

EX 313	<b>HISTORY OF JOURNALISTIC DISCOURSE: WEEK 1</b>	SPRING SEMESTER
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P.A.C. O'Connor	Orientation
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**1.** The main requirements for this course are that you take an interest in it and demonstrate your interest in the essay you submit towards the end of term. Otherwise, you'll need to listen and take notes, ask questions, and read up on the subject in your own time. This course is 'historical', but that doesn't mean we are confined to the past: in fact, we will try, wherever possible, to relate the propaganda of the past to the propaganda of the present. Obviously, it will help if you try to use what you learn on this course to try to detect propaganda you receive in your daily life, especially in your daily media intake.

**Here's the course homepage. To enter, click on the sign 'PROPAGANDA'. I'll give you the password in Week 1.**

**To prepare for each class, print out the pages for each week and read them through.**

**Students who don't bring the class material to class, will be considered absent from that class.**



### ESSAY RULES

- 1 Length: 800 or more words in English. No machine translation.**
  - 2 Essays must be typed using a pc (not *keitai*).**
  - 3 Check your spelling carefully.**
  - 4 Write your name, student number, date, course name and essay title, at the top of the page.**
  - 5 Use as many illustrations, charts or photographs as you please**
  - 6 Essays must follow the **FORMAT** below**
  - 7 Deliver by July deadline [to be announced]**
  - 8 Essay should refer to course material + your own research.**
- ▶ **No essay or late essay = NO GRADE** ◀

**ESSAY FORMAT:** PLEASE follow the model: Introduction, Thesis, Antithesis, Conclusion.

- 1. INTRODUCTION:** Introduce the subject of the essay. Say why it is important, or why it is controversial, or why it is interesting.
- 2. THESIS** Write what you believe is the true situation. Give your opinion and give facts and figures. **ANTITHESIS:** Now write the opposing argument to yours. Give other opinions, and give some of their facts and figures if you want to.

**3. CONCLUSION: Summarise the arguments supporting your opinion (in Thesis) and the arguments against your opinion (in Antithesis). Make your conclusion.**

**IMPORTANT: CITATIONS ~ If you quote a source, you must cite it: book title, year of publication, author etc. If you quote material from this course, give the reference.**

### **ESSAY TITLES**

1. Research and compare the propaganda of the Germany and Japan, the United States and Russia, or of China and Japan. In comparing your chosen countries, say which country you think has made the most successful propaganda and give reasons for your opinion.
2. You have been asked by Japan's Foreign Ministry (外務省) to improve the international image of Japan. The aim is to for Japan to join the United Nations Security Council as a Permanent Member and to become the admired and trusted leader of East Asia. You have an unlimited budget, expert assistance and you can work in any medium: film, radio, internet, TV, press over any period of time: 6 months, 6 years - whatever. What programme of propaganda can you suggest?
3. You have been asked by the President of the United States to improve the image of his country. What would you suggest?
4. Explain the difference between propaganda and advertising. What do they have in common? Would a good advertising copywriter make a good propagandist or would a good journalist be better at writing propaganda? Discuss, with examples.
5. Look closely at the newspaper in your home, the programmes on your TV or radio, the government announcements that come through your letter box. Is there propaganda in your everyday life and how does it compare with the kind of propaganda we examine in this course? Discuss with examples.
6. When is a cause a 'just cause' and when is it not? Can propaganda make an unjust cause seem just? The war against Nazi Germany is still widely regarded as having been a 'just' war against 'evil', yet the Nazis had the best propagandists in the world. Japan's war against China was widely regarded at the time as a war of aggression, but the image of Japan's (partial) enemy, Communist China is currently being reassessed in new books and memoirs. The war in Vietnam became extremely unpopular among young people in the 1960s and 1970s and the US lost 'the moral high ground' early on. Now the same loss of moral power seems to have happened to the US and Britain in Iraq. Discuss the 'just cause' issue and relate it to propaganda.
7. Relate the McCarthy Era in the US to the 'We lost China' and Amerasia issues, and the 'reverse course' in Japan. What was the role of propaganda in these Cold War scenarios?
8. "Japan-bashing" was a term invented for a specific purpose and it was highly successful in that purpose. But was it an accurate term, and did it benefit Japan's image in the long term?
9. What is the place of propaganda in today's global media? Considering everything you have read and discussed in this course, do you think propaganda is a good thing, a bad thing, or something else (for example, a necessary evil)?
10. Free topic (but (a) it must be related to the course and (b) discuss your choice with me before you begin.

**FINALLY: Choose/decide your essay topic by Week 3: I will collect and check them then.**

## 2. WHAT IS PROPAGANDA?

Joseph Goebbels, Hitler's propaganda chief, maintained that if you were going to tell lies, you should tell 'the Big Lie'. There's something in this: if you do something on a grand scale, it's possible to get away with it, whereas if you do it on a small scale, you're 'small fry', by definition, and easy to catch. As the proverb has it, "Steal a little and they'll call you a thief, steal a lot and they'll call you a King". But even so, propaganda is more than just lies, big or small, simply because it wouldn't work if it didn't possess an element of truth, or an appeal to a deeply-felt emotion (sometimes the same thing) in its target audience. Propaganda is usually some of the following:

### Propaganda at home: created or organised by the interior ministry

1. **A call to action or an appeal to form an opinion:** join this group; don't join that group; believe this; don't believe that; dislike that group and approve its ill-treatment; approve this group and its activities; be concerned with national security; distrust foreigners, and so on.
2. **An attempt to harness the power of opinion and use it to increase the power of the State:** in the 1920s, the British historian E.H. Carr, among others, described the Power of Opinion as an element of national power as important as economic power or the power of the armed services (army, navy, airforce, nuclear/chemical capacity).
3. **An attempt to prepare the people for difficult times, unpopular decisions or unpleasant actions by the state:** if a government is planning a war, it first has to 'sell' the war to the people (otherwise it may have trouble raising an army); if a war has been going badly and the government anticipates defeat, it may begin preparing the people for defeat (without using the word 'defeat'). If a government is planning to round up a certain group on grounds of race or political belief, it needs to ensure that the mass of the people will either support its actions or remain silent.
4. **Not always rational:** propaganda will often adopt a calm, matter-of-fact tone or style, but to succeed, propaganda does not have to be rational. It doesn't have to make sense. It does have to appeal to feelings that are broadly shared among the people of a national community, e.g. by "We British", "We Americans" or 「われわれ日本人」.

### Abroad: created or organised by the foreign ministry

1. **An attempt to persuade opinion leaders and/or the people of a potential enemy nation that it is not in their national interest to intervene or object in the event of a war or invasion:** if Nation A wants to invade Nation B, it will try to persuade Nation C that it has nothing to lose and everything to gain from such an invasion.
2. **An attempt by a state to popularise its national ideology and encourage sympathisers in other countries to organise and help promote that ideology:** A nation wishes to export the beliefs on which its government is founded: it invites sympathetic intellectuals and business people from other nations to visit and see for themselves how well this new society is functioning.

**3. WHEN IS NEWS 'THE FACTS' AND WHEN IS IT PROPAGANDA? In 1932-3 the Western press reported the rise of the Nazis in Germany and in December 1937 the fall of Nanjing to Japanese troops Newspapers aimed for 'balance', but their reporters often struck an emotional note. Others used irony, reporting an atrocity in the style of a sporting event.**

**A. NAZI THUGS CUT THEIR TEETH IN BRUNSWICK** March 30 1932: *Manchester Guardian*  
**FOR HALF A YEAR**, a Nazi, Herr Klagges, has been minister of the interior in the Free State of Brunswick. The coalition government has only two members - the other is the minister of finance, a Nationalist. Whenever the Nazis take office they demand the Ministry of Interior because it gives them control over the police. Their spell of power in Brunswick is a kind of rehearsal. The Nazi storm troops (called SA men) have living quarters which they use as barracks. They also have lorries on which they race along at great speed, the swastika (their anti-Semitic symbol) fluttering over the bonnet. The sides of the lorries can be clapped down so that the inmates can jump out at a moment's notice.

The storm troops leap down; blows from cudgels, knives, preservers, knuckle dusters are dealt out, heads are cut open, arms raised in self defence are broken or bruised and crouching backs or shoulders are beaten black and blue. Sometimes shots are fired and knives are drawn. The police find a man lying dead or several lying unconscious with concussion of the brain, or staggering away clasp ing an abdominal knife wound or holding a broken head. ...Will a whole nation, one of the greatest and most civilised in the world, be handed over to the brute the blackguard, and the charlatan? No one can tell. But Brunswick is an ominous foreshadowing.

**B. COMMUNISTS TO BE INTERNED IN DACHAU** March 21 1933: *Manchester Guardian*

**THE PRESIDENT OF THE MUNICH POLICE** has informed the press that the first concentration camp holding 5,000 political prisoners is to be organised within the next few days near the town of Dachau in Bavaria. Here, he said, Communists, "Marxists" and Reichsbanner leaders who endangered the security of the State would be kept in custody. It was impossible to find room for them in the State prisons, nor was it possible to release them. Experience had shown, he said, that the moment they were released, they started their agitation again.

If the safety and order of the State were to be guaranteed, measures were inevitable, and they would be carried out without any petty consideration. This is the first clear statement hitherto made regarding concentration camps. The extent of the terror may be measured from the size of this Bavarian camp which - one may gather - will be only one of many. The Munich police president's statement leaves no more doubt whatever that the Socialists and Republicans will be given exactly the same sort of "civic education" as the Communists.

**Absolute power for Hitler**

The Cabinet at its meeting this afternoon decided on the text of the Enabling Bill which it will submit to the Reichstag. If this bill is passed, the Hitler Government will be endowed with absolute dictatorial powers. The Act will enable the Cabinet to legislate and to make laws even if these "mark a deviation from the Constitution", except that the Reichstag and the Reichsrat must not be abolished. But as these will be put out of action for four years, this provision will not inconvenience the Government, which will even have full powers at the end of four years to alter the electoral system by decree.

**C BIG FIRE AT REICHSTAG March 28 1933 Manchester Guardian**

BERLIN WAS THROWN INTO GREAT EXCITEMENT last night by two fires - the one at the Reichstag building (the German Parliament) and the other at the former Imperial Palace. Fire broke out at the Reichstag shortly after 9 p.m., and burned so fiercely that within an hour the main hall in which representatives of the German people meet when Parliament is in session was completely destroyed. Flames leaping from the great glass dome surmounting the building could be seen for miles around, and attracted huge crowds to the scene...



**Searchlights on building**

...It is believed that the fire was due to arson, as it commenced at five or six different points simultaneously. A man was arrested in the building. He was found clad only in his trousers. A Reuter telegram says that the fire was started by heaps of documents which were set alight in six different places. The police assert that Communists are responsible, and apart from the man who was arrested there were several other people in the building, although the Reichstag is not in session.

**Wild Rumours**

The wildest rumours were circulating in Berlin last night, adds Reuter. One was to the effect that secret orders had been issued to the Nazi Storm Troopers to create a Bartholomew night on Saturday, when all political opponents of renown were to be "disposed of." Although the police asserted the Communists are responsible, some people think that the fire might have been started by irresponsible Nazis with the object of provoking trouble...

**Communist Leaders Arrested**

The police, "suspecting the conflagration to be the first of a series of Communist acts of terrorism," have arrested a number of Communist leaders "in order to forestall any attempt to cover up tracks." The man who was discovered in the Reichstag building and arrested is stated to be a Dutchman named Van der Luebbe, aged 24. He is said to have confessed that he started the fire, but denied that he was acting as anyone's agent. It is added that he said he used his shirt as firing material. The police found a rag steeped in petrol as they entered the building, and the arrested man's cap was found close to other firing material. He has been conducted to police headquarters, where he is being subjected to a thorough examination. His manner had been extremely calm and self-possessed throughout. Herr Hitler, Herr Göring, Herr von Papen, and other prominent persons including Prince August Wilhelm, entered the building whilst it was still burning, and Herr Goring, President of the Reichstag and "Commissarial" Minister for the Interior in Prussia, took command of the police and issued orders to keep the crowds at a distance.

**D** The ‘killing competition’ at Nanjing: openly reported in Japan, Britain and the US.

Between November 1937 and January 1938, reporters covering the activities of the Kwantung Army in Nanking for the *Asahi Shinbun*, *Ōsaka Mainichi Shinbun* and the *Tokyo Nichi-Nichi Shinbun* (but not for *Dōmei Tsūshinsha* or the *Yomiuri Shinbun*), seem to have felt no embarrassment or concern about filing detailed news reports and updates on a ‘killing competition’ that took place

between 2nd Lieutenants Mukai Toshiaki and Noda Takeshi of the Katagiri Detachment, based at Jurong, outside Nanking. According to the *Ōsaka Mainichi Shinbun*, 9 February 1938, Mukai and Noda were encouraged by their superiors to engage in a ‘competition’ whereby the officer who could kill a full 100 people before the invasion and occupation of Nanking was completed would take a prize. In the event, Mukai had killed eighty-nine people and Noda had killed seventy-eight by 11 December. Encouraged by their senior officers, Mukai and Noda were reported to have extended the competition from a goal of 100 dead to 150 dead, an achievement both reached sometime in December, though reports of the numbers and dates vary considerably. The *Ōsaka Mainichi* reported that Mukai achieved 250 deaths which put him ahead of Noda, whereupon Mukai invited Noda to extend the competition to 1,000 deaths.

Discussion of the eventual tally and outcome of the ‘competition’ continues today on the Internet. In late 2005, the Tokyo District Court found for the *Asahi Shinbun* and the *Mainichi Shinbun* and the journalist Honda Katsuichi against the descendants of 2nd Lieutenants Mukai and Noda in a libel action their descendants had brought against these newspapers and Honda for reporting the ‘killing competition’ in books and articles on Japan’s wartime record in China (*Asahi Shinbun*: 23 August 2005). Note that an earlier report in the *Tokyo Nichi-nichi Shinbun*, (30 November 1937), indicates that the ‘killing competition’ actually began *before* the Japanese army entered Nanking:, and that the target was set higher, at 150 deaths, once both men had reached 100 killings during the Nanking Incident, on December 11. See also *Tokyo Nichi-nichi*, 13 December 1937.



**E.** TWO JAPANESE NEAR GOAL IN RACE TO KILL 100 OF FOE *New York Times*: 6 December 1937

A DISPATCH FROM THE SHANGHAI FRONT gives details of a race between two Japanese officers to see who will be the first to slay 100 Chinese with the Japanese sword. Mukai and Noda had laid a wager on this accomplishment and have since been trying hard to win the bet.

At last accounts they were approaching the end of the contest, for as the result of the fighting

for the capture of Kuyung, in the advance on Changchow, Mukai claimed eighty-nine victims and Noda seventy-eight. Mukai's best day was set down as fifty-five slain in a raid between Wusih and Changchow. A condition of the match is that no victims shall be counted unless they were resisting when killed.

**In December 1937, Hugh Byas, the Tokyo correspondent of the *New York Times*, filed this jaunty despatch to the *New York Times*. Note the poker-faced rendition of detail in his last sentence: what was Hugh Byas really saying to his readers?**

**4** Entertainment & propaganda: **A** **Billie Holiday: 1** **STRANGE FRUIT (1939)** **LISTEN!**

**In 1937**, Abel Meeropol, a New York schoolteacher, saw a photograph of a lynching of two black men. The photograph 'haunted' Meeropol, and he wrote the poem, *Strange Fruit*. After seeing Billie Holiday perform at a club in New York, Meeropol showed her the poem, which Holiday and Sonny White set to music as *Strange Fruit*. Holiday's recording reached No. 16 on the national charts in July 1939. *Time Magazine* called it as "a prime piece of musical propaganda" for black people and the NAACP.

Southern trees bear  
strange fruit,  
Blood on the leaves and  
blood at the root,  
Black bodies swinging in  
the southern breeze,  
Strange fruit hanging from  
the poplar trees.



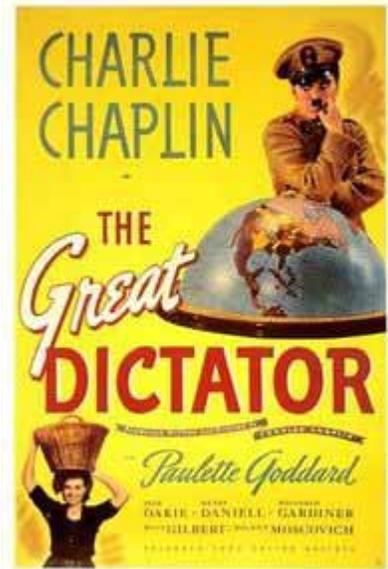
Pastoral scene of the  
gallant south,  
The bulging eyes and the twisted mouth,  
Scent of magnolias, sweet and fresh,  
Then the sudden smell of burning flesh.

Here is fruit for the crows to pluck,  
For the rain to gather, for the wind to suck,  
For the sun to rot, for the trees to drop,  
Here is a strange and bitter crop.

**Photo: Double lynching in Marion,  
Indiana August 7 1930**

## **B** Charlie Chaplin ~ *THE GREAT DICTATOR* (1940)

First released in October 1940, the *Great Dictator* satirises fascism and in particular Adolf Hitler and his Nazi Party. The film attracted controversy and a sort of box office *success de scandale* for its fearless condemnation of Nazi brutality at a time when the US was still reaching for an accomodation with Germany. It was also unusually clear, in its day, for the clarity of its portrayal of the plight of Jews in Europe. *The Great Dictator* was at the same time Chaplin's most controversial and most commercially successful film. Looking back, the film has been judged as a justifiable attack on a brutal regime and its psychotic leader, but it was not welcomed by many in the US elites on its release in 1940. It could be argued that its release energized, though it did not start, the process that ended with Chaplin's departure from the United States at the height of the McCarthyite anti-Communist witch hunts of the 1950s which encouraged the national vilification of 'Reds' in Hollywood and hastened with Chaplin's emigration to Switzerland (of all places).



**The question we have to ask in this course is this:** although we accept it to be an artistically 'true' portrayal of what we now see as an evil regime, was *The Great Dictator* a work of propaganda? We'll watch especially the final speech in which the little barber, played by Chaplin, voices his hopes for a new era:

**“WHEREVER YOU ARE, LOOK UP! LOOK UP, HANNAH! THE CLOUDS ARE LIFTING, THE SUN IS BREAKING THROUGH! WE ARE COMING OUT OF THE DARKNESS AND INTO THE LIGHT! WE ARE COMING INTO A NEW WORLD; A KINDLIER WORLD, WHERE MEN WILL RISE ABOVE THEIR GREED, THEIR HATE, AND THEIR BRUTALITY!”**

## **C**: **JIMI HENDRIX & THE STAR-SPANGLED BANNER** (1969)

Jimi Hendrix's Woodstock Festival rendition of the American national anthem: 'The Star-Spangled Banner' was given at the height of the Vietnam War on August 17th 1969. While Hendrix played, US bombers were dropping napalm on Vietnamese villages and burning the clothes and skin off women and children, and suspected Viet Cong soldiers were being thrown from helicopters or shot in broad daylight. Hendrix said later there was no political message in his performance, but the audience at Woodstock certainly thought otherwise. However, if you read the lyrics, (1814) you can see how they celebrate the defeat of British forces by the Americans: “*And the rockets' red glare, the bombs bursting in air / Gave proof thro' the night that our*

*flag was still there*" which indicates that Hendrix may not have been making a topical point. Was this propaganda?

## **The Star-Spangled Banner**

Oh, say can you see by the dawn's early light  
What so proudly we hailed at the twilight's last gleaming?  
Whose broad stripes and bright stars thru the perilous fight,  
O'er the ramparts we watched were so gallantly streaming?  
**And the rocket's red glare, the bombs bursting in air,  
Gave proof through the night that our flag was still there.**  
Oh, say does that star-spangled banner yet wave  
O'er the land of the free and the home of the brave?  
On the shore, dimly seen through the mists of the deep,  
Where the foe's haughty host in dread silence reposes,  
What is that with the breeze, o'er the towering steep,  
As it fitfully blows, half conceals, half discloses?  
Now it catches the gleam of the morning's first beam,  
In full glory reflected now shines in the stream:  
'Tis the star-spangled banner! Oh long may it wave  
O'er the land of the free and the home of the brave!



And where is that band who so vauntingly swore  
That the havoc of war and the battle's confusion,  
A home and a country should leave us no more!  
Their blood has washed out their foul footsteps' pollution.  
No refuge could save the hireling and slave  
From the terror of flight, or the gloom of the grave:  
And the star-spangled banner in triumph doth wave  
O'er the land of the free and the home of the brave!

Oh! thus be it ever, when freemen shall stand  
Between their loved home and the war's desolation!  
Blest with victory and peace, may the heav'n rescued land  
Praise the Power that hath made and preserved us a nation.  
Then conquer we must, when our cause it is just,  
And this be our motto: "In God is our trust."  
And the star-spangled banner in triumph shall wave  
O'er the land of the free and the home of the brave!

