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Propaganda; the strongest weapon

الخلاصة

الإنسان محاط بالبروباغندا و بمحاولات الدعائين للسيطرة على أفكاره و توجيه سلوكه لا سيما في هذا الوقت حيث يتيح التقدم التكنولوجي الهائل في مجال الاتصالات الفرصة لتدفق المعلومات بسرعة و بغزارة بحيث لا يستطيع المتلقي تمحيص المحتوى بسهولة و تمييز الحقيقي من المزيف. لم تعد تقتصر البروباغندا على زمن الحرب و إنما تُستخدم كسلاح لخلق الانتماءات و المواقف أثناء فترات السلم أيضا. يعالج هذا البحث النظري تطور البروباغندا كمفهوم و أدوات و يدرس أشكال البروباغندا و شروط وجودها و العوامل التي تضمن قوة التأثير في المتلقي. الدراسة تسلط الضوء على الفرق بين البروباغندا السائدة في مجتمع محكوم من نظام ديكتاتوري و البروباغندا السائدة في مجتمع "ديمقراطي". ترتبط أهمية البحث بزيادة نسبة التضليل المعرفي الناتج عن غزارة تدفق المعلومات و تعرض الفرد يوميا للعديد من الرسائل القادمة من وسائل مختلفة.

Abstract

Human is surrounded by the propaganda and the attempts of the propagandists to control his ideas and direct his behavior, especially at this time as the tremendous technological progress in the field of communication allows the flow of information quickly and abundantly so that the recipient cannot easily examine the content and distinguish the real from the fake content. Propaganda is no longer confined to wartime but is used as a weapon to create affiliations and attitudes during the periods of peace as well. This theoretical research deals with the development of propaganda as a concept and tools and examines the forms of propaganda, the conditions of its existence and the factors that guarantee the power of influence on the recipient. The study highlights the difference between the propaganda prevalent in a society governed by a dictatorial system and the propaganda prevalent in a "democratic" society. The importance of research is linked to the increase in disinformation resulting from the abundance of information flow and the daily exposure of the individual to many messages coming from different means.

Introduction

Propaganda has been studied in various fields such as: History, Journalism, Politics, Sociology and Psychology. It has also been studied from multi-specialized perspectives and points of view. Historically speaking, the study of propaganda deals with examining the practices of the propagandist as events, and studying the subsequent events which can be considered consequences resulting from practicing propaganda. In journalism and media, the study of propaganda means analyzing and perceiving the mechanism of media management, the mechanism of information formation, and the factors of structuring the mental image. In political sciences, propaganda deals with investigating and analyzing the ideologies of the

practitioners, affecting the public opinion, and the effect of the public opinion on the bases of the elite. In the light of sociology, propaganda means the study of the social movements and counter-movements, the actions and reactions towards several issues and subjects. In the field of psychological analysis, propaganda means studying and determining the probable effects on the individuals (Jowett & O'Donnell, 2012).

Any talk on propaganda must be accompanied by a talk on the public opinion. Propaganda is unimportant without masses or recipients who interact and get affected (Hammoud A, 2008). Public opinion is the dominant view among a group of individuals or communities who share common interests and concerns towards an attitude, an event or a subject. It is the prevailing values, views, beliefs and judgments regardless of their validity (Doob, 1966; Hilmi, 2005). Le Bon discusses the psychology of the masses who are subjected to many incentives some of which are positive and others negative, but their power of effectiveness is so great that the survival instinct sometimes vanishes because of them (Le Bon, 1997). There are different levels of public opinion. It can be local (specific of an area), or specific of a certain country and it can be universal. The spontaneous public opinion takes place when people communicate with each other and when they are concerned about the same issue. Unquestionable public opinion includes all the ideas and attitudes about what man needs to improve the structure of society from bad to the better like eliminating corruption and realizing economic and security stability. The inactive public opinion is characterized, for example, by an attitude of indifference in front of the government due to weakness or fear. The active public opinion is completely clear when the people, for example, revolt against the ruling government so as to overthrow it. Temporary public opinion is related to a subject, and specific time and place such as wars and natural disasters. The holistic public opinion is related to everything concerning religion, general ethics and customs. The covert public opinion is formed when the society cannot express its true opinion or attitude. The overt public opinion appears when the people can express themselves especially through different mass media (M.Abdullah, 2011; Hammoud A.B 2008; Hussein, 1997; Al-Tuhami, 1982).

How can the propagandists program our ideas and then our behavior according to their wishes? How do we respond to the messages we are experiencing? In order to answer these questions, the study focuses on the following points: the origin of propaganda, definition and labeling of propaganda, fields of propaganda, forms of propaganda, conditions of the existence of propaganda, means of propaganda, propaganda in accordance with the nature of societies, factors that ensure the success, efficiency and power of the influential results of propaganda, propaganda's technical methods and the basic principles of propaganda during war time.

The importance of this research is linked to the flow of information to which the human community is exposed, especially because of the facilities provided by the Internet. Every day, human beings are exposed to a great deal of information that comes through multiple means, and each message may be a purposeful propaganda. Regardless of whether the individual lives in a dictatorial or democratic atmosphere, each message carries goals, so the recipient should be aware of the mechanism by which propaganda guides our behavior by controlling our ideas. When we know the rules and tools of disinformation we can address it.

The research aims at revealing the basic role of communication and its tools in building ideas and directing the behavior of the recipient, and revealing the ways in which mental images are built and which are a mirror of our perception of reality. The study also aims to uncover the mechanisms of disinformation, as well as to emphasize the influential role of propaganda in peace and war times.

Research hypotheses: regardless of whether the governments are dictatorial or democratic, all nations are exposed to sweeping waves of propaganda. We are programmed according to the wishes of the propagandists whether at the religious, political or economic levels. By harnessing the semiotic power of the image and the text and exploiting the contexts in which the messages are placed, the propagandists can attract the masses and push them to take attitudes that satisfy their desires. Knowledge may not be sufficient to confront the propagandists as they use logical arguments to address the elite, that is to say they use the knowledge to mislead the “intelligent people” which requires high intellectual skill. The means of communication overwhelm us with messages loaded with targets; "innocent information" does not occupy much space on television, newspapers and magazines.

Origin of propaganda

These days, propaganda is being employed in various fields and considered one of the most important and serious means of affecting the opinions and morale of individuals. It has got specialized experts whose help countries seek so that they can realize victories. Defeating the enemies requires close contact between the militant operations on the one hand and propaganda and its pillars on the other (Yousef, 2004).

Propaganda is as old as man himself. He has spontaneously practiced it and has been an expert in creating new methods of affecting others. However, elevating propaganda to the level of an art and a science – scientific technique – is relatively modern in man's history (Nilsson & Österlund, 2014; Al-Assaf, 2012; Al-Ridha, 1998). Plato discussed the importance of what should be said to the people and what should not so that the ruler can ensure the loyalty of the citizens to the discipline and the leaders (Al-Shirazi, 2006). The German media scholar Claus Martin attributes the origin of propaganda to Aristotle (Mustafa, 2006). Aristotle dealt with the discourse arts and divided the communication attitude into factors: the orator or the sender, the masses or the recipients, and the speech or the message. He discussed the importance of the orator's knowledge and understanding of the thoughts he introduces to the masses as well as the sender's perception of the characteristics of the masses in order to ensure a greater impact (Al-Shirazi, 2006).

The Greeks and Pharaohs practiced propaganda so as to create a sense of strength in the fighters and convince the political and intellectual opponents. The Romans employed many methods of propaganda some of which are processions and parties in honor of the victorious leaders, and orations and rhetoric during elections. As for many civilizations, propaganda was one of the most employed means of unifying the people as well as legalizing wars to realize expansion and establishing empires (Mustafa, 2006; Al-Omari, 1965; Abdul-Qader, 1962).

The leaders employed all means so that they could magnify their ideas and create great images of themselves (Nilsson & Österlund, 2014).

In addition, many stories and teachings of the Old Testament can be interpreted as propaganda texts which include a lot of the characteristics and basic factors of propaganda. They justify and legalize any aggressive actions against the opponents in opinion and doctrine (Mustafa, 2006). The discourse content of the Quran, as the basic law of Islam, includes a lot of the characteristics of propaganda: inducement and intimidation, promising and frightening, warning and threatening (Al-Shirazi, 2006). The system of governance in Islam included what is called Da'wa – Missionary activity – where the Da'ia – preacher – employs all his rhetorical and intellectual abilities so as to affect the recipients and entice them to embrace Islam (Al-Assaf, 2012; Al-Dulaimi, 2010).

The term "propaganda" is derived from the Greek "propagatus" which means producing a new plant from a parent plant. This term was first employed by the Pope Gregory XV in 1622 when he realized that it was no longer possible to impose religious unity by force. The Pope established an authority for spreading the Catholic doctrine peacefully and without resorting to war (Jowett & O'Donnell, 2012; Chomsky, 2002; Pratkanis, 1992)¹. A lot of historical studies attribute the use of the term "propaganda" to Pope Urban VIII who established a propaganda council in 1627 for spreading the Catholic doctrine with the purpose of facing the Protestant movements. He set up a training authority for propaganda "Collegium Urbanum" which was oriented towards the foreign tasks of the Catholic Church (Bernays, 2007; Sukkari, 1991). In France the term propaganda was used to indicate the materials employed in elections such as leaflets and posters. Until World War II, it indicated to every communication campaign, whether private or public, in order to spread and promote ideas (Chomsky, 2002).

The invention of printing by the German Gutenberg in the fifteenth century played a vital role in the spread of propaganda by printed means such as newspapers, periodicals, leaflets, and news messages. In the 18th century, propaganda was used in its political meaning and modern means especially press (Bernays, 2007; Taylor, 2000; Al-Omari, 1965). The same thing applies to the roles of radio, telephone, telegraph and even railways. The development accelerated the spread of information (Bernays, 2007).

The French revolution established the concept of propaganda; the press had a huge ability of affecting the masses which led the politicians to employ it as a major means in the political conflict. Napoleon Bonaparte employed the press propaganda in order to strengthen the morale of the French soldiers and to introduce the aims of his campaigns to the peoples he conquered (Al-Maslami, 1990; Dominique, 1960).

For a long time, the term propaganda was not a signifier of the negative motives and desires of the propagandist. However, the 20th century imposed a bad mental image of propaganda and made it seem as a form of lying, deception and misleading (Andén, 2005; Saad, 1979;

¹ English Oxford Living Dictionaries, <https://en.oxforddictionaries.com/definition/propaganda> available on 06 October 2017.

Linebarger, 1954). During the World Wars I and II, propaganda was practiced in a misleading way. False news which demonized the opponents and dehumanized them was spread. A lot of the pillars of propaganda aimed at raising the morale of the allied fighters and weakening that of the enemy. It was practiced as ideological wars and many dictatorial governments employed it with the purpose of achieving power and of expanding governance. For instance, the fascism in Italy, Nazism in Germany, and Stalin's propaganda which aimed at eliminating the opposition. Communism did not differentiate between propaganda and incitement in such a way that propaganda became a means of destroying the bourgeois concepts and spreading the socialist ideas (Nilsson & Österlund, 2014; Yousef, 2004; Denquin, 1997; Carruther, 1994; Saad, 1979).

During World War I, the American president Wilson established a propaganda committee in whose membership great academic intellectuals and theoreticians participated (Mustafa, 2006). Under the management of the Propaganda Minister "Goebbels", the German propaganda addressed the emotions and feelings of the people leaving no place for thinking and analyzing. On the other hand, the allies launched a psychological war depending on basics of propaganda. So, the war among the countries showed that propaganda was a necessary weapon of winning the military war (Nilsson & Österlund, 2014; Jackall, 1995). The two World Wars turned propaganda from an experimental art into a field with rules. Propaganda was no longer exclusive to war, it rather extended to peace times and the success of any political regime became strongly dependent on the pillars of propaganda and the strength of its impact (Sukkari, 1991; Al-Omari, 1965).

Many countries abhor the term "propaganda" for historical and a lot of other reasons the most important of which is the connection of propaganda to the goals of the propagandist who is directed by the desire to control and rule rather than its connection to objectivity. Due to their rejection of the term propaganda, some Arab countries give other names to government bodies which do the work of spreading propaganda. For example, The Ministry of Culture, National Guidance, Moral Guidance. Through these bodies, the state practices a propaganda activity with the aim of controlling the minds and feelings of people in order to entice them to support and back its policy and, eventually, urging them to respond to the ideas and attitudes it advocates and to get subjected to all the alterations which it imposes (Al-Dulaimi, 2010; Al-Shumaimari, 2010; Mustafa, 2006).

Definition and labeling of propaganda

Propaganda employs persuasive strategies. However, it differs from persuasion in target. Propaganda is a form of communication which tries to achieve a response that reinforces the propagandist's targeted end and purpose. Persuasion is an interactive process which tries to meet the needs and desires of both the persuader and the one who is persuaded (Jowett & O'Donnell, 2012). Ellul sees that propaganda, regardless of the labels we give it, has to a great extent become a general phenomenon in the modern world. He also considers most people as very easy preys of propaganda (Ellul, 1973).

Propagandists are any actors that attempt to affect the recipient (Ellul, 1973). They are those who impose the daily life rules and the details of our activities on us. They could be people

from different sectors, people who lead views and promote ideas which serve their interests: presidents, clergymen, politicians, journalists or any other person interested in affecting the behavior of people (Bernays, 2007; Linebarger, 1954).

Tonnies sees that propaganda is provoking the public opinion extensively in order to spread and consolidate ideas regardless of their validity, truthfulness or accurateness. Merton defined propaganda as a set of symbols (signs) which affect opinion, belief or behavior towards the issues about which the slices of the community disagree. As for Calter, propaganda is an intended attempt done by an individual or a group in order to form or change the tendencies of other groups through employing the means of communication. The goal of this is achieving the conformity between the reaction of the people exposed to the impact of propaganda and that which is desired by the propagandist (Al-Assaf, 2012).

According to Oxford Advanced American Dictionary, propaganda is: “Ideas or statements that may be false or exaggerated and that are used in order to gain support for a political leader, party, etc.”².

English Oxford Living Dictionaries defines propaganda as: “Information, especially of a biased or misleading nature, used to promote a political cause or point of view”³.

According to Cambridge Dictionary propaganda is: “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”⁴.

The definitions of propaganda in the dictionary of "Military Terms" can be summarized by: information, opinions, doctrines or special forums aiming at supporting the national goal. It is designed to affect opinions, points of view, passions, or behavior of any group in the favor of the official whether directly or indirectly (Amin, 1992).

Propaganda is mentioned in "A Dictionary of Media Terms" as follows: It is influencing the mass opinions and beliefs in order to make them adopt a given, negative or positive, direction towards a system or a doctrine. Propaganda also attempts to prepare the moods of the individuals to accept and absorb points of view (Badawi, 1977).

Propaganda in the opinion of Joseph Goebbels, the Nazi Minister of Propaganda, is the ability to convince the masses of a certain idea so that each individual becomes strongly faithful in it. This idea becomes such a fixed doctrine that the individual can neither escape nor dispose of it (Khalil, 1982).

According to Malcolm, propaganda is employing symbols in an intent, organized planned, and suggestive way with the purpose of altering and controlling opinions, ideas and values.

² Oxford Advanced American Dictionary,

http://www.oxfordlearnersdictionaries.com/definition/american_english/propaganda?q=Propaganda available on 06 October 2017.

³ English Oxford Living Dictionaries,

<https://en.oxforddictionaries.com/definition/propaganda> available on 06 October 2017.

⁴ Cambridge Dictionary, <https://dictionary.cambridge.org/fr/dictionnaire/anglais/propaganda?q=Propaganda> available on 20 October 2017.

Propaganda is always located in a socio-cultural context without which its psychological and cultural features cannot be understood (Malcolm, 1970).

Doob sees that propaganda is the organized attempt which an individual or individuals with interest perform in order to control the attitudes and actions of a group of individuals through using insinuation. The goal of propaganda is leading the individuals or groups to embrace a certain idea or tendency, or leading them to do something (Doob, 1989, 1966). In accordance to Walter Lippmann, propaganda is the attempt to influence the personalities of individuals and control their behavior for purposes which are considered unscientific or of susceptible value. This takes place in a certain society and at a definite time (Lippmann, 1922).

For Lasswell (1927), propaganda is deception through symbols, words, images, music and lines which aim at achieving the intended goal. From Berelson's viewpoint, propaganda is the attempt of influencing the trends of a group of individuals about a raised issue. It endeavors to create collective trends through employing expressive symbols (Berelson & Janowitz, 1966). Lenin sees that the basic factor and constituent of propaganda is thrilling, instigation and agitation among the people's factions (Yousef, 2004).

As for Jacques Ellul, it is necessary to study propaganda as a social phenomenon. In its broad meaning, propaganda includes the following fields: 1- Psychological action, where the propagandist seeks to change the opinions in psychological means. 2- Psychological war fare, where the propagandist deals with a foreign or internal opponent trying to destroy their morale through psychological methods. Logical arguments may be employed, too. Making the opponents doubt their beliefs and actions is one of the most prominent tasks of psychological war. 3-Re-Education & brain washing, this approach aims at turning the opponent into an ally or at mobilizing the targeted masses to serve the interests of the propagandist. 4- Public & human relation: including public relations into propaganda helps make the targeted individual or society comply with the goals of propaganda (Jowett & O'Donnell, 2012; Dale & Gould, 2001; Ellul, 1973).

Propaganda can be considered a tactic for social pressure in such a way that it creates groups having a unified psychological build; propaganda should achieve mental and emotional homogeneity among the targeted individuals (Al-Shumaimari, 2010; Larsåke, 2005).

In accordance with Hitler, ideas or propaganda cannot be considered successful unless they are embraced by the majority of the people who show their readiness to fight and sacrifice in their cause (Jowett & O'Donnell, 2012; Linebarger, 1954),

Propaganda includes the efforts exerted by the propagandist for directing or subjugating the ideas and actions of the people. The efforts of subjugation and direction are centered on the fields of controversial beliefs and values among these people. In order to achieve this goal, the propagandist employs the various sorts of symbols: words, images, colors, gestures and others (Al-Dulaimi, 2010; Larsåke, 2005).

Propaganda mostly entices people to adopt behaviors without thinking. The absence of logic controls the relation between propaganda and the recipient; the recipients neither pay attention to nor seek the logical reasons which motivated them to embrace the ideas yet they strongly support and defend the bases of the propaganda they believe in (Badr, 1997; Hussein, 1997). The attempt of persuading others to accept a certain doctrine often depends on illogical background which does not give evidence or proofs. However, generally speaking, propaganda no longer uses the same mechanisms of the first half of the last century when it was based on lies, emotional enticement, and ignoring logic and science. The immense progress of communication means and information exchange imposed new rules on propaganda. In order not to lose its strength and ability of influence, propaganda had to change the rules which control it; employing logic, proofs and evidence has become important in the process of polarizing the public opinion (Al-Shumaimari, 2010; Troude-Chastenet, 2006). Previously, propaganda depended on the personality of the propagandist, his personal talents and his individual ambitions. Today, it depends on scientific analyses and accurate studies. In order to secure success, the propagandist has to carry out accurate equations and perceive all the data which affect the influential ability of propaganda (Larsson, 2005; Andén, 2005; Ellul, 1973).

According to Jacques Driencourt everything is propaganda because everything in the political and economic fields seems penetrated and formed through propaganda (Ellul, 1973). Propaganda enters the field of industry and that of controlling workers. It exists in all the fields and especially employed by the opinion leaders (Chomsky, 2002). These days, many people think that they read information and facts, but half the news and media information is considered propaganda and attempts to influence the minds and public opinion (Bernays, 2007). Every day, we are exposed to or bombarded by persuasive messages which fall upon us one after the other. These calls attempt to convince us through manipulation of symbols and toying with the basic human sentiments. This age or time is that of propaganda (Linebarger, 1954).

A lot of American sociologists have totally abandoned the term "propaganda" considering that it is very difficult to define and limit its dimensions accurately. Many observers consider that propaganda is a set of gimmicks, applications and practices. In addition, specialists in sociology and psychology reject the scientific feature or characteristic of these practices. Some researchers think that propaganda is considered a technique rather than a science. However, the new technique or the modern propaganda is based on several branches of knowledge and science. Apart from the progress of scientific research in the fields of sociology and psychology, propaganda would have remained in its initial stages and would not have become strong and of enormous influential ability as it is now (Ellul, 1973).

The fields of propaganda

Propaganda has several types and forms, some of which are commercial, political, religious, and moral. Moreover, the names of propaganda differ: politically, it means promotion or propaganda; economically, it means advertisements; and religiously, it is called missionary.

There are common features between the skills required by commercial advertising and the other types of propaganda as, eventually, ideas are marketed products. Nevertheless, commercial advertising is easy in comparison with the other types. The bases, limits, abilities, and methods of commercial advertising have become accurately known by the advertisers. Most commercial advertisements depend on repetition and stimulants connected to the social factors and controls in addition to motivating instincts and instinctual motives. However, political, social or religious propaganda is considered a more difficult task due to the interference of factors and effects which are characterized by intricacy and complexity. Moreover, the goals of propaganda differ; the commercial one aims at material profit, but the goals of the other types are linked to changing the beliefs and behaviors. Achieving material profit could be part of their tasks in the service of the interests of the propagandists (Jowett & O'Donnell, 2012; Al-Assaf, 2012; Al-Dulaimi 2011; Chomsky, 2001).

The political propaganda which governments, parties, and pressure groups carry out differs from the social propaganda which is less obvious and closer to social upbringing that is considered a process of implanting the prevailing standards and values through which the society fuses its members. Social propaganda is based on the rule of indoctrination where the propagandists implant the beliefs which they want the targeted society to adopt. The implantation process is carried out in many ways: advertisements, commercial movies, public relations, technology in general, school teaching, and even in social services, the individual becomes wholly surrounded by the principles and beliefs which are intended to be disseminated. Sometimes, the political propaganda coincides with social propaganda when this is to the advantage of the propagandist (Troude-Chastenot, 2006).

The political propaganda is the attempt to influence the public opinion and the behavior and attitudes of the society or societies towards a certain issue or issues. It is the language directed to the masses, the means which employs all the forms of symbols in order to achieve a propaganda goal (Durandin, 1986).

Political propaganda is mixed and interlaced with other terms such as incitement. Incitement is urging to carry out a certain action or arousing to abstain from doing a certain action. Incitement may have many forms. According to Lenin, it is using half the truth and slogans to mobilize the masses who are unable to understand the complicated truths. However, political propaganda, in the viewpoint of Lenin, is employing the historical and scientific proofs in order to persuade the educated minority. So we can see that incitement and propaganda collaborate to ensure the success of the persuasive and influential process on the largest scale (masses and intellectual elite) (Al-Abd, 2008).

Counter political propaganda is a synonym of the concept of "political war" the use of which was common in Britain after World War I then, later, spread and expanded during World War II. Political war depends on the direct and indirect legible, aural and visual communication channels (Schiller, 1986; Mousa, 1986). The offensive propaganda mainly concentrates on people rather than objects. Simultaneously, it tackles the objects related to the daily needs of the people; information of social and economic value (Al-Obaidi, 1995).

Political propaganda plays with emotions in order to create a state of intellectual tension and emotional charges which must lead to deforming the logical sequence (Sukkari, 1991). Propaganda is the process of psychological agitation with the purpose of achieving the manipulation with the logic of the recipient or the person exposed to propaganda. However, this does not mean that propaganda does not address the mind and try to persuade it with arguments and proofs; in many cases, it tries to simultaneously attract the mind and emotions of the recipient (Rabee, 1970; Nasr, 1967).

The forms of propaganda

Types of propaganda differ in accordance with the desired influences, its trends, and the mechanism of applying and executing it (Al-Dulaimi, 2011; Al-Shumaimari, 2010).

According to its content, propaganda is divided into white, grey and black.

- 1- White propaganda: it is considered an open activity which has clear features and goals. The propagandist shows his/her opinions and beliefs and pleads a response, backing and support by the recipient. So, the source is known, and its aims are explicit, and the masses know and recognize that they are being subjected to an attempt to influence them.
- 2- Black propaganda: it does not uncover its identity, true sources and goals. The people do not recognize that there is someone who wants to affect them or to incite them to embrace ideas and beliefs for the purpose of creating behaviors that accord with the goal of the propagandist. If directed to the opponent or enemy, black propaganda grows in a secret way in order to spread *fitna* and confusion of the public opinion.
- 3- Grey propaganda: it stands in the middle between the black and white propagandas. It uncovers some of its features and hides others. For example, it may show its true sources and hide its goals (Al-Dulaimi, 2011; Al-Shumaimari, 2010; Linebarger, 1954).

According to its sources, propaganda is divided into vertical and horizontal.

- 1- Vertical propaganda: it comes from the top of the political, social or religious authority's pyramid. It aims at influencing the basis represented by the public. So, this propaganda moves from the top to the bottom. It wraps the masses while those who practice it remain outside the wrap; the propagandist remains away from the masses although he is one of them, and the reactions of the masses are responses to the calls and voice of the leader. Mostly, the individuals enter a state of intellectual and practical slumber; they never make decisions and just respond to and carry out those of the leader (Al-Assaf, 2012; Troude-Chastenet, 2006; Abu-Isbaa, 1999).
- 2- Horizontal propaganda: it is launched by a member of a certain group rather than by the head of an authority or a president. One of its goals is that the propagandist becomes the head or the leader of the group. It is clearly applied in the elections of the parties. Ellul sees that horizontal propaganda is a form of propaganda which recently developed as far as its content is concerned; it can be political or social or both. It is considered horizontal because it takes place inside the group rather than from top to

bottom. The individuals are equal; they communicate with each other and have the duality of discourse. The most prominent characteristic of this propaganda is that it takes place in small groups so that the individual can carry out activities and dialogues and can form or crystallize his/her opinion after studying the opinions of the other individuals who belong to the same group. The degree of persuasion and influence could be slow in horizontal propaganda because meetings must be continually available. Also people must be organized accurately as each individual should belong to a group that should not contain a large number of members so that each individual can have the opportunity to participate. Homogeneity is a characteristic that must be available in every group (Al-Assaf, 2012; Troude-Chastenet, 2006).

According to its function propaganda is divided into agitating and integral.

- 1- Agitation propaganda: it is led by a group or a party that endeavors to govern. Through it, the masses are agitated in order to accept changes that may be radical in many fields and levels. It is the greatest and the most visible. It is important during the times war as it plays the role of justifying malice and hatred towards the enemy. This propaganda can also be devastative or provocative of revolutionary movements or movements of change (Troude-Chastenet, 2006; Ellul, 1973).
- 2- Integration propaganda: it aims at creating social equilibrium, unifying and strengthening the society. This propaganda is the favored one by many governments. It may be important in the countries which contain different nationalities and races or in the newly independent young countries. Integration propaganda is considered more accurate and complicated than the Agitation propaganda because it requires deeper psychological analyses of the society's slices. Moreover, it does not seek temporary stimulation; it, rather, aims at building a homogenous social structure (Al-Assaf, 2012). The agreement or the unity of attitude and opinion are the main causes for the success of any movement or action; unity is the source of the power of efficiency. This propaganda is efficient as long as it is directed to comfortable, settled, educated and more enlightened medium. However, Ellul believes that the more enlightened individuals are the more difficult to persuade, manipulate or control. There is a big need for this type of propaganda for flourishing the technical society. The mass media, which greatly helps the reinforcement of the results of integration propaganda, is employed (Troude-Chastenet, 2006; Ellul, 1973).

According to its method, propaganda is divided into explicit and implicit.

- 1- The explicit propaganda is open, led by a known organization, and has clear goals.
- 2- The implicit propaganda hides its sources and goals, and the public opinion is unaware of it; therefore, it is extremely dangerous (Al-Assaf, 2012).

Ellul (1973) sees that it is still quite difficult to define the constituents and nature of propaganda since it is a secret action to a large extent.

The Conditions of the Existence of Propaganda

Pursuant to Ellul, a group of social and objective conditions should be available. The social conditions are characterized by the existence of an individual society and a mass society (two integrated rather than contradicted societies), the existence of a public opinion, and mass media. The most prominent objective conditions of the existence of the comprehensive propaganda are 1. At least the need for a medium living standard. The propagandist cannot reach the poor individual who cannot afford and obtain the mass media; the living standard is the one which provides people with the chance of being exposed to propaganda. 2. The cultural and educational standard. The existence and nature of propaganda are linked to the cultural and educational standard of the recipient. The agitation propaganda may be suitable for the uneducated people or those who have a low educational and cognitive degree. However, the propaganda which is based on logical and intellectual grounds is directed to those who have a convenient degree of knowledge. The messages directed to uneducated people must include crude, primitive, simple and clear information that is able to oblige them to be simply convinced. Whereas the educated people may not be persuaded or have their ideas satisfied by simple propaganda. Evidence and logic are important basis to play with the ideas of the educated; this is a principle of the Nazi propaganda (Troude-Chastenet, 2006; Linebarger, 1954).

The means of propaganda

The propaganda ideas can be promoted through a lot of means of communication the most prominent of which are:

- 1- The printed means: like newspapers, magazines, books, periodicals, leaflets, wall charts and posters.
- 2- Aural means: such as speeches, songs, chants, and dialogues. Radio is considered one of the most important vocal means.
- 3- Visual means: like photographs, signs, flags, symbols and slogans.
- 4- Audio-visual means: combines voice with image such as television, movies, theatres as well as shows and processions. Combining image with voice leads to deepening the effect of propaganda (Al-Assaf, 2012; Al-Dulaimi, 2011).

There are also other means such as press conferences and meetings. Some countries have or form cultural institutions, universities, institutes, schools, libraries and banking services in other countries so that they can spread propaganda indirectly (Jowett, & O'Donnell, 2012). In accordance to Chomsky, propaganda spreads everywhere and by all means even churches, schools, and all institutions have a propaganda purpose (Chomsky, 2002).

In order to achieve the optimal purpose of propaganda, the convenient medium or media should be chosen. Moreover, cultural diversity and the differences of the tastes of the targeted masses should be taken into account during the propaganda programs are being formed. The interaction between the mass media and the direct personal means of communications doubles the influential ability of propaganda (Mustafa, 2006; Troude-Chastenet, 2006).

The progress of communication techniques increases the effect of propaganda, but it simultaneously causes the propagandist to face huge challenges. The recipients may be exposed to propaganda and counterpropaganda at the same time, or may be exposed to a group of propagandas. Consequently, the process of polarization and persuasion them will be easy only if the propaganda is constructed on bases that take the maximum level of the factors which influence the formation of the individual's trend into consideration. In other words, the process of propaganda model building needs strong intellectual planning. This progress must be very magnificent, but the development of information led to exposing the human being to hundreds of messages daily. The exposure of the recipient to pressure makes him reply by short messages, at any time he/she can, with short perceptive or mental processes. The ability to think and go deeper in ideas is not available because of the immense pumping of information (De Craecker-Dussart, 2011; Linebarger, 1954).

Who manages the internet? Many electronic crimes take place every day. How can the flow of wrong information be stopped without violating the freedom of expression? How can the misleading information be eliminated? These pivots show how dangerous the internet is as a free space for practicing propaganda and spreading it on the largest scale (Goulet, 2015; Kavumbagu, 2003). The internet is able to deeply influence the minds of the people and lead the social behavior. It changed people into preys of misleading, but it broke the one information mould which the censorship of governments controls (Peltier, 2014; Kavumbagu, 2003). The internet is not only a space for misleading but also for uncovering misleading (De Craecker-Dussart, 2011). This network is a broad area for all the contradicting ideas such as inviting to integrate in one peaceful and settled world and inviting to hate the others and accusing them of being unbelievers (Peltier, 2014; Kavumbagu, 2003). The relative free service of the internet, the interactive characteristic caused all to be senders and recipients at the same time; everybody is active in the communication process, the possibility of mixing the image with the sound in writing, in music and in colors. All these factors increased the importance of the internet as a means for pumping propagandas and influence (Peltier, 2014; Huyghe, 2013; Kommers, B.S., 2001). Music makes propaganda permeate the people more strongly. Exploiting music is able to direct and lead the masses; music plays a vital role in cultural development. The talk about the seriousness and importance of music is attributed to Plato. Employing music by the oppressive regimes makes it a dangerous weapon that controls the emotions and energy of the peoples which receive the propagandas of these regimes. The Nazist propaganda interfered in the content of the German music; it obliged the musicians to follow a pattern which satisfies the leaders of the propaganda and the Nazi party. As for the musicians, the party continued attempting to purify the symphonic orchestras from the Jews and other "lower races"; the works of those who belong to Jewish origin were banned in addition to expelling the musicians and the critics who do not recognize the Nazist aesthetics (Andersson & Geisler, 2007).

Means differ pursuant to the type and goal of propaganda: Strategic and Tactical Propaganda.

Strategic propaganda is characterized by plans and goals which are carried out and achieved on the long run. It is characterized by comprehensiveness and place and time unlimitedness. It may aim at spreading and reinforcing ideas and beliefs for many generations in a row, so its

influence can be large and deep; the idea may turn into a social doctrine. On the other hand, the plan of tactical propaganda aims at achieving goals on the short run. It is a concentrated and extrovert propaganda in which the methods of inducement and intimidation, and raising or destroying the moral of the targeted society (Yousef, 2004; Hamza, 1987; Schiller, 1986).

Means of strategic propaganda

Strategic propaganda requires mobilizing many media in order to implant, nourish and deepen ideas into the intended societies. In order that any piece of information can become a prevailing social doctrine or taken for granted and axiomatic, the propagandist should pump this piece of information into the communication channels in a way that surrounds the recipients from all sides in order to make them reach the stage of believing the idea and eventually absolutely believe in it and probably be ready to sacrifice their lives in its cause. The mass media are considered one of the most important means of strategic propaganda (Mustafa, 2006; Yousef, 2004; Hamza, 1987; Ellul, 1973).

Means of tactical propaganda

These means are often employed during war targeting both the military personnel and civilians at the same time. Destroying the morale of the opponent and raising that of the supporting people and soldiers is considered the most prominent tasks. Words and symbols stand side by side with the battles in such a way that the effect of a propaganda sentence may be more dangerous and effective than the cannons and machine guns (Raileanu, 2013). Tactical propaganda is characterized by being continuous and condensed. Here are some of the means of tactical propaganda:

1. **Leaflets:** according to Goebbels, leaflets are considered an effective means of provoking revolution, rebellion, attacking certain factions, or enticing to support a party or an authority, as it is characterized by easiness of distribution and simplicity of forms. The way the leaflets are distributed is itself considered a means of war. Goebbels sees that throwing the leaflets on the enemy's ground by planes may create a cloud of sadness and dismay in addition to weakening the psychological steadfastness of the enemy. The German planes used to throw pieces of paper on the enemy's soldiers asking them to surrender as the battalion No. so and so did, even though this did not happen (Mustafa, 2006). Leaflets were the most common means before radio (Sukkari, 1991; Khalil, 1982).
2. **Press conferences:** they are considered a kind of face-to-face communication which can achieve a high degree of persuasion. Moreover, when mass media transmit them, their persuasive ability doubles. Nazi propaganda was characterized by the ability of the propagandists to choose the meetings sites or the places where Hitler or Goebbels made their speeches in order to mobilize the public opinion of the German people (Hamza, 1987; Khalil, 1982; Al-Omari, 1965).
3. **Speeches of Presidents:** during carrying out the propaganda plans, Hitler was careful about the necessity of choosing the places where he used to make his speeches. Pursuant to him, the spirit of propaganda should be convenient to the spirit and mind of the masses in order to be able to polarize the largest possible number of the targeted masses (Mustafa, 2006).

4. **Propaganda Planning Institutions:** a ministry of propaganda was established at the time of Hitler. The Propaganda Minister Goebbels had such a great stature that made him seem (as far as importance is concerned) the second man in the country next to Hitler. This ministry carried out central planning of propaganda and conveyed and literally implemented the sayings and commands of the minister. Watching people's trends and reactions during listening to foreign radios was one of its most prominent tasks (Nilsson & Österlund, 2014 ; Andersson & Geisler 2007; Mustafa, 2006).

Propaganda in accordance with the nature of societies

There is difference between the methods of applying propaganda in a democratic society from a dictator society. However, the desire to dominate and control is the same (Bernays, 2007). From the viewpoint of Chomsky (2002), conscious playing with the public opinion and social behavior of the masses is a prominent characteristic not only in the dictator societies, but also in the democratic societies. The availability of the means of communication and techniques leads to facilitating the process of controlling the ideas and the social awareness. Chomsky sees that democracy is in danger because many media networks are controlled by the non-government tyrants (the private sector). The democratic society is dominated by the smart or conscious manipulation which controls, manages and directs the opinions and habits. The manipulators or controllers form an invisible government which manages the state and directs the course of events in a way that serves their interests. We are really ignorant of those who control us, manage the affairs of our lives, form our tastes, mould our souls and minds, and blow the ideas into us in such a way that we think they are our doctrines. The invisible leaders dominate millions of human beings. Generally speaking, one does not perceive how the data and behaviors of those who occupy the frontal part of the scene are ordered by intelligent persons who operate behind the scenes (Bernays, 2007).

In the democratic society, public opinion is controlled by actors who employ and make use of the originally existing traditional social powers which have a great influence on people. These actors create and innovate new tools and methods that enable them of dominating the world and controlling the course of events, and help them to link the world together. Theoretically, each individual forms his/her opinion about the general issues and what is related to private life, but practically, if all the citizens read and studied the total of abstract information which orbits economy, politics and others – even the simplest topics, they would understand that it was impossible to reach any result whatever it was. Therefore, people voluntarily allow the governments and the hidden invisible people to manage and choose the information in order to highlight the most important problematic. We accepted that our leaders in addition to the journalists and media personnel who serve these leaders and their ideas impose on us what questions which are linked to public interest or welfare. They are the people who determine the things that are of interest to the recipient masses (Bernays, 2007). The industrial capitalist system imposed a new formula of control. The capital owners or the special powers dominate the governments and, eventually, control and determine the public identity or opinion. Dominating the public awareness is quite important in order to entice people to practice behaviors which satisfy the propagandist. Propaganda is able to mobilize the power and the money. The business society is characterized by great influential

power on the societies in which we live (Chomsky, 2002). The minority can influence the majority (Bernays, 2007).

Propaganda in dictator and democratic societies creates different forms of slavery, compulsory and voluntary or optional slavery. Ellul sees that there is no democracy without information but there is no information without propaganda. So, democracy is based on propagandas, and propaganda in itself is a negation of democracy (Troude-Chastenet, 2006; Ellul, 1990, 1957, 1952).

Factors that ensure the success, efficiency and power of the influential results of propaganda

Propaganda messages alone—away from their social, cultural, psychological, and technical surrounding—cannot strongly influence the targeted recipients. The collaboration of many factors ensures greater efficiency and increases the influential ability of propaganda (Taylor, 2000).

1. The monopoly of media guarantees the propagandists to control the contents of the messages directed to the masses, eventually they can transmit and reinforce the ideas and beliefs which serve their interests. Controlling the contents of images and texts draws the mental images which satisfy the desires of the propagandists into the mind of the recipient. Mental images are nothing but the result of these intellectual and informational products. The people adopt several images and characters which the media creates. The absence of opposition or counter propaganda facilitates accepting the published ideas by the people even if they were of one-sided direction (Lemieux, 2005; Andén, 2005; Svenbjörn, 1981).
2. Exploiting the contexts. The efficiency of propaganda increases in case the propagandist exploits the prevailing beliefs, the established trends and the deeply entrenched behavioral patterns. Propaganda should be put in stereotyped contexts which are already known by the targeted masses (Al-Dulaimi, 2004). Propaganda depends on and strengthens previously existing trends (Troude-Chastenet, 2006). In many cases, political, religious or social propagandas influence the people who already have a holistic or partial conviction in the subject of the propaganda. In other words, the influence of propaganda is related to the degree of the propaganda's ideas connection to the desires, feelings and interests of the recipient (Al-Dulaimi, 2011).
3. Encirclement. It means that the propagandist encircles the recipient with propaganda messages through employing more than a communication means and through discourse diversity; that is, all symbols and significances should be employed for the purpose of achieving a greater influence (Al-Assaf, 2012; Taylor, 2000). Encirclement can be called Total Propaganda (Ellul, 1973).
4. Reinforcement. This factor is related to personal communication. The propagandist resorts to this type of communication in order to reinforce the role of media in order to realize the propaganda goals. The face-to-face communication completes the work of the central propaganda system represented by the mass media or by discussions and conferences which are carried out in groups. The propagandist's direct personal

communication with his/her followers or groups increases the degree of their being influenced by the discussed ideas and visions (Al-Dulaimi, 2004).

5. **The continuousness of propaganda.** Propaganda should be continuous non-stop for a period of time proportional to its nature. Pursuant to Ellul, continuity means giving no way to the recipients to contemplate or think, as they are subjugated to propaganda ideas all the day (Ellul, 1973).

One should attempt to keep the individuals in the margin; they should not be allowed to get together or to do any activity or interference in the social conflicts. One should attempt to keep the individuals as an immobile element, and if they moved, their movement should be to the advantage of the propagandist (Chomsky, 2002).

Propaganda's technical methods

1. **Assertion:** it means introducing information in a vivid enthusiastic way without being necessarily true. No detailed explanation or a presentation of the background of the event is required; the piece of information is briefed but fairly acceptable without inciting or creating questions in the mind of the recipient. The propagandist may suggest an idea employing a short phrase such as "Our principles are the best" without presenting an evidence proving the validity of the slogan (Kommers, B.S., 2001; Linebarger, 1954).
2. **Repetition:** there is a close relationship between repetition and believing. Repeating phrases leads to believing them. Even lies can be believed when repeated. However, the propagandist should avoid boring repetition as it may cause a contrary result of the desired one (Al-Assaf, 2012; Al-Dulaimi, 2011; Hamza, 1987). Repetition is one of the methods of changing public opinion. It is a way of pressure on the masses targeted by the propaganda. Few ideas and much repetition realize the optimal goal. Moreover, repeating the same idea is preferred to be through new words and symbols so that the idea may not be formed in stereotyped words (Al-Abd, 2008; Yousef, 2004). In accordance with Goebbels, the reason why the Catholic Church succeeded is repeating the same thing for a long time; therefore, propagandists should follow its example. Repetition also helps in persuasion (Nilsson & Österlund, 2014; Al-Ridha, 1998; Linebarger, 1954).
3. **Exaggeration.** This method is employed in many types of propaganda such as commercial, political and religious. There is a relationship between the excess of exaggeration and the size of the propagandist rivals. The greater the rival is, the more exaggeration the propagandist needs in order to draw the attention of the recipient masses and to influence their ideas and consequently their decisions and behavior (Al-Assaf, 2012; Al-Dulaimi, 2011; Hamza, 1987).
4. **Name calling.** This type is used during war time and political confrontations. It depends on employing derogatory language or words with negative significances to describe the enemy and its actions. Propaganda seeks to create prejudices and nourish

negative feelings towards the enemy through describing it, calling it names and likening it to things hated by the people. Mostly mockery is employed to realize this purpose (Linebarger, 1954).

5. **Glittering generalities.** It is noted in the field of political propaganda. It is vocabulary with positive significances which are associated in the mind of the individual to highly regarded values. Using these vocabulary items motivates the recipient to accept any idea without any reasoning because of the values and signifiers which each item has and which the recipient people would accept without any reservation. For instance, "Democracy" is a vocabulary item that has positive significance and suggests the desire of the people to be free and to practice freedom to the greatest possible degree. If it was used in a party's logo it would ensure a higher influential ability. "Honor, glory, love of country" are words which are used as glittering generalities. To avoid falling in the trap of ringing words, the recipient should look for the value of the idea regardless of the words used to explain the idea (Kommers, 2001; Linebarger, 1954).
6. **Reincarnation, Similarity, Imitation and Plain Folk.** Through this technique, the propagandist seeks to persuade the crowds that his viewpoints and ideas reflect those the common person has and that he/she works hard in favor of the citizens. This is realized in many ways some of which are: A-language selectiveness, messages are formulated in an easily understood language. Even dialects can be used if this realizes the goal (Linebarger, 1954). B- Familiarity and identification with the surrounding medium of the recipient of the propaganda. That is, the ideas of the propaganda are put in a context which includes details and events which the recipient lives with and understands as they belong to his own and his surrounding experience. C- Reincarnation of interests. This takes place when the propaganda includes similar experiences, fears and hopes of the recipient masses. This method is sometimes considered one of the harshest and most quibbling methods because it exploits the worries and desires of the recipient in order to achieve the goal. Mostly, the individual becomes a victim whose innocence has been exploited as he/she rapidly believes this propaganda which has a direct relationship with his/her interests (Al-Assaf, 2012; Al-Dulaimi, 2011; Hamza, 1987).
7. **Recipient-credible testimonials.** The stronger the relation between the source and the recipient, the more the influence of propaganda becomes. For example, quoting the opinion of a clergyman or a politician who is considered a leader for the public opinion ensures the success of propaganda goals. Many people believe in things which they do not know about and which they did not gain from their own experience, but they accept the ideas only because they came from sources that are credible for them (Linebarger, 1954).
8. **Bandwagon.** Pursuant to the Institute for propaganda Analysis in 1938, bandwagon is considered one of the most prominent techniques of propaganda which is employed during war and peace times. Bandwagon is a call directed to the individual in order to

join the crowds. This technique seeks to persuade the individual that an actor (the party, group ...) is the winner as the majority supports and joins this crowd. So long as many people believe and join this party, victory must be imperative; the party is strong and undefeatable. Man usually wants to belong to the victorious side. Modern propaganda has changed and one of its tasks is persuading the individual that so long as many people belong or support a certain party, this targeted individual has to join the crowd or he/she shall be excluded or alienated (Linebarger, 1954). The persuasion process is accomplished through a psychological unification process. When the recipient is in a crowd influenced by the people and the common language or even common priorities, propaganda ensures achieving a great influence on both levels of thought and behavior (Troude-Chastenet, 2006; Kommers, B.S., 2001).

9. **Simplification.** The simpler the message, the better the propagandist ensures that it is understood and the more influence it has on the largest possible number of recipients. Complexity causes boredom and reluctance to complete the message. Propaganda may take the form of brief slogans that are easy to be learnt and memorized, or it could be in the form of a short statement which has clear words. The combination of simple phrases and easy tunes (tuned slogans) increases the ability of propaganda to spread. Simplicity can be an adopted style even if propaganda is in very complicated political, economic, philosophical or religious fields (Al-Assaf, 2012; Al-Dulaimi, 2011). Simplification (Stereotyping) is important when the messages are directed to uneducated masses (Linebarger, 1954).
10. **Emotional enticement.** Nazi propaganda is considered one of the most prominent users of this method. Propaganda, for Hitler and Goebbels must depend on emotional enticement not on discussion and persuasion. Hitler used to believe that women form a big proportion of the masses, therefore the people's response is mostly more emotional than mental. Hitler believed that the memory of the masses is weak and that the individuals respond more to that who forcibly motivates them than to that who persuades them because repeated slogans motivate their emotions whereas mental evidence has much weaker influence. According to Chomsky, one of the methods of creating sympathy in war propaganda is concentrating on the victims who belong to the propagandist and eliminating any news concerning the opponent's victims (Foley, 2015; Andén, 2005).
11. **Euphemisms.** The propagandist uses this technique in order to calm the masses. She/he tries to present unpleasant events in a way that makes it more acceptable and palatable by the recipient through employing palliative and softened expressions. The propagandist may resort to vague and indirect expressions in order to soften an offensive, severe and hard idea. This technique is much employed in military discourse especially during wars (Linebarger, 1954).
12. **Method of diverting attention.** This method is adopted when it is difficult to oppose the prevailing opinion among the masses about a certain subject. Opposing the overwhelming public opinion would not give any result, so politicians or public

opinion leaders resort to diverting the attention of the masses towards another subject which is of interest for the masses (Al-Dulaimi, 2011; Hamza, 1987).

13. **Lesser of two evils.** This technique is very much used during war in order to persuade people of the necessity to sacrifice or to justify the difficult decisions. The task of this technique is persuading people to accept an idea through presenting it as if it were the less violent choice or the solution of the least loss. It is always accompanied by blaming the enemy and portraying it as the basis of all current problems and chaos (Linebarger, 1954).
14. **Method of fabricating crises.** It is the method of exploiting some events and conditions to create a crisis which is able to influence the public opinion and motivate the masses to adopt a behavior that serves the desire of a certain country or party. Fabricating crises has many forms such as enticement to do acts of sabotage, fabricating false news that provoke chaos and instability in the society, launching terrorist acts, and destroying plants (Hamza, 1987; Khalil, 1982).
15. **Pinpointing the enemy.** This technique is employed during war time and political campaigns or discussions. It attempts to simplify the complicated situations through depicting an individual, a group or a country as the enemy (Linebarger, 1954).
16. **Method of inflicting terror and chaos.** The Nazi propaganda is considered excellent and skillful in exploiting man's motive and need of feeling safe. The Nazi propagandists sought to provoke fear and terror. According to Hitler, subjugating peoples to the leader's will may be accomplished through creating a situation of horror and chaos. He believed that whether propaganda is directed to the interior or exterior (for instance, the enemy's masses), inability of logical thinking, inconsistency of feelings, uncertainty, hesitation and horror are all factors that help to subjugate the masses to the desire and goals of the propagandist. Intimidating people against a foreign enemy or an ideology whose adopters want to control our minds in order to exploit the country's resources or for another purpose is considered an important approach (Chomsky, 2002). Many countries adopted the same approach. Western countries spread fear and terror among the people and intimidated them against the expected communist invasion. Demonizing the opponent is one of the important methods of ensuring the popular support (Nilsson&Österlund, 2014; Andén, 2005; Yousef, 2004; Khalil, 1982). Creating fears makes the propagandist skillful at showing herself/himself as the savior (Foley, 2015). This technique makes use of the survival instinct and the fear of annihilation to mobilize the people (Linebarger, 1954).
17. **Method of lying and misleading.** Chomsky (2002) sees that the propagandist is characterized by a big ability to lie. As for Goebbels, the basic skill of the art of propaganda is the ability to mix lying with truthfulness. The presented material should not be true but it should be believable. Lies are used to influence the emotions of both the friends and the enemies (Yousef, 2004).

Misleading can be applied by the method of "Selective Control"; selecting a part of the truth and omitting the other. *Card stacking*, or selective omission is a very effective technique on the recipient masses. Even if all the presented information were true, the seriousness lies in eliminating the other information which makes the truth blurred and not clear (Nilsson & Österlund, 2014; Jowett & O'Donnell, 2012; Linebarger, 1954)

Pursuant to Goebbels, truth is the biggest enemy of countries. During war, for instance, countries play with the ideas and feelings of people through obscuring or exposing the results of wars. In order to raise the morale the government hides a lot of truths or presents them in a way that differs from reality. In order to increase the illusion of the recipient, the propagandist employs during the talk several techniques such as imperfect pronunciation, stuttering and limited vocabulary items (Linebarger, 1954).

18. **Rumors.** It is an unverified story that spreads in society. It allegedly has a certain happening (Drever, 1955). It is a believable case or a statement which is spread from a person to another without having any standards that control its credibility and correctness. It is a promotion of fabricated news which talks about unreal incidents depending on the style of magnification, exaggeration and deformation in order to ensure influencing the public opinion (Hilmi, 2005; Darwish, 1993).

Wars and the atmosphere of instability are considered important reasons of spreading rumors which are not subject to criteria of truthfulness, impartiality and objectivity (Schiller, 1986). When these rumors are used during war times, they work as a weapon of psychological war; as they provoke the emotions of the masses and confuse the ideas (Abu Al-Nil, 1986).

The speed of spreading the rumor is proportional to the importance of the event which it talks about and to the vague contexts which surround this event (Schiller, 1986). The importance and seriousness of rumors emerge from the psychological effects which they leave behind and from their ability to decide the result of wars most of the time. In many cases rumors spread in informal ways and from unknown sources then cause very serious effects on the levels of social behavior and conduct (Al-Juwair, 1995; Najati, 1960).

Certainly the launcher of any rumor has a goal. However, the rumor could be trivial containing shallow unimportant stories on many levels. Nevertheless, it may take a space of the daily social dialogue. Rumors may also include tales and jokes. During its development, many changes happen to the rumor; the propagandist launches a rumor which later comes back distorted to her/him (Hilmi, 2005; Abu Al-Neel, 1986).

One of the characteristics of the rumor is that it includes part of the truth. This characteristic is considered a basic core for structuring and spreading the rumor in the mediums which suffer from violent intellectual suffocation and where the sources of true news are few. The reason for this is serving certain goals. The more information

monopoly, the stronger the stagnation, and the more the street is intellectually and emotionally congested, the greater the influence of rumor will be.

The rumor may target local, regional and international societies or groups. The contents and goals of rumor also vary; they may be social, political, economic or martial (Mclaurin, 1982; Najati, 1960).

Types of rumor

Here are some types of rumor:

- **Rumors from the viewpoint of time**

Impulsive rumor: it spreads fast. The more the rumor is connected to subjects which simulate the fears or interests of the people, the faster it spreads and the more effective it is. For instance, the rumors related to catastrophes and wars, those which create strong emotions such as fear, anger, or the victorious feeling.

Submerging rumor: this type appears and disappears in certain periods of time according to circumstances and contexts. In other words, it floats for a length of time, then sinks and floats again and so on.

Creeping rumor: this grows slowly and spreads in a mysterious atmosphere (Hilmi, 2005; Al-Juwair, 1995; Darwish, 1993; Ghunaim, 1968).

- **Rumors from the viewpoint of subject**

Rumors of hope, wishes and dreams. They are associated with the desires and expectations of the groups whom these rumors are promoted among. The more they are associated with the needs of the targeted individuals, the faster they spread and stronger influence they have. Some people may believe them even if they doubt their credibility only because they need to satisfy their needs and realize their hopes. During wars, these rumors aim at reinforcing the people's confidence in victory and at encouraging the soldiers to fight. At the same time they aim at enticing the civilians to be patient, silent and steadfast (Mustafa, 2006; Al-Abd, 1993).

Rumors of disappointment, hopelessness and fear. This type exploits hard times such as wars. It also makes use of the psychological consequences resulting from the situations of fear and anxiety. Man is more vulnerable to believe and get affected by illusions and loses the ability to understand the events and incidents in a logical and regulated way. She/he is ready to believe everything she/ he hears especially when the rumor strongly addresses man's survival instinct (Mustafa, 2006; Ghunaim, 1968).

Rumors of hatred and loyalty-shifting. This type aims at mobilizing the individuals against a person, a group, a party or even a country. The more the rumors are linked to the interests and fears of the targeted masses, the more their rejection, hatred and disappointment against a certain actor increase (Mustafa, 2006).

Strategies of confronting rumors: confronting rumors is considered one of the forms of crisis management; many crises happen as a result of rumors. The most prominent strategies employed in confrontation are:

- 1- **Concentration strategy:** it means transmitting condensed messages through several mass media to the different groups on each patch of the places where the rumor spreads.
- 2- **The psychodynamic strategy:** it is based on the rules and theories of psychology. It concentrates on the relation between the individual's stimulus and response. The media message (stimulus) reaches the different dimensions of man, biological, emotional and perceptive. It causes an influence which produces a reaction or a behavior (response). This strategy concentrates on realizing emotional appeals and motivating the perceptive activities of the individual in order to confront the rumor.
- 3- **The socio-cultural strategy:** this strategy takes into consideration that the individual's behavior is subject to societal pressures and controls. These systems control the societal reaction towards any media message. The adjustment of the social behavior requires the adjustment of the cultural and societal controls. If media could not modify the behavior, it should at least make use of the existing controls and put the media messages in contexts that simulate and harmonize with the prevailing cultural doctrines in order to achieve the desired influence on the targeted masses.
- 4- **The meaning construction strategy:** through this strategy, the propagandist seeks to adjust or create meanings for the symbols surrounding the targeted man. This means that the media influence must rise to the degree of creating societal and cultural patterns that serve the interests of the propagandist. Due to the influential power of the propaganda, several societies maintain and hold tightly false mental images about persons or events or practice their behaviors and attitudes on the basis of these images.
- 5- **The problematic situation strategy:** this strategy often employed in the case of crises and catastrophes. It is characterized in that it does not aim at achieving persuasion directly. Rather it provokes the masses to follow up the events and the analyses of the specialists so that mass media can pave the way to form the public opinion.
- 6- **The prevention strategy:** the strategies which confront rumors are characterized by being defensive; they are employed to retort to the spread of a certain rumor. However, the prevention strategy is based upon raising the awareness of the citizens before a crisis which might result in the spread of other rumors that are able to disturb security and create chaos takes place. Raising awareness may include explaining the concept of rumors, their causes and dangers (Mustafa, 2006; Yousef, 2004; Hijab, 2003).

The basic principles of propaganda during war time

Pursuant to Anne Morelli (2001), there is a group of basic principles for propaganda during the time of war regardless of the identity of the propagandist. The most important of these principles are: **1-**We do not want war. The rulers of countries always assure that they do not want war but it is an obligatory situation. **2-** The opponent camp is the only one who is responsible for the war. The enemy launched the war and we have to retort. **3-** Demonizing the enemy. Propaganda influence is greater when the image of the enemy's leader turns into a symbol of horror and Satan. Personifying the opponent is an important technique; the ability of the people to imagine or symbolize the enemy as a thing or a person magnifies the influential power of propaganda. A human group may not be able to abstractly hate the whole people; therefore, personification is necessary so that the hatred and rejection energy can be poured on a definite point. **4-**We defend noble causes; there are no individual interests. The propagandist cannot admit the real causes of war; so she/he employs the values that attract the recipient and make her/him justify any militant action. **5-** The enemy deliberately commits grievous acts. If we made mistakes, they would be unintentional. War is a conflict between civilization and barbarism. Our enemy practices brutality with no faith or legal deterrent. **6-** The enemy uses prohibited weapons. We respect the rules of war and fight honestly and with commitment to conventions. Yet the enemy does not. **7-** Our losses are very low, but those of the enemy are very enormous. **8-**The educated people and artists support our cause. **9-** Our cause has a holy characteristic. So, it has to be defended and fought for till death. **10-**All those who doubt our propaganda are traitors (Morelli, 2001).

In accordance with Ellul, defining the true dimensions of propaganda requires studying it in the light of the contexts of civilization or of events. He also considers that the flaw or shortcoming that characterizes a lot of studies is attempting to study propaganda as an isolated phenomenon (Ellul, 1973).

Conclusion

Propaganda is an old activity practiced by man since his inception on earth. Propagandists may be individuals or institutions with specific objectives. Propaganda prevails in most areas, especially political, religious and economic ones, but the objectives and tools vary according to the type of propaganda. Propagandists make use of all media and communication capacities and may create many cultural and scientific institutions for propaganda purposes.

The propagandist exploits the needs of the recipients, their wishes and fears to influence them, that is why the propagandists adopt basically the policy of intimidation and enticement.

The propagandists focus more on the emotional appeals than on giving mental and logical evidences. However, to influence the elite, the propagandists resort to logic and proof which requires deep intellectual work. The propagandists harness the ability of verbal and nonverbal signs to influence people to adopt attitudes that satisfy their desires.

Propaganda has several forms that are related to the different objectives, tools and contexts in which information are disseminated. Propaganda does not make an impact unless it exploits social and cultural contexts in which the targeted audience lives. The impact of propaganda is linked to the economic situation of the recipient and the extent of exposure to the messages

quantitatively and qualitatively, the propagandists try to surround the receiver spatially and temporally by influential messages.

Repetition, assertion, exaggeration, glittering generalities, selection of sources, simulating the wishes of the recipient, creating crises, demonizing the opponent, disinformation and rumors, creating panic and fear, are some of the most influential tools of propagandas.

All societies - whether governed by dictatorial or democratic rule - are faced with an enormous amount of propaganda messages. Propaganda in a dictatorial country generates a forced slavery while in democratic countries it engenders voluntary slavery.

Confronting the propaganda effect requires awareness, knowledge and a great passion to know the realities. Adopting attitudes regarding any issue needs to be carefully done through mental processes so as not to be generated of momentary emotions.

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