

## **Propaganda in George Orwell's Animal Farm : An Allegorical And Satirical Study**

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### **Abstract**

Animal Farm has been called George Orwell's most ferocious propaganda ( Voorhees, 1961: 87). Orwell was quick to admit that he was a propagandist . In fact , in 1940 , during a BBC radio discussion , he maintains that " **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** ( Orwell & Angus ,1968: 41). But , Orwell hates political propaganda which deliberately falsifies reality , especially the hypocritical kind used solely for the purpose of keeping totalitarian regimes in power. During the 1930s and 1940s he was repelled by the propaganda machines of dictators like Hitler and Stalin (Colmer, 1978: 183). It is this variety of propaganda that Orwell satirizes in Animal Farm , a novel that presents his vision of life .

Yet, George Orwell's Animal Farm is a story of pure propaganda. Propaganda is a recurring theme and technique seen and used by characters in the book, as well as the author. Animal Farm is an allegory that focuses on the communist revolution in Russia. Being an allegory, events in the book accurately depict actual events in history that actually relate to propaganda ( Clader,1987: 16). Propaganda is a central element to the plot of Animal Farm ( henceforth, AF). Propaganda is used by various methods in the book. These methods vary depending on who uses them. Characters in the book use them according to who they are ? Orwell also uses propaganda, simply by writing this book. This book clearly shows his views on communism and events that took place in history. As previously stated, the entire book represents his political views on historic events.

الدعاية السياسية في رواية جورج ايرويل ( مزرعة الحيوانات )  
دراسة اسلوبية

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ملخص البحث باللغة العربية

عُرِفَت رواية جورج اورويل ( مزرعة الحيوانات ) على انها من اكثر رواياته إستخداما للدعاية السياسية . بل انه وفي مقابلة لأذاعة ال بي بي سي في عام ١٩٤٠ من القرن الماضي صرّح انه من أكثر الأدباء إستخداما للدعاية السياسية حيث قال " :كل فنّان ، سواء روائي أم غير ذلك، هو رجل دعاية بالدرجة الأساس وذلك خلال محاولاته ،بطريقة مباشرة ام غير مباشرة ،عرض صورة مقبولة للحياة كما يراها هو، ( اورويل & اكنس ، ١٩٦٨ : ٤١ ) ."

طالما كره اورويل الدعاية السياسية خاصة تلك التي تُشوّه الحقائق والتي تُستخدَم للحفاظ على سُلطة الانظمة الدكتاتورية مُتمثلة بنظام ادولف هتلر في المانيا وجوزيف ستالين في الاتحاد السوفيتي سابقا وذلك في الثلاثينيات والأربعينيات من القرن المنصرم ،( كوملر ، ١٨٣ : ١٩٧٨ ) .  
السخرية من هكذا دعاية سياسية هو الاسلوب الأدبي الذي إستخدَمه اورويل في روايته هذه مُستعملا النظريات السياسية الدعائية المُستخدَمه في ذلك الوقت وبكافة عواملها ومقوماتها . وعليه تُمثّل رواية ( مزرعة الحيوانات ) وجهة نظر اورويل السياسية تجاه النظام الشيوعي وتجاه الأحداث التاريخية التي مرَّ بها المجتمع السوفيتي ومعاناته خلال فترة حكم جوزيف ستالين .

## 1. Introduction

While AF is not utopian fiction ,it does contain the twin elements of satire and allegory ( Hunter,1984: 162).Thus, AF is a satire on the Russian Revolution, and it is one of the best 20th-century examples of allegory; an extended form of metaphor in which objects and persons symbolize figures that exist outside the text. As its title suggests, the setting for this fable-like novel is a farm, and the bulk of the characters are the farm animals themselves, all of whom symbolize various revolutionary figures or political ideologies.

Pigs walking on two feet, horses and sheep talking( Hunter,1984: 154). This is how George Orwell satirizes human nature in his novel. Once Again, AF is an allegory of the Russian Revolution of 1917. The title of the book is also the setting for the action in the novel. The animals in the story decide to have a revolution and take control of the farm from the humans. Soon the story shows us how certain groups move from the original ideals of the revolution to a situation where there is domination by one group and submission by all the others. The major idea in this story is the political corruption of what was once a pure political ideal. Orwell uses satire to ridicule human traits in his characters such as Napoleon and Squealer. There are several different characters in the novel utilizing animals as symbols of people in real life during the Russian Revolution. Napoleon is the leader of the pigs that ultimately come to dominate the farm. To control society , to sustain the awesome power of the state , Napoleon uses what Oliver Thompson( **Mass Persuasion in History** ,1977: 132) calls the most dangerous kind of propaganda : a " **steady drip , drip**" of toxic , power-oriented ideas not recognized as propaganda . These ideas pollute the environment and saturate all art forms . Such propaganda deadens the awareness of its targets.

## **2. Propaganda**

### **2.1. Strategy**

**American Heritage Dictionary** ( 2009: 38) defines propaganda as "*The systemic propagation of a doctrine or cause or of information reflecting the views and interests of those advocating such a doctrine or cause; materials disseminated by the advocates or opponents of a doctrine or cause.*"

Another definition is that propaganda is "*The spreading of ideas, information or rumor for the purpose of helping or injuring an institution, cause, or person; ideas, facts, or allegations spread deliberately to further one's cause or to damage an opposing cause .*"(Merriam-Webster's Dictionary, 2002:41).

So, propaganda refers to any persuasive technique, whether in writing, speech, music, film, or other means that attempts to influence the opinions, emotions, attitudes, or behavior of a group for the benefit of the person or

organization using it. Propagandists try to put across an idea, good or bad, rather than discover the truth through reasoned argument and persuasion. The goal of a propagandist is to mold opinion or behavior to support their cause without concern for the interest or benefit of the audience .

## **2.2. The Origins**

The term "propaganda" originated in 1622 when the Sacra Congregatio de Propaganda Fide was established. According to the Catholic Encyclopedia (2009:95), the Sacred Congregation de Propaganda Fide, whose official title is "*sacra congregatio christiano nomini propagando*," is the department of the pontifical administration charged with the spread of Catholicism and with the regulation of ecclesiastical affairs in non-Catholic countries. This religious organization played a crucial role for evangelizing newly discovered lands in America, Africa, and the Far East through the late nineteenth century.

Originally, the term "propaganda" had a neutral sense, which referred to the propagation of the Catholic faith. The Encyclopedia of Propaganda defines the term as the "spreading of doctrine, especially religious or political doctrine; there was no connotation that the doctrine was false or that it was being spread by deceitful means" (Cole,1998:184). In the modern era the term has taken on a much broader and sinister meaning that is generally associated with intent to mislead. In their study, *The Age of Propaganda*, Pratkanis and Aronson( 1991) suggest:

**"the word propaganda has since evolved to mean mass 'suggestion' or influence through the manipulation of symbols and psychology of the individual. Propaganda is the communication of a point of view with the ultimate goal of having the recipient of the appeal come to 'voluntarily' accept this position as if it were his or her own" (9).**

While the term originated in 1622, propaganda has its roots in classical Greece. In the ancient city-states of Greece, the philosophers of the day

were very much concerned with how to use rhetoric to persuade rulers and citizens alike to do the right thing. The early Greeks and Romans spent several years studying the art of speaking persuasively. They used discourse and rhetoric to clarify or argue a position. Speeches were presented as arguments, debates, or discussion using well-reasoned thoughts to influence and persuade their audience. Modern propagandists have replaced the eloquent rhetoric of the Greeks and Romans with slogans and colourful imagery. In contrast to the moral purpose of the ancient rhetoricians, modern propagandists do not seek to enlighten or inform but to influence and persuade the masses for the sole purpose of the propagandist.

Plato was probably the first to describe a theory of rhetoric. He was concerned with the nature of truth and how man's quest for truth can be either foiled or enhanced through the power of rhetoric and persuasion. Aristotle, Plato's pupil, said that the function of rhetoric "is not simply to succeed in persuading, but rather to discover the means of coming as near such success as the circumstances of each particular case allow"( Marlin , 2002: 46), In *Rhetoric*, he wrote that persuasion is based on three elements: ethos, the personal character of the speaker; pathos, appealing to your audience's values; and logos, appealing to the evidence of the reasoning process. To persuade an audience the spokesperson must be credible, someone the audience can trust and look up to, and he must be able to speak directly to the audience's feelings or values in a positive way in order to have an emotional impact. Aristotle believed knowledge could be gained only by logic and reason. Aristotle did agree that persuasion was necessary for less literate individuals in order to communicate truth to them so they might come to the right conclusion( Ibid.).

### **2.3.Modern Propaganda**

Modern propaganda is distinguished from other forms of communication by its deliberate and conscious use of false or misleading information to sway public opinion. The invention of the printing press in the fifteenth century gradually made it possible to reach large numbers of people. But it was not until the nineteenth century that state governments

began to employ propaganda for political purposes to any wide degree deliberately aimed at influencing the masses. The invention of radio and television in the twentieth century made it possible to reach even more people. The development of modern media, global warfare, and the rise of extremist political parties provided growing importance to the use of propaganda (Pratkanis & Aronson,1991:9).

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

The Nazi propaganda machine relied heavily on symbolism. When Hitler was made chief of propaganda for the National Socialist party he chose this commanding symbol to distinguish the Nazi Party from all other rival political groups. Joseph Goebbels succeeded Hitler to become the master propagandist for the Nazi regime. In *Propaganda. The Art of War*, Rhodes (1976) maintains that: "*Goebbels openly admitted that propaganda had little to do with the truth. 'Historical truth may be discovered by a professor of history. We, however, are serving historical necessity. It is not the task of art to be objectively true. The sole aim of propaganda is success'*" (P.19).

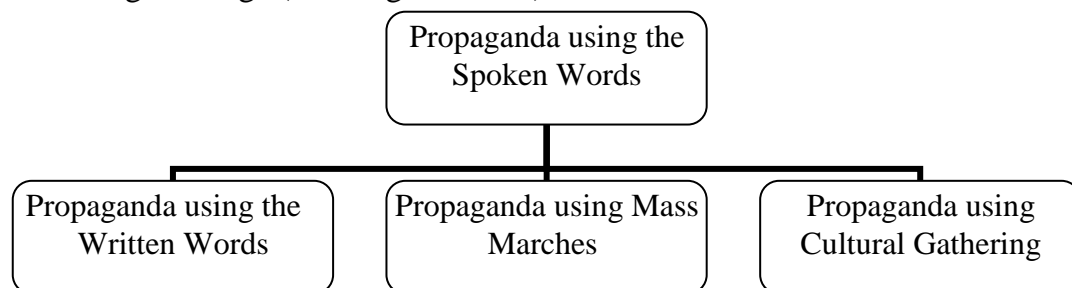
In order to use propaganda effectively, one has to have great command of language and recognize the power of persuasive speech.

George Orwell, the author of the postwar novel, *1984*, realized the dangers of propaganda and the power of persuasion. In his essay "**Politics and the English language**," Orwell said that fighting propaganda meant fighting mental laziness. In "**Why I Write**," written in 1946, Orwell commented: "**To write in plain vigorous language one has to think fearlessly, and if one thinks fearlessly one cannot be politically orthodox**," ( Orwell & Angus ,1968: 48) .

Orwell wrote numerous essays on the topic of propaganda, which he extended in his novel, *AF*, where he discussed how ideas could be packaged, manipulated, and reformulated in order to change people's beliefs. He shows how the minister of propaganda could twist language to explain why some animals are more equal than others or why food production was down when the animals have been told it was up.

#### **2.4. Methods of Propaganda**

Methods of propaganda are common-sense techniques that resemble those of persuasive speaking( Cole,1998: 9). So, there are four methods of propaganda: Propaganda using the written word; Propaganda using the spoken words; Propaganda using mass marches and Propaganda using cultural gatherings ( See Figure No. 1 ) :



**Figure No. ( 1 ) : Methods of Propaganda**

Propaganda using the written word is such as : flyers , leaflets, party newspapers, books, factory papers, posters , stamps, other newspapers, postcards, banners, billboards, slides and films( Ibid.).

Propaganda using the spoken word is such as : talking with the individual, study groups, discussion evenings, mass meetings, choruses-

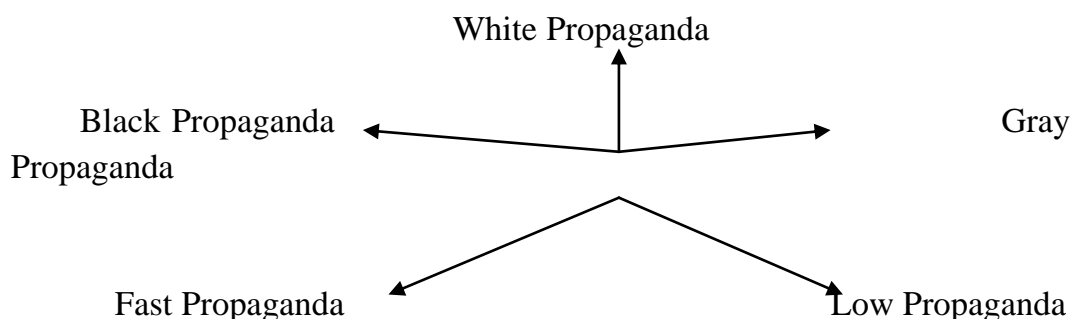
usually result from the written word. The two forms of propaganda are inseparable. The most basic form of oral propaganda is the discussion with the individual. This form is still the most effective; for there is a deep contact established. It is easier to do that in this way than in study groups.

Propaganda using mass marches includes: demonstration, local marches, and Reich party rallies. Here all that need to be said is that good discipline is the best propaganda,"*Propaganda using cultural gatherings such as : the influence of theatre and movies on the masses is well known,*" (Ibid.: 12) .

The cultural gatherings deepen the idea and educate the party members, and encourage closer contact with citizens who are friendly or at least honestly uncertain about the movements. Through them we win supporters by give and take. Without any doubt, the movement from the beginning built the inner strength it needed and won the best fighters throughout the cultural gatherings. Every local group should hold two study groups a month. If in a given month no public meeting is held, it should hold another cultural gatherings (Ibid) .

#### 4. Types of Propaganda

Modern practitioners of propaganda utilize various schema to classify different types of propaganda activities. One such categorization classifies propaganda as **white**, **grey**, or **black** according to the degree to which the sponsor conceals or acknowledges its involvement( Lang, 1979:45), ( See Figure No.2 ):



**Figure No. ( 2 ) : Types of Propaganda**



**White propaganda** is correctly attributed to the sponsor and the source is truthfully identified. The U.S. government's international broadcast service Voice of America, for example, broadcasts white propaganda. **Gray propaganda**, on the other hand, is unattributed to the sponsor and conceals the real source of the propaganda. The objective of gray propaganda is to advance viewpoints that are in the interest of the originator but that would be more acceptable to target audiences than official statements. The reasoning is that avowedly propagandistic materials from a foreign government or identified propaganda agency might convince few, but the same ideas presented by seemingly neutral outlets would be more persuasive. Unattributed publications, such as articles in newspapers written by a disguised source, are staples of gray propaganda. Other tactics involve wide dissemination of ideas put forth by others—by foreign governments, by national and international media outlets, or by private groups, individuals, and institutions. Gray propaganda also includes material assistance provided to groups that put forth views deemed useful to the propagandist ( Ellul,1965:25 ).

Like its gray cousin, **black propaganda** also camouflages the sponsor's participation. But while gray propaganda is unattributed, black propaganda is falsely attributed. Black propaganda is subversive and provocative; it is usually designed to appear to have originated from a hostile source, in order to cause that source embarrassment, to damage its prestige, to undermine its credibility, or to get it to take actions that it might not otherwise. Black propaganda is usually prepared by secret agents or an intelligence service because it would be damaging to the originating government if it were discovered. It routinely employs underground newspapers, forged documents, planted gossip or rumors, jokes, slogans, and visual symbols (Ibid.: 26).

Another categorization distinguishes between "**fast**" and "**slow**" propaganda operations, based on the type of media employed and the immediacy of the effect desired. **Fast media** are designed to exert a short-term impact on public opinion, while the use of **slow media** cultivates public opinion over the long haul. Fast media typically include radio, newspapers, speeches, television, moving pictures, and, since the 1990s, e-

mail and the Internet. These forms of communication are able to exert an almost instantaneous effect on select audiences. Books, cultural exhibitions, and educational exchanges and activities, on the other hand, are slow media that seek to inculcate ideas and attitudes over time ( Ibid.: 15).

Three types of propaganda were developed during World War II and put to effective use on both sides. Black propaganda was designed to tell anything but the truth and was directed against the enemy. White propaganda was addressed more openly and contained mostly true facts. Gray propaganda omitted all mentions of its source and was designed not to tell the whole truth. Black propaganda was used to disseminate "*false information in the enemy camp, military and civilian [...] aimed at undermining moral and generally sowing doubt, disquiet, and depression.*" White propaganda "*aspires to uplift home morale with eyewitness accounts of military successes [...] it is based on truth, even if the truth is twisted a little*" (Rhodes,1976:111).

## **2.6.Propaganda's Techniques**

Edward Filene(1938:19) helped to establish the Institute of Propaganda Analysis in 1937 to educate the American public about the nature of propaganda and how to recognize propaganda techniques .

### **2.6.1.Propaganda's Major Techniques**

Filene and his colleagues identified the most seven common "tricks of the trade" used by successful propagandists (Marlin,2002: 102-106). These techniques are called Propaganda's Major Techniques ( See Table No. 1 ) :

**Table No. ( 1 ): Propaganda's Major Techniques**

1	Name Calling	5	Plain Folks
2	Glittering Generalities	6	Card Stacking
3	Transfer	7	Band Wagon
4	Testimonial		

These techniques are designed to fool the public because the appeal is to the emotions rather than to the reason:

**1. Name Calling:** Propagandists use this technique to create fear and arouse prejudice by using negative words (bad names) to create an unfavourable opinion or hatred against a group, beliefs, ideas or institutions they would have us denounce. This method calls for a conclusion without examining the evidence. Name Calling is used as a substitute for arguing the merits of an idea, belief, or proposal. It is often employed using sarcasm and ridicule in political cartoons and writing ( Delwich ,2002 : 3 ). That is to say that , *Name Calling* occurs often in politics and wartime scenarios, but very seldom in advertising. It is another of the main techniques designated by the Institute for Propaganda Analysis. It is the use of derogatory language or words that carry a negative connotation when describing an enemy. The propaganda attempts to arouse prejudice among the public by labeling the target something that the public dislikes. Often, *Name Calling* is employed using sarcasm and ridicule, and shows up often in political cartoons or writings.

**2. Glittering Generalities:** Propagandists employ vague, sweeping statements (often slogans or simple catchphrases) using language associated with values and beliefs deeply held by the audience without providing supporting information or reason (Smith III, 1989:31). They appeal to such notions as honor, glory, love of country, desire for peace, freedom, and family values. The words and phrases are vague and suggest different things to different people but the implication is always favorable. It cannot be proved true or false because it really says little or nothing at all. To illustrate, *Glittering Generalities* is one of the main propaganda techniques identified by the Institute for Propaganda Analysis in 1938. It also occurs very often in politics and political propaganda. *Glittering Generalities* are words that have different positive meaning for individual subjects, but are linked to highly valued concepts. When these words are used, they demand approval without thinking, simply because such an important concept is involved. For example, when a person is asked to do something in "defense of democracy" they are more likely to agree. The concept of democracy has a positive connotation to them because it is linked to a concept that they

value. Words often used as glittering generalities are honor, glory, love of country, and freedom.

**3.Transfer:** Transfer is a technique used to carry over the authority and approval of something we respect and revere to something the propagandist will make us accept. Propagandists often employ symbols (e.g., waving the flag) to stir our emotions and win our approval( Marlin,2002: 56). Then, *Transfer* is another of the main propaganda terms first used by the Institute for Propaganda Analysis in 1938. Transfer is often used in politics and during wartime. It is an attempt to make the subject view a certain item in the same way as they view another item, to link the two in the subjects mind. Although this technique is often used to transfer negative feelings for one object to another, it can also be used in positive ways. By linking an item to something the subject respects or enjoys, positive feelings can be generated for it. However, in politics, *Transfer* is most often used to transfer blame or bad feelings from one politician to another of his friends or party members, or even to the party itself.

**4.Testimonial:** Propagandists use this technique to associate a respected person or someone with experience to endorse a product or cause by giving it their stamp of approval hoping that the intended audience will follow their example(Lay ,2000: 70) . Testimonials are another one of the main forms of propaganda identified by the Institute for Propaganda Analysis. *Testimonials* are quotations or endorsements, in or out of context, which attempt to connect a famous or respectable person with a product or item. *Testimonials* are very closely connected to the *Transfer* technique, in that an attempt is made to connect an agreeable person to another item. *Testimonials* are often used in advertising and political campaigns.

**5.Plain Folks:** Propagandists use this technique to convince the audience that the spokesperson is from humble origins, someone they can trust and who has their interests at heart. Propagandists have the speaker use ordinary language and mannerisms to reach the audience and identify with their point of view( Nelson ,1996: 313). The plain folks propaganda technique is another one of the main techniques identified by the Institute for Propaganda Analysis. The *Plain Folks* device is an attempt by the

propagandist to convince the public that his views reflect those of the common person and that they are also working for the benefit of the common person. The propagandist will often attempt to use the accent of a specific audience as well as using specific idioms or jokes. Also, the propagandist, especially during speeches, may attempt to increase the illusion through imperfect pronunciation, stuttering, and a more limited vocabulary. Errors such as these help add to the impression of sincerity and spontaneity. This technique is usually most effective when used with *Glittering Generalities*, in an attempt to convince the public that the propagandist views about highly valued ideas are similar to their own and therefore more valid.

**6. Bandwagon:** Propagandists use this technique to persuade the audience to follow the crowd. This device creates the impression of widespread support. It reinforces the human desire to be on the winning side. It also plays on the feelings of loneliness and isolation. Propagandists use this technique to convince people not already on the bandwagon to join in a mass movement while simultaneously reassuring that those on or partially on should stay aboard. Bandwagon propaganda has taken on a new twist. Propagandists are now trying to convince the target audience that if they don't join in they will be left out. The implication is that if you don't jump on the bandwagon the parade will pass you by. While this is contrary to the other technique, it has the same effect: getting the audience to join in with the crowd( Ellul, 1965:32). Bandwagon is one of the most common techniques in both wartime and peacetime and plays an important part in modern advertising. Bandwagon is also one of the main propaganda techniques identified by the Institute for Propaganda Analysis in 1938. Bandwagon is an appeal to the subject to follow the crowd, to join in because others are doing so as well. Bandwagon propaganda is, essentially, trying to convince the subject that one side is the winning side, because more people have joined it. The subject is meant to believe that since so many people have joined, that victory is inevitable and defeat impossible. Since the average person always wants to be on the winning side, he or she is compelled to join in.

**7.Card Stacking:** Propagandist uses this technique to make the best case possible for his side and the worst for the opposing viewpoint by carefully using only those facts that support his or her side of the argument while attempting to lead the audience into accepting the facts as a conclusion. In other words, the propagandist stacks the cards against the truth. Card stacking is the most difficult technique to detect because it does not provide all of the information necessary for the audience to make an informed decision. The audience must decide what is missing( Marlin, 2002: 81). *Card Stacking*, or selective omission, is one of the techniques identified by the Institute for Propaganda Analysis. It involves only presenting information that is positive to an idea or proposal and omitting information contrary to it. *Card Stacking* is used in almost all forms of propaganda, and is extremely effective in convincing the public. Although the majority of information presented by the card stacking approach is true, it is dangerous because it omits important information.

### **2.6.2. Propaganda's Minor Techniques**

Hacker(1999:44) expounds that modern communication constantly assails us with thirty to sixty second messages and images designed to catch our attention and influence us. Catchy slogans and phrases are substituted for well-reasoned arguments. Audiences become so overwhelmed with these messages that they begin to automatically accept the explanation offered without taking the time or good judgment to notice what is being directed towards them or how it might be influencing them. These techniques include gaining people's trust, simplicity , repetition , the use of symbols etc. However, propagandists often use such underhanded techniques as distortion, concealment and lying. In nations ruled by dictators, governments increase the effectiveness of their propaganda by using censorship . Propagandists employ these other techniques, including logical fallacies, to influence our opinion and behaviour(See Table No.2):

**Table No. (2) : Propaganda's Minor Techniques**

1	Assertion	4	The Use of Symbols
2	Gaining People's Trust	5	Distortion and Concealment
3	Simplicity and Repetition	6	Lying

### **1.Assertion**

Assertion is commonly used in advertising and modern propaganda. An assertion is an enthusiastic or energetic statement presented as a fact, although it is not necessarily true. They often imply that the statement requires no explanation or back up, but that it should merely be accepted without question. Examples of assertion, whenever an advertiser states that their product is the best without providing evidence for this, they are using an assertion. The subject, ideally, should simply agree with the statement without searching for additional information or reasoning. Assertions, although usually simple to spot, are often dangerous forms of propaganda because they often include falsehoods or lies( Ibid.: 46).

### **2.Gaining People's Trust**

Above all, propagandists must be believable, and their audience must consider them reliable authorities. One way to gain an audience trust is to report unfavourable news that the audience knows or will discover. During World War II (1939 – 1945), the British Broadcasting Corporation (BBC) made propaganda broadcast to Europe. The BBC began many news casts with a report of British defeats and losses. This practice helped give the BBC a worldwide reputation for truthfulness. Another way to gain people's trust is to agree with their existing opinions. Scientists have found that people place most trust in speakers and writers whose ideas are similar to their own. As a result, propaganda is most successful if much of it agrees with what people already believe and if only a little of it is new, (Ibid .:47).

### **3.Simplicity and Repetition**

Propaganda must be easy to understand and to be remembered. As far as possible, propagandists make their appeals in simple, catchy slogans that they repeat over and over. The Nazi Dictator Adolf Hitler: "**The intelligence of the masses is small. Their forgetfulness is great. They must be told the same thing a thousand times.**" 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. Adolph Hitler emphasized the need for repetition in propaganda. "*Now the purpose of propaganda is not continually to produce interesting changes for the few blasé little masters, but to convince; that is, to convince the masses. 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,1976:139).

### **4. The Use of Symbols**

The use of symbols involves words and illustrations that bring strong responses from people. Individuals reaction is not only to the actual meaning of words and the actual content of pictures, but also to the feelings aroused by such symbols. For example, nearly all cultures have favourable reactions to a picture of a mother and baby or to such words as home/ and justice. Propagandists try to create an association in people's minds between such symbols and the messages they are trying to spread. Powerful negative images are frequently used to increase prejudice, hostility and hatred towards the desired targets of propaganda ,(Ibid). Propagandists use words, designs, place, ideas and music to symbolize ideas and concepts with emotional content ( Hacker, 1999:49 ).

### **5. Distortion and Concealment**

Propagandists deliberately exaggerate the importance of some facts and twist the meaning of others. They try to conceal facts that might prevent the response they seek from people. They also try to shift attention away from embarrassing facts that cannot be hidden . Censorship is most common where the government controls the newspapers, television and other means of communication. It increases the effectiveness of propaganda because the government can silence people who contradict its official views (Ibid.:52).



## **6.Lying**

Deliberate lying is relatively rare as a propaganda technique because propagandists fear their lies might be discovered and they might lose their audience's trust . Propaganda usually includes some accurate information, but some propagandists readily lie if they think that they can deceive their audience. Propagandists may believe in their causes, but their chief goal is to shape and control the public's beliefs and actions, (Ibid.: 55).

Audience can understand that Propaganda is generally an appeal to emotion, contrasted to an appeal to intellect. It shares techniques with advertising and public relations. In fact, **advertising** and **public relations** can be thought of as **propaganda that promotes a commercial product or shapes the perception of an organization, person or brand**, though in post-WWII usage the word "propaganda" more typically refers to political or nationalist uses of these techniques or to the promotion of a set of ideas, since the term had gained a pejorative meaning, which commercial and government entities could accept. The refusal phenomenon was eventually to be seen in politics itself by the substitution of 'political marketing' and other designations for 'political propaganda'.

Propaganda also has much in common with public information campaigns by governments, which are intended to encourage or discourage certain forms of behavior (such as wearing seat belts, not smoking, not littering and so forth). Again, the emphasis is more political in propaganda.

## **3.Propaganda : A Working Text**

Propaganda appeals to its audience in three ways: (1) it calls for an action or opinion that seems wise and reasonable. (2) It suggests that the action or opinion is moral and light. (3) It provides a pleasant feeling, such as a sense of importance or of belonging ( Cole,1998: 90).

### **3.1.Animal Farm: A Timeless Propaganda**

Old Major, a prize-winning boar, gathers the animals of the *Manor Farm* for a meeting in the big barn. He tells them of a dream he has had in which all animals live together with no human beings to oppress or control them. He tells the animals that they must work toward such a paradise and teaches them a song called "*Beasts of England*," in which his dream vision is lyrically described. The animals greet Major's vision with great

enthusiasm. When he dies only three nights after the meeting, three younger pigs—Snowball, Napoleon, and Squealer—formulate his main principles into a philosophy called *Animalism*. Late one night, the animals manage to defeat the farmer Mr. Jones in a battle, running him off the land. They rename the property *Animal Farm* and dedicate themselves to achieving Major’s dream. Everything is done with the use of the Methods of propaganda , through which ways , types as well as major and minor techniques of propaganda are emerged ( See **Table No. 3**).

### **3.2.Methods of propaganda in Animal Farm**

As mentioned earlier , all the methods are used , but still the "**Propaganda using the Spoken Words Method**" is the most dominant one throughout the novel. Yet , other methods are emerged within. Notice the following table :

**Table No.( 3 ) : Methods of propaganda in Animal Farm**

<b>Methods of Propaganda</b>	<b>Number</b>	<b>Percentage</b>
Propaganda using the Spoken Words	122 times	% 62,210
Propaganda using Cultural Gathering:	26 times	% 13,684
Propaganda using Mass Marches	25 times	% 13,157
Propaganda using the Written Words	17 times	% 8,947
<b>Total</b>	190 times	% 100

It is obviously clear that," **Propaganda using the Spoken Words Method**" gains the upper hand by having a high share of ( 122 ) or ( % 62,210 ). This is due to the fact that almost all the animals are not educated, i.e. very simple people . That is why, the old Major's speech, as intended, is very inspiring and encouraging to the tired, troubled farm animals:

**1." Comrades, you have heard already about the strange dream that I had last night ....Now, comrades, what is the nature of this life of ours? Let us face it : our lives are miserable, laborious, and short.... The life of an animal is misery and slavery: that is the plain truth."(AF, P.3). ... " It is not crystal clear,then, comrades ,that all the evils of this life of ours spring from the tyranny of human being ? Only get rid of Man , and the produce of our labour would be our own ...What then must we do ? That is my message to you , comrades : Rebellion ! (AF,P. 5).**

The Major’s speech, dripping with propaganda, was the spark that led to the Revolution. The speech included such propaganda as loaded words and

powerful images. Strong verbal techniques and potent pictures send out certain messages of evil to strengthen Major's persuasion. This extreme idea is dramatized with such power and confidence that it is a simple task to influence others to think the same. The words such as "comrades," "tyranny", "get rid of Man", "Rebellion" are strong enough to leave a lasting impression in one's mind. Its simplicity makes the point clear towards effectively brainwashing the animals to believe that all men are evil.

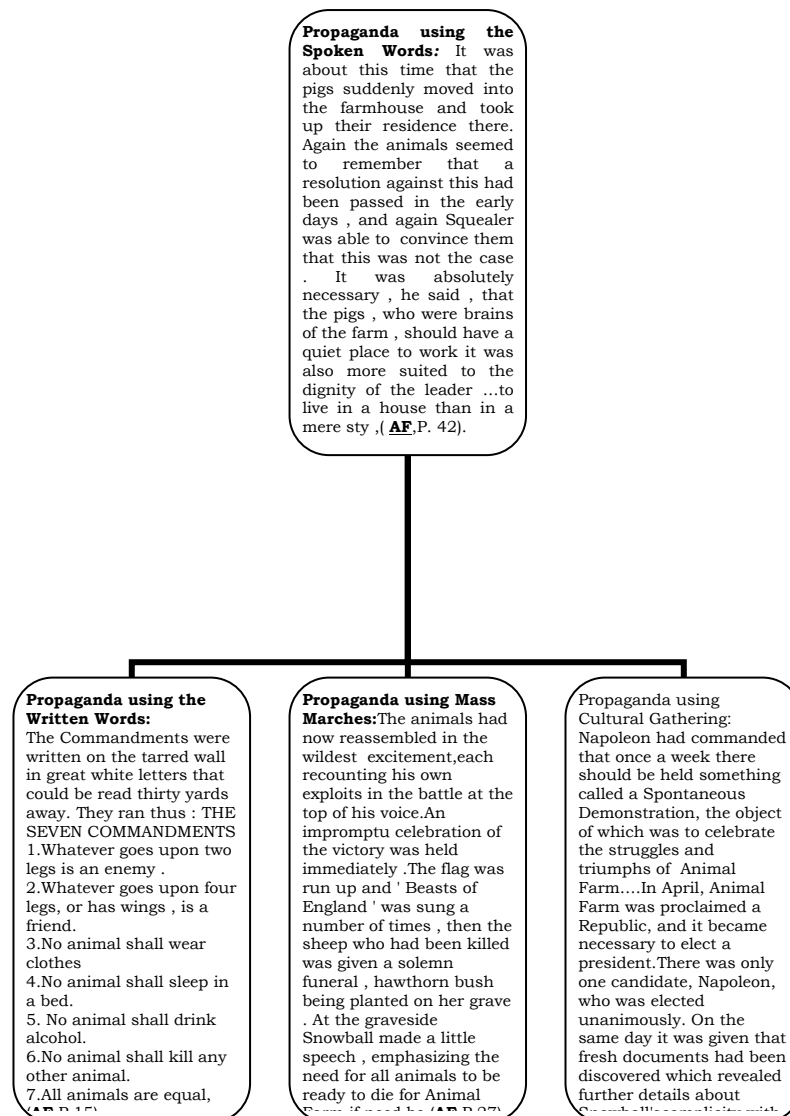


Figure No. ( 3 ) : Methods of Propaganda in Animal Farm

Old Major is somehow a grand fatherly philosopher of change, of course it is an obvious metaphor for Karl Marx ( Clader,1987:17 ). Old Major proposes a solution to the animals' desperate plight under the Jones "administration" when he inspires a rebellion among the animals. Of course the actual time of the revolt is unsaid. It could be the next day or several generations down the road. But old Major's philosophy is only an ideal.

After Major's speech manipulated the animals' thoughts, and after his death, three days after the barn-yard speech, the socialism he professes is drastically altered and the methods of propaganda were continually used when Napoleon and the other pigs begin to dominate. It is interesting that Orwell does not mention Napoleon or Snowball anytime during the great speech of old Major. This shows how distant and out-of-touch they really were; the ideals old Major proclaimed seemed to not even have been considered when they were establishing their new government after the successful revolt( Hunter,1984: 206) . It almost seemed as though the pigs fed off old Major's inspiration and then used it to benefit themselves instead of following through on the old Major's honest proposal:

**2. It was announced that later , when bricks and timber had been purchased a schoolroom would be built in the farmhouse garden . For the time being , the young pigs were given their instruction by Napoleon himself in the farmhouse kitchen. They took their exercise in the garden , and were discouraged from playing with the other young animals . About this time , too, it was laid down as a rule that when a pig and any other animal met on the path , the other animal must stand aside : and also that all pigs , of whatever degree , were to have the privilege of wearing green ribbons on their tails on Sundays,(AF, P. 71).**

The Jones' farmhouse represents in many ways the very place where greed and lust dominate. Unlike the barn, which is the fortress of the common man, the genuine concept of socialism, the farmhouse, where Napoleon and the pigs take over, symbolizes the Kremlin( Clader ,1987: 19). Even today the Kremlin is an important place to Russian leaders, who, instead of embracing Marxism, have created their own distorted view of communism

and have shoved it down their peoples' (animals') throats. So, more and more, methods of propaganda were continually supported by weekly rituals. These rituals fulfilled the animals' basic need and desire of pride and belonging. **“They were unailing in their attendance at the secret meetings in the barn , and led the singing of " Beasts of England', with which the meetings always ended,”(AF,P.10-11).**It is what the animals needed for a sense of courage coming through strength in numbers. The cultural gatherings were a kind of social control to bring everyone to a certain place and feed them lies and some other techniques of propaganda to sustain the revolutionary patriotism. Also, after the ceremonies, a song is sung by every animal that encourages and upholds the Animalistic beliefs. The firm, devoted tune emphasizes loyalty **“Beasts of England, beasts of Ireland, Beasts of every land and clime, Hearken to my joyful tiding, Of the golden future time,”( AF,P.7) .**The song is optimistic with the joyful, promising lyric **“golden future time,”(AF,P.7) .** Having all the animals singing this propagandistic melody together, enforces all the patriotic group values of Animalism ( **AF,P.15**).In addition to the rituals, propaganda, along with its methods, ways, and techniques, was also spread by the act of escape- goading( Trilling,1974: 189). Essentially the Animals (beginning with Major) blamed all their life’s problems on Man. In Major’s speech he points out, **“Man is the only real enemy we have. Remove Man from the scene, and the root cause of our hunger and overwork is abolished forever,”(AF, P.4) .** Desperate to find a solution, using propaganda, the animals believe that human beings are the cause of all their hardships. They are led to think that subtracting men would make everything all better when really it is not necessarily all Man at fault. Again, escape-goading occurred under Napoleon’s unjust reign when Snowball was blamed for the destruction of the holy windmill, **“Do you know the enemy who has come in the night and overthrown our windmill? SNOWBALL!”(AF, P.44) .** Napoleon was worried about the ruined windmill threatening his leadership. Instead of owning up to his own responsibility, Napoleon blames Snowball and further pushes propaganda to manipulate the animals' heads and filling them with lies:

3. 'Comrades!' cried Squealer , making little nervous skips,'a most terrible thing has been discovered. Snowball has sold himself to Frederick of Pinchfeild Farm, who is even now plotting to attack us and take our farm away from us! Snowball is to act as his guide when the attack begins. But there is worse than that. We had thought that Snowball's rebellion was caused by his vanity and ambition. But we were wrong comrades....Even Boxer, who seldom asked questions , was puzzled. He lay down, tucked his fore-hoofs beneath him shut his eyes, and with a hard effort managed to formulate his thoughts. 'I do not believe that, he said. Snowball fought bravely at the Battle of the Cowshed. I saw him myself. Did we not give him "Animal Hero,First Class", immediately afterwards?"That was our mistake, comrade. For we know now –it is all written down in the secret documents that we have found- that in reality he was trying to lure us to our doom." " But he was wounded,' said Boxer." We all saw him running with blood.'" That was part of the arrangement!' Cried Squealer." Jones's shot only grazed him. I could show you this in his own writing , if you were able to read it,(AF, P.50).

As a result of all the persuasive verbal influences, entertaining celebration customs, and finally the wicked escape-goading, the immense propaganda is quite apparent in AF. So, although propaganda is bad, the animals could not acquire their power without it. Looking closely, propaganda is everywhere :

3.As they approached the farm Squealer , who had unaccountably been absent during the fighting, came skipping towards them, whisking his tail and beaming with satisfaction .And the animals heard, from the direction of the farm buildings, the solemn booming of a gun." What is that gun firing for?' Said Boxer." To celebrate our victory!" cried Squealer." What victory?" Said Boxer. His knees were bleeding,...,and a dozen pellets had lodged themselves in his hindleg." What victory, comrade? Have we not driven the enemy off our soil-the

sacred soil of Animal Farm?" "But they have destroyed the windmill. And we had worked on it for tow years!" "What matter? We will build another windmill. We will build six windmills if we feel like it . You do not appreciate, comrade ,the mighty thing that we have done . The enemy was in occupation of this very ground that we stand upon. And now- thanks to the leadership of Comrade Napoleon- we have won every inch of it back again!" " Then we have won back what we had before, said Boxer." That is our victory,'said Squealer,(AF, P 66).

As mentioned earlier, AF is an allegorical novel based on the Russian Revolution where propaganda was also spread widely by such historical figures as Joseph Stalin (represented by Napoleon, Clader, 1987:17):

**4."Napoleon was now never spoken of simply as 'Napoleon'. He was always referred to in formal style as 'our Leader ,Comrade Napoleon', and the pigs liked to invent for him such titles as Father of all Animals , Terror of Mankind, Protector of the Sheep-Fold , Duckling's Friend, and the like. In his speeches, Squealer would talk with the tears rolling down his cheeks of Napoleon's wisdom , the goodness of his heart , and the deep love he bore to all animals everywhere ....It had become usual to give Napoleon the credit for every successful achievement ....'Under the guidance of our Leader, Comrade Napoleon, I have laid five eggs in six days'; or...,'Thanks to the leadership of Comrade Napoleon , how excellent this water tastes!'(AF,P. 58).**

This could be Orwell's attempt to dig Stalin, who many consider to be someone who totally ignored Marx's political and social theory. Napoleon is Orwell's chief villain in Animal Farm. The name Napoleon is very appropriate since Napoleon, the dictator of France, was thought by many to be the Anti-Christ (Clader ,1987: 15 ). Napoleon, the pig, is really the central character on the farm. Comrade Napoleon represents the human frailties of any revolution. Orwell believed that although socialism is good as an ideal, it can never be successfully adopted due to the uncontrollable sins of human nature (Bolton, 1984:90). For example, although Napoleon seems at first to be a good leader, he is eventually overcome by greed and soon becomes power-hungry:

**5. Bravery is not enough ,'** said Squealer. **'Loyalty and obedience are more important,'**( AF,P.35)...**In these days Napoleon rarely appeared in public, but spent all his time in the farmhouse, which was guarded at each door by fierce-looking dogs. When he did emerged, it was in a ceremonial manner, with an escort of six dogs who closely surrounded him and growled if anyone came too near,**( AF,P.47).

Of course, Stalin did, too, in Russia, leaving the original equality of socialism behind, giving himself all the power and living in luxury while the common peasant suffered. Thus, while his national and international status blossomed, the welfare of Russia remained unchanged (Gloversmith,1980: 103 ). The true side of Napoleon becomes evident after he slaughters so many animals for plotting against him. He even hires a pig to sample his food for him to make certain that no one is trying to poison him,"... **fresh precautions for Napoleon's safety were taken . For dogs guarded his bed at night, one at each corner, and a young pig named Pinkeye was given the task of tasting all his food before he ate it , lest it should be poisoned,**(AFP.59). Stalin, too, was a cruel dictator in Russia. After suspecting many people in his empire to be supporters of Trotsky Orwell's Snowball (Clader,1987:18), Stalin systematically murdered many,"**In the middle of the summer the animals were alarmed to hear that three hens had come forward and confessed that , inspired by Snowball , they had entered into a plot to murder Napoleon. They were executed immediately ...,**(AF,P.59).This brings us to the character of Snowball, Orwell describes Snowball as a pig very similar to Napoleon— at least in the early stages. Both pigs wanted a leadership position in the new economic and political system (which is actually contradictory to the whole supposed system of equality). But as time goes on, both eventually realize that one of them will have to step down. Orwell says that the two were always arguing," **"Snowball and Napoleon were by far the most active in the debates. But it was noticed that these two were never in agreement: whatever suggestion either of them made, the other could be counted to oppose it,"**(AF,P.19 ).Later, Orwell makes the case stronger. **"These two disagreed at every point disagreement was possible,"**(AF,P.29 ).

Soon the differences, like whether or not to build a windmill, become too great to deal with, so Napoleon decides that Snowball must be



eliminated. It might seem that this was a spontaneous reaction, but a careful look tells otherwise. Napoleon was setting the stage for his own domination long before he really began dishing it out to Snowball. For example, he took the puppies away from their mothers in efforts to establish a private police force( **AF,P.21**). These dogs would later be used to eliminate Snowball, his arch-rival( **AF,P. 33** ). As mentioned above, Snowball represents Trotsky, the arch-rival of Stalin in Russia. The parallels between Trotsky and Snowball are uncanny. Trotsky too, was exiled, not from the farm, but to Mexico, where he spoke out against Stalin. Stalin was very weary of Trotsky, and feared that Trotsky supporters might try to assassinate him. The dictator of Russia tried hard to kill Trotsky, for the fear of losing leadership was very great in the crazy man's mind. Trotsky also believed in Communism, but he thought he could run Russia better than Stalin. Trotsky was murdered in Mexico by the Russian internal police, the NKVD-the pre-organization of the KGB . Trotsky was found with a pick axe in his head at his villa in Mexico (Wain,1963: 185 ).

With the progression of the novel Orwell strangely describes a pig named Squealer. The name sounds fairly pig-like but his actions do not ( Greenblatt,1974: 65). Supposedly Squealer has a special ability to persuade others. Orwell boasts, "**...he could turn black into white.(AF, P. 9)**." Obviously a pig like this could be used by the right people (animals) with his persuasive speeches. Squealer usually appears after significant events in order to justify the pigs deeds. It is interesting to see how he skillfully explains things to other animals:

**6.Squealer was sent to make the necessary explanation to the others. 'Comrades!' he said .' You do not imagine , I hope , that we pigs are doing this in a spirit of selfishness and privilege? Many of us actually dislike milk and apples . I dislike them myself. Our sole object in taking these things is to preserve our health. Milk and apples( this has been proved by science, comrades) contain substances absolutely necessary to the well-being of a pig. We pigs are brain-workers. The whole management and organization of this farm depend on us. Day and**

night we are watching over your welfare. It is for *your* sake that we drink that milk and eat those apples ...,'cried Squealer almost pleadingly, skipping from side to side and whisking his tail,.... (AF,P.22) .

One subtle point is Orwell's use of the word "comrades" seems very interesting in a setting which supposedly takes place in England. Of course this is a metaphor for the influx of communist ideology ( Wain,1963:199) .So, throughout the story, Orwell uses Squealer to illustrate how propaganda persuaded and victimized Russian citizens. Squealer is a sly, crafty pig who is not only intelligent, but a manipulative speaker as well. His cunning is a key to the deception of the other animals. All the time ,he goes on to explain. With the above quotation, Squealer tries to convince the animals that it is for health reasons that they take the apples and milk, but he tries to persuade them in other ways as well .That is just what he does, again and again. Every time the pigs take more wealth and power, Squealer persuades the animals that this is absolutely necessary for the well-being of all. Squealer continues convincing them with fear. **"Do you know what would happen if we pigs failed in our duty? Jones would come back! Yes, Jones would come back!"** (AF,P.22). Here, Squealer frightens the animals into submission with the threat of the return of Mr. Jones, the abusive farmer that was driven out of the farm by the animals. So, he uses propaganda in order to make the animals feel the feelings of fear when they commit a mistake because when they do this will bring Mr. Jones . He persuades them that he uses the threat of the return of Mr. Jones. Squealer is desperate to obtain the apples and milk and will stop at nothing to manipulate the other animals into believing that the pigs should be the sole recipients of this luxury. By masking their true intentions by misleading the animals, the pigs are soon able to acquire whatever they want with little resistance. Orwell uses Squealer to represent the Pravda, the Russian newspaper controlled by the government during Joseph Stalin's regime. Orwell points out the corruption of the Soviet authority in his criticism of the propaganda used to subdue opposition from the masses. Orwell also

criticizes the monopoly of all Russian media by the government(Vorhees, 1961: 87).

Squealer was the messenger of the government. It was his responsibility to inform the animals of the arrangements of labour distribution and any other relevant legislation or news. Orwell establishes that a government-run publication as the only source of public information will inevitably be biased. Squealer serves as Napoleon's right hand pig and minister of propaganda . Squealer manipulates the language to excuse , justify and extol all Napoleon's actions . He represents all the methods of propaganda that Stalin used to justify his own heinous acts. Napoleon, Orwell's representation of the Soviet dictator Joseph Stalin, stops his association with the animals in chapter eight. "**All orders were now issued through Squealer or one of the other pigs**", (AF,P.57).

Squealer is the only source of data the farm animals have. The animals have no way to dispute or question any of the statistics he delivered. "**There were times when it seemed to the animals that they worked longer hours and fed no better than they had in Jones's day**,(AF,P. 57 ).On Sunday mornings Squealer, holding a long strip of paper with his trotter, would read out to them lists of figures proving that the production of every class of foodstuff had increased by two hundred per cent, three hundred per cent, or five hundred per cent as the case might be (AF,P.72). Though the animals believe they are being fed the same amount as when Mr. Jones was in power, their government information source showed figures to the contrary that the populace could not dispute. Orwell was able to show that by keeping the public in ignorance, communism can be carried out without interference. In addition to being a corrupt media source, Orwell shows how the Pravda was used completely as a tool to glorify Joseph Stalin and Communism as well as slander capitalism and anyone that might oppose him(Freedman, 1981:330). Another example of Squealers persuasive talent is where Napoleon drives Snowball off the farm using his dogs(AF,P.33). Napoleon asks Squealer to go round the farm and explain to the others the new arrangements. Squealer's main objectives in his speech is to give good

reasons why Napoleon drove Snowball out, to put down Snowball as much as possible and to also make them want to be commanded and cared for by Napoleon. One of the ways that Squealer puts up Napoleons status is by saying that he has taken on more responsibility:

**7."Do not imagine, comrades, that leadership is a pleasure. On the contrary, it is a deep and heavy responsibility. No one believes more firmly than Comrade Napoleon that all animals are equal. He would be only too happy to let you make your decisions for yourselves. But sometimes you might make the wrong decisions, comrades, and then where should we be?" Suppose you had decided to follow Snowball ,with his moonshine of windmills-Snowball ,who, as we know now ,was no better than a criminal?" (AF,P.35).**

Once again, Squealer is a pawn of the Animal Farm government. He is the device by which Napoleon communicates with the people. Squealer gives an account of government tidings that put Napoleon in a good light, regardless of the accuracy. An example of Napoleon's use of propoganda for personal gain is in the explanation of the expulsion of Snowball. Snowball and Napoleon disagree over nearly all political issues as did Stalin and Trotsky. Squealer is employed by Napoleon to slander his political enemy Snowball several times. In chapter five, Squealer explains the new arrangements now that Snowball has been expelled and smoothes over the shock of his unexpected banishment. In Snowballs defense, Boxer reminds Squealer of his bravery at the Battle of Cowshed, an ambush attack on the farm by Mr. Jones. Squealer responds sharply, " **'And as to the Battle of Cowshed, I believe the time will come when we shall find that Snowball's part in it was much exaggerated'" (AF,P.60).** Napoleon exercises Squealer's speaking talents to vanquish all doubt of the Snowball's treachery and to elevate himself to a higher tier of importance by exposing Snowball as a traitor. Orwell clearly finds fault with using a mass publication to deceive the public. He points out Stalin's unscrupulous use of propoganda for his own personal gain, thus criticizing the inadequacy of communism as an ideal society(Edelman ,1977: 55).

So, sly, greedy, crafty, these are just a few characteristics that describe Squealer. Squealer is also a messenger, an actor, a persuasive speaker, a follower, and a liar. He is nimble, he is clever, he is manipulative and most of all he is sneaky. Squealer uses his intelligence to persuade the other animals into doing what Napoleon wants, when they do not really want to do it. He uses his craftiness and cunning to deceive the animals into thinking that he is on their side and that he is doing all he can to help them. His acting ability can mislead the animals into thinking that he is one of their closest friends and that he can be trusted with all their secrets. Squealer plays the critical role of master manipulator in **AF**. Squealer excels in language manipulation, confusing the public, and applying a variety of propaganda devices. His brilliant oration helps the pigs satisfy their desire for money, food, and authority, and suppress the potential protest of other animals. Thus, Squealer's slick style makes him an important character:

**8. Meanwhile life was hard. The winter was as cold as the last one had been , and food was even shorter. Once again all rations were reduced, except those of the pigs and dogs. A too rigid equality in rations, Squealer explained, would have been contrary to the principles of Animalism. In any case he had no difficulty in proving to the other animals that they were *not* in reality short of food, whatever the appearances might be. For the time being , certainly , it had been found necessary to make a readjustment of rations( Squealer always spoke of it as a 'readjustment', never as a 'reduction'),but in comparison with the days of Jones, the improvement was enormous ( **AF,P.70**)**

Once again Squealer uses the argument of Jones coming back and once more this argument is unanswerable. Squealer then goes on to say that Napoleon is always right and Boxer adopts this as one of his maxims (**AF,P.42**) . Squealer's speaking ability is his primary talent. Another good example of this skill is in chapter seven when some animals (including some of the pigs) start to rebel. In this example Squealer says to the other animals that Snowball teamed up with Jones to try and recapture the farm(

**AF,P.48**). The plot was for Snowball, at the critical moment, to give the signal for flight and leave the field for the enemy. Squealer recalls the battle of the cowshed with much detail of Napoleon saving the farm that although the animals do not actually recall it they think that because Squealer has remembered it in much detail that it must have happened. This is also an excellent example of Squealer manipulating the other animals. He also takes their lack of intelligence to advantage:

**9....,when the terror caused by the executions had died down, some of the animals remembered-or thought they remembered- that the Sixth Commandment decreed: 'No animal shall kill any other animal.'And though no one cared to mention it in the hearing of the pigs or the dogs , it was felt that this killing which had taken place did not square with this ....Muriel read the Commandment for her. It ran:'No animal shall kill any other animal *without cause*.' Somehow or other , the last two words had slipped out of the animals' memory.( **AF,P.56**)**

Squealer knows that the animals are not going to protest against the pigs because he knows that they are not intelligent enough to understand what is actually happening. So, he is the one who makes all the changes in the Seven Commandments. In human terms he is the propaganda apparatus that spreads the "big lie" and makes people believe in it. There is a speech in chapter nine where Squealer is explaining the death of Boxer to the others:

**10.'It was the most affecting sight I have ever seen!' said Squealer, lifting his trotter and wiping away a tear.' I was at his bedside at the very last. And at the end ,almost too weak to speak ,he whispered in my ear that his sole sorrow was to have passed on before the windmill was finished .' Forward, comrades!'he whispered .' Forward in the name of the Rebellion.Long live Animal Farm!Long live Comrade Napoleon! Napoleon is always right.'"Those were his very last words,comrades.'** (**AF,P.78**) .

In this speech he combines his persuasive speaking talent, his acting ability, his greed and also his cunning. Squealer announces the death of

Boxer, and he said that he died in a veterinary hospital. Every animal on the farm knew that Squealer was lying and that he had been taken to the slaughterhouse. Squealer said that he was at Boxer's deathbed at that his last words were Long live Animal Farm, long live comrade Napoleon, Napoleon was always right. This also shows Squealer's acting skills, as he pretends to be everyone's friend. Squealer obviously knew that they were not buying his story, this might be because some of them could read "**Horse Slaughterer**", ( **AF,P.78**), on the side of the van. Squealer uses his cunning to wiggle his way out of this by saying that the knackers had previously owned the van, and that the veterinary surgeon that had brought it had not had the time to paint over it. Squealer had now won over the less bright animals and he left the bright animals to think what they want. This was wise of him because he knew that if they brought the subject up in front of Napoleon then he would simply set his dogs on them and they would be executed.

Consequently, and with the help of Squealer's propaganda, the pigs are emerged as the "elite" class of animals although all animals are supposed to be equal. Orwell narrates, "**The pigs did not actually work, but directed and supervised the others,(AF, P.16)**," of course the rational is classic and easy to see through. Orwell continues, "**With their superior knowledge it was natural that they should assume the leadership.(AF,P.16)**". The not-so-hidden metaphor here is the evidence of a decline in standards. In other words, we can say that Squealer believes one of his major messages is the idea that a few little white lies here and there do add up to a serious wrong. Then, the animals do for the most part live in Orwell's ideal society of socialism. Nobody stole, nobody grumbled over his rations, the quarreling and biting and jealousy which had been normal features of life in the old days had almost disappeared( **AF,P.19**).

Therefore, with the last chapter of the novel, Chapter Ten, which is Orwell's most dramatic and thought-provoking of the chapters. While the others seems to have at least a shred of comedy, chapter ten is almost pure tragedy and metaphor for Russia. It is really the most fascinating part of the book .

The fall of the ideals of Animalism is summed up in Orwell's first page of the chapter. **"Squealer was so fat that he could with difficulty see out of his eyes."**( AF,P.80). And, this chapter takes place in the future and so there are some drastic changes. For example, Napoleon says with no hesitancy, **"The truest happiness lay in working hard and living frugally."**(AF,P.81). This is a stark change from the beginning of the book when Napoleon is considered the generous leader who wants unlimited food for all. Even more disgustingly, the hypocrisy of the statement is obvious. For Napoleon, of all animals, does not work hard or even lift a finger anymore:

**11. There was not that these creatures did not work , after their fashion. There was as Squealer was never tired of explaining ,endless wok in the supervision and organization of the farm. Much of this work was of a kind that the other animals were too ignorant to understand. For example , Squealer told them that the pigs had to expend enormous labours every day upon mysterious things called 'files', 'reports' , 'minutes' , and 'memoranda'.**  
( AF,P.81) .

Orwell uses the pigs to surround and support Napoleon. They symbolise the communist party loyalists and the friends of Stalin, as well as perhaps the Duma, or Russian parliament. The pigs, unlike other animals, live in luxury and enjoy the benefits of the society they help to control. The inequality and true hypocrisy of communism is expressed here by Orwell, who criticised Marx's oversimplified view of a socialist, utopian society. Obviously, George Orwell does not believe such a society can exist. Toward the end of the book, Orwell emphasises, " **Somehow it seemed as though the farm had grown richer without making the animals themselves any richer— except, of course, for the pigs and the dogs.**"(AF,P.81)

The parallels between Jones and Napoleon are strengthened again when Orwell hints at the prospect of a new rebellion against Napoleon. **"Some day it was coming: it might not be soon, it might not be within the**



lifetime of any animal now living, but still it was coming. Even the tune of Beasts of England was perhaps hummed secretly here and there." (AF,P.82). And even more stunning (although one might have guessed it would happen sooner or later) is the sight of a pig walking on his hind legs. Even the sheep have been conditioned to it. They suddenly break out into a chant of "**Four legs good, two legs better!**"( AF,P.84).

To top it off, the pigs break the ultimate rule about wearing human clothes. Even so, the animals are ignorant and very stupid. Orwell narrates, "**It did not seem strange when Napoleon was seen strolling in the farmhouse garden with a pipe in his mouth— no, not even when the pigs took Mr. Jones's clothes out of the wardrobes and put them on, Napoleon himself appearing in a black coat....**"( AF,P.85).

He also changes the name of Animal Farm back to the Manor Farm, claiming that this title is the correct one. The closing paragraph is purely haunted. Orwell describes a human-like fight between the pigs and humans during the celebration. "**Twelve voices were shouting in anger, and they were all alike. No question, now, what had happened to the faces of the pigs. The creatures outside looked from pig to man, and from man to pig, and from pig to man again; but already it was impossible to say which was which.**"( AF,P.89). Thus, looking in at the party of elites through the farmhouse window, the common animals can no longer tell which are the pigs and which are the human beings. AF successfully presents how the mechanism of propaganda and brainwashing work in totalitarian regimes, by showing how the pigs could make the other animals believe practically anything.

#### **4. Conclusions**

In the light of the discussion above the researchers have reached the following conclusions :

1. AF is an allegory for what happened in Russia between the years of about 1917 and 1943. However, we think that understanding the specific

historical context underlying AF enriches one's reading of the book. And we do not think understanding the context undermines the book's universality. It is about failed revolutions everywhere, but above all, it is about the Russian Revolution

2 .In his self-proclaimed "fairy-story," Orwell uses his allegorical farm to symbolize the communist system. Though the original intention of overthrowing Mr. Jones (who represents the Czars( Clader,1987: 80 ), is not inherently evil in itself, Napoleon's subsequent adoption of nearly all of Mr. Jones' principles and harsh mistreatment of the animals proves to the readers that indeed communism is not equality, but just another form of inequality. The pigs and dogs take most of the power for themselves, thinking that they are the best administrators of government. Eventually the power corrupts them, and they turn on their fellow animals, eliminating competitors through propaganda and bloodshed. This is of course a reference to Stalin, who murdered many of his own people in order to maintain his dictatorship of Russia.

3.AF effectively displays the immorality of propaganda and the injustice of communism. By the shady use of false publications, Stalin was able to coerce an entire nation into believing what he wanted. He exploited his position as a dictator and used the Pravda for personal gain. Napoleon was able to enjoy the benefits of communism and the luxuries of leadership, which is contradictory to the idea of a true socialist society. In addition to his criticism of Stalin and Soviet leadership, Orwell condemns the entire Russian government as well, for the Pravda was controlled as much by the Russian parliament and communist party loyalists as Joseph Stalin. It is clear that Orwell abhors the use of propaganda and does not believe it is possible to create an utopian civilization.

4. The novel is an allegory portraying the evils and pitfalls of a totalitarian government. It attempts to illustrate a society where all live as equals has not existed, and cannot be obtained. By drawing parallels to events in communist Russia, Orwell's AF shows how propaganda was used to

dominate the Soviet people. By deceiving, threatening and order was maintained and the populace remained ignorant. The novel uses clear and easily understood language to explain and expose the downfall of communist Russia.

5. Squealer is the method by which Napoleon communicates with the others. During the novel, Orwell utilizes Squealer to portray how propaganda convinced, swindled and duped Russian citizens. **AF** reasonably displays the evil and corruption of propaganda and the inequity of communism. Orwell evidently views socialism as a more satisfactory form of government compared to communism. However, Napoleon was a direct contradiction to the socialist values, as he was the sole benefactor on **AF**. It is apparent that Orwell detests the employment of propaganda for one's self-advancement, as demonstrated through Squealer in **AF**.

6 .At the end of the novel, Napoleon does not even pretend to lead a socialist state. After renaming it a Republic and instituting his own version of the commandments and the Beasts of England(**AF,P.58**), Comrade Napoleon quickly becomes more or less a dictator who of course has never even been elected by the animals. Using old Major's seeming naivety, Orwell concludes that no society is perfect, no pure socialist civilization can exist, and there is no way to escape the evil grasp of capitalism. Unfortunately when Napoleon and Squealer take over, old Major becomes more and more a distant fragment of the past in the minds of the farm animals.

7. Critics regard the novel as an insightful and relevant exploration of human nature as well as political systems and social behavior (cf. Freedman,1981;Edelman,1977;Trilling,1974;Wain,1963;Gloversmith,1980; Greenblatt,1974 ). Orwell uses point of view in **AF** to create an irony. Irony is a contrast or contradiction, such as between what a statement seems to say and what it really means, or between what characters expect to happen and what really happens. The novel is told from the naive point of view of the lower animals, not from that of the clever pigs or an all-seeing narrator.

Thus, every time the animals find that the Commandments painted on the barn wall is not exactly as they remembered ; in fact there are always, they find, two words added at the end. No comment from the narrator . But Orwell makes sure we, the readers, do not miss it. The irony- the contrast between what the animals believe, what the narrator actually tells us, and what we know to be the truth- fills us with more anger than an open denunciation could have done. As a form and **AF** successfully combines the characteristics of three literary forms: the fable, the satire, and the allegory. Orwell's animal characters are both animal and human. Orwell never forgets this delicate balance between how real animals actually behave and what human qualities his animals are supposed to represent. Part of the fable's humorous charm lies in the simplicity with which the characters are drawn. Each animal character is a type, with one human trait, or two at most- traits usually associated with that particular kind of animal. Using animals as types is also Orwell's way of keeping his hatred and anger against exploiters under **control(Clader,1987: 99)**.

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