



**I WANT YOU
FOR COMM 370**

**The Rhetoric of Ideas: Ideology and Propaganda
Monday/Wednesday 5:00-6:20 pm, Spring 2013**

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The Rhetoric of Ideas: Ideology and Propaganda

COMM 370

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We hear of 'brainwashing,' of schemes whereby an 'ideology' is imposed upon people. But should we stop at that? Should we not also see the situation the other way around? For was not the 'brainwasher' also similarly motivated? Do we simply use words, or do they not also use us? An 'ideology' is like a god coming down to earth, where it will inhabit a place pervaded by its presence. An 'ideology' is like a spirit taking up its abode in a body: it makes that body hop around in certain ways, and the same body would have hopped around in different ways had a different ideology happened to inhabit it. –Kenneth Burke

To regard rhetoric and ideology as wholly discrete realms is to be in thrall to both. – Stephen Bygrave

The successor to politics will be propaganda. Propaganda, not in the sense of a message or ideology, but as the impact of the whole technology of the times. –Marshall McLuhan.

I. Rationale:

This course examines the role of communication and rhetoric in the workings of ideology and propaganda. We will study the history of the concept of ideology, and using a mix of primary and secondary sources we will explore the approaches of a range of important thinkers, including Louis Althusser, Kenneth Burke, Terry Eagleton, Jacques Ellul, Antonio Gramsci, Jürgen Habermas, Herbert Marcuse, Karl Mannheim, Karl Marx, Joseph Pieper, Slavoj Žižek, and others. After working out a theoretically robust understanding of ideology, we will examine the history of propaganda, focusing on specific artifacts from various (modern) historical eras, seeking in particular to understand how the evolution of mass communication technology has influenced the production and reception of propaganda. The course will also introduce students to the field of public diplomacy—that is, efforts to communicate, by both public and private organizations, to diverse publics in the context of American foreign policy. We will review foundational work done on the study of national propaganda from a variety of perspectives as well as conduct a historical review, emphasizing the last one hundred years of, ways in which propaganda and public diplomacy have been central to the national security of the United States. Finally, we will explore ways in which marketers, public relations agencies, and scientists deploy ideological discourse and propaganda in public controversies. In the end, this course will leave you with an advanced understanding of the interplay between rhetoric, ideology, and propaganda from an historical and theoretical perspective, and equip you with the research skills and the critical sensibility necessary to read and respond to instances of ideological communication. You will gain insight both into how people use words, and more importantly, how words use people.

II. Course Aims and Objectives:

Students should review these objectives on a regular basis as they will help inform the goals of each day's readings and discussion. They will also be central themes used in written work for the course. Students will be, by the completion of the course, able to draw upon a range of scholarship to engage these questions.

- What is ideology and how does it work? Specifically, what rhetorical motives and practices underlie the development, circulation, and maintenance of ideological discursive formations? Is ideology *qua* ideology rhetorical?

- Should ideologies be ill-reputed? Is it possible to be free/outside of ideology?
- Are there any epistemological or moral reasons to prefer one ideology over another (particularly reasons that transcend the particular ideologies in question)?
- Why do people embrace ideologies? What factors (psychosocial, cultural, perhaps neuro-biological) influence the degree to which one finds a particular ideology, or ideology in general, appealing?
- How can ideology be identified? Where can we find it? And how should we critically examine it?
- What is the relationship between ideology and truth? What is the relationship between propaganda and truth?
- What is the relationship between ideology and science? How can scientific discourse promote or undermine ideological positions and beliefs? What roles can scientific research play in propaganda?
- What is propaganda and how does it differ from persuasion? Is public diplomacy propaganda? Is advertising propaganda? Why are these distinctions meaningful?
- What ethical dilemmas are entailed in the production of propaganda? What ethical dilemmas are entailed in the consumption of information?
- How can propaganda be evaluated? What are the central messages? What are the purposes and outcomes of propaganda campaigns?
- How does mass communication technology influence the evolution of propaganda?
- Why is propaganda so important in modern society and in modern warfare? What role did it have in pre-modern societies and conflicts?
- What are the similarities and differences between propaganda campaigns waged by states vs. propaganda campaigns waged by non-state actors?

III. Course Materials

Required

Michael Freeden. (2003). *Ideology: A very short introduction*. Oxford: Oxford University Press. **\$9.50 new, \$1.06 used**

Garth S. Jowett & Victoria O'Donnell. (2005). *Propaganda & persuasion*. (4th edition). Thousand Oaks: Sage Publications. **\$16.71 new, \$15.61 used [note, not 5th edition, which is \$112 new]**

Garth S. Jowett & Victoria O'Donnell, eds. (2006). *Readings in propaganda & persuasion: New and classic essays*. Thousand Oaks: Sage Publications. **\$40.07 new, \$22.26 used**

Josef Pieper. (1992). *Abuse of language, abuse of power*. Translated by Lothar Krauth. San Francisco: Ignatius Press. **\$9.95 new, \$4.80 used**

Recommended/Supplementary

Kenneth Burke. (1989). *On symbols and society*. Edited by Joseph R. Gusfield. Chicago: The University of Chicago Press. **\$15.76 new, \$6.77 used**

Terry Eagleton. (2007). *Ideology: An introduction*. London: Verso. **\$14.26 new, \$8.99 used**

Anthony Pratkanis & Elliot Aronson. (1992). *Age of propaganda: The everyday use and abuse of persuasion*. New York: Henry Holt & Co. **\$5.42 new, \$3.89 used**

Slavoj Žižek, ed. (1994). *Mapping ideology*. London: Verso. **\$17.79 new, \$16.88 used**

IV. Tentative Course Schedule: ***This syllabus represents my current plans and objectives. As we go through the semester, those plans may need to change to enhance the class learning opportunity. Such changes, communicated clearly, are not unusual and should be expected.*

Date	Main Topic(s)	Work to do at home Readings – to be completed <u>before</u> class	Evaluation
1/14	Introduction		
1/16	Defining Ideology	Kenneth Burke, “Definition of Man” – BB	
1/21	No Class – Martin Luther King Day		
1/23	What is Ideology? – An introduction to the concept(s)	Terry Eagleton, “What is Ideology?” – BB Reinhard Bendix, “The Age of Ideology: Persistent and Changing” – BB	
1/28	Classical Marxist/Materialist Theory of Ideology—The birth of a concept	Karl Marx & Frederick Engels, “On the German Ideology” (Selections) – BB Freeden, Chps 1 – “Should Ideologies Be Ill-Reputed?” Terry Eagleton, “From the Enlightenment to the Second International” – BB Murray N. Rothbard, “The Marxian Doctrine of ‘Ideology’,” – BB	
1/30	20 th Century Western Marxist / Materialist Theories of Ideology	Freeden, Chp 2 “How Ideologies Came to Stay” Louis Althusser, “Ideology & Ideological State Apparatuses” – BB Michel Pêcheux, “The Mechanism of Ideological (Mis)recognition” – BB	
2/4	Ideology as Rhetorical Form	Burke – “Terms of Order” – BB Burke – “Ideology & Myth” – BB Michael McGee, “The ‘Ideograph’: A link between rhetoric and ideology” – BB	
2/6	Ideology as a Cultural System	Freeden, Chp 3 “Ideology at the Crossroads of Theory” Clifford Geertz, “Ideology as a Cultural System” – BB	Paper 1 Assigned
2/11	Ideological Strategies	Freeden, Chp 4 “Struggle over political language” Terry Eagleton, “Ideological Strategies” – BB	

2/13	Categorizing Ideologies	Freeden, Chp 5 “Thinking about Politics” Freeden, Chp 6 “Macro-ideologies” Freeden, Chp 7 “Micro-ideologies”	
2/18	President’s Day / Professor’s Birthday – No Class		
2/20	Ideology Discourse in Practice	Freeden, Chp 8 – “Discursive Realities and Surrealities” Freeden, Chp 9 – “Stimuli and Responses: Seeing and Feeling Ideology” Freeden, Chp 10 – “Conclusion: Why Politics can’t do without ideology” Alberto Melucci, “Collective Action and Discourse” – BB Eagleton, “Conclusion” – BB	Paper 1 Due
2/25	Ideological Criticism	Foss “Ideological Criticism”	Final Project Assigned
2/27	Exam 1		
3/4	Truth, Reality, and Communication	Friedrich Nietzsche, “On Truth and Lies in a Nonmoral Sense” – BB Josef Pieper, <i>Abuse of Language, Abuse of Power</i> , pp. 7-54 George Orwell, “Politics and the English Language,” – BB	
3/6	Defining and Introducing Propaganda	Beth S. Bennet & Sean Patrick O’Rourke, “Rhetoric and Propaganda: Critical Foundations,” <i>Readings in Propaganda & Persuasion</i> , pp. 51-72 Jowett & O’Donnell, Chapter 1, “What is propaganda and how does it differ from persuasion?” pp. 1-50	
3/11	The History of Propaganda	Gladys Thum and Marcella Thum, “War Propaganda and the American Revolution: The Pen and the Sword,” <i>Readings in Propaganda & Persuasion</i> , pp. 73-82 Thomas C. Sorenson, “We Became Propagandists,” <i>Readings in Propaganda & Persuasion</i> , pp. 83-110 Jowett & O’Donnell, Chapter 2, “Propaganda Through the Ages,” pp. 51-96	
3/13	Political and Psychological Dimensions of Propaganda	Jacques Ellul, “The Characteristics of Propaganda,” <i>Readings in Propaganda & Persuasion</i> , pp. 1-50	
3/18	Spring Break – No Class		
3/20	Spring Break – No Class		
3/25	Propaganda and the Rise of Mass Communication	Jowett & O’Donnell, Chapter 3, “Propaganda Institutionalized,” pp. 97-164	
3/27	Propaganda and Persuasion Examined	Jowett & O’Donnell, Chapter 4, “Propaganda and Persuasion Examined,” pp. 165-210 Anthony Pratkanis & Elliot Aronson, Chp. 1, “Our Age of Propaganda,” pp. 1-20	

4/1	Propaganda in World War I and its Aftermath	Philip Taylor, "The Bolshevik Revolution and the War of Ideologies (1917-1939)," <i>Readings in Propaganda & Persuasion</i> , pp. 111-120 Paul M. A. Linebarger, "The Function of Psychological Warfare," <i>Readings in Propaganda & Persuasion</i> , pp. 189-200 Jowett & O'Donnell, Chapter 5, "Propaganda and Psychological Warfare," pp. 211-259	
4/3	Allied Propaganda	David Culbert, "'Why We Fight': Social Engineering for a Democratic Society at War," <i>Readings in Propaganda & Persuasion</i> , pp. 169-187 Martin Herz, "Some Psychological Lessons from Leaflet Propaganda in World War II" – BB Claudia Springer, "Military Propaganda: Defense Department Films from World War II and Vietnam," – BB	
4/8	Nazi Propaganda	David A. Welch, "Restructuring the Means of Communication in Nazi Germany," <i>Readings in Propaganda & Persuasion</i> , pp. 121-148 Kenneth Burke, "The Rhetoric of Hitler's Battle," <i>Readings in Propaganda & Persuasion</i> , pp. 149-168 Leonard W. Doob, "Goebbels' Principles of Propaganda," – BB	
4/10	Triumph of the Will – Viewing		Paper 2 Assigned
4/15	Triumph of the Will – Discussion	David Hinton, " <i>Triumph of the Will</i> , Document or Artifice?"	
4/17	Post World War II Propaganda	Harold Lasswell, "The Strategy of Soviet Propaganda," – BB Garth S. Jowett, "Brainwashing: The Korean POW Controversy," <i>Readings in Propaganda & Persuasion</i> , pp. 201-212 Jowett & O'Donnell, Chapter 5, "Propaganda and Psychological Warfare," pp. 259-288	
4/22	Public Diplomacy and the War on Terror	Nancy Snow, "U.S. Public Diplomacy: Its History, Problems, and Promise," <i>Readings in Propaganda & Persuasion</i> , pp. 225-242 Stuart J. Kaplan, "Visualizing Absence: The Function of Visual Metaphors in the Effort to make a Fitting Response to 9/11," <i>Readings in Propaganda & Persuasion</i> , pp. 243-258 Margaret Cavin, "Evening Gowns to Burqas: The Propaganda of Fame," <i>Readings in Propaganda & Persuasion</i> , pp. 259-280 John Brown, "Public Diplomacy & Propaganda: Their Differences," BB	
4/24	Case Studies		Paper 2 Due

4/29	Case Studies		
5/1	Final Presentations		Final Project Due
5/8	FINAL EXAM – 4:30-6:30pm		

V. Course Requirements:

Class Participation - On a daily basis, this is an intensive reading and discussion based course. The daily assignment is to read and be prepared for in-depth discussion of the readings. Students should assume that they will be asked to discuss specific aspects of the readings each day. If there are difficulties with completing daily readings, the instructor may assign unannounced quizzes which will be factored into the overall grade.

Essays – At two points during the semester you be required to complete a 6-8 page essay. The essay will be on the following subjects and ask you to combine analysis and research into a coherent argument. Specific guidelines for written assignments will be distributed during the semester.

Before the final draft of each essay is due, a rough draft is due, and you will get feedback from (and give feedback to) your peers, as well as from me. As the peer feedback component is an important part of the assignment, it is essential that you adhere to the due dates.

Essay 1 – In the first part of this course, we will study a variety of different theoretical approaches to the concept of ideology. For the first essay assignment, you will compare and contrast two (or more) of the approaches we have studied, and argue for the superiority of one of the approaches. Your argument will be at least partially grounded in a case.

Essay 2 – Reviewing *Triumph of the Will*. Nazi Propaganda remains one of the most controversial applications of propaganda technologies to modern communication. Review the film *Triumph of the Will* based on the criteria discussed throughout the course, focusing on the material reviewed on the *Analyzing Propaganda* day. In your evaluation, you should incorporate both the ethical and campaign based dimensions of the film.

Exams – We will have two exams that combine short answer and essay formats. The final exam will focus on the second half of the course material, but will require students to have developed a core competence from past materials.

Group Project – Along with three of your colleagues, you will conduct original critical research on an artifact of your choosing. Your object of inquiry will consist of a text (“artifact”) that bears relevance to the kinds of issues of ideology and propaganda we discussed in class, introduce an explicit research question, and justify why the text you're analyzing is significant or important (i.e., ask yourself what will be gained by taking a detailed scholarly look at the ideological functions of the artifact). Your study will culminate in a collectively written final paper, and you will present your findings to the class at the end of the semester.

VI. Grading Procedures:

Students will earn grades based on the following assignments. Specific instructions for each assignment will be provided in class. Final course grades are assigned on the following scale:

94-100 % = A	80-83 % = B-	67-69 % = D+
90-93 % = A-	77-79 % = C+	64-66 % = D
87-89 % = B+	74-76 % = C	60-63 % = D-
84-86 % = B	70-73 % = C-	59 % and below = F

Your final grade will be determined by the following components:

Class Participation – 10%

Papers – 30%

Exams – 30%

Group Project – 30%

Attendance – I take attendance regularly, and expect you to be in class or have a legitimate excuse (e.g., illness, approved extra-curricular/sports travelling, etc.). If you miss more than three sessions without a valid excuse, it will negatively affect your grade. If you miss more than six sessions without an excuse, you may fail.

VII. Academic Integrity

The Annenberg School for Communication is committed to upholding the University's academic integrity code. It is the policy of the School of Communication to report all violations of the code. Any serious violation or pattern of violations of the academic integrity code will result in the student's expulsion from the Communication major or minor. The University presumes that you are familiar with its standards and policies; should you be found to have committed a violation, ignorance of these standards and policies will not be accepted as an excuse. You should be familiar with the following resources:

* "Guide to Avoiding Plagiarism" addresses issues of paraphrasing, quotations and citations in written assignments, drawing heavily upon materials used in the university's Writing Program (by Student Judicial Affairs) <http://www.usc.edu/student-affairs/SJACS/docs/tig.pdf>

* "Understanding and Avoiding Academic Dishonesty" addresses more general issues of academic integrity, including guidelines for adhering to standards concerning examinations and unauthorized collaboration (by Student Judicial Affairs) <http://www.usc.edu/student-affairs/SJACS/docs/tio.pdf>

* The "2012-2013 SCampus" (the student handbook) contains the university's Student Conduct Code and other student-related policies. <http://www.usc.edu/scampus>

* The Code of Ethics of the University of Southern California:
https://about.usc.edu/files/2011/07/USC_Code_of_Ethics_2004.pdf

VIII. Other University Notices and Policies

Use of E-mail for Official Correspondence to Students – All students should become familiar with the University's official e-mail student notification policy. It is the student's responsibility to keep the University informed as to changes in his or her e-mail address. Students are expected to check e-mail on a frequent and regular basis in order to stay current with University-related communications, recognizing that certain communications may be time-critical. It is recommended that e-mail be checked daily, but at a minimum, twice per week.

Late & Unfinished Work – Students must complete all assignments in order to earn a grade in the course. Any material turned in late will be reduced one letter grade per calendar day late. Each speaking assignment must be given on the day assigned. No makeup sessions will be available.

Final Exam – The Final Exam is on May 8, from 4:30-6:30 PM. Do not plan to leave campus before this date. There will be no alternative exam times except in cases of extreme illness or acts of God.

Grievance Procedure - Occasionally, students are dissatisfied with some dimension of a course. In such cases, students should first provide a written argument in support of their position to the instructor and request a meeting with the instructor. All grade appeals on specific assignments must be made within one week of the return of the assignment.

Special Assistance - Any student requesting academic accommodations based on a disability is required to register with Disability Services and Programs (DSP) each semester. A letter of verification for approved accommodations can be obtained from DSP. Please be sure that the letter is delivered as early in the semester as possible. DSP is located in STU 301 and is open 8:30 a.m. - 5:00 p.m., Monday through Friday and can be reached at (213) 740-0776.

A Word about Conduct in a College Classroom

To make our time together as valuable as possible, we all have to work hard at it. The following basic principles may give us some guidelines:

**Every student has the *right* to learn as well as
the *responsibility* not to deprive others of their right to learn.
Every student is accountable for his or her actions.**

In order for you to get the most out of this class, please consider the following:

- a. Attend all scheduled classes and arrive on time.
Late arrivals and early departures are very disruptive and violate the first basic principle listed above.
- b. Please do not schedule other engagements during this class time.
You probably wouldn't appreciate it if I did! I will try to make class as interesting and informative as possible, but I can't learn the material for you.
- c. If you have trouble hearing the lecture or media presentation because of distractions around you, quietly ask those responsible for the distraction to stop.
If the distraction continues, please let me know. It is often impossible for me to hear such things from my position in the classroom.
- d. Please let me know immediately if you have any problem that is preventing you from performing satisfactorily in this class.

I am looking forward to working with you this semester.