

The Role of Propaganda in George Orwell's *Animal Farm*

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Abstract

Animal Farm is a novel of pure propaganda. Orwell himself admits that he writes this novel in order to be a propaganda against the 'Soviet's myth', to expose Stalin's propaganda and Stalin's Communism. As propagandist, Orwell shows his ideas and opinions towards the dictatorial regimes. This study presents the outstanding role of different types and techniques of propaganda used in the novel by the characters, and how these techniques' persuasion influences are various from one another. The paper also traces the propagandists' ways and methods to make use of people's emotions by appealing to their profound fears and great dreams to befool and deceive them. Orwell gives the most devastating image of a propagandist through the character of Squealer who is crushingly effective to convince the animals and make them believe in everything he says. The paper also sheds light on Orwell's actual efforts to warn people from the tactics used by political regimes, and his attempt to show the effects of illiteracy and lack of education in supporting propagandists' purposes for exploiting people and make them victims of an evil propaganda.

Keywords: George Orwell, Propaganda, Techniques, Animal Farm.

دور الدعاية في رواية جورج ارويل "مزرعة الحيوانات"

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المخلص :

" مزرعة الحيوانات" هي من اكثر الروايات استخداما للدعاية ، بل انها رواية دعائية كليا. وقد قال جورج ارويل مؤلف هذه الرواية انه قد كتب هذه الرواية لتكون كدعاية سياسية تستخدم ضد الدعاية السياسية للأنظمة الدكتاتورية. وقد عرض الكاتب جميع افكاره وآرائه لفصح الدعاية المستخدمة من قبل النظام الشيوعي في عهد ستالين. تعرض هذه الدراسة الدور الكبير للدعاية بجميع انواعها وتقنياتها المستخدمة بالرواية من قبل الشخصيات وكيف ان تأثير الاقناع في هذه التقنيات كان مختلفا من واحدة الى اخرى. ويتابع البحث ايضا الطرق والوسائل المستخدمة من قبل السياسيين لاستغلال عواطف الناس وجل مخاوفهم وتوظيفها لخدمة اغراضهم السياسية. لقد رسم الكاتب الطبيعة المدمرة للأعلام السياسي للأنظمة الدكتاتورية من خلال شخصية سكويلر الذي كان له الدور الاكبر في تبرير جميع ما يقوم به النظام الدكتاتوري. وقد سلطت الدراسة الضوء ايضا على جهود الكاتب الحقيقية لتحذير الناس من (التكتيك) والمناورات المستخدمة من قبل الانظمة الدكتاتورية كما انها عرضت دور الكاتب في شرح خطر الجهل والامية وتأثيرها الكبير في دعم الدعاية المستخدمة من قبل الأنظمة الدكتاتورية.

كلمات مفتاحية: جورج ارويل، الدعاية، مزرعة الحيوانات

Introduction

George Orwell is one of the most influential novelists of modern age. His novels express a powerful satire on the political and social hypocrisy. Like G.B. Shaw, his purpose of writing is to present the shortcomings of society in humorous manner. But the element of humor does not change the truth that he attempts to convey. His novels are the best criticism of the social and political problems of his age (M.K, n.d., p. 17).

George Orwell is so sensitive towards political lying, he hates political lying and goes to support socialism, he is a socialist in spirit but not favorable to any party. Therefore, his writing is full of plainness, honesty and criticism. Orwell thinks the Russian Communists have betrayed the socialist ideals of Carl Marx, and he feels that the western allegiance to Russia obscured the hypocrisy of Stalinist regime. Once he said, he "Thought of exposing the soviet myth in a story that could be easily understood by almost anyone and which could be easily translated into other languages," (Salami, 1999, p. 1) that story is the novel of *Animal Farm*.

Orwell says in his preface to the Ukrainian translation of *Animal Farm* that he does not want to interfere in soviet domestic issues or merely attack Stalin for his barbaric methods. In the first place, he is concerned with people in western Europe to be aware of the reality of this regime, since he clearly knows the negative influence of this regime upon western socialist movement. Therefore, he decides to expose the soviet myth (G. Orwell, 1993, p. 111). He is so alert of the power of propaganda. In his novel *1984* he shows us how the governments can befool their people by using different types of propaganda like creating imaginary and scary figure to keep their people under control. Also, in the novel *Animal Farm* Orwell succeeds to show the great power of propaganda in hiding the evils of the government (M.K, n.d., p. 54).

In his allegorical novel *Animal Farm*, Orwell criticizes the 1917 Russian Revolution and its aftermath; the decades of totalitarian Soviet oppression. The story begins in a farm where the animals have suffered maltreatment. Later on, the animals rebel and overthrow their human

oppressor. They could establish their utopian-like society in which they have got freedom, and govern themselves by themselves. Yet, this utopia never lasts long, when the farm gradually changes to be a totalitarian state governed by a dictator who oppresses the animals. So the major theme of the novel is the political corruption. Orwell's satiric power is strong and effective. All major animal characters in the novel are representative of real characters in the Russian Revolution. Old Major represents Carl Marx, Napoleon, the leader after the revolution is Stalin himself, Snowball the patriotic leader stands for Trotsky while Squealer is a propaganda secretary. *Animal Farm* shows Orwell's opposition to totalitarianism as practiced by the communists.

Propaganda

The meaning of propaganda

The word propaganda comes from Latin (propagate) which means to propagate. The word firstly comes to English language through religious context, as referring to Congregation for Propagating Faith, which is a catholic organization calls for furthering catholic missionaries. At the beginning of 19th century, the word propaganda got a negative meaning as it started to be used for political purposes as a term referring to ideas or information that are inaccurate. Propaganda today is most often used in political statements as a means of advancing a cause (*Definition of Propaganda*, n.d.). It can be defined as: "Information, ideas, opinions, or images, often only giving one part of an argument, that are broadcast, published, or in some other way spread with the intention of influencing people's opinions" (*PROPAGANDA / meaning in the Cambridge English Dictionary*, n.d.). American Heritage Dictionary defines propaganda as: "The systematic propagation of a doctrine or cause or of information reflecting the views and interests of those advocating such a doctrine or cause" (*American Heritage Dictionary Entry: Propaganda*, n.d.).

Types of propaganda

There are different types of propaganda, the first and the earlier one is religious propaganda which was related to religious missionary activities. The second, is the political propaganda which used by authorities as an outstanding weapon to propagate their agenda. Literary propaganda is another type when writers as propagandists spread their opinions through literature. Also, propaganda used in war time to support military strategies and political issues. Finally, we have what is called cold war propaganda which is shown in the period of the cold war, a conflict of interests between the united states and the Soviet Union following world wars (Umar, 2016).

Propaganda's Techniques

Many techniques are largely used in spreading propaganda which are formed to befool the public as the appeal is to emotions rather than to reason:

Fear: Fear is one of the primary forms of propaganda that aims to create scary circumstances and follow by some kind of behavior needed to avoid a particular evil. The propagandist tries to warn the public of imminent disaster will result if they do not follow a particular course of action (Stephenson, 2014).

Bandwagon: In this technique, the propagandist gives the idea of "getting on the bandwagon", exploiting human's desire to fit in with peers, no one wants to be left out of popular trend. This technique tries to create some thoughts to make people follow the crowd (Stephenson, 2014).

Plain Folks propaganda: This technique attempts to show the similarity between the public's view and the propagandist's view, and this makes people think that the propagandist is one of them who works for their benefit, and as someone who they can trust and depend on (Umar, 2016).

Name Calling: aims to connect a person or cause to negative image which is well known by the public. This technique attacks the person himself instead of his ideas (Stephenson, 2014).

Logical Fallacies propaganda: Applying logic, and drawing conclusion from accurate premises, the conclusion would not be accurate (Stephenson, 2014).

Loaded Words propaganda: words have power when it comes to public relations, as they are very descriptive and filled with emotions, used to capture the public attention and influence their action. They can be used in both positive and negative cases (*Public Relations and Propaganda Techniques*, 2019).

Transfer Propaganda: In this technique, the propagandists conjure up either positive or negative images, connect them to an unrelated concept or item, and try to move the public to take action (*Public Relations and Propaganda Techniques*, 2019).

Pinpointing the Enemy: pinpointing the enemy often used in wartime .it is used to simplify a complex situation by showing one particular group or person as the enemy (Umar, 2016).

Simplification (Stereotyping): "Simplification is extremely similar to pointing the enemy, in that it often reduces a complex situation to a clear-cut choice involving good and evil. This technique is often useful in swaying uneducated audience (Umar, 2016).

Glittering Generalities: a generally accepted virtue is usually used to evoke favorable emotions. It is used only in positive sense. They often include words like democracy, family values, honor, love, and so on which appeal the senses. They also include slogans or catchphrases (Stephenson, 2014).

Repetition: Repeating information or ideas that the person in power wants people to believe. As a result, people are influenced brainwashed (*Propaganda in Animal Farm and the Media*, n.d.).

Rhetorical questions: The propagandist used to ask some questions which he intends to answer himself because, actually, he never wants them to think (*Propaganda in Animal Farm and the Media*, n.d.).

George Orwell as a Propagandist

In 1940, during a BBC radio discussion, George Orwell said: "Every artist is a propagandist in the sense that he is trying, directly or indirectly, to impose a vision of life that seems to him desirable" (S.

Orwell & Angus, 1968, p. 41) Orwell says that he wants to destroy the Soviet myth that claims Russia as a socialist country, but he never intends to tell his readers about his contribution to that myth when he was working in BBC giving critical notes about war. Orwell's experiences as a propagandist, actually, contrasts his following works. He draws upon all his experiences for his novel and reuses them several times. This leads to a conclusion that the reason behind Orwell's anxiety to publish *Animal Farm* is "a particular reaction to his BBC experience and that in one sense it was a work of atonement" (Clive Fleay & Sanders, 2006, p. 61). Orwell knows that his novel *Animal Farm* will be used as a propaganda, since he aims to make this book a work of propaganda. He depicts a destructive image to a propagandist who "could turn black into white."

As a propagandist, Orwell in 1942 praised the Russian workers as "firmly believing", as they could protect their socialist land of Hitler's attack, and then, when his role as a propagandist comes to its end, he publishes his novel *Animal Farm* to inform those workers that their belief was an illusion. Thus, *Animal Farm* emerges as a product of "a master propagandist" (Clive Fleay & Sanders, 2006, p. 62).

Using literature as a propaganda, however, is not something without price, because literature provides much longer than average propaganda pamphlet, and can give a much wider meaning than that is planned by the propagandist. This meaning might sometimes be turned against the original wielder. An excellent example of the dangers of taking an extant literature as a propaganda campaign, clearly appears in George Orwell's *Animal Farm and Nineteen Eighty-Four*. With his opposing to Stalinist stance and tendency to political writing, he is an obvious choice for the OPC (the Office of Policy Coordination), and its British counterparts, however, his work also contains a global message that could be used as a propaganda against United States (Senn, 2015, p. 149).

"Art for Art's Sake" is something that Orwell never agrees with, he believes that art should be inseparable with society and policy. *Animal Farm* shows this belief of him as it provides fiction and policy at the same time. Orwell says:

When I sit down to write a book, I do not say to myself, I am going to produce a work of art. I write it because There is some lie that I want to expose,

but I could not do The work of writing a book, if it were not also an aesthetic Experience.....Animal Farm was the first book in which I tried, with full consciousness of what I was doing, to fuse Political purpose and artistic purpose into one whole (Salami, 1999, p. 15).

He is completely against totalitarianism as used by communists since he was democratic and socialist. This view is forming in his mind when the theme of the *Animal farm* comes to his mind. Hence his book becomes a propaganda (R., 2010, p. 3).

Orwell wants to be a political reformer; he tries to change the world through his writing. In "Why I write" he states: "Every line of serious work that I have written since 1936 has been written , directly or indirectly, against totalitarianism and for democratic socialism, as I understand it" (Salami, 1999, p. 321). Once he said:" History stopped in 1936.....after that, there was only propaganda" (Brendon, 2017). Orwell's remarks are inspired by the second world war era when suffering and agony of Great Depression coincided with the brutal media strategies adopted by Hitler and Stalin. Truth is the first victim of the Great Depression. Reflecting the pain and misery of the time, propaganda is made to hide the facts about economic disaster, and this led Orwell to say: "useful lies were preferred to harmful truths" (Brendon, 2017). The term 'Great Depression' itself aims to mislead as it is used as a euphemism for the American word for financial crisis, 'panic' (Brendon, 2017).

Animal Farm is called by Edmund Wilson as "absolutely first-rate" and compares Orwell to Voltaire and Swift. Spencer Brown also praises Orwell's bravery as he produces such a book in wartime, saying: " No other writer has shown us so clearly the worst tragedy of our age" (Bloom, 2006, p. 15)

Propaganda in *Animal Farm*

As has been mentioned earlier in this study, Orwell wrote *Animal Farm* only to expose the Soviet myth that Russia was a truly socialist society. He wanted to tell English people the truth about the totalitarian system. Orwell got the idea of the fable *Animal Farm* from seeing: "A little boy, perhaps ten years old, driving a huge cart-horse along a narrow path, whipping it whenever it tried to turn. It struck me that if only such animals became

aware of their strength we should have no power over them, and that men exploit animals in much the same way as the rich exploit the proletariat." (Bloom & Williams, 2006, p. 40)

Animal Farm is well known as a harsh criticism of the history and propaganda of Russian Revolution. It deals allegorically with the dictator Stalin's rising to power. The main idea in this story is the corruption of the political power which was originally ideals. In the story, the rebellious animals could overthrow Mr. Jones, the human oppressor, then the pigs got power over the farm and established themselves as the ruling class in the new society. The historical struggle between Stalin and Trotsky is depicted in the story as a struggle between two pigs Napoleon and Snowball, in both the historical and fictional cases the patriotic but less powerful Trotsky and Snowball is exiled from his land by Stalin and Napoleon's malicious propaganda. The ruling class, the pigs grasp tightly the political by using three strategies, the first, they occupy most of the farm's treasuries, the second, they begin to use force against other animals, the third one they utilize the power of propaganda. Squealer is Napoleon's propagandist who always sends him to make "the necessary explanations to others" (AF, p.23) Squealer is a small pig who plays an important role to achieve the ruling class's goals, the ruling class firstly forms of three pigs, Napoleon, Snowball, and Squealer. Later on, after Major's death, Napoleon and Snowball struggle for the leadership of the farm. Snowball is a vigorous, patriotic leader, he is the one who manages to establish the defense of the farm. He is an eloquent speaker and brilliant leader. Napoleon is a "large, rather fierce-looking Berkshire boar, not much of a talker but with a reputation of getting his own way." (AF, P.9)

The protagonist of the *Animal Farm* is the animals as a group who aim to achieve old Major's dream of freedom and equality. To achieve this goal, they have to struggle against the political power which is usurped by dictators and oppressors who represent the corruption of the political power which is embodied by different characters in the novel like Mr. Jones and the new rulers of the farm.

Propaganda in Old Major's Speech

Old Major gathers the animals to meet them in the big barn. He talks about a dream he has recently in which all animals live peacefully

together, enjoying freedom and having no oppression from humans. He encourages the animals to work hard to gain such a paradise. Major describes his vision in lyric "Beast of England" which motivates the animals to rebel against oppression, and contains the original principles of Animalism.

Orwell dissects the power of propaganda through the eloquent speech of old Major at the beginning of the novel. The first way and technique of propaganda used by Major is when he addresses the animals as 'comrade', and introduces himself as one of the 'plain folks', while he really has a special status in the farm, as he "was so highly regarded on the farm." (AF, p.1). The animals are attracted by this intimate word which shows old Major as one of them who works for the benefit of the common animals, and the one who can be trusted.

Major uses skillful language which is full of eloquence, as a powerful tool of propaganda by imposing many rhetorical questions. Of course, these powerful, persuasive questions have been asked not for answer but for the effect to convince the animals of Major's ideas and beliefs as " what is the nature of this life of ours?" (AF, p.3). Another technique of propaganda, Major uses 'loaded words' filled with emotions to capture their attentions, trigger their feelings, and have them in his side. He states in his speech: "No animal in England knows the meaning of happiness or leisure after he is a year old. No animal in England is free. The life of an animal is misery and slavery: that is the plain truth." (AF, p.3). Major identifies humans as the enemy, and that they should unite all against this enemy. He goes further when he states that all those on two legs are enemies, and all their habits are evil. He uses the simplification (stereotyping) technique of propaganda, or in other word 'common enemy scapegoat', when he reduces the matter to merely good or evil, making use of his uneducated audiences to achieve his goal in getting rid of the humans' tyranny.

Fear is another technique of propaganda used by Major in his eloquent speech. He tries to frighten the animals and make them feel the necessity and importance of the listening to him, as he predicts his imminent death, and that he should convey his experiences and wisdom before he passes away. Thus, the animals are motivated out of fear to listen to old Major in order not to lose his wisdom.

Major shows his ability to plant the seeds of rebellion inside the animals' hearts and evoke their emotional responses when he uses

'transfer' technique of propaganda in which he can compare between two things to show their contrast and making it seem better or worse than the other. So, he tries to compare between two states of the animals, before and after the revolution. He tells them how great and wonderful their lives would be, and how they could be 'rich and free' if they overthrow the humans. He argues that the earth could be a paradise without the tyranny of Man. "Remove Man from the scene, and the root cause of hunger and overwork is abolished forever". (AF, p.4).

Major uses Slogans as well, as an irresistible technique of propaganda. As a successful orator, Major grasps the importance of simplicity and repetition in propaganda, thus, he chooses simple language that is easy to be understood and remembered. Therefore, he makes his interest in simple, catchy slogans which are repeating many times until the animals have been influenced and brainwashed. "Propagandists use this technique to drum the message into the target audience's subconscious by repeating keywords or phrases over and over until resistance to the message weakens. The target audience eventually accepts the message often without even realizing it" (Rhodes, 1976, p. 139). Besides the rhythm that repetition creates, it also provides "the refrain-like restatements of the same point" (Samir, 2009, p. 37) like "Man is the only real enemy we have.", " All men are enemies", "Whatever goes upon two legs is an enemy.", "remember always your duty of enmity towards Man." '(AF,pp.4,6). All the dictators or merely leaders who want to convey their agenda to the masses believe in repetition as an important propaganda's technique like Donald Trump and Adolf Hitler who emphasizes the need for repetition in propaganda saying:" The masses, however, with their inertia, always need a certain time before they are ready even to notice a thing, and they will lend their memories only to the thousand fold repetition of the most simple ideas." (Rhodes, 1976, p. 139)

Old Major climaxes his eloquent oration with a patriotic song, " Beasts of England" which throws the animals into their impetuous excitement. The song serves as a propaganda and spreads around the farm and even the other farms. This song creates a joyful atmosphere which emphasizes the power of propaganda and its great effect upon the animals who sing it all eagerly even the "stupidest of them had already picked up the tune and a few of the words, and as for the clever ones, such as the pigs and dogs, they had the entire song by heart within a few minutes." (AF, p.8).

Language as a Tool of Propaganda in *Animal Farm*

Orwell succeeds to show how language can be manipulated as an effective device in the hands of the minority in power. Throughout the novel, the construction of the power is caused by language and the use of eloquence. The control of words and manipulation of language formed the powerful propaganda in the farm. The most important element that destroys the animal utopian society after the revolution is a clear disparity in the distribution of language to the different classes of animals. Language connects to power directly in the novel, thus, the most powerful animal or species, is the one who can use language skillfully and understand all issues of farming and ruling, and consequently they could control the fate of other species. The pigs are shown as an intellectual being who learn well reading and writing, the others learn less well. Orwell classifies the animals according to their intelligence and their craft to gain language. He sets them in the descending hierarchy like; pigs-donkey-goat-doges-horses-sheep-hens-ducks. There is a salient disproportion in the amounts of speech given to different animals. All animals speak very little except the pigs who could control the arena of speech. There are four speakers among them: Old Major, who casts a long Marxist admonition on exploitation and rebellion, Napoleon who is the Stalin-like leader, Snowball, who is exiled by Napoleon, and Squealer, the propaganda Secretary of Napoleon's regime (Fowler, 2009, pp. 72-73).

The pigs use verbal and semantic techniques to manipulate their followers through the use of persuasive words, alteration of rules and use of songs and poems. Squealer, the propaganda apparatus who is described as 'a brilliant talker' exploits the power of language to defend and establish Napoleon's dictatorial regime. The pigs have their ways to manipulate language, in one way, they aim to simplify language into memorable verses, to end the discussion, as when the sheep are taught the slogan "four legs good, two legs better." (AF, p.87), which contrasts the original maxim " Four legs good, two legs bad." (AF, p.22), which used to unify the animals against the human enemy. Another way, they tend to overcomplicate language to arouse ambiguity and distraction among the simple animals, as when Snowball tells the birds " a bird's wing, comrade, is an organ of propulsion and not of manipulation"(AF,p.22), the birds are confused as to what Snowball means here (Brandon, 2017). Roger Fowler states that:

The long words stand out against the simpler language of the narrative, and are patent grotesquerie of language by which Orwell mocks the lying logic of Snowball as Snowball squares the world with the maxim by redefining wings as legs. The animals though handled sympathetically rather than patronizingly, are naive, and take in Snowball's explanation. (Fowler, 2009, p. 76)

The pigs propagate false ideals of righteousness and selflessness formed by effective words and persuasive speeches without grasping their meaning. Besides these language techniques, the pigs employ false statistics and talk with excessive pride using boasting vocabularies, to evoke a sense of hopelessness and self-doubt within the other animals. They use their eloquence and manipulation through language for any situation that questions their sovereignty and excellence. (Brandon, 2017)

Many examples are shown in the novel that demonstrate the power of language as a tool of propaganda; in chapter nine, Squealer points to the animals' diminishing portions of food as a 'readjustment' of rations never as a 'reduction', he uses "euphemism", as a technique of propaganda, where a word that clearly represents something negative is replaced by a word with a more neutral or even positive connotation. (*The Use of Power and Propaganda in Animal Farm*, n.d.)

The power of language as a propaganda can take many forms, including the manipulation of the meaning of the word itself as it is shown concerning the meaning of the word 'equal'. The seventh Maxim of the original version of Animalism states that "All Animals are Equal." (AF, p.16). This famous Slogan is heartily embraced by the animals as one of Major's visionary ideal of socialism, yet, after Major's death, the pigs start to change the meaning of his words, they gradually distort and twist the principles of the revolution to justify their heinous actions. Consequently, the last version of this maxim becomes "All Animals are equal, but some animals are more equal than others." (AF, p.88) This confuses the animals and make them unable to confront the pigs without also confronting the principles of the revolution. This atrocious abuse of the word 'equal' and of the ideal of equality demonstrates the pigs' strategy in ruling the farm. This was the most shameful example of propaganda in the novel, as the idea of 'more equal' is "mathematically improbable and nonsensical manipulation of

language, but by this time, the animals are too brainwashed to notice" (*Propaganda and Duplicity*, n.d.)

Roger Fowler comments on the meaning of equality in the final version of the Seven Commandments, he says:

The insane logic of this slogan is clearly within the domain of what Orwell was later to call 'doublethink', simultaneous belief in two contradictory proposition, voiced in language, doublethink produces a stylistic shock –here, the blatant perversion of the meaning of the word 'equal', a key logical and ethical term. (Fowler, 2009, p. 77)

Raymond Williams also comments on the maxim that replaces the seven commandments "All animals are equal, but some animals are more equal than others" (AF,p.88), he says: "He is not surprised that this statement has been used, universally, as a satire on revolution, as it successfully covers the gap between pretense and reality" (Bloom, 2006, p. 32)

The abuse of language can be seen in so many orders and instructions that are given by the pigs to control the other animals such as semantic contradiction, a pointed euphemism which is a kind of verbal dishonesty that Orwell really aims to expose in this novel, and make people realize this technique of propaganda. In his essay "Politics and the English Language", Orwell states:

In our time, political speech and writing are largely the defense of indefensible.... Thus, political language has to consist largely of euphemism, question-begging and sheer cloudy vagueness.

Defenseless villages are bombarded from the air, the inhabitants

Driven out into the countryside, the cattle machine-gunned, the

Huts set on fire with incendiary bullets: this is called pacification. (Bloom, 2006, p. 32)

Anthems, Songs, and hymns as propaganda in *Animal Farm*

Animal Farm is filled with many songs, poems and mottos, including Old Major's 'Beasts of England', Minimus' odes, and even the sheep's chants serve as propaganda, each of these songs, poems and slogans are one of the pigs' major tools of propaganda to manage the animals. (Brandon, 2017)

Anthem, as one of the techniques of propaganda transmission; it is

" a usually rousing popular song that typifies or is identified with a particular subculture, movement, or point of view " (*Dictionary by Merriam-Webster*, n.d.) Politicians use anthems as propaganda to spread their agenda among the public.

'Beasts of England' is the original anthem of the Animal Farm, in which the pig, Old Major explains his dream of an animal-utopian society. The song celebrates the joyous future of animals when the tyrant Man will be overthrown. The animals will be free from 'nose rings', 'whips' and 'harness', animals will have all the farm's treasury since they will never be slaves anymore. Therefore, they should work hard to gain their freedom. Beasts of all land should have this news about the golden future of all animals:

Beasts of England, beasts of Ireland,

Beasts of every land and clime,

Hearken to my joyful tidings

Of the golden future time. (AF, p.7)

The song fills the animals with 'wildest excitement'. The tune is so attractive that even the stupidest of them is able to pick it up.

The animals sing "Beasts of England" frequently before and after the revolution, particularly after each meeting in their new society. At the beginning of the revolution, the pigs use this song to evoke the revolutionary spirit of the animals and to ruin the animals' sense of selfishness and egoism and keep them stimulated and united to work for their freedom. Old Major " not only bestows his theory upon the animals, he awakens them from the dreamtime of Man's ideology and rouses them to action." (*Animal Farm Study Guide and Literature Essays*, n.d.)

However, when the song is used by some animals to question and criticize the management of the farm, Napoleon argues that the 'Beasts of England' is antiquated and no longer needed as the rebellion has been completed. The anthem is outlawed by Napoleon and replaced by two other anthems. The first substitution anthem is "Animal Farm" written by the pig poet, Minimus, who composes propaganda songs and poems

during Napoleon reign. The new song 'Animal Farm' comes to show an opposite ideology comparing with the last anthem "Beasts of England", while the original anthem calls for revolution, the new one discourages animals of being rebellion:

Animal Farm, Animal Farm,

Never through me shalt thou come to harm! (AF, p.58).

As Napoleon becomes more powerful, he replaces the anthem "Animal Farm" with another anthem, "Comrade Napoleon", which is also written by Minimus. The new anthem glorifies Napoleon, and praises him for his own many achievements in the farm. The poem creates happy feelings towards his rule. This poem is painted on the wall of the big barn with a portrait of Napoleon drawn by Squealer.

The replacement of the original anthem by Napoleon and his assistants, Minimus and Squealer is an ideological change representing the authoritative corruption and misrepresentation the revolutionary teachings of Old Major. Serving as a propaganda, the main purpose of the songs, chants, and anthems is to make the proletariat voice the same terms at the same time. Consequently, the authorities could have their goals and establish their power. Besides, the songs draw away the animals' attention from sense of individuality into the daily tasks with fanciful sense of achieving freedom. (Khorsand & Salmani, 2014, p. 227)

4-4- Napoleon's Propaganda

After the death of Old Major, and after the rebellion, the law is determined principally by Napoleon and Snowball, and then by Napoleon after Snowball's expulsion. Napoleon is a " large, rather fierce-looking Berkshire boar, not much of a talker, but with reputation for getting his own way." (AF, p.9). Napoleon is most directly modeled on the Soviet dictator Stalin, yet, his character has got a wider application, as he stands for all the political tyrants in humans' history.

From the very beginning of the novel, Napoleon appears as an opportunist, who cares to attend all the early meetings after the revolution, but he never participates in the revolution or contributes in formulating its ideologies, even, he never involves in the bloody struggle of it. He never moves any step to establish and develop the new society. The only thing that occupies his mind is the idea of

forming a force for his own interest, reinforces his power over the other animals.

Early even before seizing power completely in the farm, Napoleon prepares everything to establish his own dictatorial regime, when he cultivates secretly nine puppies as his secret police force. The purpose behind this education is only to make them serve only one dictator instead of all the pigs, the ruling class. So, he intends to use fear as a primary form of propaganda (*The Character of Napoleon*, n.d.).

Napoleon talks differently from Major, he rarely addresses the animals, and when he speaks, his speeches are short and to the point. All his decisions and orders are conveyed by his spokesman Squealer to other animals. Although Napoleon "has little direct speech..., his utterance are repeatedly summarized in forms which present them as instruments of power." (Fowler, 2009, p. 75) Being an unsuccessful orator, never prevents him from dominating the farm. His power emerges from his manipulative character and the eloquence and propaganda of Squealer, as he decrees a state of affairs, Squealer announces it and explains it. In the early time of the revolution, Napoleon works with Snowball to propagate and spread the principles of the Animalism through sending messengers to other animals on neighboring farms and teaching them the song "Beasts of England". When the struggle starts to appear between the leaders of the revolution, Napoleon and Snowball, the animals stand divided into two teams, the first supports Napoleon and the second supports Snowball, each team develops its own slogan, as glittering generalities technique of propaganda, to persuade the animals to vote for that candidate. The two slogans are: "Vote for Snowball and the three-day week" and "Vote for Napoleon and the full manger" (AF, p.33). Napoleon uses many different types of propaganda techniques, one of them being, using Snowball as a scapegoat. Napoleon attributes all farm's failure to Snowball. He begins to blacken Snowball's reputation among the animals by questioning his loyalty to Animal Farm, and he tells Squealer to announce that Snowball is a traitor, saying that "Snowball was Jones's agent from the very beginning." (AF, p.53). Also, when the windmill blows down in a storm, Napoleon wants to polish the pigs' picture in front of the humans, in order not to appear as stupid who could not build well. He says that Snowball slips in the night and destroys the windmill, then, he creates a fake footprint to convince the animals. Anthony Stewart states that; "Snowball, the potential organic

intellectual who carried within his ideas for the farm many possible benefits to the other animals, becomes, in stark contrast to what might have been, nothing more than a ready-made scapegoat." (Anthony, 2009, p. 106)

As lying is a major tool of propaganda, telling lies is propagandists' favorite technique. Napoleon always tells lies and spreads rumors as he finds lying as an easy solution to each case or problem in the farm. He exploits animals' simple minds and their inadequate memory that prevents them from questioning Napoleon's sincerity. For instance; when Napoleon once intends to sell the timber to Pilkington rather than Fredrick, he begins to tell lies about him such as Fredrick's imminent attack on the Animal Farm and that Fredrick tortures and starves his animals. Napoleon supports his claims by sending pigeons to neighboring farms to spread propaganda through slogans, he aims to exchange the slogan "Death to Humanity" to "Death to Fredrick ". (AF, p.63). Later on, Napoleon changes his mind and sells the timber to Fredrick, and now he has to change all the stories immediately in order to keep his reputation among the animals. Therefore, he has to tell another lie, he says that all previous stories are not true, and he has been in agreement with Fredrick secretly all the time, he says that he only pretends to be friendly with Pilkington to make Fredrick raise the price of the timber. The rumors of hardness against Fredrick's animals, is likely created by Snowball. In this single event (selling the timber), Napoleon uses three techniques of propaganda, the first is lying, then he uses Glittering Generalities technique, when he uses slogans to slander Fredrick and blacken his name. finally, he uses Snowball as a scapegoat or common enemy technique of propaganda. Sometimes, Napoleon tries new technique of propaganda that he finds necessary, and more suitable than other technique to solve or at least to modify specific problems. In such a problem Napoleon tries to play on the strings of emotions, he attempts to convince the animals by triggering their feelings to distract them of their real plight. He uses "Loaded Words" technique; the propagandist uses weasel words which are so descriptive and filled with emotions. Napoleon uses this technique of propaganda, when the animals have a serious shortage of food, he insists to encourage the animals to be enthusiastic and patriotic about the Animal Farm by telling them his revised story of the Battle of the Cowshed. (*Animal Farm Topic Tracking: Propaganda*, n.d.)

The Minister of Propaganda in *Animal Farm*

Squealer is a small fat pig...with very round cheeks, twinkling eyes, nimble movements and a shrill voice. He was a brilliant talker, and when he was arguing some difficult point, he had a way of skipping from side to side and whisking his tail which was somehow very persuasive. The others said of Squealer that he could turn black into white. (AF, pp.9-10)

According to the name selection strategy of the characters in the novel, Squealer's name is brilliantly chosen to reflect his personality. Squealer means a person who provides information about another's wrongdoing. Squealer has all the characteristics of a successful orator; he is "charismatic, intelligent, emotional, persuasive, and even hypnotic" (*Significance Of Language In Animal Farm Philosophy Essay*, 2018). As a quite tricky pig, Squealer exploits the animals' ignorance to propagate Napoleon's agenda in the farm. He is highly effective in making animals believe in almost anything. Thus, he serves as Napoleon's minister of propaganda. He has an extraordinary talent that enables Napoleon to have such a height success. Squealer uses his misleading abilities to deceive ignorant animals, he is always sent by Napoleon to do the required explanations, for instance, when the animals question the pigs getting all the apples and milk, Squealer emerges as a propagandist using several clever techniques to persuade the other animals to agree with him. He showers the naive animals with lies, like; "Many of us actually dislike milk and apples".(AF,p.23) He succeeds to convince the animals that the pigs take apples and milk for the sake of other animals, he uses false statistics to support his claim as; "Milk and apples (this has been proven by science, comrades) contains substances absolutely necessary to the well-being of a pig".(AF,p.23) He says that the pigs are brainworkers and do all the management in the farm, they have a duty to stay healthy. After this 'logical fallacies' technique of propaganda, he aims to use fear as another technique, when he intimidates the animals and threatens them with the return of Mr. Jones, if the pigs fail in their duty. He says: " Do you know what would happen if we pigs failed in our duty? Jones would come back! surely, comrades, surely there is no one among you who wants to see Jones come back?" (AF, p.23).

Similarly, Squealer explains many other deviations from the commandments and many other illogical matters, as when the animals

are informed that the pigs are sleeping in beds, which is contradictory to commandment four; "No Animal shall sleep in a bed", (AF, p.16), they go to consult the Seven Commandments, but they find the commandment actually states; " No Animal shall sleep in a bed with sheets." (AF, p.44). The horrible revision comes to affect the commandment six "No Animal shall kill any other animal" (AF,p.16) to become "No Animal shall kill any other animal without cause" (AF,p.59), after the murderous purges, when Napoleon and his dogs perform a bloody massacre in which a large number of animals are executed for various alleged crimes against the state. Finally, all commandments have been altered from their original form, and reduced to a single commandment with distorted language that shows the superiority of the pigs; "All Animals are equal, but some animals are more equal than others." (AF, p.88). Rewriting the seven commandments, the initial moral code of Animalism, shows the most treacherous act of propaganda in the novel committed by the authorities to excuse themselves of all responsibilities. (Fowler, 2009, p. 76)

The pigs, especially Squealer, become extremely sophisticated and effective, they never satisfy in rewriting the rules of Animal Farm and Animalism, but they go further even to revise the farm's entire history in order to befool the other animals and make them believe in their speech. They use different techniques of propaganda to keep the illiterate animals in control and remove Snowball from the pages of history, they use 'Name Calling' technique when calling him as a 'traitor' and 'criminal', they are quickly destroying his name among the animals. "Scapegoating" propaganda is also used against him to blame him for every bad thing happens in the farm. He is said to be responsible for stolen items, poor harvests, and the destruction of the windmill, and at the end the animals made to believe that Snowball fought against them in the Battle of the Cowshed even though they saw him with their own eyes fight with them. All that comes from Squealer's cunning and shameless propaganda that could turn black into White.

The Farmers' propaganda

The events at the Animal Farm reach the neighboring farms through the pigeons sent by Snowball and Napoleon to spread their ideas as widely as possible to all animals in England. The pigeons mingle with other animals and tell them of the rebellion and teach them the song

'Beasts of England'. Meanwhile Mr. Jones lives shamefully in Willingdon, drinking, complaining and moaning over his misfortune. Mr. Pilkington and Mr. Fredrick, the owners of the neighboring farms, are much alarmed about the rebellion in Animal Farm. They fear that the rebellion will spread among their animals. The news of the animals living happily and managing their own affairs spreads through other farms. Consequently, the animals of the other farms begin singing "Beasts of England", and many of them start to behave rebelliously. Despite their rivalry with each other, Mr. Pilkington and Mr. Fredrick decide to work together against Animal Farm. They "engage in anti-Animal Farm propaganda, making up exaggerated horror stories about what they think is happening there without any grounding in reality." (*Animal Farm Topic Tracking: Propaganda*, n.d.) They begin spreading rumors about how the farm experienced failure and moral decline, saying: It was given out that the animals their practised cannibalism, tortured one another with red-hot horses' shoes and had their females in common." (AF, p.25) They add that this kind of rebellion is against nature's law.

Moses' Propaganda

" Moses, the tame raven...who was Mr. Jones' special pet, was a spy and a tale-bearer, but he was also a clever talker. He claimed to know of the existence of a mysterious country called Sugar candy Mountain, to which all animals went when they died." (AF, p.11)

Moses, the raven represents organized religion, as his name, Moses, is intelligently chosen for this reason. Like their allegorical counterparts in the Russian Revolution, the ruling class, the pigs, firstly look to religion as an enemy of people, as Karl Marx famously referred to religion as " the opiate of the masses." He considered religion as a drug that kept workers calm, so that Capitalists could take advantage of them. The pigs fear that if the animals believed in an after-life paradise, they would not be stimulated to alter their worldly life. Therefore, the pigs try to disgrace Moses soon after the revolution. "The pigs had an even harder struggle to counteract the lies put about by Moses" (AF, p.10) As Moses was the "especial pet" and a "spy" of Mr. Jones, and as long as he was living with Mr. Jones, he spreads Mr. Jones' propaganda when he tells the animals about "Sugar candy Mountain", that in which they will all live happily forever, and all their labor and suffering will end.

During the rebellion, Moses leaves the farm with his master, Mr. Jones, and disappears for years. But later on, he comes back after the battle of the windmill, when the conditions of the animals in the farm becomes worse and worse under Napoleon's regime. Moses begins to spread the same propaganda of "Saarland Mountain". Although the pigs never change their attitude towards Moses' stories, they allow him to stay in the farm, and they give him a ration of beer as a reward for his efforts, "They allowed him to remain on the farm, not working, with an allowance of a gill of beer a day." (AF, p.76)

The pigs realize the importance of such a tale in keeping the animals calm and prevent them from rising up against Napoleon because they think that they will be rewarded by God for their obedience and hardworking when they die. Moses talks about "Sugar candy Mountain" as "that happy country where we poor animals shall rest forever from our labors!" (AF, p.76) It is obvious that the pigs make use of Moses' stories to exploit the animals even though they never believe in them.

When Stalin gets in power, he wages war against the church, he wants to replace religion by science, and make people obey the state only. But when he needs patriotic support for the war against Germany in 1941, he reintroduces religion because he realizes that it could serve a purpose for his regime. Since it can make people accept harsh life for the sake of getting a better place when they die. (*Moses in Animal Farm*, n.d.)

Napoleon is like Stalin, when things get worse, he lets Moses back in. As Napoleon becomes oppressor now, he finds that he needs the raven once again to tell the animals his religious propaganda about the "Sugar candy Mountain".

The Illiteracy and the Victims of Propaganda

From the very beginning of the novel, literacy plays an important role in stratifying Animal Farm's population. Soon after the rebellion, Napoleon and the other pigs recognize the pigs' opportunity to become an elite class, Anthony Stewart states: "It is crucial that the pigs immediately separate themselves from—and place themselves above—the other animals by identifying themselves as intellectuals." (Anthony, 2009, p. 96) The pigs teach themselves to read and write secretly. "The pigs now revealed that during the past three months they had taught

themselves to read and write from an old spelling book which had belonged to Mr. Jones' children and which had been thrown on the rubbish heap. (AF, p.15)

At the dawn of the revolution, the pigs were faithful to Major's teachings and their fellow animals. However, the integrity of the pigs never last long when they start using their intelligence and education as tools to oppress and deceive the other animals.

The majority of the animals are illiterate who never learn more than few letters of the alphabet. As an educated elite, the pigs use their mental privilege to take advantage from the ignorant animals who are unable to read the Seven Commandments, as the pigs revise them many times to serve their purposes. The pigs also use their literacy to learn trades from manuals, giving them a chance for economic development. (Brandon, 2017)

The cunning of the ruling class appears early after the revolution, when the pigs take the fresh milk and apples. They give reasons for their action on the basis of their superiority as " brainworkers" who need more nutrition, giving false scientific evidences to prove their claim, being too ignorant, the animals believe in anything the pigs say.

The ignorant animals believe that Napoleon has really established equality among them, this foolish belief leads them to accept the propaganda that justifies the pigs' stealing of the animals' hard work's product. The ignorance of the animals and their inferior memory encourage Napoleon to create a false history. When the animals begin to complain about hunger, Squealer provides them with false statistics and once which states, "production of every class of food staff had increased by two hundred percent, three hundred percent, or five hundred percent." (AF, p.61). Although there are all lies, the animals "saw no reason to disbelieve him, especially as they could no longer remember clearly what conditions had been like before."(AF, pp.61-62)

The pigs make use of the animals' illiteracy and start to change the initial moral code stated by Old Major. The Seven Commandments are incredibly altered to suit their life style. They use their literacy skills to modify what originally outlawed, such as sleeping in beds, drinking alcohol or wearing clothes. The pigs also come to distort the language when invade the meaning of equality. The weakness of the animals' literacy skills makes them "fail to detect how the term 'equal'

no longer has a meaning, or discern the hypocrisy of stating equality for all, but a select elite group." (*Ignorance and the Result of Class Segregation*, n.d.) Subsequently, without being able to read and write or recall the past, the animals fall victims of the pigs' propaganda.

The illiterate working class in Orwell's *Animal Farm*, illustrates how class stratification and exploitation come as a result of uneducated naïve population. The animals' weak ability to think decisively and their inability to question the authority pave the way to the pigs to determine the animals' life. Illiteracy to propagandists is a source of power, if the audience is illiterate, the propaganda will work well and will be easily believed. While literacy and awareness are against propaganda and propagandists. Thus, it is better for the propagandists to limit the issue of literacy among the public by using different strategies, like controlling the media which is important to mold people's minds and opinions. Controlling and narrowing the media by authorities is obsoletely contradicted the concept of democracy that all the world's governments have claimed to adopt. (Khorsand & Salmani, 2014, p. 227)

The animals are deprived of even newspapers " Muriel, the goat, sometimes used to read to the others in the evenings from scraps of newspapers which she found on the rubbish heap." (AF, p.21) Another example of limiting the media in the novel, is shown when the pigs limit the other animals' opportunities to have education by destroying the children's book of spelling, in which the pigs teach themselves to read and write, before the other animals can have the same chance.

As a result of the illiteracy, all the animals except the pigs become victims of Napoleon's propaganda. The most pitiable victim of the pigs' propaganda is Boxer. Boxer as Anthony Stewart states: "is the most decent character in the story....Boxer defining trait from the beginning of the story is his selfless care for others.....Boxer's temperament as a selfless and tireless worker for the cause makes him the embodiment of the best of Major's revolutionary vision." (Anthony, 2009, pp. 107-108)

Boxer is a hardworking, loyal horse, gullibly believes in Napoleon's integrity and works for the animals benefits. Boxer never doubts Napoleon's policy and never questions his choices and orders, as his own personal mottos are "I will work harder" and "Napoleon is always right". (AF, p.18) Boxer is illiterate, that he "could not get beyond the letter D." (AF, p.21)

As usual, the pigs want to keep the animals ignorant and incapable to question their behaviors. Napoleon once declares Snowball as a "traitor" and he "was Jones's agent from the very beginning." (AF, p.53) This blatant lie makes Boxer "who seldom asked questions" (AF, p.52) ask and disbelieve Napoleon's claim. This event creates a disagreement between Boxer and the pigs about the correct version of the Battle of the Cowshed. It seems that Boxer's ability to remember the real version of the history has never suited the pigs as this awareness from Boxer or some animals will threat their propaganda.

After this event, Napoleon, the dictator attempts to "set things right by force." (Anthony, 2009, p. 109) Only four days after this incident, the purges takes place, many animals, including four pigs, killed and torn into pieces by Napoleon's dogs "until there was a pile of corpses lying before Napoleon's feet and the air was heavy with the smell of blood, which had been unknown there since the expulsion of Jones." (AF, p.55) Anthony Stewart states that: "If history teaches us nothing else, it teaches that force must occasionally support propaganda in order to maintain an unjust regime." (Anthony, 2009, p. 106)

The limitation of the literacy level of the animals enables the pigs to deceive them with their propaganda to the extent that they can commit heinous crimes before the animals' eyes, such as Boxer's murder. Shortly after Boxer wounded in the battle of the windmill, Napoleon intends to sell Boxer to be slaughtered. When the car that is assigned to take Boxer comes, the animals' illiteracy disallowed them to read the inscription on the truck: "Horse Slaughterer and Glue Boiler, Willingdon. Dealer in Hides and Bone-Meal." (AF, p.79). After that the clamor arouses in the farm about the meaning of the written words on the truck, Squealer quickly justifies that the truck is recently bought by a veterinary surgeon. As illiterate animals, they cannot distinguish the words by themselves, so, they cannot condemn and criticize the pigs' dishonesty.

Boxer is a good representative of working class; his actions and his limitation of knowledge show the proletariats who become useless when they lose their health and energy to do any labor. Napoleon sends Boxer to the butcher instead of the hospital. Boxer's tragic death creates suspicion among the animals which makes the pigs activate their propaganda again to reinforce their power.

The illiterate and naïve population have truly taken part in their own exploitation from the others. Boxer's life, for instance, is a gloomy example of exploitation since he exploits himself when he blindly follows Napoleon. Orwell wants to say that those naive, loyal and hardworking animals help deeply in establishing the injustice. Oppression never arises from only oppressors, but from the ignorance of the oppressed. Anthony Stewart asserts this fact when says: "Boxer's well-known selflessness is available to help the pigs' own selfish cause, as his motto "Napoleon is always right" can be used in the service of indecency. The slaughtering of the most admirable comrade of the group is transformed into a duplicitous example of Napoleon's benevolent leadership." (Anthony, 2009, p. 111)

Conclusion

Animal Farm is a novel of absolute propaganda, since the propagandist, George Orwell intends it to be a book of propaganda from the very beginning, that in which he spreads his ideas and opinions as a propaganda to expose Stalin's propaganda. Orwell's enormous political intelligence and his past experiences as a propagandist enabled him to trace all types and techniques of propaganda used by political parties and totalitarian regimes. He depicts them precisely in his novel, when the characters (the ruling class) used all types and techniques of propaganda to befool the others. He also uses satire to demonstrate how easily the masses can be deceived by the dictators' propaganda.

Orwell shows language as the most powerful tool of propaganda when he lets his pigs use eloquent language, rhetorical questions, repetition, euphemism, poems, songs, mottos, slogans, and all the forms of language which are the most effective. He also shows the immoral pigs' shameless attempts to distort the meaning of words to manipulate and oppress the illiterate animals. Fear is used along with many other techniques of propaganda by the ruling class to exploit and even kill the lower class. Orwell criticizes the way that dictators use violence and terror to frighten their people by killing the suspects. The propagandist (Squealer) is shown as an immoral figure who uses his shameless rhetoric to exploit and manipulate the others.

Animal Farm also suggests that the class stratification comes as a result of ignorance, as the animals' ignorance and their inferior level of literacy enable the pigs to misinform them with evil propaganda. Orwell wants to show the dangers of the naïve working class, who have really participated in their own exploitation, as it is shown clearly in Boxer's story and his tragic end. Therefore, Orwell wants to warn and protect people from evil propaganda.

Orwell traces precisely all types of propaganda used by Stalin, for example; Moses' propaganda; Stalin's communism hates organized religion and considers it as "the opiate of the masses", yet, he never spares this type of propaganda when he needs it. In the novel Napoleon also lets Moses return back to the farm and spread his religious propaganda among the animals. This incident shows the villainy, and utilitarianism of the dictators when they aim to utilize a shameless propaganda to get their way.

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