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**Propaganda. Perspectiva Linguística e de Corpora
de uma Força Poderosa**



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Dissertação apresentada à Universidade de Aveiro para cumprimento dos requisitos necessários à obtenção do grau de Mestre em Estudos Ingleses, realizada sob a orientação científica da Dra. Susan Jean Howcroft, Professora Auxiliar do Departamento de Línguas e Culturas da Universidade de Aveiro

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agradecimentos

Dedico este trabalho à minha esposa e aos meus pais pelo incansável apoio, à Dra. Susan Howcroft pelo seu empenho sem o qual me seria impossível realizar este trabalho e finalmente: é também para ti, Pedro.

palavras-chave

Propaganda, persuasão, Estados Unidos, George Bush, media, manipulação, guerra, terrorismo, Iraque, discurso, corpus linguístico.

resumo

A presente dissertação analisa algumas das Técnicas de Propaganda mais comuns usadas no Discurso Político.

O caso da “Guerra ao Terrorismo”, tal como foi definida por George W. Bush Presidente dos Estados Unidos da América, foi escolhido para ilustrar as mesmas. Os discursos serão examinados qualitativa e quantitativamente através de técnicas de Corpora Linguísticos Informatizados e uma comparação com Hitler será feita.

A Dissertação apresenta o contexto de ocorrência dos discursos, uma enumeração de algumas das Técnicas de Propagandas mais recorrentes e uma análise detalhada dos factos mencionados anteriormente. Pretendo demonstrar com “casos reais e análises detalhadas” alguns dos aspectos mais ocultos dos Discursos Políticos e as sua intenções “manipuladoras”.

keywords

Propaganda, persuasion, United States, George Bush, media, manipulation, war, terrorism, Iraq, speech, Linguistic Corpora

abstract

The following dissertation analyzes some of the most common Propaganda Devices used in political speech.

The example of the War on Terrorism was chosen to illustrate these as defined by George W. Bush, President of the United States of America's administration. The speeches will be examined both qualitatively and quantitatively through examining computer corpora and a comparison will be made with the speeches of Hitler.

The dissertation presents the context in which those speeches happened, an enumeration of some of the most common propaganda techniques and a detailed analysis of the facts previously mentioned. I want to show with real cases and detailed analyses, some of the most hidden aspects of political speech and its "manipulative" intentions.

ÍNDICE

1.INTRODUCTION.....	10
1.1. Media – a Powerful Instrument.....	12
1.1.1. Media Propaganda and Speech Media.....	14
1.1.2. Good Journalism vs Bad journalism	20
2. THEORETICAL FRAMEWORK.....	27
2.1. The History and Definition of Propaganda.....	27
2.2. Analysing Propaganda	30
2.3. Identification of the Propagandist and the structure of the propaganda organisation;.....	34
2.3.1 QUALITATIVE ANALYSIS: CLINTON’S STYLE VS BUSH’S STYLE 37	
2.4. The ideology and purpose of the propaganda campaign	39
2.5. The target audience;.....	41
2.5.1 Media utilization techniques.....	43
2.6. The context in which Propaganda occurs;.....	46
2.6.1 The International Community	49
2.7. Propaganda techniques.....	52
2.7.1. Emotional appeals.....	52
2.7.1.1. Plain folks	53
2.7.1.2. Bandwagon	54
2.7.1.3. Transfer and Associations.....	54
2.7.2. Dishonesty and Blatant Lies	55

2.7.2.1. Glittering generalities	55
2.7.2.2. Euphemisms.....	56
2.7.2.3. Logical fallacies.....	57
2.7.2.4. Testimonial	57
2.7.2.5. Omissions.....	58
2.7.2.6. Cynicism.....	61
2.7.2.7. Traps.....	64
2.7.2.8. Manipulating cause and effect	64
2.7.2.9. Pacing and distraction	65
2.7.2.10. Numeric Deceptions	66
2.7.3. Demonization of the enemy category	67
2.7.3.1. Fear	67
2.7.3.2. Name calling	68
2.7.3.3. Contextualization	69
2.7.3.4. Inclusion and Exclusion / Ingroup vs Outgroup Information.....	70
2.7.3.5. Modelling the convert communicator.....	72
2.7.3.6. The Other/Enemy Images.....	74
2.8. Counterpropaganda.....	80
2.8.1 Crafting Tragedy	80
2.8.2 Exploiting Suffering.....	81
2.8.3 Exploiting Islam	82
2.8.4 Corrupting the Public Record.....	83

2.8.5	Large Anti-war Protests.....	83
3.	METHODOLOGY AND QUALITATIVE ANALYSIS.....	86
3.1.	Textual Analysis.....	86
3.2.	The 9/11 Propagandistic Context of Occurrence	87
3.3.	Quelling discussion in the war on terrorism.....	88
3.4.	From Afghanistan to Iraq's WMD.....	90
3.5.	From Hitler to Bush.....	91
4.	ANALYTICAL APPROACH	97
4.1.	The chosen Narrowed Corpus	108
4.2.	The Guide Question.....	109
4.3.	The chosen key words and their frequency	109
4.4.	The analysis	110
5.	CONCLUSIONS.....	122
6.	BIBLIOGRAPHY:	129
6.1.	Books.....	129
6.2.	Newspapers and Journals.....	132
6.3.	Speeches	134
6.4.	Web-Sites	140
	Media Lens Alert: Iraq and Arms Inspectors - The Big Lie, Part 1.....	144
	One World. Net.....	144
	http://oneworld.net/ips4/2003/171.shtml	144

1. INTRODUCTION

The first casualty when war comes is Truth!

— *U.S. Senator Hiram Johnson, 1917*

In wartime, truth is so precious that she should always be attended by a bodyguard of lies.

— *Winston Churchill*

During the Masters in English Studies we had a number of disciplines and a number of projects to complete in the areas of Discourse Analysis, Text Analysis and Corpus Linguistics, this led me to examine the means by which politicians can persuade the public. This analysis involves not only qualitative analysis but also quantitative analysis through corpus linguistics to highlight what devices are used to persuade. Initially in the Masters I focused on the speeches of Hitler but for this dissertation I wanted to move on to a more modern analysis of a very powerful nation, the United States of America and the speeches of President Bush. The period leading up to the War in Iraq is focused on particularly and President Bush's attitude to Saddam Hussein as seen through his speeches and the 'war on terror'. Nevertheless, a comparison can be made between the speeches of Hitler and Bush using corpora to examine what is the same and what is different over an interval of almost eighty years. The speeches analysed are from the years 1922 to 2002. Various theoretical frameworks have been suggested and these will be examined in Chapter 2 of this dissertation. Chapter 3 examines the methodological framework and the corpora used. Chapter 4 presents the results of the analyses carried out and discussion of those results. Finally, conclusions are drawn from this research.

In order to analyse the propaganda used by President Bush we need to take into consideration the media and the role that this plays in disseminating the Presidential position. In a recent New York Times editorial (April 26, 2008) entitled "The Tarnished Brass" the activities of the team assembled by President Bush's administration are described thus:

As it prepared to invade Iraq five years ago, the Bush administration called up retired military officers to help sell the war. Defense Secretary Donald Rumsfeld and his propaganda team courted as many as 75 retired military officers who could best market the Pentagon line, particularly on television. As

detailed in The Times on Sunday, many of these officers used their access to Pentagon bigwigs to promote their private businesses.

The deal was simple: Offer good news on Iraq, even when the news is bad.

This 'marketing' of the war needs to be examined to see how bad news is turned into good as a deliberate device. This will be discussed below in relation to both Hitler and Bush.

The contemporary study of American Presidential rhetoric is of great importance. The application of power is often legitimized through rhetorical persuasion; and, in the case of American Presidents, such power, and its associated rhetoric, becomes the pivot upon which many global issues turn. Regardless of the oratorical ability of the individual President, the language, tone, style and substance of messages delivered by American Chief Executives in a world reduced to the scale of a global village are more often not incisively scrutinized by the numerous and often disparate audiences according to their own perspectives, and often for their own ends. The motivation for such inspection is the omnipresent effect that policy decisions made in the United States can potentially have on the rest of the world. Such potential is, of course, based upon the unprecedented power that the United States possesses at this point in history, and is distinctly predicated upon an American President's ability to enact many aspects of policy expeditiously.

It has been noted that the United States of America bestrides the globe like a colossus ever since the collapse of the Soviet Bloc. Based upon a President's very words, leaders of sovereign nations are at times compelled to make decisions in reaction to American desires, rather than as a result of their own proactive motivations.

Given that the significance of the study of American Presidential rhetoric, beyond historical value, lies in the ubiquity of American hegemony, which influences every facet of the culture of the globalized world, it stands to reason that, beyond the immediate implications of the rhetoric, the long-term consequences of the chosen rhetorical stratagems must be given careful consideration. The determinants that formulate American foreign policy strategy are numerous, and Presidential rhetoric emanates from the carefully constructed messages that foretell future American action, which, in turn, directly affect international reactions.

For instance, in the case of President George W. Bush's persuasive attempt to gather both domestic and especially international support for the war against Saddam

Hussein's despotic regime in Iraq, a significant difference between the perspective of the United States and many in the world community could be seen.

The question that must be asked here is whether this difference resulted from the policy alone, whether it was a consequence of the manner in which the message was delivered to the world, or whether it was a combination of the two. This gives way to the purpose of this study, which aims to analyse, to a certain extent, the public political rhetoric of President George W. Bush towards the prosecution of the War in Iraq. The goal of this endeavour is to: (1) explicate the strategies he utilized to achieve maximum persuasion and (2) make an empirical study of the linguistic terminology used in his speeches.

That "propaganda" is a disputed and controversial term makes it even more important to work with it, and to strive for greater consensus about its content and core. After the Second-World War, propaganda has largely had a negative connotation in everyday language and this dissertation will try to see why this is so.

Politics is a multifaceted phenomenon that involves a quest for power and influence. It is also a decision-making process that determines the distribution of social goods and establishes laws, rights and prohibitions. This is the case whether decisions are made by an arbitrary dictator or by a representative body of elected delegates. For a better understanding of politics in society, we need to understand communication in its various forms. Politics without communication is like having blood without veins and arteries: it's not really going anywhere.

1.1. Media – a Powerful Instrument

When analyzing Propaganda, we must distinguish between two kinds of propaganda: "overt propaganda" and "subsumed propaganda". "Overt propaganda" uses lies, myths, disinformation of various kinds and resorts to violent and emotive language. Here is one example:

"The henchmen of colonial racism and of imperial propaganda have tried to cast a curtain of pretences, fallacies, calumnies, scurrility, adulterations and vile accusations to disguise their machinations, their felonies, their knavery, their infamy, their crime and their irresponsibility."¹

On the other hand, “subsumed propaganda” mixes values and the common terminology of society. The more a doctrine is verbally influenced by the values of a society, the more hidden it becomes: “criminal actions endanger law and order”. This sentence assumes that “law and order” are the protectors of a society. This assumption is unacceptable to some radical groups, however the ideology is transmitted. In this case values and terminology are inseparable. Strictly connected to language are some “clichés” that have emerged from general fears or policies. “*The yellow peril*”, “*the red threat*”, “*the communist menace*”, “*macaroni*”, “*Yankee*”, “*Jap*”, “*Frenchy*” are terms spawned over the years and that are now used with such frequency that people are not aware that they are being victims of their own values (their own culture). As these examples show this often happens when we are dealing with foreigners (the other) and which these days would be seen as racist or not politically correct language in a multicultural world.

The Bush Administration has come under fire for allegedly producing and disseminating “subsumed propaganda” in the form of television programs, aired in the United States. What appeared to be legitimate news broadcasts did not really include any unbiased information. This means that the programs were not generated by an independent private-sector news source. Military ‘consultants’ were often the sources of information and these ‘consultants’ had been briefed directly to give a positive view of the situation as was mentioned above in the New York Times article.

When programs like these are aired, if the average member of the audience does not have the indication that what they are about to see and hear is “biased information”, they will be inclined to think the program is in fact a news story (which are by definition characterized by balanced inclusion of relevant facts). That kind of program has now become a source of subsumed propaganda.

Both the overt and the subsumed or hidden propaganda can have amazing success. When joined together they can produce monsters and lead crowds to back them up. The example that best illustrates this combination is Hitler and his Nazi ideology. Hitler could not be described as having the appearance of an Aryan, however he was able to control an entire nation and emerge as “The” Aryan Leader.

¹ Minister of foreign affairs of Cuba in the United Nations

He used both “overt and subsumed propaganda” and in order to reinforce his position he also used false information to reinforce the mindsets of people who already believed in him. He assumed that, if people believe something false, they would constantly be assailed by doubts. Since these doubts may be unpleasant, people would be eager to have them extinguished, and are therefore receptive to the reassurances of those in power. Hitler was able to extinguish those doubts and in this way control huge crowds.

For this reason propaganda is usually addressed to people who are already sympathetic to the agenda. This process of reinforcement uses an individual's predisposition to self-select "agreeable" information sources as a mechanism for maintaining control. Once again people's anxieties and values are used against them.

The secret to making a successful propaganda campaign is to align it with that society's perceptions, sociological assumptions, spontaneous myths and ideologies (that is to say the culture of that society). Any campaigns that ignore these factors will not be successful. A successful propaganda campaign must also take into consideration the timings of events in that society and speak about contemporary events if it is to retain the audience's interest. We may claim that if a propaganda campaign did not have an effect, then it was not propaganda at all, however the manipulative interest was there and that is what distinguishes propaganda speeches from any other kind of speech, if in fact there are any other kinds ...

1.1.1. Media Propaganda and Speech Media

Freedom of the press is offered as one of the most important elements in a free society because only by having journalists not under government control can corruption be investigated, wrongdoing exposed, and information provided which the general public must possess if it is to responsibly exercise its fundamental rights. Journalists themselves proudly point to such events in American history as Watergate, the Pentagon Papers, Iran-Contra, and many others, as examples of the way the American free press works in the interest of the common citizen. These exposures are considered so important that books and films have been made about them.

One of the key justifications for society's need for an unfettered press is the need of the people to know, a need which must be met in a society which is democratic. Without

adequate knowledge, people would be unable to take responsible action, either in their own interests or in the interests of society in general. In other words, it is essential that the people be provided with accurate information for them to take up a moral position. Moral agency, always a troublesome concept, is basically the idea that people, as individuals, are, and ought to be, held accountable for the “rightness” or “wrongness” of their actions. Moral agency has something to do with the relationship between means and ends – actions, intentions, and consequences.

A society which does not provide adequate information to its citizens challenges their effectiveness as citizens, and it challenges their ability to make informed choices at all. In short, it challenges their ability to hold themselves and others responsible for all of their actions: it challenges their moral agency.

The approach of governments to public information has changed from a rather traditional press release policy - based on interpersonal exchanges between politicians and journalists - to a professionalized and specialized process of strategic communication controlling the flow of news. In the light of this general development, news management is one practical solution for governments to strategically communicate their messages and use the media to further their political and policy goals. This has led to journalists being “embedded” with military units and provided with a list of their duties and the prohibitions on what they can and cannot report during war. This shows that there is an underlying assumption that in order to govern successfully, the administration must proactively determine the public agenda by controlling the media agenda. In this context, news management appears as one of the practical solutions for governments and other political actors to strategically communicate their messages and use the media to further their political and policy goals. These days the public is aware that a certain “spin” will be put on the news by the ruling political party.

News management has different functions and appears in different forms and action repertoires in different countries. As to the general types of strategic communication, we draw a distinction between *media* centred news management versus *political* news management. The particular shaping of news management depends on the institutional, political and media context of each country.

Today, the proliferation of new technologies has transformed the potential of the news media to provide a constant flow of constant real-time news. One very obvious example of this is watching the Gulf war as it happened with ‘strategic weapons’ (bombs)

flying down the streets of Baghdad which was the case first in the war on Iraq after it had invaded Kuwait in 1990.

With the growth of communication tools like the Internet, the flow of persuasive messages has been significantly accelerated. For the first time ever, citizens around the world are participating in uncensored conversations about their collective future. This is wonderful, but it has its costs and some countries try very hard to ensure that their citizens do not have unrestricted access to the internet as is the case with Cuba, China and several other countries.

Tiananmen Square, the fall of the Berlin Wall, the Iraq War, the Western “interventions” in Somalia, Bosnia, Kosovo and Rwanda became Media events covered with real time footage. By the end of the decade the question being asked was to what extent had the Media power influenced policy-makers² to respond to whatever issue journalists focused on.

After the Cold war, journalists were presumed freer to cover the stories they wanted to and that this led them to question all policies. Media technologies development helped to make the World a Global Village in which the Media are forming a global consciousness. The use of propaganda as a “weapon” in war is almost a basic part of human history. Some authors like Harold D. Lasswell (1951)³ defend that “*The basic idea is that the best success in war is achieved by the destruction of the enemy’s will to resist, and with a minimum annihilation of fighting capacity*”.

To explain this situation let’s focus on the word War and its semantic field. Nowadays War is being replaced by ameliorated locutions such as: *armed aggression*, *intervention* and *military operations*, armies have been renamed *Defence Forces*, Campaigns are called *operations*, warzones are called *operational areas*, battles are now *military engagements*, bombs are *explosive devices* if they are small and *strategic devices* if they cause large-scale destruction. In a similar way, as long as the enemy is not a threat, its activities are described as *pockets of resistance*, should the enemy score more significant victories, these are either subjected to a *news blackout* or are made out to be *insignificant, temporary gains of the enemy*. In case of a more blatant defeat, it is turned into a *savage atrocity* or *genocide*.

² By using the phrase “policy-maker”, I am referring to someone who has responsibilities, is part of or in some way can influence the Government or the process of decision making in his respective country, organism or state community.

³ Lasswell, H.D (1951), *Political and psychological warfare*, New York: George Stewart

The vocabulary of death also attracts lots of euphemisms: *make away with*, *put an end to*, *dispatch*, and *knock off* do not exhaust the list. In a similar way, *Enemy* has also undergone a similar change. Since the Second World War, formal declarations of war have ceased. The tactical advantage of surprise attack is too important to be set apart because of moral values. The *Enemies* and their armies are now called, *liberation movements*, *freedom fighters*, *Guerillas* or *terrorists*. This terminology is used according to the more or less favourable tone we want to put on the other army: for a more favourable tone one can use the first two terms and for a less favourable tone the second two terms will be the chosen ones.

Let's use the Gulf War as an example. The *coalition of countries* first attacked Iraq on January 17 1991 and finished 43 days later on February 23, 1991. These 43 days of war provided lots of propaganda material to be used as examples.

In fact the Gulf War began 5 months before on January 17, when Iraq invaded Kuwait and assumed control of that country. During those 5 months the world was subjected to massive propaganda campaigns from both sides of the conflict.

At times of war, or build up for war, messages of extremities and hate, combined with emotions of honour and righteousness interplay to provide powerful propaganda for a cause.

The main objective of these propaganda campaigns was to transmit the ideology of the countries making the propaganda, both in internal and external contexts. The Coalition of Countries, with the U.S.A at the helm, based their ideals on the idea of a free democratic capitalist structure. In this context the key word was *freedom*. Thus, all propaganda campaigns implied the notion that the coalition was dealing with an enemy that denied the basic democratic rights to its own citizens. During the pre- Gulf War period, the Coalition of Countries tried to transmit the idea that the "*totalitarian Iraqi dictatorship*" had invaded and attempted to destroy the "*freely elected and democratic*" nation of Kuwait. These countries never said a word about the lack of democracy or women's rights in Kuwait, although this was the main argument of those who opposed the war.

Those who promote the negative image of the "enemy" may often reinforce it with rhetoric about the righteousness of themselves; the attempt is to propagate the belief that what is to be done is in the positive and beneficial interest of everyone. Often, the principles used to demonize the other, are not used to judge the self, leading to accusations of double standards and hypocrisy.

“Next the statesmen will invent cheap lies, putting the blame upon the nation that is attacked, and every man will be glad of those conscience-soothing falsities, and will diligently study them, and refuse to examine any refutations of them; and thus he will <by and by convince himself that the war is just, and will thank God for the better sleep he enjoys after this process of grotesque self-deception.”⁴

The Gulf War generated a lot of PR⁵ work in action. Founder of the Washington PR firm, The Rendon Group, John Rendon⁶ told the cadets at the U.S. Air Force Academy in 1996:

“I am not a national security strategist or a military tactician. I am a politician, and a person who uses communication to meet public policy or corporate policy objectives. In fact, I am an information warrior and a perception manager.”

In order to reinforce his position Rendon reminded the Air Force cadets that when the victorious coalition troops entered Kuwait City after defeating the Iraqi forces, they were greeted by hundreds of Kuwaitis waving small American flags. This scene appeared all around the world on television screens and sent the message that the U.S. Marines were being welcomed in Kuwait as liberating heroes. He then continued by asking *“Have you ever stopped to wonder how the people of Kuwait City, after being held hostage for seven long and painful months, were able to get those little American flags, and for that matter, the flags of other coalition countries?”* He paused for effect. *“Well, you now know the answer. That was one of my jobs then.”⁷*

Probably every conflict is fought on at least two grounds: the battlefield and the minds of the people via propaganda. The “good guys” and the “bad guys” can often both be guilty of misleading their people with distortions, exaggerations, subjectivity, inaccuracy and even fabrications, in order to receive support and a sense of legitimacy.

Propaganda can serve to rally people behind a cause, but often at the cost of exaggerating, misrepresenting, or even lying about the issues in order to gain that support.

In order to achieve its goals, propaganda and propagandists resort to:

- Using selective stories that come over as wide-covering and objective;

⁴ Twain, M. *The Mysterious Stranger*: <http://etext.virginia.edu/toc/modeng/public/TwaMyst.html>

⁵ PR – Public Relations

⁶ The Rendon Group is a secretive public relations firm that has assisted a number of U.S. military interventions in numerous nations, including Iraq. Rendon's activities include organizing the Iraqi National Congress, a PR front group designed to foment the overthrow of Iraqi dictator Saddam Hussein.

⁷ Rampton, S. and Stauber, J. (August 4, 2003) , *How To Sell a War, In These Times* : <http://www.inthesetimes.com>

- Partial facts, or historical context;
- Reinforcing reasons and motivations to act due to threats on the security of the individual;
- Narrow sources of “experts” to provide insights in to the situation. (For example, the mainstream media typically interview retired military personnel for many conflict-related issues, or treat official government sources as fact, rather than just one perspective that needs to be verified and researched);
- Demonizing the “enemy” who does not fit the picture of what is “right”;
- Using a narrow range of discourse, whereby judgments are often made while the boundary of discourse itself, or the framework within which the opinions are formed, are often not discussed. The narrow focus then helps to serve the interests of the propagandists.

However, we cannot dismiss the fact that propaganda is more than “a pack of lies”. The analysis of it demands more from its observer than a simple observation or comparison with reality. Propagandists are individuals that approach several areas of knowledge, sometimes in a non-conscientious way. They are able to manipulate language in a way that many writers cannot. In a somewhat promiscuous way we can say that propaganda and education are similar in one of its aspects: they both try to change what we believe is true.

The fact is that propaganda makes a systematic and extensive use of influence techniques. The “bugs” of the human brain (like our pre-existing biases) are exploited by these techniques.

Related to the area of cultural knowledge is the question of subjectivity. A text is not itself amenable to an absolutely definitive interpretation, and it is an illusion to believe that a reader can understand a text in the same way as the author or the intended audience does. Every human being has a horizon, a certain knowledge and a pre-understanding that colours the interpretation of a text. To understand a text is to partake in a fusion of horizons, where every new text extends the interpreter’s horizon (Lindkvist 1981:32)⁸.

⁸ Lindkvist, K. (1981), *Advances in Content Analysis*, SAGE Publications: Beverly Hills and London

Additionally, the understanding of a text changes as the process of interpretation uncovers new aspects of the text's meaning.

As we can see, the Media can be a factor of policy outcome. In this situation, media coverage can influence the Policy Making process through the mechanisms inherent to itself. Nevertheless if we find low levels of empathy towards news coverage, media coverage is unlikely to cause any effect at all on "Policy Makers". Another situation on which media coverage may not have any effects at all in the Policy Making process is when Policy Makers work on high levels of certainty. When Policy Makers act this way they cannot be influenced by the Media as they already expect a certain reaction from the general public. In this situation the reverse happens and the Policy Makers are the ones who will try to "manipulate" the Media. The news coverage is now the reactive element of the equation and they can do it in two ways. The first one consists of a supportive and empathetic coverage of the decision which will support the Policy Maker and the second one consists of the critical coverage of the decision which will provoke the opposite reaction towards the Policy Maker. In this scenario not even this critical news coverage will be sufficient to influence the Policy Maker.

This way, a message does not have to be untrue to qualify as propaganda. In fact, the message in modern propaganda is often not blatantly untrue. But even when a message conveys "true" information, it will generally contain partisan bias and fail to present a complete and balanced consideration of the issue.

On the other hand a more "Blatant" type of propaganda is often used in wars. In this case its aim is usually to dehumanize and create hatred toward a supposed enemy. The objective is to create a false image in the mind of the average person. This can be done by using special words, special avoidance of words or by saying that the enemy is responsible for certain things he never did. Most propaganda wars require the home population to feel the enemy has inflicted an injustice, which may be fictitious or may be based on facts. The home population must also decide that the cause of their nation is just. To achieve these objectives very often lies are used. We are no longer in the presence of a "manipulated reality" which although biased provides some true information and that with a cold analysis can be dismantled, but before a blatant lie.

1.1.2. Good Journalism vs Bad journalism

It is worth noting a contrast, and highlighting some good journalism. Not everything in communication is bad. As an example, on November 17, 2002, a lunch time Sunday political program on the U.K's *ITV* channel had an interview with Iraqi Deputy Prime Minister, Tariq Aziz. The interview was conducted by Jonathan Dimbleby, well known in the UK, who went to Baghdad.

- It was noticeable how well Dimbleby interviewed Aziz, being both polite and disrespectful of authority at the same time;
- He questioned many of Aziz's assertions and followed up many points made by Aziz;
- We would surely expect this quality from journalists all the time. Yet, conversely, we rarely see such challenging efforts on our own political leaders.

Referring to Professor Galtung, Danny Schachter laid out 12 points of concern where journalism often goes wrong when dealing with violence. Each implicitly suggests more explicit remedies⁹:

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. **Manicheanism:** 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.

⁹ Danny Schechter, D. (July 18, 2001), *Covering Violence: How Should Media Handle Conflict:* [Http://www.mediachannel.org/viws/dissector/coveringviolence.shtml](http://www.mediachannel.org/viws/dissector/coveringviolence.shtml)

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 re-emerge 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.

This is why sometimes the media's role is questionable. On the one hand they attempt to be "objective" by reporting what leaders are saying. But, concentrating on such angles without appropriate time for other views from other segments of society itself repeats the official line, and for this reason promotes a line of propaganda.

BBC news managers reply austerely that "*it is absolutely the BBC's role to be the objective and calm voice, reporting what we know to be fact and exploring the various viewpoints involved.*" (email from Richard Sambrook, BBC director of news to a Media Lens¹⁰, 10 January, 2003) and that the BBC will "*air a full range of views*" (email from Sambrook to Media Lens¹¹, January 23, 2003). The BBC's relentless mirroring of government statements about the supposed threat of Iraq is, presumably, "*reporting what we know to be fact.*" The very few dissident words broadcast by Tony Benn,¹² George Galloway¹³ or the occasional peace activist, are all but drowned out in the vast amounts of air-time devoted to the warmongering "deceptions" of

¹⁰ Media Lens is a media analysis website based in the United Kingdom. It was established in 2001 to highlight "serious examples of bias, omission or deception in British mainstream media", with a strong focus on media generally thought of as objective or left-wing (BBC, Channel 4 News, The Guardian, *et al.*), and to encourage members of the public to challenge the relevant journalist, editor, newspaper or broadcaster. It is run by editors David Cromwell and David Edwards : <http://www.medialens.org>

¹¹ Ibid.

¹² Anthony "Tony" Neil Wedgwood Benn (born 3 April 1925), formerly 2nd Viscount Stansgate, is a British socialist politician.

¹³ George Galloway (born 16 August 1954 in Dundee) is a Scottish politician, author and talk show host noted for his left-wing views, confrontational style, and rhetorical skill. He has been a Member of Parliament (MP) since 1987 and currently represents Respect for the Bethnal Green and Bow constituency. He was previously a Labour Party MP for Glasgow Hillhead and for Glasgow Kelvin.

Tony Blair, Donald Rumsfeld or Jack Straw. This gross imbalance constitutes "airing a full range of views." Broadcasting a tiny handful of "debates", or news "analysis" programmes such as Panorama, represents "exploring the various viewpoints involved."¹⁴

But as well as subsumed propaganda, mentioned earlier in section 1.1, there have been opportunities and occasions to push forth what many have described as blatant or overt-propaganda also as mentioned in section 1.1. Oftentimes, experts who support war go on television and make claims that are rarely challenged in depth. Other times, debate shows make it look like active debate, but rarely are there any experts that are against war. Instead, the sceptical audience gets to challenge the expert panel, often supporting war, who make various claims that are hard to challenge unless expert and detailed knowledge is available. In addition, the media are sometimes afraid to question power and authority too much.

The problem is not that TV reporting is merely dumbed down and has had almost all meaning processed out of it. There is often no attempt to explore the key issues behind key problems. Politicians, for example, can claim that the threat of force is required to convince Saddam to disarm only because the public is largely unaware of what was achieved by Unsc¹⁵ inspectors between 1991-98. Politicians can claim that Saddam might pass on his weapons of mass destruction (WMD) to terrorists only because people don't know how quickly any hidden WMD would have become useless sludge.

Scott Ritter¹⁶ in a CNN interview with Fionnuala Sweeney, about his own experience in Iraq, said: *"Well, look: As of December 1998 we had accounted for 90 to 95 percent of Iraq's weapons of mass destruction capability -- "we" being the weapons inspectors. We destroyed all the factories, all of the means of production and we couldn't account for some of the weaponry, but chemical weapons have a shelf-life of five years. Biological weapons have a shelf-life of three years. To have weapons today, they would have had to rebuild the factories and start the process of producing these weapons since December 1998.*¹⁷

¹⁴ Cromwel, D, (January 31, 2003), *Naked Power: How 'benign' Western Politicians And 'objective' Media Lead Whole Nations Into War*, ZMagazine, at: <http://www.zmag.org/sustainers/content/2003-01/31cromwell.cfm>

¹⁵ The **United Nations Monitoring, Verification and Inspection Commission (UNMOVIC)** was created through the adoption of United Nations Security Council resolution 1284 of 17 December 1999. UNMOVIC was to replace the former United Nations Special Commission (UNSCOM) and continue with the latter's mandate to disarm Iraq of its weapons of mass destruction, and to operate a system of ongoing monitoring and verification to check Iraq's compliance with its obligations not to reacquire the same weapons prohibited to it by the Security Council.

¹⁶ William Scott Ritter, Jr. Had a role as a chief United Nations weapons inspector in Iraq from 1991 to 1998

¹⁷ <http://edition.cnn.com/2002/WORLD/meast/07/17/saddam.ritter.cnn/>

This is the same as saying that as of 1998, all Saddam's WMD and the means for producing them had been destroyed. Whatever was not destroyed would by now be harmless sludge, because the shelf-life for the weapons that Saddam possessed was five years or less."

Politicians can claim that an attack on Iraq is about liberating its people, rather than its oil, because the public is unaware of what the US/UK did to Iraq's neighbour, Iran, and why, from 1953 onwards. As a matter of fact, in 1953, under orders from President Eisenhower, the CIA organized a military intervention escort that overthrew Iran's democratically elected Prime Minister Mohammed Mossadegh. The U.S and U.K. governments were not happy with his decision to nationalize Iran's oil industry. In 2000, U.S. Secretary of State Madeleine Albright admitted: *"In 1953 the United States played a significant role in orchestrating the overthrow of Iran's popular Prime Minister, Mohammed Mossadegh. The Eisenhower Administration believed its actions were justified for strategic reasons; but the coup was clearly a setback for Iran's political development. And it is easy to see now why many Iranians continue to resent this intervention by America in their internal affairs."*¹⁸

Here is the summary of some of the main events that took place afterwards¹⁹:

1953 -1979 – Mohammad Reza Shah Pahlavi was conducted to power with U.S. support. The democracy that existed in Iran was crushed. The Shah led 25 years of tyrannical rule (supported by the U.S.) During this period thousands of Iranians who opposed the U.S. puppet government were killed. The Shah denationalized Iran's oil industry and about 60% of it went to American firms.

1979 - Islamic religious leader Ayatollah Khomeini returns from exile and takes effective power. Sixty-six hostages are taken by students at the U.S. embassy in Tehran as retaliation for the admission of the Shah into the U.S. These students demanded Shah to be returned to Iran for a trial.

1980 – Iran is invaded by its neighbour Iraq. This invasion had the approval and assistance

¹⁸ <http://www.asiasociety.org/speeches/albright4.html>

¹⁹ <http://stpeteforpeace.org/us.iran.timeline.html> and <http://www.cfr.org/publication/12806/timeline.html>

of the United States of America. This war lasted for eight years. Thousands of Iraqis and Iranians died during this period. Whenever Iranian forces gained advantage on the battlefield, the U.S. re-armed and aided Saddam.

1986 – 1989 - Bacterial cultures to make anthrax weapons, advanced computers, and equipment to repair jet engines and rockets were sent to Iraq; U.S. forces engage in a series of encounters with Iranian naval forces, including strikes on Gulf oil platforms; By mistake, while patrolling the Persian Gulf, the USS Vincennes shot down an Iranian passenger jet. It was confused with a hostile Iranian fighter aircraft. 290 people aboard the commercial Airbus died;

1995 - President Clinton imposed oil and trade sanctions on Iran for alleged sponsorship of "terrorism" (These charges were denied by Iran).

2002 - U.S. President George W Bush, in his State of the Union address, included Iran as being part of an "axis of evil". The U.S. accuses Iran of developing secret nuclear weapons.

2005 - The United States budget \$3 million for various Iranian groups in order to "promote democracy" in Iran. Iran's ambassador to the United Nations called the plan "*a clear violation*" of a 1981 U.S-Iranian agreement in which the U.S. pledged "*not to intervene directly or indirectly, politically or militarily in Iran's internal affairs.*"

2007 - In January, U.S. troops were authorized to kill Iranian "operatives" in Iraq

This list of events clearly shows a hidden "Oil –agenda" described as for "strategic reasons" that is not obvious to the "average audience" most of the time. Decontextualized facts can lead to wrong conclusions and allow cynicism.

The general establishment sympathies of the media may mean that while there is an eagerness to gently challenge power, there is a deep unwillingness to publicly embarrass power. Politicians subtly indicate when journalists are getting out of bounds by suggesting that a certain line of argument is "silly", "nonsense", or "a conspiracy theory".

Thus, all discussion of oil as a motive for war on Iraq is followed by: "I'm sorry but this is just ridiculous". The clear warning was that journalists who pursued this line of

thinking were being unprofessional and risk losing credibility. Because the leading political parties have the same interest in avoiding the same issues, they all reinforce this same diffusion of journalistic integrity in the same way. According to Medialens, many editors are part of the establishment themselves and were educated at the same (private) schools and universities.

2. THEORETICAL FRAMEWORK

2.1. The History and Definition of Propaganda

Wikipedia describes Propaganda as *a specific type of message presentation directly aimed at influencing the opinions of people, rather than impartially providing information*²⁰. This is a very good definition as it incorporates the most important items about propaganda: *message, influence, people* and *non-impartial information*. But it emphasises the idea that propaganda is biased and therefore not seen as positive.

In some cultures the term is neutral or even positive, while in others the term has acquired a strong negative connotation. Its connotations can also vary over time. For instance, in English, "propaganda" was originally a neutral term used to describe the dissemination of information in favour of a certain cause. Over time, however, the term acquired the negative connotation of disseminating *false* or *misleading* information in favour of a certain cause. Strictly speaking, a message does not have to be untrue to qualify as propaganda, but it may omit so many pertinent truths that it becomes highly misleading.

In propaganda we have a force that can persuade in such an extraordinary way that even the most brilliant writers or speakers cannot. Persuasion is an inherent feature of every "common speech"; however, a deliberate propagandistic speech takes this assumption one step further. The natural persuasive aspect of every speech is carefully refined by propagandists in such a way that it becomes itself a powerful "weapon" capable of "mass destruction". It is a method that can handle any type of information and a force with unlimited potentiality. The propaganda industries have grown to such proportions and in such varied directions that it is now hard to categorize.

Propaganda is often confused with advertising. This is understandable since both use similar methods and have a similar end - to persuade someone. The main difference is that advertising always intends to promote some kind of goods while propaganda intends to promote some kind of ideologies. In the modern world, propaganda is used to refer to some kind of malicious persuasion or to the dissemination of half-truths by obscure methods. So, "truth" in this context, becomes some article designed to be put on sale in the market.

²⁰ [Http: www.wikipedia.org](http://www.wikipedia.org) (February, 15 2006)

Historically, according to the Wikipedia,²¹ the most common use of the term *propaganda* is in political contexts, particularly to refer to certain dubious efforts sponsored by governments, political groups, and other often covert interests. The Propaganda “genre” was firstly recognizable in Herodotus writings that made him become known as the first person to write a patriotic history, in Virgil’s *Aeneid* that is a patriotic myth and in Plato’s *The Republic* due to his ruthlessness in proposing thought-control. After these writings, propaganda is only recognizable in some aspects of the Christian Counter-Reformation²², in the beginnings of the XVII century.

Propaganda, in its most neutral sense, means to disseminate or promote particular ideas. In Latin, it means *to propagate* or *to sow*. The term can be found as early as the 17th Century, when it was used to denote the committee of Catholic cardinals, *Sacra Congregatio de Propaganda Fide*, who were appointed by Gregory XV to oversee foreign missions of the Church. Because the Roman Catholic Church intended to spread the faith to the New World as well to oppose Protestantism, the word propaganda lost its neutrality and subsequent usage has rendered the term pejorative.

Most propaganda theories have been developed in the West. Propaganda activities expanded greatly during the late 19th and early 20th centuries, and the widespread use of propaganda during the First World War became a watershed in the history of propaganda studies (Jowett and O’Donnell 1999:105)²³. Since then, propaganda studies have been the meeting place for different disciplines, for instance history, political science and psychology.

Some scholars, notably Leonard Doob (1989:378)²⁴, argue that no systematic or clear-cut definition of propaganda is possible. Doob claims that the complexity of the subject and the wide range of cultural values in the world make such a definition impossible (Ibid.:378). Besides a reluctance to define the term in any systematic way, some scholars have also been prone to include everything from advertising to the leaflets dropped by the military behind enemy lines to persuade enemy soldiers to give up fighting.

²¹ Ibid.

²² Counter-reformation :Middle Age Christian movement concerning the propagation of the Christian faith

²³ Jowett, Garth S. and O’Donnell, V. (1999): *Propaganda and Persuasion*, Sage Publications: Newbury Park, London, New Delhi

²⁴ Doob, Leonard, W. (1989): Propaganda in *International Encyclopedia of Communication*, Volume 3, Oxford University Press: p. 378, New York

One of the most influential propaganda scholars, Harold D. Lasswell (1927:9)²⁵, presented in his classic work, *Propaganda techniques in World War I*, one of the first attempts to define propaganda: “It refers solely to the control of opinion by significant symbols, or, to speak more concretely and less accurately, by stories, rumours, reports, pictures and other”.

Another famous scholar in the field of propaganda, Jacques Ellul (1973:61)²⁶, emphasizes that “propaganda is a set of methods employed by an organized group that wants to bring about the active or passive participation in its actions of a mass of individuals, psychologically unified through psychological manipulations and incorporated in an organization”. This definition includes the notion of propaganda as a mass phenomenon perpetrated by an ‘organised group’, but neglects the fact that propaganda can sometimes have a passive and sedating effect, and that it can be an effective way to prevent undesirable action.

This thesis is based on the definition of propaganda applied by Jowett and O’Donnell (1999:269) in *Propaganda and Persuasion*:

“Propaganda is a deliberate and systematic attempt to shape perceptions, manipulate cognitions, and direct behaviour to achieve a response that furthers the desired intent of the propagandist”.

In contrast with the definitions above, this stresses that propaganda promotes the interests of the propagandist which is obviously the case with the Bush administration.

The word deliberate implies a sense of careful consideration of all possibilities. Jowett and O’Donnell chose the word because it means that propaganda is carefully thought out ahead of time in order to select what will be the most effective strategy to promote an ideology or to maintain an advantageous position. This was obviously the case in the USA with the recruitment of the military ‘consultants’ to advise the media about the war.

The word systematic complements deliberate because it means carrying out something with organized regularity. For instance, some governments or corporations establish departments or agencies specifically to create systematic propaganda. The shaping of perceptions is usually attempted through language and images, which is why

²⁵ Lasswell, H. D. (1927): *Propaganda Techniques in World War I*, The M.I.T. Press: Cambridge and London

²⁶ Ellul, J. (1973): *Propaganda: The Formation of Men’s Attitudes*, Vintage Books A Division of Random House: New York.

slogans, posters and symbols develop during wartime. In this case the ‘consultants’ did not always appear but their information was presented as ‘news’ on television.

The word propaganda is now used to demonstrate any kind of overt persuasion, whereas it previously implied a sincere advancement of sectional interests, it is now denoted with the dissemination of half-truths by suspicious methods. In this century it has become so powerful that it is the best way to mobilize mass scale populations around an ideology. It is as open in its methods as it is frightening in its achievements. It can virtually be found in any kind of public statement, whether it is “black radio”²⁷ or a journalistic article. What separates propaganda from “normal” communication is in the subtle, often insidious, ways that the message attempts to shape opinion. Propaganda can be as “noisy” as a swastika or as subtle as a joke. Its persuasive techniques are regularly applied by politicians, advertisers, journalists, radio personalities, and others who are interested in influencing human behaviour. Propagandistic messages can be used to accomplish positive social ends, as in campaigns to reduce drunk driving, but they are also used to win elections and to sell beer. History studies the past, journalism analyses the present but propaganda moulds the future ...

2.2. Analysing Propaganda

Analyzing propaganda is a complex task. Jowett & O'Donnell (1999:12) describe propaganda as “white, grey or black, in relationship to an acknowledgment of its source and its accuracy of information.” These three variables for making a typology have been in use for some time now; also Ellul (1973:15) discusses them, with emphasis on covert and overt propaganda.

“White” propaganda comes from a source that is identified correctly, and the information in the message tends to be factually accurate. Nevertheless, white propaganda messages are characterized by biased “reasoning”, and are often aimed at improving the credibility of the source. Such credibility can be used at a later stage when influencing and manipulating may be more important than when the white propaganda message was conveyed. It is white propaganda that overlaps the most with related terms such as public diplomacy, information, rhetoric and persuasion.

²⁷ One technique used in warfare technique of disinformation. It involves the simulation of a radio station in order to feed their listeners propaganda

One of the best examples to illustrate “white propaganda” is the V.O.A (Voice of America) that is the official radio and television broadcasting station of the United States Federal Government. Although not directly related to the military, it was used during the war to transmit testimonials from happy Iraqi prisoners of war along with prayers from the Koran and the location of U.S. bomb targets for the next day. These pieces of information could have not been categorized as a lie because in fact they were not lies. They fit in the “white propaganda” category because they were an attempt to pass credibility into the audience by convincing them of the good intentions of the sender.

“Black” propaganda applies stealth and is credited to a false source. It spreads lies and fabrications. Black propagandists have no concern for the truth: deception is actively sought. Moreover, black propagandists will not hesitate to apply any techniques to achieve persuasion.

Blatant lies are very frequently used during wars. The Second World War generated masses of “black propaganda”, distortions, disinformation and lies. One of these cases was mastered by Germany and was "The New England Broadcasting Station." This station, supposedly run by British subjects, began sending radio transmissions of war news on the eve of the planned invasion of England by Germany. The station came out to be an undercover German operation that aimed to reduce the morale of the British people by spreading fear and demoralizing news.

“Grey” propaganda is placed in the middle of an imagined continuum between black and white propaganda. The correctness of the information and the identity of the source may be known or unknown. Logically, propaganda will never be “black” if its original source can be determined, and if that source acknowledges its involvement. No matter how manipulative or deceptive a statement is, it should be classified as grey if the source can be correctly identified. Similarly, a message may be veracious and accurate, but nevertheless grey, because the source is unknown.

“To analyse propaganda is not an easy task as it involves a deliberate and systematic attempt to shape perceptions, manipulate cognitions, and direct behaviour to achieve a response that furthers the desired intent of the propagandist. Its systematic nature requires longitudinal study of its progress.”²⁸

²⁸ Jowett, Garth S. and O'Donnell, V. (1999): *Propaganda and Persuasion*, Sage Publications: Newbury Park, London, New Delhi p.269

This is the reason why these two authors created a 10-step analysis plan for propaganda that recognizes the following stages of propaganda:

1. The ideology and purpose of the propaganda campaign;
2. The context in which the propaganda occurs;
3. Identification of the propagandist;
4. The structure of the propaganda organization;
5. The target audience;
6. Media utilization techniques;
7. Special various techniques;
8. Audience reaction to various techniques;
9. Counterpropaganda, if present;
10. Effects and evaluation.

These ten steps take into account toward what ends, in the context of the times, a propaganda agent working through an organization, reaches an audience through the media by using special techniques to obtain a desired reaction (Ibid.:280).

Jowett and O'Donnell (1999:23), based on Halliday's work, define communication as a process in which a sender transmits a message to a receiver through a channel. This process has been represented by both linear and transactional models. Contrary to the linear versions the transactional models also stress that the sender and the receiver of a message create and share information in order to reach mutual understanding (Ibid.:23).

Six basic elements can be found in communication: A source or sender, an encoding process which results in a message, a channel of transmission, a detector or recipient of the message, and a decoding process. These elements are reflected in a classic definition of the communication process: *Who says what, to whom, how, and with what effect?*

According to Jowett and O'Donnell this model has been the paradigm of American communication research (Jowett and O'Donnell:172).

Holsti²⁹ (1969:24) also adds "why?" and he presents the communication process in a figure similar to the following (Ibid.:25).

Sender → Encoding Process → Channel → Message → Decoding Process → Recipient

Who? Why? How? What? With what effect? To whom? How?

Jowett and O'Donnell's ten-step method reflects this figure: Identification of the propagandist (who?), the ideology and purposes of the propaganda (why?), the structure of the organization (how?), media utilization techniques (what?), special various techniques (what?), audience reaction to various techniques (with what effect?), effects and evaluation (with what effect?) and the target audience (to whom?).

This dissertation analyzes some of George Bush's administration speeches and its allies (parts of speeches to be more accurate). Using a simplified and limited version of their method, (the limitation is based on the fact that this dissertation does not answer the question "With what effect?" exhaustively. As a result, steps eight and ten are delegated to second place. Assessment of these steps would have required in-depth interviews with the people involved, listeners, and such a reception analysis is beyond what is possible to do in this study.) I want to stress that a mere analysis of propaganda messages is insufficient if we are to gain an understanding of propaganda disseminated via the media. To achieve that, we must also understand the surroundings in which the propaganda occurs. However, it is possible to use empirical analyses and comparison with other infamous propaganda users to see what and how far certain language and propaganda techniques are used.

According to Holsti³⁰ (1969:61), the most evident weakness of propaganda analyses is the absence of systematic research to relate categories of appeal, techniques, and dimensions to effects. To measure the effect of the media is a highly complex endeavour and the methodological difficulties are immense it is for this reason that recourse has been made to analysing corpora.

However, the starting point for this dissertation is that the propaganda from Bush's administration *did* have an effect. To further limit the scope of this thesis, steps three and four, and steps five and six, are combined as they contain many of the same elements.

What Holsti³¹ (1969) does not take into consideration is the context of the communication process. A mere analysis of propaganda messages is insufficient if we are to gain an understanding of propaganda disseminated via the media. To achieve that, we must also

²⁹ Holsti, Ole R. (1969): *Content Analysis for the Social Sciences and Humanities*, Addison-Wesley Publishing Company: Massachusetts

³⁰ Ibid.

understand the environment in which the propaganda is formulated. This aspect will be highlighted in the thesis. Consequently, the following six steps from Jowett and O'Donnell's ten-step method will be the focus of this thesis:

1. Identification of the propagandist and the structure of the organization.
2. The ideology and purpose
3. The target audience and the media utilization techniques
4. The counterpropaganda
5. The context
6. The propaganda techniques used

Step six will receive a lot of attention, in order to understand the role of propaganda in the Media Campaign. We must understand the focus of the propaganda used by President Bush. Generally, in order not to fear, but to fight, propaganda, we must first understand what it is and how it is composed (Jowett and O'Donnell 1999:ix). This also necessitates a deeper understanding of the context in which the propaganda occurred. Thus, step five will be highlighted. When discussing step one, the institutional framework of Bush's Administration will be analyzed. When examining step two, the aim is to understand why Bush's administration propaganda campaign was instituted, while the discussion of step three focuses on the audience. The discussion of step four focuses on Iraqi propaganda.

2.3. Identification of the Propagandist and the structure of the propaganda organisation;

The owners of the media exercise control over the communication message (Jowett and O'Donnell 1999:284). The source of the propaganda message is often an institution or an organization with the propagandist as its leader or agent. The agents are those who facilitate messages directly and through the media for an institution. Sometimes there will be complete openness about the identity of the organization behind the propaganda, while

³¹ Ibid.

at other times the organization will conceal itself in order to achieve its goals (Ibid.:283). Additionally, successful propaganda campaigns tend to originate from a strong, centralized decision-making authority that produces a consistent message throughout its structure (Ibid.:283).

With the election of George W. Bush as U.S. President in 2000, the U.S. moved towards a more active policy of “regime change” in Iraq. The Republican Party's campaign platform in the 2000 election called for "full implementation" of the Iraq Liberation Act and removal of Saddam Hussein, and key Bush advisors, including Vice President Dick Cheney, Defence Secretary Donald Rumsfeld, and Rumsfeld's Deputy Paul Wolfowitz, were longstanding advocates of invading Iraq. After leaving the administration, former Bush treasury secretary Paul O'Neill said that an attack on Iraq was planned since the inauguration and that the first National Security Council meeting involved discussion of an invasion. O'Neill later backtracked, saying that these discussions were part of a continuation of foreign policy first put into place by the Clinton Administration.

Despite the Bush Administration's stated interest in invading Iraq, little formal movement towards an invasion occurred until the September 11, 2001 attacks.

Shortly after September 11, 2001, on September 20, Bush in his address to a joint session of Congress and American People³² announced the War on Terrorism, accompanied by the widely criticized doctrine of “pre-emptive”³³ military action, later termed the Bush doctrine. Some Bush advisors favoured an immediate invasion of Iraq, while others advocated building an international coalition and obtaining United Nations authorization. Bush eventually decided to seek U.N. authorization, while still holding out the possibility of invading unilaterally.

While there had been some earlier talk of action against Iraq, the Bush administration waited until September 2002 to call for action, with White House Chief of Staff Andrew Card saying “From a marketing point of view, you don't introduce new products in August”³⁴.

³² [Http://www.whitehouse.gov](http://www.whitehouse.gov)

³³ This phrase is used to describe the policy adopted by President Bush (later termed the Bush Doctrine) that the United States had the right to treat countries that shelter or give aid to terrorist groups as terrorists themselves. Later it included additional elements which held that the United States should depose foreign regimes that represented a threat to the security of the United States, even if that threat was not immediate. This argument was used to justify the invasion of Iraq. It also advocated a policy of supporting democracy around the world, especially in the Middle East, as a strategy for combating the spread of terrorism, and a willingness to pursue U.S. interests, even in a unilateral way.

³⁴ [Http://www.whitehouse.gov](http://www.whitehouse.gov)

Bush began formally making the case to the international community for an invasion of Iraq in his September 12, 2002 address to the U.N. Security Council. Key U.S. allies in NATO, including France and Germany, were critical of plans to invade Iraq, arguing instead for continued diplomacy and weapons inspections. After considerable debate, the U.N. Security Council adopted a compromise resolution (U.N_Security_Council_Resolution_1441³⁵), which authorized the resumption of weapons inspections and promised "serious consequences" for noncompliance. Security Council members France and Russia made clear that they did not believe these consequences to include the use of force to overthrow the Iraqi government.

Both the U.S. ambassador to the UN, John Negroponte, and the UK ambassador Jeremy Greenstock publicly³⁶ confirmed this reading of the resolution, assuring that Resolution 1441 provided no "automaticity" or "hidden triggers" for an invasion without further consultation of the Security Council.

Paralleling its efforts in the U.N., the Bush Administration also sought internal authorization for an invasion, which it was granted on October 2002 when the U.S. Congress passed a "Joint Resolution to Authorize the Use of United States Armed Forces Against Iraq". While the resolution authorized the President to "use any means necessary" against Iraq, Americans polled in January 2003 widely favoured further diplomacy over an invasion.

In February 2003, U.S. Secretary of State Colin Powell addressed the United Nations General Assembly, continuing U.S. efforts to gain U.N. authorization for an invasion³⁷. Powell presented evidence alleging that Iraq was actively producing chemical and biological weapons and had ties to Iraq and al-Qaeda, claims that have since been widely discredited. As a consequence to Powell's presentation, the United States, United Kingdom, and Spain proposed a UN Resolution to authorize the use of force in Iraq, but U.S. NATO allies Canada, France, and Germany, together with Russia, strongly urged diplomacy campaigns. Facing a losing vote as well as a likely veto from France and Russia, the U.S. eventually withdrew its resolution.

³⁵ **United Nations Security Council Resolution 1441** is a resolution by the UN Security Council, passed unanimously on November 8, 2002, offering Iraq "*a final opportunity to comply with its disarmament obligations*" that had been set out in several previous resolutions (Resolution 660, Resolution 661, Resolution 678, Resolution 686, Resolution 687, Resolution 688, Resolution 707, Resolution 715, Resolution 986, and Resolution 1284).

³⁶<http://www.globalpolicy.org/security/issues/iraq/document/2002/1108usstat.htm>

http://www.pbs.org/newshour/bb/middle_east/jan-june03/greenstock_2-24.html

³⁷ <http://www.whitehouse.gov/news/releases/2003/02/20030205-1.html>

Bush meets with his top advisors on March 19, 2003 just before the invasion began. With the failure of its resolution, the U.S. and UK abandoned the Security Council procedures and decided to start the invasion without U.N. authorization, a decision of questionable legality under international and U.N. laws. This decision was unpopular worldwide, and the opposition to the invasion coalesced on February 15 in a worldwide anti-war protest that attracted between six and ten million people in more than 800 cities, the largest such protest in human history according to the Guinness Book of World Records.

In March 2003, the United States began preparing for the invasion of Iraq, with a host of public relations, and military moves. In his March 17, 2003 address to the nation, Bush demanded that Hussein and his two sons Uday and Qusay surrender and leave Iraq, giving them a 48-hour deadline. Iraq rejected this demand, maintaining that it had already disarmed as required. On March 20, 2003, the invasion of Iraq by the United States and its allies began, without UN support, unlike the first Gulf War or the invasion of Afghanistan.

2.3.1 QUALITATIVE ANALYSIS: CLINTON'S STYLE VS BUSH'S STYLE

A frequent complaint about the Clinton administration was that it tried too hard to "spin" everything in its own favour. Clinton's spin doctors had a variety of individual styles but shared an irritating habit of relentlessly colouring the news to support their side in any argument. George Stephanopoulos³⁸, with whom the technique was closely identified, once defined spin as "a hope dressed up as an observation." In practice, Clinton-era spinning meant that officials seldom conceded the obvious or acknowledged losing, failing, or being wrong about anything.

George W. Bush arrived in Washington vowing an end to all that. He promised he would never parse, shade, or play nice with the truth the way that Clinton had. Although Bush apparently rejected spinning, his administration was in favour of something far more insidious. If the Clintonites were inveterate spinners, the Bushes deliberate propagandists.

³⁸ **George Robert Stephanopoulos** (born February 10, 1961) is an American broadcaster and political adviser. He is currently ABC News's Chief Washington Correspondent and the host of ABC's Sunday morning news show *This Week*. Prior to joining ABC News, he was a senior political adviser to the 1992 U.S. presidential campaign of Bill Clinton and later became Clinton's communications director.

Though propaganda and spin exist on a continuum, they are different in essence. To spin is to offer a contention, usually specious, in response to a critical argument or a negative news story. It does not necessarily involve lying or misleading anyone about factual matters. Take the case of Clinton's insistence that he had "not had sex with that woman" he was applying his own definition of what sex is and could therefore argue that this had not taken place. Habitual spin is irritating, especially to the journalists upon whom it is practiced, but it does not threaten democracy. Propaganda is far more malignant. A calculated and systematic effort to manage public opinion, it transcends mere lying and routine political dishonesty. When the Bush administration manufactures fake "news" suppresses real news, disguises the former as the latter, and challenges the legitimacy of the independent press, it corrodes trust in leaders, institutions, and, to the rest of the world, the United States as a whole.

In the Iraq "cash-for-flacks" scheme³⁹, on the other hand, the Pentagon did something simply dishonest and wrong by hiring a propaganda-making firm called the Lincoln Group to cultivate the impression that the U.S had full support from the "average Iraqi" person for the occupation of Iraq. American operatives paid Iraqi journalistic mercenaries to publish a series of 'stories' including outright misrepresentation of the situation. The *Los Angeles Times*⁴⁰ published an article on Nov. 30 that exposed this practice: "Zaki [an Iraqi newspaper editor] said that if his cash-strapped paper had known that these stories were from the U.S. government, he would have "charged much, much more" to publish them."

According to a report in the British press⁴¹, Bush proposed to Tony Blair that they should bomb Al Jazeera's headquarters. This may or may not have been a joke, but given the military's record of accidental assaults on journalists in Iraq, it's not impossible to imagine that the president thinks smart-bombing would be a good way to respond to hostile coverage. In America the policy is more that of eliminating newspapers, such as the *New York Times*, that are considered unfriendly, while promulgating his own, dubious version of reality. The administration's domestic disinformation efforts includes propaganda on a number of different issues; the Department of Education paying

³⁹ I am referring to efforts that were made by the U.S in order to plant "positive" stories in the Iraqi press by paying people to act like journalists or by paying journalists to write lies that would favour the U.S and its image.

⁴⁰ <http://www.latimes.com/news/printedition/la-fg-infowar30nov,1,4797092.story>

⁴¹ http://www.mirror.co.uk/news/topstories/tm_objectid=16401707%26method=full%26siteid=94762%26headline=law-chief-gags-the-mirror-on-bush-leak-name_page.html

Armstrong Williams to defend the No Child Left Behind Act, the Department of Health and Human Services hiring Maggie Gallagher to promote its "marriage initiative," and both Departments sending local TV stations pre-packaged pseudo-news videos advocating administration policies. In combination and accompanied by various presidential comments about not reading the newspaper, preferring to get his news from aides, and so on, they suggest a propaganda ethic⁴².

For the Bush team, creating their own news has the further advantage of supporting the poor conservative welfare state that has flourished in five years of expanding, undivided government. The administration got its propaganda written by an outside agency so that if necessary it could be denied rather than because this was more efficient and this has caused of a new kind of "PR-industrial complex" to emerge in Washington. Organisations such as the Ketchum's Washington Group, the Lincoln Group, and the even more important and less transparent Rendon Group are all involved in this new "industrial complex".

According to the Washington Post, what is most troubling about the Bush's administration's information war is not its cynicism but its naiveté. At meetings, Bush's audiences are hand-picked to prevent any possibility of spontaneous challenge. At fake forums, invited guests ask the president to pursue his previously announced policies. New initiatives are unveiled on platforms festooned with meaningless slogans, mindlessly repeated ("Plan for Victory"). Anyone on the inside who doubts the party line is shown the door. In this environment, where the truth is not spoken privately or publicly, the suspicion grows that Bush, in his righteous cocoon, has committed the final, fatal sin of the propagandist. He is not just spreading BS but has come to believe it himself⁴³.

2.4. The ideology and purpose of the propaganda campaign

The function of propaganda within an ideological framework is to provide "the audience with a comprehensive conceptual framework for dealing with a social and political reality" (Kecskemeti 1973:849-850)⁴⁴. In locating the ideology of the propaganda,

⁴² Assertions based on an Washington Post article:

[Http://www.Washingtonpost.com/wp.dyn/content/blog/2005/12/02/bl2005120200961.html](http://www.Washingtonpost.com/wp.dyn/content/blog/2005/12/02/bl2005120200961.html)

⁴³ Ibid

⁴⁴ Kecskemeti, P.(1973), Propaganda in de Sola Pool, Ithiel, Wilbur Schramm, Nathan Maccoby and Edwin B. Parker (ed.): *Handbook of Communication*, Rand McNally College Publishing Company: Chicago, p. 844-870.

Jowett and O'Donnell (1999:281) advise the researcher to look for a set of beliefs, values, attitudes, and behaviours, as well as ways of perceiving and thinking that constitute a set of norms that dictate what is desirable and what should be done.

The "FreeonlineDictionary" describes ideology as being:

"1. The body of ideas reflecting the social needs and aspirations of an individual, group, class, or culture."

"2. A set of doctrines or beliefs that form the basis of a political, economic, or other system."

According to the Wikipedia, "*An ideology is an organized collection of ideas.(...) The main purpose behind an ideology is to offer change in society through a normative thought process. Ideologies are systems of abstract thought (as opposed to mere ideation) applied to public matters and thus make this concept central to politics. Implicitly every political tendency entails an ideology whether or not it is propounded as an explicit system of thought.*"⁴⁵

The doctrines mentioned above are usually thought of as being explicit philosophical systems (Evans and Newnham 1990:236)⁴⁶.

The main purpose of propaganda is to achieve acceptance of the propagandist's ideology by the people (Jowett and O'Donnell 1999:282). The intention of propaganda may be to influence people to adopt attitudes that correspond to those of the propagandist (in other words his/her ideology) or to engage in certain patterns of behaviour. "To furnish the collective ideological motivations driving man to action is propaganda's exact task", Ellul (1973:141)⁴⁷ states. Because the essence of propaganda is its deliberateness of purpose, considerable investigation is required to discover what the purpose is (Jowett and O'Donnell 1999:279). Ellul (1973:70-75) divides between the propaganda of integration and the propaganda of agitation.

Lasswell (1927:195)⁴⁸ claims that there are four major objectives when using propaganda: Firstly to mobilize hatred against the enemy, second, to preserve the friendship of allies, third, to preserve the friendship and, if possible, procure the co-

⁴⁵ [Http://www.wikipedia.org](http://www.wikipedia.org)

⁴⁶ Evans, Graham and Jeffery Newnham (1998): *The Penguin Dictionary of International Relations*, Penguin Books, London.

⁴⁷ Ellul, Jacques (1973): *Propaganda: The Formation of Men's Attitudes*, Vintage Books A Division of Random House, New York.

⁴⁸ Lasswell, Harold D. (1927): *Propaganda Techniques in the World War 1*, The M.I.T. Press, Cambridge and London

operation of neutrals and fourth to demoralize the enemy. The first and last objectives resemble what Ellul (1973:72-75) defines as propaganda of agitation, the other two are related to the propaganda of integration.

Integration propaganda is propaganda of conformity, aiming to stabilize, unify and reinforce the social body. Additionally, it attempts to maintain the positions and interests represented by those who sponsor the propaganda message (Jowett and O'Donnell 1999:282).

Agitation propaganda aims to get people to participate in or support a cause (Ellul 1973:72). Agitation consists of stimulating mass action by hammering home one prominent feature of the situation that is threatening, iniquitous, or outrageous (Kecskemeti 1973:849). Bush's speeches fall into both of these categories.

According to Ellul (1973:37), agitation propaganda is the easiest propaganda to make. In order to succeed, it only needs to be addressed to the most simple and violent sentiments through elementary means (Ibid.:37). Hate is generally the most profitable resource of agitation propaganda, and hatred is probably the most spontaneous and common sentiment. Hate consists of attributing one's misfortunes and sins to others who must be killed in order to alleviate such misfortunes (Ibid.:73). Agitation propaganda succeeds each time it designates someone as the source of all misery, provided that he/she is not too powerful. The less educated and informed the people to whom agitation propaganda is addressed, the easier it is to make. The analogy here has to be made with the Jews being the scapegoats for Hitler's problems in Germany. Despite not being the least educated, they were a group that could be designated the root of all misery and hence suffered violence and reprisals at the hands of the public.

2.5. The target audience;

All communication must take its audience into consideration, and propaganda is considered to be more effective if it is in line with the audience's existing opinions, beliefs and dispositions (Jowett and O'Donnell 1999:290, Evans and Newnham 1998:453). A target audience is selected by a propagandist for its potential effectiveness. The propaganda is aimed at the audience most likely to be useful to the propagandist if it responds favourably (Jowett and O'Donnell 1999:286). Radio stations can, among other

things, reach their audience through the style of programme or choice of presenter (Street 2001:55)⁴⁹.

It is important to examine which media are being used by the propagandist (Jowett and O'Donnell 1999:287). Propaganda must be total; it will not succeed if it is used in a sporadic fashion. The propaganda agent utilizes all of the technical means at his/her disposal – the press, radio, TV, movies, posters and meetings (Ellul 1973:9). The various messages provided by the same source through the various media outlets should also be compared to see if there is a consistency of apparent purpose (Jowett and O'Donnell 1999:288). The analyst should examine the flow of communication from one medium to another and the relationship between the media themselves. The focus should be on how the media are used. The propagandist might show a film and hand out leaflets afterward. This type of practice maximizes the potential of the media (Ibid.:288). In the case of Hitler he managed to have his rallies filmed and stage managed by famous film directors and also played on the radio.

According to Traugott, Michael⁵⁰, Brader, Ted et al in which they considered the reaction of the entire population to the 9/11 incident:

“The incident itself represented an assault on national principles and ideals and was expected to affect the national psyche, and the news coverage, some of which provided a live, real-time view of events as they unfolded, was graphic and available to a large national audience, including children.”⁵¹

As a consequence of these events the Americans lost their sense of personal safety and security. However, the stage management of this event came later with numerous speeches taking place at ‘ground zero’ as it became known.

Another consequence was the “Civic Engagement”. The question was, as Traugott, Michael, Brader, Ted et al put it:

“Thinking about the past month, have you spent any time participating in any sort of volunteer or charitable activity in your community?”

This served to show a profound difference between the activities of the terrorists flying planes into the towers and the American public’s community support system.

⁴⁹ Street, John (2001): *Mass Media, Politics, and Democracy*, Palgrave, Hampshire.

⁵⁰ **Michael W. Traugott** is an American political scientist, communication studies researcher, and political pundit. As of 2008, he is a professor at the University of Michigan, Ann Arbor and a researcher at UM's Institute for Social Research.

2.5.1 Media utilization techniques

George Walker Bush won the elections but lost the popular vote. In order to change this situation and to erase the weakness of his mandate he perceived that he could use the 9/11 situation and his reaction to it to change his popularity rating.

However, when preparing for or justifying war, several techniques must be employed in order to guarantee the propagandist's success.

Ottosen⁵² identifies several key stages of a military campaign to ameliorate the public opinion through the media in preparation for an armed conflict. Those four stages are:

The Preliminary Stage— during which the country concerned goes to the Media and portrays its cause as a cause of “general and major concern” because of the poverty/threat/dictatorship/anarchy imposed on a People by a an oppressive force;

The Justification Stage—during which big news is produced to generate and justify the urgency of an armed intervention to bring about a rapid restitution of “normality”;

The Implementation Stage— after reaching this point, a certain degree of censorship will provide the necessary control of the coverage;

The Aftermath— a period in which normality is portrayed as returning to the region, before it once again drops out of the news.

This is the way in which the Mass Media are used to easily manipulate the masses only by using different language approaches to a particular subject.

The following example show how partial news can be. Intentionally or not, the following extract shows how manipulation can appear in front of our eyes without us noticing it. The following texts show how important news can be in moulding our opinion about something:

“The air was filled with anguished cries as the Bosnian Serbs loaded the first 3000 women, children and elderly refugees on to buses at Potocari, the United Nations base overrun today outside Srebrenica, which was captured on Tuesday. The refugees were dropped off outside Kladanj,

⁵¹ Traugott, Michael, Brader, Ted et al , *How Americans Responded: A Study of Public Reactions to 9/11/01*

⁵²Ottosen, R. Ottosen/Luostarinen - *Challenges for Journalism in Restricted Conflicts after the Second World War*. Paper presented to the conference, War, Nationalism, Racism and the Media, University of Konstanz, June 1997: <http://www.crnetwork.ca/programs/peacejournalism.htm>

*about 25 miles away, where they were forced to walk the last six miles across the front lines to the government-held town.*⁵³

This emotive language is enough to make us feel empathy for the refugees and to a certain extent it also makes us critics of the “western”⁵⁴ policies applied in the former Yugoslavia. But this is only one type of Media Manipulation...

We must consider that as Policy-Makers use Media, so Media use Policy-Makers to achieve a certain goal.

So, to the next consideration let’s imagine that we are talking about general “effects” on Policy –Makers that, at least, would need to have a front page of a newspaper as catalysers of the same “Effects”.

The first effect “a front-page of a newspaper or a ten minute period in the “Evening News” can produce in a decision maker is the “acceleration effect”. An “acceleration effect” can occur when the Media speed up the decision of a “Policy-Maker”. More important to this effect than newspapers is Television and real-time communication means. When a “Policy Maker” is faced live in an unexpected way to an unexpected event he will have to take immediate actions not to lose his face. Later his decisions may be reconsidered but the first action was speeded up by the Media and will always have to be taken under consideration as its impact was certainly great. News channels “Breaking News” or “Live at the Moment” news are the catalysers of this reality.

On the other hand we have the “Impediment Effect”. This effect is the reverse of the “Acceleration Effect” and could also be named the “body-bag effect”. It is related to the fear that policy-makers have of losing public support once casualties are taken. As soon as the Media inform the general public that there have been victims (and once there are victims, they will inevitably appear), the public will start to reconsider their supporting position of the event that caused those casualties. In this way, when a decision-maker has to take a decision that he knows will sooner or later involve “body-bags” he will prefer it to happen sooner rather than later in order to maintain public support for as long as possible.

Policy-Maker’s decisions may also be affected by the “Potential Effect”. That is to say that a Policy-Maker will take into consideration the potential news coverage his decision will have. A specific military campaign may be delayed due to the fear of the potential negative news media coverage of casualties. In this case, more than the fear of the

⁵³ Chris Edges in *New York Times* “Serbs Start Moving Muslims out of Captured Territory, 13 July 1995, section A, p.1

casualties is the fear of the public exposition of the same in a newspaper or in the Evening News and the consequent potentially negative reaction of the public to it which then forms the basis to take the decision or not.

Another means by which media coverage might affect the policy making process is that of enabling Policy-Makers to pursue a certain course of action. This way the “Enabling Effect” can give solid grounds to justify certain paths that are taken by Policy Makers. The news coverage of a humanitarian crisis cannot force Policy-Makers to intervene, however it can enable Policy-Makers to act by creating a background for intervention:

“By ignoring conflicts during the pre- and post-violence phases and by being highly selective in its coverage of conflicts in the violence phase, the media helps to shift focus and funds from more cost effective long- term efforts, directed at preventing violent conflict and rebuilding war-torn societies, to short-term emergency relief. It also creates a situation where the provision of emergency relief to a large extent is determined by factors that have nothing to do with humanitarian need.”⁵⁵

As we can see the Media can be a factor in policy outcome. In this situation, media coverage can influence the Policy Making process through the mechanisms mentioned above. Nevertheless if we find low levels of empathy towards the news coverage, media coverage is unlikely to cause any effect at all on “Policy Makers”. Another situation in which media coverage may not have any effect at all in the Policy Making process is when Policy Makers work on high levels of certainty. When Policy Makers act this way they cannot be influenced by the Media as they already expect a certain reaction from the general public. In this situation the reverse happens and the Policy Makers are the ones who will try to “manipulate” the Media. The news coverage is now the reactive element of the equation and they can do it in two ways. The first one consists of a supportive and empathetic coverage of the decision which will support the Policy Maker and the second one consists of the critical coverage of the decision which will provoke the opposite reaction towards the Policy Maker. In this scenario not even this critical news coverage will be sufficient to influence the Policy Maker.

⁵⁴ By mentioning “Western” I am referring to the external policies of Western counters or institutions related to them such as the UK, US, EU, UN and NATO

⁵⁵ Robinson, P. (2002) *The CNN Effect*, London: Routledge

On the other hand a more overt type of propaganda is often used in wars. In this case its aim is usually to dehumanize and create hatred toward a supposed enemy as mentioned earlier. The technique is to create a false image in the mind of the average person. This can be done by using special words, special avoidance of words or by saying that the enemy is responsible for certain things they never did. Most propaganda wars require the home population to feel the enemy has inflicted an injustice, which may be fictitious or may be based on facts. The home population must also decide that the cause of their nation is just.

“In our time, Political Speech and writings are largely the defence of the indefensible. Things like the continuance of British rule in India, the (...) dropping of the Atom bombs on Japan, can indeed be defended, but only by arguments which are too brutal for most people to face, and which do not square with the professional aims of political parties. Thus political language has to consist largely of euphemisms, question-begging and sheer cloudy vagueness. Defenceless villages are bombarded from the air, the inhabitants driven out into the countryside, the cattle machine-gunned, the huts set on fire, with incendiary bullets; this is called *pacification*. Millions of peasants are robbed of their farms and sent trudging along the roads with no more they can carry; this is called *transfer of population* or *rectification of frontiers*. People are imprisoned for years without trial, or shot in the back of the neck or sent to die of scurvy in Arctic lumber camps: this is called *elimination of unreliable elements* (...).”⁵⁶

As was already highlighted, propaganda occurs on both sides. Iraqi propaganda is well reported and it would seem needless to reiterate the poor level of media, the dictatorial propaganda and so forth. What is perhaps worth highlighting here though, is propaganda that comes from “our” side as well. Throughout this section, claims of the links to terrorism, of certain types of Weapons of Mass Destruction (WMD), of imminent threat, and exaggerating other claims are all examples of propaganda, too. However, the following are just a few examples of other types of propaganda.

2.6. The context in which Propaganda occurs;

Research on context is crucial as media messages have little meaning apart from their cultural and political-economic origins (Kellow and Steeves 1998:111)⁵⁷. The media do

⁵⁶ Robinson, P. (2002), *The CNN Effect*, Routledge, London

⁵⁷ Kellow, Christine L. and Leslie Steeves (1998): The Role of Radio in the Rwandan Genocide in *Journal of Communication*, Volume 48, pp. 107-128.

not exist outside the political and social world they describe (Allen and Seaton⁵⁸ 1999:4), and “perhaps the most fundamental defect of most studies made on the subject [propaganda] is their attempt to analyze propaganda as an isolated phenomenon” (Ellul 1973:xvii)⁵⁹. Successful propaganda incorporates the prevailing mood of the times, and that is why it is essential to understand the socio-political context in which propaganda occurs (Jowett and O’Donnell 1999:282). Nevertheless, to identify all possible contextual factors surrounding a message is an impossible task. A context is to be seen as open, as the contextual factors are infinite (Lindkvist 1981:27).

Messages have greater impact when they are in agreement with existing opinions and beliefs. Propaganda cannot create something out of nothing, it must build on a foundation already present in the individual (Ellul 1973:36)⁶⁰. Consequently, action cannot be obtained unless it responds to a group of already established tendencies or attitudes stemming from the regime, the churches and the schools. Propaganda is confined to utilizing existing material; it does not create it (Ibid.:36).

However the propagandist’s need to base himself on what already exists does not prevent him from going further. What exists is only the raw material from which the propagandist can create something strictly new, which in all probability would not have sprung up spontaneously.

Propaganda must be familiar with collective sociological presuppositions, myths and ideologies of a particular country. The propagandist uses the predispositions of the audience to reinforce an ideology or in some cases to create new attitudes and behaviours. Rather than attempting to change political loyalties, racial and religious attitudes or other deeply held beliefs, a propagandist that supports commonly held views is more likely to be effective (Jowett and O’Donnell 1999:290).

When trying to understand the context in which the propaganda exists, one needs to be aware of the important historical events that have occurred and the propagandist’s interpretation of these events. Propaganda is like a packet of seeds dropped on fertile soil,

⁵⁸ Allen, Tim and Jean Seaton (ed.) (1999): *The Media of Conflict: War Reporting and Representations of Ethnic Violence*, Zed Books, London and New York.

⁵⁹ Ellul, Jacques (1973): *Propaganda: The Formation of Men’s Attitudes*, Vintage Books A Division of Random House, New York

⁶⁰ *ibid*

and to understand how seeds can grow and spread, analysis of the soil, that is, the times and events, is necessary (Ibid.:282). Included in this task is the need to understand the historical background of the conflict. History is powerful, it can be used and misused. The analyst must understand the events that occurred prior to the propaganda, including the beliefs and values of the population. Likewise, it is important to understand the myths⁶¹ of a culture (Ibid.:282). As Churchill famously said, 'those that fail to learn from history are doomed to repeat it'. In this case it is the deliberate intention of the propaganda to use historical facts to achieve a certain reaction from the audience.

Iraq had been listed as a State Sponsor of Terror by the United States since 1990, and maintained poor relations with the United States since the Gulf War. Tensions were high throughout the 1990s, with the United States launching Operation Desert Fox against Iraq in 1998 after it failed to meet demands of "unconditional cooperation" in weapons inspections. After the September 11 attacks, the U.S. government claimed that Iraq was a threat to the United States because Iraq could begin to use its alleged Weapons of Mass Destruction to aid terrorist groups.

The George W. Bush administration called for the United Nations Security Council to send weapons inspectors to Iraq to find and destroy alleged weapons of mass destruction and for a UNSC⁶² resolution. Resolution 1441 did not authorize the use of force by member states, thus Resolution 1441 had no effect on the U.N .Charter's prohibition on the use of force by member states against fellow member states. Saddam Hussein subsequently allowed UN inspectors to access Iraqi sites, while the U.S. government continued to assert that Iraq was being obstructionist. In October 2002, the United States Congress authorized the president to use force if necessary to disarm Iraq in order to "prosecute the war on terrorism." After failing to overcome opposition from France, Russia, and China against a UNSC resolution that would sanction the use of force against Iraq, and before the UN weapons inspectors had completed their inspections which were deemed to be fruitless by the U.S. because of Iraq's alleged deception, the United States assembled a "Coalition of the Willing" composed of nations who pledged support for a war against Iraq. On March 20th, 2003, the invasion of Iraq was launched in

⁶¹ A myth is a story in which meaning is embodied in recurrent symbols and events, but it is also an idea to which people already subscribe; therefore, it is a predisposition to act (Jowett and O'Donnell 1999:283).

⁶² United Nations Security Council

what the Bush Administration said were the “serious consequences” spoken of in UNSC Resolution 1441.

Saddam Hussein's regime was quickly toppled and on May 1, 2003, George W. Bush stated major combat operations in Iraq had ended and claimed victory. But the war continued on as an insurgency against the U.S.-led coalition forces and the Iraqi police units and governing structures they installed. Elements of the insurgency are led by Sunni loyalists, who are Iraqi nationalists and pan-Arabists. Some insurgency leaders are Islamists and see themselves as fighting a religious war to liberate Iraq from foreign non-Muslim occupiers and their Iraqi collaborators.

2.6.1 The International Community

The Media often report that the "international community" feels this way or that way. Yet, the countries that make up the "international community" in the context of the Iraq crisis, are often assumed to be other influential and powerful countries, such as France, Russia and occasionally China (the other three permanent members of the U.N. Security Council), plus occasionally other European countries, Japan and other key allies.

Public dispute in parts of that "international community" were always growing. For example, it appears that mass protests throughout Europe contributed to a number of key nations also indicating that they opposed military action, or highlighted the need to go the route of the United Nations. For example, summarizing a Chicago Tribune article (January 21, 2003) commenting on the impact the mass protests around the world on the weekend of January 18 had:

- German Chancellor Gerhard Schroeder said in a speech that "We will not take part in a military intervention in Iraq, and that is exactly how our voting behaviour will be in all international bodies." (Germany just recently began a rotating seat at the United Nations Security Council, as one of the non-permanent members.)
- France concurred. The article adds that, "In Paris, senior French officials said that France will use its seat on the Security Council and all of its influence to restrain U.S. militarism."

- In countries such as Britain, Spain, France, Germany, Italy and Japan, there are extremely large percentages of the population against military action, in some cases even if there is a U.N. backing for such action.
- Even in Britain, Tony Blair suffered a major revolt, mostly from his own Labour Party, in what is the biggest revolt in recent times by the leader's own party.

The positions of France, Germany, Russia, Belgium, China and others, in opposing immediate war have, to some extent, annoyed the U.S. and Britain, and have even led to rifts in NATO, where there was disagreement on whether NATO should agree to defend Turkey if there is a war on Iraq.

Around the world, governments raised concerns. So too had many ordinary citizens. In some cases, (for example, Britain and Italy), while the government may openly be supporting the Bush position, a large majority of people had been openly critical of their government and the U.S. war agenda. Applying this to the War on Terrorism in different countries we find:

- Indonesia, the world's most populous Muslim nation, has expressed concerns and doubts and has stated that it opposes possible war with Iraq (as reported by *Associated Press*, January 9, 2003)⁶³.
- Malaysia, another predominantly Muslim nation also expressed concerns of the implications of war and the reaction in Muslim countries, as reported by the *Gulf Daily News*, Bahrain⁶⁴ (January 9, 2003).
- Some African countries have also said they are against a unilateral military strike. For example, *The Namibian* reports (January 8, 2003)⁶⁵ that, "Namibia has said it is against military action against Iraq."
- The *Financial Times* also reports (February 4, 2003)⁶⁶ that after a summit of the African Union, the 53-nation union stated that it was firmly opposed to war.

⁶³ <http://www.ap.org>

⁶⁴ <http://www.gulf-daily-news.com/Articles.asp?Article=41253&Sn=WORLD>

⁶⁵ <http://www.namibian.com.na/HTML/Lead.html>

⁶⁶ <https://www.financialtimes.net>

- *Reuters* reports (January 9, 2003)⁶⁷ that even Iran, the longtime antagonist and neighbour of Iraq, feels that war with Iraq is unnecessary.
- The above-mentioned *Reuters* report also highlights that Greece and other European countries are against war, saying that "Greek Foreign Minister George Papandreou, whose country currently holds the rotating EU presidency, is planning to lead an EU mission to Arab states including Iran in the next few weeks in a bid to avoid war."
- *Reuters* also reports (January 7, 2003)⁶⁸ that the large, non-aligned group of nations want a more open debate, rather than a closed-door debate on the Iraq crisis at the United Nations, and that a number of countries are in opposition to any military action.
- *The Hindu* (February 4, 2003)⁶⁹ reports that Indian Prime Minister, Atal Behari Vajpayee has said that India does not favour an attack on India.
- *United Press International* (UPI) reports (February 4, 2003)⁷⁰ that the secretary-general of the 22-member Arab League raises concerns about great instability in the region if the U.S. starts a war.
- Jordan is Iraq's largest trading partner, while also being an American ally. It also has fears ranging from economic consequences to domestic political problems and refugee influx concerns if war erupts.
- In Italy, opposition senators have denounced their government's support of Bush, as reported by the *Los Angeles Times* (January 30, 2003)⁷¹
- As the previous *LA Times* link highlights, reactions to George Bush's 2003 State of the Union Speech was met with much resentment around the world.
- In Japan, while the government has been strongly in favour of war and supporting the U.S., some polls suggest that around 80% are against war. The BBC suggests

⁶⁷ www.reuters.com

⁶⁸ Ibid

⁶⁹ <http://www.hindu.com>

⁷⁰ <http://www.upi.com>

⁷¹ <http://www.latimes.com>

(March 14, 2003)⁷² while it has a pacifist constitution, in reality it has long relied on the U.S. for military protection. North Korean tensions and need for continued support from the U.S. against it has contributed to the unpopular stance of the Japanese govt.

It is interesting to note how much Asia in general has been against the war, and how so many Asian nations view the U.S./British projection of power.

2.7. Propaganda techniques

Propaganda techniques can be divided (and sub-divided) into many different aspects. This section will look at nineteen different techniques which will serve as the basis for research into the speeches of Hitler and Bush. One division of propaganda, and I would like to stress this point, it is one possible division, a division created by me according to my experiences, is the following:

- 1 – Emotional Appeals category;
- 2 – Dishonesty category;
- 3 - Demonization of the enemy category

2.7.1. Emotional appeals

Propagandists typically appeal to the heart, not to the mind. An appeal to emotion is a type of argument that tries to arouse the emotions of an audience in order to gain its support. There are no doubts that strong emotions can subvert rational thought and that playing upon emotions in an argument is often misleading.

Scholars often claim that propaganda manipulates emotion more readily than reason. Propaganda is associated with emotional language and presentations, and *arousal of emotion* is defined as a propaganda principle by Jowett and O'Donnell (1999:295). Quite often the propagandist attempts to arouse strong emotions of hatred or approval for or against another group for motives of expediency, strategy or plain greed. Emotional

⁷² <http://www.bbc.co.uk>

pressure, whether it takes the form of arousing positive or negative collective feelings, or simply that of presenting emotionally biased views, is not just something added to propaganda to make it more acceptable. It is fundamental to the whole process. Rational and dispassionate arguments employ a totally different technique. The propagandist does not engage in genuine argument because his/her answers are determined in advance. For instance, Nazi propaganda mobilized the Germans by appealing to their emotions rather than their capacity for rational arguments. Since all the basic motives in human beings are emotionally conditioned, a propagandist makes ample use of love, anger, fear, hope, guilt, and other feelings and sentiments to manipulate the public. Both fear and logical fallacies in argumentation will be focused on under separate headings.

The techniques that fall very clearly into the emotional appeals category are Plain folks and Bandwagon but there is another category that falls between this and dishonesty called Transfer and Associations.

2.7.1.1. Plain folks

By using the Plain-Folks technique, speakers attempt to convince their audience that they, and their ideas, are "of the people." The device is used by advertisers and politicians alike. America's recent presidents have all been millionaires, but they have tried hard to present themselves as ordinary citizens. Bill Clinton ate at McDonald's and confessed a fondness for trashy spy novels. George Bush Sr. hated broccoli, and loved to fish. Ronald Reagan was often photographed chopping wood, and Jimmy Carter presented himself as a humble peanut farmer from Georgia. We all are familiar with candidates who campaign as political outsiders, promising to "clean out the barn" and set things straight. The political landscape is dotted with politicians who challenge a mythical "cultural elite," presumably aligning themselves with "ordinary people." We are no longer shocked by the sight of politicians in shorts who listen to rock and roll, play the saxophone and admit to having experienced drugs in their youth. In all of these examples, the plain-folks device is at work. The idea is to establish a relation of proximity between politicians and people. This way they expect people to lower their defences and accept a stranger as one of their own.

This technique is more efficient the more the propagandist establishes identification with the society's cultural values.

2.7.1.2. Bandwagon

The basic theme of the Band Wagon appeal is: “Everyone else is doing it, and so should you”. Since few of us want to be left behind, this technique can be quite successful. The propagandist appeals to a desire that is common to most of us, the desire to follow the crowd, to fit in, so that one can feel part of something bigger than ourselves and not excluded from society. In this situation the appeal is not made to an individual, instead it is made to an entire community and to its most popular common beliefs such as: religion, country, race, sex or vocation. During a campaign the propagandist will address the crowd as Catholics, Europeans, farmers, school teachers or any other designation that is able to establish a common tie between the politician and their audience.

2.7.1.3. Transfer and Associations

Closely connected to the previous technique, propagandists resort to Transfer. Transfer is a device by which the propagandist carries over the authority and prestige of something the audience respects, admires and submits it to something he wants us accept. For example, most of us respect and revere our church and our nation. If the propagandist succeeds in getting church and/or nation to approve a campaign on behalf of some programme, he thereby transfers its authority and prestige to that programme. Thus, we may accept something which otherwise we might reject if it already has the approval of “something” we revere, submit to and give enough prestige to be considered better than ourselves. The individual is no longer alone as he is only a drop of water in an ocean that has already blessed the propagandist’s ideas.

In the Transfer device, symbols are constantly used. The cross represents the Christian Church, the flag represents the nation and cartoons like Uncle Sam in America represent public opinion. They are used as decoys to pass on an idea and give credibility to it. Symbols have the power to transfer something from the plan of abstraction to the plan of reality. When a political activist closes his speech with a public prayer, he is attempting to transfer religious prestige to the ideas that he is advocating. In a similar

way, propagandists may attempt to transfer the reputation of "Science" or "Medicine" that are two of the most respected subjects in the world, to a particular project or set of beliefs.

The point is that an idea or programme should not be accepted or rejected simply because it has been linked to symbols such as Medicine, Science, Democracy, or Christianity, however they usually are ...

Associations were extensively studied in the mid 20th century when the Behaviourist school of thought (followers of Pavlov and Skinner) were in vogue in psychology. Although Behaviourism⁷³ is dismissed by many modern psychologists, this "old school" of psychology unearthed powerful influential techniques, many of which are still apparent in modern advertising. The most basic behaviourist principle is association: Present two objects together a sufficient number of times and one will automatically recall the other. This explains why we see so many beer commercials with beautiful women in them! The beer advertisers are trying to get people (young men, mostly) to associate beer with beautiful women in the hopes that the men will develop a bond with their brand of beer.

2.7.2. Dishonesty and Blatant Lies

Dishonesty is inherent to propaganda. There is no propaganda without some kind of dishonesty and, as was mentioned earlier (section 2.2), when there is a war there are often blatant lies.. The categories discussed here are; .Glittering generalities, Euphemisms, Logical fallacies, Testimonial, Omissions, Cynicism, Traps, Manipulating cause and effect, Pacing and distraction, Numeric Deceptions

2.7.2.1. Glittering generalities

The Glittering Generality is, in short, Name Calling in reverse. While Name Calling seeks to make us form a judgment to reject and condemn without examining the evidence, the Glittering Generality device seeks to make us approve and accept without

⁷³ Behaviorism or Behaviourism, also called the learning perspective, is a philosophy of psychology based on the proposition that all things which organisms do — including acting, thinking and feeling—can and should be regarded as behaviors.

examining the evidence. In acquainting ourselves with the Glittering Generality Device, therefore, all that has been said regarding Name Calling must be kept in mind...

When someone talks to us about democracy, we immediately think of our own definite ideas about democracy, the ideas we learned at home, at school, and so on. In other words that is to say our own culturally developed notion of democracy. This need not and often is not shared by any other culture that calls itself democratic. The definitions are many and varied.

However, when the word is used our first and natural reaction is to assume that the speaker is using the word in our sense and that he has the same beliefs we do on this particular subject. This lowers our defences and makes us far less suspicious than we ought to be when we hear the speech. Words about which we have previously-set ideas such as *civilization, Christianity, good, proper, right, democracy, patriotism, motherhood, fatherhood, science, medicine, health, and love* have the particular effect identifying us with the speaker. As with "Name Calling" words, "Glittering generalities" also have the power to exploit values that are in a latent status inside us but that at the same time are ready and available to be expanded by propaganda. Once again what the word that is being used really means is not questioned, although the concepts referred to above can obviously mean different things in different contexts

2.7.2.2. Euphemisms

When propagandists use glittering generalities and name-calling words, they are using emotionally suggestive words in order to appeal to the audience's feelings and emotions. In this way a greater degree of identification and participation will be established between the propagandist and the target audience. In certain situations, however, when the propagandist has to make an unpleasant reality less cruel, he is only able to do that by using words that are euphemistic and therefore will not damage the audience's emotions.

Since war is particularly unpleasant, military discourse is full of euphemisms. In the 1940's, America changed the name of the War Department to the Department of Defense. Under the Reagan Administration, the MX-Missile was renamed "The Peacekeeper." During war-time, civilian casualties are referred to as "collateral damage," and the word "liquidation" is used as a synonym for "murder." Collins and Glover

(eds.2002) have actually produced a book about this phenomenon entitled *Collateral Language: a user's guide to America's new war*, New York: University Press in which they discuss the American renaming of events in a war situation.

2.7.2.3. Logical fallacies

Logic is the process of drawing a conclusion from one or more premises. A statement of fact, by itself, is neither logical nor illogical (although it can be true or false). Let's take the following premises:

Premise 1 - 1 is a number

Premise 2 - 2 is a number

Conclusion: 1 = 2

As we can see both premises are true and the conclusion however logical is false. Let's now transfer this logical fallacy to the "culture world" and use Religion as an example:

Premise 1 - All Christians believe in God;

Premise 2 - All Muslims believe in God;

Conclusion: All Christians are Muslims!

These are extreme examples that show how logic is abused but for sure no more words are needed to clarify what a Logical fallacy is. However, an example of this in use will serve to illustrate the use of this technique.....

2.7.2.4. Testimonial

There is nothing wrong with citing a qualified source, and the testimonial technique can be used to construct a fair and well-balanced argument. However, it is often used in ways that are unfair and misleading. The most common misuse of the testimonial

involves citing individuals who are not qualified to make judgements about a particular issue. It is very good for a politician's image to appear on TV side by side with Luis Figo, Eusébio or David Beckham. It is even better when those world famous superstars support that politician's policies. However, what do they understand about Foreign Affairs, about Budget Cuts and Inflation Causes or merely about Law? It doesn't matter. To the audience the only thing that matters is what they say, and what they say is prepared to meet society's beliefs and anxieties.

When a Testimonial is made by someone we respect it becomes very difficult to dissociate what is real and what is not. We tend to give credibility to someone's statements in a particular area just because we admire that person. The fact that the person we are dealing with is talking about a subject of field X but their expertise belongs to Y field is of no importance. The admiration we have for them is enough to obliterate our capacity to make this distinction.

2.7.2.5. Omissions

One of the most used techniques is the usage of "omissions". Parts of relevant or truthful information are set aside on purpose just because they work against the propagandist thesis. These kinds of omissions may be a form of deception because most of the time they would have an effect if revealed. An omission can be used to transmit a wrong impression. Omissions are extremely useful and very hard to detect because the audience does not recognize that anything is missing. As an example let's imagine that three kinds of soap that kill bacteria brands X, Y and Z were subjected to rigorous laboratory tests and that the results were that their efficiency was the same.

When faced with these results the General Manager of Company X decided to create the following ad: "No brand of soap can get you cleaner than X". This ad omits on purpose that the other brands are equally as effective as X. However the information that none of the other brands is more effective than X is true. One brand is in fact as effective as the next one. This information is the omission in this process.

The power of this ad comes from the simplification process of human memory. This way, by making a simplification of this information, human memory will probably encode this information as "X washes the cleanest". Relying in this type of simplification there

will be a significant distortion between what the “propagandist” says and what the audience hears, believes and remembers.

This way, a message does not have to be untrue to qualify as propaganda. In fact, the message in modern propaganda is often not blatantly untrue. But even when a message conveys “true” information, it will generally contain partisan bias and fail to present a complete and balanced consideration of the issue.

Professor James Stiff ⁷⁴ found that humans do not pay much attention to the validity of an argument. According to him Human Beings pay more attention to the argument’s claim or conclusion and how closely that claim or conclusion matches their prejudices or beliefs than to the validity of the same. A poorly supported argument that coincides with what a person believes is true will be more easily accepted than the most powerfully reasoned argument that does not match what the listener wants to hear. If the claim or conclusion matches the listener biases, it does not matter how this was achieved. We could say that we hear what we want to hear.

The “Omission Technique” can also be found on a larger scale. The Mass Media often resort to choosing very specific vocabulary when they want to convey a certain message. In order to convey a certain scenario, the Mass Media use a “large” quantity of words from the semantic field of that scenario to convey it and decrease the quantity of words from the opposite scenario in order to diminish its relevance and exposure. In this situation there is not a “real” omission, instead there is the reinforcement of a specific “semantic set” and the delegation to a secondary plane of another one.

Robinson shows us how news was written in 1995 in the Bosnian conflict in order to manipulate its viewers opinions as can be seen in the following tables⁷⁵. The intention is to show how the newspapers *Washington Post*, *New York Times* and the TV networks *CNN* and *CBS* approached “Western Policies” in Bosnia. He suggests there are two possible scenarios: a “Failure Scenario” and a “Non-Failure Scenario”. Through the analysis of the words used during the week 11-18 July 1995 in the coverage of the policy mentioned above one can clearly see (through the discrepancy between the number of words used to convey each scenario) how partial the position of those Media Instruments were. We can see a tone that tends to emphasize the failure of “Western Policies” in Bosnia. The contrast

⁷⁴ Stiff, J. B., & Mongeau, P. A. (2003) *Persuasive communication*. (2nd Ed.); Guilford: New York

⁷⁵ Extracted from: Robinson, P. (2002) *The CNN Effect*; Routledge, London

between the number of times the word “Fail” and the number of times “Succeed” was used provides a clear view of this situation.

Table 1 – Words that convey Failure and Non-Failure Scenarios extracted from the Newspapers Washington Post and New York Times and TV Networks CNN and CBS (11-18 July, 1985)

Failure Scenario		Non-Failure Scenario	
Keyword	Frequency	Keyword	Frequency
-Fail	62	-Succeed	5
-Withdraw	107	-Protect	56
-End	11	-Continue	10
<i>Total</i>	180	<i>Total</i>	71

A similar study was made about the news that covered the population expelled from Srebrenica. The same period and the same sources were used only the scenarios are now of *Empathy* towards the population and of *Distance/Neutrality*. Here are the results:

Table 2 – Empathy and Distance/Neutrality words

Empathy		Distance/Neutrality	
Keyword	Frequency	Keyword	Frequency
- Refugees	236	- Muslim	83
- People	148	- Bosnian	29
- Women	68	- Men	66
- Children	52	- Soldier	15
- Elderly	13	- Fighter	2
<i>Total</i>	517	<i>Total</i>	195

Through a brief analysis of the two charts we can see that the news media coverage tended to highlight the plight of the refugees from Srebrenica in a tone that empathised with their suffering.

The influence of this news was so important that the US Policy Makers were unsure whether or not the violation of other security areas should be responded to with force. This was probably the reason why the decision was made to defend Goradze, another UN safety area, using all possible means because the US government could not suffer another “Media” defeat. By maintaining the city under the UN control, the US Policy

Makers would never be pressured to respond to the media coverage or, if they were but didn't answer, they wouldn't face negative publicity.

This may be considered speculation, but, on the 18th July 1995 Vice President Gore declared:

*“The worst solution would be to acquiesce to genocide ... and allow the rape of another city (Goradze) and more refugees, At the same time we can't be driven by images because there's plenty of other places that aren't being photographed where terrible things are going on. But we can't ignore the images either ...”*⁷⁶

We can now ask the following question: To what extent does Media Coverage have the power to persuade policy makers to pursue a particular path?

Well, while discussing this question we must notice that the Media may not always be a necessary or strong enough factor to force Policy-Makers to follow or to take a particular path or course of action and that perhaps more important than making Policy-Makers follow a specific path is to make them follow a path of any kind at all.

It is also important to discuss the amount of coverage necessary to create the effect referred to above. I am sure that a couple of reporters writing on the back pages of a newspaper would be unlikely to produce any kind of reaction from a Policy-Maker. In this case the Media Role would only be marginal. However the situation changes when we are talking about the front-page of a newspaper or a ten minute slot in the “Evening News” on an important TV Network. This would probably, at least, make policy-makers ponder their conduct or actions.

2.7.2.6. Cynicism

This technique plays with Human Bias. Cynicism is behind the supposition that other people's actions are motivated by selfish reasons in opposition to our altruistic motivation.

The necessity that people have to be right in guessing the motivation of the other feeds Cynicism. Negative motivations are always an option.

⁷⁶ Robinson, P. (2002) *The CNN Effect*; London Routledge

Lets imagine the following situation: every Saturday a businessman visits several old people that are shut up inside an asylum and stays with them for several hours.

He seems like an altruistic person at first sight; however, have we could just as soon find a lot of negative motivations for his actions. For example :

- “He is just trying to impress people”;
- “Why doesn’t he spend more time with homeless people? Old people are more lucrative. One day he may be remembered in someone’s will”;
- “He is trying to compensate for his not looking after his mother while she was still alive”;
- “He would rather do that than spend time with his own family;”
- “He is preparing to run for political office and this is just to enhance his reputation”;
- “He’s fixated on death”;

Propagandists call this situation “Fudding” or spreading F.U.D (Fear, Uncertainty and Doubt) about a persons’ motivation. Any gesture, act or interaction between two people can always have at least two interpretations: spontaneous vs impulsive; consistent vs rigid; soft-hearted vs weak; intense vs overemotional and so on.⁷⁷

The creative capability that the human mind has to generate and impute negative motivations onto other people’s acts is of extreme importance for propagandists. This is particularly easy to exploit in ambiguous situations. It can also be used for “face-saving”: *“Those bastards cannot fool me, they are serving their interests at the expense of mine”*. The “conspiracy theory” now enters the world of propaganda. Since we are talking about hidden emotions, most of the time they cannot be proved wrong. That is a strong weapon to be used against a political leader.

People’s biases are so basic and powerful that they can be used to forward an argument in the absence of supporting evidence. This way, even the weakest evidence can be interpreted as documented proof.

⁷⁷ Langer, E. (1989), *Mindfulness*, Cambridge: Perseus Books

When the 9/11 events happened, George Bush was reading a book to some children in a school. He was then informed by one of his security guards of the tragic events. He kept on reading the book for about seven minutes. No one can know for sure what was going through his mind during that period; however, this does not stop other people from imputing motives to him. A variety of attributions can be ascribed to these seven minutes.

- Bush was confused;
- Bush didn't know what to do;
- Bush was waiting for more information;
- Bush was waiting for someone to tell him what to do;
- Bush shut down under pressure;
- Bush was wondering who to blame;
- Bush was thinking how to save his relations with the Middle East;

These are only some examples of the cynical attribution of motives. However, the best thing about this cynical attribution of motives for a propagandist is that one person can always attribute negative motives to the outergroup, whatever it says or does. Let's now think about the previous Bush situation and imagine he had immediately jumped into action:

- Bush overreacted in front of a group of small children;
- Bush showed panic;
- Bush is acting like a cowboy;
- Bush already knew about the attack;
- Bush is rushing off to ask Cheney what to do;

Lee Hamilton, the vice - Chairman of the National Commission on Terrorist Attacks Upon the United States (the 9/11 Commission) went on to defend Bush by saying: "Bush made the right decision in remaining calm, in not rushing out of the classroom."⁷⁸

⁷⁸ www.foxnews.com/story/0,2933,24079,00.HTML

2.7.2.7. Traps

This is a propaganda strategy that is used to embarrass the target and put him in a Lose-Lose situation.

Most actions can be arranged on a continuum of time that will allow several different answers to the same question. By “Trapping” his target, the propagandist always points towards a different point from the one the “target” has chosen and claims, in the absence of proof, that it would have been a better solution. A social consensus is then manufactured in order to ensure that the answer which was not chosen is seen as the best. The objective of the propagandist is then to place the “target” in a no-win situation.

For example, Bush’s opponents have the chance to place him and his administration in a situation like this regarding a future terrorist attacks on the U.S.A. If the U.S.A is attacked gain, Bush’s opponents can use the “War on Terror” as a failure and use it to punish the government for its lack of effectiveness in securing the country. On the other hand, if the U.S.A is not terrorized in the future, the importance of terrorism can be minimized and the “War on Terror” can be used to show an extreme overreaction to 9/11 and to accuse Bush’s administration of spending money against an imaginary threat.

Since any position on terrorism is filled with risk and unknown variables, any position taken can be sharply criticized. As a consequence, any sort of response to terror provides grounds for criticism and opportunities for propaganda. These criticisms can be absolutely correct, however the use of “Traps” gives the propagandist an advantage in any direction.

2.7.2.8. Manipulating cause and effect

Cause and effect can generate another human mind “bug”. People tend to think that co-occurrence implies causation. When two events happen in the same period of time, they are correlated, however one may not be the consequence of the other. If we throw Virgins into a volcano and the volcano stops erupting, this is undoubtedly a co-occurrence. If we say that the volcano stopped because of the Virgins that were thrown inside this is an imputation of cause and a stupidity. However, this will not stop people implying there is such a consequence between these events.

A similar analogy can be made on the level of politics. If one president begins his residence in the White House just a couple days before the economy goes bad, then that president is seen to have caused the economy to go bad – the events that occurred previously and that probably caused that economic situation will be disregarded. As Bush was in the Presidency when the 9/11 events happened, then he was responsible for and caused them.

Another big problem humans have in understanding the cause-effect situations is the difficulty in understanding that one effect may be caused by more than one cause. Humans like to simplify and are much more comfortable in pointing out one cause than pointing out several causes. So, this confusion generated in the human mind opens several doors to the propagandist.

2.7.2.9. Pacing and distraction

The human mind is a serial processor; it does one thing at a time. If we were able to see inside the human brain we would see that it works in an old serial fashion way rather than performing several parallel tasks. Even what appears to be multitasking is not, and can only be performed with learned behaviours that take little oversight. It is impossible to do our taxes and a logic test at the same time and have decent results on either.⁷⁹

Distraction disables our mind's ability to process information and that is why distraction and persuasion are so close.

The pioneer researchers of distraction and persuasion found these results when they faced two groups of boys who belonged to University Fraternities with anti-fraternity arguments. These arguments were the same for both groups. While being exposed to these arguments an anti-fraternity movie was shown to one of the groups. However, cartoons were shown to the other group while they were listening to the same anti-fraternity persuasive arguments.

Not surprisingly the boys from the first group did not find the arguments to be very persuasive because they were able to defend themselves and generate defensive arguments. However, the boys from the second group found the same arguments to be very persuasive. That was due to the fact that their minds were distracted by the cartoons

⁷⁹ Langer, E. 1989, *Mindfulness*, Cambridge, Perseus Books

and they were unable to mentally defend themselves during the offensive onslaught. This is how distraction works—it prevents us from thinking, which can either help or hurt the persuader, depending on the type of arguments used.

The researchers went on to discover this vital distinction that distraction can do completely opposite things, depending on the *quality* of the persuasive arguments being used. If the arguments are weak, distraction will make them seem *stronger* and more persuasive. That's because we're not really processing the quality of the argument. We are just aware there *are* arguments. "They've got a number of arguments, there," our overtaxed brains tell us. "They must be right." On the other hand, if we're distracted while hearing strong arguments, they don't seem nearly as strong if we can't concentrate on them, and recognize how sound they really are. So distraction factors —such as music, animation or posters— is a boon to the propagandist who is using weak arguments to make his case. Clever propagandists will, however, drop all those distracting elements when they get to their strongest arguments.

2.7.2.10. Numeric Deceptions

Numeric deceptions are regularly employed by propagandists for several good reasons. First, quotations backed up by numbers sound like solid evidence. They conjure up images of scientists engaged in laudable scrutiny and the pursuit of unbiased truth. Second, the checking of numerical data entails *effort*, *skill*, and *motivation* on the part of the target audience. The propagandist relies on all three quite effectively. Most humans are content to "satisfy," to be content with good-ish, good sounding, or good enough, if not really *good* arguments, particularly if they support a person's pre-existing prejudices. Thirdly, numbers can be combined and parsed in infinite variety to support a favoured theme. Thus they provide excellent material for the propagandist: they sound good, and most people are unable or unwilling (lacking time or energy) to refute them.

In conclusion what do these techniques have in common? In first place all these techniques dissimulate a pernicious desire to manipulate, in second place all of them prey upon society's beliefs, values, fears, in a word, culture, and use them against itself. Last, but not least, one common aspect is the tremendous efficiency they have in achieving the propagandists' ends.

2.7.3. Demonization of the enemy category

While the primary purpose of war propaganda is to manufacture public commitment to wars and their inevitable crimes, George Bush's psychological warfare that was designed to manufacture political and public support to launch a state of war against Iraq that would provide him the necessary means to invade it. In order to achieve this goal, Saddam Hussein's image had to be depleted and Iraq had to be demonized.

As mentioned above some of the techniques used to demonize the enemy can also be included in other categories this is the case with the first category that will be discussed, Fear which appeals to emotion as well as being a demonization technique. The other techniques discussed in this category are; Name calling Contextualization, Inclusion and Exclusion / Ingroup vs Outgroup Information, Modelling the convert communicator, The Other/Enemy Images.

2.7.3.1. Fear

In a similar we can explain the use of "Fear". When a propagandist warns members of his audience that disaster will result if they do not follow a particular course of action, he is using the fear appeal. By playing on the audience's deep-seated fears, practitioners of this technique hope to redirect attention away from the merits of a particular proposal and toward steps that can be taken to reduce the audience's fear.

"The streets of our country are in turmoil. The universities are filled with students rebelling and rioting. Communists are seeking to destroy our country. Russia is threatening us with her might and the Republic is in danger. Yes - danger from within and without. We need law and order! Without it our nation cannot survive."⁸⁰

This is another very effective strategy, however it is not only used by "Fascist Dictators" or politicians when they want to achieve their ends. Advertisers often use fear in advertising when they want to show the benefits of the use of the safety belt and show a terrible car accident, when an insurance company displays images of destroyed houses, floods or house fires and other situations like these. The more an event frightens people,

⁸⁰ Adolf Hitler - 1932

the more precautions they will take to prevent that situation. That is the point that is exploited by propagandists. The process can be summarized in four points:

- 1 – A threat is conveyed to an audience;
- 2 – A specific recommendation of how the audience should behave is made;
- 3- The audience gets the perception that the recommendation will be effective;
- 4- The audience perceives that is able to perform the recommendation;

This is how an audience is deceived. Taking the “War on Terror” as an example in these points and simulating the voice of a “Bush Administration Member”:

- 1- (Propagandist) “We are under constant threat. Al-Qaeda does not let us sleep in peace. Our security is compromised”;
- 2- (Propagandist) “If you help me I will send them away!”;
- 3- (Audience’s minds) “If you send them away, our lives will no longer be in danger!”;
- 4- (Audience’s minds) “I will stand by your side!” (and be manipulated by you too..)

Very simple and very effective if the audience does not consider the exaggeration of the propagandist’s claims. Usually they don’t because this fear has previously been identified and studied. In this way the propagandist also knows the right timing to make his intervention. The power that he will effectively have to solve the problem (or not) is not faced in a dispassionate way so the propagandist’s merits are not questioned due to the identification process that is established with the target audience. Once again society’s beliefs and biases, in the format of its fears, are used against itself.

2.7.3.2. Name calling

This is a technique that links a person, or idea with a negative symbol. The propagandist who uses this technique hopes that the audience will reject the person or the idea on the basis of the association with the negative symbol, instead of looking at the

available evidence. *Gangs, tribes, colleges, political parties, neighbourhoods* are some words used by propagandists with this end in view.

Inside this technique we can find an “overt” propaganda technique and a more “subsumed” one. To illustrate the “overt technique” first, examples such as: *Commie, Fascist, Pig, Yuppie, Bum, Queer and Terrorist* amongst others can be seen to be overt as these names enter on a collision course to the generally accepted values of the target audience. In this way they produce a negative effect as no-one would wish to be described by any of these labels.

“Subsumed name calling” is a more subtle form of name-calling that involves words or phrases that are selected because they possess a negative emotional charge. In politics, those who oppose budget cuts may characterize politicians concerned about the economy and spending as “stingy.” Supporters might prefer to describe them as “thrifty.” Both words refer to the same behaviour, but they have very different connotations. Other examples of negatively charged words include: *Social engineering, radical, cowardly* and, *counter culture*. In different settings these words can have different meanings.

This technique, although very simple, is tremendously effective. The use of labels is a very common habit of “mass-societies”. No one cares about what a name really means. Nobody cares if an idea is legitimately attached to the real meaning of the name that was attributed to it or bothers to think what the merits of an idea are behind its name. This is what makes “*Name Calling*” a powerful resource of propagandists.

2.7.3.3. Contextualization

Contextualization is a technique that obviously works with contexts and sequences of contexts or scenarios. Where Omission takes away information, Contextualization adds it. With this technique, the propagandist creates a juxtaposition of ideas by forcing discordant images into the minds of the audience or by interrupting an emotion allowing it to leak over into the next scene.

This technique was often used after the 9/11 attack. TV channels often showed the grief and the tears of those who lost their loved ones in the World Trade Centre. Those people were in such extreme sorrow that we can almost imagine ourselves feeling it too. Then, suddenly, in order to maximize the Contextualization effect, this footage is followed by images of a happy Osama Bin-Laden, laughing and shooting guns. The audience’s

empathetic mood is then violently interrupted. Since nobody could possibly smile at a time like that, the audience's mind that is still connected to the images of sorrow, begins to wonder what kind of monster that man must be, a person that smiles in the face of grief and sorrow.

Probably those two contexts differ by weeks or days in the time line, however, at a non-conscientious level, the audience has connected both of them and has made the erroneous conclusion that they are closely connected and that the second one derives from the first.

Carefully setting up a context in which an event is considered can have a powerful effect on what we will feel. We like to feel that we can control our emotions; however people's beliefs have a strong role in this situation. Our attitudes do not come unbiased from our minds, they are the result of years of social contagion or schooling.

2.7.3.4. Inclusion and Exclusion / Ingroup vs Outgroup Information

Humans easily and naturally distinguish group membership based on easily recognizable indicators such as gender, race or age. However, in order to establish a group preference much less is needed. Social experiences have determined that. One example is the following one: several subjects were brought to a lab by scientists and were asked to determine the number of dots on a large sheet of paper (an almost impossible task to perform accurately). The subjects were then divided into two groups: the ones who overestimated the number of dots and the ones who had underestimated the number of dots.

The subjects were then asked to describe and evaluate the qualities that best defined the qualities of the members of those groups. The results of each evaluation by each group tended to rate that group substantially higher than the other group in terms of intelligence, creativity and competence. All subjects preferred the group they belonged to better than the other group and considered it superior. All this Ingroup preference was

merely based on whether they had under or over estimated the number of dots on a sheet of paper.⁸¹

The power of this “Mind –Bug” on more important issues like war, racism, xenophobia and so on can be seen in the press. As Van Dijk (1996: 93) has pointed out:

“Differential access of elites and minorities to the media predictably results in differential access to the structure of news reports as well. Selection and prominence of news issues and topics are those stereotypical and negative ones preferred by the white political, corporate social or scholarly elites and their institutions”

This means that the powerful elite groups get more chance to have their points of view expressed and to counteract any criticism of the ‘outgroups’: *“Their accusations of the host society and its elites, when quoted at all, never go unchallenged.”*

Moreover, the language that is used is often evocative as is the case with immigration:

Thus, the frequent issue of immigration will be primarily defined as an invasion and as essentially problematic, and seldom as a welcome contribution to the economy or the culture of the country.

Lots of these questions demonstrate this Ingroup preference and on the avoidance or rejection of other groups.

Humans have a strong tendency to view their social structures in terms of groups and group rivalries. Van Dijk and Ting-Toomey (1997:144) say

“ cultural misunderstanding, ethnic conflict, prejudice, xenophobia, ethnocentrism, anti-Semitism and racism frequently characterise relations between groups that are somehow ‘different’ from each other”.

By using Ingroup/Outgroup references and manipulation, new groups can be created, old groups may be set against each other or split apart into factions and boundaries that tie together rival groups can be created.

After the 9/11 events, the Bush administration clearly and unambiguously created a target scapegoat group that was held responsible for those terrible events – Al-Qaeda and its Islamic supporters, mainly Iraq and Afghanistan. They were the “evil doers”, the “conspirators” and the terrorists. In order to reinforce the connection between those two countries and the Al-Qaeda the “Contextualization” technique was used. The head member of the Al-Qaeda group was placed together with Iraqis and Afghans.

⁸¹ Study in : Bettencourt et al, (1992), *“Cooperation and the Reduction of Intergroup Bias: The Role of Reward Structure and Social Orientation”* Journal of Social Experimental Sociology , 28, pages 310-319

Propaganda is a tool of exclusion and inclusion. It is frequently used to underscore the difference between *us* and *them*, and it may fuel or create antagonism (Taithe and Thornton 1999:4).⁸² If the focus is on how bad *they* are, the propaganda is motivated by exclusion. If the focus is on how good *we* are and how important it is for *us* to unite, then the propaganda is inclusive. Both processes operate at the same time as including one group implies the exclusion of another (Ibid.:4). This opposition between *us* and *them* is required in all propaganda and assumes a hierarchical hostility between groups. The term *us* is given superiority over the term *them*.

Van Dijk *et al.* (1997:145-6) say:

“Special media emphasis itself is a prominent feature of ‘ingroup’ discourse: they create more (serious) problems than we do. The ‘western’ press may even imply (though it will seldom say so explicitly) that their ‘ethnic strife’ or ‘tribal wars’ are backward and primitive, while at the same time denying or mitigating our (and its own) stereotypes and racism.”

In the case of the Bosnian conflict they go on to point out

“No wonder that Bosnia was as much a humanitarian and political catastrophe as it was an ethnic embarrassment”

2.7.3.5. Modelling the convert communicator

Modelling and Convert Communicator are in fact two strategies and not one. According to the “Modelling” effect, human beings are more likely to perform certain behaviour if they see someone else performing it. Psychologists call this process “Modelling the Behaviour”. This process explains to a certain extent why we want to walk down the street when we see other people doing it, why we want to buy books on Amazon when we see other people buying them or why we look in the same direction that other people are looking.⁸³

Albert Bandura, a famous clinical psychologist created an entire therapy based on modelling. In one of his studies he wanted to cure children’s dog phobias. The experience

⁸² Taithe, Bertrand *et al.* (1999), *Propaganda: Political Rhetoric and Identity, 1300-2000*, edited with, Themes in History, Stroud, Sutton Publishing

⁸³ Lefkowitz, M., Blake, R.R. & Mouton, J.S., (1955), *Status Factors in Pedestrian Violation of Traffic Signals*,. *Journal of Personality and Social Psychology*, 51 p. 704-706

consisted merely in allowing these children to see other kids playing with dogs (slides, films and live observation were used) for 20 minutes a day.

After four days about two thirds of the children were willing to do something they had never done before: stay confined with a pet dog and play with the animal. This is remarkable if one considers that four days earlier none of those children would even considered the hypothesis of touching a dog.⁸⁴

Other studies show that Suicidal Rates increase when a suicide is reported on the front pages of a newspaper. People are often influenced by other people regarding when to cross a street, when to be brave, when to have an affair and even when to die.⁸⁵ This modelling behaviour even applies to speaking, we also imitate the style and characteristics of the speech of the group we normally interact with.

So, it comes without any surprises that the “Modelling” effect is used when it comes to votes. Candidates are shown voting, long lines of people waiting for their turn to vote are projected into the viewers eyes only to enable the “Modelling” effect and to show people how to vote.

The second part of this “technique” is the Convert Communicator. Convert Communicators are generally of a low social class and would not be relevant under normal circumstances. However, low-class communicators can achieve a spectacular persuasiveness if they can reverse their positions. If someone has changed his position, convictions or ideologies dramatically to the opposite and communicates this to a general audience, this person becomes a Convert Communicator and gains a credibility that not even some of the most distinct personalities have. A former burglar who now uses his skills to fight robbery and assist a Police Department is considered to be a highly credible/believable person. Researchers have discovered that former intravenous drug users that are now clean to be more credible to a general audience than a physician or a surgeon.⁸⁶

In his movie *Fahrenheit 9/11*, Michael Moore uses the footage of Abdul Henderson, a Marine Corporal saying that he would prefer to face a dishonourable discharge and go to jail than to serve another commission in Iraq.

⁸⁴ Bandura et al, (1967), *Vicarious Extinction of Avoidance Behaviour*, Journal of Personality and Social Psychology, N.5, p. 16-23

⁸⁵ Philips, (1974), *The Influence of Suggestion on Suicide: Substantive and Theoretical implications of the Werther Effect*, American Sociological Review, N. 39, p. 340-354

This position is rare and Abdul is only a Corporal, however his words acquire an astronomical power when revealed to the public. The general public seems to forget that he might be the exception and not the rule. Attached to a public renunciation of values there is an exponential multiplication of credibility.

This tactic works because we tend to attribute a radical change to a great cause or a great power. Humans like to consider themselves consistent and believe that only a powerful and truthful insight can cause a person to reverse his values and convert himself to the opposite point of view.

2.7.3.6. The Other/Enemy Images

To designate someone or some group as *the Other* is similar to stereotyping in terms of representing an evaluative form of naming or labelling which defines someone or some cultural grouping in reductive terms (Pickering 2001:41)⁸⁷. To define someone as the “Other” is a collective process of judgment which feeds upon and reinforces powerful social myths (Jordanova 1998:109)⁸⁸. Conceptions of the Other and the structures of differences and similarities which they mobilize do not exist in any natural form. There is no real Other out there, the location of the Other is primarily in language. “*It is through language that selves and others are mediated and represented*” (Pickering 2001:72). The concept of the stereotypical Other can be used to support a range of different attitudes, from mild condescension to overt hostility. Nevertheless, the Other is always constructed as an object for the benefit of the subject who needs an objectified Other in order to achieve a masterly self-definition (Ibid.:71). The Other is constructed with the purpose of subordination in mind (Ibid.:76) The process of *othering* begins with the use of derogatory terms to refer to the group that is perceived as different, and then elaborates and justifies the injurious difference and symbolic distance established. This is a denial of humanity of those treated in this way because it divests them of their social and cultural identities by

⁸⁶ Perloff and Pattey, (1991), *Designing an AIDS Information Campaign to Reach Intravenous Drug User and Sex Partners*, U.S Public Health Reports, N. 106,p. 460-463

⁸⁷ Pickering, Michael. (2001) *Stereotyping: the politics of representation*. New York, Palgrave

⁸⁸ Ludmilla Jordanova, (2000) *History in Practice* , London: Arnold Publishers,

diminishing them to stereotyped characteristics (Ibid.:73). The creation of enemy images builds upon a process of de-individualization and denial of humanity.

The process of elaborating and allocating characteristics to groups of people defined as the enemy, and disseminating a particular view of them, is critical in the internal mobilization of opinion. Depicting the enemy as a mad, raving tyrant has always been a propaganda tool, and the media can play a central role in the projection of enemy images, a vital prerequisite in war (Allen and Seaton (ed.) 1999:45-46)⁸⁹. “*In the beginning we create the enemy. Before the weapon comes the image. We think others to death and then invent the battle-axe or the ballistic missiles with which to actually kill them. Propaganda precedes technology*”, Sam Keen (1986:10)⁹⁰ writes in the book *Faces of the Enemy*. It is unlikely that we will have any success in controlling warfare unless we understand the logic of political paranoia and the process of creating propaganda that justifies our hostility, he adds (Ibid.:11).

But how do you make a monster out of the man you know personally, who lives next door? Such enmification is a process that goes beyond objective and historical conditions, and it entails a psychological process (Rieber and Kelly 1991:6)⁹¹. It has profound roots in the individual psyche and can in some situations be manipulated for the purposes of mass mobilization. “*When we speak of collective enmity, we are talking about a social-psychological process that exists on multiple levels*” (Ibid.:6). When the organs of propaganda come into play with the mass media, the potential for promoting an enmification process grows immeasurably (Ibid.:7).

Spillman and Spillman (1991:57-58)⁹² identify the following seven characteristics as belonging to *the syndrome of the enemy image*:

1. *Distrust*. Everything originating with the enemy is either bad or, if it appears reasonable, created for dishonest reasons.
2. *Placing the guilt on the enemy*. The enemy is responsible for the tension which exists and is to blame for everything that is negative under the current circumstances.
3. *Negative anticipation*. Whatever the enemy does is intended to harm us.

⁸⁹ Allen, Tim and Jean Seaton (ed. 1999) : *The Media of Conflict: War Reporting and Representations of Ethnic Violence*, Zed Books, London and New York.

⁹⁰ Keen, Sam (1986): *Faces of the Enemy: Reflections of the Hostile Imagination*, Harper & Row Publishers, Inc., New York

⁹¹ Kelly, Robert J. and Robert W. Rieber Substance and Shadow Images of the Enemy in Robert W. Rieber (ed. 1991) *The Psychology of War and Peace The Image of the Enemy*, Plenum Press, New York

⁹² Spillman, Kurt R. and Kati Spillmann:(1991) On Enemy Images and Conflict Escalation in *International Social Science Journal*, Volume 127, Issue 1, pp. 357-366

4. *Identification with evil*. The enemy embodies the opposite of what we are and what we strive for, and wants to destroy what we value most and must therefore be destroyed.
5. *Zero-sum thinking*. Anything which benefits the enemy harms us and vice versa.
6. *De-individualization*. Anyone who belongs to a given group is automatically our enemy.
7. *Refusal of empathy*. We have nothing in common with our enemy; human feelings and ethical criteria towards the enemy are dangerous and ill-advised.

Images of the enemy are thus formed by perception created solely by negative assessment (Spillman and Spillman 1991:58)⁹³.

Control over media and information is a central tool in the maintenance of or struggle for power (Eknes and Endresen 1999:12)⁹⁴. Every conflict is fought on two grounds: The battlefield and via propaganda. And “*the history of battle is primarily the history of radically changing fields of perception*” (Virillio 1989:7)⁹⁵. Propaganda can be used then to create enemy images (Luostarinen 2002:35)⁹⁶. Consequently, in the rest of this dissertation the characteristics of *the syndrome of the enemy image* will be linked to propaganda techniques.

With each death of a US soldier in Iraq and each report about the absence of Iraqi weapons of mass destruction, it became more obvious that the attack on Iraq had backfired on the U.S. administration. But the signs of backfire were apparent for a long time.

Before the invasion there were massive protest rallies, with the largest single-day numbers in history on 15 February, including large numbers of people who had never joined a rally before. Public opinion in most countries was strongly against the attack. Many governments opposed it, most prominently several key members of the UN Security Council. Interviews in 20 countries in May 2003 revealed that “in most countries, opinions of the U.S. are markedly lower than they were a year ago. The war has widened the rift between Americans and Western Europeans, further inflamed the Muslim world, softened

⁹³ Ibid.

⁹⁴ Eknes, Åge and Lena C. Endresen,(1999), *Local Media Support, Fafo-report 320*Fafo Institute for Applied Social Science, Oslo

⁹⁵Virillio, Pau l(1989). *War and Cinema*, Verso, New York

⁹⁶ Luostarinen, Heikki, (2002), *Journalism and the New World Order Studying War and the Media*, Volume 2, pp. 17-38, Nordicom, Göteborg

support for the war on terrorism, and significantly weakened global public support for the pillars of the post-World War II era - the U.N. and the North Atlantic alliance."

Attacks of all sorts can backfire, especially when they are perceived as unjust. But as well as being a potential outcome of an attack, backfire can be studied as a process. Attackers often seek to prevent backfire, whereas opponents of the attack seek to magnify it.

Backfire is an ongoing struggle, a sort of game. The key is to understand the rules of the game.

Many attackers realize, consciously or intuitively, that their attacks can backfire, and take measures to mitigate this effect. However, it is not necessary to know the motivations of attackers in order to analyze backfire dynamics; all that is required is observation of actions that do indeed have the potential to inhibit backfire. There are five principal ways to inhibit backfire.

1. The attack is hidden, for example by secrecy, censorship and false reports, to minimize awareness of its existence or significance.
2. The target is devalued, for example by destroying its reputation or even dehumanising it, to create the impression that the target deserves being attacked or that it doesn't really matter.
3. Events are reinterpreted, with the alternative interpretation being that an attack didn't occur or no injustice was involved, for example that the victim was actually the aggressor.
4. Official bodies undertake investigations or make pronouncements that legitimate the attack.
5. The target, witnesses and supporters are intimidated so that concern about the attacks is less easily voiced.

The 2003 conquest of Iraq generated enormous hostility around the world, a popular and political reaction that can be interpreted as an example of how attacks can backfire. Much of this hostility can be attributed to the attack being perceived as unjust and disproportionate to anything the Iraqi regime had done, or threatened to do, to the attackers.

Various measures taken by attackers can inhibit this sort of backfire effect. Five key methods are covering up the attack, devaluing the target, reinterpreting events, using official channels and intimidating critics.

In the case of the attack on Iraq, each of these methods was used, but without great success. The impending invasion was announced to the world, so cover-up played a limited role, though it was important in limiting awareness of the ongoing attacks from 1991.

The demonization of Saddam Hussein was perhaps the most effective tool in inhibiting backfire, convincing many people that attack was justified, but was powerfully countered by exposure of double standards such as via the queries "Why Iraq?" and "Why now?"

Various arguments were advanced for attacking Iraq: to prevent Iraqi aggressive use of weapons of mass destruction, to prevent Iraqi government support for terrorists, and to liberate the Iraqi people. However, these arguments were not very effective, partly because of transparent inconsistencies and partly because of powerful counter-arguments. An attempt was made to legitimate the invasion by obtaining UN endorsement, but this failed, causing further delegitimation. Finally, there was some intimidation of critics of the attack, but this did not appear to significantly reduce the overall volume of criticism.

The backfire framework helps to unify understanding of the ways that attacks are supported and opposed. To a casual consumer of the media, the lead-up to the invasion of Iraq could well have appeared bewildering, with multitudinous claims and counter-claims involving Saddam Hussein, weapons of mass destruction, disagreement between governments and so forth. The concept of backfire brings some order to this messy picture by focusing attention on the struggle over perceptions, specifically the perception of an attack as unjust or disproportionate. Attackers use various means that prevent or undermine such a perception, or in other words that inhibit backfire: control of information (cover-up); rhetoric (devaluation of the target; reinterpretations); official channels; and exercise of economic and political power (intimidation).

An analysis in terms of backfire sheds light on how to go about opposing unjust attacks. Basically, each of the methods used to inhibit backfire can be countered.

Exposing cover-ups is crucially important and points to the vital role played by investigative journalists, whistleblowers, outspoken advocates, researchers and

independent commentators. To expose cover-ups can be very difficult: persistence in both gathering and distributing information in a credible fashion is vital.

Countering rhetorical means of justifying attack - devaluing the target and reinterpreting events - requires knowledge, commitment and eloquence.

Commentary about an impending attack, or one that has already occurred, is far from irrelevant; instead, it is crucial in shaping attitudes that influence whether an attack proceeds or, if it does, how and whether future attacks occur.

The role of official channels for legitimating attacks is the most challenging for opponents. There are two basic approaches to maximise backfire: to influence the official body to refuse to endorse the attack, or to undermine the credibility of the official body or its deliberations. The first approach is often more effective in the short term but, for official bodies whose appearance of fairness and neutrality is a facade, the second approach may be better. Finally, a good way to oppose intimidation is to expose it, thereby making it backfire.

This analysis of backfire dynamics points to the crucial role of information and communication. Attacks backfire because of perceptions of injustice and disproportionality. Therefore, secrecy, disinformation, spin-doctoring and public relations may be of much greater importance for attackers than normally realised. This may apply in repressive regimes as well as in more open societies, as suggested by the role of secrecy and state propaganda in the Soviet Union and the secrecy in which the Nazis carried out their exterminations. The importance of official channels, even the most transparently fraudulent ones, for justifying injustice is suggested by Stalin's show trials and the facade of elections in dictatorial regimes.

Backfire analysis can give a new appreciation of the diverse means of opposing attacks. Opposition to the attack on Iraq was most obvious in massive rallies throughout the world and in resistance by many governments to joining or endorsing an invasion.

These forms of resistance cannot easily be separated from an ongoing struggle over information and meaning, involving news reports, articles, letters, leaflets, emails and everyday conversations. This struggle will continue long after the conquest of Iraq, for example in the ongoing debate over the presence or absence of weapons of mass destruction.

2.8. Counterpropaganda

There is no propaganda without counterpropaganda and Saddam Hussein was well aware of this. According to Todd Leventhal, the Chief of the Counter-Misinformation Team for the U.S. Department of State Iraq's counterpropaganda campaigns and its disinformation strategies were based on four different broad categories: crafting tragedy, exploit suffering, exploiting Islam, and corrupting the public record which will be discussed below.

2.8.1 Crafting Tragedy

To craft tragedy, the regime placed civilians close to military equipment, facilities, and troops, which were legitimate targets in an armed conflict. The Iraqi regime openly used both Iraqis and foreigners as human shields during the Gulf War. In this way civilians were placed in the line of fire and it was almost impossible for there to be no casualties amongst non-combatants which always brings a bad press in the home country.

This is clearly against the Geneva Convention (*1949, Article 51*) which states:

“The presence or movements of the civilian population or individual civilians shall not be used to render certain points or areas immune from military operations, in particular in attempts to shield military objectives from attacks or to shield, favour or impede military operations. The parties to the conflict shall not direct the movement of the civilian population or individual civilians in order to shield military objectives from attacks or to shield military operations.”

On the other hand, Iraq also placed military equipment next to or inside mosques and ancient cultural heritage sites. Finally, it deliberately damaged facilities and attributed the damage to coalition bombing and attempted to pass off damage from natural catastrophes, such as earthquakes, as the result of bombing.

During Operation Desert Storm, the coalition claimed to have chosen its targets carefully and have had strict rules of engagement that intended to avoid bombing innocent civilians, the so-called 'surgical strike' that only affected the target without damaging anything else. Nevertheless, even with careful targeting, fire discipline, and with the use of precision munitions in the campaign, some civilian casualties occurred. Saddam Hussein used the deaths of innocent civilians to try to undermine international and domestic

support for the American-led coalition, and the Iraqi regime made many claims that civilian targets had been hit by coalition air forces, with loss of innocent civilian lives.

When coalition leaders publicly stated that religious sites would not be targeted, Saddam deliberately began using these sites to shield military equipment and units to try to disprove the statements made by the coalition leaders. In other cases, dual use facilities were exploited for propaganda value.

On January 21, 1991, coalition bombers hit what the Iraqis claimed was a “baby milk factory” in Baghdad. The United States insisted that Iraq was using it as a biological-weapons development site. It appears the facility had functioned as a “baby milk” factory in 1979 and 1980, and then again in the spring and summer of 1990, before the Iraqi regime began to use it as a weapons site. After the Gulf War, UNSCOM inspectors discovered that three scientists from the Iraqi regime’s main biological weapons facility had been assigned to the “baby milk” factory.

The Iraqi regime also manipulated the foreign journalists in Iraq. In late 1997, the Iraqi regime made sure the world media filmed Iraqi civilians, including women and children, at military and industrial sites. The U.S. government later learned that it then secretly replaced the civilians with prisoners, who were mostly opposition figures but also included some criminals. If the sites had been attacked, the Iraqi regime was then ready to claim that any prisoners killed were the Iraqi civilians who had previously been there.

2.8.2 Exploiting Suffering

To exploit suffering, Saddam blamed starvation and medical crises – often of his own making – on the United Nations or the United States and its allies. The sanctions applied to Iraq permitted medical supplies to be bought and imported but very often this was not done. The suffering caused by the Iraqi regime actually causing or actively ignoring poverty and then aggressively exploiting the Iraqi people’s suffering is a very effective trick. For years, the Iraqis promoted the false notion that depleted uranium – a substance that was used for armour-piercing munitions during the Gulf War – had caused cancers and birth defects among Iraqis. Scientific evidence indicates that any elevated rates of cancer and birth defects are most likely due to several, other factors.

Saddam Hussein's government used tragic images to influence world opinion, and particularly to support the false allegation that the United Nations was killing Iraqis through the use of sanctions. Those images included:

- Exploiting sick and malnourished children before international television cameras;
- Staging mass funerals⁹⁷;
- Providing selective tours of empty markets and dilapidated hospitals to journalists and other foreign visitors;
- Showing Iraqis with obvious diseases and blaming the sicknesses on the absence of modern medical tools, due to sanctions; and
- Censoring television footage and restricting the movement of journalists and television crews.

2.8.3 Exploiting Islam

Experts knew that Saddam Hussein was a non-religious man from a secular – even atheistic – party. But to exploit Islamic sentiments, he adopted expressions of faith in his public pronouncements, and the Iraqi propaganda apparatus erected billboards and distributed images showing him praying. The regime also made many claims designed to incite Muslims against its adversaries.

According to the U.S Department of State, *“Saddam Hussein, who isn't very religious himself, based on third-person accounts, uses Islam to maintain his power and hold over the Iraqi people, the report says. To cultivate and exploit the good will of pious Iraqis, Hussein's picture is plastered all over the country depicting the dictator in devout prayer.”*⁹⁸

⁹⁷ <http://www.guardian.co.uk/world/2002/jun/23/terrorism.iraq> .

⁹⁸ <http://www.defenselink.mil/news/newsarticle.aspx?id=29543>



Image 1 – Mural of Saddam Hussein Praying⁹⁹

2.8.4 Corrupting the Public Record

To corrupt the public record, the regime used a combination of on-the-record lies, covert placements of false news accounts, self-inflicted damage, forgeries, and fake interviews. *“The Hussein regime corrupts the public record by planting falsehoods -- the more bogus the story, the better, the report says. “Apparatus” notes Iraqi officials’ efforts include forging documents, creating false atrocity scenes for television viewers, and planting disinformation in newspapers and periodicals.”*¹⁰⁰ Iraqi disinformation campaigns also included restricting journalists’ movements; false man-in-the-street interviews; self-inflicted damage; on-the-record lies; covert dissemination of false stories; censorship; edited or old television footage and images; and fabricated documents.

2.8.5 Large Anti-war Protests

In various parts of the world, many people have protested on the streets against the war in Iraq. This in itself can be used as a counterpropaganda technique to show that not

⁹⁹ <http://www.whitehouse.gov/ogc/apparatus/islam.html>

¹⁰⁰ <http://www.defenselink.mil/news/newsarticle.aspx?id=29543>

all of the people agree with their government's or administration's views of the situation and the need for war, despite the propaganda used. For example (and these are very limited examples):

- A very large number of protestors, estimated from 150,000 (police estimates) to 350,000 (organizer estimates) marched in London in September 2002 (and at that time was considered one of the biggest peace demonstrations in UK in recent times).
- Some 1.5 million in Rome¹⁰¹ took to the streets, October 5, 2002.
- A march in Florence, Italy on November 9, 2002 saw some 300,000 protestors as well.
- On the weekend of 18th January, 2003, hundreds of thousands of people protested around the world, in various cities, including throughout the U.S., Europe, Asia and the Middle East.
- February 15, 2003 saw a day of global protests, with some of the biggest protests to date for some nations (at time of writing):
 - *The BBC* reported (News 24 broadcast, February 15, 2003) that some 10 million protestors took part in demonstrations in 600 cities around the world.
 - In London, UK, estimates ranged from "in excess of" 750,000 protestors (police estimates) to over some 1.5 to 2 million (organizer's estimates). Whichever it was, the BBC highlighted that this made it the "biggest demonstration in British history" for/against anything.
 - An estimated 1 million turned up in various cities in Spain, another country behind the U.S. in supporting a war (about 200,000 in Seville, 600,000 in Madrid).

¹⁰¹ <http://www.foodfirst.org/progs/eshr/wafb/vol11.html#2>

- Sydney, Australia (another country that supports the U.S. for war on Iraq) saw some 250,000 people protest, described as the largest since the days of the Vietnam War. Melbourne saw about 150,000.
- In New York, near the United Nations, some 100,000 (police estimates) to 400,000 (organizer's estimates) people turned up, despite what news site, altnet.org described as "draconian restrictions". With some 200,000 in San Francisco, up to 100,000 in Los Angeles, and with large protests in Canada and Mexico, there was possibly over a million people throughout North America that protested.
- 3,000 Jews and Arabs marched together in Tel Aviv¹⁰², as reported by the BBC (which also reports on some of the other protests mentioned here)
- In Paris, France, 100,000 turned up, and this is in a country which is already against war!
- Germany saw some 500,000 people, also a nation against war on Iraq!
- Protests have even taken on different dimensions and creativity. For example, "virtual demonstrations" whereby people have emailed, phoned and faxed the Senate and White House has drawn some 400,000 people, as reported by CNN (February 28, 2003)¹⁰³
- Since February 15, there have been many other rallies. March 15, 2003, was another big global rally, (though not as large as February, with war looking more likely) where according to Reuters in the previous link, various cities throughout the world often saw tens of thousands often turn up. For example, Washington DC alone saw 50,000 people (March 16, 2003)¹⁰⁴.

These are just a very small sample of the protests that have occurred very frequently throughout the crisis. Various peace groups, religious organizations and others have held vigils, demonstrations and protests around the world against the idea of war.

¹⁰² <http://news.bbc.co.uk/2/hi/europe/2765215.stm>

¹⁰³ <http://www.cnn.com/2003/TECH/ptech/02/26/virtual.protest/>

¹⁰⁴ <http://oneworld.net/ips4/2003/171.shtml>

As exemplified by the enormous march in London, on February 15, 2003, and constantly seen in the footage and live coverage by the BBC at the time, the diversity of the people that turned up was immense. People of all colours, religions, ages and classes had turned up. The *Sandiego Tribune* also highlighted (February 14, 2003)¹⁰⁵ that even for the U.S. protest movement, not only is there such diversity, but that the "U.S. anti-war movement is based in the mainstream".

3. METHODOLOGY AND QUALITATIVE ANALYSIS

3.1. Textual Analysis

Analyses of texts are often content analysis. Whether such analyses should be quantitative or qualitative is often debated. The quantitative requirement has often been cited as essential. "There is clearly no reason for content analysis unless the question one wants answered is quantitative", Lasswell et al. (1952:45)¹⁰⁶ state.

Others stress that a quantitative design constitutes an important and more significant form of analysis. The temptation to count things for the sake of counting is almost certain to yield findings which are either meaningless or trivial, Ole R. Holsti (1969: preface)¹⁰⁷ states. He regards the problem of quantity and quality as a quasi-problem. The relevant question to ask is not: "Am I being quantitative?" but rather: "What is the theoretical relevance of the measures I am using?" .

Qualitative and quantitative methods should supplement each other. It is by using both these approaches that the investigator is most likely to gain insight into the meaning of the data. My study will be a qualitative analysis with some quantitative elements.

There are different forms of content analyses, and a variety of theoretical frameworks should be used to enrich a study in its search for answers to the research questions.

I will also take into consideration one aspect emphasized in the tradition of discourse analysis, which acknowledges that the meaning of a single word or phrase not

¹⁰⁵ [Http://signosandiego.com/news/world/iraq/20030214-999_ini4protest.html](http://signosandiego.com/news/world/iraq/20030214-999_ini4protest.html)

¹⁰⁶ Lasswell, Harold D., Daniel Lerner and Ithie de Sola Pool (1952): *The Comparative Study of Symbols: An Introduction*, Standford Univeristy Press, Standford.

¹⁰⁷ Holsti, Ole R. (1969): *Content Analysis for the Social Sciences and Humanities*, Addison-Wesley Publishing Company, Massachusetts.

only can be determined by the “direct meaning” of the words used. The social significance of language lies in the relationship between linguistic meanings and the wider context, such as the cultural, economic and demographic aspects of the situation in which the communication takes place. Textual analysis is always performed on the message of a communication process having in consideration the context in which it occurs.

The context of occurrence in this situation will be then “a collective term for all of those events which tell the organism among what set of alternatives he must make his next choice”.¹⁰⁸ This consideration gives context an extra importance. Facts become less important than the values and principles of an audience, so, public discourses are more about social values and principles than about fact of objective truths. Credibility is the key, not facticity.

3.2. The 9/11 Propagandistic Context of Occurrence

The war on terrorism is taking place at the centre stage of international politics, with ramifications in practically all other fields of international politics. After the 9/11 events, propaganda became a major feature of the “war on terrorism”.

Once an actor has decided to launch a propaganda campaign, both in terms of the “War on Terrorism” or any other area, a propaganda strategy is required. A “strategy” is here understood as a plan for achieving a certain goal. A propaganda strategy will have certain linguistic or argumentative characteristics, and will tend to rely on one or more propaganda devices – sub-units that make up propaganda strategies. A propaganda device is defined as an argument structure – or style– that exceeds the limits of rhetoric.

I want to be able to demonstrate that something is propaganda by pointing out credible textual evidence for such a claim: it is not sufficient merely to say that this speech or that paragraph is of a propagandistic nature.

The empirical examples that I will analyze later in this dissertation were designed to direct people’s behaviour, because they were all adopted in order to generate public support for the “War on Terrorism” as it was defined by George Bush’s administration.

According to mine understanding of that policy and in terms of the “War on Terrorism”, three lines of action are considered to be the most important: the first strategy

¹⁰⁸ Nikolaev, Alexanser G. & Porpora, Douglas V. (2006) *President Bush’s Pre-War Rhetoric on Iraq: Paranoid Style in Action* CRITICAL INQUIRY IN LANGUAGE STUDIES, VOL 3; NUMBER 4, pages 245-262

intended to quell any debate about the war on terrorism, the second tried to spread the perception that Iraq possessed weapons of mass destruction (WMD) and the third was an attempt to link together the first phase (Afghanistan) with the second phase (Iraq) of the war on terrorism. Like Alexander G. Nikolaev and Douglas V. Porpora put it: “The purpose of these techniques is to nullify voices of opposition and preserve some political capital.”¹⁰⁹

3.3. Quelling discussion in the war on terrorism

A qualitative analysis of one quote from each of the Bush administration’s (2001–05) five top members it will be suggested that propaganda – and not rhetoric – is the correct categorization for considerable parts of the Bush administration’s strategic communication. The five quotes from the “war on terrorism” also illustrate the propaganda strategy which deals with the unfounded certainty about Iraqi possession of WMD.

Let’s start off with the establishment of the context in which the five quotes appeared. George W. Bush, Dick Cheney, Donald Rumsfeld, Colin Powell, and John Ashcroft are key elements in an administration that was attacked on September, 11 2001. They perceived themselves to be at war with al Qaeda and international terrorism. (We should recall that under such circumstances the use of propaganda is quite conventional.)

Quote 1 is Ashcroft in December 2001, a period when the Bush administration could go far and shut-up dissident voices. Opposition to the administration’s policies was almost non-existent. Quotes 2 (Cheney) and 3 (Rumsfeld) are from the autumn of 2002. At that point the Bush administration had made the case for opening a new front in the war on terrorism in Iraq. Quote 4 is from Colin Powell’s speech on Iraq’s possession of WMD¹¹⁰ to the UN Security Council, February 2003.

Finally, quote 5 is from President Bush’s “ultimatum speech” on 17 March 2003, in which he gave Saddam Hussein 48 hours to leave Iraq. (And indeed, the bombing campaign of Iraq started on March 19.) The five quotes appear in chronological order below:

¹⁰⁹ Nikolaev, Alexanser G. & Porpora, Douglas V. (2006),. *President Bush’s Pre-War Rhetoric on Iraq: Paranoid Style in Action* Critical Inquiry In Language Studies, VOL 3; Number 4, pages 245-262

¹¹⁰ WMD – Weapons of Mass Destruction

1. *To those who scare peace-loving people with phantoms of lost liberty; my message is this: Your tactics only aid terrorists – for they erode our national unity and diminish our resolve. They give ammunition to America’s enemies (Ashcroft, 6 December 2001).*
2. *Simply stated, there is no doubt that Saddam Hussein now has weapons of mass destruction. There is no doubt he is amassing them to use against our friends, against our allies, and against us (Cheney, 26 August 2002).*
3. *There’s no debate in the world as to whether they have those weapons. There’s no debate in the world as to whether they’re continuing to develop and acquire them [...] We all know that. A trained ape knows that. All you have to do is read the newspaper. (Rumsfeld, 13 September 2002).*
4. *There can be no doubt that Saddam Hussein has biological weapons and the capability to rapidly produce more, many more. [...] We know that Saddam Hussein is determined to keep his weapons of mass destruction; he’s determined to make more (Powell, 5 February 2003).*
5. *Intelligence gathered by this and other governments leaves no doubt that the Iraq regime continues to possess and conceal some of the most lethal weapons ever devised. (Bush, 17 March 2003)*

A central feature of all five statements is that they are designed to terminate discussion – note the phrase “no doubt”, employed by Bush, Powell and Cheney. As the story went on, there were in fact several grounds for having doubts about the existence of WMD in Iraq. Nevertheless, the Bush administration sought to dismiss any such claims by short circuiting the debate. Rumsfeld went so far as to claim that there were not any doubts about these matters, even indicating that those who differed with him were below the level of trained apes.

Rumsfeld claimed later that he knew where the WMD were stored: “*We know where they are. They’re in the area around Tikrit and Baghdad and east, west, south and north somewhat*” (Rumsfeld, 30 March 2003). That statement was a plain lie. The fact that the information presented in quotes was incorrect, misleading and false leads to the conclusion that they are propaganda.

At times it seemed that the Bush administration was trying to generate support for a war to disarm Iraq in any possible way. In that process they adopted a classic propaganda device called “the fallacy of impossible certainty”. This involves stating as fact what cannot possibly be known to be true. Did the Bush administration deliberately mislead and lie? Not necessarily, and at least not all the time. What its members did do was to express unfounded certainty about the existence of WMD in Iraq. They did not know, but still claimed they knew.

These two propaganda strategies proved quite effective on Americans and the US mass media. The highly reputed newspaper Washington Post completely accepted the perception that Iraq had WMD, and gave emphasis to the Bush administration's call for war in an editorial titled "Irrefutable", printed the day after Powell's UN presentation. The impact of the discussion termination is obvious, since many newspapers wrote something like: "it is hard to imagine how anyone could doubt that Iraq possesses weapons of mass destruction".

3.4. From Afghanistan to Iraq's WMD

The five statements presented above date from different phases of the war on terrorism. An important propaganda strategy in the war on terrorism aimed to establish a link between these different phases.

For such purposes, the propaganda device called transfer is particularly useful. It involves transferring the attributions and/or connotations of one phenomenon onto another phenomenon. To qualify as propaganda, the connection established must be of a dubious kind. This dubious connection can be established to promote both benign and atrocious purposes.

The application of transfer was crucial in placing the war in Iraq firmly under the "flag" of war on terrorism. Simply by mentioning Iraq and Al Qaeda together in the same sentence, over and over, the message got through. Here are some statements that contributed to this comprehensive transfer by linking together al-Qaeda, Saddam Hussein and Iraq:

He [Saddam] is a threat because he is dealing with al Qaeda. (Bush, 7 November 2002)

We know that he [Saddam] has a long-standing relationship with various terrorist groups, including the al-Qaeda organization. (Cheney, 16 March 2003)

[Iraq] has aided, trained and harbored terrorists, including operatives of al Qaeda. (Bush, 17 March 2003)

As we fight the war on terror in Iraq and on other fronts... (Bush, 2 June 2004)¹¹¹

Through a qualitative analysis, we can see that the Bush administration tried to "contaminate" Iraq with the established negative representations of al Qaeda and the Taliban. "The aim

¹¹¹ Available at: [Http://www.whitehouse.gov](http://www.whitehouse.gov)

was not to prove an assertion but to conflate Iraq with al Qaeda any way possible” (Corn 2003: 218)¹¹².

Table 1 shows the entities involved in the quite transfer applied:

Table 3 – Entities that have undergone the Transfer Strategy

First phase	→	Second phase
War on Terrorism		War in Iraq
Osama Bin Laden		Saddam Hussein
Afghanistan		Iraq
Taliban		Baath Party
al Qaeda, terrorism		Iraq as a terrorizing state
Response to attack		Pre-emptive (preventive) warfare

The propaganda of the initial stages of the war on terrorism had successfully singled everything in the left column as legitimate targets or courses of action. There had been only minor criticism, within the USA and abroad, of the war in Afghanistan. It was imperative for the Bush administration that the new adversary should receive a similar status, so repetitive use of transfers was a natural choice of propaganda device. This approach is very much in accordance with the tenets of schema theory. Selling the war in Iraq could be facilitated by the existing schemata represented by the left-hand column.

The attempt to link these separate phenomena was systematic, yet only partly successful. Lots of people, especially outside the USA, started to question whether Iraq was in fact a part of the war on terrorism. Was there really any terrorism to worry about from Iraq?

3.5. From Hitler to Bush

I have compared and contrasted different variants of strategic political communication to propaganda. The definition of propaganda used here has emphasized that propaganda, unlike rhetoric, is by nature hostile to discussion. A propagandist has no interest in adjusting his views or suggested actions to accommodate the views and needs

¹¹² Corn, David, *The Lies of George W. Bush: Mastering the Politics of Deception*. New York: Crown Publishers, 2003 (David Corn is a liberal American political journalist and author.)

of others. By contrast, rhetoric has the potential for such deliberative exchanges – but this is a potential. Rhetoric need not always have such dimensions, and rhetoric and propaganda overlap to some extent.

Propaganda is best understood as a technique, but it is most easily recognizable when its content represents deception or disinformation. Between propagandist and propagandee there is most often an asymmetry of interest, but this aspect should be kept out of a definition of propaganda.

Specifying that propaganda is a form of mass communication is more fruitful as an academic approach.

Communication is here defined as social interaction through messages, and politics without communication is unthinkable. Consequently, heavy reliance on communication experts and spin-doctors is unavoidable for politicians. This is all part of what has become the permanent campaign of governing. Propaganda is a diverse phenomenon, which may well admit of further categorization and specification. A typology that distinguishes between white, grey and black propaganda is one way of doing that. Relating those categories to public diplomacy, we see that the similarities between public diplomacy and white propaganda are great. However, it would be imprecise to brand all PD as propaganda, as it is not necessarily a one-way, pushdown form of mass communication.

Key members of the Bush administration sought to generate support for the war in Iraq through quashing debates about it. They spread the perception that Iraq possessed WMD. They expressed unfounded certainty on the WMD-issue. This propaganda strategy backfired on the administration when their bluff – rather than a large stock of WMD – was exposed in Iraq.

Transfer was the primary propaganda device employed for linking together different phases of the war on terrorism but as it is easily noticeable, other strategies were used.

Attempts were made to capitalize on the substantial public support for the war in Afghanistan in order to generate support for war against Iraq. However, the connection between these two wars was not as obvious as the Bush administration claimed. You do not have to be a analyst for 20 years to put it in the following terms: *You're left to just hear the nouns, and put them together.*

In the early stages, it was very hard to voice opposition to the war on terrorism. Then, as the costs of the war in Iraq unfolded, and the administration's propaganda strategies were increasingly exposed and more critical voices gained strength in the United States.

By November 2005 Dick Cheney had to acknowledge that there was indeed a debate about important aspects of the war on terrorism. Whether his comments are a necessary rhetorical manoeuvre forced by pressure and criticism, or an indication of a more deliberative stance on attitudes to the war on terrorism is a secret only kept by him. Cheney's later speech at the American Enterprise Institute does, however, represent a shift in the strategic communication of the Bush administration:

"I do not believe it is wrong to criticize the war on terror or any aspect thereof. Disagreement, argument, and debate are the essence of democracy, and none of us should want it any other way."
(Cheney, 21 November 2005).

These specific goals were many times hidden inside a broader ideological background. The U.S.A's dominant ideology is based on the ideas of free enterprise and democratic political structures. The key ideological term is freedom and freedom was used and abused to justify the means to some ends.

American propaganda is very much clever. American propaganda relies mostly on emotional appeals. It doesn't depend on a rational theory that can be disproved: it appeals to things no one can object to.

American propaganda had its birth, so far as I can tell, in the advertising industry. The pioneers of advertising learned early on that people would respond to purely emotional appeals. A man walking down the street with beautiful women hanging on his arms is not a logical argument, but it sure sells after-shave. A woman in a business suit with a briefcase, strolling along with swaying hips, assuring us she can "bring home the bacon, fry it up in a pan, but never let you forget you're a man" really sells the perfume.

American advertising and propaganda has been refined over the years into a malevolent science, based on the assumption that most people react, not to ideas, but to naked emotion. Successful agencies know how to appeal to emotions: the stronger and baser, the better. The seven deadly sins, ad agency wags often say, are the key to selling

products. Fear, envy, greed, hatred, and lust: these are the basic tools for good propaganda and effective advertising. By far, the most powerful motivating emotion—the top, most-sought-after copy writers will tell you, in an unguarded moment—is fear, followed closely by greed.

Good propaganda appeals to neither logic nor morality. Morality and ethics are the death of sales. This is why communist propaganda actually hastened the collapse of communism: the creatures running the Commie Empire thought they should appeal to morality by calling for people to engage in sacrifice for the greater good. They gave endless, droning speeches about the inevitability of communist triumph, based on the Hegelian dialectic. Not only were they wrong: their approach to selling their theory was not clever enough. American propagandists would have been able to maintain communism a little longer. They would have scrapped all the theory and focused on appealing images. Though the Communists tried to do this through huge, flag-waving rallies, the disparity between their alleged ideals and the reality they created was just too great.

The credibility of the speaker and the audience's attitude towards the message are influenced negatively if a message is categorized as propaganda, so most people are averse to being branded as propagandists. Consequently, more desirable labels are constructed by those who in fact produce propaganda. It is normally very poor propaganda if the source itself acknowledges that it is in fact disseminating propaganda. In recent decades, "spin" has become a common term in civil society, especially in politics. Spin involves manipulation of political information and is frequently applied by political figures and parties. Spin has to do with "selling" politics. It operates in a grey zone between rhetoric and propaganda. The term "spin doctor" refers to communication experts and advisors who specialize in "spinning" information about their clients. The intrusion of public relations into politics means that governing now includes conducting a permanent "spinning" campaign.

One tyrant who did take American propaganda to heart was Adolph Hitler. Hitler learned to admire American propaganda through a young American expatriate who described to him, in glowing detail, how Americans enjoyed the atmosphere at football games. This American expatriate, with the memorable name of Ernst "Putzi" Hanfstaengl¹¹³, told the Führer how Americans could be whipped up into frenzy through

¹¹³ **Ernst Franz Sedgwick Hanfstaengl** (Munich, February 2, 1887 - November 6, 1975) worked for both Franklin Delano Roosevelt and Adolf Hitler.

blaring music, group cheers, and chants against the enemy. Hitler, genius of evil as he was, immediately saw the value in this form of propaganda and incorporated it into his own rise to power. Prior to Hitler, German political rhetoric was dry, intellectual, and uninspiring. Hitler learned the value of spectacle in whipping up the emotions; the famed Nuremberg rallies were really little more than glorified football halftime shows. Rejecting boring, intellectual rhetoric, Hitler learned to appeal to deeply emotional but meaningless phrases, like the appeal to "blood and soil." The German people bought it wholesale. Hitler also called for blind loyalty to the "Fatherland," which eerily echoes our own new cabinet level post of "Homeland" Security.

If you study Nazi propaganda, you will be struck by how well it appeals to gut-level emotions and images—but not thought. You will see pictures of elderly German women hugging fresh-faced young babies, with captions about the bright future the Führer has brought to German. In fact, German propaganda borrowed the American technique of relying, not so much on words, but on images alone: pictures of handsome German soldiers, sturdy peasants in native costume, and the like. Take a look at any American car commercial featuring rugged farmers tossing bales of hay into the backs of their pickups, and you've seen the source from which the Nazis borrowed their propaganda techniques.

The Germans have a well-deserved reputation for producing a lot of really smart people, but this did not prevent them from being completely vulnerable to American-style propaganda. Amazingly, a nation raised on the greatest classical music, the profoundest scientists, the greatest poets, actually fell for propaganda that led them into a hopeless, two-front war against most of the world. Being smart is, in itself, no defense against skilled American propaganda, unless you know and understand the techniques, so you can resist them.

American politicians learned, early in the twentieth century, that using emotional sales techniques won elections. Furthermore, they learned that emotional appeals got them what they wanted as they advanced towards their long-term goal of becoming Masters of the Universe. From this, we get our modern lexicon of political speech, carefully crafted to appeal to powerful emotions, with either no appeal to reason, or (better yet) a vague appeal to something that sounds foggily reasonable, but is so obscure that no one will bother to dissect it.

Franklin Roosevelt understood this, which is why he called for Social Security. Security is an emotional appeal: no one is against security, are they? Roosevelt backed up his campaign with a masterful appeal to emotions: images of happy, elderly grandparents smiling while hugging their grandchildren, with everything in the world going right because of Social Security. All kinds of government programs were sold on the basis of appealing images and phrases. Roosevelt even appealed to America's traditional love of freedom, spinning that term by multiplying it into new Freedoms, including Freedom from Want and Freedom from Fear. Well, what heartless human being could possibly be against that? The Freedoms were promoted with images of parents tucking their children cozily into bed, and a happy family gathered around a Thanksgiving dinner, obviously free from want. The campaign was also based on that most powerful of all selling emotions: fear. If you don't support Social Security, the ads suggested, you will live your last years in utter destitution.

Both German and American politicians carried the use of banners to new heights. Flags are impressive emotional symbols, particularly when waved by thousands of enthusiastic people: it's a rare individual who can resist the collective enthusiasm of thousands of his fellow human beings, cheering about their collective greatness. Putzi Hanfstaengl understood this, advising Hitler to fill his public spectacles with not just a few, but countless thousands of swastika flags. The swastika, too, was a brilliant stroke of advertising and propaganda: it has become, in the public consciousness, the official emblem of Nazism, even though it had nothing to do with Germany. In fact, swastikas were used by ancient Hindus and American tribes, but I'm not aware of it being used by anyone in Germany prior to Hitler.¹¹⁴

Now observe how Americans during 9/11 crisis have taken to displaying huge flags on their cars. Flags are not rational arguments; they are instruments for whipping up the Madness of Crowds. Observe how many Americans have, with a straight face, called for a constitutional amendment to outlaw flag desecration, oblivious to the obvious contradictions such an amendment would have with the rest of the Constitution. But

¹¹⁴ Those skeptical to any kind of propaganda should recall that it was widely employed by both sides in the world wars of the 20th century, and it played a crucial role in curbing international Communism during the Cold War. If a nation wants to succeed in war, it would be negligent and precarious not to make use of propaganda. (Brown, Roger (1958): *Words and Things*. New York: Free Press of Glencoe).

again, if you learn nothing else about propaganda, learn that it must not appeal to rationality.

This brings us to the latest iteration of masterful American Propaganda: the War on Terrorism. Any attempt to explain why the terrorists (crazed as they obviously were) felt motivated to attack the World Trade Centre is looked on as "siding with the terrorists." Indeed, Ashcroft and Bush have said, in so many words, that if you don't support them in everything they do, you stand with the terrorists. Ashcroft and Bush have evidently studied their propaganda lessons from World War II, when Roosevelt silenced all opposition by accusing anyone who stood against him of undermining the war effort. Anyone who suggests we should not risk World War III by invading the Middle East is alternately accused of siding with the terrorists, of slandering the memory of those who died, or (of course) of not "standing by our boys" in times of great need. It's easy to feel alienated in a nation of flag-wavers singing patriotic hymns. The fact that they are marching lockstep to a world in which the government will monitor their e-mail, snoop into their bank accounts, and eventually throw them in jail for voicing opposition doesn't seem to bother them one bit.

4. ANALYTICAL APPROACH

The following speech analysis will focus upon addresses made mainly by the President between September 12, 2002 and March 17, 2003. The President's September 12, 2002 speech to the United Nations can be seen as the moment at which President Bush garnered the complete focus of the world upon the Iraq issue. On the other hand, March 17, 2003, seemed a fitting place to stop the analysis of the speeches, not because the President significantly changed his approach thereafter, but rather because it was on that date that the deadline for Saddam Hussein to abdicate power and leave Iraq to avoid war was set (and ignored by the Iraqi Leader).

In addition there are some speeches before that date that were included just to establish a contrast. If speeches about Iraq and Saddam Hussein were very easy to find in the period above mentioned, the second period ones were much more difficult to choose as the president did not talk that much about Iraq in that period.

Because the President spoke on the issue nearly every day during the given second time period (sometimes multiple times in the same day), and his message and approach

remained solidly consistent, it was possible for the purposes of this study to select representative speeches for analysis. A total of twenty eight speeches ¹¹⁵ are referenced in this study, chosen for their significance, or overall representative nature. The inclusion of every speech would have been superfluous as the President spoke on the issue in one form or another on a daily basis with each speech mirroring the others.

Another factor that was used to select this “Linguistic Corpus” was intuition. This criterium may seem a bit inadequate for a scientific study, nevertheless, as Bowker and Pearson (2002)¹¹⁶ point out, one should “use your intuition to a certain extent; however a corpus can provide you with means of backing up this intuition”. The same authors also mention that when we “...Look at the terms in context will help you to learn more about their meaning and behaviour.” Biber’s (1988) text analyses looking at differences between speech and writing have already shown that specific lexicogrammar is present or absent in particular genres and propaganda is no exception to this. Therefore, the occurrence of certain language can help us to analyse what is happening in the speeches examined. Sinclair¹¹⁷ (2004) gives us a very clear demonstration of how texts can have communicative impact through corpus analyses and tells us (2004:117) of Fairclough’s attempt to analyse phrases in texts to support his suppositions. As Fairclough is involved most closely with the place of language in social relations of power and ideology and has himself analysed Blair’s speeches in (2005) *Blair’s contribution to elaborating a new ‘doctrine of international community’* looking at the various techniques he used, the use of corpora for the analysis of propaganda can be seen to be a relevant and significant tool.

As Sinclair says (2004:119):

“It is difficult to conceive of a communicative process in a speech community whereby a word expressing a concept that had unpleasant consequences for the majority of citizens always occurred in benign and

¹¹⁵ A total of 20 speeches are used from the period between September 12, 2002 and March 17, 2003 and 8 were chosen from a period before that date when President Bush did not so incisively “speak” about the Iraq Issue. From October 20, 2001 to August, 16, 2002 one speech per month is used in the study (except speeches from January, February and June, 2001).

¹¹⁶ Bowker, Lynn & Jennifer Pearson (2002) *Working with specialized language: a practical guide to using corpora*, London: Routledge

¹¹⁷ Sinclair, John McHardy, (2004) *Trust the text. Language, corpus and discourse*, London: Routledge

uplifting contexts, unless the speech community was created by George Orwell, and all communication was under strict control.”

Bowker and Pearson defined a “Linguistic Corpus” as being “*a body of text*”, an “*example of real ‘live’ language, (...) naturally occurring and has not been created for the express purpose of being included in a corpus to demonstrate a particular point, (...) a text in electronic form (...) processed by computer*” that “*should not be necessarily be seen as a replacement for all other types of resources. (...) ... intuition or dictionary use may lead you to come up with a hypothesis that can be further investigated*”.

By joining together the “Jowett and O’Donnell” perspective and the “corpus analysis approach as referred to by Bowker and Pearson above, we can more easily identify and highlight particular aspects of a speech as they complement each other. On the one hand we have a more qualitative approach provided by “Jowett and O’Donnell” and on the other hand we can use the corpus perspective in order to quantify some items. Where one perspective may lack some effectiveness in providing results, the other may help to clarify that situation.

Having set this analytical context, there is only one element missing that is the element of comparison. In order to be able to compare Bush’s speeches so that the techniques he uses are highlighted I have included an element previously referenced in this dissertation: Hitler’s speeches.

It is well known, and it has been mentioned before that Hitler was a “Master of Propaganda”. In order to support this point of view I will use the corpus analysis approach to prove it and at the same time to show an alternative to the “Jowett and O’Donnell” perspective, previously heavily referenced.

A study like this demands the following stages:

1. Choose the Corpus (Hitler’s speeches);
2. Narrow de Corpus (Limit the time period¹¹⁸);
3. Make a “Guide Question”;
4. Search for “key” words while reading the Corpus;
5. Adapt the chosen “Key” words to the selected Propaganda techniques;

6. Narrow the “key” word number (personal choice/intuition);
7. Use SCP 4.08 program to search for relevant “key” word collocations and word counting;
8. Make tables with relevant “key” words;
9. Answer the “Guide Question¹¹⁹” in order to reach a conclusion.

The following table is used to highlight points 1 and 2:

Size	<i>75687 Tokens / 5876 Keys</i>
Nº of Texts	<i>23</i>
Medium	<i>Written Speeches</i>
Subject	<i>Political Propaganda</i>
Text Type	<i>Public Speeches</i>
Authorship	<i>Adolf Hitler</i>
Language	<i>English (translated from German)</i>
Date	<i>Between 1922 and 1934</i>

The research question demanded by point number 3 is quite clearly: “Did Hitler use any propaganda techniques?”

Stages 4, 5, 6, 7 and 8 demand a selective process and the intuition referred to above. The choices are my responsibility although the use of pronouns (we/they) has already been widely discussed as a technique to include/exclude. These criteria and personal experiences resulted in the following list:

¹¹⁸ The chosen time frame is the period between 1922 and 1934, a time when Hitler used huge propaganda resources in order to reach the power. We must never forget that he was democratically elected.

¹¹⁹ A “Guide Question” is the question that sets up the entire study. Based on it the first hypothesis will be established and the rest of the study is used to back-up the hypothesis or to counter it.

List of "Key words"	
▶ Us (213)	▶ Equal(48)
▶ We(721)	▶ Honest*(27)
▶ Our(551)	▶ God(18)
▶ Million(138)	▶ Democra*(64)
▶ Thousand(56)	▶ Victory(25)
▶ Hundred(22)	▶ Christ*(33)
▶ German* (782)	▶ Justice(17)
▶ Nation(745)	▶ Race(59)
▶ Together(27)	▶ True/Truth(43/20)
▶ Rights(41)	▶ Destiny(25)
▶ Freedom(44)	▶ Future(49)
▶ Supremacy(16)	▶ Cannot(117)
▶ Honor(41)	▶ Renewal(5)
▶ Principles(28)	▶ Fate(38)
▶ Ignorant(2)	▶ Ruin(38)
▶ Agitator(11)	▶ Jew(120)
▶ Traitor(7)	▶ Sacrifice(33)
▶ They(369)	▶ Parasites(1)
▶ Them(219)	▶ Dishonest(2)
▶ Their(338)	▶ Coward(11)
▶ Terrorist(1)	▶ Group(40)
▶ Puppet(1)	▶ Communist(10)
▶ Struggle(65)	▶ Great(182)
▶ Revolution(75)	

(In Brackets: here is the number of times the word appears in the "Linguistic Corpus")

We have now reached point 9. At this stage we will effectively prove whether Propaganda Techniques can or cannot be identified. Let's start with two techniques that are very closely connected and that are frequently used as one in order to maximize effects: "Bandwagon" and "Plain Folks".

Generally “Bandwagon” can be defined as the appeal to one of our most intimate desires, the desire “to follow the crowd”. When using this technique, the speaker hires a hall, rents radio stations, fills a great stadium, marches a million or at least a lot of men in a parade. He employs symbols, colours, music, movement, all the dramatic arts. He gets us to write letters, to send telegrams, to contribute to his cause. As I have mentioned previously, if “Everyone else is doing it, then so should you”.

However the speaker must be astute enough not to create a gap between the “crowd” and himself. This is where the “Plain Folks” technique comes in. By using the “Plain-folks” strategy, speakers attempt to convince their audience that they, and their ideas, are "of the people." Common ties are then created (of course, many times these are fake and artificial bonds).

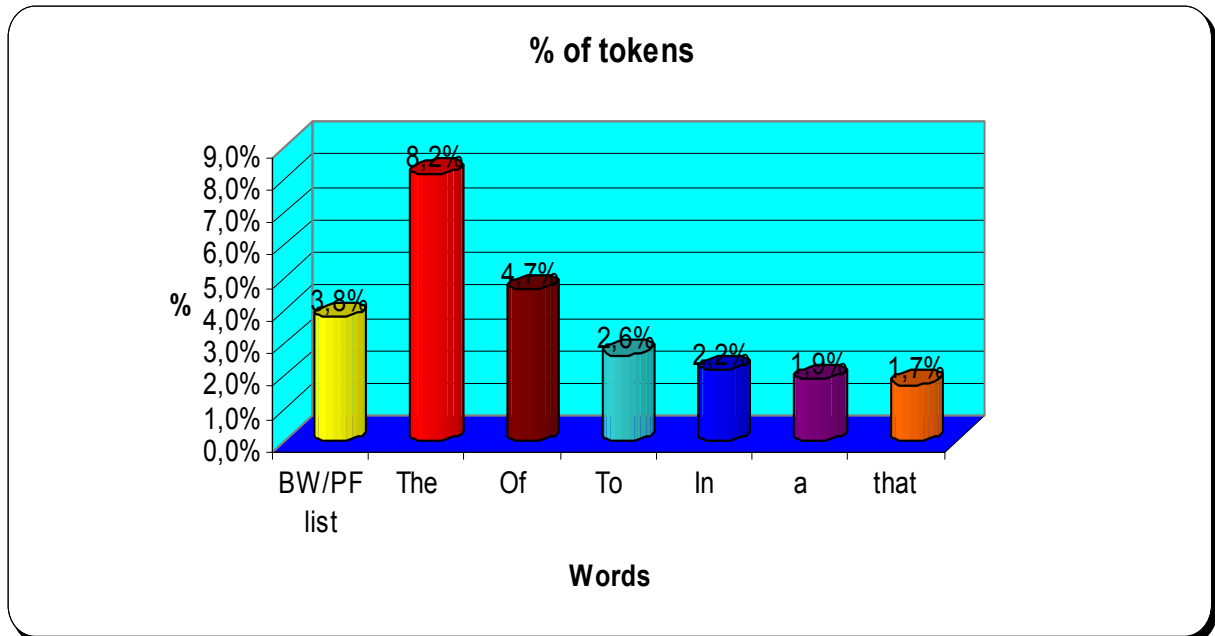
Adolf Hitler used these devices. The following table provides proof of it:

Us	213
we	721
Our	551
Million (related to German people)	138
Thousand (related to German people)	53
Hundred(Related to German people)	22
German	426
Nation*	745
(Al)together	29

(In Brackets: here is the number of times the word appears in the “Linguistic Corpus”)

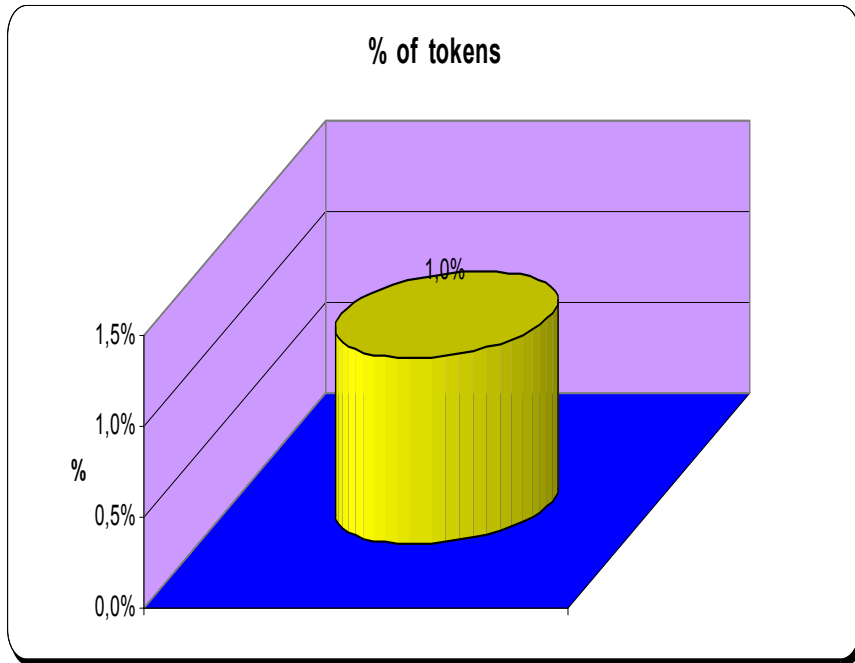
As we can see through a brief analysis of the table, words with a meaning of “inclusion” were very frequently used by Hitler in his speeches. “Us”, “We” and “Our” can transmit that sense of amalgamation and unanimity. Statistically the set of words above mentioned represents 3.8% of the tokens used.

That may not seem a lot but in fact it is. Only “Grammar words”, which are in every text the most frequently used ones, can compete with that group. The following graph provides a clear view of this situation:



Another two techniques very intimately connected are “Euphemisms” and “Glittering Generalities”. With the usage of these strategies combined, the speaker attempts to pacify the audience in order to make an unpleasant reality more pleasant. Since our first and natural reaction is to assume that the speaker is using a particular word or concept in our sense, we become more vulnerable and an understanding is created between the audience and the speaker. In these situations once again the speaker will have to be very careful not to disturb this climate of empathy.

However some situations are unavoidable and when the propagandist has no other way but to approach some potentially unpleasant critical issues, he has to make that reality less cruel or risk a fracture in the empathetic mood of the audience. He is only able to do that by using words that have been ameliorated and in this way will not scratch the audience’s emotions.

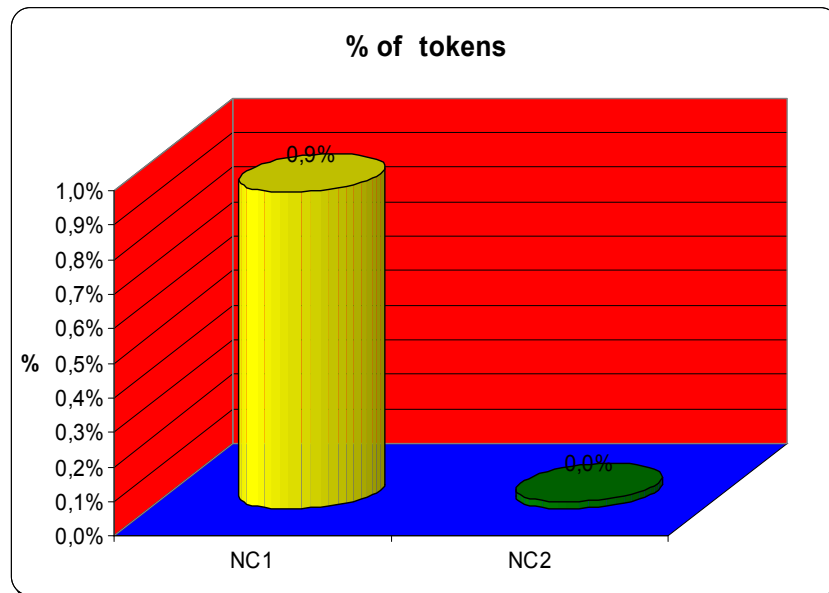


Hitler did that mainly by using the following set of words:

Great	182
Rights	40
Freedom	39
Honor	52
Principles	79
Equal (related to people or rights)	48
Honesty	27
God	18
Democracy	37
Victory	25
Supremacy	29
Christ*	33
Justice	17
Race	63
True/truth	43/20
Destiny	25

1% of the words Hitler used in his speeches had an ameliorated usage, conveyed a sense of security and trust or contributed to the establishment of an empathetic mood.

Following this line of thought, it is quite obvious that words that provide negative feelings must be avoided. Sometimes it is better not to use “offensive” words against our



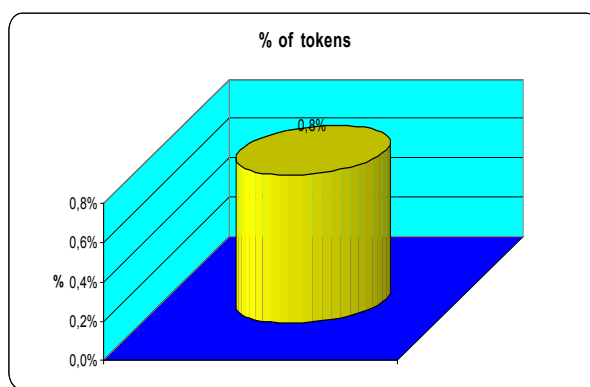
Opponents than use them and risk breaking a compassionate ambiance. If a speaker can transmit his ideas without offending his opponents he can only benefit from that situation. Our subject certainly did this as these words statistically are not significant. Name Calling was not openly used.

Ignorant	2 (0)
Agitators	11(7)
Traitor	7(5)
Jew (in an offensive context)	120
They	369(242)
Them	219(148)
Their	338(221)
Parasites	1
Dishonest	4(3)
Coward	0
Group	40(29)
Communis* (in an offensive context)	30(23)
Puppet	1(0)
Terrorist	0

(In brackets: here is the number of times a word was used to offend the “Jews”, who were the main Hitler’s target identified in the graph as NC2)

In contrast to “Name Calling”, “Fear” is always useful if your idea is to direct someone’s path. By putting fear into people they will tend to rely on the speaker’s warnings in order to feel safe. To avoid “the disaster that will result if they do not follow a particular course of action”, the speaker is able to input a predisposition in the crowd to follow his directions. Nobody wants to face or be held responsible for the consequences or actions that may allow someone else to hurt the “motherland”. When someone has been “FUDed” that means that that person is full of Fears, Doubts and Uncertainties, consequently he or she is in the ideal position to be easily led down a certain path. That is the reason why words like the following ones appear in speeches:

Must (suggest course of action)	276(201)
Future	49(38)
Cannot (reject wrong path)	117(99)
Renewal	5
Revolution*	75(43)
Fate	38(21)
Ruin*	38(19)
Jew (as a threat)	120(120)
Sacrifice	33(25)



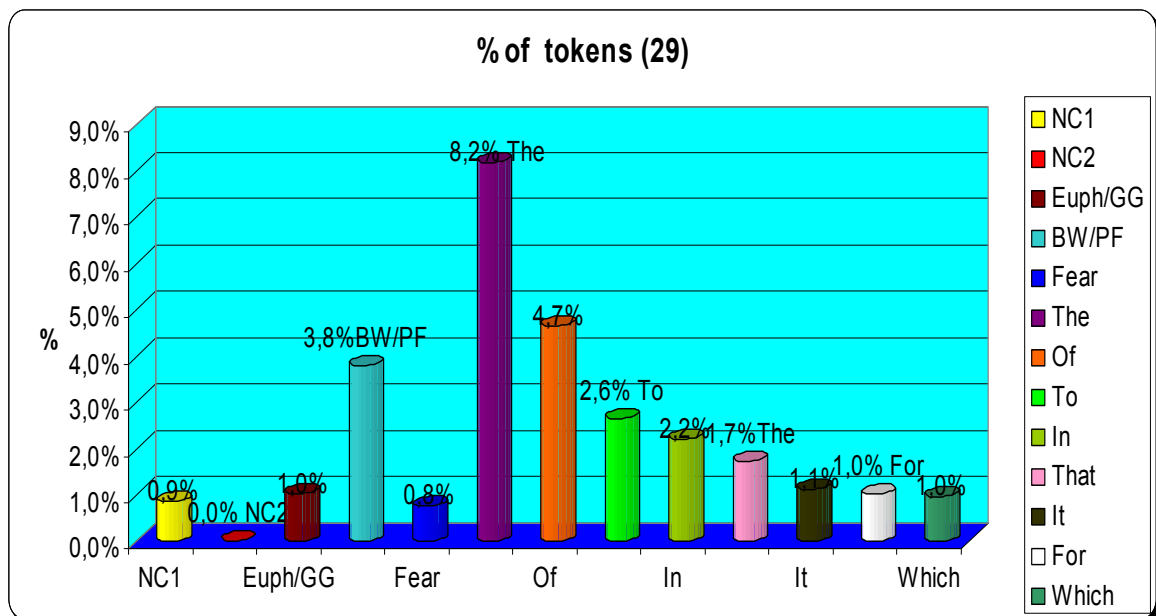
(In brackets: here is the number of times the particular word is used in the “Fear” context of occurrence)

As we have seen, many times two or more techniques are combined to achieve “maximum power”. By analyzing the tables of “Bandwagon” plus “PlainFolks” and “Name Calling” we can reach a broader conclusion that at the same time is a Propaganda Strategy: Hitler divided the German society into two groups. In the first group “Us”, “We”, “Our” and “German” are included. This group excludes the elements of the second group: “Jew”, “they”, “them” and “their”. The separation between Ingroup and Outgroup is created in this way. At the same time this separation has implicit references to the “Name Calling” technique. As I said before it was not openly used. That does not mean it was not used at all. It just means that it was used in a non blatant but subsumed way. Hitler said it himself:

“All propaganda must be so popular and on such an intellectual level, that even the most stupid of those towards whom it is directed will understand it...Through clever and constant application of propaganda, people can be made to see paradise as hell, and also the other way around...”

To delegate someone or some group to ostracism is similar to stereotyping and reductive terms of society. To define someone as the “Other” is a process of exclusion and demonizing the enemy.

This is the point where I will stop with the analysis of Hitler’s speeches. The last conclusion I draw is based on “numbers” but they started to include other factors beyond “number of words”. This is the where the “Jowett and O’Donnell” approach begins to be useful. As I have shown before it is a method that is prepared to deal with other types of information. Numbers are essential, no doubt about that, however some Propaganda Techniques are difficult to analyze just by counting words or word collocation. The following graph is very useful to draw conclusions, however it is not enough...



Bandwagon, Plain Folks, Euphemisms, Glittering Generalities, Fear, Inclusion and Exclusion and Subsumed Name Calling were techniques frequently used by Hitler as can be seen from these results.

“The size of a lie is a definite factor in causing it to be believed, for the vast masses of a nation are in depths of their hearts more easily deceived than they are consciously bad.”

Does anyone doubt that he also used Logical Fallacies, Emotional Appeals, Numeric Deceptions, Transfer or any other techniques ? I don't think so, that is why when analyzing Bush's speeches I will use "Bowker and Pearson" for a more quantitative approach and the "Jowett and O'Donnell" model for a more qualitative one.

The first stage of this analysis must be based on "Bowker and Pearson". It is necessary to establish the initial stages and steps. Once again I need to:

1. Choose the Corpus (Bush's speeches);
2. Narrow de Corpus (Limit the time period¹²⁰);
3. Make a "Guide Question": "*Which techniques did Bush use?*";
4. Search for "key" words while reading the Corpus;
5. Adapt the chosen "Key" words to the selected Propaganda techniques;
6. Narrow the "key" word number;
7. Use SCP 4.08 program to search for relevant "key" word collocations and word counting;
8. Make tables with relevant "key" words;
9. Answer the "Guide Question" in order to reach a conclusion.

4.1. The chosen Narrowed Corpus

Size	<i>44245 Tokens /4684 Keys</i>
Nº of Texts	<i>28</i>
Medium	<i>Written Speeches</i>
Subject	<i>Political Propaganda</i>
Text Type	<i>Public Speeches</i>
Authorship	<i>George Walker Bush</i>
Language	<i>U.S English</i>
Date	<i>Between 20 October. 2001 and 17 March, 2003</i>

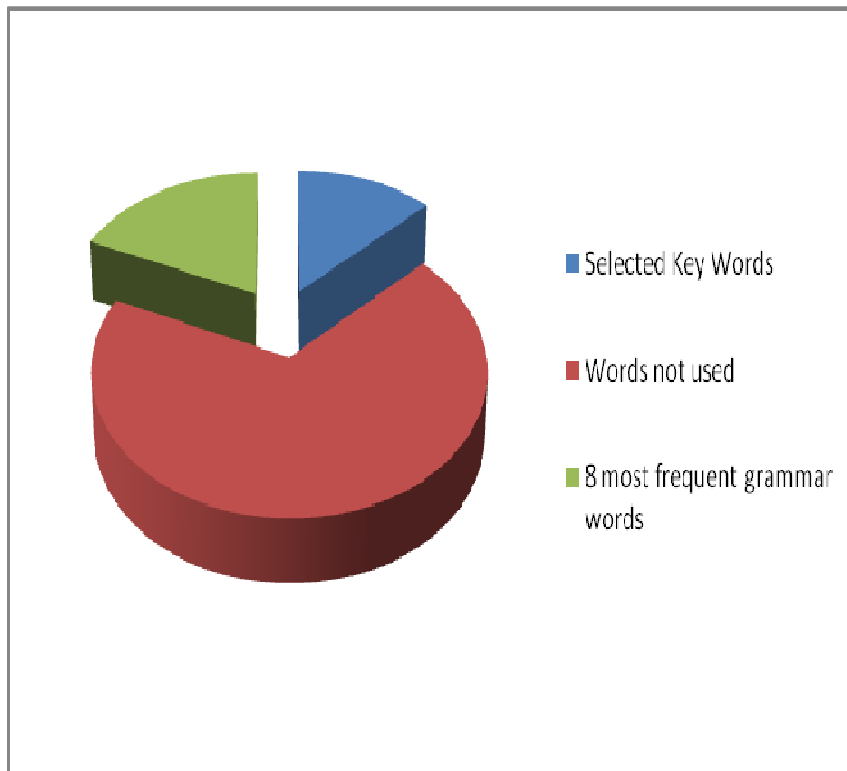
¹²⁰ Previously mentioned

4.2. The Guide Question

“Which techniques did Bush use?”

4.3. The chosen key words and their frequency

List of “Key words”	
Can (142)	America*(319)
Must(161)	Iraq(305)
Should(33)	We (576)
Security(155)	Us(94)
Freedom(66)	You(228)
I(349)	They(177)
Me(30)	Them(105)
Applause(265)	Their(154)
Islam(2)	Afghanistan(37)
Terror(268)	Saddam(98) + He(249)
Threat(132)	Dictator(37)
Kill(39)	Osama Bin Laden(0)
Al Qaeda(28)	Free(111)
Weapons(160)	War(116)
Destruction(52)	God(18)
Securuty Council(51)	Know(82)
Regime(162)	Chemical(43)
Nation(65)	Biological(43)
U.N (61)	Will(399)
United Nations(70)	Risk(14)
Inspect*(75)	Murder*(26)
World(215)	Great(87)
Right*(45)	Our(475)
Justice(19)	People(252)
Together(35)	Future(44)
Peace (125)	Congress(87)

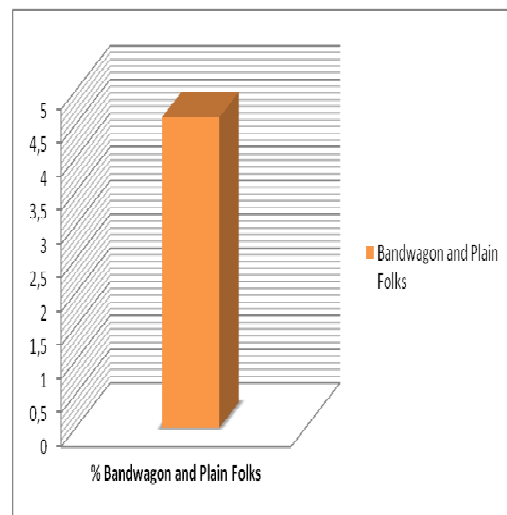


4.4. The analysis

AS was done with Hitler’s speeches, I will start to analyze the usage of “Bandwagon” and “Plain Folks” and for the same reasons: they are easy to identify, easy to use, frequently used and extremely effective.

Like Hitler, George Bush promoted the inclusion and unanimity of Americans against someone else.

Us	94
we	576
Our	475
America*	34
Together	35
You	228
I	349
Applause	245



The first results of this analysis are impressive. 4.6 % of the words used in these speeches can be used to create the “Bandwagon” and “Plain Folks” effects. I am talking about a real number of 2036 words in a total of 44245. I have included the word “applause” because the number of times there is “applause” is important in a speech. Applause is not a “spoken” word but in this case it works as an interactive element of communion between the speaker and his audience. It is also relevant to notice that the empathetic link is established. There is applause 245 times in 28 speeches. Bush was applauded almost 10 times per speech. That is significant especially as the speeches are not very long. Compared to Hitler’s speeches, they can be considered small. The biggest difference between Hitler and Bush while using Bandwagon and Plain Folks is in the integration of the words “I” and “You”. Hitler preferred “Us”, “We” and “Our” but Bush takes the technique one step further and personalizes the question by including himself with “I” in the middle of the crowd referenced as making in this way a stronger “You” “We” and “Our”. Patriotic references are not as heavily used as Hitler did either. At this time no Patriotic Appeals were necessary as the U.S were completely united against terror due to the 9/11 events and the President had full support from all sectors of American society.

In order to reinforce this strategy, some “Numeric Deceptions” were used. On the eve of war, just two days after the last speech analyzed, the U.S. announced that it had about 30 nations supporting it, in a "coalition of the willing" offering various means of support. Yet, the radio show Democracy Now! (March 19, 2003) highlighted some strange factors in this support:

- The list (of nations making up the coalition) included Britain, Spain and Australia, as well as Turkey, Afghanistan, South Korea, Japan, Colombia, Italy and others.
 - Of these nations, only two, Britain and Australia had planned to supply troops;
 - The *Washington Post* reported that some of the countries were surprised by their inclusion. A senior diplomat at Colombia's embassy was unaware that his nation had been listed;
 - Turkey had voted against allowing US troops to be deployed there;

- 95% of the Spanish population was against a US invasion of Iraq, despite its government's support;
- The list didn't include any governments in the Arab world;

Texas Democrat Lloyd Doggett criticized the so-called coalition: He said "the posse announced today is mighty weak. It includes such military powerhouses as Eritrea and Estonia and pariahs like Uzbekistan with a human rights record as difficult to defend as Saddam Hussein's."¹²¹ The Congressman added, "This list is an embarrassing indication of the administration's foreign policy failure."¹²²

Later, this number increased to 50. However, some nations wanted to remain anonymous, while others did not wish to be on it at all...

In addition, as Jan Oberg¹²³ of the Swedish research organization, Transnational Foundation for Peace and Future Research, says that given that 95.8% of the troops come from four countries (U.S., U.K., Australia and Poland), "It would be more appropriate to call the aggressors the Gang of Four." And while polls can always be questioned, there were large numbers of people turning out in protests, vigils and demonstrations in various places. Falsehoods ranging from exaggeration to plain dishonesty were used to make the case for war.

Hitler used the Fear technique as did Bush. George Bush often resorted to the use of the Fear technique as his entire case against Iraq was made upon the assumption that Iraq possessed Weapons of Mass Destruction that could threaten almost everyone, anywhere in the world. This threat was made even worse when it was implied that together with WMD, Iraq possessed Biological and Chemical weapons. I don't think there is anything scarier than being threatened by Biological or Chemical devices. Just the mere usage of these two terms is enough to make the bravest soldier Fear for his own life. Since their large scale use in the First World War by Germany against the allies to the horrible images gathered of the Kurdish villagers killed by biological weapons everyone has feared their use. More than death, these weapons can cause suffering. Images of suffering have a more demoralizing effect than an image of a dead body.

¹²¹ As U.S. names 30 countries supposedly supporting war, protests intensify, Democracy Now!, March 19, 2003

¹²² As U.S. names 30 countries supposedly supporting war, protests intensify, Democracy Now!, March 19, 2003

¹²³ Oberg, Jan, (2003) "*Coalition of Willing" or "Gang of Four"*", Transnational Foundation for Peace and Future Research, March

Most research on the effects of emotional appeals in persuasion has focused on fear arousal. This technique is one of the most commonly used in attempts to change attitudes. Does fear arousal work? It all depends on “*the extent to which fear influences people’s ability to pay attention to and process the arguments in a message.*”¹²⁴ Studies by Petty and Rogers found that, “If a moderate amount of fear is created and people believe that listening to the message will teach them how to reduce this fear, they will be motivated to analyze the message carefully, changing their attitudes via the central route.”¹²⁵ However, if the audience is not given specific recommendations to help them reduce the fear, the message will be ineffective because the audience will tune it out.

Researchers also found that fear-arousing appeals will fail if “*they are so strong as to make people feel very threatened.*”¹²⁶ The persuadees will become defensive and will deny the importance of the threat, therefore becoming unable to think rationally about the issue.¹²⁷

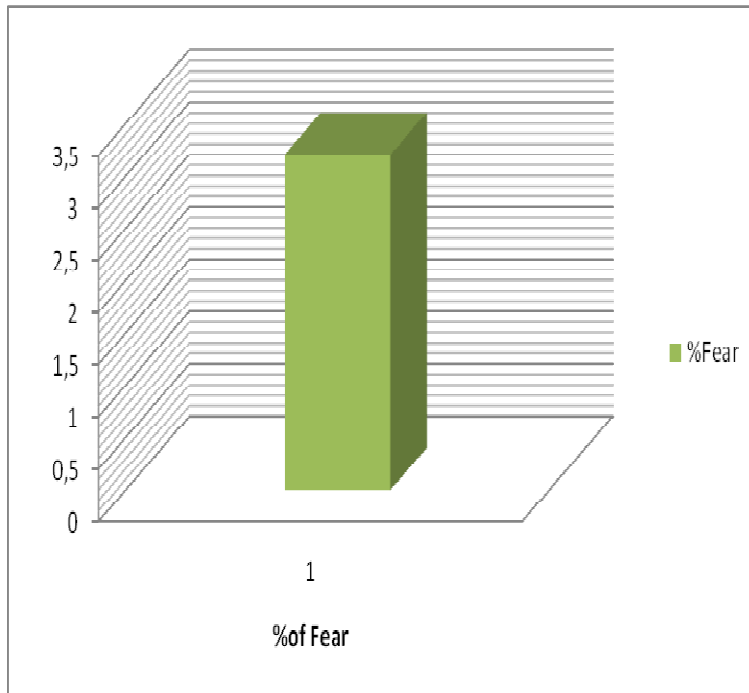
Here is how Bush used Fear:

Must (suggest course of action)	161
Future	44
Weapons	160
Chemical	43
Biological	43
Terror*	268
Threat	132
Will	399
War	116
Destruction	52

¹²⁴ Simons, Herbert W. et al (2001), *Persuasion in Society*; London, Sage , p 35

¹²⁵ Simons, Herbert W. et al (2001), *Persuasion in Society*; London, Sage , p 35

¹²⁶ Simons, Herbert W. et al (2001), *Persuasion in Society*; London, Sage , p 36



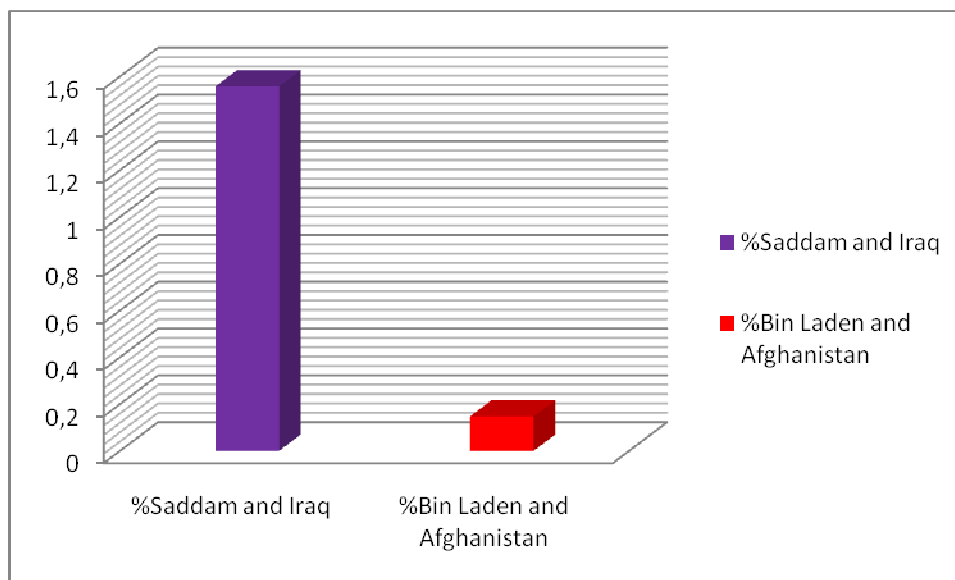
Once again a significant percentage of words is used to maximize effects. 3.2% of Bush’s words are used to input Fear into his audience and then to suggest a course of action. “Terror” and its derivatives are most frequent (there was no other possible word to place in first place) and are only passed by the words that are used to convey a course of action “Will” and “Must”.

George Bush in this way tried to demonize the enemy. As we have seen before, he was able, by using a “Transfer Strategy” to transfer these fears towards Saddam Hussein and Iraq. Iraq was held responsible for the 9/11 events and not Osama Bin Laden. He did it like this:

Iraq	305	Afghanistan	37
Saddam	98	Osama Bin Laden	0
He (referring to Saddam)	249	Al Qaeda	28
Dictator (Referring to Saddam)	37		
Total	689	Total	65

¹²⁷ Simons, Herbert W. et al (2001), *Persuasion in Society*; London, Sage , p 36

Iraq and Saddam clearly beat Afghanistan and Bin Laden as the following graph shows:



In addition, several other strategies were used to demonize Iraq. In a context where someone would have to pay the consequences for the 9/11 events, Iraq, the weakest link, was the object of a Demonization Campaign.

A supposed meeting in Prague between Mohammed Atta, leader of the 11 September hijackers, and an Iraqi intelligence official was the main basis for this claim, but Czech intelligence later conceded that the Iraqi's contact could not have been Atta. This did not stop the constant stream of assertions that Iraq was involved in 9/11, which was so successful that at one stage opinion polls showed that about two-thirds of Americans believed the hand of Saddam Hussein was behind the attacks. Almost as many believed Iraqi hijackers were aboard the crashed airliners; in fact there were none.

The US persistently alleged that Baghdad tried to buy high-strength aluminium tubes whose only use could be in gas centrifuges, needed to enrich uranium for nuclear weapons. Equally persistently, the International Atomic Energy Agency said the tubes were being used for artillery rockets. The head of the IAEA, Mohamed El Baradei, told the UN Security Council in January that the tubes were not even suitable for centrifuges.

Iraq possessed enough dangerous substances to kill the whole world, it was alleged more than once. It had aeroplanes and pilots which could be smuggled into the US and be

used to spray chemical and biological toxins. Experts pointed out that apart from mustard gas, Iraq never had the technology to produce materials for 12 years, the time between the two wars. All such agents would have deteriorated to the point of uselessness years ago. In America much was made of substances like ricin that had been detected in letters to the Senate and the White House in 2004, despite the fact that there appeared to be no actual casualties resulting from these.

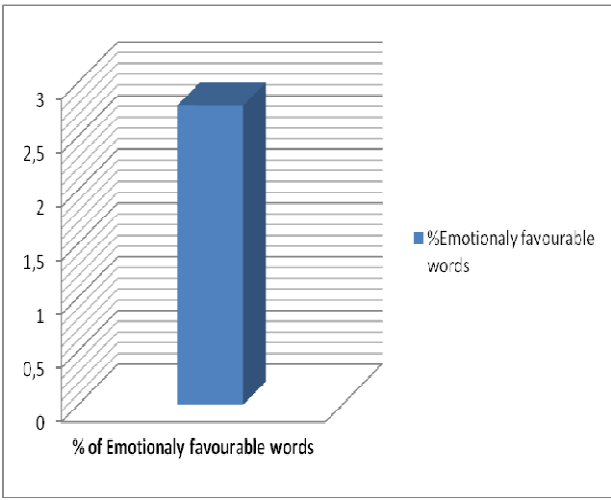
Iraq retained up to 20 missiles which could carry chemical or biological warheads, with a range which would threaten British forces in Cyprus was claimed in a similar way.

Apart from the fact that there was no sign of those missiles since the invasion, Britain downplayed the risk of there being any such weapons in Iraq once the fighting began. It was also revealed that chemical protection equipment was removed from British bases in Cyprus, which indicates that the Government did not take its own claims seriously.

When a Propagandist tries to demonize his enemy and input fear to his audience, he generally also uses the other side of the coin. That is, when not referring to his “enemy”, he will be tempted to use words with a more favourable tone not to intimidate his “target’s” supporters. This is where “Euphemisms” and “Glittering Generalities” come in.

The usage of emotionally suggestive words in order to appeal to the audience’s feelings and emotions is an essential issue in modern propaganda. Emotional appeals are the strongest ones. They do not resort to our brain, instead they come from the heart which makes them impulsive and very difficult to fight against. In the majority of times emotion beats reason.

Great	87
Right*	45
Free*	177
Security	155
U.N	61
United Nations	70
Nation	65
God	18
Together	35
Know	82
Justice	19



President Bush doesn't invoke the deity. He prefers to trust in the "Great" "American" People, in concepts of "Freedom" and in "security", backed up by the United Nations. All of these concepts are substantiated by "Knowledge".

He presents himself as someone who personifies a nation on behalf of which acts of support, commitment, bravery, and sacrifice have been performed. He thus incarnates all the people who have done these things and all of their acts. He also emphasizes the shared effort of all the people he acknowledges, displaying the unity of his side. And by thanking members of his "team" he displays both his collaborators' unity and their subordination to him. Here are some examples of these techniques:

*"I appreciate the contributions of time, the contributions of blood to help our fellow Americans who have been injured, and I'm proud of the Muslim leaders across America who have risen up and who have not only insisted that America be strong, but that America keep the values intact that have made us so unique and different, the values of respect, values of freedom to worship the way we see fit. And I also appreciate the prayers to the universal god"*¹²⁸

*"Our enemies fear a society which is pluralistic and open to worship an almighty God. Our enemies are right to fear open societies because those societies leave no room for bigotry and tyranny. The promise of our time has no room for the vision of the Taliban or Al Qaeda"*¹²⁹

In the following quote, he refers to "let's roll," a phrase often quoted in the newspapers, that was expressed by one of the victims that forced the crash of one of the hijacked planes on September 11, thus killing himself and the other passengers, but perhaps preventing a larger catastrophe:

*"I see a great opportunity when I see moms and dads spend more time with their children here at home. I see, out of this sadness and grief, an opportunity for America to re-examine our culture, to re-examine how we view the need to help people in need whether it be in our own neighbourhood and around the world. I see, out of this evil, will come good, not only here at home, as youngsters all of a sudden understand the definition of sacrifice, the sacrifice of those brave souls on Flight 93, who after the 23rd Psalm said, 'let's roll' to save America".*¹³⁰

¹²⁸ Bush, George W. (2002), State of the Union Address.

¹²⁹ Ibid.

¹³⁰ Bush, George W. (2002), State of the Union Address.

When playing with emotions, Glittering Generalities or Euphemisms are far from being alone in the race. Cynicism plays a very important role in this area. This technique plays on Human Biases. Cynicism is behind the theory that other people’s actions are motivated by self-interested reasons in opposition to our unselfish motivation.

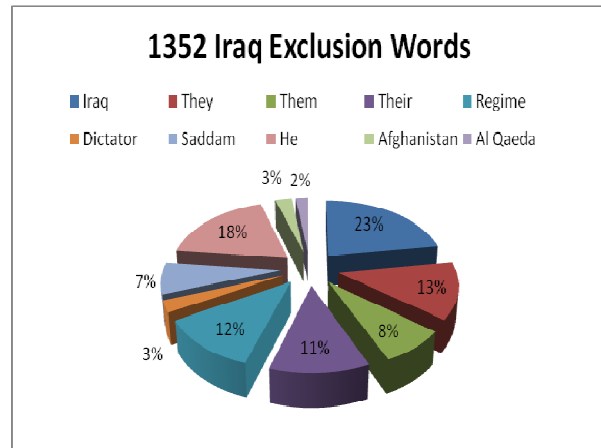
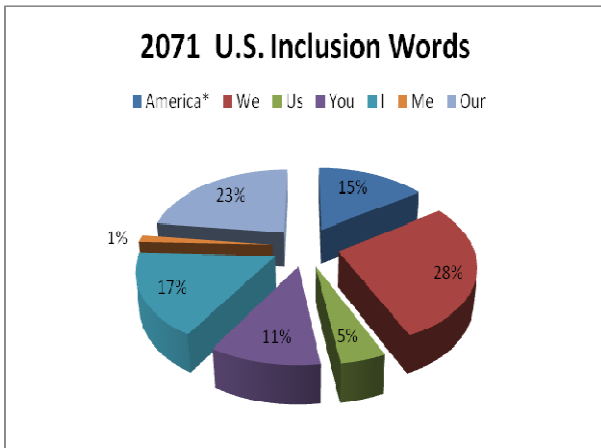
The evidence about Iraq's intent to attack seems to have run something like this: Saddam "gassed his own people" in 1988, therefore there is an imminent threat that he will attack us in 2003. The imminent threat is not, however, so severe as to keep the US from having a full year of warmongering and bellicose rhetoric before they actually attack.

This cynically ignores the central fact about Hussein's record of aggression. Without exception, his worst crimes were committed with full U.S. support, both material and diplomatic. The war on Iran, the massacre of Kurds in the Anfal campaign of the late 1980's, even the bloody suppression in 1991 of the "Iraqi intifada" all involved explicit measures of support from the United States - providing military intelligence, approving export of chemical and biological agents, providing "agricultural" credits, disarming rebels, and much more. It is my opinion that the invasion of Kuwait was done in the deliberately fostered belief that the United States would not mind.

Cynicism is very difficult to quantify in terms of “word number” that is the reason I preferred a descriptive approach.

In the frontiers of Cynicism is the usage of “Inclusion” and “Exclusion” words. In a subsumed way Bush established a target and excluded it from the “goodies” into the “baddies”. The following table shows that at the same time that Bush transmitted an internal message of union and communion, he clearly highlighted Iraq as his target country:

America*	319	Iraq	305
We	576	They	177
Us	94	Them	105
You	228	Their	154
I	349	Regime	162
Me	30	Dictator	37
Our	475	Saddam	98
		He	249
		Afghanistan	37
		Al Qaeda	28
Total	2071	Total	1352



As I have mentioned previously, after the 9/11 events, the Bush administration clearly transferred the guilt for the 9/11 events to a target scape Goat group that was held responsible for those terrible events – Al-Qaeda and its supporters, mainly Iraq and Afghanistan, later replaced by Saddam Hussein and Iraq.

The separation between “us” and “them” is already a classic device of propaganda. To the term “us” is always given the best attributes, the term “Them” is the “Bad Guy”. By clearly demarcating two distinct sides to the global perspective, Bush left no room for different interpretations, resorting to his favourite slogan: ‘you are either with us or you are with the terrorists’.

This simplistic perspective positioned the United States as the bastion of goodness and righteousness in the world and as defender of democracy and human rights. American leadership emerged then as the only viable option for the world.

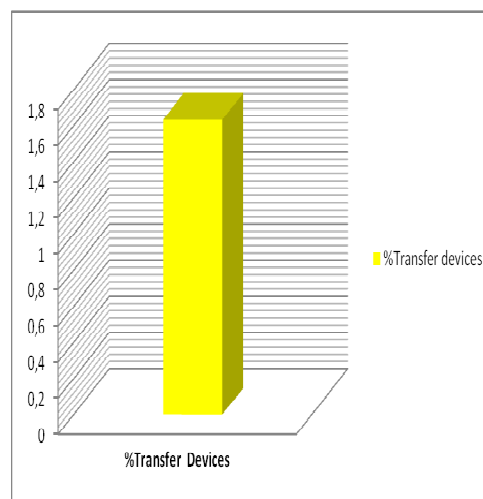
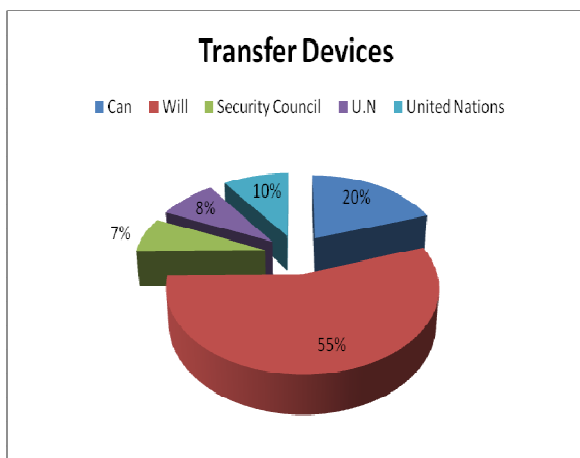
The President used the modal verb “will” 399 times. That is significant in the ears of his rebel audiences, as he highlighted the righteousness inherent in an American leadership to guide the rest of the world down the correct path and seemed to almost benevolently grant UN members the right to decide to side with the United States. “By heritage and by choice, the United States of America will make that stand. And, delegates to the United Nations, you have the power to make that stand, as well”.¹³¹

¹³¹ Bush, President George W., *President Discusses Growing Danger posed by Saddam Hussein's Regime*, Washington, DC. 14th September 2002

The modal “will” both convey the idea of “willingness” when referring to himself or to the U.S or the idea of “I know what they will do next” when used to refer to the “other”.

This righteousness and willingness is supported by a Transfer strategy and by another modal verb: “can”. By transferring the authority and prestige of something the audience respects, admires and submits to he wanted us to accept the view of the U.S. as the “Chosen One”. Bush used the United Nations as the entity to give credibility to this view of America and by frequently using the modal “can” the idea of “being able to” also passes on to the audience. Here are the results for these items:

Can	142
Will	399
Security Council	51
U.N	61
United Nations	70



But George Bush did not stop here. He went further and personalized the issue. By personalization I mean localizing the attention of the listener on the speaker's personality. Bush projects himself as the only person capable of producing results. This aspect is reflected in the 349 times he used the Word “I”.

In his post-9/11 speech to Congress he said, "I will not forget this wound to our country or those who inflicted it. I will not yield; I will not rest; I will not relent in waging this struggle

for freedom and security for the American people." He substituted his determination for that of the nation's.

5. CONCLUSIONS

Words Strain

Crack and sometimes break, under the burden,

Under the tension, slip, slide, perish,

Decay with imprecision, will not stay in place

Will not stay still.

- T.S. Eliot

Everything belongs together in the human understanding; the obscurity of one idea spreads over those that surround it. An error throws shadows over neighbouring truths, and if happens that there should be men in society interested in forming, as it were, centres of shadow, even the people will find itself plunged into a profound darkness.

- Diderot

The President of the United States of America and many of his top advisers wanted to invade and overthrow the government of Saddam Hussein for a long time. But they knew they couldn't sell such a war against Iraq to the majority of Americans and to a majority in both houses of Congress if they acknowledged just how pathetically weak and unthreatening Iraq really was. If, however, the administration could represent Iraq as an imminent, mortal threat to the United States — and even a shadowy partner in crime in the terrorist attacks of 9-11 — then a majority of the population might come to see an invasion of Iraq not as unprovoked U.S. aggression but as a justified response to what Iraq did to the US. And they succeeded in doing just that!

The U.S attack was then expected because US President George W. Bush had warned in several speeches that such an attack would come. “Either you are with us or with the terrorists” he said in his television speech of September 20 that was the warning of a dichotomized global conflict. He divided the world in two groups, “friends” and “enemies”. The attack was also the beginning of “the war on terror”. The question was when and where the counterattack would come. A deeper study of these aspects would be very

interesting, however it is so vast and has so many ramifications that it would itself be enough to an entire new dissertation.

Although Bush presents himself to the world as a plain-spoken, straight-shooting friend of the common man, he regularly uses a variety of techniques to deceive people and make them more inclined to trust him. I have shown how he has achieved that, however there is more to be uncovered, and there are far more examples than I can include here. Let's consider this the tip of an untrustworthy iceberg worth a deeper analysis.

Out of the Core Linguistic Bounds here is what Bush did: he stated as facts what were allegations — often highly dubious ones, he deliberately misrepresented Iraq and invented facts, he conveyed a message that the risk of doing nothing, the risk of assuming the best of Saddam Hussein wasn't a risk worth taking, he put the most frightening interpretation on a piece of evidence and pretended that no other interpretation existed, he placed Iraq as an imminent nuclear, biological and chemical threat creating fear in the minds of American people this way, he created a dichotomy between "us" and "them" that involved not only the identification of the two general groups, but also "tagging" them emotionally as "good" and "evil" respectively and he denied being the aggressor in the eyes of his group of reference by claiming that "we" are the victims and for this reason have the moral right and duty to be aggressive toward the enemy. Bush went even further, he described the conflict between the two sides as not being between two countries, cultures, religions or civilizations but a confrontation between "good" and "evil".

Hitler often used the concept of motherland. Bush did the same and created a homeland (not to use the "Hitlerian" motherland concept) where the inhabitants had been attacked.

"He knows that we are waging this war for a better peace, that we are fighting for the happiness of people who have so often been oppressed by their governments."¹³²

"No power in the world will make us deny our duty, or forget even for a moment our historical task of maintaining the freedom of our people."¹³³

¹³² Joseph Goebbels, chief Nazi Propagandist

¹³³ Ibid.

These two statements can be used to illustrate the justification Bush used to make war. However they do not belong to Bush. 70 years before, Joseph Goebels used them to justify another war: the Second World War. Nazi leader Herman Goering once remarked that it was easy to lead people into war, regardless of whether they resided within a democracy, a fascist dictatorship, a parliament, or a communist dictatorship. All that was required, Goering argued, was for their government to “tell them they are being attacked, and denounce the pacifists for lack of patriotism and exposing the country to greater danger”.

Of all the labels attributed to George W. Bush, one of the worst is certainly the comparison with Hitler. The clearest similarity between the two men lies in their use of emotionally induced “hypnosis” to plant in the masses an image of themselves as protectors of their subjects from threats to national survival both inside and outside the “motherland”.

"The efficiency of the truly national leader consists primarily in preventing the division of the attention of the people, and always in concentrating it on a single enemy."

Hitler said this in Mein Kampf. Bush could just as easily have said it. Having lost public focus on Osama bin Laden due to his incapacity to capture the 9/11 bombers, he found it not just convenient, but also necessary, to select Saddam Hussein as the new "single enemy,"

By putting the horror mask on Saddam, by petrifying the U.S. citizens with tales of Saddam’s torture chambers and terrorist connections, Bush revitalized and refined an old Hitler trick also referred in Mein Kampf.

"The one means that wins the easiest victory over reason: terror and force."

Putting his own “spin” on Hitler’s formula, Bush induced fear-of-Saddam in Americans to set them up against Iraq. "Axis of evil" - weapons of mass destruction, Iraqi terrorists, grave and gathering danger, all gained dominance in the minds of Americans to decoy them to Bush’s side against the evil Saddam.

Bush’s biggest achievement was to make his audience to think of his war making as peace making. The propaganda techniques discussed can be divided into two groups, one which focuses on the qualities of the propagandist and another which focuses on the deficiencies of the “other”. The first group contains highlighting its own strength, creating

a positive self-image and (positive) description of own activities (euphemisms, glittering generalities, emotively favourable words). These devices focused on the positive qualities and admirable intentions of the American people. Plain Folks and Band-wagon also belong to this group because they were directed toward the Western population. The propaganda techniques in the other group, using the other part as a scapegoat, the other is lying, alleged intentions, (negative) descriptions of activities, use of stereotypes, use of threats, fear and exclusions focused on the negative qualities and horrific actions of the “other”.

This two-sided use of the propaganda techniques was to be expected. It is more effective to praise one’s own truthfulness while stressing that the other is lying, it is more effective to highlight one’s own strength while identifying the weakness of the enemy. Such a duality is also natural because the U.S at the time of the 9/11 incidents was a very divided society. These “psi-ops”, the sociological study of the American society, its beliefs, culture, fears, hopes, and dreams, its reactions and how the culture of a people be used to manipulate itself would also be a good study object for a future dissertation.

The techniques that centred on the negative aspects of the “Middle East” Target Nations, led to more antipathy and aggression toward them, whereas techniques such as Band-wagon and Plain folks led to a stronger sense of belonging among the listeners. As stated previously, to include someone in a particular group necessitates the exclusion of others. It will therefore be wrong to claim that the two groups of techniques represent only the inclusion-mechanism or the exclusion-mechanism of propaganda. It was the combination of the techniques that resulted in the status of the inclusion-exclusion mechanism in the propagandist’s speeches. Additionally, this combination contributed to the creation of an enemy image of Saddam. As this brief qualitative analysis has shown, most of the language techniques resembled one or more of the characteristics of the syndrome of the enemy image.

Language is one of the primary defining qualities of man. It defines us both in our individuality and also in the way we behave socially. It surrounds us, moulding our ways of thinking and feeling, from the cry of a new born child to an obituary notice. People deprived of language in some way, because they are deaf, dumb, illiterate or unable to articulate words are in a certain way handicapped. All kinds of social control, all manners of manipulation from the hypnotic media to the most potent subliminal propaganda are achieved through it. Those people who are normally politically inert can be mobilized to die for a slogan. This is one of the biggest conclusions we can take from what I have

written previously: how easily people can be manipulated through a means that defines them- Language.

But not any kind of language, the Language I am talking about is of a particular kind. I am referring to Propaganda that is nothing but a particular usage of language. A usage that is not only confined to verbal language, but that also extends to the semiotic one. Words and symbols joined together can move mountains and generate effects more powerful than an atomic bomb.

The Middle Ages were an Era of Faith. Gigantic cathedrals were built. Today man's greatest achievements are technical, political or commercial. Supermarkets are the new Cathedrals and power the new Faith. In this new world, information is power. The more you control information the more power you have. On the other hand information has gained such an extraordinary power that it is now able to control some of the greatest decision makers of the world. How information can control or is controlled by "policy-makers" was object of a small analysis, however much is left to be discussed and investigated. A good follow-up for this dissertation it would be. For the moment let's just consider Thomas Carlyle and the following sentence he wrote: "*Burke said that there were Three Estates in Parliament; but in the Reporters' Gallery yonder, there sat a Fourth Estate more important far than they all*". Now if we consider Marshal McLuhan words we can understand why: "*Well... of course, people don't actually read newspapers. They get into them every morning like a hot bath.*"

As we can see, not even in our inner cultural circle are we protected from propaganda. We cannot live without language and language cannot escape propaganda and manipulation.

Language is the distinctive characteristic of human beings. Without language we cannot symbolize, rationalize, remember, distort, evoke beliefs and perceptions about matters, describe and create realities that take forms with each other or merely live on society.

The processes of manipulation mentioned before cannot be stopped due to the fact that they are part of us. The fable of the scorpion and the frog can help to explain this. A scorpion was standing on one side of a river because we could not cross it. A frog came by and started to cross it easily. The scorpion asked the frog for help and promised he wouldn't hurt him. The frog accepted and when they reached the other side of the river the

scorpion stung the frog with his deadly tail. The moribund frog asked the scorpion: “Why did you do this? I have just helped you cross the river!” The scorpion answered. “I do not have anything special against you. It’s just my nature...”

When it suits us to see rationalization as reason, repression as help, distortion as creation, good as good and bad as bad, language and mind smoothly work with each other to do that. If it is necessary to solve a complicated mathematical problem, language and mind can also work together and solve the problem. When complicated problems involve social power and status distortion misperception will certainly occur.

Common linguistic theories show that language, thought and action shape each other. Language is always an intrinsic part of a particular social situation and never an independent instrument. Only a naïve conception of language can characterize it as a tool for description when it plays an important role in creating social relationships.

The dichotomy between Media-Power and audience power is a relationship that cannot be disregarded and it is also a very interesting basis for a future study. One side of the coin calls for a more powerful media, the other side displays a concern about the over-estimation of media power. One thing is certainly taking place: the proliferation of new communication technologies, in particular the Internet, potentially increases the flow of information, opening up more doors for inconvenient stories to emerge and unsettle Policy Makers. However, the internet can also serve to divulge ideas and attitudes which are less than praiseworthy as anyone can publish their ideas, however bizarre.

In short, policy makers seek to adopt policies that, whilst responding to the demand of media coverage, do not draw them into unwanted engagements. The power of the Media is in language. So, if language is power, what is propaganda?

To conclude and as a sort of summary let me quote George Orwell and his essay (1946) *Politics and the English Language* as many of the situations he mentions can be seen to be taking place today:

“In our time, Political Speech and writings are largely the defence of the indefensible. Things like the continuance of British rule in India, the (...) dropping of the Atom bombs on Japan, can indeed be defended, but only by arguments which are too brutal for most people to face, and which do not square with the professional aims of political parties. Thus political language has to consist largely of euphemisms, question-begging and sheer cloudy vagueness. Defenceless villages are bombarded from the air, the inhabitants driven out into the countryside, the cattle machine-gunned, the huts set on fire, with

incendiary bullets; this is called *pacification*. Millions of peasants are robbed of their farms and sent trudging along the roads with no more than they can carry; this is called *transfer of population* or *rectification of frontiers*. People are imprisoned for years without trial, or shot in the back of the neck or sent to die of scurvy in Arctic lumber camps: this is called *elimination of unreliable elements (...)*.”

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President: The World Will Always Remember

September 11

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(December 28, 2002)

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