, 1990.
843. The quintessential overriding concern of the paranoid position is the question of control: Who is controlling whom. Are they controlling me or am I controlling them? The aim of all paranoid thought and action is to get a firm grip on that which controls the world. ELI SAGAN, *The Honey and the Hemlock*, 1991.
844. [For the paranoid] conspirators and traitors are everywhere. There is no loyal opposition. Those of contrary positions are not, as the democratic view would have it, entitled to their opinions, since their opinions are traitorous. ELI SAGAN, *The Honey and the Hemlock*, 1991.
845. Demagoguery enters at the moment when, for want of a common denominator, the principle of equality degenerates into the principle of identity. ANTOINE de SAINT-EXUPERY (1900- 1944), *Flight To Arras*, 1942.
846. Terror must prevail at any price... You must not merely punish traitors but the indifferent as well; you must punish whoever is passive in the republic. ... We must rule by iron those who cannot be ruled by justice. LOUIS SAINT-JUST (1767-1794), *Institutions*.
847. Everything that exists around us must change and come to an end, because everything around us is unjust ... LOUIS SAINT-JUST (1767-1794), *Institutions*.
848. Fanaticism consists in redoubling your effort when you have forgotten your aim. GEORGE SANTAYANA (1863-1952), *The Life of Reason*, 1905.
849. Revolutions are ambiguous things. Their success is generally proportionate to their power of adaptation and to the reabsorption with them of what they rebelled against. GEORGE SANTAYANA (1863-1952), *The Life of Reason*, 1906.
850. The more perfect the dogmatism, the more insecure. A great topsail that can never be reefed nor furled is the first carried away by the gale. GEORGE SANTAYANA (1863-1952), *Scepticism and Animal Faith*, 1923.
851. There is nobody as enslaved as the fanatic, the person in whom one impulse, one value, has assumed ascendancy over all others. MILTON R. SAPERSTEIN, *Paradoxes of Everyday Life*, 1955.
852. An ideology is a value or belief system that is accepted as fact by some group. It is composed of sets of attitudes toward the various institutions and processes of society. It provides the believer with a picture of the world both as it is and as it should be, and in so doing, it organizes the tremendous complexity of the world into something fairly simple and understandable. LYMAN T. SARGENT, *Contemporary World Ideologies*, 1969.
853. The distinction should be made between a simple belief in something and an ideology.....An ideology or a belief system can be clearly distinguished from an individual's belief in something. An ideology must be a more or less interrelated collection of beliefs that provide the believer with a fairly thorough picture of the entire world. LYMAN SARGENT, *Contemporary World Ideologies*, 1969.
854. The individual cannot exist separate from his existence in the nation. In this way, there is essentially no such thing as an individual within fascist ideology. An individual is one small part of the nation. LYMAN T. SARGENT, *Contemporary World Ideologies*, 1969.

855. The revolutionary wants to change the world; he transcends it and moves toward the future, towards an order of values which he himself invents. The rebel is careful to preserve the abuses from which he suffers so that he can go on rebelling against them. JEAN-PAUL SARTE (1905-1980), *Baudelaire*, 1947.
856. The most malicious kind of hatred is that which is built upon a theological foundation. GEORGE SARTON (1884-1955), *History of Science*.
857. Ideologies are the hetero-constraining belief systems par excellence. And this is the same as saying that ideologies are the crucial lever at the disposal of elites for obtaining political mobilization and for maximizing the possibilities of mass manipulation.... We are concerned about ideologies because we are concerned, in the final analysis, with the powers of man over man, with how populations and nations can be mobilized and manipulated all along the way that leads to political messianism and fanaticism. G. SARTORI, "Political Ideology and Belief Systems," *American Political Science Review*, Vol 63, 1969.
858. Our civilization is locked in the grip of an ideology – corporatism. An ideology that denies and undermines the legitimacy of individuals as the citizen in a democracy. The particular imbalance of this ideology leads to a worship of self-interest and a denial of the public good. The practical effects on the individual are passivity and conformism in the areas that matter, and non-conformism in the areas that don't. JOHN RALSTON SAUL, *From Corporatism To Democracy*, 1997.
859. Our current ideologies revolve around economic determinism. They use expert argument to turn almost any form of injustice into an inevitability. This infection of the citizenry with passivity is, in fact, what we used to call superstition. Whatever is defined as true we feel obliged to accept as inevitable. JOHN RALSTON SAUL, *The Doubter's Companion*, 1994.
860. Ideology, like theatre, is dependent on the willing suspension of disbelief. At the core of every ideology lies the worship of a bright new future, with only failure in the immediate past. But once the suspension goes, willingness converts into suspicion – the suspicion of the betrayed. JOHN RALSTON SAUL, "The End of Globalism," *Harper's*, March 2004.
861. There is an accumulative cruelty in a number of men, though none in particular are ill-natured. GEORGE SAVILLE, MARQUIS of HALIFAX, *Political Thoughts and Reflections*, 17th c.
862. The more pronounced the ideology of the political-social power, and the less possible the participation of ordinary men and social groups in the decision-making processes, then the easier it is to see that all crimes are of a political nature. In the heavily ideological political structure, the concept of criminal responsibility is spelled out more vividly, the ideological basis of all crime definitions is less concealed. STEPHEN SCHAFER, *The Political Criminal*, 1974.
863. Brainwashing is more than a scareword. It is also a strangely attractive idea...the idea of brainwashing paralyzes thought because it places responsibility somewhere else. ALAN W. SCHEFLIN & EDWARD M. OPTON, JR., *The Mind Manipulators*, 1978.
864. Activity proneness in the service of an ideology...leads the individual into an irreversible series of commitments from which is forged an identity to which the individual inevitably becomes strongly attached psychologically. EDGAR W. SCHEIN, *Coercive Persuasion*, 1961.
865. When hatred does not dare come out in the open it can be easily expressed in the form of ostensible love - love for something which has features that are the opposite of those of the hated object. This can happen in such a way that the hatred remains secret. MAX SCHELER (1874-1928), *Ressentiment*, 1961.
866. Individual choices for national leadership might in many instances rest not on an individual's interests or knowledge of the times but rather on more deep-rooted, highly personalized passions that are linked with everyday psychological imagery that people harbor within themselves – an

imagery that stems from the influences of their early years. IRVINE SCHIFFER, *Charisma*, 1973.

867. Regression to imagery even in intelligent adults is not only one of the prime symptoms of mob regression, but is also a state of mind that occurs in every individual on many occasions in his or her life. IRVINE SCHIFFER, *Charisma*, 1973.
868. An ideology based on the worship of power and physical force, on the subjugation of other people's will, and on the absolutisms of religious, political, and sexual dogmas, all too clearly reflects the underlying failure in that individuals progress.....toward an emancipation from the state of attachment that characterizes childhood. IRVINE SCHIFFER, *Charisma*, 1973.
869. [What] heroically disposed people want from a leader is of necessity a stand for action. .... His personality, in fact, may have all the markings of a heroic loser, and just because of this, he may fit the ideal image of followers who look to project the heroics of their own polarized stance of losers. IRVINE SCHIFFER, *Charisma*, 1973.
870. Ideology is the curse of public affairs because it converts politics into a branch of theology and sacrifices human beings on the thoughts of abstractions. ARTHUR SCHLESINGER, JR., "Foreign Policy and the American Character," *Foreign Affairs*, Vol 61, No. 1, Fall 1983.
871. Martyrdom has always been a proof of the intensity, never of the correctness, of a belief. ARTHUR SCHNITZLER (1862-1951).
872. There is little reason to believe that this socialism will mean the advent of the civilization of which orthodox socialists dream. It is much more likely to present fascist features. That would be a strange answer to Marx's prayer. But history sometimes indulges in jokes of questionable taste. JOSEPH SCHUMPETER (1883-1950), *Capitalism, Socialism and Democracy*, 1950.
873. Marxism is a religion. To the believer it presents, first, a system of ultimate ends that embody the meaning of life and are absolute standards by which to judge events and actions; and, secondly, a guide to those ends which implies a plan of salvation and the indication of the evil from which mankind, or a chosen section of mankind, is to be saved. JOSEPH A. SCHUMPETER (1883-1950), *Capitalism, Socialism and Democracy*, 1950.
874. High modernism must not be confused with scientific practice. It was fundamentally, as the term "Ideology" implies, a faith that borrowed, as it were, the legitimacy of science and technology. It was, accordingly, uncritical, unskeptical, and thus unscientifically optimistic about the possibilities for the comprehensive planning of human settlement and production. JAMES C. SCOTT, *Seeing Like A State*, 1998.
875. Orwell knew that the Jacobins controlling a centralized economy are prepared, once they can claim the endorsement of the general will, to do anything in behalf of their conceptions of Reason and Virtue, and he knew that, just here, is the seedbed of the totalitarian state. NATHAN A. SCOTT, in *George Orwell and Nineteen Eighty-Four*, 1985.
876. Mass behavior is associated with activist interpretations of democracy and with increasing reliance on force to resolve social conflict. ... The breakdown of normal restraints, including internalized standards of right conduct, and established channels of action ... frees the mass to engage in direct, unmediated efforts to achieve its goals and to lay hands upon the most readily accessible instruments of action. PHILIP SELZNICK, *The Organizational Weapon*, 1952.
877. It is the proof of a bad cause when it is applauded by the mob. LUCIUS ANNAEUS SENECA (4 B.C.-65 A.D.), *Epistles*.
878. To be feared is to fear: no one has been able to strike terror into others and at the same time enjoy peace of mind himself. LUCIUS ANANEUS SENECA (4 B.C. - 65 A.D.), *Epistles*.

879. We are mad, not only individually, but nationally. We check manslaughter and isolated murders; but what of war and the much vaunted crime of slaughtering whole peoples? LUCIUS ANANEUS SENECA (4 B.C. – 65 A.D.), *Epistles*.
880. The authority figure is feared, but even more the subject fears he will go away. The result of this process is that language of contingency in which everything wrong is the fault of the presence of authority, and it matters desperately that the authority is present. RICHARD SENNETT, *Authority*, 1980.
881. Belief can be separated from ideology in a simple-minded way.....Ideology becomes belief at the point at which it becomes consciously involved in the behavior of the person who holds it. Ideology is often confused with belief because cognition is confused with belief.... Much of the opinion which people hold about social life never touches on or strongly influences their behavior. RICHARD SENNETT, *The Fall of Public Man*, 1976.
882. The paranoid's pseudological thinking patterns are built on perceptions of pseudocausal relationships between events that are in fact unrelated, or related only coincidentally or inferentially. GEORGE SERBAN, MD, *The Tyranny of Magical Thinking*, 1982.
883. Every religion or cause grows out of a desire either to make one's own life more effortless, or to control and manipulate other people in order to enforce behavior in conformity with the expectations of the true believers. BUTLER D. SHAFFER, *Calculated Chaos*, 1985.
884. We preoccupy ourselves so much with changing the lives of others not out of proclaimed sentiments of selfless human charity, but out of our selfish desire to validate our own identities. There is, of course, enormous ego gratification in the exercise of power over other people, but such satisfaction is rooted in our need to have others believe and behave as we do. BUTLER D. SHAFFER, *Calculated Chaos*, 1985.
885. I am Revenge, sent from th' infernal kingdom; To ease the gnawing vulture of thy mind; By working vengeance on thy foes. WILLIAM SHAKESPEARE (1564-1616), *Titus Andronicus*, ca. 1587.
886. Such men as he be never at heart's ease; Whiles they behold a greater than themselves, And therefore are they very dangerous. WILLIAM SHAKESPEARE (1564-1616), *Julius Caesar*, 1599.
887. [For the paranoid] a subjective world can be constructed in which facts, accurately enough perceived in themselves, are endowed with a special interpretive significance in place of their actual significance..... Thus, the subject matter of his interest has to do with hidden motives, underlying purposes, special meanings, and the like. He does not necessarily disagree with a normal person about the existence of any given fact; he disagrees only about its significance. DAVID SHAPIRO, *Neurotic Styles*, 1965.
888. The non-psychotic paranoid individual typically is constantly concerned about being "pushed around" or humiliated, about infringements on his rights or affronts to his dignity, about issues of rank – who is subordinate and who is in charge – and so on. DAVID SHAPIRO, *Autonomy and Rigid Character*, 1981.
889. The rigidity of thinking that is contained in the fixed biases of paranoid suspiciousness, even when it has not reached delusional proportions, is of a more severe order, more impervious to objective contradiction than is, for example, mere dogmatism. DAVID SHAPIRO, *Autonomy and Rigid Character*, 1981.
890. Utopians are often especially sensitive to the evils of the world and, craving certainty, purity, and completeness, firmly reject the evil as totally as possible, wishing to avoid any compromise with them. ... They await a "new world" which is to come into being as an act of God, by a change in the human spirit, by autonomous changes in economic conditions, or by a deep spontaneous social upheaval – all beyond deliberate human control. GENE SHARP, *Social Power and Political Freedom*,

1980.

891. The terrorist identity offers the individual a role in society, albeit a negative one, which is commensurate with his or her prior expectations and sufficient to compensate for past losses. Group membership provides a sense of potency, an intense and close interpersonal environment, social status, potential access to wealth and a share in what may be a grandiose but noble social design. ERIC D. SHAW, "Political Terrorists: Dangers of Diagnosis and an Alternative to the Psychopathology Model," *Internal Journal of Law and Psychiatry* 8, 1986.
892. Martyrdom is the only way in which a man can become famous without ability. GEORGE BERNARD SHAW (1856-1950).
893. Revolutionary movements attract those who are not good enough for established institutions as well as those who are too good for them. GEORGE BERNARD SHAW (1856-1950), *The Revolutionist's Handbook*, 1903.
894. Revolutions have never lightened the burden of tyranny; they have only shifted it to another shoulder. GEORGE BERNARD SHAW (1856-1950), *The Revolutionist's Handbook*, 1903.
895. Belief is a passion, or involuntary operation of the mind, and like other passions, its intensity is precisely proportionate to the degree of excitement. PERCY BYSSHE SHELLEY (1792-1822), 1813.
896. Power, like a desolating pestilence, pollutes what it touches; and obedience, bane of all genius, virtue, freedom, truth, makes slaves of men, and of the human flame, a mechanized automaton. PERCY BYSSHE SHELLEY (1792-1822), *Queen Mab*, 1813.
897. Heretics were most often bitterly persecuted for their least deviation from accepted belief. It was precisely their obstinacy about trifles that irritated the righteous to madness. LEO SHESTOV, *All Things Are Possible*, 1905.
898. Science is not and never has been part of the ideological culture. Indeed, the spirit in which science works is alien to ideology... In so far as the social sciences have been genuinely intellectual pursuits, which have their own rules of judgment and observation and are open to criticism and revision, they are antipathetic to ideology. EDWARD A. SHILS (1911-1995), "The Concept and Function of Ideology," *International Encyclopedia of the Social Sciences*, 1968.
899. [Millenarianism is] preoccupied with the evil of the world as it exists; it believes in the immiscibility of good and evil. It distinguishes sharply between the children of light and the children of darkness. It believes that no earthly action can ameliorate or attenuate evil. EDWARD A. SHILS (1911-1995), "Ideology and Civility: On the Politics of the Intellectual," *The Sewanee Review*, 1958.
900. Fascism and Bolshevism, only a few decades ago thought of as worlds apart, have now been recognized as sharing many very important features. Their common hostility towards civil liberties, political democracy, their common antipathy for parliamentary institutions, individualism, private enterprise, their image of the political world as a struggle between morally irreconcilable forces, their belief that all their opponents are secretly leagued against them and their own predilection for secrecy ... all of these showed that the two extremes had much in common. EDWARD A. SHILS (1911-1995), *Studies in the Scope and Method of The Authoritarian Personality*, 1954.
901. The deepest point of opposition between Marxism and Christianity comes from the fact that both are finally religious. ROGER L. SHINN, *Christianity and the Problem of History*, 1953.
902. What might have happened at Waco had the FBI and Alcohol, Tobacco and Firearms agents made an effort to study David Koresh, the messianic leader of the Branch Davidian cult, in psycho-spiritual terms? They would have realized that a raid on the group's compound was exactly the wrong action to take against a cult that modeled itself on biblical communities who shut themselves off from and armed themselves against a world they perceived as evil and threatening. RUSSELL SHORTO, *Saints*

*and Madmen*, 1999.

903. Religious-fueled violence and terror is deeply woven into history, but perhaps out of an inability to quite comprehend it, we have tried to neuter it, to strip away the underlying spiritual motivation from much of it. Thus names for specific sects or eras associated with it have become depersonalized, turned into common nouns. We have taken the cross out of crusader; a zealot is no longer a member of a religio-political faction of Herodian Palestine but anyone with a bit too much fire in the eyes. RUSSELL SHORTO, *Saints and Madmen*, 1999.
904. Violence, once employed by the revolutionist, has a tendency to so enamor him of its use that he becomes unaware of other possibilities. MULFORD Q. SIBLEY (1912-1991).
905. The effect of numbers is to impart to all members of a crowd a sense of their sudden, extraordinary and uncontrollable power, such that no one can judge or punish their actions; and this assurance leads them to commit acts which they [individually] condemn, feeling them unjust. SCIPIO SIGHELE (1868-1913), *The Criminal Masses: Essay on Collective Psychology*, 1892.
906. What struck me...was their utter incapacity to be fair in discussing opinions that conflicted with their own. The adversary, simply for daring to contradict, at once became a traitor, an opportunist, a hireling. An adversary in good faith is inconceivable... IGNAZIO SILONE (1900-1978), *The God That Failed*, 1949.
907. Derived from the cult of state, of party, of power, politics are always sacrificing the interests and aspirations of man for a multi-headed monster, for an idol. IGNAZIO SILONE (1900-1978), *New York Times Book Review*, 31 August 1958.
908. Political ideology is a form of thought that represents a pattern of complex political ideas simply and in a manner that inspires action to achieve certain goals. MAX SKIDMORE, *Ideologies: Politics In Action*, 1989.
909. 'The reason that ideology has been represented so often as a type of religiosity is, of course, a response to the terrifying fervor expressed by the number of modern mass-movements. It is the emotional element of Nazism, communism and other revolutionary movements all over the world that is so reminiscent of many of the old popular heresies. JUDITH SKLAR, in *Utopians and Utopian Thought* (F. Manuel), 1966.
910. Collective behavior is guided by various kinds of beliefs. ... They involve a belief in the existence of extraordinary forces – threats, conspiracies, etc. – which are at work in the universe. They also involve an assessment of the extraordinary consequences which will follow if the collective attempt to reconstitute social action is successful. The beliefs on which collective behavior is based ... are thus akin to magical beliefs. NEIL J. SMELSER, *Theory of Collective Behavior*, 1962.
911. The interested and active zeal of religious teachers can be dangerous and troublesome only where there is, either but one sect tolerated in the society, or where the whole of a large society is divided into two or three great sects; the teachers of each acting by concert, and under a regular discipline and subordination. ADAM SMITH (1723-1790), *The Wealth of Nations*, 1776.
912. Around this theme of “proof” we have piled out confusions which have intensified anxiety until some of us are unable to relate to anything. Instead, we try to find a system to fuse ourselves with, or spin our ideologies and chain ourselves to them. LILLIAN SMITH (1897-1966), *Killers of the Dream*, 1949.
913. [T]he task of nationalists is essentially one of political archeology; to rediscover and reconstruct the life of each period of the community’s history, to establish the linkages and layerings between each period, and hence to demonstrate the continuity of ‘the nation’, which is assumed to persist as a discrete, slowing changing identity of collective values, myths, symbols and memories... ANTHONY SMITH, “The Golden Age and National Renewal,” in *Myths and Nationhood* (Geoffrey Hosking & George Schopflin (eds), 1997.

914. The return to a golden age is an important, and probably an essential, component of nationalism. Its role is to re-establish roots and continuity, as well as authenticity and dignity... ANTHONY SMITH, "The Golden Age and National Renewal," in *Myths and Nationhood* (Geoffrey Hosking & George Schopflin (eds), 1997.
915. A hard political ideology is "comprehensive" in that it offers a self-sufficient worldview able to explain in terms of an integrated set of axioms why virtually any significant social or historical event occurs as it does. "Fundamentalist" religions frequently offer equivalent perspectives, which may be why communism is so often referred to as a secular religion. TONY SMITH, *Thinking Like A Communist*, 1987.
916. What is striking about Communist thinking -- and about other "hard" ideologies that monopolize the social vision of their adherents -- is that its argument proceeds in many respects under a momentum quite its own, producing political analysis and directives by virtue of the logic of its own categories of reasoning. TONY SMITH, *Thinking Like A Communist*, 1987.
917. Low self-esteem increases vulnerability to all the varieties of political extremism...In addition, though low self-esteem encourages extremist views, it impedes political involvement. [It] encourages an outlook likely to dampen or extinguish altogether his enthusiasm for political action...In short, the same personality trait which tends to make men strong advocates of extremist values tends to make them weak opponents of democratic institutions. PAUL M. SNIDERMAN, *Personality and Democratic Politics*, 1975.
918. I have spent all my life under a Communist regime, and I will tell you that a society without any legal scale is a terrible one indeed. But a society with no other scale than the legal one is not quite worthy of man either. ALEXANDR SOLZHENITSYN, *Address*, Harvard University, 1978.
919. During the great terror, the men who spilt most blood were precisely those who had the greatest desire to let their equals enjoy the golden age they had dreamt of, and who had the most sympathy with human wretchedness: optimists, idealists, and sensitive men, the greater desire they had for universal happiness the more inexorable they showed themselves. GEORGES SOREL (1847-1922), *Reflections On Violence*, 1906.
920. Myth cannot be refuted since it is, at the bottom, identical with the convictions of a group, being the expression of these convictions in the language of movement; and it is, in consequence, impossible to analyze it into parts which could be placed on the plane of historical descriptions. GEORGES SOREL (1847-1922), *Reflections on Violence*, 1906.
921. Experience has always shown us hitherto that revolutionaries plead "reasons of state" as soon as they get into power, that they employ police methods and look upon justice as a weapon which they may use unfairly against their enemies. GEORGES SOREL (1847-1922), *Reflections On Violence*, 1906.
922. I think...this is an attraction of Communism for the intellectual. To believe in political action and economic forces which will release new energies in the world is a release of energy in oneself. One ceases to be inhibited by pity for the victims of revolution ... It one admits to oneself the existence of the prison camps, once can view them as inevitable sacrifices demanded by the good cause. STEPHEN SPENDER (1909-1995), *The God That Failed*, 1949.
923. Perhaps the totalitarian impulse, the craving for absolute order in times of frightening chaos, transcends the philosophical differences – over who should own the means of production, over whether nation or class is paramount – that once made fascism and communism seem so fundamentally opposed. No immunization against political chaos has yet been found, and so nations return again and again to a drastic, and terribly destructive, cure. STEPHEN SPENDER (1909-1995), "Nations In Goose Step," in *Our Times: The Illustrated History of the 20<sup>th</sup> Century* (Lorraine Glennon, ed), 1995.

924. The intellectual Communists seemed extremely interested in theory, very little in evidence which might conflict with theory... The same disregard for scrupulousness in anything but theory applied to behavior. The ends justified the means. STEPHEN SPENDER (1909-1995), *The God That Failed*, 1949.
925. [W]hen men have decided to pursue a course of action everything which seems to support this seems vivid and real; everything which stands against it becomes an abstraction. Your friends are allies and therefore real human beings with flesh and blood and sympathies like yourself. Your opponents are just tiresome, unreasonable, unnecessary theses, whose lives are so many false statements which you would like to strike out with a lead bullet as you would put the stroke of a lead pencil through a bungled paragraph. STEPHEN SPENDER (1909-1995), *The God That Failed*, 1949.
926. Spiritual systems are based on certain core doctrines that may be identical to, or spring from, the same sources as political tenets. Political institutions often legitimize, or culturally rationalize, their existence by utilizing religious themes. BERNARD SPILKA, et. al., *The Psychology of Religion: An Empirical Approach*, 1985.
927. When religion supports political conflict, challenge and opposition become religious obligations. God, scripture, cross, and star are invoked along with other religious symbols to call the faithful to the colors. BERNARD SPILKA, et. al., *The Psychology of Religion: An Empirical Approach*, 1985.
928. The mark of the immature man is that he wants to die nobly for a cause, while the mark of the mature man is that he wants to live humbly for one. WILHELM STEKEL (1868-1940). Tis' known by the name of perseverance in a good cause, and obstinacy in a bad one. LAURENCE STERNE (1713-1768).
929. The state calls its own violence law, but that of the individual crime. MAX STIRNER (1806-1856), *The Ego and His Own*, 1845.
930. I do not want the liberty of men, nor their equality; I only want my power over them, I want to make them my property, material for enjoyment. MAX STIRNER (1806-1856), *The Ego and His Own*, 1845.
931. The state has the sole purpose to limit, tame, subordinate, the individuals - to make him subject to some generality or order. MAX STIRNER (1806-1856), *The Ego and His Own*, 1845.
932. The paranoid personality doesn't consider his suspicious nature in appropriate; ordinarily he believes himself wiser and more careful, more sensitive to the dangers of life than his neighbors. ALAN A. STONE & SUE SMART STONE, eds, *The Abnormal Personality Through Literature*, 1966.
933. Schizophrenic patients commonly misinterpret the events in the world around him. One method of misinterpretation is so common that it has been given a special designation: ideas of reference. A patient suffering with ideas of reference believes that every irrelevant or coincidental action happening in the world around him is related to him, caused by him, or arranged for him. ALAN A. STONE & SUE SMART STONE (eds), *The Abnormal Personality Through Literature*, 1966.
934. If a dictator is to hold on to power even when the country is in trouble, he must ensure that he is totally in control and that no rival has a chance of supplanting him. To do so requires the apparatus of informers, secret police and spies which is so characteristic of dictatorial regimes. ANTHONY STORR, *Feet of Clay – Saints, Sinners and Madmen: A Study of Gurus*, 1996.
935. In the language of politics, the term "revolution" stands for a certain kind of historical change: an old order dissolves and a new one emerges; old rulers are replaced by new; men feel that the tempo of events is quickening and that, willingly or unwillingly, they are breaking with the past; and the transition is enlivened by more or less spectacular bursts of violence. ROBERT STRAUSZ-HUPE, *Protracted Conflict*, 1958.
936. It is axiomatic that the revolutionary side must strive, by graduated and sometimes imperceptible pressures, to weaken the status quo forces, strengthen its own forces, and bring about a piecemeal,

yet ultimately decisive, shift in the distribution of power. ROBERT STRAUSZ-HUPE, *Protracted Conflict*, 1958.

937. At a simple level, paranoia is the belief that some kind of threat is both ongoing and imminent, and that the truth is being hidden from view. Yet, paranoia is about understanding the world in terms of connectedness, indeed, perceiving it to be organized beneath the surface. MARITA STURKEN, *Tangled Memories*, 1997.
938. When the crowd hurls itself in blind fury upon its victims...the collective murder does not seem so frightful to them because they share a feeling of unity and purposefulness. EUGENE SUE (1804-1957), *The Wandering Jew*, 1845.
939. The paranoid dynamism is rooted in (1) an awareness of inferiority of some kind, which then necessitates (2) a transfer of blame onto others. These alone constitute merely a paranoid slant on life, for a full-blown paranoid state, something else is necessary: the misinterpretation of events to constitute an explanation, usually rather transcendental in nature, of what is troublesome. HARRY STACK SULLIVAN (1892-1949), *Clinical Studies in Psychiatry*, 1956.
940. It is quite clear that the paranoid mechanism works beautifully for security, for how can you avoid respecting yourself if you, the very embodiment of goodness and mercy, have been persecuted and driven by surrounding enemies into a state of impotence? Very clearly there is no discredit in our social order in being the victim of persecution. This the feeling of worth is as well protected by the paranoid transference of blame as by anything I have ever heard of. HARRY STACK SULLIVAN (1892-1949), *Clinical Studies in Psychiatry*, 1956.
941. If you want a war, nourish a doctrine. Doctrines are the most frightful tyrants to which men are ever subject, because doctrines get inside a man's reason and betray him against himself. Civilized men have done their fiercest fighting for doctrines. WILLIAM GRAHAM SUMNER (1840-1910), in *War and Other Essays* (A. G. Keller, ed), 1911.
942. Chauvinism ... is a name for boastful and truculent group self-assertion. It overrules personal judgment and character, and puts the whole group at the mercy of the clique which is ruling at the moment. It produces the dominance of watchwords and phrases which take the place of reason and conscience in determining conduct. WILLIAM GRAHAM SUMNER, *Folkways: A Study in the Sociological Importance of Usages, Manners, Customs, Mores and Morals*, 1906.
943. The thirst for glory is an epidemic which robs a people of their judgment, seduces their vanity, cheats them of their interests, and corrupts their conscience. WILLIAM GRAHAM SUMNER (1840-1910), 1899.
944. Ideology tends to be simple and clear-cut, even where its simplicity and clarity do less than justice to the subject under discussion. The ideological picture uses sharp lines and contrasting blacks and whites. The ideologist exaggerates and caricatures in the fashion of the cartoonist. F. X. SUTTON, et. al., *The American Business Creed*, 1956.
945. A paranoid approach is recognizable in the actions of certain political groups, most obviously those of the extreme left and the extreme right. These extremist political groups emphasize the inefficiency, corruptness and malice of those in power. Often their accusations have a certain accuracy, in that those in power are doing everything possible to sustain control and to deny known faults; also, the power faction is quite unwilling to recognize the extremist group's demand for a hearing. DAVID W. SWANSON, et. al, *The Paranoid*, 1970.
946. A resistance ideology, potentially an extremist position in its own right, often exists in opposition to social reform. Resistance groups evidence the same paranoid of thinking as to reforming extremists, although intellectual convictions are opposite. DAVID W. SWANSON, et al., *The Paranoid*, 1970.
947. The paranoid is preoccupied with issues of dominance and submission, superior or inferior.

Interpersonal relationships are often described in terms of winning or losing, and one gets the general impression that life is viewed as a contest. DAVID W. SWANSON, MD, et. al., *The Paranoid*, 1970.

948. The paranoid's fascination with hidden meanings produces an excessive concern about the motives of people. He often presents himself as a steadfast searcher for the truth and someone who hates hypocrisy, which actually may mean that he simply does not trust what someone says. DAVID W. SWANSON, et. a., *The Paranoid*, 1970.
949. But when a Man's fancy gets astride o his Reason; when Imagination is at Cuffs with the Senses; and common Understanding, as well as common Sense, is Kicked out of Doors; the first Proselyte he makes, is Himself, and when that is once compass'd, the Difficult is not so great in bring over others; a strong Delusion always operating from without, as vigorously as from within. JONATHAN SWIFT (1667-1745), "A Digression Concerning the Original, the Use of and Improvement of Madness in a Commonwealth," in *A Tale of a Tub*, 1710.
950. An ideology ... is comprised of interconnected series of specific juxtapositions of values and beliefs. These values and beliefs may be drawn from the real world, or they may be an idealization of it – an idealization of the world as it was, or as it should be. GEORGE H. SZANTO, *Theater & Propaganda*, 1978.
951. Ideologue: A person who uses ideas as incantations. True Believer: A person who accepts incantations as ideas. Skeptic: A person who assumes that ideas are incantations until proven otherwise. THOMAS SZASZ, *The Untamed Tongue*, 1990.
952. Where the true believer speaks metaphorically but claims that he asserts literal truths, heresy may consist of no more than insisting that a metaphorical truth may be a literal falsehood. THOMAS SZASZ, *Heresies*, 1976.



953. It is human nature to hate those we have injured. TACITUS (55-117), *Life of Agricola*.
954. What do the victims matter if the gesture is beautiful? LAURENT TAILHADE (1854-1919), French Anarchist.
955. This is the curse of salvationist creeds: to be born out of the noblest impulses of man, and to degenerate into weapons of tyranny. An exclusive creed cannot admit opposition. It is bound to feel itself surrounded by innumerable enemies.... Political Messianism is bound to replace empirical thinking and free criticism with reasoning by definition, based on *a priori* collective concepts which must be accepted whatever the evidence of the senses. J. L. TALMON, *The Origins of Totalitarian Democracy*, 1960.
956. Personalization refers to the fanatic's exclusive concern with his own ideological construction of the world, to the exclusion of alternatives. MAXWELL TAYLOR, *The Fanatics: A Behavioral Approach to Political Violence*, 1991.
957. Reduction in uncertainty may be a very powerful force in motivating the acceptance and adherence to an ideology. ... Because ideologies of this kind...offer a sense of certainty, as well as a clear structure within which individuals can order their lives, it is not surprising that adherence to an ideology offers the insecure individual many attractions. MAXWELL TAYLOR, *The Fanatics: A Behavioral Approach to Political Violence*, 1991.
958. A characteristic of ideological behavior is its concerns with distant, and probably ultimate, ends, perhaps related to social change, or religious fulfillment. This can be distinguished from the more

immediate circumstances that constitute subsidiary elements of the larger process which might be characterized as political behavior. MAXWELL TAYLOR, *The Fanatics: A Behavioral Approach to Political Violence*, 1991.

959. In the political fanatic's description of his world, an overwhelming impression is the simplicity of the structures he uses to describe political processes, in contrast, of course, to the everyday experience of the reality of political life. MAXWELL TAYLOR, *The Fanatics: A Behavioral Approach to Political Violence*, 1991.
960. The reality of the terrorist is that they are essentially unremarkable people, in psychological terms disturbingly similar to their victims. MAXWELL TAYLOR & ETHEL QUAYLE, *Terrorist Lives*, 1995.
961. None of us is ever satisfied with what we are. TERENCE (185-159 B.C.), *Adelphoe*, 161 B.C.
962. The more strongly a belief is held, the harder it is to see evidence of its disproof. JOHN TAYLOR, *Science and the Supernatural*, 1980.
963. Differences in the content of left-wing and right-wing belief systems should not be allowed to obscure the fundamental similarities in how ideologues organize and process political information. True believers (regardless of their cause) are held to be more dogmatic, intolerant of ambiguity, and integratively simple than their moderate counterparts who have resisted the absolutist doctrines of the left and right. PHILLIP E. TETLOCK, "Analysis of Political Rhetoric," *Explorations in Political Psychology* (Iyengar & McGuire), 1993.
964. [P]eople with simple, dogmatic cognitive styles are naturally drawn to belief systems that offer clear-cut causal analyses of what is wrong with society and clear-cut solutions to those problems. There is a special affinity between an individual's cognitive structure and the cognitive structure of extremist ideologies. PHILLIP E. TETLOCK, "Analysis of Political Rhetoric," *Explorations in Political Psychology* (Iyengar & McGuire), 1993.
965. [E]xtremist groups – in order to maintain in-group cohesion and identity in a hostile world – need to draw sharp ideological and group boundaries. In short, extremist groups "need" enemies. PHILLIP E. TETLOCK, "Analysis of Political Rhetoric," *Explorations in Political Psychology* (Iyengar & McGuire), 1993.
966. In the first place, relations of domination may be sustained by being represented as legitimate. ... A second way in which ideology operates is by means of dissimulation. Relations of domination which serve the interests of some at the expense of others may be concealed, denied, or blocked in various ways. ... A third way in which ideology operates is by means of reification, that is, by representing a transitory, historical state of affairs as if it were permanent, natural, outside of time. J. THOMPSON, *Studies On The Theory of Ideology*, 1984.
967. Ideology is the thought of the *other*, the thought of someone other than yourself. J. THOMPSON, *Studies on The Theory of Ideology*, 1984.
968. If anything ails a man so that he does not perform his functions, if he have a pain in his bowels even -- for that is the seat of sympathy -- he forthwith sets about reforming the world. HENRY DAVID THOREAU (1817-1862), *Walden*.
969. As the revolutionary spirit grew in intensity, men surpassed their predecessors in the ingenuity of their plots and the brutality of their revenge. Words no longer meant what they had before, but were distorted to serve personal and party purposes... THUCYDIDES (460-404 B.C.), *History of the Peloponnesian War*.
970. The weakness of the fanatic is that those whom he fights have a secret hold upon him, and to this weakness he and his groups will finally succumb. PAUL TILLICH (1886-1965).

971. The totalitarianism and violence of our time result in some measure from the efforts of men and women to escape from uncertainty. Those who cannot live with doubt cannot live with human beings who are thoughtful and independent enough to be sources of doubt. GLENN TINDER, *Political Thinking*, 1986.
972. The passing of the revolutionary spirit, however realistic, is not without a moral price. The question, Why obey? Occurs only to human beings, not to beasts. Hence never to ask the question is literally bestial. GLENN TINDER, *Political Thinking*, 1986.
973. One consequence of our acquired predilection for absolutes is that it creates discontinuity in the way our beliefs change. We are forced to live with unrecognized doubts and hidden inconsistencies; we strain to preserve constancy, we assert convictions that we no longer unambiguously believe. Ultimately, when our reservations and hidden adjustments reach a bursting point, we merely substitute a new set of absolutes for the old. We merely substitute a new set of absolutes for the old. We experience the culmination of changes as a “switch” and boast of a conversion. HANS TOCH, *The Social Psychology of Social Movements*, 1965.
974. Clearly, conspiracy beliefs are prevalent among groups of people with a special kind of problem. The personal reactions of marginal men are converted into social movements when these men face shared frustrations with jointly elaborated conspiracy beliefs. Few types of social movements are as closely knit and interdependent as those of conspiracy advocates. HANS TOCH, *The Social Psychology of Social Movements*, 1965.
975. The function of a conspiracy-oriented movement is not to do battle with conspiratorial forces, but to provide reassurance and security to its own members. HANS TOCH, *The Social Psychology of Social Movements*, 1965.
976. Violence, ironically, crease harmony among otherwise warring elements. Left and right agree that the status quo breeds violence: rival theorists assign key roles to violence and merely differ on the cause they attach to it. HANS TOCH, *Violent Men*, 1969.
977. An ideology corresponds to a basic set of attitudes: it is related to the unconscious and to family structure. A doctrine, on the other hand, is intellectually articulated but exists purely on the verbal level: it is a conscious phenomenon. EMMANUAL TODD, *The Explanation of Ideology*, 1985.
978. A quick glance around the world reveals that nuclear family systems everywhere are incapable of producing totalitarian ideologies or political forms which seek and achieve the total absorption of civil society by the state. EMMANUAL TODD, *The Explanation of Ideology*, 1985.
979. The basis of fascism is a blind belief and a contempt for reason. Fascism exploits the fear of reason which lives secretly in the conscious and subconscious minds of many people. Reason means facing life and facts. ERNST TOLLER (1883-1939).
980. But make our fundamental convictions your own, join our brotherhood, give yourself up to us, let yourself be guided, and you will at once feel yourself, as I have felt myself, a part of that vast invisible chain the beginning of which is hidden in heaven. LEO TOLSTOY (1828-1910), *War and Peace*, 1862.
981. All violence consists in some people forcing others, under threat of suffering or death, to do what they do not want to do. LEO TOLSTOY (1828-1910).
982. Every revolution by force only puts more violent means of enslavement into the hands of the persons of power. LEO TOLSTOY (1828-1910), 1893.
983. Ideo-affective resonance to ideology is a love affair of a loosely organized set of feelings and ideas about feelings with a highly organized and articulate set of ideas about anything. SILVAN TOMPKINS (1911-1991), “Left and Right: A Basic Dimension of Ideology and Personality,” in *The Study of Lives* (Robert W. White, ed.), 1969.

984. The brute instincts of the natural man, which the Puritan warrior thought he had tamed within his breast, were often aroused in special forms by the very religious principles, which restrained him in indulging the greed, cruelty and lust of the ordinary soldier. G. M. TREVELYAN (1876-1962), *England Under the Stuarts*, 1904.
985. Ideology is not the product of thought; it is the habit or the ritual of showing respect for certain formulas which, for various reasons, have to do with emotional safety we have very strong ties of whose meaning and consequences we have no clear understanding. LIONEL TRILLING (1905-1975), *The Liberal Imagination*, 1950.
986. A historian of the literature of the modern age will take virtually for granted the adversary intention, the actually subversive intention, that characterizes modern writing – he will perceive it clear purpose of detaching the reader from the habits of thought and feeling that the larger culture imposes, of giving him a ground and a vantage point from which to judge and condemn, and perhaps revise, the culture that has produced him. LIONEL TRILLING (1905-1975), *Beyond Culture*.
987. Every successful revolution puts on in time the robes of the tyrant it has deposed. BARBARA TUCHMAN (1912-1989).
988. A nihilist is a man who does not bow down before any authority, who does not take any principle on faith, whatever reverence that principle may be enshrined in. IVAN TURGENEV (1818-1883), *Fathers and Sons*, 1862.
989. Man longs for causes, and the weaker minds, unable to restrain their longing, often barter, for the most sorry theoretic pottage, the truth which patient enquiry would make their own. JOHN TYNDALL (1820-1893).



990. In spite of such rebellion, and the tortures to which it has subjected them, the mystics oddly enough are a long-lived race: an awkward fact for critics of the psychological school. E. UNDERHILL, *Mysticism*, 1961.
991. His personality and ideas portray, as if in a crooked mirror, the lust for revolution reaching even beyond political fanaticism into lunacy. With Nechaev we are already beyond Lenin, in the psychological atmosphere of conspiracy so grotesque and criminal as to forecast the darkest incidents of Stalin. ADAM B. ULAM (1922-2000), *Lenin and the Bolsheviks*, 1969.
992. Marxism in power is the exact opposite of Marxism in revolution. ... The revolutionary stage drops off after the revolution. The democratic undertones of Marxism are disposed of, revolutionary anarchism is extirpated, and the task of construction, in spirit and by means antithetical to the revolutionary stage, is begun. ADAM B. ULAM (1922-2000), *Unfinished Revolution*.
993. For the dream of a perfect society communism [Marxism-Leninism] substitutes the cult of the perfect Party. In it the fighter for socialism will find what he cannot realize on earth until the distant day of communism: perfect equality and infallible authority, brotherhood and discipline. ADAM B. ULAM (1922-2000), in *Utopias and Utopian Thought* (F. Manual), 1966.
994. [Terrorism is] premeditated, politically motivated violence perpetrated against noncombatant targets by subnational groups or clandestine agents, usually intended to influence an audience. U. S. Department of State, 1998.
995. Most of us are generally united by our doubts and divided by our convictions. PETER USTINOV (1921-2004), *Quotable Ustinov*, 1995.



996. Charismatic authority must be assessed in its historical context, its structural origins, its function, as well as in terms of the political-social context expressed, defended and symbolized by the leader. Charismatic leadership occurs in emergencies, in times of crises, when neither legal-rational authority nor traditional authority function or hold sway. It prevails when the old order no longer works and pressure from below or outside demand change. NELSON P. VALDES, *Fidel Castro, Charisma and Santeria: Max Weber Revisited*, 2000.
997. Human beings are perhaps never more frightening than when they are convinced beyond doubt that they are right. LAURENS VAN DER POST (1906-1996), *The Lost World of the Kalahari*, 1958.
998. The tragedy of the police state is that it always regards all opposition as a crime, and there are no degrees. LORD VANSITTART (1881-1957), *Speech*, 1947.
999. Ideologies are prejudices before they are pretexts: the logic of the passions involved in interests contributes to their falsity... PAUL VEYNE, *le paine et le cirque*, 1976.
1000. It is presenting an over-subtle picture of the world to imagine that ideology is rational behavior. PAUL VEYNE, *le paine et le cirque*, 1976.
1001. The true God, the all-powerful God, is the God of ideas. ALFRED VICTOR.
1002. Moral crusades are not limited to any particular religious or political ideology. Liberals as well as conservatives may be activists in moral crusades. JEFFREY S. VICTOR, *Satanic Panic*, 1993.
1003. One dangerous consequence of these symbolic crusades arises when they turn into witch hunts for deviants... In moral crusades there is always social pressure to publicly dramatize the evil and to make symbolic examples of particular cases. JEFFREY S. VICTOR, *Satanic Panic*, 1993.
1004. What each man feared would happen to himself did not trouble him when he saw that it would ruin another. VIRGIL (70-19 B.C.), *Aeneid*, 19 B.C.
1005. If we look closely, we will discover that because of externalizations and projections the enemy is not unlike the self. The enemy resembles his opponent, and although physically and psychologically "out there," the enemy is nevertheless linked to his opponent, having become a reservoir for the threatened groups' externalizations and projections. VAMIK D. VOLKAN, *The Need To Have Enemies And Allies*, 1988.
1006. [Fanaticism is] the effect of a false conscience, which makes religion subservient to the caprices of the imagination, and the excesses of the passions. VOLTAIRE (1694-1778), *The Philosophical Dictionary*, 1764.
1007. Only charlatans are certain... Doubt is not a very agreeable state but uncertainty is a ridiculous one. VOLTAIRE (1692-1778), *The Ignorant Philosopher*.
1008. What is more dangerous, fanaticism or atheism? Fanaticism is certainly a thousand times more deadly; for atheism inspires no bloody passion, whereas fanaticism does; it is not opposed to crime, but fanaticism causes crimes to be committed. VOLTAIRE (1694-1778), *The Philosophical Dictionary*, 1764.
1009. Say what you will about the sweet miracle of unquestioning faith. I consider a capacity for it terrifying and absolutely vile. KURT VONNEGUT, JR.

## ~W~

1010. A society in which people are already isolated and atomized, divided by suspicions and destructive rivalry, would support a system of terror better than a society without much chronic antagonism. EUGENE V. WALKER, *Terror and Resistance*, 1969.
1011. Tyrants have no consciences, and reformers no feeling; and the world suffers both by the plague and then its cure. HORACE WALPOLE (1717-1797), *Letter*, 1790.
1012. Modern ideologists normally tend...to define their goals in unrealistically optimistic terms...[and they have a habit of] thinking in oversimplified terms of we and they, of friend and enemy. This is, indeed, a natural corollary and symptom of their basic utopianism. Anyone who believes that his goals are absolutely and overwhelmingly in the public interest will suspect something sinister about the motives of those who reject his conclusions. FREDERICK M. WATKINS, *The Age of Ideology - Political Thought, 1750 to the Present*, 1964.
1013. Because the cosmic order is incomprehensible to the average man, an ideology is all the more convincing the more it relies upon an unusual, superhuman or at least brilliant originator. PAUL WATZLAWICK, *The Invented Reality*, 1984.
1014. It follows from the assumption of a universally valid ideology, just as night follows day, that other positions are heresy. PAUL WATZLAWICK, *The Invented Reality*, 1984.
1015. The idea of possessing the ultimate truth first leads to a messianic attitude that clutches the belief that the truth qua truth will prevail in and of itself. At this point the Champion of an ideology may still believe in the teachability or in the possibility of convincing the heretic. But because the world soon proves to be obdurate, unwilling, or unable to open up to the truth, the next inevitable step results in what Hermann Lubbe calls the self-authorization to use violence. PAUL WATZLAWICK, *The Invented Reality*, 1984.
1016. We encounter the ever-renewed experience that the adherent of an ethic of ultimate ends suddenly turns into a chiliastic prophet. Those, for example, who have just preached "love against violence" now call for the use of force for the *last* violent deed, which would then lead to a state of affairs in which all violence is annihilated. MAX WEBER (1864-1920), in *Max Weber: Essays in Sociology*, 1946.
1017. The term charisma will be applied to a certain quality of an individual personality by virtue of which he is set apart from ordinary men and treated as endowed with supernatural, superhuman, or at least specifically exceptional powers or qualities. MAX WEBER (1864-1920), in *Encyclopedia of Sociology*, 1973.
1018. The word "revolution" is a word for which you kill, for which you die, for which you send the laboring masses to their death, but which does not possess any content. SIMONE WEIL (1909-1943), *Reflections Concerning the Causes of Liberty and Social Oppression*, 1934.
1019. Whether the mask is labeled Fascism, Democracy, or Dictatorship of the Proletariat, our great adversary remains the Apparatus -- the bureaucracy, the police, the military. Not the one facing us across the frontier or the battle lines, which is not so much our enemy as our brother's enemy, but the one that calls itself our protector and makes us slaves. SIMONE WEIL (1909-1943), *Politics*, Spring 1945.
1020. Ideology carries satisfactions, even if it is not totally credible. Symbols carry much weight; people like to have answers to the big questions, whether the answers help them materially or not....Whatever the psychological power of ideology, its specific content and ideas are much less significant than they are frequently made to seem.... An ideological movement soon finds that persuasion alone does not suffice, and it must offer firmer reasons for obedience. ROBERT

WESSON, *Politics: Individual and State*, 1988.

1021. An ideology...gives significance to the lives of individuals who might otherwise be overwhelmed by a sense of purposelessness and insignificance. Usually some kind of black-and-white picture is an inherent part of the ideology, and gives meaning to the struggle between the good guys and the bad guys. RALPH K. WHITE, *Nobody Wanted War*, 1968.
1022. History, down to the present day, is a melancholy record of the horrors which can attend religion: human sacrifice, and in particular the slaughter of children, cannibalism, abject superstition, hysteria, the maintenance of degrading customs, can all be laid at its charge. Religion is the last refuge of human savagery. The uncritical association of religion with goodness is directly negated by plain facts. ALFRED NORTH WHITEHEAD (1861-1947), *Religion in the Making*, 1926.
1023. A thing is not necessarily true because a man dies for it. OSCAR WILDE (1854-1900).
1024. The nihilist, that strange martyr who has no faith, who goes to the state without enthusiasm, and dies for what he does not believe, is a purely literary produce. He was invented by Turgenev, and completed by Dostoyevsky. OSCAR WILDE (1854-1900), *The Decay of Lying*, 1891.
1025. The worst vice of the fanatic is his sincerity. OSCAR WILDE (1854-1900).
1026. A man cannot be too careful in the choice of his enemies. OSCAR WILDE (1854-1900), *The Picture of Dorian Gray*, 1891.
1027. The authoritarian shows his ambivalence toward power by identifying vicariously with powerful figures, or by getting close to them in the unconscious hope that some of their magic will rub off on him. Covert stratagems like these indulge the authoritarian's wish to submit, yet at the same time help him to avoid the conscious feeling of weakness which submission often brings. Instead of obviously kowtowing to power, he can tell himself that he is a part of power, as indeed he may be. Under such conditions, his submissiveness will not always be very visible. RUPERT WILKINSON, *The Broken Rebel: A Study in Culture, Politics and Authoritarian Character*, 1972.
1028. Many authoritarians keep a tight rein on emotional and intellectual expression. They distrust spontaneity and fantasy. ... they generally dislike abstract theory and sustained intellectual questioning. This applies even to the college educated. Although some authoritarians are devoted to romantic ideas and philosophical doctrines, their attraction is usually narrow and submissive, uncomplicated by independent speculation. RUPERT WILKINSON, *The Broken Rebel: A Study in Culture, Politics and Authoritarian Character*, 1972.
1029. With so many perfectionist dreams, from Rousseau's to Marx's, thoroughly discredited, it is late in the day for serious people to believe that something straight can be made from the crooked timber of humanity. GEORGE F. WILL, *Column*, 20 January 1994.
1030. All fanaticism is a strategy to prevent doubts from becoming conscious. H. A. WILLIAMS, *The True Wilderness*, 1965.
1031. The saddest illusion of the revolutionary is that revolution itself will transform the nature of human beings. SHIRLEY WILLIAMS, Labor M.P., 1977.
1032. The insecure person needs to please because he wants to be liked. Having no sure conception of his own identity, he is dependent on others to shape it for him. He can form his own opinion of himself from that others hold of him. DENISE WINN, *The Manipulated Mind: Brainwashing, Conditioning and Indoctrination*, 2000.
1033. In times of disorder and stress, the fanatics play a prominent role; in times of peace, the critics. Both are shot after the revolution. EDMUND WILSON (1895-1972), *Memoirs of Hecate County*, 1949.

1034. **Marxism is the opium of the intellectuals.** EDMUND WILSON (1893-1972), *Letters on Literature and Politics*, 1877.
1035. **Mankind's moral sense is not a strong beacon light, radiating outward to illuminate in sharp outline all that it touches. It is, rather, a small candle flame, casting vague and multiple shadows, flickering and sputtering in the strong winds of power and passion, greed and ideology. But brought close to the heart and cupped in one's hands, it dispels the darkness and warms the soul.** JAMES Q. WILSON, *The Moral Sense*, 1993.
1036. **The totalist can stir up guilt about past behavior and then plant the idea that such behavior could only have been indulged in because the victims ideology was wrong. By embracing the new ideology, he can absolve himself of guilt... Society operates by the manipulation of guilt, by the setting of rules which induce guilt if broken.** DENISE WISE, *The Manipulated Mind*, 2000.
1037. **Nothing contributes so much to tranquilize the mind as a steady purpose -- a point on which the soul may fix its intellectual eye.** MARY WOLLSTONECRAFT (1759-1797), *Frankenstein*, 1818.
1038. **The ideal can lead to killing men for the glory of the Good in the expectation that the Good will be served and will appropriately bless the killer with a crown of glory.** F. J. E. WOODBRIDGE (1867-1940), *An Essay on Nature*, 1940.
1039. **[A believer is] one in whom persuasion and belief had ripened into faith and faith became a passionate intuition.** WILLIAM WORDSWORTH (1770-1850), *The Excursion*, 1814.
1040. **No perverseness equals that which is supported by system, no errors are so difficult to root out as those which the understanding has pledged its credit to uphold.** WILLIAM WORDSWORTH (1770-1850), *Preface to Poems*, 1815.
1041. **Just as we can persuade ourselves of the morality and wisdom of our own aims, so we often imagine that the goals of other people are illegitimate -- even immoral or evil. That is especially true when their goals get in the way of their own.** OLIVER H. WOSHINSKY, *Culture and Politics*, 1995.

## ~XYZ~

1042. **[R]ather than being anomalous delusions of paranoid individuals, conspiracy theories are in fact, a widespread, traditional response to historical, social and political occurrences. As such, they give us insight into folk conceptions of power. They are manifestations of political philosophies, and should not be dismissed. ... As conceptions of power, the fact that conspiratorial behavior is a feature of politics is essential to keep in mind, since conspiracies do in fact happen. To disregard them automatically serves only to mask an essential and regular feature of the nation state, whether they be repressive or open.** TYRONE YARBROUGH, *Consider the Source: Conspiracy Theories, Narrative, Belief*, 1997.
1043. **Conspiracy theories usually are founded on part of what I've come to call grand master narratives. Like unified field theories, master narratives explain everything. Human beings hate uncertainty; this is why totalizing explanations are culturally constructed.** TYRONE YARBROUGH, *Consider the Source: Conspiracy Theories, Narrative, Belief*, 1997.
1044. **All empty souls tend to extreme opinion. It is only in those who have built up a rich world of memories and habits of thought that extreme opinions affront the sense of probability.** WILLIAM BUTLER YEATS (1865-1939), *Autobiography*.
1045. **And what rough beast, its hour come round at last, Slouches towards Bethlehem to be born?** WILLIAM BUTLER YEATS (1865-1939), *The Second Coming*, 1919.

1046. Things fall apart / The center cannot hold / Mere anarchy is loosed upon the world / The blood-dimmed tide is loosed, and everywhere the ceremony of innocence is drowned / The best lack all conviction, while the worst are full of passionate intensity. WILLIAM BUTLER YEATS (1865-1939), *The Second Coming*, 1921.
1047. We have learned to distrust those who come with absolute certainties, whether in religion, science, politics, or philosophy. J. Z. YOUNG, *Philosophy And The Brain*, 1987.
1048. Authority: The practice of imputing extraordinary power to a person occupying an office in a formal organization. Such "power" is always a social product and lasts only as long as the "subordinates" continue to reify the person as an "authority." T. R. YOUNG (ed), *Red Feather Dictionary of Socialist Sociology*, 1977.
1049. Given surface plausibility, the conspiracy argument's 'theory' of events is almost self-sealing. It is virtually impossible to disprove, and even discrepant evidence can be explained easily as the work of the clever conspirator who is trying to cover his tracks. DAVID ZAREFSKY, "Conspiracy Arguments in the Lincoln-Douglas Debates," *Journal of the American Forensic Association* 21, 1984.
1050. Groups may facilitate the release of normally inhibited behaviors in members by diffusion of responsibility, imitation, anonymity, and behavioral contagion. This deindividuation effect... could lead to release of violent antisocial behavior or restrained pro-social behavior, such as crying or being openly affectionate, depending on the circumstances. PHILIP ZIMBARDO, in *Influencing Attitudes and Changing Behaviors* (Philip Zimbardo, et. al.), 1977.
1051. [The fanatic is] the insecure person everywhere, at any time, who gives himself without reservation to any movement that promises him meaning through action. ROBERT ZWICKEY.
-

# Appendix

~~~~~

What is Political Extremism?

By Laird Wilcox

If it's a despot you would dethrone, see first that his throne
erected within you is destroyed? Kahlil Gibran, 1923.

Roger Scruton, in the *Dictionary of Political Thought* defines “extremism” as:

1. Taking a political idea to its limits, regardless of unfortunate repercussions Impracticalities, arguments and feelings to the contrary, and with the intention not only to confront, but to eliminate opposition.
2. Intolerance toward all views other than one's own.
3. Adoption of means to political ends which show disregard for the life, liberty and human rights of others.

A related view is found in the work of Milton Rokeach, whose book *The Open and Closed Mind* is a classic in the field of dogmatic thinking, prejudice and intolerance. He observes:

To study the organization of belief systems, we find it necessary to concern ourselves with the structure rather than the content of beliefs. The relative openness or closedness of a mind cuts across specific content; that is, it is not uniquely restricted to any particular ideology, or religion, or philosophy. ... Thus, a basic requirement is that the concepts to be employed in the description of belief systems must not be tied to a particular belief system; they must be constructed to apply to all belief systems.

These views basically reflect my own experience that political “extremism” in the behavioral sense is much more a matter of style than content. In the forty years I have been studying political groups of the left and right, I have found that many people can hold radical or unorthodox views and still entertain them in a more or less reasonable, rational, and non-dogmatic manner, fully cognizant of honest disagreement among people of good will. On the other hand, I have known people whose views were in the political “mainstream” but who presented them in a shrill, uncompromising, bullying, or distinctly authoritarian manner. The latter exhibited an unambiguous behavioral extremist mentality while the former demonstrated only ideological unorthodoxy, which is hardly to be feared in a free society.

The use of “extremist” as an epithet tends to confuse this issue. If the term is to have a legitimate meaning it's important to be clear on what it is. As used here, it's taken to mean anyone who exhibits an “extremist” behavioral style, examples of which will be given. What one wants to avoid is the name-calling trap, as in calling someone a “pervert” or a “subversive,” based primarily on the fact that you don't like them or disagree over some issue. Using emotionally-loaded epithets are characteristic of what one should be trying to avoid. Political ideologues are fully aware of the thought-stopping power of name-calling and labeling, and often attempt one-sided definitions of “extremism” that condemn the views of their political opponents while leaving their equally strident and intolerant behavior untouched.

For the term to have any objective meaning, it must apply equally across the board. The late Robert F. Kennedy recognized this when he observed,

What is objectionable, what is dangerous about extremists is not that they are extreme, but that they are intolerant. The evil is not what they say about their cause, but what they say about their opponents.

An important point here is that the extremist behavioral style is not found only on the statistical fringes of the political or religious spectrum, but sometimes in the “middle” as well. An individual or group that is uncompromisingly “centrist” may be far more dogmatic and prejudiced than someone with more radical or unorthodox views but who expresses them in an open, tolerant and amiable manner.

In many years of observing the behavior of political ideologues of the right and left in American politics I have compiled a list of behavioral traits that appear to be commonplace among the more strident, intolerant and dogmatic among them. To the extent that they represented a “threat” to anything, it was through this expressed stridency, intolerance and dogmatism, and most generally in the sense of their incapacity to participate in the rational give and take that democratic systems require. Only in very unusual cases do they represent any sort of physical threat to the general safety. This list has been passed around among other observers of this phenomenon over the years and there’s a general consensus of its general validity. These traits are:

1. The use of *slogans, buzzwords, epithets and clichés* are common among people of extremist temperament. These devices allow complex issues and problems to be dramatically simplified. Cognitive shortcuts of this kind are useful in order to suppress awareness of troublesome facts and counterarguments and to bolster group solidarity.
2. An emphasis on emotional responses and corresponding devaluation of reasoning and rational analysis is a common extremist trait. Extremists have an unspoken reverence for *propaganda* and *persuasion*, which they may call “getting educated” or “consciousness-raising.” Harold D. Lasswell, in his book *Psychopathology and Politics* says, “The essential mark of the agitator is the high value he places on the emotional responses of the public.”
3. Extremists often practice and openly advocate flagrant *double standards*. They generally tend to judge themselves and their allies in terms of their intentions, which they view generously, and judge their opponents by their acts, which they view very critically. This is known as the *sinister attribution error*, referring to the tendency to attribute bad intentions or untrustworthiness to the oppositional other. They want you to accept their claims on faith or authority, but demand strict proof from those of their opponents. They tend to view arguments that call their premises into question as hostile propaganda or provocation but use similar arguments when attacking others.
4. *Confusing of mere similarity with essential sameness* is a common extremist trait. Hence, for the extremist socialized medicine may be “just like” Communism or the appearance of ethnic pride is “just like” Nazi Germany. Instead of trying to understand complex phenomena in its own context, they tend to associate it with a *God word* or a *Devil word* in order to stereotype and reduce cognitive complexity.
5. Extremists often attack the character or reputation of an opponent rather than deal with the more concrete issues and views they present. Through this kind of *character assassination* or *ad hominem* attack, they may question motives, qualifications, associations, personality, mental health and so on as a diversion. In some cases these matters may not be entirely irrelevant, but they shouldn’t obscure the issues in question.
6. Some extremists tend to *identify themselves in terms of their enemies*, i.e., whom they hate and who hates them. Accordingly, extremists may become emotionally bound to their opponents in a strange *sympiotic relationship*, where their lives have meaning primarily in terms of conflict and opposition to one another. Because they view their opponents as unprincipled and powerful, they tend, perhaps subconsciously, to emulate them and adopt their tactics.
7. A *Manichean worldview* tends to characterize many extremists, in which they see the world in terms of absolutes of good and evil, with no middle ground, gray areas or intermediate positions. Issues tend to be framed in a strongly polarized sense of right and wrong, with the “right” position happily coinciding with their interests. All issues tend to become “life and death” issues. Their slogan is “*those who are not for me are against me.*”

8. *Hypersensitivity* and *vigilance* are hallmarks of the extremist style. They may perceive hostile innuendo in casual comments; imagine hostility and rejection “concealed” in honest disagreement and dissent, and manage to discover “subtle” manifestations of one thing or another in ordinarily innocuous events.

9. An inclination toward *groupthink* permeates extremist organizations. They are prone to the kind of inward-looking group cohesiveness that Irving Janus discussed in his book, *Victims of Groupthink*. This involves a strong tendency to conform to group norms and to preserve solidarity at the expense of dealing with conflicting evidence and disquieting observations or criticisms that may call into question their shared assumptions and beliefs of the group. Reality testing is often diminished among extremists.

10. Extremists tend to believe that it’s OK to do what would otherwise be instantly recognized as *bad things* in the service of a *good cause*. This may include shouting down speakers, harassment, intimidation, threats, censorship, and even violence in some cases. Defeating heretics, deniers, critics or other “enemies” becomes an all-encompassing goal to which other values become subordinate. In this case, for extremists the *end justifies the means*.

11. Finally, extremists often have problems tolerating *ambiguity* and *uncertainty*. Indeed, the ideologies and belief systems extremists tend to adopt often represent grasping for certainty and absolute truth and security in an uncertain world. The anxiety and uncertainty attendant to making complex decisions and value judgments is overcome by quick decisions based on strong feelings, tradition, patriotism, ideology or some other defining abstraction.

Adapted from *Nazis, Communists, Klansmen and Others on the Fringe* (Prometheus Books, 1992) by John George and Laird Wilcox.

The Protocols of Ritual Defamation

*How values, opinions and beliefs are
controlled in democratic societies.*

By Laird Wilcox

2002

"The critical element in political maneuver for advantage is the creation of meaning: the construction of beliefs about the significance of events, of problems, of crisis, of policy changes, and of leaders. The strategic need is to immobilize opposition and mobilize support. While coercion and intimidation help to check resistance in all political systems, the key tactic must always be the evocation of meanings that legitimize favored courses of action..." MURRAY EDELMAN, "Political Language and Political Reality," *PS*, Winter 1985.

"At the extreme, the process of stereotyping eventuates in dehumanization: the enemy is judged to be so inhumanly evil or contemptible that anything may be done to "it" without subjectively compromising one's own humanity and sense of loyalty." AUSTIN TURK, *Political Criminality*, 1982.

"Freedom of the mind requires not only, or not even especially, the absence of legal constraints but the presence of alternative thoughts. The most successful tyranny is not the one that uses force to assure uniformity but the one that removes the awareness of other possibilities." ALAN BLOOM, *The Closing of the American Mind*, 1987.

Definitions: The term "*protocol*" refers to a set of rules or established method. The term "*ritual*" refers to a predictable, stereotyped pattern that embraces number of elements, as in a ritual. The term "*defamation*" refers to the destruction or attempted destruction of the reputation, status, or standing in the community of a person or group of like-minded persons by deliberately unfair, false, misleading or

hateful communication.

Defamation might be confused with mere criticism, opposition or expression of opinion, which is necessary for a free society. The essence of a democratic system depends on a large degree of freedom of expression and of give and take in the marketplace of ideas. It is only through the vigorous exploration of alternative explanations and sorting of conflicting facts and competing ideas that wise and reasonably just decisions can take place. Hypersensitive individuals or groups often claim to have been unfairly defamed when they have merely been criticized or challenged with results unsatisfactory to themselves. It is important to differentiate between deliberate ritual defamation on the one hand, and mere criticism and disagreement on the other.

For the purposes of this brief essay, the central element is defamation and the necessarily accompanying stigmatization in retaliation for the real or imagined attitudes, opinions or beliefs of the subject, with the intention of silencing or neutralizing his or her influence, and/or making an example of them so as to discourage similar independence and “insensitivity” or non-observance of taboos on the part of others.

Ritual defamation differs in nature and degree from simple criticism or disagreement in that it is aggressive, organized, premeditated and skillfully applied with the idea of neutralizing or eliminating an opponent rather than simply refuting or proving him incorrect. Ritual defamation is often performed by an organization or representative of a special interest group.

The elements of a Ritual Defamation are these:

- 1. In a ritual defamation the subject (hereinafter referred to as the "offender") must have violated a particular taboo in some way, usually by expressing or identifying with a forbidden attitude, opinion or belief. It is not necessary that he “do” anything about it or undertake any particular course of action, only that they engage in some form of communication or expression. In some cases even that is not necessary, only that they are associated with or "linked" to a taboo idea or behavior in some way. It is largely directed against presumed attitudes, opinions or beliefs.**
- 2. The primary method of attack in a ritual defamation is to assail the character of the offender, and never to offer more than a perfunctory challenge to the particular attitudes, opinions or beliefs expressed or implied. Any kind of debate with the offender is absolutely forbidden. The primary tool of ritual defamation is stigmatization through character assassination.**
- 3. An important rule in ritual defamation is to avoid engaging in any kind of debate over the truthfulness or reasonableness of what has been expressed, only to condemn it. To debate the issue opens the issue up for examination and discussion of its merits and to consider the evidence or arguments that may support the forbidden views, which is just what the ritual defamer is trying to avoid. The primary goal of a ritual defamation is censorship and repression and marginalization of the offender.**
- 4. The offender is often somebody in the public eye - someone who is vulnerable to public opinion - although perhaps in a very modest way. It could be a businessman, schoolteacher, public official, newspaper writer, scholar, or merely an outspoken citizen. Visibility enhances vulnerability to ritual defamation.**
- 5. An attempt, often successful, is made to involve others in the ritual defamation. In the case of a public official, other public officials will be urged to denounce the offender. In the case of a student, other students will be called upon to reject and ostracize them, in the case of a teacher, other teachers will be recruited, and so on.**
- 6. In order for a ritual defamation to be effective, the offender must be dehumanized to the extent that he becomes thoroughly identified with the offending attitude, opinion or belief, and in a manner which distorts it to the point where it appears at its most extreme. For example, a victim who is defamed as a “subversive” will be identified with the worst images of subversion, such as espionage, terrorism and treason. An offender defamed as a “pervert” will be identified with the worst images of perversion, including child molestation and rape. An offender defamed as a “racist” or “anti-Semite” will be identified with the worst images of racism or hatred of Jews, such as lynchings or gas chambers.**

7. To be maximally successful, a ritual defamation must bring pressure and humiliation on the offender from every quarter, including family and friends. If the offender has schoolchildren, they may be taunted and ridiculed as a consequence of adverse publicity. If the offender is employed they may be ostracized or fired from their job. If the offender belongs to clubs or associations, other members may be urged to expel them.

8. Ritual defamation is highly symbolic and emotional and is designed to largely bypass rational cognitive processes. In its modern form it is a relatively sophisticated method of focusing hatred through skillful (albeit unprincipled) manipulation of symbols, prejudices and ideas.

9. Any explanation the offender may offer, including the claim of being wronged or misunderstood, is considered irrelevant. To claim truth as a defense for a politically incorrect value, opinion or belief is interpreted as defiance and only compounds the problem. Ritual defamation, it must be emphasized, is not necessarily an issue of being wrong or incorrect about a matter, but rather of "insensitivity" and failing to observe social taboos.

An interesting aspect of ritual defamation as a practice is its universality. It is not specific to any value, opinion or belief or to any group or subculture. It may be used against any political, ethnic, national or religious group. It may, for example, be used by anti-Semites against Jews, or by Jews against anti-Semites; by right-wingers against left-wingers, or vice-versa, and so on.

The power of ritual defamation lies entirely in its capacity to intimidate and terrorize through the use of stigmatization. It embraces some elements of primitive superstitious behavior, as in placing a "curse" or "hex" upon selected victims. It results in the tainting, labeling or marking of a person as "impure," somehow less than human and as an outcast. It is a tool often used against rebels and dissenters. In totalitarian societies it is a primary means of control.

A literary example of ritual defamation is Nathaniel Hawthorn's novel, *The Scarlet Letter*, where a young woman was forced to wear a large "A" on her clothing to indicate that she had committed adultery. A historical example might be the witch hunts that occurred in colonial America. A more modern example might be the McCarthy period of the 1950's, where both Communist and non-Communist leftists were charged with disloyalty and subversion, and recent crusades for "political correctness" in American society have produced a large number of victims unfairly linked to ideas or beliefs they do not hold.

Ritual defamation plays into the subconscious fear most people have of being shunned, abandoned or rejected by the tribe or community and its accompanying psychological support systems. For some victims the experience can be terrifying. Only the strongest psyches can survive it undamaged.

The weakness of ritual defamation lies in its tendency toward overkill and in its obvious maliciousness. More analytical or reflective citizens might perceive it as bullying, harassment or mere cruelty. Occasionally a ritual defamation will fail because of poor planning and failure to correctly judge the vulnerability of the offender, or because its unprincipled viciousness generates sympathy for them.

It is important to recognize and identify the patterns of a ritual defamation. Like virtually all propaganda and disinformation campaigns it is accomplished primarily through the manipulation of meaning and the use of words and symbols that characterize, identify and stigmatize. It is not used to persuade an opponent or to promote an opposing viewpoint but to inflict public *punishment* and *humiliation*. Dr. Edward Manner, professor of philosophy at Notre Dame University, observes that "*stigmatization is one of the most oppressive, inhumane forms of punishment any group of human beings can inflict on one of its members.*" He notes that it is "*a form of social control a civilized society will use rarely, and only with the greatest of care.*"

Permission to reprint *What Is Political Extremism?* and/or *The Protocols of Ritual Defamation* in full is granted providing no changes are made.

Laird Wilcox

Email: lwilcox3@aol.com

Campus Journal

Far Left and Far Right Meet in a Midwest Library

Special to the New York Times

Lawrence, Kan – This town of 68,000, home to mainstream icons like the University of Kansas Jayhawks sports teams and a Hallmark Cards plant, might seem an unusual choice of locales for what many experts call the pre-eminent collection of American extremist political literature.

But for 27 years, the manifestoes, broadsides, books and taped speeches of Communists and crypto-fascists, witches, white supremacists and U.F.O. conspiracy theorists, not to mention countless other fringe ideologies, have been growing in number in the climate-controlled rooms of the Wilcox Collection of Contemporary Political Movements at the University of Kansas Library.

The chief nurturer of this eponymous collection is Laird Wilcox, a 49-year-old writer and retired carpenter who studied at the university in the early 60's, became a member of the radical Students for a Democratic Society, dropped out of college and began collecting what he calls "my monument to the great diversity of free speech in this country." He sold three file drawers of political material for \$1,100 to the university in 1965, and the Wilcox Collection was born. For the 27 years since then, he has been donating an average of two or three boxes of extremist literature a month.

The Wilcox Collection now includes more than 10,000 books, pamphlets and periodicals, 800 audio tapes, and close to 100,000 other pieces, including correspondence, posters and clippings from more than 8,000 organizations from the 1920's to the present. University officials declined to estimate the collection's value, but Mr. Wilcox says it is worth \$2 million. Among the rarities in the collection, Mr. Wilcox said, is a tape of a pro-Fascist speech by Charles A. Lindbergh in the 1930's and American Communist documents from the same era.

He collects his material through his network of contacts in extremist political movements and through reading their publications, which often have advertisements for books and tapes. "I've bought, been given, or traded for all of it," he said. A steady stream of students and researchers used the closed-stack collection, which has minimal restrictions.

"It is so far the leading collection of its kind; it is extraordinary," said Lyman Tower Sargent, a professor of political science at the University of Missouri in St. Louis, who has used the collection for a textbook on contemporary political ideologies.

Mr. Wilcox, the son of a construction accountant who moved his family frequently, has had a near-lifelong fascination with extremists; he grew up listening to intense political debates between relatives who ran the political gamut, from socialists to members of the John Birch Society.

"Why does someone become a Communist?" he asks. "Why does someone become a Bircher? What makes them vulnerable to extremist politics – and not necessarily the particular kind they end up with, which really is almost accidental?"

Mr. Wilcox, who describes himself as a "classical free-speech liberal," has a few theories, based on his acquaintance with a number of extremists. He says all extremists take a political notion to its limits, regardless of the price they may pay in their personal lives. They brook no opposition to their views,

often feeling morally superior to others. They also often show a disturbing fondness for letting the ends justify the means.

Despite what he sees as almost a pathetic cast to many extremists' lives, he argues that they are sometimes prophetic, and that today's fringe movement may be tomorrow's mainstream organization. "Most of the social movement that has taken place in the United States in the last century started out as being viewed as the work of extremist groups," Mr. Wilcox said. "The women's movement, you know, was like a bunch of nuts, a bunch of feminists, suffragettes, crackpots, cooks. That's how they were viewed.

"The civil rights movement was viewed as marginal also, watched by the F.B.I., suspected of all kinds of terrible things," he said. "Yet these were groups that developed a significant following that actually attached themselves to legitimate issues."

B2 THE WALL STREET JOURNAL, THURSDAY, APRIL 27, 1995.

Emergence of Extremist Groups Reflects Changing U. S. Society, Researcher says.

By Dennis Farney

Staff Reporter of the Wall Street Journal

Olathe, Kan. – "Extremists are the first to sense that society is changing – and, often, the first to get it wrong." So says Laird Wilcox, who ought to know. For three decades now, this intriguing man with the look and burly build of a motorcycle rider – has been studying extremists the way a lepidopterist studies moths. He has interviewed their leaders and collected their often-paranoid literature. Along the way, he founded the Wilcox Collection of Contemporary Political Movements at the nearby University of Kansas. It is one of the largest collections of extremist literature in the U. S.

Eroding Freedoms

Now, as a civil libertarian, the 52-year-old Mr. Wilcox is worried. He fears the growing backlash against Oklahoma City's tragic bombing will result in new laws that erode the freedoms of everyone. "This is a fairly typical civil liberties crisis, where a notorious, horrifying crime has been committed and they're casting a very wide net," he said. "What I think is going to happen is a civil-liberties rollback from the great gains made in the 60s What they're going to do is go back to the FBI of the '50s, with all of the abuses that existed then."

Mr. Wilcox is the first to concede that his is an unpopular view, especially now. Violence, of course, cannot be tolerated. But violence and perceptions are two different things, and he argues that extremist groups aren't *always* wrong in their perceptions that society is changing around them – or that it needs changing. Until the '60s, after all, many civil rights groups were regarded as extreme for protesting segregation. Extremist groups are like the miner's canary, the first indicators that the political atmosphere is changing.

So what kind of change is "the populist right," as he calls it, sensing now. From its perspective, he said, it senses an American society growing steadily less tolerant of lower-middle-class values and lifestyles even as – indeed, precisely because – it is growing more tolerant of gays, of careerist women,

of nonsmokers in restaurants, of endangered species. "There has been a reversal of roles," he said. "The left is becoming the law and order group in society."

As a case in point, he said civil-rights attorney Morris Dees was the first to propose tighter security laws in the wake of the Oklahoma City bombing. Now, in something rare, President Clinton, Newt Gingrich and Orrin Hatch seem to have united in a push to tighten security laws; indeed, a kind of political bidding war seems to be in its early stages.

"What I think the militias picked up on is that there are huge changes coming in society," he said. One is a growing "intolerance" of dissent – from the left as well as the right. Another is the growing role of women in politics: women are more alarmed by gun ownership than men, and their concern is being translated into laws that gun owners find threatening. Still another is the growing erosion of the importance of national boundaries by the ever-more-important global economy. All these trends, while comforting to many, are threatening to many, particularly those in the lower-middle class. "They sense a theft of their culture," he said.

Individualists' Rage

It's doubtful that the typical right-wing militia member would voice his sense of loss this articulately, though. "They're not deep thinkers," said John George, the co-author with Mr. Wilcox of a 1991 study of political extremism in America. This, the authors say, hints at one of the major differences between right-wing and left-wing extremist groups. Leftists tend to be more articulate and more inclined to cluster around a shared ideology; rightists, in general, are too individualistic to share any elaborate ideology and less verbal when it comes to expressing their rage."

Mr. Wilcox himself, who joined the leftist Students for a Democratic Society in his 1960's college days at the University of Kansas, left that group after becoming disenchanted with the rigid ideology that progressively enveloped it. Today, he has grown skeptical of ideologies – all ideologies. He sees them as traps for the mind. As an antidote, he compiled a book entitled "Selected Quotations for the Ideological Skeptic."

Taken as a whole, the quotations constitute a warning against extremism -- and a warning against government overreaction to extremism.

One the one hand is James Baldwin, the novelist, who warned: "A devotion to humanity ... is too easily equated with a devotion to a Cause, and Causes, as we know, are notoriously bloodthirsty."

But on the other is James Madison, who wrote in 1778: "I believe there are more instances of the abridgement of the freedom of the people by gradual and silent encroachments by those in power than by violent and sudden usurpations."