

Overview: *In the novel Animal Farm, the animals of Manor Farm are both strengthened and manipulated by language. The pigs, who are the first to read and write, are the ones who first write the commandments by which the farm is governed and end up with all the power while those animals who are not able to read or write end up abused, brainwashed, or dead. The same is found in real life with situations from throughout history when the people who had the best control of language (like the control of mass media) had the most POWER! Based on your understanding of argument, for what purposes do people use language to persuade? Are they justified in doing so? Explain.*

Task: *read and take notes both on the articles themselves and in your reading journal, recording key structural elements and rhetorical techniques that you notice in the argument(s). Lastly, include a Rhetorical Précis or “point of view statement” at the end of each article (see notes at end of packet for how to do this).*

Summative Assessment: *Is the manipulation of people through the skillful use of language a justifiable way of bringing about change? After reading Animal Farm and other informational texts, write an argumentative essay that addresses the question and support your position with evidence from the text(s).*

Article #1: “Modern Patriotism”

By Scott O., University Place, WA (2005)

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Image Credit: Pooja B., Naperville, IL

What makes a patriot? People through the ages have carried out both horrible and wonderful acts under the banner of patriotism. How then are we to define it? The concept of patriotism is just as debated and relevant today as it was during the Civil War. If our nation is to survive its current challenges, the definition of a true patriot must be clear.

So, what is true patriotism? Only 57 percent of U.S. citizens over 18 described themselves as either “extremely” or “very” patriotic in a study by AARP. Can our nation really survive on 57 percent? I believe these shoddy - ratings are the result of widespread misuse of the term “patriot.”

Many believe patriotism to be blind obedience to one's nation. Samuel Johnson, one of the most quoted European writers in history, said, “Patriotism is the last refuge of the scoundrel.” Are patriots really just a bunch of yes-men who bow to the president's every whim? If so, one wonders how we have managed to remain a democracy all these years.

I have to disagree with Johnson. I prefer to quote Carl Schurz, the German revolutionary and, later, American political scientist who said, “My country . . . if right, to be kept right; and if wrong, to be set right.” Schurz's idea of patriotism is often referred to today as “loyal opposition.” This means seeking to change the social behavior of your country out of feelings of national love and patriotic duty. Loyal opposition is not the blind obedience of the uninformed and ignorant but rather active and sensible reconstruction of a system that one believes to be - essentially good but critically flawed.

As a student at a somewhat liberal school in an exceedingly liberal state, I constantly find myself annoyed when my peers talk about “moving to Canada” or some other nonsense. My response? “Go ahead. Please move to Canada. It'll be much easier for the rest of us to fix things without your constant whining.” While some may consider this harsh, I invite anyone who can't see the good in America, despite her blemishes, to leave.

We must love our country enough to stay and work to change it for the better. We must follow the example of civil rights activist James Baldwin, who said, “I love America more than any other country in this world, and, - exactly for this reason, I insist on the right to criticize her perpetually.” He and other members of the then-loyal opposition understood that the desire to change America is itself a demonstration of one's love for the nation.

Some say that there is little reason to love America. I don't believe any rational person would accept this. Sure, our country has made mistakes throughout history, but while the ethics behind some of these decisions were admittedly murky, it is not right to blame the entire nation for a few morally ambiguous politicians. After all, think of the many wonderful contributions America has made to the world. The the cotton gin, steamboat, cylinder printing press, telephone, light bulb, gasoline-powered car, and even air conditioning were American inventions. The first slave to patent an invention did so in America, and the modern rocket was developed here. The first flight across the Atlantic took off from America. Think of where the world would be now were it not for this country.

Despite our achievements, it is important that we not lose sight of the big picture. Part of loyal opposition in modern America is a long-term world view. We must look into the future and decide what role we will play in it. As Spanish-American philosopher George Santayana said, “A man's feet must be planted in his country, but his eyes should survey the world.”

Many third-world nations receive regular and crucial support from America. Our relationship with China will become more significant as that country's wealth and power grow. It will take the practical investment of time and resources by loyal activists to ensure America's continued prosperity.

In the words of Norman Thomas, “If you want a symbolic gesture, don't burn the flag; wash it.”

Article #1 Rhetorical Précis:

Article #2: “Unshelving Classic Books”

By Sarah S., Orcutt, CA (2007)

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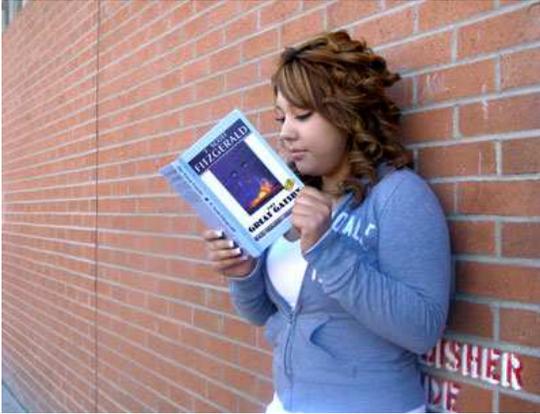


Image Credit: Adrianna P., Phoenix, AZ

In the late twentieth century, there was a move to replace classic literature used in most schools and universities with a more diverse reading list. The new curriculum would focus on themes present in today’s society, emphasizing multiculturalism and embracing ideas from all cultures. However, in replacing the classics curriculum, educators have removed important parts of America’s heritage.

Classic books provide the framework by which we can build our own world view and analyze the problems of today. The classics are an important part of American education because they not only reveal the ideas that have shaped the world, but also provide a foundation which we can use to develop our own opinions on many of the issues facing us today.

In many ways, the replacement of classic books has backfired. In school we learn about the atrocities slaves endured on Southern plantations, and the sorrow they faced when a husband was separated from a wife, or a mother from a child. However, contemporary books cannot present the issues surrounding slavery the way the classics do. Uncle Tom’s Cabin, written during the abolitionist era, addresses the horrors of slavery as no contemporary book can. Likewise, the autobiography of Booker T. Washington, *Up From Slavery*, tells of a former slave’s struggle for equality in a hostile world. History books can talk about the struggles of African-Americans during this era, but only the writings of abolitionists and blacks who lived through it can make the experience real for schoolchildren.

This not only applies to the struggles of minorities or women, but to the problems faced by all people. “You think your pains and your heartbreaks are unprecedented in the history of the world,” wrote James Baldwin, “but then you read. It is books that taught me that the things that tormented me were the very things that connected me with all the people who were alive, or who have ever been alive.” Charles Dickens’ *David Copperfield* tells the story of a man who was abused as a child, and his efforts to live a comfortable and normal life. *Oliver Twist* describes the struggle of a poor orphan who tries to rise above his criminal companions’ level. The classics show that the problems of today are not new, and that a person can still be happy despite his circumstances.

The classics also reveal ideas that have long been the foundation of American government, including those of Plato and Aristotle. The writings of John Locke are considered the principal influence on American government; however, with the removal of the classics from American schools, few know what Locke believed. Understanding our own culture is necessary; if we do not, how can we understand others? In his essay “On Three Ways of Writing for Children,” C.S. Lewis wrote, “The child who has once met Mr. Badger [a character in *The Wind in the Willows*] has ever afterwards, in its bones, a knowledge of humanity and of English social history which it could not get in any other way.” The classics present cultural history in a way contemporary books cannot.

The classics also preserve traditional values that have survived for centuries. Todd Gitlin, in “The Liberal Arts in an Age of Info-Glut,” wrote, “Amid the weightless fluff of a culture of obsolescence, here is Jane Austen on psychological complication, Balzac on the pecuniary squeeze. Here is Dostoyevsky wrestling with God, Melville with nothingness, Douglas with slavery ... In a culture of chaff, here is the wheat.” In other words, we need to study ideas and principles that have endured for centuries.

In today’s culture, everything is transient. We follow what is popular, and not what has withstood the test of time. An understanding of the ideas that have endured is the deciding factor between a person who went to school and one who is truly educated. Once we have read *Walden*, we realize that there is a world outside of the city. Through *Jane Eyre*, we see that patience can bring about unexpected results. By reading a book that has endured, we find many new concepts that open our eyes and give us a different perspective on life.

We live in a time of great technological advancements. Computers have made information more accessible. We have found cures to some forms of cancer. We are healthier and live longer, yet we are becoming intellectually fat. Many contemporary writers, especially fiction writers, merely appeal to our desire for wealth, prestige, and power. The classics create a longing in us for a different world, a better world. Contemporary books create a different longing. C.S. Lewis addressed this too: “The real victim of wishful reverie does not batten on the *Odyssey*, *The Tempest*, or *The Worm Ouroboros*: he (or she) prefers stories about millionaires, irresistible beauties, posh hotels, palm beaches and bedroom scenes – things that really might happen, that ought to happen, that would happen if the reader had a fair chance. For, as I say, there are two types of longing. The first one is an askesis, a spiritual exercise, and the other is a disease.” It is the classics that cause askesis, or self-discipline. If you remove that from a child’s education, you are removing an intellectual stimulus.

The classics are an important part of education. It is critical to teach children about their culture, and to encourage them to be accepting of other people as well as to know what is happening in the world. However, this pursuit should not replace the classics. It is the classics that make us think and make our minds mature. Once mature we can contribute to society. The classics do not force a child to conform to old-fashioned beliefs, nor do they teach them to be Eurocentric. They teach that there is more to the world than the clichéd problems of urban society. According to Arnold Bennett in “Literary Taste: How to Form It,” “The makers of literature are those who have seen and felt the miraculous interestingness of the universe. If you have formed ... literary taste ... [your life] will be one long ecstasy of denying that the world is a dull place.”

Article #2 Rhetorical Précis:

Article #3: “Pay-to-play Sports”

By: Anonymous (2002)

Your hands are sweaty. You check to make sure your receivers are ready, and “Hike!” The play is off and the clock starts. You watch as your receivers try to get open, but the entire defense is back for the Hail Mary throw. You see a man open and just as you let the ball fly out of your hands; you can feel that reappearing sense that it is all too soon coming to an end. All of a sudden, “Beep, Beep, Beep!” your alarm clock goes off and you know that your game is over. You will not get a second chance. You are a 16 year old kid who does not have much money, and cannot afford to play sports, because your school has pay-to-play sports. Now how would you feel if you were that kid that loves football and cannot even afford to play it? High schools across America are putting the pay-to-play fee into effect. So eliminate the pay-to-play fees because it is unfair, declines the number of kids participating, and goes against public school policies.

Playing sports is a privilege to wealthier students who attend schools that charge fees. It is unfair to students who cannot afford the expenditure, but it is also unfair to all supporters of that high school. Phil Curtin, the former football coach at Oakmont Regional High School in Massachusetts said, “Oakmont was 8-3 in 2000 with 50 players. The team’s record slipped to 4-7 and 3-8 in the next two seasons as the number of players dwindled to half” (USA). No matter what we do, there will continue to be fees unless we stand up for the children and take charge of our schools.

Participating in extra-curricular activities is a big factor in the overall education of a child. Calvin Davis said, “You would see it affect attendance, grade-point average, discipline referrals would be up, and the drop-out rate would increase. We would lose half our kids” (USA). USA TODAY surveyed state high school sports associations, and found that 34 states in which at least one district in the association is charging students to pay-to-play. That adds up to millions upon millions of kids who don’t get to participate in high school and middle school sports. Also, if students don’t get the community backing they feel they deserve, they will ask themselves if it is worth paying the money to participate in the program. When fees are small, the student involvement doesn’t decline that much, but when prices reach excessive amounts, the number of students participating drops by about a third. Students everywhere are desperately wishing fees away, but they will have no such luck.

California has outlawed all charging of fees for any sports. The fees go against the state constitution’s promise to deliver free public schooling to students. Sen. Alan Lowenthal said, “Free schools should remain at the heart of our democracy” (Calif.). The state felt that educational opportunities should be presented to all students regardless of the family’s ability to pay. Free public schooling should not only include the education part of it, but the extracurricular activities as well.

Pay-to-play sports are terrible reasons for kids to be inactive. Kids deserve rights for education both in and out of the classrooms that doesn’t cost. Children are expected to stay active and healthy, but yet, we charge them to play sports that would help keep them moving. How would you like to be that kid that has to dream about football because he can’t play it at his school? A position on a team should not be purchased. Lack of funds should not prohibit the gifted child from playing on the team. Extracurricular activity positions should be earned through hard work and dedication, not by a fat wallet. Protect children’s rights, keep them interested in going to school, keep children healthy, and help dispose of pay-to-play sports.

Article #3 Rhetorical Précis:

Article #4 “Propaganda in War Reporting on the U.S. War in Iraq”

By: David Vidal (2004)

The word “propaganda” comes from the Vatican. The phrase “congregatio de propaganda fide” (The congregation for the propagation of the faith) was used to support the catholic faith in response to the Protestant Reformation (Labash, 20 Dec, 2001). Propaganda is everywhere and has been around for a long time. Every newspaper, magazine, news channel, radio station, advertisement, or any other types of mass media contain elements of propaganda. Propaganda is often given a negative connotation due to its history of power and control; as in the Hitler’s regime, but in reality the definition is very simple. According to Webster’s College Dictionary, propaganda is “information or ideas methodically spread to promote or injure a cause, movement, nation etc, and the deliberate spread of such information or ideas”. Whether the reader of a media source agrees or disagrees with the content, the purpose of the media is to convey one way to look at a particular situation or idea.

Sometimes, propaganda results in no important change on the reader’s ideals or morals, like the coverage of a popular new restaurant. The topic does not have much effect because it is not powerful enough to significantly change a society. The light heartedness of the topic blinds a person to the fact that they are still reading a source of propaganda making people not realize how common propaganda truly is. More powerful events, however, such as propaganda in the media coverage of a war can having a lasting effect on an individual and may result in changing the way society views the war. Propaganda’s influence on public opinion can be the difference between winning and losing a war. In his book “munitions of the Mind,” Dr. Philip Taylor explained the significance of propaganda in war media coverage. “Propaganda itself is neither sinister nor evil. It is really no more than the organization of methods designed to persuade people to think and behave in a certain way, and in wartime that usually means getting them to fight or to support the fight” (Labash, 20 Dec, 2001). Wartime propaganda is so important that it can often be used as a weapon because of the power that comes with public support. The ability to win public support can be just as important as the ability to fight the war.

HISTORY OF WARTIME PROPAGANDA

Wartime propaganda has been a major influence in many, if not all, of the major wars. One of the first known uses of war propaganda was by Alexander the Great. After being forced to retreat in a battle Alexander the Great realized that it would be a disadvantage to show he was weak and had to retreat. He overcame this problem by using propaganda to intimidate the opposing army. Alexander’s army made oversized armor and helmets and left them behind as they retreated. His intent was that the opposing army would be intimidated and not pursue his army because the oversized armor made Alexander’s army look like giants (Labash, 20 Dec, 2001).

Another occurrence of wartime propaganda occurred in Vietnam where Americans would kidnap and blindfold Vietnamese fisherman. Then the Americans would take them to an island and tell them that it was part of a resistance group called “The Sacred Sword of the Patriot League.” The fishermen were then returned back to the main land where they would spread rumors of the fake resistance group. The result was the Vietnamese concentrating their efforts to destroy a nonexistent group (Labash, 20 Dec, 2001).

One of the most well-known propaganda experts in war history was Adolf Hitler. Hitler’s use of war propaganda resulted in convincing his country of the National Socialism ideals, which ultimately resulted in the Holocaust and the extermination of Jews. In 1945 Hitler wrote a political statement describing his dislike of the Jewish people and asking that after his death people continue to stay strong in their beliefs. “It is untrue that I or anyone else in Germany wanted war in 1939. It was wanted and provoked solely by international statesmen either of Jewish origin or working for Jewish interests.” Hitler finished off his political testament stating “Above all, I enjoin the government and the people to uphold the race laws to the limit and to resist mercilessly the prisoner of all nations, international Jewry” (Hitler, 1945). Hitler’s use of propaganda in spreading his beliefs of National Socialism and his dislike of the Jews resulted in the support of the his army and country and the breakout of World War II. Propaganda posters, such as the one below, were all around Germany. The text in the poster below says “Führer, we will follow you” and was used to gain support of the German people.(Source: <http://www.calvin.edu/academic/cas/gpa/posters2.htm>)

In his book *Mein Kampf*, Hitler dedicated an entire section to the discussion of war propaganda. He described the purpose of war propaganda was to support Germany in the war and bring help bring victory. Hitler had the power to use propaganda as a tool that he could use for the control of the masses. His use of propaganda caused a movement against the Jewish people, which eventually led to the holocaust and the extermination of millions of Jewish people. Hitler described his idea of propaganda in his autobiography *Mein Kampf*:

“The function of propaganda is, for example, not to weigh and ponder the rights of different people, but exclusively to emphasize the one right which it has set out to argue for. Its task is not to make an objective study of the truth, in so far as it favors the enemy, and then set it before the masses with academic fairness; its task is to serve our own right, always and unflinchingly” (Hitler, chap V1).

Propaganda was so important to Hitler and Hitler’s effort that he assigned a man named Dr. Joseph Goebbels to the official position of “National Propaganda Leader”. In a collection of writings from 1939 to 1942 Hanz Schwarz Von Beck described Dr. Goebbels a very good speaker and journalist who continually updated the people on the state of the war making light of the mistakes of the enemy and the power of Germany (Beck 1). When asked about propaganda Dr. Goebbels answered “Propaganda? Certainly! Good propaganda for a good cause!” We make propaganda not in the pay of forces or men in the background; rather we make propaganda for our own honest convictions. We advertise for our own ideal, and therefore we fight using all good means to make good propaganda to win the soul of our people” (Fritzsche, 1934). Dr. Goebbels perceived propaganda as an honest tool, which brings the people together for their country.

Dr. Goebbel, with his speaking skills and power, was able to convince Germany of Hitler’s National Socialism and he was looked upon as a leader of the country. Eugen Hadamovsky, a German radio announcer described Dr. Goebbels as a German hero. “Under the brilliant leadership of Dr. Joseph Goebbels, the master of political propaganda, the neglected weapon of German politics became a creative art” (Fritzsche, 1934). With the support that Dr. Goebbels had from the media it is no surprise that his use of propaganda lead to changing Germany’s view of the Jewish people. (Source: <http://www.calvin.edu/academic/cas/gpa/ib27.htm>)

Dr. Goebbels did not stop at just promoting National Socialism, he continued his successful propaganda campaign during the war effort in order to keep the government support from the German people. In a 1939 article given to the German people Dr. Goebbels gave a response to the criticisms that the Americans were giving the Germans. It was

propaganda articles like this that blinded the German people to the eventual destruction that resulted from National Socialism. In his article Dr. Goebbels wrote:

“The American press takes particular pleasure in criticizing Germany on grounds of humanitarianism, civilization, human rights and culture. It has every right to do so. Its humanity is shown by lynchings. Its civilization is shown in economic and political scandals that stink to high heaven. Its human rights are displayed by eleven or twelve million unemployed, who apparently chose to be so. And its culture exists only because it is always borrowing from the older European nations. Such a nation is certainly justified in sneering at ancient Europe, whose nations and peoples looked back on centuries, even millennia of cultural achievements even before America was discovered.

The American press replies to our complaints by saying that they have nothing against Germany, only against National Socialism. That is a poor excuse. National Socialism today is Germany's guiding political idea and worldview. The entire German nation affirms it. To criticize National Socialism today therefore means to criticize the entire German nation” (Goebbels, 1939).

Propaganda has been used in wars throughout history and will continue to be a major tool in the future struggles. Without all the facts propaganda articles like Dr. Goebbels anti-American article can turn an entire country against another. Today, propaganda is seen in a different light because of the increased mobility of the media. The media is now embedded directly in the combat of the war giving the people a near firsthand view of what is happening.

THE USE OF PROPAGANDA IN IRAQ

Today, in the war on Iraq, propaganda is more apparent than ever due to the number of media sources embedded in the war. More than 600 Journalists are in military units reporting on the progress of the war (Maass, 20 Mar, 2003). Peter Maass wrote an article for the New Republic magazine describing a set-up event where almost 100 journalists filmed British tanks rolling up in a V formation and soldiers running to attack. The purpose of the media event was to “bolster support back home” however Maass couldn’t help but see right through the V formation “money shot” and look at the event as propaganda (Maass, 20 Mar, 2003). After the event Maass spoke with Colonel Chris Vernon, the spokesman for the British military, who stated, “We’re showing what we’ve got, and we would like the message to get out to the people and to the regime of Iraq” (Maass, 20 Mar, 2003). This planned out event to effects Iraq’s government is propaganda at its best.

Another obvious example of propaganda in the war on Iraq is the United State’s dropping of leaflets and radio broadcasts all over Iraq. These leaflets and broadcasts put blame on Saddam for the suffering of the people of Iraq. They also tell people not to fight, to go home, and not to attack the coalition forces. The propaganda has the purpose of minimizing casualties. Judith Kipper, a Middle East expert quoted in the Christian Science Monitor, explained that one problem is that the people of Iraq don’t trust the U.S. and that they “blame the U.S. as much for their suffering in the past 10 years as they do Saddam” (Tyson, 30 Jan, 2003). The use of propaganda is very complicated. The people of Iraq have propaganda messages coming from all different sources making it difficult to know which one is correct. The effort to collectively change peoples opinions is not an easy game and comes down to a psychological war as much as a war of fighting. (Source:<http://www.centcom.mil/galleries/leaflets/showleaflets.asp>)

Another aspect of war propaganda in Iraq that complicates the war is the media’s reporting. Media sources, like CNN, have grown to so influential on public opinion that they can force the different parties at war to focus on certain

issues by raising public awareness of the issue. This has become to be known as “the CNN effect” (Maass, 20 Mar, 2003). Governments can’t ignore issues that the public has strong opinions about. With the media now imbedded in the war and getting real time footage, the government can’t tell the media what the government wants the people to focus on. The media choosing an event to focus on can change public opinion and force governments to do something about it. As Colonel Chris Vernon put it, “ War is not just tanks and armor. It’s also psychological. Hearts and minds. The other guy’s move is affected by what he sees happening or thinks is happening. I think the American defense secretary has a very good understanding of it. He has read the books. He said warfare is psychological. Spot on. Not many politicians get that” (Mass, 20 Mar, 2003).

With all of the propaganda and psychological aspects involved in a war it is sometimes hard to believe what we read in the mass media. Walt Whitman once wrote “the real war will never get in the books” (Lears, 28 Aug, 2002). Whitman’s statement makes one wonder what is the “real” war and does anyone have knowledge of the real war? Certainly everyone must have some bias due to the plethora of media information out there taking one side or another. Most of the media sources we read have a natural and, one could argue, unavoidable bias. For example the media embedded in the troops in Iraq have probably gone through a survival course by the U.S. army, and because they are traveling with U.S. troops the troops are protecting them, feeding them and living with them. Peter Maas, after witnessing the British tank propaganda event, wrote “the coup de grace to our withering claim of neutrality—with the prospect of selected outlets being given privileged and controlled access so they can participate in a deadly game of psychological warfare aimed at toppling an enemy regime, the case for journalistic independence is becoming awfully difficult to sustain” (Maass, 20 Mar, 2003).

The use of propaganda also exists within a government or regime. Recently the historian Zachary Shore published a study describing the terror within Hitler’s regime. Officials within the regime used propaganda when conveying information up the chain of command. Information would only pass on if it would impress Hitler. This had a negative effect on Hitler, because he would not see the whole picture of the war (Greene, 25 Mar, 2003). The same may be true for Saddam’s regime. Saddam’s regime, like Hitler’s, also terrifies people under him. Many Iraq people have been killed and many of those were close to Saddam for example Saddam’s son, Uday, shot Saddam’s half brother Watban and killed Watban’s son (Greene, 25 Mar, 2003). The terror throughout the regime could result in uses of propaganda to make higher officials happy to avoid getting killed. This hurts the regime because information may not be accurately passed on to Saddam himself.

PROPAGANDA IN THE U.S. MEDIA

Often the media claims that the purpose of the media is to offer a non-biased view of current events. This is nearly impossible to achieve because every bit of writing takes some angle on an issue. Johann Galtung, a professor of peace studies, is studying how the media plays a role in the violence and misery around the world. He focused on some of the things that media sources do that causes them to take one side or another which often results in convincing the public of the same view. Galtung laid out 12 of the main things that the media does wrong when reporting violence. When reading media sources about the war in Iraq it is easy to pick out these flaws for example the third point on the list “Manichaeism” is everywhere in U.S. mass media including the above pamphlet dropped over Iraq. Saddam is looked upon as the “evil” dictator while the U.S. is coming in to free Iraq from the evil.

1. “Decontextualizing violence: focusing on the irrational without looking at the reasons for unresolved conflicts and polarization.
2. Dualism: reducing the number of parties in a conflict to two, when often more are involved. Stories that just focus on internal developments often ignore such outside or "external" forces as foreign governments and transnational companies.
3. Manichaeism: portraying one side as good and demonizing the other as "evil."
4. Armageddon: presenting violence as inevitable, omitting alternatives.
5. Focusing on individual acts of violence while avoiding structural causes, like poverty, government neglect and military or police repression.
6. Confusion: focusing only on the conflict arena (i.e., the battlefield or location of violent incidents) but not on the forces and factors that influence the violence.
7. Excluding and omitting the bereaved, thus never explaining why there are acts of revenge and spirals of violence.
8. Failure to explore the causes of escalation and the impact of media coverage itself.
9. Failure to explore the goals of outside interventionists, especially big powers.
10. Failure to explore peace proposals and offer images of peaceful outcomes.
11. Confusing cease-fires and negotiations with actual peace.
12. Omitting reconciliation: conflicts tend to reemerge if attention is not paid to efforts to heal fractured societies. When news about attempts to resolve conflicts are absent, fatalism is reinforced. That can help engender even more violence, when people have no images or information about possible peaceful outcomes and the promise of healing.” (source: Schechter, 18 July, 2001)

The mistakes of the media often change the public opinion of the people of the U.S. It is interesting to look back to the beginning of the war on Iraq and realize that the original reason that the U.S. went to war was for the protection of the U.S. The U.S. government and the U.S. media reported that we were going to War because of the threat of biological weapons being produced in Iraq. Noam Chomsky, a famous linguistics professor at MIT, explained to frontline magazine “Now if people genuinely believe that Iraq has carried out major terrorist attacks against the United States and is planning to do so again, people will support the war. “It is a truly spectacular achievement of propaganda” (Kennedy, 17 April, 2003). The focus in the media, however, changed after the war started. Eventually the war became an effort to free Iraq.

In 1997 a group of journalists, students, and media experts got together and discussed issues journalism. Included in their writings was an outline of how the media prepares the country for war. The media first prepares the country by bring up issues of poverty and dictatorship such as the case with Saddam. In the “justification stage” the media calls for urgency such as in the case of protecting the U.S. from the Iraq biological weapons. The implementation stage is similar

to the control that the media has over the public view of the war on Iraq, and the aftermath is already being portrayed by the media starting to not focus on the war as much as in the beginning.

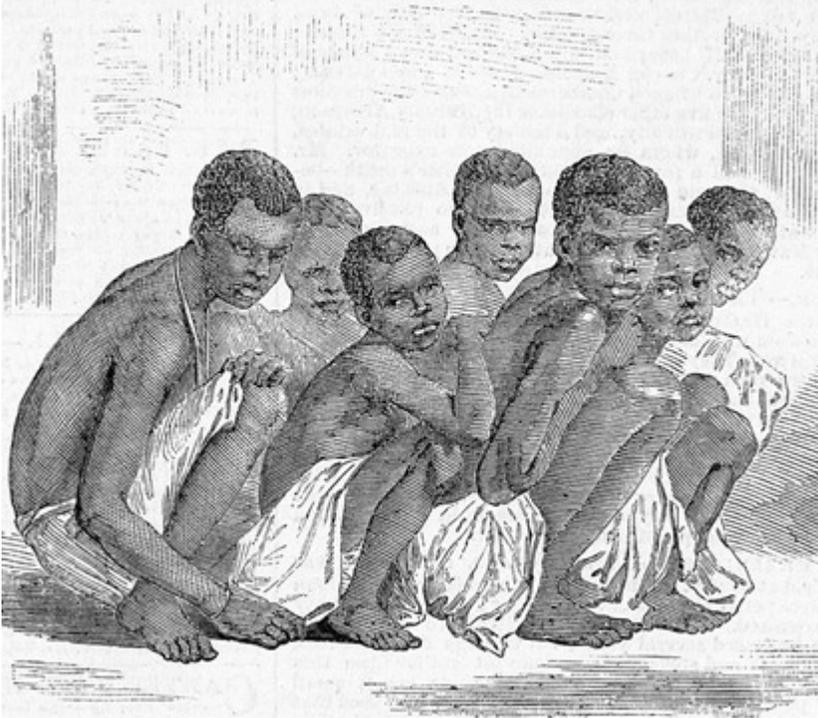
“The Preliminary Stage - during which the country concerned comes to the news, portrayed as a cause for "mounting concern" because of poverty/dictatorship/anarchy; The Justification Stage - during which big news is produced to lend urgency to the case for armed intervention to bring about a rapid restitution of "normality"; The Implementation Stage - when pooling and censorship provide control of coverage; The Aftermath - during which normality is portrayed as returning to the region, before it once again drops down the news agenda.”(Source: The Peace Journalism Option, 1997)

Adolf Hitler once stated “all that matters is propaganda” (Labash, 20 Dec, 2001). This may not have been state literally but when it comes down to it if someone can control public opinion then they have all the power. A government cannot have power if it does not have the support of the public. In order to gain support of the public propaganda is used to promote the government and the ideals behind it. The issues concerning propaganda are complex and numerous but it is known that propaganda can be one of the main weapons used in psychological warfare and can significantly affect the outcome of a war. Propaganda can influence people to believe a certain ideology whether that ideology is right or wrong. Hopefully future uses of propaganda will serve to limit fighting and be used to avoid wars rather than starting wars and promote hate as in Hitler’s regime.

Article #4 Rhetorical Précis:

Article #5: “The Positive Power of Propaganda”

Rob Oakes | August 4, 2010 4:11 pm



In hindsight, it is easy to believe that great events had an inevitability about them. After all, it was destined that slavery would be abolished, Germany would lose to the allies during World War II and that Martin Luther King and the Civil Rights Struggle would win equal rights for all Americans. After all, slavery was wrong, Hitler was evil, and deep-seated racism was destroying the social fabric of America. Right?

Wrong.

Such historical determinism ignores the significant struggles required to convince a community that a particular practice is wrong and then drive them to do something about it. If the allies had done nothing about Hitler, or if Martin Luther King hadn't spoken, organize and marched; modern society would

look quite different from the way it does now.

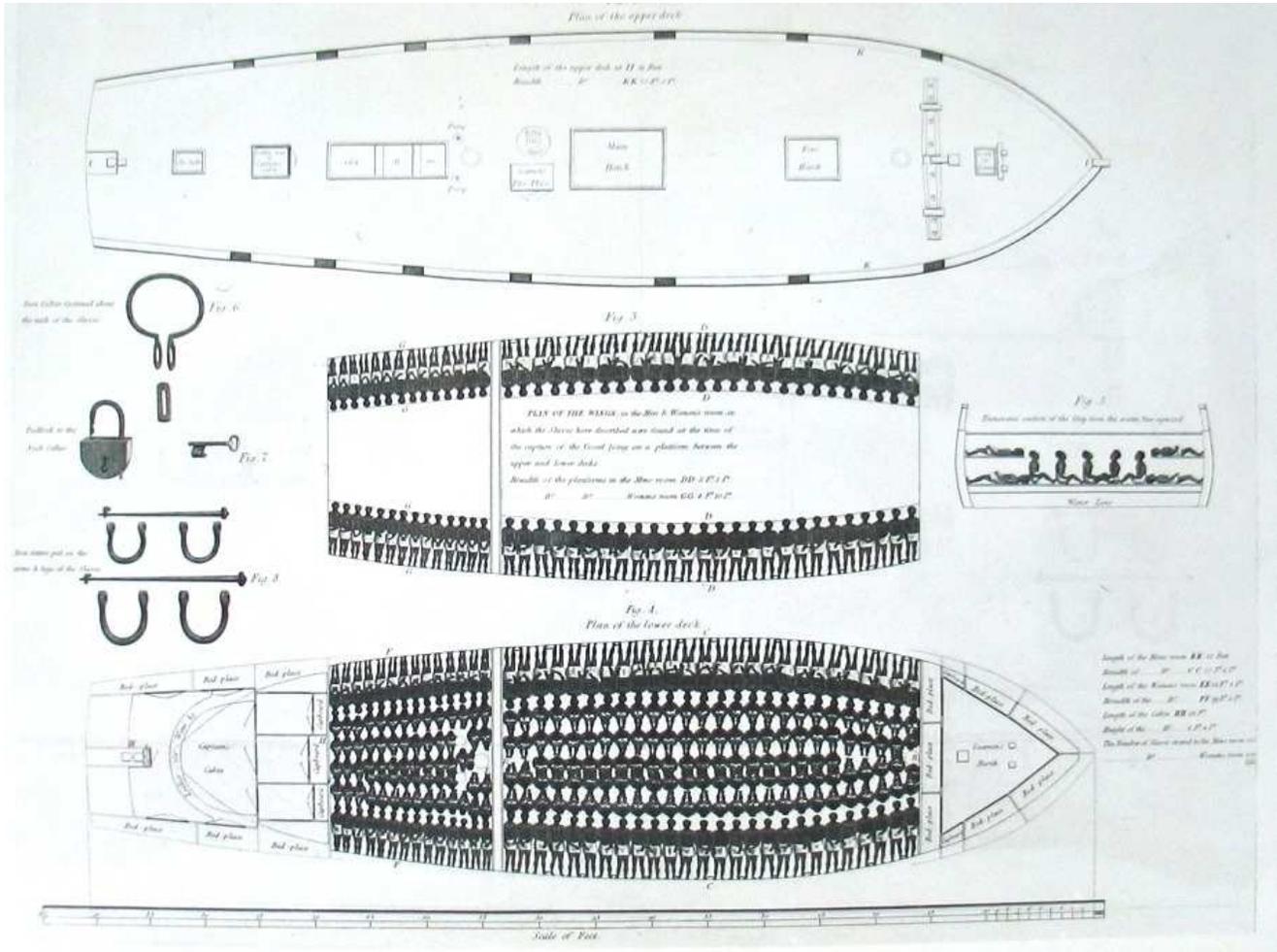
Which all underscores the fact that propaganda has gotten a bum rap, as of late. As seen in the case of the abolitionists, the struggle against Nazism and the Civil Rights Cause, propaganda is a necessary form of communication. It's one of the most effective tools for influencing the attitude of a community over time.

In fact, propaganda is little more than a communications tool and is hardly nefarious. (Though it can certainly be abused, just as statistical/scientific reporting can also be used to confuse and mislead.) A good piece of propaganda tells a story in an effective manner or presents information within an appropriate context. The difference between propaganda and impartial reporting is that propaganda uses arguments, evidence, pleas to emotion and opinion to influence an audience.

Abolitionists, Precision Drawings and Propaganda

Over the past few days, I've been looking into one very interesting piece of anti-slavery propaganda. In his latest book, *Beautiful Evidence*, Edward Tufte publishes a schematic of a slave ship. It's chronicled, in gruesome accuracy, the close confines of the *Vigilante*, a French slaver ship captured in 1823 by the British Navy.

First appearing in a tract for the Religious Society of Friends, a Quaker group, this illustration shows how human beings were turned into anonymous commodities.



This is how Edward Tufte describes it:

Human bodies count out the numbers, increased in turn by the double layer of people shown in [the] elevation view ... Men were sorted and ordered by size, shackled in pairs; women gathered at left adjacent to the vast Captain’s and wine lockers; and fierce microeconomic optimization in packing a cargo of 227 men and women 120 women ... These conditions led to catastrophic death rates among all those it took to yield the 12,000,000 to 20,000,000 slaves eventually imported into America ... This engraving has a straightforward quality and precision that indicates the ship was examined carefully, which adds credibility to the image [1].

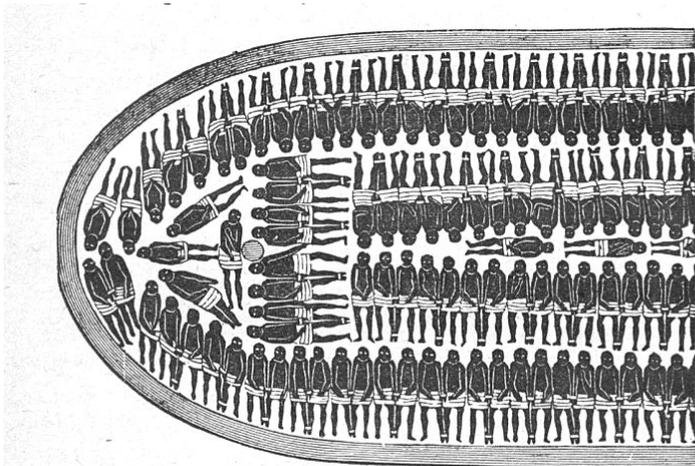
The careful precision in the image and the attention to detail makes it disturbing in a way that more romantic or natural representations do not; and this was tremendously important. At the time that the pamphlet was published, there was no consensus on slavery in America or Europe. Even amongst anti-slavery groups, such as the Religious Society of Friends, people were still trying to figure out what should be done about it [2]. The Society had obtained a minor victory by outlawing the trafficking of slaves in British controlled sea lanes, but that had hardly stopped the practice.

Which is why propaganda, such as the illustration of the Vigilante and the accompanying tract [3], were prepared. Such illustrations had a very specific purpose: they were used to attack the techniques that slavers

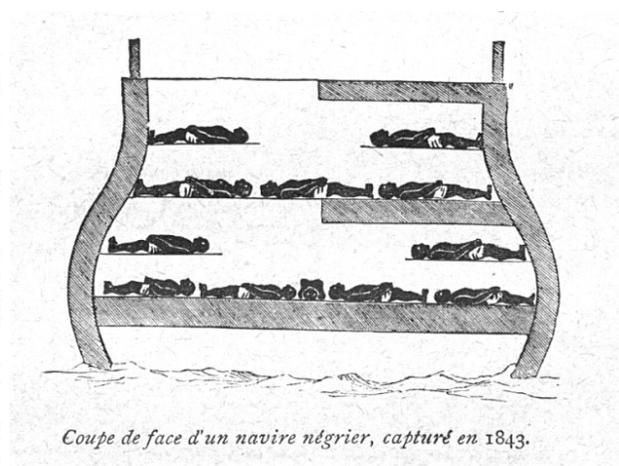
used to transport Africans to North America. They showed the tight confines, and the other methods meant to prevent the slaves from rebelling or choosing suicide. Within the text of the pamphlets, then, the authors described how these conditions led to disease, murder, starvation, suicide, and asphyxiation. They then used every rhetorical device, scriptural argument and relevant fact at their disposal to make the case that such practices were wrong; and the authors of such tracts were effective.

The images and text were convinced people that the practice of transporting human beings (if not the institution of slavery itself) was morally abhorrent and wrong. It’s also one reason why illustrations, such as that of the Vigilante were very common.

You see, the Vigilante drawing was hardly the first such diagram which showed the layout of a slaver’s galley. Nor was it the first to use a precision style. A quick search of Google Images turns up dozens of examples from the late 18th century through the mid 19th century. In some ways, the layout of these diagrams achieved its own strange standardization. Look at how similar the elevation views are, for example; or how almost identical the African men and women are in the schematics.



Plan de la batterie basse du même navire négrier à 2 batteries, capturé en 1843, se rendant en Amérique. (1).



Coupe de face d'un navire négrier, capturé en 1843.

If you look closely at the propaganda and the actions of the Society of Friends, you can see a clever and sustained effort to combat evil. Slavery had been part of human civilization since its beginning, and wasn't going to be abolished overnight. As a result, the Society of Friends didn't start by trying to destroy the institution outright. They started by assaulting easier targets, such as the slave trade. From there, they used a combination of precision and romantic illustration in conjunction with narrative and moral argument to slowly erode public support. It took a very long time [4], but it was also very successful.

Which just goes to show, propaganda can be positive as well as negative. It also demonstrates that a careful and impartial rendering of facts can be just as effective as an appeal to emotion.

Article #5 Rhetorical Précis:

Article #6: “The Rise of Modern Propaganda”

September 30, 2005

One difference between past and present societies is how we view persuasion and rhetoric. Our modern society is untrained in persuasive techniques. In contrast to earlier cultures that were schooled in the principles of rhetoric, our society knows little about the techniques of persuasion and understanding how they work. Modern media constantly assails us with information. "Every day we are bombarded with one persuasive communication after another. These appeals persuade not through the give-and-take of argument and debate but through the manipulation of symbols and of our most basic human emotions. For better or worse, ours is an age of propaganda" ([Pratkanis and Aronson 9](#)).

Modern propaganda is distinguished from other forms of communication by its deliberate and conscious use of false or misleading information to sway public opinion. The invention of the printing press in the fifteenth century gradually made it possible to reach large numbers of people. But it was not until the nineteenth century that state governments began to employ propaganda for political purposes to any wide degree deliberately aimed at influencing the masses. The invention of radio and television in the twentieth century made it possible to reach even more people. The development of modern media, global warfare, and the rise of extremist political parties provided growing importance to the use of propaganda.

The term propaganda began to be widely used to describe the persuasive tactics used by both sides during the world wars and by later tyrannical political regimes of the twentieth century. Propaganda was used as a psychological weapon against the enemy and to bolster morale at home. The British were the first to develop an extensive system of war propaganda. In the later part of World War One, the Department of Information was formed to coordinate the government's propaganda efforts. Articles were written and distributed both at home and abroad. Important members of the press and various foreign governments received advance press releases and special treatment in the hope that they would write and report favorably on the British war efforts and bolster morale at home. At a time when most news was transmitted by telegraph, advance access to news was advantageous to those who received it first; they were more likely to influence their audiences before those that received the news later. It is not surprising that the word "propaganda" appeared as a separate entry in the [Encyclopedia Britannica](#) for the first in 1922 right after the end of the World War One.

President Wilson was among the first world leaders to use government sponsored propaganda on a wide scale. When the United States declared war against Germany in 1917, he created the Committee on Public Information (CPI), which represented for the first time that a modern government disseminated propaganda on such a large scale ([d'Aymery](#)). The CPI implemented voluntary guidelines for the news media, and while it did not have direct enforcement powers, its guidelines almost extended to censorship powers. Its tactics were so effective that Hitler and Goebbels modeled their system of propaganda in the 1930's on CPI's policies. Adolph Hitler bluntly discussed the use of propaganda in his book, *Mein Kampf*, in which he shared Machiavelli's low regard for his audience's intellectual capabilities:

"All propaganda must be popular and its intellectual level must be adjusted to the most limited intelligence among those it is addressed to. Consequently, the greater the mass it is intended to reach, the lower its purely intellectual level will have to be." ([qtd. in Smith 38](#)).

Another passage, also from *Mein Kampf*, repeated Hitler's contempt for the masses:

"Its [propaganda's] effect for the most part must be aimed at the emotions and only to a very limited degree at the so-called intellect. We must avoid excessive intellectual demands on our public. The receptivity of the great masses is very limited, their intelligence is small, but their power of forgetting is enormous." ([qtd. in Pratkanis 250](#)).

The Nazi propaganda machine relied heavily on symbolism. The swastika, a very ancient ideogram and which is now permanently associated with the Nazis, was once a positive symbol used in many different cultures. When Adolph Hitler was made chief of propaganda for the National Socialist party he chose this commanding symbol to distinguish the Nazi

Party from all other rival political groups. Joseph Goebbels succeeded Hitler to become the master propagandist for the Nazi regime. With great skill Goebbels began building the myth of Aryan supremacy. He always maintained that some element of truth was necessary in propaganda to provide a means of escape if his statements were questioned. In *Propaganda. The Art of War*,

Rhodes said: "Goebbels openly admitted that propaganda had little to do with the truth. 'Historical truth may be discovered by a professor of history. We, however, are serving historical necessity. It is not the task of art to be objectively true. The sole aim of propaganda is success' (qtd. in Rhodes 19).

Three types of propaganda were developed during World War Two and put to effective use on both sides. Black propaganda was designed to tell anything but the truth and was directed against the enemy. White propaganda was addressed more openly and contained mostly true facts. Gray propaganda omitted all mentions of its source and was designed to not tell the whole truth. Black propaganda was used to disseminate "false information in the enemy camp, military and civilian [...] aimed at undermining moral and generally sowing doubt, disquiet, and depression." White propaganda "aspires to uplift home morale with eyewitness accounts of military successes [...] it is based on truth, even if the truth is twisted a little" (Rhodes 111).

Winston Churchill emerged as one of the greatest orators of World War Two. He is the only winner of the Nobel Prize for Literature whose oratorical gifts were specifically mentioned when the prize was announced. His wartime speeches are prime examples of white propaganda used to bolster morale at home. In his speech delivered on June 4, 1940 Churchill said:

"Even though large tracts of Europe and many old and famous States have fallen or may fall into the grip of Gestapo and all the odious apparatus of Nazi rule, we shall not flag or fail. We shall go on to the end. We shall fight in France, we shall fight on the seas and oceans, we shall fight with growing confidence and growing strength in the air, we shall defend our island, whatever the cost may be [...] we shall never surrender" (qtd. in Jenkins 611).

Just a few days later, on June 18, 1940, Churchill spoke again to his countrymen:

"The battle of France is over. I expect that the battle of Britain is about to begin. Upon this battle depends the survival of Christian civilization [...] Let us therefore brace ourselves to our duty and so bear ourselves that if the British Commonwealth and Empire lasts for a thousand years, men will still say, this was their finest hour." (qtd. in Jenkins 621).

For the people of countries that have just been overrun by enemy forces or who felt that they were the next nation to be defeated, inspiring words like these helped lift up their spirits and exhorted them to go on. Here we see propaganda being used for the best of purposes.

Joseph Stalin, on the other hand, used propaganda in the negative sense. In his rebuttal to Winston Churchill's attack on his totalitarian regime, Stalin responded to Churchill's complaints about the lack of freedom and the narrow political basis of governments in the Eastern bloc:

"In England today, the government of one party is ruling, the Labour Party, and the Opposition is deprived of the right to take part in the government. That is what Mr. Churchill calls 'true democracy'. In Poland, Romania, Yugoslavia, Bulgaria and Hungary, the government is made up of a bloc of several parties [...] while the opposition, if it is more or less loyal, is assured of the right to take part in the government. That is what Mr. Churchill calls 'totalitarianism, tyranny, [and a] police state'" (Jenkins 812).

This passage shows how Stalin used propaganda that contained some elements of the truth, but the language is twisted and corrupted for political ends and hides the real facts.

In order to use propaganda effectively, one has to have great command of language and recognize the power of persuasive speech. George Orwell, the author of the postwar novel, *1984*, realized the dangers of propaganda and the

power of persuasion. In his essay "Politics and the English language," Orwell maintained that fighting propaganda meant fighting mental laziness. In "Why I Write," written in 1946, Orwell commented: "To write in plain vigorous language one has to think fearlessly, and if one thinks fearlessly one cannot be politically orthodox." One of the themes that run through 1984 is how the State uses language for political control over the people who speak it. Orwell clearly outlined what might happen in a totalitarian state in which everything the state published was propaganda. The government used a complicated doublespeak language to convey contradictory meanings in order to obscure the truth. The population was taught the language of Newspeak where every concept was expressed in only one word in order to hide nuances and prevent the people from thinking discriminately. The political party in power rewrote the past in order to control the present. "Who controls the past controls the future. Who controls the present controls the past."

Orwell wrote numerous essays on the topic of propaganda, which he extended in his novel, *Animal Farm*, where he discussed how ideas could be packaged, manipulated, and reformulated in order to change people's beliefs. The animals on the farm take on different roles the way people do in a society. The plot started with a revolution on the farm when the animals took over under the leadership of the pig Napoleon. Another pig, appropriately named Squealer, became minister of propaganda. His job was to make Napoleon's policies seem legitimate and just. As minister of propaganda he could twist language to explain why some animals are more equal than others or why food production was down when the animals have been told it was up.

Animal Farm was written in the late 1940's just before the beginning of the Cold War when the threat of communism began to be taken seriously. One name that has become synonymous with anti-communist propaganda in the United States is Joseph McCarthy. He was a freshman senator from Wisconsin who burst on the scene on February 9, 1950 when he gave a speech at the Republican Women's Club of Wheeling, West Virginia. In it, he claimed to have a list of 205 Communists in the State Department. No one saw the names on the list, but the announcement made the evening news. No transcript was kept, and there was not even an agreement to the number of people he mentioned, but the impact was instantaneous.

For the next four years, McCarthy kept up a barrage of attacks against so-called communists or people with communist or leftist leanings. No one was safe from his accusations, which were often based on false information, hearsay, and rumor. He quickly became a master manipulator of the press and was always in the headlines. A simple unfounded statement from him could ruin a person's reputation or cause them to lose their job. Many companies and industries blacklisted people and denied them work based on their rumored affiliation with communism. Measures that were instituted to protect national security became witch-hunts designed to ferret out non-conformists, and thousands of innocent people lost their livelihoods. In 1954 the vicious cycle came to an end when McCarthy's baseless hunt for alleged communists and spies was challenged in a series of televised hearings ([Blum et al. 801](#)). After thirty-five days of hearings full of unsupported allegations, unfounded interruptions, and condescending remarks, McCarthy's spell was finally broken. Few managed to personify all the negative aspects of propaganda to such a degree as Joseph McCarthy whose name personified the era.

Article #6 Rhetorical Précis:

Rhetorical Précis – description and examples

In order to help us quickly and effectively describe the argument an author is making in a text, we will be utilizing a method of description called the rhetorical précis. Developed by Margaret Woodworth,¹ this method is designed to highlight key elements of the rhetorical situation, and help students with reading comprehension and treatment of source materials in their writing. We will use it often over the course of the semester.

This précis is a highly structured four-sentence paragraph that records the essential rhetorical elements in any spoken or written discourse. The précis includes the name of the speaker/writer(s), the context or situation in which the text is delivered, the major assertion, the mode of development for or support of the main idea, the stated and/or apparent purpose of the text, and the relationship between the speaker/writer(s) and the audience. The following is a breakdown of the information you should include in each one of the four sentences.

1. Name of the author, a phrase describing the author, the type and title of the work, the date (in parenthesis), a rhetorically accurate verb (such as “assert,” “argue,” “suggest,” “imply,” “claim,” “question,” etc.) that describes what the author is doing in the text, and a THAT clause in which you state the major assertion (argument statement) of the author’s text.
2. An explanation of how the author develops and/or supports the argument—the rhetorical structure of the text (for instance, comparing and contrasting, narrating, illustrating, defining, etc.). Your explanation is usually presented in the same chronological order that the items of support are presented in the work.
3. A statement of the author’s apparent purpose, followed by an IN ORDER TO phrase in which you explain what the author wants the audience to do or feel as a result of reading the work.
4. A description of the intended audience and/or the relationship the author establishes with the author.

Example: British philosopher, John Stuart Mill, in his essay “On Nature” (1850), **argues that** using nature as a standard for ethical behavior is illogical. **He supports this claim by** first giving the common definitions as nature as, “all that exists or all that exists without the intervention of man” and then supplying extensive examples of the daily brutality of nature in the real world. **His purpose is** to call attention to the flaws in the “nature as a standard” argument **in order to convince** people to discard this standard **and** to instead use reason and logic to determine the appropriate ethical standard of action for mankind. He **establishes** a formal, scholarly **tone for the reader of** “Nature”—an **audience** of philosophers, educators, and other interested citizens.

¹ Woodworth, Margaret K. "The Rhetorical Précis." *Rhetoric Review* 7 (1988): 156-164. "The Rhetorical Précis." *Rhetoric Review* 7 (1988): 156-164. Woodworth article reports significant success with her students at various levels, particularly in reading comprehension and preparation for using source materials in their own academic writing. The rhetorical précis is taken up in *Reading Rhetorically, Brief Edition*, Bean et al., New York: Pearson/Longman, 2004. p. 63. Helpful additional information can be found on this site, <http://english.ecu.edu/~wpbanks/eng8601/8601precis.html>.