

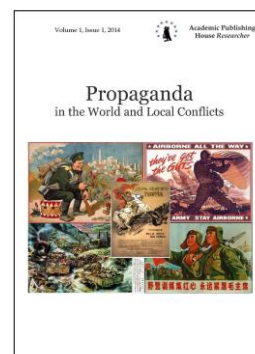
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Propaganda as a Tool of “Non-Lethal Warfare” (on the Example of British and German Propaganda during the Period of World War I)

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Abstract

The article analyzes some propaganda models, in particular, the Herman-Chomsky model, the Ellul model and the Hall model and their practical application as theoretical foundations for the analysis of British and German propaganda during World War I. The article shows that knowing the target audience is one of the most important principles of propaganda and it guarantees its effective work on shaping the picture of the world. At the same time, the specificity of the dominant subjective and group picture of the world determines both the research methodology and the applicable propaganda model. Supposedly the object of propaganda functions in three realities: empirical (defined in terms of the correspondence of the physical world and our senses); imaginary (corresponding to the virtual space of culture) and spectator reality (the intersection of the first two). The article considers propaganda to be a consistent, long-term way of creating or shaping events, with the aim of influencing the attitude of the masses to an idea. It is proved that the effect on the group is more effective than the same effect on the individual. The article researches the artificiality and intensity of propaganda campaigns with an obvious predominance of the emotional component, using factoids, i.e. facts that do not exist before their appearance, objectification in the media space. The author shows that both the German and British propaganda of World War I can be characterized to a greater extent as Propaganda 1.0, with its conceptualization.

Keywords: propaganda 1.0, propaganda 2.0, dominant code, informational and semantic war.

1. Introduction

The fact that propaganda today is an integral part of the media space is indisputable. Moreover, it takes place at any time in any society. We all live in a world of propaganda, without even noticing it. And only in the times of the collision of contradictory circumstances and their polar interpretation propaganda is objectified in our consciousness. Substantially, propaganda is a multifaceted phenomenon: from the promotion of any idea (gender, tolerance, healthy lifestyle, etc.) to political propaganda and the imposition of hateful ideas. Propaganda quite often, “coexists” with religion and ideology and acts as a strategic management option, creating new rules applicable to facts.¹

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¹ The paradox is that by creating new rules, propaganda thereby creates new facts, while the creation of new facts does not determine the creation of new rules. This is an obvious strategic function of propaganda in the virtual space, different from the tactical management options and means of physical influence in the physical

Propaganda primarily reacts to the physical space, sometimes distorting the reality with fake messages, and in this context it is ahead of counterpropaganda, which reacts to the informational space and acts as a response to propaganda.¹ Modern man is most susceptible to the influence of propaganda, which is explainable in terms of information expansion, manipulation, information and semantic wars, influential operations and other things. For the state, propaganda is a natural communication tool: it is an institutional flow that is different from interpersonal communication, since institutions are not peculiar to commissioners, but directives. Thus, propaganda is a form of communication with the masses, unambiguously containing an ideological component.

2. Materials and methods

During the preparation of the article, the author used open Internet sources devoted to the subject of World War I and containing a large amount of documentary materials, photos, card files, rare works and so on. We should mention the following:

1. Multimedia history of WWI: <https://www.firstworldwar.com/posters/index.htm>
2. Archive of WWI documents: wwi.lib.byu.edu
3. Unique footage of the WWI events: www.britishpathe.com/workspaces/page/ww1-the-definitive-collection
4. Diaries, photos, postcards and relics: www.europeana1914-1918.eu/en
5. The site dedicated to the history of propaganda during WWI: <http://www.ww1propaganda.com/world-war-1-posters>
6. The Internet Encyclopedia of WWI: <https://encyclopedia.1914-1918-online.net/home/> and many more.

The theoretical foundations of the historical-comparative method and analysis of German-British propaganda of the time of WWI were research works representing the propaganda models of Herman, Chomsky, Ellul and Hall, extrapolated to the processes and events of European history of the first quarter of the XX century.

3. Discussion

Encyclopedia “Britannica” gives the following definition of propaganda: “Propaganda is the dissemination of information – facts, arguments, rumors, half-truths and lies, defining public opinion” (Smith, 2018).

N. Snow understands propaganda as a mass conviction with a clear advantage for its creator. (Snow, 2003). Such a definition, as it seems, is quite wide and widespread both on advertising and public relations, which once again confirms the relation of these sciences to the communicative cycle.

A. Edelstein distinguishes between propaganda and non-propaganda along the line of the emotio-ratio, emphasizing the fact that propaganda is based on deliberate lies and falsification. (Edelstein, 1997).

T. Clark analyzes the art and propaganda of the 20th century, describing the propaganda nature of socialist realism and modern art, whose exhibitions were heavily funded by the special services as a promotion of democratic values and freedoms (Clark, 1997).

V. Lippmann (Lippmann, 1998) associates propaganda with stereotypes, through which he explains the “enemy” function in the mass consciousness.

I. Levy (Levy, 2004) distinguishes between rhetoric and propaganda: the main difference is that rhetoric is possible as an individual communicative practice, while propaganda is always institutional and directed at persuasion, acting at the same time as rhetoric; whereas rhetoric cannot be propaganda.

Laswell (Lasswell, 1927) is one of the first who clearly outlined the scheme of propaganda influence: WHO – WHAT – TO WHOM – CHANNEL – EFFECT.

The understanding of the new propaganda, or Propaganda 2.0, is to a greater extent associated with the research of E. Bernays (Bernays, 1925), N. Chomsky and E. Herman (Herman, Chomsky, 1988), J. Ellul (Ellul, 1973) and S. Hall (Hall, 1973). The basic idea of the Herman-

space. Propaganda generally works successfully with a non-existent reality, manifesting itself both at the level of non-existent reality, and at the level of its incorrect, not true interpretation.

¹ A “fake” comes from the person, misinformation comes from the state.

Chomsky propaganda model is that they highlight five news filters that create consistent content.¹ These include the amount of information, advertising, media support, “flak” and “anti-communism” (Herman, Chomsky, 1988: 2). The last two filters are interesting in this context, as they are potentially misleading, as it turns out, perform exclusively restrictive and controlling functions. Thus, “flak” is nothing but a means of controlling the media so that they strictly follow the official version of the information provided. “Anti-communism”, in turn, also performs a controlling function and is positioned as a national religion.² To some extent, these filters can be regarded as a means of censorship, but at a slightly different level: not the state, but the business elite one, since the primary control over the media and the output information belongs to their beneficiaries.

Modern times dictate new conditions, actualizing the change of priorities, and therefore, the Herman-Chomsky model can be revised in the light of recent changes. In particular, due to the fall of the USSR and the end of the “cold war”, “anti-communism” becomes a rudiment and can no longer perform a consolidating, and in fact controlling, function at the level of values and worldviews. The new discourse comes to replace it, the discourse of the struggle against terror, when the “Other” clearly acquires the features of a representative of the Arab-Muslim world. In its essence, the ideology of the model remained the same, only the content was changed with a lurch in conservatism and right-wing interpretation.

It is important to note the fact that the mass media perform the function of social management, veiling messages of an ideological, propaganda nature with entertainment content, sometimes forming feelings of political apathy, shifting the vector of social attention and tension towards apolitization and blind consumerism.

The Herman-Chomsky propaganda model seems to be successful only in the context of traditional media. The Internet has significantly transformed not only the reality itself, but also updated the proofreading of its interpretations and perceptions (Rampton, 2007).

MODEL	POST-MODEL
<i>Ownership concentration</i>	<i>The Internet is a space of freedom and everyone can create their own website</i>
<i>Advertising → information</i>	<i>Information → advertising</i>
<i>Official sources</i>	<i>Blogging, People's Journalism</i>
<i>The “Other”</i>	<i>The other “Other”</i>

The Herman-Chomsky propaganda model describes the mechanisms for constructing (media) reality, consensus and the dominant picture of the world. It is noteworthy that the Western media demonstrate the “democratism” of opinions to some extent, when media resources are used in parallel by both government and business, whereas in many post-Soviet countries a state monopoly on information is obvious, but it does not interfere with both types of the states and their social engineering.

J. Ellul’s model of propaganda is interesting, as he sees a scientometric function in it: propaganda must take into account the data of psychology and sociology, since the difference between the types of media and individuals implies the difference between the types of propaganda. It is important to note that propaganda is more effective in democratic societies, since totalitarian regimes have different means of social management and control that are more effective than propaganda. The “democratic” propaganda is hidden, horizontal³, it is more complex and refined, and therefore it is easier to fight against simple, open, vertical, political “totalitarian” (communist, Nazi) propaganda (Ellul, 1973: 79-84).

¹ In this case, propaganda takes place only when it correlates with the interests of those who control the “filters”.

² In this connection, it is appropriate to recall such a phenomenon as “McCarthyism”.

³ Horizontal or sociological propaganda is contextual, when it is not ideology that determines the structure and laws of the social, but vice versa. In this case, it constitutes the unconscious impulses of individuals to submission and very often appears as propaganda without words, since it actively enough performs informational interventions in the field of art, education, science, technology.

Propaganda in the theory of J. Ellul is total: it is difficult to form an opinion in the mind of an isolated individual, and therefore, various means and forms of propaganda should be used simultaneously. Modern propaganda is targeted at the mass and the individual, since their separation is impossible; it ends where the dialogue begins.

In the dyad “orthodoxy” – “orthopraxy” J. Ellul prefers the latter, representing the “hard” British¹, not the “soft” American² information operations model. In this context, J. Ellul’s distinction of propaganda-agitation and integration propaganda is obvious (Ellul, 1973: 70-79). Propaganda-agitation is more pronounced and effective in the environment of poorly educated individuals, it can take both destructive (change of the constitutional system) and constructive (mobilization of the population in the face of general danger) forms. It is obvious that propaganda-agitation is appropriate to consider in the context of the British model of information operations.

Unlike propaganda-agitation, integration propaganda is the propaganda of consent, aimed at adopting postulated principles, values, attitudes, and not simple actions. In fact, this kind of propaganda transforms a person, a model of his thinking and perception, with a subsequent change in his pattern of behavior. Propaganda-integration, therefore, is a representation of the American model of information operations.

The conditions for the effectiveness of integration propaganda are the living and cultural level of the individual. It will not be implemented in relation to the poor, because they are burdened with the efforts of simple survival. It will not be effective in relation to the illiterate and uncultured, as they are not burdened with the ability of critical thinking, analysis and understanding of information.

In this regard, it is appropriate to cite another example of propaganda in the model of J. Ellul, namely “rational and irrational propaganda” (Ellul, 1973: 84-87). The formation of the subject’s reaction to rational factual propaganda, which is essentially irrational in essence, is problematic in this respect. Propaganda cannot be invented, it is contextual and lined up on real, factual grounds. And in this sense it is appropriate to identify (as J. Ellul does) propaganda and information.

There is no doubt that propaganda acts as an interdisciplinary phenomenon, for which the process of communication is fundamental. In the context of the analysis of propaganda models, communication can be conceived as a process of trans-coding information: verbal to non-verbal and vice versa; as a transmission of information, a symbolic suggestion, interaction and exchange.

In this context, the communicative process can be represented as a semiotic process (semiosphere), a process of conflict of cultural codes as a mechanism for constructing meanings. In the broad sense, the semiosphere is equal in its essence to culture and is a prerequisite for communication, since each of the subjects of communication must have a semiotic cultural experience. Thus, the language of propaganda is an element of semiotic space with fuzzy boundaries of semiotic reality, because what is a message for one may be different for the other, in particular, in the absence of understanding, the difference between cultural codes, etc.

Such a (semiotic) model of propaganda was proposed by S. Hall, the key for which is the process of decoding a message according to its subjectivity, determined by culture, language, mentality, education, etc.³ (Hall, 1973).

¹ Behavior change model.

² Relationship change model.

³ But at the same time, the asymmetry of encoding and decoding is obvious. S. Hall, explored television messages and talked about the complexity of television signs that combines visual and audible discourses. Thus, the visual discourse transforms the three-dimensional world into two-dimensional images (as S. Hall puts it: “A dog can bark from the TV screen, but cannot bite”).

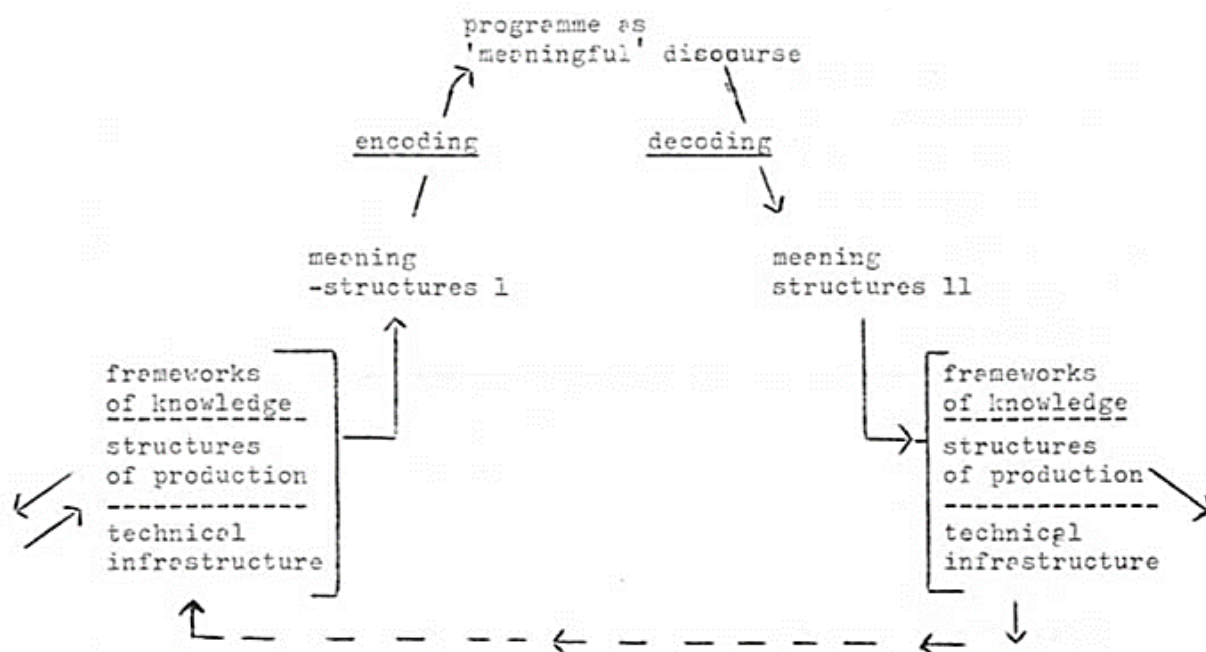


Fig. 1. S. Hall's coding-decoding model

Following S. Hall, several decoding schemes can be distinguished:

- conformist scheme: the recipient (interpreter) takes the original meaning of the message laid down by the sender, without reflecting on it
- negativist scheme: the recipient (interpreter) denies the original meaning of the message, relying on the oppositional submitted code;
- conventional, or synthesizing scheme: the recipient (interpreter) forms its message value as a result of partial acceptance of the original and its partial denial.

In this regard, it should be noted that S. Hall's propaganda theory is not a manipulative theory, since the "reader" of its messages and codes takes a rather active position, creating new meanings, rethinking propaganda as a Text, i.e. information with unset poly-functional values.

In various informational and virtual streams (literature, art, cinema, culture in general) a certain ideological matrix, model of the world, gestalt is laid, setting the state that we consider as correct. Such a dominant model of a particular sociological system will be primarily retained by the dominant systems – education (which sets this model for the younger generation) and television (which keeps the transformations of this model from the adult generation).

The theory of S. Hall is consonant with the Herman-Chomsky theory in terms of accepting the fact of existence of the dominant code, in the context of which the professional code functions. Media space is a complexly structured system, which implies a significant variety of discourses. At the same time, the recipient (interpreter) of the message has different semantic structures from the proposed media, occupying completely different social spaces, respectively, and differentially perceiving them.

The consumption of content and context is given by typical recurring semantic frames for the consumer coding, encoded, in particular, in the form of well-established genre codes as guides for interpreting: "sport", "weather", "news", "emergency", etc. Propaganda messages, as well as messages from other spheres of the communicative cycle (advertising, public relations), often mimic the news to reduce the audience's resistance.

Frames operate in a structure of political cascades (Oana et al., 2016) and are actively blocking alternative forms of understanding and interpretation. This phenomenon is explained by the psychological characteristics of perception and evaluation of information: the primary information is difficult to deduce from the content, its denial only enhances the effect of its impact; not negation becomes effective, but thematic or episodic building of a new frame and new information (Iyengar, 1991).

Thus, S. Hall's propaganda model indicates that the decoded meaning is not always and does not necessarily coincide with the encoded meaning. Decoding can take completely different directions, taking into account the intentions of the sender (author), the intentions of the recipient (interpreter) and, as it seems, the intentions of the Text (message), programmed for a specific, necessary reading. In this regard, it would be appropriate to mark S. Hall's propaganda model as semiotic, since in his view the language plays the role of media and is represented in semiotic¹ and discursive² practices.

Important in this context is the change in the message received from the dominant to the opposition, when both political and negativistic values are important in political propaganda (as most effective for/in democratic regimes). This can be explained from the point of view of the subjectivity of political processes, since any person, being a supporter of this or that political ideology: "bi-conceptualism" in the terminology of J. Lakoff (Lakoff, 2008), subjectively evaluates individual problems and issues. And it is precisely on these wavering grounds that propaganda is aimed in order to transfer to its side those who have not yet made up their mind.

PROPAGANDA 1.0	PROPAGANDA 2.0
<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - state propaganda; - meaningful; - "transparent": does not hide the authorship and purpose; - implies both positive and negative goal setting; - "Black and white": is built on binary oppositions (ours and others); - construction of the binary world; - aggressive, and therefore causes open protests; - uses "hard" force of influence; - enemy-centered. 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - propaganda of professionals; - formal; - "Illusory": represents its ideology as someone else's, without revealing the purpose and source; - Generates positive emotional reactions; - retention of the picture of the world; - dependent on the consumer of propaganda, and not on its source; - uses "soft" power of influence, including aesthetically attractive form of presentation (books, TV series) - population-centered.

4. Results

Denoting the basic aspects of propaganda, let's analyze its functionality using the example of British and German propaganda on the eve of World War I. The primary task of the British government was to encourage the local population to support and participate in hostilities. To this end, the Bureau of Military Propaganda was created, headed by Charles Masterman. He managed to unite well-known writers (R. Kipling, A. Conan-Doyle, G. Wells) to develop effective tools for the ideological struggle against the Triple Alliance and Germany, in particular. Thus, the "inhuman cruelty" of German soldiers against civilians of the occupied territories or the soldiers of the allied forces was shown, thereby creating an alternative reality.

¹ How language "produces" meanings: poetics.

² How values are represented in communication: politics.

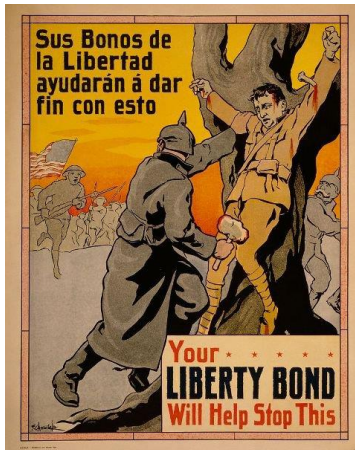


Fig. 2. Crucified soldier of the Entente



Fig. 3. Wounded soldier, begging the German “nurse” to give him water

Also, these well-known authors were asked to sign full-text advertisements in newspapers, condemning Germany and appealing to the United States for support. On September 11, 1914, C. Masterman met with the editors of leading newspapers and formed the Neutral Press Committee, whose main task was to ensure that all British newspapers supported the dominant government line, spreading British propaganda abroad.

In May 1915, the Bureau issued a special brochure “Report on alleged German crimes”. It was stated that this report there was an independent and objective official review edited by the former British Ambassador to the United States, V. Bryce. In fact, the report was a product of “black” propaganda, containing manipulative facts and outright lies.



Fig. 4. British anti-German propaganda poster

The response of the Ministry of Foreign Affairs of Germany was the creation of the Central Directorate of Foreign Affairs under the leadership of Matias Ertsberger, who, in particular, was engaged in the collection and analysis of foreign printed publications, as well as the publication and distribution of the German press abroad. Sometimes they published articles with the “necessary” content in the foreign press, with subsequent replication and reference not to German, but foreign sources.



Fig. 5. German propaganda press

German propaganda widely used photography, because the visual image accurately conveyed emotions and did not need a commentary translation, although very often it was accompanied by annotations in several languages, including English.



Fig. 6. German propaganda photo

Later, along with the propaganda photography, cinema was also widely used to promote the values and image of the German Reich; representatives of the German creative elite were encouraged to idealize, praise the courage, sacrifices and military skill of German soldiers, exposing the treachery, cowardice and failure of the British.



Fig. 7. German propaganda photo

5. Conclusion

It should be noted that both British and German propaganda of World War I were a classic example of Propaganda 1.0, with its characteristic methods:

- 1) ignoring the historical context;
- 2) the use of selective stories that are most suitable for a set goal;
- 3) the use of a limited number of “lap experts”, lobbying for the general line and the dominant code;
- 4) demonization of the enemy, sometimes in a fictitious perspective;
- 5) since propaganda produces an emotionally rich text, conceptualization is built on the basis of the traumatic events of the past;
- 6) artificial focusing on an object, driving it under the point of view, rather than expanding the spectrum of the vision of the problem.

Although even at that time some of the techniques used in the framework of the “soft” model of Propaganda 2.0 were obvious, in particular, the use of literature, cinema and art for propaganda purposes. Propaganda is one of the tools for waging “non-military” wars, in this case informational, along with migrational (Steger, 2017), legal,¹ diplomatic, trade, etc. wars. Propaganda is a tool for creating false narratives, historical (constructed history) with its heroic and alternative reality, functioning according to the laws of framing. Propaganda clearly undermines the ability of people to think rationally and critically, when simplified, emotional appeals undermine their logic and reason. The propagandist does not need to refer to the truth, but should strive to design it, to develop mechanisms for its effective production.

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¹ Citizenship given by neighboring countries.

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