International Journal of Linguistics and Translation Studies
Volume 7, Issue 3, 2026
Homepage: http://ijlts.org/index.php/ijlts/index
DOI: https://doi.org/10.36892/ijlts.v7i3.759

A Rhetorical Analysis of Propaganda in George Orwell's Animal Farm

Rauf Abudulai
Department of Language Education, Faculty of Education, University for Development Studies, Tamale, Ghana
Email: rabudulai@uds.edu.gh
Awudu Rafick
Department of Language Education, Faculty of Education, University for Development Studies, Tamale, Ghana
Jujugenia Awiah Wilson
Faculty of Communication and Media Studies, University for Development Studies, Tamale

How to cite:
Abudulai, R. ., Rafick, A. ., & Wilson , J. A. . (2026). A Rhetorical Analysis of Propaganda in George Orwell's Animal Farm. *International Journal of Linguistics and Translation Studies*, *7*(3). 117-142. https://doi.org/10.36892/ijlts.v7i3.759

ARTICLE HISTORY
Received: *05/03/2026*
Accepted: *20/05/2026*
Keywords: *Rhetoric; Propaganda; Political Discourse; Animal Farm; Old Major; Logos; Pathos; Ethos*

Abstract

Following studies on the prevalence of rhetoric and propaganda in political speeches and literary discourses, this study investigated the prevalence of rhetorical strategies and propaganda devices in Old Major's speech in George Orwell's Animal Farm. The study draws on Aristotle's Theory of Rhetoric (Griffin, 2000) and Edward and Miller's (1936) seven propaganda devices as its theoretical framework. Content analysis was used as the conceptual framework for data analysis. Findings from the study revealed that claim-justification and cause-and-effect reasoning anchored the logical reasoning in Old Major's speech. In addition, name-calling, glittering generalities, card stacking, and hypophora punctuated the propaganda devices in Old Major's speech. The study has implications for research, practice, and theory.

Introduction

Background to the Study

Language, like bait, serves as an effective conduit through which political language is used to influence minds and attitudes to accomplish a particular political end. Clark observes that rhetoric does the work of influence; argumentation is a rhetorical genre that attempts to do its work of influence by reasoning (cited in Perry & Brett, 2008, p. 17). Perry and Brett (2008) also argued that an argument is a form of persuasion based on reasons. Persuasion plays an indispensable role in every aspect of human discourse, be it civic, judicial, or political. Woven into the fabric of social life, persuasion refers to moments when people reach agreements and join together to accomplish a wide range of purposes and activities (Trimbur, 2008). Osborn

and Osborn (2002) assert that "persuasion" is the art of convincing others to give favourable attention to our point of view. They argued that persuaders typically have specific goals in mind: they want to influence how listeners believe or act on issues they care about. Prentice and Payne (1994) intimated that "persuasion" is intentional communication designed to produce a change in attitudes or behaviours. These attitudes are beliefs or feelings about people, ideas, or events, usually held over a long period, and they affect much of what people do. The purpose of the speech to persuade, according to Prentice and Payne (1994), is to change, create, or reinforce attitudes or behaviour — three purposes that correspond to the three types of audiences: agreeing, disagreeing, or apathetic.

Although attitudes or behavioural change is most commonly associated with persuasion, persuasion is often designed to reinforce existing attitudes or behaviours. Sometimes attitudes change with time, with exposure to new experiences. Politicians who address their supporters are reinforcing the original reasons why someone would choose to support them, as well as providing additional reasons (Freeley, 1996).

The range of persuasion is wide, ranging from the ethical to the unethical, the selfless to the selfish, the magnificent to the crass, the inspiring to the degrading. Persuaders can prey upon our vulnerability or enlighten our minds with reasoning that adds conviction to our commitments (Osborn & Osborn, 2002). Ethical persuasion is based on sound reasoning that is sensitive to the feelings and needs of listeners. Such persuasion can help us apply the knowledge and wisdom of the past to decisions we now must make. It appeals to our better nature and can improve the quality and humanity of our commitments. In all these scenarios, political language becomes the currency through which persuasion is accomplished.

Political language can be the language of power. It influences government policy and action, identifies the dominant values of the moment, and wins votes. Likewise, it is capable of making war, establishing peace, and electing presidents (Goshgarian, 2004). However, political language also reflects the political needs of its users at a particular time. Thus, it has a reputation for being flexible and ambiguous, or worse, evasive and irresponsible, as politicians shift the language to achieve their agendas (ibid., p. 155). Political language generally persuades its audience by tapping into their common beliefs, fears, anxieties, hopes, expectations, and aspirations. This evasive and unethical political language requires, in the words of Goshgarian (2004), the searchlight of scientific scrutiny to filter the fluff from the substance.

Statement of the Problem

George Orwell's Animal Farm is one of literature's most fascinating examinations of power, tyranny, and corruption. It is a scathing satire of the Russian Revolution after the Second World War. George Orwell cast Old Major as the key proponent, author, and architect of the revolution in Animal Farm. The use of language by Old Major to garner support for the revolution is fascinating and therefore requires scientific scrutiny. Studies on rhetoric and the use of propaganda have gained currency among researchers in communication and political discourse. As much as political speeches by politicians have received considerable attention, much remains to be examined in the area of literary texts such as novels, novellas, and drama. Drawing insights from propaganda studies such as Prier (2017), Hart (2016), Hobbs and McGee (2014), and others, this study seeks to fill the gap by examining the use of rhetorical

devices and propaganda by Old Major, and how his political speech succeeded in garnering support for the revolution.

Purpose of the Study

The purpose of this study is threefold: first, it seeks to examine the rhetorical strategies Old Major, as a symbolic character, employs in his speech. Second, it seeks to determine the presence or otherwise of propaganda devices in Old Major's speeches. Third, it seeks to characterise the types of propaganda in Old Major's speeches.

Significance of the Study

The significance of this study is threefold: theory, research, and practice. Theoretically, the study will authenticate and expand the frontiers of the principles espoused by Edward and Miller's (1936) seven propaganda devices. With recourse to research, the study will stimulate further studies into political discourse, whether in literary texts or spoken form, to expose the prevalence of propaganda. It is also hoped that findings from this research will contribute to the larger body of literature on propaganda studies. It is equally the researchers' hope that practitioners in communication studies will find the findings useful in their classroom instruction.

Delimitation of the Study

This study limits itself to the analysis of Old Major's speech to expose the prevalence of rhetorical devices and propaganda. It does not seek to analyse the characteristic traits of Old Major as a symbolic character, nor does it seek to examine the characterisations of the other characters in the text.

Justification for the Study

George Orwell's Animal Farm is one of the most powerful political satires that transcends time. Several decades after its publication, its message and relevance remain fascinating, and it parallels almost every political context across the globe. Its discursive political practices then and now have marked parallels in our contemporary political discourse and practice. The manipulative language that seeks to bind minds to achieve parochial interests rather than the well-being and welfare of the masses still punctuates contemporary political discourse. The symbolism in the text and its references across the world deserve our attention as rhetoricians and linguists. It is therefore profoundly significant that rhetorical analyses of such texts be conducted to guide pedagogy in political discourse, practice, and communication studies.

Research Questions

The following research questions guided the study:

- What are the rhetorical devices that characterise Old Major's speeches?
- Are there instances of propaganda in his speeches?
- What propaganda types characterise his speeches?

Review of Related Literature

In this section, related literature is reviewed on the research problems. The review is categorised under three headings: theoretical, conceptual, and empirical. Theoretically, the theory and framework that guided the study are examined. With recourse to the conceptual,

related concepts associated with the research problem are discussed. Finally, existing empirical studies on the research problem are reviewed to examine what has already been done and how they differ from the current research.

Theoretical Framework

The Aristotelian model of rhetoric (Griffin, 2000) and Edward and Miller's (1936) seven propaganda framework devices were employed for this study.

Classical Theory of Rhetoric

"Rhetoric," wrote Aristotle, "is the art of observing in a given situation the available means of persuasion" (Griffin, 2000, p. 276). He posits that the available means of persuasion are based on three kinds of rhetorical categories or proofs: logical (logos), ethical (ethos), and emotional (pathos). Logical proof comes from the line of argument in the speech; ethical proof is the way the speaker's character is revealed in the message; and emotional proof is the feeling the speech draws out of the hearers (Griffin, 2000). Some form of logos, ethos, and pathos is present in every public presentation (ibid.).

Aristotle focused on two forms of logical proof: the enthymeme and the example (Griffin, 2000). He regarded the enthymeme as the strongest of the proofs. An enthymeme is merely an incomplete version of a formal deductive syllogism (ibid.). Griffin (2000) argues that logicians might create the following syllogism from one of Martin Luther King's lines of reasoning:

Major or general premise: All people are created equal.

Minor or specific premise: I am a person.

Conclusion: I am equal to other people.

He argues that typical enthymemes, however, leave out a premise already accepted by the audience: "All men are created equal ... I am equal to other men." In terms of style, the enthymeme is more artistic than a stilted syllogistic argument. Bitzer (1958, cited in Griffin, 2000, p. 278) pointed out that Aristotle had a greater reason for advising the speaker to suppress a premise the listeners already believe: "Because they are jointly produced by the audience, enthymemes intuitively unite speaker and audience and provide the strongest possible proof ... The audience itself helps construct the proof by which it is persuaded."

Aristotle intimated that it is not enough for a speech to contain plausible arguments. The speaker, he argues, must also seem credible. Many audience impressions are formed before the speaker ever begins. As Ralph Waldo Emerson (quoted in Griffin, 2000, p. 279) cautioned, "use what language you will, you can never say anything but what you are." But Aristotle was more interested in audience perceptions shaped by what the speaker does or does not say (ibid.). In Rhetoric, he identified three qualities that build high source credibility: intelligence, character, and goodwill (ibid.).

- Perceived Intelligence. The quality of intelligence has more to do with practical wisdom and shared values than with training at Plato's Academy. Audiences judge intelligence by the overlap between their beliefs and the speaker's ideas (ibid.).
- Virtuous Character. Character has to do with the speaker's image as a good and honest person (ibid.).
- Goodwill. Goodwill is a positive judgment of the speaker's intention toward the audience. The results of sophisticated testing of audience attitudes show that Aristotle's three-

> factor theory of source credibility stands up remarkably well. Listeners think in terms of authoritativeness (intelligence) and trustworthiness (character). Sometimes goodwill seems to fold into questions of character, and at other times a new dimension of speaker dynamism or energy surfaces (ibid.).

Aristotle believed that the effective speaker must know how to stir up various emotions in the audience. He catalogued a series of opposite feelings, then explained the conditions under which each mood is experienced, and finally described how the speaker can get an audience to feel that way. Aristotle's translator, George Kennedy, claims that this analysis is "the earliest systematic discussion of human psychology" (Griffin, 2000). Consistent with present-day research on attraction, Aristotle considered similarity as the key to mutual warmth. The speaker should point out common goals, experience, attitudes, and desires. In the absence of these positive forces, a common enemy can be used to create solidarity (ibid., p. 281). We all have a built-in sense of fairness. It is easy to arouse a sense of injustice by describing an arbitrary use of power upon those who are helpless (ibid.). People admire moral virtue, power, wealth, and beauty. By demonstrating that an individual has acquired life's goods through hard work rather than mere luck, admiration increases (ibid.).

The major elements of rhetorical theory are the rhetorical situation (the elements in the act of communication), the proofs (pisteis), and the five canons of rhetoric: invention (inventio), arrangement (dispositio), style (elocutio), memory (memoria), and delivery (actio) (Covino & Jolliffe, 1995). Invention, in the opinion of Covino and Jolliffe (1995, p. 22), is "the art of generating effective material for a particular rhetorical situation." Arrangement is the art of ordering the material in a text so that it is most appropriate for the audience's needs and the purpose the text is designed to accomplish. Style is the art of producing sentences and words that will make an appropriate, favourable impression (ibid.). "The canon of memory," they argued, "has diminished in importance" (ibid., p. 21). Delivery was once the art of using the voice and body effectively when speaking. Today, the principles of delivery are still being developed (Covino & Jolliffe, 1995).

Stephanie and James (2011) argued that invention focuses on discovering what one wants or has to say — finding an idea, a line of thought, or an argument one might use in a speech. Brett and Perry (2008) are of the view that invention amounts to planning what one will say, and is the process that leads to the development and refinement of an argument. Griffin (2000) argued that invention is the generation of effective enthymemes and examples for a speech, noting that the speaker draws on both specialised knowledge about the subject and general lines of reasoning common to all kinds of speeches.

Arrangement accounts for the basic parts of a speech — introduction, body, and conclusion — as well as the order in which points are presented (Stephanie & James, 2011). Arrangement is the organisation of the invented matter in a sequence that will be clear and persuasive to the audience (Brett & Perry, 2008). Aristotle (cited in Griffin, 2000) stated that the introduction should capture attention, establish credibility, and make clear the purpose of the speech, while the conclusion should remind listeners of what has been said and leave the audience with a favourable impression.

Style involves the language one uses to bring a speech's content to life (Stephanie & James, 2011). Style deals with putting the invented material in the best words and word order (syntax); it includes deciding whether to use flourishes such as repetition, parallelism, rhythm,

alliteration, irony, metaphor, and other figures of speech (Brett & Perry, 2008). Aristotle (cited in Griffin, 2000) believed that metaphor especially has clarity, sweetness, and strangeness.

The canons of memory and delivery remind us that rhetoric was originally the art of speaking well. Once a rhetor had invented and arranged ideas and fitted them out in the best words and syntax, the next task was to commit the speech to memory and deliver it effectively. Delivery, in effect, is when a speech goes public — when it is presented to an audience. Delivery involves how one uses voice, gestures, and body movements when giving a speech (Stephanie & James, 2011).

Aristotle also identifies three genres of civic rhetoric: forensic (also known as judicial, concerned with determining truth or falsity of past events), deliberative (also known as political, concerned with determining whether particular actions should or should not be taken in the future), and epideictic (also known as ceremonial, concerned with praise and blame, values, and demonstrating beauty and skill in the present) (Griffin, 2000).

Scholars are puzzled by Aristotle's failure to define the exact meaning of enthymeme, his confusing system of classifying metaphor, and the blurred distinctions between deliberative (political) and epideictic (ceremonial) speaking (Griffin, 2000). Some present-day critics (Enos & Agnew, 1988) are bothered by Aristotle's view of the audience as passive. Griffin (2000) also indicated that, in the eyes of some readers, Aristotle was ambivalent on a basic ethical issue: Book One of Rhetoric says that it is wrong to play on the emotions of an audience, yet Book Three says that impression management is the central task of the speaker. Despite the shortcomings and perplexities of this work, it remains a foundational text for scientists and humanists alike (ibid.).

In this study, the researcher examines how the linguistic features embedded in the data reflect the rhetorical appeals of logos, pathos, and ethos. Since the present research focuses on persuasive strategies, it will be fascinating to see how these different proofs manifest in Old Major's selected speech in George Orwell's Animal Farm. The presence of these Aristotelian persuasive proofs in any speech becomes an acid test of the persuasive means available to all persuasive speakers, as indicated by Aristotle.

Edward and Miller's Seven Propaganda Devices

Edward and Miller (1936, cited in Hobbs & McGee, 2014; Goshgarian, 2004) posit that there are seven common propaganda devices that politicians use to bend the truth and manipulate the minds of their audience: (1) Name-Calling Device, (2) Glittering Generalities, (3) Transfer, (4) Testimonial, (5) Plain Folks, (6) Card Stacking, and (7) Band Wagon.

"Name-calling" is a device to make us form a judgment without examining the evidence on which it should be based. Here, the propagandist appeals to our hate and fear by giving "bad names" to those individuals, groups, nations, races, policies, practices, beliefs, and ideals that he would have condemned and rejected (ibid.). "Glittering Generalities" is a device by which the propagandist identifies his programme with virtue by the use of "virtue words," appealing to our emotions of love, generosity, and brotherhood (ibid.). He uses words like "truth," "freedom," "honour," "liberty," "social justice," "public service," and "democracy" — words that suggest shining ideals. Glittering Generalities thus lead us to accept and approve without examining the evidence.

Transfer is a device by which the propagandist carries over the authority, sanction, and prestige of something we respect and revere to something he would have us accept (Goshgarian, 2004). A testimonial is a device to make us accept anything from a patent medicine to a programme of national policy; this device can also work in reverse through counter-testimonials (ibid.). "Plain Folks" is used by politicians, labour leaders, businessmen, and even ministers and educators to win our confidence by appearing to be people like ourselves (ibid.). Card Stacking employs all the arts of deception to win our support, stacking the cards against the truth through under-emphasis and over-emphasis to evade issues and facts (ibid.). "Band Wagon" is designed to make us follow the crowd, to accept the propagandist's programme en masse, appealing to the desire to "follow the crowd" (ibid., p. 160).

Conceptual Framework

Persuasion and Argumentation

Clark observes that rhetoric does the work of influence; argumentation is a rhetorical genre that attempts to do its work of influence by reasoning (cited in Perry & Brett, 2008, p. 17). Persuasion plays an indispensable role in every aspect of human discourse, be it civic, judicial, or political (Trimbur, 2008). Prentice and Payne (1994) intimated that "persuasion" is intentional communication designed to produce a change in attitudes or behaviours. The purpose of the speech to persuade is to change, create, or reinforce attitudes or behaviour — three purposes corresponding to the three types of audience: agreeing, disagreeing, or apathetic.

A speech that intends to produce change is traditionally associated with persuasion. Because attitudes and behaviours are so closely tied, an attitude change usually produces behavioural change, even if that is not the primary goal of the speech (ibid.). Sometimes attitudes change with time, with exposure to new experiences. Politicians who address their supporters are reinforcing the original reasons why someone would choose to support them, as well as providing additional reasons (Freeley, 1996).

Kuhlman and Barky (1980) noted that one way to make persuasive writing more convincing is to use persuasive words and phrases. For instance, words such as "should" and "must" are stronger and therefore more persuasive than words such as "could" and "might" (ibid., p. 96). The use of such emphatic lexemes establishes the ethos of the speaker and lends credibility. They also assert that adding clear, interesting, persuasive details and expanding sentences with prepositional phrases makes one's argument more convincing (ibid.).

The Greek word that Aristotle uses to describe means of persuasion is pisteis, often translated as "proof," but this word also means "conviction, belief, trust, evidence, or assurance" — the same word used in the New Testament for "faith." So, the means of persuasion, or pisteis, are how one builds an audience's trust or faith in the message (Brett et al., 2008). Aristotle calls one's character "the controlling factor in persuasion" (cited in Brett et al., 2008, p. 56). He used the Greek word "ethos" to describe a persuasive strategy built on trust. Brett et al. (2008) noted that we generally trust people who are knowledgeable and experienced, decent, fair, reliable and honourable, and who demonstrate goodwill toward others.

Prentice and Payne (1994) also argued that an audience may be persuaded by the way they perceive the speaker. When audience members trust a speaker, they will be more willing to be persuaded (ibid.). The speaker's character is traditionally judged according to three

qualifications: expertise, perceived good intentions, and trustworthiness (ibid.). Brett et al. (2008) argued that gaining someone's trust and influencing readers' emotions also constitute powerful means of persuasion. Aristotle uses the Greek word "pathos," meaning "emotion," to describe a strategy of persuasion that appeals to the emotions. Aronson (1999, cited in Brett et al., 2008) asserts that a message that is "primarily" emotional is more persuasive than a message that is "primarily" logical. People may change their minds because of a logical argument, but pathos is more likely to cause them to change their behaviour (Brett et al., 2008).

In his Art of Rhetoric, Aristotle discusses anger and mildness; friendship and enmity; fear and boldness; shame and shamelessness; gratitude; pity and indignation; envy and emulation (Brett et al., 2008). Emotions put one in another state of mind. Placed at the beginning of an argument, an emotional appeal can catch the reader's interest and predispose them to a favourable attitude. Placed at the end, an emotional appeal may move readers to action (ibid.).

Forms of Argument

Arguments, according to Wood (1995), appear in virtually any context in which human beings interact and hold divergent views about topics that are at issue. She views argument as a perspective, a point of view that people adopt to identify, interpret, analyse, communicate, and try to reach settlements or conclusions about subjects that are at issue (ibid.). In writing, Osten and Reinking (2007) contend that an argument is a paper, grounded in logic and structured evidence, that attempts to convince the reader — or listener — to accept an opinion, take some action, or do both. "Argument," they posit, "is also a process during which you explore an issue fully, considering different perspectives, assumptions, reasons, and evidence to reach your informed position" (ibid., p. 201).

Wood (1995) identified eight different forms of argument:

- Debate, with participants on both sides trying to win.
- Courtroom argument, with lawyers pleading before a judge and jury.
- Dialectic, with people taking opposing views and finally resolving the conflict.
- Single-perspective argument, with one person arguing to convince a mass audience.
- One-on-one everyday argument, with one person trying to convince another.
- Academic inquiry, with one or more people examining a complicated issue.
- Negotiation, with two or more people working to reach consensus.
- Internal argument, or working to convince yourself.

The current study is situated in the single-perspective form of argument, where Old Major seeks to convince a mass audience.

Empirical Studies

Prier (2017) demonstrated how social media is a tool for modern information-age warfare, building his analysis on three distinct topics: social networking, propaganda, and news and information sharing. He used two case studies to show how state and non-state actors use social media to employ time-tested propaganda techniques. The spread of the propaganda message is accomplished by tapping into an existing narrative, then amplifying it with a network of automatic "bot" accounts to force the social media platforms' algorithm to recognise

that message as a trending topic. His findings revealed that coercion and persuasion are decisive factors in information warfare.

Hart (2016) noted that China Dream art is being used not only to create a new source of legitimacy for the Communist Party but also to establish a cult of personality around President Xi Jinping. The paper draws on primary photographic evidence collected during field research across five cities in China and on ancient Confucian concepts to build a cult of personality around Xi as a means of garnering support and maintaining power. Whereas Hart's (2016) study projects propaganda of nationalism and patriotism, the current study reveals propaganda of hatred, aggression, and oppression as narrated by Old Major in George Orwell's Animal Farm.

Hobbs and McGee (2014) examined the origins of teaching and learning about propaganda, specifically examining instructional materials produced in the 1930s by the Institute for Propaganda Analysis (IPA). They compared the popular list of seven propaganda techniques to a less well-known list, the ABCs of Propaganda Analysis. They observed that the seven propaganda techniques, rooted in ancient rhetoric, have endured as the dominant approach to exploring persuasion and propaganda in secondary English education. The current study draws on a hybrid approach of the seven propaganda devices and Aristotle's Theory of Rhetoric as a guide.

Black (2001) explores the shifting definitions of propaganda, considering the social psychology and semantics of propaganda in the sense that our ethics are shaped by and reflect our belief systems, values, and language behaviours. Black (2001) redefined propaganda in a way that should inform further studies of the ethics of this persuasive component of modern society.

Methodology

This study draws on the Aristotelian theory of rhetoric (Griffin, 2000) and Edward and Miller's (1936, cited in Hobbs & McGee, 2014; Goshgarian, 2004) propaganda devices. The text sample was Old Major's speech, which he delivered to his fellow animals to incite them against Mr. Jones and his men. The text was numbered for easy reference and analysis, and then analysed in terms of rhetoric and manipulative language. The summaries of the rhetorical devices and propaganda were arranged in tabular form.

Description and Treatment of Data

Description of Data

The text is an extract from George Orwell's Animal Farm delivered by Old Major, one of the key and major characters in the text. It is a prototypical satire that seeks to chronicle the failures of dystopian communist regimes. The book was published in 1945 and authored by George Orwell under the pseudonym Eric Blair.

Treatment of Data

The researcher first extracted Old Major's speech from the novel Animal Farm. The speech was typed and given line numbers for easy reference and analysis. The text was then read closely to establish the various instances of rhetoric and manipulative language that manifest propaganda. The rhetorical devices and instances of propaganda were then organised into themes and patterns.

Plot of the Novel

George Orwell's Animal Farm is both an allegory and a political satire that satirises the Russian Revolution of 1917 with its initial promise of socio-economic and political emancipation, and its subsequent disillusionment. At the literal level, the author chronicles how a poorly run Manor Farm near Willingdon, England, is set for rebellion from its ill-treated animal populace by an alcoholic farmer, Mr. Jones. One night, the venerable and oldest boar, Old Major, holds a conference at which he incites the animals to revolt against Mr. Jones and his associates. At this meeting, he also teaches the animals a revolutionary song called "Beasts of England."

After the demise of Old Major, two young pigs, Snowball and Napoleon, take over the leadership and stage a revolt, driving Mr. Jones and his men off the farm. They adopt the "Seven Commandments of Animalism," which become their working constitution. Of all the provisions, the most important is "All animals are equal." Snowball teaches the animals to read and write, while Napoleon educates the puppies on the principles of Animalism.

The pigs assumed the role of leadership and set aside special food items for their health. Following an unsuccessful attempt by Mr. Jones and his men to retake the farm — later dubbed the "Battle of the Cowshed" — Snowball announces his plans to modernise the farm by building a windmill. Napoleon disputes this idea, and matters come to a head, culminating in Napoleon's dogs chasing Snowball away and Napoleon declaring himself supreme commander.

Napoleon enacts changes to the governance structure of the farm, replacing meetings with a committee of pigs. Through a young pig named Squealer, Napoleon claims that Snowball was only trying to win animals to his side. The animals work harder with the promise of easier lives with the windmill. When the windmill collapses after a violent storm, Napoleon blames Snowball and begins to purge the farm of animals he accuses of consorting with his old rival.

Napoleon gradually smears Snowball, eventually accusing him of collaboration with Mr. Jones, while falsely representing himself as the main hero of the Battle of the Cowshed. "Beasts of England" is replaced with "Animal Farm," while an anthem glorifying Napoleon is composed and sung. Napoleon then conducts a second purge, during which many animals accused of helping Snowball are executed by Napoleon's dogs.

Despite their hardships, the animals are easily placated by Napoleon's retort that they are better off than under Mr. Jones, as well as by the sheep's continual bleating of "four legs good, two legs bad." Mr. Frederick, a neighbouring farmer, attacks the farm using blasting powder to blow up the restored windmill. Although the animals win the battle, many are wounded, including Boxer the workhorse. Boxer eventually collapses while working on the windmill and is taken away in a knacker's van. Napoleon had engineered the sale of Boxer to the knacker, using the proceeds to buy whisky for himself and his inner circle.

Years pass, another windmill is constructed, and the farm earns income. However, the ideals Snowball discussed — electric lighting, heating, and running water — are forgotten. The pigs start to resemble humans, walking upright, carrying whips, drinking alcohol, and wearing clothes. The Seven Commandments are abridged to one phrase: "All animals are equal, but some animals are more equal than others." Napoleon holds a dinner party for the pigs and local farmers, abolishes the revolutionary traditions, and restores the name "The Manor Farm."

When the animals outside look at the pigs and men, they can no longer distinguish between the two.

Analysis of Data

Old Major began his speech by addressing his audience as "comrades." The use of this epithet in line one signals to his audience a strong bond of ideological relationship and brotherhood between himself and his audience. Old Major strategically delayed his main purpose of addressing his audience to enable him to drum home his message effectively through the use of rhetorical appeals: pathos and ethos.

First, Old Major appealed to the emotions (pathos) of his audience when he noted in line two: "I do not think ... that I shall be with you for many months longer, and before I die, I feel I must pass on to you such wisdom ..." Here, Old Major positioned himself as a typical dying father giving his last sermon to his children. This image of his impending death tends to stir the emotional chord of his audience.

Second, Old Major sought to establish his ethos before his audience through the use of the first-person pronoun "I." Through repetition, we see this pronoun in the following parallel structures:

> "I have had a long life ...
>
> I have had much time for thought
>
> I understand the nature of life on this earth ..."

The use of this first-person pronoun couched in parallelism seeks to portray Old Major as a person of worth, wisdom, and substance who deserves to be listened to.

Old Major's claim in line four — "I have had a long life" — presupposes that he is arguably the oldest animal on Manor Farm. One therefore draws the inference that his old age is associated with wisdom. "I have had much time for thought ..." also in line four presupposes that he has more experience than most of the animals. We see this credibility build into a crescendo in line five when he notes: "... I understand the nature of life on this earth as well as any animal now living."

With the use of the adverbial "now" in line seven, Old Major shifts his attention from establishing his credibility to the main idea he wishes to convey. Through the use of a series of hypophora — "What is the nature of this life of ours?" — Old Major sought to stimulate the interest of his audience and prompt them to pay heed to his message. Old Major provided the anthypophora to the hypophorical questions:

> "... our lives are miserable, laborious and short. We are born, we are given just so much food as will keep the breath in our bodies ..."

These anthypophora seek to chronicle the horrific nature of the animals' lives on Manor Farm and appeal to the emotions of his audience to bring about a change of mind and attitude. We see this in lines 7 to 12:

> 7. "Now, comrades, what is the nature of this life of ours? Let us face it, our lives are miserable,
>
> 8. laborious and short. We are born, we are given just so much food as will keep the breath in our

9. bodies, and those of us who are capable of it are forced to work to the last atom of our strength

10. and the very instant that our usefulness has come to an end we are slaughtered with hideous

11. cruelty. No animal in England knows the meaning of happiness or leisure after he is a year old.

12. No animal in England is free. The life of an animal is misery and slavery: that is the plain truth."

In line 7, the words miserable, laborious, and short reveal the gruelling ordeal the animals go through on Manor Farm. "... we are given just so much food as will keep the breath in our bodies ..." presupposes the anguish of starvation that the animals endure. Beyond this starvation, the animals are forced to work to the last atom of their strength (line 9), presupposing servitude. The phrase "... slaughtered with hideous cruelty" paints a horrific mental image in the minds of the audience. Old Major seeks to arouse the emotions of his audience to rise against their oppressors.

We see another hypophorical question in lines 13 and 14: "... But is this simply part of the order of nature? Is it because this land of ours is so poor that it cannot afford a decent life to those who dwell upon it?" We see the corresponding anthypophora in lines 14 to 18:

14. "No, comrades, a thousand times no! The soil of

15. England is fertile, its climate is good, it is capable of affording food in abundance to an

16. enormously greater number of animals than now inhabit it. This single farm of ours would

17. support a dozen horses, twenty cows, hundreds of sheep — and all of them living in comfort and

18. in dignity that are now almost beyond our imagining."

This display of knowledge of the potentials of England's climate and fertile land helps to establish the ethos of Old Major as a man of integrity and trust before his audience.

In line 18, Old Major uses another hypophorical question: "Why then do we continue in this miserable condition?" This seeks to divert the attention of his audience to suit his propagandist intentions. Drawing on name-calling as a propaganda device, Old Major labelled man as a thief: "... nearly the whole of the produce of our labour is stolen from us by human beings" (lines 19 to 20). He further labelled man as the real enemy they (the animals) have.

Through hasty generalisation, Old Major posits that man should be "removed from the scene, and the root cause of hunger and overwork will be abolished forever" (line 22) — an emphatic declaration that would later never materialise.

From lines 23 to 27, Old Major gives a vivid, contrastive image of man on one hand and the animals on the other, using logos (logical reasoning) to portray the dichotomy between man and the animals. In line 23, Old Major asserts a claim and a series of premises as justification:

Claim: "Man is the only creature that consumes without producing."

Premise 1: He does not give milk.

Premise 2: He does not lay eggs.

Premise 3: He is too weak to pull the plough.

Premise 4: He cannot run fast enough to catch the rabbit.

Conversely, Old Major uses the conjunction "yet" to demonstrate how, despite being weak, man is the "Lord of all the animals." Here again, the use of logos in the structure of the argument is apparent:

Claim: He is the Lord of all animals.

Premise 1: He sets them (animals) to work.

Premise 2: He gives back to them the bare minimum that will prevent them from starving.

Premise 3: And the rest he keeps for himself.

In Premise 1, the declarative sentence "he sets them to work" demonstrates man's infinite power as the Lord of the animals. In Premise 2, Old Major portrays an image of acute starvation of the animals. In line 26, Old Major also portrays man with insatiable greed: "he keeps the rest of the food for himself." Also in line 26, Old Major establishes the credibility of the animals as the most productive on Manor Farm, and yet they do not live long enough to enjoy the fruits of their labour:

"Our labour tills the soil,

Our dung fertilises it."

On the contrary, Old Major noted that despite these contributions, "there is not one of us that owns more than his bare skin."

From lines 27 to 35, Old Major draws on a series of rhetorical questions and hypophorical questions with corresponding anthypophora in addressing members of his audience. He does this with the use of instantiation as a testimonial propaganda device to incite his audience to act against man. We see these instantiations in: "You cows that I see ..." (line 27), "And you hens ..." (line 30), and "And you, Clover ..." (line 32).

Rhetorical question: "You cows that I see before me, how many thousands of gallons of milk have you given during this last year?"

Hypophorical question: "And what has happened to that milk which should have been breeding up sturdy calves?"

Anthypophora: "Every drop of it has gone down the throats of our enemies." (lines 29 to 30)

Rhetorical question: "And you hens, how many eggs have you laid in this last year?" (lines 30 to 31)

Hypophorical question: "... and how many of those eggs ever hatched into chickens?" (line 31)

Anthypophora: "The rest have all gone to the market to bring in money for Jones and his men." (lines 31 to 32)

Hypophorical question: "And you, Clover, where are those four foals you bore ..." (lines 32 to 33)

Anthypophora: "Each was sold at a year old." (lines 33 to 34)

From lines 36 to 38, Old Major establishes his ethos to sound convincing before his audience. He noted:

"For myself, I do not grumble, for I am one of the lucky ones.
I am twelve years old and have had over four hundred children.
Such is the natural life of a pig."

Here, we see a sense of altruism in Old Major, as he yearns for liberation and a better life for the animals even though he has already reached his natural life span and was blessed with over four hundred children. With this, Old Major has demonstrated goodwill before his audience. From lines 38 to 40, Old Major draws on emotional appeal to incite his audience to action:

"But no animal escapes the cruel knife in the end.
You young porkers who are sitting in front of me,
every one of you will scream your lives out at the
block within a year."

"But no animal escapes the cruel knife in the end" presupposes how the animals are slaughtered by Mr. Jones on Manor Farm. By this, Old Major creates a mental image of horror in the minds of his audience and seeks to touch their emotional chord.

Old Major then made a clarion call to all the animals to rise for liberation: "To that horror we all must come — cows, pigs, hens, sheep, and everyone."

From lines 41 to 44, Old Major resorts to card stacking as he intimated:

"Even the horses and the dogs have no better fate. You, Boxer, the very day that
those great muscles of yours lose their power, Jones will sell you to the knacker,
who will cut your throat and boil you down for the foxhounds.
As for the dogs, when they grow old and toothless, Jones ties
a brick around their necks and drowns them in the nearest pond."

Here, Old Major employs all the arts of deception to win the support of the animals. He lets half-truths masquerade as truth. In the words of Goshgarian (2004), the propagandist — in this case, Old Major — draws a red herring across the trail to confuse and divert those in quest of facts he does not want revealed.

In line 45, Old Major's rhetorical question — "Is it not crystal clear, then, comrades, that all the evils of this life of ours spring from the tyranny of human beings?" — seeks to portray man as evil and tyrannical. The name-calling device is apparent here, as Old Major appeals to the animals' sense of hate and fear by giving bad names to Mr. Jones and his men. After this, Old Major gives them compelling reason to act and "get rid of man" so that "the produce of their labour would be their own."

Old Major again draws on glittering generalities to stir the emotions of the animals to act. We see this in line 47: "Almost overnight, we could become rich and free." The use of the adjectives "rich" and "free" represents shining ideals that appeal to the emotions of love, generosity, and brotherhood of the animals.

In line 47, we see another hypophorical question which seeks to give a sense of direction as to what would bring the desired liberation:

Hypophorical question: "What then must we do?"

We see the corresponding anthypophora from lines 47 to 53:

> "Almost overnight, we could become rich and free. What then must we do? Why, work night and day, body and soul, for the overthrow of the human race! That is my message to you, comrades: Rebellion! I do not know when that Rebellion will come, it might be in a week or a hundred years, but I know, as surely as I see this straw beneath my feet, that sooner or later justice will be done. Fix your eyes on that, comrades, throughout the short remainder of your lives! And above all, pass on this message of mine to those who come after you, so that future generations shall carry on the struggle until it is victorious."

Old Major prefaces the hypophorical question with another glittering generality: "Almost overnight we could become rich and free." This tends to intrinsically motivate and incite the emotions of the animals to rise to the clarion call.

From lines 54 to 58, Old Major sermonises on the virtues that would foster brotherhood and comradeship among the animal fraternity:

> "And remember, comrades, your resolutions must never falter. No argument must lead you astray. Never listen when they tell you that Man and the animals have a common interest, that the prosperity of one is the prosperity of the others. It is all lies. Man serves the interests of no creature except himself. And among us animals, let there be perfect unity, perfect comradeship in the struggle. All men are enemies. All animals are comrades."

The repetition of the emphatic modal "must" underscores the relevance of their unity and comradeship. The emphatic adverb "never" reinforces the enmity between man and the animals. The repetition of "perfect" in line 57 also underscores the cadence of unity in their struggle for liberation. The use of parallelism in line 58 to distinguish man from the animals is apparent:

> "All men are enemies.
>
> All animals are friends."

From lines 63 to 70, after name-calling and demonising man as evil, Old Major gives a series of advice and spells out the dos and don'ts of the animals after man has been overthrown. From lines 80 to 108, Old Major draws on glittering generalities and name-calling to convince his audience to envisage a blissful life after the overthrow of man. The whole song is structured into seven stanzas.

In the first stanza, Old Major calls upon all the animals of England, Ireland, and every land and clime to pay heed to his message. He does this through the repetition of the epithet "Beasts" in the parallel structure of line 81: "Beasts of England, beasts of Ireland." This repetition underscores his clarion call to "hearken to his joyful tidings of the golden future time." The phrases "joyful tidings" and "golden future time" in lines 83 and 84 illustrate glittering generalities, presupposing a prosperous and dignified life for the animals after man is overthrown.

In the second stanza, in lines 85 and 86, Old Major indicates the certainty of the fate of man:

"Soon or late, the day is coming

Tyrant man shall be o'erthrown."

The use of the adjective "tyrant" in line 86 illustrates name-calling. He does this to create a bad image of man in the minds of the animals and to incite them to rise against Mr. Jones and his men. The modal "shall" indicates the certainty of Old Major's conviction that man shall be overthrown. Old Major in this stanza seeks to create cause-and-effect reasoning: when man is overthrown, the effect is seen in lines 87 and 88.

And the fruitful fields of England

Shall be trodden by beasts alone.

In the third stanza, Old Major draws on glittering generalities to appeal to the emotions of the animals to revolt against man:

Rings shall vanish from our noses,

And the harness from our back,

Bit and spur shall rust forever,

Cruel whips no more shall crack.

These expressions appeal to the animals' emotion of love. Old Major does this to make the animals form a judgment to reject Mr. Jones and his men, and to chronicle how the suffering of the animals will end after man is overthrown.

In the fourth and fifth stanzas, Old Major further deploys glittering generalities to underscore the fruits of their labour after man is overthrown:

93. Riches more than mind can picture,

94. Wheat and barley, oats and hay,

95. Clover, beans and mangel-wurzels

96. Shall be ours upon that day.

97. Bright will shine the fields of England,

98. Purer shall its waters be,

99. Sweeter yet shall blow its breezes

100. On the day that sets us free.

In stanza six, Old Major calls upon all the animals to "toil for freedom's sake." In the seventh and final stanza, Old Major repeats his call for the animals to pay heed to his message and spread his "tidings of the golden future time."

Summaries

Table 1. Hypophora and Anthypophora

S/N	Hypophorical	Line	Anthypophora	Lines
1	Now, comrades, what is the nature of this life of ours?	7	Our lives are miserable, laborious, and short.	7–10
2	But is this part of the order of nature?	13	No, comrades, a thousand times no!	14

S/N	Hypophorical	Line	Anthypophora	Lines
3	Is it because this land of ours is so poor that it cannot afford a decent life to those who dwell upon it?	13–14	The soil of England is fertile, its climate is good, it is capable of affording food in abundance to ...	14–18
4	Why then do we continue in this miserable condition?	18–19	Because nearly the whole of the produce of our labour is stolen from us by human beings.	19–20
5	You cows that I see before me, how many thousands of gallons of milk have you given during this last year? And what has happened to that milk which should have been breeding up sturdy calves?	27–29	Every drop of it has gone down the throats of our enemies.	29–30
6	And you hens, how many eggs have you laid in this last year, and how many of those eggs ever hatched into chickens?	30–31	The rest have all gone to the market to bring in money for Jones and his men.	31–32
7	And you, Clover, where are those four foals you bore, who should have been the support and pleasure of your old age?	32–33	Each was sold at a year old — you will never see one of them again.	33–34
8	What then must we do?	47	... work night and day, body and soul, for the overthrow of the human race!	47–48

Table 2. Examples of Pathos in the Speech

S/N	Examples	Lines
1	Our lives are miserable, laborious and short.	7, 8
2	... we are given just so much food as will keep the breath in our bodies, and those of us who are capable of it are forced to work to the last atom of our strength.	8, 9
3	... we are slaughtered with hideous cruelty.	10, 11

S/N	Examples	Lines
4	No animal in England knows the meaning of happiness or leisure after he is a year old.	11
5	No animal in England is free.	12
6	The life of an animal is misery and slavery.	12
7	Our labour tills the soil, our dung fertilises it, and yet there is not one of us that owns more than his bare skin.	26, 27
8	He sets them to work, he gives back to them the bare minimum that will prevent them from starving, and the rest he keeps for himself.	25, 26
9	And even the miserable lives we lead are not allowed to reach their natural span.	36
10	But no animal escapes the cruel knife in the end.	38, 39
11	You young porkers who are sitting in front of me, every one of you will scream your lives out at the block within a year.	39, 40
12	You, Boxer, the very day that those great muscles of yours lose their power, Jones will sell you to the knacker, who will cut your throat and boil you down for the foxhounds.	41, 42, 43
13	As for the dogs, when they grow old and toothless, Jones ties a brick round their necks and drowns them in the nearest pond.	43, 44

Table 3. Logos-Based Arguments in the Speech

S/N	Claim	Justification	Lines
1	Let us face it, our lives are miserable, laborious and short.	We are born, we are given just so much food as will keep the breath in our bodies, and those of us who are capable of it are forced to work to the last atom of our strength and the very instant that our usefulness has come to an end we are slaughtered with hideous cruelty. No animal in England knows the meaning of happiness or leisure after he is a year old. No animal in England is free. The life of an animal is misery and slavery: that is the plain truth.	7–12
2	Man is the only creature that consumes without producing.	He does not give milk; he does not lay eggs; he is too weak to pull the plough; he cannot run fast enough to catch rabbits.	23–24

S/N	Claim	Justification	Lines
3	I do not grumble.	For I am one of the lucky ones. I am twelve years old and have had over four hundred children. Such is the natural life of a pig.	37–38
4	Even the horses and the dogs have no better fate.	You, Boxer, the very day that those great muscles of yours lose their power, Jones will sell you to the knacker, who will cut your throat and boil you down for the foxhounds. As for the dogs, when they grow old and toothless, Jones ties a brick round their necks and drowns them in the nearest pond.	41–44
5	Riches more than mind can picture.	Wheat and barley, oats and hay, Clover, beans and mangel-wurzels, Shall be ours upon that day.	93–96

Table 4. Cause-and-Effect Reasoning in the Speech

S/N	Cause	Effect	Lines
1	I think I may say that I understand the nature of life on this earth as well as any animal now living.	I have had a long life. I have had much time for thought as I lay alone in my stall.	4–6
2	Tyrant Man shall be o'erthrown.	And the fruitful fields of England shall be trod by beasts alone. Rings shall vanish from our noses, and the harness from our back, bit and spur shall rust forever, cruel whips no more shall crack.	86–92

Table 5. Ethos in the Speech

S/N	Examples	Lines
1	... but before I die, I feel it my duty to pass on to you such wisdom as I have acquired.	3, 4
2	I have had a long life.	4
3	I have had much time for thought as I lay alone in my stall.	4, 5
4	I may say that I understand the nature of life on this earth as well as any animal now living.	5, 6
5	For myself I do not grumble, for I am one of the lucky ones.	36, 37

S/N	Examples	Lines
6	I am twelve years old and have had over four hundred children.	37, 38
7	Such is the natural life of a pig.	38

Table 6. Propaganda Device — Name-Calling in the Speech

S/N	Example	Line
1	Man is the only real enemy we have. (enemy)	21
2	Man is the only creature that consumes without producing. (liability)	23
3	Every drop of it has gone down the throats of our enemies. (enemies)	29, 30
4	All the evils of this life of ours spring from the tyranny of human beings. (tyrant)	45, 46
5	Tyrant man shall be o'erthrown. (tyrant)	86
6	... the produce of our labour is stolen from us by human beings. (man is a thief)	19, 20
7	Whatever goes upon two legs is an enemy. (man is an enemy)	64
8	Even when you have conquered him, do not adopt his vices. (man is a sinner)	66
9	All the habits of man are evil. (man is evil)	68

Table 7. Propaganda Device — Glittering Generalities in the Speech

S/N	Examples	Lines
1	Remove man from the scene, and the root cause of hunger and overwork is abolished forever.	21, 22
2	Only get rid of man, and the produce of our labour would be our own.	46
3	Almost overnight we could become rich and free.	47
4	Hearken to my joyful tidings of the golden future time.	83
5	And the fruitful fields of England shall be trod by beasts alone.	88

Table 8. Propaganda Device — Card Stacking in the Speech

S/N	Examples	Line
1	No animal in England knows the meaning of happiness or leisure after he is a year old.	11

S/N	Examples	Line
2	No animal in England is free.	12
3	The life of an animal is misery and slavery.	12
4	You young porkers who are sitting in front of me, every one of you will scream your lives out at the block within a year.	39, 40
5	You, Boxer, the very day that those great muscles of yours lose their power, Jones will sell you to the knacker, who will cut your throat and boil you down for the foxhounds.	41, 42, 43

Findings

Findings of the study revealed that Old Major's choice of rhetorical devices was informed by the rhetorical situation. This affirms Aristotle's (cited in Griffin, 2000) exposition that the choice of a speaker's rhetorical device must be informed by the rhetorical situation.

Besides, the study revealed that Old Major draws on ethos as a means of information dissemination to his audience. The study also revealed Old Major as a prototypical political demagogue, as he draws on excessive, emotionally charged (pathos) expressions in his speech. The preponderance of these emotionally charged expressions reinforces Goshgarian's (2004) assertion that emotion is the stuff of propaganda. The study also revealed that Old Major draws on cause-and-effect reasoning in his rhetorical strategies, and on claim-justification as his persuasive tool. Finally, the study also revealed that Old Major draws on a variety of propaganda devices to drum home his message. From the analysis, the most common ones are hypophora, glittering generalities, name-calling, card stacking, and so on.

Conclusions

This study has examined how rhetorical strategies and propaganda were used in Old Major's speech in George Orwell's Animal Farm. The study also sought to establish the kinds of propaganda devices in Old Major's speech.

From the analysis of the data, the following conclusions can be drawn: claim-justification and cause-and-effect reasoning anchor Old Major's logical reasoning. The study also revealed that Old Major used the first-person singular "I" to establish his ethos, primarily drawing on it as a medium of information dissemination. The study further underscores the assertion that emotion is the stuff of propaganda (Goshgarian, 2004), as a preponderance of emotionally charged expressions and words were used in his speech. Finally, a variety of propaganda devices were employed, including name-calling, glittering generalities, card stacking, and hypophora (hypophorical questions).

The findings of this study have three implications: theory, practice, and research.

Theoretically, the study reinforces the underlying principles espoused by Aristotle's Theory of Rhetoric, as the findings are in tandem with the theory's principles. Therefore, the study contributes to theory testing and theory building. In practice, practitioners in public speaking and communication studies will find this study insightful, as it will serve as a guide

or a source of reference. With recourse to research, the study serves as a basis for researching speeches in literary texts as well.

Implications

- Researchers in communication and public speaking should take a critical look at speeches in literary texts to examine the use of propaganda.
- Rhetoricians and researchers in communication should also examine the use of propaganda in public discourse and its influence.
- Studies can also be conducted to examine the use of propaganda in political party newspapers.
- Similar studies can equally be done on inaugural and manifesto speeches.

References

Black, J. (2001). Semantics and ethics of propaganda. Journal of Mass Media Ethics, 16(2&3), 121–137.

Brett, C. M., & Perry, R. D. (2007). Writing and rhetoric. Hayden-McNeil Publishing.

Covino, A. W., & Jolliffe, A. D. (1995). Rhetoric: Concepts, definitions, boundaries. Ally and Bacon.

Freeley, J. A. (1996). Argumentation and debate: Critical thinking for reasoned decision making. Wadsworth Publishing Company.

Goshgarian, G. (2004). Exploring language. Pearson Longman.

Grabber, D. (1981). Political language. In D. Nimmo & K. Sanders (Eds.), Handbook of political communication. Sage Publications.

Griffin, E. (2000). A first look at communication theory. McGraw-Hill Companies.

Hart, B. (2016). Creating the cult of Xi Jinping: The Chinese Dream as a leader symbol. Cornell International Affairs Review, 9(2).

Hobbs, R., & McGee, S. (2014). Teaching about propaganda: An examination of the historical roots of media literacy. Journal of Media Literacy Education, 6(2), 56–67.

Kuhlman, Y., & Bartky, J. (1980). Glencoe English. Glencoe Publishing Company.

McCarthy, P., & Hatcher, C. (2002). Presentation skills: The essential guide for students. Sage Publications.

Osborn, M., & Osborn, S. (2002). Public speaking. Houghton Mifflin Company.

Prentice, D., & Payne, J. (1994). Public speaking today. NTC Publishing Group.

Prier, J. (2017). Commanding the trend: Social media as information warfare. Strategic Studies Quarterly.

Reinking, A. J., & Osten, R. (2007). Strategies for successful writing: A rhetoric, research guide, reader and handbook. Pearson Prentice Hall.

Stephanie, J. C., & James, L. (2011). Public speaking: The evolving art. Wadsworth.

Trimbur, J. (2008). The call to write. Houghton Mifflin Company.

Wood, V. N. (1995). Perspectives on argument. Prentice-Hall.

Appendix: Old Major's Speech

1. Comrades, you have heard already about the strange dream that I had last night. But I will come to the dream later. I have something else to say first. I do not think, comrades, that I shall be with

2. you for many months longer, but before I die I feel it my duty to pass on to you such wisdom as I have acquired. I have had a long life. I have had much time for thought as I lay alone in my

3. stall, and I think I may say that I understand the nature of life on this earth as well as any animal now living. It is about this that I wish to speak to you.

4. Now, comrades, what is the nature of this life of ours? Let us face it, our lives are miserable, laborious and short. We are born, we are given just so much food as will keep the breath in our

5. bodies, and those of us who are capable of it are forced to work to the last atom of our strength and the very instant that our usefulness has come to an end we are slaughtered with hideous

6. cruelty. No animal in England knows the meaning of happiness or leisure after he is a year old. No animal in England is free. The life of an animal is misery and slavery: that is the plain truth.

7. But is this simply part of the order of nature? Is it because this land of ours is so poor that it cannot afford a decent life to those who dwell upon it? No, comrades, a thousand times no! The soil of

8. England is fertile, its climate is good, it is capable of affording food in abundance to an enormously greater number of animals than now inhabit it. This single farm of ours would support a dozen

9. horses, twenty cows, hundreds of sheep — and all of them living in a comfort and in dignity that are now almost beyond our imagining. Why then do we continue in this miserable condition? Because

10. nearly the whole of the produce of our labour is stolen from us by human beings. There, comrades, is the answer to all our problems. It is summed up in a single word — Man. Man is the only real

11. enemy we have. Remove Man from the scene, and the root cause of hunger and overwork is abolished forever.

12. Man is the only creature that consumes without producing. He does not give milk, he does not lay eggs, is too weak to pull the plough, he cannot run fast enough to catch rabbits. Yet he is lord of

13. all animals. He sets them to work, he gives back to them the bare minimum that will prevent them from starving, and the rest he keeps for himself. Our labour tills the soil, our dung fertilises it,

14. and yet there is not one of us that owns more than his bare skin. You cows that I see before me, how many thousands of gallons of milk have you given during this last year? And what has

15. happened to that milk which should have been breeding up sturdy calves? Every drop of it has gone down the throats of our enemies. And you hens, how many eggs have you laid in this last year,

16. and how many of those eggs ever hatched into chickens? The rest have all gone to market to bring in money for Jones and his men. And you, Clover, where are those four foals you bore, who should

17. have been the support and pleasure of your old age? Each was sold at a year old — you will never see one of them again. In return for your four confinements and all your labour in the fields, what

18. have you ever had except your bare rations and a stall?

19. And even the miserable lives we lead we are not allowed to reach their natural span. For myself I do not grumble, for I am one of the lucky ones. I am twelve years old and have had over four

20. hundred children. Such is the natural life of a pig. But no animal escapes the cruel knife in the end. You young porkers who are sitting in front of me, every one of you will scream your lives out

21. at the block within a year. To that horror we all must come — cows, pigs, hens, sheep, everyone. Even the horses and the dogs have no better fate. You, Boxer, the very day that those great

22. muscles of yours lose their power, Jones will sell you to the knacker, who will cut your throat and boil you down for the foxhounds. As for the dogs, when they grow old and toothless, Jones ties a

23. brick round their necks and drowns them in the nearest pond.

24. Is it not crystal clear, then, comrades, that all the evils of this life of ours spring from the tyranny of human beings? Only get rid of Man, and the produce of our labour would be our own.

25. Almost overnight we could become rich and free. What then must we do? Why, work night and day, body and soul, for the overthrow of the human race! That is my message to you, comrades:

26. Rebellion! I do not know when that Rebellion will come, it might be in a week or in a hundred years, but I know, as surely as I see this straw beneath my feet, that sooner or later justice will be

27. done. Fix your eyes on that, comrades, throughout the short remainder of your lives! And above all, pass on this message of mine to those who come after you, so that future generations shall carry

28. on the struggle until it is victorious.

29. And remember, comrades, your resolutions must never falter. No argument must lead you astray. Never listen when they tell you that Man and the animals have a common interest, that the prosperity

30. of the one is the prosperity of the others. It is all lies. Man serves the interests of no creature except himself. And among us animals let there be perfect unity, perfect comradeship in the struggle.

31. All men are enemies. All animals are comrades.

32. Comrades, here is a point that must be settled. The wild creatures, such as rats and rabbits — are they our friends or our enemies? Let us put it to the vote. I propose this question to the meeting:

33. Are rats comrades? (Vote was taken and it was agreed by an overwhelming majority that rats were comrades.)

34. I have little more to say. I merely repeat, remember always your duty of enmity towards Man and all his ways. Whatever goes upon two legs is an enemy. Whatever goes upon four legs, or has wings,

35. is a friend. And remember also that in fighting against Man, we must not come to resemble him. Even when you have conquered him, do not adopt his vices. No animal must ever live in a house, or

36. sleep in a bed, or wear clothes, or drink alcohol, or smoke tobacco, touch money, or engage in trade. All the habits of man are evil. And above all, no animal must ever tyrannise over his own kind.

37. Weak or strong, clever or simple, we are all brothers. No animal must ever kill any other animal. All animals are equal.

38. And now, comrades, I will tell you about my dream of last night. I cannot describe that dream to you. It was a dream of the earth as it will be when Man has vanished. But it reminded me of

39. something that I had long forgotten.

40. Many years ago, when I was a little pig, my mother and the other sows used to sing an old song of which they knew only the tune and the first three words. I had known that tune in my infancy,

41. but it had long since passed out of my mind. Last night, however, it came back to me in my dream. And what is more, the words of the song also came back — words, I am certain, which were sung by

42. the animals of long ago and have been lost to memory for generations. I will sing you that song now, comrades. I am old and my voice is hoarse, but when I have taught you the tune you can sing it

43. better for yourselves. It is called "Beasts of England."

Beasts of England, beasts of Ireland,

Beasts of every land and clime,

Hearken to my joyful tidings

Of the golden future time.

Soon or late the day is coming,

Tyrant Man shall be o'erthrown,

And the fruitful fields of England

Shall be trod by beasts alone.

Rings shall vanish from our noses,

And the harness from our back,

Bit and spur shall rust forever,

Cruel whips no more shall crack.
Riches more than mind can picture,
Wheat and barley, oats and hay,
Clover, beans and mangel-wurzels
Shall be ours upon that day.
Bright will shine the fields of England,
Purer shall its waters be,
Sweeter yet shall blow its breezes
On the day that sets us free.
For that day we all must labour,
Though we die before it break;
Cows and horses, geese and turkeys,
All must toil for freedom's sake.
Beasts of England, beasts of Ireland,
Beasts of every land and clime,
Hearken well and spread my tidings
Of the golden future time.