

RED SCARE PROPAGANDA IN THE UNITED STATES: A VISUAL AND
RHETORICAL ANALYSIS

by

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Under the Direction of Mary Hocks

ABSTRACT

This paper is a discussion and analysis of Red Scare propaganda from two different time periods: 1918-1921 and the 1940-50's. Six examples of propaganda have been chosen and analyzed both visually and rhetorically. The paper also contains a discussion of the historical context and times surrounding the images, helping to place the texts within a proper framework for discussion.

The six images are analyzed through Aristotle's traditional rhetorical devices – *ethos*, *pathos*, and *logos*. Seven logical fallacies are drawn from this discussion of rhetoric and applied to the images as well. The images are visually analyzed in terms of stereotypes they uphold as well as the American ideology of "Americanism" that they allegedly support.

INDEX WORDS: Propaganda, Red Scare, Rhetoric, Visual, Americanism, Ideology, Analysis, Communism, Red, Radical

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Thank you to Dr. Mary Hocks for all of your support, guidance, and wisdom, and to all of my friends and family who encouraged me and helped edit this paper. I am deeply indebted to all of you.

For Leander “Abner” Schroeder.

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“Propagandism is not, as some suppose, a ‘trade,’ because nobody will follow a ‘trade’ at which you may work with the industry of a slave and die with the reputation of a mendicant. The motives of any persons to pursue such a profession must be different from those of trade, deeper than pride, and stronger than interest.”

George Jacob Holyoake

I. Introduction

Propaganda comes to the reader in the form of a text. Texts are not confined to words on paper; they can come in the form of speeches and images as well as writing.

This paper will be concerned with the discussion of certain images aimed at undermining the general public’s opinion of radical political movements and, especially, communism.

It is important to understand how propaganda is utilized because this picture gives us an understanding of not only the ideology which the author or political system is promoting but also of the social and mental control which the rhetoric of propaganda is capable of asserting over the individual as well as the masses.

The two time periods from which the pieces of propaganda were chosen are from what I see as being the most intense periods of Red Scare persecution – the time period between 1919-1921 and the 1950’s. In order to place each piece of propaganda into correct context, we will discuss the history surrounding both time periods. History is helpful in creating a holistic view of any text, highlighting possible social and political influences that shape texts.

The use of images as text is important because while it takes a literate individual to read a text containing words, any person with the ability to see can read a visual text. While the subverted messages of the text may not be apparent to all readers, the overt messages – which are often the most powerful – will be evident. It is possible to say that

almost anyone within a certain age range would be able to understand the messages of the propaganda. All that the reader needs is a basic understanding of Red Scare frenzies and mentalities, and she is off and running with the text. The intentions of this paper are to create a space in which to critique the structure of and mechanisms at work in propaganda.

II. The Images

The images that will be analyzed in this paper come from widely different sources, though all of them do have one common link – they were mass produced and distributed throughout American society. The first three images are the oldest of the six. They are all political cartoons printed in well known newspapers between the years of 1919-1920.

The eldest, image 1.1, was created by Carey Orr and published in the *Chicago Tribune* on June 28, 1919 and carries the title “The Patriotic American.” This image depicts a representation of American labor, a labor group which had by this point endured decades of strikes and the appearance of labor unions. Additionally, this cartoon was published the same day as the Treaty of Versailles, the treaty that officially ended World War I, and there was doubtlessly a deep sense of patriotism and victory in the minds of many Americans, sentiments that are clearly at work in this piece.

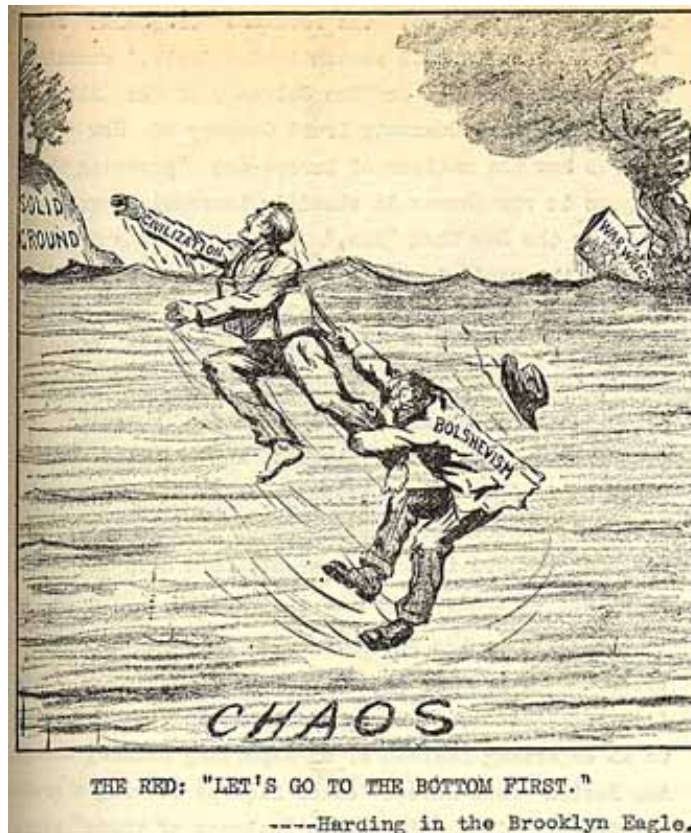
The second, image 1.2, is Nelson Harding’s “The Red: ‘Let’s Go to the Bottom First’” and was drawn for the *Brooklyn Eagle* on November 15, 1919. During 1919 there were an immense amount of labor strikes against big businesses such as the steel

industry, and there was a common sense in the media that the nation was falling to pieces because of these strikes (Chitty & Murolo, 167-168). This piece illustrates this fear.

Image 1.3, the last of these images, was created by the political cartoon artist Cassel and published on January 24, 1920 as “All They Want in Our Flag.” An interesting note about this piece is that its publisher, *New York Evening World*, was notorious for its sensationalism and was at one time owned by Joseph Pulitzer, the famed “yellow journalist” (Juergens, 43-44); this information may help to place the melodramatic nature of this cartoon into context.



1.1 – “The Patriotic American;” Orr, 1919.



1.2 – “The Red: ‘Let’s Go to the Bottom First;’” Harding, 1919.



1.3 – “All They Want in Our Flag;” Cassel, 1920.

The second set of images is more recent than the first. These images were all published between the mid-1940's and mid-1950's, which is the second time period of the Red Scare that is focused upon in this paper. These images were thrust into society in a much more direct way than the political cartoons. Rather than occupying space in the editorial section of a newspaper, these texts were directed to the general public through popular culture mediums such as comic books and bubblegum cards. Moreover, these images were directed more towards children than to adults.

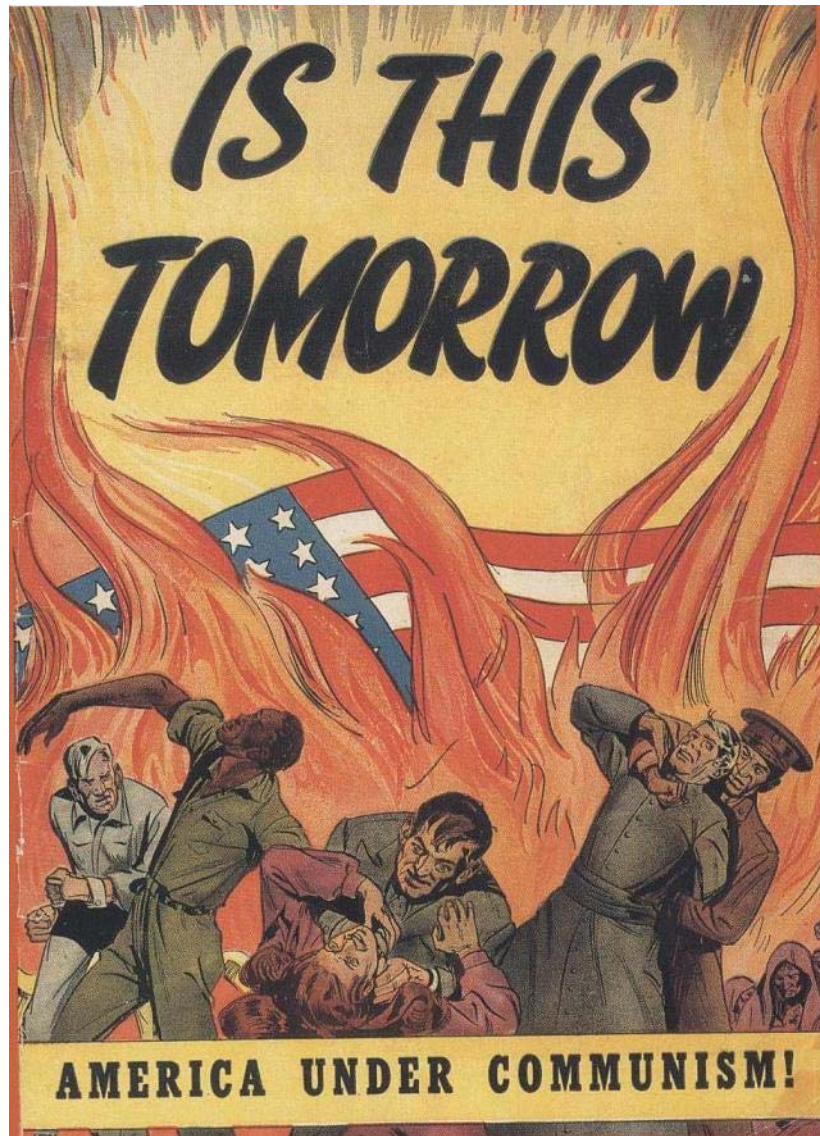
Anti-Red propaganda from the 1950's reflected the advances of civil rights. The texts have a much more positive, brighter image. These images certainly have a much more lighthearted, though deadly serious, tone, a tone which is partly created by the mediums through which they are presented as well as the audiences to whom they were addressed. The availability of color printing made it much easier for the propagandist to utilize race as a method through which to compare the American and the Radical.

"Is This Tomorrow," image 2.1, was published by the Catechetical Guild Educational Society of St. Paul, Minnesota in 1947. This image is the cover of a comic book created by the society to depict how they believed the United States would be should it fall into the clutches of communism. Over 4 million copies were published (Barson and Heller, 156).

The second image in this set, image 2.2, is a bubblegum card distributed by Bowman Gum, Inc. in 1951. It focuses on Mao Tse-tung, naming him a "War-Maker." There were several other bubblegum cards like this one that were published, some of

them focusing on the maladies of communist leaders and others focusing on innocent citizens and their plight in communist society (Barson and Heller, 110-111).

The last image, image 2.3, is the cover of a Captain America comic book, issue 76 published in May 1954. Captain American is still to this day considered an icon of American popular culture, a faux figure that embodies the ideal American superhero or perhaps even just the ideal American (*MarvelDirectory.com*). This comic is still a favorite of children and adults alike.



2.1 – “Is This Tomorrow;” Catechetical Guild Educational Society of St. Paul, Minnesota, 1947.

CHILDREN'S CRUSADE AGAINST COMMUNISM

47. War-Maker

Mao Tse-tung is the leader of the Chinese Reds who attacked the United Nations forces in Korea. His army was built up, in the first place, with the help of outlaws. Later the Russian Reds supplied him with arms and advisers. He captured the China mainland in three years of savage warfare against the Nationalist government. Mao delights in war. History, he says, "is written in blood and iron." The free world must find a way to keep war-makers like Mao Tse-tung from shedding the blood of innocent people.

**FIGHT THE
RED MENACE**



2.2 – “War-Maker;” Bowman Gum, Inc., 1951.



2.3 – “Captain America...Commie Smasher!” Marvel Comics, 1954.

III. What is Propaganda?

Several varying definitions of propaganda have been presented throughout the period of time in which this type of communication has been studied. Propaganda is defined by the Oxford English Dictionary as “the systematic propagation of information or ideas by an interested party, esp. in a tendentious way in order to encourage or instill a particular attitude or response” (*Oxford English Dictionary*, 634). In his text *Propaganda and the Ethics of Persuasion*, Randal Marlin surveys many historical definitions of propaganda, citing intellectuals from Chalmers Mitchell to Bertrand Russell. Marlin quotes Mitchell, stating that propaganda functions in order “to promote the interests of those who contrive it, rather than to benefit those to whom it is addressed” (Marlin, 18). Marlin also recognizes the opposite perspective on propaganda – that of the practicing propagandist. In this instance, he admits that “some practitioners of propaganda are eloquent about the potential of propaganda for good and so must be counted among those who view it as a neutral term, possibly even a favourable one” (Marlin, 21). Similarly, Robert Cole claims that propaganda is the “selection, arrangement, and presentation of information for the purpose of eliciting desired public responses – responses that might not be rational or responsible” (Cole, 621).

For the purposes of this paper, propaganda will be defined as such: Propaganda is the deliberate manipulation of one group’s social perception of another group or of an idea, pressing upon that group a certain party’s interest through the use of language and images, without respect for the individuals within the group’s own autonomy.

Propaganda systematically disregards truth, except where true statements may be used to further the fallaciously derived ideals of the party.

There is, then, no accountability in the creation and distribution of propaganda. In his work on the method of effective propaganda entitled *The Strategy of Persuasion*, Arthur E. Meyerhoff admits that propaganda “can be based on selected truths, half-truths, or outright falsehoods, separately or in combination” (Meyerhoff, 79). If there is no factual basis, or at the least a shaky one, for claims that are made in propaganda, then there is no reason for concern about the misconceptions which a particular view may give birth to. The propagandist manipulates his audience freely through the use of the “truths,” “half-truths,” and “outright falsehoods” to which Meyerhoff refers. Despite these outright statements about what propaganda is and how it operates, this form of communication has been, and continues to be, used to promote and to oppose political views throughout the world.

In order to place propaganda within a correct context, we must first understand the time period during which the propaganda was written. History is a crucial lens through which we must view instances of propaganda, so it is fitting that before we engage in a detailed rhetorical and visual analysis of these pieces, we must discuss some of the history of radicals and radical resentment in the United States around the time periods in which these pieces were created.

IV. A Short History

Being knowledgeable of the historical events surrounding Red Scare propaganda is important to our understanding of how the propaganda of that time functioned and to whom it was aimed. History also gives us a place of origin, a set time in which to place the propaganda. The prejudices which are utilized in a piece of propaganda are easier to identify when placed within a historical context and the intentionality of the propaganda becomes visible. We may place a certain amount of responsibility on the author once these prejudices and the power that they hold are better understood. The issue of accountability is forced into the mind of the reader once there is a stage set upon which to view the propaganda. The pieces are no longer just words or images on paper that have potential power but rather actual, intentional actions which aim to uphold some certain ideology (Marlin, 88). The propaganda can clearly be seen as a form of conversion to “Americanism” rather than as a suggestion that the American way is ideal as opposed to other social groups such as communist Russia or China.

The United States has traditionally been thought of as a pluralistic nation, allowing for cultural variation amongst its citizens. This traditional concept is contradicted by the reality of the existence of intolerance in American society. History has proven that the United States is no better than any other nation when it comes to how the government and its people treat marginalized or minority groups. Slavery and segregation have shown the racial lines that are drawn between individuals, and feminism has bluntly pointed to the mistreatment of women across all races and classes. The class system in the United States clearly separate groups of individuals from each other, with

the poorest citizens the furthest ostracized from most of society. Radical political activists have not fared much better. As history has shown us, the social repercussions of belonging to a radicalized group are far-reaching and often times painful.

A. 1918-1921

During the period of the early 20th century, radical political groups had begun to gain a toe-hold in American society. Local, state, and national governments were tiring of their strikes and civil disturbances. Many violent acts, including the Haymarket bombing in Chicago in 1886 and the shooting of steel giant Henry Clay Frick by radical anarchist Emmanuel Berkman in 1892, had already become an annoyance to police departments and court systems years before the beginning of World War I (Chitty & Murolo, 132). The name of the radical had certainly been tarnished by this time. Radical Emma Goldman was considered by officials to be at least partially responsible for pressing Leon Czolgosz to assassinate President McKinley through her wild speeches about throwing off the government to ensure the people's freedom. In her essay "The Psychology of Political Violence," Goldman states that "beyond every violent act there is a vital cause" and that violent political radicals are "modern martyrs who pay for their faith with their blood, and who welcome death with a smile, because they believe, as truly Christ did, that their martyrdom will redeem humanity" (Goldman, 211). Though Goldman herself generally opposed violent actions, her allowance of violence under extreme circumstances blackened her name.

Newspapers began to publish articles denouncing the violence and calling for action to be taken against the radicals, who by this time had become commonly known as "Reds." Typically, no clear distinction was made between the communist radical and the

anarchist radical; they were seen as working together for the common cause of social, political, and moral chaos. Thus, most of the writings against communism and anarchism were directed simply at “radicals” or “Reds” without any sort of discrepancy between the two groups.

Anti-Red sentiment took off at the end of World War I. With the Germans freshly defeated, Americans were looking at any sort of “anti-American” behavior as suspicious and possibly fascist. There seemed to be a common understanding in most of the propaganda from this period that anything anti-American should be lumped into the category of anti-democracy and anti-freedom. Radicals had previously been looked upon favorably by at least the common worker and individual as benevolent and helpful to their causes, due mostly to the fact that most radicals were themselves struggling workers. Labor unions such as the Industrial Workers of the World (IWW) were headed by openly communist activists. The United States government conducted raids upon unions and individual citizens that caused the unions to suffer not only because their offices were being searched and closed by the government, but raids conducted upon individuals were instilling fear in union members – fear of deportation or imprisonment (Chitty & Murolo, 172).

Big business had begun to take a beating post-WWI. During the period between 1919 and 1922, the United States saw more than 10,000 strikes, with more than one-fifth of the labor force striking in 1919 (Chitty & Murolo, 166). Attorney General A. Mitchell Palmer took matters into his own hands after an attempted bombing at his own home in Washington D.C.; on January 2, 1920, 10,000 allegedly Red immigrants were arrested

during what become known as the Palmer Raids, and about 500 of those arrested were eventually deported (Chitty & Murolo, 167).

This harsh reaction towards radicals can be seen from many perspectives. At base, the United States government was looking out for its own interests. Radicals were causing turmoil in the common people and placing doubts in their minds about the benevolence of America towards its people. It can also be said that officials were looking out for the interests of big business, attempting to keep the rich happy and contributing to their campaigns. The additional surge of American pride resulting from a victory in WWI certainly raised the “American spirit” in the hearts of Americans, and it is this pride that we see present in the second time period that we now turn to: the 1940-50’s.

B. The 1940-50’s

The second time period which we must discuss is that of the 1950’s. World War II had set the focus of the American people on fascism in Europe and Asia, and following the end of WWII, the American gaze came to rest back upon radical political groups in America. Censorship began in mass; Reds were feared to be anywhere – in the book you were reading, in the office next to you, or even under your bed. J. Michael Sproule explains that “a curious process of symbolic transference was at work whereby symbols applied to Hitlerite Germany were projected onto the USSR on account of the dangerous ‘Red Fascism’ promoted by Stalin” (Sproule, 208).

Even though Russia had become an ally during WWII, the end of the war birthed the Cold War and tense relations between the United States and non-democratic nations. Immigrants from Eastern European nations or Asian nations were sure to encounter immigration problems. Intolerant sentiments and actions preceded the end of WWII,

however. In 1940, the US government passed the Alien Registration Act, also known as the Smith Act, which required that all non-citizen immigrants comply by certain procedures. These procedures included being fingerprinted, registering with the US Justice Department, and telling the government about their whereabouts. In addition, the Smith Act also made advocating the overthrow of the government a federal offense (Chitty & Murolo, 217). In February 1942, President Roosevelt declared that a large population of Japanese Americans be placed into internment camps for fear that fascist spies would infiltrate American society, doubtlessly fearing infiltration of Japanese spies into the American society.

The intensity of anti-radical sentiment that was fostered by the Cold War was of a different sort, however. Officials began looking within the national borders for dissenters and purging both government agencies and private companies of supposed Reds. Many of the people who were arrested and indicted were accused under Smith Act violations. By the dawn of 1954, many citizens had lost their right to vote as well as health benefits that were provided by the government. In perhaps one of the most alarming incidents in Red Scare history, Julius and Ethel Rosenberg were accused of espionage and executed in 1953 (Chitty & Murolo, 233). Despite these violations of individual civil rights, the United States continued to wave high the banner of its advances in civil rights, broadcasting even to other nations how far it had come in the struggle against racism, such as the desegregation of schools and of the military.

This propaganda did indeed aid in the American people's acceptance of the Cold War and hatred for communist nations (Chomsky, 32), resulting in massive xenophobia

and racism against communist nations such as Russia and China. This fearful repugnance seems hardly to be in line at all with the egalitarian, race-neutral image that the United States put forth about itself. As French existentialist philosopher Jean-Paul Sartre explicated in a 1947 article published in *The Nation*, the

careful arrangement of those melting-pot notions – Puritanism, realism, optimism, and so on - ...permit us to understand the system but not the people....The system is a great external apparatus, an implacable machine which one might call the objective spirit of the United States and which [in America] they call Americanism – a huge complex of myths, values, recipes, slogans, figures, and rites...it is something outside of the people, something presented to them....There are the great myths, the myths of happiness, of progress, of liberty, of triumphant maternity...There is the myth of equality – and there is the myth of segregation, with those big beach-front hotels that post signs reading ‘Jews and dogs not allowed’....There is the myth of liberty – and the dictatorship of public opinion...Perhaps nowhere else will you find such a discrepancy between people and myth, between life and the representation of life. An American said to me at Berne: ‘The trouble is that we are all eaten by the fear of being less American than our neighbor’”
(Sartre, *The Nation.com*).

Sartre’s article states the obvious tension that exists between American ideology post-WWII and the reality of the social situation in the United States of America. American propaganda that was distributed to other nations may have discussed the positive effects of the Civil Rights movement and the accomplishments that the United States was working towards in regards to segregation, but these texts surely left out the

images of policemen spraying defenseless African Americans with fire hoses or police dogs attacking protesters, sometimes seriously wounding or even killing them. Similarly, it would not have been in the interest of the United States as a beacon of democracy to actually exhibit democratic values when approaching the subject of propaganda. The nation could not be seen as “soft” on communism; thus, every attempt was made to convince Americans and the rest of the world that America would conquer, just as it had in the past, and that communism would not and could not survive within its borders. In order to maintain its image as powerful and superior, the United States could not have allowed the rest of the world to see the explosive tension that lived within its borders.

It seems that propagandists hid America behind a veil of innocence, all the while contradicting this image in the very same pieces of propaganda. We must now take a closer look at the rhetorical devices and logical fallacies that propagandists used in order to convince almost an entire nation of the alleged evils of communism and its followers.

V. Traditional Rhetoric vs. Propaganda

Good, sound arguments are traditionally built upon strong logical connections that link together each part of the argument. Traditional rhetoric teaches that there are three separate gauges by which one may determine the value and effectiveness of an argument – *ethos*, *pathos*, and *logos*. Aristotle is commonly held to be the original author of the concepts of these three rhetorical devices, and in his text *Rhetoric* he defines them, laying out their potential powers and how they may aid a writer in forming her argument. Marlin explains that “Aristotle writes that persuasion is based on three things: the *ethos*, or

personal character or the speaker; the *pathos*, or getting the audience into the right kind of emotional receptivity; and the *logos*, or the argument itself” (Marlin, 47). We will explore each of these devices in the following sections.

A. Ethos

The concept of *ethos* is the easiest of Aristotle’s three rhetorical devices to understand. It can refer to either the ethical reputation of the writer or, as Nan Johnson explains, “a mode of persuasion that relies on the speaker creating a credible character for particular rhetorical occasions” (Johnson, 243). The latter understanding of *ethos* is the more useful for this paper. In the construction of an argument, the burden of creating a trustworthy and sincere piece of writing falls upon the writer. She must carefully construct passages that will lead her audience to follow in her direction based on the plausibility of her argument. If successful, the writer may ensure the ethical standing of herself as a writer as well as the ethical value of her text.

In propaganda, the authors seem less concerned with the ethics of their texts than with construing their opposition as depraved. In a sense the propagandist is attempting to turn the concept of *ethos* on its head, reversing its intentions and purpose. Instead of portraying an ethical piece of work that seeks to create an argument that is put forth honestly, the propagandist creates images that operate on stereotypes that are racist and ethnocentric as well as common misconceptions that portray the group negatively. In doing this, he creates a piece that is ethically unsound, yet he is often calling for the ethical concern of his audience. Even though he has made potentially false and unfounded accusations, he pleads with his audience to righteously hate the opposition.

B. Pathos

Next in our discussion we approach the subject of *pathos*, the most controversial of the three rhetorical concepts. *Pathos* is meant to be an emotional appeal to the audience. It is often seen as a manipulative device through which a writer twists the sentiments of the audience until they are in accord with what the writer wants them to feel, and, thereby, think. When speaking of *pathos*, Aristotle states that “an emotional speaker always makes his audience feel with him, even when there is nothing in his arguments; which is why many speakers try to overwhelm their audience by mere noise” (Aristotle, 179). Further, this emotional type of discourse sucks its audience in, making them want to become a part of the excitement. If someone in the audience does not understand the information being put forth or has never before heard the argument being posited, he will likely buy into the argument because “the hearer is ashamed of his ignorance, and agrees with the speaker, so as to have a share of the knowledge that everybody else possesses” (Aristotle, 180).

When *pathos* is used correctly, it is manifested in the word choice and order of the placement of subjects within the author’s text. The author will choose to use words that are more powerful (for instance, “a *voracious* appetite” instead of “a *strong* appetite”). Using more powerful or key words will excite the audience and grab their attention much more assuredly than weaker phrases or words. The order in which an author presents issues to his audience is important as well. Subjects of discussion must be arranged in an appealing manner that not only makes sense but also rouses the audience (Colavito, 493). If the author leaves all of the exciting information until the very end of his text, the audience is likely to be bored and stop reading before they reach the end of the text.

Similarly, if the information is spread out completely evenly through the text, it will lose some of its potency. In the instance of propaganda, it may be said that the author is presenting all of the emotionally arousing information to his audience immediately, overwhelming it in order that the rest of the information, the concepts that would put the propaganda in an objective perspective, is lost and forgotten.

It is easy to see, then, how *pathos* might run out of control in a text. If proper constraint is used along with the boundaries that are put in place by the other two rhetorical devices, then the potential passion and intensity that underlie *pathos* will not run amuck and the text will not be placed in a controversial position. Since propaganda does not recognize the need to use the three rhetorical devices in proper conjunction with each other, *pathos* is allowed to run freely throughout the texts, pulling the audience in any direction it pleases. This is possibly one of the biggest appeals in propaganda; it makes the audience *feel* very strongly about an issue, whether or not they actually *know* what the propagandist is speaking about. Propaganda is concerned with making the audience feel its passion and not necessarily think through its position. By overwhelming the audience with emotional images and words, the propagandist is able to bypass the problem of having a thinking audience that may point out the fallacies at work in the texts.

C. Logos

Logos is perhaps the most confusing of the rhetorical devices, mainly because of the multiplicity of meanings of the word. *Logos* has been most commonly understood to mean either language or logic; most rhetorical studies consider it to mean something along the lines of a type of logical reliability in a text. George E. Yoos defines it as a

“logical appeal ultimately understood as an appeal both to consistency and substantive reasons...appeal[ing] to...the logical form that binds and relates terms” (Yoos, 410). Solid arguments must contain logical connections between points. Thesis statements cannot simply be made without proper evidence of why they should be accepted. Similarly, one cannot make outrageous claims within an argument without causing the entire argument to come into question. Ideas must be systematically tied together with caution and reason. To ignore logical structures in an argument is to ignore what it means for something to be an argument at all.

If a text is to be said to actually embody or contain within it the concept of *logos*, then logical fallacies cannot be present. By logical fallacy is meant the construction of an argument that would defy the boundaries and qualifications of logic. Marlin presents several logical fallacies in his text (Marlin, 102-114), and now we will turn to a table in which a few of these fallacies are defined with expository examples from the images in this essay:

<i>Fallacy</i>	<i>Definition</i>	<i>Example</i>
Glittering Generality	Associating an object or person with virtue words such as “good” or “bad.”	In image 2.2, for example, Mao Tse-tung is described as a “war-maker.” <i>Plain Folks</i> : an idea is “of the people,” even though it may not actually be so. Image 1.1 labels the man who beats down the “foreign extremist” as “American Labor,” insinuating that all American laborers feel this way.
Card Stacking	The use of truths and non-truths, distractions, etc. to place a situation or person in the best or worst of lights.	This fallacy is perhaps most evident in 2.2, where Mao Tse-tung is colored green (signifying sickness or greed), and the Chinese warrior (symbolized by a gorilla) is wading in blood.
<i>Ad Hominem</i>	“To the person;” an irrelevant attack on a person’s character rather than a response to the issue at hand.	A good example is how the radical is portrayed in the political cartoons; the depiction of him as dirty and ragged is meant to lead the reader to mistrust him based on appearance rather than upon the basis of his political beliefs, which is what the cartoons are supposedly trying to argue.
<i>Ad Populum</i>	“To the people;” the substance needed in an argument is avoided and there is rather an appeal to popular opinion to justify the argument.	Image 2.3 embodies this well; American freedom is a popular idea, and Captain America stands for this ideal with his red, white, and blue outfit along with his patriotic battles against supposed tyrants, appealing to public sentiment rather than logical reason to justify anticommunist sentiment.

<i>Non sequitor</i>	“It does not follow;” the argument contains irrelevant or unfounded claims.	The mutilation of the American flag in 1.3 is an example of this fallacy. The red in the flag and the concept of “Red” are entirely separate things, but the author chooses to use the flag to signify common perception about the greedy, blood thirsty radical.
Straw Man	Unrelated arguments or issues are presented to the audience and the matter at hand is not addressed; this unrelated argument or issue is instead defeated by the writer, without actually dealing with the real problem.	1.2 depicts a Bolshevik trying to drag civilization into chaos and away from solid ground, an idea that communism (which is what the author presumably means by “Bolshevism”) never posited. This created unease in the reader’s mind rather than providing her with real reason to reject radical sentiments.
Hasty Generalization:	Draws a conclusion about a broad group of people based on the evidence of a few.	The violence in 2.1 insinuates that all communists are violent instead of honestly noting that <i>some</i> communists are violent just as <i>some</i> democratic people are violent.

Table A – “The Fallacies”

A logical argument, then, cannot commit any of these fallacies without placing its hypothesis under speculation.

These examples show how propaganda manipulates the device of *logos*. It seems fairly evident that propagandists reject the need to incorporate logical claims into their arguments. What is striking is how instead propaganda takes on the mask of *logos*, all the

while disregarding its guidelines. As has already been stated, propaganda seeks to make its audience feel rather than think; thus, the reader is not entirely concerned with the structures of logic that should be in place. It becomes easier for the propagandist to then take his argument and make connections that seem to be logical but are in fact not. If the audience is already in a state of frenzy, then they are much less likely to consider whether or not the emotions they are feeling are warranted or necessary and are more likely to accept claims that are based upon fallacies such as glittering generality, card stacking, and straw man. Further, if the reader has already been pushed to believe one thing about the party that is depicted as in the negative position in the propaganda, then she may take this information and believe that it does imply something further about that party – something that the propagandist has already laid out on the table, waiting for the reader to devour. The propagandist sets up a faux logical argument, all the while committing fallacy after fallacy.

D. The Result

There is a glaring difference between an argument that seeks to persuade and a propagandist's piece of writing. When an argument is presented fairly to an audience, the rhetor seeks to not only explicate upon her own position but also to present the other side, in order that the audience may compare one with the other and come to a conclusion. While the rhetor may write in such a way as to persuade her audience, the facts remain as they are, free from manipulation. A proper conjunction of the three rhetorical devices should result in a sound piece of writing

Propaganda, on the other hand, takes the facts and bends them this way and that, seeking not to inform its audience as much as contort their thinking into one direction or

the other. It is evident that propaganda relies heavily on a distortion of *pathos* to make its statements. The audience is prodded in one direction by their emotions and an actualization of *logos* is impossible. It is debatable whether or not this type of a text is unethical. Some may say that it is entirely up to the reader what they derive from a text. Others may claim that an author knows exactly what he is doing when he writes stereotypes and prejudices persuasively into a text, and that, while it is the reader's responsibility to filter information and come to her own conclusions, she is doubtlessly bombarded by images that are meant to twist her sentiments and thoughts in a certain direction. It is also valid to point out that some propaganda is put forth under the guise of being "news" and as credible information about the real nature of the world. Thus the reader can get lost in a web of propaganda and sound discourse, unsure of which information is accurate and which should be disregarded as invalid.

VI. The Analysis

News is literature, and literature inevitably contains some sort of fantastical view leaking out from its author. Thus when the events of the Red Scare were reported, sides were chosen and groups were either praised or ridiculed. Some authors chose to side with the radicals, defending their actions against big businesses who mistreated their workers. More commonly, however, radical movements were denounced as disruptive of the harmony that was alleged to exist in American society and of the traditional ideals of democracy that the United States was supposed to embody. From this sentiment of

betrayal sprung forth an immense amount of pro-American, anti-Red propaganda that reinforced the ideals of the American nation.

It is with this propaganda that the “American way” made its appearance in pictorial and symbolic form. Propagandists drew upon positive American stereotypes in order to set up a binary relationship between American democracy and radical politics. Embodied within the idea of American democracy are not only the perceived understandings of democracy such as civil liberties and political equality, but also the traditional American social ideals that translate into a measurement of one’s “American-ness” and even one’s morality.

In the United States, the reaction against communism and communist individuals has been harsh and vicious. Noam Chomsky explains that “when anti-Communist fervor is aroused, the demand for serious evidence in support of claims of ‘communist’ abuses is suspended, and charlatans can thrive as evidential sources...the ideologues of anticommunism ‘can do and say anything’” (Chomsky, 30). The anticommunist frenzies which overcame the sensibilities of even the most level-headed American was based upon a distinctly American ideology, one which envelopes the traditional American freedoms as well as the self-motivated, self-made model of the “good American.” It is difficult to define this ideology; part of its function is in its elusiveness, in the fact that, because there are not strict guidelines which restrict its moves, the ideology is allowed to take on any mask it chooses to deem “American” as well as cast off any mask that becomes tiresome. Chomsky hints that “because the concept [of this ideology] is fuzzy it

can be used against anybody advocating policies that threaten property interests or support accommodation with Communist states and radicalism” (Chomsky, 29).

When one sets out to analyze pieces of propaganda, it is important to understand the symbolism that is being used. More often than not, the artist is intentionally using certain national symbols in order to evoke certain feelings and ideas. While these symbols themselves may not actually have any real significance outside of that which is placed upon them, they serve to remind the reader that there is a group ideology being protected and advocated – and another group ideology being ridiculed and bashed.

Specific symbols were used repeatedly in anti-Red propaganda, intending to represent either the American or the radical. Tactics such as repetition and the use of overt social, racial, and class stereotypes are important for propaganda. Almost any reader can pick up on signals that are used over and over again. Meyerhoff outlines five steps to creating potent propaganda. He states that

First of all, *attention* must be gained by the persuading agent. Then, *interest* must be created. Next, *desire* must be aroused and *action* must be stimulated. When these elements are translated to words or pictures they must be *communicated repeatedly*, day after day, to the greatest number of people of the group to be persuaded, until the idea is finally accepted. (Meyerhoff, 128)

These steps seem to operate with faith in basic human tendencies; that is, the habit of internalization by individuals. When one hears a message recurrently or sees an image associated with a set group of people, she will naturally begin to internalize these ideas (Meyerhoff, 129). Even if she is careful in her analysis of the texts that are placed before her, she is still bombarded by these ideas and will, more often than not, have them stuck somewhere in the back of her mind. These steps do indeed function in propaganda. The

concept of repetition is particularly apparent in each of the pieces studied in this essay. Specific images and stereotypes of both Americanism and Reds are repeated continually.

Since a repetition images and ideas leads to an internalization of these images and ideas, it was useful and pragmatic for the propagandist to utilize these symbols, most of which draw upon stereotypes of the depicted populations at large. A significant portion of the anti-Red propaganda appeared in popular culture and mass media; thus, these ideas were easily communicated to an incredible amount of Americans. Magazines, films, newspapers, and even the backs of cereal boxes proclaimed the message of “Red bad, **American good.**”

A. Patriotism and the Average American

Symbols of American tradition include the American flag and strong men.

Propagandists draw upon convention and traditional American ideals to raise the character of the hero. If the figure embodies specific American ideals such as strength, freedom, and democracy, then the audience will be more likely to connect him to positive things and thereby follow his lead or adapt his method of thought or action (Meyerhoff, 75; 123).

Take, for instance, the man representing American labor in image 1.1. This man is labeled by the title of the piece as “*The Patriotic American*” (my italics). The man is has large muscles in his arms and has apparently just knocked the “foreign extremist” on the ground. He is clean, with styled hair and a well-groomed mustache. His clothes are not torn and appear to be clean. He is wearing boots, just as the extremist is, but there are no signs of holes in his boots as there are in the other man’s. There is an aura of composure and level-headedness; one gets the feeling that he has struck the extremist because he

deserves it. The angle at which he is standing represents a sort of power as well. Not only is he standing above the extremist, a position into which he has placed himself by knocking the extremist down, but he is also angled as though he is ready to hit again, his fist cocked and ready to strike.

It is pertinent to discuss what exactly the concept of “patriot” entails. A patriot is defined by the Oxford English Dictionary as “one who disinterestedly or self-sacrificingly exerts himself to promote the wellbeing of his country...one who maintains and defends his country’s freedom or rights” (*Oxford English Dictionary*, 349). Under this definition, it becomes difficult to understand how the American laborer in this image can actually be called a patriotic American. He is beating down the radical not for the wellbeing of his country, but because the man called him “brother.” Further, it can be argued that this radical’s freedoms and rights as a citizen of the United States are being trampled when he is selected as a target because of his choice of words or because of his political stance. Based on these ideas, the author is committing the plain folks and *ad populum* fallacies, claiming that the people of the United States overwhelmingly have a certain attitude towards radicals, as well as making a hasty generalization about how all radicals look and act.

Another example of the common American is in a political cartoon as well – image 1.2. Instead of the American being portrayed as strong and bearing down upon the radical, here the American is scared, fighting for his life. It must be noted that the cartoon does not title “civilization” as distinctly American, but there is something to be said for

the fact that this cartoon was published in an American newspaper, to an American audience, with American stereotypes in play.

At first glance there do not seem to be any glaring differences between the two individuals in the image, “civilization” and “bolshevism,” the latter presumably standing for communism. Upon a closer look, however, one notices that “civilization” has a life preserver, while “bolshevism” does not. This could be implying that while communist ideals are not intended to survive or, in this example, remain afloat, civilization, which does not incorporate communism, is meant to survive. The only relationship between the two concepts is Bolshevism’s attempt at ruining civilization and sending it to its grave.

The man representing civilization is obviously panicked, reaching for “solid ground” and fighting against the strength of the bolshevist. The author leaves something unsaid in this cartoon; the question remains unanswered, “Who will win?” This adds to the drama of the text, putting its audience on edge and attempting to create in them the same panic that the man in the image is feeling. This man is meant to depict the fear that the average American was supposed to have of radicals. This text declares that if you are not afraid, there is a chance that you are not a friend of civilization.

There is one last example of a portrait of Americanism that is worth mentioning – Captain America. Created by Marvel Comics, Captain America stands tall at 6 feet, 2 inches in height and radiates Anglo-Saxon traits with his blonde hair and blue eyes. He is proclaimed to represent “the pinnacle of human physical perfection. While not superhuman, he is as strong as a human being can be....Captain America is one of the finest human combatants Earth has ever known” (*MarvelDirectory.com*). Captain

America defeats all of his opponents; these opponents are classified as anyone seeking to dismantle democracy or who pose a threat to the United States of America. He is meant to represent the American spirit, a type of energy that is supposed to be embedded in every American citizen. He is inspiring and exciting and a true embodiment of the triumphant American spirit that has prevailed throughout history.

B. The Red Radical

These symbols are set up against the opposition – the radical. In pictorial form and when symbolized, the radical is always smaller, dirtier, and weaker. Most often the radical or communist is also depicted as a non-Caucasian figure. The images of the radical are almost always of a tattered, worn out man who is generally of some foreign descent. Within the discussion of the radical as chronically symbolized as foreign and the American patriot as white, one must recognize the racism or at least the ethnocentrism and xenophobia at work in the propaganda.

The *Oxford English Dictionary* defines the concept “foreign” as “introduced from outside; not belonging to the place in which it is found...unfamiliar, strange” and “foreigner” as “a stranger, outsider; a little-known person” (*Oxford English Dictionary*, 51-52). As we have already discussed, the image of the American is generally of a white, strong, well-dressed man who proudly defeats his non-democratic enemies. If we apply the concept of the foreigner to these examples of propaganda, then we would expect the Red to be just the opposite of the portrait of the American – non-Caucasian, dirty, and weak. A close look at these images reveals that the Reds are indeed cast in this light, completely separate from and “othered” by the American image.

In the political cartoons, the radical is shown in contrast directly to the American laborer, with his styled hair and shaven face. The Red is usually a bearded man and is scruffy, unkempt, and poor. He was often conceived of as wild and without boundaries, and this is portrayed in the aesthetic appearance of his representation. A beard also serves to cover up the color of the man's skin. Whereas the American is always obviously white (for example, Captain America in 3.3 or American Labor in 1.1), the bearded man's race is somewhat aloof, unable to be strictly identified because he is hidden behind a sort of a mask. And who can trust a man behind a mask? The reader is told to distrust, to assume evil. Here the author is committing the *ad hominem* fallacy, depicting the radical as esthetically unpleasing in order to persuade the audience that he is not only dirty on the outside but on the inside as well.

What is interesting is that although the radical is set opposite of American labor, he looks more like an actual American laborer than does the intended representation of the laborer. This method is used as a sort of mirror by which the reader may take the image of the American laborer and internalize it, believing himself to be that man, to be dressed that well, to be that powerful. He is taught to reject the image of the Red as bad, though that may be the image that he would rationally internalize because it is closest to what he is outwardly. By associating himself with that image, he is told that his position is better than it actually is, that there is not anything worth fighting for because he has already attained it – he is the national symbol of the labor class. In his mind he is strong, able-bodied, and handsome even if he is actually tired, starving, and dirty in reality.

In addition to making the radical foreign, he is also portrayed as weak. In 1.1 and 2.3, the Red is defeated, either lying on the ground in startled agony or in the clutches of the patriotic American warrior or citizen. Here, in these two images, the radical is disabled by Americanism. If the radical does exhibit signs of strength, this strength is seen as a threat. Examples of this include the murderous radicals in 1.2 and 2.1, and the menacing, bloodthirsty image of Mao Tse-tung in 2.2. Image 1.2 clearly outlines the potential danger of the radical, while 1.3 subtly states its seriousness. Images 2.1 and 2.2 are blatantly state that if communism is allowed power, then violence and death will result. These images of radicals are not only hasty generalizations based on the example of a few radicals but are also examples of non sequitor arguments; simply because radicals gain strength does not imply that the nation of the United States of America is under a threat or that any violence will ensue. The combination of these two fallacies creates a dramatic and damning stereotype of the radical as devious and dangerous.

C. The Flag as Symbol

One commonly used symbol is the flag. Flags are meant to represent a body of people and what that body stands and fights for. Using a flag incorrectly or carrying the wrong type of flag are the sorts of things that one does not generally want to do if he is seeking to uphold a good name within that group. Thus when looking at the symbol of the flag in a piece of propaganda, it is important to note whether the flag is being praised or disdained, held high or abused. It is also important to note how prominent the flag is in the picture. The smaller the size, the less importance is generally attached to the flag. The larger the size, the more the artist wishes to put forth a message via the flag.

Take, for instance, image 2.3. Captain America is actually dressed in the stars and stripes of the American flag, as well as holding a shield that contains the same symbols. Here the American flag that clothes Captain America represents power, pride, and victory, while the shield represents protection – protection against communism and foreigners. Additionally, his shield is ornamented with the stars and stripes of the American flag. This shield is his only weapon, and it is practically indestructible. Indeed, “the only way [the shield] can be damaged in any way is by tampering with its molecular bonding” (*MarvelDirectory.com*). This shield, in conjunction with the image of the American flag, truly represents the supposed strength of the American nation.

Another example of flag symbolism occurs in 1.3. The man here is holding a dissected, mangled flag with only the red parts left. Presumably he has removed the other parts of the flag because he has no use for them. What is important to understand in this example is the power of removing the other colors from the flag as well as what is being asserted by the statement “All they want in our flag.” Firstly, removing the white stripes and blue corner means that the concepts of purity and innocence, which are represented by white, as well justice which is represented by blue (*USFlag.org*), are extracted from the picture. That is, the statement being made is that the “Red” has no use for noble traits and instead is picking and choosing what he needs for himself. It is easy to gather from this that the “red” wants blood and for this reason is holding on to only the red stripes of the flag.

Red can also stand for revolution and passion, two things which were taboo subjects in a post-World War I United States. Blood, however, does not always signify

violence and force. It can also mean pride and stability; perhaps this is why Americans were being told to take such offence at the idea of a red coming into America and taking what they needed to start a revolution. Because the flag is such a strong symbol of a nation, this piece is not only pointing to a color scheme of convenience but is also saying that radicals (most likely immigrants) were in America only to get from the nation what they needed to start the next revolution. They are depicted here as separatists, as picking the nation apart for what they need to ultimately destroy it.

The flag is a source of national pride and by cutting it apart, the red is shown as disrespecting the blood that was shed for the United States to be as great as it is – indeed, the blood that was shed for it to be worth picking apart in the first place. It has taken a lot of hard work to get the United States into the position of power in which it has sat for so long, and to depict a Red as taking from the nation what he needs and giving nothing is to depict him as living off of others, a lazy and conniving sort of man who seeks to raise himself up on the work of others. As was stated earlier, what this representation of the Red through the mutilation the flag does not take into consideration is the fact that the color red in the American flag symbolizes nearly the opposite of what the term “Red” is meant to represent. That is, the color red in the flag symbolizes blood shed for patriotism, while the concept of “Red” symbolizes blood shed not for patriotism but rather for “evil” purposes. By equating the two or by somehow stating that the radical is taking the red of the flag for his own “Red” purposes, the author is committing the non sequitor fallacy. These two trains of thought do not follow each other at all; one symbol stands for the strength of a nation while the other stands for its demise.

When a Red flag is present, it is tattered and tiny. For example, in 1.1 the extremists' flag is lying on the ground underneath his leg, small and tattered. Flags are not supposed to touch the ground, so it would be considered a sign of disrespect either for the artist to have drawn the image as such or that the extremist in the text would have allowed the flag to fall on the ground, much less be stuck underneath his leg.

The flag in 2.1 is surrounded by flames in the background, a flagrant sign of danger and disrespect. The fire represents not only the potential destructive power of communism but also the contempt that communism was perceived to have for established nations such as the United States. The flag itself does not actually seem to be burning; it is almost as if the flag has some ephemeral strength that keeps it from burning. Instead, it is as if something or someone is trying to attack the flag – and thereby the nation of the United States – but cannot successfully do so because the flag and the nation will stand strong. This is reminiscent of Captain America's nearly indestructible flag shield; both represent a nation that the propagandist would like to believe cannot be destroyed by outside forces and certainly not by such a menace as communism.

D. Representation of Race

A little has already been said about the representation of the ideal American as white, while the radical is usually masked behind some sort of beard, disguising his racial identity. All of the political cartoons discussed in this paper contain radicals with beards. Their faces are nearly identical, all of them menacing and scruffy. Perhaps the more evident racial issues are present in the texts of 2.1 and 2.2.

Image 2.1 is filled with violence. This is the only image which contains the figure of a woman, and the woman in this instance is being attacked by a man. The violence in

this image follows the historical context; the text shows men of different races attacking each other, underlining some sort of racial violence that the author feels like is inevitable with the dawn of communism in America. While the man attacking the woman is white (as is the woman), there is no need to create a racial difference between the two individuals because there is already a hierarchical relationship established between them. The men, on the other hand, are racially distinct in order to create a chasm between them. On the left side, a white man has hit a black man, while on the right side non-Caucasian man is trying to strangle a white man. Since race relations in the United States had recently been somewhat improved at the time that this piece was published, the author may have been trying to point to the possibility of racial disruption that communism posed.

The image in 2.2 displays a picture of Mao Tse-tung as a green skinned man. The author of this piece had no qualms about the racial statements that this would make about Chinese individuals, such as that they are aliens, sick, and perhaps even not human at all. Mao is depicted as green for many reasons, but most evident is the greed that communism was charged with having – greed for nations, for people, and for blood. Since the background of the image is red and contains the image of a gorilla wielding a bloody machete, it is likely that the author was referring to the thirst for blood that communists were supposed to feel. What is more, Mao is smiling; he seems to be proud of his greed.

The appearance of the gorilla in the background poses a further racial issue. If the gorilla is meant to represent Mao's soldiers (doubtless, his "gorilla fighters"), and his

soldiers are Chinese people (Americans certainly regarded individuals under communist governments to be sympathetic with those governments), it is plausible that the author means for the gorilla to represent the Chinese people at large. This relegates them to a status of less-than-human, as irrational and barbaric. The text on the back of the card states that Mao “captured the China mainland in three years of *savage* warfare against the Nationalist government” (my italics).

The American way is hailed as the ideal in anti-Red propaganda. There is no sight of the pluralism that America claims to contain and so boldly believe in. By placing the American ideal so firmly at the top, propagandists are leaking out a fear of outsiders, of otherness, and of difference. Democracy is designed to represent individual people; thus, it is not intended to morph the individual into the mass but rather to represent the needs and differences that exist between each citizen. Nowhere is this mentality evident in anti-Red propaganda.

VII. Conclusion

The preceding analyses of the six examples of propaganda have pointed out the logical fallacies that these texts commit as well as the stereotypes upon which they rely to persuade their audience. Propaganda comes into direct confrontation with the democratic ideals that the United States of America openly flaunts; this is a fact that has been demonstrated throughout this paper. If these analyses are factual, then propaganda is placed into an awkward position, especially when it is applied in a democratic nation which prides itself upon individual choice and plurality. Due to the mechanisms which

propaganda utilizes and its distorted intentions, every instance of propaganda which seeks to defend democracy can rightfully be placed under rhetorical scrutiny. By definition, propaganda seeks to advocate a position that may not be sound and a propagandist, aware or not of the stability of the position he advocates, seeks to manipulate his audience with any rhetorical device or logical fallacy.

In conclusion, we must question how we should approach the appearance of propaganda in present times as well as in the future. Propaganda is necessarily coercive and relies on negative stereotypes of entire groups of people, and American society must begin to accept this fact and reject the presence of propaganda in newspapers and popular culture. In order to create a society in which members are allowed to think as individuals rather than relying on ideologies to dictate how they ought to live, we must engender fairness in the texts that we present to each other. Red Scare propaganda should be an example of a type of text that we must move away from and present us with tools to analyze future propaganda and hopefully create a rhetorical environment in which propaganda becomes unacceptable and eventually disappears into textual history.

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Marvel Directory.com. Bill Freis. 2001. 22 October 2005

<<http://www.marveldirectory.com/individuals/c/captainamerica.htm>>. This is the Marvel Comics website, which contains information about each of their comic book characters. I used this site to obtain information about the character of Captain America – his physical features, weapons, purpose, and so on. From this information I was gained a better understanding of Captain America’s place in propaganda against “foreign extremists;” he in many ways epitomizes the ideal American.

Meyerhoff, Arthur E. *The Strategy of Persuasion*. New York: Coward-McCann, 1965.

This text was published in order to explain the United States’ method in propagating democracy to the rest of the world. Though the text is written with spreading Americanism to the rest of the world, it does contain the basic theory of American propaganda and of America “selling itself.” The ideas in this text were extremely useful by giving me an understanding of how propagandists actually think and set out upon their endeavors.

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contains many ideas about the concept of the freedom of the individual. I used this work primarily to get an understanding of how persons should be allowed to exist in society if the individual is viewed as autonomous. From reading *On Liberty*, I was able to analyze texts advocating propaganda and how these ideas conflict with the idea of an autonomous individual.

Moreno, Barry. *The Statue of Liberty Encyclopedia*. Simon & Schuster: New York, 2000.

I used this text to find the poem *The New Colossus*. To me, Lazarus’ poem embodies the true American spirit and is a reminder of the mentality that we ought to strive for as Americans.

Oxford English Dictionary. Ed. James A. H. Murray, Henry Bradley, W. A. Craigie, and C. T. Owens. 2nd Edition. Clarendon Press: Oxford, 1989. The *OED* is very useful

in researching etymologies of words as well as how words evolved over time. I used the dictionary to look up several words, including “propaganda,” “foreigner,” “patriot,” and many other words, in order to gain a better understanding of what these words mean and the connotations that they carry.

Red Scare (1918-1921). Ed. Leo Robert Klein. City University of New York. 13

September 2005 <<http://newman.baruch.cuny.edu/digital/redscare/default.htm>>. This site contains over a hundred images dated from 1918-1921, most of them political cartoons from national and local newspapers and journals. I used several political cartoons from this site for analysis and as examples of propaganda.

Sartre, Jean Paul. “Americans and Their Myths”. *TheNation.com*. 18 October 1947. 17

September 2005. <<http://www.thenation.com/doc/19471018/sartre>>. Sartre’s

short article is a criticism of Americanism. It discusses the ideals of America versus the actuality of everyday Americans' actions. The article was written just after World War II and gives insight into Americanism from the perspective of someone who was, for the most part, an observer looking in from the outside.

Sproule, J. Michael. *Propaganda and Democracy: the American experience of media and mass persuasion*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1997. Sproule's book is a history of propaganda in America, focusing on how American democracy has been advocated through the use of mass media. Though the text was only sparingly used for this paper, it did give me an idea of the scale of propaganda in the United States during the early- to mid-twentieth century.

STL Comics. 3 April 2006 < <http://columns.stlcomics.com/ironslab/III/>>. Originally, I had used a different site to find the image of Captain America discussed in this paper. The site was, unfortunately, shut down, and I had to quickly find a new site that hosted this image. STL Comics is a site where comic enthusiasts can blog, write articles about comic books, and search for hard to find and out of print comics.

USFlag.org. 21 January, 2006 < <http://www.usflag.org/colors.html>>. This is a site dedicated to educating the public about the American flag. It contains the history of the flag as well as the symbolism of the colors in the flag. I used this site to draw information about the red stripes in the flag.

Wright, Bradford W. *Comic Book Nation*. The Johns Hopkins University Press: Baltimore, 2001. This text is a history of comic books, from their inception through the 1990's. The sections about comics from the mid-twentieth century gave context to what was going on not only in the comic book world at this time but in government and private censorship as well.

Yoos, George E. "Logos." *Encyclopedia of Rhetoric and Composition*. Ed. Theresa Enos, Garland Publishing, Inc.: New York, 1996. This article highlights the importance of *logos* in rhetoric, defining the concept in traditional as well as contemporary terms. As *logos* is an important yet at times difficult concept to understand, I found it helpful to read this article because it helped me to gain a better grasp on how *logos* is important to the discussion on propaganda.