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All Propaganda is Dangerous, but Some are More Dangerous than Others: George Orwell and the Use of Literature as Propaganda

Abstract

The true battles of the Cold War between the United States and the Soviet Union were fought on the ideological front: pitting democracy and capitalism against totalitarianism and communism. The Office of Policy Coordination (OPC) of the Central Intelligence Agency (CIA) was formed in the late 1940s to help combat the spread of Communism across Europe and in the United States. Part of the “psychological warfare” included the use of propaganda. Around the same time, British author George Orwell had recently published *Animal Farm* and *Nineteen Eighty-Four*. Both novels, due to the anti-Communist overtones, were adopted by the OPC as part of a larger anti-Soviet campaign. By examining the use by intelligence agencies of Orwell’s works during the Cold War and the potential use of those works in a post-9/11 global society, this paper aims to illustrate the fickle nature of literary works as propaganda.

Introduction

The true battles of the Cold War between the United States and the Soviet Union were fought on the ideological front: pitting democracy and capitalism against totalitarianism and communism. In the late 1940s, the Office of Policy Coordination (OPC) was formed within the Central Intelligence Agency (CIA) in order to help combat the ideological threat of Communism. Originally headed by the eccentric Frank Wisner, the OPC was the original organization inside the United States that engaged in “psywar” (psychological warfare) against the Soviet Union.¹ Part of this psywar was the use of anti-Soviet propaganda. While numerous original pieces of propaganda were created, someone within the OPC proposed the utilization of extant works as propaganda.

Unlike works explicitly created for use as propaganda, literature by established authors was seen to carry more legitimacy due to the lack of connection with intelligence services.² The use of literature as propaganda, however, is not without cost; specifically, literature endures much longer than the average propaganda pamphlet and can carry with it a much broader meaning than that intended by the propagandist. This meaning can, in certain cases, be turned against the original wielder.

An excellent example of the dangers of adopting extant literature into a propaganda campaign can be found in George Orwell’s *Animal Farm* and *Nineteen Eighty-Four*. With his clear anti-Stalinist stance and penchant for political writing, he was an obvious choice for the OPC and its British counterparts;³ however, his work also contained a more global message that could be (and in certain cases have already been) used as propaganda against the United States. By examining the use by intelligence agencies of Orwell’s works during the Cold War and the potential use of those works in a post-9/11 global society, this paper aims to illustrate the fickle nature of literary works as propaganda.

Animal Farm

Finding a publisher for *Animal Farm* proved to be a daunting task for Orwell. Written largely in 1944, the so-called “fairy tale” openly criticized the Soviet Union, particularly Stalin, at a time when Great Britain was firmly committed to its ally against Nazi Germany. Finally published in 1945, the novel engendered some controversy, but was overall well-received in both Great Britain and the United States.⁴ Intended by Orwell to be a warning against the Stalinist perversion of socialism, *Animal Farm* was

¹ Saunders, Francis S., *The Cultural Cold War: The CIA and the World of Arts and Letters* (New York: The New Press, 2013), 40.

² Tony Shaw, “Some Writers are More Equal than Others’: George Orwell, the State and Cold War Privilege,” *Cold War History* 4:1 (2003): 145.

³ Leab, Daniel, *Orwell Subverted: The CIA and the Filming of Animal Farm* (University Park, PA: Pennsylvania State University Press, 2007), 1.

⁴ Daniel J. Leab, “The American Government and the Filming of George Orwell’s *Animal Farm* in the 1950s,” *Media History* 12:2 (2006): 133.

immediately interpreted by some to be a whole cloth attack against socialism and communism, thus, drawing the attention of the CIA⁵.

Allegory and Intention

Animal Farm tells the story of a group of farm animals (Russians) that overthrow their bumbling, alcoholic farmer, Mr. Jones (Tsar Nicholas II), in order to achieve an idealistic vision of the future set down for them by the aging Old Major (Marx). Once Mr. Jones is driven off the farm, the animals begin setting up their new government, naturally led by the pigs, who are seen as the cleverest of animals. The lead pigs, Napoleon (Joseph Stalin) and Snowball (Leon Trotsky), take charge of the nascent self-governed farm, which, at first, seems to prosper. Due to ideological differences, Napoleon and Snowball begin to quarrel, and Napoleon eventually orders a pack of dogs under his command to chase his rival, Snowball, off the farm.⁶

What follows is a series of betrayals of the animals by the ruling class of pigs. The seven basic tenants of Animalism (Communism), painted on the wall of the barn, are slowly corrupted to fit the needs of Napoleon. The farm animals are, by and large, too dumb to notice until the pigs are sleeping in beds, wearing clothes, walking on two legs, and meeting Mr. Pilkington (Great Britain and the United States) and other farmers for trade negotiations. The novel ends with the animals outside the farmhouse looking “from pig to man, and from man to pig, and from pig to man again; but already it was impossible to say which was which.”⁷

Orwell intended the allegory to be against capitalists and communists alike, with his major goal to be a warning against totalitarianism, but it was not taken that way by intelligence agencies on either side.⁸

Cold War Propaganda

Unsurprisingly, *Animal Farm* was appropriated by both American and British intelligence agencies for use as propaganda in multiple forms. Activities undertaken by the agencies included a wholesale promotion of the novel in as many markets as possible, a direct adaptation into a cartoon strip, and, most notably, the production of a film adaptation.

Foreign Markets

Despite Orwell’s distress at some of the uses of his works by right-wing propagandists, he, nevertheless, was just as adamant as the British Information Research Department (IRD) and the OPC about translating *Animal Farm* into as many languages as possible.⁹ The preface for a Ukrainian translation explicitly stated Orwell’s purpose in writing the

⁵ Leab, *Orwell Subverted*, 9.

⁶ Orwell, George, *Animal Farm* (New York: Signet Classic, 1996), 53.

⁷ Ibid, 141.

⁸ Shaw, “Some Writers are More Equal Than Others,” 146.

⁹ Ibid, 147.

novel as well as expressing his interest in smuggling the book into the Soviet Union.¹⁰ Through a concerted effort of the IRD, the OPC, and various other British and American agencies, *Animal Farm* made its way into the hands of readers across the world within a decade of its first publication, including Central and Eastern Europe, the Middle East, and parts of Asia.¹¹

Cartoon

The IRD acquired the rights to adapt *Animal Farm* into a cartoon strip for distribution in order to broaden the appeal of the novel to the less literary-minded population.¹² Areas of distribution included Asia, Europe, the Middle East, Latin America, and parts of Africa. The only two failures in distribution came from Belgrade, where the strip was not approved due to political reasons, and Tel Aviv, which insisted the pigs were unsuitable.¹³

Film

Shortly after Orwell's death in 1950, his widow, Sonia Blair, was approached by a group of men interested in acquiring the film rights to *Animal Farm*. While historians disagree regarding the identity of these men, there is no question that they were from the OPC.¹⁴ Louis de Rochemont, head of a financially stressed production company, was brought on as producer. He immediately hired John Halas and Joy Batchelor, a married couple who ran an animation company in Great Britain, as directors. Blair was adamant about maintaining the integrity of her late husband's works, but was eventually won over by Halas and Batchelor's storyboards and preliminary drawings.¹⁵

Despite the source material already being critically acclaimed as "anti-Soviet," the CIA insisted on several changes in order to make the message explicitly clear. These revisions, which de Rochemont attributed to nameless "investors," resulted in nine different script revisions before all parties felt satisfied with the product – albeit some, such as Halas and Batchelor, less than others.¹⁶

"The investors" had three major concerns throughout the revision process: the portrayal of Snowball, the contrast between "good" and "bad" farmers, and the final sequence of the film. Batchelor's original treatments of Snowball were found to be too positive, suggesting that, had Napoleon not removed him, he would have gone on to lead a successful *Animal Farm*. Subsequent revisions recast him as an impractical visionary

¹⁰ Ibid, 148.

¹¹ Ibid, 149.

¹² Leab, *Orwell Subverted*, 36.

¹³ Shaw, "Some Writers are More Equal Than Others," 151

¹⁴ Leab, *Orwell Subverted*, 44-45.

¹⁵ Ibid, 41-43. A frequently repeated story states that Sonia Blair agreed to the deal, contingent upon a meeting between her and Clark Gable. Based upon a critical analysis of the sources, Leab concluded that this tale, while amusing, is most likely apocryphal.

¹⁶ Daniel J. Leab, "Animators and Animals: John Halas, Joy Batchelor, and George Orwell's *Animal Farm*," *Historical Journal of Film, Radio and Television* 25:2 (June, 2005): 244.

who shared some bullying characteristics with Napoleon.¹⁷ The scenes illustrating the pigeons spreading the word of “Animalism” to neighboring farms was purposefully balanced between animals who found this new concept welcome due to the horrible treatment they endured and animals who outright laughed at the suggestion, being content with the treatment they received. This was insisted upon by “the investors” to ensure that it was understood that not all farmers (capitalists/leaders) were bad, lest viewers feel as if *all* governments, including the United States, were being reproached.¹⁸

The above two revisions, while contrary to the original material, were not an egregious affront to Orwell’s intentions; the completely rewritten final sequence was squarely at odds with that of the source.¹⁹ Instead of the animals watching as Napoleon and his cronies have a marvelous party with humans, the film ends with Napoleon inviting pigs from neighboring farms (a reference to the Soviet Union’s satellites) for an exhibition of the wonders of Animal Farm. Finally fed up with Napoleon’s autocratic reign, the animals revolt, overthrowing all of the pigs.²⁰ This was done, in part, to up the commercial viability of the project, given that depressing endings were not de rigeur in the animated film community, but also to reflect “the investors”’ desire to illustrate that the common man could rebel against his oppressors – something that they felt the proletariat in the Soviet Union should choose to do.²¹

Critical reception of the movie was mixed, and it was a financial disaster; however, this adaptation of *Animal Farm*, quickly translated into multiple languages, has become a staple in classrooms across Great Britain and the United States.²² John Rodden directly cites this adaptation, as well as the ease of integration into anti-Communist and anti-revolutionary lessons, as the chief reason *Animal Farm* was adopted into curriculum during the 1950s.²³ Rodden’s further analysis regarding how the novel has been approached reveals that educators have either presented it as direct allegory of “Soviet despotism” or as an “entertaining story” with an additional moral regarding the corrupting nature of power that downplays “Russian parallels.”²⁴ Surprisingly, Rodden includes the parenthetical “as does the 1954 Halas-Bacheler [*sic*] film,” to the latter category.²⁵

Modern Propaganda

At first glance, the purposeful mirroring of Stalin’s rise to power seems to reduce the ability to translate *Animal Farm* to a more modern context; however, certain iconic images from the novel have been used to critique the United States. Whereas the Cold War era propaganda took the form of print and film, modern technology has created a

¹⁷ Leab, *Orwell Subverted*, 79.

¹⁸ *Ibid*, 79–80.

¹⁹ Shaw, “Some Writers are More Equal Than Others,” 158.

²⁰ Leab, *Orwell Subverted*, 77, 82.

²¹ *Ibid*, 77, 82.

²² Shaw, “Some Writers are More Equal Than Others,” 153.

²³ John Rodden, “Reputation, Canon Formation, Pedagogy: George Orwell in the Classroom,” *College English* 53:5 (September, 1991): 505.

²⁴ *Ibid*, 506.

²⁵ *Ibid*, 506.

much more rapidly and widely dispersible medium: the internet. Internet memes, which can be phrases, videos or images, are passed on through various means, such as social media, and reach a vast audience in short spans of time.²⁶ Due to the popularity of images as internet memes, the following exploration will concentrate on images, many of which originated in print media but found an extended life on the internet.



Figure 1.

Controversy has surrounded the Affordable Care Act, colloquially known as “Obamacare,” from its inception. Despite facts ultimately proving otherwise, many were under the impression that members of Congress and their staff were exempt from the act.²⁷ Yogi Love created a one-panel cartoon (Figure 1) where a pig labeled “Congressional Staff” is found painting “some animals are more equal than others” on a wooden wall while someone offers them medicine labeled “gov’t health care.”

²⁶ Carlos Mauricio Castaño Díaz, “Defining and Characterizing the Concept of Internet Meme,” *Revista CES Psicología* 6:2 (2013), 97.

²⁷ Gregory Korte, “Why Congress is (or isn’t) exempt from Obamacare,” *USA Today*, September 27, 2013, available at: <http://usat.ly/19GISUSa>.



Figure 2.

A different image, still capitalizing on the motif of painting rules on a wall, illustrates one side of the longer brewing controversy of whether or not the United States will join the United Nations' International Criminal Court (Figure 2).²⁸ In 2002, when political cartoonist Tony Auth created this one panel comic, the Bush Administration was decidedly against participation with the International Criminal Court.²⁹

Despite having a large hand in shaping what came to be the Rome Statute, the official statute regulating the International Criminal Court, and being vocal regarding the prosecution of potential war crimes within other countries, the United States has yet to ratify the treaty.³⁰ By comparing the United States to Napoleon and his fellow pigs, Auth alludes to the view that the United States sees itself as the creator of rules, but exempt from them.

Neither of the above examples was generated by a foreign government as a form of propaganda, but the use of *Animal Farm* imagery within the United States as a way to illustrate one or more sides of public opinion suggests that the use by foreign governments is not unfeasible.

²⁸ Tony Auth, "After Animal Farm by Geo. Orwell," *GoCartoons*, July 3, 2002, available at: <http://www.gocomics.com/tonyauth/2002/07/03>.

²⁹ Megan A. Fairlie, "The United States and the International Criminal Court Post-Bush: A Beautiful Courtship but an Unlikely Marriage," *Berkely Journal of International Law* 29:2 (2011), 536.

³⁰ "What Does the International Criminal Court Do?" *BBC News*, June 25, 2015, available at: <http://www.bbc.com/news/world-11809908>.

Nineteen Eighty-Four

Seen by some to be a natural extension of *Animal Farm* into the human world, *Nineteen Eighty-Four*, published shortly before Orwell's death in 1949, is set in a dystopian (what was then) future in which three superpowers – Oceania, Eurasia, Eastasia – control the globe.³¹ Focusing on Oceania, specifically Airstrip One (formerly England), the novel explores a form of totalitarian government in which even the inner thoughts and beliefs of citizens are policed.³²

Winston Smith, the protagonist, is a member of the Outer Party living in Airstrip One and working for the Ministry of Truth.³³ He “rectifies” previous newspaper articles by amending them to reflect the current accepted reality.³⁴ The Party, formally known as Ingsoc, consists of only 15 percent of the population of Airstrip One. The remaining 85 percent are an uneducated and poverty stricken class known as “the proles.”³⁵

Party members are constantly monitored by telescreens, which are two-way broadcasting devices installed throughout Party workspaces and inside members' homes that continuously broadcast Party propaganda and, while the volume can be turned down, can never be turned off.³⁶ Due to an anomaly in architecture, Smith has one portion of his assigned apartment that cannot be seen by those monitoring the telescreens. This is fortunate, given that he has taken to writing a journal, which is forbidden by the Party, in order to document his increasingly anti-Party thoughts.³⁷

The novel follows Smith (and, partially, his lover Julia) through his journey of questioning Big Brother's version of the truth and the system of Ingsoc as a whole. Along the way, he and Julia are recruited by a coworker from the Inner Party, named O'Brien, to be a part of a resistance movement against Ingsoc.³⁸ After swearing allegiance to the revolutionary cause, Smith and Julia are arrested by the “Thought Police” – a feared organization tasked with ensuring all Party members believe exactly as Big Brother thinks they should – and find that O'Brien was not a revolutionary, but the man behind the investigation.³⁹ The novel ends with Smith, having endured severe torture and reprogramming, alone in a bar, mourning the fact that, in the end, he has come to love Big Brother.⁴⁰

Interpretation

While it is obvious how such a totalitarian society could be considered a criticism of the Soviet Union (particularly given the allegory of *Animal Farm*), Orwell intended

³¹ Orwell, George, *Nineteen Eighty-Four* (New York: Signet Classic, 1961), 34.

³² *Ibid.*

³³ *Ibid.*, 4.

³⁴ *Ibid.*, 37.

³⁵ *Ibid.*, 69.

³⁶ *Ibid.*, 2.

³⁷ *Ibid.*, 7.

³⁸ *Ibid.*, 167.

³⁹ *Ibid.*, 238.

⁴⁰ *Ibid.*, 398.

Nineteen Eighty-Four to be a warning against any type of totalitarianism, abroad or at home.⁴¹ This point is illustrated in a little referenced fact regarding the geopolitical situation in the novel. Oceania is explicitly stated to be the result of a consolidation of both North America and South America (along with satellites such as Airstrip One) by the United States.⁴² For an analogue to the Soviet Union, the reader must look to Eurasia, of which little is said outside clear Ingsoc propaganda.

Cold War Propaganda

Unlike *Animal Farm* and its pointed finger at the Soviet Union, *Nineteen Eighty-Four* was found to be a valuable piece of propaganda not only by American and British intelligence services as anti-Soviet, but also in the Soviet Union as anti-American.

Anti-Soviet

As with *Animal Farm*, both the IRD and CIA were involved in producing and promoting the book in foreign markets. By 1955, the IRD had bought the translation rights for the novel in 17 languages.⁴³ Also mirroring the development of *Animal Farm*, the American intelligence community spearheaded the adaptation of the novel into film. Much less has been written regarding the production of *Nineteen Eighty-Four* when compared to the information surrounding *Animal Farm*, but there is sufficient information to roughly track the origins and development of the film.

Peter Rathvon, a prominent figure in motion pictures, acquired the film rights for the novel in 1953.⁴⁴ Two years later, production of *1984* began at Elstree studios outside of London, due largely to a \$100,000 subsidy from the United States Information Agency.⁴⁵ Per request from playwright Sol Stein, the tone of the novel changed from that of a distant future to something more intimately familiar to modern audiences. The laser-based weapons utilized by the Thought Police became machine guns, more militaristic armbands replaced the sashes worn by the Junior Anti-Sex League, and the parade of Eurasian prisoners happened not in an unfamiliar Oceanian public commons but in Trafalgar Square.⁴⁶

Two endings were crafted for the film. The first follows the depressing ending created by Orwell in the novel. The alternative ending, considered the British version, has Smith and Julia escaping the grasp of the Thought Police and dying valiantly amid a barrage of bullets with the slogan of “Down With Big Brother!”⁴⁷ As with *Animal Farm*, *1984* was a disaster at the box office,⁴⁸ but has endured the test of time on both the Internet and in the classroom.

⁴¹ Shaw, “Some Writers Are More Equal Than Others,” 146.

⁴² Orwell, *Nineteen Eighty Four*, 185.

⁴³ Shaw, “Some Writers Are More Equal Than Others,” 151.

⁴⁴ *Ibid*, 160.

⁴⁵ *Ibid*, 160.

⁴⁶ *Ibid*, 161.

⁴⁷ *Ibid*, 161.

⁴⁸ *Ibid*, 161.

Anti-American

Orwell's staunch political ideas and the widespread popularity of *Animal Farm* and *Nineteen Eighty-Four* originally earned him the moniker "Enemy of Mankind" within the Soviet Union and both novels remained unpublished within its borders until 1988.⁴⁹ This does not mean, however, that the Soviet Union did not utilize Orwell to suit its own purpose.

In 1959, an article in a Soviet newspaper referred to *Nineteen Eighty-Four* as Orwell's semi-prophetic vision of the United States in the year 1984. The article claimed that Federal Bureau of Investigations Director J. Edgar Hoover was the inspiration for Big Brother.⁵⁰ This sentiment was echoed in many articles throughout the 1960s.⁵¹ Around the same time, the Soviet Union began describing the portrayal of sexual relationships in the novel (namely, Smith's illicit affair with Julia) as indicative of the depravity of American society. This was partially fueled by the Soviet reaction to the Kinsey reports, which were viewed with Victorianesque horror.⁵²

In 1983, the weekly newspaper of the Soviet Writers' Union reviewed and quoted *Nineteen Eighty-Four*.⁵³ This time, parallels were drawn between the Ministry of Truth and the Defense Department. The newspaper did allow that Americans were not exactly as Orwell had predicted, but assured the public that a "striking similarity" existed between the novel and current events in the United States.⁵⁴ In this recasting of the novel, Big Brother was said to be Ronald Reagan and the recent proposal of disarmament classified as "doublethink."⁵⁵

Modern Propaganda

Unlike *Animal Farm*, *Nineteen Eighty-Four* contains a vast array of selections and images that could be utilized for modern propaganda, ranging from the ubiquitous telescreens to the unending global wars. The most salient and directly applicable point, however, is that of surveillance. In this regard, the Soviet use of *Nineteen Eighty-Four* is not far removed from the novel's possible anti-American use today.

On June 5, 2013, articles referencing classified materials leaked by former contractor Edward Snowden began appearing. Estimates of the size of the leak ranged from 50,000 to 1.7 million documents. Within these documents were classified NSA papers detailing

⁴⁹ John Rodden, "Soviet Literary Policy, 1945:1989: The Case of George Orwell," *Modern Age* 32 (Spring, 1988): 131.

⁵⁰ Shaw, "Some Writers are More Equal Than Others," 162.

⁵¹ Rodden, "Soviet Literary Policy," 133.

⁵² *Ibid*, 134.

⁵³ *Ibid*, 135.

⁵⁴ *Ibid*, 135.

⁵⁵ *Ibid*, 135.

various operations that, at least according to the subsequent controversy, potentially violated Americans' Constitutional rights to privacy.⁵⁶

General public commentary on the issue generated images such as Figure 3, which contains a sardonic faux memo from Orwell to the United States inquiring as to whether the latter had read *Nineteen Eighty-Four*.⁵⁷ Following the Soviet Union's model of labeling the current president "Big Brother," there are also multiple images depicting Barack Obama as "Big Brother." Examples range from modified campaign posters (Figure 4)⁵⁸ to reproductions of iconic movie stills (Figure 5).⁵⁹

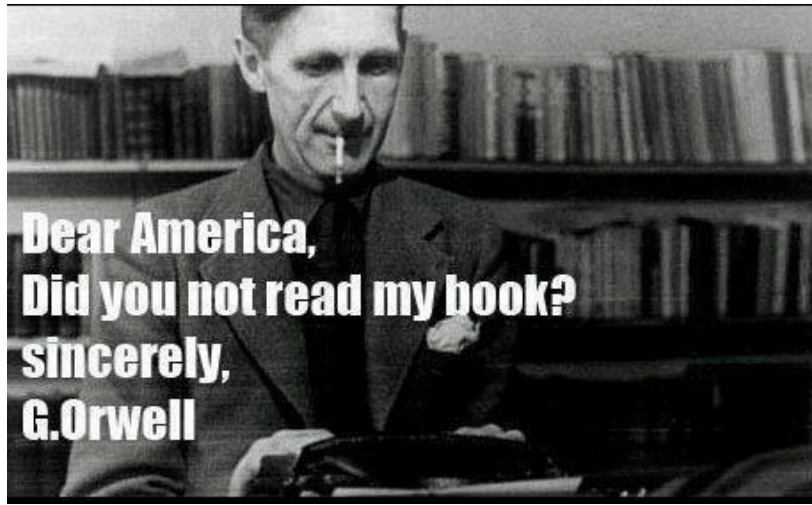


Figure 3.

⁵⁶ Barton Gellman and Askhan Soltani, "NSA Infiltrates Links to Yahoo, Google Data Centers Worldwide, Snowden Documents Say," *The Washington Post*, November 1, 2013, available at: http://www.washingtonpost.com/world/national-security/nsa-infiltrates-links-to-yahoo-google-data-centers-worldwide-snowden-documents-say/2013/10/30/e51d661e-4166-11e3-8b74-d89d714ca4dd_story.html; Glenn Greenwald, "XKeyscore: NSA Tool Collects 'Nearly Everything a User Does on the Internet,'" *The Guardian*, July 31, 2013, available at: <http://www.theguardian.com/world/2013/jul/31/nsa-top-secret-program-online-data>; Glenn Greenwald, "NSA Collecting Phone Records of Millions of Verizon Customers Daily," *The Guardian*, June 6, 2013, available at: <http://www.theguardian.com/world/2013/jun/06/nsa-phone-records-verizon-court-order>; "NSA Slides Explain the PRISM Data-collection Program," *The Washington Post*, July 10, 2013, available at: <http://www.washingtonpost.com/wp-srv/special/politics/prism-collection-documents/>; Tabassum Zakaria and Warren Strobel, "After 'Cataclysmic' Snowden Affair, NSA Faces Winds of Change," *Yahoo New Canada*, available at: <https://ca.news.yahoo.com/exclusive-cataclysmic-snowden-affair-nsa-032218664.html>.

⁵⁷ Original creator unknown, obtained from: <http://www.dclothesline.com/2013/06/09/big-brothers-secret-nsa-data-center-in-utah/>.

⁵⁸ Original creator unknown, obtained from: <http://www.inquisitr.com/1230996/obama-administration-accused-of-pushing-a-national-id-system-for-all-internet-users/>.

⁵⁹ Carlin Tovar, "Carlincaturas 1a quincena de Julio" (July 17, 2013) available at: <http://carlincaturas.blogspot.com/2013/07/carlincaturas-1a-quincena-de-julio.html>.

More specifically, political cartoonist Ted Rall drew a comparison between Ingsoc's ability to manipulate the telescreen's abilities and presidential candidate Hillary Clinton's use of personal email servers during her time as Secretary of State (Figure 6).⁶⁰

In the four panel comic, Rall begins with a panel replicating the moment in which O'Brien informs a surprised Smith that he, as a high-level official, has the privilege to turn his telescreen off.⁶¹ Rall uses himself as a representative of the average citizen of the United States by depicting NSA employees reading his mundane emails and contrasts this with Clinton, who has the O'Brien-like ability to remove her emails from scrutiny.



Figure 4.

Unlike the images referencing *Animal Farm*, only one of the four examples can definitively be stated to have originated within the United States: two have undeterminable origins and one is penned by Carlin Tovar, best known for his political cartoons for *La Republica*, a daily newspaper in Peru. That is not to say that any of the above images have any intent other than to comment on the political landscape; however, as with *Animal Farm*, the use of *Nineteen Eighty-Four* as an effective way to

⁶⁰ Lisa Lerer and Matthew Daly, "Hillary Clinton's Emails Show Top Officials aware of Her Private Address," *Associated Press*, 2015, July 1, available at: www.washintontimes.com/news/2015/jul/1/hillary-clinton-emails-show-top-officials-aware-he/print/.

⁶¹ Ted Rall, "She Has That Privilege," March 12, 2015, available at: <http://rall.com/comic/she-has-that-privilege>.

communicate disagreement with certain policies illustrates how easily the work could be adapted for use by those with a more nefarious purpose.

Conclusion and Implications

Through extensive translation and promotion of the original novels and by funding carefully crafted adaptations, British and American intelligence organizations lent a hand in cementing George Orwell's place among the twentieth century literary elite. By ensuring that Orwellian concepts such as "Big Brother" and "some are more equal than others" entered into the public lexicon, however, these organizations also unwittingly provided the world with a vocabulary that is potentially well-suited to criticizing the United States in the twenty-first century.

Further examination into why these particular pieces of literature as propaganda managed to obtain a version of immortality within public consciousness before any definitive implications of the use of literature as propaganda can be drawn. The fact that they have, however, warrants such an exploration and the remembrance that a piece of literature that is perfectly suited for today's propaganda might, due to its longevity, become ammunition tomorrow.



Figure 5.

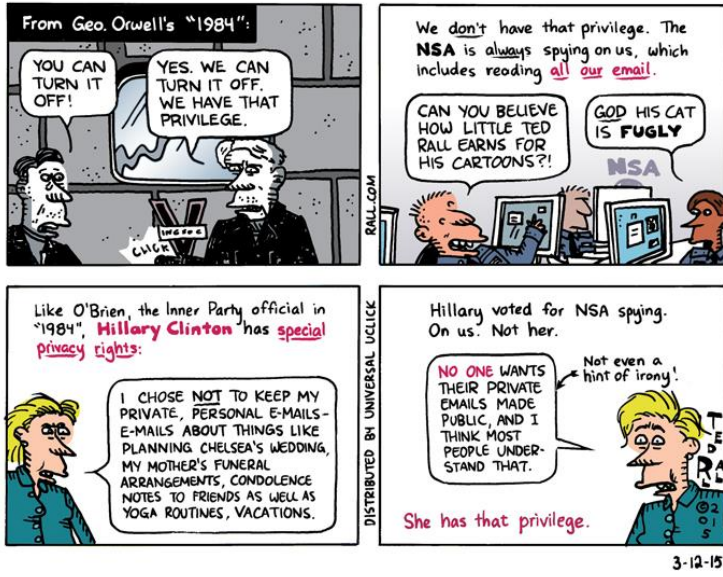


Figure 6.