

**A Linguistic Analysis of some Propagandistic Leaflets
Airdropped over Iraq in 1990-1991**

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Abstract

" A leaflet is a written or pictorial message on a single sheet of paper. It has no standard size , shape , or format" (psychological operations – warfare leaflets , 2002 : 1). This study tries to survey and linguistically analyze such printed materials – i.e. leaflets disseminated by the Coalition Forces on Iraq between 1990 and 1991 during Operation Desert Storm , which most of them were printed independently in Saudi Arabia and Turkey. The leaflets analyzed here adopt different propaganda techniques in their designing like name-calling, glittering generalities (or virtue words) , or transfer in order to affect the target audience. However , propagandistic leaflets developed by other sides (like Kuwait , Iraq) are also subject to such a linguistic analysis in the present paper. It is worth to refer that such a kind of propaganda comes under the psychological warfare especially in this age nicknamed as " the age of information " , though the first leaflet ever used was dropped by the British forces on Germany in the Word War I .

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1. Propaganda : preliminaries

If one has a look at Orwell's novels *Animal Farm* (1979) and *Nineteen Eighty-Four* (1992), he may be impressed by the fact that they are good "textbooks" on propaganda due to the corrupted language (e.g. war is peace : freedom is slavery : or ignorance is strength) employed by their characters for , of course , political reasons . However , propaganda , etymologically speaking , is " a congregation of the Roman Catholic Church , founded in 1622 , charged with spreading of Chatholicism " (Schwaz et al , 1989 : 1171). This means that "propaganda" was not originally intended to refer to misleading information or disapproving ideas , statements , ... etc. Accordingly , it was first employed for religious purposes , to propagate the faith. But the modern sense of the term dates back to Word War I (see Morris , 2001 : 1-11) and gains a pejorative connotation when journalist Walter Lipman and psychologist Edward Bernays (nephew of Sigmund Freud) first codified propaganda techniques early in the 20th century . Both were hired by the United States President Woodrow Wilson to sway popular opinion to enter the war on the side of Britain (Brainy Encyclopedia , 2004 : 4). Since then , the term began referring to misleading information that backs the interests of those in power. Hence , the messages conveyed by the propagandist , though true it seems , may be partisan and fail to paint a complete and balanced picture. Lin and Donn (2002 : 2) say that propaganda " refers to any technique that attempts to influence the opinions , emotions , attitudes , or behaviour of a group ". In this definition , they eliminate any negative implication from propaganda , which is for them neither negative nor positive , it is just a technique. So , propaganda , whether being positive or negative , must have its influence upon people's minds consciously or subconsciously. In other words , propaganda , as Smith (2004 : 1) says , is "a tool for manipulating or shaping reality." This manipulation involves different goals endeavoured by the propagandists to direct the thinking of citizens to this or that agenda. Partridge (2004 : 1-2) goes further than that by describing propaganda as " black arts of persuasion " and " it is completely unscrupulous " whose dictum " *winning isn't everything , it is the only thing* " [italics his].

From the aforementioned , one can come to the messages hidden in every piece of propaganda , according to the objectives lurking behind. In general , the propagandist " seeks to change the way people understand an issue or situation , for the purpose of changing their actions and expectations ..." (Brainy Encyclopedia , 2004 : 2) . Through history , there are many literatures in which propaganda shaped differently owing to different occasions. That is manifest in the course of propaganda from the World War I , World War II , the Cold War , Afghanistan , ... and up to Iraq.

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However, propaganda can take the form of leaflets (the main concern of the present paper), posters, TV or radio broadcasts, caricatures... But according to source, Friedman (2004 : 1-2) gives three types of propaganda : white propaganda which is issued by acknowledged source ; black propaganda which emanates from an adversary ; and gray propaganda whose source is not identified, i.e. it comes from a neutral source (for full account of this type see Richards (2004)). But propaganda, be it white, black, or gray, is propaganda, the same as "a rose by any other name could smell as sweet" (*Romeo and Juliet*, Act 2, Scene ii). Note that leaflets may be disseminated by aircraft, balloon or artillery. Because of that, propaganda differs a lot from advertising or marketing.

In what follows, leaflets together with posters and caricatures airdropped on Iraq will be linguistically laid down in reference to Operation Desert Shield / Storm (Umul - Ma'aric - The Mother of Battles- in former regime's discourse).

2. Operation Desert Shield / Storm :

The operation following the Iraq's occupation of Kuwait after August 2, 1990 is called Desert Shield. In other words, it refers to the defensive stage of the conflict, as term "shield" suggests. But on January 16, 1991, i.e. at the beginning of the shooting phase Desert Shield became Desert Storm.

Ironically, Saddam invaded Kuwait by virtue of the propagandistic discourse used by some US high rank officials. To make it clearer, Saddam was disillusioned by the US cleverly-made propaganda. Friedman (2001 : 2) sheds more light explaining :

... on 25 July 1990, US Ambassador to Iraq, April Glaspie, told Saddam Hussein that the dispute between Iraq and Kuwait was an Arab matter, and not one that the United States would take a stand on.

The very idea of taking no stand against Iraq was also reiterated in *The Washington Post* only six days before Iraq's invasion that "an Iraqi attack on Kuwait would not draw a US military response." (d'Aymery, 2003 : 2). Such seeming non-interference on the part of the US in the Arab conflicts was culminated in the invasion of Kuwait by Saddam who easily fell the victim of the white propaganda, and so began the tragedy of both Kuwaitis and Iraqis, and started a biggest information war represented in, among other things, disseminating millions of leaflets all of which were carefully worded and designed to affect the Iraqi soldiers' minds in a way that induce them not to fight the coalition forces.

It is time now to consider some airdropped leaflets during 1990-1991 (exactly from December 20, 1990 to February 24, 1991) which totaled 29 million (

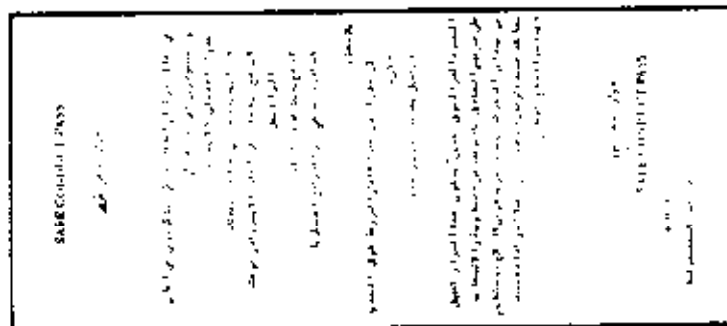
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weighing about 29 tons) mostly disseminated before the air war began , which was first code-named **Instant Thunder** , then changed into **Desert Storm** that is full of connotation especially for Arabs vis-a-vis the terms " desert " and " storm ". For ease of reference , the leaflets will be dealt with thematically in SIX different classifications :

2.1 Surrender :

2.1.1 : L1 (where L refers to " Leaflet ")

(1)



Front (colour): it is designed in the same shape as Iraqi 25-dinar note (once the largest Iraqi note before the blockade) to encourage soldiers or people to pick it up - read it , and , the most important , to easily disguise it when carried. This technique gives such leaflets wide and easy circulation.

Back : it starts with heading in English reading : (SAFE CONDUCT PASS) together with Arabic translation right below (جواز سفر مرور) which is , though wrong in translation , it makes the surrender to the coalition as if it were سفر to another country. Also جواز سفر مرور is syntactically bad Arabic phrase. Note that the Arabic equivalent to the phrase (SAFE CONDUCT PASS) is جواز مرور آمن and not جواز سفر آمن. Whether this mistake is deliberate or not , it affects the soldiers' minds. The back also lists in the text some directives soldiers must observe to guarantee their

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safe and happy return to their families. It ends with the same phrase in English (SAFE CONDUCT PASS). Finally , it is signed by قائد القوات المشتركة , so it is a white propaganda.

2.1.2 : L2

(2)



أنتم عزل !!

تمت قطعت خطوط مدداتكم ولن يصل اليكم مدد
لتسوين والتعزيز فلا بهم صدمه مصيركم وهو
ترككم للقاء مصيركم. القوا سلحتكم.
وانضسوا مع اخوانكم العرب في حب وسلام !!

Front : on the right there are myriads of Iraqi soldiers stampeding in mess looking at Saddam (on the left) whose gestures , facial expressions , and poise bespeak his indifference and irresponsibility. Above there are planes making , through their flight, a US flag-like wall that indicates full neutralization of the Iraqi soldiers.

Back : it has a text headed by أنتم عزل !! , then the body which warns of the fatal end - of course death - in store. This leaflet is cleverly put when speaking about the severing of food and ammunition supplies sooner or later , and also by using such virtue words as (إخوان ، حب ، سلام) . So , the message is : you will die not necessarily by the coalition forces but by starvation amid desert- so try to give up.

2.1.3 : L3 (colour)

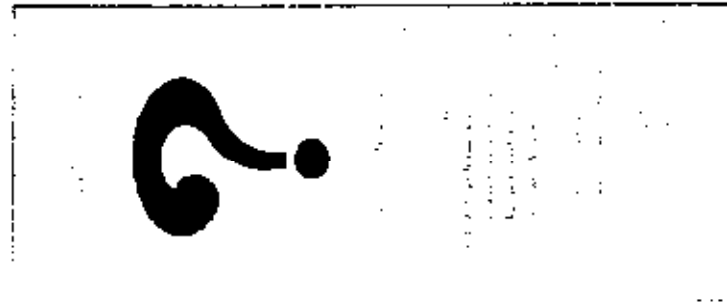
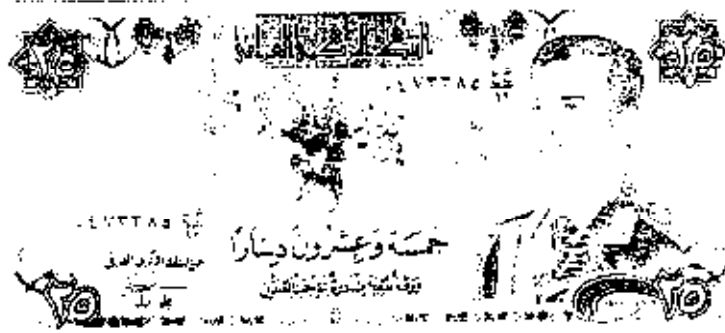
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Front : on the right an Iraqi soldier with rifle down shows his " invitation card " to a Saudi soldier with rifle up. On the left , this Iraqi soldier sits among other friendly and generous soldiers drinking some tea and coffee.

Back : A heading reading in bold **بطاقة دعوة** above which the words on the right **قيادة** قيادة العمليات المشتركة , and in between there is a text that tickles the hearts of Iraqi soldiers. The message is very clear whether in front or back of this leaflet which seems as if it were an advertisement to " entertainment theatre " not to " war theatre " ! Here the leaflet written exploits what is called " glittering generalities " or " virtue words " technique (for more about propaganda technique , visit [propaganda critic \(http://www.propagandacritic.com \)](http://www.propagandacritic.com)) manifested in using such words as **بطاقة دعوة** في . **أخي الجندي العراقي** . العودة للأهل . الأمن والسلامة والرعاية الطبية . واجب الضيافة العربية . ضيافة . دعوة مفتوحة . The message behind all these seeming sweet expressions is : never fight . lay your arms . and leave the hell of the battle to live in the proposed heaven of Saudi hospitality (symbolized by the Saudi flag posted behind the tent) . But the problem with this leaflet is that it is highly caricatured by over exaggerating the barbeque-like contents : hearth , kettles of coffee and tea , cups , and tray. Another point lies in the left position of the Iraqi soldier rifle pointing down-what means he is now helpless.

2.1.4 : L4



Front (colour): twenty-five dinar note.

Back : It starts with **وجبة الأكل التي يعطيكم صدام** followed by a big question mark. Then comes the phrase **فائمة لوجبات الأكل اليومية للقوات المشتركة** (which suffers from bad Arabic syntax especially with the preposition (**نـ**) with the word **وجبات** which include meat , eggs , biscuitsetc. Though this leaflet encourages soldiers to be prisoners , it seems naïve because of a variety of reasons. First, they accounted Iraqis just " eating animals ". Second , the phrase **ان الأسرى أيضا يأكلون مع جنود القوات المشتركة** **في لوجبات** also **مع** : **في الوجبات المذكورة** is incredible for many soldiers , because of **في الوجبات المذكورة** may mean " at the time of the aforesaid meals at least in Arabic. Third , this leaflet is culturally deficient because Arabs in general tend to have " rice " as a main course , which is missing here unfortunately!! Fourth , it tries to address the bellies , rather than the minds , of the Iraqi soldiers. But , though , the message is : surrender and stuff your hollow stomachs. Anyway , the points found in this leaflet are elaborately laid down in other leaflets where the text speaks about **المجاعة** and **الأغذية** and other main supplies. However such leaflets seem persuasive , but they may be not true. In other words , they oversimplify the situation. Consider the back of the following leaflet (L5) :

L5

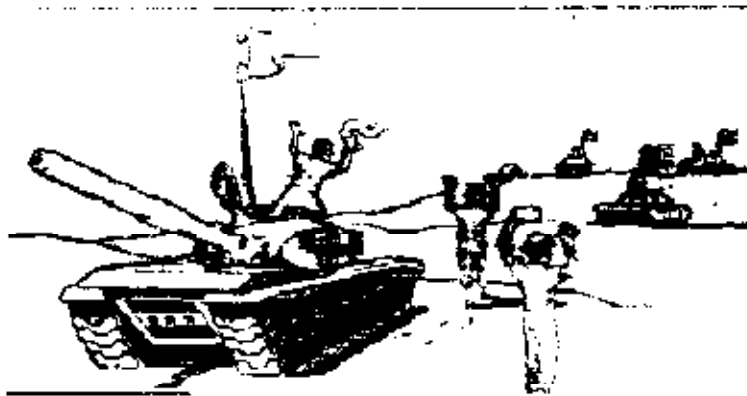
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بعض الفنون الشعبية التي كانت موجودة في العراق
في العهد العثماني من القرنين السادس والسابع
- صناعة الخشب
- الطبخ والخبز
- صناعة المنسوجات
- الحياكة
- الحرف اليدوية كصناعة الخشب



17:



18:

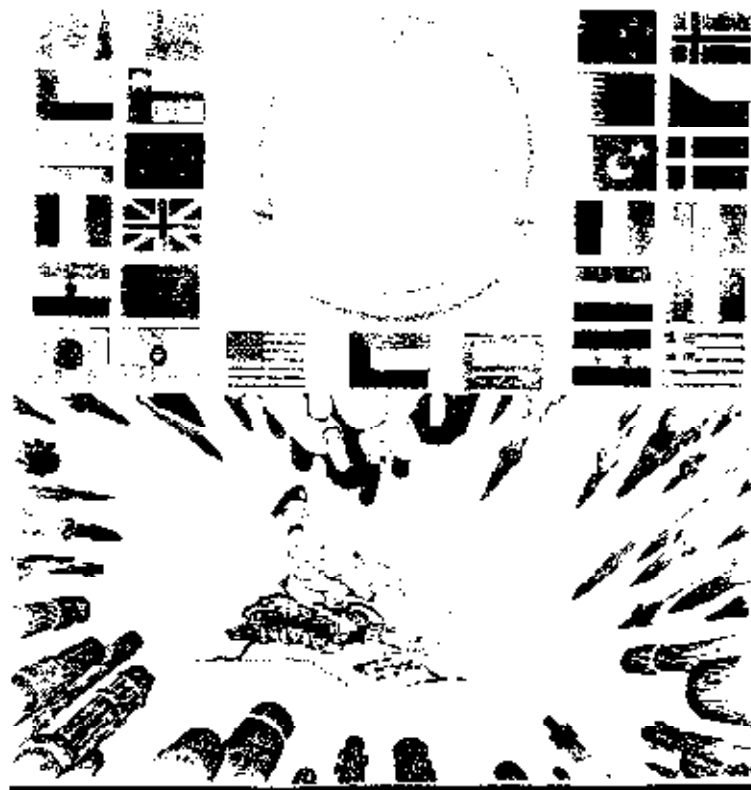
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In conclusion , the leaflets addressing the theme of surrender totaled 12.4 million -- the largest amount among other themes as will be clear in the pages to come.

2.2 Defeat : In addition to surrender , some other leaflets deal with the theme of defeat through adopting different techniques to meet their needs..

2.2.1 :19

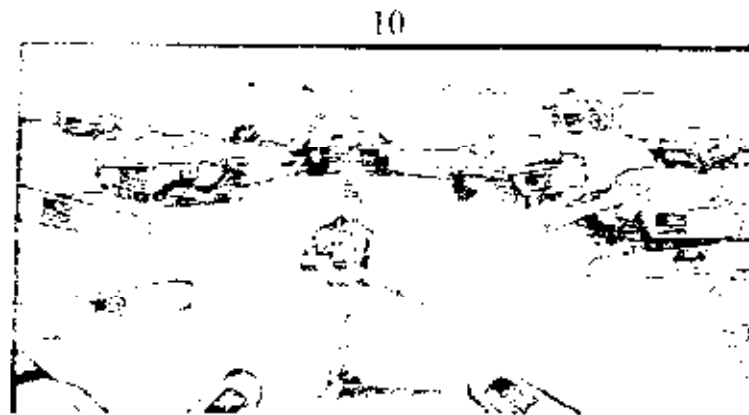


Front (colour): joint forces emblem bordered from three sides (in the form of letter U) by 27 flags to refer to the countries contributed the Desert Storm.

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Back : Artillery and rockets aimed at Saddam on tank whose barrel bent down. The message is : America is not alone in action but there are many countries endeavour to drive Saddam out of Kuwait. Also , Saddam has no choice but inevitable defeat. This is an example of non-verbal leaflet that depends on pictorial details other than words to convey some hidden messages. The question is : how competent the average Iraqi soldier in comprehending what is intended by this drawing. Further , The front is coloured to draw the attention of soldiers , whereas the back is in black and white to indicate one thing - unavoidable defeat.

The same idea is illustrated also in the back of leaflet (L.10) below :



2.2.2 : L 11 (colour)

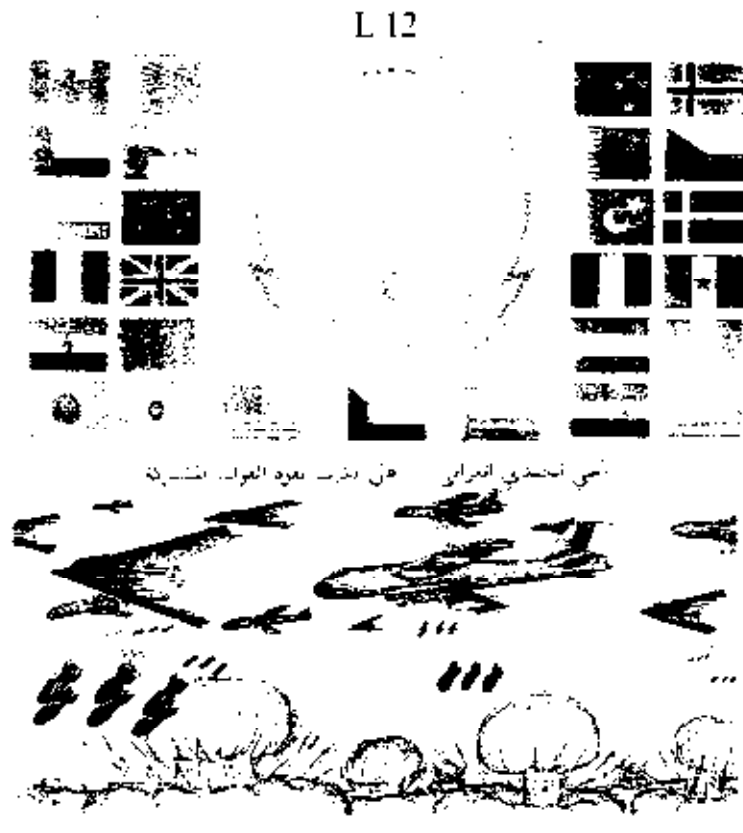


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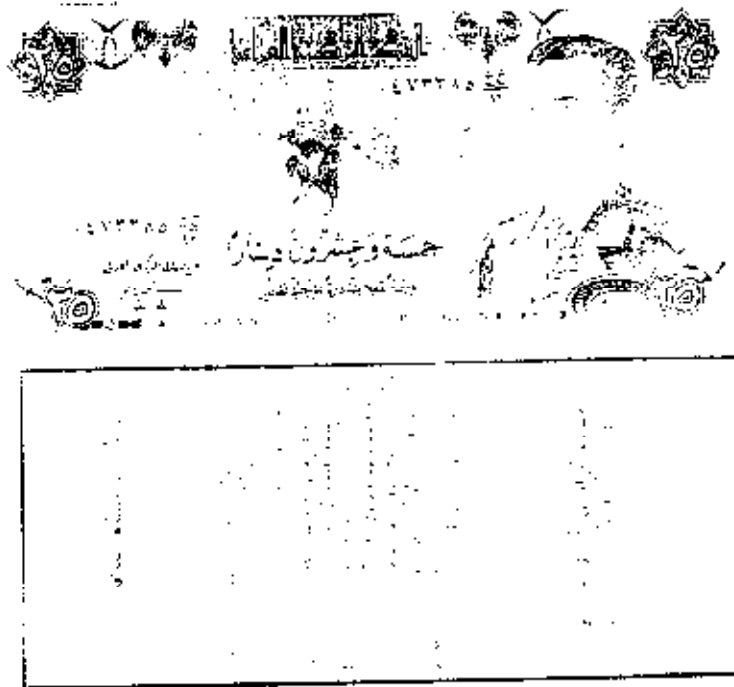
Front : Joint forces emblem bordered by the flags of countries fought with those forces.

Back : An Iraqi tank (left) is attacked by a helicopter , tank (right) , and stealth fighter (above). The heading is 'قوة نيران فائقة ، مدى بعيد و أسلحة فائقة'. This leaflet and thousands of its likes show the stick and carrot policy adopted by the US forces as is clear in the previous leaflets. Consider the following L 12 :



The hidden message is : your defeat is unavoidable sooner not later though this fact is once implicitly , and once again explicitly , referred to.

2.2.3 : L : 13



Front (colour) : 52-dinar note.

Back : There is a psychological warfare message topped with **لي نظر جنود الفيلق** and bottomed with **لا تقوتو من اجل صدام - بل عيشوا لاجل الإسلام الخامس** . in between one finds a long text speaking about the tragic end in store for soldiers. Here , the message related is implicitly announced. Once again , this leaflet writer committed grievous mistakes , grammatical or otherwise , that will be touched upon in the course of this analysis. It is clear that the address is directed to **جنود الفيلق الخامس** , i.e. to plural. But the singular is wrongly used in the mentioned leaflet :

- ان لي خذل في عجلات شحنتك [الصحيح : شحنتك] ، فاعلم [الصحيح : فاعلموا] انها سوف لا تتحرك .
- ... فاعلم [الصحيح : فاعلموا] انك [الصحيح : انكم] لا تستطيع [تستطيعون] دخول المعركة .
- وان عدم امكانية سلاحك [الصحيح : سلاحكم] فتح النار ، فاعلم [الصحيح : فاعلموا] انك [الصحيح : انكم] لن تجبر [الصحيح : تجبروا] الى [والصحيح : على] القتال .
- وان اصاب [الصحيح : اصيب] جيز الرصاصك ... فاعلم [الصحيح : فاعلموا] انك [الصحيح : انكم] لا تستطيع [الصحيح : تستطيعون] ... فانتك [الصحيح : فانتكم] .

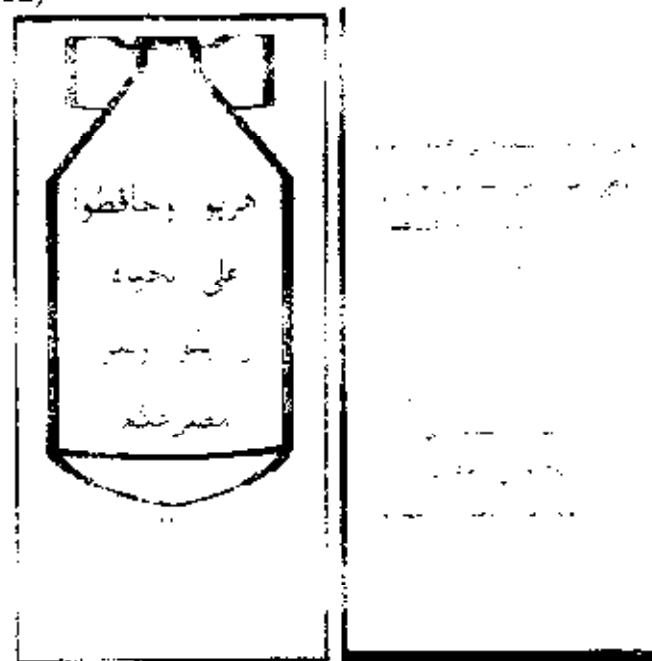
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In addition, the phrase **وان عدم امكانية سلاحك فتح النار** is poorly worded. Such mistakes rendered such a leaflet less affective. Further, the finalizing statement **بل عيشوا لأجل الإسلام** seems embedded and disharmonized.

It is worth to note that there are 6.6 million leaflets touching upon the theme of defeat whether verbally or non-verbally.

2.3 Fleeing : This theme is reinforced by different leaflets that reflect the coalition desire to precipitate of the army fleeing.

2.3.1 : L 14 (in red)

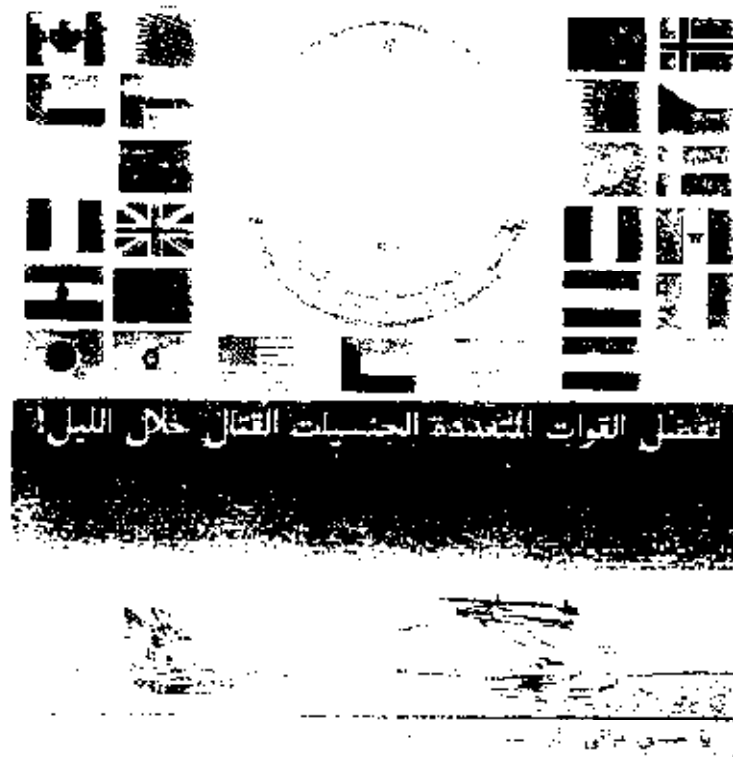


Front (on the right) : A text warning the site is scheduled to be bombed

Back (on the left) : A carpet bomb on which is inscribed **هربوا وحافظوا على الحياة** .
و بقوا والقوا حتفكم

In this leaflet the coalition forces use " the appeal-to- fear " bomb , reminding of its destructive powers , and using the superlative **أقوى من عشرين** and **أقوى قنبلة** and **صواريخ سكود** to instill fear in the soldiers' hearts. In addition , the leaflet also adopts " virtue words- technique " which is manifest in such expression as **حافظوا** , **الأمان** , **على الحياة** , **بكل الحب والاحترام** , **الإنضمام الى اخوانكم** . So , the message is : all roads are locked , run away to survive. Note that this technique that move Iraqis emotionally is also used in many other leaflets that call for fleeing and abandoning equipment , see below :

2.3.2 : L 15 (colour) - which is somewhat similar to L 11.



Front : Joint Forces emblem containing 27 flags.

Back : An Iraqi tank attacked by a helicopter and a tank. Above , one finds **تفضل** **يا جندي عراقي** : ان القوات المتعددة الجنسيات القتال خلال الليل! and at the bottom there is **الموت** and **الدمار** . **خلال الليل** . Thus , the use of **استمرارك في البقاء سيجنب عليك الدمار والموت!** are enough to frighten soldiers and hasten their escape away from battle field. Once again , this leaflet violates one of the leaflet writing principles : knowing the target language audience , including current idioms and slangs. Accordingly , how strange and incorrect is the Arabic vocative expression **يا جندي عراقي!!**

2.3.3 : L 16



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Front : on the right , an advancing coalition tank towards a fleeing soldier (alive of course) . On the left an advancing tank before of which there is a dead soldier. Above : *فأخبر نك : / اتركوا معدتكم او دافعوا عنها :*

Back : A carpet bomb topped and downed with the word *تحذير!* . Inside the bomb is written *سيجري قصف هذا الموقع قريبا / اتركوا معدتكم وانفثوا انفسكم* . Here , the leaflet holds soldiers the responsibility of stay and hence death through the use of " transfer technique " by virtue of which the coalition forces repudiate their responsibility. This leaflet is more successful because it is brief , direct , and to the point. The messages of fleeing and abandoning equipment reechoed in the following leaflets :

2.3.4 : L. 17



2.3.5 : L 18



اهربوا الى بيوتكم



2.3.6 : L 19

من عند الله ثم من عندكم



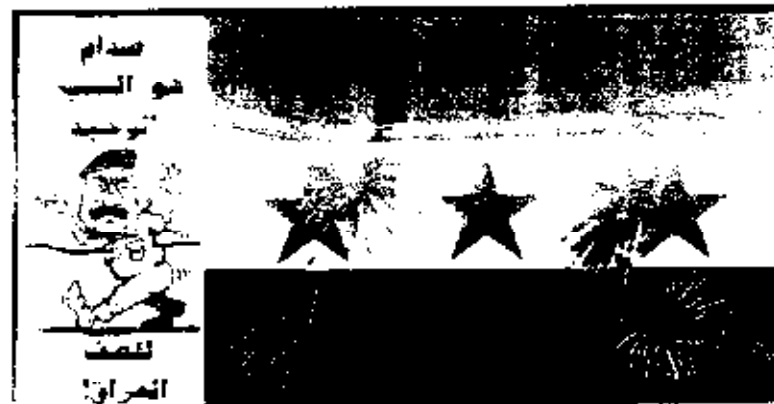
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2.4. Saddam's fault :

There are about 4.7 million leaflets illustrating Saddam as a main cause of all tragedies inflicted on the whole Iraqis.

2.4.1 : L 20



Right (colour): The Iraqi blood smeared flag.(colour)

Left : Drawing of Saddam (black -and-white) , above which : **صدام هو السبب الوحيد** , and below **لقصف العراق** . In this leaflet , both right and left information tell that no one is responsible , other than Saddam , for what happened ,hence the coalition forces transfer blame from their own through , as I said earlier , the " transfer technique " . In addition the black-and-white drawing of Saddam refers to the inevitable death Saddam was to experience. Also , it depicts Saddam as an indifferent leader , heeding to nothing even his own survival. Consider L 21.

2.4.2 : L 21



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Right : Saddam nervously clutches his sword.

Middle : He hysterically waves it.

Left : He completely cuts off his own head.

This cartoon-like leaflet shows that Iraq is destined to suffer a lot of Saddam's warlike and thoughtless actions. But the implied message is that Saddam is but a fool . an idiot that he cut off his own head. The leaflet tries to tell : this is your leader . Such foolishness and thoughtlessness are plainly expressed in the following leaflet.

2.4.3 : L 22



There is a pick up carrying the Iraqi flag and racing towards a cracking cliff topped with the emblem of pirates (i.e. skull and crossed bones) . and supplied with a machine gun on its roof. The heading is : انت عارف اخوي قيادتك وين رايحة هسة .

This leaflet is full of hidden messages . first , Saddam leadership is unaware of what is going on. Second . the use of " pickup " symbolizes that the soldiers are but looters. Third . skull implies death , destruction , and suicide. So . the end must be tragic willy- nilly. Saddam did this only to gain time and live some extra years however formidable the sacrifices are as in L 23.

2.4.4 : L 23



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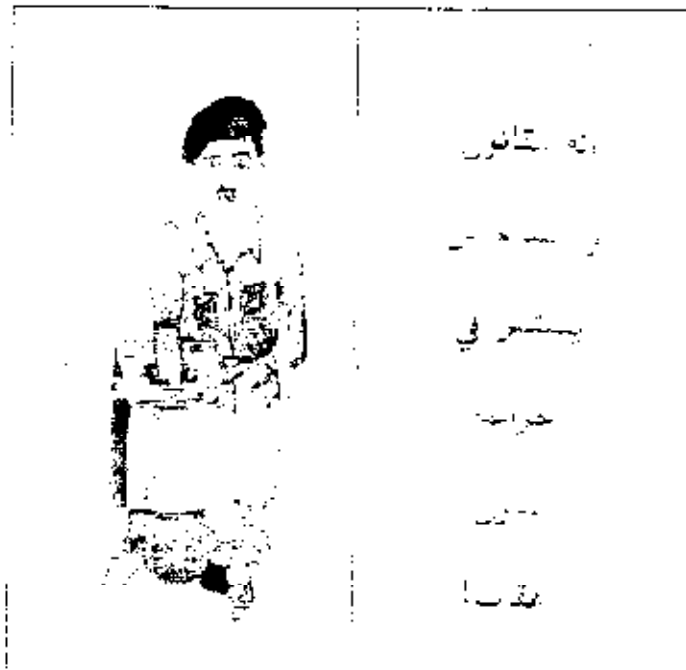


Front : 25 dinar note.

Back : Saddam in his uniform showing a scornful smile , squats on his throne with plenty of skulls under his feet. The heading is : *استطيع ان أعيش 20 سنة* . This leaflet does not show Saddam as a main cause of most tragedies but also shows his scorn for his victims being exterminated because of his reckless policies just to stay in throne some other 20 years.

But Saddam's crimes did not go unpunished , some penalties are in store for him , of which is pictured in the following.

2.4.5 : I. 24 (colour)



Front: Saddam in uniform inserting his right hand having been cut off. There are some blood and a cut off palm on the ground.

Back : A text reading *انه القانون وصدام لن يستمر في جرائمه بدون عقاب!*

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This leaflet implies that Saddam is a big thief who robbed another territory [Kuwait] - the crime that deserves sever punishment, i.e. cutting off hands in Islamic Sheri'a. Though propagandistically successful, the leaflet is not so culturally: cutting off hands because of theft, if it were to be practiced these days, does not include palm with fingers, but includes only the upper part of the four fingers (i.e. except thumb). In addition, sword is used for this purpose not the tool shown in the image.

2.5 The magic deadline of January 15 :

This date is illustrated differently by different leaflets: as a life buoy, gift box, hourglass, and calendar, all of which are short-lived and must be exploited as soon as possible.

2.5.1 : L 25



An Arab throws a life buoy (on which is inscribed 15 يناير) to a sinking Iraqi soldier. The Arab's words: هاي آخر طوق نجاه تلحق بيه روحك.. أخوي!! This is very clever leaflet in writing the date (15 يناير) - the last chance given to the Iraqi forces. The message is very clear: withdraw from Kuwait before time. The date is just a life buoy. Something is inappropriate here, it is the use of يناير - the word which is never used by Iraqis - military or civilian. The case that repeated in the following leaflets.

2.5.2 : L 26



A man labeled "UN", with word map head, gives a box tagged 15 يناير to an Iraqi soldier. Above is: العلم بيدك السلام.

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Again , it is a nice piece of leaflet speaking a lot with very few words. The message is : the whole world , not Arabs alone (as in L 25) , wants you to pull your forces and to take seize of the date 15 يناير which is here illustrated as a gift handed by the world as a whole.

2.5.3 : L 27



Front : A father sits on a chair , a mother sits on ground thinking of her dead son.
Above : 'أديا وتيني متى ترد' .

Back : An Arab , stretching his hands , looks at an hour glass which shows the date 15 يناير in the form of bubbles leaking gradually through the neck. He says : صدقوني يا جماعة .. الوگت مو لصالحنة . These Arab's words together with the hourglass show the confusion felt by all Arabs in the Gulf region (from the attire and the word 'وگت' . though the mistaken varieties are also used like : صدقوني (instead of صدقوني) . and (مو بصالحنة instead of مو لصالحنة) .

Anyway , there is something interesting here : the leaflet writer tried to exaggerate the masculine Arab community by sitting the man on the chair and the woman on the

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ground! Now , the date is pictured as a hourglass which denotes the attack is just hours away , not too far as an Iraqi leaflet illustrates hesitation on the part of the coalition by using the repeated phrases " نهجده ما نهجده ، نهجده ما نهجده ، نهجده ما نهجده " in the leaflet below :

L 28



L 29 : 2.5.4



An Arab talks to an Iraqi soldier , he points to a calendar and says : **نوگت ما راج : يساعذك .. كلها كد يوم .. وواصلك 15 يناير!!** Number 14 on the calendar strongly assures that the coalition forces are serious in reclaiming Kuwait. In other words , it is just one day away from the shooting phase. The message here is : try sooner not later to put your forces back in order not to shed more blood. In this leaflet , the deadline of January 15 is indicated to by using the calendar. However , it is similar to L 30 below with only one difference – the calendar shows the entire month of January , in addition to some differences related to background and shading.

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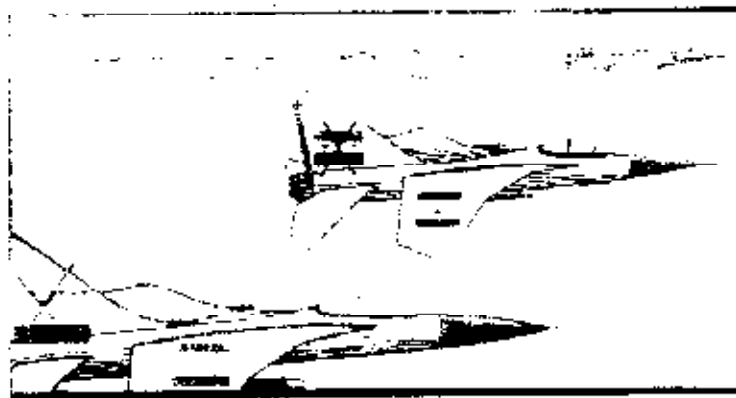
L 30



2.6 Other themes :

Other than the main themes addressed earlier , namely : surrender , defeat , fleeing , Saddam's fault , and the deadline of January 15 , there are some miscellaneous themes that can not be listed under certain headings. Of such themes are :

2.6.1 Iraq's Air Force : L 31 (black and white with the flags coloured)



Three Iraqi aircraft tagged with crossed Iraqi and Iranian flags. The heading above reads : سلاح الجو الإيراني مترابند . This leaflet refers to the Iraqi warplanes defected to Iran. The message here is directed to the pilots to surrender their aircraft to any side rather than Iran , perhaps Saudi Arabia.

2.6.2 Peace and unity : L 32 (colour)



مع السلام

سنبقى دائما يدا واحده

Front : Two Arab soldiers standing hand-in-hand . before them there are the flags of Iraq and Saudi Arabia.

Back : مع السلام سنبقى يدا واحده .

The leaflet connotes the brotherly relationship among Arab peoples as different from their leaders. In other words , the drawing and words on the reverse side clearly indicate : we have nothing to do with the people of Iraq , our problem is Saddam. However , thinking of peace is also highlighted by L 33

2.6.3 War and peace : L 33



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Late King Fahd thinks of three Arab soldiers . clasping their hands together.
Saddam thinks of a tank . flag of Kuwait .Iraqi armed soldier . and two dead.
The message in this leaflet shows the contradiction in thinking between what is going on in King Fahd's mind . and Saddam's . i.e. Arabs strive for peace . whereas Saddam strives for war.

3 Leaflets developed by other parties

Rounding off speaking about the leaflets airdropped by the coalition forces . I must say that all the warring parties - mainly Kuwait and Iraq - have their own leaflets . posters . or caricatures to defend their cause.

3.1 Kuwaiti leaflets

Kuwaitis . for instance . printed a postcard-like leaflet (see L 34 below) encompassing so many details suggestive of the situation Kuwait had experienced.

L 34



This leaflet is bordered by the national flags of the countries joined Kuwait in its dilemma. Such a flag-like border clearly refers that Kuwait is not alone in this conflict and it can be restored by the aid of these countries. Also . a jet flying overhead . compared to a Kuwaiti mosque at the bottom . means that Kuwait is to regain its sovereignty by force as it was seized by force. The rhymed poem inside . which is signed by " the Kuwaiti People " and shaped like Kuwaiti map . eulogizes " the heroes of Desert Storm " and condemns the "brothers [who] became ... foes ". To

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have a close look at this poem . see the appendix. This welcoming poem is materialized more clearly by L. 35 below in which Sheikh Sa'ad Al-Sabah appears waving his hand smiling :

L 35



It is topped with English words in capital " A WAR FOR DEMOCRACY. NOT FOR OIL ". The word " oil " is mentioned here to emphasize the fact the coalition troops come only to protect Kuwait not oil supplies. So . this leaflet seems just a reaction to what rumoured about controlling oil wells by US.

Anti-war voices . however . developed their own leaflets. Consider the flowing:

L 36

*I'm against
the GULF
WAR*

The above is written in red to more attract the attention of audience.

3.2 Iraqi leaflets

Iraq .on the other hand . has its "leaflets" disseminated in state-run magazines and newspaper or in the form of posters. Most of them are echoes of the "philosophy " of superman rooted in Saddam's reveries to repulse any attack and harness the whole situation to his own. Note that Iraqi leaflets are either directed to the coalition forces .

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Arab troops , or Iraqi soldiers and people. An example is given to illustrate each type.

3.2.1 : L 37 (for America forces)



The leaflet above tries to show the Iraqi legendary courage in confronting the enemy's war machinery by untold weapons . Accordingly , the theme of this leaflet lies in demoralizing coalition troops. The fact is also stressed by the words at the bottom warning enemy not to step further because of the fatal fire of Iraq.

3.2.2 : L 38 (for Arabs)

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This leaflet puts an Iraqi soldier face to face with Arab coalition forces , reminding them of former battles in which Iraq acquitted himself well. The message is double fold. First , It tells Arabs not to side with America and to go back to their countries. Second , it makes America doubt Arabs' loyalty. So , the leaflet appeals to Arabs to withdraw their forces.

3.2.3 : L 39(for Iraqi forces and people)

L 39



This leaflet categorized as a kind of " reverse propaganda " wherein " a radio labeled USA broadcasts some propagandistic messages that an Iraqi soldier lets them go straight in a waste bin. The leaflet is intended to make The Iraqi soldiers less susceptible to what the enemy says. In other words , it tries to instill rocky confidence in soldiers to enable them in not believing any message broadcast. It also implies that such propaganda is just garbage and must be disposed of.

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4 Conclusions

- Linguistically speaking , leaflets analyzed in the former pages are once persuasive (such as those related to the supremacy of coalition forces , see , for example L's : 14 , 16, 17 , 19) ; once again informative (those that give new information , e.g. L's : 1, 4, 5, 31) ; and third directive (leaflets that issue orders to surrender , flee , or do certain actions , e.g. L's : 2).
- Leaflets bearing the image of 27 flags (used as front or back side) are more repeated than others. Second come the leaflets carrying the "useless " Iraqi 25 note , which was rendered useful because of being employed as leaflets. Consider L 40 :

L 40



- Language used in most of those leaflets is grammatically and lexically poor , the salient example is L 13. Arabic weakness is coupled with such deformed features of characters that look like Bedouin or date back to thirties or forties , especially the women seen as beggars . Just think of L 27 in which the woman differs a lot from her real appearance. This case is equally applicable to other leaflets containing women. Thus the effectiveness is weakened by not heeding to language and cultural considerations.
- Some leaflets are coloured , some are black-and white. The former are used to attract the attention of target audience , particularly when their colours are different from the terrain on which they are dropped. The latter are intended not to be discovered by ruling authorities , also they refer to life and death , i.e. " to be or not to be " .
- Some leaflets are verbal (whether having long or short texts) , others are non-verbal (depending on the expressiveness or drawing itself.
- Through some meticulous examination of the grammatical , lexical , or cultural mistakes suffered by the U.S leaflets , one may render this to their English origin - i.e. they are just translations not originally put in Arabic.

Sadkhan

Last , the coalition (foreign and Arab) forces succeeded in Operation Desert Storm which was over at 08 : 00 on Thursday , February 28 , 1991 by dint of millions of leaflets and millions of precision missiles – both of them greatly upset Saddam. Think over L 41 to see how much nervous Saddam is about the aircraft that swarms him with huge numbers of leaflets :

L 41

IN APPRECIATION



From the Combined PSYOP Task Force

STP PROSEC 10000

What is strange in this battle is that all military actions happened on Thursday : Iraq's invasion of Kuwait (Thursday , August 2, 1990) , the shooting phase (Thursday , January 17, 1991) , the land phase (Thursday , February 21, 1991) , and the suspension of military operations (Thursday , February 28, 1991) (Sadkhan , 1991).

But still strangest (as far as figures are concerned) is the catastrophic outcome of this bitter adventure : decimation of 41 Iraqi divisions , capturing over 80,000 prisoners , destroying or damaging 4,000 tanks , 2,100 artillery pieces , 1,800 armoured personnel carriers , 103 aircraft and seven helicopters. All this was accomplished with the loss of less than 100 American soldiers. (Freidman 200 : 38-39).

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Appendix

TO THE HEROES OF DESERT STORM:

Dear Courageous Soldier:

On August 2nd as everyone Knows.

Our former brothers became our foes.

They invaded our land at night as we slept.

Over our borders by the thousands they crept.

In helicopters and trucks and in tanks they came,

The evil warriors of Saddam Hussein.

But then YOU came and brought hope to us all.

That Kuwait would be free and Saddam would fall.

We'd like to thank you for your courageous stand.

To expel the Iraqis and free our land.

You're in our hearts

this Valentine's Day,

And you're in our prayers

EVERY day.

Sincerely,

The Kuwaiti People

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الخلاصة :

تحليل لغوي لبعض المنشورات الدعائية التي أسقطت جوا
على العراق ما بين 1990 و 1991

" المنشور هو رسالة مكتوبة أو مصورة على قطعة من الورق ، ليس له حجم ، أو شكل ، أو نمط ثابت " (1 : Psychological Operation / Welfare Leaflets . 2002) . وهذه الدراسة تحاول مسح هذه المطبوعات – أي المنشورات التي ألقاها قوات التحالف على العراق في الفترة ما بين 1990 و 1991 أثناء عملية عاصفة الصحراء – ومن ثم تحليلها تحليلا لغويا. يُذكر بأن أغلب هذه المنشورات تم طبعها بأشكال مختلفة في السعودية وتركيا. إن المنشورات التي يجري تحليلها هنا في هذه الدراسة تتبنى تقنيات مختلفة في تصميمها من بينها : التمايز بالأسماء أو الألقاب ، والتعميمات الصارخة (أو التعبيرات اللطيفة) ، الإسقاط (أي تحويل المشككة على طرف آخر كأن يكون شخصا أو دولة أو مؤسسة ما) من أجل التأثير على جمهور الهدف. على أية حال ، إن المنشورات الدعائية التي طورتها أطراف أخرى داخلية في النزاع (كالكويت والعراق) قد خضعت هي الأخرى لموضع هذا التحليل اللغوي. من الجدير بالذكر أن هذا النوع من الدعاية يندرج تحت مفهوم الحرب النفسية لاسيما في هذا العصر المعروف بعصر المعلومات، ولو أن أول منشور دعائي مستخدم هو ذلك الذي أسقطته القوات البريطانية على ألمانيا في الحرب العالمية الأولى.