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# Analysis of propaganda structure: Developing the interpersonal paradigm of war propaganda

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Analysis of Propaganda Structure: Developing the Interpersonal Paradigm of War Propaganda

by

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Thesis

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In partial fulfillment of the requirements

for the degree of

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in

Communication

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This thesis is dedicated to my family: past, present, and future.

I would like to thank:

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And finally my Grandmother who never fails to pick up the phone and tell me how it was and  
will be.

## **Abstract**

This communication research analysis examines the ways in which the interpersonal theory, Uncertainty Reduction Theory (URT), combines with the 19 Principles of Propaganda to lend insights into current war propaganda and the ways in which we can use URT to make sense of war propaganda messages. Propaganda has evolved due to technological advancements made in media such as television and internet. We may better understand the process and function of propaganda if we examine it from an interpersonal communication standpoint. Herein a textual analysis of past propaganda and propaganda of today illustrates the evolution that has occurred. Through this examination we understand that propaganda is a dialogical process during which there is interaction between propagandist and audience. The result of this research provides a new foundation for future research in war propaganda message construction. War propaganda is an ever evolving medium and must consistently be examined through new methods.

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## Chapter One

### **Introduction: Why should we study propaganda, particularly war propaganda?**

“Man is the symbol-using (symbol-making, symbol-misusing) animal, inventor of the negative (or moralized by the negative), separated from his natural condition by instruments of his own making, goaded by the spirit of hierarchy (or moved by the sense of order), and rotten with perfection.”

— Kenneth Burke’s “Definition of Man” in *Language as Symbolic Action*.

Language is the system of symbols by which consumers make sense of the world around them. It allows them to create highly personalized realities in which they live. This system of sense-making symbols is used to construct messages on interpersonal and mass communication levels. These two forms of communication, when melded together, lend organizations the power to sway the opinions of target audiences through propaganda. Use of propaganda is not confined to one particular organization or geographic location. Viewer interpretations of propaganda messages are subjective. Messages are tailored by propagandists in the media to impact the connotation with which the target audience is bound to sway on a particular topic. There is no simple way to decipher the meaning of these messages directed at target audiences on an individual basis. What we can do is learn to understand the function of the messages disseminated by organizations to the target audience. In order to understand the impact propaganda inflicts on the personal lives of a target audience, researchers need to apply an interpersonal communication theory to their propaganda analysis. The application of Uncertainty Reduction Theory lends insight into the ways in which propaganda affects a population from the perspective of the individual.

When would understanding the process of propaganda message construction be most beneficial to humanity? The answer is simple, in one word: war. War knows no boundaries.

Whether we like it or not, when war breaks out in one area of the world it directly or indirectly impacts everyone. Often many people are caught by surprise at the onset of war. By studying the propaganda of war, light is shed on the events to come. We are all revealed by our rhetoric, by our language. The words we choose to represent us will not fail in their mission. Once government-oriented organizations disseminate propaganda, their intentions, which are embedded in their rhetoric, are illuminated. Understanding the ways in which war propaganda works and how it is intended to reach individuals through mass communication is vital if one is to truly comprehend its message.

In this thesis, I first define propaganda and the arena in which war propaganda is situated. Second, I transition into recent war propaganda history in order to set the stage for discussion about the evolution from WWII war propaganda tactics to that of current war propaganda and message creation. Third, I discuss the dialogical approach to war propaganda, illustrating how Uncertainty Reduction Theory is applied to war propaganda and the insights this process lends to the field. The purpose of this research is to illustrate the ways in which war propaganda has evolved to the point that messages have become more personal.

### **Research Question**

How does Uncertainty Reduction Theory (URT) combine with the 19 Principles of Propaganda to lend insights to current war propaganda? What are the ways we can use URT to make sense of war propaganda messages?

## Chapter Two

### Literature Review: Propaganda and War Propaganda

*Propaganda.* What is propaganda? For the purpose of this research, propaganda is “the systematic dissemination of doctrine, rumor, or selected communication to propagate or promote a particular doctrine, view, practice, etc.” (Oxford English Dictionary as cited in Markova, 2008) It is designed to persuade targeted audiences and/or whole populations to view particular objects, events, or processes with a positive, negative, or neutral connotation. War propaganda is situated within this definition as any propaganda systematically disseminated that promotes doctrine, rumor, or selected communication concerning war and/or wartime activities.

There is an evolutionary process concerning propaganda and the messages it may contain. New propaganda is built on the foundations of the propaganda that came before it, a never-ending struggle to keep up with the current times. Lasswell, Lerner, and Speier (1979) confirm such a theory in their multi-volume work *Propaganda and Communication in World History*. Propaganda is not a new scheme to say in the least. Jacob J. Finkelstein (as cited by Lasswell et al., 1979) points to ancient Mesopotamia around the year 2500 B.C. where there is evidence of propaganda in writings of the Sumerians and the Babylonians. Propaganda underwent massive evolution since that time. Current war propaganda is built on the foundations of that produced in WWII.

*War Propaganda.* “When you fight a war, there is a need to create and maintain ties of sentiment between soldiers and citizens. There is need for popular mobilization and media support” (Schechter, 2004, p. 25). Today there are new and more sophisticated methods through which propagandists “create rationale for the war, orchestrate support for it, bring the media on board, and then sell it to politicians and then the public” (Schechter, 2004, p. 25-26). Schechter

(2004) states that several techniques utilized today include, but are not limited to, message development, polling, coordinated press releases, global communications strategies, psychological warfare, and perception management. With the growth and popularity of the internet, due to its mobility and ability to reach broader audiences, I add to the list, social media through; which politicians and propagandists may siphon public opinion on a given subject at any given time.

Technological advances in television and internet have caused the world to become a much smaller and more personal place. With this shift in perspective comes the evolution of the media and therefore propaganda. In order to comprehend the revolutionized propaganda, we must examine it through a revolutionized method. First, we must understand the foundation on which comprehending propaganda is built. In the following section, I introduce the 19 Principles of Propaganda, illustrate their utility, and lay the groundwork for discussion concerning approaches to war propaganda and its evolution.

Joseph Goebbels, the Minister of Enlightenment and Propaganda in Nazi Germany, created guidelines through which effective messages in wartime propaganda could be constructed. After the fall of the Nazi regime, several thousand pages of Goebbels' work was uncovered. Leonard W. Doob (1950) spells out the 19 Principles of Propaganda contained in those pages. They are as follows:

1. Propagandists must have access to intelligence concerning events and public opinion.
2. Propaganda must be planned and executed by only one authority.
3. The propaganda consequences of an action must be considered in planning that action.
4. Propaganda must affect the enemy's policy and action.
5. Declassified, operational information must be available to implement a propaganda campaign.

6. To be perceived, propaganda must evoke the interest of an audience and must be transmitted through an attention-getting communications medium.
7. Credibility alone must determine whether propaganda output should be true or false.
8. The purpose, content, and effectiveness of enemy propaganda; the strength and effects of exposé; and the nature of current propaganda campaigns determine whether enemy propaganda should be ignored or refuted.
9. Credibility, intelligence, and the possible effects of communications determine whether propaganda materials should be censored.
10. Material from the enemy propaganda may be utilized in operations when it helps diminish that enemy's prestige or lends support to the propagandist's own objective.
11. Black rather than white propaganda must be employed when the latter is less credible or produces undesirable effects.
12. Propaganda may be facilitated by leaders with prestige.
13. Propaganda must be carefully timed.
14. Propaganda must label events and people with distinctive phrases or slogans.
15. Propaganda to the home front must prevent the raising of false hopes which can be blasted by future events.
16. Propaganda to the home front must create an optimum anxiety level.
17. Propaganda to the home front must diminish the impact of frustration.
18. Propaganda must facilitate the displacement of aggression by specifying the targets for hatred.
19. Propaganda cannot immediately affect strong counter-tendencies; instead it must offer some form of action or diversion, or both.

These 19 Principles were used to construct the war propaganda disseminated to the German people throughout the entirety of the Second World War. Each piece of disseminated propaganda was timed and designed to affect the population's emotional state initially, which then guided their actions (Doob, 1950). These actions were (and likely still are today) observed by propagandists. After this period of careful observation, the next piece of propaganda was created to do one of two things: raise or lower the levels of uncertainty, fear, and frustration within the German people. Randall L. Bytwerk (2005) illustrates the ways in which the arguments for genocide were made within Nazi Germany. In 1941, Theodore N. Kaufman, a young Jew living in New York, wrote a book titled *Germany Must Perish!* In this self-published 100-page book, Kaufman calls for the eventual elimination of the German people through forced sterilization and then the dividing of the country to its surrounding neighbors. By examining the 19 Principles and the dissemination of propaganda resulting from the publication of Kaufman's book we can see how Joseph Goebbels used this document to the Reich's advantage from 1941-1945.

To better understand the process of creating war propaganda, I examine the example taken from Bytwerk (2005) and briefly illustrate which of the 19 Principles were employed and how they were utilized. Twelve of the nineteen principles were clearly used successfully in this scheme: 1, 2, 3, 6, 7, 9, 14, 15, 16, 17, 18, and 19. Shortly after Kauffman's work reached Germany, its credibility was carefully determined (principle #7) and it was found to be credible enough to publish in parts (principle #9). War propaganda was carefully created by only one authority: Joseph Goebbels acting through fellow propagandist Wolfgang Diewerge to avoid any copyright issues between the American and German presses (principle #2). It was also clear the impact made by releasing any part of this document to the public was taken into consideration

(principle #3) for future propaganda releases. Therefore, taking the impact into consideration, principles #15, #16, and #17, all regarding the levels of hope, anxiety, and frustration were worked into the messages of disseminated propaganda accordingly. Excerpts of Kaufman's book were delivered through attention-getting forms of media (principle #6) by being reported on the radio, printed on posters, in pamphlets, and newspapers. The messages were designed to foster fear, anxiety, and uncertainty against the Allied Powers. Germans were bombarded with thoughts that the Allied Powers were planning to annihilate them. Markova (2008) states that propaganda and persuasion function to "strategically involve manipulation of messages and raising addressees' emotions...they may express direct and explicit meanings, and equally, they can play with implicitness, they may disguise meanings and leave the addressee in uncertainty, doubt or even facing moral dilemmas" (p. 37). Through the use of access to public opinion by utilizing secret police, propagandists were able to determine if the propaganda achieved this effect on the German population, meaning they were perceived to be fear stricken and uncertain whether their way of life would be demolished (principle #1). It was evident that war propaganda raised levels of anxiety (principle #16) and future war propaganda would have to reduce uncertainty and frustration (principle #17). In order to reduce the levels of uncertainty and frustration, a target was given toward which people could direct their anger, frustration, blame, uncertainty, and so on. Jews, political prisoners, and so on were labeled with distinct phrases and slogans and forced to wear the Star of David among many other things, all of which would help the German people to identify the targets for hatred (principles #14 and #18).

*War Propaganda Approach and Uncertainty Reduction Theory.* The above process illustrates the function of war propaganda. Here the approach to propaganda as a whole vs. war propaganda will be discussed, setting the stage for exploration of the cause and recent evolution

of war propaganda. Current research in the field of propaganda has failed to discuss the link between the war propaganda of WWII and that of today. I argue that missing link to be our failure to view war propaganda as a dialogical process perpetuated by technology as previously discussed and the application of Uncertainty Reduction Theory to keep channels of communication open between propagandists and the audience.

Markova (2008) argues that propaganda is a monological process where the propagandist is communicating one way with the target audience. For some forms of propaganda, this might be the case. But as the example above illustrates, war propaganda does NOT fall under this approach. We see this illustrated in principle #1, which states “propagandists must have access to intelligence concerning events and public opinion” (Goebbels as cited by Doob, 1950). This principle is the key to understanding war propaganda as a dialogical process. Principle #1 takes into account the target audience’s feedback, which the propagandist takes into consideration when constructing the next piece of propaganda, thereby creating a dialogue between the propagandist and the audience. Schechter also confirms that feedback is crucial to the process of propaganda. He states in reference to the War on Iraq in 2003 that “they were not just selling a message but managing the perception of those who received them through polling and other feedback loops” (Schechter, 2004, p. 28). When the construction process of war propaganda is approached as a dialogue, we begin to see how it parallels interpersonal communication.

Today, however, the ways in which consumers gather information are dramatically different from WWII in that our lives are now grounded in a multifaceted world of attention-getting communication mediums, especially news venues. This evolution occurred primarily through a feature: technology. There are currently hundreds of different ways in which we maintain our self-education concerning the world around us. As a result of an increase in

attention-getting communication mediums, it is now possible for viewers to tailor their exposure to media and create a more personalized means of gathering their data. Consumers invest their time and energy into building a trusting relationship with their choice information-gathering medium. They willingly provide feedback on top news stories, offer their opinions on certain public figures, and so on. This allows for propagandists to tailor messages to very specific audiences. For example, Kellner references the broadcast of the War on Iraq in 2003 during which “entire networks like FOX and the NBC cable networks provided little but propaganda and one-sided patriotism, as did, for the most part CNN. All these 24/7 cable networks, as well as the big three U.S. broadcasting networks, tended to provide highly sanitized views of the war, rarely showing Iraqi casualties, thus producing a view of the war totally different from that shown in other parts of the world” (Kellner, 2004, p. 73). In order to keep up with the evolution of media and war propaganda, propagandists have also been forced to revolutionize their ways of functioning. Currently, they have been promoting a much more personal means of message dissemination and feedback. We may turn to Uncertainty Reduction Theory in order to understand the process propagandists now follow.

Uncertainty Reduction Theory (URT), created by Charles Berger, is an interpersonal theory stating “the beginnings of personal relationships are fraught with uncertainties” (Berger as cited by Griffin, 2009). Communication is used to obtain knowledge and foster understanding, which therefore reduces levels of uncertainty for the future interactions. There are three scenarios in which the need to reduce uncertainty is heightened:

1. The anticipation of future interaction
2. Incentive value
3. Deviance

H. L. Goodall Jr. (2006) simply states “we communicate with each other to reduce uncertainty” (pp. 32). Today a modified form of URT may be used as a theoretical approach in understanding how propagandists might achieve a more personal and trusting relationship in mass communication. Knowing it is possible to reach target audiences through attention-getting communication mediums, propagandists create the three above scenarios for very specific audiences. This is done knowing that audiences will have questions and will be searching for answers, answers which propagandists more than willingly provide in time themselves or through a messenger. Through this process, relationships are built with audiences; this process may be better understood by examining the messages through the interpersonal communication lens subsequently we may dissect the messages using elements of the eight axioms of the URT: verbal communication, nonverbal warmth, information-seeking, self-disclosure, reciprocity, similarity, liking, and shared networks (Griffin, 2009).

Theoretically, how might we use these axioms of interpersonal theory in order to understand the creation of persuasive messages and the method through which they foster trust with audiences and therefore maintain a dialogue? Verbal communication and nonverbal warmth are regularly delivered through video clips, sound bites, and speeches on the television and on the internet. Information-seeking for propagandists is easily placated with polls, comment sections, and social media which allow them to take the emotional temperature of their audience. Self-disclosure is then used to allow the audience to feel familiar and comfortable with the information they are receiving and furthermore allowing them to feel at ease with providing more feedback. Reciprocity is employed to foster a relationship lending particular favoritism to feedback. The propagandists or medium through which the propaganda is delivered divulges information about themselves with the intention of obtaining more feedback

from the audience; emotional temperature taken again. For example, we may zoom in and expand upon the example given by Kellner (2004). Let us examine news talk show host Glenn Beck, who regularly discusses his family and issues in his personal life, which allows listeners to be at ease. He illustrates the use of Similarity with his “I am just one of you” mentality. This tactic inspires viewers to go online and respond to comments made during his show. The more the audience believes they are similar to those who are distributing information to them, the more they will trust those sources. Similarly, axiom seven states that the act of liking increases when uncertainty levels are low, therefore, propagandists will manipulate the information they disseminate to audiences to keep uncertainty and anxiety levels low in order to maintain audience retention. This especially applies when war propaganda is disseminated with the intention of raising levels of uncertainty in order to persuade the viewer about the topic at hand. This is accomplished through the release of a series of war propaganda pieces, the first of which a source upon which to direct the frustration spawned by uncertainty and anxiety is given. This leads finally into axiom number eight: shared networks. When propagandists and the audience are sharing the same network of communication, uncertainty is theoretically reduced and the propaganda messages are therefore trusted more. With this in mind, the propagandist may construct more personalized messages to the audience because they have the knowledge of audience’s position in politics, a guaranteed feedback loop promoting dialogue and attention-getting communication mediums through which their messages will continue to be delivered. It is simple to see that many of the axioms above relate directly to the 19 Principle of Propaganda discussed earlier, especially regarding the principles concerning the manipulation of uncertainty and anxiety:

15. Propaganda to the home front must prevent the raising of false hopes which can be blasted by future events

16. Propaganda to the home front must create an optimum anxiety level

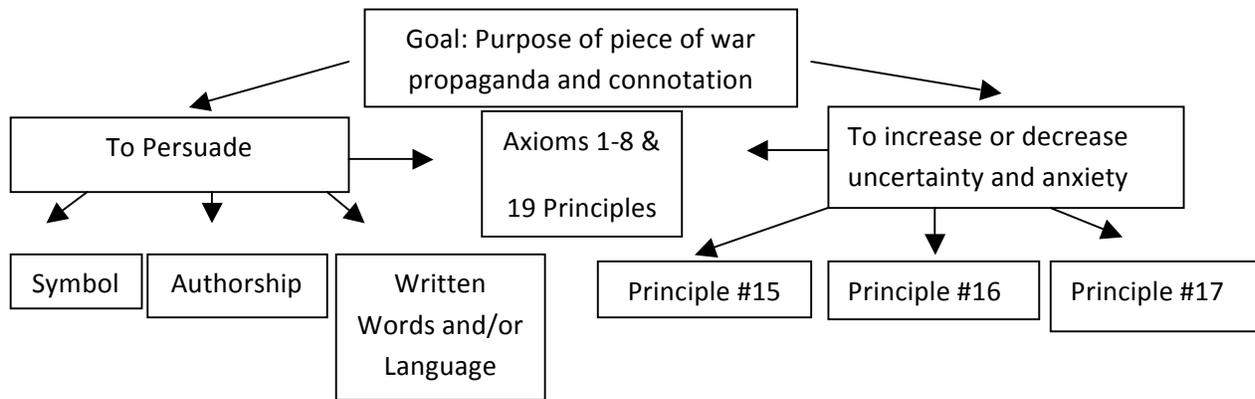
17. Propaganda to the home front must diminish the impact of frustration

Berger (as cited by Griffin, 2009) concludes that interpersonal communication is goal-driven; the idea is the same in propaganda, specifically war propaganda. By using message plans, Berger illustrates ways in which goals may be reached through communication. “A Plan-Based Theory of Strategic Communication,” as he called it, explains that we “continually construct cognitive plans to guide our social action” (Griffin, 2009, p. 129) and ultimately realize our goals. War propaganda is in and of itself strategic communication where the same plan for message construction may be applied in a different way.

## **Chapter Three**

### **Methodological Approach**

The purpose of this research is to illustrate the ways in which war propaganda theoretically functions today. I argue that evolution occurred in the field of propaganda between WWII and the War on Iraq, and the cause for this evolution was technology. Due to technological advancements in television and the internet, the world is a much smaller and more personal place. In order to comprehend how propaganda now functions and the ways in which it is theoretically designed to impact our lives, I argue we must examine it through the use of an interpersonal communication theory in addition to those previously established in the field. I will utilize Uncertainty Reduction Theory and the 19 Principles of Propaganda. Here I conduct a textual analysis of war propaganda used in WWII by Nazi Germany and that used during the War on Iraq by the United States. Through the interrogation of war propaganda from each era, we may come to understand the ways in which Uncertainty Reduction Theory and the 19 Principles of Propaganda come together in order to make sense of propaganda messages. For this research I use a slightly modified version of Berger's Hierarchical Plan of Goal Directed Communication in order to illustrate the construction of messages in the dialogical process of war propaganda.



*Figure 1.* The construction of messages in the dialogical process of war propaganda; a modified version of Berger’s Hierarchical Plan of Goal Directed Communication.

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Figure 1 illustrates the plan through which goal-oriented communication is created in war propaganda. First, the goal of the war propaganda is stated as well as the connotation it is presenting on the subject matter it is dealing with. Second, in order for this goal to be reached, the propaganda will have to be effective in two ways: 1) in its ability to persuade and 2) in its ability to increase or decrease uncertainty and anxiety within the intended audience. The third tier is dedicated to the ways in which the piece of propaganda achieves this goal. Through the particular use of symbols, authorship, written words, and a combination of the 8 axioms of URT and the 19 Principles of Propaganda, propaganda is able to persuade and aim to increase or decrease uncertainty and anxiety.

*Anticipated Results.* In the course of this research, I anticipate the application of interpersonal theory to war propaganda to provide new insights into the ways in which propaganda is researched. I also anticipate constructing the groundwork for future research in war propaganda message comprehension through further development of the 8 axioms of Uncertainty Reduction Theory.

## Chapter Four

### Analysis

#### **Adolf Hitler Declares war on Russia June 22, 1941**

Here I analyze Adolf Hitler's address to the German nation on June 22, 1941, announcing the invasion of Russia. The message, a national radiobroadcast, is taken through the modified version of Berger's Hierarchical Plan of Goal Directed Communication and then discussed. As propaganda is goal-oriented communication, every national address contains a goal. The goal, the purpose of this address, was to inform the citizens of Germany that their government had made the decision to invade Russia. In order for any goal to be achieved, two different things must be addressed within the propaganda: 1) the message must be persuasive and 2) it must impact the anxiety level of the audience. First, I illustrate the ways in which this message is capable of mass persuasion. Second, I illustrate the ways in which the message is designed to theoretically manipulate the anxiety of the viewers.

*Persuasion: Goal, Purpose, and Connotation.* There were two goals of this address to the German people. The basic and most superficial purpose of this address to the nation was to inform them of their country's choice to invade Russia. The second, deeper purpose of this speech was to justify the reason for the invasion and provide it with connotation. Table 1 illustrates that the connotation provided was positive. The overall connotation is determined by which theme group had the most number of references. Here it is clear that the balance between positive and negative themes within the address was tipped only slightly in the favor of positivity. The purpose of such a choice is based upon the desire to manipulate and maintain levels of anxiety and uncertainty within the audience. In order for either of the previously stated goals to be successful at all, they needed to be founded on two premises. The first premise was

that the speech needed to be incredibly persuasive. In order to be persuasive, it needed to contain certain features: the proper symbols, authorship/messenger, and language. The second premise it needed to contain was the proper balance of anxiety/uncertainty manipulation. The ability to manipulate the levels of anxiety and uncertainty within the population required the language and delivery of the message to feature certain Principles of Propaganda and the eight axioms of Uncertainty Reduction Theory working simultaneously and cohesively.

Table 1

*Positive and Negative Themes in Hitler's 1941 Address-Invasion of Russia*

<b>Positive Themes</b>	<b>Negative Themes</b>
Self Control/Silence 6	Hateful Policy/International Conspiracy 3
Unity 4	Encirclement 4
Responsibility 8	Chaos 2
Patience 2	Misery 3
Self Defense 1	Starvation 3
Common Defense 4	Poverty 1
Strength 1	Defeat/Shame 2
Cooperation 4	Impotence 2
Peace 5	Threat 6
German Innocence 3	Destruction 1
German War Heroes/Soldiers 6	Treaty Violation 3
Prior Victories 5	Border Violation 7
<b>Totals:</b> 49	<b>37</b>

Table 1 Positive and negative themes expressed throughout the course of the address and the number of times each theme was referenced.

*Symbols.* As this was a radio broadcast, there was no use of visual symbols or enthymemes. Instead literal symbols were replaced with syllogisms and verbal enthymemes. We must look at symbolic language. In the best example within this address, Hitler writes of WWI and the misery and starvation that German citizens experienced. He states:

Germany was defeated in 1918 only because of its inner disunity. The results were terrible. After first hypocritically declaring to be fighting only against the Kaiser and his regime, they began the systematic destruction of the German Reich after the German army had laid down its arms. As the prophecy of a French statesman, who had said that there were twenty million Germans too many, began to be fulfilled through starvation, disease, or emigration, the National Socialist movement began building the unity of the German people, thereby preparing the rebirth of the Reich.

This new revival of our people from poverty, misery, and shameful contempt was a sign of a pure internal rebirth. England was not affected, much less threatened, by this. Nonetheless, it immediately renewed its hateful policy of encirclement against Germany. Both at home and abroad, we faced the plot we all know about between Jews and democrats, Bolshevists and reactionaries, all with the same goal: to prevent the establishment of a new people's state, to plunge the Reich again into impotence and misery. (Hitler, p. 1)

Here Hitler recalls events that many of the German citizens alive during WWII would have also lived through. He recalls the starvation they experienced, the miserable living conditions, and their global humiliation. The audience is then reminded of the renewal of the nation as he recalls their national rebirth. They have recovered their way of life but perhaps only briefly if the enemies win. Here, in the very early stages of this address, threat was established and strong emotional appeals are in place. Due to the vagueness of the message, the audience's imaginations are left to fill in the gaps of what might happen should Germany lose. Language is used in this fashion throughout the entirety of the address.

*Authorship/Messenger.* This speech is unique in this aspect. Hitler himself was the author of the address, but it was delivered by Joseph Goebbels. This carries symbolic meaning in and of itself. Both men are national figures of authority and publicly recognized by the audience. It illustrates the level of trust within the leadership of the Nazi Party. This trust between party leaders fosters trust between the people and their leadership. The message sent is that if Hitler feels he can trust Goebbels, then the people will too.

Table 2

*The Seven Characteristics of Propaganda, Utility and Representative Text 1941*

<b>Seven Characteristics of Propaganda</b>	<b>Utility of Characteristic</b>	<b>Corresponding Language/Example Most representative quotes.</b>
Name Calling (Emotional Appeal)	Labeling Enemy-Incite Fear	“...Jewish Bolshevist rulers...” “...international and Jewish warmongers.”
Glittering Generalities (Emotional Appeal)	Appeal to values of audience	“The results of our policies are unique in the world. Our economic and social reorganization has led to the systematic elimination of social class barriers, with the goal of a true people’s community.”
Transfer (Logical Appeal)	Carryover of symbolic meaning from symbol to speaker and potential message impact	The transfer of Hitler’s credibility to Goebbels.
Testimonial (Logical Appeal)	Message Endorsement	This message is Hitler’s testimonial justifying why Germany is invading Russia. He explains throughout the message that he has done everything possible to avoid this.
Plain Folks (Ethical Appeal)	Speaker has the audience’s best interests in mind	“I behaved as the responsible leader of the German Reich, but also as a responsible representative of European culture and civilization.” “The results of the treaty, which I sought in the best interests of the German people...”
Bandwagon (Emotional and Logical appeals)	Propagandists create the “Following the crowd” Mentality	“German people!” “National Socialists!”
Card Stacking (Logical Appeal)	Propagandists create the best case possible for their side	Throughout the address Hitler emphasizes he took every precaution to “avoid the sacrifice”. “I kept silent about all this because I had to...for the sake of peace...” “I was forced by circumstances to keep silent in the past, Now the moment has come when further silence would be not only a sin, but a crime against the German people, against all Europe.”

*Table 2* The Seven Characteristics of Propaganda, their utility and specific examples of them in Hitler’s address justifying the invasion of Russia.

*Language.* As reviewed prior, any goal-oriented communication will require three key persuasive elements; symbols, proper authorship/messenger, and effective use of language. The persuasive language of propaganda is not as complicated as one might think. Seven basic characteristics of propaganda laid down by the Institute for Propaganda Analysis in 1937. By running the language of propaganda through the seven characteristics, we begin to see emerging patterns of appeals to the audience. The following table is a breakdown of the seven characteristics, their utility, and the corresponding language, as well as examples from the address.

Three appeals are made throughout this address: logical, emotional, and ethical appeals. By referencing Table 2 we see these themes emerge. Logical appeals are primarily made concerning the defense of the German people. They are developed slowly, one step at a time. By the end of the address, a call for common defense for all of Europe is made. Language pursuing logical appeal and argument is found within the seventh characteristic of propaganda, card stacking. The premise of card stacking is for the propagandist to create the best case possible for their cause. In this example propagandists are arguing that every possible attempt for peace has been made, and the act of invading Russia is the only way to preserve the way of life they have so painstakingly rebuilt. Two other characteristics of propaganda bolster logical appeal and argument: testimonial and transfer. Table 3 breaks down the three appeals, themes, and their corresponding language. Testimonials may be found across the board. This is Hitler's testimonial assuring that he has taken every precaution in order to avoid invading Russia. However because it is read over radio broadcast by Goebbels the process of transfer is utilized; Hitler's credibility as leader of the German people is being transferred over to Goebbels.

Emotional appeals are used to further the process of positive card stacking in Hitler's direction. Characteristics of propaganda that promote emotional appeals include name-calling and glittering generalities. The function of name-calling is to help the audience associate negative language and thereby negative emotions with the enemy. This will incite fear within the audience, thus increasing their uncertainty and anxiety about the enemy. Glittering generalities appeal to the values and morals of the audience. The author, in this case Hitler, associates himself with these values and therefore makes himself and his actions more appealing to the audience. Themes corresponding to emotional appeals include peace, innocence, and references to both the past and the enemy. Representative quotes illustrating each theme may be found in Table 3.

Logical and emotional appeals are only valid if delivered by the correct and responsible authority. Ethical appeals are gained through the use of the "plain folks" characteristic of propaganda. In this case, that authority is Hitler, relayed through Goebbels. Language in the address reminds the audience that Hitler *himself* has the responsibility and authority to protect them. Again, representative examples are available in Table 3.

Table 3

*Appeals and Corresponding Themes Present in Text 1941*

<b>Appeal: Logical</b>	<b>Emotional</b>	<b>Ethical</b>
<b>Theme: Defense</b>	<b>Innocence/Peace &amp; Past/Enemy</b>	<b>Responsibility</b>
“I was forced by circumstances to keep silent in the past, Now the moment has come when further silence would be not only a sin, but a crime against the German people, against all Europe.”	“My wish was for final agreement in this state, and if possible a lasting settlement”	“I did it only because of my sense of responsibility to the German people, above all in the hope of reaching a lasting understanding and perhaps avoiding the sacrifice that would otherwise be demanded of us”
“Russia’s threatened attack on Rumania was intended not only to take over an important element in the economic life not only of Germany, but of Europe as a whole, or at least destroy it.”	“The victory on Poland, gained exclusively by German troops, gave me the occasion to extend a new offer of peace to the Western power.”	“The results of the treaty, which I sought in the best interest of the German people...”
“The Rumanian government, however, believed that it could justify this step toward its own people only if Germany and Italy in return guaranteed the security of its remaining territory. I did this with a heavy heart.”	“Despite our principles and our customs, and despite the Rumanian government brought on these troubles itself, I urgently advised them, for the sake of peace, to bow to Soviet extortion and cede Bessarabia.”	“When the German government gives a guarantee, it will stand by it. We are neither English nor Jewish.”
“At this moment, an attack unprecedented in the history of the world in its extent and size has begun.”	“Now the hour has come when it is necessary to respond to his [Molotov’s] plot by the Jewish-Anglo-Saxon warmongers and the Jewish rulers of Moscow’s Bolshevist headquarters.”	
“The alliance between these nations was, therefore, only an act of self-defense against a threatening, egotistical world coalition of wealth and power.”		

*Table 3* Depicts persuasive appeals, corresponding themes and the best representative quotes as examples of each within the address.

To exemplify the process of the above elements, the following excerpt from the address will illustrate each appeal, corresponding themes, and characteristics of propaganda working simultaneously.

Now the hour has come when it is necessary to respond to his plot by Jewish-Anglo-Saxon warmongers and the Jewish rulers of Moscow's Bolshevist headquarter.

German people!

At this moment, an attack unprecedented in the history of the world in its extent and size has begun. With Finnish comrades, the victors of Narvik stand by the Arctic Sea. German divisions, under the command of the conqueror of Norway, together with the heroes of Finland's freedom and their marshal, defend Finnish soil. On the Eastern Front, German formations extend from East Prussia to the Carpathians. From the banks of the Pruth River, from the lower Danube to the Black Sea, German and Romanian soldiers are united under state leader Antonescu.

The purpose of this front is no longer the protection of the individual nations, but rather the safety of Europe, and therefore the salvation of everyone.

I have therefore decided today once again to put the fate of Germany and the future of the German Reich and our people in the hands of our soldiers.

May God help us in this battle. (Hitler, 1941, p. 7)

In these closing remarks of the address we immediately encounter emotional appeals in name-calling: "Jewish-Anglo-Saxon warmongers and the Jewish rulers of Moscow's Bolshevist headquarter." This is followed by the emotional/logical appeal of bandwagon in that the German people are referred to as a whole. Whether they were National Socialist or not, they were being called upon to listen and support. This is followed by a paragraph containing the basic superficial purpose of the address, the announcement that Germany was invading Russia. Emotional appeals follow in the form of a list of who will be in charge of this invasion. Here,

glittering generalities are rife with such terminology as “comrades”, “victors”, “commander and conqueror”, “heroes”, “protection,” and “safety”. The final two sentences of the address appeal to ethics, in that Hitler has taken final responsibility for the invasion, and emotion, in that there is an appeal to God.

*Anxiety and Uncertainty Manipulation.* With the persuasive elements of propaganda in place, we may then begin to explore the elements included in propaganda that function to create more or less anxiety and uncertainty held by an audience. Three of the 19 Principles of Propaganda directly address anxiety and uncertainty. First I will examine principle #16, which functions to create the optimum level of anxiety. Second, principle # 17, which is designed to diminish the impact of frustration, will be discussed. Third and finally, I will examine the ways in which this address was designed to prevent the raising of false hopes should they be shattered in the future, Principle #15.

Principle #16 functions to create optimum levels of anxiety within the intended audience. The purpose of such an act is to create more trust between the audience and the speaker. Inciting fear is a commonly used tactic. All negative themes referred to in Table 1 function to evoke an emotional response from the audience and incite fear. Referring to the section above on persuasive language, we may look at emotional appeals stemming from name-calling and glittering generalities. Logical appeals are also used in card-stacking against the enemy. This is best exemplified in the following excerpt:

Germany was defeated in 1918 only because of its inner disunity. The results were terrible. After first hypocritically declaring to be fighting only against the Kaiser and his regime, they began the systematic destruction of the German Reich after the German army had laid down its arms. As the prophecy of a French

statesman, who had said that there were twenty million Germans too many, began to be fulfilled through starvation, disease, or emigration, the National Socialist movement began building the unity of the German people, thereby preparing the rebirth of the Reich.

This new revival of our people from poverty, misery, and shameful contempt was a sign of a pure internal rebirth. England was not affected, much less threatened, by this. Nonetheless, it immediately renewed its hateful policy of encirclement against Germany. Both at home and abroad, we faced the plot we all know about between Jews and democrats, Bolshevists and reactionaries, all with the same goal: to prevent the establishment of a new people's state, to plunge the Reich again into impotence and misery. (Hitler, 1941, p. 1)

First, it should be noted this is an excerpt from the beginning of the address and is being used as an attention-getter. Here we find several of the negative themes referred to in Table 1. Defeat in the 1<sup>st</sup> World War, starvation, disease, poverty, misery, hateful policy, encirclement, and impotence are all discussed within the first two paragraphs. Hitler first reminds the people of the life they experienced after WWI. He then states that after a process of “rebirth,” they were thriving. The language used to illustrate the threat of being forced back into starvation and misery is incorporated and designed to incite fear and anxiety. This is designed to draw the audience into the address and cling to the words of their leader, lending him more trust. “Disunity” is also used to create anxiety. The message sent is if we stay united then we might avoid repeating history. Name-calling is also used in the excerpt above. We see that Jews, democrats, Bolshevists, and reactionaries are all referred to and surrounded by negative language. Later in the address the same group is referred to as “a threatening, egotistical world

coalition of wealth and power” and “international and Jewish warmongers.” A theme not discussed above but represented in Table 1. is that of encirclement. Encirclement is a common vein throughout the entire address and is exclusively used to incite fear, anxiety, and uncertainty within the audience. The word itself is used frequently, from the beginning to the end of the speech, in order to reinforce the idea of being surrounded by the enemy.

Propagandists recognize the importance of diminishing the impact of frustration brought on by heightened anxiety. Principle #17 is designed to do just that. If we refer to Table 1, we notice that the balance between positive and negative language themes are kept relatively close. This near balance functions to prevent the audience from becoming so overwhelmed by anxiety that they give up hope. Throughout the address victory in Russia is never promised. However, it is indirectly implied that victory will come. In Hitler’s address, he leaves them on a positive language theme:

At this moment, an attack unprecedented in the history of the world in its extent and size has begun. With Finnish comrades, the victors of Narvik stand by the Arctic Sea. German divisions, under the command of the conqueror of Norway, together with the heroes of Finland’s freedom and their marshal, defend Finnish soil. On the Eastern Front, German formations extend from East Prussia to the Carpathians. From the banks of the Pruth River, from the lower Danube to the Black Sea, German and Romanian soldiers are united under state leader Antonescu.

The purpose of this front is no longer the protection of the individual nations, but rather the safety of Europe, and therefore the salvation of everyone.

I have therefore decided today once again to put the fate of Germany and the future of the German Reich and our people in the hands of our soldiers.

May God help us in this battle. (Hitler, 1941, p. 7)

In order to diminish the impact of frustration caused by recalling WWI, noting the world is circling against Germany and its allies and that Russia has consistently committed border violations, the audience is left with the excerpt above. They are reminded of recent victories and the heroes who were responsible for them. Those same heroes were then put in charge of protecting Europe against Russia. It is easy for the audience to deduce that victory is possible. Principle #18, which states that “propaganda must facilitate the displacement of aggression by specifying the targets for hatred” (Doob, 1950), is also a very useful tool through which frustration may be diminished. The audience is also given several groups to blame for their misfortune: England, Jews, Russia, and the United States. A target for hatred helps to diminish the impact of frustration because it offers a place in which to direct feelings of hate and anger, which diverts it away from their own government.

The final principle dedicated to manipulation of anxiety is #15. Preventing the rise of false hopes that can be shattered by the outcome of future events is closely related to diminishing the impact of frustration. As discussed above, Hitler gives no guarantee of victory in Russia. Instead he implies it is possible but it will be at great cost. Here he gives hope and prevents false hope while maintaining anxiety.

*Axioms and Delivery.* In this final section of the analysis of this address, we will delve into the eight Axioms of Uncertainty Reduction Theory. By reviewing the delivery styles of Hitler’s address through these self-evident truths of interpersonal communication, we see the ways in which we may begin to explore propaganda as a dialogical rather than a monological

communication process. The eight axioms--verbal communication, nonverbal warmth, information-seeking behavior, self-disclosure, reciprocity, similarity, liking, and shared networks--function to better the relationship between two communicators. Here I will illustrate in what ways Hitler and Goebbels succeeded and failed at creating connections with their audience within this address.

The first axiom, verbal communication, states the higher the amount of verbal communication created the lower the level of uncertainty will be. Hitler, in justifying the invasion of Russia, uses high volumes of reassuring verbal communication. As illustrated in Table 1, positive language themes outweigh the negative language themes of the address. All positive language themes carry with them the message of responsibility and peace. The best representative example of this positive verbal communication is "I behaved as the responsible leader of the German Reich, but also as a responsible representative of European culture and civilization." With this high level of positive verbal communication, the impact of frustration was lessened and the level of uncertainty kept at a manageable level.

The second axiom, nonverbal warmth, is the faltering point of the Nazi propaganda. The premise of nonverbal warmth is that as nonverbal warmth is increasingly expressed, uncertainty decreases. Nonverbal warmth is scarcely used in public or radio broadcast. Only on a smaller scale, usually just during interpersonal meetings, was nonverbal warmth ever used. With little to no nonverbal warmth radiating from leadership, anxiety and uncertainty levels were kept high. But eventually there was a time when the constant barrage of shocking and intense propaganda eventually desensitized the German population (Bytwerk, 2006). The evolution of message construction for current propaganda lies within the technological advances that make nonverbal warmth more accessible to a mass target audience. With the availability of television and the

internet comes the ability to create the dialogical process of communication within propaganda. This will be discussed at length in a later portion of this thesis.

The third axiom, information-seeking behavior, is well represented within this address. High levels of uncertainty increase information-seeking behavior. Information is sought out in order to decrease the level of anxiety and uncertainty in communication. Here Hitler established levels of uncertainty and anxiety within the initial statements of his address by recalling WWI and its outcome. This attention-getter spiked levels of anxiety and uncertainty, which increased the attentiveness of the listener and their information-seeking behavior. Thus they are drawn into the rest of the persuasive message.

In the process of communication, self-disclosure is known to decrease levels of anxiety and uncertainty. Here axiom four, or “self disclosure,” is used to best possible effect. Hitler relied on the amount of self-disclosure he provided in order to gain approval from his audience. The premise is that low levels of uncertainty produce higher levels of intimacy, intimacy meaning trust. The more the speaker, in this case Hitler, uses the word “I,” the more self he is disclosing and theoretically the more trust he is gaining from the target audience.

High levels of uncertainty increase level of reciprocity. Axiom five can be understood when we explore Hitler’s use of the positive language theme responsibility. As detailed above, Hitler reminds Germany that it experienced its rebirth after WWI during his rule, which serves as a call for reciprocity from the very beginning of the address. The message he sent when he spoke of his responsibility was one of ethical duty. With anxiety and uncertainty high, it is logical to believe people would reciprocate and agree to the decision he made.

The sixth axiom, similarity, states that the more points of contact that are established and the more you feel you understand the speaker, the lower the level of anxiety and uncertainty. In

propaganda this would fall under self-disclosure. As the speaker makes statements releasing details about himself, the audience finds points of similarity they share with the speaker. Today technology makes it possible to take it one step further and allow speakers/propagandists to respond directly to viewer comments. This will be discussed in a later section.

The seventh axiom states that an increase in anxiety decreases the liking. This axiom, liking, is used heavily within Hitler's address through card-stacking against the enemy. The more uncertainty and anxiety that surrounds the expressed actions of the enemy, the more the audience will dislike said enemy. For example, Hitler discusses the ways in which England aims to destroy Germany and their new way of living. No specific details are used. All he discusses is that starvation, misery, and chaos would be present again. The nation would be returned to WWI aftermath status.

The final axiom of Uncertainty Reduction Theory is a shared network, which implies that shared communication networks will decrease uncertainty. This is most present in the fact Goebbels is reading the address on national radio for Hitler. Therefore those loyal to Hitler will trust Goebbels just as he does. This will lend more credibility to Goebbels. As Goebbels is already a public figure by this point in history, he is already a shared communication network point between the people and Hitler. This appearance merely bolsters his status.

## **George W. Bush Declares War on Iraq March 19, 2003**

Here I analyze President George W. Bush's address to the nation on March 19, 2003, announcing the beginning of the War on Iraq. As propaganda is goal-oriented communication, every national address contains a goal. The goal, the purpose of this address was to inform the citizens of America that they were now at war with Iraq. In order for any goal to be achieved, two different things must be addressed within the propaganda: the message must be persuasive and it must impact the anxiety level of the audience. First, I illustrate the ways in which this message is capable of mass persuasion. Second, I illustrate the ways in which the message attempts to manipulate the anxiety of the viewers. This leads into discussion concerning the evolution of message construction and delivery through the use of Uncertainty Reduction Theory and 19 Principles of Propaganda combined.

*Persuasion: Goal, Purpose, and Connotation.* The purpose of this address was given a connotation. By connotation it is meant: In what light were Americans supposed to regard this message? The answer is simple. The American population was to regard this address with a positive connotation. Through analysis of the language choice, it is evident that the positive features outweigh the negative. Refer to Table 1. There are three major themes for positive connotation within the President's address: freedom, unity, and defense/victory. Juxtaposed are the three major themes in negative connotation: danger, threat, and atrocities. Table 1 illustrates that more positive than negative language was used. By positive language it is meant that words intended to induce positive emotions were used more frequently than those designed to do the opposite.

Table 4

*Themes in Language: Side by side comparison of positive and negative language connotation.*

<b><u>Language lending positive connotation</u></b> <b><u>Responsible for easing anxiety</u></b>	<b><u>Language lending negative connotation</u></b> <b><u>Responsible for raising anxiety</u></b>
<b><u>Freedom</u></b>	<b><u>Danger</u></b>
"...free its people..."	"The dangers to our country and the world..."
"And helping Iraqis achieve a united, stable and free country..."	
"We will defend our freedom"	
"We will bring freedom to others and prevail..."	
<b><u>Unity</u></b>	<b><u>Threat</u></b>
"My fellow citizens..."	"Remove a threat and restore control..."
"American and coalition forces..."	"The people of the United states...will not live at the mercy of an outlaw regime that threatens the peace with weapons of mass murder."
"Coalition forces have begun..."	"We will meet the threat now with our Army, Air Force, Navy, Coast Guard so that we do not have to meet it later with armies of fire fighters, police officers and doctors on the streets of our cities."
"More than 35 countries are giving crucial support..."	"The people of the United States and our friends and allies will not live at the mercy of an outlaw regime that threatens the peace with weapons of mass murder."
"Every nation in this coalition has chosen to bear the duty and share the honor of serving in our common defense."	
"Coalition forces will make every effort..."	
"We come to Iraq..."	
"Millions of Americans..."	
"The people of the United States and our friends and allies..."	
"My fellow citizens, the dangers to our country and the world will be overcome..."	
<b><u>Defense/Victory</u></b>	<b><u>Atrocities</u></b>
"...defend the world from grave danger..."	"...a final atrocity against his people..."
"serving in our common defense"	
"We will meet the threat now with our Army, Air Force, Navy, Coast Guard so that we do not have to meet it later with armies of fire fighters, police officers and doctors on the streets of our cities..."	
"Now that conflict has come the only way to limit its duration is to apply decisive force..."	
"We will defend our freedom..."	

*Table 4* The first column which lends positive connotation to the overall message is associated with principle #15 and #17 and second column lends negative connotation is associated with #16.

*Symbols.* The first element of propaganda to consider is the use of visual symbols. Here the three most prominent visual symbols, aside from the speaker himself, are: The American Flag, the flag of the President of the United States and the framed pictures in the background to the left and right of the President. First, consider the American Flag. The American Flag obviously stands for freedom. Its presence illustrates that the subject of the speech will pertain to national matters. It also represents patriotism and American heritage. If we look at it in the context of 2003, it is understood that the flag is most commonly seen in the “We shall never forget 9/11” Campaign. It is also important to note that 9/11 is indirectly revisited during the address itself this demonstrates the fact visual symbols reinforce spoken and/or written language. Who caused 9/11? Terrorists. What is Saddam Hussein being portrayed as? He is interpreted as a terrorist not only to the United States, but to the world, including his own people. There is also an American Flag on the lapel of the President. This demonstrates his pride in his country and love for it. It is positioned close to the center of his chest, which illustrates that he keeps it close to his heart, which helped him make the choices he did.

The second symbol we are directed to is the flag of the President of the United States which bears the President’s seal. What is this flag saying in the way it is being displayed? It is making the statement that the president is at war. The eagle is clearly represented. It is known to be a fierce bird of prey and our national icon. It is a prideful bird who always has a sharp eye out for prey or predator. It is also a territorial bird. The eagle in the Seal of the President of the United States is clutching a bundle of arrows in its talons. Here, the arrows are displayed with points pointing away from the president and the American Flag. This illustrates and reinforces the act/theme of defense. It illustrates that the President has declared war on an external force as

an act of defending his country, the country represented by the American Flag. He is defending his family and loved ones who the arrows are also pointing away from.

The final and most prominent symbol is the grouping of framed pictures in the background. Displayed in these photos is the family of the president, his daughters and wife. The representation goes beyond the family of just the president; they extend to the nation as a whole. These photos embody American values: family, loved ones, and especially in their proximity to the flags already discussed, those who need to be defended. It represents the population of innocent victims that are at stake in the United States and abroad creating an emotional argument for the reasoning behind invading Iraq.

Table 5

*Visual Symbols*

<b>Thematic Symbol Use</b>	<b>Purpose</b>
American Flag	Reinforces the ideals of freedom.
Family Photos	Reinforces whose live are at stake.
The Flag of the president of the United States	Reinforces the authority delivering the message, defense, protection, and pride.

*Table 5* Listed here are the visual symbols used in George W. Bush’s address and their purpose.

*Messenger.* I set the messenger aside from symbols. Though he is a symbol himself the messenger is a separate element in propaganda. He himself lends a certain amount of credibility as President of the United States. The President of the United States is the leader of the free world and a beacon of the democratic process in action elected into a government by the people and running it for those people. The President has the ultimate duty and responsibility of doing what is in the people’s best interest. It is understood that ultimately, it is his decision whether or not America enters into or declares any kind of international conflict. The speech is taken more seriously when delivered by the President than had it been delivered by Michael Gerson, who was ultimately responsible for the content.

*Language.* Language is the vehicle through which the goal of this address is delivered. Within this address there are three different kinds of basic argumentation: logical, emotional and ethical. Logical appeals include all appeals pertaining to defense. Emotional appeals concentrate on innocence. Ethical appeals pertain to presidential duty. First, I will discuss the language involved with the creation of the logical appeals, and then cover the layering of logical and emotional appeals followed by ethical appeals.

Compared to the use of the seven characteristics of propaganda by Hitler it is easy to see that the severity of various characteristics has been greatly reduced. For example, the first characteristic, name-calling, resorts to using the enemy's actual name for the majority of the address. Terms such as "enemy" and "outlaw" are also used. Glittering generalities, however, are much more prominent. As previously discussed in the analysis of Hitler's address, glittering generalities are designed to appeal to the values held by the audience. In the address delivered by President Bush, glittering generalities include numerous mentions of freedom, defense, duty, honor and peace. The third characteristic that reinforces the glittering generalities is transfer. The transfer of meaning from symbols to message is utilized to the best possible advantage. As discussed in the section on use of visual symbols, transfer of meaning from the American Flag, the flag of the President of the United States, and framed family photos was successful. The fourth characteristic presented in the President's address was testimonial. It is announced several times that America is not alone in this war on Iraq; references to the coalition made up of over 35 nations are made throughout the entirety of the address. This fact illustrates that more than just America is concerned about the threat presented. President Bush uses this to demonstrate that he is acting in everyone's best interest.

Table 6

*The Seven Characteristics of Propaganda, Utility and Representative Text 2003*

<b>Seven Characteristics of Propaganda</b>	<b>Utility of Characteristic</b>	<b>Corresponding Language/Example Most representative quotes.</b>
Name Calling (Emotional Appeal)	Labeling Enemy-Incite Fear	“Saddam Hussein” “outlaw regime” “threat”
Glittering Generalities (Emotional Appeal)	Appeal to values of audience	“Every nation in this coalition has chosen to bear the duty and share the honor of serving in our common defense” “We will defend our freedom. We will bring freedom to others and we will prevail”
Transfer (Logical Appeal)	Carryover of symbolic meaning from symbol to speaker and potential message impact	Transfer of American Flag, The President’s Flag, and the framed family photos. See section above regarding symbols.
Testimonial (Logical Appeal)	Message Endorsement	“More than 35 countries are giving crucial support”
Plain Folks (Ethical Appeal)	Speaker has the audience’s best interests in mind	“Our nation enters this conflict reluctantly- yet, our purpose is sure. The people of the United states and our friends and allies will not live at the mercy of an outlaw regime that threatens the peace with weapons of mass murder.”
Bandwagon (Emotional and Logical appeals)	Propagandists create the “Following the crowd” Mentality	“Millions of Americans are praying with you for the safety of your loved ones and for the protection of the innocent.”
Card Stacking (Logical Appeal)	Propagandists create the best case possible for their side	Positive language themes associated with the support of the war such as: “American and coalition forces are in the early stages of military operation to <u>disarm</u> Iraq, <u>free</u> its people and to <u>defend</u> the world from grave danger”

Table 6 Provides an outline of the Seven Characteristics of Propaganda and the appeals each is associated with in the context of this research, the purpose/function of these characteristics and examples from the Presidential Address.

The fifth characteristic of propaganda is plain folks, or when the speaker is depicted as having the audience's best interests at heart. President Bush did this by focusing on defense and protection of national and global communities. The sixth characteristic emphasizes unity. Bandwagon, or creating the "follow the crowd" mentality, theoretically allows audience members to believe that the majority is behaving one way and that is the right way. Here, the President used phrases such as "Millions of Americans" and "The people of the United States" to achieve this characteristic. Finally, we reach card stacking, which is used to present the best case possible for the message sent. The positive language themes associated with coalition and American forces throughout the address stack the cards, or audience opinion in favor of his message.

In order to make a logical argument, propagandists highlight two areas of this address thus creating a theme: the act of defense itself and that which was to be defended. By revisiting Table 1 a glimpse may be made as to who this pertains to: our nation, our freedom, innocent civilians in Iraq who were victims of Saddam Hussein's dictatorship, and the rest of the world. Table 3 depicts not only who America is defending but how it will defend. Strong appeals are made to the citizens of the United States through the use of conditional syllogisms. The persuasive message being sent is: We are in danger, our way of life is in danger and we need to strike before we are struck upon because if we do not take action first then we will be the victims of "weapons of mass murder" later. These logical appeals provide the structure of the arguments. Layered between logical appeals are the emotional appeals.

Table 7

*Argument, Theme and Representative Text 2003*

<b>Argument: Logical</b>	<b>Emotional</b>	<b>Ethical</b>
<b>Theme: Defense</b>	<b>Innocence</b>	<b>Duty/Honor</b>
“defend the world from grave danger”	“Saddam Hussein has placed Iraqi troops and equipment in civilian areas attempting to use innocent men women and children as shields for his own military- a final atrocity against his own people”	“On my orders coalition forces have begun striking targets of military importance to undermine Saddam Hussein’s ability to wage war”
“serving in our common defense”	“I want Americans and all the world to know that coalition forces will make every effort to spare innocent civilians from harm”	“Every nation in this coalition has chosen to bear the duty and share the honor of serving in our common defense”
“We will meet the threat now with our Army, Air Force, Navy, Coast Guard so that we do not have to meet it later with armies of fire fighters, police officers and doctors on the streets of our cities”	“Millions of Americans are praying with you for the safety of your loved ones and for the protection of the innocent”	“The people you liberate will witness the honor and decent spirit of the American military”
“Now that conflict has come the only way to limit its duration is to apply decisive force”		“Our nation enters this conflict reluctantly-but our purpose is sure”
“Now that conflict has come the only way to limit its duration is to apply decisive force”		
“We will defend our freedom”		

Table 7 illustrates the three major arguments made in President Bush’s address to the nation on March 19, 2003.

Emotional appeals are made two ways throughout the address through enthymemes regarding 9/11 and discussion of innocent civilians. If we look closely at the structure of the speech, we will find that the emotional appeals are made shortly after the logical arguments are made. The first paragraph serves the superficial goal of this address: informing the American public their nation is now at war with Iraq. The goal of the war is also stated: free the Iraqi people and remove a global threat. The second paragraph is dedicated to logical argumentation: targets have been chosen, allies have been gathered and we will defend the world. The third

paragraph addresses those who are actually serving in the armed forces and gives them an idea of what is to be expected of them. In the fourth paragraph the language illustrates how the people of Iraq are oppressed by Saddam Hussein, “Saddam Hussein has placed Iraqi troops and equipment in civilian areas attempting to use innocent men, women and children as shields for his own military- a final atrocity against his own people.” This implies there have been atrocities in the past committed against innocent civilians. Prior logical argument has already implied that an attack against these military targets has begun. The fifth and sixth paragraphs are dedicated to easing the viewers’ minds with comments that coalition forces will make every effort to minimize civilian harm immediately follow any mention of the final atrocity. The seventh paragraph focuses again on the emotional appeals. Here we find the President addressing the families of those serving in the armed forces. If we refer to Table 1, under unity we find the purpose of this is to remind the viewer that they are not alone. Immediately after the emotional appeals of paragraph seven are more logical arguments of paragraph eight but here they intertwine. In the exact language of the President; “We will meet the threat now with our Army, Air Force, Navy, Coast Guard and Marines so that we do not have to meet it later with armies of fire fighters, police officers and doctors on the streets of our cities.” This enthymeme is the most persuasive language that the President uses in the entire speech solely because it reawakens memories of the events of 9/11. This language leads the viewers to reflect on their own experiences with that day and deduce that it is better to be on the offense than the defense in war. The final paragraphs of this address recognize time and the war’s duration which will be addressed shortly in discussion of uncertainty and anxiety.

The last appeal made is that of ethics. As a leader elected by the people into a government created for the people, it is the president’s ethical duty to act according in the best

interest of his people. He has the duty to protect the people he leads from threats. He accepts this responsibility within the opening of the address in which he states “On my orders coalition forces have begun striking targets of military importance to undermine Saddam Hussein’s ability to wage war.” He uses those words deliberately, “On my orders”. He is saying that he has given this command as the leader of his nation. “Every nation in this coalition has chosen to bear the duty and share the honor of serving in our common defense” This comment expands the duty beyond that of just the United States. It is the duty of the free world to protect all nations from threats. Evidence to support this is illustrated in Table 3 in the third column contains quotes from the speech discussing the shared responsibility and honor.

*Principles and Axioms.* In order to understand how propaganda manipulates anxiety, we must turn to the language utilized by the speaker. The following table organizes the three Principles of Propaganda directly related to the manipulation of uncertainty and anxiety, the corresponding themes and specific examples from the address that relate.

Principle #15 states that “Propaganda to the home front must prevent the raising of false hopes which can be blasted by future events”. Time is recognized as a vital factor from the very beginning of the speech when the President states “American and coalition forces are in the early stages of military operations to disarm Iraq, free its people and to defend the world from grave danger”. After this the president combines statements explaining America is not in this war effort alone and reinforces the fact that “These are the opening stages of a broad and concerting campaign.” By addressing time and duration of war in the beginning and middle of the speech the viewer is led to understand that war is a process that will take time. Interestingly, victory is guaranteed in this address but with no time line given that is acceptable and avoids blasting the hopes of the target audience. They are simply told that the war will conclude when Saddam

Hussein has fallen. All language surrounding the mention of war duration is kept positive. This positive language focuses on freedom, pride, unity and overcoming of threat.

Table 8

*Principles of Propaganda, Corresponding Themes and Representative Text 2003*

<b>Principle of Propaganda related to anxiety</b>	<b>Corresponding themes from address</b>	<b>Corresponding quotes from address</b>
Principle #15: Propaganda to the home front must prevent the raising of false hopes which can be blasted by future events	Freedom Unity Defense/Victory Time	“These are the opening stages of what will be a brave and concerted campaign” “A campaign on the harsh terrain of a nation as large as California could be longer and more difficult than some predict” “Now that conflict has come, the only way to limit its duration is to apply decisive force” “My fellow citizens, the dangers to our country and the world will be overcome. We will pass through this time of peril and carry on the work of peace. We will defend our freedom. We will bring freedom to others and we will prevail.”
Principle #16: Propaganda to the home front must create an optimum anxiety level.	Threat Danger Atrocities	“The people of the United States and our friends and allies will not live at the mercy of an outlaw regime that threatens the peace with weapons of mass murder”
Principle #17: Propaganda to the home front must diminish the impact of frustration.	Time/Duration Duty/Honor Unity	“Now that conflict has come the only way to limit its duration is to apply decisive force” “More than 35 countries are giving crucial support... Every nation in this coalition has chosen to bear the duty and share the honor of serving in our common defense” “And you can know that our forces will be coming home as soon as their work is done”

Table 8 An illustration of The Principles of Propaganda, the themes that correspond with them and supportive quotes from the text of George W Bush’s address.

Closely related to principle #15 is principle #17 which states that “propaganda must diminish the impact of frustration.” In order to diminish the impact of frustration, as stated above, all agitators must be surrounded by positive language. In the case above, time is a very likely agitator because no time line is given. Surrounding any mention of duration of the war are comments designed to remind the viewers of their responsibility as Americans. They are reminded that freedom is at stake and that is worth any amount of time to defend. They are also reassured that the moment the war is over there will be no lingering (refer to Table 1.4). Other agitators treated in this fashion include those themes designed to manipulate the uncertainty and anxiety of viewers. While these agitators are included in ways that allow them to do their job well they are carefully surrounded with language designed to diminish any frustration they might cause.

Principle #16 states “Propaganda to the home front must create an optimum level of anxiety.” The agitators responsible for creating optimum levels of anxiety include the negative language referenced in Table 1 and the persuasive language discussed above. This address focuses on key phrases such as “weapons of mass murder”, “outlaw regime” and “atrocities against his people” which incite fear and instill anxiety and uncertainty within the audience.

*Axioms and Delivery.* In this final section of the analysis of this address we will delve into the eight Axioms of Uncertainty Reduction Theory. By reviewing the delivery styles of President Bush’s address through these self evident truths of interpersonal communication we see the ways in which we may begin to explore propaganda as a dialogical rather than a monological communication process. The eight axioms: verbal communication, nonverbal warmth, information-seeking behavior, self-disclosure, reciprocity, similarity, liking and shared networks function to better the relationship between two communicators. Here will illustrate in

what ways Bush succeeded and failed at creating connections with his audience within this address.

Though the 4 minute address by the President does not yield high verbal communication it is recognized that the news channels this message was broadcast on provided commentary designed to reach their particular viewers. Thus the level of verbal communication concerning the address is bolstered by the newscasters and uncertainty is either reduced or increased based upon the connotation provided through the newscasters. Connotation provided by newscasters depends heavily on the political beliefs of their viewers.

Nonverbal warmth, the second axiom, is found in abundance within this address. As the amount of nonverbal warmth increases, the level of anxiety and uncertainty will theoretically decrease. Technology has allowed for nonverbal warmth to be presented to millions of citizens in the comfort of their own homes. In this address we find high levels of eye contact, meaningful facial expressions, good posture and hands folded on the desk. It is also important to note that the pictures of the president's family, as discussed earlier, add to the nonverbal warmth presented to the audience. The amount of nonverbal warmth presented in this address is designed to relax the viewer and allow more receptivity to the message.

Unlike the address provided by Hitler to his people justifying the invasion of Russia, President Bush places the general purpose of address at the forefront of his message. The attention-getter was the announcement that the United States was at war with Iraq. Placing this at the beginning of the address creates uncertainty and therefore a need for information by the audience as to why this decision was made. This increase in uncertainty thus promotes the attentiveness to address and information-seeking behavior within the audience. The third axiom

states that when high levels of uncertainty are present, information-seeking behavior and therefore attentiveness also increases.

The fourth axiom states that as self disclosure increases, anxiety decreases. Self-disclosure is low within President Bush's address. He discloses very little about any personal internal conflict that went into making the decision. He instead focuses on matters of national security and world safety as reasons to invade Iraq which leads to emphasis on the fifth axiom. High levels of anxiety and uncertainty will create high levels of reciprocity. Therefore, when the President focuses on national security, world safety, and weapons of mass murder, high levels of anxiety and uncertainty are theoretically developed within the audience. Then the focus is on literal reciprocity rather than the informational reciprocity Charles Berger discusses. The President states that dangers exist. He then states the key to overcoming these dangers is unity and support of his decision. With the anxiety levels raised, theoretically the audience will initially respond with support.

The sixth axiom states that the more points of similarity that the more similarities there are between two communicators, anxiety and uncertainty decrease. The logical appeal of the "plain folk" characteristic of propaganda applies directly to this axiom. The President states that he is protecting the nation and the world by acting as defense. He is acting in everyone's best interest and the best interest of their families which is, again, reinforced by the presence of the pictures of his own family in the background. This show of family and responsibility create similarity ties with the audience who theoretically knows the feeling of that position.

The seventh axiom postulates increases in uncertainty and anxiety decrease liking and vice versa. Here the President increases the uncertainty pertaining to Saddam Hussein. He uses language such as "outlaw regime", "weapons of mass murder", "an enemy who has no regard for

conventions of war of rules of morality” to theoretically create a strong sense of uncertainty of Saddam Hussein and his regime which therefore creates a disliking of him. The President worked to create a strong liking of himself by presenting the solution to the threats Saddam’s presence in the world created.

Lastly, the eighth axiom focuses on shared networks. The higher the number of shared networks between two communicators, the less anxiety there will be. Here the address flowed directly from the President and straight to the viewer through national television. People were able to view this address from the comfort of their own homes on their choice news station which shares their political view point. The ability to receive the speech in this fashion theoretically lessened anxiety and made the viewer more receptive to the President’s message.

## Chapter Five

### Results, Discussion, and Future Research

By using the 19 Principles of Propaganda and the Eight Axioms of Uncertainty Reduction Theory to analyze and illustrate the ways in which propaganda works we see that evolution in propaganda has caused evolution in how we understand propaganda. I offer a model through which to examine propaganda. By applying this model to the analysis of two pieces of war propaganda, I built a foundation for a new theoretical approach through which to understand propaganda today. Here I extrapolate on the role technology plays in the evolution of current propaganda. I also detail the resulting contribution of the analysis which is a new foundation through which to understand propaganda, The 8 Axioms of Anxiety Manipulation in Propaganda. The 8 Axioms of Anxiety Manipulation in Propaganda explain how the current propaganda theoretically manipulates anxiety and uncertainty in society today. It also details the ways in which the propaganda process promotes and perpetuates a dialogical connection with the audience.

*Technology.* Technology is the primary factor behind any media evolution. In terms of propaganda, technology lends several important elements through which we may better understand the process of current propaganda. Technological advances provide a multitude of news and media channels created for specific audiences. They also provide the means to gather a copious amount of feedback directly from the audience in response to topics chosen by the media. Through these built in feedback channels, technology also lends a better outlet to propagandists for giving responses to audience concerns/feedback. The efficiency of technology now provides propagandists with more effective means of managing anxiety and uncertainty within audiences.

To illustrate the evolution technology lends, compare the two addresses from above. The first, Hitler's address justifying the invasion of Russia was broadcast on national radio. During WWII, radio was the communication media in the majority of homes and public spaces. Radio was the mass media and only lent one way communication, speaker to audience. This was the era of monological propaganda process. Any feedback provided to propagandists came through letters to the editors of newspapers or from information gathered by the secret police (Welch, 1993). This feedback was not instantaneous and did not come directly from the audience. Had there been the opportunity to provide feedback without the fear of life threatening consequences the Nazi Regime would have found their methods were no longer effective and been able to adjust their messages accordingly. Since the process was not open communication it favored the monological approach to propaganda.

However, with televised addresses today, immediate feedback is available. When George W Bush gave the address the United States declared war on Iraq, it was broadcast on every news channel and was immediately followed by commentary from newscasters who then asked for the viewers' opinions. This immediate feedback lends an emotional temperature of the audience which is then utilized in crafting responses in the next piece of propaganda released to that audience. This favors a more open form of communication, a dialogical approach to propaganda. Let us revisit the example of Glen Beck of FOX News who was the messenger for propaganda on a daily basis. A show would air and Glenn Beck would discuss the topics for the day. At the end of each show there is an opportunity to go to his website and leave comments, read more on what was discussed in the show, or review and engage in dialogue with other viewers. Technology has provided these options. As discussed earlier technology has also made it possible for audiences to choose from whom they gather their information so that it may

correspond with their preexisting political beliefs. In the case of Glenn Beck he catered to a largely Republican demographic, a very specific audience who was in favor of President Bush's decision to declare War on Iraq. Then information left by viewers on his website can then be reviewed by propagandists and used in the creation of future propaganda. This feedback loop maintains and perpetuates a dialogical process of communication between propagandists/messengers and their audience.

*Eight Axioms of Anxiety Manipulation in Propaganda.* The ultimate result of this research and analysis is the development of a modified theoretical approach to understanding propaganda. The contributions of introducing interpersonal theory to a mass communication setting is that it allows us to view the field from another angle that is theoretically better equipped to examine function of propaganda in a smaller more personal world than previously existed. Through these means it is possible to better comprehend the design and intended impacts propaganda aims to have on the individual, specifically in times of war.

Here I explain the evolution of the eight axioms of Uncertainty Reduction Theory. As illustrated in the analysis the eight axioms of Uncertainty Reduction Theory are applicable to propaganda in that they aid in understanding the way propaganda manipulates anxiety. We look at the self evident truths of Uncertainty Reduction Theory in the course of interpersonal communication and we see a correlation between interpersonal interactions and the interactions between propagandists/messengers and the audience. Further development allows us to modify these axioms into a more practical foundation for comprehending the anxiety manipulation in propaganda. The eight axioms of Uncertainty Reduction Theory become The Eight Axioms of Anxiety Manipulation in Propaganda. The Eight Axioms of Anxiety Manipulation in Propaganda (8AAMP) serve two purposes: 1) to create trust between the

propagandists/messenger and 2) control anxiety within the audience. These two purposes lend themselves to future feedback from the audience thus perpetuating the dialogical process of modern day propaganda.

Tables 9 and 10 represent two opposite ends of a continuum. Table 9 represents the axioms, the way in which they impact anxiety and the level of trust theoretically placed on the messenger. This illustrates a situation in which the propaganda is designed purely to decrease the anxiety level of the audience. Table 10 represents the exact opposite. Theoretically, all propaganda falls somewhere between these two points on the Continuum of Anxiety Manipulation in Propaganda. For example, let us revisit the address of George W. Bush.

Table 9

*Eight Axioms of Anxiety Manipulation- Decreasing Anxiety*

Increased Verbal Communication concerning subject matter	Decreased anxiety concerning subject matter	Increased trust of messenger
Increased Number of Nonverbal Warmth Gestures	Decreased Anxiety concerning subject matter	Increased trust of messenger
Increased Amount of Information Provided concerning subject matter	Decreased Anxiety concerning subject matter	Increased trust of messenger
Increased Amount of Self Disclosure	Decreased Anxiety concerning subject matter	Increased trust of messenger
Low Rates of Reciprocity	Decreased Anxiety concerning subject matter	Increased trust of messenger
Increased Number of Similarities	Decreased Anxiety concerning subject matter	Increased trust of messenger
Increased Liking	Decreased Anxiety concerning subject matter	Increased trust of messenger
Increased Number of Shared Communication Networks	Decreased Anxiety concerning subject matter	Increased trust of messenger

Table 9 This Table illustrates the 8AAMP when they purely decrease anxiety concerning subject matter and increase trust in messenger.

Table 10

*Eight Axioms of Anxiety Manipulation- Increasing Anxiety*

Decreased Verbal Communication concerning subject matter	Increased anxiety concerning subject matter	Decreased trust of messenger
Decreased Number of Nonverbal Warmth Gestures	Increased Anxiety concerning subject matter	Decreased trust of messenger
Decreased Amount of Information Provided concerning subject matter	Increased Anxiety concerning subject matter	Decreased trust of messenger
Decreased Amount of Self Disclosure	Increased Anxiety concerning subject matter	Decreased trust of messenger
High Rates of Reciprocity	Increased Anxiety concerning subject matter	Decreased trust of messenger
Decreased Number of Similarities	Increased Anxiety concerning subject matter	Decreased trust of messenger
Decreased Liking	Increased Anxiety concerning subject matter	Decreased trust of messenger
Decreased Number of Shared Communication Networks	Increased Anxiety concerning subject matter	Decreased trust of messenger

Table 10 This Table illustrates the 8AAMP when they purely increase anxiety concerning subject matter and decrease trust in messenger.

Table 11

*Example of the Eight Axioms of Anxiety Manipulation*

Decreased Verbal Communication concerning subject matter	Increased anxiety concerning subject matter	Decreased trust of messenger
Increased Number of Nonverbal Warmth Gestures	Decreased Anxiety concerning subject matter	Increased trust of messenger
Decreased Amount of Information Provided concerning subject matter	Increased Anxiety concerning subject matter	Decreased trust of messenger
Increased Amount of Self Disclosure	Decreased Anxiety concerning subject matter	Increased trust of messenger
High Rates of Reciprocity	Increased Anxiety concerning subject matter	Decreased trust of messenger
Increased Number of Similarities	Decreased Anxiety concerning subject matter	Increased trust of messenger
Increased Liking	Decreased Anxiety concerning subject matter	Increased trust of messenger
Increased Number of Shared Communication Networks	Decreased Anxiety concerning subject matter	Increased trust of messenger

Table 11 This Table illustrates the breakdown of anxiety manipulation within President George W. Bush's address to the nation declaring war on Iraq.

We note that the decreased amount of verbal communication increases the anxiety concerning the War on Iraq which in turn decreases the level of trust the audience will place in the messenger. The lack of information concerning the subject matter and high rates of reciprocity also lower the amount of trust placed in the messenger. But this is all counter acted by the increased amount of nonverbal warmth, self disclosure, number of disclosed similarities (provided through speech and symbols as seen in the analysis using the model), liking of messenger, and increased number of shared networks as it was released on every news channel possible which increased the trust of the messenger. This would place the President's address closer to the decreasing anxiety end of the continuum.

### **Discussion for future research**

Through this new theoretical approach which takes into account the effects of technological advancements future research may be conducted to further promote war propaganda comprehension. The research and results presented here would benefit from audience effects studies. Future audience effects studies should aim to answer. How the audience actually comprehends war propaganda. Studies should be designed to test for anxiety experienced during the course of viewing war propaganda and inquire as to trust placed on the messenger. Questionnaires regarding how they usually consume news and media should be administered. Focus groups and interviews would also be beneficial. The future of this research has great possibility for being of benefit to anti-war propaganda, advertisement and crisis management.

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