

A Pragmatic Study of Barak Obama's Political Propaganda

Prof. Dr. Riyadh Tariq Kadhim Al- Ameedi

Department of English, College of Education for Human Sciences, University of Babylon

Zina Abdul Hussein Khudhier

M.A. Student, Department of English, College of Education for Human Sciences, University of Babylon

Abstract

This study investigates, pragmatically, the language of five electoral political propaganda texts delivered by Barak Obama. It attempts to achieve the following aims: (1) identifying the speech acts used in political propaganda, (2) showing how politicians utilize Grice's maxims and the politeness principle in issuing their propaganda, (3) analyzing the rhetorical devices used in political propaganda. To achieve the aims of this study, it is hypothesized that: (1) The speech acts of statement, assertion, and advice can be used in political propaganda, (2) the cooperative principle and the politeness principle are frequently observed in political propaganda, (3) persuasion, metaphor, repetition, and manipulation are the rhetorical devices used in political propaganda. The following procedures have been followed: (1) reviewing the literature about political propaganda along with some pragmatic notions such as speech acts, the cooperative principle, politeness strategies, and some rhetorical devices such as persuasion, metaphor, repetition, and manipulation that are relevant to the aims of the study, (2) analyzing five electoral political propaganda texts according to a model developed by this study. The findings of the analysis verify the above mentioned hypotheses.

Keywords: Propaganda, election, pragmatics, rhetoric

1. Introduction

The phenomenon of propaganda is a hybrid topic that has its political orientations; it is used during war time and elections. It can be defined as a process of communication that has the purpose of persuading a target audience to adopt attitudes and beliefs chosen by the propagandist (Walton, 2007:95). It can be regarded as a powerful instrument used by politicians to attract the audience's attention to a specific political action. Politicians deploy a great number of linguistic strategies and rhetorical devices in their political propaganda discourse in order to mobilize their political actions and to influence the public opinions. Accordingly, the present study highlights the pragmatic analysis of electoral political propaganda to find answers to the following questions: (1) what are the speech acts used in political propaganda? (2) how do politicians utilize Grice's maxims and the politeness principle in issuing their propaganda? (3) what are the pragmatic structures of political propaganda?

The present study aims at: (1) identifying the speech acts used in political propaganda. (2) showing how politicians utilize Grice's maxims and the politeness principle in issuing their propaganda. (3) analyzing the rhetorical devices used in political propaganda. Consequently, it is hypothesized that: (1) the speech acts of statement, assertion, and advice can be used in political propaganda. (2) the cooperative principle and the politeness principle are frequently observed in political propaganda. (3) persuasion, metaphor, repetition, and manipulation are the rhetorical devices used in political propaganda. To achieve the aims of the study and test its hypotheses, the following procedures are adopted: (1) reviewing the literature about political propaganda and some pragmatic notions such as speech acts, the cooperative principle, politeness strategies, and some rhetorical devices such as persuasion, metaphor, repetition, and manipulation that are relevant to the aims of the study. (2) analyzing five electoral political propaganda texts according to a model developed by this study.

2. Literature Review

In its origin, the word *propaganda* is an ancient word. It had its own religious roots. It came into common use in Europe as a result of the missionary activities of the Catholic church created in 1622, called the *Congregatio de Propaganda Fide* (Congregation for Propagating the Faith) (Marshall, 1944:21-2).

Harold Lasswell (1937:521) was the first writer to define propaganda as " the technique of influencing human action by the manipulation of representations; these representations may take: spoken, written, or musical forms".

From a sociological perspective, Ellul (1964: 74) argues that propaganda is an attempt which seeks to obtain stable behavior to adopt everyone to his everyday life. It also controls the individual's thoughts and attitudes in terms of the permanent social setting.

Politically speaking, the phenomenon of propaganda is defined as the intention of the politician to manipulate a mass audience(Merril and Lowenstein, 1971: 221). This definition highlights the fact that the word "propaganda" is manipulative; its ultimate goal is to promote something.

Within the framework of political communication, an important function of propaganda is that it enables people to participate in important events such as *election*. In democratic countries, the process of election is an important factor of any political system. It plays a vital role in the operation of government and its institutional framework.

Medvic (2010: 14) states that any campaign activity involves communication and most of it is persuasive in nature. He also adds that since candidates need votes, they use arguments that will convince voters to support their cause.

Moreover, Medvic(*ibid.* :6) points out that political campaigns serve four functions. First, they help citizens formulate their preferences and finally decide for whom to vote. The second function is that a political campaign is a communicative event wherein voters, parties, candidates, and the media engage in "crosstalk" . The third function is to promote citizens participation. Individually, political campaigns have an impact on a person's intention to vote. Collectively, such campaigns encourage voting by their self – interested pursuit of more voters for their particular sides. Finally and perhaps more importantly, political campaigns allow those who are abroad an opportunity to vote and take part in elections.

3. The Pragmatic Perspective of Propaganda

The notion of speech acts is central to political propaganda due to the fact that politicians use different kinds of speech acts to perform various actions. In this respect, Searle (1969) distinguished the following, which can be seen to have direct relevance to political discourse : representative (truth claims), directives (commands, requests), commissives (promises, threats), expressives (praising ,blaming), declaratives (proclaiming a constitution, announcing an election, declaring war). Speech acts can only be effectively performed under certain conditions 'felicity conditions', which in the case of politically relevant speech acts may include complex conditions such as the power or status of the speaker, the institutional location, the holding of an election, and the style of language used. In fact, the 'positioning' of the speaker as an authoritative narrator and messenger and as a decisive actor is crucial (Chilton and Schaffner, 1997: 219).

Thus, certain kinds of speech acts, for example, orders, requests, advising, warnings, promises, commitments, etc can only be performed ' felicitously' on the basis of recognized powers. Others, such as explicit or implicit claims to truthfulness, knowledge, or accurate assessment, depend partly on being empirically refutable in the light of events, but many bald assertions appear to be 'felicitous' on other basis than the authority of the speaker. (*ibid.*).

4. The Model of Analysis

This section presents an eclectic model to clarify most of the pragmatic aspects such as speech acts, Grice's maxims, politeness strategies, and some rhetorical devices such as persuasion, metaphor, repetition, and manipulation that can be used in political propaganda discourse. These aspects are illustrated as follows:

4.1 The Cooperative Principle

One of the most influential contributions to the philosophy of language has been made by Paul Grice (1975). Grice was interested in the fact that the actual use of human language incorporated a kind of logic that was not logic in the logician's sense, i.e, not all language use is propositional, but displays patterns of inferencing without which the fact that linguistic communication works at all cannot be explained(Chilton and Scafner, 2002 :11).

Mey(2009 :106) states that the Grecian approach regarded cooperation as the ruling element of verbal communication. Grice(1975) argued that utterances automatically create expectations that guide the hearer

towards the speaker meaning. Thus, communication is considered as both rational and co-operative. Accordingly, Grice's co-operative principle reads as follows :

*Make your conversational contribution such as is required,
At the stage at which it occurs, by the accepted purpose or
direction of the talk exchange in which you are engaged*
(Grice,1975 :41).

He (ibid.) adds that human communicators must follow specific maxims in their communication. These maxims are as follows:

Maxims of Quantity : Make your contribution as informative as required, and no more informative than is required for the purpose of the ongoing discourse.

Maxims of Quality : Seek to say that which you know to be true, and do not say that which you know to be false, or for which you lack enough evidence.

Maxims of Relevance : Be relevant.

Maxims of Manner : Make your contribution clear and intelligible, brief and orderly, and not ambiguous.

Following these maxims, the point is that people do assume that anyone speaking to them is trying to be intelligible, relevant, speaking the truth, and telling the whole truth. However, communicators do not abide by all these maxims all the time. To illustrate, in the case of political discourse, politicians, sometimes, try to 'flout' the maxims and tend to be communicatively uncooperative. (Chilton and Scaffner, 2002:11-12).

4.2 Politeness

The notion of Face Threatening Acts (FTAs) along with mitigation and politeness strategies can be related to the practices of political talk particularly. However, the fact that politeness phenomena seem natural in everyday interaction make them the most imperceptible in political exchanges. For example, if a politician wishes his or her voters that unemployment figures are up, or inflation spiraling, then these FTAs (issuing bad news and giving warnings) are strategically formulated to lessen the affront. Furthermore, in political situations FTAs are likely to have variable values for different groups of hearers . So, the linguistic formulation of such acts should be chosen carefully (Chilton and Schaffner, 2002: 13-14).

Being within the model adopted for this study, some space need to be devoted to highlighting the theory of politeness.

First of all, politeness is a pragmatic phenomenon that is considered as important in human social interaction. It is defined as "showing awareness of another person's face"(Yule, 1985:134). The concept of "face" is introduced as a concept used to analyse politeness phenomena. Face is Goffman's idea(1967) that Brown and Levinson (1987) adapted later. Accordingly, face is defined as " the public- self image that every member wants to claim for himself". There are two kinds of face: positive and negative . Positive face is defined as the consistent image that people have for themselves, and their desire for approval. Negative face is, on the other hand, defined as the desire of not to offend others(Brown and Levinson, 1978 :66). During interaction, these two concepts are threatened to varying degrees, giving rise to the term Face Threatening Acts (FTAs). Brown and Levinson regard FTAs as those acts which run contrary to the addressee's and/or speaker's positive and/or negative face(ibid.).

In an interaction, speakers will choose from a set of five strategies which will enable them to either avoid or mitigate FTAs(ibid.).

The first strategy (bald on record) is employed when there is no risk of loss of face involved; the participants have no doubts about the communicative intention of the speaker.

The second strategy (positive politeness) happens among those who have an intimate relation among each other. It is oriented towards the addressee's positive face. Brown and Levinson (1978 :108-9) identify the following strategies :

a. Claim Common Ground(Notice, Attend to the Hearer)

Within this strategy both the speaker and the hearer belong to the same group of people who share the same wants, goals and interests . It also requires that the speaker should notice the hearer's remarkable changes i.e the hearer wants the speaker to approve of his opinions.

We had so much fun, didn't we?

As for the third strategy (Negative Politeness Strategies), the speaker shows his respect to the hearer's position and that he does not want to hinder his freedom of action. In other words, negative politeness strategies lessen the threat on the hearer's negative face(*ibid.* : 134). One of these strategies is the following:

Communicate the Speaker's Wants not to Impinge on the Hearer

This strategy satisfies the hearer's negative face through indicating that the speaker is aware of the hearer's wants. This strategy is achieved through the following :

The final strategy (Off Record politeness) is concerned with indirectness , and it is used by those people who are socially distant. This strategy includes using rhetorical questions, metaphors, and ellipsis.

4.3 Persuasion

According to O'Donnell and Kable(1982) cited in Jowett and O' Donnell (2012:32) persuasion can be defined as:

a complex, continuing, interactive process in which a sender and a receiver are linked by symbols, verbal non verbal through which the persuader attempts to influence the persuadee to adopt a change in a given attitude or behavior because the persuadee has had perceptions enlarged or changed.

The above definition emphasizes the fact that persuasion is an interactive communicative process in which the persuader attempts to influence the beliefs, attitudes and behaviours of the persuadee(Jowett and O'Donnell, 2012 :32).

McMauns(1998:9) notes that persuasion, according to Aristotle, demands three persuasive appeals:

1. **Ethos** is a Greek word which means **ethics**. It is primary to any attempt to persuade because it appeals to character. Likewise, ethos can be seen as an attempt to create credibility, that is, to appeal to people's trust.
Ethos = character and credibility.
2. **Logos** is a Greek word which means **logic** or **reason**. It is an appeal to the use of facts, statistics, figures, hard evidence and the like.
Logos= logic, facts and reason.
3. **Pathos** is a Greek word which means **feeling**. It is an appeal to shared values and emotions. As well, it is an appeal to people's heart, sympathy, love and compassion.
Pathos= shared values and emotions.

4.4 Metaphor

Metaphor has been touched upon by many rhetoricians, such as Lakoff and Johnsen (2003 :4) who elucidate that metaphor is a rhetorical device and a matter of extraordinary use of language, that is, a matter of thought or action. Moreover, Knowles and Moon(2006 :2) define metaphor as "*the use of language to refer to something other than what it was originally applied to, or what it literally means, in order to suggest some resemblance or make a connection between the two things*". So, metaphor is the use of non literal language which involves some kind of comparison or identification(*ibid.* :5).

Throughout history, metaphor has been considered as vital in political rhetoric. It has been understood in cognitive terms . Cognitively speaking, metaphor is viewed as a part of human conceptualization rather than a mere linguistic expression (Chilton, 2004 :51).

With reference to political discourse, metaphor is important due to its functions, explaining, clarifying, describing, evaluating, expressing and entertaining. These are the reasons why politicians use metaphor in their

propaganda texts . In so doing, politicians try to be effective, emotive and persuasive(Knowles and Moon , 2006 :3).

4.5 Repetition

Repetition, as a rhetorical device, has been used by politicians in their propaganda texts in order to attract audience's attentions. As such, this section attempts to explore its meaning, types and functions .

According to Cuddon and Preston (1999 :742) repetition is defined as "an essential unifying element in nearly all poetry and much prose. It may consist of sounds, particular syllables and words, phrases, stanzas, metrical patterns, ideas, allusions and shapes". Similarly, Beckson and Gans(1961 :172) define repetition as "one of the fundamental devices of art". Everything that happens more than once can be described as repetition(McArthur, 1992 :861).

Vickers(1994 :98) comments that there is no theory that can ever hold all types of repetition used in rhetoric. According to this statement, this paper highlights only those types that can most widely be used by politicians in their propaganda text :

- **Anaphora** is the "repetition of the same words or phrases at the beginning of successive phrases, clauses, sentences or lines"(Preminger and Brogan, 1993 :73). Politicians use anaphora due to its reinforcement of the meaning of words and arranges sentences in a similar way(ibid.).

-**Polysyndeton** is a term in which conjunctions are used to link a succession of words, clauses or sentences(Baldick, 2001 :199). The reason why politicians use this technique is due to its emphasis on particular items to represent the flow and continuity(Preminger and Borgan, 1993 :968).

To sum up, repetition is not used without providing various functions. According to John (2007 :13), it is used to achieve emphasis, clarification, confirmation, effectiveness, musicality and continuity.

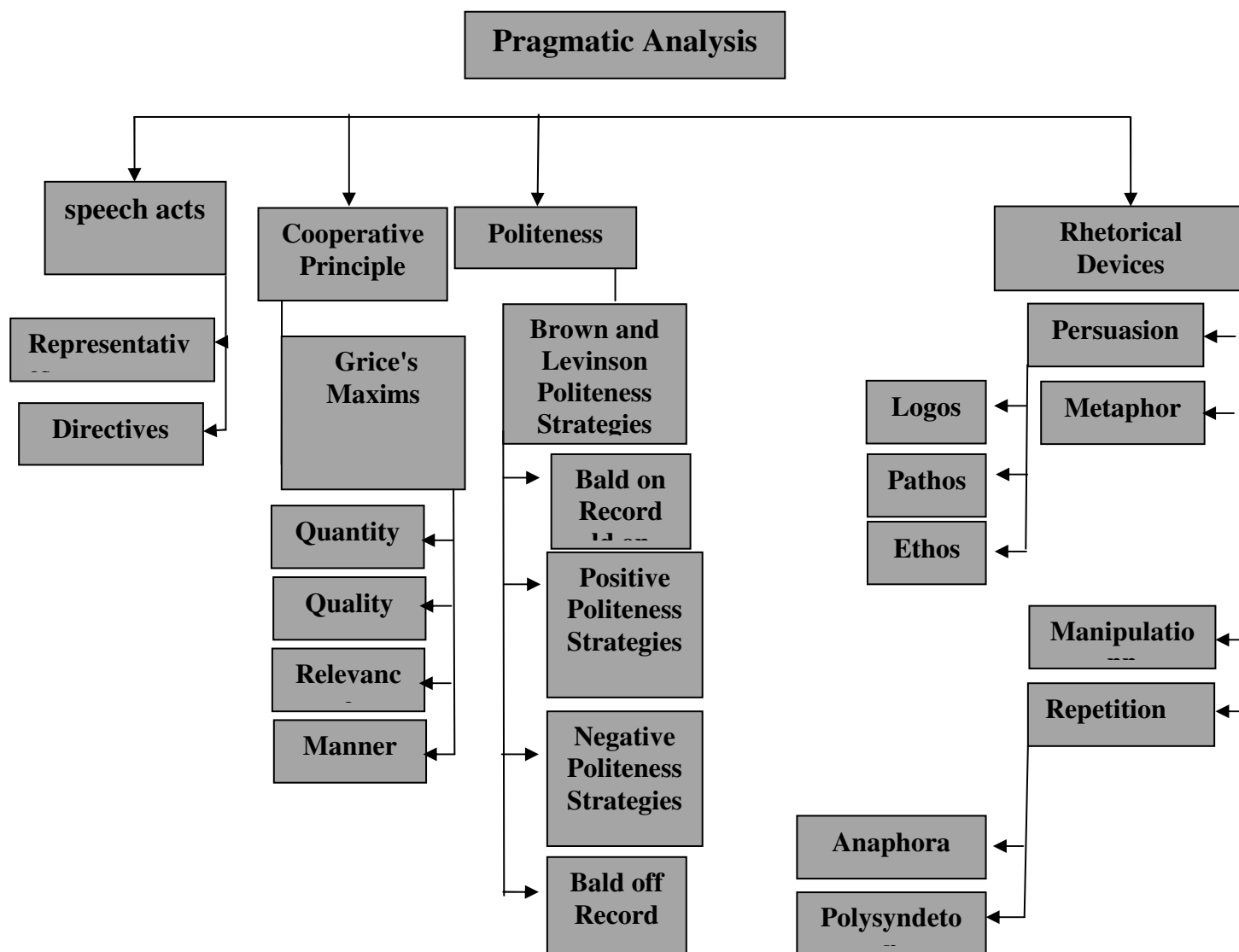
4.6 Manipulation

Generally, manipulation can be defined from three perspectives :it is a form of social power abuse, cognitive mind control and discursive interaction. Put it another way , as far as society is concerned, manipulation is "illegitimate domination confirming social inequality. Cognitively, it is mind control which involves interference with the process of understanding. Discursively, manipulation involves the forms and formats of ideological discourse, such as talking about our virtuous deeds and people's bad deeds (Van Dijk, 2006 :395).

It is worth noting that the above perspectives complement each other; firstly, manipulation takes place by text and talk. Secondly, those who are manipulated are human beings and this subsequently occurs by manipulating their minds. Thirdly, manipulation is a form of communicative interaction exercised by those who have control over people, such as politicians' manipulation of voters or readers through the use of discursive influence, i.e reasoning influence(ibid.).

Wodak(1987)(cited in Van Dijk,2006 :361) argues that manipulation is a form of persuasion. However, the difference between them is that, in persuasion, the persuadee has free will to believe and accept the persuader's argument because the former knows the intention of the latter whereas in manipulation, recipients are assigned a passive role; they are victims of manipulation. In other words, those recipients are unaware of the real intention of the manipulator.

5. The Eclectic Model



6. Data Analysis

Text(1)

Change will not come if we wait for some other person or some other time . We are the ones we've been waiting for. We are the change that we seek.

Speech Act: Representative

Obama employs the use of the speech act of statement.

Grice's Maxims

1. The Quantity Maxim

Obama talks about one thing which is change. He informs the audience that he is the change that they seek.

2. The Quality Maxim

Obama is confident enough that he is the change that American people have been waiting for.

3. The Manner Maxim

Here, Obama violates the manner maxim as he is not brief and orderly. He prolongs his speech by using nearly the same words.

4. The Relevance Maxim

Obama is relevant to the subject matter due to the fact that he sticks to one topic which is change.

Politeness

Claim Common Ground

Claiming common ground is a positive politeness strategy employed by Obama. Using this strategy, Obama wants to share the audience's wants by declaring that "*we are the change we've been waiting for*".

Rhetorical Devices

Persuasion(Pathos)

Pathos is an appeal to emotion. It is a way of convincing the audience to get emotional response. To achieve this, Obama uses the following statement ; "*we are the ones we've been waiting for, we are the change that we seek*", to evoke the emotions of his audience.

Metaphor

Metaphor, as a rhetorical device, is used to draw the attention of the audience to a particular idea and then to persuade them. Here Obama's metaphor is " we are the change that we seek". He alludes that if anyone of his audience seeks change, he will notice that change in his personality not in other persons.

Repetition

Obama uses anaphora as a way of attracting the audience attention. He says "*we are the ones we've been waiting for*", "*we are the change that we seek*".

Manipulation

Obama tries to convince his audience that he is the change that they seek.

Text (2)

If you are walking down the right path and you're willing to keep walking, eventually you will make progress.

Speech Act: Directive

Obama uses the speech act of advice . he advises his audience to walk down the right path and to continue walking to make progress.

Grice's Maxims

1. The Quantity Maxim

Obama appears to be as informative as required. He talks about progress and informs the audience that walking down the right route is the best thing to make progress.

2. The Quality Maxim

Obama obeys the quality maxim. He declares a fact: following the right path is the best thing to make progress.

3. The Manner Maxim

Obama is clear, brief, and orderly.

4. The Relevance Maxim

Obama is relevant. Only does he talk about progress and the best thing to do in order to make it.

Politeness

Bald off Record

In Obama's speech, the social distance between the speaker and the hearer can be shown clearly. The researcher's evidence for this claim is the use of the second person pronoun 'you'.

Rhetorical Devices

Persuasion(Logos)

Obama presents a reason that if the people are willing to walk down the right path and continue walking, they eventually make progress.

Repetition

Obama uses anaphora device to attract the attention of the audience by repeating the same syntactic pattern of adjacent phrases; "*if you are walking down the right path and you are willing to keep walking*".

Manipulation

Eloquence is the most prominent weapon that can be used by any successful president. Here, Obama tries to use his eloquence in a manipulative way to attract the audience's attention. Indirectly, he tries to convince them that he is the right path that should be followed.

Text (3)

We have an obligation and a responsibility to be investing in our students and our schools. We must make sure that people who have the grades, the desire and the will, but not the money, can still get the best education possible.

Speech Act: Representative

From a pragmatic perspective, Obama uses the speech act of assertion. Being responsible for students and schools, Obama asserts that the best education can be possible by those who have the grades, the desire and the will, but not the money.

Grice's Maxims

1. The Quantity Maxim

Obama's contribution is informative. It is directed to the educational people. It is necessary for those people to have the grades, desires, and the will in order to develop the field of education.

2. The Quality Maxim

Obama is certain that his responsibility should be invested in students and schools in order to get the best education possible.

3. The Manner Maxim

Obama is clear, brief and orderly.

4. The Relevance Maxim

Obama is relevant enough to deliver his message. He talks about the importance of education and the qualifications of getting it possibly.

Politeness

Claim Common Ground

Here, Obama tries to mitigate FTAs when he shares the responsibility with his audience. He says "*we have an obligation*".

Rhetorical Devices

Persuasion(Logos)

Logically speaking, Obama asserts that getting the best education can be made through those people who have the grades, the desire and the will.

Repetition

Obama uses polysyndeton to emphasize his purposes. He says "*We have an obligation and a responsibility*", "*we must make sure that people who have the grades, the desire and the will, but not the money, can still get the best education possible*".

Manipulation

Obama manipulates the audience to arouse their enthusiasm towards education. He shows his self-confidence in sharing the responsibility with the audience in order to get the best education.

Text (4)

The future rewards those who press on. I don't have time to feel sorry for myself. I don't have time to complain. I'm going to press on

Speech Act: Representative

Obama employs the use of the speech act of statement.

Grice's Maxims

1. The Quantity Maxim

Obama informs the audience that there is no time to complain or feel sorry.

2. The Quality Maxim

Obama is certain that he is going to press on instead of complaining or feeling sorry.

3. The Manner Maxim

Obama is clear and orderly when delivering his message.

4. The Relevance Maxim

Obama is relevant to the main topic which is going to press on and never complaining.

Politeness

Negative Politeness Strategies

Obama uses the strategy of communicating to the audience's wants. This is clear when he declares that "I am going to press on".

Rhetorical Devices

Persuasion(Logos)

Obama states a reason that if one wants to be rewarded, he should have to press on as there is no time to complain or think about what happened in the past.

Repetition

Obama repeats the same words at the beginning of adjacent phrases as anaphora device: "*I don't have time to feel sorry for myself, I don't have time to complain*" in order to emphasize the fact that feeling sorry and complaining are vain which he does not believe in.

Manipulation

Obama manipulates his audience in a way that suits his purposes. Since he needs more votes so he has to speak in a way that is convincing. He tries to convince them that he is looking for the future and its rewards. According to the researcher's opinion, the future's reward is to build a strong America and to have those people who are open minded and never complaining.

Text (5)

We, the people, recognize that we have responsibilities as well as rights; that our destinies are bound together; that a freedom which only asks what's in it for me, a freedom without commitment to others, a freedom without love or charity or duty or patriotism, is unworthy of our founding ideals and those who died in their defense

Speech Act: Representative

Pragmatically, Obama uses representative statements to express his aims.

Grice's Maxims

1. The Quantity Maxim

Obama is not as informative as required. He gives more than one information . He says: "*that a freedom which only asks what's in it for me, a freedom without commitment to others, a freedom without love or charity or duty or patriotism, is unworthy of our founding ideals and those who died in their defense*".

2. The Quality Maxim

Obama obeys the quality maxim. He confidently talks about his and people's responsibilities and rights towards their country. He also talks about that kind of freedom which is worthy of finding their ideals.

3. The Manner Maxim

Obama violates the manner maxim in the sense that he is not brief.

4. The Relevance Maxim

Obama is not very relevant in his speech. He talks about responsibilities, then he shifts to talk about freedom.

Politeness

Claim Common Ground

Obama tries to be in line with the audience's wants. He says "our destinies are bound together".

Rhetorical Devices

Persuasion(Ethos)

Obama tries to convince the audience of his character and credibility. He wants to emphasize the idea of togetherness and collectivity to increase his credibility. He says "that our destinies are bound together".

Metaphor

Obama here makes freedom as a person which has the ability of asking a question; "*that a freedom which only asks what's in it for me*". In doing so, he aims at attracting the audience's attention to the importance of the idea of freedom and its consequences if it is followed rightly.

Repetition

Obama repeats the word *freedom* more than once as anaphora device to emphasize its significance. In fact, Obama knows how to inflame the emotion of the audience to the idea of freedom. It is that freedom of creating an ideal way of living.

Manipulation

As a way of convincing the audience, Obama uses his skill to attract their attention and to create an atmosphere of suspense to his ideology. He plays with the word freedom by repeating it more than once and by showing its importance in American's life. "*that a freedom which only asks what's in it for me, a freedom without commitment to others, a freedom without love or charity or duty or patriotism, is unworthy of our founding ideals and those who died in their defense*".

7. Results of Analysis

This section summarizes the findings of the analysis of Barak Obama's propaganda texts.

Table (1) Analysis of the Occurrence of speech acts

Speech Acts	Percentage
Statement	60%
Advice	20%
Assertion	20%

The above table shows that Obama employs the use of such speech acts as statement, advice, and assertion in his talk.

Table (2) Analysis of the Occurrence of the Cooperative Principle and Politeness Strategies

Grice's maxims	Percentage	Flouting	Politeness Strategies	Percentage
Quantity	80%	20%	Positive Strategies	60%
Quality	100%		Negative Strategies	20%
Manner	60%	40%	Bald off Record	20%
Relevance	80%	20%		

The above table shows that Obama tries to abide by Grice's maxims and politeness strategies in order to keep his communication effective. However, the manner maxim, sometimes, is flouted (the percentage of abiding by it is amounted to 60%, and of flouting it 40%) by being so prolix in order to show their eloquence.

Table (3) The Analysis of the occurrence of Rhetorical Devices

Persuasive Appeals	Percentage	Metaphor	Repetition	Percentage	Manipulation	Percentage
Pathos	20%	40%	Anaphora	60%		100%
Logos	60%		polysendoton	40%		
Ethos	20%					

The above table shows that Obama uses different types of rhetorical devices to deliver his message. It is obvious that the persuasive appeal of logos is used more frequently than ethos and pathos. On the other hand, the use of metaphor is amounted to only 40% which shows that Obama seeks the truth more than the imaginative use of language. Additionally, Obama uses only two types of repetition in his propaganda: anaphora (60%) and polysendoton(40%). Finally, In all his propaganda texts Obama tries to manipulate the audience in order to establish his authority and to arouse the emotion of the audience.

8. Conclusions

It is concluded that:

1. The speech acts of statement, assertion, and advice, are all used in Obama's political propaganda. This is evident in the following percentages: 60%, 20%, 20% respectively. Consequently, the first hypothesis which reads: the speech of statement, assertion, and advice, can be used in political propaganda is verified.
2. The analysis of the data has shown that abiding by the cooperative principle and keeping to the politeness strategies are very important. In all the political propaganda texts, Obama abides by Grice's maxims and the politeness strategies in order to keep the communication effective. This is clear in the following percentages: quality 100%, quantity 80%, relevance 80%, manner 60%, positive strategies 60%, negative strategies 20%, bald off record 20%. Accordingly, the second hypothesis is confirmed: the cooperative principle and the politeness principle are frequently observed in political propaganda.

3. The third hypothesis which states that Persuasion, metaphor, repetition, and manipulation are the rhetorical devices used in political propaganda has also been validated.
4. The persuasive appeal of logos is used more than pathos and ethos in Obama's political propaganda. This is evident in the following percentages:60%, 20%, 20% respectively.
5. In his propaganda Obama seeks the truth of what he delivers rather than the imaginative use of language. This is indicated through the infrequency of the use of metaphor, that is amounted to 40%.
6. The repetitive device of anaphora is amounted to 60% whereas polysyndeton is amounted to 40%.
7. In issuing his propaganda, Obama resorts to the management of the audience's opinions and attitudes by the use of the manipulative power. This is obvious in its percentage, that is, 100%.

Bibliography

- Baldick, Chris. 2001. *The Concise Oxford Dictionary of Literary Terms*. (2nd ed) Oxford: Oxford University Press.
- Brown ,P. and Levinson, S. 1978. *Universals in Language Usage : Politeness Phenomena*. In: Marquez Reiter, Rosina. *Linguistic Politeness in Britain and Uruguay : A Contrastive Study of Requests and Apologies*. New York: John Benjamins B. V.
- Chilton, Paul. 2004. *Analysing Political Discourse Theory and Practice*. London: Routledge and Francis Group.
- Chilton, Paul and Schaffner, Christina. (1997). "Discourse and Politics". In Van Dijk, Teun A.(ed.). *Discourse as Social Interaction*. London : Sag, 1997, pp : 206-230.
- Chilton, Paul and Schaffner, Christina. (2002). "Chilton, Paul and Schaffner Christina (eds)2002. *Politics as Text and Talk: Analytic Approaches to Political Discourse*. Amsterdam : John Benjamins Publishing Company.
- Cuddon, J.A. and Preston, C. E. 1999. *The Penguin Dictionary of Literary Terms and Literary Theory*. (4th ed) London: Penguin.
- Ellul, J. 1964. *The Technological Society* .New York: Vintage.
- Grice, H. P. 1975. *Logic and Conversation*. In P. Cole and J. Morgan. *Syntax and Semantics :Speech Acts*. New York: Academic Press.
- John, Emaad Mohammed. 2007. *Repetition in English and Arabic: A Contrastive Study*. Unpublished M. A. Thesis. University of Baghdad.
- Jowett, Grath, S. and O'Donnell, Victoria. 2012. *Propaganda and Persuasion*. London: SAGE Publications, Inc.
- Knowles, Murray and Moon Rosamund. 2006. *Introducing Metaphor*. London: Routledge Taylor Francis Group.
- Lakoff, George and Johnsen, Mark. 2003. *Metaphors We Live*. Chicago: The University of Chicago Press.
- Lasswell, H. D. 1937. *Propaganda*. In Cain, B. A. *Propaganda Analysis : A Case Study of the U.S. Department of Education's Minority Outreach Campaign Promoting the no Child*. StillWater, Oklahoma: Oklahoma State University.
- Marshall, G. C. 1944. *What is Propaganda*. Washington :War Department Press.
- McArthur, Tom. 1992. *The Oxford Companion to the English Language*. New York: The Oxford University Press.
- McMauns, Judith. 1998. *How to Write and Deliver an Effective Speech*. London: Simon and Schuster Macmillan Company.
- Medvic, S. 2010. *Campaigns and Elections: Players and Process*. WadsWorth: Cengage Learning.
- Merril, J. C. and Lowenstein, R. L. 1971. *Media, Messages and Men: New Perspectives in Communication*. New York :Mckay.
- Preminger, Alex and Brogan, T. V. F. 1993. *The New Princeton Encyclopedia of Poetry and Poetics*. Princeton: Princeton University Press.
- Van Dijk, T. A. 2006. *Discourse and Manipulation*. London: SAGE Publication.
- Vickers, Brain. 1994.*Repetition and Emphasis in Rhetoric: Theory and Practice*. 2680. ISBN 3-8233-4682-2.
- Walton, D. 2007. *Media Argumentation, Dialectic, Persuasion, and Rhetoric*. Cambridge : Cambridge University Press.
- Yule, G. 1985. *The Study of Language*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

The IISTE is a pioneer in the Open-Access hosting service and academic event management. The aim of the firm is Accelerating Global Knowledge Sharing.

More information about the firm can be found on the homepage:

<http://www.iiste.org>

CALL FOR JOURNAL PAPERS

There are more than 30 peer-reviewed academic journals hosted under the hosting platform.

Prospective authors of journals can find the submission instruction on the following page: <http://www.iiste.org/journals/> All the journals articles are available online to the readers all over the world without financial, legal, or technical barriers other than those inseparable from gaining access to the internet itself. Paper version of the journals is also available upon request of readers and authors.

MORE RESOURCES

Book publication information: <http://www.iiste.org/book/>

Academic conference: <http://www.iiste.org/conference/upcoming-conferences-call-for-paper/>

IISTE Knowledge Sharing Partners

EBSCO, Index Copernicus, Ulrich's Periodicals Directory, JournalTOCS, PKP Open Archives Harvester, Bielefeld Academic Search Engine, Elektronische Zeitschriftenbibliothek EZB, Open J-Gate, OCLC WorldCat, Universe Digital Library, NewJour, Google Scholar

