

‘Analyzing *Animal Farm* by George Orwell as “Culture of Propaganda”’

Ezaya KONDOH

Assistant,
Université de Kara, Togo.
esaiekondoh@yahoo.com

Abstract

George Orwell’s Animal Farm published in 1945 shortly after the second World War is one of the most celebrated and influential political allegories in modern English literature. Though presented in the form of a simple animal fable, the novel offers a powerful critique of totalitarianism, political corruption, and the betrayal of revolutionary ideals. Orwell uses animals and a farm setting to reflect the events of the Russian Revolution and the rise of Stalin’s dictatorship. Through a textual analysis, this article aims at examining how Animal Farm as a mere story of animals is turned into a “culture of propaganda” with special reference to “the culture of propaganda,” and the manipulation of language by typical characters in its plot. The study suggests that Animal Farm remains relevant in contemporary society as an awakening of consciousness against the rise and establishment of authoritarian governments all over the world.

Key words : culture of propaganda, propaganda, power, authoritarian, political allegory.

Résumé

La Ferme des animaux de George Orwell, publiée en 1945 juste après la Seconde Guerre mondiale, est l'une des allégories politiques les plus célèbres et influentes de la littérature anglaise moderne. Bien que présentée sous la forme d'une simple fable animalière, l'œuvre offre une critique puissante du totalitarisme, de la corruption politique et de la trahison des idéaux révolutionnaires. Orwell utilise les animaux et le cadre d'une ferme pour refléter les événements de la Révolution russe et l'avènement de la dictature stalinienne. Ainsi, à travers une analyse textuelle, cet article vise à examiner comment La Ferme des animaux, au-delà de son statut de simple récit animalier, se transforme en une « culture de la propagande », en s'intéressant particulièrement à la manipulation du langage par les personnages principaux. L'article suggère que La Ferme des animaux demeure pertinente dans la société contemporaine, car elle constitue une prise de conscience face à la montée et à l'instauration de régimes autoritaires à travers le monde.

Mots-clés : culture de la propagande, propagande, pouvoir, autoritarisme, allégorie politique

Introduction

George Orwell is a famous writer of the 20th century, especially known for his critical spirit. Among his sharply written works, *Animal Farm* is one of his significant literary works to focus our attention on. This political allegory successfully creates a set of animal images, with some certain hidden meaning of political life. Thus, *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, the contrast is that 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, Orwell's *Animal Farm* appears as a story of pure « culture of propaganda ». Propaganda is a recurring theme and strategy seen and used by characters in the book, as well as the author. Being an allegory, events in the book accurately depict actual events in history that actually relate to « culture of political propaganda » (Clader, 1987 : 16).

Quite many scholars have also conducted an array of analyses from a political viewpoint. To name just a few, Shilin Xiao (2022), analyzes the political implications of the book from the perspective of new historicism, a fable way developed in a witty but ironical tone so as to offer us a broken dream of blueprint by (Liu 2020). Wang Yu and Ni Jincheng (2019) systematically discuss three dimensions of language control, personal cult, and fooling strategies from Benjamin's fable theory, a new way for readers to objectively learn about the history and so-called heroes. What's more, Gu Mingmin (2019) attempts to reveal the anti-utopia in this predictive fable, along with totalitarianism. Du Ning (2015) applies Eagleton's ideology

theories to analyze the political irony in *Animal Farm*. Zhang Jiasheng and Wang Weidong (2014) also explore its narrative arts from the three aspects, non-linear space, language fallacies, and rhetoric methods, offering readers aesthetic pleasure and in-depth vision to appreciate it. To take a further step, Jiang Yanhua and Jia Mengshan (2013) focus on the wording style of the story, They find the language concise with rhyme and impressive with its witty sayings. Jasim & Fatima H Aziz (2013) attempt on their side an allegorical and satirical study. With regard to power relations, Yang Min (2011) interprets the relationships between language and power in *Animal Farm* and analyzes the functions of different kinds of language in detail in order to find out how language serves for the execution of power.

Therefore, our approach focuses on « culture of propaganda » which is a central element to the plot of *Animal Farm*. Propaganda is used through various methods in the book. These methods vary depending on who uses them. Characters in the book use these methods according to who they are ? Orwell also uses that « culture of 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 hence this study which aims at showing this « culture of propaganda » in the novel along with a reference to characters of Old Major and Squealer as evidenced in the book through their powerful manipulation of language. In this perspective, the analysis sheds light on the book's relationship to propaganda, power management, equality versus dominion, especially the fighting against totalitarianism. From the current studies, it is easy to find that most scholars focus on the themes, techniques, and styles of *Animal Farm* in various domains. However, there is no study that directly views this story as a systematic « culture of propaganda ». Admittedly speaking, their works offer me many insights to further interpret it as a pure « culture of propaganda » in order to show that it is not only the post war regimes that were satirized but also a warning against contemporary politicians who make profit to alter the constitutions of their countries to remain in power forever.

2.1. *Propaganda, and « Culture of Propaganda »*

For a better understanding of this study it is interesting to explore the definitions of the term ‘propaganda’, « culture of propaganda » and their origins. American Heritage Dictionary (2009: 38) defines propaganda as « The systematic propagation of a doctrine or cause 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 behaviour 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 behaviour 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 Congregation 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 in charge of 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 in 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 an appeal to come to « voluntarily » accept this position as if it were his or her own ». 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 political 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 political propagandists do not seek to enlighten or inform but to influence and persuade the masses for the sole purpose of the political achievement.

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 allows » (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 Political Propaganda

Modern political 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 reinforce 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 reinforce 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 time 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 culture of propaganda especially the political one, which he extended in his novel, *Animal Farm*, 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 Squaler 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. 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. The Manipulation of Language : Old Major and Squaler

It is important to point out that propaganda started from the old Major's speech, which is very inspiring and encouraging to the tired, troubled farm animals « Comrades, you have heard already about the strange dream that I had last nightNow, 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 ». (*Animal Farm*, p. 3). ... « Is it 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 ! » (*Animal Farm*, p. 5). However, Squealer, the master propagandist, serving as Napoleon's voice to justify all decisions described also as being able to twist truth into lies so effectively that the animals cannot distinguish between them is there « Turning black into white » (*Animal Farm*, p. 9) after Old Major.

3.1. Old Major

Old 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 Old 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 ! » (*Animal Farm*, p. 9) 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. It was about this time that the pigs suddenly moved into the farmhouse and took up their residence there. « Again the animals seemed to remember that a resolution against this had been passed in the early days, and again Squealer was able to convince them that this was not the case. « It was absolutely necessary, he said , that the pigs , who were brains of the farm , should have a quiet place to work it was also more suited to the dignity of the leader ...to live in a house than in a mere sty », (*Animal Farm* ,p. 42). After the successful revolution, they wrote seven commandments on the tarred wall in great white letters that could be read thirty yards away which stated that :

- « 1. Whatever goes upon two legs is an enemy.
2. Whatever goes upon four legs, or has wings, is a friend.
3. No animal shall wear clothes
4. No animal shall sleep in a bed.
5. No animal shall drink alcohol.
6. No animal shall kill any other animal.
7. All animals are equal; » (*Animal Farm*, p.15).

It was from there immediately the animals reassembled in the wildest excitement, each recounting his own exploits in the battle at the top of his voice. An impromptu celebration of their victory. The flag was run up and « Beasts of England » was sung a number of times, then the sheep who had been killed was given a solemn funeral, hawthorn bush being planted on her grave. At the graveside Snowball made a little speech, emphasizing the need for all animals to be ready to die for Animal Farm if need be, » (*Animal Farm*, p. 4). A cultural gathering is instituted and Napoleon commanded that once a week there should be held something called a Spontaneous Demonstration, the object of which was to celebrate the struggles and triumphs of Animal Farm. So, in April, Animal Farm was proclaimed a Republic, and it became necessary to elect a president. There was only one candidate, Napoleon, who was elected unanimously. On the same day it was given that fresh documents had been discovered which revealed further details about Snowballs complicity. To talk of Old Major again, he is somehow a grand fatherly philosopher of change, 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 later 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 :

« 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, » (*Animal Farm*, 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 to 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 unfailing in their attendance at the secret meetings in the barn, and led the singing of “ Beasts of England”, with which the meetings always ended », (*Animal Farm*, pp.10-11). It is what the animals needed for a sense of courage coming through strength in numbers.

3.2. Squealer, the Master Propagandist

In *Animal Farm*, George Orwell presents « propaganda » and « the manipulation of language » as powerful instruments used to establish and maintain political control. The character of Squealer functions as the chief propagandist of Napoleon's regime. Through persuasive speech, false statistics, and emotional manipulation, Squealer ensures that the animals accept the pigs' authority without question. Orwell uses Squealer to demonstrate how language, when controlled by those in power, can distort reality and suppress truth. Squealer repeatedly alters facts to suit Napoleon's interests. Whenever the animals express doubt or dissatisfaction, he presents fabricated figures and exaggerated achievements to prove that life on the farm

has improved. The cultural gatherings were a kind of social control to bring everyone to a certain place and feed them with 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, (*Animal Farm*, p. 7). The song is optimistic with the joyful, promising lyric.

« 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, » (*Animal Farm*, p. 50).

This denial suggests Squealer's ability to rewrite the story of the battle of Cowshed in which he did not even take part. As a result, all the persuasive verbal influences, entertaining celebration customs, and finally the wicked escape-goading with the immense propaganda

are quite apparent in *Animal Farm*. So, although the « culture of propaganda » is bad, the animals could not acquire their power without it. Looking closely, the « culture of propaganda » is everywhere. 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—golden future time, » (*Animal Farm*, p.7). Having all the animals singing this propagandistic melody together, enforces all the patriotic group values of Animalism (*Animal Farm*, p.15).

In addition to the rituals, « culture of propaganda », along with its methods, ways, and techniques, are also spread by the act of escape-goading (Trilling, 1974 189). Essentially the animals (beginning with Major) blamed Man for all their life's problems. 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, » (*Animal Farm*, 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 Man's 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 ! » (*Animal Farm*, p. 44). Napoleon was worried about the ruined windmill threatening his leadership. Instead of looking for to his own responsibility, Napoleon blames Snowball and further uses propaganda to manipulate the animals' heads and filling them with lies: sacred soil of *Animal Farm*! Rewriting the history in this perspective Squealer as usual has to say:

“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 (*Animal Farm*, p. 66).

As mentioned earlier in the introduction, *Animal Farm* is an allegorical novel based on the Russian Revolution where « culture of propaganda » was also spread widely by such historical figures as Joseph Stalin (represented by Napoleon, (Clader,1987: 17): « 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 » (*Animal Farm*, p. 58). This could be Orwell’s attempt to refer to 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’s 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: « Bravery is not enough’ said Squealer. “Loyalty and obedience are more important,» (*Animal Farm*, 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 to near, (*Animal Farm*, p. 47).

Of course, Stalin did all evil 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. Four 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, to avoid being poisoned, (*Animal Farm*, p. 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» (*Animal Farm*, 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 » (*Animal Farm*, p. 19). Later, Orwell makes the case stronger. « The two disagreed at every point disagreement was possible, » (*Animal Farm*, 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 (*Animal Farm*, p. 21). These dogs would later be used to eliminate Snowball, his arch-rival (*Animal Farm*, 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 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 » (*Animal Farm*, 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 : 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,...». (*Animal Farm*, p. 22).

One subtle point is Orwell's use of the word « comrade » 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 the « culture of 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 to 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 ! » (*Animal Farm*, 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 get the feelings of fear when they commit a mistake because when they do this will bring 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 « culture of 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 « culture 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 », (*Animal Farm*, p. 57). Squealer is the only source of data the Animal Farm has. 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, » (*Animal Farm*, 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 (*Animal Farm*, 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 Squealer's persuasive talent is where Napoleon drives Snowball off the farm using his dogs (*Animal Farm*, 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 :

« 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 ? » (*Animal Farm*, p. 35).

Once again, Squealer is a pawn of the Animal Farm's 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 propaganda 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 Snowball's 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 » (*Animal Farm*, p. 60). Napoleon exercises Squealer's speaking talents to defeat all doubt of the Snowball's treachery and to elevate himself to a higher level 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 « culture of propaganda » 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 selfish skilled politician, 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 *Animal Farm*. 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.

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 (*Animal Farm*, 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 (*Animal Farm*, 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 (*Animal Farm*, 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. 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:., 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 thisMuriel 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. (*Animal Farm*, 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 : the change of their original constitution. So, he is the one who makes all the changes in the Seven Commandment. In human terms he is the « culture propaganda apparatus » that spreads the “big lies” and makes people believe in it. There is a speech in chapter nine where Squealer is explaining the death of Boxer to the others :

« 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.' (*Animal Farm*, 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 Boxers 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 », (*Animal Farm*, 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 « culture of propaganda », the pigs have 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 » (*Animal Farm*, 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 » (*Animal Farm*, 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 they 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 (*Animal Farm*, 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 seem to have at least a shred of comedy. This chapter 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 » (*Animal Farm*, 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 lays in working hard and living frugally » (*Animal Farm*, p. 81).

This is a complete 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, all animals, do not work hard or even lift a finger anymore. There was not that these creatures did not work, after their fashion. There seems as Squealer was never tired of explaining, endless work 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’ » (*Animal Farm*, 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. 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. » (*Animal Farm*, 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 » (*Animal Farm*, 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 legs. Even the sheep have been conditioned to it. They suddenly break out into a chant of « Four legs good, two legs better! » (*Animal Farm*, 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 » (*Animal Farm*, p. 85). He also changes the name of Animal Farm back to the Manor Farm, claiming that this title is the correct one. The pigs create a cult of personality around Napoleon, making him immune to criticism. Simple slogans like « Four legs good, two legs bad » become later « Four legs good, two legs better » are used to silence debate and train the sheep to shout down dissent. 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 » (*Animal Farm*, 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.

Animal Farm successfully presents how the “culture of propaganda” and brainwashing work in totalitarian regimes, by showing how the pigs could make the other animals believe practically anything haunted. 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 » (*Animal Farm*, 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. 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 his point of view in *Animal Farm* 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 are not exactly as they remembered ; in fact there are always, 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.

In my point of view *Animal Farm* 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 attractiveness 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).

Conclusion

The article has analyzed *Animal Farm*, as a culture of propaganda and blind obedience while exposing the dangers of dictatorship. The novel serves as a warning to readers that revolution can fail when power is centralized and the masses remain passive. The relevance of the novel extends beyond the Russian Revolution. It applies to any society where political leaders manipulate truth and exploit the people. Orwell's simple style and powerful symbolism make *Animal Farm* one of the most effective political novels in English literature. Thus, *Animal Farm* serves both as a literary masterpiece and a political awakening of consciousness, urging readers to remain vigilant, informed, and critical of authority if need be. Critics regard the novel as an insightful and relevant exploration of human nature. So, in the light of the above discussion the researchers have reached the following conclusions: *Animal Farm* 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 *Animal Farm* 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. 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 « culture of propaganda » and bloodshed. This is of course a reference to Stalin, who murdered many of his own people in order to maintain his dictatorship over Russia.

Another result is that *Animal Farm* effectively displays the immorality of « culture 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 to serve Joseph Stalin. It is clear that Orwell abhors the use of propaganda and does not believe it is possible to create an utopian civilization.

Moreover, it results also that it is portraying the evils and pitfalls of a totalitarian government. It attempts to illustrate a society whereby all live as equals has not existed, and cannot be obtained. By drawing parallels to events in communist Russia, Orwell's *Animal Farm* shows how « culture of propaganda » was used to dominate the Soviet people. By deceiving and threatening, 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. Squealer is the method by which Napoleon communicates with the others. Along the novel, Orwell utilizes Squealer to portray how « culture of propaganda » convinced, swindled and duped Russian citizens. *Animal Farm* reasonably displays the evil and corruption of « culture 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 in *Animal Farm*. It is apparent that Orwell detests the employment of propaganda for one's self-advancement, as demonstrated through Squealer in the novel.

Bibliography

American Heritage Dictionary, 2009. "Propaganda". Available at : <http://www.dictionary.com>

Bolton Whitney French, 1984. *The Language of 1984*, London : Basil Blackwell

Burgess Anthony, 1973. *Joysprick: An Introduction to the Language of James Joyce.*, London : Deutch

Catholic Encyclopedia, 2009. "Propaganda." Available at : <http://www.newadvent.org/cathen/12456a.htm>

Clader Jenni, 1987. *Animal Farm And 1984*. Philadelphia: Open University Press

Cole Robert, 1998. *The Encyclopedia of Propaganda*, New York : M.E. Sharp, Inc.

Colmer John, 1978. *Coleridge to Catch-22 : Images of Society*, New York : St. Martin's Press

Crick Bernard, 1980. *George Orwell : a life*. London, Penguin

Delwich Auron, 2002. "Propaganda." Available at : <Http://www.propagandacritic.com>

Edelman Murray, 1977. *Political Language : Words That Succeed and Politics that Fail*, New York : Academic

Ellul Jacques, 1965. *Propaganda : The Formation of Men's Attitudes*, New York : Random House

Filene Edward, 1938. *Institute for Propaganda Analysis*, New York , Columbia University Press.

Freedman Carl, 1981;. « Writing, Ideology and Politics: Orwell's Politics and The English Language », In *College English*, Vol. 43, pp.327-340.

George Orwell & Angus Ian, 1968. *The Collected Essays, Journalism and Letters of George Orwell*, New York : Harcourt

Glover Smith Fank, 1980. « Changing Things : Orwell And Auden, "In Class Culture and Social Change » '.Sussex: Harvestter Press. pp.101- 139.

Greenblatt Stephen, 1974. "Orwell as Satirists." In *Class Culture and Social Change*, Sussex : Harvester Press, pp.56-90

Greenblatt Stephen, 1976. *Three Modern Satirists: Waugh, Orwell and Huxley*, London, Yale University Press

Hodgart Matthew, 1971. « From Animal Farm to Nineteen Eighty-Four », In Gross, Vol.5, pp.136-142
Hollis Christopher, 1956. *Study of George Orwell*, London, Hollis & Carter

Hucker Diana, 1999. *A Writer's Reference*. New York, Bedford-St. Martins

Hunter Lynette, 1984, *George Orwell : The Search for a Voice*, Milton Keynes, Open University Press

Lay Mary et al., 2000. « Technical Communications ». Boston : Irwin.
Lang, John S. 1979, "The Great American Bureaucratic Propaganda Machine », U.S: News & World Report.Vol.27, pp.43-47.

Majeed H. Jasim & Fatima H. Aziz, 2013. « 'Propaganda in George Orwell's Animal Farm : An Allegorical And Satirical Study », Iraq. Basrah University, N (66), pp. 22-28.

Marlin Randa, 2002. *Propaganda and the Ethics of Persuasion*, New York, Broad view Press.

Merriam-Webster's Dictionary, 2009. Propaganda, Available at : <http://www.m-w.com/home.htm>

Nelson Richard Alan, 1996. *A Chronology & Glossary of Propaganda in the United States*, London, Greenwood Press.

Oliver Thomson., 2003. *Mass Persuasion in History: An historical Analysis of the Development and Propaganda Techniques*, New York, Paul Harris Publishing

Orwell George, 1945. *Animal farm*, London, Secker and Warburg

Orwell George, 1979. *Animal Farm*, London: Heinemann Educational Books

Pratkanis Anthony. & Aronson Elliot, 1991. *Age of Propaganda : The Everyday Use & Abuse of Persuasion*, New York, W.H. Freeman

Rai Alok., 2018. « Political Allegory in Orwell's Animal Farm' », Int J Engl Stud, Vol. 6 (2), pp. 45-52.

Rhodes Anthony, 1976. *Propaganda : The Art of Persuasion World War II*, New York, Chelsea House Publications

Rodden John, 1999. *Understanding Animal Farm*, Westport (CT), Greenwood Press

Trilling Lionel, 1974. "George Orwell and the Politics of Truth", In R. Willaims (ed.). *George Orwell : A Collection of Critical Essays*, Englewood Cliffs, Prentice Hall

Vorhees R. ichard Joseph, 1961. *The Paradox of George Orwell*, Purdue, Purdue University Press.

Wain John, 1963. *George Orwell, Essays on Literature and Ideas*, London, Macmillan.